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ACCULTURATION OR ASSIMILATION: A GEOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS
OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC
GROUPS: METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG 1951-1961

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
University of Manitoba

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Ronald David Fromson
March 1965 ✓

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of Manitoba
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge with gratitude the advice and time which was so freely extended to him by many individuals during the preparation of this thesis.

In particular to Professor P.D.Keddie of the Geography Department of the University of Manitoba who guided the study and gave freely of invaluable advice throughout its preparation, and to Dr.T.R.Weir, Head of the Geography Department of the University of Manitoba for his advice and encouragement.

The writer is also indebted to Professor V.J.Kostka, Head of the City Planning Department of the University of Manitoba, Professor M.R.Utech, Sociology Department, United College, and to the staff members of the Geography Department, University of Manitoba.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is a geographic analysis of ethnic group residential segregation in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. In particular, this study examines five selected ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area during the period 1951 to 1961, from the point of view of changes in their respective residential distributions. Basic to this point of view is the assumption that ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area have demonstrated throughout the city's history a definite tendency, in varying degree, towards residential segregation.

Acting on the premise that residential segregation is one of the significant variables in the assimilation process, the analysis of this factor among the selected ethnic groups during the study period provides an insight into the extent of the assimilation of Winnipeg's ethnic minorities into the dominant Anglo-Protestant culture.

The basic method used throughout this paper is that of cartographic analysis. Residential distribution of the selected ethnic groups in 1951 and 1961, and the change during that period, is depicted by mapping techniques which provide the basis for the analysis of residential segregation. Two sources of data are utilized for the production of these maps. One is the Metropolitan Winnipeg Census Tract data from 1951 and 1961 Census of Canada, and the other is the name and address listing from the 1951 and 1961 Winnipeg City Directory.

The conclusions resulting from the analysis are as follows: 1) each of the five selected groups exhibited a degree of residential segregation

in their pattern of residential distribution ranging from the highest for the Jewish group, followed in diminishing order by the Ukrainian, Polish, German, and British groups. The degree of segregation for the Jewish group in 1961 was more than five times as great as that for the British group. 2) Although the degree of residential segregation of the non-British groups studied decreased in relation to the British group during this period, the relative degree of segregation among the groups remained highly stable, as did the position of the non-British groups relative to that of the British group. 3) Although a dispersion of the ethnic groups in terms of their movement towards the periphery of the urban area is evident, there is a marked tendency for the groups to demonstrate a movement within a certain sector of the city. This tendency is revealed by the 1961 concentrations of these groups in certain selected sections of the metropolitan area, the British in the southern half of the city, the Jewish in the northern half of the city (with a separate outlier in the southern half), and the northern half of the city for the remaining three groups. And 4) the British group, although revealing the most random residential distribution of any group, a function of its dominant cultural position and large numbers, exhibits a tendency for residential preference which is shown by the high concentrations of this group in the South and Southwest sections of the city.

The existence of varying degrees of residential segregation displayed by each of the five ethnic groups in 1961, and the fact of a relatively minor decrease in the degree of segregation since 1951, lends considerable weight to the conclusion that with respect to the effect of this variable

on the assimilation process, very little progress has been made toward further assimilation during the study period. ✓

Therefore, it can be said, assuming that residential segregation is a viable indicator of the extent of the assimilation process, that while "acculturation" of the ethnic minorities may have taken place, the "assimilation" of these groups can be shown to have not progressed to a similar degree.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The polyethnic composition of Metropolitan Winnipeg's population has given the city the most pronounced cosmopolitan complex of any urban area in Canada.² Since the beginning of the Twentieth century, the city has become more cosmopolitan in character from a quantitative point of view with each succeeding decade. This changing composition is illustrated by Table 1, page 2, which indicates the percentage of the various ethnic groups in Metropolitan Winnipeg's population from 1901 to 1961. The most prominent feature of this table is the steady decline in the percentage of the British Isles group, from 71.2 percent in 1901 to 45.0 percent in 1961, though still the single dominant group in terms of numbers and percentage.¹

The Non-British ethnic groups have increased to the point where in 1961, they were 55.0 percent of the total Metropolitan population. However, of this total, no one ethnic group of the Non-British groups listed by the Census of Canada constituted more than twelve percent of the total Metropolitan Winnipeg population. Winnipeg's cosmopolitan character is further emphasized by a comparison with the percentages of ethnic groups in Canada as a whole. Table 1, shows that with the exception of the French and Italian groups a larger percentage of all ethnic groups is represented in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area in 1961, than in the Nation,

¹See Table II, page 3, for population of Metropolitan Winnipeg by numbers of specified ethnic groups for the years 1881-1961.

²P.41, Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study, see footnote 3, p.5

Table 1 : Specified Ethnic Groups as a Percentage of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Population from 1901 to 1961, and the National Population, 1961.¹

Ethnic Groups	Metro 1901	Metro 1911	Metro 1921	Metro 1931	Metro 1941	Metro 1951	Metro 1961	Canada 1961
British Isles	71.2	61.0	67.4	61.4	59.2	51.4	45.0	43.8
French	6.5	4.3	4.9	5.0	5.8	9.3	8.3	30.4
German	5.2	6.3	6.2	5.1	5.4	7.7	10.6	6.3
Italian	.3	.5	.7	.7	.7	.6	1.2	2.5
Netherlands	.2	.4	.9	1.0	1.5	2.4	3.1	2.4
Polish	N.A. ²	3.3	2.7	5.0	4.5	5.0	5.2	1.8
Russian	1.4	1.1	1.9	1.0	.9	.9	.9	.7
Scandinavian	7.5	3.5	3.3	3.8	4.0	3.7	3.8	2.5
Ukrainian	N.A.	2.5	3.1	7.3	9.1	11.2	11.3	2.6
Asiatic	.3	.4	.5	.4	.4	.6	.7	.7
Jewish	2.6	6.2	6.5	6.0	6.0	4.6*	3.9*	1.0
Other European	2.7	2.9	5.7	3.1	2.2	3.3	4.7	2.4

¹ Census of Canada

² Not Available

* Jewish group percentage for 1951 and 1961 are derived from Census of Canada "Religion" classification. See footnote no. , page

Table II: Total Population of Metropolitan Winnipeg, and
Population by Specified Ethnic Groups, 1881-1961¹

Ethnic Group	1881 ²	1901 ²	1911 ²	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
British Isles	6,979	31,565	87,513	154,478	180,959	172,245	183,529	213,964
French	1,421	2,863	6,138	11,313	14,618	16,827	26,668	39,777
German ³	189	2,315	9,010	14,122	15,061	14,594	24,499	50,206
Italian	26	147	781	1,618	2,062	1,885	2,455	5,785
Netherlands	5	105	542	2,065	2,825	4,238	7,494	14,881
Polish	6 ⁴	N.A. ⁵	4,781	6,268	14,660	13,109	17,637	24,904
Russian	---	627	1,633	4,386	2,878	2,479	2,788	4,102
Scandinavian	411	3,334	5,030	7,606	11,166	11,475	13,341	17,834
Ukrainian	N.A.	N.A.	3,599	6,992	21,459	26,404	41,437	53,918
Asiatic	2	122	597	1,077	1,125	1,096	2,131	3,198
Jewish	21	1,145	8,934	14,847	17,581	17,267	18,514	19,376
Other European	13	1,187	4,148	12,976	9,093	7,604	10,160	21,558
Total Population	9,268	44,359	143,518	229,212	294,905	302,024	356,813	475,989

¹Source: Census of Canada (Ethnic breakdown not available for 1891).

²Urban Population available for City of Winnipeg and St. Boniface only.

³Includes Austrian where separated by Census classification.

⁴Includes Russian.

⁵Not Available.

However, this quantitative analysis of a cosmopolitan Winnipeg presents a somewhat one-sided picture, as it seeks to establish this cosmopolitanism on the basis of statistics only. Certainly if other factors were taken into consideration, the validity of this label could be questioned. That is, does it apply at the present time with as much validity as it did at the beginning of the Twentieth century when the Non-British ethnic groups were arriving in Winnipeg in large numbers? On the surface today, very little evidence of cosmopolitan character is apparent. For example, the English language is spoken almost universally, value systems are common to all ethnic groups, there is very little dissimilarity in dress throughout the urban area, and although non-English language shop signs are still evident, they are universally used in conjunction with the English language. Certainly one cannot argue that individual members of the various minority groups are not present in almost every facet of the business and cultural life of the city.

When these aspects of Winnipeg's population are weighed against the picture presented by statistics, it would appear that our opening statement can be seriously questioned, and that in fact, the cosmopolitan character of Winnipeg's population has decreased rather than increased during the past half century.

It follows naturally from the above statement to the popularly held point of view that the assimilation of the varied ethnic minorities in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area has progressed to a considerable extent into the dominant Canadian society, which in effect means the Anglo-Protestant culture.

An example of this point of view is the following statement from the Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study:

One of the interesting features of the ethnic groups within the Metropolitan Area is that the older generations have tended to stay together in tightly-knit homogeneous groups. There are areas within Metro that are predominately of one ethnic group. This tendency is becoming less prevalent amongst the younger generations or even amongst the immigrants that are entering the Metropolitan area today. The growing attitude appears to be that the sooner all European ties are severed, the better.³

It is the writer's contention that this view of the extent of assimilation of ethnic minorities into the dominant Canadian culture can be seriously questioned, and we will attempt here to provide a basis for this argument in terms of the degree of residential segregation exhibited by selected ethnic groups in 1951 and 1961.

What has occurred in the relationship between the ethnic minorities and the dominant culture can best be termed "acculturation", rather than "assimilation". The process of acculturation refers to complete political and economic integration of an ethnic minority into the mainstream of Canadian life, while at the same time maintaining a strong feeling of "ethnicity",¹ that is a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood. This necessitates some measure of what might be termed non-assimilation, whether it be applied voluntarily or non-voluntarily. The situation has been, if not complete, at least "numerically and functionally overwhelming"² in

¹Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 24.

²Ibid., p. 110.

³Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study, 1961-1986, Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, Development Plan Branch, Winnipeg, 1963.

the Metropolitan Winnipeg area as it has been in the United States according to Gordon. Writing in 1963, Gordon presents considerable evidence to back his statement that the other variables of the assimilation process have not occurred in American society

.....in which each racial and religious (and to a lesser extent, national origins) group has its own network of cliques, clubs, organizations, and institutions which tend to confine the primary group contacts of its members within the ethnic enclave, while interethnic contacts take place in considerable part only at the secondary group level of employment and the political and civic processes. Each ethnic group contains the usual class divisions, and the behavior patterns of members of the same class are very similar regardless of their race, religion, or national origin. But they do not go their similar ways together; separated by the invisible but powerful barriers of ancestral identification and belief, they carry out their intimate life in the separate compartments of ethnicity which make up the vertical dimensions of the American social structure.¹

This paper will attempt to show that the assimilation process has not occurred to the extent popularly conceived, by an examination of one variable in the assimilation process, and that is the change in the degree of residential segregation exhibited by selected ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area during the period 1951-1961. Implicit in the preceding statement is the assumption that the process of assimilation is inextricably bound up with residential segregation in urban areas. For evidence leading to the validity of this assumption, we shall draw on the work of several American sociologists.

To begin with, we have taken Lieberman's definition of group

¹Ibid., p. 110-111.

assimilation as a starting point:

An assimilated ethnic population is defined operationally as a group of persons with similar foreign origins, knowledge of which in no way gives a better prediction or estimate of their relevant social characteristics than does knowledge of the behavior of the total population of the community or nation involved. Thus we should not call an ethnic group assimilated if they are highly segregated residentially from the remainder of the total population of a given city. That is, to the extent that we can make a better prediction of the residential location of persons of Italian origin by knowing their origin than if we simply predicted on the basis of the distribution of the total city population, then to that extent we should say that the Italians are not assimilated.¹

Not only can the residential patterns of ethnic groups be viewed as a significant element in the study of their assimilation but, further, residential segregation has an effect on other aspects of ethnic assimilation. Lieberman cites Hawley's statement that

Redistribution of a minority group in the same territorial pattern as that of the majority group results in a dissipation of subordinate status and an assimilation of the subjugated group into the social structure.²

Lieberman goes on to say that Hawley's reasoning is based on the dual effect of residential segregation,

It accentuates the difference between a group and the remainder of the population by heightening the visibility of the group, and it enables the population to keep its peculiar traits and group structure.³

¹S. Lieberman, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (New York, Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 10-11.

²Ibid., p. 6, citing A. H. Hawley, 1944, "Dispersion versus Segregation; Apropos of a Solution of Race Problems," Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, 30: 667-74.

³Lieberman, op. cit., p. 6.

Furthering our case for the relationship of residential segregation to the process of assimilation (that is, as one of the variables in the process) is the following statement by Gist and Halbert.

The segregation of population, whether voluntary or involuntary, may affect the entire fabric of relationships between people in a community. People who do not associate intimately with each other because they differ in certain fundamental respects tend to live apart from those who are different..... Similarly social isolationism is reinforced by spatial isolationism; the more people are spatially segregated, the less likely they are to come into intimate contact with each other....., contacts tend to be formalized, confined principally to the market place or the work situation.¹

It is of significance to add at this point, that certain sociologists have claimed that "A group can maintain its cultural and social integration and identity, without having an ecological basis."² That is, modern communication techniques make complete spatial pre-emption unnecessary in the preservation of unseen social boundaries which separate ethnic groups. "It is rather a social construct in the minds of the city's residents. But it is no less real for that."³ If this is the case, then the writer of this thesis strongly suggests that evidence of a high degree of residential concentration (segregation) on the part of ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area lends considerable added authority to his claim that the process of assimilation has not

¹N. P. Gist and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society, 4th edition, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956), pp. 178-179.

²M. M. Gordon, op. cit., citing, Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto, - A Re-Valuation," Social Forces, Vol 37, No. 3 (March 1959), p. 258.

³M. M. Gordon, op. cit., p. 163.

proceeded to the point generally considered by popular opinion.

I. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Throughout the history of Metropolitan Winnipeg, the ethnic groups in its population have concentrated in specific sections of the urban area. That is, members of individual ethnic groups have selected certain areas of the city over others for residential purposes, thus providing the discernible features of ethnic colonies in the ecological pattern of the urban area.

In common with other North American cities, in varying degree, these areas of residential concentration were established with the arrival in Winnipeg of the various ethnic groups, for example, the French-Canadians in St. Boniface and the Eastern Europeans in Winnipeg's North End.

A striking feature of these areas of residential concentration is their remarkable stability to the present day. This by no means implies that there have been no changes in the residential locations of individual members of the various ethnic groups, nor for that matter, of the groups themselves. However, it will be demonstrated, that in terms of general patterns of residential distribution, the concentrations of the ethnic groups selected for this study have changed only in a minor degree throughout the history of the Metropolitan Winnipeg urban area.

It is the pattern of ethnic group residential distribution in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area which is the major concern of this thesis, specifically, the changes in the pattern of residential distribution of selected ethnic groups during the period 1951 to 1961.

No attempt is made in this paper to analyse the process of assimilation of ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area except in terms of the patterns of residential location revealed by the cartographic analysis of census tract and city directory data. Further, no attempt is made to relate residential segregation to the other variables in the process of assimilation. The analysis of these variables is beyond the scope of this paper, as they require sociological analysis, for which the writer lays no claim of qualification.

II. SELECTION OF TIME PERIOD

The decade 1951-1961 has been selected for the examination of the changes in the residential distribution patterns of selected ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area for the following reasons.

First, the Metropolitan Winnipeg area experienced a comparatively high rate of urban growth during 1951-1961, both in terms of an increased rate of population growth (see Table 3, page 11), and large additions of new residential areas.¹ During this period, the Metropolitan Winnipeg area experienced the highest rate of decennial population growth in the past thirty years -- a 34 percent increase and the largest absolute increase in its history. As a concomitant of these conditions of urban growth, considerable intra-urban migration has occurred within the Metropolitan area.

¹Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg, Planning Division, Development Plan Branch, Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study, 1961-1986, (Winnipeg, 1963), p. 16.

TABLE III
 INTER-CENSAL CHANGES IN THE POPULATION
 OF METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG, 1881-1961

	POPULATION OF METRO WINNIPEG	INTER-CENSAL CHANGE	PERCENTAGE INTER-CENSAL CHANGE
1881*	9,268		
1901*	44,359	35,091	378.6
1911*	143,518	99,159	223.5
1921	229,212	85,694	59.7
1931	294,905	65,693	28.7
1941	302,024	7,119	2.4
1951	354,069	52,045	17.2
1961	475,989	121,920	34.4

*The Population Given for these Years includes the City of Winnipeg and St. Boniface only.

Secondly, the 1951-1961 period is the only decennial period for which comparable census data is available on the distribution of population by ethnic groups, within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. This is also the first decennial period for which this data is available by Census Tract Areas,¹ providing for a detailed analysis of ethnic group residential distributions, based on a division of the urban area into small areal units whose boundaries remain constant from Census to Census.²

The comparatively large urban growth in Metropolitan Winnipeg, and the availability of data on ethnic group distributions combined to make the decade 1951-1961 an advantageous period in which to examine the changes in the pattern of ethnic group residential distributions.

III. METHOD

Since a detailed discussion of the methods used in this paper will be left for treatment in later chapters, in their most meaningful context, the ensuing discussion will serve only as an outline of the basic

¹See Definition, page 24.

²Census Tracts were first established in Winnipeg for the 1941 Census, and were known at that time as "Social Areas". They are of limited value for the purposes of this study for two reasons. First, they were established only for the City of Winnipeg, and not the Metropolitan area. Secondly, the boundaries of these "Social Areas" underwent considerable revision prior to the 1951 Census, making it impossible to compare them with data from the 1951 and 1961 Census Tract Areas. (Personal correspondence with Mr. D. L. Ralston, Assistant Director (Population), Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, Canada, May, 1964).

methodological approach.

The basic method utilized throughout this study is that of cartographic analysis. The objective is the determination of the spatial patterns of ethnic group residential distributions in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, and it is thought that these generalized patterns can best be revealed through the use of mapping techniques. The basic data derived from the Census of Canada and the City Directories¹ has been utilized in the production of the maps of ethnic group residential distributions. The methods as used in the following three chapters of this thesis are outlined below.

Residential Segregation of Ethnic Groups.² The breakdown of Metropolitan Winnipeg's population by ethnic group for Census Tract Areas, as given by the Census of Canada for 1951 and 1961, was used to construct an Index of Residential Segregation.³ This provided a method of rating Winnipeg's ethnic groups⁴ in terms of residential segregation in 1951 and 1961, and ascertaining the degree of change, if any, occurring during this period.

Changes in the residential distribution of selected ethnic groups.

The data provided on the basis of Census Tract areas for the Metropolitan

¹For discussion see "Source of Data", page 11.

²For definition see page 28.

³See Chapter Two - page 39.

⁴Those listed by the Census of Canada, see page 16.

Winnipeg area, by the Census of Canada, was also used to construct detailed maps of residential distribution in 1951 and 1961 for five selected ethnic groups; the British, Ukrainian, Polish, German and Jewish. Maps illustrating the percentage change in the residential distributions of these groups during 1951-1961, were also produced from this data. These two series of maps were used as the basic analytical tool in determining changes in ethnic group residential distributions.

City directory sample study: intra-urban migration of selected ethnic groups. In order to assess the changes in ethnic group residential distributions as revealed by the analysis of census tract data, in terms of the actual movement of members of the selected ethnic groups, a sample study was undertaken utilizing Winnipeg City Directories. Selecting one section of the city, a ten percent sample was taken of the household heads listed for that section in the 1951 City Directory, then, the 1961 place of residence for these sample names was located in the 1961 City Directory. The next step, was to determine the ethnic origin of the sample on the basis of the names in the sample. The last step, was plotting the 1961 places of residence of the sample names for each ethnic group or a series of maps, thereby indicating the pattern of intra-urban migration for each group.

IV. SOURCE OF DATA

Three primary sources of data are utilized in this paper. The first is population data provided by the Census of Canada, particularly,

the Census Tract Bulletins from the Census of 1951 and 1961 for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. The second, is the sample study based on the population lists for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area published in the Winnipeg City Directories for the years 1951 and 1961. The third, and last source, is information obtained by interviewing religious, cultural, and business leaders of the various ethnic groups in the City of Winnipeg.

Census Tract Data.

Basic population data presented by Census Tract Areas¹ within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area is available for the Census years 1951 and 1961.² Prior to these years the Census of Canada did not provide data pertaining to the distribution of specific ethnic groups within the City of Winnipeg or the surrounding suburban municipalities.³

In 1951 the Census Metropolitan Area of Winnipeg⁴ was divided into 86 Census Tract Areas.⁵ This division into a large number of small areal units provides a basis for the detailed statistical analysis of the spatial patterns of ethnic group residential distributions within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. The boundaries of these 86 Census Tract Areas remained unchanged for the 1961 Census, however, thirteen new

¹For definition of Census Tract Areas see page 24.

²See Footnote 2, page 12.

³Except for the City of Winnipeg in 1921, see footnote, Table III, page 34.

⁴See page 24, for definition.

⁵See Index Map of Census Tract Areas, Appendix A.

Census Tracts were added, bringing the total for the Metropolitan Area to 99. For the purpose of this paper, only 86 Census Tract Areas for which data is supplied in both the 1951 and 1961 Census are considered, as it is necessary to use comparable areas when analysing the available statistical data. In any case, a very small number of the total Metropolitan population in 1961 is left out, therefore little is lost by this procedure.¹

Of the 86 Census Tracts considered, numbers one through forty-eight are in the City of Winnipeg, and the remaining thirty-eight in the other fifteen Metropolitan Area Municipalities. (See Index Maps, Appendix A). The median Census Tract population was 3910 in 1951, rising to 4531 in 1961, however, the tract populations vary from the smallest, 129 in 1951 and 125 in 1961, to the largest, 12,553 in 1951 and 13,952 in 1961 (See Appendix C).

Ethnic group classification by Census of Canada. The classification of ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area for the Census of 1951 and 1961 differs slightly in each census year.² The following ethnic groups are listed for both census years:

¹For further discussion of this point see page 21

²Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, Bulletin CT-8, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Winnipeg, Table 1, p. 4, and Tenth Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin CT-17, Population and Housing Characteristics by Census Tracts, Winnipeg, Table 1, p. 4.

British Isles ¹	Russian
French	Scandinavian ²
German	Ukrainian
Italian	Asiatic
Netherlands	Other European
Polish	Others and Not Stated

The one group not given under the "Ethnic Group" Classification by the Census for both 1951 and 1961, is the Jewish Group. It is listed under this classification only for the 1951 Census. However, in both Census years, figures for this group are listed under the "Religion"³ classification. In order to use comparative data, the latter classification was utilized for both 1951 and 1961. In any case it was felt that this listing was a better indicator of the numbers in this group.⁴

¹Includes English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh. Census Tract Bulletin CT-8, 1951, loc. cit., and Census Tract Bulletin CT-17, 1961, op. cit., p. 28.

²Includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish, ibid.

³Census Tract Bulletins, op. cit., p.4 and p.28

⁴The reason for the Jewish Group not being listed under the "Ethnic Group" category in the 1961 Census Tract Bulletins is due to the large differences which have shown up in the Census enumeration between the figures by religion and ethnic group for Canada as a whole. In 1961, the number for the religion category was 254,368, compared to 173,344 for the ethnic group category. Because of this wide variation the Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics listed this group only under the Religion category for 1961. The difference was not as great for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area as that found for Canada as a whole -- the number for the religion category was 19,376 compared to 18,350 for the ethnic category (the ethnic category number was supplied by the Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics through personal correspondence by the writer). In 1951, the religion figure was 18,514, compared to 18,096 for the ethnic category. Since the Jewish group is not listed separately in the 1961 Ethnic Group category, the Census included the number given by ethnic origin (18,350 as above) in the "Other European" classification. Since comparable data for the Jewish Group, by Census Tract Areas in Metropolitan Winnipeg, was not available in 1961, the religion category was used for this group both in 1961 and 1951.

Two groups from the Census listing as given above, were not used for this study. They are the "Other European" and the "Others and Not Stated". Both of these consist of small numbers of people from many different ethnic groups, and together constitute a small percentage of the total population of Metropolitan Winnipeg. The exclusion of the two groups just mentioned and the inclusion of the Jewish Group, provide the list of ethnic groups considered in the first section of this paper -- a total of eleven (see figure 2, p40). The five ethnic groups selected for detailed analysis are shown in Figure 3, page 47.

City Directories

The second primary source of data for this paper were the Winnipeg City Directories for the years 1951 and 1961.¹ These directories are divided into two sections. One section lists every household head in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area by their residential address, and the other section lists every adult (18 years of age and over) alphabetically by surname. The former section was drawn upon for a sample of household heads in a selected area of the Metropolitan Area in 1951. The latter section was used to locate the 1951 Sample Names at their 1961 place of residence.²

This source provided data which enabled an assessment of ethnic group intra-urban migration during the study period, 1951 to 1961, and

¹Henderson's Metropolitan Winnipeg City Directory, Compiled and published by Henderson Directories Limited, 419 McMillan Ave., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

²For a detailed discussion of the use of City Directories in this paper, see Chapter IV, page 105.

thereby test the validity of the changing pattern of ethnic group residential distribution derived from the cartographic analysis of census tract data.

Interviews

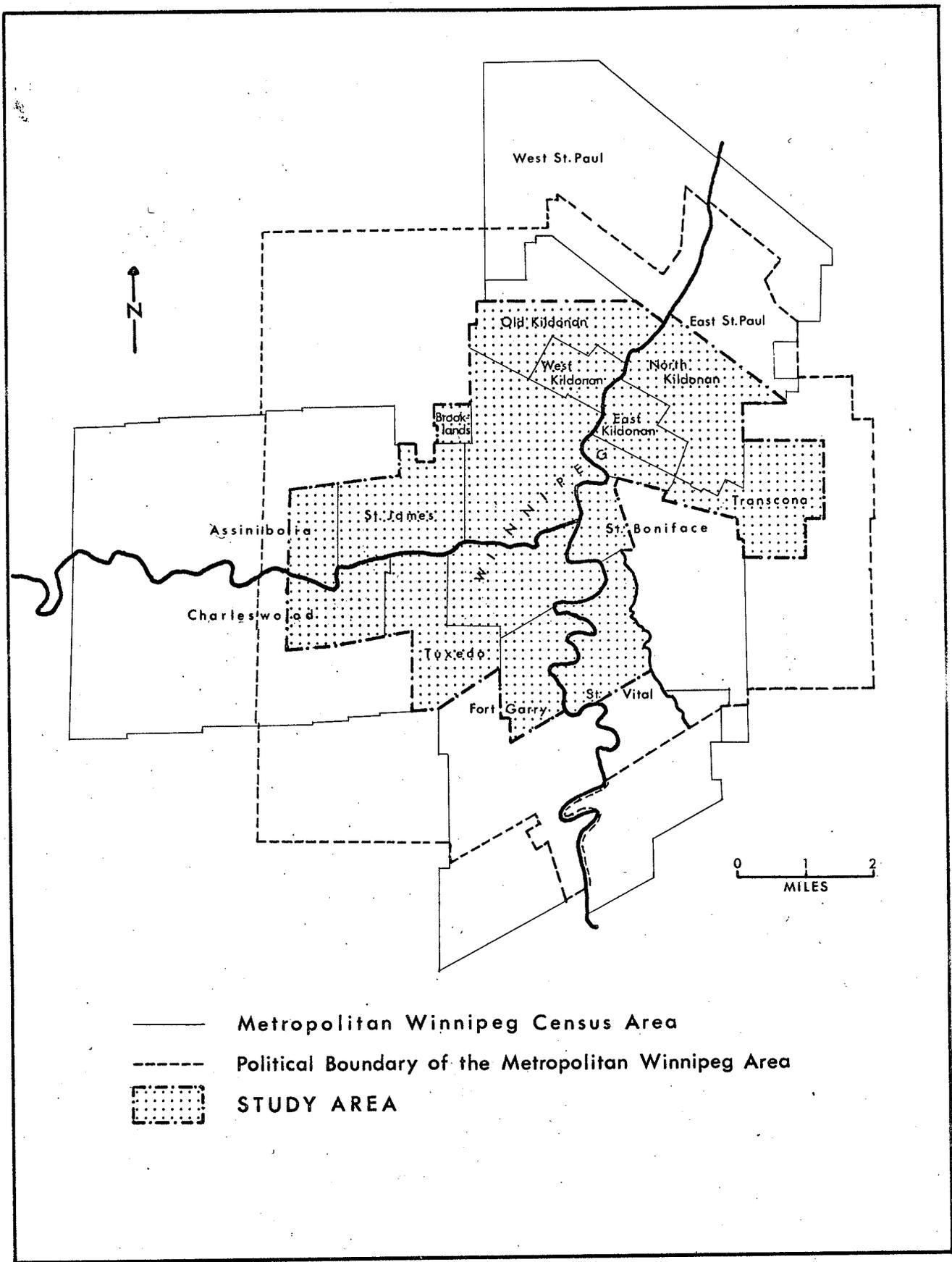
This third source was utilized primarily as a means of obtaining informed opinion regarding the conclusions derived by the analysis of data from the preceding two major sources. At least three members of each ethnic group were interviewed by the writer. An attempt was made to select ethnic group leaders from three categories; religious, cultural or social, and business or professional. However, the majority of the information derived from this source resulted from interviews with religious leaders and members of the Ethnic Press.

V. DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following section presents a detailed explanation of some of the terms used in this paper. Others will be defined as they appear in the body of the paper.

Metropolitan Winnipeg Area

The Metropolitan Winnipeg Area as defined for this paper does not coincide with the boundaries of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Census Area (as defined by the Census of Canada, see map 1, page 20,) or the political boundaries of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg (see map 1, page 20,). The reason for delimiting the Metropolitan Winnipeg Study Area as shown in the above mentioned map is due to the fact that the



Map 1

data for ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area by census tracts is given by the Census of 1951 and 1961 only for those census tract areas within the Study Area boundary -- that is tracts one through eighty-six.¹ This of necessity meant that a certain portion of the population of the Winnipeg urban area could not be considered in this study (those in the new census areas added in 1961, tracts 87 through 99²). However the majority of this population³ is situated in the rural-urban fringe, and as such does not bear directly on this study. Only one area within these new census tracts concerns us here. This is a portion of tract number 88, which is a new residential subdivision called Windsor Park in the City of St. Boniface. It is located in the western section of tract 88, adjoining the eastern boundary of tracts numbers 82 and 83⁴. This subdivision was not started until after 1951, but by 1961 it had a population of 10,717,⁵ approximately forty-five percent of the total population of the thirteen new census tracts added in 1961. However, since the census does not provide a breakdown by ethnic origin for the population of this tract,

¹See Index Map, Census Tract Areas, Appendix A.

²Those areas within the Metropolitan Winnipeg Census Area Boundary, but excluding those within the Study Area boundary. See Map 1, page 20.

³Tracts 87-99 contained 22,514 persons in 1961, 4.7 percent of Metropolitan Winnipeg's population. (Source - Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study, op. cit., Appendix 8, "Population of Municipalities by Census Tract".

⁴See Index Map, Census Tract Areas, Appendix A.

⁵Metropolitan Winnipeg Population Study, loc. cit.

it can be treated only in a general fashion.¹

The study area for this paper, termed the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area, consists of those census tract areas as delimited on map 1, page 20. The census tract areas within the study area are shown by the Index Map of Census Tract Areas in Appendix A, which shows the location of each of the 86 tracts along with major thoroughfares and rivers.

Orientation of the Census Tract Areas with sections of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area is provided by the Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas, which designates the various cities, municipalities and sections thereof in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. (See below)

Metro Sub-Areas

The Winnipeg Metropolitan Area has been divided into sub-divisions for convenience when describing residential distribution and intra-urban migration. These divisions, here called "Metro Sub-Areas"² correspond

¹The population of this census tract increased from 2,192 in 1951 to 10,717 in 1961. By 1964, according to the City Clerk of the City of St. Boniface, the population had increased to 14,126. Unfortunately there is no breakdown by ethnic origin for this area (the City Clerk's office in St. Boniface is in the process of determining this breakdown but as of this writing it is not yet available.) According to Rev. B. Belanger, of St. Martyrs Canadian Church in Windsor Park, there are 1230 people in the French Parish population (the parish boundary coincides with that of Windsor Park). This number only reflects those families where both parents are French, and who wish a French language school and church. There are other French families in Windsor Park, attending other Catholic churches in the area. The remaining population of Windsor Park is divided among other ethnic groups, with the probable majority the British group. Most of the French group have migrated from the core area of St. Boniface (tracts 49 and 50) and the adjoining areas of Norwood and St. Vital. No information as to the originating areas for ethnic groups other than the French is available.

²Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A.

in some cases to the political boundaries of the various cities and municipalities of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, and in others are subdivisions within political boundaries. In all cases the Metro Sub-Areas are combinations of census tract areas. The City of Winnipeg has been arbitrarily divided into five sub-areas; Winnipeg North-End, Winnipeg East, Winnipeg Centre, Winnipeg West End and Winnipeg South. This division is based on the differential character of these areas, natural boundaries and customary usage. Winnipeg South and Winnipeg East are separated from the remainder of the city area by the Assiniboine and Red Rivers respectively, Winnipeg North-End by the C.P.R. tracks.¹ Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg West End have been delimited mainly on the basis of similar residential characteristics and general land use, as well as customary usage.

Some of the areas designated as Metro Sub-Areas include only a portion of the political division so named, e.g., Charleswood and Assiniboia, since they extend beyond the study area of this paper. Only those census tract areas of a particular political division within the study area are included in the designated Metro Sub-Area.

In addition to the preceding subdivisions, the Winnipeg Metropolitan Area has been divided into two large sections. These are termed the "Northern Half" and the "Southern Half" of the Metropolitan area. The dividing line for these sections is the C.P.R. tracks (see Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A).

¹See Index Maps, Appendix A.

Census Tract Areas

Census Tract Areas are statistical units which have been established in the Census Metropolitan Areas and larger cities of Canada by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. As stated in the 1951 Census Tract Bulletin:

Census tracts provide a means of comparison of social and economic factors within an urban community which are often obscured in totals for a city or metropolitan area as a whole. These statistical units are designed with a view to approximate uniformity in size and population, and to the inclusion of an area which is fairly homogeneous with respect to economic status and living conditions.¹

Census tracts are established in cooperation with local authorities, and whenever possible, local census tract committees are formed to delineate the areas. The tract boundaries have been established with the intention that comparisons may be possible from census to census. As has been previously mentioned, census tracts were first established in the Winnipeg area in 1941. At that time they were called Social Areas. However, they were restricted to the City of Winnipeg only, and their boundaries were drastically altered when the census tract areas for the Winnipeg Metropolitan Area were established in 1951. The boundaries of the 1951 tracts remained unchanged for the 1961 census making possible the cartographic analysis that follows.

