MOBILIZING A SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY

DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: A PLANNING APPROACH FOR

NORTH MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG

BY

JEFFREY C. HUMBLE

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

Faculty of Architecture, Department of City Planning
University of Manitoba
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ABSTRACT

The economic, social, and physical decline of Canadian inner-city communities has over the last several decades resulted in an increasing number of government supported community development initiatives. The degree of success reached by such initiatives has varied according to the provision of funding, commitment from stakeholders, and the theoretical foundation used for formulating a strategy. To the extent that depressed communities are fortunate enough to secure the first two - funding and commitment - the theoretical foundation ought to play a primary role in guiding the development of a community vision and strategy. The premise of this thesis is that the key elements of many theoretical foundations or revitalization "philosophies" challenge conventional planning processes by emphasizing bottom-up mobilization, consensus building, and "authentic" public participation, and community empowerment.

In light of the need for inner-city initiatives, the heart of Winnipeg's North Main Street community, situated between City Hall and the CPR Main Line, has long been in desperate need of government funding, commitment, and a holistic community vision. Amidst the combination of physical decline and deeply rooted socioeconomic problems of unemployment, poverty, crime, racism, substances abuse, and inadequate housing, North Main Street has come to symbolize a daunting inner-city crisis in Winnipeg. It is only recently under the scaled down tri-level Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA) that some level of government support has been secured for the formulation and implementation of a North Main community strategy.

It is the intent of this thesis to explore the theoretical elements of community mobilization and determine the degree to which they are applicable to the Main Street context. The relevance of this intent regarding the contemporary planning profession arises out of the fact that despite the popularity of bottom-up community mobilization theories amongst planning theorists, their full acceptance and implementation by practitioners remains an unrealized ideal. If however, theorists continue to espouse the benefits of bottom-up mobilization it would seem that a transformation of the main-stream conventional planning approach will eventually materialize.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Existing prior to the City's incorporation, Main Street has witnessed and in many ways come to reflect the various periods of Winnipeg's history. Over the past century Main Street has been a testimony to the oppression of Aboriginal people, the coming of the railway, periods of phenomenal growth, mass immigration, and economic and physical decentralization. Yet despite its historical symbolism the contemporary Main Street has in the minds of most Winnipeggers come to strongly reflect socioeconomic and physical deterioration.

Indeed despite its historical importance, the decline of Main Street has been acknowledged and continually neglected by Winnipeg's local government or decision-makers for more than half a century. Consequently the heart of Main Street between William Avenue and Higgins Avenue is generally characterized as the skid-row of Winnipeg. It is here, situated within vacant buildings, single room occupancy hotels, bars, and soup kitchens, that the social problems of unemployment, poverty, crime, substance abuse, and prostitution are most apparent.

The socioeconomic condition of Main Street has in recent decades become so daunting that even under grand inner-city revitalization schemes such as the Core Area Initiative, the problems appear to have been too overwhelming to be addressed by government. Only under the recent *Winnipeg Development Agreement* which has established a Task Force to formulate a strategy to address the problems of Main Street, has some hope arisen for alleviating the deeply entrenched socioeconomic and physical

problems. While such a strategy will not make up for all the years of neglect which Main Street has been subjected to, it is espoused in this thesis that it may provide the grounds for further developing and empowering the Main Street community.

1.0 Rationale and Objectives

The rationale for this thesis arises from a belief that in socioeconomically depressed and disempowered communities government support is necessary. Yet from this necessity arises a concern that the conventional planning process regarding community development has failed to establish the structure necessary to create healthy sustainable communities. It is thus argued that an alternative means of community building, based on bottom-up community mobilization and "authentic" public participation, is the most effective means of not only empowering communities, but establishing the local network necessary to achieve and sustain a healthy community. While such a theory has for several decades been proposed by planning theoreticians, its implementation still leaves something to be desired.

In looking at the socioeconomic depression of Main Street and its adjacent neighbourhoods it is evident that its decline is rooted in a long history of political, economic, and social forces that have served to disrupt the potential for healthy community development. At least part of the problem has stemmed from the conventional planning approach taken in the past by professionals and government officials in dealing with the pressures of Winnipeg's growth and decline. Only recent decades have witnessed a response from government to reverse these negative developments. Yet arguably this response is both lacking in commitment and to a large extent still suffering from the top-

down "conventionalism" of the past. Thus it is proposed that an alternative planning process be adopted to address the deeply entrenched socioeconomic problems on Main Street.

With this rationale in mind there are four primary objectives to this thesis:

1. To explore the theoretical components of mobilization and empowerment in the community context with an emphasis on the impact of public participation in the planning process.

2. To summarize the history of Main Street in relation to Winnipeg's growth and decline and thereby establish the grounds to examine its contemporary condition.

3. To analyze the current socioeconomic conditions of Main Street and define a focus or study area for a community mobilization strategy.

4. To review the current WDA North Main Task Force Strategy in light of the preceding objectives and assess its potential to alleviate existing socioeconomic problems.

1.1 Methodology

The methodological approach taken to this thesis involved a literature review, census data, questionnaire surveys, and an analysis of the Task Force Strategy. Each of these is briefly elaborated on below:

1. *Literature Review*: The literature review has primarily served to provide background for both the theoretical foundation regarding community mobilization as well as for developing a historical overview of Main Street. In terms of theoretical support, a variety of planning theoreticians within the North American planning context were used in an attempt to provide the reader with a more complete understanding of the many facets of

community mobilization. As for aiding in providing a historical overview, a broad variety of literature sources were used to help establish a planning framework by which to look at Main Street more closely.

2. *Census Data*: Statistics Canada data based on City of Winnipeg neighbourhoods was used as a basis for understanding the socioeconomic conditions of six neighbourhoods adjacent to Main Street. Through such data, critical characteristics regarding population, employment status, education levels, ethnicity, mobility, and housing were determined. These were used to measure Main Street's socioeconomic conditions in comparison to the broader Winnipeg context.

3. *Survey*: With a primary study area defined as the Main Street "Strip", it was deemed necessary to formulate and implement a survey in order to capture socioeconomic data and community perspectives which could not be acquired through census data. Doing so involved three questionnaire surveys targeted toward hotel residents, business owners, and social agencies in the geographically defined study area. The use of this information added further to building an understanding of the Main Street "Strip" community and the context of the strategy (see Appendix A for Survey Code Book).

4. *Analysis of Strategy*: Lastly, in early December of 1997 the North Main Task Force appointed by the City of Winnipeg, released its strategy for Main Street entitled "Our Place". Based on the literature review, census data, and survey responses a summary and analysis of this strategy is made.

1.2 Thesis Organization

The thesis is organized into six chapters, including this introductory chapter the remaining five are arranged as follows:

Chapter II provides the theoretical foundation of the thesis which is centred on the notion of community mobilization and empowerment as the basis of establishing sustainable communities. Based on a review of planning literature the identification and "activation" of assets, consensus building, and the importance of citizen participation in the planning process are emphasized.

Chapter III contextualizes the history of Main Street within the incorporation, growth, decline, and stabilization of Winnipeg. Through this historical progression the forces and events which served to cause Main Street's socioeconomic and physical decline are elaborated on. In looking at this progression it becomes evident that despite many downtown revitalization initiatives over the past decade, only recently has Main Street attracted a recognizable level of government support. This historical basis serves to establish the framework for understanding the contemporary Main Street context.

Chapter IV defines two areas to analyze the contemporary Main Street condition. The first is characterized as the broader Main Street Area which consists of six neighbourhoods, and the second is defined as the primary study area (Main Street "Strip") which is the core location of the strategy. Analysis of the broader area is done through Statistics Canada data, while analysis of the primary study area is done through the resident, business, and social agency surveys.

Chapter V provides a summary of the Task Force Strategy by highlighting its key initiatives and themes. It also seeks to evaluate the Task Force Strategy on the basis of planning theory, and the history and contemporary context of Main Street.

Lastly Chapter VI seeks to summarize and synthesize the key themes of the thesis' preceding chapters. It emphasizes the need for continued government support for Main Street, as well as for a greater emphasis on bottom-up community mobilization on the part of the Task Force and the City.

CHAPTER II: PLANNING, COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION, AND EMPOWERMENT

Prior to discussing the history, contemporary situation, and the development of a sustainable planning strategy for Main Street, the establishment of a theoretical framework is necessary. This framework is based on the notion of community mobilization and empowerment which is rooted in several traditions in social planning thought. The relevance of this framework has, it seems, become increasingly apparent in light of countless communities in Canada and abroad which have been negatively impacted by broader global, economic, and governing structures.

In essence such theories espouse that within a given community or micro-level context, democratic public participation and action can transform both a community and the structures impacting it. The purpose of examining this theoretical framework in this chapter is to illustrate that democratic public participation along with community empowerment is highly problematic and complex in a planning process. Despite certain obstacles however, it remains an important objective which upon discussion will help establish a more sustainable strategy for the revitalization of Main Street.

This chapter is divided into five sections, each of which is important to understanding community mobilization and empowerment in the Main Street context. These sections are as follows: 2.0 Centralized Structures and Institutions, 2.1 Community Mobilization and Empowerment, 2.2 Integrating the Theory into Practice, 2.3 Role of the Planner, and 2.4 Conclusion.

2.0 Centralized Structures and Institutions

Community can very broadly be defined as a group of individuals who share a common interest, whether that interest be an ideology, a geographic location, or a commitment to similar goals over a period of time. Community mobilization and empowerment is a post-modern theory which is an extension of this concept, originating in our contemporary setting where many communities are being decentralized by the forces of globalization and structural and institutional control. As a response or reaction to these forces the mobilization of community seeks to recover a lost social, political, psychological, and economic identity through a process of self-organization and political struggle (Friedmann, 164, 1996). In order to understand how such a theory might be applied it is necessary to begin by looking at the impacts of institutional and structural centralization in light of a globalizing economy.

The identification of community break-down and institutional dominance has been espoused by many radical thinkers who have recognized the importance of social mobilization in influencing change (Friedmann, 75, 1987). An important figure among this tradition is Ivan Illich whose writing throughout the 1960s and 70s questioned the dominant ideology of societal guidance. In doing so he illustrated that on the surface, the driving forces of industrialization, technological advancement, the growth economy, and the institutional dominance of both knowledge and practice appeared to be civilizing agents. Yet in reality these forces have served to disrupt the interdependence of community relationships which are essential to the process of empowerment.

For Illich the central disempowering factor of all of these forces in the modern age is the institutionalization of knowledge and practice. With the exception of parts of the Developing World, Illich argues that the post-industrial age has transformed our societies from a traditional way of life which upheld vernacular beliefs, to an "Age of Professions" that promote societal dependence on institutions. The poor according to Illich, although already powerless to begin with, witnessed a new dimension of helplessness with the entrenchment of institutional care and its reinforcement of "psychological impotence" and the "inability to fend for themselves" (Illich, xvii, 1973; 13, 1977; 66, 1981; 3, 1970).

Illich's view is an interesting one and at the heart of his argument the question arises as to why there is a need for institutional and organizational structures at all. Such a view would certainly be extreme if it were not for the fact that Illich makes the distinction that not all institutions or organizations reinforce societal dependence, but only those that have lost the purposes for which they were originally created. This distinction is also made in Benello's *From the Ground Up*, where he differentiates between the "big organization" and the spheres of family, local community, church, leisure, and cultural activities. In the former is a vertically organized ladder where work is specialized and jobs are narrowly defined according to a set of procedures, while in the latter there is a balance where the overall integration of work with the other spheres of living is apparent (Benello, 15-18. 1992).

In elaborating further on the structure of the "big organization" it is argued by Benello that while some degree of community exists at the top of these organizational structures, at lower levels it is merely a "pseudo-community" which "palls" in comparison

to the "real thing" (Benello, 23, 1992). This division has been further elaborated on by

Etzioni who has classified this structure as a *cybernetic* division which is analogous to the

two revolutions in machine technology: (1) the mechanization of work, and (2) the

mechanization of control of the machines that do the work. It is upon this *cybernetic*

model according to Etzioni that our societies have also developed. The first phase came

with the development of the corporation or modern organization which provided the

"sociological machine" with a more effective way of "getting things done". The second

phase came with the overlayer of societal guidance where the subordinate organizations

which do the work, are controlled by the second-order organizations which do the

management. The obvious problem with this *cybernetic* division is that humans do not

behave like machines, nor should they as they possess political and ethical sentiments and

cognitions (Etzioni, 8, 1968). Nevertheless as expressed by Benello in the excerpt below,

the rationale for such an organizational structure appears clear and intentional on the part

of those who are governing it:

> The fundamental feature of the organizational structure imperative can be expressed as
> follows: in the short run it is more efficient to have an elitist structure, dominated by an
> educated and knowledgeable minority. From this perspective the difficult task of
> developing a participatory structure, and then educating people into using it, is time
> consuming, and inefficient. It is also only in the long run that the values embodied in full
> participation (which assures that work is non-alienating, by virtue of the degree of control
> that the worker has over the nature of his or her work) pay off in efficiency (Benello, 39,
> 1992).

The above seems to get at the crux of the matter in identifying the notion of societal

guidance where a small elite can more efficiently govern societal interests than a structure

which is truly participatory and democratic. The element of truth to this is that indeed it

may be more efficient in the "short run", but the alienating effects and the split between the

top and the bottom is destructive to communities and forms of development which can be considered sustainable.

John McKnight, a contemporary community planner, has achieved significant recognition in the US and Canada for recognizing that this systemic dependence in disempowered communities is directly attributable to corporate and institutional control. Both corporate and institutional control he argues, have served to establish a clienthood and consumerism of services rather than a citizenry or producership within local community. The expansion of service professionals according to McKnight has served to establish a culture of dependency where creativity, citizenship, and community decline have become predominant features. The solution for McKnight, which seems to be echoed by all community planners, is a re-establishment of focus at the micro-level:

> So I think that social policy reform is really about diminishing the influence, the power and authority of our systems, and increasing the capacity of local citizens in their association to define problems, to define solutions, and be the principal actors in carrying out those solutions themselves. And that what we need is systems that support and serve them, where what we have is systems that control (McKnight, 10-12, 1995b).

The theme of community as the alternative to centralized institutional and organizational control is by now apparent yet this does not clarify what it is that communities can do to regain control. In other words the question becomes, how can communities seek to mobilize and empower themselves?

2.1 Community Mobilization and Empowerment

When we speak of community mobilization and empowerment it may be clear that it is in some sense a reaction to the destructive forces encountered by communities, however it is not clear how it is operationalized, nor what it consists of. Understanding the process begins with definitions of both mobilization and empowerment.

While mobilization and empowerment are mutually dependent on each other, mobilization is often required prior to the achievement of the latter. The process of mobilization is a means of organizing community to identify assets and capacities; to raise social, political and economic awareness through dialogue; to reach consensus and formulate plans; and to put plans into action. The process of mobilization recognizes that while all communities possess assets and capacities, their potential to empower is not realized until they are transformed into political, social, and economic forms of power.

In the process of mobilization, empowerment seeks to emphasize a number of important factors. These factors include community autonomy in the decision-making process, local self-reliance, direct (participatory) democracy in representative government, experiential social learning, and the provision of space for cultural and spiritual welfare. The importance of empowerment in the mobilization process is in its recognition of knowledge and skills which are both endogenous and exogenous to the community. In doing so it allows for the rise of capacities in using service information, exercising foresight, and collaborating with others (Friedmann, vii-viii, 1992; Titi and Singh, 14, 1995).

It needs to be clarified that while empowerment of community requires mobilization, many forms of mobilization in the past have not empowered community. According to Kretzman and McKnight the majority of mobilization strategies have begun by focusing on community needs, deficiencies, and problems which have served to reinforce a top-down approach to governance. This "needs-driven" model has served to disempower communities in several ways: (1) resources provided by government are targeted toward service providers and not residents, (2) the consumption of these services promote a "clienthood" where residents lose their power to become producers, (3) neighbour to neighbour interdependence is replaced by outside help, (4) normally for funding to be received from the outside, conditions within the community need to be worse than the previous year, and (5) as the needs-based strategy can guarantee only survival it cannot lead to true empowerment (Kretzman and McKnight, 2-5, 1993). It is these factors, according to McKnight, which result in weak communities:

> A weak community, we have found, is a place where people finally become convinced by all the systems that surround them that the most important thing is to be a client. To have the right to treatment. The right to be fixed. Not the right to produce. Not the right to control. And when people believe the right to treatment, the right to be fixed, is the most important right for them where they are, then we know we are at the most impotent, powerless place in the community (McKnight, 11-12, 1995b).

It is clear that upon such a model effective mobilization, and certainly empowerment, cannot occur. The alternative to the "needs-driven" model is one which seeks to develop policies and activities based on capacities, skills, and assets within a community. Known as the capacity-focused model it seeks to develop an inventory of available local assets and begins to connect them with one another in ways that multiply their power and effectiveness. The validity of the capacity-focused model is based on previous evidence

which indicates that significant community development takes place only when community

people are committed to investing in themselves and their resources (Kretzman and

McKnight, 5, 1993). McKnight describes such an approach as follows:

> Uncover and recover those assets and those gifts, count them up and ignore your needs and deficiencies. And then mobilize those assets and those gifts to strengthen your community's power to be itself; in social ways, in cultural ways, in economic ways, and in political ways. That's the way to grow citizens instead of clients, and producers instead of consumers. That's the way to grow healthy neighbourhoods. That's the way to grow self respecting, self-reliant, independent communities (McKnight, 12, 1995b).

According to Kretzman and McKnight there are three components to the

identification of assets within a community: individuals, associations, and local

institutions. The importance of each of these is described below.

Individuals

In households and throughout the existing buildings in a community there are a variety of

gifts, skills, and capacities amongst the residents, employees, business owners, volunteers

and other individuals. The mobilization of these talents and productive capacities is

presented as an essential component to the empowerment and community-building process.

In other words if true community empowerment is to take place it is important that the

capacities of all individuals are recognized, including those which are often marginalized

such as the mentally handicapped or disabled, the elderly and youth, and those in poverty

(Kretzman & McKnight, 6, 1993)

Associations

Although associational life has dwindled in some low income communities, many possess

significant numbers of associations, with religious, cultural, athletic, and other purposes.

Such groups are described by Kretzman and McKnight as indispensable tools for

development, and many of them can stretch beyond their capacities to become full

contributors to the development process. In the proliferation of these associations, Kretzman and McKnight point out that admidst their democratic structures there is room for many leaders and the best ideas are usually the sum knowledge of all members in the community. Associations also have the ability to respond quickly as they do not need to involve all of the institutional interests incorporated in a planning committee, budget office, administrative staff, and so forth. (Kretzman & McKnight, 6, 1993)

Local Institutions

After all of the negative discussion about institutions it is questionable why they are included at all. While the centralized and heavily bureaucratized structure of some institutions can overpower communities, if they are not too large and they allow for some degree of citizen involvement they can aid in empowering community. Such institutions include private businesses, as well as public institutions such as schools, libraries, parks, police, fire stations, health clinics, hospitals and social service agencies. While an inventory of institutional assets may be quite simple in comparison to individual and associational assets, establishing a sense of responsibility for the health of the local community can be much more difficult. This problem is compounded by the fact that public participation and community control of institutional programs within the local neighbourhoods is often not available due to the bureuracratic nature of institutions (Kretzman and McKnight, 6-8, 1993).

Besides these three components - individuals, associations, and local institutions - organizations are further classified by McKnight into three primary centres of activity including the local neighbourhood, the public sector, and the private sector. The groups

found within these centres of activity are shown in Table I below:

Table I: Primary Centers of Community Activity

Local Neighbourhood	Public Sector	Private Sector
Local Residents	Schools	Local Business
Community Centres	Police	Restaurant
Neighbourhood Associations	Library	Informal Community Market
Tenant Organizations	College	Merchant Associations
Housing Co-operatives	Day-Care Centre	Banks
Media	Crisis Intervention Centre	Credit Union
Youth Councils	Welfare Recipients	
Ethnic Associations	Church or Other Religious Institution	
	Substance Abuse Centre	
	Hospital	

Source: Kretzman and McKnight. *Building Communities From the Inside Out.* 1993.

In addressing these three components it is recognized that *local neighbourhood* is at the core of the community mobilization process. Its role is to seek the continued development of preexisting social, commercial, industrial, and housing projects. It is in this area that residents become an integral part of the mobilization process.

The second centre of activity, the *public sector*, can aid communities if its services are not monopolized to reinforce the clienthood model. For this activity to become truly effective a greater level of public funding and resources need to be allocated to neighbourhood programs which allow communities more autonomy. Given the political nature of public funding it is extremely rare that it be provided to communities without some level of outside control. Yet if the spending of public funding can be transferred to the community it can serve to significantly empower the community. Many of the issues relating to learning, health, crime, and other social services, for example, can be dealt with

through the establishment of grassroots organizations that are operated directly within the community (McKnight, 158, 1995a).

Lastly any serious approach to community mobilization involves the *private sector* and requires the acquisition of ways of rerouting investment to insert locality into the process by which businesses make decisions. An effective approach for local businesses to do this is through the formation of partnerships with each other through local merchant organizations which create some type of credit banking system. This can be done through the establishment of a Community Development Credit Union (CDCU) which allows for low-interest loans to be made to new business ventures or expansions within the community (McKnight, 160, 1995a).

While the Kretzman-McKnight "capacity-focused" model is an interesting alternative to the community mobilization process, it is to some degree idealized. For although all communities possess assets, the potential of some communities to be empowered by this methodology is certainly limited unless external resources are made available. Even Kretzman and McKnight have come to realize this:

> By focusing on the assets of lower income communities this does not imply that these communities do not need additional resources from outside. Rather, this guide suggests that outside resources will be much more effectively used if the local community is itself fully mobilized and invested, and if it can define the agendas for which additional resources must be obtained. The assets in lower income neighbourhoods in other words, are absolutely necessary but usually not sufficient to meet the huge development challenges ahead (Kretzman and McKnight, 8, 1993).

Thus while the capacity focused model is a starting point which helps to lay the foundation for further community mobilization and empowerment, there is still a great deal more involved in the process, especially if external support becomes an important component. For after the assets of a community (individual, associational, and institutional) are

identified, the question still remains as to what can or should be done, in other words how are they mobilized and how can this lead to political, social, and economic empowerment?

Etzioni has recognized this problem in stating that a measure of the assets a community possesses is not itself an indication of its power, but of its power potential. Hence the number of assets available to a community are a poor indicator of how much societal power the community will generate; a great deal depends on the manner in which resources are allocated amongst the alternative uses. In fact in many instances a community "poor" in assets can in principle command greater power than a much more affluent one if the poor community assigns more of its assets to power "production". Etzioni clarifies this further by stating that once the assets of community have been made available for action, it needs to somehow be determined how they ought to be managed. Effective management may involve a variety of approaches depending on the community's situation: (1) The assets may be used to generate more assets at a later point, (2) they may be conserved or stored, or (3) they may be used to overcome resistance from the centralized governing structure (Etzioni, 152-153, 1973). It is here where Kretzman and McKnight to some degree fail to consider the complexity of raising community consciousness, acquiring participation, and enacting decision-making in light of politics and various interest groups.

Certainly focusing on the assets within individuals, associations, and institutions is a way of building positive energy in a community, yet it is only a part of the means to the ends of real community autonomy and control. This control begins to come about when individuals in those communities become aware of their situational context, and with an understanding of this context begin to mobilize themselves to undertake participatory

decision-making. The first step in acquiring a level of participatory decision-making which is democratic is the acquisition of a minimum level of social, political, and economic awareness to the point that assets and capacities can be put into action. This can be somewhat problematic as while there is no disputing the fact that assets and capacities exist in even the most disempowered communities, the catalysts to activate them often do not. The search for these catalysts in such communities leads us to a recognition of the need to create them in an alternative form of learning.

An alternative form of learning for disempowered communities is one which unlike institutional learning is characterized by a process that begins with the daily lived experiences of men and women. Otherwise known as popular education, this collective learning moves the community to an understanding of local, regional, national, and global structures and how these impact on their lives. In doing so awareness is raised so that community members can take action to transform the relations of power in a manner that will directly improve their lives (Hal and Sullivan, 104, 1995).

According to Freire who was one of the more prominent thinkers on popular education, dialogue is at the centre of reaching this heightened awareness. A process he defines as *conscientization*, it allows people to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and thus provides them the means to take action against the oppressive elements of reality (Freire, 18, 1970a). This process differs significantly from the institutional student-teacher relationship which is anti-dialogical in the sense that the teacher is the "narrating Subject" while the students are the "patient, listening objects". Instead popular education or *conscientization* amongst community strives to overcome the

"culture of silence" which has resulted in inactivity. Titi and Singh elaborate further how such a process operates:

> Popular education applies a dialectic methodology, starting with people's experiences of working and organizing (practice), helping them develop a more critical structural understanding of these experiences (theory), and leading them to take strategic action based on the new and deeper understanding (practice). It can't be a one way process .... The teacher doesn't play the role of someone who has knowledge to transmit to the student. The role of the education in a popular education process is not to give answers, but to ask questions (Titi and Singh, 19, 1995).

Moving from the concrete to the abstract to the concrete (practice-theory-practice) is a central part of this process which seeks to promote reflection in action. In other words critical consciousness can not come about solely through intellectual effort but through praxis which involves the union of action and reflection (Titi and Singh, 75, 1995; Freire, 78, 1970b).

The dilemma of disempowered communities is not their inability to think or act, for along with the fact that all possess assets and capacities, the ability to think and act is a living characteristic. The problem for disempowered communities is rather one of a lack of critical acting and reflecting. The inability is best illustrated and deeply rooted in communities with a high "illiteracy" rate, which according to Freire runs much deeper then the inability to read the written word. It goes beyond this to a more relevant inability to read the social, political, and economic situation of the real world. In light of the disempowerment which "illiteracy" creates, resolving it recognizes the need to deconstruct the codified language which is imposed on communities by institutional and governing structures. This process, referred to by Freire as "cultural action", is especially relevant to communities which have historically been subjugated to a dominant ideology which has subjugated their own (Freire, 56, 1970b; and Freire, 103, 1985).

In a similar vein to Freire, Giroux argues that the potential for authoritative structures to be transformed by a pluralism of cultural discourses exists if the latter can develop a discourse which challenges the former's ability to impose its dominant discourse. This form of popular education, which he calls "border pedagogy", seeks to question the validity of master narratives and totalizing systems by inserting the primacy of difference and struggle:

> As a pedagogical process intent on challenging existing boundaries of knowledge and creating new ones, border pedagogy offers the opportunity for students to engage the multiple references that constitute different cultural codes, experiences, and languages. This means educating students to both read these codes historically and critically while simultaneously learning the limits of such codes including the ones they use to construct their own narratives and histories. In this case partiality becomes the basis for recognizing the limits to build into all discourses and necessitates taking a critical view of authority as it is used to secure all regimes of truth that deny gaps, limits, specificity, and counter-narratives. Within this discourse, students should engage knowledge as border-crossers constructed around coordinates of difference and power (Giroux, 29, 1972).

In some communities where illiteracy is entrenched and cultural discourse or action-oriented dialogue is non-existent there will arise a need for catalysts. As these catalysts often need to come from outside the community their role should be one which seeks to deconstruct the dominant discourse and problematize rather than solve the deficiencies within the community. In doing so critical action and reflection on the part of community members can take place which can more effectively bring the assets and capacities of individuals to the surface.

If a community has achieved a level of *conscientization* where a significant number of community members are active, the potential to sustain the community empowerment process is much greater. One example of an effective popular education technique which seeks to do this is participatory research or what Illich refers to as "science by people". This form of research or science differs from the R & D which is often done by the large

institutions such as governments, industry, universities, clinics, and foundations. The first

difference is that participatory research is usually carried out by a small group of

community members with no funds, no sponsorship, and no access to publication in

prestigious journals. But the second more fundamental difference is that in participatory

research those who are researching feel the immediate impact of the research results in

their everyday lives. Unlike R & D it can thereby more effectively generate community

activity without increasing community dependence on the market professions (Illich, 77-

79, 1981). The overall reasoning for and benefits of participatory research are elaborated

on more fully as follows:

> The development of research methodologies under the general rubric of "participatory
> research" is also a result of shifts in development paradigms from statist approaches (that is,
> the state, policy makers, researchers, etc., will provide development solutions to the poor) to
> people centered approaches which recognize poor people's knowledge base and capacities to
> initiate change. This participatory research approach lays stress on the participants as both
> actors and beneficiaries in the research process and its results.... This approach empowers on
> the one hand the poor by transferring the initiative for action to them and on the other hand,
> the enablers, by increasing their knowledge base as well as increasing the success for
> intervention (Titi and Singh, 22-24, 1995).

From the above it is clear that popular education is an important catalyst in establishing a

community discourse which can more effectively begin to strategize its assets and

formulate more formal organizing. Under this formal organization, participatory

commitment is evident and we begin to encounter some of the interesting problems

surrounding consensus and democratic decision-making.

2.2 Integrating the Theory into Practice

The benefits of popular education in disempowered communities can be seen in its ability to raise consciousness, activate assets, and create a knowledge base and dialogue which is a community's own. Yet a higher level of mobilization is needed to create a community which is empowered to a point that it can actively plan and manage itself. For this to happen the establishment of a planning process involving participation, goals, decision-making, and consensus-building is required.

Etzioni is one of the prominent thinkers who discusses the need for communities to move beyond a level of heightened consciousness to a level of higher community commitment. Based on this commitment he argues that goals need to be established as well as the identification of the means to reach these goals. He clarifies this by describing three major components to the activation process:

1. **A self-conscious and knowing societal unit** - Without consciousness the collective social unit is not aware of their ability, of their being acted upon, of their ability to act, or of their power.

2. **One or more goals they are committed to realizing** - Without a commitment to a goal or purpose action lacks direction and merely drifts.

3. **Access to levers (or power) that allows resetting of the social code** - Without powers the most clear and sharply focused awareness with even the firmest of commitment will not result in the social, economic, or political changes necessary for the action strategy to sustain itself.

It is the interaction of these components according to Etzioni which allows for a cyclical decision-making process based on "responsive-action" which is shown on the following page (Etzioni, 250, 1968).

