the divided prairie city

Income Inequality Among Winnipeg's Neighbourhoods, 1970–2010

Edited by Jino Distasio and Andrew Kaufman

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Tom Carter, Robert Galston, Sarah Leeson-Klym, Christopher Leo, Brian Lorch, Mike Maunder, Evelyn Peters, Brendan Reimer, Martin Sandhurst, and Gina Sylvestre.

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The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) is an independent research arm of the University of Winnipeg. Since 1969, the IUS has been both an academic and an applied research centre, committed to examining urban development issues in a broad, non-partisan manner. The Institute examines inner-city, environmental, Aboriginal and community development issues. In addition to its ongoing involvement in research, IUS brings in visiting scholars, hosts workshops, seminars and conferences, and acts in partnership with other organizations in the community to effect positive change.

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The City Beautiful Movement (2014): *In 2014, Randy Turner and the Winnipeg Free Press released* ***City Beautiful: How Architecture Shaped Winnipeg's DNA****. Our collection shares a different story, highlighting how increasing income inequality impacts Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.*

UNKNOWN/2014

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ROBERT GALSTON/2012

Urban Lifestyle (2012): *Condos replace ageing housing in Winnipeg's quickly changing West Broadway neighbourhood.*

Dedication

In memory of Jennifer Joy Logan (July 13, 1982 – January 17, 2015)

Jen was one of the first friends I made after moving to Winnipeg 11 years ago. She was kind, thoughtful, and passionate about this city. When she lived in Winnipeg, the West Broadway neighbourhood was more than Jen's home—you would run into her at Cousin's Deli or while she was steadily walking block after block. I still remember Jen's excitement when we were out one night and she realized that she could explore gentrification in West Broadway by looking at increases in rents through apartment ads [See Logan & Vachon (2008) *Gentrification and Rental Management Agencies: West Broadway Neighbourhood in Winnipeg*]. This is one example of Jen's constant interest in the world that carried her through the years and around the globe.

Through her undergraduate degree, Jen conducted research with Dr. Tom Carter at the Institute of Urban Studies. Jen was also closely tied to the Department of Geography at the University of Winnipeg where she was highly respected by Drs. Jock Lehr, John Selwood, and Marc Vachon. It was Jen's love of geography and urban issues that took her to Toronto for her Masters at York University. There she became involved with the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, working extensively with Dr. Robert Murdie and Richard Maaranen.

Both Jen and I began our undergraduate degrees in International Development Studies, but it was Jen's fascination with neighbourhoods that pulled me into urban geography—this collection wouldn't exist without her influence. I hope that the following stories can pass on some of Jen's deep love of Winnipeg, its people, and its neighbourhoods.

Andrew Kaufman

Contributors

Dr. Jino Distasio (Associate Vice President, Research and Innovation, University of Winnipeg; Director, Institute of Urban Studies)

Over the past 15 years Dr. Distasio has served as Director of the Institute of Urban Studies, a faculty member in the department of Geography, and most recently as the Associate Vice President of Research and Innovation. Dr. Distasio has worked extensively in Winnipeg's inner-city with more than 150 projects covering research areas including housing market analysis, urban development trends, mental health and homelessness, Indigenous urban issues, and downtown revitalization strategies. He has actively participated on numerous inner-city committees and boards. Jino routinely provides media comments and is regarded as one of the most quoted urban specialists in Winnipeg.

Andrew Kaufman (Research Associate, Institute of Urban Studies; Graduate Student, Department of Environment and Geography, University of Manitoba)

Andrew is an urban geographer employed by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg since 2010. Andrew spent 3 years working with the At Home/Chez Soi Research Demonstration Project on Mental Health and Homelessness, examining a housing first approach to ending homelessness. More recently, Andrew has focused on researching precarious housing options such as rooming houses while assisting in coordinating the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership in Winnipeg. As a Graduate Student with the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Manitoba, he researches the intersections between homelessness, mobility, and mental health.

Dr. Tom Carter (Senior, Scholar, Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg; Carter Research Associates Inc.)

Tom Carter recently retired as a Professor of Geography at the University of Winnipeg while simultaneously completing a term as Canada Research Chair in Urban Change and Adaptation. Prior to becoming the Research Chair, Dr. Carter was Director of Urban and Regional Research at the Institute of Urban Studies. Before joining the University in 1985, Tom was Executive Director of the Research and Policy Development Division with the Saskatchewan Housing Corporation, having held positions in research and program delivery for ten years. He has also worked as an Urban Planner with the National Capital Development Commission in Canberra Australia. Tom's research experience covers a wide range of topics including housing and urban development issues, immigration policy, and housing policies and programs for immigrants and refugees. He is also an active researcher on poverty alleviation and social policy issues specifically related to marginalized populations. Tom is currently a Research Affiliate with the Rural Development Institute at Brandon University and has an Honorary Research Appointment at the Northern Institute, Charles Darwin University in Australia. He continues his research activities as a Senior Scholar with the Department of Geography at the University of Winnipeg.

Robert Galston (Research Assistant, Institute of Urban Studies; Graduate Student, City Planning, University of Manitoba)

Robert Galston is completing his Master of City Planning at the University of Manitoba. Since 2011, he has worked on various projects at the Institute of Urban Studies as a research assistant. His writings on urban issues, history, and planning in Winnipeg have appeared in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, *Spacing*, *The Uniter*, and *The Spectator Tribune,* as well as in his blog *Rise and Sprawl.*

Sarah Leeson-Klym (Manitoba Regional Director, The Canadian Community Economic Development Network)

http://ccednet-rcdec.ca/en/manitoba

Sarah Leeson-Klym received a BA (Hons) in Social Justice Theory and Practice from the University of Winnipeg in 2012 and has been working with the Canadian Community Economic Development Network since 2011. Leeson-Klym connects diverse members around information sharing and consultation, delivers learning events, and organizes the annual gathering, Manitoba's CD/CED Conference. She believes community economic development offers strong solutions to persistent poverty and inequality because it allows groups to explore the reasons for their inequality, to define their own needs, and to cooperatively structure solutions to the challenges they face.

Dr. Christopher Leo (Senior Scholar, Department of Politics, University of Winnipeg; Adjunct Professor, Department of City Planning, University of Manitoba)

http://christopherleo.com/

Christopher Leo holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Toronto and has been researching, teaching, and writing for more than 30 years. Dr. Leo's research interests transtioned from African politics to urban political problems. Dr. Leo holds faculty appointments at the University of Winnipeg and the University of Manitoba. He is the author of numerous articles and books, and he has been invited to present the results of his research in Canada, the United States, Britain, Denmark, South Africa, Japan, and Israel. Dr. Leo actively blogs on his website *Research-based analysis and commentary*.

Dr. Brian Lorch (Professor Emeritus, Department of Geography, Lakehead University; Senior Research Associate, Institute of Urban Studies)

https://www.lakeheadu.ca/users/L/bjlorch/node/18172

Dr. Lorch's research interests include urban-economic geography, retail development, and consumer spatial behaviour with a particular focus on the evolution of the big-box retailers. At Lakehead University, Dr. Lorch taught courses in Economic Geography, Quantitative Methods, Industrial Development, and Urban Residential Structure and Retail Location for 19 years. Retiring in 2009, Dr. Lorch continues to conduct research related to urban geography with both the Institute of Urban Studies and the University of Winnipeg.