The Census Tract Areas in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area are subdivisions of the various political units within the area, that is, cities, towns or municipalities. The tract boundaries, when not following these political boundaries, follow either rivers, railroad lines or main thoroughfares (Index Map-Census Tract Areas, Appendix A). In many

¹Census Tract Bulletin, CT-8, op. cit., p. 3.

cases, the political boundaries coincide with the aforementioned physical features.

The major value, for this paper, of statistics on population presented in terms of census tract areas, lies in the small areal extent of each unit. This allows for a fairly detailed analysis of ethnic group residential distributions.

Ethnic Group

The designation "Ethnic Group" as given for census purposes is defined by the Census of Canada as follows:

In the census, a person's ethnic group is traced through his father. In 1961, each person was asked the question: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" The language spoken at that time by the person or by his paternal ancestor was used as an aid in the determination of the person's ethnic group.¹

The term "Ethnic Group" as used in this paper draws on the above definition as well as the following put forward by M. M. Gordon:

When I use the term "Ethnic Group",....I shall mean by it any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or national origin, or some combination of these categories....all of these categories have a common social psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create, through historical circumstances, a sense of peoplehood for groups.... ---and the term "Ethnic Group" is a useful one for designation of this common element.²

With the preceding definitions in mind, one must be aware of the limitations of the Census classifications of ethnic groups when these

¹Census Tract Bulletin, CT-17, 1961, op. cit., p. 28.

²Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 27-28.

classifications are used to assess residential segregation and patterns of distribution.

Throughout the years, data pertaining to ethnic origins has been obtained through the use of varying definitions of the term. The emphasis has changed from race, to political-geographical boundaries, to mother tongue, to ethnic or cultural group. An examination of the data presented by origin in past censuses indicates the inconsistency of the figures derived.¹ For example, the erratic growth of the members of the population of the German group has, most probably, coincided with the status of German-Canadian relations. This of course, can and has applied to other ethnic groups listed in the census. Another factor which may cast some doubt on the validity of ethnic group data is the practice of tracing origin through the paternal line, "which tends to conceal the mixed nature of an individual's ethnic background".² The author of this statement, N. B. Ryder, goes on to say that;

...the existence of exogamous marriages in such high proportions is sufficient indication that the aggregate of individuals within a given origin are not in fact adhering to the cardinal principle of membership in an ethnic group--endogamy.³

The change in European political boundaries, particularly after the First World War, provided innumerable instances of ethnic origins given to the census which had little relationship to cultural group.⁴ In the

¹See Table 2, page 3

²N. B. Ryder, "Interpretation of Origin Statistics", Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XXI, No. 4, November, 1955, pp. 475-476.

³Ibid., p. 476

⁴In the sense used by M. M. Gordon, loc. cit.

current census classification of ethnic groups (1961 Census), there is one instance of inclusion of groups of differing cultural attributes under one classification, which is of particular importance to the study of ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area.

This is the classification in the census known as the "German Ethnic Group" which includes a large proportion of the Mennonite group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. This situation arises because of the question asked by the census enumerators (see page 25) which emphasizes the language spoken on coming to this continent. In the case of the Mennonites the language given most frequently is German¹. However, in terms of residential distributions, which is our concern here, there are definite differences between the German National and Mennonite groups (This will be discussed in a later chapter). This situation is further confused since some Mennonites give Dutch as their origin (although they do not speak Dutch) and some give Russian (referring to a former place of residence), in a misunderstanding of the origin question.

Although all the limitations mentioned above detract from the accuracy and therefore validity of the ethnic origin data, it is felt that in terms of the general patterns of ethnic group residential distributions, the information derived from the use of this data outweighs the disadvantages. By careful documentation of these inconsistencies

¹Personal interviews with members of the Mennonite group.

with informed members within the local ethnic groups, the effect of these limitations can be sufficiently reduced to enable the drawing of valid conclusions.

Residential Segregation

The term "Residential Segregation" as used in this paper refers to the tendency of the population of an urban place to display an irregularity in their residential distribution, based on some common factor. "When individuals or families cluster together in their places of residence, we say they are segregated."¹ The factor in our case is ethnic origin. Ethnic groups generally display a non-random pattern of residential distribution, in widely differing degrees, in a typical North American city. The amount of segregation that occurs in a city, i.e., residential segregation, depends in part on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the population, but more particularly on the values attached to these differences.²

The term "residential segregation" as used here does not imply the existence of ghettos, either voluntary or involuntary. There is not now, and has never been a ghetto in the city of Winnipeg. That is, there are no areas where a particular ethnic group constitutes one hundred percent of the area population, or for that matter any more than seventy to eighty percent of the total. The implication here refers to

¹Noel P. Gist, and L. A. Halbert, Urban Society, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1956), Fourth edition, p. 173.

²Ibid., p. 76.

concentration, that is, a disproportionately larger number of people of the same ethnic group in a given section of the urban area.¹

¹Egon E. Bergel, *Urban Sociology*, (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 87.

CHAPTER II

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

This chapter will treat residential segregation of ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area from two view-points. The first, is an attempt, by means of selected instances, to establish that ethnic groups have tended to concentrate residentially throughout the history of the city. The second will be a more detailed examination, by means of statistical method, to establish the degree of residential segregation demonstrated by each of the ethnic groups classified for the Winnipeg area in 1951 and 1961, and further, the changes apparent during this period.

I. HISTORICAL REVIEW

Residential segregation of ethnic groups in terms of the preference of a high percentage of a particular ethnic group for a certain section of the urban area, can be said to have commenced well before the turn of the century, when Winnipeg's population began to reflect its polyethnic character.

This characteristic was reflected in the early settlement patterns of the Red River area. The Census of Assiniboia in 1856 provides a breakdown of population by religion on a parish basis. Of the ten parishes, three (St. Boniface, St. Norbert, and St. Francois Xavier) contained 83.8 percent of the total number of Catholics in the Red River

area (542). Within these three parishes, the Catholics constituted 98.3 percent of the total population. On the other hand, the remaining seven parishes were Protestant to a very high degree.¹ The following description, by Henry Youle Hind, who visited this area in 1857, complements the impression gained from the census data mentioned above.

There is a distinct and well-preserved difference in faith between the populations of different parishes into which the settlement is divided. Some are almost exclusively Protestant, others equally Roman Catholic. In the parish of St. Norbert, there is not one Protestant family, but 101 Roman Catholic families. In the parish of St. Boniface there are 178 Roman Catholic families and five Protestant; so also in the parish of St. Francois Xavier, on the Assiniboine, there are 175 Roman Catholic to three Protestant families. On the other hand, in the parish of St. Peter, there are 116 Protestant and but two Roman Catholic families, and in the parishes of Upper and Lower St. Andrews, there are 206 Protestant to eight Roman Catholic families.²

It is readily apparent that residential segregation was clearly in evidence at this time, based on a religious division which coincided with an ethnic division, the Protestants being nearly all of British Isles origin, while Roman Catholics were composed of French-Canadians and Metis. Since that time, and to the present day, St. Boniface has remained the core of the French-Canadian group in the Winnipeg area, with St. Vital and St. Norbert, areas of secondary concentration.³

¹Census of Assiniboia, 1856, Census of Canada, 1665-1871 (Ottawa 1876), Table II, Religion and Birthplace, p. 242.

²Henry Youle Hind, Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857, Vol. I, (London, Longmans, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1860), pp. 208-209.

³Personal Interviews with members of the group.

As the end of the 19th century approached, the first members of the Central and Eastern European ethnic groups began to arrive in Winnipeg. Their selection of a residential location had of necessity to fit into a pattern already well established, one which will be shown to have remained in general, the same to the present day. The existing residential groupings at that time were formed by the two groups previously mentioned, the British and the French. The latter were concentrated in St. Boniface, while the former were located in Point Douglas and St. John's to the north, and were spreading west on both the north and south banks of the Assiniboine River.¹

The first decade of the 20th century saw large numbers of people whose origins were of Central and Eastern Europe—mainly German, Slavic and Jewish groups, added to the ethnic residential pattern of the Winnipeg area. These groups settled in the main, in a section of Winnipeg which came to be known as the "North-End", located north of the C.P.R. tracks and west of the Red River.²

Unfortunately, the census for these years does not provide a breakdown of the population by ethnic origin for subdivisions of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, except for the census year 1921. This census gave a breakdown of the population by ethnic origin for a division of the City of Winnipeg into three sections; Winnipeg North, Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg South. The number and percentage of selected ethnic groups in

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid.

Winnipeg North, as compared to the total Metropolitan area is shown by Table IIV, page 34. The percentages of the total group populations for the various groups listed in this table, immediately demonstrate that this section of the city, the North-End, had become the main area of concentration for the major Central and Eastern European groups in the Winnipeg area.

Further evidence of this concentration is given by W. J. Sisler, who was principal of the Strathcona School which opened in 1905 on McKenzie Street,¹ near the centre of the area which received the first members of these groups. Figure 1, page 35, is a record of the composition of his schools, by racial origin in 1905, 1915, and 1935.² By 1915, we see that only eight and seventeen percent respectively of the total enrollment of Strathcona and Aberdeen Schools³ is of British origin. In 1935 the percentage of English speaking students had been reduced even further than in 1905 and 1915. The picture is substantially the same for the two high schools shown for 1935, the only high schools in the North-End area.⁴ The high degree of residential segregation of the non-British ethnic groups in this area is further illustrated by this comment

¹233 McKenzie St., at Burrows Ave., (Census Tract 6)

²W. J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion, (Winnipeg, Ketchen Printing Co., 1944)

³450 Flora Ave., at Salter St., (Census Tract 5)

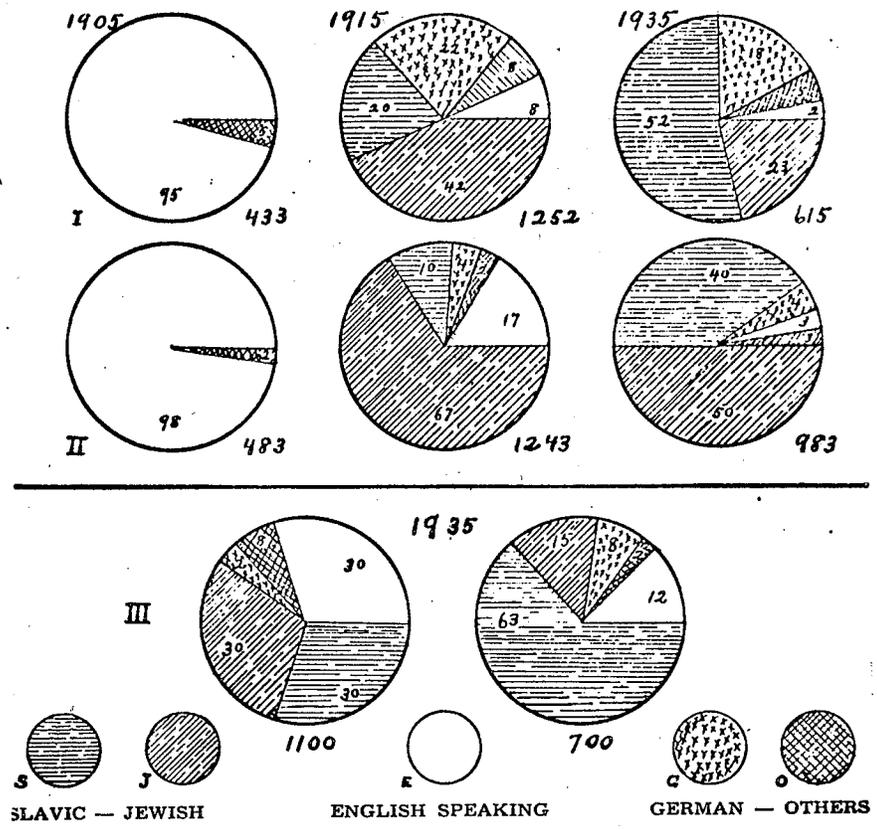
⁴St. Johns Technical High School, 401 Church Ave., at Salter St., and Isaac Newton High School, 730 Aberdeen Ave., at Parr St., (now a Junior High School).

TABLE IV
 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS IN "WINNIPEG NORTH",¹
 COMPARED WITH TOTAL ETHNIC GROUP POPULATION, METROPOLITAN
 WINNIPEG AREA, 1921

ETHNIC GROUP	WINNIPEG NORTH		METROPOLITAN AREA
	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GROUP POPULATION	NUMBER
BRITISH	24,296	15.7	154,478
GERMAN ²	8,448	59.8	14,122
UKRAINIAN	6,165	88.2	6,992
POLISH	4,771	76.1	6,268
JEWISH	12,474	84.0	14,847
TOTAL POPULATION (ALL GROUPS)	62,957		229,212

¹Source: Census of Canada, 1921. "Winnipeg North", one of three sections of the City of Winnipeg for which an ethnic group breakdown is provided (other two, "Winnipeg Centre" and "Winnipeg South"). The area of "Winnipeg North" is bounded by the C.P.R. tracks to the south, the Red River to the east, the West Kildonan boundary to the north, and the City of Winnipeg boundary to the west.

²Includes Austrian



EACH GROUP OF CIRCLES REPRESENTS ENROLMENT IN A WINNIPEG SCHOOL

GROUP I represents the Strathcona School, Grades I to VIII, 1905-1915 and 1935.

GROUP II represents the Aberdeen School, Grades I to VIII, 1905 and 1915, and Grades I to IX, 1935.

GROUP III represents the St. John's Technical High School and the Isaac Newton High School, as of 1935.

Sectors show racial origin of pupils as indicated by languages spoken in their homes.

Figures within the circles represent percentages, and those near the lower part of the circle represent total enrolment.

FIGURE I

ENROLLMENT BY RACIAL ORIGIN OF SELECTED SCHOOLS IN WINNIPEG'S NORTH END; 1905, 1915, AND 1935 (FROM W. J. SISLER, PEACEFUL INVASION, WINNIPEG, 1944)

of Sisler's:

The new-comers not only filled the empty spaces but in time displaced the original inhabitants of the district, most of whom moved to other parts of the city....¹

II. ETHNIC GROUP RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION, 1951 AND 1961.

The preceding section has established that residential segregation has been a conspicuous feature of ethnic group location throughout the history of the Winnipeg area.

However well this fact of residential segregation has been established for past years, it has not been possible to analyse in detail the residential distribution of the various ethnic groups within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area for these years, and therefore one cannot assess with any accuracy the changing degree of residential segregation exhibited by each of the ethnic groups.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, since 1951 data on ethnic group distributions has been available by Census Tract Areas within the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. The first step is to establish that residential segregation is in fact a feature of the ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area in 1951 and 1961, and secondly, to determine the relative degree of residential segregation among the ethnic groups comprising the total Metropolitan Winnipeg population.

¹W. J. Sisler, op. cit., p. 13.

Measurement of Residential Segregation

In order to measure residential segregation, we shall use an index which will measure quantitatively the degree of residential segregation among the ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. This method, as are others used for this purpose, is based on certain simple principles.¹ For example, if members of a certain ethnic group are distributed at random throughout a city, there is no residential segregation as far as the group is concerned. Thus, if ten percent of the population of a certain city are French, and if ten percent of the residents in each section of the city are French, there is no segregation in the ecological meaning of the term. However, if they constituted five percent in some areas, fifty percent in others, and ninety percent in still others, there certainly is evidence of segregation.

The method selected for this study is that evolved by Shevky and Williams.² They devised a method of measuring the degree of ecological segregation, which they term an "Index of Isolation". However, it will be referred to in this paper as an "Index of Residential Segregation". According to them, when using this method,

The relative isolation (read residential segregation) of population groups may be measured by the ratio of their average percentages in the population of neighbourhoods where they live to their percentages in the total population of an area. If a group is randomly distributed, its average

¹Gist and Halbert, op. cit. For a general discussion of the measurement of segregation, see pp. 191-196.

²Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1949), Chapter V., pp. 47-57.

percentage in the populations of all the neighbourhoods would equal its percentage in the population of the entire area; for this group the ratio would be 1.0. However, if a group is mainly concentrated in certain neighbourhoods where its percentage in the population is much greater than its percentage in the population of the entire area, the ratio would be greater than 1.0. The ratio indicates the number of times the average concentration is greater than the group's percentage in the total population of the area studied, and is here taken¹ as an index of isolation (read residential segregation).

Using census tracts as the units of measurement of group concentration, the Shevky and Williams index is calculated in the following manner as used for the ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. The percentage of the population in each census tract area represented by each group was multiplied by the number of the group in that tract, and the sum of these products for all tracts was divided by the total number of the group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. This average percentage figure was divided by the percentage of the group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg population in order that the relative concentration of groups of varying size might be indicated.

$$\frac{\sum (P_1^N) / T}{P_2}$$

P_1 --- a group's percentage in the population of each census tract.

N --- the number of representatives of the group in each census tract.

¹Ibid., p. 49

T --- the total number of representatives of the group in Metropolitan Winnipeg.

P₂ --- the group's percentage in the population of Metropolitan Winnipeg.

The resulting index "is a measure of the extent of residential association of persons within the same group, and serves to place the several groups in their relative position on a single scale of isolation."¹ (read residential segregation). The index of residential segregation derived from the method outlined above, for the ethnic groups² in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area for 1951 and 1961, is shown by Figure 2, page 10.

Index of Residential Segregation, 1951 and 1961.

The significant points which arise from an analysis of the index of residential segregation for the purposes of this study are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The first point is, that in terms of the extent of residential association of persons within the same ethnic group, the index clearly indicates the variation in this tendency among the ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area. A near random distribution for the British group (index just above 1.0) rising to the high concentration of the Jewish group (index over 5.0).

Second, the degree of residential segregation of a group is not directly related to the size of the group. For example, the Jewish group,

¹ Ibid., p. 52.

² Those groups previously discussed in Chapter I, page 16

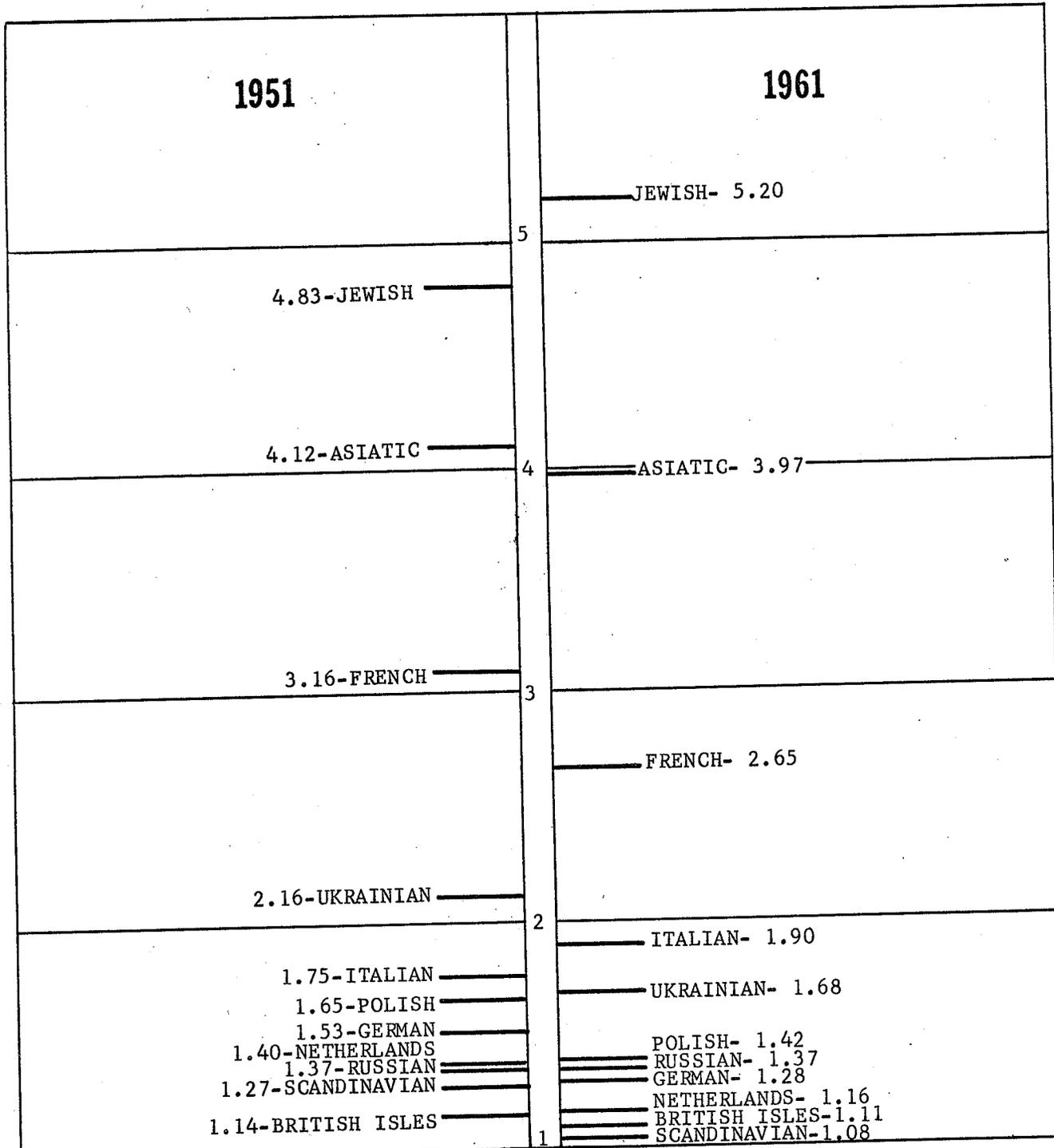


FIGURE II

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR SELECTED
 ETHNIC GROUPS: METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG,
 1951 AND 1961

with the highest index number, is more than six times as large as the Asiatic group -- next highest in terms of the degree of concentration. On the other hand, the Jewish group is only half the size of the French group, which has an index number only half as large as that of the Jewish group. A comparison of the Index (Figure 2, page 40) with Table II, page 3, will illustrate this for the remaining groups.

Third, there has not been a general decrease in residential segregation for all the ethnic groups during the period 1951 to 1961. Two of the groups have increased their degree of segregation -- the Jewish group from 4.8 to 5.2, and the Italian groups from 1.8 to 1.9.¹ The decrease for the remaining groups is relatively minor. From this we may make the assumption that assimilation in terms of spatial association among Winnipeg's ethnic groups has at best decreased only a token amount during the study period, and in two cases mentioned above, has actually increased.

Fifth, and perhaps most significant of all, is the fact that although residential segregation has decreased for most of the groups during the study period, the basic pattern of residential segregation

¹The probable reasons behind the increases are different for each of these two groups. The Jewish group will be discussed in later chapters as it is one of the five groups selected for detailed study. However, indications point to an internal cause, that is, an intra-urban movement resulting in higher residential concentration. The Italian group however, more than doubled in size during this period, due mainly to post-war immigration from Europe. As is customary with new immigrants they chose to live in close proximity to each other, due mainly to language deficiency and social needs. The small pre Second World War Italian group had been in Winnipeg for many years and had shown little evidence of residential concentration. (Data for the above discussion derived from personal interviews).

has remained highly stable. That is, the relative positions of the ethnic groups to each other with respect to residential segregation were very similar in the period measured. It is of interest to note here, that this stable pattern of ethnic group residential segregation described for the Winnipeg area during the 1951 to 1961 period, is the same as that found for a series of American cities in a study by S. Lieberman,¹ which covers ten ethnic groups in ten American cities through a forty year span, 1910-1950.

III. SUMMARY

The preceding analysis of the index of residential segregation has established a framework within which we will examine the changes in residential distribution of selected ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area during 1951 to 1961. The index has indicated for this period that residential segregation does exist, in varying degree, among Winnipeg's ethnic groups. Further, and most important, only a very minor decrease in residential segregation has occurred during this period, in no case exceeding .51. Two of the groups in fact, showed an increase.

On the basis of this analysis, we have now established, within the limitations of the basic census data, the degree of residential segregation exhibited by Winnipeg's ethnic groups during 1951-1961, and the fact that this situation has changed very little during this decade. This then, is a continuation of the tendency towards residential concentration

1

Stanley Lieberman, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

prevalent throughout Winnipeg's history.

However, at this point our investigations have only established the existence of differing degrees of residential segregation among ethnic groups during the decade 1951-1961. We have as yet no indication of the spatial patterns of ethnic group residential distributions within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area during this period, or the location of areas of residential concentration. This we will attempt to establish in the ensuing chapters.

CHAPTER III

CHANGES IN RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1951-1961

The objectives of this chapter are first, to establish the pattern of residential distribution of the five ethnic groups under study both in 1951 and 1961, and secondly, to determine the changes in distribution, if any, during this period.

The cartographic method is utilized to depict the patterns of distribution. Maps were drawn on the basis of census tract data, to show the residential patterns of distribution for each of the five groups in 1951 and 1961, as well as a separate map for each group showing changes in distribution during this period.

We shall begin by discussing the criteria used in determining which of the ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area would be examined with the above objectives in mind. Then we will present a detailed exposition of the methods used to achieve these objectives. Next, each of the selected groups will be discussed individually, in terms of its residential distribution in the years 1951 and 1961, and the change between these years. And finally, the groups will be compared and conclusions drawn from the overall picture.

I. SELECTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS

On the basis of preliminary investigations into the residential distribution patterns of the ethnic groups listed by the census for the

Winnipeg area, it was felt that only a selected number could be considered for a detailed analysis. The decision as to which groups were to be selected depended on a number of reasons as will be outlined below. However, an overriding consideration was the time element. The exclusion of a particular group was considered in the light of the value its analysis would add to the main objectives of this paper, as well as to the specific reasons for exclusion or inclusion mentioned below.

The first criterion for exclusion of groups was size. Three of the ethnic groups listed by the census are considerably smaller than the remaining groups. These are the Italian, Russian and Asiatic groups. As Table II, page 3, indicates, the total number of these groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg population is very small -- 2.1 percent in 1951 and 2.7 percent in 1961. These groups were considered of little significance in terms of examining residential distribution patterns, compared to those exhibited by the other, much larger groups.

The second criteria involved the similarity of the distribution patterns in terms of residential concentration, of the three groups at the lower end of the Index of Residential Segregation (Figure 2, page 40). These three, the British, Scandinavian and Netherlands groups, appear to be very similar in terms of a near random residential distribution and discussions with members of these groups has confirmed this conclusion. Since a detailed analysis of the British, as the dominant group in the Metropolitan area was considered mandatory, the exclusion of the Scandinavian and Netherlands group was considered justifiable in terms of the similarity in residential distribution.

The final selection from the remaining six ethnic groups was conditioned by the requirements of the City Directory Sample Study (these are discussed in Chapter 4). The area fulfilling these requirements was a portion of Winnipeg's North-End, and this automatically excluded the French group, since they constitute a very small percentage of the population in this area. This left the following five groups to be considered in detail, the British, Ukrainian, Polish, German and Jewish groups.¹

II. METHOD

The source of data used to determine residential distribution for the selected ethnic groups was the Census Tract Bulletins for Metropolitan Winnipeg from the Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961.² These provide a breakdown of the population by ethnic group for each of the 86 Census Tract Areas within the Metropolitan Winnipeg Study Area.³

From this data the percentage of each of the five groups, (British, Ukrainian, Polish, German and Jewish) in each census area, to the total population of each tract was calculated for the years 1951 and 1961. At the same time, the change in percentage for each group by census tract area from 1951 to 1961 was also calculated. Table XXI, Appendix C, shows this data, along with total population for all 86 census tract areas and

¹ Figure 3, page 47, indicates the position of each of these groups on the Index of Residential Segregation.

² Census Tract Bulletins, Winnipeg, 1951 and 1961, loc. cit.

³ Map 1, page 20, and Index Maps, Appendix A.

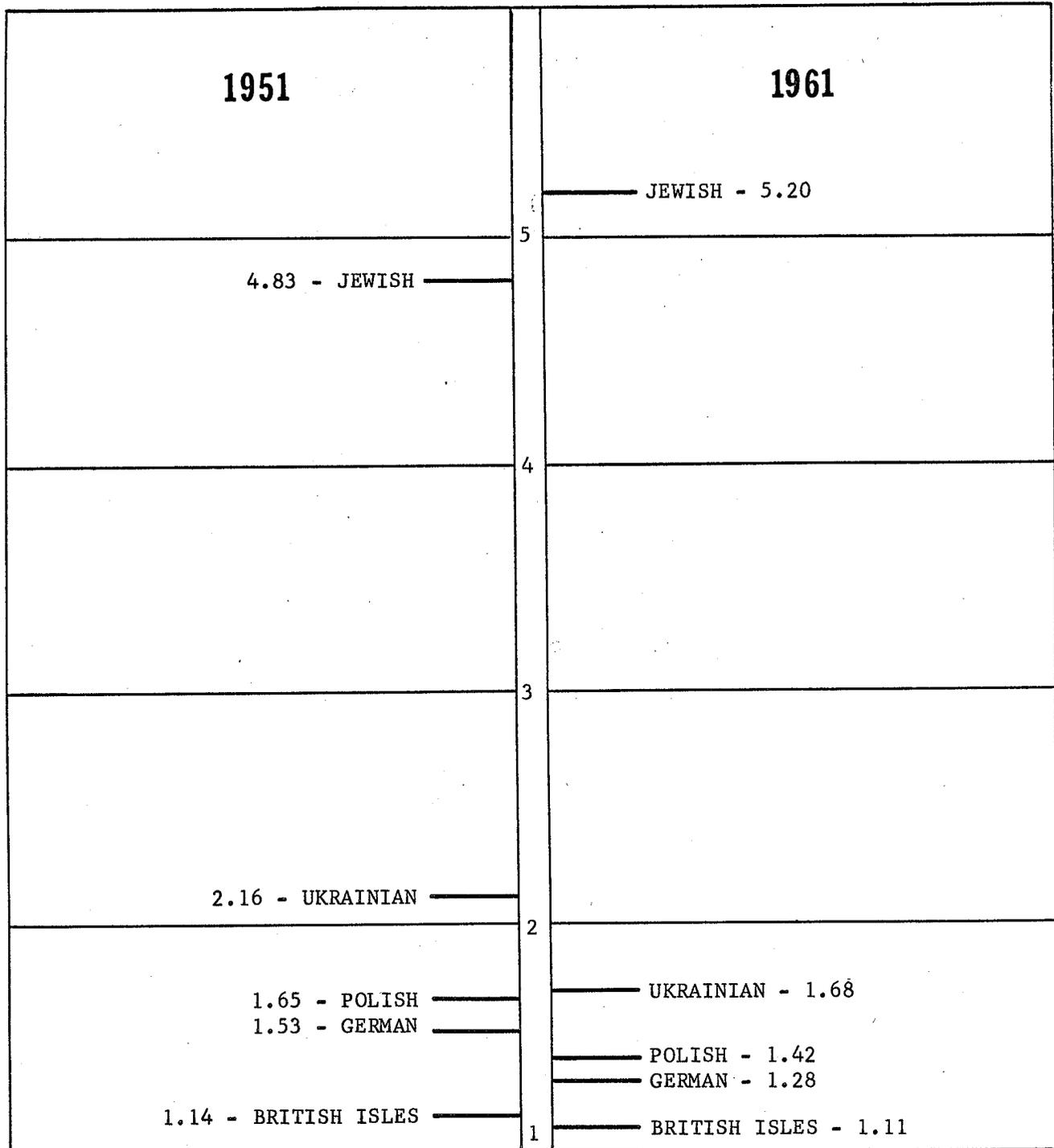


FIGURE III

INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION FOR SPECIFIED
 ETHNIC GROUPS: METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG,
 1951 AND 1961

and the 1951-1961 percentage change in tract population.

Percentage Distribution Maps

A map of percentage distribution (percentage of ethnic group in each census tract area) was prepared for each of the five ethnic groups and for each of the two census years, 1951 and 1961. The selection of percentage categories was based on an array of all the percentages for each group (with the exception of the Jewish group -- see below), from which the median, the two quartiles, and the first and seventh octiles were established. This provided six categories depicting the pattern of percentage residential distribution of each ethnic group.

It should be emphasized at this point, that the purpose of these maps is to determine the pattern of residential concentration of these ethnic groups. That is, the percentage distribution by census tract areas, not the distribution in terms of absolute numbers for each group. The general pattern produced by these maps for an ethnic group generally approximates the number distribution, since the groups of areas where an ethnic group demonstrates high percentages per census tract generally indicates large numbers of that group. However, this cannot be applied universally, because the opposite is sometimes true, that is, a high percentage of a group in a census tract simply because few of another group are present, while at the same time containing a small percentage of the total group population.

With the above purpose in mind, an examination of the percentage distribution maps will provide the following:

1. A visual pattern of percentage residential distribution, with the areas having percentages above the median indicating general areas of residential concentration.
2. Within these general areas, the areas of highest concentration are revealed, and the category system enables the percentage range to be easily ascertained.
3. The distribution presented by the array enables an assessment of the number of census tract areas above and below the median, as well as the number in each category.

Overall, the use of this method presents an excellent visual pattern of ethnic group residential concentration, as well as allowing a limited quantitative assessment of residential distributions.

A comparison of the map for each group in 1951 with that in 1961 reveals: (1) the change in the lower and upper limit of percentage for each group by census tracts, thereby indicating an increase or decrease in the degree of residential segregation, (2) the change in the distribution of percentages above and below the median -- indicating changes in the areas of residential concentration, and (3) the location of areas of highest concentration in 1951 and 1961 and the changes during this period.

As previously mentioned, the method used to depict residential distribution in 1951 and 1961 for the Jewish group was of necessity different from that used for the other groups. Due to the high degree of residential concentration of this group, the use of a distribution around the median to show percentage distributions by census tract areas would present a

highly distorted picture of the actual situation. The use of an array would give the impression of a gradual increase in concentration from the census tract areas with the lowest percentages to those with the highest, when in fact, this would be grossly misleading. In 56 of the 86 census tracts in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, the Jewish group constitutes less than 1.0 percent of the total tract population (these 56 tracts are spread evenly between zero and 1.0 percent -- see Table 21, Appendix C). In 64 of the 86 tracts the Jewish group percentage is less than the median of 2.2 percent.

Instead of the method used for the other five groups, the categories were selected on the basis of a subdivision indicated by a dispersal graph. This was modified somewhat by the selection of six categories so as to retain the same patterns used in the maps for the other groups -- as a means of comparison. As a result it was necessary to leave the lowest category blank (0-5 percent), which in this case, due to the large number of census tract areas where the Jewish group is less than five percent of the population, caused the major portion of the maps to be left blank -- an unavoidable disadvantage.

Percentage Change Maps

From the basic census tract data, a map was produced for each of the five ethnic groups showing the increase or decrease in percentage of each group by census tract areas for the period 1951 to 1961. Based on the percentages of the groups in the census tract areas three categories were mapped to represent percentage increase and three to represent decrease. The basic increase and decrease of 0-7 percent was

chosen to correspond with the range of percentage change demonstrated by the five groups in the total population of the Metropolitan area (see Table V, page 52). The percentage change for each group was mapped only for those census tract areas where the ethnic group was at least ten percent of the total tract population. This was done so as not to distort the total picture by the inclusion of areas with insignificant numbers of a particular group which had nevertheless experienced great percentage change. ✓

III. THE BRITISH GROUP

The ethnic group which dominates the population of the Winnipeg Metropolitan area is composed of people whose origins are given as the British Isles.¹ This dominance has decreased during the study period to the point where in 1961, the British group no longer constituted a majority of the Metropolitan population. In 1951 the British were 51.8 percent of the total population, in 1961 --- 44.9 percent, a decline of 6.9 percent. Although this group has increased in number² during this period, it has not kept pace with the percentage increase of the total metropolitan population --- experiencing a 16.5 percent increase to 34.4 percent for the total population.