Figure I: The Place of Decision-Making in the Process of Control

```
┌─────────────────────┐                    ┌─────────────────────┐
│     Knowledge       │                    │   Implementation    │
│   Consciousness     │                    │     (downward       │
│                     │ ── Decision-Making ──▶ communication      │
│  Values and Goals   │                    │  and application    │
│ (general commitment)│                    │    of power)        │
└─────────────────────┘                    └─────────────────────┘
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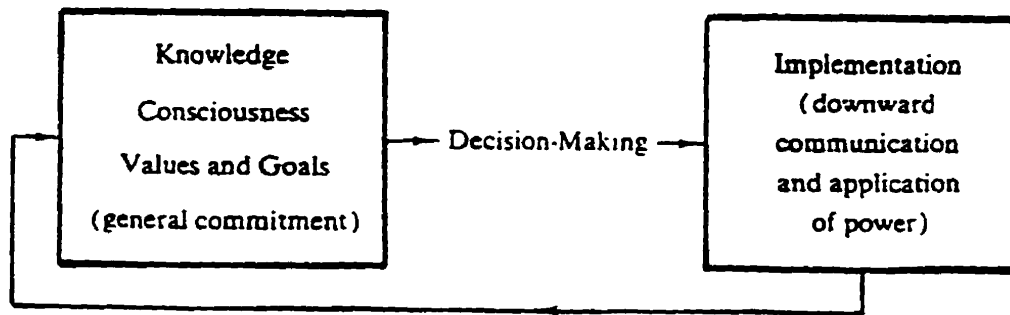
Source: Amitai Etzioni. *The Active Society*. 1968, p 250.

The power of this model is its praxis or emphasis on action and reflection by establishing mechanisms to allow it to move from a collective consciousness to the implementation stage and back to the collective consciousness. A potential threat to this model is that control may become too centralized and the mechanisms which connect it to the collective consciousness will be lost. For this reason establishing a balance between consensus building and control becomes a primary concern in the process of community decision-making.

The degree of consensus within a community is a measure of how well it is integrated as a collectivity and it is often the essential ingredient to compliance or willingness of community members to cooperate (Etzioni, 128-130, 1961). In elaborating on the balance in decision-making between the degree of consensus and the degree of control, Etzioni notes that the top-down mobilization of consensus which exists in over-managed and highly controlled structures is not as effective as those which involve the collective community as in bottom up consensus. On the other hand while bottom-up consensus often establishes a cohesive societal unit, without any control this unit lacks the

organization necessary to make important action-oriented decisions. To more clearly

illustrate this distinction Etzioni has formulated a chart which demonstrates the

relationship between consensus-formation and a controlling overlayer.

Figure II: Relationships Between Consensus and Control

Consensus-Formation

		+	−
Controlling Overlayer	+	active societal units	control networks (normative, utili- tarian, coercive*)
	−	cohesive units	categories (and aggregates)

Source: Amitai Etzioni. *The Active Society*. 1968, p 109.

The four areas of this chart are described as follows:

Active societal units - This is the ideal position for a community to be in as it contains a high degree of control as well as a high degree of consensus formation. It is in such communities where empowerment is most likely to take place.

Cohesive units - In such communities there is a high degree of consensus but it lacks the control necessary to take strategic action.

Control networks - Here communities will have a high degree of control, however as in totalitarian societies, it lacks the will of the people to be considered a cohesive unit.

Categories - Of all possibilities this is the worst position to be in as in lacking both control and consensus the community is disjointed and instead of forming a cohesive unit, it is divided into small groups or aggregates which are subjected to passivity (Etzioni, 154-156, 1973; and 109, 1968).

This model is very important as a tool for measuring the degree to which communities are

empowered. Under it the active community with high consensus and high control is most

likely to be empowered where as no consensus or control will leave communities in the

most passive state. Yet further understanding of the importance of consensus in control must look at the format by which consensus is achieved, and if this format is both accessible and in the end truly representative of a community majority.

Intensity of involvement or participation in the decision-making process along with the manner it is controlled are important features in the empowerment process. Ranges of involvement impact on control in the process and may vary from negative or alienative to compliance or commitment. While alienative involvement is characterized by an intense negative orientation to participation, compliance or commitment may vary from low to high.

Compliance of low participants is more problematic then higher participants because as a rule the lower the actor is in the organizational hierarchy, the fewer rewards he or she attains. As the lower participant is generally less "in the know", with only segments of the organizational decision-making structure being visible, the organizational activities are less meaningful. For this reason lower participants are more likely to form dissensus about what the facts are, and what constitutes relevant and sufficient evidence for determining them. However this does not mean that they have the same power to change facts or direction of the process as do higher participants. For in contrast, higher participants have a "permanent" power advantage over lower participants in terms of their access to information, control mechanisms, and the various levels of the structure (Etzioni, 9-20 and 128-130, 1961).

It is inevitable that in communities there will be a mixture of those who desire to participate and those who are more apathetic toward governing structures. However it is

important to be aware that in many structures the positioning of "lower participants" or those who are less active in community participation, generally bear a direct relation to their level of disempowerment. In other words although communities must be at a fairly high level of mobilization and *conscientization* for formal organizing to take place, this does not mean that the whole community is empowered. As the circumstances of socioeconomic privilege often remain in mobilizing communities, the danger exists that empowerment of lower or non-participants (often described as the "have-nots"), may not be the primary intention of higher participants. If this is the case then authentic consensus decision making will not take place, and the potential for community empowerment will not be attained.

The importance of varying degrees of participation is perhaps best explained by Arnstein who illustrated the spectrum of participatory structures in her "Ladder of Citizen Participation". In the illustration below the eight types of participation are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of a citizen's power in the decision-making process. The framework for understanding these rungs, illustrated on the following page, consist of three broader categories of classification: (I) Non-participation, (II) Degrees of Tokenism, and (III) Degrees of Citizen Power.

Figure III: Arnstein's Ladder of Participation

8	Citizen control	⎤
7	Delegated power	Degrees
		of
6	Partnership	citizen power
5	Placation	⎤
		Degrees
4	Consultation	of
3	Informing	tokenism
2	Therapy	⎤
		Nonparticipation
1	Manipulation	
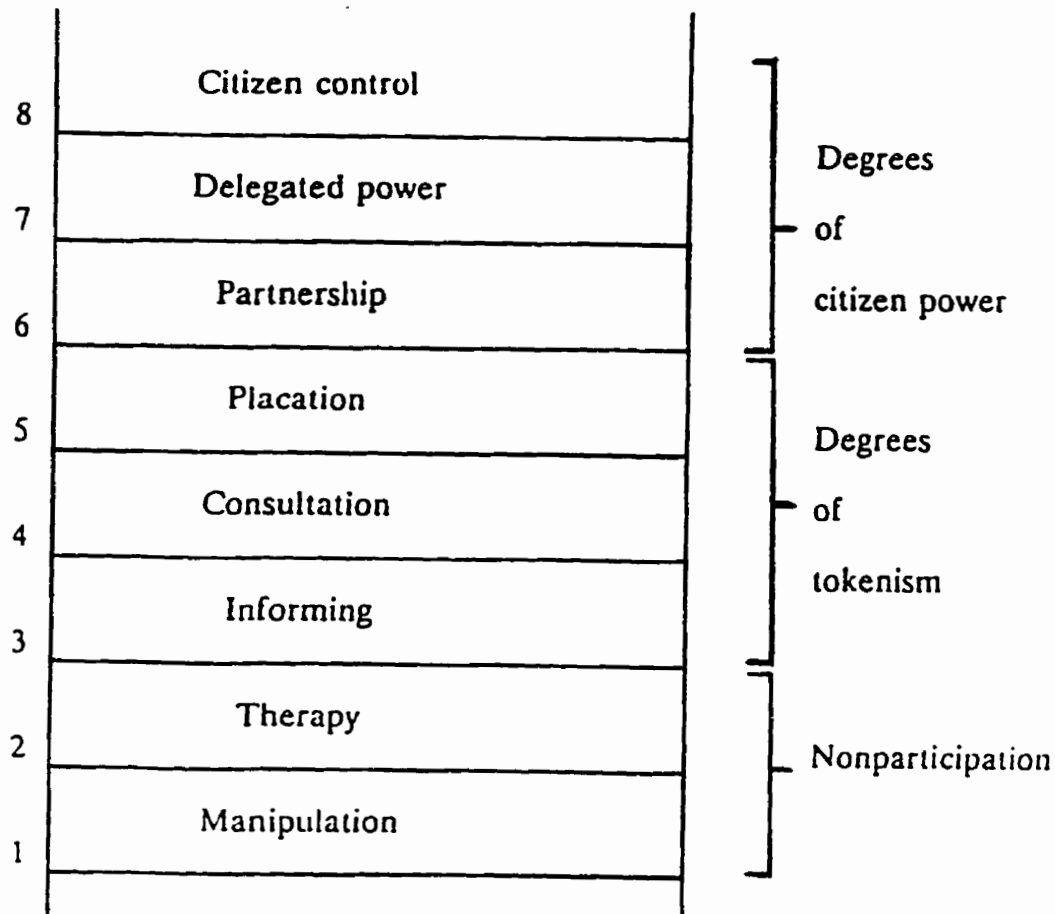
Source: Arnstein, Sherry. "A Ladder of Citizen Participation." Journal of American Institute of Planners, July 1969, p 216-224.

(I) Non-participation

The bottom rungs of the ladder - *Manipulation* and *Therapy* - according to Arnstein, signify levels of non-participation and are created as a substitute for genuine participation. The bottom rung for example is characterized by the fact that despite the formation of advisory committees or boards there is no transfer of power to the community, and thus they only serve as a public relations vehicle to "educate" community members and "engineer" their support. Similarly at the *therapeutic* level citizens have been marginalized through what Arnstein refers to as "systemic racism and discrimination". Yet

instead of addressing this discrimination the power holders only reinforce it by equating the problem solely with "mental illness" and the need to cure the "pathologies" of the disempowered (Arnstein, 217-218, 1969).

II Degrees of Tokenism

The next two rungs - *Informing* and *Consultation* - allow the disempowered community to hear and have a voice but still they lack the power to insure that their views will be heard by their decision-makers. For example at the level of informing Arnstein explains that it is indeed an important first step toward legitimate citizen participation through promoting citizen rights, responsibilities, and options. The problem at this level however is that in most cases the flow of information is one way - from officials to citizens - with no channel provided for feedback or no power for negotiation. Under these conditions, particularly when information is provided at a later planning stage, people have little opportunity to influence the program "designed" for their benefit. Arnstein explains that the most frequently used tools for such one way communication are the news media, pamphlets, posters, and responses to inquiries. Even meetings can be turned into vehicles for one-way communication by the simple device of providing superficial information, discouraging questions, or giving irrelevant answers.

Consultation is somewhat more legitimate in making a more significant effort toward recognizing the importance of understanding the views of community members. Commonly used approaches for consulting people are attitude surveys, neighbourhood meetings, and public hearings. However if it is not combined with higher modes of

participation it will offer no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account.

The next rung of *Placation* is a higher level of participation because the ground-rules allow the community members to advise, even though the powerholders have the continued right to decide. According to Arnstein an example of a *placation* strategy would be to place a few hand-picked community members on boards of education, police commissions, or housing authorities. Under these circumstances if they are not accountable to a constituency in the community and if the traditional power elite hold the majority of seats, it is likely that a representative community perspective will be "out-voted" (Arnstein, 217 and 219-220,1969).

III Degrees of Citizen Power

The top three rungs - *Partnership*, *Delegated Power*, and *Citizen Control* - are levels where increasing political clout in decision-making and citizen empowerment become evident. At the level of *partnership* the opportunities exist for the disempowered to negotiate with traditional power holders and power is actually redistributed. Arnstein makes her argument that it is here where citizens and powerholders agree to share planning and decision-making responsibilities through joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses.

At the level of *delegated power* negotiation between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or program. At this level the ladder has been scaled to the point where citizens hold "significant cards" to assume accountability of the program. Lastly at the level of *citizen*

control true community empowerment is possible. At this level people are demanding the degree of power (or control) which guarantees that participants or residents can govern a program or an institution, be in full charge of policy and managerial assets, and be able to negotiate conditions under which "outsiders" or low participants can change them. At this level it is probable that a neighbourhood corporation with no intermediaries between it and the source of funds is the model most frequently associated. In fact Arnstein states, a small number of such experimental corporations are likely to be producing goods and social services. In addition several others will be reportedly in the development stage; and lastly, new models of control will emerge as the disempowered continue to press for greater degrees of power over their lives (Arnstein, 217 and 223, 1969).

Arnstein's model allows us to differentiate between authentic and counterfeit participation. At its worst the participatory decision-making process involves a mere show of consensus, while the status quo remains unchanged. On the other hand if participation is democratic and consensus is authentic then significant social reform can take place. Under such circumstances the disempowered have a role to play in the planning process and they can thus more strategically develop policies and initiatives which benefit them directly.

When communities have reached such a level more than one group or organization is likely to have leadership in the community, and often such organizations will be competing for power. Etzioni explains that the negative connotation which community mobilizers might associate with this is that conflict takes the place of cooperation. Yet while cooperation is the essential ingredient to community mobilization, the realization of many community values are dependent upon a "proper" power constellation. In other

words democratic processes within a community presuppose a plurality of power centres, each strong enough to compete with the others but not so strong as to be able to undermine the collective framework in which democratic participation takes place (Etzioni, 318, 1968).

2.3 Role of the Planner

As community mobilization and empowerment are rooted in interdependence within the community and autonomy from outside structures, the role which the planning profession can play is in question. With its traditional expertise in design, zoning and land use regulation, socioeconomics, and governance, planning can certainly facilitate communities a great deal in a mobilization and empowerment process. Yet like other professions planning cannot exempt itself from the fact that its expertise or "professionalism" can at times mislead it into adopting an institutionalist and top-down approach to working with community. The effects of this approach which were described earlier is the disempowerment of community through a reinforcement of their passive acceptance into clienthood and a never-ending cycle of dependency. The question thus becomes how can the planning profession serve to empower communities in a manner which avoids the pitfalls of clienthood and dependency?

Perhaps the biggest challenge of the planning profession when working with community is not to mistake their expertise for the experience and knowledge base of the collective community. This would not be worth mentioning if it were not for the fact that the planning profession is deeply rooted in an ideology of "scientism". This reductionist ideology is described as a positivist perspective that all thought, action, and knowledge can

be reduced to an objective scientific paradigm (Harper and Stein, 105-114, 1992). The link between planning and this paradigm is evident in many of the profession's archetypal or "utopian" ideas which are embedded in the notion that the environment directly determines human character and social structures (i.e. Howard's Garden City, or Corbusier's Radiant City). Under these ideas it was common for community plans to be approached with a universal validity that only professionals possessed (Glass, 56, 1973). Based on abstracted scientific models far removed from the community's complexity of relations the most common model is one which places a deep faith in the physical environment:

> For generations it had been generally understood that the physical environment was a major determinant of social behavior and a direct contributor to individuals' welfare. Having accepted professional responsibility for the physical environment, the city planner was thus accorded a key role as agent of human welfare; the clearly prescribed therapy for the various social pathologies was improvement of the physical setting. If only well-designed community facilities could be substituted for the crowded dilapidated housing and neighbourhoods of the city's slums, the incidence of crime, delinquency, narcotics, alcoholism, broken homes, and mental illness would tumble. Acculturation of ethnic, racial, and other minority groups to the American, middle-class, urban ways of life but awaited their introduction to the American, middle class, physical environment (Webber, 97, 1973).

Positing a simple one-to-one cause and effect relationship between the physical environment and the myriad of problems within communities is far too simplistic. This does not deny the recognition that decent housing and well-designed physical amenities are important components in improving the health and quality of life of many individuals; but it does recognize that the profession cannot alleviate problems without an understanding of the complex interrelationships of other elements. Such elements include the social, psychic, economic, and political; and understanding the importance of these elements can only come about if the planner is more closely integrated with the community.

In most cases the role and degree of interaction of a planner in a disempowered community is determined by his or her employer. Often the employer is an organization

from outside the community which is in some form an adjunct to the public or private

sector. Under such circumstances the planner is required to work under a set of

parameters established by the employer (time constraints, assigned duty, and the

philosophy of the organization). In these instances the planner must seek to establish a

balance between an ethical responsibility to his employer and profession and an ethical

responsibility to the community. In establishing such a balance the development of a

personal code of ethics and strategies as to finding how to maximize service to the

employer as well as the community may be found.

Yet if planners are to give credence to the notion of community empowerment,

methods need to be found to bridge the gap between planner and community in a

relationship which authentically seeks to empower. In such circumstances it is normally

the planner who must seek to gain the trust of the community by fostering a mutual

learning process between the planner's expertise and the knowledge base of the

community. As described by Grabow and Heskin this differs from the conventional role of

the planner whose expertise allows him or her to be removed from community, to one in

which the planner is actually considered a part of the community:

> In our view, the planner is active: a radical agent of change. He or she is not, as so many of
> today's professionals, a creature of divided loyalty, one who owes as much or more to the
> profession as to the people. The radical planner is a non-professional professional: no
> longer one with a property right entitled "planning", but rather an educator and at the same
> time a student of the ecological ethic as revealed in the consciousness of people....Finally, he
> or she is not apart from the people: the planner is one of us, or all of us (Grabow & Heskin,
> 106-112, 1973).

The development of this type of relationship has also been described by Friedmann as

"transactive" planning. This style of planning recognizes that scientism and reductionist

planning paradigms cannot replace the shared knowledge and experience acquired between a planner and an individual or community. Under such a model the established values between the planner and the individual or group becomes the core of the newly formed relationship. The success of this relationship is dependent on the confidence or acceptance of advice of the other. If confidence is high then the planner can acquire valuable collective knowledge of the community, and the community is enriched by the reasoned judgment of the planner's expertise (Friedmann, 111-112, 1973).

In adopting the "transactive" model the planner may find him or herself in varying contexts of community development. Transportation, zoning and land-use regulation, housing, economic development, and community programs for example are common elements in community development. The degree to which they can be integrated into a community empowerment process is often an ethical responsibility of the planner. In reference to Arnstein's "Ladder of Participation" there are countless examples of manipulation as well as some examples where the planner has sought to facilitate citizen control. Often this differentiation allows us to distinguish between good and bad planning and the level of competency of a particular planning process. However this is not to say that the planning process ought not to be controlled by professionals and experts and does not assume that some degree of centralization is necessary.

As suggested by Etzioni unless there is some degree of control, a high level of community participation or consensus building will not serve to mobilize and activate the community. In this light a balance needs to be reached between a conventional model of top-down control and the bottom-up ideal of full participation and empowerment. A

conventional planning model for example can be characterized as consisting of six critical

phases: (1) Problem Identification, (2) Research, (3) Options, (4) Strategy Plan (5)

Implementation, and (6) Evaluation.   This process as shown in Figure IV is one which is

governed by a variety of professionals or experts which go through the six stages.

Figure IV: Conventional Planning Process

Problem Identification	-understanding of context -diagnosis of problem
Research	-data gathering and analysis -refinement and elaboration of problem
Options **Options** **Options** **Options**	-general formation of goals and objectives -consideration of limitations -exploration of alternatives
Strategy Plan	-commitment to goals and objectives -establishment of timeline, budget, and responsibility
Implementation Stage	-implementation of plan
Evaluation	-were goals and objectives accomplished? -positives and negatives of plan

For most of these professionals they have been through countless processes of this sort

which allows for efficient and rapid decision-making, which are perceived as necessary

given the presence of political forces and fiscal and time constraints.

As shown in Figure V an alternative model, although still recognizing the need for

professional control, seeks to promote greater collaboration with the community

throughout the various stages of the planning process.

Figure V: Alternative Planning Process
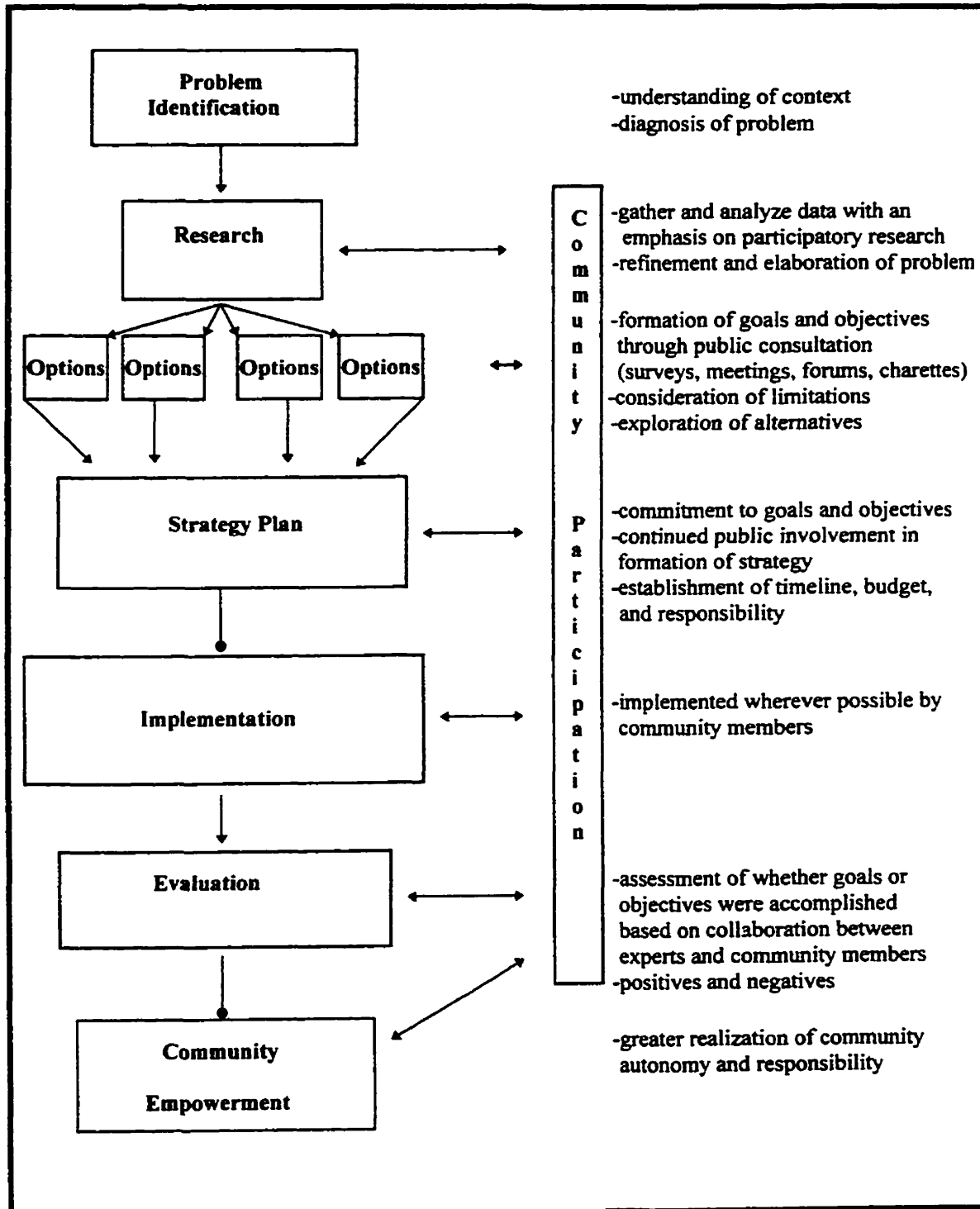
The alternative process will certainly be less efficient in the short run, however the likelihood of community empowerment to occur will be significantly higher. In light of time and financial constraints it is more likely that participation will occur at later stages. The consequences of doing so will depend on the degree to which there is room for the community to make, or at least feel they have made a significant contribution to give them a greater sense of ownership. While some empowerment theorists for example might argue that if community is not included at least by the Strategy Plan stage then empowerment of community is not possible. However this is not the case if the Strategy Plan is flexible enough to allow for public participation channels to be strong in the implementation stage. Indeed it is the implementation stage which is most critical as depending on the scope of the strategy it can be divided into dozens of sub-planning process, each allowing for the community to participate and acquire power and control.

2.4 Conclusion

The applicability of a community mobilization and empowerment approach will vary significantly depending on the contextual elements operating within and on a given community. Social, cultural, economic, political, and physical characteristics for example are primary indicators of a community's level and potential for mobilization. For planners, organizations, government, or communities themselves to seek to foster a mobilization process an understanding of these elements is essential.

With the theoretical framework for community mobilization and empowerment established, the remainder of this thesis will seek to develop the contextual elements

around Winnipeg's Main Street. It is questionable to what degree a mobilization or empowerment process can take place in this context. Yet over the next two chapters it will be seen that despite its current disempowered state, there are recent developments suggesting there is a high potential for significant mobilization and empowerment to occur. In this regard addressing the action plan or strategic process is based on the potential of the various initiatives to empower the residents, associations, and businesses in this community.

CHAPTER III: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF MAIN STREET, WINNIPEG

Originating prior to the incorporation of the City itself, one of Main Street's most interesting characteristics has been the manner in which it has been both a subject and instrument of change in Winnipeg's history. The intent of this chapter is to expand on how Main Street has transformed over time with Winnipeg, and how an understanding of this transformation can serve as the basis for further understanding of Main Street's contemporary importance. To best illustrate this transformation this chapter is divided into six sections, each (with the exception of the conclusion) consists of a given time period that encapsulates a theme in Winnipeg's history. These sections include: 3.0 From Red River Settlement to Incorporation as a City (Pre 1800-1873); 3.1 Centralization and Growth (1874-1914); 3.2 Decentralization and Decline (1915-1950); 3.3 Stabilization and Revitalization Strategies (1951-1990); 3.4 Current Developments (1991-present); and 3.5 Conclusion.

3.0 From Red River Settlement to Incorporation as a City (Pre 1800-1873)

The site to be Winnipeg was recognized as early as 1737 by European settlers for its geographic importance as a meeting ground amongst the Cree and Assiniboine. Situated at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, the site possessed water transport routes to the south, the plains to the west, and Lake Winnipeg and its adjoining river systems to the north and east. As a result of these routes the importance of the site in the fur trade was apparent and would thus continue to attract settlers over the next hundred years (Loxley, 3-4, 1994; Lyon & Fenton, 6, 1984).

By the early 19th century the European desire to develop and take control of the area was clearly demonstrated. For along with Lord Selkirk's establishment of the first European settlements, both the Hudson Bay Company (HBC) and the North West Company (NWC) built north of the Forks on the west side of the Red River. These developments were seen as a threat to the Metis who were by now a significant population establishing a strong sense of 'nationalism'. Although the European settlers had twice been driven out (1815 & 1816), a north-south trade route still managed to be established. It was this trade route known as the *Red River Trail* which evolved into today's Main Street. During this time it extended from present-day Point Douglas to the Hudson's Bay Post at Upper Fort Garry (Main & Broadway) (Artibise, 36, 1977).

Along with the Metis there was also competition amongst the settlers, but the merger of the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821 removed a bitter rivalry between them, which helped secure the settlement that would become Winnipeg. Yet despite the sense of destiny that a future settlement would manifest itself, even in 1835 it was still primarily rural in nature, and rather than a cohesive cultural settlement it consisted of clusters of ethnic enclaves. As illustrated in Map I on the following page, the extensive 'T-shaped' settlement was situated north and south of the Forks along the banks of the Red River, west of the Forks along the Assiniboine, and east of the Red River along the route of the Seine (Lyon and Fenton, 7-8 & 28, 1984).

Map I: Red River Settlement, ca. 1835
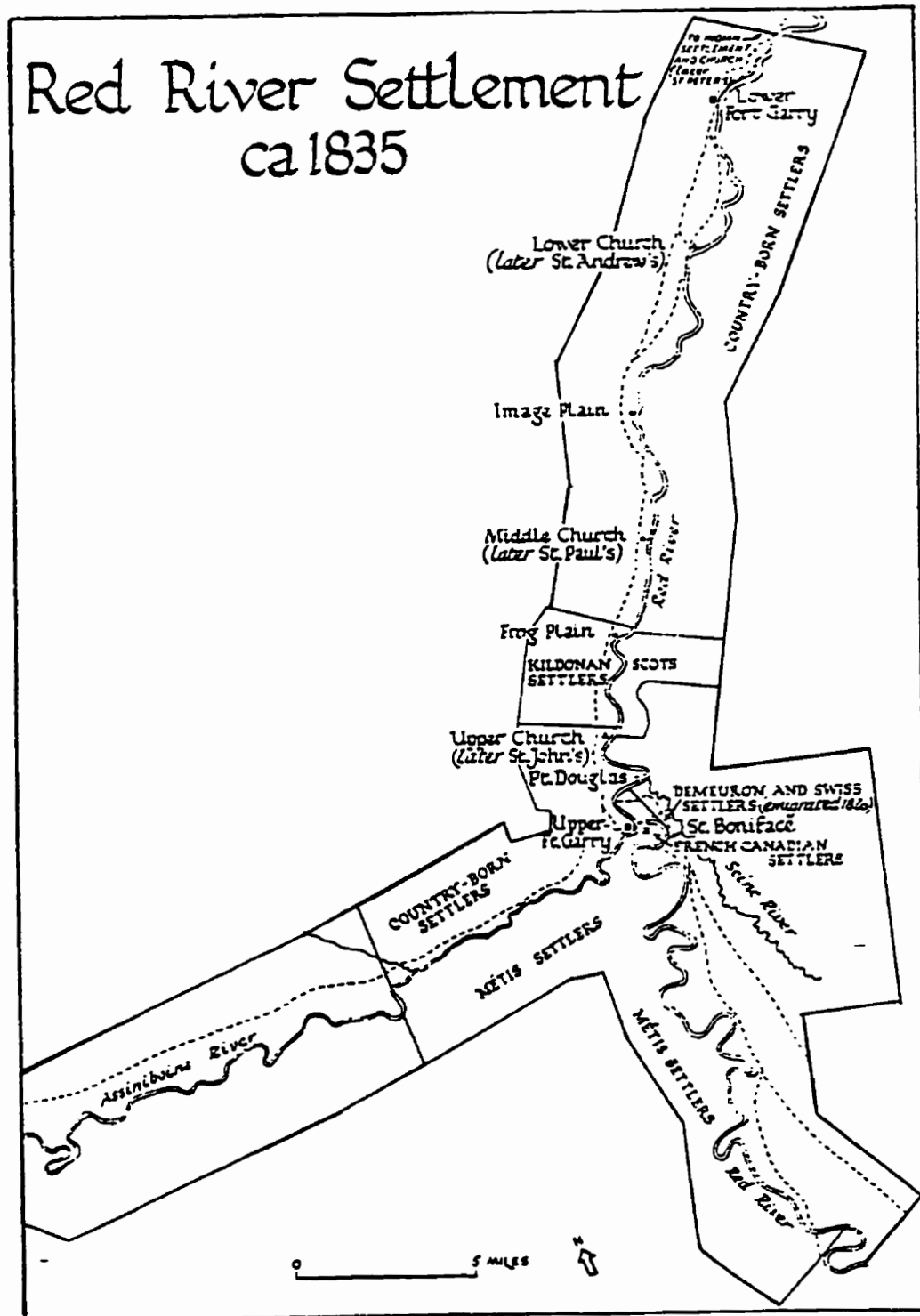
Red River Settlement
ca 1835

By the middle of the 19th century the colony had a population of over 5,000, consisting primarily of Scots, British, Indians, and Metis. At this point Main Street consisted of a few 'ramshackle' buildings located along the Red River close to the Forks. Although the area was not yet built up, during this time the layout of Winnipeg's streets was an important issue. In 1841 for example, the district administrative body, the Council of Assiniboine, had designated Main Street for clearance to a width of 40 meters, and after incorporation in 1873, both Main Street and Portage Avenue were given a 132 foot right-of-way. It is important to note that the right-of-way was not dictated by future visions of an 8 lane automobile thoroughfare. Instead the need arose from the Red River carts which tended to move in an echelon pattern which took up a great deal of space. Their reasoning for traveling in this manner was that a long single file of carts would have been vulnerable to ambush, and by traveling in a random fashion they avoided the deep, muddy tracks made by vehicles ahead (Artibise, 148, 1975).

Despite the Hudson Bay Company's centralized control in the late 1800s it encountered various turbulent events. The first of these was the "free" merchants who congregated in the vicinity of the present intersection of Portage and Main and sought to put an end to the Hudson Bay Company's control of the market (1 km north of Upper Fort Garry). The second was a much bigger problem which arose after Canadian confederation, when in 1869 the Canadian and British authorities sought to integrate the Hudson Bay Company territory into Canada. For although the original Red River Metis agreed to accept the continued control by the Hudson Bay Company, or annexation with the United States, a merger with the British Ontarians was seen as a threat to their autonomy and self-

governance.   Their mistrust was justified by the fact that despite their two-thirds

representation of the local population, they were fundamentally excluded from the

negotiation process.   The events which followed escalated into the Riel Rebellion and the

eventual unfortunate loss of the settlement's Aboriginal character[1] (Loxley, 5, 1994).

In 1873 Winnipeg acquired corporate status and by this time Main Street already

possessed a well established retail strip north of Portage Avenue.   By 1874 there were

some 19 general stores, in addition to hardware, dry goods, furniture, and butcher shops;

two tailors; watchmakers; 11 lawyers; 8 doctors; and several hotels and board houses (Lyon

and Fenton, 88-92, 1984).

3.1 Centralization and Growth (1874-1914)

In the 40 years which followed incorporation, both Winnipeg and Main Street grew

at a phenomenal rate.   Map II on the following page illustrates the development which had

occurred two years prior to 1874, with most of the growth occurring around Portage and

Main and with the majority of residences located between Main Street and the Red River

(Artibise, 149, 1975).

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[1] In July of 1870 the Province established the Manitoba Act which guaranteed bilingual institutions, denominational schools and land rights for Indians and Metis. The unmarried children of Metis families were to be granted 1.4 million acres of land and ownership of river lots was acknowledged. However when Canada sent an expeditionary force to the settlement as punishment for the death of Thomas Scott who had challenged the authority of the Provisional government Riel fled the Province. Thereafter many Metis were dispossessed of their land by legal and illegal means. The rapid relative decline in Metis population is apparent with the influx of more settlers and the execution of Riel which resulted in their exclusion from the incorporation of Winnipeg and its governance. As can be seen in later sections it was not until the late 1950's that their voice began to re-emerge along with the rest of the Aboriginal population (Loxley, 5, 1994).

Map II: Winnipeg Development ca. 1872
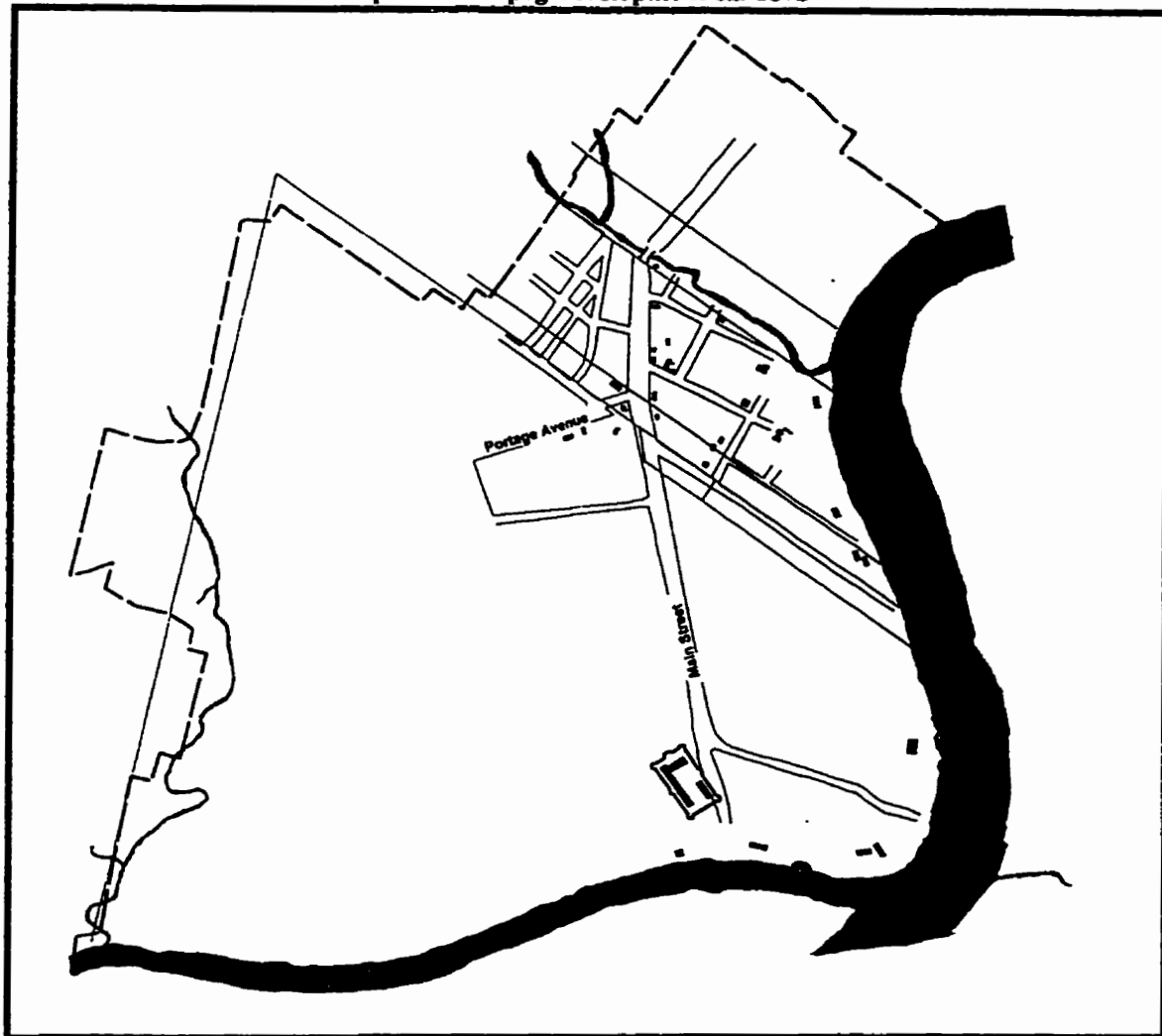
Source: City of Winnipeg. *Winnipeg Development 1872*. Land and Development Department.

While the map does not reflect a significantly high level of development, it has been noted that the decade from 1870-1880 witnessed the transformation of Winnipeg from a 'wild-west' atmosphere to a more sophisticated one heralded as 'the Chicago of the north'. At the time the Red River, still unbridged, was crossed by ferries, and the steamboat docks which were adjacent to Fort Garry on the Assiniboine, and at the foot of Water Street on the Red, were kept busy all summer with freight moving from the south to the west (Jackson, 116-117, 1970). This increase in steamboat traffic enabled Winnipeg

merchants to begin acting as wholesalers to retail outlets in both the city and to new hamlets in the prairies. This development coupled with the first shipment of wheat in 1879 - unveiling the increasing importance of agriculture - were eventually to lead to the decline of the fur trade by the late 1870's. In the midst of these new developments, finance and real estate began to play increasingly greater roles. Real estate offices, for example, far outnumbered both churches and saloons, and the first bank was opened in 1872, followed by branches from the east including the Ontario Bank (1875) and the Bank of Montreal (1877) (Lyon and Fenton, 1984, 10-11).

The decade following the 1870's was a period of even greater intensification and development, in fact it would not be matched in Winnipeg's history. The developed properties on Main Street for example were assessed at approximately $5.1 million or nearly one third of the city's total built environment in 1882 (excluding the assessed value of vacant land). Of that amount, rental holdings on Main Street accounted for $3.2 million or 62.7% of its total properties (Burley, 63-76,1988).

The incredible speculation fever was due to both past developments and the hope for the future routing of the railway through Winnipeg. This desire came largely from observing the success of the all-rail transport route that had already been established in 1878 between St. Boniface on the east side of the Red River and St. Paul, Minnesota in the United States. In attracting people and goods the railway would significantly boost Winnipeg's commercial economy, and thus became the source of a short but heated controversy and debate about running the railway through Winnipeg (Lyon & Fenton, 10-11, 1984).

By 1881 the controversy was resolved and the railway was given a perpetual exemption from local taxation, with Winnipeg rate payers paying $200,000 for the building of a rail-line which was to cross at the Louise Bridge into Point Douglas (Jackson, 121-123, 1970). The price, though high, was to have enormous economic spin-offs for Winnipeg and the Main Street area: (1) There was the short term economic stimulus offered by the construction activity associated with the CPR facilities in and around the city; (2) Long term employment would be created through the industrial and business expansion offered by the CPR's own operations as well as activities of firms attracted to Winnipeg; and (3) It would assure Winnipeg's role as a wholesaling and distribution centre for the west and the immediate region. The third point was manifested when Winnipeg acquired certain freight rate advantages, and the city's entrepreneurs were also able to wrest control over the grain trade from eastern merchants. In doing so they also succeeded in attracting large numbers of people from both the east and the south (Phillips, 10-13, 1981).

During the 16-month land boom which accompanied the railway's construction Winnipeg's population more than doubled to 20,000 (Phillips, 10-13,1981). It seemed only to be a matter of time however, before the phenomenal economic spin-offs would be followed by negative social and physical repercussions. For in their rush to promote the development of the railway, City Council did very little to control it. First the combination of sky-rocketing land prices and population growth reinforced the already strong impetus for suburban sprawl - a tendency which has reoccurred throughout Winnipeg's development history. Secondly the CPR tracks through Point Douglas created

a physical and psychological barrier between the North End and the rest of Winnipeg. As it had become a heavy and medium industrial district the noise, smell, and dirt around North Main made for unattractive living conditions. Although Winnipeg had very little segregation of neighbourhoods by income levels until then, the railway lines became the dividing line between the immigrant working classes in the north, and the primarily Anglo-Saxon middle and upper classes in the south and west region. It is indeed ironic that Point Douglas, originally considered the most prestigious residential location in Winnipeg, had by this time become undesirable, and along with the rest of the North End was classified as 'CPR Town' or 'the wrong side of the tracks' (Artibise, 36, 1977).

It was not until 1904 after almost 15 years of being isolated from the rest of the city that the Main Street Subway was constructed, thereby reducing some of the isolation experienced by the North End. Two bridges, the Salter and the Arlington, and another subway were built to further reduce some of the isolation the North End experienced. However to this day the CPR underpass remains a distinct barrier between the north and south portions of Main Street (Phillips, 10-13 1981; Artibise, 36, 1977).

Yet despite the segregation and undesirable living conditions, the North End possessed a unique character in being the most multicultural and highly populated section of the city. In fact by 1906 at the peak of immigration into the city it comprised less than a third of the city's geographic region while possessing 43% of the population (Housing and Urban Development, p 3-5, no date). The activity in the area was largely centred around the CPR station in North Point Douglas at Higgins and Main. For many immigrants

arriving in the city by train it was a major jumping off point, and was generally the first