Mike Maunder (Journalist; Community Researcher, Community Worker)

As a journalist with the *Winnipeg Tribune* in the 1970s and the *Winnipeg Free Press* in the 1990s, Mike is intimately familiar with Winnipeg's urban landscape. Mike continues to work as a Community Researcher assisting the Institute of Urban Studies on projects related to single-room occupancy hotels, rooming houses, and green space for inner-city schools. Mike combines his knowledge of urban issues and research experience with his involvement as a community worker with the West Broadway Community Organization. Here, Mike is currently engaged in the Community Voices Program in which seniors and others in the West Broadway neighbourhood share memories and stories of their lives.

Dr. Evelyn Peters (Canada Research Chair in Inner-City Issues, Community Learning, and Engagement, Professor, University of Winnipeg)

http://ion.uwinnipeg.ca/~epeters/Home.html

Dr. Peters is an urban social geographer. She received her BA (Hons) at the University of Winnipeg and her MA and PhD at Queen's University in Kingston. Dr. Peter's research

focus has been First Nations and Métis people in cities. She has conducted research with a variety of community groups, including the Prince Albert Grand Council Urban Services, Inc., the Saskatoon Tribal Council; Friendship Centres in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Flin Flon; the Gabriel Dumont Institute; and the Central Urban Métis Federation. Her recent edited book with Chris Andersen, titled *Indigenous in the City: Contemporary Identities and Cultural Innovation*, focuses on urban Indigenous experiences in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. In 2013 Dr. Peters was given the Canadian Association of Geographers' Award for Service to the Discipline, for her work in developing the field of urban Aboriginal geographies. Moving to Winnipeg from the Johnson Shoyama Graduate School of Public Policy at the University of Saskatchewan, Dr. Peters seeks to share the perspectives of Canadian newcomers and Aboriginal people living in the inner-city to inform policy interventions directed at their neighbourhoods.

Brendan Reimer (Strategic Partner, Values-Based Banking, Assiniboine Credit Union; Past Manitoba Regional Director, The Canadian Community Economic Development Network)

https://ccednet-rcdec.ca/en/blogs/brendan-reimer

Brendan Reimer is the former Regional Director for the Canadian Community Economic Development Network in Manitoba. Since 2003, Brendan has led the growth of the Network that brings together over 120 member organizations from all aspects of CED work. It provides direct support and training to community initiatives throughout Manitoba, keeps the sector informed about issues, trends, and resources, hosts an annual conference with more than 600 participants, promotes the CED model in the media and through public education initiatives, and has become effective at developing and advancing policy. Brendan is also part of the Social Enterprise Council of Canada, conducted research on CED policy, and is an active blogger. More recently, Brendan has been hired by Assiniboine Credit Union to enhance their commitment to values-based banking while deepening social and environmental impacts.

Martin Sandhurst (Planning Consultant, SPAR Planning Services)

A home-grown Manitoban, Martin has nearly 20 years of experience as an urban planner in Western Canada. His consulting practice (SPAR Planning) focuses on neighbourhood planning, community development, and urban design—with an emphasis on enhanced community engagement methods. Recent work includes preparation of a neighbourhood planning service delivery framework for the City of Regina, a heritage conservation district policies and procedures primer for the City of Winnipeg, and coordination of several neighbourhood plan and zoning by-law initiatives. He has also served as a sessional instructor at the University of Winnipeg (Political Studies Department) and the University of Manitoba (City Planning Department).

Dr. Gina Sylvestre (Assistant Professor, Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg)

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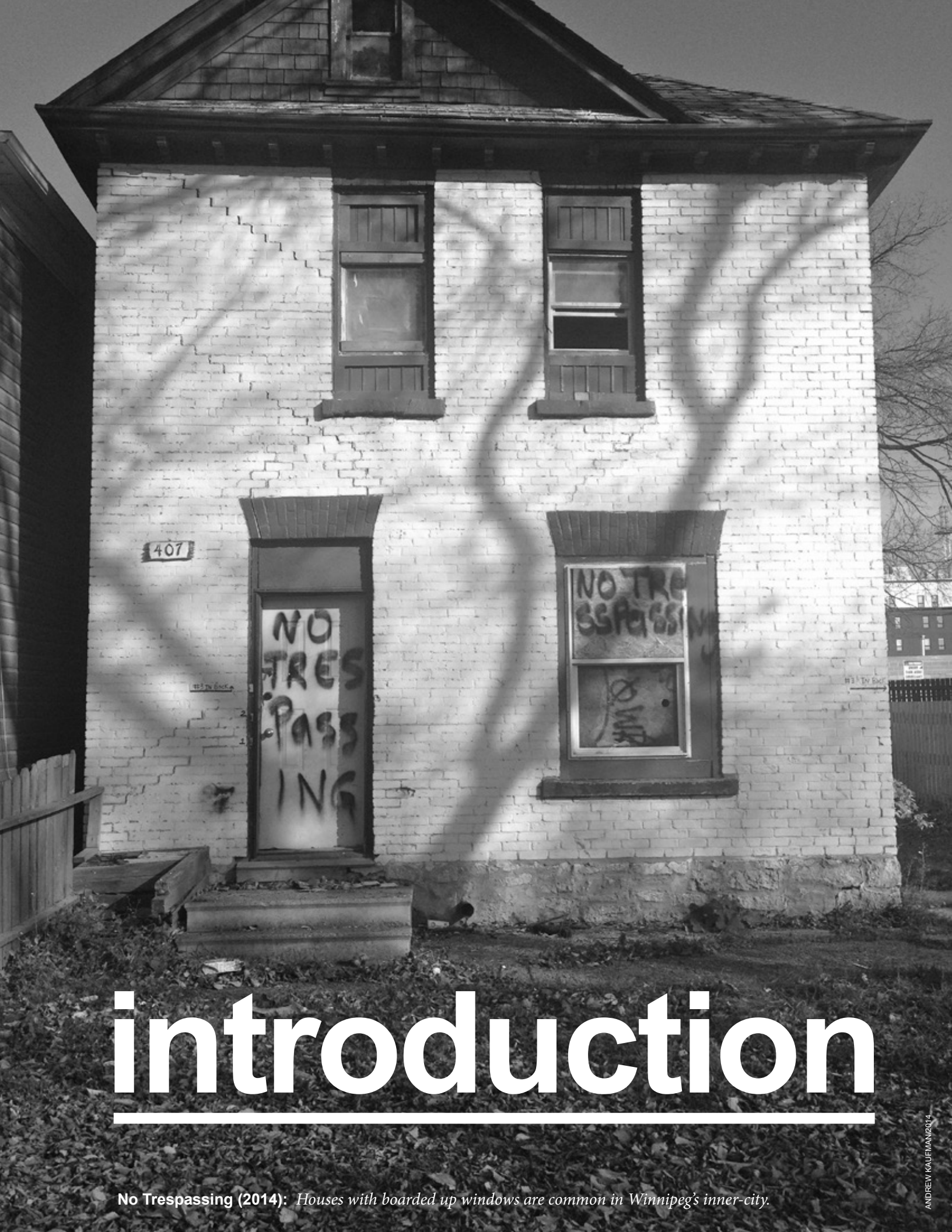
Gina Sylvestre, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Winnipeg, explores the impact of place on the experiences of ageing in both urban and rural communities. She applies an ecological lens to pursue understanding of how accessibility facilitates engagement and well-being of older adults. Her mobility research extends to both winter pedestrianism and rural transportation for seniors. Ageing and poverty are identified as key themes in her work where restricted mobility serves to exclude the ageing population.



introduction

No Trespassing (2014): *Houses with boarded up windows are common in Winnipeg's inner-city.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Neighbourhoods of Change

UNKNOWN/1976//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18-6433-001NEG)

Slum Clearance (1976): *"Demolition of LuLu Street tenement."*

By Dr. Jino Distasio and Andrew Kaufman

Residents move, families grow, buildings age, and over time, neighbourhoods change. At the neighbourhood level we see how ideas, processes, and policies come together to produce the spaces in which we live. Our neighbourhoods influence our quality of life and the services we receive. Our neighbourhoods provide us with advantages and social connections, or their lack of resources and opportunities create barriers. Some neighbourhoods develop along a stable path while others are in constant flux. Some neighbourhoods are wealthy while others are poor. And some neighbourhoods are predominantly white while others are not.