¹Includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh.

²See Table 5, page 52.

TABLE V
 CHANGES IN THE TOTAL POPULATION AND CHANGES IN THE POPULATION
 OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS IN METROPOLITAN
 WINNIPEG, 1951-1961

ETHNIC GROUP	GROUP POPULATION		INCREASE OR DECREASE	PERCENT CHANGE	PERCENT OF TOTAL METRO POPULATION		PERCENT CHANGE
	1951	1961			1951	1961	
BRITISH	183,529	213,964	+30,335	16.5	51.8	44.9	-6.9
GERMAN	24,499	50,206	+25,707	104.9	6.9	10.5	+3.6
UKRAINIAN	41,437	53,918	+12,481	30.1	11.7	11.3	- .4
POLISH	17,637	24,904	+ 7,267	41.2	5.0	5.2	+ .2
JEWISH	18,514	19,376	+ 862	4.6	5.2	4.0	-1.2
TOTAL METRO POPULATION	354,069	475,989	+121,920	34.4			

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

Residential Distribution 1951 and 1961.

Despite the fact that the index of residential segregation indicated the lowest degree of residential segregation for the British group as compared with the other ethnic groups, the maps of residential distribution for this group¹ reveal a marked pattern of residential preference — one which has changed little during the study period. On an areawide basis Metropolitan Winnipeg can be divided into two sections, one of high concentration of the British, and one of low concentration. The above mentioned maps show this division immediately. The vast majority of census tract areas south of the C.P.R.² contain British percentages above the median, whereas those north of the C.P.R. are the opposite, the vast majority being below the median. This does not imply that large numbers of the British are not present in the northern half of the city. However, the southern half contains far greater concentrations than are found in the northern half of the urban area (with the exception of tracts 49 and 50 — the core of French St. Boniface, and to a lesser degree the area known as Winnipeg Centre³).

Table VI, page 56, presents the change in numbers and percentage of the British group in the Metropolitan area, by Metro Sub-Areas.⁴ The preponderance of British in the southern half of the urban area is

¹See maps 2 and 3, pages 54 and 55.

²See Index Map, Metro-Sub-Areas, Appendix A.

³See Index Maps, Appendix A.

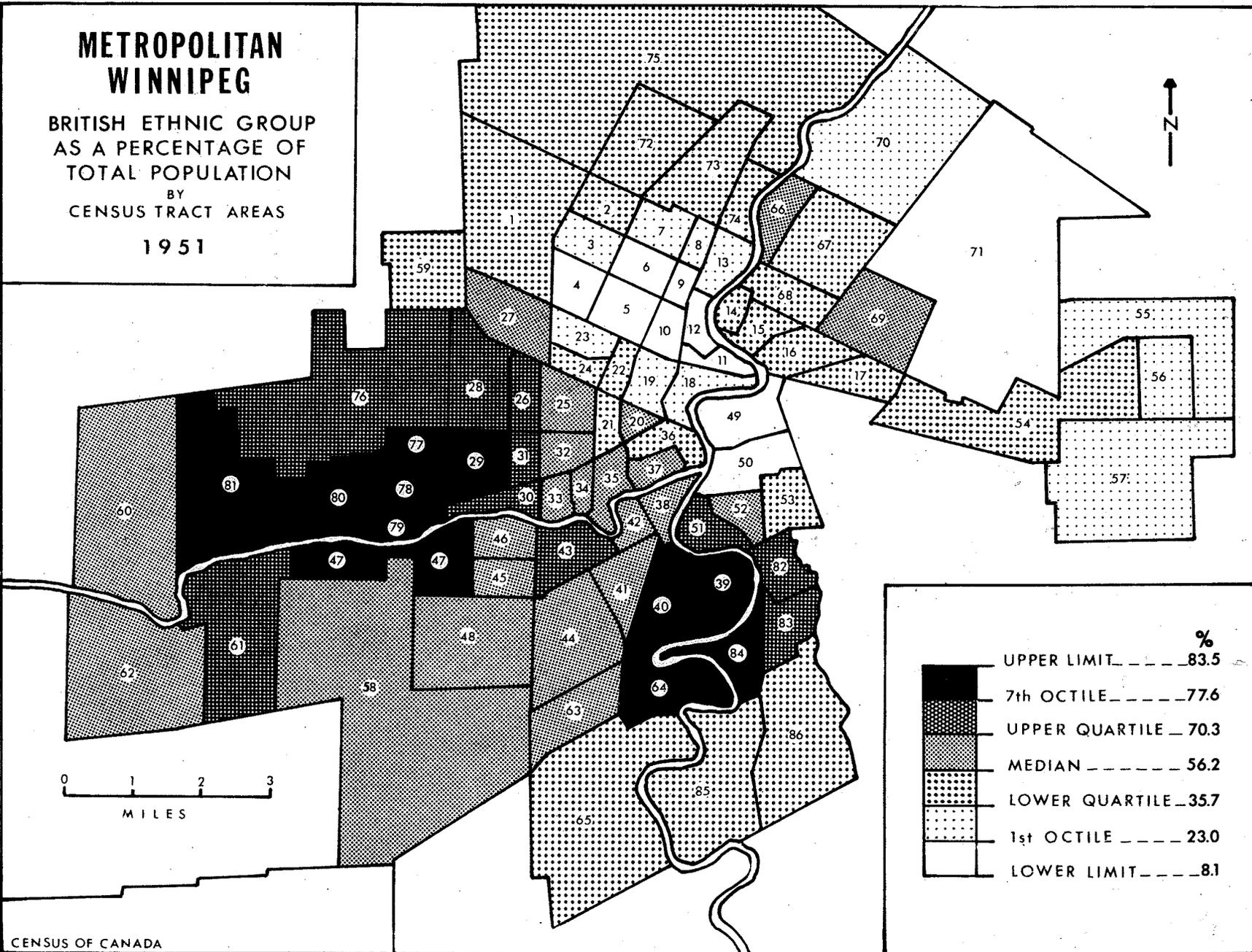
⁴See List, Appendix B.

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

BRITISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1951

MAP 2



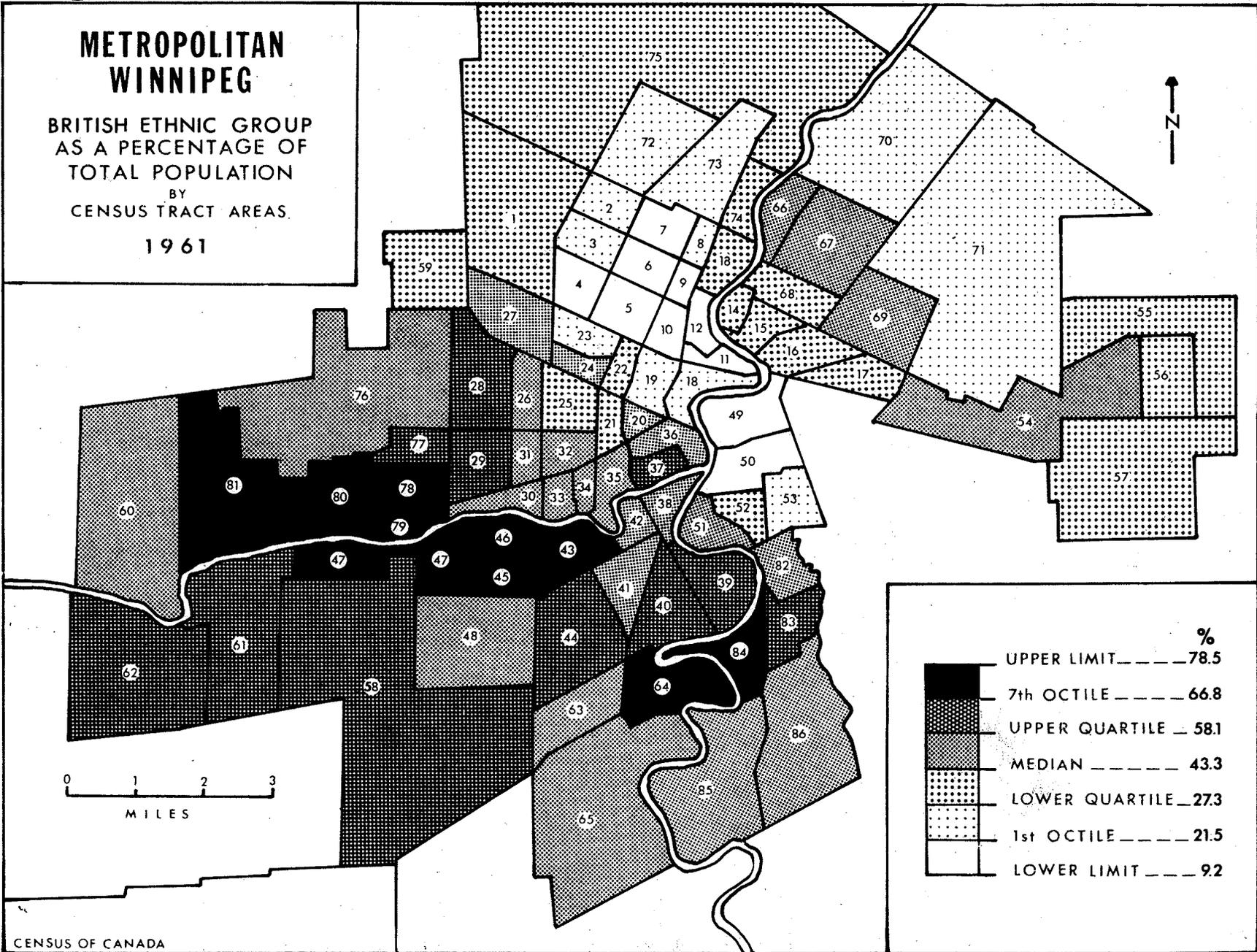
CENSUS OF CANADA

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

BRITISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS.

1961

MAP 3



CENSUS OF CANADA

TABLE VI

CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
OF THE BRITISH GROUP, BY METRO
SUB-AREAS, 1951 TO 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	1951	1961	INCREASE OR DECREASE		PERCENT OF TOTAL GROUP		PERCENT CHANGE
			NUMBER	PERCENT	1951	1961	
WPG. NORTH	12,540	14,445	1,905	15.2	6.8	6.8	----
WPG. EAST	6,458	7,749	1,291	20.0	3.5	3.6	.1
WPG. CENTRE	29,935	23,015	-6,920	-23.1	16.3	10.8	-5.5
WPG. WEST END	33,672	25,618	-8,054	-23.9	18.3	12.0	-6.3
WPG. SOUTH	35,909	42,788	6,879	19.2	19.6	20.0	.4
ST. BONIFACE	9,411	7,847	-1,564	-16.6	5.1	3.7	-1.4
TRANSCONA	2,791	6,139	3,348	120.0	1.5	2.9	1.4
TUXEDO	1,134	1,040	-94	-8.3	.6	.5	-.1
BROOKLANDS	1,278	1,851	573	44.8	.7	.9	.2
ASSINIBOIA	847	2,142	1,295	152.9	.5	1.0	.5
CHARLESWOOD	2,183	3,560	1,377	63.1	1.2	1.7	.5
FORT GARRY	3,987	9,212	5,225	131.1	2.2	4.3	2.1
EAST KILDONAN	7,222	12,075	4,853	67.2	3.9	5.6	1.7
NORTH KILDONAN	766	2,257	1,491	194.6	.4	1.1	.7
WEST KILDONAN	4,958	5,721	763	15.4	2.7	2.7	----
OLD KILDONAN	338	422	84	24.9	.2	.2	----
ST. JAMES	15,781	24,486	8,705	55.2	8.6	11.4	2.8
ST. VITAL	11,479	13,984	2,505	21.8	6.3	6.5	.2
TOTAL METRO AREA	183,529	213,964	30,335	16.5	100.0	100.0	
SOUTH OF C.P.R. ¹	145,616	155,543	17,657	12.0	79.4	72.8	-3.2

¹See Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas - Appendix A
Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

illustrated by the last line of the table --- 79.4 percent south of the C.P.R. in 1951, 72.8 percent in 1961. For the change in the numbers and percentage of the total population in the Metropolitan Area by Metro Sub-Areas see Table II, Appendix D.

This overall pattern of residential distribution has remained almost completely static during the decade 1951-1961. Slight differences have occurred only within the general areas of concentration. These changes consist of movements from older residential areas near the centre of the urban area to new subdivisions on the periphery. However this movement, in the case of the British group, has taken place within the southern half of the city -- the area of major residential concentration for this group, indicating a preference in residential location.

Within this general area of British concentration, that is, the southern half of the Metropolitan area, there are several areas of very high residential concentrations. These areas are; St. James (tracts 76-81) where most of the census tracts contain between 70 and 80 percent British; the section of Winnipeg South bordering the Assiniboine River (tracts 43, 45, 46, and 47); tract 64 in Fort Garry; and tract 84 in St. Vital. There have been some changes in these areas of high concentration during 1951-1961, as the maps indicate,¹ but only of a minor order.

In terms of percentage of the total British population, the Winnipeg South sub-area remains the largest, in fact, has increased its percentage

¹See Maps, nos. 2 and 3, pages 4 and 55

slightly during the study period.¹ The two areas showing the largest percentage decrease, that is, percentage of the total British group, are Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg West End.² Both of these are older residential areas which experienced an exodus to newer areas.

Change in Residential Distribution 1951-1961.

Map number 4, on page 59 presents the change in percentage of the British group by census tract areas during the period 1951-1961.

The first point of note is the spread of the British group throughout the Metropolitan area — no tract has less than ten percent of British origin.³ Thus, despite a marked imbalance in residential concentration as previously noted, the British are distributed throughout the area in considerable numbers — a reflection of the large size of the group and its dominant status. This factor will be further emphasized when a comparison is made between the change in percentage maps of all the study groups.

The second point is the preponderance of census tract areas with decreases in percentage — 71 out of 86. The assumption is made here that this is an indication of a slight degree of assimilation in residential location on the part of the non-British groups, although the fact that the percentage of British in the total population has decreased

¹Table V, page 52.

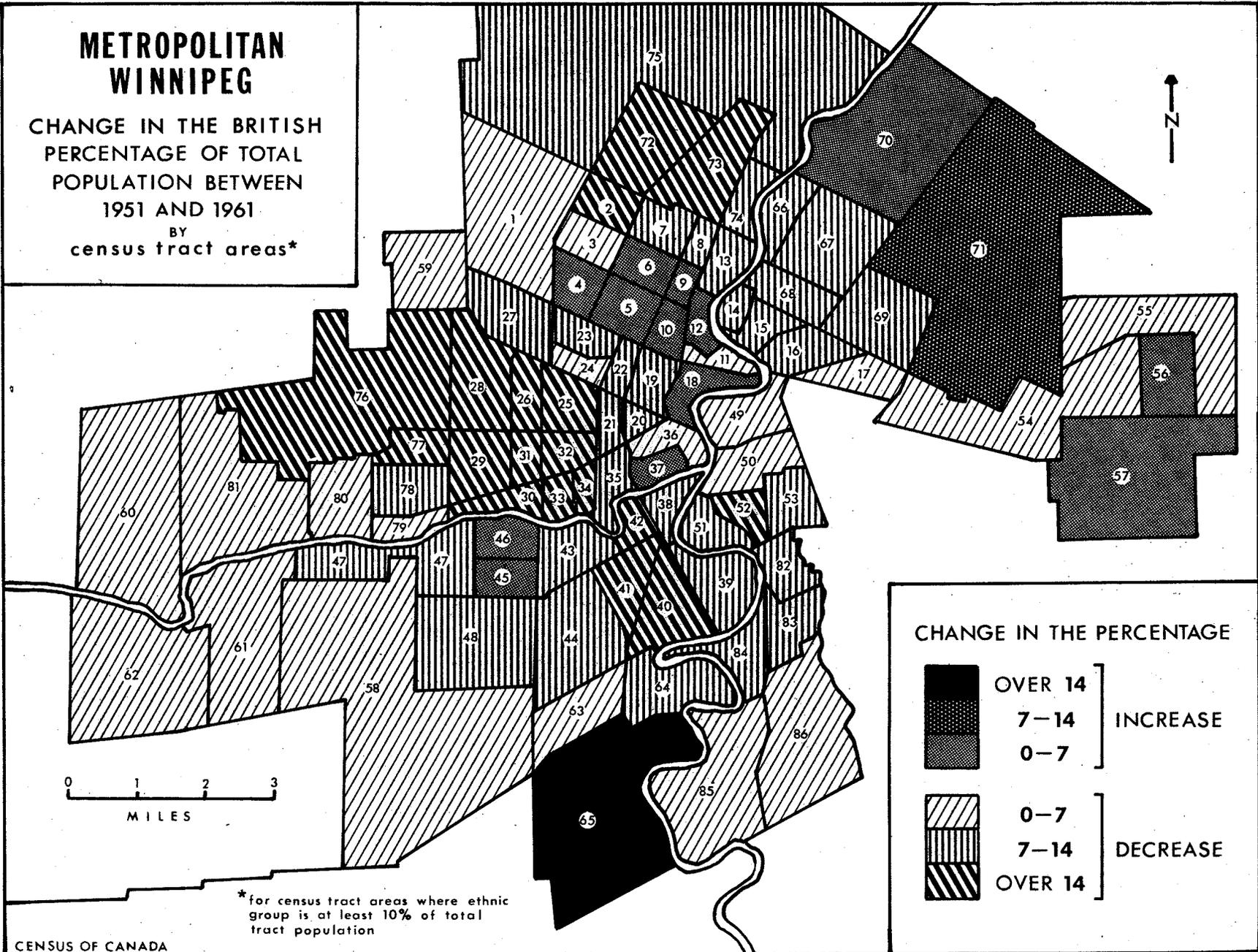
²Ibid.

³This includes one tract slightly under ten percent in 1961, tract number 12. The British percentage was 9.2.

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CHANGE IN THE BRITISH
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BETWEEN
1951 AND 1961

BY
census tract areas*



CHANGE IN THE PERCENTAGE

	OVER 14] INCREASE
	7-14	
	0-7	
	0-7] DECREASE
	7-14	
	OVER 14	



* for census tract areas where ethnic group is at least 10% of total tract population

during this period must also be taken into consideration.

Summary

The analysis of residential distribution of the British group in 1951 and 1961, and its change during that period can be summarized as follows:

1. The percentage distribution maps have revealed a definite non-random pattern of residential distribution for this group in 1951 and 1961.
2. The southern half of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area is the section of high residential concentration.
3. This pattern of residential segregation has remained highly stable during 1951-1961. There have been changes of residence -- a considerable movement from older residential areas is evident -- but this movement has been directed towards newer residential sections within the area of high concentration, in this case the southern half of the urban area.
4. Despite the fact that the British are the largest ethnic group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area and are spread throughout the city in considerable numbers, the maps demonstrated a definite preference by the group for one large section of the urban area in so far as residential location is concerned, and that within this section certain areas are concentrated to a higher degree.

IV. THE UKRAINIAN GROUP

The Ukrainian group is second to the British in number in the Metropolitan area, a position it has held for over thirty years.¹ During the study period the Ukrainian position varied only slightly — 11.7 percent in 1951 to 11.3 percent of the total population in 1961. However, they increased in number by about thirty percent during 1951-1961, almost the same percentage increase as that of the total population during the same period.

Residential Distribution 1951 and 1961

The maps² of Ukrainian percentage distribution in 1951 and 1961 reveal a highly selective preference for the northern half of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. Over sixty percent³ of the Ukrainian group is located in this section, and over forty percent of the total group is concentrated within the area known as Winnipeg North End (tracts 1-13). In the southern half of the city, there are few tracts where the percentage of Ukrainian exceeds the median, and these are concentrated in Winnipeg Centre. If Winnipeg Centre is considered with the northern half of the urban area, over seventy percent of the Ukrainian group would be included.

The striking feature of the 1951 and 1961 percentage distribution maps is the stability of the residential pattern. The major concentration

¹ See Table II, page 3

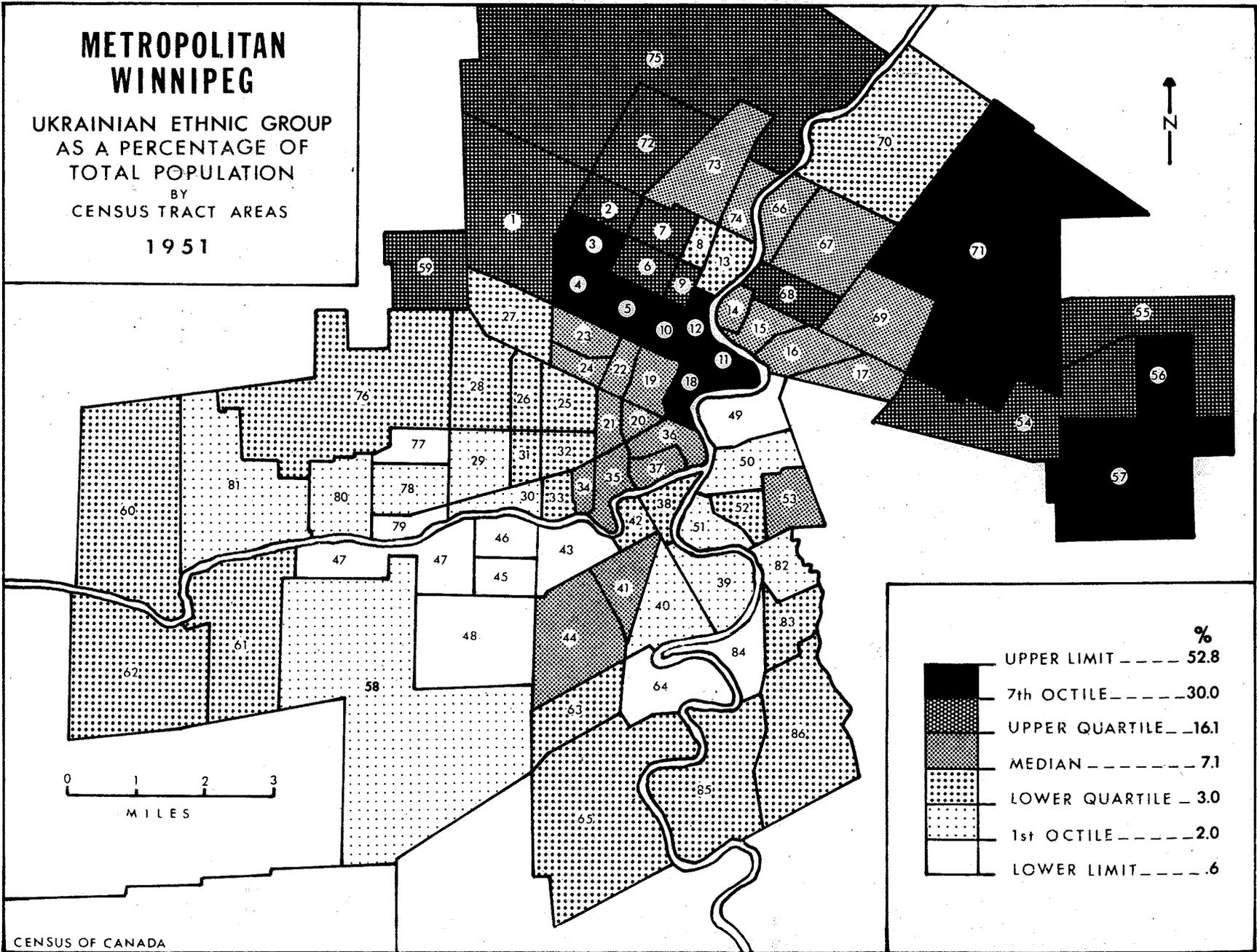
² Maps 5 and 6, pp 62 and 63

³ See Table VII, page 64

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS
1951

MAP 5



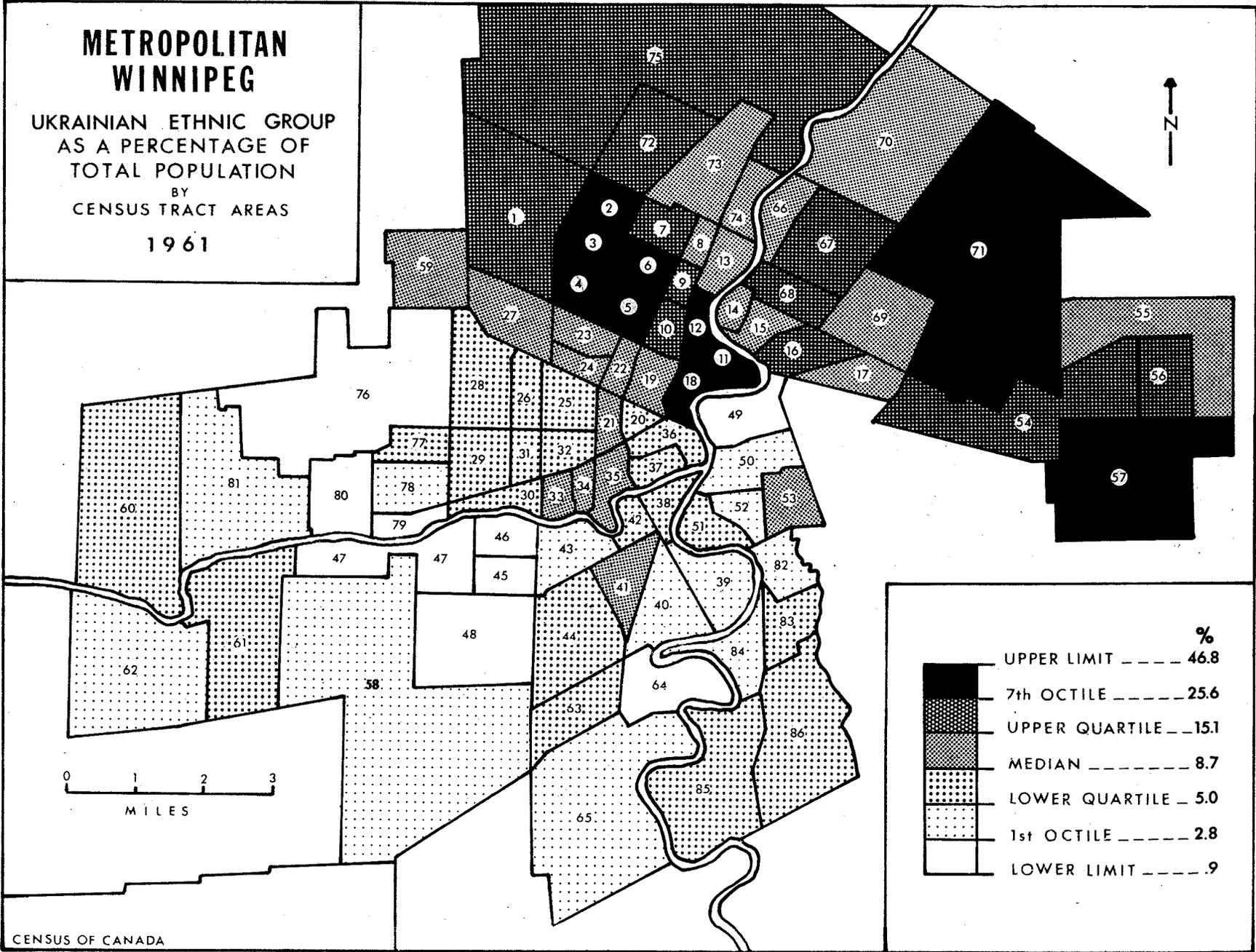
	%
UPPER LIMIT	52.8
7th OCTILE	30.0
UPPER QUARTILE	16.1
MEDIAN	7.1
LOWER QUARTILE	3.0
1st OCTILE	2.0
LOWER LIMIT	.6

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1961

MAP 6



CENSUS OF CANADA

TABLE VII
 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
 OF THE UKRAINIAN GROUP, BY METRO
 SUB-AREAS, 1951 TO 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	1951	1961	INCREASE OR DECREASE		PERCENT OF TOTAL GROUP		PERCENT CHANGE
			NUMBER	PERCENT	1951	1961	
WPG. NORTH	20,144	21,054	910	4.5	48.6	39.0	- 9.6
WPG. EAST	1,898	2,582	684	36.0	4.6	4.8	.2
WPG. CENTRE	6,065	5,084	-981	-16.2	14.6	9.4	- 5.2
WPG. WEST END	2,228	4,052	1,824	81.9	5.4	7.5	2.1
WPG. SOUTH	1,937	3,203	1,266	65.3	4.7	5.9	1.2
ST. BONIFACE	1,116	1,248	132	11.8	2.7	2.3	- .4
TRANSCONA	1,769	2,451	682	38.6	4.3	4.5	.2
TUXEDO	39	66	27	69.2	²	-	-
BROOKLANDS	618	575	- 43	- 7.0	1.5	1.1	- .4
ASSINIBOIA	72	225	153	212.5	-	-	-
CHARLESWOOD	157	302	145	92.4	-	-	-
FORT GARRY	173	535	362	209.2	.4	1.0	.6
EAST KILDONAN	2,024	4,314	2,290	113.1	4.9	8.0	3.1
NORTH KILDONAN	327	922	595	182.0	.8	1.7	.9
WEST KILDONAN	1,163	2,827	1,664	143.1	2.8	5.2	2.4
OLD KILDONAN	253	318	65	25.7	-	-	-
ST. JAMES	458	1,114	656	143.2	1.1	2.1	1.0
ST. VITAL	575	1,344	769	133.7	1.4	2.5	1.1
TOTAL METRO AREA	41,437	53,918	12,481	30.1	100.0	100.0	
NORTH OF C.P.R. ¹	27,578	34,468	6,890	25.0	66.6	63.9	- 2.7
ABOVE PLUS WPG. CENTRE	33,643	39,552	5,909	17.6	81.2	73.4	- 7.8

¹See Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas -Appendix A

²Less Than 1 Percent

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

of the Ukrainian group remains north of the C.P.R. An examination of the array on maps 5 and 6 indicates a decrease in percentage from 1951 to 1961 for the upper three categories, that is the upper quartile to the upper limit. On the other hand, the lower categories, from the lower limit to the median, show slight increases in percentage. These changes, that is a decrease in high percentage areas and an increase in low percentage areas is an indication of a minor degree of residential diffusion for the Ukrainian group during the study period. The significant point is that residential movement has occurred within the major area of concentration, that is, to the north and the north-east, while that to the south is insignificant by comparison.

Within the northern half of the Metropolitan area, the census tract areas containing the highest concentration of the Ukrainian group (those between the 7th octile and the upper limit, see maps 5 and 6, pp 62 and 63) remained highly stable during the study period. There were nine tracts in this category in 1951 and the same number in 1961. Of these, two tracts dropped to the next lowest category (56 and 10) and were replaced by two new tracts in the highest category (2 and 6). The latter resulted from an outward movement towards the newer residential areas of the North End. While in the former one of the tracts, number ten, experienced a loss for the same reason, but in tract number 56 in Transcona, the Ukrainian percentage decreased due to the influx of other groups as a result of new housing subdivisions in the area. Throughout the southern half of the city the percentage of the Ukrainian group did not increase or decrease more than three percent in any census tract area

during the intercensal period under study.

An examination of the number and percentage of the Ukrainian group in 1951 and 1961 by Metro Sub-Areas is presented in Table VII, page 64. Winnipeg North End with 48.6 percent of the total Ukrainian population in 1951, and 39.0 percent in 1961 has remained the area of greatest concentration, as had been shown by the percentage distribution maps. Another point revealed by this table, which corroborates the evidence given by the distribution maps, is the percentage increase shown for East Kildonan and West Kildonan, a larger increase in these two areas than that for the remaining metropolitan area. This can be compared with the number and percentage of the total population in 1951 and 1961 by Metro Sub-Areas as shown by Table II, Appendix D.

The stability, in terms of a general area of residential concentration for this group indicated by the percentage distribution maps is further emphasized by the table VII, which shows the percentage of the Ukrainian group in the northern half of the city in 1951 as 66.6 percent, compared to 63.9 percent in 1961. Therefore, while the percentage of the total Ukrainian group in the old core area of settlement, the North End, had decreased during this period by 9.6 percent, the percentage in the northern half of the city had decreased by only 2.7 percent, thus indicating an intra-urban migration confined largely to this general section of the Metropolitan area. This pattern has of course been affected by other forms of migration, mainly rural-urban and immigration from outside the country.

Change in Residential Distribution 1951-1961

The percentage change map¹ gives an indication of the trend of residential movement of the Ukrainian group during the study period. The main movement has been to the north, from the older section of the North End to the newer residential areas. Tracts 2, 7, 8, and 13 along the northern border of the North End show the largest percentage increases during this period.² Secondary increases are shown by the tracts immediately to the south, west and north of this section, and by tracts in the East Kildonan sub-area. Tract 11, in Point Douglas, one of the City's oldest residential areas, experienced the largest percentage decrease for this group --- 18.7 percent³. Surrounding areas of older residences also show percentage decreases, ranging from 13.9 percent for tract 12, through 9.2 percent for tract 5 and between zero and 7 percent for tracts 3, 4, 10, 18, 19 and 23. These decreases all reflect a movement from older residential areas to newer areas to the north.

Summary

The percentage distribution analysis of the Ukrainian group can be summarized as follows:

1. The Ukrainian group is not randomly distributed throughout the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, a definite preference for one section of the city is apparent.

¹Map 7, page 68.