place immigrants stopped to find a place to live and work (Phillips 7, 1981).

At the turn of the century, 20 years after the arrival of the railway, Winnipeg was

considered by far the fastest growing urban centre in western Canada. With over 40,000

people it had earned the reputation of a 'wide-open town'. Indeed as shown in Map III it

had grown considerably since 1872 with Main Street north of Portage Avenue containing

the most intense development.

Map III: Winnipeg Development ca. 1895
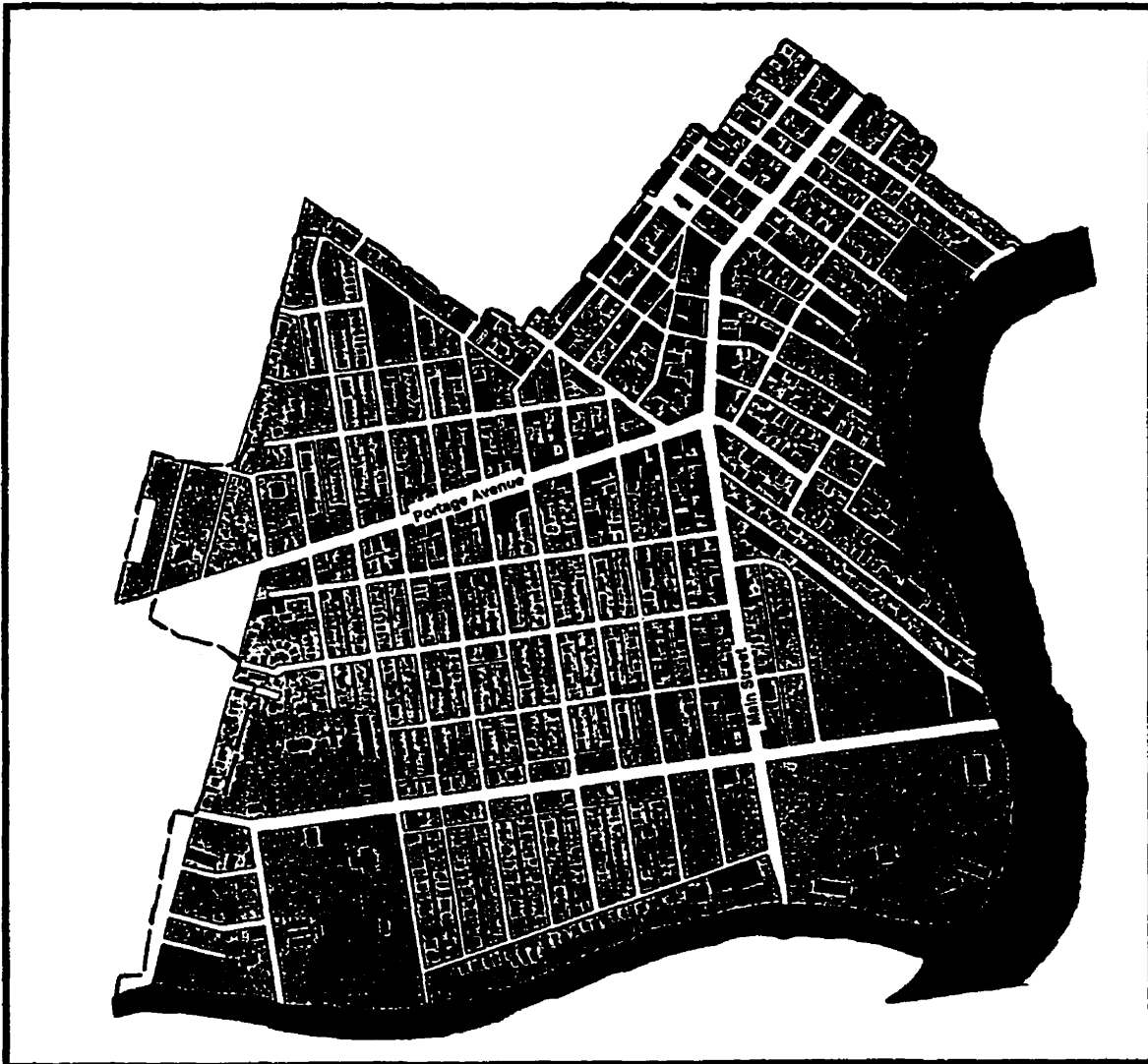
Source: City of Winnipeg. *Winnipeg Development 1895*. Land and Development Department.

Along Main Street there were about 60 hotels, starting from the Royal Alexandra Hotel adjacent to the CPR depot, to the Hotel Fort Garry on Broadway. Amongst these hotels were located banks, retail outlets, and other businesses. However the area was most heavily concentrated in what J.S. Woodsworth referred to as 'social centers'. The connotation was derogatory as the large majority of them were bars accompanied by poolrooms, brothels, slot machines, flicking cards, or target practice. According to Artibise, "It was the area of pickpockets, pool sharks, prostitutes, confidence men, and booze" which would eventually lead to one writer to refer to the city as "Winnipeg the Wicked". Indeed prostitution had become a major industry at this time, concentrated in the Point Douglas Area north of the CPR where over 200 women were employed in 50 brothels (Lyon and Fenton 36, 1984; MSRG, 8, 1984). The high concentration and dispersal of these 'social centers' can be seen in Map IV on the following page.

Map IV: Winnipeg's Social Centers in 1910 By J.S. Woodsworth

HOTELS   ❑
- with Pool Rooms   ◼
POOL ROOMS   ●
DISORDERLY HOUSES   ○
THEATRES   ▲
PICTURE THEATRES   △
PARKS
SCHOOLS   △
CHURCHES   ﹣
SYNAGOGUES   s
CHARITIES   x
DANCE HALLS.
SOCIAL CLUBS.
RINKS &c
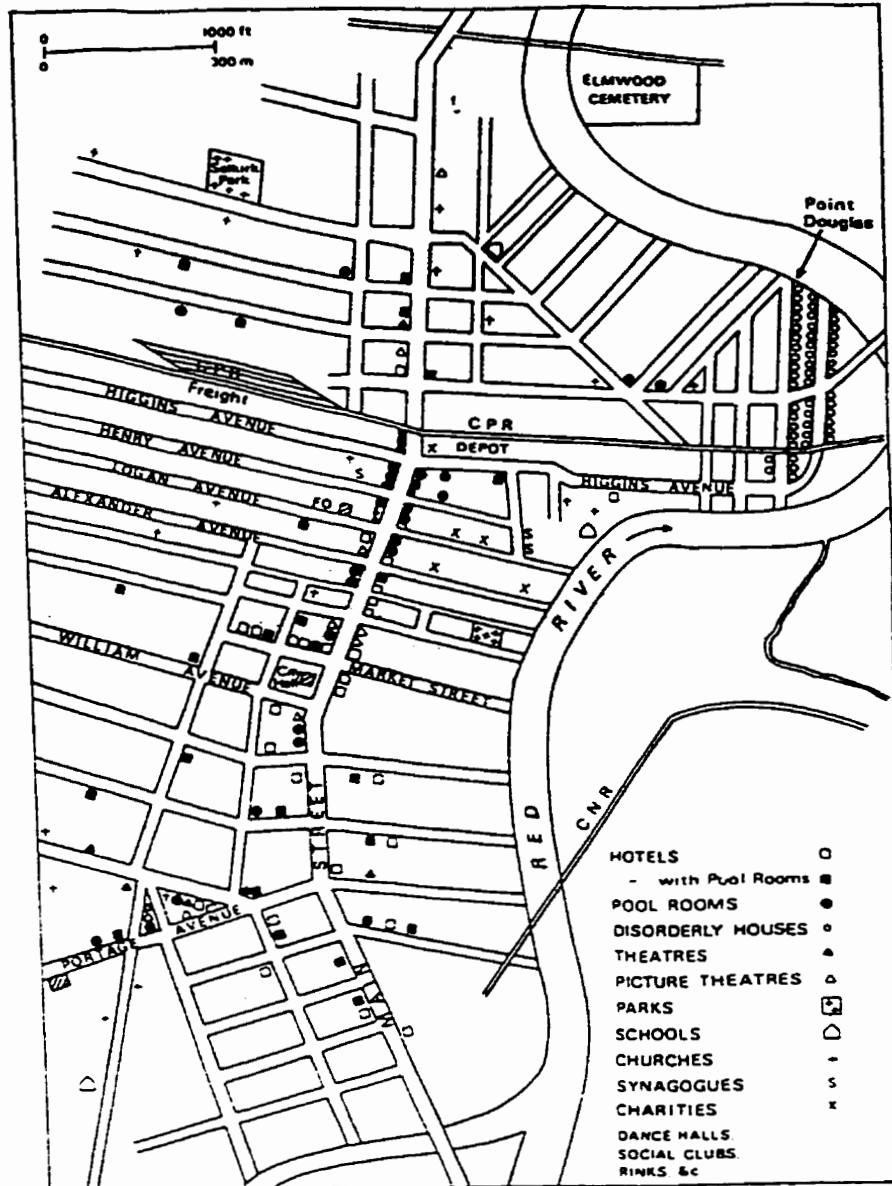
Source: Gwyn Rowley. *Plus ca change...: A Canadian Skid Row.* Canadian Geographer. 1978, p 3.

It is unfortunate that the City never imposed a stricter zoning code on Main Street to regulate or control the number of 'social centers'. For without dispute their high

concentration would play a role in the decline of Main Street's image, even as early as 1910. By this time retail development and investment was beginning to be transferred from Main Street to other parts of the downtown, Portage Avenue in particular. A catalyst of this dramatic shift in retail location preference was ushered in with the opening of the T. Eaton Company's five story department store in 1905. It can hardly be disputed that one of the reasons why it chose Portage Avenue rather than Main Street was because the former had developed a more respectable image amongst the middle-upper-class. Although the site was initially considered a bit of a gamble, over the next few years Eaton's became so successful that it generally has been credited with sparking the subsequent redevelopment which occurred on Portage Avenue between Donald and Main. The result was that by 1910, peak assessed land values had moved away from Portage and Main to Donald and Portage (Lyon & Fenton, 92-93, 1984).

Further reinforcing Portage Avenue as a new retail location was the 1911 announcement by the Hudson Bay Company that it intended to build a new department store on a Portage Avenue site purchased for $1 million. The intent was publicly confirmed in 1912 with excavation planned for the summer of 1913. Due to the impending recession however, it did not appear on the Avenue until 1925-26 (Lyon and Fenton, 95, 1984).

The shift in focus from Main Street to Portage Avenue was only one change in Winnipeg's physical appearance. In the period between 1901-1911 urban growth had become increasingly more suburban. This was mostly attributed to the shift in new residential development in and around the downtown to more outlying areas. By the end of

this period the central core was no longer synonymous with the city, but rather had become just one component of a more dispersed urban structure. There were many factors which conspired to jointly pull and push Winnipeg's population to the city's boundaries or adjacent municipalities. Amongst others, these factors included commercial pressures on the downtown land, the filling of space in the central core, improved means of transportation, some dispersed industrial activity, larger suburban lots, and cheaper taxes away from the core (Fenton and Lyon, 13-16, 1984).

Despite Winnipeg's local decentralization it managed to maintain its hegemony as a 'satellite metropolis of the hinterland.' It was alone amongst western cities in achieving a diversified economy with manufacturing becoming increasingly more important. As well along with being a major railway centre for both Canadian and American lines, its role as headquarters of western agriculture and finance was confirmed. As shown in Table II a telling factor of Winnipeg's extraordinary development is its population growth in comparison to other western cities (Phillips, 11-12, 1984; Lyon & Fenton 13-16,1984).

Table II: Growth Rates of Major Western Urban Centres (1871-1916)

City	1871	1881	1891	1901	1906	1911	1916
Winnipeg	241	7,895	25,639	43,340	90,153	136,035	163,000
Calgary	-	-	3,867	4,392	13,573	43,704	56,514
Edmonton	-	-	300	4,176	14,088	31,064	53,846
Regina	-	800	1,681	2,249	6,169	30,213	26,127
Saskatoon	-	-	-	113	3,011	12,004	21,048
Moose Jaw	-	-	-	1,558	6,249	13,823	16,934
Brandon	-	-	-	5,620	10,408	13,839	15,215
St. Boniface	817	1,283	1,523	2,019	5,119	7,483	11,021
Lethbridge	-	-	-	2,072	2,936	9,035	9,436
Medicine Hat	-	-	-	1,570	3,020	5,608	9,272
Prince Albert	-	-	-	1,785	3,005	6,254	6,436
Portage La Prairie	-	-	3,362	3,901	5,106	5,892	5,879

Source: Phillips, Paul. "The Prairie Urban System, 1911-1961: Specialization and Change." *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development.* Ed. AFJ Artibise. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1981 (p11).

In addition to its large population, the strength of the region at the time is illustrated in

Manitoba's high urbanization in comparison to neighbouring western provinces. Thus as a

commanding urban centre Winnipeg was supported by a strong region of smaller urban

centres which further supported its distribution role. The level of urbanization of

Winnipeg in comparison to these other urban centres is shown in Table III.

Table III: Urban Population as a Percentage of Total Population By Province.

Manitoba	%	Saskatchewan	%	Alberta	%	Total Prairies	%
Urban	43.6%	Urban	26.7%	Urban	36.8%	Urban	35.3%
Winnipeg	29.5%	Regina	6.1%	Calgary	11.7%	5 Major Cities	18.6%
		Saskatoon	2.4%	Edmonton	6.7%		

Source: Phillips, Paul. "The Prairie Urban System, 1911-1961: Specialization and Change." *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*. Ed. AFJ Artibise. Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1981 (p11).

In addition to its strength in relation to the west it also had many amenities which

other western cities did not. Its streets were well-paved and better lit than were the streets

of most North American cities, and it had planted trees, established parks, public libraries,

church colleges, a diversifying University of Manitoba, an agricultural college, and various

sports organizations. Realistically speaking it was not a second Chicago in either

population size or wealth, but it was certainly Chicago's counterpart as a grain and cattle

market, rail centre, banker, and wholesale distributor. For example in a short 2 year period

(1911-1913) Winnipeg's financial centre status was dramatically symbolized by erecting

over 13 grand bank buildings along Main Street and Portage Avenue. In addition, the

Winnipeg Grain Exchange was becoming a world market, as important, if not more so than

Chicago. (Jackson 162, & 178-179, 1970). There was no disputing Winnipeg's

phenomenal growth for those who were there to witness it, but certainly amongst those

who were, many must have been asking how long such growth could be sustained.

3.2 Decentralization and Decline (1915-1950)

In light of the continual economic, commercial, and population growth that Winnipeg was experiencing it would be incorrect to say that Winnipeg was declining in 1914. The situation described in the preceding section reveals that in fact it was not. There were events however, especially over the next several decades, which were central to Winnipeg's decline. Indeed Winnipeg was not unique in having to suffer the dislocation from two world wars, economic depression, and the influenza epidemic of 1918 (Phillips, 22, 1981). However it seemed to stand alone in being the target of new transportation, institutional, and market developments which proved to be ill-foreboding to Winnipeg's leadership role as a distribution centre. These changes coupled with the increasing decentralization of the CBD assured the physical and socioeconomic deterioration of Winnipeg's Main Street.

The most widely noted transportation development which was to negatively impact on Winnipeg was the opening of the Panama Canal by the U.S. in 1914 which was considered an international triumph in both engineering and 'dollar diplomacy'. The effect of this development was not immediately felt due to the general dislocation after World War I, instead it was to be revealed a half decade later. It meant that grain from the western prairies could find its way via Vancouver at much lower water carriage rates, and thus Vancouver became the escape hatch for western grain which Manitoba hoped would be shipped from Hudson Bay (Jackson, 178-179, 1970).

Along with the opening of the Panama Canal, Winnipeg would feel the impact of other changes. First came the loss of a major portion of the freight rate privileges, most

notably the rail rate reductions which had contributed to the construction of western wholesaling facilities within the city during the pre-war era of expansion. In 1914, the Board of Railway Commissioners facilitated growth of other western centres by ordering the railway to lower freight rates in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and BC, to the Manitoba standard, and to extend distribution tariffs to a number of smaller western cities. Second came the nationalization and merger of the CN railway with the Grand Trunk (and the resulting loss of CN's head office), along with the CPR's contribution of rail-yards and workshops in 1912 (Phillips, 9 & 19-20, 1981).

Amongst these transformations in transportation came institutional changes which would geographically diffuse Winnipeg's commercial and financial control of the wheat market. The first and probably most important was the formation of the provincial wheat pools in 1920. The effect was to disperse control and income from Winnipeg head offices to the private grain trade inter-provincially and rurally. Next came the abolition of the grain exchange and the controlling commercial and financial institutions of the grain trade through their replacement by a national institution in the 1930s known as the Canadian Wheat Board. Both of these changes along with the opening of the Panama Canal promoted the emergence of Vancouver as a major port of grain export. For by the mid 1920s, Vancouver was handling more than 30 million bushels of wheat, around 10% of Canadian production (Phillips, 21, 1981).

Along with the winding down of railway construction these changes were accentuated by the mechanization of harvesting and the rising importance of non-grain markets. Slaughtering and meat-packing, and butter and cheese manufacture were not

controlled from Winnipeg as was the grain trade which thereby reduced the city's hegemony over agricultural organizations and processing (Philips, 9 & 22, 1981).

As Winnipeg's decline as a distribution centre was occurring regionally and nationally, locally the city's CBD continued to decentralize. Interestingly while transport developments were having an enormous impact on Winnipeg's control of the market abroad, they were also manifested in various ways at home. In the 1920's trucking firms were making it possible for industries to locate in the suburbs. Consequently many manufacturing and wholesaling firms deserted Main Street and the inner-city for the suburbs, or worse to competing urban centres. Along with this came the rise in automobile ownership which provided the opportunity to seek or create employment elsewhere. With these changes in mind it is indeed ironic how transport technology has played such an influential role in the rise and fall of Main Street. For while the railway brought people into the area, the automobile provided the opportunity to take them away (Bijelic, 62, 1989).

Along with higher taxes and smaller lots the desire to live away from the downtown was in many instances justified, particularly in the North End adjacent to the CPR yards. The adverse effects of locating residential housing in proximity to heavy industry were clearly revealed during this time period. In North Point Douglas both the noise and smoke of railway and industrial plants was nearly intolerable for residential living. The steam engines of the CPR and the Gas Works, which at the time actually manufactured gas, polluted the area with large quantities of smoke and filth. The Vulcan Iron works,

Sherwin Williams Paint, and Swift Packing Plant on the Elmwood side of the River also

contributed to this choking effect (Housing and Urban Renewal, 10, no date).

The dispersal of industrial and residential population several decades following

1914 also witnessed continued dispersion of retail and institutional functions.   While not

all of this dispersal was suburban it was clearly developing away from Main Street. As

shown below in Map V, in 1922 Winnipeg's downtown was considerably built-up with

Portage Avenue heralded as the new premier retail site.

Map V: Winnipeg Development ca. 1922
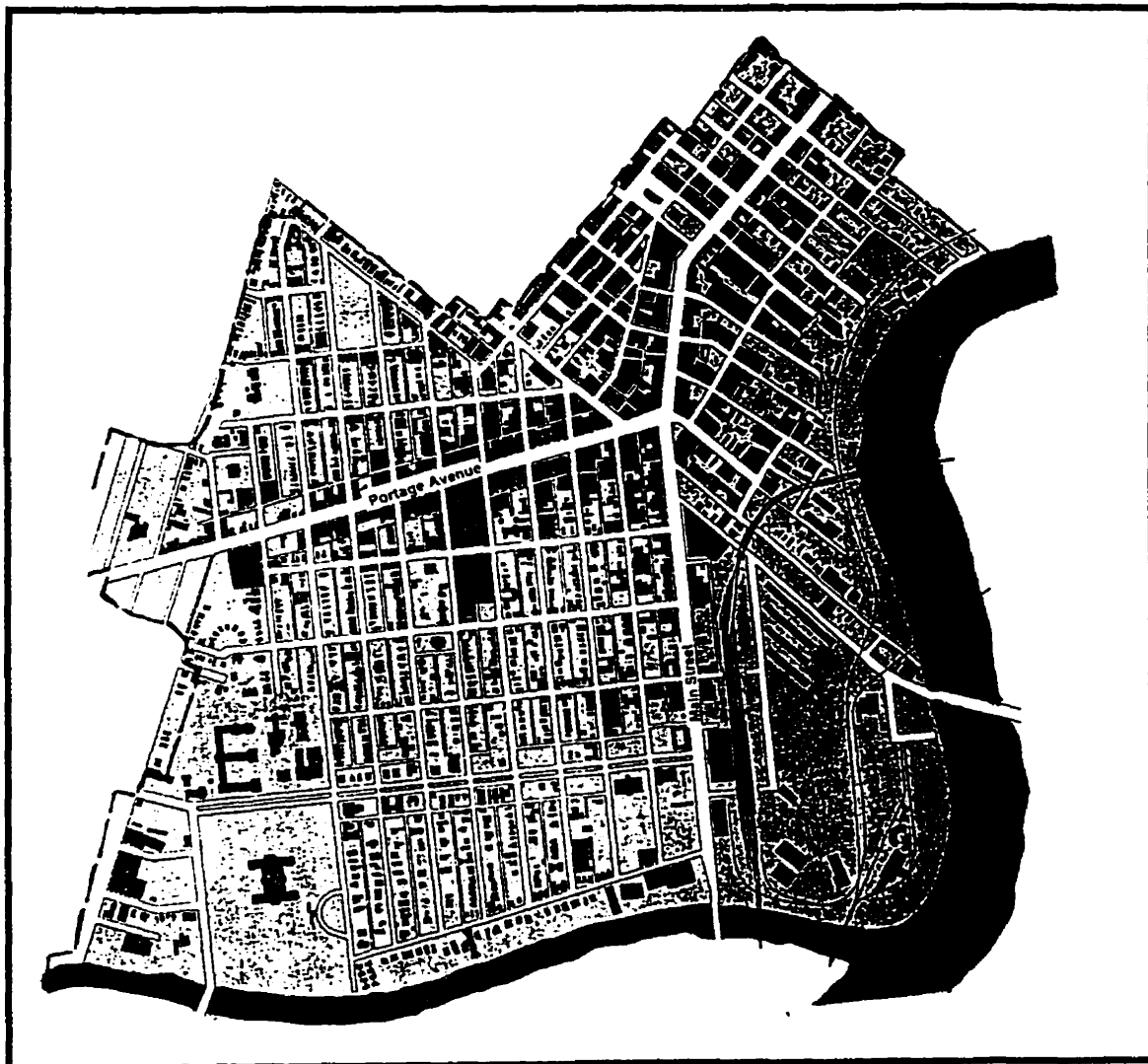
Source: City of Winnipeg. *Winnipeg Development 1922.* Land Development Department. City of Winnipeg.

Among other influences the locating of the Hudson Bay Company store on Portage Avenue between Memorial and Vaughan attracted additional developments to the area. By this time both sides of Portage Avenue were lined with variety, specialty, and development stores, many of them in separate buildings, but others occupying the ground floor of office structures (Lyon & Fenton, 98-101, 1984). The new status of Portage Avenue however was accompanied by the loss from the downtown of the Osborne Barracks to accommodate the new Legislative Building, as well as the relocation of the University of Manitoba to Fort Garry. This meant a significant loss of daytime and evening uses of the downtown.

Dispersion perhaps would not have been a problem for Main Street and the CBD had Winnipeg never lost its commanding ability to attract investment and population growth. It must have been apparent however, that this was no longer the case. The lack of foresight and planning on the part of politicians and administrators at the time however, reveal no firm measures were taken to establish controls on suburban growth. The result was becoming increasingly apparent as the wave of dispersal was exacerbated by the lack of pressure for the redevelopment of former retail locations. The repercussions of both of these forces was becoming increasingly evident between 1915-1945 in the form of vacant store fronts and short term occupancies.

Along with dispersal, many of these vacancies were accompanied by the difficulties that beset the wholesale sector of the downtown economy. Changes within the structure of wholesale warehouse functions, coupled with a growing obsolescence of the buildings in the warehouse district east and west of Main Street would leave a legacy of large

ineffectively used or abandoned buildings in this part of the downtown (Lyon and Fenton, 132-133, 1984).

By post WWII there were clear signs that the CBD was in trouble. With returning war veterans and the advent of the baby-boom there arose greater demand for housing. Despite the concerns of the 'destructive' decentralization of the CBD however, the actions of both public and private sectors served to facilitate outward dispersal of the population and the CBD. Suburban housing was largely subsidized by the CMHC, and with the greater availability of cars, and improvements in the transit system, travel over great distances was facilitated. Simultaneously places of employment were showing a tendency to suburbanization, further supporting residential suburbs.

While this was happening the physical facilities of the CBD, including buildings and streets, were aging and becoming more obsolete. Moreover the absence of zoning control over development of the area had contributed to an intermingling of often incompatible land uses. Lastly it was becoming clear that the neglect of downtown's residential areas was leading to a greater demand for housing rehabilitation (Lyon & Fenton, 132-138, 1984).

3.3 Stabilization and Revitalization Strategies (1951-1990)

The decades following the post-WWII period began to witness some degree of economic stabilization, at least in comparison with the previous three or four decades (Lyon and Fenton, 18, 1984). Though Winnipeg was continuing the process of urbanization, it was now taking place in outlying areas. Between 1941 and 1956 the population of Winnipeg grew 14% while in suburban communities it was booming, with

Charleswood growing 111%, St. James 74%, Assiniboia 67%, and West Kildonan 113% (Brownstone and Plunkett, 16, 1983). Meanwhile population in the downtown was dropping as indicated in the period between 1941-1961 when it dropped from 15,575 to 9,950 (CentrePlan, 8, 1993).

Continuing previous trends, the migration of people from the downtown to outlying areas was accompanied by both business and industry. Along with past influences this era witnessed the decline in rail passenger traffic, corporate restructuring, and changes in communication and marketing which in turn affected the use of space, and demand for goods in the office. It thus became more profitable for businesses and industries to locate in more suitable and modern facilities, in outer industrial parks, and in regional shopping centres. Recommendations were made by city administrators to curb the CBD decline by advocating the restriction of suburban retail and ribbon development in business districts other than Portage and Main. These recommendations however were never implemented. (Lyon and Fenton, 19-20, 1984)

By 1960, extensive areas in and around the downtown had been identified to be in need of resources for rehabilitation or redevelopment. Nevertheless, despite the stabilization of the Winnipeg market, the economic context was still such that limitations were imposed on the extent to which identified physical problems might be addressed. This problem was compounded by the losses and dislocations Winnipeg suffered in 1950 through a major flood. In the years which followed substantial public funds were committed to flood control facilities, including some $59 million allocated to the Winnipeg Floodway constructed between 1962 and 1968. Moreover most of the money which was

available above and beyond that allocated to flood control, went to suburban developments rather than the much needed downtown (Lyon and Fenton, 19-20, 1984).

During this time the hopes for the downtown were pinned on the efforts of the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg which attended to formulating an Official Development Plan. Various studies were undertaken that proposed alternatives to resolve the problems faced by the downtown. The problem was that those proposals were based on projections, which though not forecasting the return of a boom like that of 1901-1911, predicted substantial growth of the metropolitan area. It was assumed that this growth would create pressure for redevelopment in the downtown and serve to attract the necessary capital required for redevelopment. These growth projections set the course for almost three decades of local and public policy decisions. Unfortunately the anticipated growth never occurred (Lyon and Fenton, 139, 1984).

In 1961, the construction of the Disraeli Freeway was to have major adverse effects on Main Street, once again illustrating how transportation has played such an important role in its destiny. The Disraeli was originally planned in 1957 because it was believed the amount of traffic going through the Main and Higgins intersection and across the Redwood and Louise Bridges was unacceptable. But the building of the Disraeli Freeway created more problems then it resolved, at least for the Point Douglas neighbourhood and the Main Street Strip between the CPR mainline and City Hall. First it separated Main Street's eastern flank between Main, the Red River, and the CPR mainline, into functionally isolated traffic inlands. Secondly, although it was designed to alleviate traffic volumes, after it was built the combined traffic volumes far exceeded what was in 1957

considered intolerable (Bijelic, 19, 1989). As shown in Table IV these volumes have only

grown over the decades as a result of continued outlying growth.

Table IV: Average Daily Traffic (Two Directions) (1956-1992)

Year	Louise Bridge	Redwood Bridge	Disraeli Bridge	Main CPR Subway
1956	14,070	13,505	-	27,600
1981	16,474	26,613	39,487	34,540
1992	-	-	42,832	-

Source: Main Street Revitalization Group Inc. "Main Street Redevelopment Plan", 1984, 14; &
CentrePlan: Downtown Handbook, 1993, 50.

After construction of the Disraeli Freeway, Main Street had indeed become a major

thoroughfare, but in the process all potential for a pedestrian-oriented shopping Strip was

lost. Lastly the construction of the Bridge served to destroy what sense of community

existed among South Point Douglas residents. It did this through the expropriation of

many homes and businesses, forcing them to locate to other areas of the city (Artibise, 62,

1977). For Main Street merchants on the Strip the overwhelming increase in traffic,

coupled with the loss of neighbourhood residents, served to increase the decline of an

already dwindling customer base.[2]

Main Street was becoming particularly undesirable as the unsavory aspects of the

North Main area remained and it continued to attract the indigent. By the 1960s a new

migration of thousands of impoverished people from isolated rural communities began

(North Main Development Corp., 9-10, no date). By 1966 however, it appeared that the

problems of the Main Street area would get the attention they deserved from the public and

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[2] In addition. according to the 1996 Traffic Accident Report released by City of Winnipeg. Streets and Transportation. the Main Street Strip has by far the highest number of pedestrian related traffic accidents per year. Between 1987 and 1996 there have been on average 11.2 pedestrian accidents a year.

private sector. The Interim Report for Urban Renewal Area no. 2 commissioned by the

Urban Renewal Partnership stated the following about the area:

> ...the presence of the Midland Railway, the blighted industrial premises, the wholly inadequate major traffic artery system, the obsolete premises of the wholesale and garment industries and the indiscriminate mixture of land uses are all in conflict with each other (Social Planning Council, 1-2, 1975).

The Final Report which was adopted by City Council in 1968 called for massive

demolition and clearance of the area, a multi-million dollar twenty year program, including

housing and commercial development, relocation and upgrading of industry, building of

public institutions, and a restructuring of the traffic system. The report recognized the

need to compliment physical improvement with action in the social sphere and noted that

no organizational or institutional structure existed for coordination of the plethora of

government or private agencies dealing with social problems in the area (Social Planning

Council, 1-2, 1975).

Although this report was accurate in identifying the problems of the area, the

projects which were taking place at the time and shortly thereafter consisted mostly of

demolition and reconstruction, without a real social or economic understanding of Main

Street. Such seemed to be the philosophy of urban renewal at the time, not just in

Winnipeg, but across major urban centres in North America. One of the most notable

demolitions was the Royal Alexandra Hotel on Main Street adjacent to the CPR Station.

The demolition in 1967 was due to the decline in rail passenger service (which was

discontinued completely in 1978), along with the fact that the Hotel was too far from the

'downtown' to be profitable (Bijelic, 10, 1989).

Demolition of many other historic buildings were to follow shortly thereafter to

make way for the Centennial Complex in 1970. The complex consisted of City Hall, the

Planetarium, the Concert Hall, and a Museum of Man and Nature (Stellman, 59, 1997).

Although believed to bring people back to Main Street the initiative can only be considered

a moderate achievement. While it was an attempt to physically revitalize the area, there

were no accompanying programs to deal with the social problems or support the

commercial functions of the area, and no private investment was forthcoming as had been

hoped for (North Main Development Corp., 9-10, no date).

Another demolition project with high expectations during this period was the Lord

Selkirk Public Housing Project in the North End which attempted to deal with the problem

of poor housing. The project involved widespread expropriation, demolition, and new

construction. Essentially it sought to replace the old neighbourhood with large multiple

housing units. There were however no supporting programs to deal with unemployment,

poor education, or safety, which was very much needed. Not suprisingly, the

socioeconomic ills of the area have worsened to a level which has surpassed that of the pre-

revitalization period (North Main Development Corp., 10-11, no date; & Stellman, 60,

1997).

While the 60s were characterized by demolition and reconstruction of Main Street,

the 1970s did have some substantial and sound redevelopment proposals and initiatives for

Main Street and its adjacent neighbourhoods. These included the Winnipeg Chinatown

Project; Neighbourhood Improvement Programs, Residential Rehabilitation Assistance

Programs, and the Neeginan Proposal.

The Winnipeg Chinatown Redevelopment was a plan to redevelop four city blocks

(approximately the existing Chinatown) from Rupert to Alexander between Princess Street

and Main.   It eventually evolved into an example of cooperation and community collaboration between an ethnic minority and various levels of government to redevelop a portion of the urban core.   The Plan was initiated in 1970 by the Chinese Benevolent Association of Manitoba which set up a planning committee and hired an architect to develop the concept.   A Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation, consisting of businessmen from the Chinatown area was formed and negotiations with CMHC, the Province of Manitoba, and the City of Winnipeg produced funds for a feasibility study in 1972.   A citizen's advisory group was formed shortly thereafter and a survey of Chinese and non-Chinese residents in the designated area was conducted to determine their needs and attitudes to the project.   Results called for physical improvements and mixed land use, recreational facilities, a cultural centre, open air markets, and both senior's and subsidized low income housing.   The development was to be owned by the community as shareholders and Chinese businessmen trading their land for equity in the Winnipeg Chinese Development Corporation.   The City of Winnipeg was to be involved in undertaking the re-zoning necessary for development and municipal services; and federal and provincial participation was to be the subsidization of low rental housing and senior citizen homes (Social Planning Council, 5-6, 1975).   The Plan itself was not implemented until a decade later under the Core Area Initiative, but when it was built in 1984 it gave a sense of identity to Chinatown that had not existed before.   Aesthetically it was a demonstration of Chinese culture consisting of the Dynasty Garden and Gate, the Harmony Mansion housing complex, a cultural centre, office space, and a number of small businesses.   In terms of the planning process it served as a testimony to the success of the

collaboration between the public, the private sector and the three levels of government. The importance of Chinatown to the Main Street Strip is its proximity as it is only a block away. There are in fact a number of Chinese merchants and businesses which operate on Main Street.

A second successful initiative of the 1970s was the Neighborhood Improvement Program (1975-1979), a cost-sharing agreement between the federal and provincial levels of government which sought the rehabilitation of existing neighbourhoods. The success of this program was its ability to integrate physical and social development through an emphasis on citizen participation. A Citizen's Committee and a site office were established which facilitated cooperation between City Officials and citizens throughout the planning process. Around the Main Street Area, North Point Douglas became one of the recipients of the Neighbourhood Improvement Program and it benefited tremendously from the citizen's involvement and revitalization. However although North Point Douglas was strengthened from the $3.5 million allocated to it through the NIP, Main Street which runs as a western boundary received little direct benefits (Social Planning Council, 6-7, 1975; North Main Development Corp., 10-11, no date).

The third initiative, the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Programs RRAP (1974-1986) was a public policy initiative to encourage neighbourhood stabilization and economic support for low-income households by repairing existing homes. While it improved many houses in the North Main area, once it was expanded city-wide, significantly less funds were allocated to the area (North Main Development Corp., 10-11, no date).

The fourth important initiative for Main Street in the 1970s was the Neeginan Proposal. The idea originated with Earl A. Levin in June of 1972, when he was director of Planning for the City of Winnipeg (Damas and Smith Ltd., 11, 1975). The word "Neeginan" is Cree and translates into "Our Place", and its proposal was originally conceived as a plan for locating an Aboriginal Village. The need was apparent as there were many indications that a steady increase in Winnipeg's Aboriginal population had occurred between 1960 and 1970. In 1971 estimates ran between 15,000 and 35,000 with the largest concentration of the Aboriginal population scattered throughout the downtown core of the city, particularly around Main Street.[3] For this reason the Neeginan feasibility report looked to establish an Aboriginal community by organizing some fifty representatives from various native people's organizations.[4] The group of representatives envisioned an urban Aboriginal community to be housed in a multi-service centre including education and employment training, facilities, a reception and guidance centre for urban immigrants, a native people's housing agency, and the development of native business enterprises, managerial skills, artistic skills, and so on. The needs and benefits of establishing a site to house these developments was described as follows:

> Perhaps the most important reason is the fact that there is a very real and very urgent need for better accommodation for the various social, cultural, and service programs which are trying to serve the native people at the present time. Their present accommodation is crowded, of a poor physical quality and standard, expensive, and dispersed. There is also the expectation that real benefits would flow from bringing these various groups together under one roof; it is felt that there is much to be gained from centralization, not only in terms of space and program

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[3] The Neeginan Feasibility Report notes that during this time a dramatic rise occurred in the number of native people on welfare rolls, in the number seeking treatment for alcoholism, and in the number coming in conflict with the law. The facilities of the Salvation Army on Logan Avenue and the hotels along Main Street were noted for experiencing a marked increase in Aboriginal population (Damas and Smith Ltd., 1, 1975).

[4] Amongst others these organizations included The Winnipeg Indian Council, The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre, the Native Women's Group, the Native Alcohol Council, the Kinew Housing Corporation, the Youth Action Project, Youth Opportunities Unlimited, and Winnipeg Ehnakumiguk (Damas and Smith Ltd., 15, 1975).

economics, but also in terms of mutual enrichment and support through direct daily contact, face-to-face communication, sharing ideas and experiences, and so on (Damas and Smith Ltd., 15, April 1975).

Various tasks were set for the feasibility study, including a determination of the requirements for housing for the native community, the appropriate facilities and services to be housed in the development, and the suitability of the site resulting in design, phasing and cost estimates. The study area shown below in Map VI was centred around the Point Douglas Area around Higgins and Main, stretching east to the Red River, and west to about Arlington:

Map VI: The Neeginan Study Area, 1975

Source: Neeginan Incorporated. Neeginan: A Feasibility Report. Winnipeg. 1975.

Although Neeginan was a sound and extremely relevant proposal which had the support of the Aboriginal community and its leaders, it did not receive the necessary monetary support from government. Even under the Core Area Initiative ten years later there was no mention

of attempting to establish such a community in Winnipeg. Nevertheless given the contemporary situation of the Main Street Area as will be seen in the following chapter, Neeginan is as applicable today, if not more so, than it was 20 years ago (Social Planning Council, 8-9,1975).

While these programs were occurring, Main Street between the declining CPR Station (Higgins Ave) and City Hall (William Ave), was clearly a shadow of its former self. Shown below in Map VII and Table V are functional and land-use features of this area:

Map VII: Land Use Features of Main Street Strip, 1976
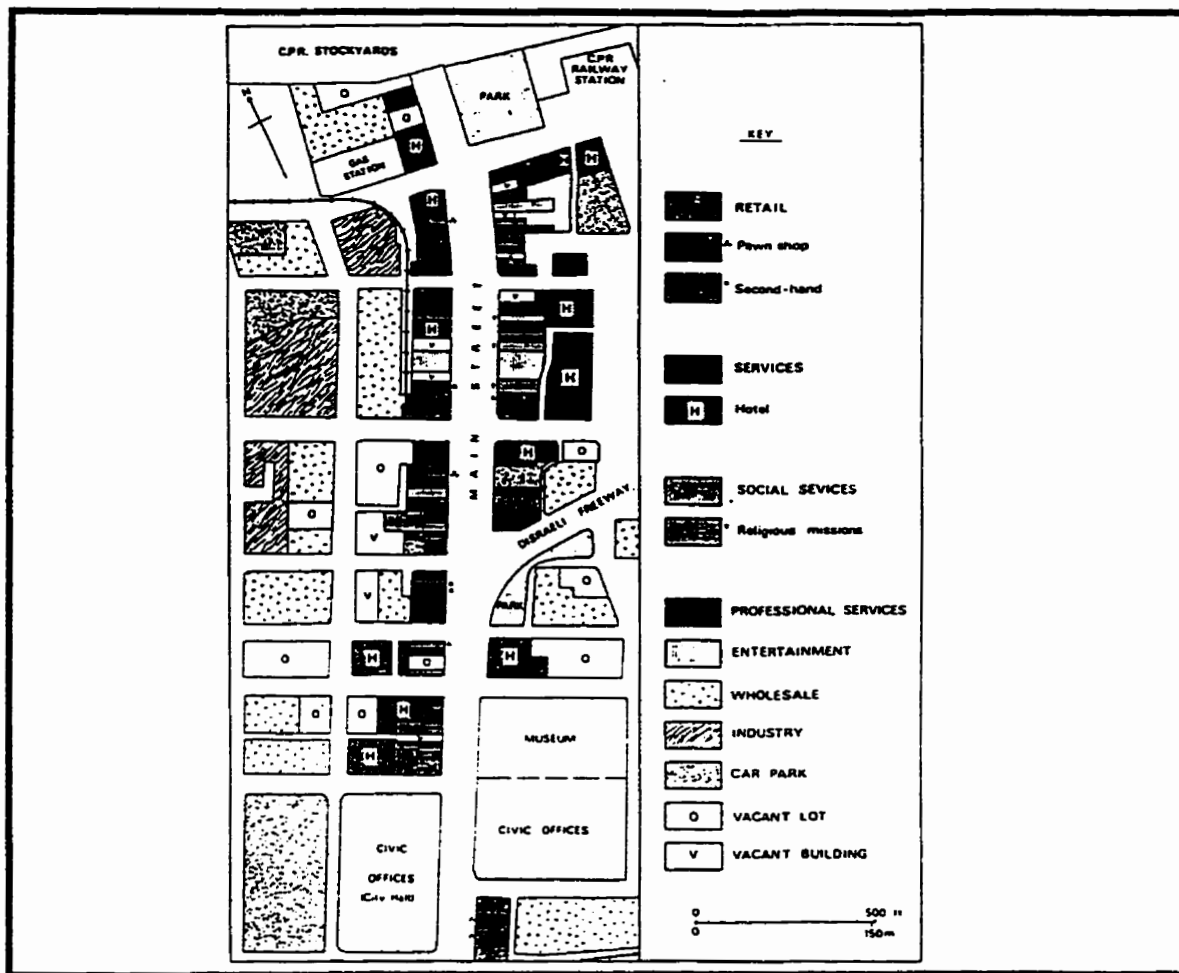
Source: Gwyn Rowley. *Plus ca change...: A Canadian Skid Row.* Canadian Geographer. 1978, p 214.

Table V: Functional Inventory of Main Street Strip, 1975

Retail	#	Personal Services	#	Entertainment	#
Clothes	7	Barber	8	Movie Theatre	1
Food	4	Dentist	1	Pool Hall	3
Vegetables	1	Photographer	1	Brothel	6
Liquor Store	1	Laundromat	1	Bar	7
News, magazines, tobacco	2	Diner, Cafe, etc.	12	Karate Centre	1
Variety	1	Hotel, hostel, ect.	12		
Bric a Brac	2				
Religious Items	1	Professional Services		Social Services	
Furniture	4	Bank	4	Governmental "projects"	4
Electrical, musical	4	Lawyer	3	Religious Missions, etc.	4
Pawn, jewelry	4	Loan Agency	2		
Gas Station	1				

Source: Gwyn Rowley. *Plus ca change...: A Canadian Skid Row*. Canadian Geographer. 1978. p 214.

Amongst the poverty and cultural alienation which became deeply rooted in the area, were the high concentration of hotels mixed amongst pawnshops, religious missions, social services, and run-down and vacant buildings. The environment had become one of socioeconomic and physical deprivation, earning Main Street the title across Canada as the skid-row of Winnipeg.

While this was the situation around Main Street, as a whole the CBD was also experiencing rapid decline. The building of Polo Park in 1959 and the small shopping centres which followed in the 1960s were but small developments in comparison to the major suburban expansion of the 1970s (Lyon and Fenton, 98-101, 1984). This expansion both facilitated and was influenced by the desire for suburban living, which is illustrated in by the dramatic population shift between 1941 and 1976 in Table VI on the following page.

Table VI: Population Shifts in Winnipeg 1941-1976

Year	Inner City	%	Outer City	%	Winnipeg CMA	%
1941	153,700	51%	146,300	49%	300,000	100%
1951	147,700	42%	206,400	58%	354,100	100%
1961	143,500	30%	332,500	70%	476,000	100%
1966	128,500	25%	380,300	75%	508,800	100%
1971	125,600	23%	414,700	77%	540,300	100%
1976	109,500	19%	457,300	81%	566,800	100%

Source: Johnston, Frank. "Core Area Report: A Reassessment of Conditions in the Inner City Winnipeg. Institute of Urban Studies. University of Winnipeg, 1979 (p40).

The table illustrates the steady loss of inner city population since 1941 and its dramatic acceleration in the outer city during the 1960s. The inner city loss from 1966 to 1971, for example, was -2.3%, but from 1971 to 1976 population loss reached -15%. In contrast, the outer areas of Winnipeg showed a steady increase in population with a increase of greater than 200% between 1941 and 1976. Besides these changes it can also be noted that the city, though growing, was doing so at a declining rate with population growth as a whole of 7%, 6%, and 5%, for 1966, 1971, and 1976 (Johnston, 39, 1979).

The movement in the 1970s was encouraged by new construction in the suburbs sparked by the formation of Unicity in 1972. Although intended to strengthen the core, the amalgamation of 11 municipalities with Winnipeg instead facilitated further decentralization of the core and its retail sector. For example in 1974, rather than relegating suburban shopping to fulfilling local needs, it adopted a policy to encourage the completion of six regional shopping malls (Lyon and Fenton, 98-105, 1984).

In the midst of the failure of Unicity to improve the condition of the core, the 1980s were to witness the most significant intergovernmental core revitalization program in Winnipeg's history. What became the Core Area Initiative (CAI) in 1981 was the result of