Neighbourhood change in Winnipeg has been both dramatic and yet predictable. Since the 1970s, this city has been characterized by both slow-growth and increasing socio-economic divisions, necessitating significant government and community-led interventions. In the Canadian context, there is no better example of a large urban centre that emerged from a history of great growth which then came to an abrupt end. For Winnipeg, the 1960s and 1970s were less than kind and further entrenched existing spatial inequalities in a city marked by a symbolic line separating a vastly more affluent city from a cluster of inner-city neighbourhoods collectively known as the *North End*.

Researchers have examined the causes of neighbourhood change from several different perspectives. In the 1920s, urban theorists stressed how neighbourhoods are invaded and succeeded by changing socio-demographic groups, how the cost of land decides the structure of cities, and how housing passes from affluent to less affluent populations through a process of filtering. Later researchers emphasized the importance of individual decision-making in creating neighbourhoods while the social bonds between residents allowed for communities to mobilize against threats. Today, many scholars examine how large-scale forces, collapsed into terms like globalization and neoliberalism, are reflected in the divisions between rich and poor neighbourhoods. What we see from all of this research, is that neighbourhood change benefits some parts of the city while other neighbourhoods are left behind.

Social division and inequality are not new issues in Winnipeg. Even before the 1960s, when Winnipeg was a fast growing urban centre, the city was plagued by inequality. Some will point to the stifling social conditions, which played a role in the 1919 General Strike that was as much about income inequality and polarization as it was labour unrest. In the twenty-first century, the scene has changed for Canadian cities. With wealth and poverty concentrated in the urban landscape, increasing global income inequality manifests in new socio-economic, ethno-cultural, and spatial divisions both within and between cities. This collection tells the story of how increasing income inequality impacts Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

The purpose of this collection is two-fold: first, to examine the extent of income inequality and polarization in Winnipeg from 1970 to 2010; and second, to explore site-specific processes of neighbourhood change, the people impacted by income inequality, and community responses to these unjust geographies. This study does not claim to cover all themes of income inequality and neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. Instead, this collection brings together a variety of experts to build a larger, long-term conversation about growing gaps between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

This study is part of a large *Social Science and Humanities Research Council* (SSHRC) funded project led by the Cities Centre at the University of Toronto that includes Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Calgary and Vancouver. Our partnership has grown out of the 2010 Cities Centre release of the *Three Cities Study of Toronto* that used individual income to uncover new geographies of inequality in a Canadian city (Hulchanski, 2010). This collection reworks the methods of the Three Cities study to examine how inclusive communities are built and dismantled in Winnipeg. We emphasize site-specific issues that have influenced neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. Over the coming years, this conversation needs to be extended into collaborative relationships with more community partners to understand how income inequality impacts neighbourhoods. To begin the story, we identified six drivers of neighbourhood change that we believe are unique to Winnipeg:

UNKNOWN/1979/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3578/18-2810-026)

Eaton Mansion (1979): *Winnipeg's Wellington Crescent Neighbourhood historically had concentrations of wealth, which more recently have moved to the city's urban fringes.*

Slow-Growth Development: Since 1914, Winnipeg has been influenced by a slow urban growth pattern. Through the 1950s, Winnipeg's inner-city fell into decline while at the same time the rapid suburbanization of the 1960s gave way to population growth rates of less than 1% per year from 1986 to 2010. Winnipeg's designation as a slow-growth city begs questions about neighbourhood change and the policies inherent in supporting slow urban growth.

Capital Region Growth: A common feature of deindustrializing cities is that wealth leaves the urban core and moves outwards. In the early 1990s, the Province of Manitoba developed a sustainable development strategy for the metropolitan region of Winnipeg known as the Capital Region Strategy. This voluntary panel brought together the Province, rural municipalities, and the City of Winnipeg to recognize and discuss the role peri-urban (fringe) growth was playing in Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

Municipal Amalgamation: Winnipeg's future was fundamentally altered on January 1, 1972 when the municipal government of Unicity was formed, amalgamating 12 distinct municipalities into the City of Winnipeg. Forty years later, we can investigate the impact of the mega city project on socio-spatial inequality and neighbourhood change.

Indigenous Urbanization: Most of Canada became highly urbanized by the 1950s. However, unique within the prairie city, from the 1970s onward, Winnipeg became the principal destination for Aboriginal peoples. Prior to 1960, less than 10% of Manitoba's treaty populations were living off-reserve; by the mid-1970s, 25% were living off-reserve. The collective stories of Indigenous migration are prominent in Winnipeg, leading to necessary conversations on the relationship between colonialism and income inequality.

Tri-partite Interventions: By the mid-1970s, change in Winnipeg was pointing increasingly to stagnation in the central city. In particular, the downtown was in decline and the surrounding inner-city neighbourhoods were experiencing the most significant urban blight ever seen in Winnipeg. By 1979, the three levels of government began to lay the foundation for the single largest urban intervention project attempted in Canada. When the Core Area Initiative (CAI) began in 1980, it set in motion 30 years of intense tri-partite policy intervention in Winnipeg's inner-city. Following the CAI, successive programs have tried to combat inner-city decline using a range of models and interventions (both top-down and bottom-up).

Community-based Organizations and Neighbourhood Resilience: From the 1960s on, there has been a persistent effort by community-based organizations (CBOs) to combat urban decline and income inequality. Winnipeg has an extremely strong and entrenched network of CBOs guided by principles of community economic development, citizen engagement, and support service provision.

The above noted themes do not encompass all of the change that occurred in Winnipeg's neighbourhoods during this time period from 1970 to 2010. These themes do however, set a solid foundation for further work, future conversations, and collaborative research. In Winnipeg, this starting point is envisioned as opening a dialogue about a complex set of issues and forces that have contributed to neighbourhood change and the restructuring of the city in a manner that remains unique among Canadian cities. This report opens a 7 year exploration that aims to address a set of fundamental questions:

1. *How are neighbourhoods changing and what processes explain these trends?*
2. *What are the implications of these processes for economic integration, social cohesion, equity, and quality of life?*
3. *What policy responses and program options are capable of addressing the consequences of socio-spatial inequality and polarization at the neighbourhood, community, and city-wide levels?*

These three questions are being asked in each of the six study cities and provide critical insight into the changing Canadian urban landscape. The following essays begin to address these questions while providing an important reference point for future discussions. And while we expect that this conversation will grow considerably, we feel that it is critical to establish a base from which to tell the story of neighbourhood change in a mid-sized, divided prairie city, located in the heart of Canada.