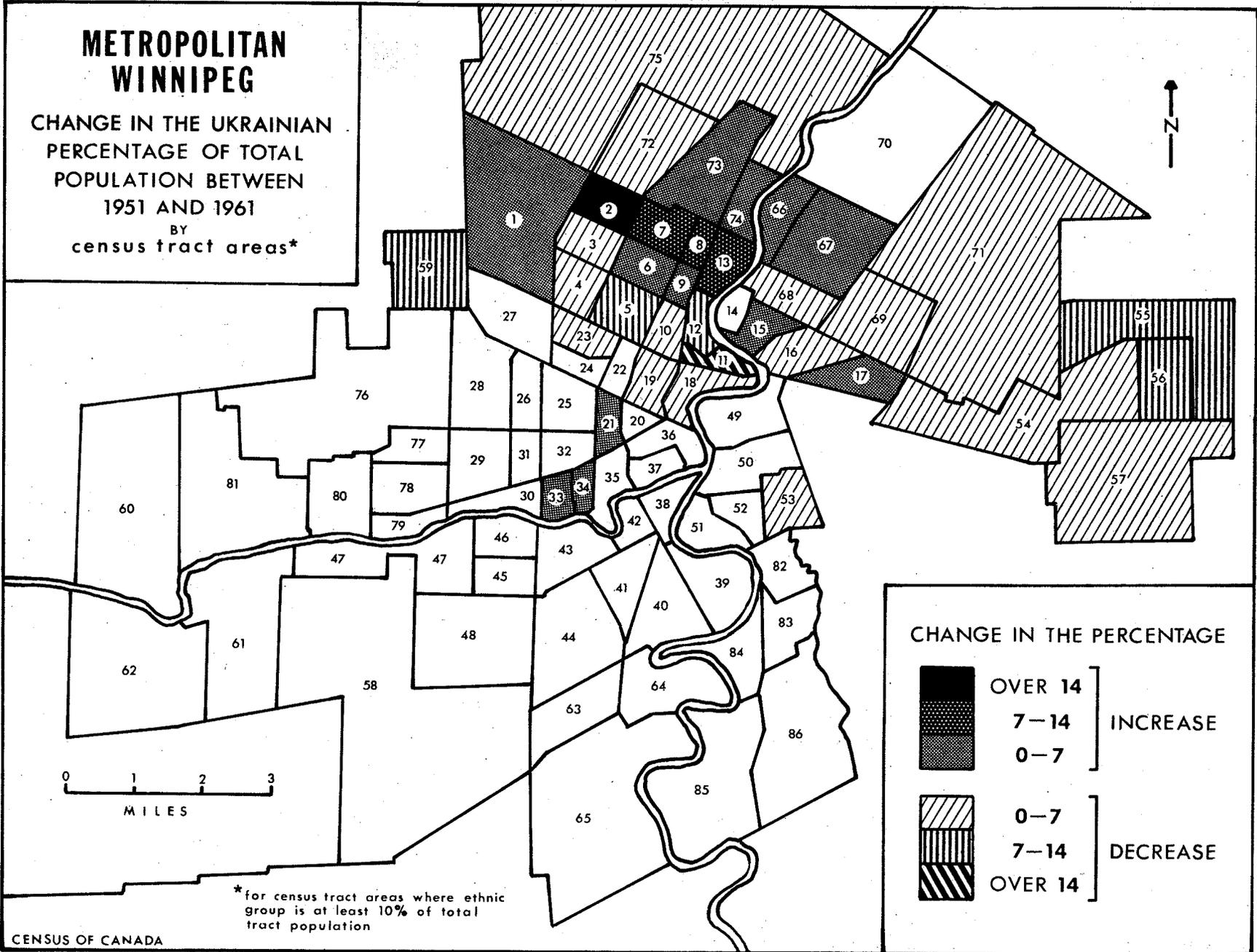
²See Table XXI, Appendix C.

³See map 7, page 68.

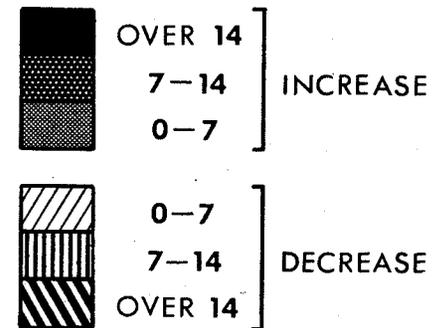
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CHANGE IN THE UKRAINIAN
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BETWEEN
1951 AND 1961
BY
census tract areas*

MAP 7



CHANGE IN THE PERCENTAGE



*for census tract areas where ethnic group is at least 10% of total tract population

- 69
2. The major area of residential concentration is the northern half of the metropolitan area, with the highest percentage in the Winnipeg North End sub-area.
 3. There has been no change during 1951-1961 in this general pattern. Movement of members of this group has been largely from older areas in the north to newer areas in the northern half of the city.

V. THE POLISH GROUP

The Polish group, the fifth largest in the metropolitan area, increased in size by 41.2 percent during the 1951-1961 period. However, its percentage of the total metropolitan population remained about the same, 5.0 percent to 5.2 percent.¹

Residential Distribution 1951 and 1961

The most significant point revealed by the percentage distribution maps² for this group in 1951 and 1961 is the similarity of pattern to that of the Ukrainian group. Although the percentages of Polish in the census tract areas nowhere approaches those displayed by the Ukrainians (17.8 in 1951 and 17.4 in 1961 are the highest), the location of Polish residential concentration closely parallels that of the Ukrainian group.

¹See Table V, page 52

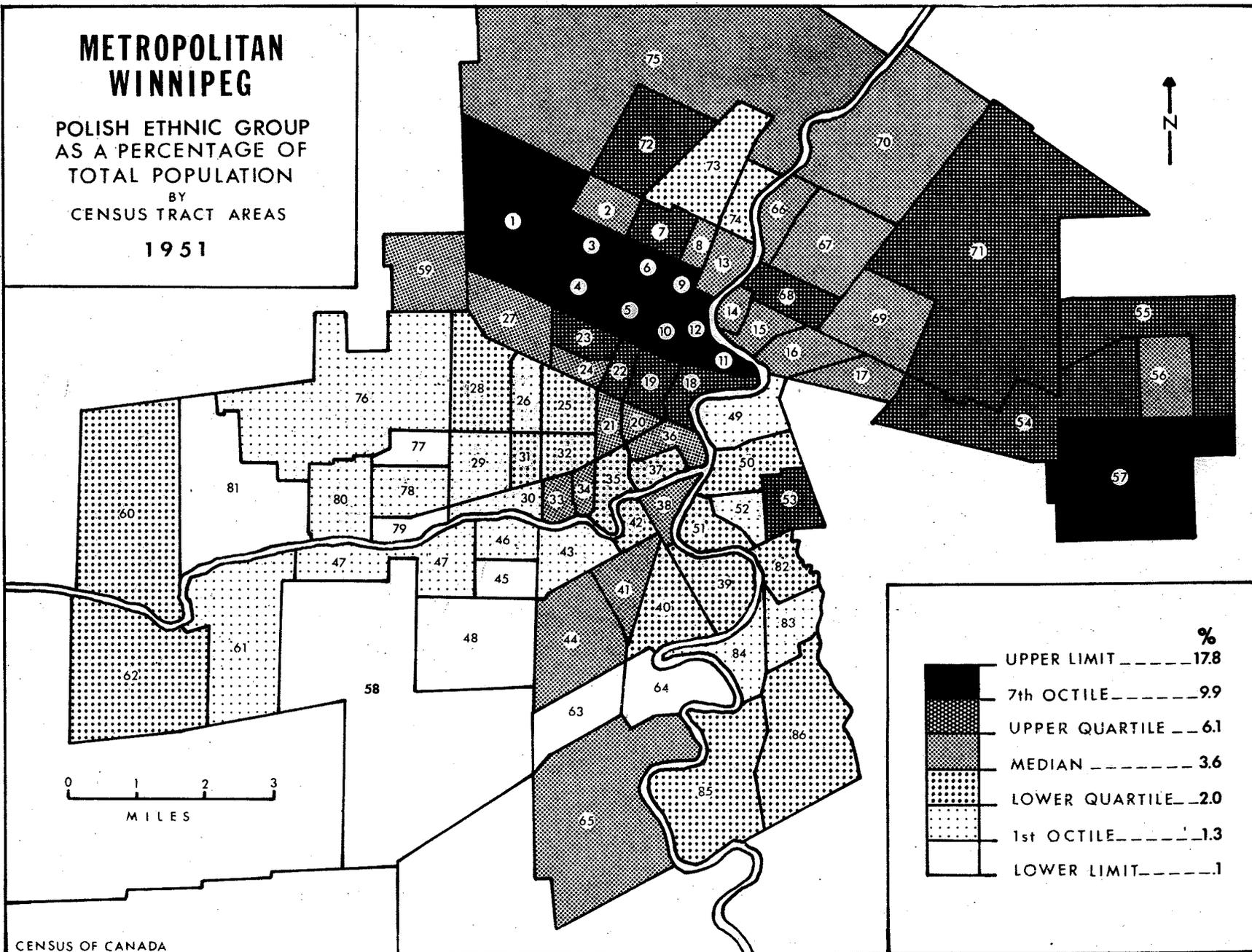
²Maps 8 and 9, pp 70 and 71

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

POLISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1951

MAP 8



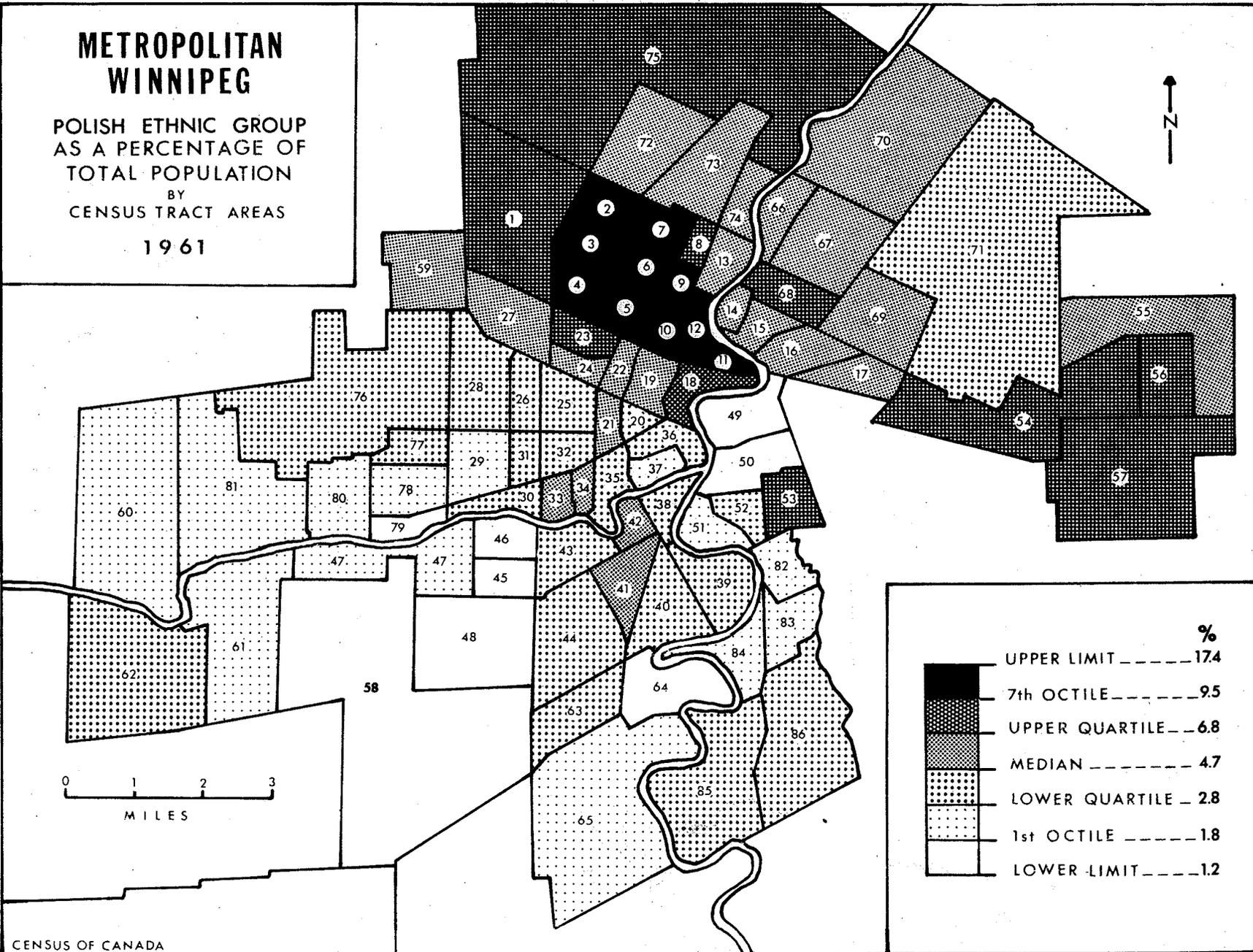
	%
UPPER LIMIT	17.8
7th OCTILE	9.9
UPPER QUARTILE	6.1
MEDIAN	3.6
LOWER QUARTILE	2.0
1st OCTILE	1.3
LOWER LIMIT	.1

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

POLISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1961

MAP 9



	%
UPPER LIMIT	17.4
7th OCTILE	9.5
UPPER QUARTILE	6.8
MEDIAN	4.7
LOWER QUARTILE	2.8
1st OCTILE	1.8
LOWER LIMIT	1.2

The major area of concentration is the northern half of the city, with the Winnipeg North End area the main sub-area, containing 42.8 percent in 1951 and 34.3 percent in 1961 of the total Polish group. The distribution of the Polish differs from the Ukrainian only in that there are relatively larger percentages in the Winnipeg Centre area than in the North-East area (East Kildonan, Winnipeg East and Transcona). Within the Winnipeg North End sub-area, there was very little change in the census tract areas containing the highest percentages of the Polish group. As the distribution maps show, two tracts in the highest category were added in 1961 (2 and 7) indicating a movement toward the newer residential areas in the North End. Tract number one has dropped to a lower category, since this area has been the site of new subdivisions, and the numbers of the Polish group have not kept pace with those of other groups.

Table VIII, page 73, shows the number and percentage distribution of the Polish group by Metro Sub-Areas in 1951 and 1961. This can be compared with the number and percentage of the total population in Metropolitan Winnipeg by Metro Sub-Areas, as shown by Table II, Appendix D. The Winnipeg North End sub-area contains the largest percentage -- 42.8 percent in 1951, and remained so in 1961 though with a reduced percentage -- 34.3. The areas experiencing the greatest percentage increase are West Kildonan and East Kildonan. The stability of the areas of high concentration, despite the decrease in total percentage of the Polish in the area may be due to two factors: (1) a greater out-migration of other ethnic groups from the area, or (2) the influx of post-war Polish

TABLE VIII
 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
 OF THE POLISH GROUP, BY METRO
 SUB-AREAS, 1951 TO 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	1951	1961	INCREASE OR DECREASE		PERCENT OF TOTAL GROUP		PERCENT CHANGE
			NUMBER	PERCENT	1951	1961	
WPG. NORTH	7,555	8,554	999	13.2	42.8	34.3	-8.5
WPG. EAST	654	1,054	400	61.0	3.7	4.2	.5
WPG. CENTRE	2,989	2,692	-297	-10.1	16.9	10.8	-6.1
WPG. WEST END	1,351	2,078	727	54.3	7.7	8.3	.6
WPG. SOUTH	1,340	2,195	855	63.8	7.6	8.8	1.2
ST. BONIFACE	705	838	133	18.9	4.0	3.4	-.7
TRANSCONA	430	995	565	131.4	2.4	4.0	1.6
TUXEDO	13	19	6	46.2	-. ²	-	-
BROOKLANDS	150	231	81	54.0	-	-	-
ASSINIBOIA	30	101	71	236.7	-	-	-
CHARLESWOOD	71	153	82	115.5	-	-	-
FORT GARRY	64	341	277	432.8	.4	1.4	1.0
EAST KILDONAN	771	1,852	1,081	140.2	4.4	7.4	3.0
NORTH KILDONAN	166	437	271	163.3	1.0	1.8	.8
WEST KILDONAN	360	1,106	746	207.2	2.0	4.4	2.4
OLD KILDONAN	52	116	64	123.0	-	-	-
ST. JAMES	248	647	399	160.9	1.4	2.6	1.2
ST. VITAL	389	684	375	96.4	2.2	2.7	.5
TOTAL METRO AREA	17,637	24,904	7,267	41.2	100.0	100.0	
NORTH OF C.P.R. ¹	9,988	14,114	4,126	41.3	56.7	56.7	----

¹See Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas -Appendix A

²Less than 1 percent

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

immigrants, who settled mainly in tracts 5 and 10, in the vicinity of the Holy Ghost Church, the main Polish religious centre in the metropolitan area.¹

As indicated by the table VIII, there has been great stability with respect to the percentage of the group residing in the northern half of the metropolitan area --- in fact, no change during the study period.

Change in Residential Distribution 1951-1961

The map of percentage change in the Polish residential distribution during 1951 and 1961² indicates a lesser degree of change for this group than for the others examined to this point. In no case is the change in percentage greater than seven percent. It would be difficult to make an assessment of the movement of this group from this map, since the changes are so uniformly small. Although only fourteen out of the 86 census tract areas contain more than ten percent Polish, indicating a high degree of concentration, this is misleading since none of these fourteen tracts contain over 18 percent Polish. However, the conclusion that the northern half of the city is the area of high concentration for this group is still valid.

Summary

The pattern of residential distribution of the Polish group

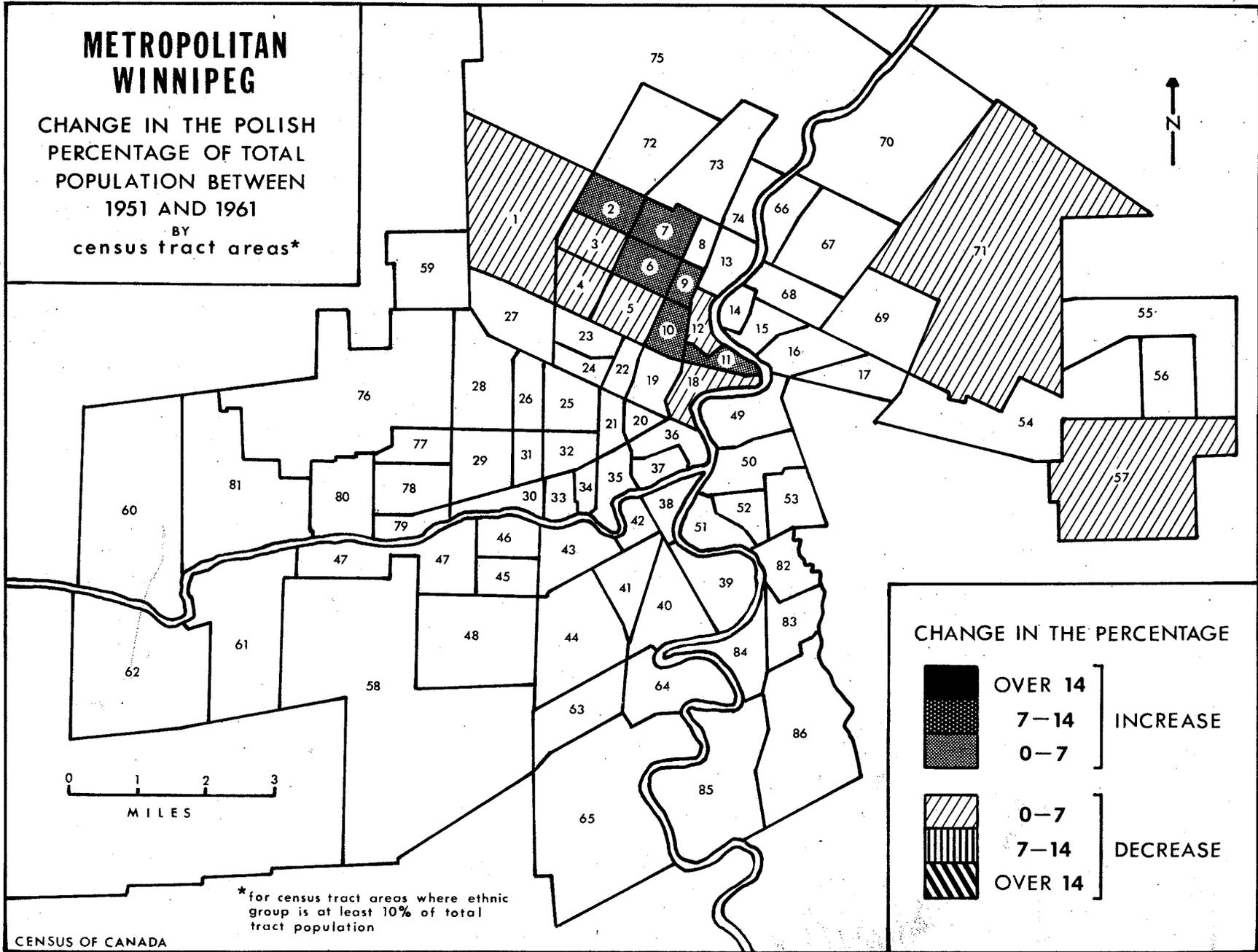
¹Personal interview with Rev. J. Kucharczyk, Holy Ghost Church, 341 Selkirk Ave., Winnipeg.

²Map 10, page 75.

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CHANGE IN THE POLISH
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BETWEEN
1951 AND 1961
BY
census tract areas*

MAP 10



* for census tract areas where ethnic group is at least 10% of total tract population

parrallels that observed for the Ukrainian group, in that one section of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area contains much higher percentages of each of the groups.

This section is the northern half of the city for the Polish group, with the highest residential concentration in the Winnipeg North End sub-area. Similarly, the area of concentration has remained the same during the 1951-1961 period, demonstrating a continuing preference for the northern half of the city for residential location.

VI. THE GERMAN GROUP

Before a discussion is begun of the distribution of the German group in 1951 and 1961, there are several points which must be mentioned, as they bear directly on any attempt to assess the changing residential pattern of this group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area.

The first point is that the population listed under the German classification in the census do not all consist of German nationals, that is, those who were born in Germany or whose parents were, and who consider their native culture as deriving from the political entity known as Germany. Since the language spoken by the person, or that of his paternal ancestor on arrival in this country is used to determine ethnic origin, a large percentage of the population listed under the German classification for the Winnipeg area consists of members of the Mennonite group.

As shown in Table IX, page⁷⁷, the census of 1961 lists 13,595 people of the Mennonite religion in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, 8,898

of whom consider themselves of German ethnic origin. Thus 17.7 percent of the German group,¹ at that time were Mennonites. Since origin data

TABLE IX

MENNONITE POPULATION BY RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION
AND ETHNIC ORIGIN: METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG, 1961*

	RELIGION	ETHNIC ORIGIN				TOTAL
		GERMAN	NETHERLANDS	RUSSIAN	OTHERS	
MENNONITE	13,595	8,898	3,492	625	580	13,595

*Census of Canada 1961, Bulletin 1.3-8, Population, Religion by Ethnic Groups, Table 113, p. 113-9.

for this group is not supplied by the census tract areas in 1951 and 1961, any statements regarding distribution of the Mennonite sub-group cannot be statistically based, therefore it was necessary to rely on information gained from interviews with members of this group. Since the Mennonite group displays different cultural traits than do those of German national origin, it may be assumed that residential distribution would be a reflection of this, and thereby be of a different order. This will become apparent in later discussion.

The assessment of changes in the pattern of residential distribution of the German group was further complicated by the arrival in Winnipeg

¹See Table 5, page 52, for German population.

of large numbers of German immigrants during the study period. The 1961 census¹ lists 11,833 persons of German origin as immigrants to the Winnipeg Metropolitan area during the decade 1951-1961. This is over thirty percent of the total number of immigrants to the Winnipeg area during this period.²

Both of the above factors, the inclusion of the Mennonite group, and the post-war German immigrants in the German ethnic group statistics for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area must be considered when evaluating the patterns of residential distribution and its change during 1951 and 1961.

Residential Distribution 1951 and 1961

Despite the foregoing complicating factors, the maps of percentage residential distribution of the German group³ reveal definite residential locational preferences both in 1951 and 1961.

There are five areas of high concentration for this group, Winnipeg North End, Winnipeg East, North Kildonan, Winnipeg Centre, and Winnipeg West End. The first three of these can be grouped together and characterized as the northern half of the urban area, and the other two as the older residential areas of the Centre and West End of Winnipeg City.

¹Census of Canada, 1961, Bulletin 1.3-11, Population, Characteristics of Immigrants, Provinces and Metropolitan Areas, Table 127, pp. 127-33 and 127-34.

²Ibid.

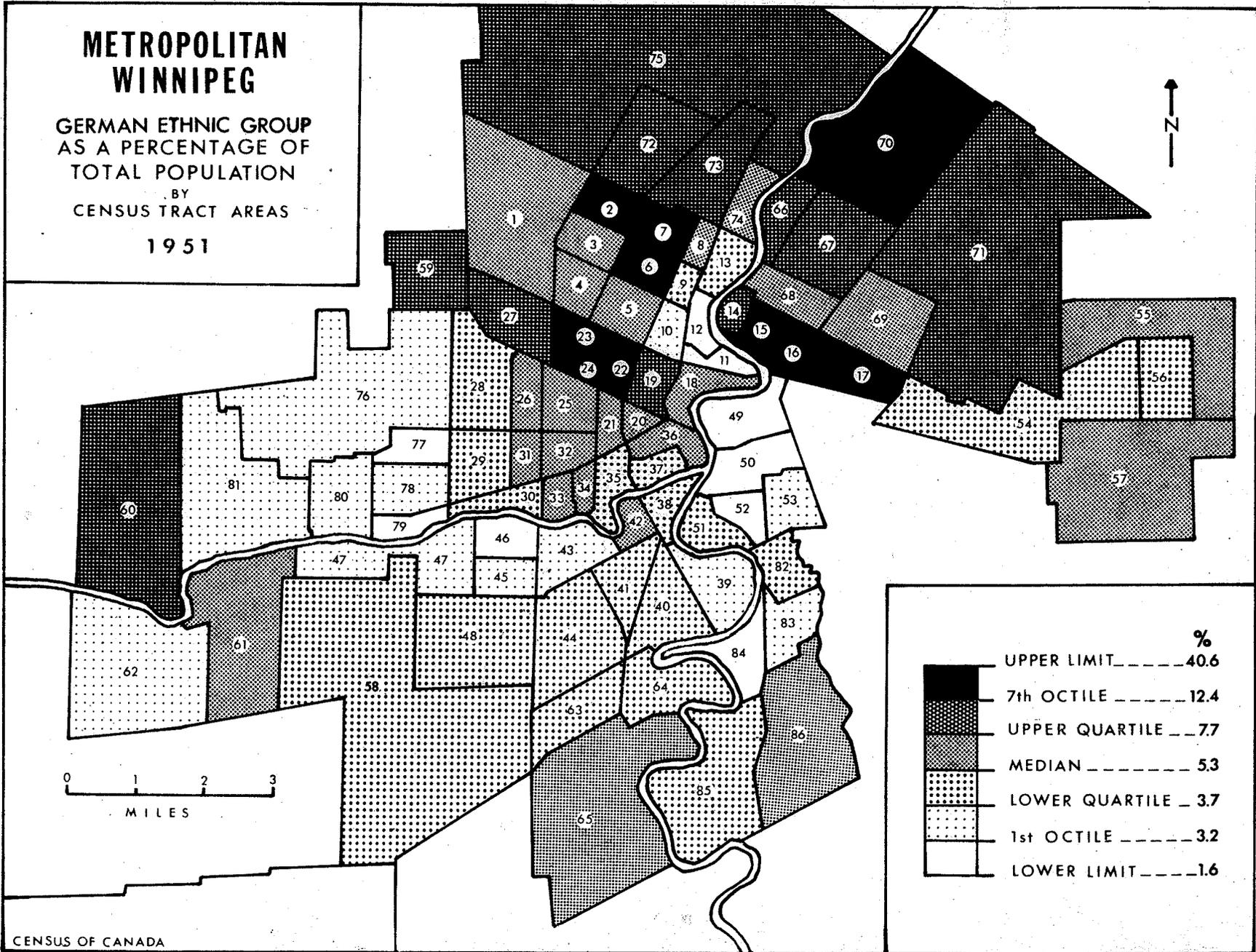
³Maps 11 and 12, pp. 79 and 80

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1951

MAP 11

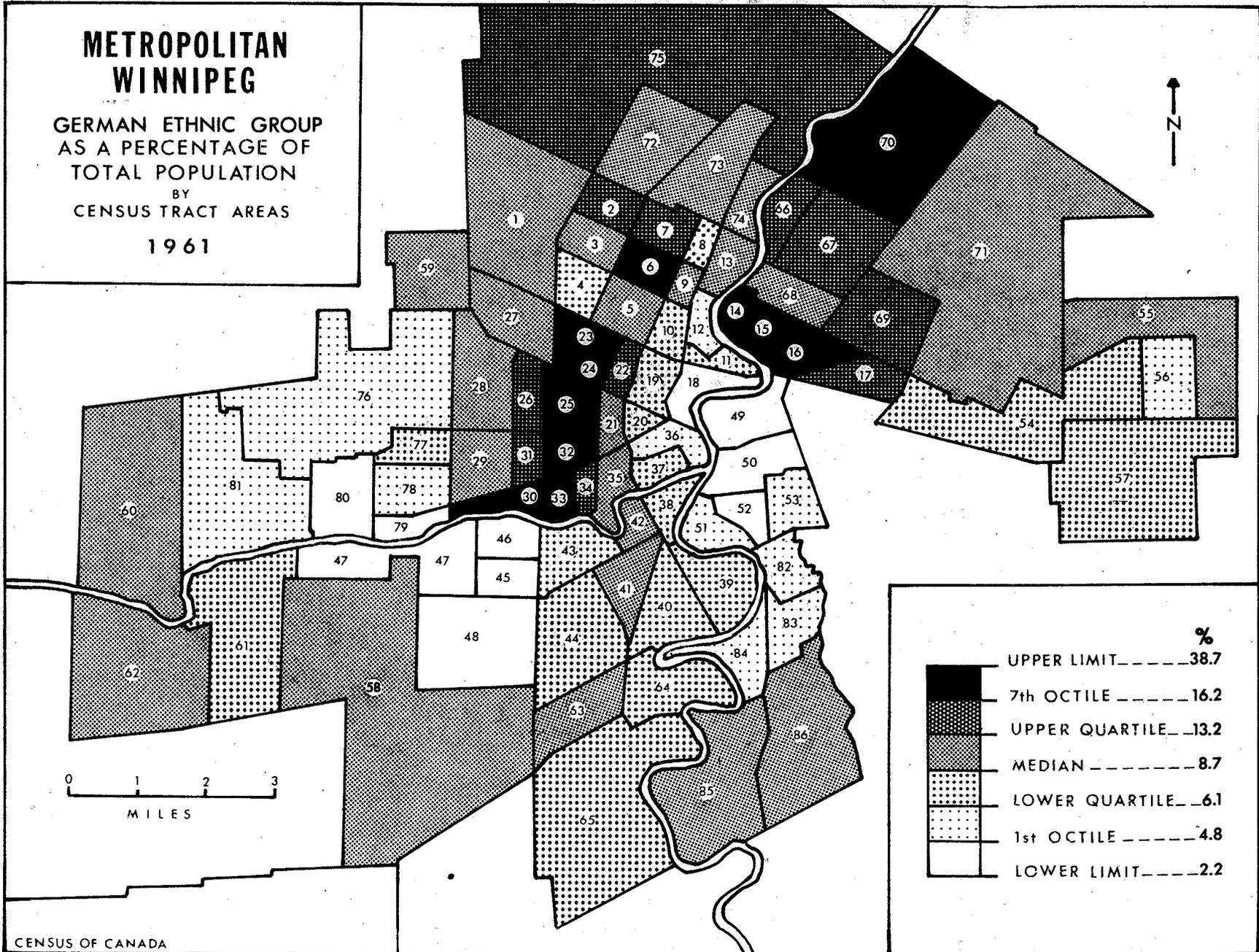


	%
UPPER LIMIT	40.6
7th OCTILE	12.4
UPPER QUARTILE	7.7
MEDIAN	5.3
LOWER QUARTILE	3.7
1st OCTILE	3.2
LOWER LIMIT	1.6

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

GERMAN ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS
1961

MAP 12



0 1 2 3
MILES

	%
UPPER LIMIT	38.7
7th OCTILE	16.2
UPPER QUARTILE	13.2
MEDIAN	8.7
LOWER QUARTILE	6.1
1st OCTILE	4.8
LOWER LIMIT	2.2

It is highly probable that the tendency towards residential segregation of a fairly high order depicted by the maps for this group may be attributed to the inclusion of the Mennonite group within the German group in 1951, and both the Mennonites and the post-war German immigrants in 1961. On the other hand, the population of German origin (German national origin) who have lived in the city for many years (from the turn of the century) may be assimilated in terms of residential location to a much higher degree. Let us consider the areas of high concentration for 1951 and 1961.

Winnipeg North End (Tracts 1-13). The relative concentration of the German group decreased in this area during the period 1951 to 1961. This area is historically a centre for people of German origin,¹ and these long-time residents display a movement characteristic of other ethnic groups,² that is, a centrifugal migration pattern to newer residential areas. Table X, on page 62, indicates that a likely area of preference is the East Kildonan sub-area (tracts 66-69), where the percentage has increased during this period. The North End in 1951 was an area of fairly high concentration of the German group with 22.6 percent of the total group, compared to 18 percent of the total metropolitan

¹W. J. Sisler, op. cit., p. 12

²This phenomenon has been documented in the Chicago area by Paul F. Cressey, "Population Succession in Chicago 1898-1930", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 44, July, 1938, pp. 59-69, and by Richard G. Ford, "Population Succession in Chicago", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 56, Sept., 1950, pp. 156-60.

TABLE X
 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
 OF THE GERMAN GROUP, BY METRO
 SUB-AREAS, 1951 TO 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	1951	1961	INCREASE OR DECREASE		PERCENT OF TOTAL GROUP		PERCENT CHANGE
			NUMBER	PERCENT	1951	1961	
WPG. NORTH	5,543	7,829	2,286	41.2	22.6	15.6	-7.0
WPG. EAST	2,026	3,259	1,233	60.9	8.3	6.5	-1.8
WPG. CENTRE	4,904	5,592	688	14.0	20.0	11.1	-8.9
WPG. WEST END	3,013	8,761	5,748	190.8	12.3	17.5	5.2
WPG. SOUTH	1,975	4,808	2,833	143.4	8.1	9.6	1.5
ST. BONIFACE	684	1,002	318	46.5	2.8	2.0	-.8
TRANSCONA	324	1,074	750	231.5	1.3	2.1	.8
TUXEDO	65	144	79	121.5	²	-	-
BROOKLANDS	318	526	208	65.4	1.3	1.0	-.3
ASSINIBOIA	129	424	295	228.7	-	-	-
CHARLESWOOD	139	439	300	215.8	-	-	-
FORT GARRY	283	1,163	880	310.9	1.2	2.3	1.1
EAST KILDONAN	1,140	3,863	2,723	238.9	4.7	7.7	3.0
NORTH KILDONAN	1,177	3,446	2,069	175.8	4.8	6.9	2.1
WEST KILDONAN	918	1,981	1,063	115.8	3.7	3.9	.2
OLD KILDONAN	73	195	122	167.1	-	-	-
ST. JAMES	653	1,818	1,165	178.4	2.7	3.6	.9
ST. VITAL	666	2,012	1,346	202.1	2.7	4.0	1.3
TOTAL METRO AREA	24,499	50,206	25,707	104.9	100.0	100.0	
NORTH OF C.P.R. ¹	10,804	20,378	9,574	88.6	44.1	40.6	-3.5
ABOVE PLUS WPG. CENTRE, WEST END	18,721	34,731	16,010	85.5	76.4	69.2	-7.2

¹See Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas - Appendix A

²Less than 1 percent

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

population found in this area. However, although the North End is the second highest metro sub-area in terms of the percentage of the German group in 1961 (15.6 percent), this is no longer an area of high concentration of the group when compared with the percentage of the total population in this area — 15 percent in 1961 (see Table II, Appendix D. The North End was still, in 1961, an area of high concentration of the German group with over fifteen percent of the total group population (the second highest metro sub-area, in terms of the German group), although the percentage decreased approximately one-third from 1951.