the efforts of the current Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lloyd Axworthy who at the time was

a member of Parliament and Director of the University of Winnipeg's Institute of Urban

Studies. The CAI was a tri-level agreement between the City of Winnipeg, the Province,

and the Federal government with a five year mandate (1981-1986) to spend $95 million on

revitalizing the core[5].

There is no disputing the CAI injected some degree of vitality into the downtown.

The monetary resources coupled with the political clout of three levels of government,

provide the opportunity for some grand planning schemes. It has been noted, for example,

that the CAI can be recognized for its ability to allow public sector corporations to

overcome numerous impediments to redevelopment in which the private sector developers

have difficulty (Lyon and Fenton, 18-20, 1984). On the other hand, the projects of the CAI

were in at least some instances too grand, with little public involvement or control, and

little long range vision or understanding of the inner city. Most of the CAI dollars, for

example, were allocated toward two mega-projects: the Portage Place Complex and the

Forks.

The former of these, Portage Place was an ultra-modern three-story shopping centre

with sky-walks to adjacent buildings, a food court, clothing and specialty stores on the first

two floors, and theaters on the third floor. Although the complex is relatively successful

today as a retail attraction, it can be seen as one of the blunders of the CAI, at least in terms

of its location. Situated between Eaton's and the Bay it served to further saturate the retail

sector of this portion of Portage Avenue thereby threatening the economic sustainability of

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[5] This was the first Core Area Initiative, a second one was signed after its completion. It ran for another five years until 1992. Together the two contributed $200 million to Winnipeg's Core.

the former two. In fact in the first quarter of 1997, after nearly 100 years of existence, it was announced that Eaton's is being threatened with closure.

The second major mega-project, the Forks, was a $25.7 million project (at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine) which has been significantly more successful in the public eye for its attractive recreational environment (Stellman, 65, 1997). This does not however, disguise the fact that its retail outlets have served to detract from the customer base of other parts of the downtown by further adding to an already concentrated retail sector. Nevertheless it does recognize and honor the site as a place of special significance in Winnipeg's history. Perhaps the only unfortunate thing about the building of the Forks was that projects were not established under the CAI to better connect it to Main Street, whose history was so closely integrated to the former's importance as an exchange site. Indeed looking at the broader downtown context, a sounder argument could have been given at the time as to why Main Street, rather than Portage Avenue would have been a more appropriate site for the allocation of dollars that went to Portage Place.

Besides Portage Place and the Forks, the CAI was responsible for numerous other projects, many of which came in the form of restoration and construction of buildings. These buildings included the Law Courts Building, the Winnipeg Ballet Building, the NRC Building, the Exchange District (Market Square, Art Space, Ashdown Warehouse, Juba Park, and the Children's Museum), and the downtown YMCA (Stellman, 64, 1997). The money to fund the Chinatown Plan of the 1970s which was mentioned earlier also came from the CAI.

Ironically however, given its slum-like conditions which were by this time apparent for over a decade, little money went into the revitalization of Main Street. There was some spending on social services and amenities such as parks, day care centres, schools community centres, and social services in the North Main Area, however it was too small to make any significant changes. The only substantial instance of capital spending that was to have a positive effect on Main Street was the $2 million spent on the Salvation Army Men's Centre-Harbour Light Program (North Main Development Corp., 10-11, no date).

There was another CAI provision to the commercial sector of Main Street which proved to be more interesting as a model of incompetent planning rather then having a significant effect on Main Street. This provision came through Sub Program # 10 known as *The Neighbourhood Main Streets Program*.

The Neighbourhood Main Streets Program targeted the areas and streets of Main Street, Selkirk, Provencher, Chinatown, and Osborne, and it had five objectives:

(1) To strengthen existing and stimulate new commercial developments and employment opportunities.

(2) To reverse the out-migration of core-purchasing power to suburban residential areas.

(3) To enrich the existing local environment for possible housing development and core area residents.

(4) To encourage commercial improvement and expansion to attract suburban residents to core area commercial districts.

(5) To stabilize and strengthen adjacent neighbourhoods. (Summaries of Final Evaluations: Core Area Agreement 1981-1986, D10-D17, 1988).

The formation of the Main Street Revitalization Group (MSRG) in 1982 led to the Main Street Revitalization Plan which was to tackle these objectives. According to the Final

Report from the MSRG in July 1984, the decline of Main Street was attributed to the following:

(1) The severe loss of population in the adjacent areas over the past 30 years due to the closure and downtown demolition of the area's housing stock and the general migration of the population from the area.

(2) The growing occupation of the remaining housing stock by low-income and disadvantaged groups.

(3) A general decline of consumer dollars in the surrounding areas.

(4) The general inability of business to effectively compete with other commercial areas and suburban shopping centres.

(5) The area's negative image attributable to the local hotels and population.

(6) The subsequent loss of commercial business in industries which further compound the negative image.

(7) The pessimism of the remaining merchants and their inability to sufficiently maintain or upgrade their premises (MSRG, II, July 1984).

Along with these seven obstacles to revitalization the group noted that "...in the past, long range planning of Main Street was sacrificed for immediate and justifiable gains obtainable through short term policies." The intent of the MSRG was to differ from its predecessors in that ideas and policies were to be developed using an extended time frame ranging from 5 to 10 years, and that it would focus on adjacent neighbourhoods (MSRG, 1, Jan 1984).

Thus the plan envisioned storefront improvements, locational incentives, building renovations, additional parking, and a farmers market on the Strip. In attempts to lure investment from outside the neighborhood $128,000 was spent on vacant Main Street space with rental and mortgage subsidies for commercial properties. Under these subsidies up to 50% of monthly rental or mortgage costs, to a maximum of $300 a month was to be provided in the first year with a maximum falling to $175 in the second year. The plan also advertised financial assistance to merchants and property owners for exterior

renovations. These were based on a 2-1 merchant subsidy ratio, with a maximum of $101 per lineal foot of frontage of foot on Main Street (Rosner, WFP, Sept. 15, 1983).

While from the outset the plan seemed to contain some positive qualities, upon implementation it was becoming clear how overly-ambitious and unrealistic it really was. The plan was superficial in that it called for the alleviation of Main Street's social and economic decline with the mere $1.3 million allocated to it through the CAI. When it came to the storefront improvement grants, for example, only six storefronts were chosen between Bannatyne and Selkirk Avenue. It was aptly pointed out by Sam Victor, a local business owner, that such an uncohesive approach would do little to solve Main Street's retail problems: "If everybody had a facelift it would be different. But when you have it spotty, you have one nice store. Big deal." These sentiments were echoed by many Main Street merchants, and they got worse by 1986 when the incompetency of the MSRG was revealed. A confidential city audit ordered by Environment Commissioner David Henderson in 1986 unveiled over $78,000 in spending irregularities. The audit's findings included the following:

> For example, $13,848 in grant money was used to pay wages. A $9,000 city grant for administration could not be properly accounted for because it was mixed with other receipts and disbursements. The agency had no written contract with its former coordinator, Don Malinowski, and the board didn't approve his $2,500 severance pay when his contract wasn't renewed last May. The Board spent $3,814 for the Main Street Fair, including $2,400 for its coordinator. The fair never took place and $1,414 of expenses were not approved. The group made $2,503 in unauthorized expenditures in 1985 and this year. These were for lunches, socials, party expenses and dinners; in April $3,000 was transferred to the group's bank account from funds held in a separated account. The money was used for various purposes, but not for what it was originally earmarked; the agency received $1,676 from Ottawa under the Summer Employment Program, but $939 was never spent and wasn't returned. Between May 3 and Aug. 22 of last year, board member Bev Fenwick was paid $2,070 in consultation fees with no authorization from the City. (Roberts, Winnipeg Free Press, 1986, 3).

After this scandal, the City took over the MSRG and appointed a new chairman and board

members. Yet this was too little, too late, for a plan which by this time had become an

embarrassment to the CAI and Main Street.

Thus when a report evaluating the CAI was released entitled, "Summaries of the

Final Evaluations: Winnipeg Core Area Agreement 1981-1986", regarding Program #10 it

was stated to have beneficial impacts on all areas but Main Street:

> On Main Street the program had little positive impact, especially south of the CPR mainline,
> given the extent of the area's physical, social, and economic decline; the dispersal of program
> resources over a relatively large key site; and the collapse of the LDC amid internal dissension
> and public questions about financial management. (D12, 1988).

The report went on to say that the Program as a whole suffered from a failure to conceive

and define what should be achieved, why and how; and a mismatching of objectives and

strategy. Continuing it noted the incapable qualities of the program:

> Without a clear conception of what should or could be achieved, the Neighborhood Main Street
> Program became a convenient vehicle to fund various wish-lists rather than a well-defined
> demonstration program. There were no criteria to guide key site selection, design incentives,
> approval of project types, or targeting of beneficiaries, or budget allocations.

And continuing again more specifically to Main Street it concluded:

> In Main, it meant the late addition of a key site whose initial exclusion from the CAI had
> caused a public controversy. Though area needs demanded a more comprehensive, socio-
> economic strategy and application of greater public resources, the Neighborhood Main Streets
> Program appeared to be the only suitable option. It was applied on the unfulfilled assumption
> that it would provide a positive start to future, ongoing renewal (D12-D13, 1988).

By 1990 it was clear that Main Street had been by-passed by the Core Area

Initiative, yet it was not apparent who was responsible. Councilors such as Al Golden and

Glen Murray for example seemed to target their criticisms at Jim August, the core area

manager, noting that along with the lack of social programs the CAI was a 'dismal failure'

because it 'ignored' Main Street. August agreed that Main Street should be the focus of

'considerable public funds', however he passed the buck by laying the blame on politicians from all levels of government who decided to spend money on other projects. Lastly, Mayor Bill Norrie defended his position by saying he was the one responsible for getting the $1 million for Main Street in the first place. He further stated that new tri-level negotiations needed to be made to secure more funding for Main Street (Winnipeg Free Press, Duguay, 11, Jan 1, 1990).

3.4 Current Developments (1991-Present)

In the 1990's it has become clear that a solution to Main Street requires more than local support. In early December 1991 Mayor Norrie met with Premier Gary Filmon and Federal Energy Minister Jake Epp to create a new tri-level program to succeed the CAI. Norrie was not specific at the time but did state that the funding of the new program would be significantly less than the CAI, it would not have a general manager or a centralized bureaucracy, and it would not have the word 'core' in its title but something more akin to an 'urban revitalization strategy' (Thampi, Dec. 4, 1994).

The public announcement of the contemporary version of the CAI came in 1994 and was called the Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA). Like the CAI it is a five year tri-level agreement consisting of $75 million which took effect on March 10, 1995 and is to operate until September 30, 2001. Its difference from the CAI rests in the fact that rather than focusing on the core it is a city-wide initiative with three primary objectives:

(1) *Community Development* - to create a safe, healthy, and environmentally sound community in which to live, work, and do business.

(2) *Labour Force Development* - to assist people to access job opportunities and, where necessary, help them to prepare for further and future development.

(3) *Sector Development* - to create long term employment by focusing on future industry growth areas.

Amongst these three objectives the theme of the WDA is 'long term sustainable development' and the re-establishment of a strong economic base by promoting Winnipeg as a major transportation hub. The argument is that with its geographically central position in North America, the future of Winnipeg largely rests on its ability to serve as a major trade conduit to the North American market. Like the railway at the turn of the century, if successful, such an initiative would see Winnipeg reestablish its position as a distribution and shipment centre through air, rail, and trucking services (WDA Program, 4, 1995).

In the first component of the WDA, *Community Development and Security*, it was finally apparent that Main Street was to be allocated some significant level of funding. For under Program 1 - *North Main Street Development* - three subprograms were established, each allocated a specific amount of funding: A) North Main Strategic Development ($6 million); B) North Main Economic Development ($1.5 million); and C) Aboriginal Community Facility ($2.5 million) (WDA Program, 13, 1995).

It did not take a great deal of foresight to determine where the $2.5 million for Program 1C would go. For the Aboriginal Community had already received some $2 million in grants from a variety of government and private sector sources to purchase the old CPR Station at Higgins and Main. They purchased this symbolic landmark for $1.1 million in December of 1992 and it became Winnipeg's Aboriginal Centre. Though open to all prospective tenants the Aboriginal Centre houses various native educational, health, arts, cultural, advocacy, and other organizations (Bray, WFP, Jan 4, 1995). It has certainly

been in one of the most significant developments in a long time both for the Aboriginal Community as well as the revitalization of Main Street.

Yet besides the Aboriginal Centre the WDA between 1995 and 1997 has been slow and cautious in the development of the other Main Street sub-programs. Given the tremendous failure of the of the CAI attempts, it is justified justified that the WDA would want to take more modest measures in establishing a committee and forming an action plan. It was not until March 31, that the Mayor's North Main Task Force publicly announced a Committee which was to head up the most significant Main Street Program undertaken by government, known as the North Main Street Strategic Development (Program 1A). Joe Bova, a prominent businessman from Corydon Avenue who played an important role in its resurgence as "Little Italy" was designated Chair, and Mary Richard, president of the Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg was designated Co-Chair (Owen, WFP, March 31, 1997).

Since its creation the Task Force has maintained a low profile, yet as of December 3, 1997 a strategy entitled "Our Place" was released by the group[6] which offers a financial plan, an overview of the various sub-committees, and a number of initiatives which will be undertaken. It is certainly the case that this strategy is significantly more promising then any other which Main Street has seen in the past, most notably for its recognition of Aboriginal people. Yet the biggest concern from the outset was the fact that $6 million would not be enough to resolve the deeply entrenched socioeconomic problems. Although the Task Force identified an additional $6.5 million which amounts to a total of $12.5

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[6] The Task Force was made up of six sub-committees: Neeginan, Commercial, Cultural, Housing, Social Development, and Aboriginal Investment. A list of committee members is found in Appendix B.

million, those who thoroughly understand Main Street's complex problems would openly admit that this will not be enough to achieve the desired ends of a fully revitalized and empowered community. To understand why, the following chapter will explore Main Street's contemporary context, and thereby provide the grounds for a closer look at the strategy plan of the Task Force in the context of this thesis.

3.5 Conclusion

From a historical perspective there is no disputing that the fate of Main Street has been closely integrated with that of Winnipeg. As has been shown, the four decades following Winnipeg's incorporation (1874-1914) witnessed the economic, physical, and social development of both Winnipeg and Main Street. The rise of the wheat economy, the coming of the railway, and Winnipeg's rise as a distribution centre were manifested on Main Street through dramatic increases in financial investment, real estate speculation, and population.

Similarly the decline of Winnipeg and Main Street, which was evident in 1914, was attributable to a variety of integrated factors. Winnipeg's loss of hegemony over the west coupled with the continued dispersal of the CBD, and the alienation of Aboriginal people from Winnipeg were reflected on Main Street through poor development control, socioeconomic isolation, and the origins of a negative image.

While the several decades following WWII were to witness some degree of economic stabilization and recommendations were made by City Administrators to alleviate CBD decline, in retrospect they all seemed in vain. Unicity for example, which was initially intended to strengthen the core, only further facilitated suburban development

and the decentralization of the CBD's retail sector and residential population. In conjunction with such developments transportation took on a whole new form. In the case of Main Street in particular with the construction of the Disraeli Freeway, unprecedented traffic volumes destroyed what sense of community existed in the area.

While a number of interesting rehabilitation initiatives did occur in the downtown in the 1960s and 1970s, it has been shown that marked improvements to Winnipeg's core through government intervention did not come about until the Core Area Initiative in 1981. Yet with funding allocated primarily to mega-projects such as Portage Place and the Forks, the portion of the downtown which needed it the most, Main Street, was generally overlooked.

The development of the WDA has been the most promising development which Main Street has witnessed since its decline began nearly a century ago. The formation of the Mayor's Task Force to formulate a comprehensive community development strategy with an Aboriginal focus has seemed to offer new hope to Winnipeg's Main Street. Yet with the limited funding and the somewhat daunting socioeconomic and physical problems there is room for skepticism on what can be accomplished. With this in mind Chapter IV seeks to understand the contemporary context of Main Street which will be followed by a look at the Task Force plan and strategies in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV: THE CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF WINNIPEG'S MAIN STREET

With the theoretical basis of community mobilization and empowerment and a historical overview of Winnipeg's downtown completed, this chapter seeks to contextualize the contemporary planning situation on Main Street. While it is questionable to what degree a sense of community exists on Main Street it is apparent from the survey findings that despite numerous obstacles, there is potential for a mobilization and empowerment process to occur. Certainly not all of the theoretical components discussed in Chapter II are relevant to this context, however they do help to shed some light on the potential of Main Street to mobilize given its current situation. To aid in understanding the contemporary context this chapter is divided into four sections: 4.0 Defining the Community of Main Street, 4.1 A Demographic Profile of the Main Street Neighbourhoods, 4.2 A Survey of the Main Street "Strip", and 4.3 Conclusion.

4.0 Defining the Community of Main Street

From the historical overview in the preceding chapter the lack of community identity on or about Winnipeg's Main Street is clearly apparent. Stretching from Assiniboine Avenue in the south to Mountain Avenue in the north there is little sense of uniformity or cohesiveness amongst the various parts of Main Street. Within the downtown the City recognizes three distinct sections to Main Street: (1) the CPR Station to City Hall (north), (2) City Hall to Graham Avenue (Central), and (3) Graham Avenue and Main Street to the Assiniboine River (south) (See Appendix B for map entitled *Main Street Sub-Areas*) (Stellman, 89-91, 1997).

In looking at these three sections there is no disputing that both the southern section adjacent to the Forks, and the central section with the Exchange and Financial District, are significantly better off physically and economically than the northern section of Main Street. However it is both the northern section of the downtown (CPR Station to City Hall) as well as further north of the downtown toward Mountain Avenue which are most relevant to a community mobilization and empowerment strategy for Main Street. Based on the discourse of McKnight, Etzioni, and other community planners, it is this portion of Main Street which possesses the most vital community components: residents, businesses, and social agencies. For these reasons it is no surprise that the majority of reports written about the problems of Main Street have tended to focus on the portion north of City Hall. However even amongst the reports which have focused on this section, the study area has been defined in various ways with little consensus as to what constitutes or should constitute a Main Street neighbourhood or community.

As noted in the introduction of this thesis the Main Street strategy is centred on a primary study area, which is defined here as the half-dozen or so blocks in the northern portion of Main Street. Between the CPR Mainline and City Hall this area has often been characterized as the Main Street "Strip", and along with achieving a great deal of attention in past reports it is the primary area of focus of the WDA Task Force on Main Street. Yet prior to looking at this micro-context, an understanding of the surrounding area is necessary. This broader area consists of several neighbourhoods which together are defined as the Main Street Area. A brief elaboration on the boundaries and importance of

both the Main Street Area and Main Street Strip is provided in the following two sub-sections.

The Main Street Area

Surrounding the Main Street Strip are six City neighbourhoods: William Whyte, North Point Douglas, Lord Selkirk Park, South Point Douglas, Logan CPR, and Main Street North. These neighbourhoods which extend from James Avenue in the south to Mountain Avenue in the north, to the Red River in the east and McPhillips in the west, all vary in size and socioeconomic characteristics. The contemporary boundaries of these neighbourhoods is shown below in Map VIII[7].

Map VIII: Main Street Area Neighbourhoods 1997

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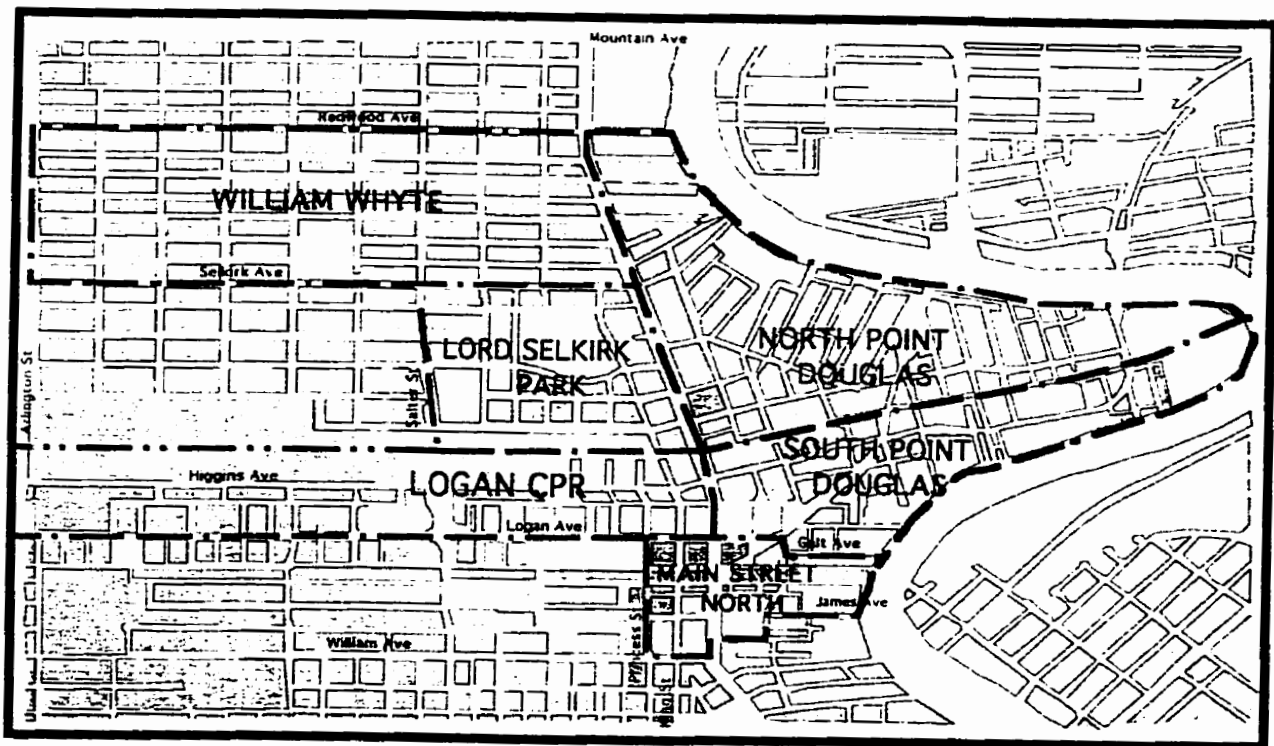
[7] Note that not all of Logan CPR is shown in Map VIII. This neighbourhood extends several blocks further west to McPhillips Street.

The defined boundaries of each of these neighbourhoods are demarcated by the City of

Winnipeg as follows:

> *William Whyte*: Redwood Avenue in the north, Selkirk Avenue in the south, Arlington to the west, and Main Street to the east.

> *North Point Douglas*: Redwood Avenue in the north, the CPR Mainline in the south, Main Street in the west, and the Red River to the east.

> *Lord Selkirk Park*: Selkirk Avenue on the north, the CPR Mainline in the south, Salter Street to the west and Main Street to the east.

> *South Point Douglas*: CPR Mainline to the north, the Red River in the south and east, Main Street to the west, and Galt and Logan Avenues to the south-east.

> *Logan CPR*: CPR Mainline to the north, Logan, Alexander, and Elgin Avenues in the south, McPhillips Street in the west, and Main Street in the east.

> *Main Street North*: Logan Avenue to the north, William, Market, and Elgin Avenues in the south, Princess Street to the west and the Red River in the east.

With the focus of the Task Force strategy being on the Strip itself, the obvious question

arising is why there is a need to understand the broader context. The answer lies in the

assertion that although the Strip and the surrounding neighbourhoods each have distinct

characteristics, they are in many ways closely integrated, sharing historical, demographic,

and land-use characteristics. In the past the population of these neighbourhoods, as was

suggested in the previous chapter, fostered an important social, economic, and cultural

relationship with Main Street. Thus a further understanding of the contemporary

characteristics of the demographics within these neighbourhoods will seek to illustrate the

interdependence of these areas in sharing complimentary socioeconomic needs and services.

In doing so the identification of potential partnership as well as the potential for new niches

varying from the sale of goods and services to the anchoring of cultural, educational and

social programs can be more effectively made.

The Main Street Strip

The Main Street Strip extends from James Avenue (City Hall) in the south to Higgins Avenue (CPR) in the north, and as already mentioned it is the primary focus of the Task Force. As shown in Map IX half of the Strip is situated in the downtown while the other half is located in the South Point Douglas and Logan CPR neighbourhoods, with the mid-section of the Strip located at the intersection of the Disraeli Freeway.

Map IX: The Main Street Strip
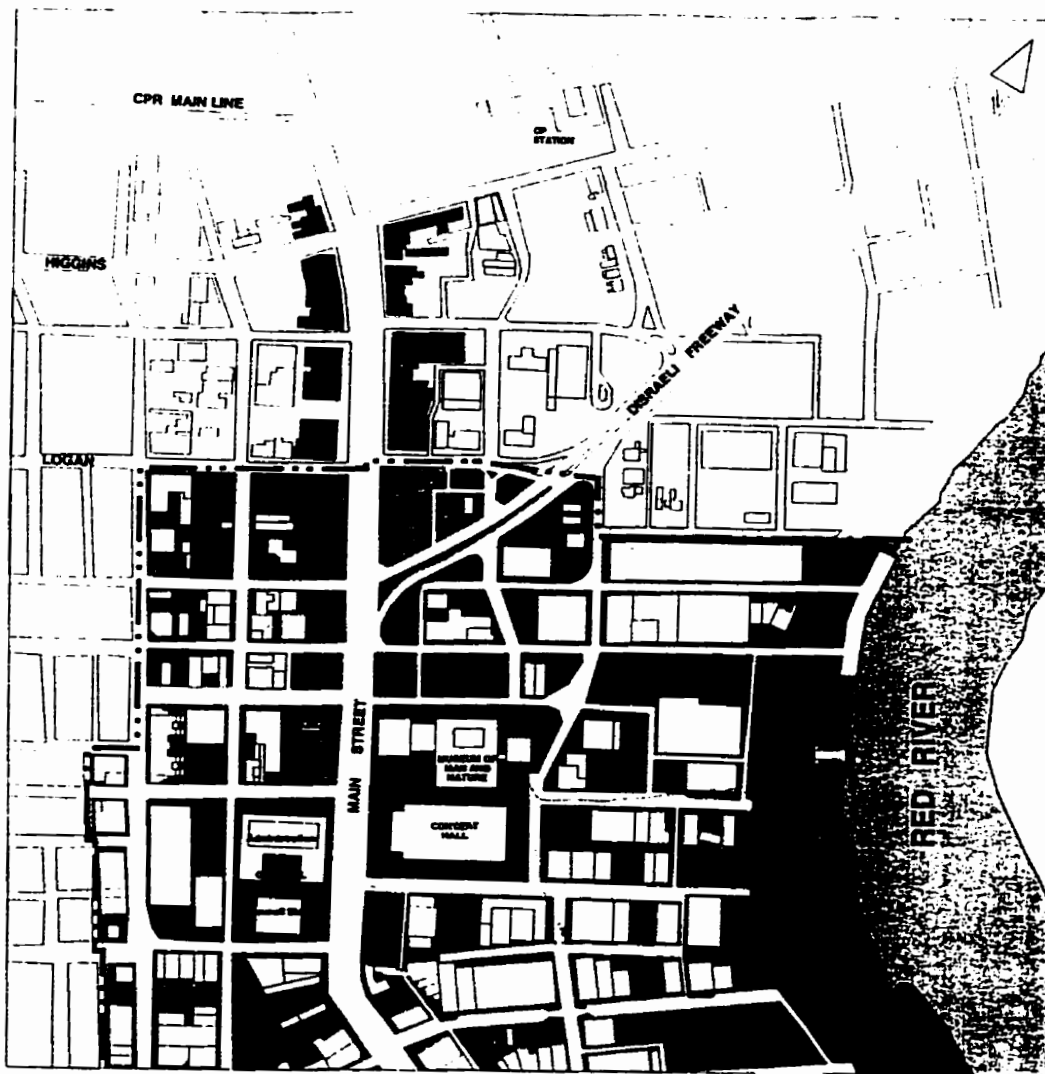
Source: CentrePlan Downtown Handbook, City of Winnipeg, 1993.

As illustrated in the preceding chapter the Strip has historically been the centre of attention in the area. Even today, despite its deteriorated conditions it serves as the "bridge" between the North End and the downtown core. Therefore, strengthening this section is vital to improving the overall image of Main Street both to the north and south as well as the communities in the North End.

With the two neighbourhoods defined (the six surrounding census neighbourhoods and the Main Street Strip), we can move on to an understanding of the socioeconomic characteristics of both these macro and micro geographies. The next two sections will seek to move from a broad demographic overview of the Main Street Area to a more focused elaboration of the conditions and perspective of community members on the Main Street Strip.

4.1 A Demographic Profile of the Main Street Neighbourhoods

Demography is a tool used to describe the size and characteristics of a population over time. Beyond this it serves to aid in determining explanations as to why certain conditions exist in a given time and how and at what rate these conditions are changing (Bogue, 1, 1969). In the process of community planning such data is essential for recognizing dramatic differences in socioeconomic conditions in relation to other city neighbourhoods. This information is essential for identifying needed social services- education, health, child welfare, housing, and pensions, as well as for assessing the effects of past government community policies, projects, and expenditures. In summary, demography asserts that the more the demands of the future can be seen, the better planning will be (Cox, 1, 1976).

In the case of the Main Street Area it is clear that demographically its characteristics are unique in comparison to the rest of Winnipeg. Generally speaking it can be characterized by socioeconomic deprivation which serves to illustrate the desperate need for government intervention. Using the six neighbourhoods discussed above, this section seeks to develop a profile of the broader Main Street Area through the use of Statistics Canada Census data. The five primary characteristics used to develop this profile are population, housing, income, education and employment. With these five characteristics we are able to see many significant changes which have been taking place in the Main Street Area between 1981 and 1991[8]. However, due to problems with boundary changes, the comparability of census categories over time, and suppressed data due to small population sizes, comparisons across all three census periods (1981, 1986, & 1991) are not always possible.

As well as looking at the Main Street Area and the differences amongst the neighbourhoods over time, the Census data also proves useful for making comparisons with the city-wide context. The preceding chapter for example discussed the decline of Winnipeg, its inner-city, and of course Main Street; but there were no substantial socioeconomic indicators of how the Main Street Area differed from the inner city or Winnipeg as a whole. Therefore along with making comparisons amongst the Main Street Area neighbourhoods themselves, comparisons within the following five socioeconomic categories are also made amongst the Main Street Area, Winnipeg, and the inner-city.

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[8] Although the 1996 Census data is currently being released, socioeconomic characteristics are not yet available.

Population Characteristics

Total Population Change

The total population of the Main Street Area in 1991 was 12, 810 which dropped

6.8% from the 1986 population of 13, 740. This drop is more than double that of the inner

city which declined 3.2% from 116, 525 to 112, 755, and stands in even sharper contrast to

Winnipeg which had an overall population increase of 3.7% from 594,555 in 1986 to

616,785 in 1991.

In spite of their variations in size, some Main Street neighbourhoods are more

densely populated than others, with the largest populations located in William Whyte

(6,620), North Point Douglas (3,205), and Lord Selkirk Park (1,290). As illustrated in

Table VII the population in five of the six neighbourhoods has declined since 1986, with the

most pronounced declines occurring in most of the neighbourhoods with small populations.

Table VII: Total Population Change of Main Street Neighbourhoods 1986-1991

Neighbourhood	1986 Population	1991 Population	% Change 1986-1991
William Whyte	6,900	6,620	-4.1%
North Point Douglas	3,280	3,205	-2.3%
Lord Selkirk Park	1,420	1,290	-9.1%
South Point Douglas	500	380	-24%
Logan CPR	370	480	30%
North Main Street	1,270	835	-34.2%
Main Street Area Total	13,740	12,810	-6.8%

Gender

In the total Main Street Area there are slightly more males (51.9%) than females

(48.1%) which is similar to the inner city (51.3% males and 48.7% females) yet opposite to

Winnipeg (48.5% males and 51.5% females). While the gender composition of William

Whyte, North Point Douglas, and Lord Selkirk Park are relatively close, the other neighbourhoods have a much higher percentage of males: South Point Douglas (75%), Logan CPR (68.8%), and Main Street North (62.3%).

Age Structure

The age structure of the Main Street Area in 1991 is similar in comparison to both Winnipeg and the inner city. As illustrated in Figure VI the Main Street Area has the highest percentage of youths 23%. In addition to this is the percentage of elderly (17.4%) which is higher than the city average of 13.2% and only slightly higher then the inner-city average of 17.3%[9]. While the majority of the Main Street Area population is between the ages of 25-44 this percentage (29.9%) is smaller in comparison to the inner city 34.1% and Winnipeg at 33.7%.

Figure VI: Age Groups For Selected Areas 1991

Age Categories For Selected Areas 1991

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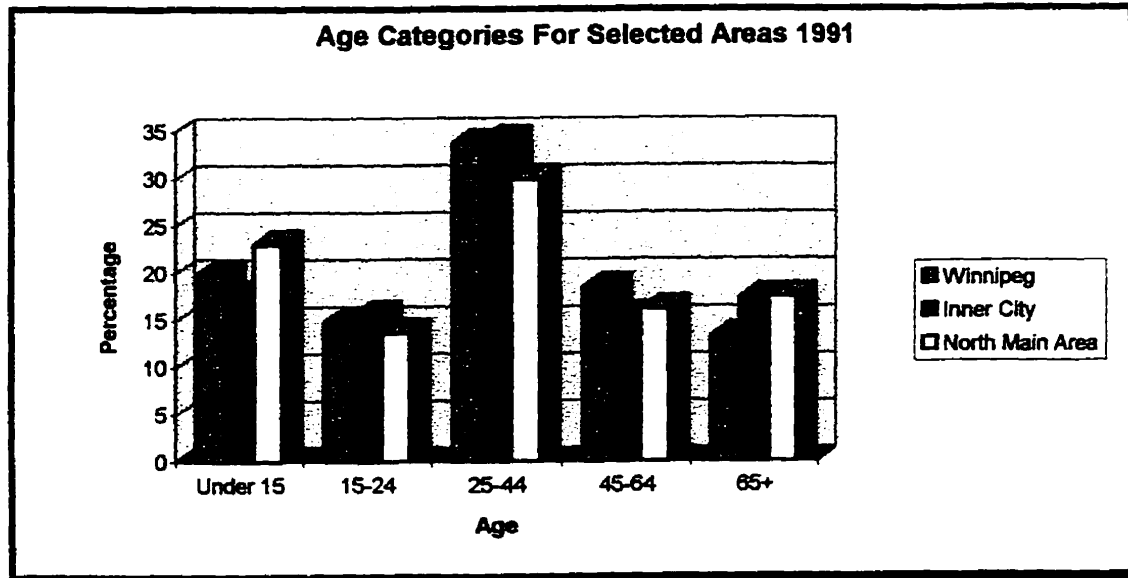
[9] Youths are classified as those under 15 years of age, while elderly are classified as those over 65 years of age.

In looking at the age composition of the individual neighbourhoods the highest concentrations of young people tend to be found in the northern part of the Main Street Area in the neighbourhoods of William Whyte (25.1% under 15), Lord Selkirk Park (34% under 15) and North Point Douglas (19.3% under 15). The largest percentage of elderly can be found in North Point Douglas (27.6%) and Logan CPR (25%), while the highest percentage of middle aged can be found in South Point Douglas (40.8%).

Population Mobility

One of the factors influencing the changes in population is the high and increasing mobility or transience of residents in the Main Street neighbourhoods. The increasing transience of the Main Street Area is reflected in the rise in mobility from 44.5% to 59% between 1986 and 1991. This figure is 10% higher than the Winnipeg average of 48.5% and just about on par with the inner city at 59.2%. Of the six neighbourhoods the highest five year mobility rates are found in Logan CPR at 72.4%, North Point Douglas at 62.7%, and William Whyte at 57.4%.

Figure VII: Five Year Mobility Status of Main Street Area Population 1991
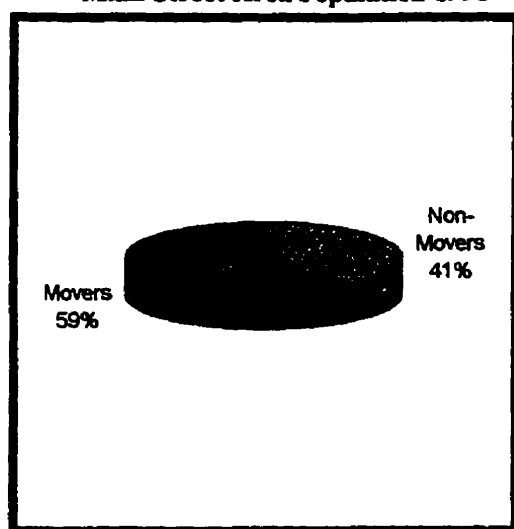
Figure VIII: Distribution of Movers of Main Street Area Population 1991
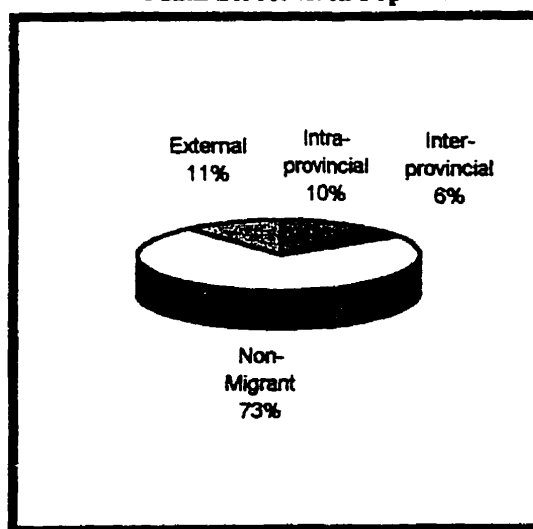
As shown above in Figure VII, of the 59% of the Main Street Area neighbourhood population which is mobile, 73% are non-migrants, meaning that they moved from a previous place of residence within Winnipeg. Of the remaining total, 11% came from outside the country, 10% came from within Manitoba, and 6% came from another province or territory. While the mobility status does illustrate the number who are moving within or into the Main Street Area, it does not reflect those that are leaving. Nevertheless while the mobility of those leaving is unaccounted for, given the population decline it is apparent that this population is larger then those migrating from within or into Main Street.

Ethnicity

As shown in Figure IX the ethnic composition of the Main Street Area has changed significantly from 1981 to 1991[10]. The British population declined from 17.9% to 11.7%, while those indicating a Ukrainian origin declined from 16.8% to 13.6%, and those reporting a French origin fell from 4.2% to 3.1%. While many of the traditional ethnic populations have been declining, others are becoming more prominent.

The most pronounced change of ethnic composition in the Main Street Area has been the rise in Aboriginal population, which increased from 20.5% in 1986 to 35.8% in 1991. In addition to being the dominant ethnic group in the area, the proportion of Aboriginal population is more than six times higher than the city average (5.7%) and more than twice as high as the inner city average (15.9%). It is relevant to note that of the Aboriginal population within the Main Street Area 39.5% is under 15, indicative of a city-wide trend where 36.6% of the Aboriginal population is under 15. Within the Main Street

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[10] Unfortunately not all of the figures are available for 1981 which has made it difficult to compare accurately with the 1991 data. Furthermore, the ethnic origin question on the census form changed between 1981 and 1991; again, impacting compatibility of ethnicity data between census periods.

Area the neighbourhoods with the largest percentage of Aboriginal population are Lord

Selkirk Park (57.6%), William Whyte (33.5%), and North Point Douglas (25.8%).

Figure IX: Predominant Ethnic Groups for Selected Areas 1991
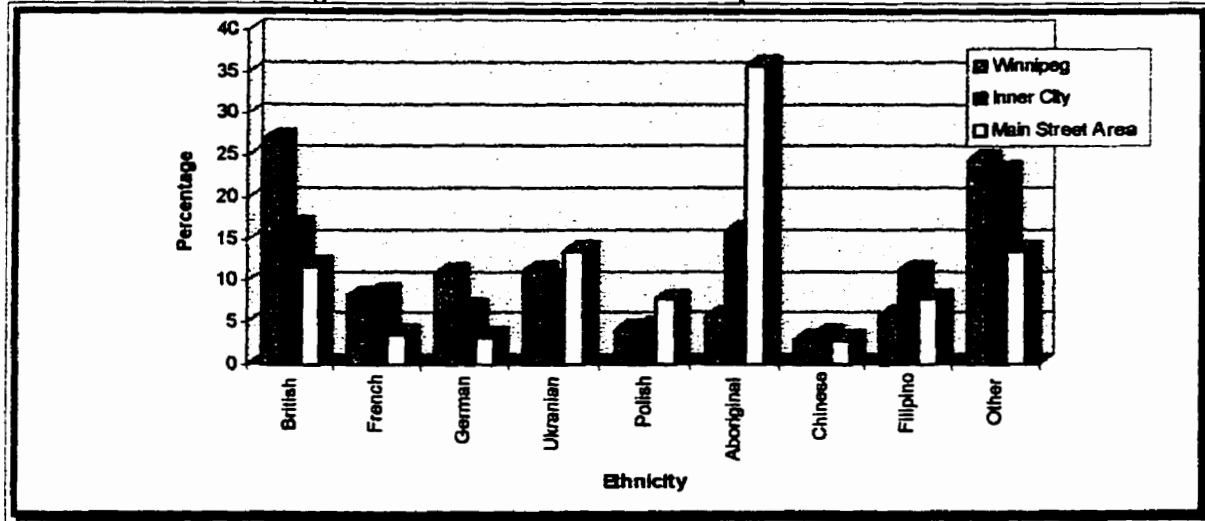
Housing

Housing Tenure & Age of Dwelling

The Main Street Area has a total of 4,720 dwellings, 34.9% of these are owned and

65.1% are rented. This compares to the inner city where 33.8% are owned and 66.2% are

rented. For Winnipeg as a whole 60.3% of all dwellings are owned and 39.7% are rented.

Compared to Winnipeg and the inner city the housing stock is significantly older in the Main

Street neighbourhoods. This is reflected by the fact that 52.3% of Main Street Area

dwellings were built prior to 1946, more than double the Winnipeg average of 20.8%, and

significantly higher than the inner-city average of 41.8%. In addition to the age of the