Report Structure

ADRIAN STONESS/2011

Downtown Growth (2011): *After being unoccupied for the past decade, the Avenue building on Portage Avenue has been gutted for a new residential development.*

As part of the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership, this edited collection aims to explore socio-spatial inequality and polarization in Winnipeg from 1970 to 2010. Building on a considerable body of work that has already examined neighbourhood-level distress, decline, and revitalization in Winnipeg, this collection unites a panel of experts on neighbourhoods in Winnipeg to describe key themes of change. By no means are the topical areas selected exhaustive nor do they explain all aspects of neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. Indeed, there are numerous economic and social processes, such as colonialism, that we have not even begun to address. Instead, these short essays are meant to be a starting point for future conversations about the growing gap between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

This edited collection is organized into four sections that examine different elements of neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. The collection opens with a brief synopsis of Winnipeg's development patterns and review of income inequality and polarization in Manitoba. The first section outlines the extent of socio-spatial inequality and polarization in Winnipeg. Subsequent sections discuss some of the processes responsible for these changes, people impacted by inequality, and the responses to neighbourhood trends.

In Part I of this collection, Brian Lorch examines the extent that socio-spatial inequality and polarization have occurred in Winnipeg. An analysis of census tract trajectories since 1980 finds that the relative gap between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg has increased over time. As a slow-growth city that has coped with serious forces of decline and disinvestment, income inequality in Winnipeg has been somewhat modest when compared with larger Canadian metropolitan centres such as Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver. The spatial pattern of income

change in Winnipeg is explained by contrasting the inner-city, suburban neighbourhoods, and peri-urban areas.

Andrew Kaufman follows by situating income inequality within recent media conversations about Winnipeg's divide between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. Kaufman explains that inequality materializes not just in terms of income, but through the complex intersections between race, ethnicity, gender, age, ability, and various other axes of identity. An analysis of 40 socio-demographic categories is used to create a classification scheme of Winnipeg neighbourhoods. By discussing the types of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg and who lives where, the divisions highlighted throughout recent news stories can be examined socio-spatially at the neighbourhood-level.

Part II of this collection presents four essays on processes of neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. Acknowledging the expansive body of literature that has examined macro-level drivers of income inequality and polarization such as neoliberalism, class conflict, racism, and socio-demographic status, this collection instead focuses on site-specific, micro drivers of neighbourhood change. Socio-spatial inequality in Winnipeg has been softened by what Leo and Brown (2000) term slow-growth development. From 1981 through 2010, the City of Winnipeg's population grew at a rate of less than 1% per year. Much of the growth from this period occurred in the broader CMA region outside of the City of Winnipeg. In the first essay "Policies for a Slow-Growth City," Christopher Leo revisits the role that slow-growth development patterns play on housing, infrastructure and services, economic development, and immigration in Winnipeg. As experienced in Winnipeg, slow population growth has been equated with city decline across North America (Leo & Brown, 2000, p. 194). Slow-growth was mislabelled and pathologized as decline, over simplifying the complex processes of neighbourhood change through this period. Excluding the early 1990s recession and the 2009 Financial Crisis, Winnipeg's Gross Regional Product was still growing at more than 2% per year through this same period (The Conference Board of Canada, 2014). Leo and Brown (2000) saw the clear need for unpacking these processes.

Examining a wealth of past reports written by Lloyd Axworthy for the Institute of Urban Studies, in "One Great Suburb" Robert Galston examines the role that the 1972 amalgamation of 12 distinct municipalities into the City of Winnipeg played in the spatial sorting of income. Galston argues that the Winnipeg amalgamation project redirected service provision towards the suburban landscape while city council became dominated by representatives unfamiliar with inner-city issues.

Brian Lorch follows with a paper outlining peripheral growth in Winnipeg's capital region. In "Beyond our Borders: Growth in Winnipeg's Capital Region," Lorch describes how wealth has increasingly clustered in the urban fringes and Rural Municipalities that surround Winnipeg, and he examines some of the policy ramifications for this growth. In a similar vein, Mike Maunder outlines the role Winnipeg's developers played in birthing suburban construction in Winnipeg. Both of these topics relate to the role that neighbourhood creation plays in intensifying socio-spatial inequality.

Part III of this collection weaves together three narratives describing the people impacted by socio-spatial inequality and polarization in Winnipeg. Evelyn Peters opens with a paper exploring "Winnipeg's Aboriginal Urbanization Patterns from 1951 through 2011." She suggests that recent average annual population growth rates are due to demographic phenomena other than reserve-to-city migration. Indigenous urbanization patterns and experiences vary by location and differ amongst First Nations and Métis populations. Where initial urbanization patterns found individuals of Indigenous ancestry locating in the urban core, recent population growth has occurred outside of inner-city areas. Then in "Ageing in Winnipeg's Inner-City" Gina Sylvestre reviews how income inequality and neighbourhood change impact and exclude older adults. To further this understanding, an ageing distress index was developed for Winnipeg's neighbourhoods using the 2006 Census of Canada. Academic perspectives on inclusion and exclusion are juxtaposed to describe barriers to neighbourhood participation where diminishing social capital is contrasted against community-based networks that include seniors. Neighbourhood inequality can be produced from larger geographical mobility patterns. In "Challenges in Their New Home," Tom Carter provides an overview of the refugee resettlement experience in Winnipeg. Income, housing, and the spatial clustering of refugees in the inner-

city are explained using data from a 3 year study of individual's experiences.

Part IV of this collection discusses three approaches used in Winnipeg to combat income inequality and polarization. In "Marked Interventions," Jino Distasio introduces Winnipeg's unique tri-partite strategies that have been employed to combat decline and disinvestment in Winnipeg's inner-city. Municipal governments attempt to manage the urban structure and neighbourhood change through planning departments. In "A Transactional Approach," Martin Sandhurst reviews 40 years of development plans for the city of Winnipeg, finding four distinct periods of policy focus. Throughout this time, there has been a focus on Winnipeg's downtown, as it has dealt with serious forces of disinvestment and decline. Finally, Brendan Reimer and Sarah Leeson-Klym explain how community economic development has become a force of resilience used to combat neighbourhood decline. Winnipeg has a strong history of developing innovative community economic development programs and social enterprises.

Together, these essays set a course of action for further research and advocacy as the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership develops over the coming years. This collection aims to highlight some of the stories of the people, spaces, and places most impacted by the growing gap between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

UNKNOWN/1959/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7243/18-6475-83)

The Mission (1959): *After moving to Princess Street, Union Gospel Mission still serves sandwiches daily 55 years later.*

Background

FRANK CHALMERS/1976/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3708/18-2942-006)

Brokenhead Reserve (1976): *"Children at Scanterbury."*

Income Inequality and Polarization

Changes amongst Winnipeg's neighbourhoods have occurred as the wealth gap between the rich and the poor increased globally (OECD, 2008). Since the 1980s, income inequality and income polarization have intensified both within and between Canadian cities (Hulchanski, 2010; Walks, 2013). From 1997 to 2007, Canada's richest 1% netted nearly one-third of all income growth, surpassing anything seen in Canadian history (Yalnizyan, 2010, p. 3). Some scholars argue that we have entered a second global Gilded Age (Short, 2013) or Belle Époque (Piketty, 2014), exceeding the late-19th century's sharp income divides. This concentration of wealth has occurred as rates of return on capital for top income earners permanently outpace economic growth for the majority of the population (Piketty, 2014).

While income inequality refers to the general dispersion of wages across income brackets, income polarization refers to the distribution of high and low income earners associated with a hollowing out of middle-income groups—the erosion of the middle class. Income inequality suggests a more nuanced patterning of wealth distribution among and between various socio-economic groups. Income polarization is characterized by a dramatic wealth divide between two groups: the rich and the poor (Walks, 2013). Income inequality and polarization manifest in the places people live, creating distinct spatial orderings of countries, provinces, regions, cities, and neighbourhoods. There are gaps between have and have-not countries, rich and poor cities, and affluent and distressed neighbourhoods as incomes polarize across different geographic scales.