Winnipeg East (Tracts 14-17). This area contains high percentages of both the German national,¹ and the Mennonite groups.² In one tract, number fourteen, 74.5 percent of those listed in 1951, as of German origin were of the Mennonite religion. It is of interest to note that two of the major Mennonite educational institutions located in the Metropolitan area are found in this tract — the Mennonite Bretheren Bible College, and the Mennonite Bretheren Collegiate Institute. This particular tract has also experienced a considerable influx of post-war German immigrants during this period.³

North Kildonan (Tracts 70-71). Census tract number 70 contained the highest percentage of people of German origin in the Metropolitan

1

See Maps 11 and 12, pp. 79 and 80

2

See Table II, page 84

3

Personal interview: Rev. G. A. Heiman, Hospital Chaplain, German Lutheran Church, 523 Telfer St., Winnipeg.

TABLE XI
 MENNONITE POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN
 POPULATION IN SELECTED CENSUS TRACT AREAS,¹
 METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG: 1951*

CENSUS ² TRACTS	GERMAN	MENNONITES	
		NUMBER	PERCENTAGE OF GERMAN
2	185	4	2.2
6	1,927	60	3.1
7	1,022	31	3.0
14	373	278	74.5
15	575	227	39.5
16	724	78	10.8
17	354	7	2.0
21	545	198	36.3
22	708	237	33.5
23	477	72	15.1
24	538	153	28.4
25	942	388	41.2
70	1,145	1,089	95.1

¹ Census Tract Areas with Highest Percentages of the German Group in 1951 and 1961 (Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961)

² See Maps 11 and 12 p.

* These figures are from a Census cross-classification of Mennonite religion by ethnic origin (Census of Canada, Census Tract Bulletin CT-8, 1951, Table 1). This is only an approximation since by cross-classification only about two-thirds of the Mennonites are German by origin (see table IX, page 77).

area -- 40.6 percent in 1951 and 38.7 percent in 1961. Of this number almost all are of the Mennonite group (95.1 percent in 1951 - see table XI, page 84). This area was first settled by the Mennonites in the late Twenties, when a number of families settled in "colonies" on the north-eastern fringe of the city in an attempt to transfer the rural settlement type to the environs of the urban area.¹ The colony attempt was unsuccessful, but only from the point of view of the rural type of settlement, because this area has remained "the only example of a closely knit Mennonite Colony found anywhere in a strictly urban community."² Another early area of Mennonite residential location in Winnipeg, which predates the above area, is the Winnipeg Centre area. However, most moved out of this area during the study period to many different parts of the city, although the contiguous West End area probably received the majority.³ Although members of the Mennonite group are found throughout the urban area, the North Kildonan area has remained the major area of concentration, with East Kildonan and Winnipeg East as secondary areas.

Winnipeg Centre (Tracts 18-24, 27, and 35-37). One of the oldest residential areas in Winnipeg is that stretching west from the Red River, between the C.P.R. tracks and Notre Dame Ave. (see Index Map, Appendix A).

¹ Jim Friesen and Reinhard Vogt, "The Mennonite Community in Winnipeg", In manuscript.

² J. W. Fritz, Mennonite Quarterly Review, 24, 1950, p. 130, cited by Friesen and Vogt, Ibid.

³ Personal Interview: Rev. R. Vogt, First Mennonite Church, Notre Dame and Alverstone, Winnipeg.

This area has contained large numbers of people of German origin for many years, both Mennonite (see above) and German nationals. Despite considerable residential movement out of this area to newer residential areas by both sub-groups, this is still an area of high concentration of the German group in 1961. This is mainly as a result of the influx of post-war immigrants, however the majority of the immigrants settled in the West End sub-area.¹

Winnipeg West End (Tracts 25, 26, 28, and 29-34). In 1951 the map of residential distribution of the German group does not show high percentages in this area -- only in the median to upper quartile range, and therefore percentages of only 5.3 to 7.7, of the tract populations. The map for 1961 reveals a startling change (map 12, page 80). This is now a major area of concentration of Winnipeg's German population, and has been made so by the post-war immigrants who began to arrive in force at the beginning of our study period.

As previously mentioned, the largest percentage of post-war immigrants to the Winnipeg area were of German origin, and it appears that the majority of them selected this area as their first place of residence. According to members of this group one of the major, if not the major reason for selecting this area, was the large old homes that were available here at reasonable prices. It was characteristic of these immigrants to purchase one of these homes, with the aid of a large mortgage,

¹Personal interview: Rev. J. Knaack, St. Peter's Lutheran Church, Sherbrook and Ellice, Winnipeg.

subdivide it into rooms and rent these to other immigrants, thus providing income to meet the mortgage and in many cases pay it off very rapidly.

That this area is a residential enclave of German speaking people is immediately apparent to anyone passing along the main thoroughfare, Ellice Avenue. There are German book stores, tailors, pastry shops, butcher shops and restaurants among others, all displaying signs in the German language.

Change in Residential Distribution 1951-1961

The map of change in percentage of the German group during this period,¹ brings out the change in distribution of this group mainly as a result of the new immigrants. The areas of greatest change are in the West End (Tracts 25, 26, 29-32, and 34) and in Winnipeg East (Tract 14), both areas selected by the new residents. The other areas of residential increase are in new residential subdivisions, mainly in the northern half of the city, indicating a preference for this general area on the part of the German group. Decreases which appear, are of a minor order, and are due to the movement into these areas by other ethnic groups. In tracts 17 and 70, the numbers of the German group have increased, but the increase has not kept pace with the movement of other groups into the area -- both experiencing large increases in numbers of new suburban housing units. Tracts 6, 7, 22, and 23, are older residential areas,

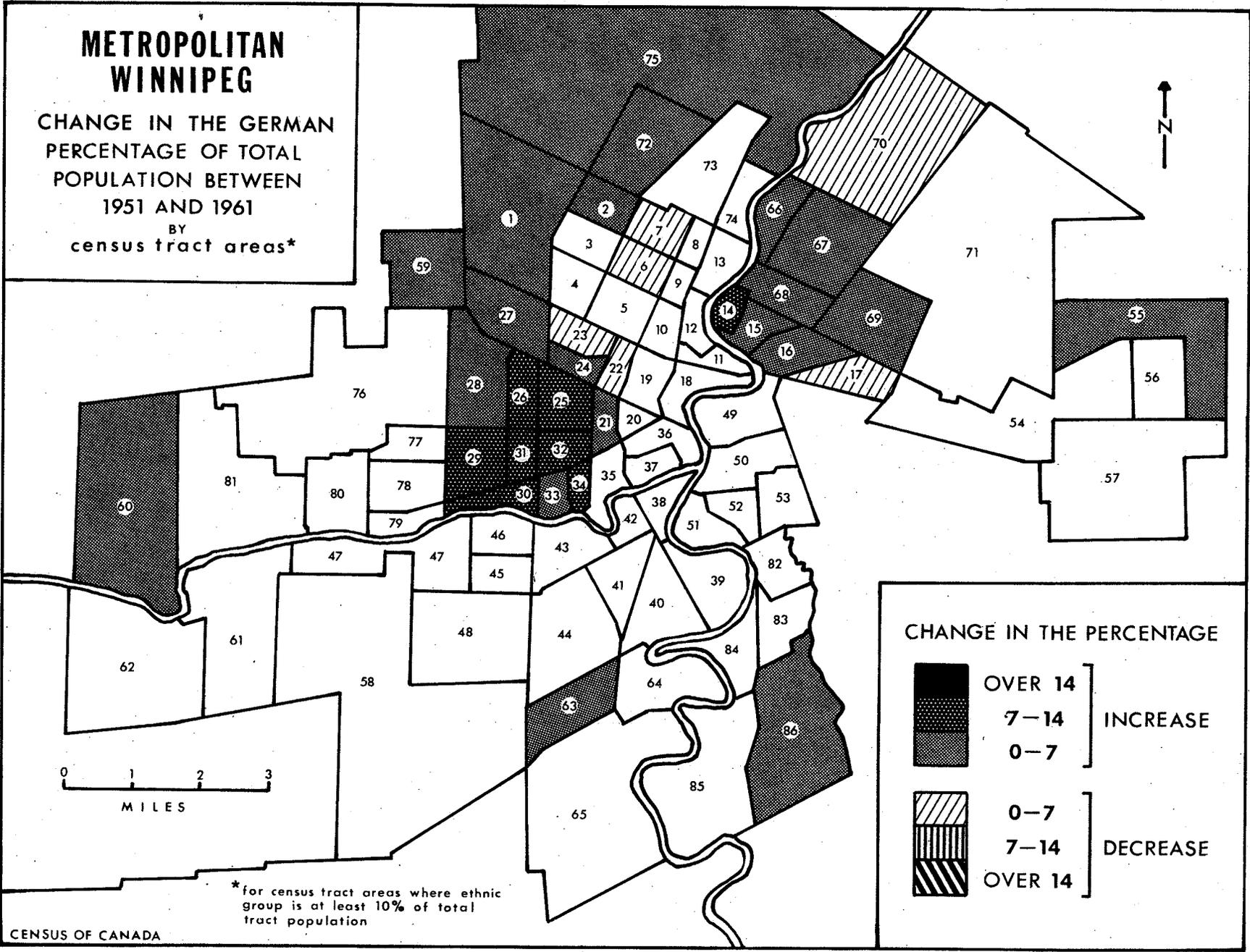
¹Map 13, page 88.

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CHANGE IN THE GERMAN
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BETWEEN
1951 AND 1961

BY
census tract areas*

MAP 13



* for census tract areas where ethnic group is at least 10% of total tract population

where Germans have decreased in number, moving to newer areas and being replaced by members of other groups.

Summary

A comparison of the three maps portraying the residential distribution of the German group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area, can be summarized as follows:

1. A non-random residential distribution is evident, with a general preference for the northern half of the city including the contiguous Winnipeg Centre and West End sub-areas. Within the northern half of the city, the East and North Kildonan sub-areas show the highest concentration in 1961. Winnipeg North End, while an area of high concentration in 1951, has decreased to a near random percentage distribution in 1961.
2. The German ethnic group is composed of sub-groups, displaying differential residential preference, the Mennonites, long established residents of German national origin, and post-war immigrants of German national origin.
3. Residential movement of this group is somewhat obscured by the inclusion of these sub-groups, although a preference for residence in 1961 in the same general area as in 1951 is evident from the maps.

VII. JEWISH GROUP

The fifth and last ethnic group to be considered in this paper is the Jewish group -- the smallest in number of the five and sixth in size in the Metropolitan Winnipeg population.¹

Of all the groups considered here, in fact of all the groups in Winnipeg, the Jewish group exhibits the greatest tendency towards residential segregation.² This situation has existed since the members of the group first arrived in Winnipeg³ and still exists today, though different in pattern. To a certain extent there has been an increase in terms of residential concentration.

Throughout history, the Jews have lived in ghettos within cities, formerly under external pressures and laws, in the last century mainly voluntarily.⁴ In Canada, where Jews have settled since 1759,⁵ when the first permanent Jewish settlers are known to have arrived, there has never been any necessity of ghettoized settlement. However, in whatever city large numbers of Jews chose to settle, they voluntarily selected to reside in a highly concentrated area. These areas were by no means homogeneous in terms of a ghetto, but they contained extremely high

¹Table 5, page 52

²See Index of Segregation, page 40

³A. A. Chiel, The Jews in Manitoba, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961).

⁴Louis Wirth, The Ghetto, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928)

⁵Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Canadian Citizenship Branch, Notes on the Canadian Family Tree, (Ottawa), 1960, p. 86.

percentages of Jews, while other areas within the city, contained very few, and many none at all. We shall see that this pattern has been repeated in the Winnipeg area.

Residential Distribution 1951 and 1961

The maps of residential distribution of the Jewish group in Metropolitan Winnipeg in 1951 and 1961¹ clearly depict this pattern of highly developed voluntary segregation.

First of all, the large number of blank tract areas on the maps indicate a very high degree of residential concentration. In 1951, 71 out of 86 tract areas contained less than five percent of Jewish origin in each tract population. In 1961, 72 out of 86 tracts contained less than five percent. Furthermore, 56 tracts in 1951 and 58 tracts in 1961 contained less than one percent Jewish population. This increase in numbers of tracts containing very small percentages of the Jewish group correlates with the increase in the segregation index of the group during 1951-1961.²

There are two areas of concentration of the Jewish group in the metropolitan area — perhaps two areas of residence would be a better description. One is in the northern half of the city, and the other in the southern section. Let us consider the former area first.

The northern section is best discussed in terms of two contiguous

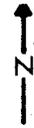
¹ Maps 14 and 15, pp. 92 and 93

² See Index of Segregation, Figure 3, page 47

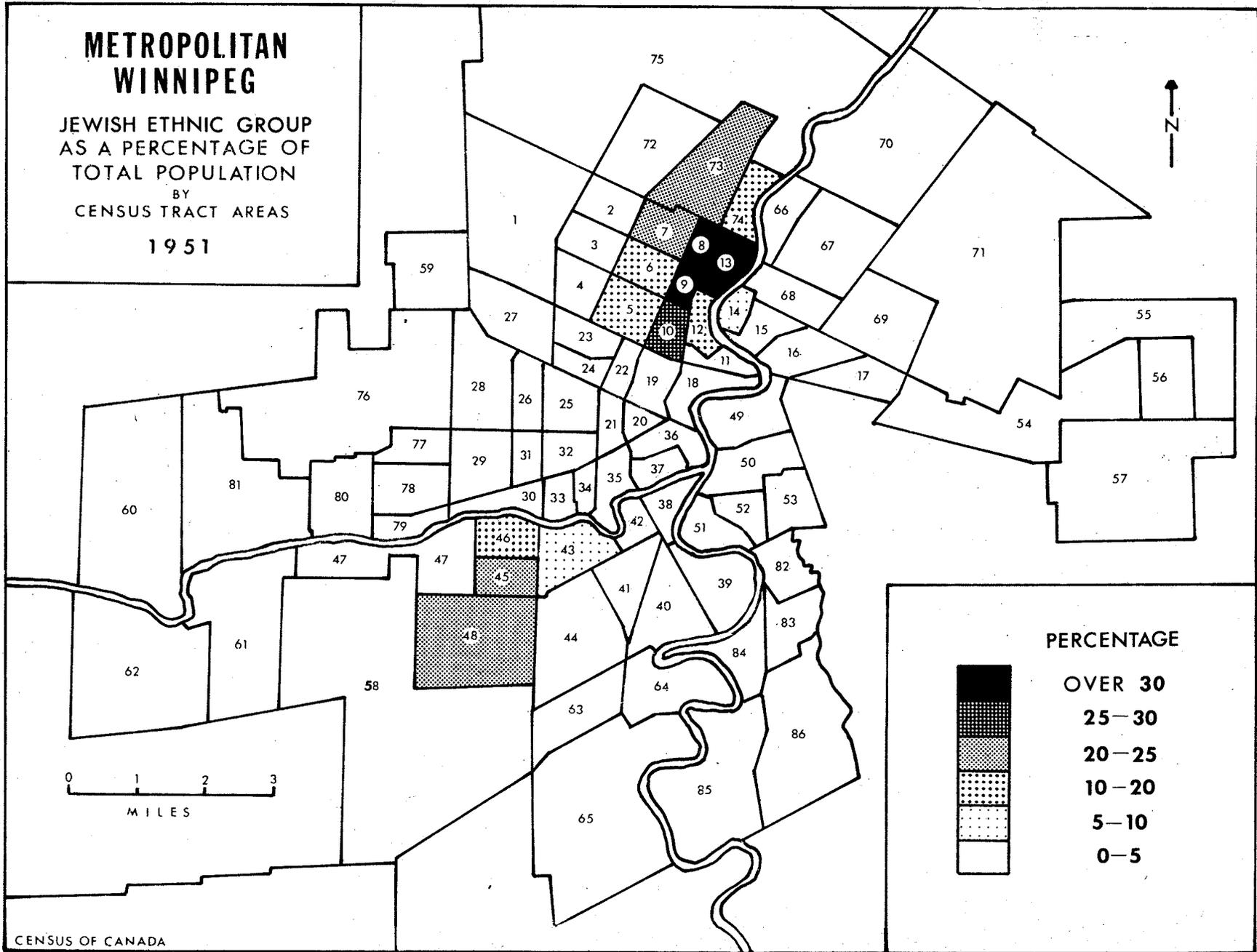
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

JEWISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

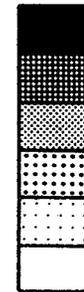
1951



MAP 14



PERCENTAGE



OVER 30
25-30
20-25
10-20
5-10
0-5



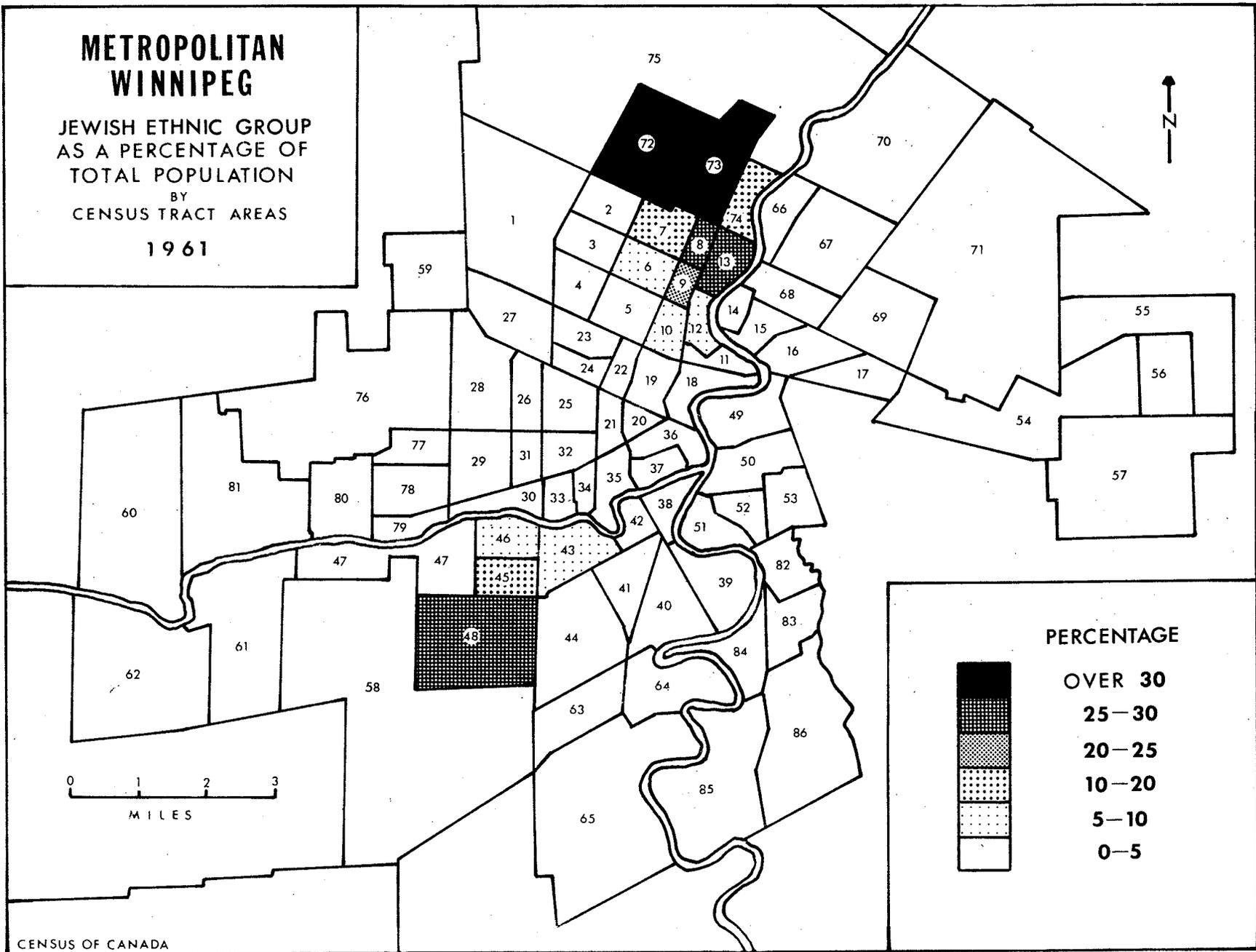
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

JEWISH ETHNIC GROUP
AS A PERCENTAGE OF
TOTAL POPULATION

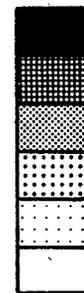
BY
CENSUS TRACT AREAS

1961

MAP 15



PERCENTAGE



OVER 30
25-30
20-25
10-20
5-10
0-5



MILES



metro sub-areas; one, Winnipeg North End, and two, West Kildonan. The second is a more recent residential area. The first area of settlement of the Jewish group in Winnipeg, that is, when they began to arrive in considerable numbers around the turn of the century, was the area known as the "North End"¹ (tracts 1-13, see index maps, appendix A). At this time the heavily populated census tracts were adjacent to the C.P.R. tracks, and through time extended north along both sides of Main Street,² until in 1951, as shown by map 14, page 92, the areas of highest concentration were tracts 8, 9, and 13 at the northern boundary of the Winnipeg North End sub-areas. At this time 67 percent of the metropolitan Jewish population lived in the North End, 56 percent of these in the three tracts just mentioned.³

In 1961, the distribution in this area had drastically changed. None of the tracts areas in the North End are of the highest percentages, with only tracts 8 and 13 still containing at least 25 percent Jewish population. The greatest change however, is in the tracts in the southern section of the North End -- tracts 5, 6, 10, and 12 contain less than ten percent of Jewish origin, compared to as high as thirty percent in 1951.

As Table XII on page 95, indicates, the total Jewish population in the North End decreased by almost half from 1951 to 1961, with only 33

¹ A. A. Chiel, op. cit.

² See Index Map, Census Tract Areas, Appendix A.

³ See Table XII, page 95

TABLE XII
 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
 OF THE JEWISH GROUP, BY METRO
 SUB-AREAS, 1951 TO 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	1951	1961	INCREASE OR DECREASE		PERCENT OF TOTAL GROUP		PERCENT CHANGE
			NUMBER	PERCENT	1951	1961	
WPG. NORTH	12,389	6,536	-5,853	-47.2	66.9	33.7	-33.2
WPG. EAST	369	140	-229	-62.1	2.0	1.0	- 1.0
WPG. CENTRE	699	484	-215	-30.8	3.8	2.5	- 1.3
WPG. WEST END	308	180	-128	-41.6	1.7	.9	- .8
WPG. SOUTH	2,194	5,225	3,031	138.1	11.9	27.0	15.1
ST. BONIFACE	90	72	-18	-20.0	²	-	-
TRANSCONA	37	36	-1	-2.7	-	-	-
TUXEDO	1	65	64	640.0	-	-	-
BROOKLANDS	4	10	6	150.0	-	-	-
ASSINIBOIA	1	4	3	300.0	-	-	-
CHARLESWOOD	6	8	2	33.0	-	-	-
FORT GARRY	20	45	25	125.0	-	-	-
EAST KILDONAN	147	184	37	25.2	1.0	1.0	-----
NORTH KILDONAN	5	9	4	80.0	-	-	-
WEST KILDONAN	2,141	6,133	3,992	186.5	11.6	31.7	20.1
OLD KILDONAN	10	16	6	60.0	-	-	-
ST. JAMES	21	130	109	519.0	-	-	-
ST. VITAL	60	54	-6	-10.0	-	-	-
TOTAL METRO AREA	18,514	19,376	862	4.6	100.0	100.0	
WPG. NORTH AND WEST KILDONAN	14,530	12,669	-1,861	-12.8	78.5	65.4	-13.1

¹See Index Map of Metro Sub-Areas - Appendix A

²Less than 1 percent

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

percent of the total group population remaining in this area.

A considerable portion of this loss was absorbed by West Kildonan, the metro sub-area adjoining Winnipeg North End to the north (see Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A). Tracts 72 and 73 were, in 1961, the areas of highest concentration in the metropolitan area. At that time almost 32 percent of the total Jewish population resided in these two tracts and the adjacent tract number 74, while in 1951, only approximately twelve percent of the Jewish population were resident in this area.

The second area of concentrated residential distribution is in the section of the Winnipeg South sub-area known as River Heights (tracts 43, 45, 46, and 48).¹ In 1951 the area contained only twelve percent of the total Jewish population. This was mainly concentrated (40 percent) in one small tract area -- number 45. By 1961 (map 15, page 93), the situation had completely changed, there were then over five thousand Jews in the South Winnipeg sub-area, compared to slightly over two thousand in 1951. This was 27.0 percent of the total Jewish population. Again most of these (62.5 percent) were in one tract area, number 48, adjoining 45 to the south. In this tract the Jewish group was 28.4 percent of the total tract population, one of the four highest percentages in the urban area.

¹See Index Map, Census Tract Areas, Appendix A.

Change in Residential Distribution 1951-1961

The percentage change map¹ presents an excellent picture of the wholesale migration of Winnipeg's Jewish population from the core area in the North End to two new areas -- West Kildonan and Winnipeg South, with one-third of the total remaining in the North End.

The Tract areas of greatest percentage decrease (tracts 8, 9, 10, and 13) are the former areas of highest percentage concentration of this group. Former secondary areas are indicated by the lower rate of percentage decrease (tracts 5, 6, 7, and 12 in the North End and tracts 45 and 46 in Winnipeg South). The movement to the 1961 areas of concentration (tracts 72, 73, and 74 in the North, and tract 48 in the South) are clearly indicated by the areas of percentage increase. The change in percentage map does not give any indication of movement from the North End core area to the discontinuous Winnipeg South sub-area, but this will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

Summary

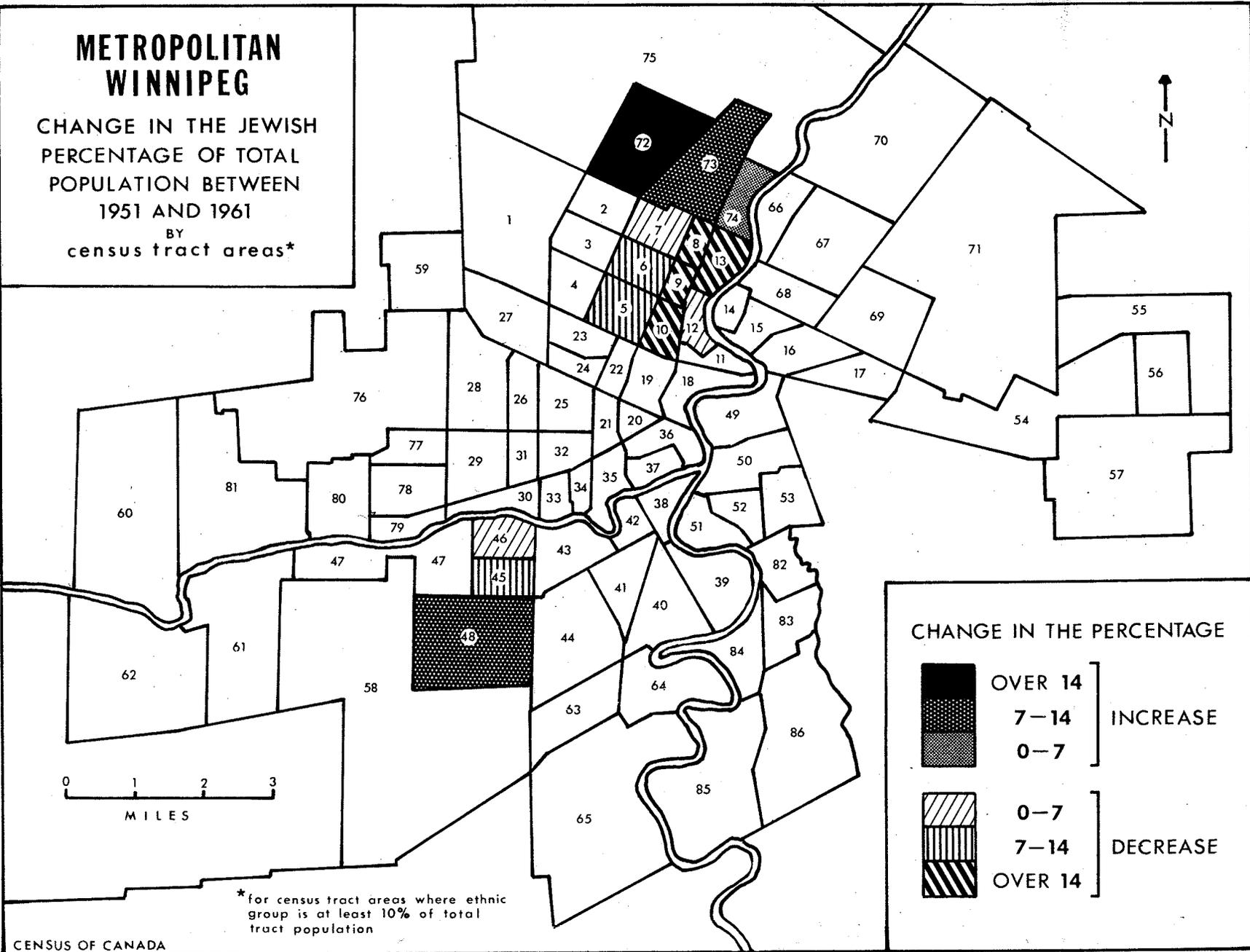
The cartographic analysis of residential distribution in 1951 and 1961 and the changes thereof, have clearly indicated the high degree of residential segregation of the Jewish group in Metropolitan Winnipeg. Secondly, it is clear that although there has been a change in the areas of high concentration, the degree of concentration has not decreased. In fact, it has increased somewhat during the study period. The group in

¹Map 16, page 98

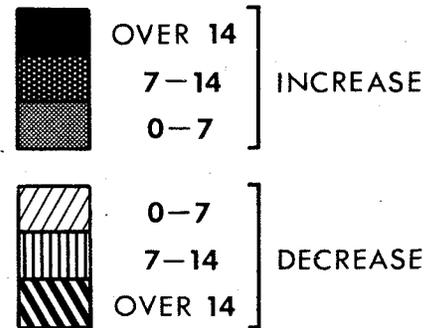
METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CHANGE IN THE JEWISH
PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL
POPULATION BETWEEN
1951 AND 1961
BY
census tract areas*

MAP 16



CHANGE IN THE PERCENTAGE



* for census tract areas where ethnic group is at least 10% of total tract population

1961 was distributed equally in three small areas of the city, West Kildonan, the northern section of the North End, and in Winnipeg South. These areas contained over 90 percent of the Jewish population of Winnipeg (see Table 12, page 95).

VIII. COMPARISON OF ETHNIC GROUP RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION

The four non-British ethnic groups exhibit a pattern of residential distribution which is conspicuous by its geographic difference from that of the British group, and by the similarities among the four non-British groups. The changes in these patterns during the study period 1951-1961 are also conspicuous by the broad similarity among the non-British groups as opposed to that shown by the British.

Let us compare the patterns of residential distribution with the areas of residential concentrations and their respective changes, as depicted by the percentage distribution maps and the change in distribution maps. The areas of high concentration of the four non-British groups are located within the northern half of the city (North of the C.P.R., see Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A). The degree of this concentration varies with each of the four groups. It is highest for the Jewish group and diminishes through the Ukrainian, Polish and the German group, which has its lowest concentration in this section. This order of ethnic groups concentrated in the northern half of the city in 1961, is the same as the order shown for 1951 in Table XIII, page¹⁰¹. Therefore, although the percentage of each group in this section of the

metropolitan area has diminished during the study period, their relative position with regard to the degree of concentration has remained the same.

The British group, by comparison, displays a pattern of residential distribution which is the opposite of the four groups mentioned above. The area of concentration here is the southern half of the city (South of C.P.R., see Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A). The percentage of British in this portion of the metropolitan area has remained highly stable during the period 1951-1961 -- only a three percent change.¹

If the metro sub-area, Winnipeg Centre is included with the Metro subdivision "North of the C.P.R." (See Index Map), this section of the urban area in 1961, contained at least two-thirds of three of the non-British ethnic groups, and almost one-half of the fourth. While at the same time, this area contained slightly less than one-third of the British.² Again, while these proportions are lower than they were in 1951, the relative position of the groups as to their proportions in this area has remained exactly the same.

From the maps and tables of ethnic distributions in 1951 and 1961, it is apparent that changes in residential location by members of the various ethnic groups have exhibited a distinctive pattern. The similarity of relative concentration of the non-British groups within the northern half of the city in 1961 to that of 1951 indicates a high degree of preference for change of residence to this area. In a similar fashion

¹Table XIII, page 101

²Ibid.

TABLE XIII
 SPECIFIED ETHNIC GROUPS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ETHNIC GROUP
 WINNIPEG¹ POPULATION, AND TOTAL POPULATION, BY SELECTED
 METRO SUB-AREAS: 1951 AND 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ²	TOTAL POPULATION		BRITISH		GERMAN		UKRAINIAN		JEWISH		POLISH	
	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961	1951	1961
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
WINNIPEG NORTH ³ END	18.1	14.9	9.5	9.5	26.3	19.5	51.4	44.2	78.5	65.4	44.8	38.7
WPG NORTH, ³ WPG EAST, AND EAST KILDONAN	26.9	25.6	16.9	18.7	39.3	33.7	60.9	57.0	81.5	67.4	52.9	50.3
NORTH OF C.P.R. ²	32.9	36.0	18.4	21.6	40.6	35.8	65.2	61.5	81.5	67.4	55.3	54.3
NORTH OF C.P.R. ² AND WPG. CENTRE	49.3	47.1	34.7	32.4	60.6	46.9	79.8	70.9	85.3	69.9	72.2	65.1

Metropolitan Winnipeg Area
 See Index Map-Metro Sub-Areas, Appendix A
 Includes West Kildonan

Source: Census of Canada 1951 and 1961

the British group has shown residential preference for the southern half of the city.

IX. SUMMARY

The analysis of census tract data and the use of maps to depict the residential distribution and changes thereof for the five ethnic groups selected from the Metropolitan Winnipeg area during the period 1951-1961, can be summarized as follows:

1. None of the groups are randomly distributed throughout the metropolitan area.
2. Each has a specific area of high residential concentration.
3. This area of high concentration is similar for four of the groups. These four, the Ukrainian, Polish, German, and Jewish, the non-British groups, are concentrated in the northern half of the Metropolitan Winnipeg area.¹
4. By contrast, the area of high concentration of the dominant British group is the southern half of the city.
5. This pattern of residential distribution has not changed in major outline during the 1951-1961 study period. The non-British groups are still concentrated in the northern half of the city, and the British in the southern half.