housing stock the percentage of dwelling construction in the area between 1981 and 1991

has only been 9.9% compared to Winnipeg at 16.5% and the inner city at 11.2%.

Figure X: Period of Construction for Selected Areas 1991
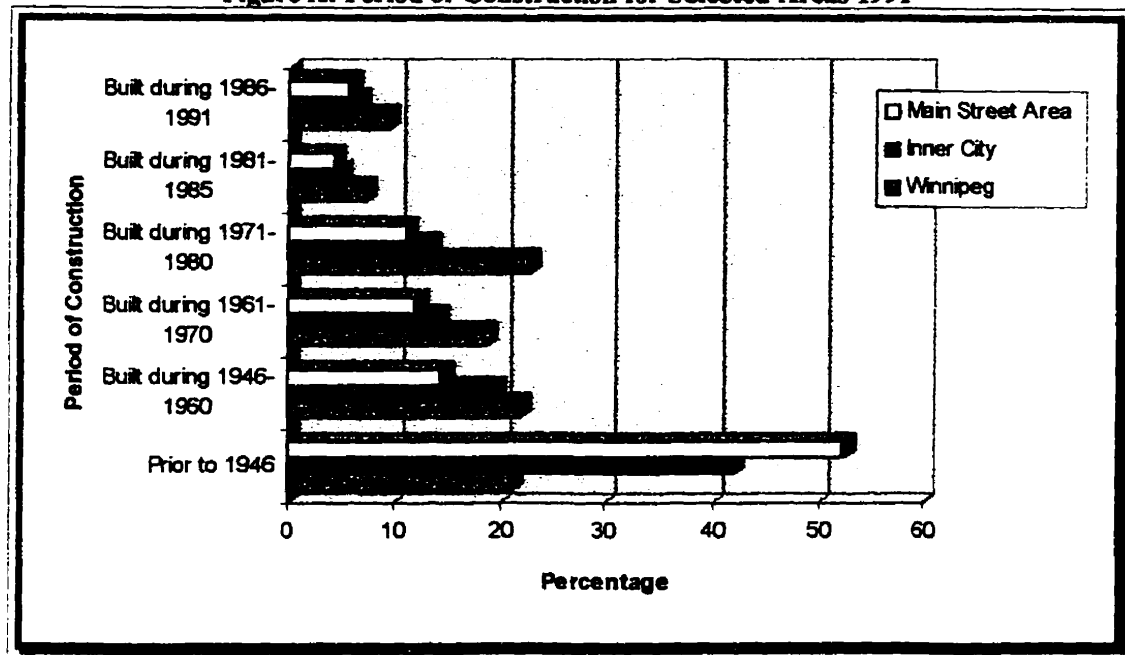
Dwelling Condition and Values

Given the average age of the dwellings in the Main Street Area it is not surprising

that many are physically deteriorating and in need of repair. While the Winnipeg average

for dwellings in need of either major or minor repairs is 31.5%, in the Main Street Area it is

40.1%. The age and poor condition of the Main Street dwellings is certainly a central

factor influencing the average value of the housing stock. On average a Main Street Area

dwelling is worth $51, 514 compared to the inner-city which is $67, 327 and Winnipeg at

$94,999. The low value of dwellings and physical deterioration of the Main Street Area,

coupled with the fact that it has been allegedly redlined by insurance companies, has made it

difficult for investments to be made for improving the housing stock (Redekop, *Winnipeg*

Free Press, March 2, A1, 1996).

Dwelling Type

As shown in Figure XI, the majority of dwellings in the Main Street Area are either single detached units (43.8%) or apartments (39.7%). In Winnipeg as a whole the composition of single detached units is 59.9% while apartments are 29% compared to the inner city where the former is 34.9% and the latter is 61.4%. This composition however tends to vary a great deal between the neighbourhoods themselves. In both William Whyte and North Point Douglas about 50% of dwellings are single detached while 35% are apartments; in Lord Selkirk Park only 12.2% of dwellings are single detached, while 61.2% are apartments; in South Point Douglas which has only 70 dwellings, 45 of them are single detached while only five are characterized as apartments; in Logan CPR 70% of dwellings are apartments while in North Main Street all 200 are classified as row houses.

Figure XI: Dwelling Type of Selected Areas 1991
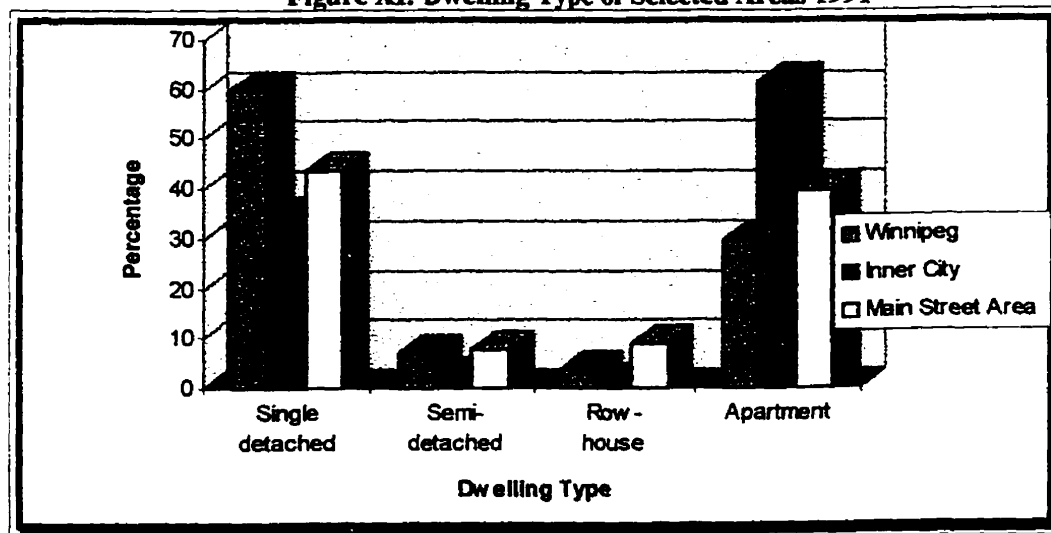
Housing Affordability

Given the low incomes of those in the area it is not surprising that both renters and homeowners are spending large percentages of their income on paying their rent or

financing their mortgage. Of the renters, 51.9% in the Main Street Area population uses 30% or more of their income to pay for rent. This is significantly higher than the Winnipeg average where only 38% of the population put more than 30% of their income toward rent, and the inner city where 43.2% put more than 30% of their income toward rent. The neighbourhoods with the highest proportion of residents paying 30% or more of their income toward rent were South Point Douglas (70.1%) and North Point Douglas (61.8%).

When the dwellings of renters are compared to those of owners it is apparent that owners put significantly less of their income toward their mortgage payment. Only 18.6% of Main Street Area owners contribute more than 30% of their income toward housing. While this is still higher than the city average of 13.1%, compared to the number of renters it is less than half.

Income Levels

Average Incomes

The income levels of the Main Street Area are significantly lower than those of Winnipeg and the inner city. As indicated in Table VIII on the following page, in almost all categories the average incomes are less than half the Winnipeg average, and all of them are significantly lower then the inner city averages.

Table VIII: Average Incomes of Selected Areas

	Winnipeg	Inner City	Main Street Area
Household	$42,169	$27,483	$19,060
Family	$49,261	$32,855	$22,572
Male	$28,146	$19,527	$13,112
Female	$17,235	$14,820	$10,507

When it comes to comparing the average incomes throughout the neighbourhoods there are some variations. The highest average household income is found in South Point Douglas

($25,158), and the highest average family income is in North Point Douglas ($25,806).

The neighbourhood with the highest average individual incomes was North Point Douglas

with males reporting $12,715 and females reporting $11,707. In all categories Lord

Selkirk had the lowest average incomes, except for average female income where Main

Street North was the lowest ($8,013).

Family Poverty

The poverty rate[11] in the Main Street Area is extremely high in comparison to

Winnipeg or the inner city. Two of three (60.1%) families and almost eight out of ten

(78.1%) individuals in the North Main Area were in poverty in 1991. In Winnipeg 17.4%

of families and 43.3% of individuals were in poverty, while in the inner city 38.2% of

families and 55% of individuals were in poverty.

The poverty levels of families within the six neighbourhoods is highest in Lord

Selkirk Park (83.3%), and Main Street North (77.3%), and is lower in William Whyte

(58.8%), Logan CPR (54.4), North Point Douglas (53%), and South Point Douglas (50%).

Education

The level of education in the Main Street Area has remained relatively constant

between 1986 and 1991 in comparison to both Winnipeg and the inner city. The overall

education level of the Main Street Area is very low with less then 5% of the population

possessing a university degree. Even though a large percentage of the Main Street

population is under 15 (23%), the fact that 31.5% has less than a grade nine education and

another 34.4% do not have a high school education is indicative of many adults with little

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[11] The calculation of family poverty involves the use of LICO (Low Income Cut Offs) which are set by Statistics Canada. Briefly, the measure suggests, that if approximately 60% of income is used for food, shelter, and clothing then families are considered to be in poverty.

formal education. One of the positive aspects in the six neighbourhoods however is the 12.9% of the population with either a trades or non-university degree, compared to the inner city at only 2.3% and Winnipeg at 2.9%.

Figure XII: Education Levels for Selected Areas 1991
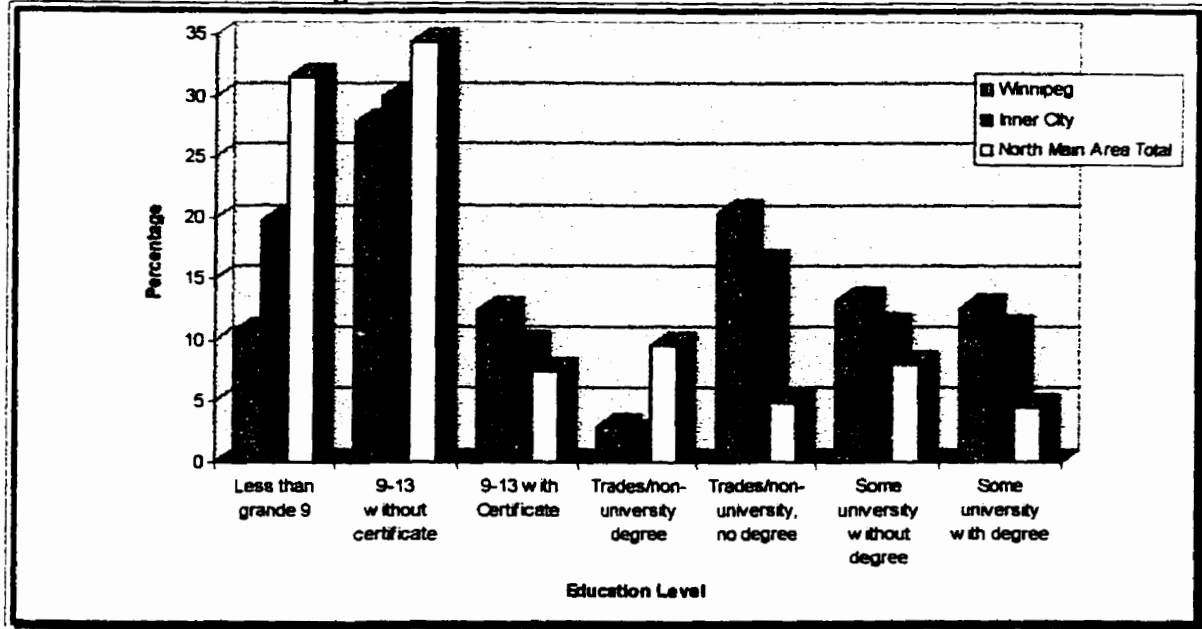
Employment Status

Employment in the Main Street Area is significantly lower (45.3%) than Winnipeg (68.1%) and the inner city (59.3%). In addition, the level of unemployment in the Main Street Area is very high (23.9%) in comparison to Winnipeg (8.8%) and the inner city (15.1%). For the Main Street Area this is an increase of 6.6% from 1986, while for the inner city the increase has been 2.7% and for Winnipeg it has only been .8%. Out of the five neighbourhoods the unemployment rate is highest in South Point Douglas (44.1%), Main Street North (30%) and William Whyte (24.1%), while Lord Selkirk Park is at 22.6% and North Point Douglas and Logan CPR are at 19.1%.

Occupation Classification

Despite the high unemployment rate there is quite a diverse mixture of occupational concentrations within the Main Street Area population which is unique in comparison to the rest of the city[12]. The most prominent occupations for the North Main Area are in the categories of manufacturing (23.7%), services (20.1%), clerical and related (13.9%) and construction trades (10.1%). While construction trades is on par with both Winnipeg and the inner city the other categories are significantly larger than either Winnipeg and the inner city. Along with these figures Table IX illustrates the percentage of the Main Street Area population in the areas of managerial, sciences, and sales is significantly smaller than the Winnipeg or inner city averages.

Table IX: Occupations of Selected Areas

Occupations	Winnipeg	Inner City	Main Street Area Total	Main Street Area Male Total	Main Street Area Female Total
Managerial, admin., and others	12.7	7.2	3.6	2.8	4.8
Sciences, engineering, and others	7.6	6.5	2.6	3.4	2.7
Religion, arts, & literary	2.2	2.9	1.7	3.3	1
Teaching and related fields	3.4	2.9	2.2	0.8	4.4
Medicine and health	2.4	2.7	2.4	0.8	5.1
Clerical and related fields	9.3	8.9	13.9	9.2	21.1
Sales	10.5	7.7	3.6	3.4	3.7
Services	12.4	15.5	20.1	14.7	28.2
Primary industries	1.9	2.8	2.2	7.3	21.8
Manufacturing	15.7	18.7	23.7	21.4	0
Construction trades	9	9.6	10.1	15.6	0.7
Transport and material handling	8.4	8.4	6.8	8.7	3.1
Other occupations	4.5	6.2	7.1	8.6	3.4

[12] It should be noted that these occupations are of people residing in the six neighbourhoods, the places of employment are not necessarily located in the Main Street Area.

In each individual neighbourhood the percentage of population in manufacturing is highest in Lord Selkirk Park (32.6%) and Main Street North (30.8%); services are highest in South Point Douglas and Main Street North (both at 25%); clerical and related is highest in North Point Douglas (15.8%) and William Whyte (13.5%); and construction trades are highest in Main Street North (17.8%) and South Point Douglas (12.5%).

4.2 A Survey of the Main Street Strip

Based on the neighbourhood census data in the preceding section the socioeconomic problems of the Main Street Area are significantly greater than those of the broader city-wide context. These figures reveal a number of important themes which a planning strategy might seek to address and/or build upon: youth, Aboriginal population, housing, education, and employment. Recognizing the importance of the broader thematic characteristics of the Main Street Area is a critical basis for understanding the primary study area. Yet while the broader area is indicative of the conditions on the Strip they do not provide the detail necessary to identify the problems on the Strip. Furthermore, while the neighbourhood level is the most detailed Census data available, it cannot measure the specific characteristics of the Strip which runs through three of the six neighbourhoods. For this reason, only generalizations and unsubstantiated speculations could be made about the Strip through Statistics Canada data, and an alternative means of information gathering, in the form of survey questionnaires, was deemed necessary.

The intention of using survey questionnaires to target the Strip was to acquire contemporary information from a specific geographic context. This not only included data

comparable to the Census, but information which would be more relevant to a community

mobilization strategy. Thus the survey undertaken in the spring of 1997 targeted hotel

residents, businesses, and social agencies within a defined geographic context. While it was

assumed that there would be many common perspectives among these three groups, three

different surveys were developed to acquire the most pertinent information from each group

in the context of the Strip.[13]   As shown in Map X, this context extends from James Avenue

in the south to Higgins Avenue in the north, King Street in the west to Austin and Martha

Streets in the east.

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[13] These three surveys and their responses can be found in Appendix B: Main Street Code Book.

Higgins Avenue

Henry Avenue

Martha Street

Logan Avenue

Alexander Avenue

Pacific Avenue

Main Street Strip

Rupert Avenue

James Avenue

Princess Street

King Street

William Avenue

LEGEND

Businesses

Social Organizations

Hotels

Government Buildings

Vacant Buildings

Boundary Buildings
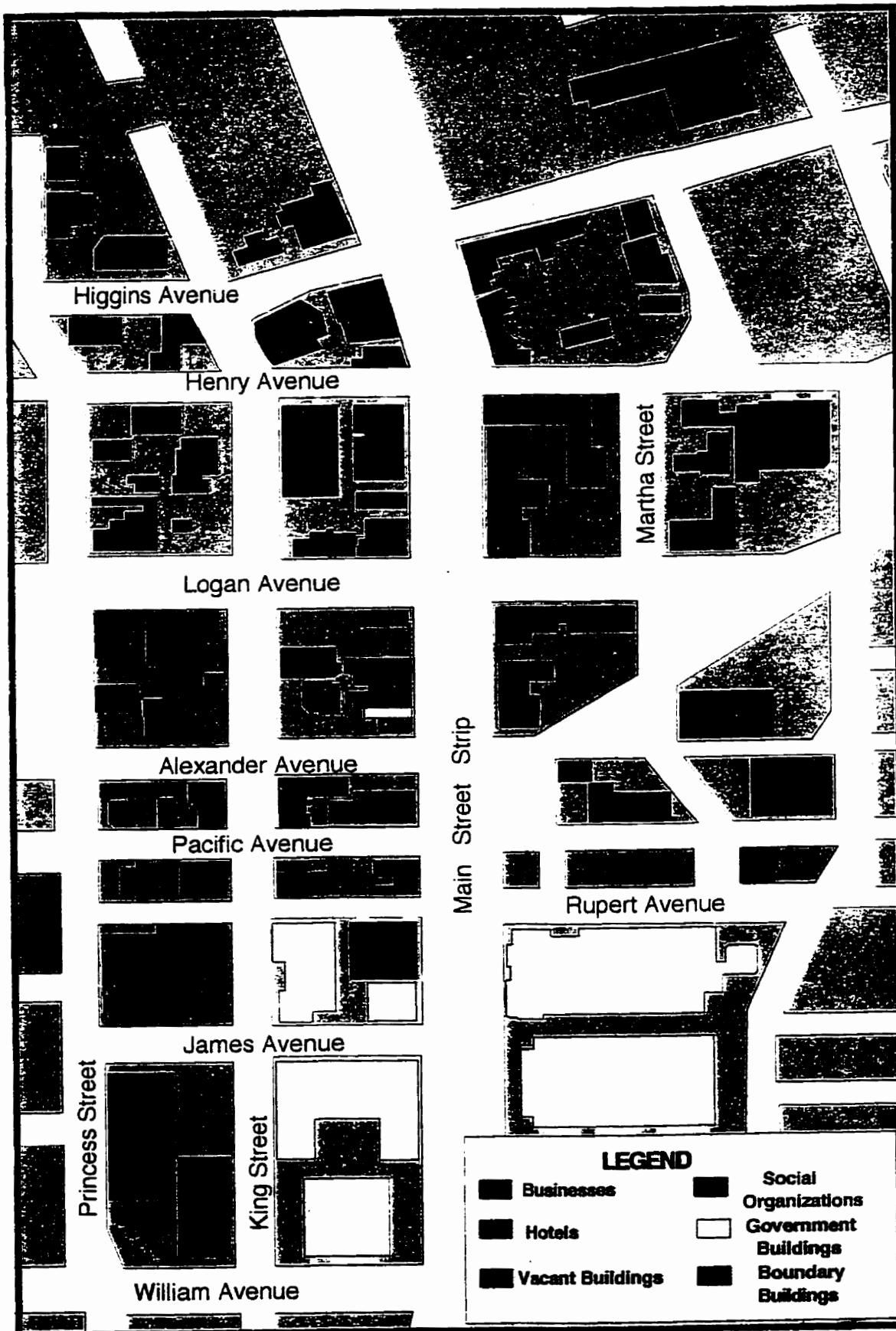
Amongst the various survey approaches used for gathering data an in-person approach involving the interviewer and respondent was identified as the most effective. This approach was used for all hotel residents, hotel owners, and where possible for social agencies and businesses. However due to the lack of available time for the latter two, some surveys had to be self-administered by respondents, meaning they were completed without the presence of the interviewer. As this had implications for the respondents' interpretation of some questions, it is a point which needs to be noted.

For the residents questionnaire which was implemented in the seven hotels on the Strip, 40 residents were interviewed through a random sampling process.[14] All seven of the hotel owners were interviewed under the business survey which make up a total of 43 businesses. Of these 43 businesses, 36 participated, for a response rate of 84%. Lastly amongst the 8 social agencies identified on the Strip, 7 participated for a response rate of 87.5%. Although Map X also reflects a high concentration of government operated establishments (City Hall, City of Winnipeg Hydro, Manitoba Centennial Corporation, and the Community Police Station), these where not included in the survey approach. Moreover, while the list of the target population has been provided in Appendix B, due to the terms of confidentiality established by the University of Manitoba Ethics Committee, the names of respondents could not be included in the analysis of data. Nevertheless as the following sections illustrate, the information acquired from all three surveys provides a great deal of insight into the potential of a mobilization strategy for the Main Street Strip.

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[14] Through a statistical formula, 40 was calculated to be a representative sample of the Strip hotel population. The formula used to calculate this number as well as an explanation of a random sample are found in Appendix B.

Single Room Occupants

In speaking with the seven hotel owners it was found that the Strip contains approximately 388 single occupancy rooms, of which 122 are vacant for a total vacancy rate of 31.4%[15]. Table X illustrates individually by hotel the number of rooms, current occupants and vacancies at the time of the survey.

Table X: Number of Rooms and Vacancies Within Main Street Strip Hotels 1997

	Number of Rooms	Number of Occupants	Vacancies	Vacancy Rate
The McLaren	150	115	35	23%
The Occidental	50	37	13	26%
The Bell	57	40	17	30%
The Manwin	24	20	4	17%
The Patricia	40	10	30	75%
Savoy	27	17	10	37%
The Mount Royal	40	27	13	32%
Total	388	266	122	31%

According to these responses the highest vacancies rates are found in the Patricia (75%), the Savoy (37%), the Mount Royal (32%), and the Bell (30%). While the hotels with the lowest vacancy rates are the Manwin (17%), the McLaren (23%), and the Occidental (26%).

From the random sample of residents in the seven hotels it was found that 98% live alone and 90% are male. As shown in Figure XIII, the majority have never been married (72.5%) while 12.5% are divorced and 10% are separated.

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[15] This 31.4% vacancy rate is likely to vary depending on the time of year. In all seven hotels for example there was 15% of the population which has only been residing from 1 to six months. As well it was my impression that the tendency amongst some hotel owners was to suggest a higher occupancy rate than actually existed in order to portray their hotel as a desirable place for residents.

Figure XIII: Marital Status of Single Room Occupants on the Strip 1997
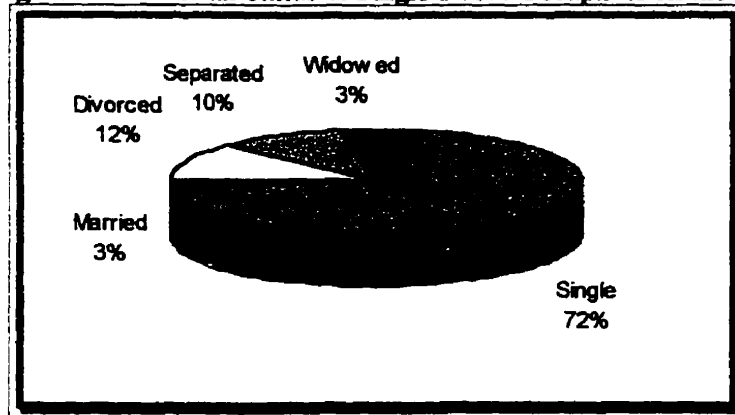
While the majority of the population has no children (57.8%), 22.5% have between one and two and another 20% have 3 or more. As there are no children in any of the hotels it is apparent that they live elsewhere, and given the age of most of the single occupancy residents it is probable that many are adults. In terms of age for example, Figure XIV illustrates that the majority of single occupants residing on the Strip are over the age of 45 with a very a very small portion under 24 years of age.

Figure XIV: Age of Single Room Occupants on the Strip 1997
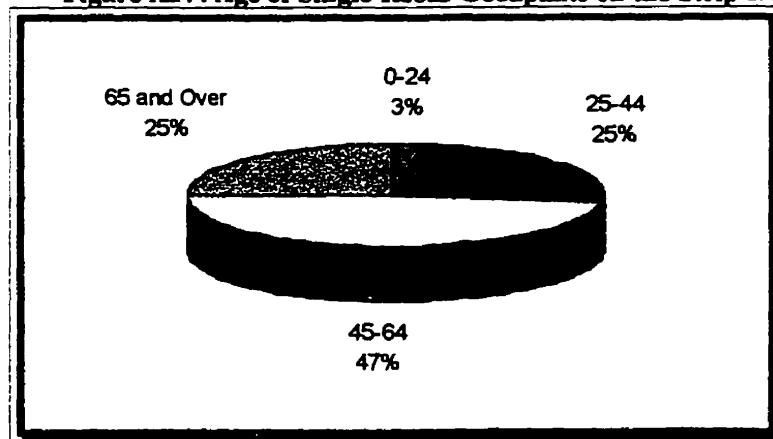
The ethnic composition of the Strip according to respondents indicates that 35% of the population is Aboriginal (15% status, and 20% non-status), while British make up 7.5% and German another 7.5%, with mixed origins making up 25%. It is questionable however

to what degree the ethnic breakdown of the 40 respondents is representative of the actual

ethnic break-down of the total population. Hotel owners for example estimated the ethnic

breakdown of their population including a higher British population (25%) as well as a

significantly higher Aboriginal population (60%).

Despite the ethnic composition of the Strip the majority of residents were born in

Manitoba with 23% from Winnipeg, 21% from another city or town, and 13% from

reserves. Of the remainder 30% were born in another province, and 13% outside the

country. A high percentage (25%) of single-room occupants have only lived on Main

Street for a period of one to six months illustrating the high mobility rate. Yet interestingly,

there is a high percentage of single room occupants who have resided on Main Street

between 2-10 years (35%), and an equally high proportion who have resided on Main Street

for more than 10 years (35%). A more detailed break-down of length of time of single

room occupants residency on Main Street is shown in Figure XV.

Figure XV: Length of Residence of Single Room Occupants on Main Street 1997
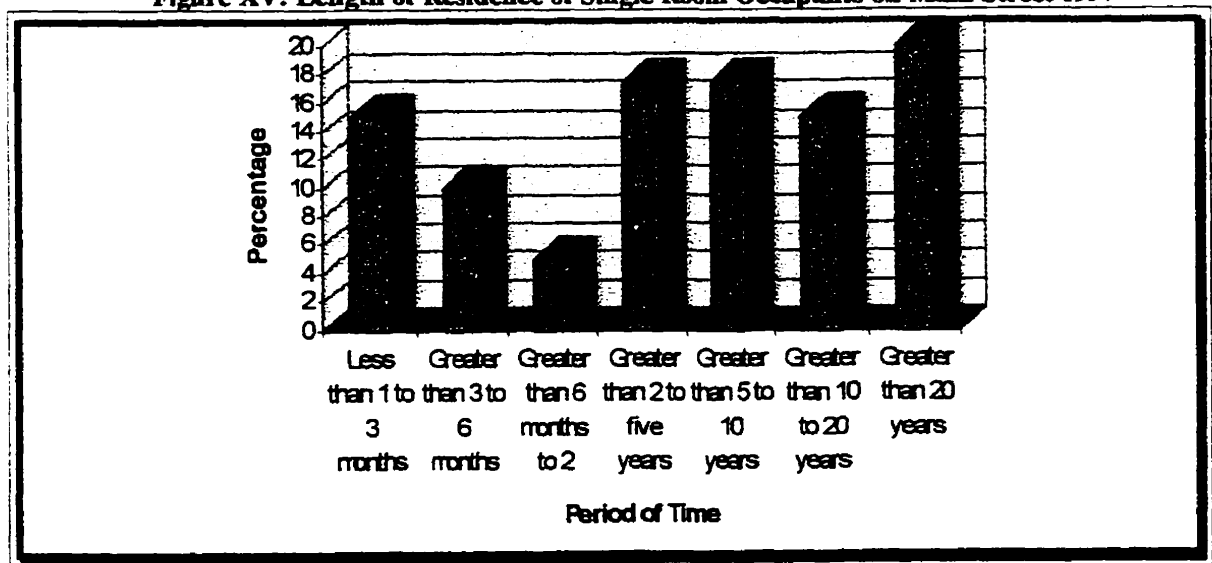
In looking at the length of residence, the place of previous residence is a relevant consideration. The largest proportion resided in another province (37.5%), while 25% came from another part of Winnipeg, 15% came from another Main Street Hotel, 10% from a reserve, and 7.5% from somewhere else in Manitoba.

While the socioeconomic deprivation of the broader Main Street Area is obvious from the previous section, it is apparent that the conditions of the Main Street Strip are significantly worse. Sixty percent of single room occupants earn less than $10,000 a year, 35% between $10,001-$15,000, and 5% between $15,001 and $19,000. With such low incomes, alternative low-income housing options do not appear to be available in other areas of Winnipeg. Thus as shown below despite the unsanitary conditions, the low monthly rent of the Strip hotels is most likely the determining factor as a housing option for this population.

Figure XVI: Amount of Monthly Rent Paid by Single Room Occupants 1997
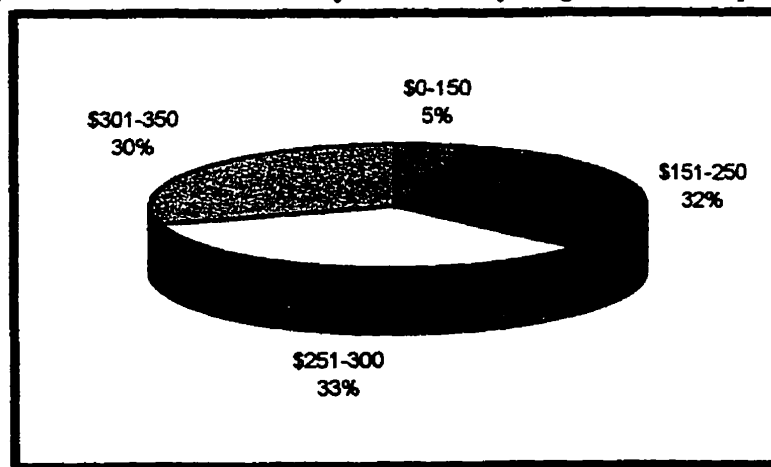
In terms of amenities within the seven hotels Table XI illustrates what is available to single room occupants in either the unit or in the building.

Table XI: Available Amenities For Single Room Occupants on the Strip 1997

SRO Amenities	No	In Unit	In Building
Stove	75%	5%	20%
Fridge	28%	70%	2%
Adequate Heating	15%	85%	85%
Electricity	0%	100%	100%
Bath	5%	33%	62%
Shower	5%	38%	57%
Sink	0%	93%	7%
Toilet	0%	48%	52%
Television	15%	78%	8%
Laundry Facilities	45%	5%	50%
Telephone	0%	48%	52%

With a 90% unemployment rate amongst the single room occupants it is not
surprising that the majority are on social assistance. As shown in Figure XVII, welfare,
UIC, and old age pension are the prominent sources of income with earned wages
accounting for only a very small percentage.

Figure XVII: Source of Income of Single Room Occupants on the Strip 1997
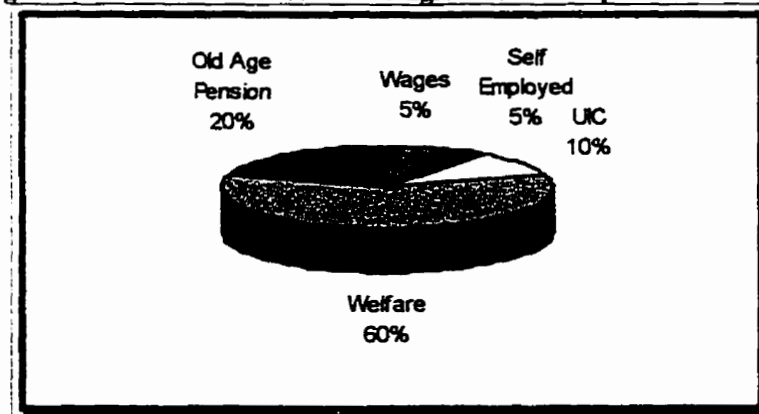
It also comes as no surprise that the economic circumstances of single room occupants are
correlated with their levels of education. On the Strip the level of education is extremely
low, even more so than the broader Main Street Area with 52% possessing less than a grade
nine education and another 28% with only some high school (no degree). Only 7% have a

high school degree, while 10% have some university education, and only 3% have a university degree.

It appears that the Strip, with a bar in each of the hotels, is more conducive to reinforcing the socioeconomic problems, rather then resolving them. Many single room occupants for example stated the bar, after a neighbour's or friend's, was the place most frequented to be with other people. In other words as much as 27.5% of respondents indicated they go to a bar 4-6 times a week, another 17% goes 2-3 times a week, and another 15% once a week.

In this environment the potential for residents to mobilize themselves is severely limited unless the majority of bars on the Strip are replaced with service facilities and alternative forms of entertainment which are more conducive to community building. A large portion of residents (35%) either don't know what service facilities are needed, or they think that none are needed at all (15%). Only 25% stated a recreational centre would be useful, while 5% mentioned an education and training centre.

Despite the inability of many single room occupants to offer solutions to the problems of the Strip they all seem to be aware and have an opinion as to what these problems are. As shown in Figure XVIII, the number one problem identified is substance abuse (27.5%), which not only includes alcohol and drugs, but the prevalence of "sniffing" which occurs in the area. Others stated crime (23%), unemployment (10%), safety (10%), and lack of affordable housing (5%).

Figure XVIII: Number One Problem on Strip According to Single Room Occupants 1997
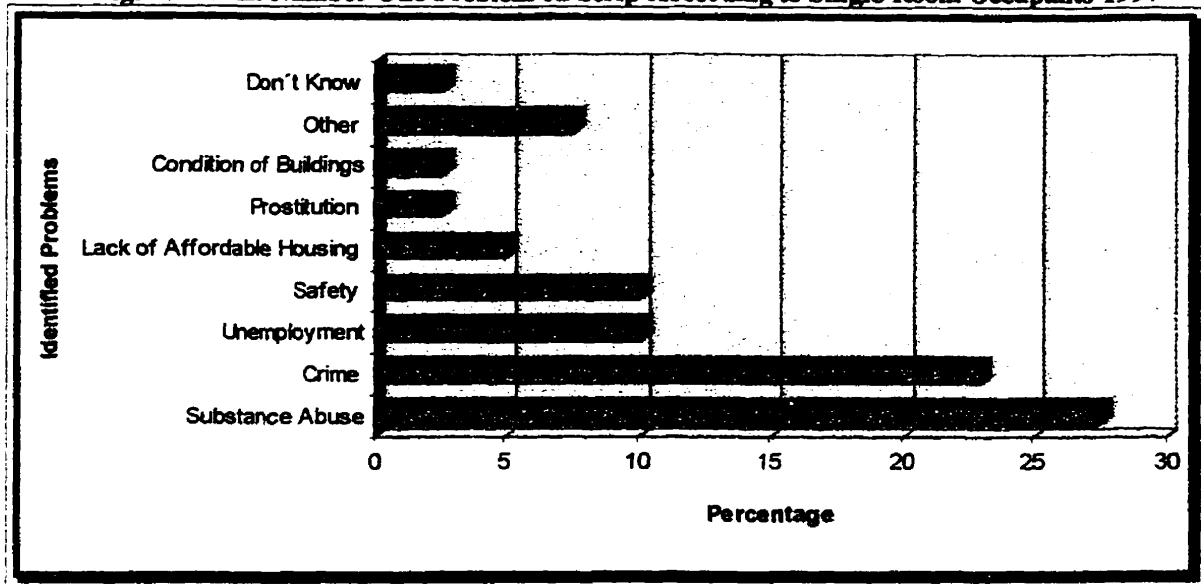
While all the single room occupants were able to identify the problems on the Strip, only half stated they desired to live somewhere else. Amongst these the majority preferred to live in the city. It can also be noted that out of the 50% indicating a desire to live elsewhere, more than half were familiar with social housing, and 30% stated they would rather live in some form of social housing than the hotel they are currently residing in.

Businesses

While it is clear that the Main Street Strip needs to resolve deeply entrenched social problems, the businesses of the Strip are critical to improving the area's economic conditions. Consisting of hotels, restaurants, grocery stores, pawn-shops, specialty services, and others, business is a vital component to the mobilization process. Yet from the views expressed by many of the business owners it is apparent that the physical and socioeconomic deterioration of the area has placed severe limitations on attracting a customer base or further investment into the area.

The high number of vacancies on the Strip (see Map X) is perhaps the most poignant indicator of the area's economic decline, and consequently many business owners indicated a desire to leave if the opportunity arose. For example 76% stated they would sell if they could recapture or profit from their initial investment. Yet it appears because these businesses are facing the realities of the Strip being unattractive to new business investment only 22% have tried to sell in the past, and 43% said at the current time they have no intention of selling.

Despite the economic decline and the difficulties of some businesses to recapture their initial investment it is remarkable that other owners on the Strip have managed to maintain a viable business. Besides the hotels, the area does have a large number of businesses which have been operating in the area for a period of time long enough to illustrate that not only can they generate income, but that they have a stake in the community. For example as shown below in Figure XVTV a large proportion (32%) have been operating their business on the Strip for more than 15 years, while 16% have operated between 10-15 years, and 27% between 5-10 years.

Figure XVIV: Length of Time Operating Business on Strip 1997

Greater than 15
years
32%

0-2 years
16%

Greater than 2-
5 years
9%

Greater than 10-
15 years
16%

Greater than 5-
10 years
27%
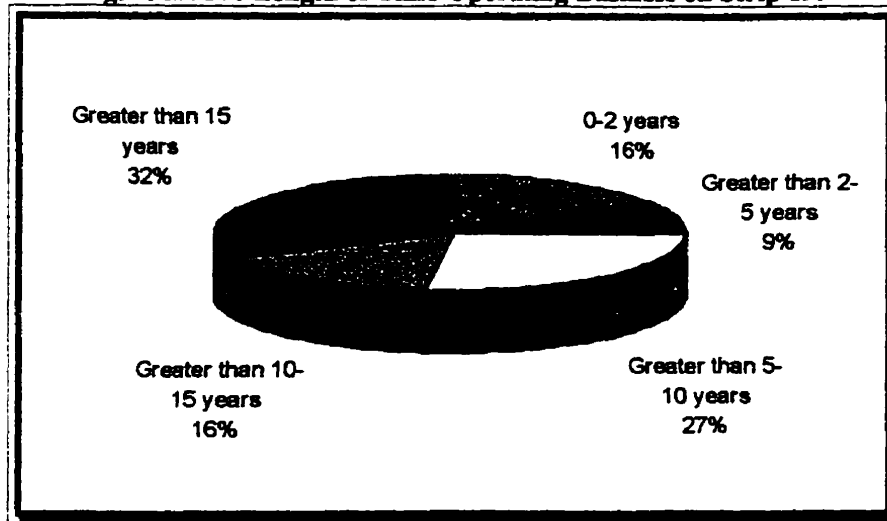
In addition although 16% of businesses said they liked nothing about the area, 33% said the location (despite the physical and socioeconomic decline) was the most attractive feature in the area, while another 32% said most of the people in the area (despite the city-wide image) are friendly. The majority of business owners who stated that location was an attractive feature noted that despite the dilapidated conditions given its symbolic significance they felt that it could potentially become a successful business district. As shown in Figure XX there is a range of perspectives as to what is the number one problem for businesses on the Strip. Similarly to single room occupants both crime and substance abuse were the highest ranked problems, both at 22%. Yet for businesses the next biggest problems are a lack of parking (19%), physical deterioration (14%), and taxes (14%). The issue of parking has been a significant problem for Main Street merchants and has become worse since the City instituted the "Diamond Lanes"[16]. It is clear that businesses on the Strip have suffered terribly from the traffic as it lacks the parking which other thoroughfares

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[16] Diamond Lanes on the Strip have served to remove parking on the curb-lanes to allow buses freer access.

such as Pembina Highway or Regent Avenue possess. It is also ironic given its historical

significance that due to automobile traffic, the Strip is one of the least conducive areas of

the downtown for pedestrians.

Figure XX: Number One Problem On Strip According to Businesses 1997
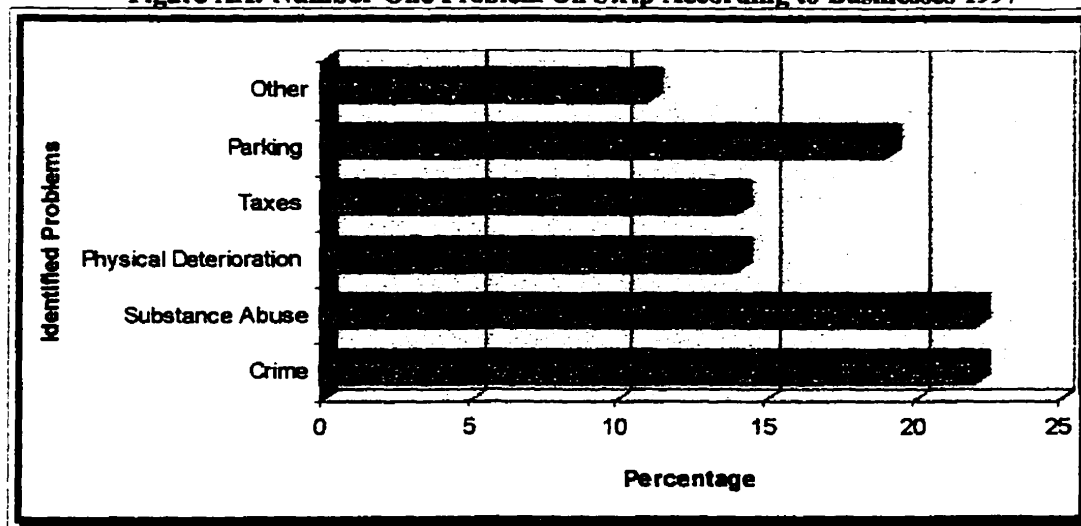
While business people see improvement of the Strip largely in economic terms, it is

apparent that many businesses are highly aware of the existing social problems. Moreover

despite the low-overhead, and the fact that for some businesses (primarily the hotels and

bars) profits can be high, all businesses wanted to see improvement in the area and were

adamant in stating that it would benefit their business. From the business perspective there

are three equally important social initiatives which are most needed: education and training

(22%), social housing (22%), and getting rid of the bars (22%). Besides these three 14%

stated greater cooperation was needed amongst businesses, social agencies and residents.

In terms of facilities needed to improve the social conditions 22% of businesses stated a

need for a recreation centre, 16% the need for education and employment training centre,

and 11% a cultural centre.

Of the three groups the business community seems most concerned about the aesthetic appearance of the Strip. In terms of physical changes 35% of businesses noted the need for renovation of buildings, 30% stated buildings needed to be demolished, 10% called for more parks and green-space, 5% wanted streetscaping, and another 5% more lighting. Moreover 78% of businesses on the Main Street Strip stated their building was in need of repairs (51% minor repairs and 27% major repairs).

While 35% of the business community at the time of the surveys were aware of the Winnipeg Development Agreement only 24% were aware of the Task Force on Main Street. This can be attributed to two factors. The first is the fact that the community has not reached a level of mobilization and empowerment to actively confront and work with government. The second is the fact that the three levels of government (especially the City of Winnipeg) have not made concerted efforts at early stages in the development of the strategy to raise consciousness in the area about the implications of the WDA or the Task Force. Although 57% of businesses stated they would like to be involved in a plan for Main Street, it remains to be seen if government will authentically include the community in the development of a plan.

It will also be challenging for the Task Force to develop a working relationship with the business community if it recognizes the importance of doing so. Most businesses for example displayed distrust in both the competency and sincerity of government to make any significant improvements on the Strip. Along with the poor planning of the *Core Area Initiative Main Streets Program*, many owners discussed the fact that politicians, planners, or administrators have never visited their business to exchange ideas and acquire their

perspective on the problems of the area. It is thus not surprising when we look at Figure

XXI that most businesses feel that the three levels of government have in the past offered

little or no support to the business community on the Strip.

Figure XXI: Degree of Government Support Provided to Strip Businesses
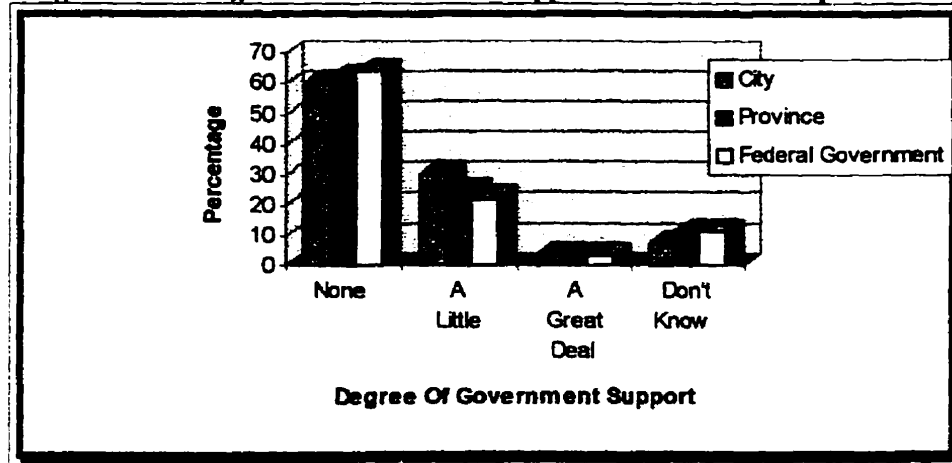
Although 43% of businesses indicated involvement in community meetings regarding the

economic and social problems of the area, it is clear that businesses alone lack the political

clout and expertise to effectively strategize a community plan. And although 81% stated a

willingness to attend future meetings regarding the community, the effectiveness of such

participation is dependent on relations with the power-holders.

Social Agencies

While the business community on the Strip is primarily concerned with economic

and physical improvement, the social agencies, consisting of cultural centres, drop-ins,

places of informal employment, and specialty care and treatment centres, bear a significantly

stronger social focus. The need for these agencies is clearly apparent admidst the problems

of unemployment, poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, racism, and a socially

dysfunctional population. Thus while the business community on the Strip is concerned with

attracting customers and investment into the area, the primary role of social agencies is to

serve the single room occupants, the street people, and the population found in the broader

Main Street Area[17]. Yet despite their presence and service to this population various

factors have prevented social agencies from alleviating the deeply entrenched social

problems. These factors include the concentration of bars, the area's economic decline,

government cutbacks on social programs, and most importantly the lack of cooperation

amongst the agencies themselves.

As discussed in the previous chapter the Aboriginal Centre which was purchased in

1991 is perhaps the most recent addition to the Main Street Strip. Other agencies such as

the Salvation Army, Jack's Place, or the Main Street Project have been active on the Strip

for more than 15 years. In speaking with these agencies the provision of the following

services were identified:

Counseling	Food	Aboriginal Services
Lodging	Addictions Treatment	Life Skills
Emergency Shelter	Legal Aid	Cultural events
Training	Temporary Labour	
Spiritual Care	Chemical Withdrawal and Detoxification Unit	

The experience gathered from the delivery of these and other services on the Strip makes

it clear that a wealth of knowledge and understanding exists regarding the population in

need. However in reference to the theory on community mobilization and empowerment

McKnight may not necessarily discredit these social agencies, but he would question

whether or not they could be characterized as authentic or counterfeit. In other words are

they really alleviating the social problems in the area, or do they merely serve to reinforce

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[17] According to these social agencies 50% of clients come directly from the Strip, 32% come from the North End, and 18% come from throughout Winnipeg.

the clienthood model of dependency? It seems apparent through my surveying that the potential of the social service agencies is not maximized due to the fact that they are not fully mobilized in the community context. One agency respondent verified the problem by explaining that a great deal of work by agencies falls by the wayside because of the lack of time available to partner with other agencies and develop cohesive community plans. Additionally it also appears that due to their institutional nature, the lack of communication and collaboration amongst agencies is in part attributable to their fear that partnership will unveil an overlap in services, and thereby result in their loss of autonomy.

Yet the solution of the Strip's social problems is not just attributable to the lack of collaboration amongst agencies, but more importantly amongst social agencies, businesses, and residents. Despite their inability to do so, the majority of social agencies (52%) stated that cooperation amongst these three groups was the most important social initiative that could be undertaken on the Strip.

The second most important initiative discussed was the need for social housing. A number of agencies described the lack of adequate affordable housing as the central reason why those in need are forced to reside in the hotels. Moreover, besides this population there are still others who lack the life skills to sufficiently operate their own dwelling and are thus forced to live on the street or in emergency shelters. In both cases it is apparent that there is a need for a model where housing is provided in a manner to allow for a high level of social agency intervention. It is further evident that while the hotels meet the minimum needs of some of the population, with their bars they are certainly not conducive

to alleviating social ills and providing the essential life skills and environment for healthy living.

Along with such initiatives it is clear that despite the broad range of services provided by agencies, there was a recognized need to fill gaps in service delivery. The need for more effective addictions treatment was the most frequently identified by agencies, despite the well-recognized addiction services provided by the Main Street Project. For along with residents, and businesses, most social agencies (50%) state that substance abuse is the number one social problem on the Strip. According to them a more effective addictions program would be one which targets youth and the Aboriginal population, demanding a deeper understanding of both groups and how such a program could be delivered.

Yet while alleviating the problems of substance abuse is the most pressing problem on the Strip, filling the gaps in other service delivery would certainly serve to empower the community. For example the need for youth drop-in centres, day-cares, and employment and training programs were discussed by many agencies as essential to raising the capacities of residents. As well the provision of such services would seek to diversify the predominance of single elderly males in the area, and thereby bring back a social activity to the Strip which has been lacking for so long.

In terms of fostering a relationship with the Task Force it appears that social agencies, because of their institutional nature and familiarity with the bureaucracy, are in a better position to influence government than are businesses. Social agencies do for example, give significantly more credit than the business community for the support which

government has provided them in the past. Comparing Figure XXII with Figure XXI the

difference in perceived support by the three levels of government is significantly higher

amongst social agencies then businesses.

Figure XXII: Degree of Government Support Provided to Strip Social Agencies
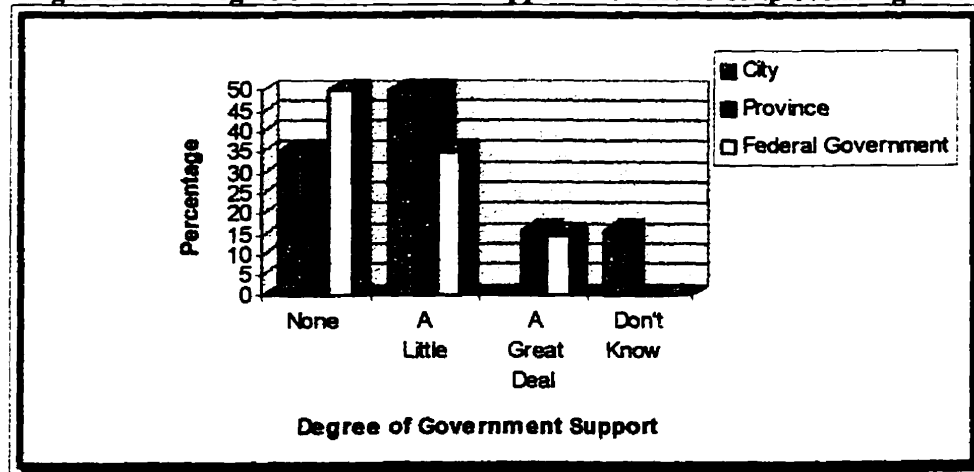
The higher degree of familiarity with government on the part of social agencies is

demonstrated by the fact that at the time of the survey, 65% were familiar with the Task

Force. As well 50% of agencies have in the past received funding from either the federal

government or the WDA.

In looking at the three groups it is clear that all three need to be included in the

development plan undertaken by the Task Force. Establishing the proper balance between

these groups is essential to ensure that a sense of community be established. As Etzioni

argued in Chapter II, "democratic processes within a community presuppose a plurality of

power centres, each strong enough to compete with the others, but not so strong as to be

able to undermine the collective framework in which the democratic process takes place"

(Etzioni, 318, 1968). Thus while working with some of these groups will certainly be easier

than others, the sustainability of the plan depends on the level of commitment and consensus on the plan from all three groups and the degree to which public participation is authentic.

4.3. CONCLUSION

With an understanding of the contemporary context of the Main Street Area and the Main Street Strip, differentiating and recognizing the potential for partnerships between the two areas is much easier. In terms of similarities, both areas possess high rates of poverty and unemployment, low levels of education, and poor quality of housing; even though it is clear that the conditions on the Strip are considerably worse. As well both possess a high Aboriginal population as well as a high rate of mobility. The two areas do however, differ significantly in terms of other population characteristics as it is apparent that the Strip is predominantly made up of elderly single males, while the Main Street Area contains a very high youth population and a high percentage of elderly.

Amongst the similarities there are certainly points where high levels of partnership can occur between the Main Street Area and the Main Street Strip. In terms of unemployment and education for example, it is clear that a large scale employment training and education program is needed in both areas. The location of an employment and training centre on or close to the Strip is a possibility which along with raising capacities and awareness would help bring people back into the area. With the concentration of Main Street Area population employed in manufacturing, construction, services, and clerical such a program may seek to strengthen these sectors or diversify the employment base by offering various training programs.

As well both areas have a high Aboriginal population which is one reason why the CP Station is such an appropriate location for the Aboriginal Centre It is clear however that the profile of this population needs to become much higher through the promotion of businesses, housing, education and training, and cultural and spiritual development. Although the CP Station is a step in this direction through its provision of the much needed space to begin socially organizing the Aboriginal community, the building is a far cry from a physical representation of Aboriginal culture. For this reason the ideas proposed in the Neeginan proposal of the 1970s (see Chapter III) become ever more prominent for the area directly adjacent to the Strip.