Much of the spatial ordering of North American cities and their composite neighbourhoods has occurred along income lines. Caused by any number of factors, cities become divided into rich and poor neighbourhoods. The neighbourhoods people inhabit are one example of what geographers refer to as space. Space, more than an absolute location, is the product of social construction; the everyday actions, values, and meanings of society make the environments that we inhabit and in turn remake society (Lefebvre, 1992). Similar to how the social sciences see race, gender, sexuality, or age, this theoretical understanding argues that space can be a marginalizing force. Simply put, the spaces people inhabit can produce and reproduce injustices. The theoretical framework of spatial justice (Soja, 2010) argues that this relationship between society and space produces unjust geographies. The spatial impacts of income inequality and polarization have tangible outcomes in terms of housing, employment, mobility, and access to opportunities. Unjust geographies, at the neighbourhood scale, reproduce a growing income gap.

Manitoba

Income inequality and polarization are not produced within just one geographic scale but are multiscalar phenomena, influenced by both local and global networks. In

Central Park (1972—1974): *Winnipeg's Central Park Neighbourhood in winter.*

JEFF DEBOY/1972-1974/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7203/18-6247-023)

Canada, income inequality and polarization are co-produced at a variety of scales amongst provinces, territories, cities, and neighbourhoods. They ebb and flow with the movement of capital, people, and ideas from one space to another (Soja, 2010). Examining patterns of inequality and distribution at the broader provincial level reveal connections to income inequality at the urban scale in Winnipeg.

Compared to other Canadian provinces, Manitoba appears to have escaped relatively unharmed from the 2007–2008 Financial Crisis (Baragar, 2011), as the growth in the Provincial GDP outpaced Canada's average by 1.6% between 2008 and 2012 (Statistics Canada, 2013a). Irrespective of resilience to the recent crisis, Manitoba has historically been a have-not province. Manitoba has been in the upper ranks of total federal transfers (Canada Health Transfer, Canada Social Transfer, and Equalization Payments) received by provinces and territories (Government of Canada, 2015). Nationally, Manitoba had the second highest prevalence of families below the low-income cut-off in 2005 (CHASS Data Centre, 2006). These two points suggest that income inequality in Manitoba is more impacted by levels of economic need, which boom provinces, such as Alberta or Saskatchewan, may not be exposed to.

Though a have-not province, it has been argued that Manitoba has a smaller degree of income inequality than many other provinces (e.g., Social Planning Council of Winnipeg, 2012). Indeed, Black (2012) finds that, according to 2010 average income levels, "Manitoba was the most equal province before taxes and the third most equal after taxes"(p. 2). Here, the Gini coefficient is used as tool to measure income inequality. In this measure, 0 represents complete equality and 1 symbolizes complete inequality. In 2010, Manitoba had an after-tax Gini coefficient of .29, below the .32 value held by the rest of Canada (Black, 2012). Greater income equality in Manitoba may be attributed to small numbers of top income earners in the province—in essence, income inequality in Manitoba may be less pronounced because it is a have-not province. Despite having lower levels of income inequality, the Social Planning Council of Winnipeg (2012) finds that Manitoba's income distribution has been growing unequal since the 1980s, when "incomes for the middle 60% of the population rose, on average, by $10,300 while incomes for the richest 20% of the population rose by $23,800" (p.1). From 1986 to 2006, the average annual income gap between Manitoba's poorest and wealthiest households increased by nearly $60,000 (Martens et al., 2011). While income inequality is lower in Manitoba than in other provinces, levels of inequality have been increasing. As the biggest urban centre in Manitoba, increasing patterns of income inequality at the provincial level manifest at the urban scale in Winnipeg.

In Manitoba, uneven income distributions can be highlighted using urban and rural distinctions. About 40% of

Manitobans live in non-metro areas outside of the Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area (Bollman & Ashton, 2014b). Examining the spatial distribution of income in Manitoba, wealth is focused in the City of Winnipeg and the immediately adjacent rural census divisions (Statistics Canada, 2013b). Moving outside of Winnipeg's Census Metropolitan Area, approximately one-third of Manitoba's population resides in these rural areas and small towns (Bollman & Ashton, 2014b). Maps of these non-metro areas show that the percentage of the population below the after-tax low-income measure increases towards the western and northern regions of the province (Statistics Canada, 2013c). In fact, the combined Parklands and Northern Economic regions, located west and north of Lake Manitoba, have not shown any job growth since 1988 (Bollman & Ashton, 2014a). While Manitoba has a steadily growing rural population, consistent urbanization relocated provincial-level income inequality to the neighbourhood scale in Winnipeg (Distasio, Sylvestre, Jaccubucci, Mulligan, & Sargent, 2004). The multiscalar nature of income inequality means that income distributions at the provincial scale are transported to the urban level with the migration of people to Winnipeg.

Winnipeg

Formed where the Assiniboine River forks into the Red River, the Treaty 1 land Winnipeg occupies has been inhabited for more than 6,000 years by the Nakoda, Cree, Anishinaabe, and Dakota peoples. Trading outposts, early settlers, Indigenous communities, and the Red River Colony evolved into an incorporated Winnipeg by 1873. With the settlement of the prairie cities at the turn of the twentieth century, the City of Winnipeg grew rapidly. Winnipeg became Canada's third largest city in 1911, behind Montreal and Toronto, with a population increase of 150,000 between 1901 and 1916 (Artibise, 1979). This massive growth, at the hands of speculative property investment, has been associated with poor quality housing, overcrowding, and a lack of basic sanitation services (Artibise, 1977; Nader, 1976). Winnipeg's economic boom period subsided after 1910 as the city's dominance as an intercontinental trade hub eroded amid the Depression, the restructuring of trade routes, the opening of the Panama Canal, the increasing independence of other prairie cities, and the emergence of Vancouver as a shipping port (Distasio, 2004, p. 141; Nader, 1976, p. 271). By 1931, Vancouver overtook Winnipeg and from that period onward, Winnipeg's overall position among Canadian cities would slip further and further down the urban hierarchy.

Winnipeg has been characterized by slow, stagnant growth that began in the 1960s and continued throughout the 1970s. What is confounding in this scenario is that Winnipeg's growth prior to the 1960s had been peppered with periods of intensive expansion. Through the twentieth century, the spatial sorting of Winnipeg's neighbourhoods shares more in common with post-industrial rustbelt cities like Detroit, Baltimore, Halifax, Hamilton, and Kitchener than with other major Canadian cities like Toronto, Montreal, or Vancouver. Much of the urban structuring of income inequality in Winnipeg occurred in the period

JIM WALKER/1979//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/2824/18-2152-019)

Looking for Work (1979): *"It was a cold wait on Main Street Monday for the 300 students seeking jobs at Canada Employment Centre for Students."*

Shamattawa First Nation (1976): *"What lies ahead for these three Shamattawa children."*

UNKNOWN/1976/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3710/18-2942-009)

between 1946 and 1972. The slow growth of Winnipeg impacted downtown neighbourhoods more than the rapidly growing suburbs. From 1959 through 1984, the population of Winnipeg's inner-city fell by 21% while residential expansion in the greater metropolitan area rose by approximately 22% (Lyon & Fenton, 1984, p. 3). Changes in Winnipeg's labour market were also occurring: wheat was no longer king, the manufacturing industry suffered amidst industrial relocation, and a shift to financial and service-sector jobs struck. The garment industry, at times the second largest industry in Manitoba, and one that predominantly employed women and newcomer immigrants (Wiest, 2005), suffered four postwar crises resulting in dramatic employment declines (Lepp, Millar, & Roberts, 1987, p. 150). Winnipeg was following the same path as many other deindustrializing cities, with inner-city factories closing, resulting in high levels of unemployment. As jobs left, people followed industries relocating to the urban fringes, or they transitioned to the rising service sector growing in the city's core. The inner-city became a place where a lot of those people who remained could not get out. At the same time, successive waves of new migrant populations arrived in Winnipeg's core neighbourhoods. These groups included Ukrainians, Italians, Portuguese, Filipinos, South Asians, Sudanese, and Ethiopians, as well as Aboriginal peoples moving through their homelands. While these communities have formed vibrant districts in the inner-city, their neighbourhoods are exposed to the forces of disinvestment and decline.