¹For the German group, the sub-areas, Winnipeg Centre and West End must be added to the northern half of the city (as defined in this paper) in order to encompass this groups' area of high concentration.

6. The order of concentration in the northern half of the urban area among the four non-British groups is the same in 1961 as it was in 1951. That is, the highest percentage of a group in the northern half of the city is that displayed by the Jewish group, and the lowest by the German group. (Table 13, page 101).
7. Assuming that these changes imply intra-urban movement of members of the various groups, the similarity in areas of high concentration in 1961 as compared to 1951, indicate a definite preference towards certain areas of the city by members of the ethnic groups. The most striking contrast being the differential selection displayed by the non-British groups as compared to the British group.

It would be expedient, at this point, to emphasize again, that these are generalizations. They apply to relative concentrations of the ethnic groups in question. They do not imply homogeneity in any one census tract area or section of the city, be it large or extremely small, but merely that the disproportionate percentages of a group found in certain areas of the city compared to those in other areas indicates a preference for a certain location. It follows from this that there exists in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area a definite observable presence of residential segregation, and that although the degree of this segregation has decreased to a minor extent, during this period, each of the groups has remained in the same position relative to each other in terms of residential segregation.

CHAPTER IV

CITY DIRECTORY SAMPLE STUDY: INTRA-URBAN MIGRATION OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1951-1961

In the preceding chapter, the pattern of residential distribution in 1951 and 1961 of the selected ethnic groups, and the changes in these distributions during that period, have been established by the cartographic analysis of the census tract data. As a result of this analysis conclusions have been drawn as to the extent of these changes in distribution, and their effect on the degree of residential segregation, exhibited by each of the ethnic groups.

It has been assumed throughout this paper, that the changes in residential distribution of the ethnic groups are due mainly to intra-urban migration of members of these groups. However, there are other factors involved; migration from rural to urban areas, immigration from outside the province or country, and emigration from the urban area. The extent to which each of these has affected the changing residential distribution of each ethnic group can only be surmised. What we are implying here is the fact that it is not possible, on the basis of the analysis of the census tract data, to state with any degree of accuracy, that intra-urban migration of the various ethnic groups has taken place during 1951-1961.

We have concluded that each of the ethnic groups studied displays a characteristic change in residential distribution during this period. That is, the analysis of census tract data enables us to ascertain

change in specific areas at different points in time, but we do not know who is involved in this change. In other words, we have established change — but not movement. For example, we know there are X number of the German group in Census Tract six in 1951, and Y number in 1961, and from the different percentages of the total tract population given by these figures we deduce changes in the pattern of residential concentration. However, are these changes caused by intra-urban migration, as we assumed, or are they caused by the other factors previously mentioned?

In an attempt to verify the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the census tract data, a method was sought which would reveal the patterns of intra-urban migration displayed by the five ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area during the 1951-1961 period.

This chapter presents an explanation of the method used to achieve this purpose, and an examination of the results obtained.

I. SOURCE OF DATA

The source of data selected to establish patterns of ethnic group intra-urban migration based on the movement of specific members of the selected ethnic group required the following features:

1. The basic requirement was a listing of the population by address and by name. This listing was required at two points in time, 1951 and 1961.
2. The list had to contain all the population in any census tract area of the metropolitan area, so arranged that a random sample was feasible.

3. A division of the names in the sample was required, by ethnic origin.

An examination of the available sources listing the population of the metropolitan area resulted in the selection of the City Directory as the one source which best fitted the preceding list of criteria.

The city directory for the Winnipeg area¹ is an annual publication listing every person over eighteen years of age in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area. The publication consists of two sections; one, the alphabetical name list as mentioned above, and second, a list of householders by residential address. This directory has been published by the same firm since before the turn of the century, and is revised and brought up to date every year. Every item is checked each year and over the years a high degree of accuracy has been attained.

The information required for the directory is obtained by two methods. First, enumerators call on every address in the metropolitan area asking for the names of all people at a particular address, the name of the household head, and occupation of each. Secondly, questionnaires are sent out to all employers in the Metropolitan Winnipeg area (with fifteen or more employees) asking for the names, occupations and home addresses of all employees.² These two sources are compared, thus providing for a higher degree of accuracy than that obtainable by the

¹Henderson's Metropolitan Winnipeg City Directory, op. cit., footnote 1, page 18

²A very high rate of return is obtained from these questionnaires, only three firms in the Winnipeg area did not supply the information requested in 1964. (Source: Mrs. B. Cunningham, Supervisor, Henderson Directories Limited, Winnipeg.)

use of only one of the above methods.

The address listing of the 1951 city directory was selected to obtain the sample used to examine intra-urban migration. This section of the directory lists household heads by address, either a home owner or a renter. This refers to the head of a family, one person living alone, or any family size, in any type of dwelling.¹ The streets of the metropolitan area are listed alphabetically in this section and the street numbers are listed in sequence from the beginning of each street. It was therefore possible to delimit census tract areas from this address listing and thus select a sample area to coincide with the census classification.

The section of the 1961 city directory containing the alphabetical name list of the population was used to determine the 1961 place of residence of the sample names selected from the 1951 directory.

A limitation of the data obtained from the address listing of the city directories should be noted. The use of the household head in 1951 and his subsequent address in 1961 as a measure of intra-urban migration suffers from the inability to ascertain the destination of the sons and daughters of the 1951 household who left their parents home to set up their own household during this period. Therefore, in this sense the sample does not cover the population completely, as it is confined to heads of households only, who would generally fall above a certain age. We can only theorize that the general pattern of 1961 residential

¹Source: Mr. N. Koshman, General Manager, Henderson Directories Limited, Winnipeg.

distribution derived from the sample, would not be changed to any great extent by the loss of these younger people. The foregoing statement is made in view of the correlation between the results of the sample movement and that arrived at from the census analysis -- a discussion of which will be left to a later section.

The city directories as a source of data thus provided the information needed to establish the pattern of intra-urban migration of a selected sample of the population during the 1951-1961 period.

II. METHOD

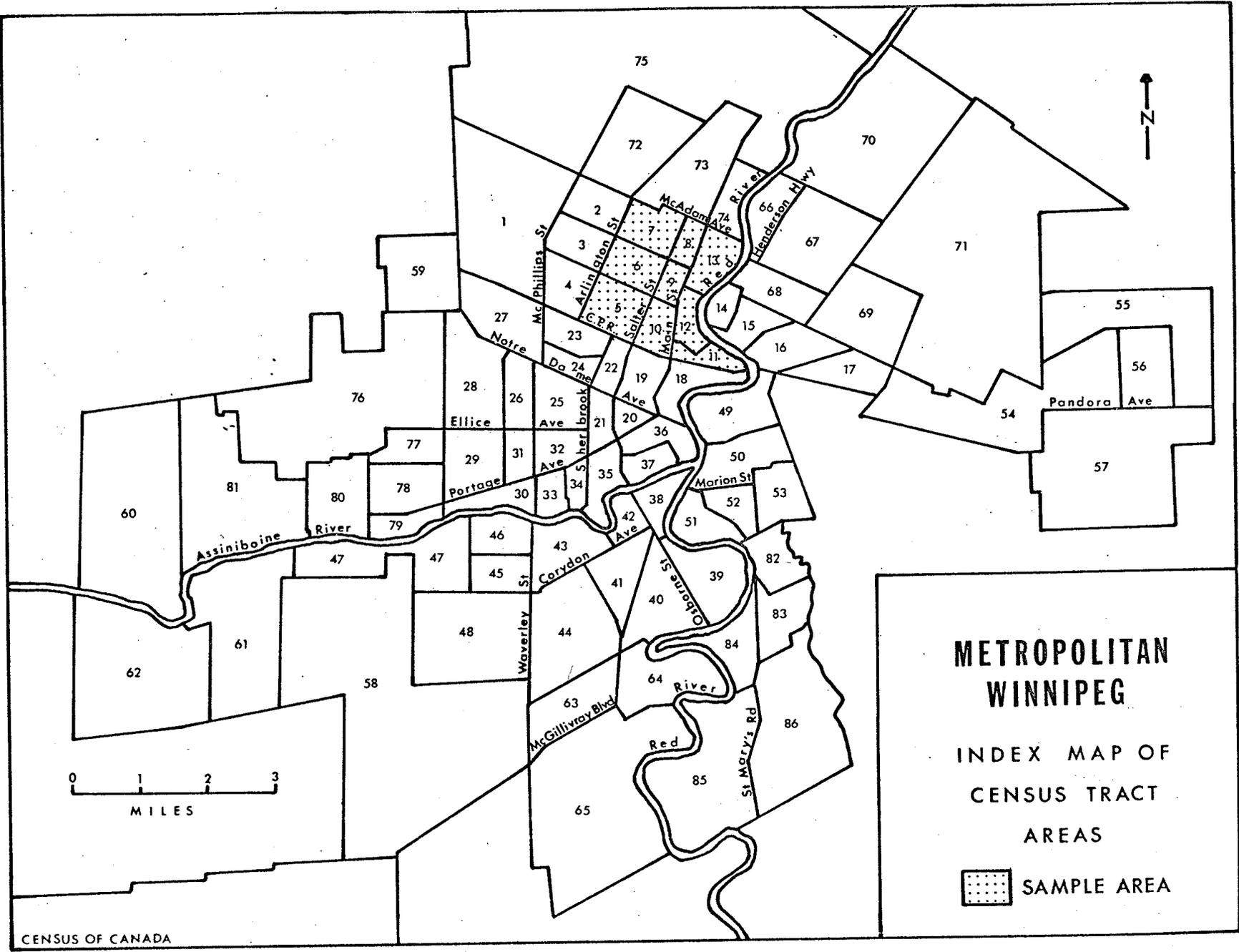
The following is a detailed explanation of the method used in utilizing city directories as a source for determining intra-urban movements of selected ethnic groups.

Delimitation of Sample Area

The first step was to delimit the area of the city to be sampled. The selection of a sample area had to meet certain conditions. First, it must be small enough so that the research required could be undertaken by one person with an allotted time limit. Second, the area must be one of the older residential areas experiencing outward migration. Third, it must contain large numbers of the selected ethnic groups within its boundaries, as well as large percentages of the groups total metropolitan population. Finally, it must contain a large number of the British group with whom comparisons can be made.

The sample area¹ selected to fulfill these conditions is in the

¹See Sample Area Map, number 17, page¹⁰⁹



**METROPOLITAN
WINNIPEG**

INDEX MAP OF
CENSUS TRACT
AREAS

 SAMPLE AREA

metro sub-area known as Winnipeg North End. It is one of the older residential areas of the city dating back to the latter part of the 19th century in its southern section (tracts 11 and 12), with residential settlement growing towards the north and west, with the whole nine tract area being almost completely built up by 1914.¹

This is the core area of Central and Eastern European settlement in the metropolitan area. The breakdown of population contained in the sample area by ethnic origin is shown in Table XIV, on page 111. As can be seen this small area contains two-thirds of the Jewish group in the metropolitan area, approximately one-third of both the Ukrainian and Polish groups, a little less than one-fifth of the German group, and approximately five percent of the British group. At the same time it contains only a very small percentage of the remaining ethnic groups in the metropolitan area. The nine tract areas of the sample area were separated from the remainder of the North End sub-area primarily because a large part of this western section of the North End is unused, and remains so today, and another large section is used for railway facilities. Secondly, the time element restricted the number of tracts which could be processed.

Sampling Method

Once the sample area was delimited, the next step was to take a random sample of the households contained in that area. Using the number of

¹Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba, Economic Atlas of Manitoba, T. R. Weir, Editor, (Winnipeg, 1960), Plate 37, Metropolitan Winnipeg Urban Growth, p. 79.

TABLE XIV
 NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE AREA POPULATION BY SPECIFIED
 ETHNIC GROUP, AND AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ETHNIC
 GROUP POPULATION, 1951¹

ETHNIC GROUP	SAMPLE AREA ²	PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE AREA POPULATION	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GROUP POPULATION
BRITISH	8,393	17.1	4.6
JEWISH	12,318	25.1	66.5
GERMAN	4,464	9.1	18.2
POLISH	5,365	10.9	30.4
UKRAINIAN	14,137	28.8	34.1
TOTAL OF ABOVE	44,677	91.0	
OTHERS	4,429	9.0	
TOTAL SAMPLE AREA	49,106	100.0	

¹Source: Census of Canada, 1951

²Census Tracts 5 Through 13, See Sample Area Map 17

households in each tract, as supplied by the Census of 1951 as a guide,¹ and keeping in mind the purpose of the sample and the time available, it was decided to take a ten percent sample. This would provide approximately twelve hundred sample names.

The method used to select the sample cases is termed "selection at regular intervals from a list". Authorities differ as to the randomness of such a sample as compared with selection by lot. One states that "depending on the arrangement of the source list, this method gives a better sample than the lottery drawing", and further, "selecting the sample cases at evenly spaced intervals guarantees that a cross section of the entire universe will be secured".² Another claims that this method is not strictly random sampling, as it does not give all possible samples of "n" from the population of size "N" an equal chance of selection. This writer, C. A. Moser,³ states however, that the use of quasi-random sampling (as he terms selection at regular intervals from a list) is generally "justified by the argument that the list can be regarded as arranged more or less at random, or that the feature by which it is arranged is not related to the subject of the survey."⁴

The source used for our sample, the address listing in the city

¹Census Tract Bulletins, *op. cit.*, 1951, Bulletin CT-8, Table 2, p. 10, and 1961, Bulletin CT-17, Table 2, p. 12.

²Mildred Parten, Surveys, Polls, and Samples: Practical Procedures, (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 266.

³C. A. Moser, Survey Methods in Social Investigations, (London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1958).

⁴Ibid., p. 77

directory, is arranged alphabetically by streets, and thus has no relation to the subject of our investigation. The foregoing, coupled with the fact that this method of selection from a list at regular intervals was the only one which could be attempted within the time and resources of the writer, enhanced the attractiveness of the method for this study.

The sample was taken by selecting every tenth name listed in the city directory of 1951,¹ within each census tract of the sample area. The selection of the first name in each census tract was ordered by chance. The numbers one through ten were marked on small pieces of paper of equal size, placed in a hat, and then one piece selected at random. The number on this piece of paper was the number of the first name to be chosen. That is, if the number "4" was selected then the fourth name in the directory's address section, on the street² which was in the particular census tract being sampled, was to be the first name in the sample. Thereafter, every tenth name was selected.

The names were carried over from one street to another. That is, if there were five names left after the selection of the last sample name on the section of a street within a particular census tract area, the fifth name from the beginning of the next street in the alphabetical list of those included in the census tract area, would be the next sample

¹Business places omitted.

²The streets, or sections of streets, within each census tract area were listed alphabetically and the sample selection started with the street which was first in alphabetical order. This method was selected in order to randomize the order of selection of the sample by streets, within a census tract, so that no particular geographic section of each census tract would be selected in any predetermined order.

name. This carrying over guarantees that the total number drawn for the sample will comprise one out of every ten names in the list. This procedure, from the selection by chance of the first name in the list, the selection of every tenth name, and the carrying over of the names from one street to the next, was used for each of the nine census tract areas sampled.

The sample names and addresses derived from the 1951 city directory were listed on work sheets as shown by the sample sheet in Appendix E. The left hand column lists the name of the street, the street address, and the sample name listed in the 1951 directory. The right hand column lists the 1961 place of residence of the above sample names.

After the selection of the sample was completed for each of the sample tract areas, the next step was to locate the sample names in the 1961 city directory. Here, the alphabetical name listing was used to locate the sample names. A sample name was identified in the 1961 directory by various means. If the name was listed in 1961 at the same address as in 1951, the initials of the person, his occupation, and his wife's first name were used to ascertain if it was the same party. If the name could not be found using the above methods, several others were employed as a further check before the name was abandoned as unfindable. First, if the name of the wife was listed with the sample name in 1951, her name was checked in the 1961 directory (using her first name as a guide), thus assuming the possible death of the husband in the intervening period. If the name was found at the same address in 1961 as that of 1951, it was so listed, or, a new address was listed if the wife's name was the only one of its kind in the 1961 list. Secondly, a number

of names were found at a 1961 address, which would otherwise not have been found, by checking names with similar spellings. It was found that a number had been spelled differently in the 1961 directory, from that used in the 1951 (by this is meant minor changes in spelling involving names of Eastern European origin mainly, which sounded similar in English when either spelling was used). These were presumably errors arising from the collection of the names by the directory enumerators. The fact of a spelling change was accepted only if the name of the man's wife was the same, as well as his occupation.

Division of Sample Into Three Categories

When the 1961 address of the sample names was determined, the results were listed in the following manner:

1. If the names were found at a 1961 address, the new address was listed beside the sample name.¹
2. If the name was found at the same address in 1961 as that listed for 1951, the words "Same Address" were marked beside the name.²
3. If the sample name could not be found in 1961, the words "No Show" were marked beside the name.³

Therefore the completed sample consisted of the following three

¹See Sample Work Sheet, City Directory Sample Study, Appendix E.

²Ibid

³Ibid.

categories:

1. Movers
2. Same Address
3. No Show

The number of sample names in each census tract sampled and the division of each sample into the above three categories is shown by Table XV, page 117, and discussed below.

Movers. The percentage of movers in each sample tract varies from a low of 27.5 percent in tract 11, to a high of 52.1 percent in tract 5.¹ Tracts 9 and 10 are within 2 percent of tract five's percentage, and they are at least ten percent higher than the next highest group of tracts. These tracts are in the older section of the sample area (see map of sample area, Map 17, page 109, but not the oldest (tracts 11 and 12 are the oldest).

Same Address. The percentage of those in each sample, found at the same address in 1961 as in 1951, varies from a low of 14.7 percent (tract 5) to a high of 40.9 percent (tract 8). The three highest with percentages ranging from 36.0 to 40.9 percent (tracts 7, 8, and 13) are located in the northern section of the sample area, which is the newest and most desirable portion of the area.

¹See Table XV, page 117.

TABLE XV
 NUMBER OF SAMPLE NAMES: NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE
 OF MOVERS, SAME ADDRESS, AND NO SHOWS, IN
 1961, BY CENSUS TRACTS SAMPLED

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. OF SAMPLE NAMES		238	261	159	88	97	144	40	101	136
MOVERS	NO.	124	101	62	33	49	71	11	37	46
	% ¹	52.1	38.7	39.0	37.5	50.5	49.3	27.5	36.6	33.8
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	35	76	62	36	23	22	11	24	49
	% ¹	14.7	29.1	39.0	40.9	23.7	15.3	27.5	23.8	36.0
NO SHOWS	NO.	79	84	35	19	25	51	18	40	41
	% ¹	33.2	32.2	22.0	21.6	25.8	35.4	45.0	39.6	30.2

¹Percentage of Movers, Same Address, and No shows in the Total Sample Names for Each Census Tract

No Show. The accuracy of the conclusions drawn from the sample was to a certain extent hampered by the high percentages of No Shows which were consistently encountered in all the sample census tracts. The percentage of No Shows in each sample tract varied from a low of 21.6 percent (tract 8) to a high of 45.0 percent in tract 11.¹ There are a number of factors, which when taken together, would account for the high incidence of No Shows; a change of name, misspelling of a name by enumerators, death, and movement outside the metropolitan area. However, the results obtained from the use of the data on Movers, when compared with the census analysis, indicates a sufficient measure of validity for our purposes.

Division of the Sample by Ethnic Origin

The validity of the city directory sample method depended upon the accuracy of the division of sample names by ethnic origin. The only method available for this was on the basis of the names themselves. As we shall demonstrate presently, there is evidence to suggest a degree of accuracy sufficient for our purposes.

The designation of ethnic group origin from the names in the sample was done with the aid of members of the particular groups. In the main, these were religious leaders of the various groups, who were in a position

¹Census Tract 11, according to the Census of 1951 and 1961, was thirty to forty percent below the average income for the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area. Therefore this area is one of the lowest in terms of economic standing in the metropolitan area as well as one of the oldest residential areas. It is probable that a large transient population as well as a higher death rate may account for the large percentage of No Shows in this sample.

to recognize names as deriving from a particular origin. One difficulty, of course, lay in name changing, but this was reduced to manageable proportions because of two factors. One, the first names often gave a clue to the ethnic origin if the last name did not, and two, in many cases the name when changed was recognized as a characteristic name in vogue by a particular ethnic group.¹

The division by ethnic origin follows that used by the Census of Canada for 1951, and used throughout this paper.² The percentage for each ethnic group found in the sample for each census tract was compared with the percentage given for that group by the Census of 1951.³ The results of this comparison are shown by Table XVI, page 120. The largest percentage deviation between the sample percentages and those given by the Census is 10.5 percent.⁴ However, a deviation of this percentage occurs only once, all the remaining deviations are less than 5.3 percent. In fact, the majority are less than half this amount. This holds true whether the ethnic group is large or small in a particular tract area.

This high correlation between the ethnic composition of the sample

¹Many of the persons whose aid was enlisted in determining the ethnic origin of the sample names were long-time residents of the metropolitan area, and in fact, of the sample area in the North End of the city. They recognized many names as being characteristic of a name change by the members of their own ethnic group, in fact in a number of cases the sample name involved was known personally by the informant. Also in a significant number of cases (with particular reference to one ethnic group) the sample name was known to the writer.

²See Figure 2, page 40.

³Census Tract Bulletin, 1951, op. cit., and Appendix C.

⁴This occurs in Tract 11. Due to the small size of the total sample (40), the results are suspect.

TABLE XVI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY CENSUS TRACTS, COMPARED
WITH PERCENTAGE OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN TOTAL POPULATION OF CENSUS
TRACT AS GIVEN BY THE CENSUS OF CANADA, 1951

ETHNIC GROUP	CENSUS TRACT 5			CENSUS TRACT 6			CENSUS TRACT 7			CENSUS TRACT 8			CENSUS TRACT 9			CENSUS TRACT 10			CENSUS TRACT 11			CENSUS TRACT 12			CENSUS TRACT 13		
	A ¹	B ²	C ³	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C	A	B	C
	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%	NO.	%	%
UKRAINIAN	100	42.0	45.3	76	29.1	29.7	26	16.4	16.7	6	6.8	5.6	14	14.4	18.9	46	31.9	30.8	20	50.0	51.9	48	47.5	52.8	7	5.1	5.9
JEWISH	42	17.6	16.2	50	19.2	19.3	39	24.5	23.4	36	40.9	43.0	40	41.2	45.9	37	25.7	27.4	2	5.0	1.8	8	7.9	10.2	56	41.2	43.9
BRITISH	27	11.3	9.6	35	13.4	10.0	50	31.4	29.5	32	36.4	34.6	18	18.6	14.8	17	11.8	9.6	9	22.5	12.0	13	12.9	8.1	53	39.0	35.6
POLISH	29	12.2	13.4	28	10.7	12.2	8	5.0	7.0	3	3.4	4.3	8	8.2	10.3	21	14.6	15.8	4	10.0	12.8	17	16.8	15.5	4	2.9	3.6
GERMAN	16	6.7	5.4	59	22.6	20.5	27	17.0	15.8	4	4.5	5.9	7	7.2	5.0	8	5.6	3.5	2	5.0	2.9	5	5.0	3.1	8	5.9	4.5
ASIATIC	2	.8	.4	1	.4	.5	1	.6	.4	0	0	.3	1	1.0	.2	0	0	.7	0	0	.8	0	0	.8	0	0	.2
NETHERLANDS	0	0	.7	0	0	.7	2	1.2	.7	0	0	.6	1	1.0	.7	0	0	1.1	0	0	.7	1	1.0	.7	0	0	.7
FRENCH	6	2.5	3.2	2	.8	1.2	2	1.2	1.0	1	1.1	1.1	2	2.1	1.5	6	4.2	4.0	1	2.5	6.7	3	3.0	1.9	3	2.2	1.1
RUSSIAN	4	1.7	1.4	2	.8	.8	0	0	.6	0	0	.2	0	0	.9	1	.7	2.1	0	0	1.2	1	1.0	2.1	1	.7	1.8
SCANDINAVIAN	4	1.7	1.2	2	.8	.1	1	.6	1.3	3	3.4	1.6	2	2.1	1.1	3	2.1	1.1	1	2.5	1.8	1	1.0	.5	2	1.5	1.6
ITALIAN	0	0	0	0	0	.5	0	0	.1	0	0	.2	0	0	.3	1	.7	.2	0	0	.4	0	0	.1	0	0	.2
OTHER EUROPEAN	8	3.4	2.1	6	2.3	3.5	3	1.9	2.6	5	3.4	1.9	4	4.1	1.6	4	2.8	2.5	1	2.5	1.6	4	4.0	3.3	2	1.5	2.5
TOTAL	238			261			159			88			97			144			40			101			136		

¹Number of Ethnic Group in Total Sample of Census Tract

²Percentage of Ethnic Group in Total Sample of Census Tract

³Percentage of Ethnic Group in Total Population of Census Tract as Given by the Census of Canada, 1951

TABLE XVI

as derived on the basis of the sample names, and the ethnic breakdown of the total population as derived by the Census from direct interview with the population, is considered as the best evidence of the reliability of the data gained from the city directory sample.

III. RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF SAMPLE AREA INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS

The results obtained from the preceding method will be utilized in the following manner. First, a discussion of the distribution of the total sample area intra-urban migrants - undifferentiated as to ethnic group (this is the category of "Movers", see Table XVI, page 120). The principle method of analysis here is through the medium of a map showing the percentage distribution of the total sample area intra-urban migrants. Second, a discussion of the residential distribution in 1961 of the sample area intra-urban migrants (Movers) from each of the five selected ethnic groups. This will be illustrated by a distribution map for each group.

Of the three categories derived from the sample list of names, we are concerned here with only one, that of the "Movers". These are the intra-urban migrants, that is, the names from the 1951 sample which were located at a different address in 1961. From the residential distribution of these migrants in 1961, we are able to discern characteristic intra-urban migration patterns of the five ethnic groups under examination during the 1951-1961 period. Furthermore, by comparing the patterns revealed by this method with those revealed by the analysis of

the census data, we are able to comment on the validity of each method, and thereby on the validity of our overall thesis.

When comparing the distribution patterns revealed by the sample area intra-urban migrants with those shown by the census data analysis, we are assuming that our sample is a valid representation of the total number of a particular ethnic group in the sample area. This assumption is based on two factors: (1) the high correlation between the percentage division by ethnic groups in the sample study, to that in the census, and (2) the high correlation between the distribution patterns of the sample area intra-urban migrants and the patterns resulting from the use of the census data. (This will be detailed at a later point).

1961 Distribution of Total Sample Area Intra-Urban Migrants

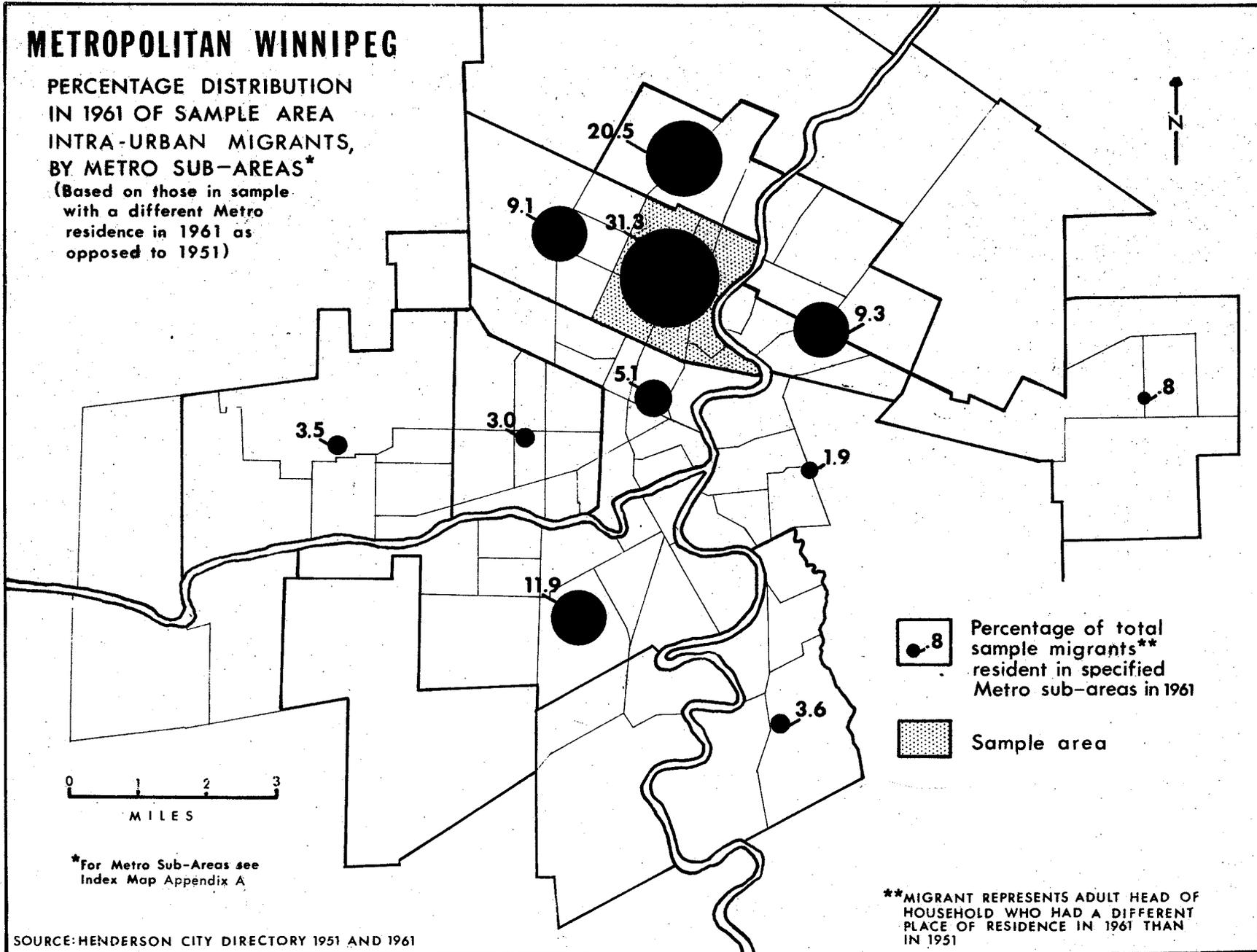
Map 18, on page 123, presents the percentage distribution of all the sample area intra-urban migrants, a total of 534, to specified Metro Sub-Areas in 1961. Table XVII, page 124, presents this percentage distribution by census tracts sampled.

The largest percentage of movers remained within the sample area -- 31.3 percent. The next largest group moved to West Kildonan -- 20.5 percent. When the foregoing two groups are combined with the group which moved to the non-sampled area of the North End (9.1 percent), we have a total of 60.9 percent of the sample area migrants. The remaining forty percent are spread throughout the metropolitan area, with two areas -- East Kildonan-Winnipeg East with 9.3 percent and Winnipeg South with 11.9 percent --- the only two of these remaining areas with any

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PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
IN 1961 OF SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS,
BY METRO SUB-AREAS*
(Based on those in sample
with a different Metro
residence in 1961 as
opposed to 1951)

MAP 18



SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

TABLE XVII
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE AREA INTRA-URBAN
 MIGRANTS TO SPECIFIED METRO SUB-AREAS IN 1961,
 BY CENSUS TRACTS SAMPLED

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	CENSUS TRACTS								
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
WPG. NORTH END SAMPLE AREA ²	37.2	29.6	24.2	21.1	32.8	42.4	45.5	37.8	10.9
REMAINDER	17.7	13.9	12.8	3.0	6.1	5.7	9.0	13.6	--
WEST KILDONAN EAST ³	8.1	28.7	24.2	30.3	26.5	16.9	9.1	8.1	32.6
WPG. CENTRE ⁴	14.5	7.9	6.5	6.1	10.2	5.6	18.2	8.1	6.5
WPG. WEST END	8.1	3.0	4.8	6.1	2.0	5.6	--	16.2	--
WPG. SOUTH	4.8	4.9	--	6.1	--	4.2	--	2.7	4.3
ST. JAMES	4.0	4.0	17.7	18.2	14.3	14.0	--	10.8	23.9
ST. BONIFACE	1.6	3.0	3.2	--	2.0	1.4	9.1	--	10.9
ST. VITAL	1.6	1.0	3.3	--	--	2.8	--	--	8.7
TRANSCONA	1.6	3.0	3.3	9.1	4.1	--	9.1	--	2.2
	.8	1.0	--	--	2.0	1.4	--	2.7	--
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
WPG. NORTH AND WEST KILDONAN	62.9	72.3	61.3	54.5	65.3	64.8	63.6	59.5	43.5
NORTH OF C.P.R. ¹	77.4	81.2	67.8	60.6	77.5	71.8	81.8	70.3	50.0

¹See Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas - Appendix A

²See Map, Sample Area, Map 17

³East Kildonan and Winnipeg East

⁴Includes Brooklands

significant percentages.

A recurring theme throughout this paper has been that there is a significant difference between residential distribution patterns of the British and non-British ethnic groups in the metropolitan area. This implies of course, a preference for certain sections of the urban area over others, when residential location is changed, by each of the groups.

Since the non-British groups constitute 82.9 percent of the total population of the sample area (see Table XIV, page 111) the assumption is made that the distribution pattern portrayed by the distribution map (Map 18, page 123) can be ascribed mainly to the movement of the four non-British groups. The next step is the logical deduction that the non-British ethnic groups are displaying a preference for certain locations in the metropolitan area when changing residence, and this preference is for the northern half of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area, because here we find 71.0 percent of the sample area migrants.

This would logically be the place to discuss the relationship between residential distribution patterns resulting from the sample study to those from the census analysis. However, this discussion would be better left until the residential distribution of the sample names from each of the five ethnic groups has been presented.

1961 Residential Distribution of Ethnic Group Sample Area Intra-Urban Migrants.

When the ethnic origin of the sample names had been determined, the

names of those belonging to each of the five ethnic groups previously selected were divided into three categories: (1) Movers, (2) Same Address, and (3) No Show (the same procedure as that done for the total sample).¹ The results obtained are shown by Tables XVIII(A) through XVIII(E), on pages 127 and 128, which illustrate the number of each group in the total sample, its percentage of the total sample, and the number and percentage for each group in the three categories mentioned above. Table XIX, page 129 shows the breakdown of Movers, Same Address and No Shows for each of the five ethnic groups.

The residential distribution of the sample "Movers" from each ethnic group has been plotted on a series of maps, one for each group. This has been done by means of the dot technique, where one dot represents one migrant (Mover) and each dot has been placed on the map in the actual location of the 1961 address of the particular mover. The result is a series of five maps,² each depicting the intra-urban migration pattern of the sample movers from each of the ethnic groups, from the sample area in 1951 to their 1961 place of residence. The percentage distribution of the intra-urban migrants from each of the five ethnic groups to the various Metro Sub-Areas is shown by Table XX, page 135 .

The most striking aspect of each of these maps is that the residential distribution of the sample movers suggests a definite type of movement for each group. The Ukrainian, German and Polish groups are

¹Data derived from work sheets, see sample, Appendix E.