While housing remains a problem in both the Main Street Area and the Main Street Strip it appears that given the predominance of hotels on the Strip confronting the housing problem requires a special focus. Given the deeply entrenched social problems on the Strip it is clear that a social housing model is appropriate. Such a model needs to seek a means of creating a healthier environment to community living, which means less drinking establishments and more social agency intervention in housing. Of the issues on the Strip this is one of the most important as the hotels have been the primary source of substance abuse, which as indicated by residents, businesses, and social agencies is the biggest problem in the community.

As well it is clear that a healthy community cannot exist if 90% of the population are males on social assistance. The lack of women and youth on the Strip is to some degree an indicator of the image of the Strip as a dangerous place to be. The establishment of a

recreation or youth centre in the area is a possible means of changing this image, but will likely require other changes to take place first.

Lastly the business and physical development of the Strip will also require a high level of innovation and planning. While a business plan for the Strip would be different from one for the broader Main Street Area, the former would recognize the Main Street Area as an important customer base. The need for improving the physical appearance of the Strip is a common theme amongst business owners. Thus, whether buildings are demolished or repaired, it is essential that the dilapidated appearance of the Strip be addressed so as to attract investment and alleviate the high vacancy rates amongst buildings. In doing so however it is important to remain conscious of what measures can be taken to help new businesses become viable and sustainable to ensure that vacancies are alleviated.

In conclusion, fostering partnerships and developing a strategy for the Strip and the broader Main Street Area is far more difficult than might appear from the above points. In this chapter we can see themes of a potential strategy - employment, housing, business, Aboriginal population, physical characteristics - however it is clear that strategizing them requires more elaboration. The next section seeks to look at the framework of the Task Force strategy and determine to what degree it has incorporated the aspects of community empowerment and sustainability.

CHAPTER V: TASK FORCE STRATEGY

In terms of the theoretical foundation, historical overview, and demographic and survey findings it is clear that an innovative approach is needed for the Strip and the Main Street Area. On December 3, 1997 the North Main Task Force released its strategic plan entitled "Our Place". The plan provides an overview of the consultation process, a financial plan, and descriptions of the various initiatives. It can be stated from the onset of this chapter that in light of the time constraints, political forces, and financial limitations the Task Force has taken an innovative and commendable approach to dealing with the daunting socioeconomic problems of the Strip. However given the magnitude of the socioeconomic problems within the Strip and the Main Street Area, the question remains as to whether the strategy will be enough to reverse them.

This chapter seeks to explore the strategy plan and assess to what degree it can serve to alleviate the problems of the Strip and the Main Street Area. To explore the *Our Place* strategy this chapter is divided into four sections: 5.0 Structure, Process, and Financial Plan, 5.1 Sub-Committee Strategies, 5.2 Critique of Strategies, and 5.3 Conclusion.

5.0 Structure, Process, and Funding Allocation

Based on the preceding chapters, five key areas or spheres seem critical to addressing the deeply entrenched socioeconomic problems on Main Street: housing, social

planning, community economic development, physical planning, and a Neeginan Village[18].

It is proposed that the interaction of these spheres within the immediate and broader

community would create the level of "activity" needed to generate the momentum to

mobilize a community vision and action plan.

From a theoretical perspective it is critical that cooperation of these areas, along

with a sense of equilibrium, or what Etzioni referred to as a proper "power constellation",

be established. With this in mind a schematic model of how the various planning areas or

spheres need to interact is illustrated in Figure XXIII. This schematic illustrates that under

the Main Street Strategy, four of the five spheres - housing, social planning, physical

planning, and CED - possess a large degree of autonomy, however a major portion of each

is based upon the interdependence of all spheres. For example, while reattracting viable

businesses is a goal of the *Our Place* strategy, it would not be a sustainable approach to

pursue this ends without also addressing physical conditions, the inadequacy of housing, or

the social problems of substance abuse, unemployment, and education and training. Yet

while equilibrium is needed, in light of the historical alienation of Aboriginal people from

Winnipeg, their socioeconomic deprivation, and their increasing presence in the Main

Street Area, a central placement of the "Neeginan Village" theme is suggested as a focus

for community empowerment. This sphere like the others, is interdependent, yet plays a

critical role in mobilizing the others and maintaining a proper balance.

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[18] The Neeginan Village is drawn from the need to address the importance of the Aboriginal population to Main Street. It is inspired by the original Neeginan proposal of the 1970s is described in Chapter III.

Figure XXIII: Conceptual Interaction of Key Area Spheres

Main Street Community
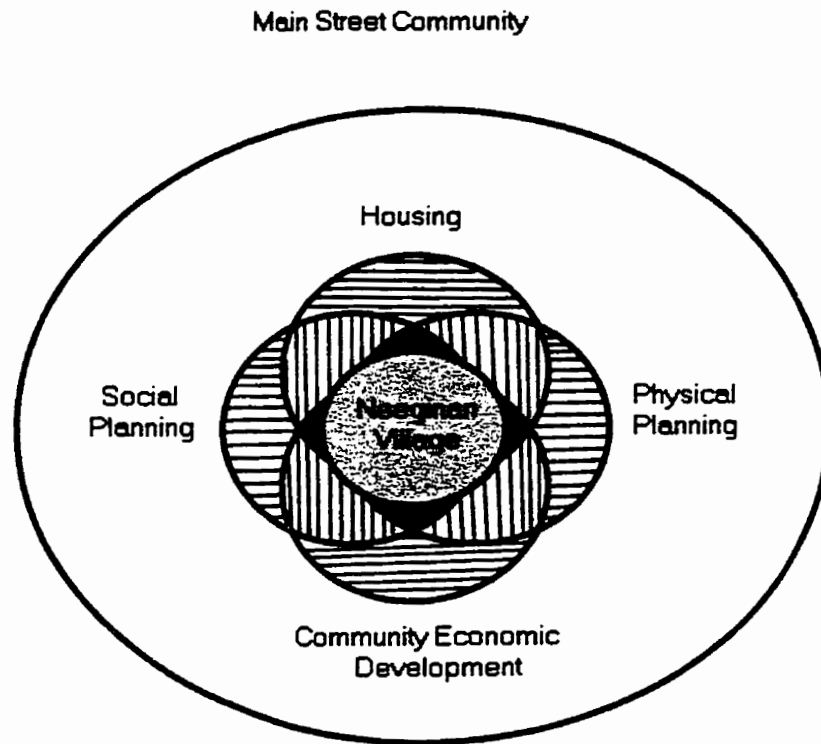
In looking at the strategy which the Task Force has taken, a pertinent question to be asked is to what degree these conceptual spheres are interacting? Doing so requires a closer look at the Task Force structure.

In January 1997 after City Council authorized the creation of the Mayor's Task Force, the City spent four months formulating the membership of the Task Force. Following April 1997 after the Task Force was formed, six Sub-Committees were

established to identify particular areas of interest[19]:

- Neeginan
- Main Street/Commercial Development
- Housing
- Cultural Development
- Social Development
- Aboriginal Investment

Each of these Sub-Committees was chaired or co-chaired by Task Force members with membership consisting of government, professionals, social agencies, and an unfortunately small representation of business and residents from the Main Street Area[20].

The consultation process of the Task Force consisted of area stakeholders, the Aboriginal community, social agencies, and relevant organizations related to housing initiatives (Table XII). In addition to these consultation groups the Task Force Plan states that it spoke and met with individual merchants and property owners in the area to discuss their interests and concerns. As well the Social Planning Council did a situational analysis of the Main Street Area residents to better understand the social dynamics of the community. Lastly toward the end of the process (late November) approximately 50 area merchants and property owners met the Task Force in an open house where plans were on display, a presentation was made, and an open forum and discussion took place (North Main Task Force, 4,1997)

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[19] A list of both Task Force members and Sub-Committee members is found in Appendix B.
[20] This includes Ms P Mitchell from Mitchell's Fabrics and Ms D Spence from the North Point Douglas Residents Association.

Table XII: Task Force Consultation Groups

Area Stakeholders	Housing Related
Winnipeg Downtown BIZ	All Hotels
Social Planning Council of Winnipeg	Salvation Army
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature	Main Street Project
Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre (Oseredok)	Union Gospel Mission
Union Gospel Mission	Jack's Senior Citizen Home
Chinatown Development Corporation	Harmony House Apartments
North Main BIZ	Sek on Toi Apartments
Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce	Iqaluk Inuit Centre Temporary Boarding Home
Kinew Housing	Dial a Life
St. Andrew's Society	Ronald McDonald House
Social Organizations	Manitoba Health
Beat the Street	Medical Services Branch of Health
Street Connections (Mt. Carmel Clinic)	Welfare Canada
Salvation Army Booth Centre	Kinew Housing
St. Norbert Foundation	Aiyawin Corporation
MacDonald Youth Services	Dakota Ojibaway Tribal Council Authority
Age and Opportunity Centre	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
Indian and Metis Friendship Centre	University of Manitoba
Argyle Alternative High School	University of Winnipeg Housing Registry
Main Street Project	Red River Community College
Native Addictions Council Manitoba	**Planning, Design, Technical Support**
Aboriginal Community	McGowan Russel Design Group
Aboriginal Elders, Youth, and Business	Smith Carter Architects
Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg	Mr. L Pettipas
Mrs. Richard	Four Directions Consulting Group
Mr. Douglas Cardinal (Aboriginal Architect)	Mr. Douglas Cardinal
Mr. Larry Soldier (Aboriginal Capital Corporation)	
First Nations Communities	
Metis Resource Centre	

Source: *Our Place-North Main Task Force. City of Winnipeg, 1997 (p 2-6).*

The overall process contextualized within the local political environment is illustrated in Figure XXIV. Overall it can be stated that the Task Force moved efficiently and decisively in its consultation process, its creation of Sub-Committees, and its formulation of strategies. However although the Task Force moved remarkably fast in reaching its current

strategy, a closer look at the planning process recognizes that it is controlled predominantly by professionals and government officials with little "authentic" public participation or "transactive" planning emphasized in the process. In light of time constraints, limited financial resources, and political forces, the path taken by the Task Force may be understandable, however it is bound to have some repercussions on establishing a cohesive Main Street community.

Figure XXIV: Task Force Process

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Appendix B

NORTH MAIN STREET TASK FORCE PROCESS

January to December 1997

City Council approves Work Plan and Mayor's Task Force

Mayor's Task Force

Task Force Work Begins

Consultations

Sub-Committees

Studies and Resources

Studies and Resources
• urban design
• socioeconomic
• historical overview
• feasibility studies
• Douglas Cardinal Visioning

Reception

Main St. Community Development

Cultural

Social Development

Aboriginal Involvement

Housing

• Downtown Winnipeg BIZ
• Social services organizations
• Area merchants and owners
• Social Planning Council
• Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
• Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre
• Union Gospel Mission
• Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce
• St. Andrew's Society
• Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg
• Metis Resource Centre
• Manitoba Federation of Labour
• CentrePlan
• Aboriginal Elders, Youth and Businesses

North Main Street Strategy and Plan

EXECUTIVE POLICY COMMITTEE

City Council

January 1997

December 1997

Source: Our Place-North Main Task Force. City of Winnipeg, 1997, (Appendix B).

Financial Plan

Initially Program 1 A of the WDA allocated $6 million to the North Main Task Force. It seemed clear from the onset of the initiative that such a minimal amount of funding would not make a substantial improvement to the physical and socioeconomic problems on the Strip. Thus besides the $6 million, the Task Force acquired additional funding support of $6.5 million for a combined total of $12.5 million. The spending breakdown of the two is illustrated in the Tables XIV & XV below.

Table XIV: Funding Allocation From WDA Program 1 A ($6 million)

Lead Projects	WDA Program 1 A Funds
Neeginan	$1,500,000
Streetscaping	$1,500,000
Land Acquisition	$2,250,000
Relocation Assistance	$100,000
Aboriginal Health and Wellness	$150,000
Planning/Project Management	$500,000
Total	$6,000,000

Table XV: Funding Allocation From Additional Support ($6.5 million)

Projects	Funds
Main Street Streetscaping	$900,000
Main Street-Real Estate/Marketing	$20,000
Main Street-Commercial Enhancement Program	$300,000
Housing-Upgrades to existing accommodation	$500,000
Neeginan Housing	$1,600,000
Housing-Pioneer "Seed Funding"	$1,000,000
Cultural-Victoria Park	$500,000
Cultural-Transfer Track Relocation	$250,000
Cultural Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Centre (Oseredok)	$1,000,000
Cultural-Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature	$400,000

Source: Our Place-North Main Task Force. City of Winnipeg, 1997 (p vi-vii).

From these tables it is apparent that the biggest funding allocations are toward Neeginan, Streetscaping, Land Acquisition, and Neeginan Housing which together make up $7,750,000. In addition to program 1 A it might also be mentioned that under the WDA other funding has been provided to develop the existing Aboriginal Centre ($2.5 million under sub-program 1 C), as well as to North Main Economic Development ($1.5 million under sub-program 1 B).

Something which the Task Force is open in admitting however is that significantly more government funding will be required to sustain the momentum needed to revitalize Main Street. In terms of public investment, it is the assumption of the Task Force that additional funding will be provided from other WDA programs and senior levels of government. In addition, it is also assumed besides all of the public investment, further investment from the private sector will be levered.

5.1 Sub-Committee Strategies

From each of the six Sub-Committees mentioned above work plans were created to address the challenges of the Main Street Strip and the adjacent area. Within these plans a series of proposed strategies or initiatives were considered in line with the financial plan which provides a further breakdown of allocated funds. A summary of the 6 Sub-Committee initiatives is provided below.

Neeginan

The alienation of Aboriginal people from Winnipeg and Main Street along with the dramatic rise in Aboriginal population in Winnipeg and the Main Street Area is clearly evident. This population faces similar problems as immigrants coming from other

countries with respect to adjusting to the new city environment and gaining access to available services such as employment, health, education, training, legal services, and family security. For these reasons this thesis is in agreement with the Task Force in suggesting the Neeginan be the focus of the Main Street Strategy.

According to the strategy the current Neeginan proposal is inspired by the 1975 feasibility study (discussed in Chapter III) which included a mixture of service facilities for Aboriginal people. The primary project of the contemporary Neeginan plan will cost $1.5 million and is described in the Task Force Plan as follows:

> Conceptually, Neeginan is based on the Medicine Wheel, which represents the spiritual values of Aboriginal peoples and encompasses the natural elements or building blocks of the earth (fire, tree, water, rock) and the distinct nations of the world as expressed through the red, black, white, and yellow colours of the Medicine Wheel. The underlying message is that people are united, and that nature is the unifying element (North Main Task Force, 11-12, 1997).

The concept of the Medicine Wheel which serves as the focal point of Neeginan involves a structural and architectural transformation of the south-east corner of Higgins and Main. This placement demands a major land acquisition which includes amongst other buildings the Patricia Hotel. The physical features of the Medicine Wheel, which are illustrated in Figure 7 in Appendix B, are described as follows:

> This Medicine Wheel would contain a Round House at its centre, a Circle at its outer edge with pathways and arches within it marking the Four Directions, and four inner quadrants containing landscape spaces, and representations and artifacts of the many Aboriginal teachings. Outside and around the Circle, the Aboriginal community would develop a living community containing all the essential elements: homes, shops, and community services (North Main Task Force, 12, 1997).

The Round House mentioned above is the building which is described as the heart of the Neeginan concept. As an anchor it will serve as a catalyst for further land assembly and

investment as well as for commercial initiatives relating to marketing of Aboriginal culture locally, nationally, and internationally.

With the Medicine Wheel and Round House as the core projects of Neeginan, other new initiatives include a (1) Multi-purpose Centre, (2) a Hall of Justice, (3) an Art Gallery, and (4) a Centre for Excellence for Children's Well-Being. Each of these is elaborated on further below:

1. *The Multipurpose Centre*: This is a proposed Federal initiative which seeks to develop recreational and sports facilities to provide the opportunity for Aboriginal youth with a rich cultural and social experience. Such a centre would thus serve to enhance the training and employment programs offered by the Aboriginal Centre.

2. *Hall of Justice*: The purpose of this component is to shift the perception of safety in the area as well as incorporate a holistic justice system. This component would include integrated space for Aboriginal/Traditional court workers, Legal Aid, Community Council Diversion Program, Crown attorneys, and a shared legal/native studies library. Other parts of this component include Healing Circles, Sentencing Circles, police facilities, and administrative space.

3. *Art Gallery*: This component would include retail space, space for art and photography exhibitions, studies for artists, and space for art instruction and lectures.

4. *Centre for Excellence for Children's Well-Being*: In light of the growing concern for children's issues the Government of Canada may establish this centre in the Main Street Area. Its purpose is to enhance understanding and practice regarding the physical and mental health needs of children and youth (North Main Task Force, 11-15, 1997).

Main Street/Commercial Development

As shown from the preceding chapter, the physical features of the Strip have impacted negatively on its commercial development. Buildings in need of renovation, vacant storefronts, and dead space have left the Strip without an aesthetic appeal. The existing land-use structure with the predominance of hotels, second hand stores, and missions illustrates the need for a more innovative mixture of commercial, residential, social services, and public and recreational amenities. In addition, the problems of traffic and the lack of parking both contribute to making the area an unattractive destination for pedestrians and potential customers.

In light of these concerns the objective of the Main Street/Commercial Development Sub-Committee, according to the *Our Place* strategy, is to restore Main Street as a vibrant commercial strip by addressing the physical features in tandem with a marketing strategy. In doing so the intent is to encourage new business in the area, to be a catalyst for further public sector involvement, and to complement the initiatives of the other Sub-Committees.

Next to the Task Force initiatives which are focused on Neeginan, the commercial component has the second most significant allocation of funding. While still emphasizing the *Our Place* theme which is centred on Aboriginal culture, the strategy of commercially developing Main Street according to the Task Force involves a streetscaping initiative costing $2,400,000. The initiative can be summarized as having three main components: traffic, public space, and physical appearance. In terms of traffic it is stated that along with the provision of on and off street parking, a balance between vehicular and pedestrian

traffic will be established to ensure "pedestrian comfort and safety"[21]. In addressing public

space the Task Force mentions removal of sidewalks and their replacement with decorative

paving, ornamental lighting, lane-lighting, street-planting, street furnishings, prominent

land marks and historical murals, and the need for more green space and "meeting places".

In addition, along with the Medicine Wheel, a Plaza at the intersection of Disraeli Freeway

and Main Street (Adjacent to the Ukranian Cultural and Education Centre) is proposed to

be established as another public meeting place (See Figure 10 in Appendix B). Lastly to

address the appearance of the Strip the Task Force has proposed to remove symbols of

social and economic decline including the dominance of skid row hotels[22].

In addition to the streetscaping component, the physical features of Main Street are

also addressed through the proposal for a zoning review to address the compatibility of

physical changes with adjacent neighborhoods. Finally, a building capital improvement

incentives program with a funding allocation of $300,000 is proposed for the upgrading of

certain buildings for existing and prospective tenants.

The marketing strategy of the Task Force has allocated a mere $20,000 to attempt

to reverse the negative image of Main Street by advertising the Task Force plan and

developing marketing tools, aiding existing businesses to attract more customers, and

encouraging new businesses to locate in the area. In partnering with the marketing

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[21] It is worth noting that in speaking with businesses, residents, and social agencies, both parking and a more pedestrian friendly environment were major concerns. Unfortunately the Task Force does not state how it intends to balance vehicular and pedestrian traffic. As was suggested in Chapter IV, with the highest number of pedestrian accidents in the City, it seems that traffic calming through reducing the eight-lane thoroughfare to six, with on street parking, is the only real solution to making Main Street pedestrian friendly.

[22] In the thesis survey many businesses and social agencies talked about the negative impact of hotels. Yet once again the Task Force has not indicated how it is going to confront the issue that six hotels will remain even after the Patricia is expropriated.

approach a real estate marketer/consultant will be used to assist in developing properties

and filling existing spaces (North Main Task Force, 15-18 & 41-42, 1997).

Housing

One of the most problematic and pressing issues in formulating a strategy for the

Main Street Strip is that of housing and the controversy surrounding the role of the hotels

in meeting this basic need. Amidst the problems of homelessness, the dependents on

social assistance, and a population lacking the vital life-skills to acquire more adequate

housing, it is clear that the hotels do indeed provide easily accessible and much needed

low-income housing which currently is not available elsewhere. Despite the dilapidated

and unsanitary living conditions of most Strip hotels, it is home to many residents, and

from the survey it is clear that half have no desire to move. On the other hand, in speaking

with the business community all expressed the negative socioeconomic impact which the

bars (ironically even many of the hotel owners themselves recognized this) have had on the

community, and many of these sentiments were shared by a number of social agencies. Yet

despite these sentiments, the process of removing bars is not clear, nor are the social

repercussions.

The Housing Sub-Committee commissioned a consultant to undertake a review of

housing in the area, including the hotels. From the review four main housing initiatives

were identified: (1) a Relocation Assistance Program, (2) Improving Local Housing

Conditions, (3) Housing with Neeginan, and (4) Opportunities for Market Housing. Each

of these is summarized below.

1. *Relocation Assistance Program*: Due to the acquisition of land for other initiatives, most notably between Higgins Avenue and Henry Avenue, both residents from the Patricia Hotel as well as residents from some rooms or apartments just off of Main Street will be displaced. With an estimation of between 60-80 displacements $100,000 is being allocated to a Residents Assistance Program (RAP) to help those being displaced find alternative accommodations and assist them in moving.

2. *Improving Local Housing Conditions*: Given the dilapidated and in some cases unsanitary conditions of some hotels this initiative seeks to assist private landlords improve the quality of rooms in the area. With $500,000 allocated to assist landlords on a cost shared basis, emphasis will be on electrical and mechanical upgrades and room renovations.

3. *Housing with Neeginan*: In collaboration with Neeginan, the Aboriginal Centre, and the Federal program for Aboriginal youth a housing market has been identified for Aboriginal students in Winnipeg for education and training, and for Aboriginal families temporarily visiting for medical treatment or other services. With a funding allocation of $1.6 million this is the most significant housing initiative proposed by the Task Force. It consists of two housing components which are to be located east of Austin (see Figure 5 in Appendix B). One will serve as a student residence accommodating 60 students, and the other will be short stay apartments (accommodation for 2-12 weeks) which will accommodate up to 100 persons.

4. *Opportunities for Market Housing:* The proposal for mixed-use residential housing seeks

to identify a location in the Main Street Area for needed residential development[23].

Intended to spark further residential development and improve the image of the area the

most appropriate location identified by the Task Force is the block south of Higgins

Avenue and the Disraeli Freeway, between Lily Street and the Red River. However as this

part of the strategy is placed in Stage Three (see Figure 4 in Appendix B) only $1 million

will be used as a seed fund for a Pioneers Program, including financial incentives to

stimulate the construction of new life-lease apartment units by sponsoring organizations

(North Main Task Force, 18-20 & 41,1997).

Cultural

Despite the fact that it is Winnipeg's oldest street it seems that the historical and

cultural significance of Main Street has disappeared. From Chapter II it is clear that there

are many important stories in the long history varying from the area's importance to

Aboriginal people, the arrival of Europeans, and the waves of immigration during the

boom years. In addition to this history, many people are unaware of the contemporary

cultural assets around Main Street which along with the newly established Aboriginal

Centre includes Chinatown, the Ukrainian Cultural Centre, and the Museum of Man and

Nature.

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[23] As mentioned in Chapter III, ever since the construction of the Disraeli Freeway and the displacement of a significant residential community, businesses on the Strip have suffered from a dwindling customer base. In speaking with many of the businesses in the process of surveying many indicated the desperate need for a residential population to support the commercial sector. It is thus clear that this initiative would aid in reestablishing a community on Main Street.

The Cultural Sub-Committee sought to emphasize and foster the development of Main Street's historical and cultural significance by building on existing institutions and cultures which historically have played a significant role in the area. In consultation with various cultural organizations four cultural concepts were developed by this committee: (1) Victoria Park, (2) the Scottish Cultural Centre, (3) The Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre, and (4) The Museum of Man and Nature. All four of these components which are described below are illustrated in Figure 10 in Appendix B.

1. *Victoria Park*: The Victoria Park Working Group developed the plan to re-establish the park which is currently occupied by the Winnipeg Hydro's Amy Street Steam Plant (decommissioned in 1990). The importance of the Park stems back to 1895 when the City established it as one of the first formal parks. A proposal for a display with historical themes in the park will allow for $500,000 which will be accompanied by another $250,000 which in partnership with CentrePlan will be used to acquire the CN Transfer Tracks and facilitate the development of the park and riverbank lands. Lastly it is recommended that the City of Winnipeg, in cooperation with the Exchange District BIZ develop a plan for the Alexander Waterfront District designating the area as mixed-use development.

2. *Scottish Cultural Centre*: Under this component a study was prepared to examine the feasibility of establishing a cultural centre for the Scottish community in the area between Galt and George Avenue. While there is significant support no funding has been allocated by the Task Force for this initiative as of yet. It is explained that before this project can be

undertaken a comprehensive plan is needed as well as government support. It is estimated

that a three to five year development process is needed to finalize the concept.

3. *Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre (Oseredok)*: Founded in 1944 the Ukrainian

Cultural Centre situated at 184 Alexander Avenue is planning an expansion costing

$10,000,000 (see Figure XXV in Appendix B for architectural design). While more

government support is needed the Task Force has proposed committing $1 million.

4. *Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature*: Lastly the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

is currently involved in a $17.7 million expansion. The request for funding from the Task

Force is $400,000 and will be used to enhance exterior public safety and aesthetic features,

streetscaping, landscaping, and a public feasibility assessment (North Main Task Force, 20-

25 & 42-45, 1997).

Social Development

Amidst the problems of poverty, crime, homelessness, substance abuse,

substandard housing, and street youth, it is evident that government investment in the

human capacities of the Strip and the Main Street Area population has been lacking.

Given the socioeconomic conditions it is evident that a significant level of social planning

and investment is needed. Unfortunately outside of the initiatives proposed by the five

other Sub-Committees next to no funding has been allocated by the Task Force to foster

social development.

From the perspective of the Task Force the lack of funding to this key area is

attributable to the fact that the "issues addressed by the Social Development Sub-

Committee run parallel to virtually all elements in the area". In this light the following

recommendations are made:

- Establish and adequately resource a "social development committee" to continue throughout the development and implementation phase of the North Main Street renewal.
- Examine Aboriginal justice measures, ranging from "after care" services to those recently released from institutions, intervention programs for youth at risk, life skills, and family-centred programs for addressing deeply rooted problems in the home.
- There be minimal involuntary residential displacement through measures that maintain residential facilities that provided adequate shelter[24].
- Give special consideration to the needs of persons with a disability residing in the area.
- Establish a Relocation Assistance Program with an estimated $100,000 budget consistent with the recommendation of the Housing Sub-Committee.
- Establish a Resource Centre to provide assistance in relocation, access to additional services, and one-time assistance for moving costs.
- Address the gap in services for persons struggling with solvent abuse addictions.
- Pursue the "Multi-purpose Centre" for youth to complement Neeginan.
- Examine in detail the creation of an Urban Aboriginal College in the area.
- Examine various innovative mechanisms such as "The Backdoor" program in Calgary, which assists individuals to make positive lifestyle changes.
- Strengthen North Point Douglas through implementation of a Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program (North Main Task Force, 26-27, 1997).

Aboriginal Investment

Aboriginal Investment, the last Task Force Sub-Committee, can be considered as an economic development component of the Neeginan concept. The proposal seems especially pertinent in light of the increasing migration of Aboriginal population from reserves to urban centres. While still in the preliminary stages this proposal entails investment from First Nations communities and would involve urban businesses, building complexes and possibly the conversion of purchased lands to reserve status (North Main Task Force, 27-28, 1997).

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[24] It is not clear in light of the overall Task Force strategy what this recommendation is referring to. It is evident that some displacement is going to occur through the expropriation of the Patricia, however there is no mention of funding allocated to the expropriation of other hotels. Does the Task Force assume that in the future the private sector will wish to buy up hotels or other housing units on the Main Street Strip?

The Task Force Strategy does not expand on this but it does state that Aboriginal investment requires a careful examination of the implications of establishing urban reserves. Given the fact that Winnipeg has one of the highest Aboriginal populations per capita amongst other major Canadian cities, Aboriginal investment can be considered a realistic and significant step toward urban Aboriginal self-government. Although self-government of Aboriginal people in Winnipeg seems inevitable, it is not clear what form it would take. It may very well be the case that the *Our Place* strategy is another incremental step in a natural evolution leading to this ends.

Other Relevant Initiatives Beyond the Task Force Strategy

Besides the series of initiatives undertaken by the 6 Sub-Committees there are a series of complementary developments in the Main Street Area not funded or governed by the Task Force. The most relevant of these judging from the scope of this thesis include North Main Economic Development, strategies in adjacent neighbourhoods, and an Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre.

The North Main Economic Development Strategy under sub-program 1C of the WDA has allocated $1.5 million for the commercial revitalization of the portion of Main Street between the CPR tracks north to St. John's Avenue. While deterioration is apparent, unlike the Strip this portion of Main Street is still considered to be commercially viable. The allocation of funds will be directed toward a storefront improvement program, an interior renovation program, a marketing program, and gateway features.

The preceding chapter has discussed the socioeconomic problem of the neighbourhoods adjacent to Main Street. Under the WDA one of these neighbourhoods,

Lord Selkirk Park, is receiving support through a neighbourhood improvement program. The program will address basic needs such as income, employment, education, health, housing, safety, and personal group development. In addition North Point Douglas is the neighbourhood targeted for the Manitoba/Winnipeg Community Revitalization Program (MWCRP). As a 50/50 cost sharing between Manitoba Urban Affairs and the City of Winnipeg this program is dedicated solely to capital improvements with no funding for operational expenses. Thus eligible projects will include municipal services, recreational facilities, community facilities, purchasing land for housing, and community facilities and parks.

The last additional initiative worth mentioning is the Aboriginal Health and Wellness Centre which in partnership with Manitoba Health will be established in the Aboriginal Centre for a three-year pilot project period. The purpose is to provide a culturally based wellness model of service delivery for Aboriginal people in Winnipeg (North Main Task Force, 29-31).

5.2 A Critique of the Task Force Strategy

Reflecting on previous attempts to revitalize Main Street there is no comparison between the quality and competency between the contemporary Main Street revitalization strategy and others which preceded it. The level of funding, professional commitment, contextual understanding, and innovative ideas in formulating the strategy is unprecedented for Main Street. The strongest components of the *Our Place* strategy are rooted in the Neeginan concept and the physical revitalization of the area. With interesting social initiatives and potential Aboriginal investment, we can be certain that significant changes

are likely to occur on the Strip and the surrounding area. However as the Task Force moves toward implementing this strategy the question begging to be answered is will it be enough to restore Main Street as the symbolic heart of Winnipeg? Or perhaps more importantly, will it be enough to alleviate the deeply rooted socioeconomic problems of poverty, substance abuse, crime, unemployment, and homelessness?