The Three Cities Method

Hulchanski's 2010 report, *The Three Cities within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970–2005*, argues that three spatial regions in Toronto have distinct trajectories. Toronto's core has become increasingly affluent as newcomer-poverty is suburbanized into disconnected high-rise apartment complexes. In between these two zones lies a shrinking middle-income area. Emerging from the Three Cities Study, The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) funded Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership (NCRP) aims to understand socio-spatial income inequality and polarization. What makes this research so unique is the emphasis on the neighbourhood-level. With research teams in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal, and Halifax, the NCRP will specifically explore: trends in urban and neighbourhood change since 1971; the processes responsible for these changes; the consequences of change that lead to inequality and polarization; and policy and program options that address inequality (Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work & Cities Centre, University of Toronto, 2014). Early examination of research materials provided by the NCRP found that the Three Cities Method was not entirely appropriate for Winnipeg's slow-growth patterns. This collection then takes a site-specific approach, so as to provide a broad overview of income inequality and polarization in a mid-sized prairie city.

Reading What We See:
The Use of Archival Images in Research

UNKNOWN/1959/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES
(PC 18/7121/18-6473-004)

By Robert Galston

Though recent in the city's history, it is hard to find images of Winnipeg in the period between 1970 and 2010. While photographs of Winnipeg in the earliest years of the twentieth century are readily available through archival and online sources, photographs of the century's most recent decades are elusive. The research that went toward gathering images for this project reached beyond archival photographs of influential persons, important buildings, or streets, to include thematic maps, newspaper clippings, and conceptual drawings. And while this would make researching neighbourhood change more complicated, the diversity of image types gathered serves to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the changes Winnipeg experienced over that period.

Quantitative research can effectively identify and illustrate neighbourhood change in one sense, but the use of images can do this in another. Photographs helpfully show what neighbourhoods, streets, buildings, and people that were agents or outcomes of change looked like. Thematic maps show what processes and events were taking place in relationship to other parts of the city. Newspaper headlines show the public attitude toward these changes and official responses to them.

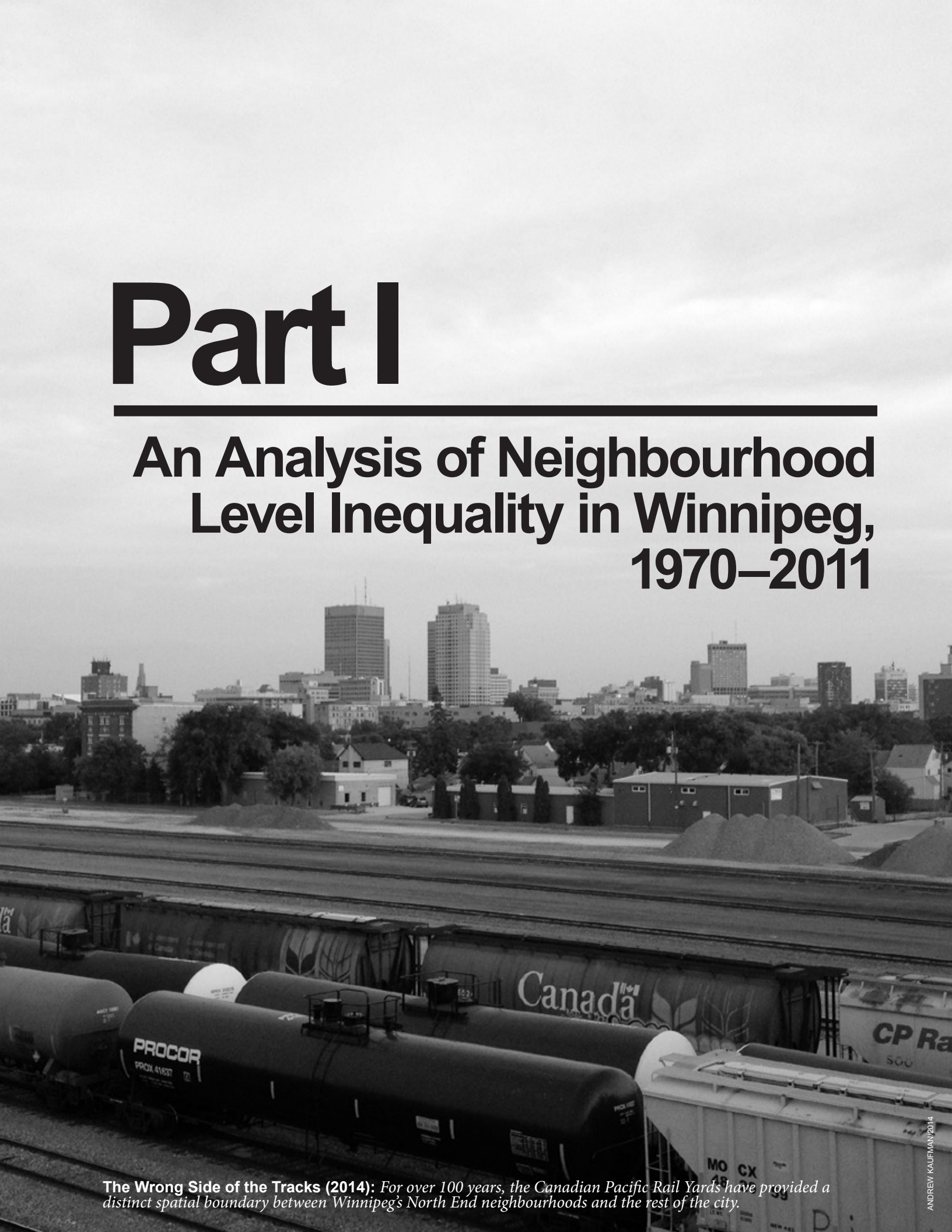
Together, these photographs, maps, and headlines, "can be read as texts and evaluated as evidence of the social and material world they depict" (Tinkler, 2013). These texts can be examined beyond their immediate properties and understood as constructions of broader social organization and epistemological ways of knowing (Barthes, 2007). By including photographs, maps, and headlines we take a pragmatic survey approach, collecting and showcasing images aligned with the thematic areas of socio-spatial inequality discussed. When possible, images include the original source's caption as indicated by quotations marks.

In some cases, images can show more than one aspect of neighbourhood change at work over the last 40 years. A 2011 photo of a billboard advertising new condos on the site of dilapidated houses in West Broadway shows both the years of underinvestment in inner-city housing and the recent emergence of issues like gentrification. A map from 1969 of the proposed freeway network in South Point Douglas shows the growth and expansion expected for the Winnipeg region at the time, but it also displays the disregard for Point Douglas and the Exchange District as neighbourhoods that are no more than a collection site of on-ramps and bridges.