²Maps 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23, pages 130 through 134.

TABLE XVIII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE IN TOTAL SAMPLE BY CENSUS TRACTS, AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MOVERS, SAME ADDRESS, AND NO SHOWS BY CENSUS TRACTS:
(A) BRITISH, (B) UKRAINIAN, (C) POLISH, (D) GERMAN, (E) JEWISH

(A) BRITISH

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. IN SAMPLE ¹		27	35	50	32	18	17	9	13	53
% of SAMPLE ¹		11.3	13.4	31.4	36.4	18.6	11.8	22.5	12.9	39.0
MOVERS	NO.	16 ²	12	17	10	8	8	4	5	11
	%	59.3 ²	34.3	34.0	31.3	44.4	47.1	44.4	38.5	20.8
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	2 ²	9	19	12	4	1	2	2	23
	%	7.4 ²	25.7	38.0	37.5	22.2	5.9	22.2	15.4	43.4
NO SHOWS	NO.	9 ²	14	14	10	6	8	3	6	19
	%	33.3 ²	40.0	28.0	31.3	33.3	47.1	33.3	46.2	35.8

¹Number and Percentage of Group in Total Sample from Each Tract

²Number and Percentage of Movers, Same Address, and No Shows in Total Sample Names for the Group in Each Tract. (i.e., Total number for British Group is 27)

(B) UKRAINIAN

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. IN SAMPLE		100	76	26	6	14	46	20	48	7
% OF SAMPLE		42.0	29.1	16.4	6.8	14.4	31.9	50.0	47.5	5.1
MOVERS	NO.	52	23	14	2	9	19	4	20	3
	%	52.0	30.3	53.8	33.3	64.3	41.3	25.0	41.7	42.8
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	19	22	9	2	3	8	7	11	2
	%	19.0	28.9	34.6	33.3	21.4	17.4	35.0	22.9	28.6
NO SHOWS	NO.	29	31	3	2	2	19	9	17	2
	%	29.0	40.8	11.5	33.3	14.3	41.3	45.0	35.4	28.6

(C) POLISH

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. IN SAMPLE		29	28	8	3	8	21	4	17	4
% OF SAMPLE		12.2	10.7	5.0	3.4	8.2	14.6	10.0	16.8	2.9
MOVERS	NO.	15	7	2	2	4	9	1	4	0
	%	51.7	25.0	25.0	66.7	50.0	42.9	25.0	23.5	0
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	5	11	3	1	3	6	1	5	3
	%	17.2	39.3	37.5	33.3	37.5	28.6	25.0	29.4	75.0
NO SHOWS	NO.	9	10	3	0	1	6	2	8	1
	%	31.0	35.7	37.5	0	12.5	28.6	50.0	47.1	25.0

(D) GERMAN

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. IN SAMPLE		16	59	27	4	7	8	2	5	8
% OF SAMPLE		6.7	22.6	17.0	4.5	7.2	5.6	5.0	5.0	5.9
MOVERS	NO.	8	23	7	2	4	2	0	1	4
	%	50.0	39.0	25.9	50.0	57.1	25.0	0	20.0	50.0
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	0	19	12	2	1	2	1	1	1
	%	0	32.2	44.4	50.0	14.3	25.0	50.0	20.0	12.5
NO SHOWS	NO.	8	17	8	0	2	4	1	3	3
	%	50.0	28.8	29.6	0	28.6	50.0	50.0	60.0	37.5

(E) JEWISH

		CENSUS TRACTS								
		5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
NO. IN SAMPLE		42	50	39	36	40	37	2	8	56
% OF SAMPLE		17.6	19.2	24.5	40.9	41.2	25.7	5.0	7.9	41.2
MOVERS	NO.	23	30	19	15	21	25	2	2	25
	%	54.8	60.0	48.7	41.7	52.5	67.6	100.0	25.0	44.6
SAME ADDRESS	NO.	7	10	14	14	10	2	0	4	18
	%	16.7	20.0	35.9	38.9	25.0	5.4	0	50.0	32.1
NO SHOWS	NO.	12	10	6	7	9	10	0	2	13
	%	28.6	20.0	15.4	19.4	22.5	27.0	0	25.0	23.2

TABLE XIX

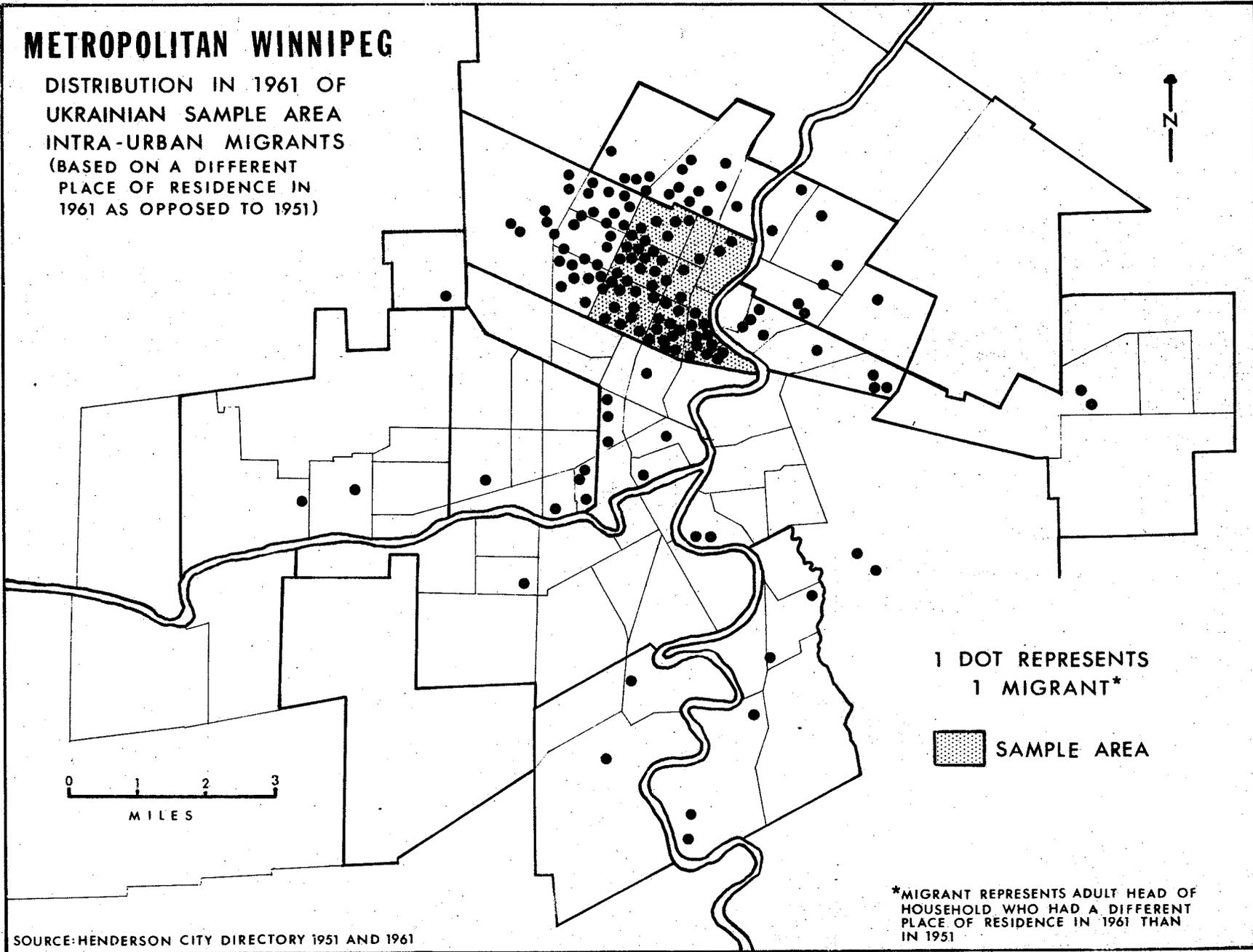
DIVISION OF ETHNIC GROUP SAMPLE BY PERCENTAGE
OF MOVERS, SAME ADDRESS, AND NO SHOWS

DIVISION OF SAMPLE	BRITISH	UKRAINIAN	POLISH	GERMAN	JEWISH
MOVERS	39.3	42.4	34.4	35.2	55.0
SAME ADDRESS	24.2	26.6	35.9	27.6	24.9
NO SHOWS	36.5	31.0	29.7	37.2	20.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF
UKRAINIAN SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS
(BASED ON A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN
1961 AS OPPOSED TO 1951)

MAP 19



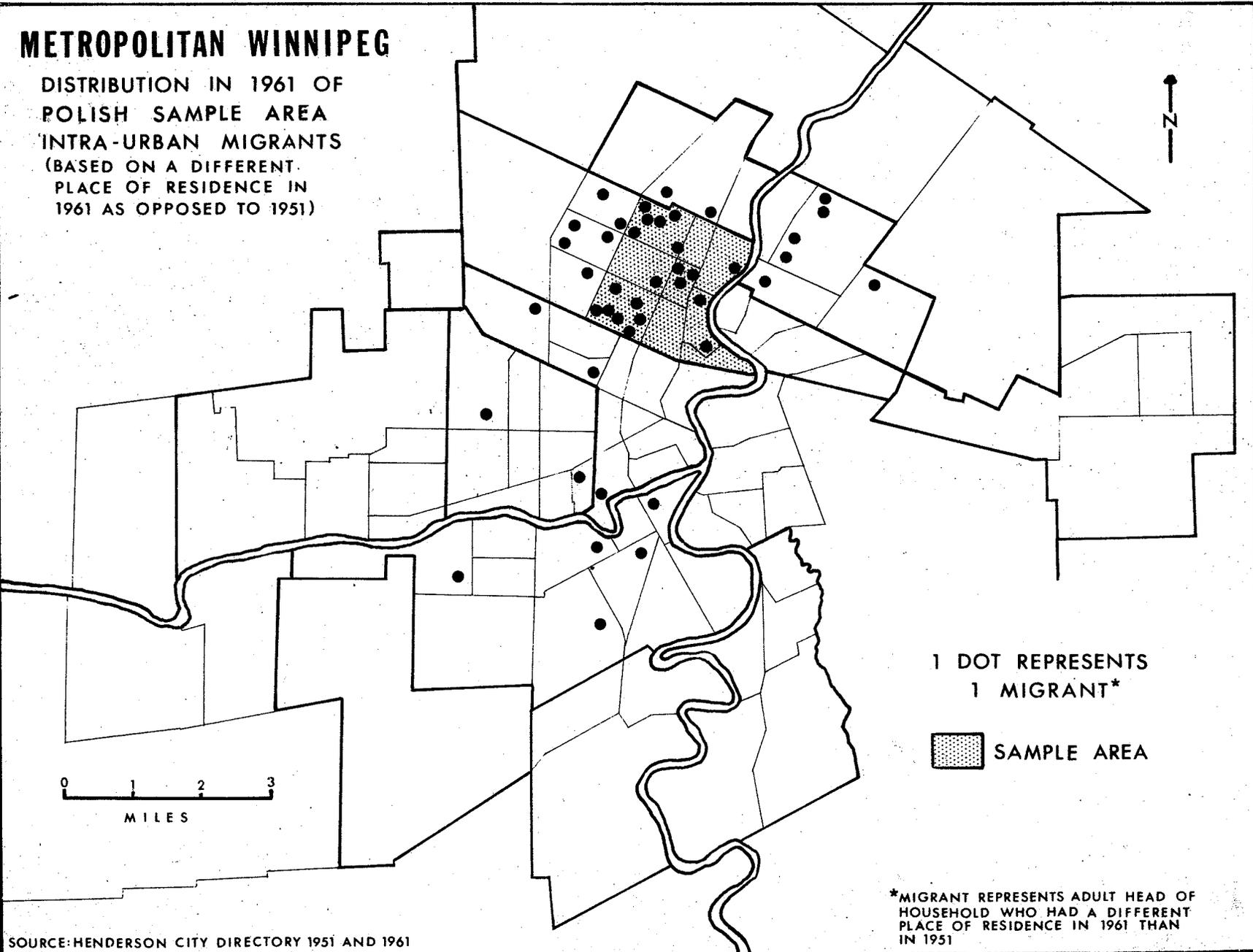
SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

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METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF
POLISH SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS
(BASED ON A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN
1961 AS OPPOSED TO 1951)

MAP 20



*MIGRANT REPRESENTS ADULT HEAD OF
HOUSEHOLD WHO HAD A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1961 THAN
IN 1951

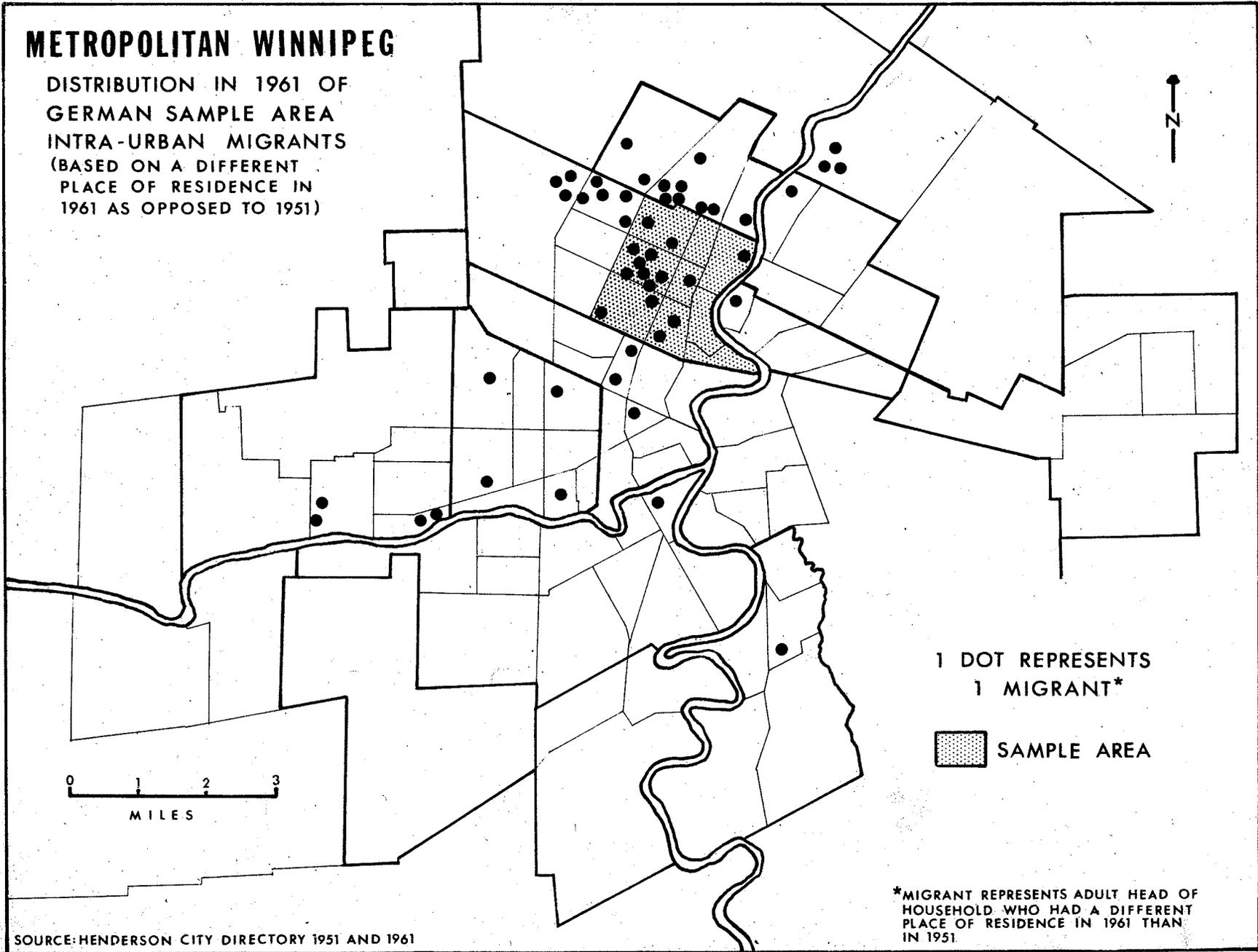
SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

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METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF
GERMAN SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS
(BASED ON A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN
1961 AS OPPOSED TO 1951)

MAP 21



1 DOT REPRESENTS
1 MIGRANT*

 SAMPLE AREA

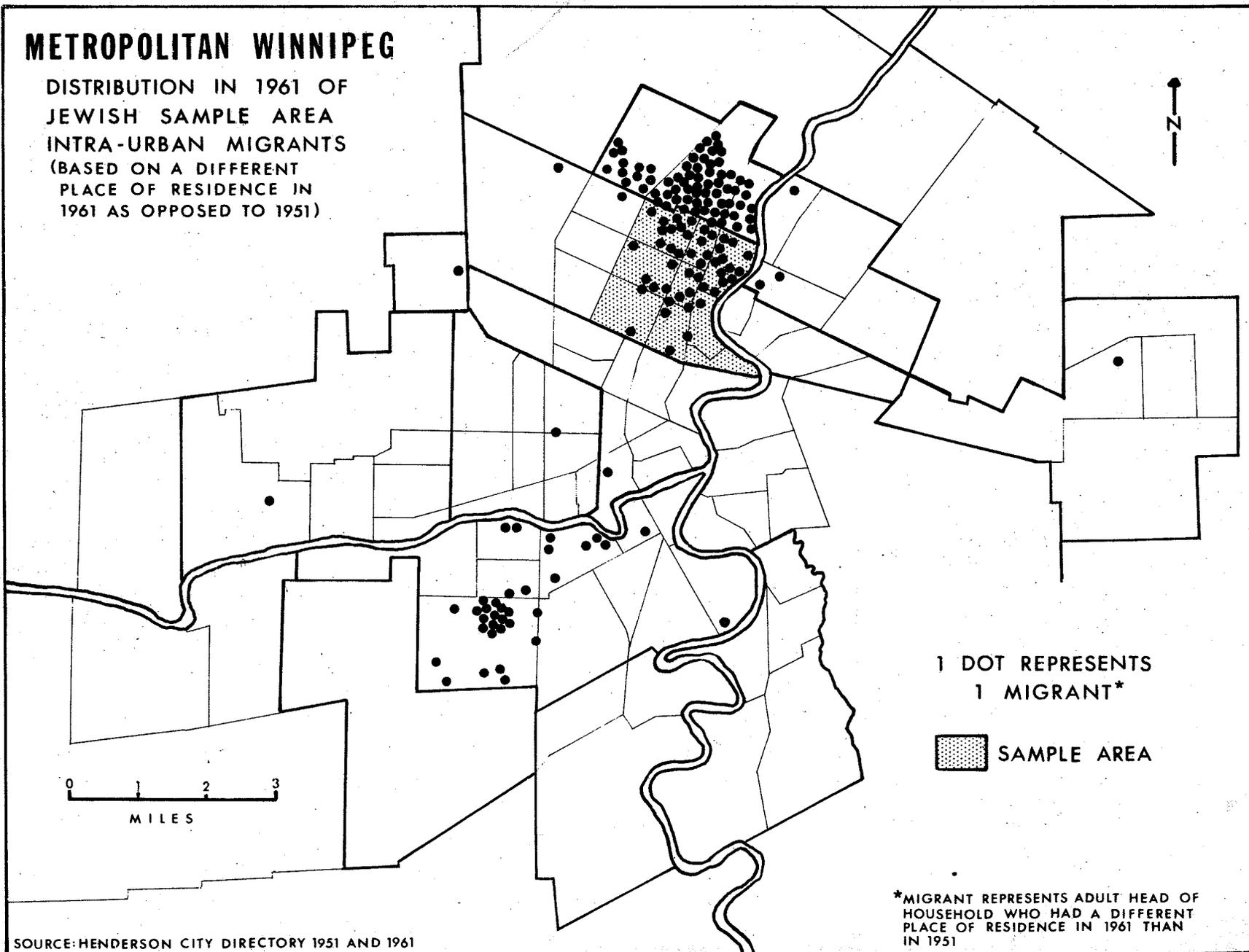
*MIGRANT REPRESENTS ADULT HEAD OF
HOUSEHOLD WHO HAD A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1961 THAN
IN 1951

SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF
JEWISH SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS
(BASED ON A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN
1961 AS OPPOSED TO 1951)

MAP 22

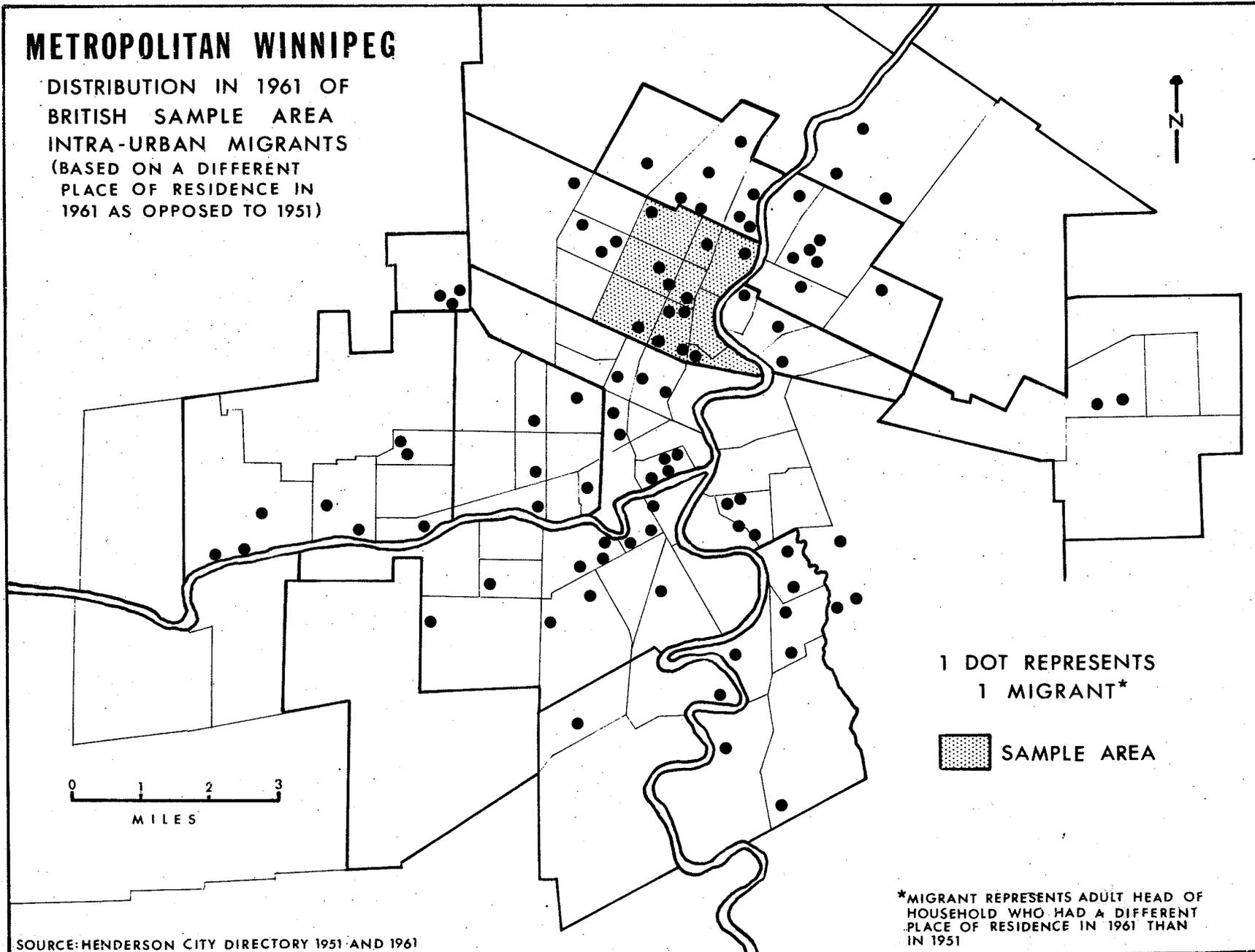


SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

DISTRIBUTION IN 1961 OF
BRITISH SAMPLE AREA
INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS
(BASED ON A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN
1961 AS OPPOSED TO 1951)

MAP 23



1 DOT REPRESENTS
1 MIGRANT*

 SAMPLE AREA

*MIGRANT REPRESENTS ADULT HEAD OF
HOUSEHOLD WHO HAD A DIFFERENT
PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1961 THAN
IN 1951

SOURCE: HENDERSON CITY DIRECTORY 1951 AND 1961

TABLE XX
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUP
 INTRA-URBAN MIGRANTS TO SPECIFIED
 METRO SUB-AREAS, 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS ¹	BRITISH	UKRAINIAN	POLISH	GERMAN	JEWISH
WPG. NORTH SAMPLE AREA ²	13.1	39.0	45.5	29.4	29.2
REMAINDER	4.4	20.5	13.7	15.7	1.2
WEST KILDONAN	8.8	10.3	4.5	19.6	44.1
EAST ³	14.3	11.0	13.6	9.8	1.9
WPG. CENTRE ⁴	13.1	4.8	6.8	5.9	1.2
WPG. WEST END	5.5	3.4	4.5	7.8	.6
ST. JAMES	8.9	1.4	---	7.8	.6
WPG. SOUTH	14.3	2.1	11.4	2.0	21.2
ST. BONIFACE	7.7	2.7	---	---	---
ST. VITAL	7.7	3.4	---	2.0	---
TRANSCONA	2.2	1.4	---	---	---
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
NORTH OF C.P.R. ¹	42.8	82.2	77.3	74.5	76.4
WPG. NORTH AND WEST KILDONAN	26.3	69.8	63.7	64.7	74.5

¹ See Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas - Appendix A

² See Map: Sample Area, Map 17

³ East Kildonan and Winnipeg East

⁴ Includes Brooklands

characterized by a preponderance of movers to the northern half of the urban area -- ranging from 74.5 percent to 82.2 percent of the movers from the group. The remaining movers from these groups are scattered throughout the other sections of the metropolitan area. The Jewish group presents the same type of movement in that 76.4 percent of the movers migrated to the northern half of the city. However, it differs in two aspects, one is that the movement outside of that to the northern half of the city, is highly concentrated in one metro sub-area -- Winnipeg South (21.2 percent of the Jewish movers) and is practically non-existent in the remaining sub-areas. Even within the Winnipeg South sub-area the Jewish group is highly concentrated, with approximately 65 percent of the total movers in one census tract area (tract 48, see map 22, page 133). The other aspect by which the Jewish movement differs from the three other non-British groups is in the character of the distribution within the northern half of the urban area. The Jewish movers here, are by an overwhelming majority concentrated in the West Kildonan sub-area and in the contiguous section of the sample area to the south. On the other hand the Ukrainians, Polish and German movers are more evenly scattered throughout the northern half of the urban area, albeit in varying degrees. Each has the largest percentage of its movers within the sample area of the North End (see Table XX, page 135). Within this area they are scattered fairly evenly, with the exception of the north-east corner which is predominately Jewish. As Table XX, page 135 , demonstrates, each of the three groups has a substantial percentage of their movers in other sections of the northern

half of the city, that is, the North End apart from the sample area, West Kildonan, Winnipeg East and East Kildonan (see Maps 19 through 23, pages 130 through 134).

The residential distribution of British sample area movers presents a completely different picture. The distribution map on page 134, (Map 23) reveals this difference immediately. There is no sub-area of the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area which contains more than 14.3 percent of the British movers in 1961 (see Table XX, page 135). In other words, a highly random distribution throughout the metropolitan area. This is a direct contrast to the distribution of the movers from the four non-British groups. There is an apparent difference here between the random distribution of the sample study movers to the relative concentration of the British in the southern half of the city revealed by the analysis of the census data. We will consider this point when comparing the sample study to the analysis of census data.

IV. COMPARISON OF CHANGES IN RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS DERIVED FROM DIRECTORY SAMPLE AND CENSUS TRACT DATA

The results obtained from the use of the City Directory as a source of data for ethnic group intra-urban migration cannot be considered directly as a means of determining changes in residential distribution of the ethnic groups under study. These results apply to one sector of the urban area -- albeit an important one in terms of a source area of intra-urban migration -- and cannot therefore be interpreted as answering the

question of changing ethnic group residential patterns for the urban area as a whole. The main purpose of using this method was to validate the generalized patterns of residential distribution which resulted from the cartographic analysis of the census tract data. In this respect the method appears eminently viable, as the actual 1961 destinations of the sample area movers coincides very closely with the changes in residential distribution revealed by the analysis of the census tract data.

There are several points which must be kept in mind concerning the sample taken from the city directory. First of all, the validity of the sample is based on the assumption that it is in fact a valid random sample (quasi-random) of each of the ethnic group populations in the sample area. It is the writer's contention that this assumption is correct, based primarily on the fact of the high correlation between the ethnic group percentages in the sample and those given by the Census of Canada.

Another aspect of the sample which must be evaluated is the fact that the 1961 residential distribution patterns are based on only a portion of each ethnic group sample. This portion consists of the sample names whose addresses were found in a new location in 1961 (the "Movers"). This portion varies from 35 to 55 percent of each group's total sample (see Table XIX, page 129). The only means of evaluating the assumptions made of residential distribution from this portion of each sample is by comparison with the patterns revealed by the analysis of census tract data.

Let us examine each of the five groups and compare the results derived from the city directory sample and the analysis of census tract data.

The Jewish Group

A comparison of the map showing the 1961 distribution of Jewish sample area intra-urban migrants (map 22, page 133) with the map of 1961 percentage distribution of this group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area (Map 15, page 93), immediately reveals a striking similarity of residential distribution. Furthermore, a movement from the older residential areas of the North End to the three areas of 1961 concentration, tract 48 in Winnipeg South, West Kildonan, and the northern section of the North End, are clearly indicated by both the sample distribution map and the change in percentage distributions map (Map 16, page 98). It is for this group that the results of the two methods demonstrate the highest correlation. This is to be expected in view of the high degree of residential concentration of this group (see Index of Residential Segregation, Figure 3, page 47), the wholesale movement to clearly defined small areas, and most important, the fact that the sample area is the major, in fact the only originating area for intra-urban migration. It follows from the above, that the city directory sample method is a highly effective means of determining the intra-urban movement of the Jewish group implied by the changes in percentage distribution as revealed by the cartographic analysis of the census tract data.

The German Group

The correlation between the results of the two methods is not as significant for this group as it was for the Jewish group. This is due basically to the fact that the German group, as we are considering it

here for cartographic analysis, is composed of sub-groups which are reflected in differing areas of residential concentration within a large section of the urban area (see discussion of distribution, page 78). However, the validity of the sample method as a means of determining intra-urban migration revealed by the census tract data is demonstrated by the following two points. First, the 1961 sample distribution map of the German group (Map 21, page 132), shows the major percentage of German group movers residing in census tracts 6, 7, and 2, a fact derived from the percentage distribution maps (Maps 11 and 12, pages 79 and 80). Secondly, the preference for residence in 1961 within the same general area as demonstrated for 1951, is clearly indicated by both methods, that is, the northern half of the metropolitan area, and the contiguous Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg West End sub-areas. The significant point here is the addition of the Winnipeg Centre and Winnipeg West End sub-areas, which in 1961 are revealed as new areas of high residential concentration, due to the selection of these areas by post-war German immigrants. This high degree of concentration in a small area by an immigrant group illustrates that the tendency towards immigrant residential segregation is still very much a factor of urban ecology today, as it was during the great immigration periods of the past.

The Ukrainian Group

The absence of change in the dominance of the northern half of the urban area as the major area of Ukrainian residential concentration is

as clearly revealed by the map of 1961 sample residential distribution (Map 19, page 130), as it is by the percentage distribution maps (Map 5 and 6, pages 62 and 63). There is no doubt here as to the usefulness of the sample method in evaluating conclusions drawn from the analysis of census tract data. The northern half of the city remains the major residential area for this group, and the intra-urban migration of this group clearly indicates the confinement of residential movement within this area.

The Polish group

A comparison of the 1961 sample distribution map for this group (Map 20, page 131) with the percentage distribution maps (Maps 8 and 9, pages 70 and 71), reveals a situation highly similar to that discussed above for the Ukrainian group. The differences are ascribed mainly to the smaller size of the Polish group. The areas of residential concentration are the same (the northern half of the urban area) and the Polish intra-urban migration demonstrates the same pattern of residential concentration in 1961 as that of the Ukrainian migrants.

The British Group

The result of the analysis of intra-urban migration of this group cannot be used to validate the results obtained from the census tract data because of one major factor. That is the fact that the sample area chosen is not an area of major residential concentration of the British group. The percentage distribution maps derived from the census tract data (maps 2 and 3, pages 54 and 55) have shown that the southern half

of the urban area is the preferred residential section for the majority of the British group, and that although movement has occurred by members of the group, it has remained within the confines of this general area. Therefore, as we have previously stated in Chapter Three, despite the dominant position of the British group in the metropolitan area, they exhibit evidence of residential segregation. However, what the results of the sample study do reveal, is the difference in the migration patterns between the British group and the four non-British groups. This difference is readily apparent when the 1961 sample distribution maps for the five groups are compared. Each of the non-British groups shows a high degree of preference for specific sections within the metropolitan area, while the British group shows a near random distribution in terms of percentages within the various metro sub-areas in 1961. We can only surmise that this evidence of lack of residential segregation on the part of the British group (in the face of that shown by the analysis of census tract data) can be ascribed to the following factors. The first, is that the migration pattern is derived from an area which is not a major residential concentration of the British, and therefore those members of this group living there in the first place can be considered to be less concerned with selection of an area predominantly British. Second is the size of the British group compared with each of the other four groups. Residential preference for this group can be shown in one section of the city, but the large numbers of the group necessitate a fairly high degree of random distribution throughout the metropolitan area (as demonstrated by the Index

of Residential Segregation) and it is entirely logical to assume that movement from an area of minor residential concentration (the Sample area) will not follow the pattern shown for the areas of major residential concentration (the southern half of the urban area).

V. SUMMARY

The use of city directories as a source of data for a sample study of ethnic group intra-urban migration has been demonstrated in the preceding chapter as possessing sufficient validity to provide highly useful observations. This validity is restricted of course, to the migration originating in the sample area (Winnipeg North End). However, when these results are used in conjunction with those derived from the analysis of census tract data, their validity is considerably enhanced. The high correlation between the changes in residential distribution for each ethnic group in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area shown by the percentage distribution maps from the census data, with the residential changes shown by the sample movers, reinforces not only the use of the city directory method, but also the use of the cartographic analysis of the census tract data.

Herein lies the major point with regard to this paper. The sample from city directories not only establishes that changes in ethnic group residential distribution between the years 1951-1961 are in large part the result of intra-urban migration of the members of the ethnic groups, but also validates the use of the method of cartographic analysis based on census tract data to determine changes in the residential distribution

of ethnic groups.