Without extinguishing the optimism for the future of Main Street some realistic reflection is needed to determine if the strategy is a sustainable approach in providing solutions and fostering the long-term development of Main Street. From both the theoretical basis and the understanding of Main Street developed in this thesis there are reasons to suggest that the Task Force vision of Main Street is not long-term or entirely sustainable. Despite the innovative approach taken by the Task Force in supporting the Aboriginal community it seems that with insufficient funding support the strategy lacks the ability to mobilize and establish a cohesive community. Similar to the Neighbourhood Main Streets Program under the Core Area Initiative (see Chapter III), there is not only a lack of public participation under the current strategy, but a concern that development is "spotty" with too much of an assumption that private investment will fill the gaps. Most importantly due to the lack of funding there are issues which although mentioned in the plan, are not yet fully addressed, primarily those concerning commercial and social development. To explore these, the following concerns regarding the Task Force Strategy are addressed: Lack of Public Participation, Uncohesive Development, and the Impact of Additional Funding.

Lack of Authentic Public Participation

In terms of public or community participation it was mentioned earlier that the Task Force planning process was controlled by professionals and government officials. In this top-down and highly centralized process, where residents and businesses[25] do not play a significant role in the decision-making process, it is apparent that transference of power and self-governance to the community is not possible. If empowerment of the Main Street community is not a goal which the Task Force intends to realize, then there is well grounded reason to assume that the overall strategy will lack the network of support to make it sustainable.

The Task Force has made some gestures toward the importance of public participation as it has stated that 50 area merchants and property owners attended an open forum where a presentation was made, plans were displayed, and discussion took place. Yet this occurred in late November when the strategy was for certain already established. If we were to compare this attempt at public participation on the part of the Task Force to Arnstein's model it would not rate higher than the "token" approach of *informing* and *consultation.* As was suggested by Arnstein in Chapter II, at these levels information is purposely held back from citizens until a later stage in the planning process so that they have little opportunity to influence the program which is supposedly designed for their "benefit". Thus while such forums and meetings are made accessible to the public, they

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[25] It can be noted that local social agencies are also an important component of the community, however the Task Force has included a significant number of social agencies in its Sub-Committees. Interestingly this seems to support the theory espoused by both Illich and McKnight that social agencies are by nature bureaucratic and highly institutionalized entities which in some instances are more closely affiliated with government then with community.

are more often then not turned into public relations vehicles for one-way communication

which includes superficial information and irrelevant answers to community concerns

(Arnstein, 217, 1969).

Despite the lengths the Task Force went to establish an understanding of the

socioeconomic conditions of the area it is clear that its planning process is a conventional

one such as that represented in Figure IV (Chapter II). It is not that the Task Force does

not recognize that community members have a role somewhere in the process. For along

with the "token" approach to including local businesses, it has identified several

populations which have a stake in the area:

- residents of the hotels located in the area
- Chinatown residents
- residents of the South Point Douglas neighbourhood
- people who work or operate businesses in the area
- people from outside the area who use its services and establishments

Thus the question remains why the Task Force did not seek to include the stake which both

businesses and these populations had in the decision making process.

The most sensible explanation which has been argued by Benello in Chapter II,

seems to be that public participation requires not only a significantly greater financial

investment but also lengthens the time-line of the planning process significantly. Many

local businesses and residents for example are not familiar with many planning concepts

and processes in the same manner as those within the bureaucracy. Thus from the

perspective of government, broadening the circle to include these stakeholders in the

decision-making process not only makes the consensus building more difficult, but often

requires some level of educating these stakeholders of the overall process. In this light

public participation has never received much attention from the City of Winnipeg. Judging from the high number of government officials on the Task Force as well as the fact that City Council and the Executive Policy Committee are facilitating the overall development of the plan, it does not come as a big surprise that the Task Force has not sought to foster authentic public participation.

Nevertheless in the original WDA description of program 1 A it is stated that the strategy be based on "extensive public consultation" for the purpose of improving "the living conditions for the area residents" (WDA, 5, 1995). If this were truly the case then the Task Force would have adopted a planning process such as that illustrated in Figure V (Chapter II). Described as an "Alternative Planning Process" this model seeks to emphasize public participation in the early stages and fosters this participation throughout the process right through the implementation stage. When the process is complete community members have a significantly greater understanding of what "community" is, how planning is done, and what is needed to sustain the acquired autonomy in governing their own community.

Gaps in the Strategy

As stated by the Task Force the heart of the Main Street Strategy is centred on the Medicine Wheel-Round House concept which when combined with Neeginan Housing, the Aboriginal Centre, and other Neeginan initiatives will serve as the central node or anchor of the Main Street Strip. As well the area south of the Disraeli Freeway will - with a number of cultural initiatives, a Plaza, and future residential housing - serve as another important development node. The most pertinent criticism of the strategy would have to

be the lack of initiatives which are planned between these two nodes. While streetscaping

will impact, along with the $300,000 for a building capital improvements incentives

program, it is a dismally small amount compared to what is needed to make sufficient

building repairs, fill the vacancies, address the large number of bars, or alleviate the social

problems of poverty, substance abuse, or unemployment.

In interviews with business people on the Strip all of them discussed the negative

impact which the bars have had on the community. Although the Task Force plans on

expropriating the Patricia, six hotels will remain: the Mount Royal, the Savoy, the Bell, the

Manwin, the Occidental, and the McLaren. If the negative socioeconomic repercussions

which these hotels/bars bring to the area are not addressed, it is questionable if the area will

ever be fully rejuvenated. The Task Force expresses awareness of this problem in stating

that one of the objectives of the streetscaping program is to "diminish the impact of the

dominant cluster of skid row hotels which precludes community and commercial

revitalization" (North Main Task Force, 16, 1997). Unfortunately this is as close as the

Task Force comes to addressing the problem created by the hotels and with no funding

allocated to the issues it appears that it will not be addressed in the immediate future.[26]

In addition to the negative image which the hotels give to the Strip there is a

surprisingly high number of building vacancies. Even after the expropriation of land

between Higgins Avenue and Henry Avenue which includes a number of vacant buildings,

more than a dozen vacant buildings will remain on the Strip and the streets directly

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[26] In the Task Force Housing Report prepared by DS-Lea it was stated that 60-80 displacements would occur if the Patricia, New Occidental, Savoy, and New Brunswick and Austin Apartments were removed. However it appears to be the case that the Task Force only has enough funding to deal with the expropriation of the Patricia and the other hotels will remain.

adjacent to it (see Map X in Chapter IV). The Task Force strategy has said nothing regarding building vacancies, only hinting at the magnitude of the problem by stating that another one of its streetscaping objectives will be to "increase storefront occupation with complimentary businesses" (North Main Task Force, 16, 1997). While hopes seem to be pinned on the private sector, it remains to be seen if the Task Force can do enough to attract such investment. If it cannot, than the strategy will have failed in alleviating the high number of vacant buildings, thereby prohibiting this portion of Main Street from becoming a dynamic commercial strip.

Along with the failure of the Task Force to adequately address the socioeconomic problems created by the hotel/bars and the high building vacancies it is also apparent that there is not a strong social development component. While he Neeginan and Housing components incorporate some strong social initiatives, it is clear that the pressing problems of poverty, substance abuse, and low levels of education, are not sufficiently addressed, particularly for those living on the Strip. The Social Development Sub-Committee has made some valid recommendations, amongst others establishing and resourcing a social development sub-committee for future use, identifying gaps in solvent abuse treatment, assisting people with disabilities, and helping individuals make lifestyle changes. However as there is no funding allocated to any of these it is clear that the Task Force has yet to establish a strategy to meet this challenge. With no funding allocation the assumption seems to be that they will be addressed through the yet to be established "social development committee". But how many social agencies can afford and are willing to commit the needed resources to address these social concerns without government support?

The previous chapter has illustrated that in addition to limited resources, the institutional and bureaucratic structure of social agencies too often inhibits them from mobilizing commitment to identify and react to real social issues in communities. In these terms there is some room for skepticism regarding whether the Task Force is challenging the "clienthood" model espoused by Illich and McKnight.

The approach with the greatest potential in challenging this problem will be to foster the leadership of the Aboriginal Centre and the Neeginan concept. If these organizations can acquire a leadership role in developing partnerships with other social agencies, a more effective delivery of services may be established. It seems clear for example that part of the reason for the previous ineffective delivery of social services in Main Street Area is attributable to the lack of understanding of Aboriginal culture. As was suggested by Giroux in Chapter II, it is only when the oppressed can recapture their language, tradition, and cultural codes that identity is reestablished and empowerment can occur. Thus through the Aboriginal Centre and the Neeginan concept, it may be the case that the Aboriginal community may at last have the tools or resources to express their culture and adopt more traditional approaches to dealing with social problems.

Impact of Additional Funding

In light of the gaps remaining within the Strategy regarding socioeconomic and physical concerns the most obvious problem is the lack of funding. The Task Force is fairly upfront in recognizing this problem from the outset of the strategy by stating the

following:

> The Task Force believes that additional sources of acquired funds to fully support "Our Place" will require the support of senior levels of government, the private sector including the Aboriginal sources of investment, and the community at large including community and private foundations. In addition, efforts should be made to refocus other complimentary Winnipeg Development Agreement priorities and funds as part of the anticipated mid-term review process (North Main Task Force, viii, 1997).

It is clear that the lack of funding has placed limitations on the ability of the Task Force to formulate a cohesive strategy. In fact it could very well be argued that regardless of what type of strategy the Task Force formulated, with a mere $12.5 million, gaps would be inevitable; and that to realistically achieve a sustainable community on the Strip additional funding will be needed.

At this stage additional funding is highly speculative, and depending on whether the funding comes from government or the private sector, the future outlook of Main Street will differ. In light of the public dollars already invested, it may be best to wait and see what results from the various *Our Place* initiatives and potential private sector investments. In this regard it could be argued that too many public dollars might stifle the capacities of the community to fend for themselves, while simultaneously disrupting the balance between public and private interests in the community. Nevertheless when the strategy was released in early December 1997 more funding seemed to be the most pertinent concern raised by the media. Terence Moore from the Winnipeg Free Press for example elaborated on the assumption that Aboriginal investment is forthcoming and the need to take measures

to foster and control this investment:

> The city council cannot regenerate the Main Street Strip alone. It needs partners with money and commitment. It needs to know that all the partners are going down the same road together, at least for a while. The ideas of the Richard-Bova task force are logical and appealing at first glance. They will not be validated, however, until investors with money of their own to spend come forward and say they want in. The plan may have to be adjusted to accommodate their needs. If this is to be a partnership, the municipality will have to be accommodating enough to keep the others interested and rigid enough to uphold the public interest in a well-managed city (Winnipeg Free Press, Moore, Dec. 5, 1997).

Other sources discussed the possibility that some independent appraisals for investment were already in the works. The Anishabe Mazaska Capital Corporation for example has supposedly identified the south-west corner of Logan Avenue and Main Street as a potential site to raise an eight storey office building for First Nations bands (Winnipeg Free Press, Guttormson, A3, Dec. 4, 1997). It may be the case that facilitating such developments will require the City to offer incentives such as a tax-free zone or a freeze on taxes for a given period of time.

Yet while Aboriginal bands with recently settled land claims may be the primary source for the physical and commercial revitalization of the Strip, there still remains the need for government funding to address the lack of social development in the planning strategy. With little "authentic" public participation in the planning process many of the needs and concerns of the resident populations in and around the Strip have not been given the required consideration. Perhaps if they had, the strategy would have recognized that significantly the problems of substance abuse, unemployment, and the lack of education and training have not been adequately addressed. Moreover, although the Task Force has developed a proposal to renovate existing hotels (which provide much needed low-income

housing), the predominance of bars will continue to be a major social problem contributing to the predominance of substance abuse and crime.

An integrated approach to dealing with the complex social problems might require that further hotel/bar expropriation occur to allow for social housing to be established. Given the economic circumstances and social capacities of the single room occupants it is clear that low-income housing for seniors, social assistance recipients, and a special needs population will remain on the Strip. The validity of social housing arises from the problem of homelessness and the fact that while the hotels on the Strip serve an important function in the provision of low-income housing, their primary objective seems to be bar revenues and operating rooms at the lowest possible cost. Not only is this poor management unconducive to the social development and capacity building of residents, but to the socioeconomic dynamics of the Strip.

Although the Task Force Housing Sub-Committee has not addressed social housing, the desire for it validated by the surveys which found that businesses and social agencies on the Strip ranked it very high as a needed social initiative. As well 30% of residents stated they would prefer to live in government housing rather than the hotel they are currently residing in. This number would undoubtedly be higher if more residents were familiar with government housing (45% were not), and if the social housing could be established on the Strip itself. The establishment of social housing involves two alternatives, the first would involve non-profit housing operated by government and social agencies, and the second would involve a co-management agreement between a government social agency and one of the hotels on the Strip.

The former of these, the development of social housing between the three levels of government and several social agencies would serve the purpose of providing low-income housing to a special needs population. To do so it would be necessary to expropriate a hotel for either the purpose of renovation and redesign to social housing, or the demolition of the hotel and construction of a new building for social housing. After a building is secured the necessary human and financial resources need to be determined, including an operational budget as well as the demarcation of responsibilities and the level of commitment required by the various levels of government and social agencies. In fostering capacity building various social agencies in the area might more effectively integrate their expertise in the areas of counseling, treatment, provision of life skills, and job-training.

The second form of social housing would entail a co-management agreement between the City, a hotel owner, and one or a number of social agencies. Under this model the bar will continue its operation to generate revenues, yet social services will be integrated into the hotel. The effectiveness of this co-management approach can be seen in Vancouver where an agreement was created between the Portland Hotel and the Downtown Eastside Residents Association (DERA).

Under the contract DERA acquired a $150,000 grant from the Ministry of Social Services and Housing which permitted them to lease rooms for a fixed monthly fee. In the co-management agreement DERA is responsible for the ongoing maintenance of rooms, involving the replacement of furnishings, repainting and recarpeting, insurance for rooms, linen, two thirds of the property tax, heat, hydro, water and staff salaries. The owner on the other hand is responsible for some repairs on the ground floor, water pipes, and the

overall structural foundation of the building, and is permitted continued operation in the bar.

From a social housing perspective the agreement allows for the provision of those classified as "hard to house" with housing so that they can stabilize their lives in a safe, secure environment without the threat of eviction, abuse, or being taken advantage of by landlords, owners, or other hotel guests. In other words the Portland Hotel can be classified as a form of transitional shelter, which is above crisis or temporary shelter, but below permanent housing. As a transitional shelter with supportive services nine full-time staff are trained in crisis intervention. Amongst these there are two Project Managers, a Life-skills Coordinator, a Native Health Coordinator, and five positions of Psychiatric Workers. While these supportive services are provided to a large portion of residents, not all residents require crisis intervention or counseling services. Moreover, while the purpose of the Portland Hotel is transitional shelter there are many who will not progress beyond supportive housing to the level of permanent housing (DERA, 4-7, 1991).

If such a model could be applied to Winnipeg's Main Street it would probably be similar to the Portland Hotel in that a mixture of low-income residents would seek residence, some in need of supportive services and others not. Yet to apply such a model to Winnipeg, the Task Force will need to find a hotel owner willing to cooperate, as well as a hotel in a condition adequate enough to make the investment sustainable and worthwhile. The most comparable and suitable Strip hotel to the Portland model seems to be the McLaren which is both the largest (150 rooms) and the most structurally sound of the six Strip hotels remaining after the Patricia is expropriated. If it were to pursue such a

co-management agreement the Task Force would be wise to consult with DERA. Even if

a co-management agreement cannot be reached the Portland Hotel model would be very

useful in establishing non-profit government operated housing.

A final consideration which integrates social and commercial development is the

establishment of a community environment which is based on interdependence. Given the

deeply entrenched social problems and the discussions of private sector investment, Main

Street could very quickly become a socioeconomically polarized community where big

business has no connection with the resident population. In this light measures need to be

taken to ensure that a local micro-economy which promotes local purchasing and

employment as the foundation of the commercial development of the Strip. An example of

this type of operation already in the Main Street Area is Neechi Foods, a workers' co-op in

the North End owned by the Winnipeg Family Economic Development (WFNED). The

purpose of the co-op is described as follows:

> ...to offer Aboriginal people a better selection of food at better prices, to promote community
> health, to promote pride and employment, to keep money circulating in the community, to
> foster sharing, co-operation, and local control and to create capital for new projects. The
> store employs four full-time and five part-time employees, all but one of whom are
> Aboriginal, and annual sales are now in the region of $.5 million (Loxley, 26, 1994).

With Neechi Foods in mind the Task Force might consider promoting grassroots economic

development which emphasizes self-reliance, community employment and income

retention.

To further advance the development of these types of businesses a community loan

association or credit union might be established. The advantage of these smaller loan

associations is their willingness (unlike corporate national banking institutions) to provide

credit to low-income groups and individuals in order that they may acquire business skills, start a business of their own, or expand their pre-existing business. In Winnipeg there is already a cooperative community banking venture of this sort between the Mennonite Central Committee, the Assiniboine and Crosstown Credit Unions, and the Community Education Development Association (CEDA). Extending this community banking approach to Main Street businesses would need to involve the formation of a credit circle[27] where the collective has a stake in the success of other members in the circle.

5.3 Conclusion

It is clear that the North Main Task Force has taken a creative approach to dealing with the problems on Main Street. In light of key theoretical areas which deserved attention the strongest component of the strategy is the Neeginan concept which promotes autonomy of Aboriginal people in the Main Street Area and is a significant step toward the eventual establishment of urban Aboriginal self-government in Winnipeg. In addition the innovative physical design, emphasis on culture, and overall thematic perspective, deserves to be recognized.

Nevertheless with only $12.5 million the strategy suffers from gaps illustrating an uncohesive community development plan. The most notable of these is the weak social development component which, at least until this stage, has failed to fully engage all community members in the planning process. With the lack of funding to support the desperate need for concrete social initiatives such as social housing, education and training,

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[27] Each Credit Circle consists of a group of individuals within the community which receives the money through a line of credit from the Assiniboine Credit Union. After 30 hours of training on how to run a business the first loan is provided to members which consists of $1000. Once it is paid back they can get more as long as the entire credit circle is paid up.

a holistic addictions treatment program, and basic life-skills, it is highly questionable whether social agencies can afford to collaborate their resources to have a significant positive impact. In this light the overall strategy seems to be more of an attempt to contain poverty between two planned anchors (Neeginan and the Plaza) then to make a sincere attempt at alleviating it.

Along with these social problems the high number of vacant buildings and the negative image posed by the "skid row" hotels will continue to impose on the area, making it difficult to attract the private investment necessary to revive the commercial sector. Given these circumstances the City may be forced to provide incentives, however it is apparent that it must also remain mindful of the need for a balance between the social and commercial spheres to ensure a healthy and sustainable community environment. While such concerns may not have to be dealt with until mid-way through the implementation stage, they will demand a high level of planning and forethought in the very near future. This is of course based on the assumption that funding is forthcoming to allow the completion of a project which has been long awaited by Winnipeg residents.

VI Conclusion

The theoretical premise of this thesis has been that bottom-up community mobilization challenges institutional and centralizing structures by encouraging communities to govern themselves. With an emphasis on autonomy in decision-making, local self-reliance, and participatory democracy this notion has been espoused by many planning theorists as the fundamental ingredient to community empowerment. As was illustrated in Chapter II by Illich and McKnight the relevancy of this theory is most apparent in socioeconomically depressed neighbourhoods where professionals and institutions have disempowered community by establishing a "clienthood" or dependency on services.

In relating bottom-up community mobilization to the planning profession this thesis has questioned the role of planners and the processes by which they interact with community. The need to do so arises from the fact that although it is believed that bottom-up community mobilization is necessary for community empowerment, in most communities suffering socioeconomic depression, mobilization cannot occur without some form of external support. In this regard it is proposed that the conventional top-down approach to planning needs to give greater consideration toward a more inclusionary planning process with community. Both Etzioni and Arnstein for example have recognized the importance or need for consensus-building and "authentic" public participation as a means to "activate" and empower community. It is here that planners are faced with the immense challenge of establishing a balance between their acquired

expertise and the role which community ought to have in the various stages of a planning process.

In the case of North Main Street, admidst its physical and socioeconomic depression, it has been proposed in this thesis that both external support and a bottom-up community mobilization strategy are necessary for community empowerment to occur. However amidst the complexity of problems including poverty, substance abuse, racism, lack of education and training, unemployment, and housing, it has been shown that the Main Street Strip with its adjacent neighbourhoods is not a typically disempowered community. The severity of these existing problems are deeply rooted in Main Street's historical integration with Winnipeg, involving more than a century of growth and decline, including most destructively the alienation of Aboriginal people from the City. Moreover, in light of the several decades of government neglect it is clear that these problems have become more daunting making the potential for a community mobilization strategy even more distant.

Only recently under the current North Main Task Force Strategy are the grounds being established for a discourse regarding the mobilization and empowerment of the Main Street community. By no means does this suggest that the strategy, as it currently stands, offers enough funding or community involvement to actualize community empowerment; however it does recognize the potential for fostering this development on Main Street, which had not existed in the past. In fact looking at the North Main Task Force strategy in light of the complexity of problems on and about Main Street, it is certainly more commendable then previous attempts at revitalization which suffered from

a lack of funding, vision, commitment, and competency. The most notable feature of the contemporary strategy is that it is the first community planning initiative undertaken by the City which has given the Aboriginal community a leadership role in the formulation of the plan. Additionally the Task Force has included a broad range of professional stakeholders to provide a more holistic perspective of the key areas which need addressing in the Main Street context including Aboriginal culture, housing, social and economic development, and overall physical conditions.

Nevertheless it is apparent that despite its original proposal for an "extensive public consultation" process, the overall strategy suffers from a failure on the part of the Task Force to fully engage community stakeholders, primarily area residents and local businesses. Thus based on the theoretical premise of this thesis it is apparent that while the Task Force makes a gesture toward public participation, the planning process up until now has more closely resembled the conventional top-down approach to planning based on institutional and professional control. For this reason it is suggested that despite the fact that the Task Force has come up with an innovative plan, its ability or intention to empower, is misguided in its failure to create a process which lays the foundation for promoting grassroots community decision-making, self-reliance, and participatory democracy.

In addition the Task Force has left large gaps in the strategy by failing to adequately develop initiatives to address the pressing socioeconomic and physical problems on the Strip. While the strategy has proposed to establish anchors of development such as the Neeginan Medicine Wheel in the north, or the public Plaza

south of the Disraeli Freeway, it fails to adequately address the problems in between. With substance abuse as a major problem for example it would seem that one of the primary concerns of the Task Force would be to address the problems created by the high concentration of hotel/bars. It has been argued that these hotels do provide essential low-income housing yet they also facilitate, and will continue to facilitate, the destructive problem of substance abuse as long as they remain in such concentrated numbers.

As was suggested in the previous chapter the most viable solution seems to be the establishment of social housing on the Strip which would serve as a form of transitional housing for many hotel residents. Integrated into this housing much needed services such as addictions treatment, life-skills, and education training could be provided. To some extent these services are mentioned under the Task Force strategy, yet it almost seems as though it is taken for granted how much it would cost to develop and operate such programs. With virtually no funding toward initiatives in the social development sphere, one gets an uneasy feeling that the Task Force is relying on the unsecured charity which various social agencies can provide to the Main Street community.

Moreover, as was mentioned in Chapter IV there is the sense that social agencies are unwilling to establish the level of partnership or commitment necessary to make significant community changes. While partly attributable to the lack of resources, it also appears that there is a fear that social agencies will loose their autonomy and control of programs when overlaps in services become identified through partnerships. Under these circumstances the Illich-McKnight theme of institutions wanting to centralize and remain separate from the community interest is apparent. Nevertheless there is some

hope that under the Aboriginal Centre and Neeginan more effective and appropriate delivery of social services will be possible in the future. In a similar vein it remains to be seen if Aboriginal community in Manitoba is willing to invest private dollars toward Main Street in order to alleviate vacant buildings and space and revitalize the commercial sector.

To conclude it is evident that the North Main strategy suffers most importantly from a lack of funding which limits the ability of the Task Force to more effectively foster the socioeconomic development of the Strip. While $12.5 million is the most substantial funding which has been allocated to revitalizing the Main Street Strip, even the Task Force has identified that there is a shortage of funds to make the strategy sustainable. Yet while more public funding would allow for a significant improvement in the social development aspect through initiatives such as addictions treatment, fostering of life-skills, education and training, and social housing, a balance needs to be established between the public and private interests on Main Street. Perhaps only after many of the Task Force initiatives have been implemented, and the question of more investment is resolved, will it be possible to pass a judgment in this regard.

To end on the premise with which this thesis began, it remains to be seen what the future of bottom-up community mobilization and empowerment will be in relation to the planning profession. On the one hand it is believed that the relevancy of such a theory will become increasingly more important in light of the rising number of inner-city revitalization initiatives undertaken by local government. On the other hand if Winnipeg is demonstrative of other inner-city revitalization initiatives in Canada, it seems to be the

case that while government likes to acknowledge bottom-up mobilization in some form or other, they are slow to adopt a community development model which boldly challenges the conventional top-down approach. Political forces, time constraints, and limited funding for example remain obstacles which government has been unable to overcome in seeking a bottom-up inclusionary process. Nevertheless if the theory persists then it is not altogether utopian to assume that in the future public participation and bottom-up community mobilization will play a considerably more important role in the community development planning process.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY CODE BOOK

Survey Methodology

Three surveys were used to gather information regarding the a community perspective of the social, economic, and physical conditions of Winnipeg's Main Street Strip. The targeted population consisted of businesses, social agencies, and residents living within the 7 SRO hotels in the defined area (see Map X in Chapter IV). The list of these businesses, hotels, and social agencies are shown below, however due to the terms of confidentiality established prior to the survey implementation a listing of survey participants is not available. Nevertheless it can be noted that the response rate for both businesses and social agencies was high (88.8% for businesses and 87.5% for social agencies)

<u>Businesses</u>

1. Wah Hing Dollar Store
2. Original Food Bar
3. Chinatown Variety Store
4. Pawn Shop
5. Monty's Furniture on Main
6. Full House Grocery
7. Winnipeg Domestic Appliances
8. Norman's Meats
9. Royal Trading
10. Mitchell Fabrics
11. Main Meats (A & A Tax Service)
12. Gradient Manufacturing
13. Hallmark Jewelry
14. Exchange Cafe Chinese Restaurant
15. North Main Engineering
16. Italia Barbers
17. Eng E Dentist
18. Golden City
19. House of Travel & Wong Ken Agencies
20. Brentwood Construction
21. Chinese Dramatic Society
22. Keefer's Dim Sum
23. Wong John Custom Tailor
24. John's Barber Shop
25. Sumhay Restaurant
26. International Electronic Plus Corporation
27. New World Video
28. Marigold Restaurant
29. Kumkoon Restaurant
30. Furniture Clearance Centre
31. Factory Kitchens Direct
32. Kingston Shopping Mall Plaza
33. Health Food and Herbal
34. AAA Electric
35. Bunzy's Autobody

<u>Hotels</u> (used for residents and business survey)

1. McLaren Hotel
2. New Occidental Hotel
3. Bell Hotel
4. Manwin Hotel
5. Savoy Hotel
6. Patricia Hotel
7. Mount Royal Hotel

<u>Social Agencies</u>
1. Jack's Senior Citizens Home
2. Main Street Project (Main Stay and Street Project Food Bank)
3. Winnipeg Help All
4. Our Place (Chez Nous)
5. The Salvation Army
6. Aboriginal Centre
7. Chinese Benevolent Society
8. Ukrainian Cultural Centre

Sampling Methodology for Residents