The images presented are not intended to exist in the background—serving to merely add some colour and visual interest to the text. Rather, these images are intended to complement the text, to help the reader understand what was happening over the past 40 years, and to provoke reflection on how its past might continue to affect the Winnipeg of tomorrow.

Part I

An Analysis of Neighbourhood Level Inequality in Winnipeg, 1970–2011



The Wrong Side of the Tracks (2014): *For over 100 years, the Canadian Pacific Rail Yards have provided a distinct spatial boundary between Winnipeg's North End neighbourhoods and the rest of the city.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Spatial Polarization of Income in a Slow-Growth City

GREG BURNER/1976/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3585/18-2814-064)

Crumbling Housing (1976): "*Winnipeg's housing slums.*"

By Dr. Brian Lorch

While income is by no means the sole determinant of who lives where within cities, historically it has played a significant role in spatially sorting urban populations. Winnipeg has not been immune to this process. The downtown core and neighbourhoods bordering on its western and northern edges have for many decades been synonymous with high rates of poverty (Carter, Polevychok, & Sargent, 2003). By contrast, wealthier segments of the population gravitated towards enclaves abutting the Red and Assiniboine Rivers and to newer suburban landscapes, many of them located in the city's southern quadrant and portions of its rural hinterland.

That income has been a force in shaping spatial segregation of urban households is not surprising. From a market perspective, households can be viewed as competing against each other for parcels of urban land. These parcels derive some of their value from their physical attributes, such as plot size and soil conditions, yet much of their value comes from their relative location within the urban fabric. The values of properties, therefore, diverge based on differential access to amenities such as transportation, schools, shopping and recreational opportunities, and degrees of separation from noxious entities such as factories and rail yards. Households that bring more resources (i.e., higher incomes) to the bidding process come away with the better parcels of land. Those with the least resources are left with the less desirable residual parcels.

Both popular and academic literature of late have drawn considerable attention to the widening gap between the top and bottom echelons of income earners in western societies, Canada included (Freeland, 2012; Pilketty, 2014). According to a recent study by the OECD, more than one-third of the growth in aggregate pre-tax income in Canada over the past three decades has been captured by the top 1% of income earners (OECD, 2014). Simply put, the distribution of income over time has become much more polarized.

This essay presents a preliminary exploration of the degree to which income polarization has occurred across Winnipeg's neighbourhoods. It also examines the extent to which polarization has either reinforced pre-existing patterns of socio-spatial segregation or created new geographies of poverty and wealth within the metropolitan area.

Study Area and Data

The Winnipeg Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) forms the study area for this paper. It consists of the City of Winnipeg and 10 rural municipalities that surround it.[1]

The measure of income employed is average personal pre-tax income at the Census Tract (CT) level as reported by the Statistics Canada Census Profile Series. Included in the calculated average are all persons aged 15 and over who reported income from recurring sources such as wages, salaries, and investments.

Data were assembled from the decennial censuses of 1971 through to 2001. Inter-decennial data were also retrieved from the 1996 and 2006 censuses. In each case, reported income refers to monies earned in the previous year. For example, average income figures reported in the 1971 census represent income earned in the 1970 calendar year. Income data for 2010 were derived from income tax filings averaged out for taxpayers according to the boundaries of CTs used in the 2006 census.[2]

A problem encountered with longitudinal analysis of CT data is that, over time, CTs on the periphery of a city are frequently partitioned into smaller units as their populations grow. How this partitioning was handled is best demonstrated with an example. Assume that in 1981, a given CT had an average income of $25,000. Then, in the following census, that tract was subdivided into two parts, one with an average income of $30,000 and the other with $40,000. To calculate the percentage change over time, those two parts were treated as if the partitions existed in the previous census with each having the same average income as the un-partitioned CT (i.e., $25,000).

Trends in Neighbourhood Income Inequality

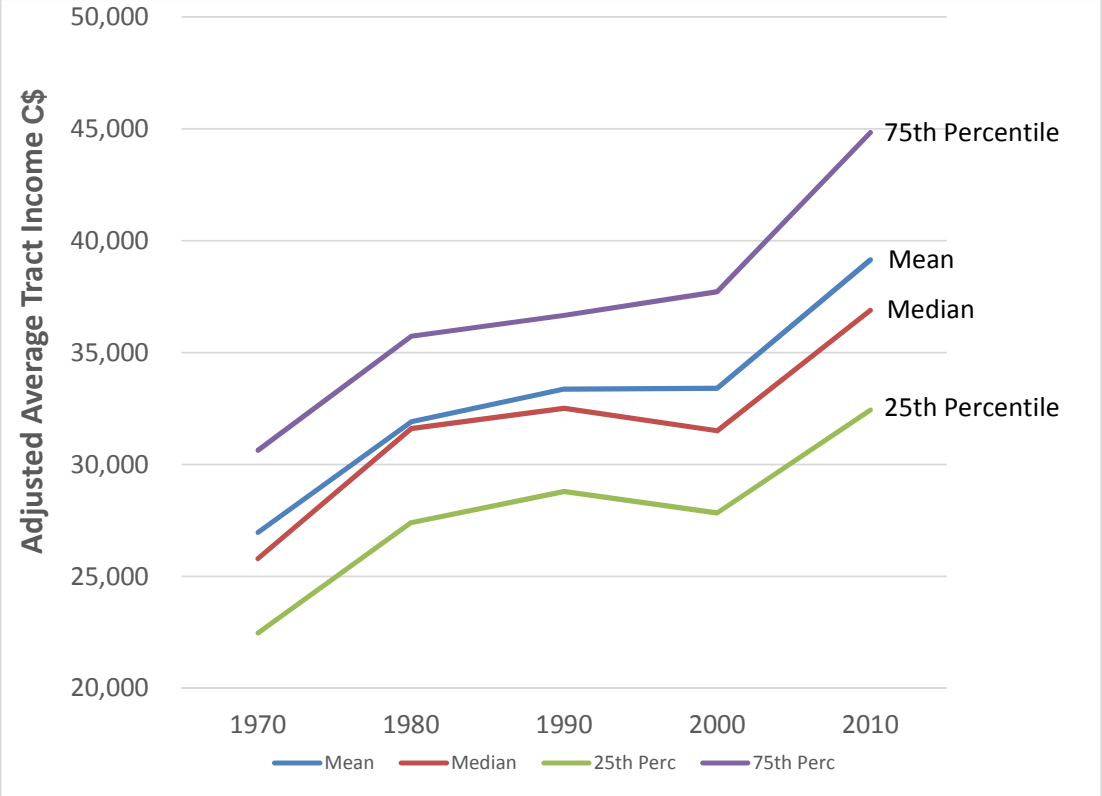
A simple measure of Winnipeg's income gap and its change over time is the absolute difference between its richest and poorest neighbourhoods. In 1970, the Tuxedo neighbourhood adjacent to Assiniboine Park and what is now the Assiniboine Forest recreation area reported the highest average personal income of just over $14,000. At the other end of the scale were parts of Logan, West Alexander, and Centennial neighbourhoods located immediately to the north and west of Winnipeg's iconic Portage and Main intersection. At under $3,000, this inner-city neighbourhood's average income was about one-fifth that of the Tuxedo area.