It is apparent from the discussions of each of the five ethnic groups that our methods work better for the analysis of some groups than for others. The method worked better for groups which are highly concentrated, and this applies particularly to the Jewish group in the Winnipeg area. The effectiveness decreases as we move down the scale of concentration, through the Ukrainian, Polish, German and lastly the British. In particular, the German group proved most difficult to analyse effectively by these methods. This was due to the fact that several distinct sub-groups are included in the one census classification -- the German Group. Therefore it was impossible to assess quantitatively the degree of segregation exhibited by the Mennonite and German National sub-groups.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study has examined five selected ethnic groups in the Metropolitan Winnipeg Area during the period 1951-1961, from the point of view of changes in their respective residential distributions. Basic to this point of view has been the assumption that ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area have demonstrated throughout the city's history a definite tendency in varying degree, towards residential segregation.

This historical pattern of residential concentration has been documented through the use of census data, contemporary accounts, and interviews with members of the various ethnic groups who were among the first members of their group to arrive in Winnipeg. The striking feature of this historical pattern of residential segregation is its apparent stability to the present day. In some cases (the French group notably) this residential distribution was set well before the turn of the century (the British group to a lesser degree), while for the Central and Eastern European groups the residential patterns originated approximately sixty years ago when large numbers of these people began to arrive in Winnipeg. Due to the lack of census data on ethnic group distributions within the Metropolitan Winnipeg area during this period, the preceding statements must be accepted as indicating a generalized picture only.

In 1951, with the introduction of population breakdowns for the Metropolitan Winnipeg area by census tracts, a more detailed examination

of ethnic group residential distribution became possible.

Our examination of changes in residential distribution of ethnic groups in the Winnipeg area during 1951-1961 began by constructing an Index of residential segregation based on census tract data. This Index provided a quantitative method for determining the degree of residential segregation exhibited by each ethnic group in 1951 and 1961, and the relative position of the groups to each other. The results from this Index indicated first: that residential segregation did in fact exist among the ethnic groups in the metropolitan area (that is residential segregation in terms of the tendency for members of an ethnic group to concentrate residentially in certain areas of the city), second; the degree of residential segregation varied from the near random distribution of the British and Scandinavian groups (Index slightly over 1.0), to the high concentration of the Jewish group (Index near 5.0), and third; although the degree of residential segregation decreased slightly for most of the ethnic groups during the 1951-1961 period, the relative positions of the groups to each other and to the dominant British group, remained substantially the same.

In order to substantiate the general picture of residential distribution implied by the Index of residential segregation, five ethnic groups were selected for detailed cartographic analysis during the 1951-1961 period. These were the British, Ukrainian, Polish, German and Jewish groups.

Throughout this paper cartographic analysis was used as the basic method of determining residential distributions and changes in distributions during the 1951-1961 period. Two sources of data were utilized for

this analysis. One was the census tract data from the 1951 and 1961 Census of Canada, and the other was the name and address listing from the 1951 and 1961 Winnipeg city directories. The results derived from the use of each of these methods were significant in themselves, but when used together each reinforced the other and provided a higher degree of accuracy for the following conclusions.

First of all, as previously mentioned, each of the five selected groups exhibited a degree of residential segregation in their pattern of residential distribution ranging from the highest for the Jewish group, followed in diminishing order by the Ukrainian, Polish, German, and British Groups. The degree of segregation for the Jewish group in 1961 was more than five times as great as that for the British group. Second, although the degrees of residential segregation of the non-British groups studied decreased in relation to the British group during this period, the relative degree of segregation among the groups remained highly stable, as did the position of the non-British groups relative to that of the British group. Third, although a dispersion of the ethnic groups in terms of their movement towards the periphery of the urban area is evident, there is a marked tendency for the groups to demonstrate a movement within a certain sector of the city. This tendency is revealed by the 1961 concentrations of these groups in certain selected sections of the metropolitan area, the British in the southern half of the city, the Jewish in the northern half of the city (with a separate outlier in the southern half), and the northern half of the city for the remaining three groups. And lastly, the British group,

although revealing the most random residential distribution of any group, a function of its dominant cultural position and large numbers, exhibits a tendency for residential preference, which is shown by the high concentrations of this group in the South and Southwest sections of the city.

With the acceptance of the fact that the preceding conclusions have clearly demonstrated the existence of residential segregation among the five ethnic groups selected for study in the metropolitan area, and the fact that this situation has changed only in minor degree through the study period, it is possible to make a statement regarding the extent of the assimilation process among the varied ethnic groups. This of course, is only from the point of view of one variable of the assimilation process, and that is residential segregation.

The existence of varying degrees of residential segregation displayed by each of the five ethnic groups in 1961, and the fact of a relatively minor decrease in the degree of segregation since 1951, lends considerable weight to the conclusion that, with respect to the effect of this variable on the assimilation process, very little progress has been made toward further assimilation during this period.

Several points in particular serve to emphasize this conclusion. The first is the fact that the Jewish group increased its degree of residential segregation from that of 1951, as well as further increasing its degree of segregation relative to the other four groups studied (each other group slightly decreasing during the 1951-1961 period). And secondly, the cartographic analysis of the census tract data has clearly

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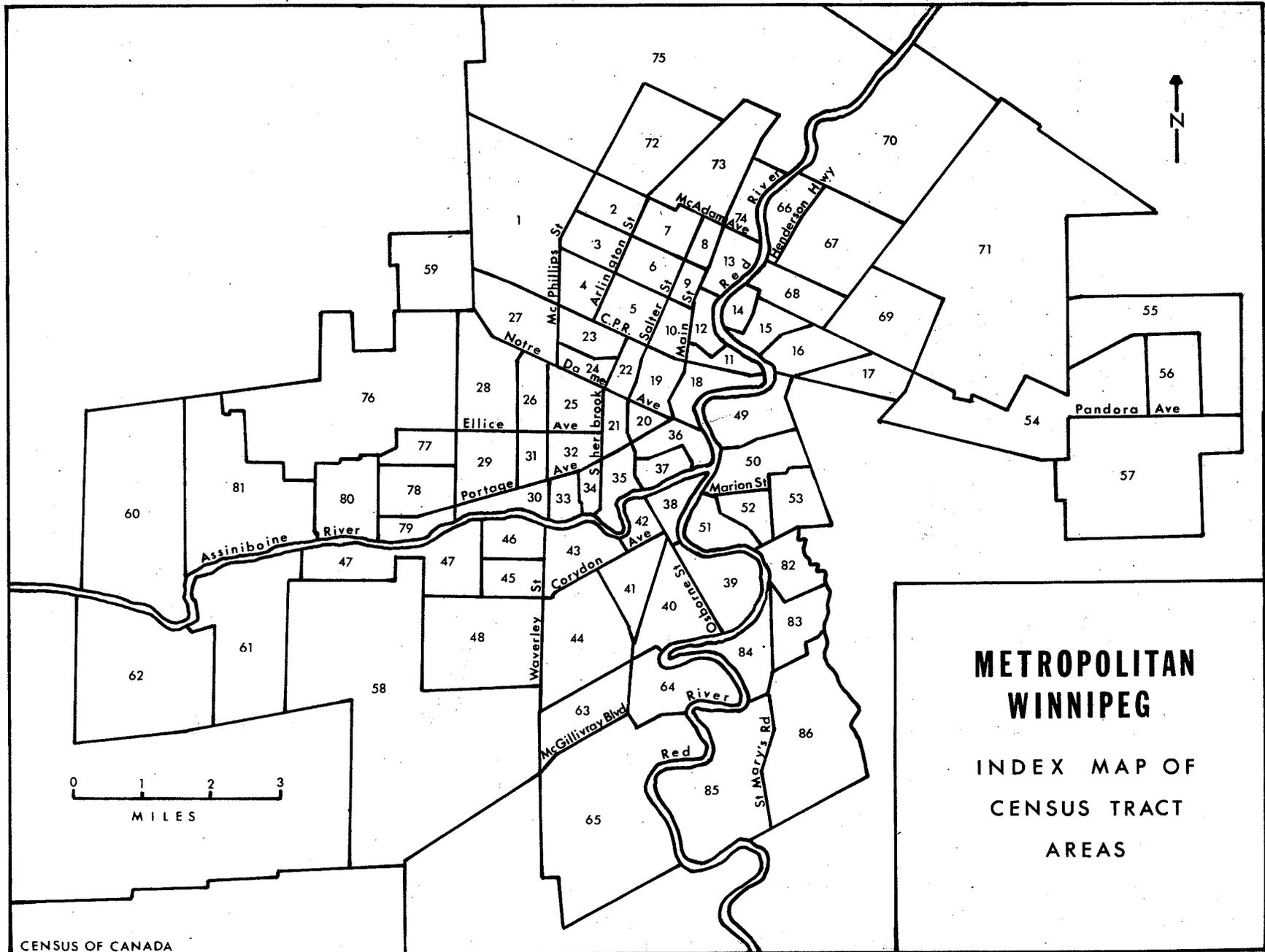
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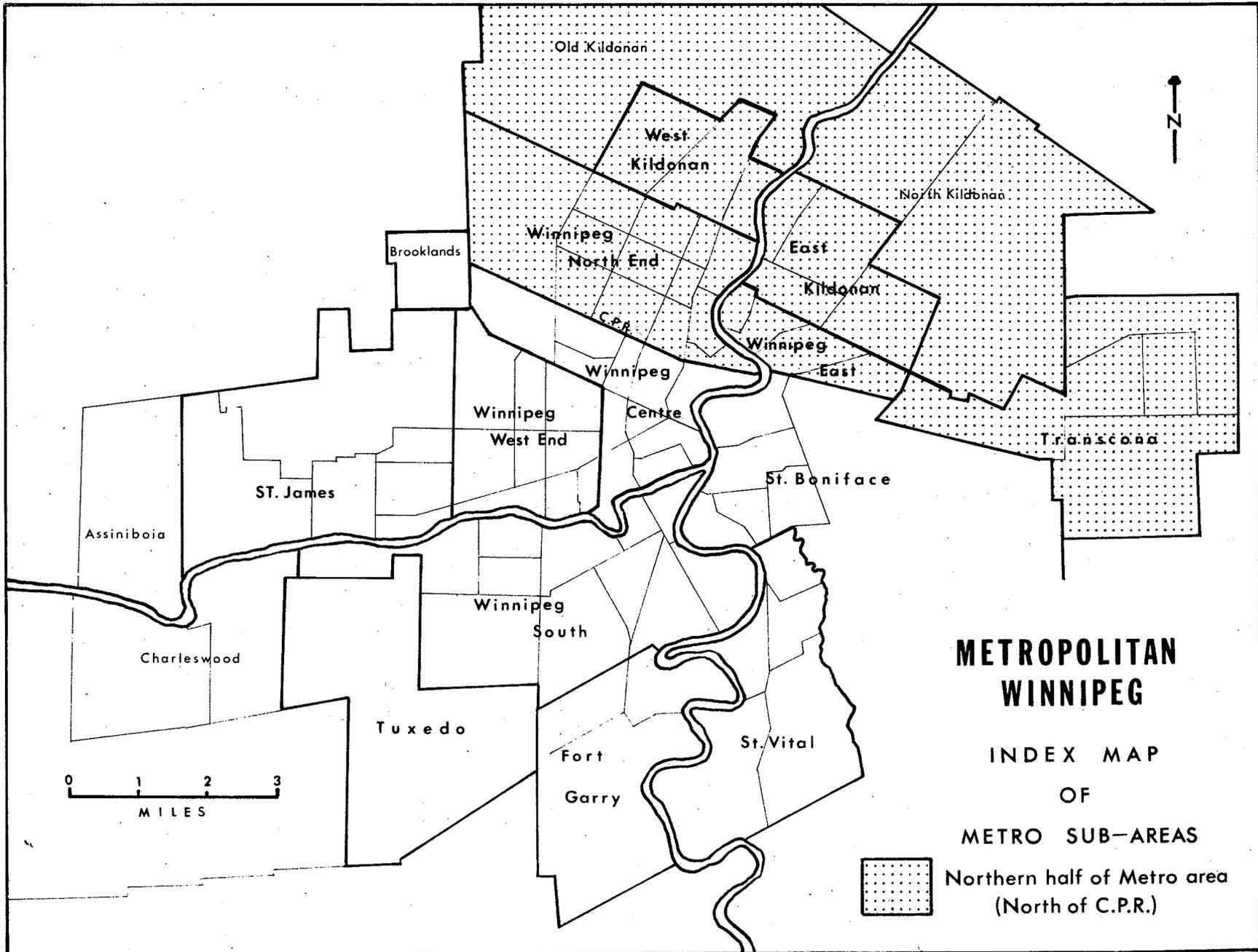
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INDEX MAPS - METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

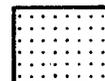


**METROPOLITAN
WINNIPEG**
INDEX MAP OF
CENSUS TRACT
AREAS



METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

INDEX MAP
OF
METRO SUB-AREAS

 Northern half of Metro area
(North of C.P.R.)

APPENDIX B

CENSUS TRACTS GROUPED BY METRO SUB-AREAS

CENSUS TRACTS WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG
STUDY AREA, ¹GROUPED BY METRO SUB-AREAS²

METRO SUB-AREAS	CENSUS TRACT NUMBERS
WINNIPEG NORTH END ³	1-13
WINNIPEG EAST.....	14-17
WINNIPEG CENTRE.....	18-24, 27, 35-37
WINNIPEG WEST END.....	25, 26, 28, 29-34
WINNIPEG SOUTH.....	38-48
ST. BONIFACE.....	49-53
TRANSCONA.....	54-57
TUXEDO.....	58
BROOKLANDS.....	59
ASSINIBOIA.....	60
CHARLESWOOD.....	61-62
FORT GARRY.....	63-65
EAST KILDONAN.....	66-69
NORTH KILDONAN.....	70-71
WEST KILDONAN.....	72-74
OLD KILDONAN.....	75
ST. JAMES.....	76-81
ST. VITAL.....	82-86

¹See Index Map, Census Tract Areas

²See Index Map, Metro Sub-Areas

³City of Winnipeg, Census Tracts 1-48

APPENDIX C

TABLE I - CENSUS TRACT DATA

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TABLE I
 SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CENSUS TRACT POPULATION, 1951 AND 1961
 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE, 1951 TO 1961: TOTAL CENSUS TRACT POPULATION, 1951 AND 1961
 AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1951 TO 1961: METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG

CENSUS TRACT	BRITISH			GERMAN			UKRAINIAN			POLISH			JEWISH			TOTAL TRACT		
	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	NO.	NO.	%
1	43.0	36.4	- 6.6	5.8	12.7	6.9	23.1	24.5	1.4	12.4	9.1	- 3.3	.3	1.1	.8	3,032	6,972	129.0
2	45.8	23.4	-22.4	13.6	15.7	2.1	16.3	35.9	19.6	5.7	10.9	5.2	1.6	4.3	2.7	1,358	4,291	215.0
3	24.2	24.0	- .2	6.5	8.7	2.2	44.9	40.1	- 4.8	15.4	14.1	- 1.3	.3	.4	.1	7,004	7,399	5.6
4	13.5	17.0	3.5	7.0	8.2	1.2	52.2	46.8	- 5.4	17.8	14.2	- 3.6	.6	.3	.3	3,699	3,495	-5.5
5	9.6	15.7	6.1	5.4	8.7	3.3	45.3	35.8	- 9.5	13.4	11.8	- 1.6	16.2	4.3	-11.9	8,972	8,904	-.8
6	10.0	13.3	3.3	20.5	17.7	-2.8	29.7	31.5	1.8	12.2	12.8	.6	19.3	7.3	-12.0	9,364	9,200	-1.7
7	29.5	20.7	- 8.8	15.8	15.2	- .6	16.7	24.2	7.5	7.0	10.8	3.8	23.4	18.0	- 5.4	6,333	6,466	2.1
8	34.6	27.0	- 7.6	5.9	8.5	2.6	5.6	14.8	9.2	4.3	7.2	2.9	43.0	28.2	-14.8	3,236	3,262	.8
9	14.8	18.2	3.4	5.0	9.9	4.9	17.1	18.9	1.8	10.3	14.2	3.9	45.9	21.1	-24.4	3,962	4,218	6.7
10	9.6	15.4	5.8	3.5	7.0	3.5	30.8	25.4	- 5.4	15.8	17.4	1.6	27.4	7.2	-20.2	6,010	5,796	-3.5
11	12.0	10.2	- 1.8	2.9	6.8	3.9	51.8	33.1	-18.7	12.8	14.9	2.1	1.8	.5	- 1.2	2,169	1,688	-22.1
12	8.1	9.2	1.1	3.1	5.2	2.1	52.8	38.9	-13.9	15.5	13.8	- 1.7	10.2	6.1	- 4.1	3,931	3,857	- 1.8
13	35.6	27.5	- 8.1	4.5	9.4	4.9	5.9	13.2	7.3	3.6	6.5	2.9	43.9	28.4	-15.5	5,129	5,364	4.5
14	49.6	40.0	- 9.6	12.1	23.1	11.0	9.6	9.5	- .1	4.8	5.5	.7	9.9	2.7	- 7.2	3,072	3,216	4.6
15	55.9	42.1	-13.8	13.2	16.2	3.0	13.0	13.4	.4	3.9	5.3	1.4	.5	.5	---	4,350	4,788	10.0
16	48.9	40.9	- 8.0	14.1	16.2	2.1	15.5	15.4	- .1	5.4	5.8	.4	.8	.1	- .7	5,108	6,088	1.9
17	46.9	41.3	- 5.6	19.5	15.9	- 3.6	13.4	14.6	1.2	3.6	5.7	2.1	.2	.5	.3	1,815	4,714	159.0
18	23.6	25.0	1.4	7.3	4.6	- 2.7	32.2	26.1	- 6.1	9.8	7.3	- 2.5	.8	.6	- .2	2,738	1,554	- 43.2
19	34.1	25.2	- 8.9	8.5	8.4	- .1	16.0	10.2	- 5.8	6.8	6.4	- .4	.7	.4	- .3	6,666	5,927	- 1.1
20	56.5	47.1	- 9.4	6.7	7.5	.8	7.7	6.3	- 1.4	3.7	3.7	---	1.7	1.0	- .7	5,402	3,925	- 27.3
21	53.9	40.8	-13.1	7.1	11.7	4.6	8.9	10.0	1.1	5.2	4.8	- .4	.7	.5	- .2	7,649	7,490	- 2.0
22	35.7	27.5	- 8.2	15.0	13.5	- 1.5	8.8	9.1	.3	8.2	5.7	- 2.5	1.1	.5	- .6	4,715	4,576	- 2.9
23	34.7	26.0	- 8.7	22.0	19.1	- 2.9	14.8	10.1	- 4.7	6.9	7.1	.2	1.2	1.0	- .2	2,163	2,145	-.8
24	48.8	43.4	- 5.4	13.4	17.7	4.3	8.4	8.7	.3	6.0	5.9	- .1	.7	1.5	.8	4,009	4,215	5.1
25	61.9	43.1	-18.8	7.5	20.8	13.3	5.4	7.3	1.9	3.0	4.1	1.1	.5	.1	- .4	12,553	13,147	4.7
26	71.9	54.6	-17.3	5.4	15.5	10.1	3.1	5.4	2.3	1.9	3.2	1.3	.6	.2	- .4	4,337	4,496	3.6
27	67.9	54.2	-13.7	8.3	10.9	2.6	7.0	9.6	2.6	4.2	5.6	1.4	.6	.5	- .1	6,528	8,495	30.1
28	73.1	58.2	-14.9	5.2	10.9	5.7	3.0	8.5	5.5	2.2	4.2	2.0	.3	.3	---	2,065	3,154	52.7
29	79.9	62.4	-17.5	4.0	12.8	8.8	2.3	6.7	4.4	1.8	2.7	.9	.3	.2	- .1	3,892	4,117	5.7
30	76.5	54.3	-22.2	4.7	17.2	12.5	2.4	6.5	4.1	1.6	3.4	1.8	1.2	.6	- .6	4,068	4,242	.4
31	72.3	55.1	-17.2	6.8	14.1	7.3	4.0	6.9	2.9	2.0	2.9	.9	.7	.2	- .5	3,538	3,651	3.1
32	67.8	48.1	-19.7	6.8	17.2	10.4	4.8	7.3	2.5	3.1	3.7	.7	.6	.3	- .3	8,269	8,308	.5
33	69.7	45.4	-24.3	5.7	17.1	1.4	4.4	11.1	6.7	3.7	5.2	1.5	.9	.2	- .7	5,713	5,981	4.6
34	63.9	44.3	-19.6	5.3	15.8	10.5	7.9	10.4	2.5	3.8	6.1	2.3	.5	.4	- .1	4,512	4,613	2.2
35	63.6	51.4	-12.2	5.1	8.9	3.8	8.6	9.9	2.3	3.4	4.5	1.1	1.3	1.1	- .2	9,564	8,664	- 9.4
36	50.5	49.9	- .6	5.8	5.0	- .8	7.9	6.5	- 1.4	4.5	3.7	- .8	1.0	.8	- .2	3,245	1,576	-51.4
37	60.4	61.2	.8	5.1	6.4	1.3	7.2	6.1	- 1.2	2.6	2.7	.1	3.1	2.2	- .9	5,414	4,447	-17.8
38	66.2	56.3	- 9.9	4.0	8.6	4.6	5.0	6.1	1.1	3.7	3.7	---	.9	3.8	2.9	4,537	5,669	24.9
39	77.6	66.6	-11.0	3.6	8.4	4.8	2.2	4.0	1.8	2.5	3.2	.7	.2	.6	.4	4,373	5,863	34.0
40	77.8	61.7	-16.1	3.9	7.4	3.5	2.5	4.3	1.8	2.4	3.6	1.2	.2	.2	---	6,293	7,651	21.5
41	65.9	49.1	-16.8	4.8	9.1	4.3	9.0	8.9	.1	5.2	5.4	.2	.7	.7	---	7,181	8,189	14.0
42	69.6	53.0	-16.6	5.3	8.7	3.4	5.0	5.8	.8	3.0	4.9	1.9	2.0	2.2	.2	3,963	4,459	12.5
43	77.1	67.0	-10.1	3.5	6.8	3.3	1.7	2.8	1.1	1.3	2.9	1.6	5.6	5.2	- .4	7,096	7,595	7.0

CENSU
TRACT

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TABLE I (continued)

CENSUS TRACT	BRITISH			GERMAN			UKRAINIAN			POLISH			JEWISH			TOTAL TRACT		CHANGE %
	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	CHANGE	1951	1961	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	NO.	NO.	
44	66.9	59.6	- 7.3	3.8	7.3	3.5	7.5	7.2	- .3	3.6	3.6	---	.6	2.8	2.2	4,616	7,786	68.6
45	65.4	71.5	6.1	3.4	3.1	- .3	.6	1.0	.4	1.1	1.3	.2	21.4	13.5	- 7.9	3,993	3,819	- 4.3
46	69.7	74.9	5.2	2.7	4.4	1.7	.6	.9	.3	1.3	1.5	.2	11.2	7.5	- 3.7	3,660	3,967	8.3
47	83.0	72.9	-10.1	3.2	4.7	1.5	1.7	2.7	1.0	1.6	2.0	.4	1.9	2.0	.1	3,265	4,505	37.9
48	58.0	50.8	- 7.2	3.8	4.4	.6	1.5	2.6	1.1	1.2	1.6	.4	20.7	28.4	7.7	1,149	11,485	899.5
49	13.4	10.8	- 2.6	1.6	2.2	.6	1.5	1.3	- .2	1.4	1.2	- .2	.2	.3	.1	4,048	4,415	9.0
50	20.7	17.2	- 2.5	2.0	2.7	.7	2.5	2.8	.3	2.1	1.5	- .6	.3	.2	- .1	7,454	7,812	4.8
51	70.9	58.0	-12.9	4.0	5.7	1.7	2.5	5.1	2.6	2.0	2.7	.7	.6	.2	- .4	4,170	4,524	8.4
52	58.4	39.1	-19.3	3.1	3.4	.3	3.7	4.0	.3	2.3	3.2	.9	.3	.1	- .2	4,772	5,272	10.4
53	35.9	27.0	- 8.9	3.4	5.1	1.7	13.1	10.6	- 2.5	6.8	7.8	1.0	.4	.5	.1	4,379	4,860	10.9
54	49.2	46.5	- 2.7	4.8	8.3	3.5	20.6	15.5	- 5.1	6.3	6.9	.6	.9	.3	- .6	3,663	9,143	149.6
55	31.0	29.6	- 1.4	5.4	10.4	5.0	26.3	13.6	-12.7	6.2	6.4	.2	0	0	---	129	125	- 3.1
56	31.5	37.2	5.7	4.2	5.7	1.5	32.7	19.4	-13.3	5.8	6.9	1.1	.1	.2	.1	2,592	4,489	73.1
57	35.0	35.6	.6	7.6	7.3	- .3	34.7	27.9	- 6.8	11.1	9.0	- 2.1	.5	0	- .5	368	491	33.4
58	69.6	63.9	- 5.7	3.9	8.8	4.9	2.3	4.0	1.7	.1	1.2	.2	.6	3.9	3.3	1,627	1,627	---
59	43.8	42.3	- 1.5	10.9	12.0	1.1	21.2	13.1	- 8.1	5.1	5.3	.2	.1	.2	.1	2,915	4,369	49.8
60	63.3	58.0	- 5.3	9.6	11.4	1.8	5.3	6.1	.8	2.2	2.7	.5	.7	.1	- .6	1,337	3,688	175.8
61	72.1	65.4	- 6.7	5.3	6.7	1.4	4.7	6.0	1.3	1.9	2.6	.7	0	0	---	1,736	2,710	56.1
62	67.6	63.2	- 4.4	3.3	9.0	5.7	5.4	4.9	- .5	2.8	2.9	.1	.4	.1	- .3	1,377	2,826	105.2
63	61.1	54.9	- 6.2	4.7	11.2	6.5	4.5	5.0	.5	2.8	3.7	.9	.3	0	.3	1,177	2,545	116.2
64	83.5	75.1	- 8.4	3.7	6.2	2.5	.7	2.5	1.8	.4	1.2	.8	.3	.7	.4	2,986	5,019	68.0
65	42.7	57.9	15.2	6.4	8.0	1.6	5.4	3.9	- 1.5	1.1	2.7	1.6	.4	.1	- .3	1,809	6,980	285.8
66	62.2	48.8	-13.4	10.7	14.8	4.1	9.0	12.6	3.6	3.7	5.3	1.6	.9	.4	- .5	2,433	3,893	60.0
67	55.7	44.3	-11.4	9.2	14.8	5.6	12.7	16.0	3.3	5.4	6.6	1.2	.3	.5	.2	4,486	11,660	159.9
68	49.3	38.6	-10.7	7.4	12.2	4.8	21.0	19.8	- 1.2	7.7	8.7	1.0	2.3	1.7	- .6	4,741	5,365	13.1
69	58.6	45.7	-12.9	7.0	13.9	6.9	15.6	13.9	- 1.7	5.0	6.4	1.4	0	.2	.2	1,484	6,387	330.3
70	25.4	25.6	.2	40.6	38.7	- 1.9	6.8	8.7	1.9	4.5	4.9	.4	.2	.1	- .1	2,816	2,206	191.4
71	12.0	22.2	10.2	7.8	9.3	1.5	33.0	29.4	- 3.6	9.4	4.5	- 4.9	0	0	---	406	682	67.9
72	40.5	22.7	-17.8	9.9	12.3	2.4	16.6	16.5	- .1	8.4	5.3	- 3.1	2.5	32.6	30.1	594	4,894	723.0
73	43.0	26.5	-16.5	9.0	9.2	.2	10.7	13.3	2.6	3.3	5.8	2.5	22.6	33.8	11.2	6,628	10,969	65.4
74	52.8	40.2	-12.6	7.2	8.7	1.5	9.8	13.0	3.2	2.6	4.9	2.3	17.7	19.4	1.7	3,532	4,214	10.2
75	38.8	31.8	- 7.0	8.4	14.6	6.2	29.1	23.9	- 5.2	6.0	8.7	2.7	.2	1.2	1.0	869	1,327	52.7
76	76.7	53.4	-23.3	3.2	5.1	1.9	3.0	2.5	- .5	1.7	2.8	1.1	0	0	---	1,417	1,039	-26.6
77	77.8	60.8	-17.0	3.0	6.4	3.4	1.7	5.5	3.8	1.0	2.9	1.9	0	.1	.1	880	1,434	62.9
78	80.4	69.3	-11.1	3.3	5.9	2.6	2.7	4.5	1.8	1.3	1.9	.6	.1	.3	.2	8,039	8,349	3.8
79	82.3	78.5	- 3.8	2.7	3.9	1.2	1.1	2.6	1.5	1.1	1.5	.4	0	.1	.1	2,020	2,371	17.3
80	83.0	78.4	- 4.6	3.4	4.1	.7	2.1	1.9	- .2	1.3	1.8	.5	.2	.4	.2	4,826	6,832	41.5
81	78.3	71.9	- 6.4	3.5	5.7	2.2	2.2	3.0	.8	1.2	1.8	.6	.1	.6	.5	2,379	13,952	486.4
82	72.1	58.2	-13.9	3.9	6.0	2.1	2.9	4.3	1.4	2.0	2.2	.2	.2	.2	---	4,060	4,381	7.9
83	73.1	63.7	- 9.4	3.6	5.3	1.7	3.4	5.0	1.6	1.7	2.0	.3	.5	.2	- .3	3,477	4,338	24.7
84	82.1	72.0	-10.1	1.8	4.9	3.1	1.1	2.9	1.8	1.2	1.8	.6	.7	.3	- .4	3,324	4,046	21.7
85	52.9	46.5	- 6.4	4.2	9.4	5.2	5.3	6.9	1.6	3.5	2.9	- .6	.4	.4	---	2,532	4,537	79.1
86	49.7	43.9	- 5.8	5.3	10.6	5.3	4.1	6.0	1.9	3.0	3.6	.6	.1	.1	---	3,887	8,275	112.8

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

APPENDIX D

TABLE II - TOTAL POPULATION BY METRO SUB-AREAS

TABLE II
 CHANGE IN THE NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL
 POPULATION BY METRO SUB-AREAS: METROPOLITAN
 WINNIPEG 1951 AND 1961

METRO SUB-AREAS	TOTAL METROPOLITAN POPULATION				PERCENT CHANGE
	1951		1961		
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	
WPG. NORTH	64,199	18.1	70,912	14.9	-3.2
WPG. EAST	14,345	5.1	18,806	5.0	- .1
WPG. CENTRE	58,093	16.4	53,014	11.1	-5.3
WPG. WEST END	48,947	13.8	51,709	10.9	-2.9
WPG. SOUTH	50,126	14.2	70,988	14.9	+ .7
ST. BONIFACE	24,823	8.0	26,883	5.6	-2.4
TRANSCONA	6,752	1.9	14,248	4.0	+2.1
TUXEDO	1,627	.5	1,627	.3	- .2
BROOKLANDS	2,915	.8	4,369	.9	+ .1
ASSINIBOIA	1,337	.4	3,688	.8	+ .4
CHARLESWOOD	3,113	.9	5,536	1.2	+ .3
FORT GARRY	5,972	1.7	14,544	4.0	+2.3
EAST KILDONAN	13,144	3.7	27,305	5.7	+2.0
NORTH KILDONAN	3,222	.9	8,888	1.9	+1.0
WEST KILDONAN	10,754	3.0	20,077	4.2	+1.2
OLD KILDONAN	869	.2	1,327	.3	+ .1
ST. JAMES	19,561	5.5	33,977	8.1	+2.6
ST. VITAL	17,280	4.9	25,577	6.2	+1.3
TOTAL	354,069	100.0	475,989	100.0	

Source: Census of Canada, 1951 and 1961

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE WORK SHEET - CITY DIRECTORY SAMPLE STUDY

SAMPLE WORK SHEET
CITY DIRECTORY SAMPLE STUDY

SAMPLE NAMES FROM 1951
CITY DIRECTORY

LOCATION OF SAMPLE NAMES
(1961 CITY DIRECTORY)

ETHNIC GROUP

CENSUS TRACT 9

ABERDEEN AVE. (MAIN ST. TO SALTER)

277 BLUMBERG, JOHN	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
297 MICHALCHUK, WALTER	530 HARTFORD	UKRAINIAN
321 BRZIZICKO, STANLEY	120 EMILY	POLISH
345 BULEGA, WILLIAM	678 MOUNTAIN	UKRAINIAN
361 MAZUR, L	SAME ADDRESS	POLISH
389 GREEN, MRS. ROSE	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
405 CALSEN, JOSEPH	413 CATHEDRAL	SCANDINAVIAN
286 BURROWS, JOSEPH	NO SHOW	BRITISH
308 OPITZ, ANDREW	378 MCKAY	GERMAN
332 BOOKHALTER, PAUL	NO SHOW	JEWISH
358 DYCK, HENRY	98 HANDYSIDE	GERMAN
374 WOSKOSKY, STEVE	489 HENDERSON HWY.	POLISH

ALFRED AVE. (MAIN ST. TO SALTER)

255 SLOANE, MIKE	27 ROYAL CRESENT	JEWISH
287 TYMOCHEK, MRS. M.	298 ALFRED	POLISH
311 OSTROVSKY, SAMUEL	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
333 RHINER, R.	NO SHOW	GERMAN
365 FEDUN, SAM	708 ABERDEEN	UKRAINIAN
387 BAHRIE, PAUL	SAME ADDRESS	OTHER EUROPEAN
258 MYRGLAD, L	NO SHOW	SCANDINAVIAN
286 KOLLINGER, VINCENT	SAME ADDRESS	GERMAN
316 GROOM, R. B.	311 CONWAY	BRITISH
344 FLAXMAN, ISRAEL	44 CATHEDRAL	JEWISH
376 WILLIAMS, WILLIAM	NO SHOW	BRITISH
404 SHNIDERMAN, ALEX	304 ENNISKILLEN	JEWISH

ANDERSON AVE. (MAIN ST. TO SALTER)

369 BALABAN, LOUIS	305 JOHNSON	UKRAINIAN
389 YOUNG, JOHN	325 COLVIN PLACE	BRITISH
364 NARVEY, FRED	388 BURRIN	JEWISH
390 MILLER, DAVID	NO SHOW	JEWISH
406 BOOKBINDER, SAMUEL	571 QUEENSTON	JEWISH

BOYD AVE. (MAIN ST. TO SALTER)

291 WOLCH, MRS. CLARE	392 SCOTIA	JEWISH
309 NASBERG, BEN	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
349 MILLER, JACK	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
385 CLELAND, MRS. GLADYS	SAME ADDRESS	BRITISH
276 COHEN, JACOB	SAME ADDRESS	JEWISH
302 SATO, JISHIRO	122 ROBINSON	ASIATIC
328 FREEMAN, A. E.	375 WELLINGTON CRESC.	JEWISH
350 STEINDEL, DAVID	424 PERTH	JEWISH
370 RUD, NINA	NO SHOW	OTHER EUROPEAN
400 KROKOSH, WALTER	372 JARVIS	UKRAINIAN