In the case of business and social agencies the targeted area was small enough that all could be approached to participate in the survey. However due to the larger number of residents in the hotels a sample of the total population was used. This sampling procedure has been described as a means by which the surveyor can overcome the unpractical or unfeasible task of seeking to acquire information from every member of a population. An important question to be asked in this regard is to what degree a smaller proportion of a population can be used to represent a much larger population from which the subset has been chosen. Generally speaking, the greater the level of accuracy desired, and the more certain the researcher would like to be about the inferences to be made from the sample of the entire population, the larger the sample size must be (Rea & Parker, 108-112, 1992).

In choosing the sample size for the residents within the seven Main Street Hotels,

the *level of confidence* and the *confidence interval* had to be established[1]. Of the seven

hotels it was estimated that there was a population of 275 residents in the area (this figure

was confirmed through Statistics Canada, other reports, and hotel owners).   The formula

used to determine a representative sample size (n) is as follows:

$$n = \frac{Z^2\alpha \ [\ P \ (1-p) \ ] \ N}{Z^2\alpha[P(1-p)] + (N-1)C^2p}$$

Where:

N = size of population (275)
Z = level of confidence (1.96=95% confidence limit)
P = is unknown but most conservative way of dealing with this is to set the
    value of p at the portion which would result in the highest general
    equation for sample size. T his occurs when $P = .5$.
C = the margin of error, where .15 was chosen which means that the margin of
    error does not exceed $\pm 15\%$.

The general equation for an overall population of 275 with a desired 95% confidence limit

and a $\pm 15\%$ margin of error becomes as follows:

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 \ (.25) \ (277)}{(1.96)^2(.25) + 276(.015)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{(3.84) \ (.25) \ (277)}{(3.84)(.25)(276)(.0225)}$$

$$n = \frac{266}{7.21}$$

$$n = 37$$

Based on the above formula therefore a survey sample of 37 would be a

representative sample of the Main Street Population with a level of confidence of 95%.

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[1] The level of confidence is the degree of risk or error acceptable in a survey study. Typically researchers choose either a 95% or 99% level of confidence. At a 95% confidence level there is a 5% chance of error while at a 99% level there is only a 1% chance of error.

I Residents Questionnaire

1. Male__ Female__

2. Marital Status

a) Single__
b) Married__
c) Divorced__
d) Separated__

3. Do you have any children?

Yes__ No__

If yes, how many?

a) 1__
b) 2__
c) 3__
d) 4__
e) 5__
f) 6__

4. Do you live alone in the unit?

Yes__ No__

If no, how many people live in the unit?

__

What is the relation of this/these persons to you

a) Partner/spouse__
b) Parent__
c) Room
d) Other relative__
e) Friend__
f) Children
g) Sibling__

5. How much is your monthly rent?

a) $0-200__
b) $201-250__
c) $251-300__
d) $301-350__
e) $351-400__
f) $401-450__
g) $451-500__
h) $501-and over__

6. Which of the following utilities do you have access to?

	In Unit	In Building
a) Stove__	__	__
b) Fridge__	__	__
c) Adequate heating__	__	__
d) Electricity__	__	__
e) Bath__	__	__
f) Shower__	__	__
g) Sink__	__	__
h) Toilet__	__	__
i) Television__	__	__
j) Laundry__	__	__
k) Telephone__	__	__

7. Are you employed?

Yes__   No__

If yes full-time or part-time?

Full-time__   Part-time__

What type of work?_____

8. What is your source of income?

a) Wages__
b) Self-employed__
c) UIC__
d) Welfare__
e) Veteran's Pension__
f) Other_____
g) Don't know__

9. What is your household income per year?

a) Under $10,000__
b) $10,000-14,999__
c) $15,000-19,999__
d) $20,000-29,999__
e) $30,000-39,000__
f) Greater than $39,000__

10. In which age category do you belong?

a) 0-24__
b) 25-44__
c) 45-64__
d) 65 or over__

11. What is your highest level of education?

a) Less than grade nine__
b) 9-12 no degree__
c) High school__
d) Trade/non-university__
e) Some university__
f) University degree__
g) Don't know__

12. Where were you born?

a) Winnipeg__
b) Other town or city in Manitoba__
c) Other Canadian province__
d) Another country__

13. What is your ethnic background?

a) British__   f) Filipino__
b) Ukrainian   g) Chinese__
c) French__   h) Vietnamese__
d) German__   i) Other__
e) Aboriginal__ (Status__ Non-status__ Metis__ Inuit__)

14. How long have you been residing on or around the Main Street Strip?

a) Less than one month__
b) >1-3 months__
c) >4-6 months__
d) >6-11 months__
e) >1-2 years__
f) >3-5 years__
g) >6-10 years__
h) >10-20 years__
i) 20 years and over__
j) Don't know__

15. Where were you living prior to this?

a) Another hotel in the neighbourhood__
b) Apartment__
c) On the Street__
d) Salvation Army__
e) Hospital__
f) Institution__
g) Other_____
h) Don't know__

16. Have you ever been without a place to stay (have you ever slept rough)?

Yes__ No__

17. How do you usually get around in the neighbourhood?

a) Walk__
b) Bicycle__
c) Taxi__
d) Handi-transit__
e) Bus__
f) Car__
g) Other_____

18. Do you have any health problems?

Yes__
No__
Don't know__

If yes, what is the nature of the problem?_____

Do these health problems restrict your ability to perform daily tasks and activities?

a) Seriously restrict__
b) Moderately restrict__
c) Slightly restrict__
d) No restriction__

19. Which of the following improve the quality of life in your accommodation?

a) Elevators__
b) Handrails__
c) Wheel-chair ramps__
d) Custom Bathroom__
e) Windows and sunlight__
f) Larger space__
g) Getting rid of pests__
h) Other__
i) Nothing__
j) Don't know___

20. Where do you go most frequently when you want to be with other people?

a) Street__
b) Pool-hall__
c) Friend's place__
d) Church__
e) Bar__
f) Park__
g) Mission__
h) Nowhere__
i) Other__

21. Is there another place where you would go to be with other people if it existed in the neighbourhood?

Yes__

No__

Don't know__

If yes, where?__

22. What service facilities do you feel are most needed in the neighbourhood?

a) Recreational/Community Centre__
b) Education and employment training centre__
c) Health clinic__
d) Daycare__
e) Other__
f) Don't know__
g) Nothing__

23. How often do you frequent the pubs in the neighbourhood?

a) Hardly ever__
b) Once a week__
c) 2-3 times a week__
d) 4-6 times a week__
e) Never__

24. Do you go to the bar because

a) Nothing else to do__
b) Like to socialize with friends__
c) Like to listen to music__
d) Enjoy drinking__
e) Other_____
f) No response__
g) Don't know__

25. What physical changes are most needed in the neighbourhood (rank 1-3)?

a) More parks and green space__
b) Interior renovation of buildings__
c) More lighting__
d) Street-scaping__
e) Other_____
f) Don't know__

26. In the past the government has undertaken initiatives such as the Core Area Initiative, are you aware of the Winnipeg Development Agreement?

Yes__ No__

Who informed you about it?

a) Friend/neighbour__
b) City of Winnipeg__
c) Newspaper__
d) TV/Radio__
e) Other__

What do you think it can do for you in terms of meeting your needs?

_____

27. Are you aware of the WDA North Main Task Force?

Yes__ No__

If yes who informed you about it?

a) Friend/Neighbour__
b) City of Winnipeg__
c) Newspaper__
d) TV/Radio
e) Other__

28. What do you think is the biggest problem in the neighbourhood?

a) Crime__
b) Unemployment__
c) Safety__
d) Substance abuse__
e) Lack of affordable housing__
f) Image__
g) Prostitution
h) Condition of buildings__
i) Other__
j) Don't know__
h) No response__

29. Have you ever participated in any community group meetings?

Yes__ No__

If yes, of what kind?

_____

30. Would you be willing to meet with other community members to develop a community development strategy for the area?

Yes__
No__
Don't know__

31. What do you like most about the North Main Street Strip?

_____

32. What do you dislike most about the North Main Street Strip?

_____

33. Would you prefer to live outside of North Main Street?

Yes__
No__
Don't know__

If yes, where?
a) Another area of Winnipeg__
b) Outside of Winnipeg__
c) Outside of province__

34. Are you familiar with any of the following forms of government housing:

a) Co-operative housing__
b) Non-profit rental__
c) Public housing__
d) Other__

35. If yes would you prefer to live in any of them instead of your current place of residence?

If yes, what kind?

a) Co-operative__
b) Non-profit rental__
c) Public housing__
d) Other__

36. Are you aware of the services which the Aboriginal Centre provides?

Yes__ No__

If yes, which one(s)?

_____

Have you used any of these services in the past?

Yes__ No__

If yes, which one(s)?

_____

II Business Questionnaire

Name of Business_____

1. Are you familiar of the Winnipeg Development Agreement?

Yes __   No __

If yes which part?_____

2. Are you familiar with the North Main Task Force?

Yes __   No __

 If yes, how were you informed?

a) Friend/Neighbour__
b) The City of Winnipeg __
c) Newspaper __
d) TV/Radio__
e) Other _____

3. How long have you been operating this business in your community?

a) 0-2 years __
b) >2-5 years __
c) >5-10 years __
d) >10-15 years __
e) >15 or greater years __

4. How long do you intend to continue operating your business in the area?

a) As soon as I can sell __
b) 0-2 years__
c) >2-5 years__
d) >5-10 years__
e) >10-15 years__
f) >15 Years
g) No intention to sell__
h) Don't know__

5. Does your business like to request funds from the Winnipeg Development Agreement?

Yes __ No ___

If yes for what?_____

6. Would your business like to be involved in the North Main Community Development Program?

Yes__ No__

7. How many people does your business employ?

_____

8. What are the top three problems affecting your business (rank 1-3)?

a) Crime __
b) Too much traffic __
c) Alcohol and substance abuse __
d) Physical deterioration __
e) Lack of community cohesiveness __
f) Taxes__
g) Parking__
h) Zoning__
i) Other _____
j) Don't Know __

9. What three social initiatives are most needed to improve the social and economic condition of North Main Street (rank 1-3)?

a) An education and training program __
b) Social housing __
c) Greater cooperation amongst businesses, social agencies and residents __
d) Getting rid of drinking establishments __
e) Other_____
f) Don't Know __

10. What three physical changes are most needed in the neighbourhood (rank 1-3)?

a) Interior or exterior renovation of buildings __
b) More lighting __
c) More public parks and green-space __
d) Streetscaping__
e) Other _____
f) Don't Know __

11. Is your building in need of repairs?

Yes__ No__

If yes are they...

a) Minor renovations __
b) Major repairs __
c) Other _____

12. Have there been any minor renovations or repairs to your building such as painting or remodeling?

a) No __
b) In the last 6 months __
c) 7 months-2 years __
d) More than 2 years ago __
e) Don't Know __

13. Have there been any major structural renovations to your building?

Yes__ No__

If yes, when....

a) In the last 6 months __
b) 7 months-2 years __
c) More than 2 years ago __
d) Don't Know __

14. Would you be willing to sell your business if the opportunity arose?

Yes__ No__

15. Have you tried to sell your business in the past?

Yes__ No__

If yes what is the major impediment to re-sale?_____

16. Can you get insurance?

Yes__ No__

If Yes, what is your insurance rate?

_____

17. Do the banks in the area treat you favorably because of your location?

Yes__
No__
Don't Know __

18. Briefly, what is it that keeps you in the Main Street Area?

_____

19. What is it that you like best about this area?

a) Location __
b) People __
c) Physical characteristics __
d) Other _____
e) Nothing __

20. What three service facilities do you feel would help the most in advancing the area (rank 1-3)?

a) A Recreation/community centre __
b) A Day Care __
c) Education and employment training __
d) Health clinic__
e) A cultural centre__
f) Other _____
g) Don't Know __
h) Nothing __

Questions 21-27 are to be directed to hotel owners only.

21. How many rooms does your hotel have to rent? ____

22. Of your present "guests" how many have resided in your hotel for.....

a) less than one month?__
b) more than one month?__
c) more than six months?__
d) more than one year?__
e) more than 5 years?__

23. Do you only rent on a monthly basis?

Yes __ No __

24. How many vacancies do you presently have? __

25. How many guests have been evicted in the past 2 years? __

For what reason?_____

26. Why do they choose to live here? _____

27. What is the ethnic breakdown of your residents (in percent)?

a) British__   f) Filipino__
b) Ukrainian   g) Chinese__
c) French__   h) Vietnamese__
d) German__   i) Other_____
e) Aboriginal__ (Status__ Non-status__ Metis__ Inuit__)

28. Have you participated in formal group meetings relating to your community in the
    past?

Yes __ No __

If Yes which ones?

a) Business __
b) Resident community groups __
c) Social agencies/organizations __
d) Other _____

29. In your opinion where would be the best place to hold possible community meetings for the North Main Street Neighbourhood?

a) City Hall__
b) Aboriginal Centre__
c) Museum of Man and Nature__
d) Rotate Locations ___
e) Other __

30. Would you be willing to attend if meetings were held at this location?

Yes__
No__
Don't know__

At a different location?

Yes__
No__
Don't know__

31. What do you think would be the best way of encouraging participation in government decision making (Rank 1-3)?

a) A bi-weekly newsletter __
b) A Main Street Strip BIZ (a organization consisting businesses in the area) __
c) Community meetings __
d) Hire a community worker __
e) Appointed WDA committee__
f) Other _____
g) Don't Know __

32. To what degree that you are aware has the City of Winnipeg supported the business community in North Main Street in the past?

a) None __
b) A little __
c) Quite extensively __
d) A great deal __
e) Don't know__

The Provincial Government?

a) None__
b) A little__
c) Quite extensively
d) A great deal__
e) Don't know__

The Federal Government?

a) None__
b) A little__
c) Quite extensively__
d) A great deal__
e) Don't know__

33. Have you applied for any government funding in the last 5 years?

Yes __ No __

If yes from who?_____

34. Have you received any government funding in the last 5 years?

Yes __ No __

If yes from whom? _____
How much? _____
For what? _____

35. The success of Corydon Avenue has been attributed largely to its ethnic theme as the "Little Italy" of Winnipeg. Do you think an more cohesive ethnic or cultural focus could improve the Main Street image?

Yes__ No__

Why?_____

If yes what do you think that ethnic or cultural focus might consist of?

_____

36. Are you familiar with the Neeginan concept (proposal for an ethnic quarter for Aboriginal people)?

Yes__ No__

37. Would the Main Street Area be an appropriate location for an Aboriginal quarter?

Yes__ No__

Why?_____

38. What do you like most about the North Main Street Strip?

_____

39. What do you dislike most about the North Main Street Strip?

III Social Agency Questionnaire

1. Name of agency (optional)

_____

2. Are you aware of the Winnipeg Development Agreement?

Yes __   No __

If yes which part? _____

3. Are you aware of the WDA North Main Street Development Strategy?

Yes __   No __

 If yes, how were you informed?

a) Friend/Neighbour
b)The City of Winnipeg __
c) Newspaper__
d) TV/Radio__
e) Other _____

4. Does your agency/organization intend to apply for funding from the Winnipeg
     Development Agreement?

Yes __ No __

If yes through what program ?_____

What for?_____

5. Does your agency/organization intend to be involved in the development of the North
     Main Development Strategy?

Yes__ No__

 6. How long has your agency/organization been located in the area?

a) 0-2 years __
b) >2-5 years __
c) >5-10 years __
e) >10-15 years __
f) >15 or greater years __

7. How long has your agency/organization been active in the area?

a) 0-2 years __
b) >2-5 years __
c) >5-10 years __
e) >10-15 years __
f) >15 or greater years __

8. How many people does your agency/organization currently employ? __

9. How many volunteers are currently working for your agency/organization? __

10. Have you applied for funding support in the last 5 years?

Yes __ No __

If Yes from whom? _____

11. Have you received any funding support in the last 5 years?

Yes __ No __

If yes from whom? _____
How much? _____
For what? _____

12. Have you, or will you apply for funding through the WDA?

Yes__ No__

If yes, through which programs?_____

13. Where do most of your clients come from?_____

Generally what are their primary concerns?_____

14. What type of services does your agency/organization provide?

a) Counseling __
b) Emergency shelter __
c) Lodging__
d) Food __
e) Training __
f) Health__
g) Other_____

15. Are there other social agencies/organizations that you are aware which provide a similar service to yours?

Yes __ No __

If yes which one(s) _____

16. What do you think are the top three social problems in North Main Street (rank 1-3)?

a) Crime __
b) Unemployment __
c) Safety __
c) Alcohol and substance abuse __
d) Lack of affordable housing __
e) Other _____

17. What top three service facilities do you feel are most needed in the neighbourhood (rank 1-3)?

a) Recreational/ community centre __
b) A day care __
c) Education and employment training __
d) Health clinic __
e) Other _____

18. What do you feel are the three most needed initiatives to improve the social and economic situation of North Main Street (rank 1-3)?

a) Renovate existing buildings __
b) An education and training program __
c) Social housing __
d) Greater cooperation amongst businesses, residents, and social agencies __
e) Get rid of drinking establishments __
f) Other _____

19. What three physical changes are most needed in the neighbourhood (rank 1-3)?

a) Interior renovation of buildings __
b) Exterior renovation of buildings
c) More lighting __
d) More public parks and green-space __
e) Streetscaping __
f) Other _____

20. Who is most responsible for solving the social problems in the neighbourhood?

a) Social Agencies __
b) Businesses __
c) Residents __
d) Government __
e) All of the above __
f) Other __

21. In your opinion to what degree has the City of Winnipeg supported the social agencies in the in North Main Street community in the past?

a) None __
b) A little __
c) Quite extensively __
d) A great deal __
e) Don't know __

And the Provincial Government?

a) None __
b) A little __
c) Quite extensively __
d) A great deal __
e) Don't know __

And the Federal Government?

a) None __
b) A little __
c) Quite extensively __
d) A great deal __
e) Don't know __

22. Have you participated in formal group meetings relating to your North Main Street in the past?

Yes__ No__

If yes, which ones?

a) Business__
b) Resident community groups__
c) Social organizations__
e) Other__

23. In your opinion where would be the best place to hold possible community meetings for the North Main Street Neighbourhood?

a) Aboriginal Centre__
b) Your business or agency__
c) Rotate locations for each meeting__
d) Other_____

24. Would you be willing to attend if meetings were held at this location?

Yes__ No__

At a different location?

Yes__ No__

25. What do you think would be the best way of mobilizing interests of community members (rank 1-3)?

a) A bi-weekly newsletter __
b) A Main Street BIZ __
c) Open door community meetings __
d) Hire a community worker __
e) Through an appointed WDA committee __
f) Other _____

26. The success of Corydon Avenue has been attributed largely to its ethnic theme as the "Little Italy" of Winnipeg. Do you think an more cohesive ethnic or cultural focus could improve the Main Street image?

Yes__ No__

Why?_____

27. Are you familiar with the Neeginan concept (proposal for an ethnic quarter for Aboriginal people?

Yes__ No__

28. Would the Main Street Area be an appropriate location for an Aboriginal quarter?

Yes__ No__

Why?_____

29. What do you like most about the North Main Street area?

_____

30. What do you dislike most about the North Main Street area?

_____

SINGLE ROOM OCCUPANT RESULTS

Variable 1 Questionnaire Type

Hotel Residents	100%

Variable 2 Calls Prior to Interview Completion

First Call	59%
Second Call	33%
Third Call	8%

Variable 3 Gender of Respondent

Male	90%
Female	10%

Variable 4 Marital Status

Single	72.5%
Married	2.5%
Divorced	12.5%
Separated	10.0%
Widowed	2.5%

Variable 5 Number of Children

None	57.5%
One	10.0%
Two	12.5%
Three	2.5%
Four	5.0%
More Than Four	12.5%

Variable 6 Persons Residing in Room

Living Alone	98.0%
Living With Partner	2.0%

Variable 7 Cost of Rent

$0-150	5%
$150-$250	32.5%
$251-$300	33%
$301-$350	30%

Variable 8 SRO Utilities

	No	In Unit	In Building
Stove	75%	5%	20%
Fridge	28%	70%	2%
Adequate Heating	15%	85%	85%
Electricity	0%	100%	100%
Bath	5%	33%	62%
Shower	5%	38%	57%
Sink	0%	93%	7%
Toilet	0%	48%	52%
Television	15%	78%	8%
Laundry Facilities	45%	5%	50%
Telephone	0%	48%	52%

Variable 9 Employment Status

Employed	10%
Unemployed	90%

Variable 10 Source of Income

Wages	5%
Self Employed	5%
UIC	10%
Welfare	60%
Old Age Pension	20%

Variable 11 Household Income

Under $10,000	60%
$10,001-$15,000	35%
$15,001-$19,000	5%

Variable 12 Age Category

0-24	2.5%
25-44	25%
45-64	47.5%
65 and Over	25%

Variable 13 Education Levels

Less than Grade Nine	52%
9-12 no Degree	28%
High School With Degree	7%
Some University	10%
University Degree	3%

Variable 14 Place of Birth

Winnipeg	23%
MB Town or City	38%
Reserve	13%
Other Canadian Province	35%
Other Country	13%

Variable 15 Ethnic Origin

Aboriginal	35%
British	7.5%
German	7.5%
Ukrainian	2.5%
French	2.5%
Other	20%
Mixed Responses	25%

Variable 16 Period of Residence on Strip

Less than 1 to 3 Months	15%
Greater than 3 to 6 Months	10%
Greater than 6 Months to 2 Years	5%
Greater than 2 to 5 Years	17.5%
Greater than 5 to 10 Years	17.5%
Greater than 10 to 20 Years	15
Greater than 20 Years	20%

Variable 17 Place of Previous Residence

Another Neighbourhood Hotel	15%
Elsewhere in City	25%
Elsewhere in Manitoba	7.5%
Another Province	37.5%
Reserve	10.0%
Another Country	2.5%
Don't Know	2.5%

Variable 18 Ever Slept on Street (rough)

Yes	20%
No	80%

Variable 19 Common Mode of Travel

Walking	75.0%
Bike	2.5%
Bus and Walk	15.0%
Handi Transit	5.0%
Taxi and Handi Transit	2.5%

Variable 20 Health Problems

Yes	45%
No	55%

Variable 21 Impeded Mobility Due to Health

Seriously Restricted	12.5%
Moderately Restricted	12.5%
Slightly Restricted	17.5%
No Restriction	2.5%
Not Applicable	55%

Variable 22 Places Gone to Be With People

Street	10%
Bar	30%
Friend's Place	35%
Nowhere	5%
Other	10%
No Response	10%

Variable 23 Needed Service Facilities

Recreational Centre	25%
Education and Training	5%
Health Clinic	2.5%
Nothing	15.0%
Other	17.5%
Don't Know	35.0%

Variable 24 How Often Frequent Pubs

Never	17.5%
Hardly Ever	25%
Once a Week	15%
2-3 Times a Week	15%
4-6 Times a Week	27.5%

Variable 25 Aware of WDA

Yes	12.5%
No	87.5%

Variable 26 Aware of WDA Main Street Task Force

Yes	2.5%
No	97.5%

Variable 27 Previous Participation in Meetings

Yes	7.5%
No	92.5%

Variable 28 Willing to Participate in Com. Meetings

Yes	47.5%
No	47.5%
Don't Know	5%

Variable 29 Prefer to Live Outside Main Street Area

Yes	47.5%
No	47.5%
Don't Know	5%

Variable 30 Prefer to Live Outside of Main Street Area

Yes	47.5%
No	47.5%
Don't Know	5%

Variable 31 Other Place of Preference

Another Area of City	35%
Outside of City	15%
Outside of Province	2.5%
Don't Know	2.5%
Not Applicable	45%

Variable 32 Familiarity With Government Housing

Yes	55%
No	45%

Variable 33 Desire to Live in Government Housing

Yes	30%
No	60%
Don't Know	10%

Variable 34 Biggest Problem In Neighbourhood

Crime	23%
Substance Abuse	27.5%
Unemployment	10%
Safety	10%
Lack of Affordable Housing	5%
Prostitution	2.5%
Condition of Buildings	2.5%
Other	7.5%
Don't Know	2.5%

BUSINESS QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Variable 1 Questionnaire Type
Business	100%

Variable 2 Gender of Respondent
Male	68%
Female	32%

Variable 3 Calls Prior to Interview Completion
First Time	41%
Second Time	22%
Third Time	8%
Fourth Time	24%
Fifth Time	5%

Variable 4 Format of Interview
In Person	59%
Self Administered	41%

Variable 5 WDA Awareness
Yes	35%
No	65%

Variable 6 Which Part of WDA
Main Street	27%
All	5%
None	68%

Variable 7 Awareness of Task Force
Yes	24%
No	76%

Variable 8 Period of Time Located in Area
0-2 Years	16%
Greater than 2-5 Years	
Greater than 5-10 Years	27%
Greater than 10-15 Years	16%
Greater than 15 Years	32%

Variable 9 Intended Period of Staying in Area
As Soon as Can Sell	24%
0-2 Years	8%
Greater than 2 to Five Years	5%
Greater than 5 to Ten Years	5%
Greater than 10 to 15 Years	5%
No Intention of Selling	43%
Don't Know	3%

Variable 10 Want to Request WDA Funding
Yes	51%
No	41%
Don't Know	8%

Variable 11 Want to be Involved in WDA Strategy
Yes	57%
No	30%
Don't Know	14%

Variable 12 Number People Employed By Bus.
1-2 Persons	38%
3-5 Persons	18%
6-10 Persons	24%
11-20 Persons	11%
21-40 Persons	9%

Variable 13 Number One Problem Affecting Bus.
Crime	22%
Alcohol and Substance Abuse	22%
Physical Deterioration	14%
Taxes	14%
Parking	19%
Other	11%

Variable 14 Most Needed Social Initiatives
Education and Training	22%
Social Housing	22%
More Cooperation of Bus.. Resid.. & Social Agen.	14%
Getting Rid of Bars	22%
Other	16%
Don't Know	2%

Variable 15 Most Needed Physical Initiatives
Interior and Exterior Renovation of Buildings	35%
Building Demolition's	30%
More Lighting	5%
More Public Parks and Green-space	10%
Streetscaping	5%
Other	5%
Don't Know	10%

Variable 16 Building In Need of Repairs
Yes	76%
No	24%

Variable 17 Minor or Major Repairs
Minor	51%
Major	24%
Not Applicable	22%

Variable 18 Minor Building Renovations In Past

In Last 6 Months	43%
More than 6 Months to 2 Years	24%
More than 2 Years Ago	24%
None Made	9%

Variable 19 Major Structural Renovations

In Last 6 Months	5%
More Than 6 Months Ago	5%
More Than 2 Years Ago	11%
No Structural Renovations	78%

Variable 20 Want To Sell Business

Yes	76%
No	24%

Variable 21 Attempted to Sell Business In Past

Yes	22%
No	78%

Variable 22 Able to Get Insurance

Yes	89%
No	11%

Variable 23 Favorable Treatment From Banks

Yes	62%
No	22%
Don't Know	3%
No Response	14%

Variable 24 Like Best About the Area

Location	33%
People	32%
Physical Characteristics	3%
Other	14%
Nothing	16%
No Response	3%

Variable 25 Needed Service Facilities

Recreation or Community Centre	22%
Education & Employment Training	16%
Health Clinic	8%
Cultural Centre	11%
Other	8%
Don't Know	16%
Nothing	19%

Variable 26 Past Participation in Group Meetings

Yes	43%
No	57%

Variable 27 Type of Meetings

Business	41%
Resident Community Groups	5%
Social Agencies	54%

Variable 28 Best Location For Meetings

City Hall	11%
Aboriginal Centre	32%
Museum of Man and Nature	5%
Rotate Locations	32%
Other	14%
Don't Know	5%

Variable 29 Willing To Attend Meetings

Yes	81%
No	8%
Don't Know	11%

Variable 30 Support of Business by City

None	57%
A Little	30%
A Great Deal	3%
Don't Know	5%

Variable 31 Support of Business by Province

None	62%
A Little	24%
A Great Deal	3%
Don't Know	11%

Variable 32 Support of Business by Fed. Gov.

None	65%
A Little	22%
A Great Deal	3%
Don't Know	11%

Variable 33 Received Any Funding In Last Five Years

Yes	5%
No	95%

Variable 34 Need Main Street Cultural Theme

Yes	57%
No	22%
Don't Know	22%

Variable 35 Appropriate Place for Aboriginal Focus

Yes	40%
No	35%

Variable 36 Best Way Of Organizing Community

Bi-weekly Newsletter	19%
Main Street BIZ	11%
Community Meeting	22%
Community Worker	14%
WDA Committee	8%
Other	3%
Don't Know	23%

Variable 42 Ethnic Breakdown According to Owners

British	59
Aboriginal	141
Ukrainian	10
German	5
Chinese	5
Other	15

Variable 37 Number of Rooms in Hotel

Hotel one	50
Hotel two	57
Hotel three	24
Hotel four	27
Hotel five	40
Hotel six	40
Hotel seven	150
Total	388

Variable 38 Number of Vacancies Per Hotel

Hotel One	10
Hotel Two	25
Hotel Three	4
Hotel Four	10
Hotel Five	13
Hotel Six	30
Hotel Seven	30
Total	122

Variable 39 Period of Hotel Residents

Less than 1 Month	17
More than 1 to 6 Months	33
More than 6 Months Year	57
More than 1 Year	95
More than 5 Years	67

Variable 40 Only Rent on Monthly Basis

Yes	4
No	3

Variable 41 Number of Evictions in Past 2 Years

Total	33

SOCIAL AGENCY QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Variable 1 Questionnaire Type
Social Agency	100%

Variable 2 Gender Of Respondent
Male	35%
Female	65%

Variable 3 Calls Prior To Interview Completion
First Call	36%
Second Call	16%
Third Call	16%
Fourth Call	16%
Fifth Call	16%

Variable 4 WDA Awareness
Yes	50%
No	50%

Variable 5 Task Force Awareness
Yes	65%
No	35%

Variable 6 Want to Apply For Funding
Yes	50%
No	50%

Variable 7 Want to Participate in WDA Main Street
Yes	83%
No	17%

Variable 8 Length of Time in Area
0-2 Years	0%
Greater than 2-5 Years	15%
Greater than 5-10 Years	35%
Greater than 10-15 Years	0%
Greater than 15 Years	50%

Variable 9 Length of Time Active in Area
0-2 Years	0%
Greater than 2-5 Years	15%
Greater than 5-10 Years	15%
Greater than 10-15 Years	0%
Greater than 15 Years	70%

Variable 10 Applied For Government Funding Past Five Years
Yes	50%
No	50%

Variable 11 Funding Received From
Federal Provincial	34%
WDA	16%
WPG Foundation	16%
None	34%

Variable 12 Similar Services Provided by other Agen.
Yes	35%
No	65%

Variable 13 Most Needed Initiatives
Renovate Existing Buildings	16%
Education and Training Programs	16%
Social Housing	16%
Cooperation of Bus., Social Agen., and Resid.	52%

Variable 14 Needed Physical Changes
Renovation of Buildings	52%
More Lighting	16%
More Public Parks and Green Space	16%
Streetscaping	0%
Don't Know	16%

Variable 15 Support of Social Agencies in Past by City
None	35%
A Little	50%
A Great Deal	0%
Don't Know	16%

Variable 16 Support of Social Agencies in Past by Prov.
None	35%
A Little	50%
A Great Deal	16%
Don't Know	0%

Variable 17 Support of Social Agencies From Fed. Gov.
None	50%
A Little	35%
A Great Deal	15%
Don't Know	0%

Variable 18 Participation in Community Meetings In Past
Yes	65%
No	35%

Variable 19 Best Place For Community Meetings
City Hall	16%
Aboriginal Centre	16%
Rotate Locations	50%
Museum of Man and Nature	16%

Variable 20 Best Way Of Organizing Community		Variable 28 Type of Community Meetings	
Bi-Weekly Newsletter	16%	Business	16%
Main Street BIZ	0%	Social Agencies	16%
Community Meetings	16%	Police (Resident Advisory Group)	16%
Community Worker	50%	WDA	16%
WDA Task Force	0%	Not Applicable	32%
Don't Know	16%		

Variable 21 Need For Ethnic or Cultural Focus For Main Street

Yes	50%
No	50%

Variable 22 Appropriate Place for Aboriginal Focus

Yes	65%
No	35%

Variable 23 Number of Persons Employed By Agency

1 to 2	16%
3 to 5	16%
6 to 20	0%
21-60	50%
61-150	0%
151-200	16%

Variable 24 Where Most Clients Come From

Throughout Winnipeg	18%
North End	32%
Main Street Strip	50%

Variable 25 Services Provided By Organization

Day Drop in Centre	16%
Multipurpose	50%
Lodging, Health	16%
Temporary Employment	16%

Variable 26 Number One Social Problem

Crime	0%
Unemployment	16%
Safety	0%
Alcohol and Substance Abuse	50%
Lack of Affordable Housing	32%
Other	0%

Variable 27 Needed Service Facilities

Day Care	16%
Youth Drop in Centre	16%
Health Clinic	16%
Addictions Treatment Centre	32%
Education and Employment Training	16%

APPENDIX B: TASK FORCE COMMITTEE, MAPS, AND FIGURES

Task Force Committee

Joe Bova-Co-Chair

Mary Richard-Co-Chair

Mr. Amaro Silva, Councillor of City of Wpg

Mr. John Prystanski, Councillor of City of Wpg

Mae Louise Campbell, Aboriginal Elder

Mr. Lawrence Houle, Aboriginal Elder

Mr. Paul Moist, Canadian Union of Public Employees

Mr. Larry Soldier, Anishinaabe Mazaska Capital Corporation

Mr. Peter Washchyshyn, Ukranian Cultural and Education Centre

Chief David Cassels, Winnipeg Police Service

Mr. Archie Arnott, Royal Bank of Canada

Mr. Roy Nichol, Manitoba Homebuilders Assoc.

Ms Paula Mitchell, Mitchell Fabrics

Mr. David Kilgour, St. Andrew's Society

Mr. David Angus, Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce

Dr. June James, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature

Mr. Tom Yauk, Commissioner of Planning and Community Services

Mr. Leroy Wood, Aboriginal youth representative

Ms Myra Guiboche, Aboriginal youth representative

Task Force Sub-Committees

NEEGINAN
Mrs. M. Richard-Chair
Mr. W. Helgason, Social Planning Council
Mr. L. Soldier, Anishinabe Mazaska Capital
Corporation
Mr. B. Munroe, Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg
Mae Louise Campbell, Aboriginal Elder
Mr. L. Wood, Aboriginal youth representative
Ms M. McCormick, Aboriginal Centre
Mr. L. Houle, Aboriginal Elder
Mr. D. Johnston, City of Winnipeg
Mr. R. McGowan Russel Design
Mr. A. Baronas, The Algis Corporation

MAIN STREET/COMMERCIAL
Ms P. Mitchell, Mitchell Fabrics- Co-Chair
Mr. D. Angus, Winnipeg Chamber of
Commerce-Co-Chair
Ms K. Pavlik, Manitoba Museum
Mr. R. McGowan Russel Design
Mr. J. Cassidy, City of Winnipeg
Ms V. Buckley, City of Winnipeg

CULTURAL -Victoria Park Working Group
Mr. P. Moist, CUPE-Chair
Mr. G. Friesen, University of Manitoba
Ms S. Reilly, Manitoba Museum
Mr. G. Siamandas, Heritage consultant
Ms K Cann, City of Winnipeg
Mr. N. Reilly, University of Manitoba
Mr. K. Raban, City of Winnipeg
Mr. J. Kiernan, City of Winnipeg
Mr. J. Cassidy, City of Winnipeg
Ms V. Buckley, City of Winnipeg

CULTURAL-Ukranian Cultural &
Educational Committee
Mr. P. Washchyshyn
Ms V. Buckley, City of Winnipeg

CULTURAL-St. Andrew's Society
Mr. D. Kilgour, St. Andrew's Society-Chair
Ms V. Buckley, City of Winnipeg

HOUSING
Mr. R. Nichol, Manitoba Homebuilders Assoc.-Chair
Mr L. Soldier, Anishinabe Mazaska Capital Corp.
Ms L. McFayden, Manitoba Housing
Mr. T. Yauk, City of Winnipeg
Mr. J. Cassidy, City of Winnipeg
Mr. D. Johnston, City of Winnipeg
Ms V. Buckley, City of Winnipeg

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
Mr. T. Yauk, City of Winnipeg. Chair
Mr. J. Rodgers, Main Street Project
Ms U. Stellman, City of Winnipeg
Mr. R. Nichol, Manitoba Homebuilders Association
Ms R. McCorrison, Aboriginal Council of Winnipeg
Ms J. Hill, Ma Mawi Wi Chi Itata
Mr. E. Horsman, Canadian Heritage
Mr. O.Buffie, Western Economic Diversification
Mr. S. Gillies, Western Economic Diversification
Mr. W. Helgason, Social Planning Council
Mr. D. Lezubski, Social Planning Council
Mr. A. Milton, Social Planning Council
Ms D. Daniels, Annishnaabe Oway-Ishi
Ms D. Spence, North Point Douglas Residents Assoc.
Mr. D. Johnston, City of Winnipeg
Ms L. Branconier, City of Winnipeg

ABORIGINAL INVESTMENT
Mr. A. Arnott, Royal Bank-Chair
Mr. L. Soldier, Anishinaabe Mazaska Capital Corp.
Mr. D. Angus, Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce
Mr. D. Kalcsics, City of Winnipeg
Mr. G. Joynt, City of Winnipeg
Mr. B. Rosnoski, City of Winnipeg

Source: *City of Winnipeg. Main Street Sub-Areas. Land and Development.*

Figure XXV: Proposed Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre

Source: Ukrainian Cultural and Education Centre. Design by Magnus Johnson Architects. 1996-1997.

Streetscaping along Higgins Ave.

Austin St. Closed Off

Transition Zone from North Main St.
to Aboriginal Cultural District
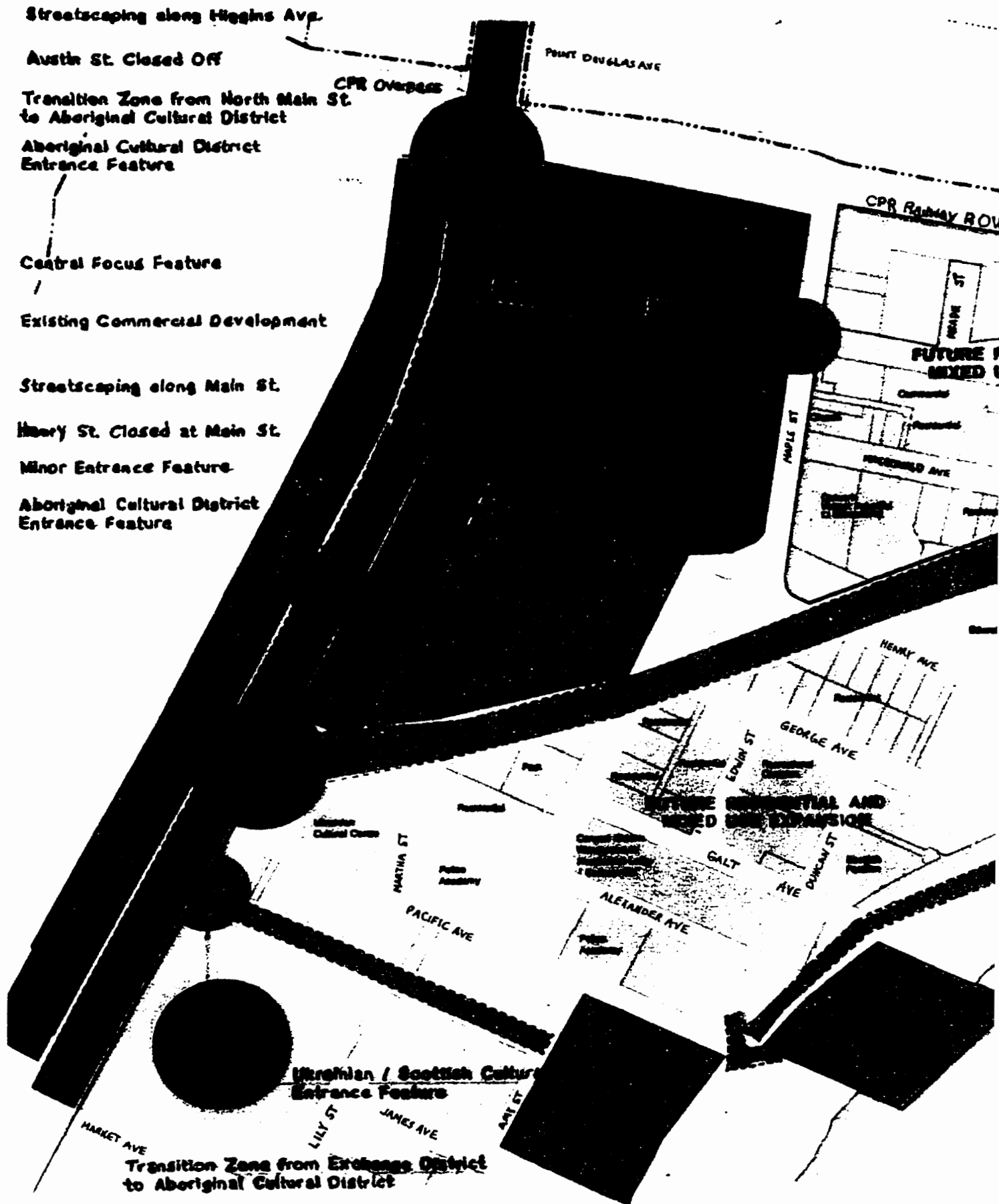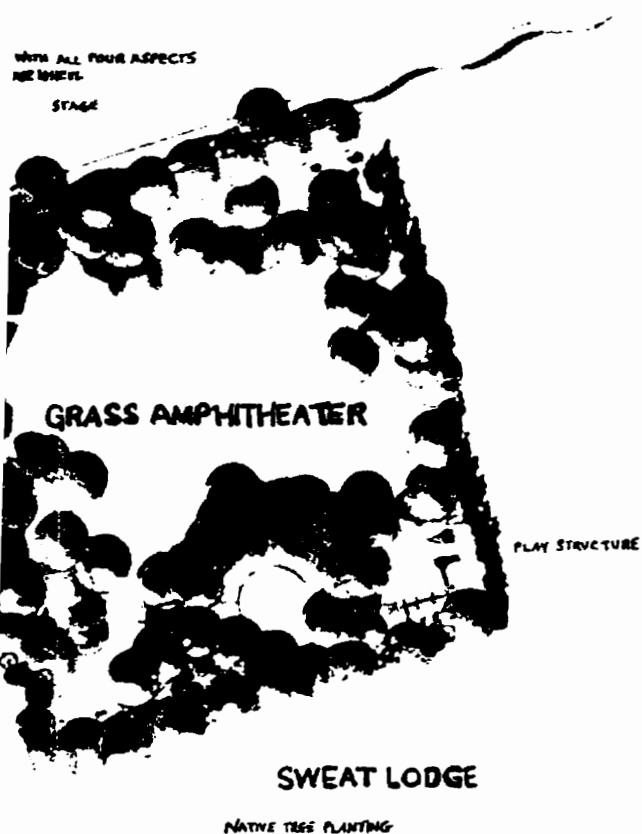
Aboriginal Cultural District
Entrance Feature

Central Focus Feature

Existing Commercial Development

Streetscaping along Main St.

Henry St. Closed at Main St.

Minor Entrance Feature

Aboriginal Cultural District
Entrance Feature

CPR Overpass

POINT DOUGLAS AVE

CPR Railway ROW

MAIN ST

FUTURE
MIXED

MAPLE ST

HENRY AVE

GEORGE AVE

EDWIN ST

GALT AVE

DUNCAN ST

ALEXANDER AVE

MARTHA ST

PACIFIC AVE

Ukrainian / Scottish Cultural
Entrance Feature

LILY ST

JAMES AVE

AIKINS ST

MARKET AVE

Transition Zone from Exchange District
to Aboriginal Cultural District

SUTHERLAND
AVE

Aboriginal Cultural District
Entrance Feature

OW

RESIDENTIAL AND
D USE EXPANSION

HEATON
AVE

Scenic Drive and Pedestrian /
Bicycle Link to Point Douglas

Alexander Docks Redevelopment

RED RIVER

Victoria Park Redevelopment

Riverwalk Extension

Figure 4

NORTH MAIN ST. TASK FORCE

CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT
STRATEGY

MAIN ST

PLOTS OF NATIVE PLANT MATERIAL AND FEATURE TO BE BUILT FOR RESTORATION

ADJUST PLAN TO ACCOMODATE PRINCESS HOTEL IF TO REMAIN

FOUNTAIN OF MEDIC

NORTH GATE (WHITE)

WEST GATE (BLACK)   TORCHES

FOUNTAIN

WATER

ROUND HOUSE

OPEN GATHERING AREA

SOUTH GATE (RED)

ROCK

COMMERCIAL

BOSQUE

STONE BENCHES

PATIO

NITOBEAN COMMUNITY GARDENS

TREE

HIGGINS AVE

EAST GATE (YELLOW)

MARTHA ST

AUSTIN ST

RESIDENTIAL

MULTI-USE RECREATION CENTRE

RESIDENTIAL

RESIDENTIAL

MAPLE ST

WITH ALL FOUR ASPECTS
THE WHEEL

STAGE

GRASS AMPHITHEATER

PLAY STRUCTURE

SWEAT LODGE

NATIVE TREE PLANTING

ABORIGINAL
CULTURAL CENTRE

Figure 5

NORTH MAIN ST. TASK FORCE

MAIN ST.   NEEGINAN ENLARGEMENT

PLAZA OF THE NATIONS
TO INCLUDE SCULPTURED PAINTED ROCK ENTRANCE
FEATURE AND ETERNAL FLAME SET IN ROCK POOL

UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CENTRE

ALEXANDER AVE

DISRAELI FR

LILY ST

MARTHA ST

MAIN ST

EATONS WAREHOUSE

RUPERT AVE

MAIN ST STREETSCAPING

PROPOSED TRANSIT TERMINAL

HYDRO
SUBSTATION

MUSEUM OF
MAN AND NATURE

MTC WAREHOUSE

CENTENNIAL CONCERT HALL

AMY ST

LILY ST

JAMES AVE

PROPOSED RESIDENTIAL
DEVELOPMENT

MARKET AVE

ELGIN AVE

BERTHA ST

EONIN ST

GEORGE AVE

DUNCAN ST

SCOTTISH
PAVILLION

GALT AVE

RIVERSIDE DRIVE
TO INCLUDE BICYCLE AND PEDESTRIAN PATHS
PLANTING AND TWO LANES OF TRAFFIC

AVE STREETSCAPING
PEDESTRIAN LIGHTING
YARD TREES

STREETSCAPING
PEDESTRIAN LIGHTING
YARD TREES

ALEXANDER
DOCKS

RED RIVER

EXTENSION OF RIVERWALK

HISTORY OF WINNIPEG EXPERIENCE
INTERPRETIVE PARK

Figure 10

NORTH MAIN ST. TASK FORCE
SOUTH EAST CULTURAL DISTRICT

OPTION 1

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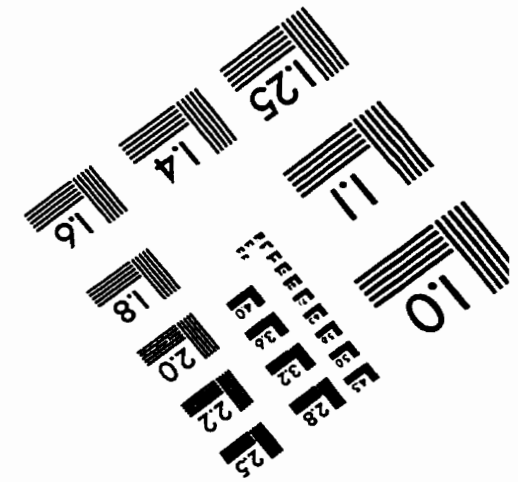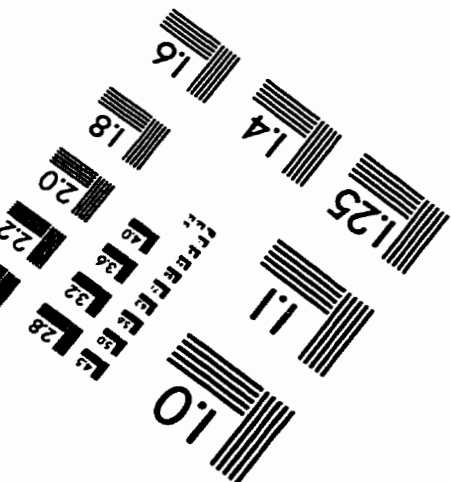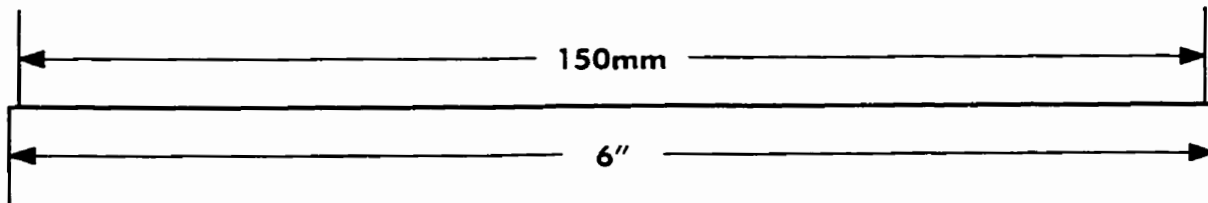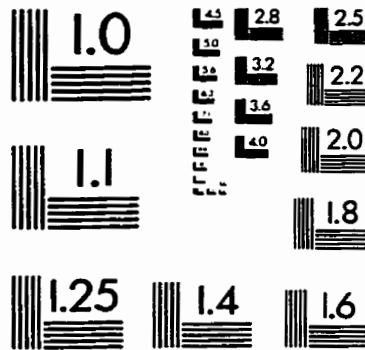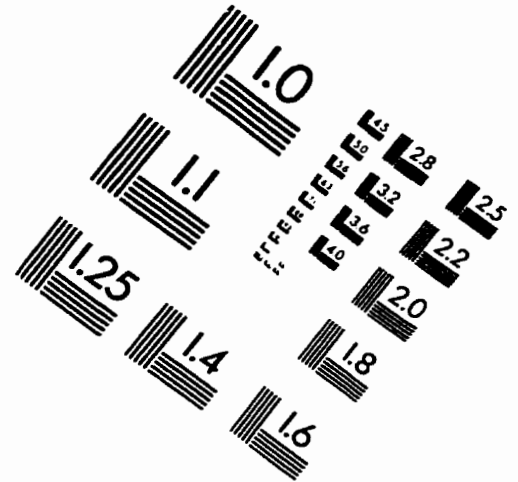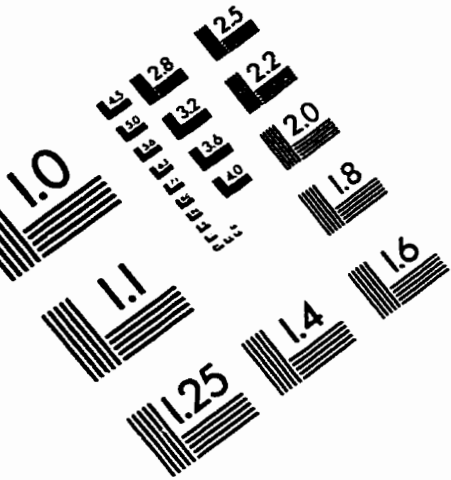
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