Table 1: Range of Average Personal Income (C$) Amongst Winnipeg Census Tracts

Year	Minimum	Maximum	Max/Min
1970	2,678	14,128	5.3
1980	6,406	29,007	4.5
1990	10,462	50,556	4.8
2000	13,195	69,277	5.3
2010	18,610	97,089	5.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Tract Profile Series 1971–2006; Canada Revenue Agency Taxfiler Data 2010

Figure 1: Benchmark Values in the Distribution of Average Personal Income in Winnipeg Census Tracts in Constant 2002 C$



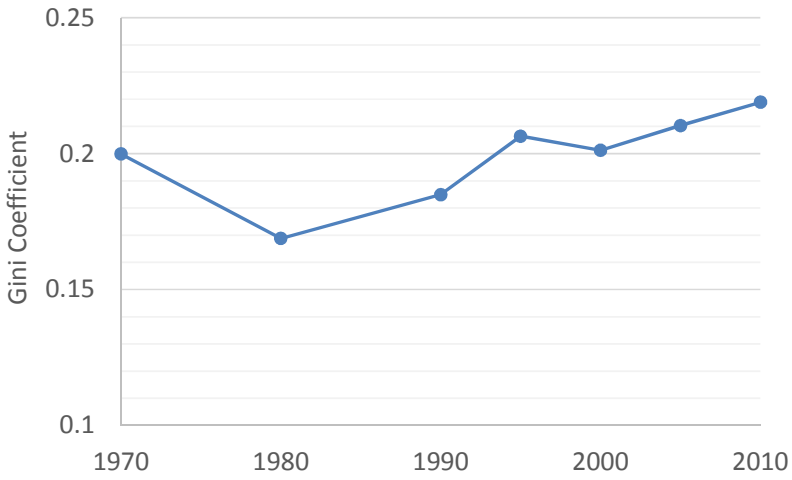
Source: Derived from Statistics Canada, Census Tract Profile Series 1971-2006; Canada Revenue Agency Taxfiler Data 2010; CANSIM Table 326-0021 Consumer Price Index (CPI), 2011 basket, annual (2002=100)

By 1980, the relative gap between maximum and minimum average incomes actually narrowed, but as Table 1 shows, it began to climb again and by 2010, it had returned to virtually the same width as it was in 1970. The geographic position of the two income poles remained much the same as well. Again, Tuxedo reported the highest average income while parts of the same Logan, West Alexander, and Centennial neighbourhoods found to the west of Isabel Street reported the lowest average income (See Map 1).

Another approach to measuring relative changes in the distribution of neighbourhood income levels is to compare gaps between median and mean incomes and between the mean and the 25th and 75th percentiles. In a so-called normal distribution, neighbourhood incomes would be distributed symmetrically around the median and mean values, one-half of them below the mean and one-half of them above. Historically though, income distributions tend to be skewed. The presence of a few neighbourhoods with extremely high incomes will pull the mean away from the median toward the high end of the distribution. If income polarization increases, we would expect this gap between mean and median values to increase even further. Moreover, gaps between the mean and income levels defining the lowest 25% and highest 25% of the neighbourhoods should also change, with the poorest areas falling further below the mean the wealthier areas rising higher above the mean.

The imprint of polarization described above is apparent in the distribution of Winnipeg census tract personal income levels (see Figure 1). The mean average income of Winnipeg's census tracts has gradually crept above

Figure 2: Income Inequality amongst Winnipeg Census Tracts as Measured by Gini Coefficients



Source: Adapted from data provided by the Cities Centre, University of Toronto

the median value over time such that the gap in 2010 was twice the size of what it was in 1970.[3] Similarly, by 2010, the income level that defined the bottom 25% of neighbourhoods was $2,300 further below the mean than it was in 1970, while the 75th percentile benchmark was $2,000 further above the mean.

Gini coefficients are a third way to measure change in the distribution of income. Gini coefficients reflect the difference between the actual distribution of income across a set of census tracts and what would be the case if income were distributed evenly across those same tracts. Gini values can range from zero to one, the former representing a perfectly even distribution of income and the latter, a highly concentrated distribution in which all income is found in just one of the tracts.

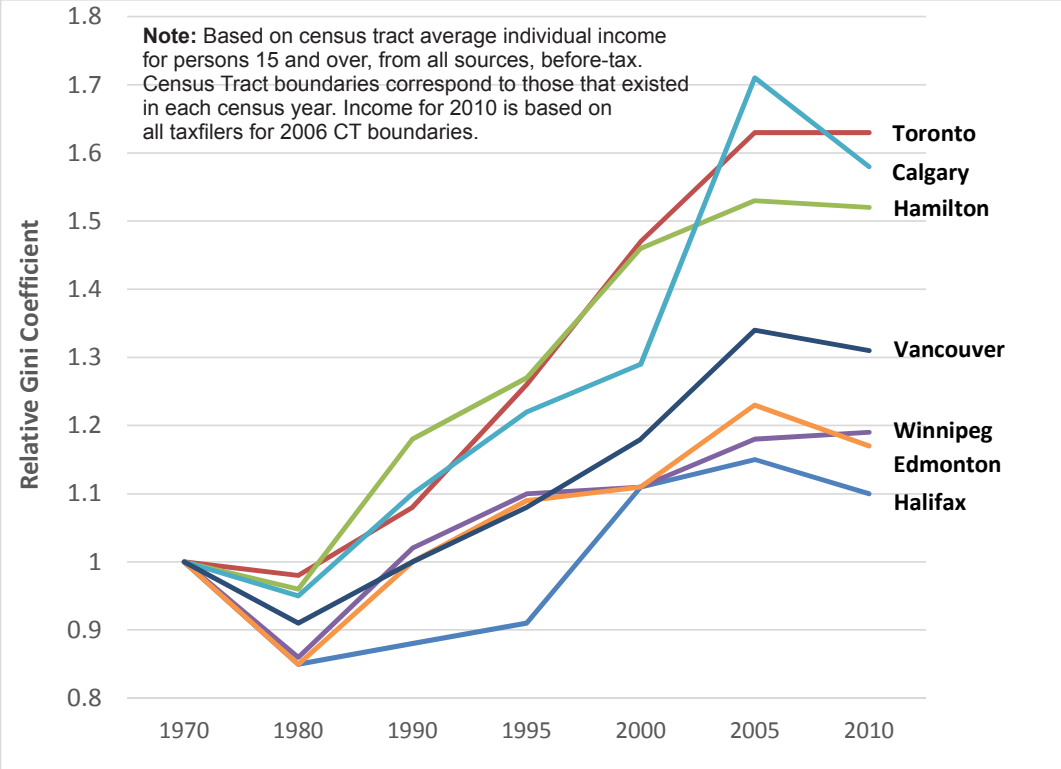
Results of the Gini coefficient analysis point to a moderate increase in the spatial polarization of income in Winnipeg over time (see Figure 2). The degree of inequality across all Winnipeg census tracts actually declined between 1970 and 1980. Then, that trend was

Table 2: Range of Personal Income amongst Census Tracts of Selected Census Metropolitan Areas, 1970 and 2005

CMA	Minimum 1970	Maximum 1970	Minimum 2005	Maximum 2005	Max/Min 1970	Max/Min 2005
Winnipeg	2,678	14,128	16,427	88,905	5.3	5.4
Halifax	3,404	8,498	20,099	72,476	2.5	3.6
Hamilton	1,434	9,053	19,204	86,153	6.3	4.5
Calgary	2,802	10,598	21,684	171,402	3.8	7.9
Edmonton	1,632	10,494	21,900	88,010	6.4	4.0
Vancouver	1,544	11,367	14,478	181,744	7.4	12.6
Toronto	1,970	22,925	14,788	314,107	11.6	21.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Tract Profile Series 1971–2006

Figure 3: Income Inequality — Gini Coefficient Relative to 1970 for Selected Census Metropolitan Areas



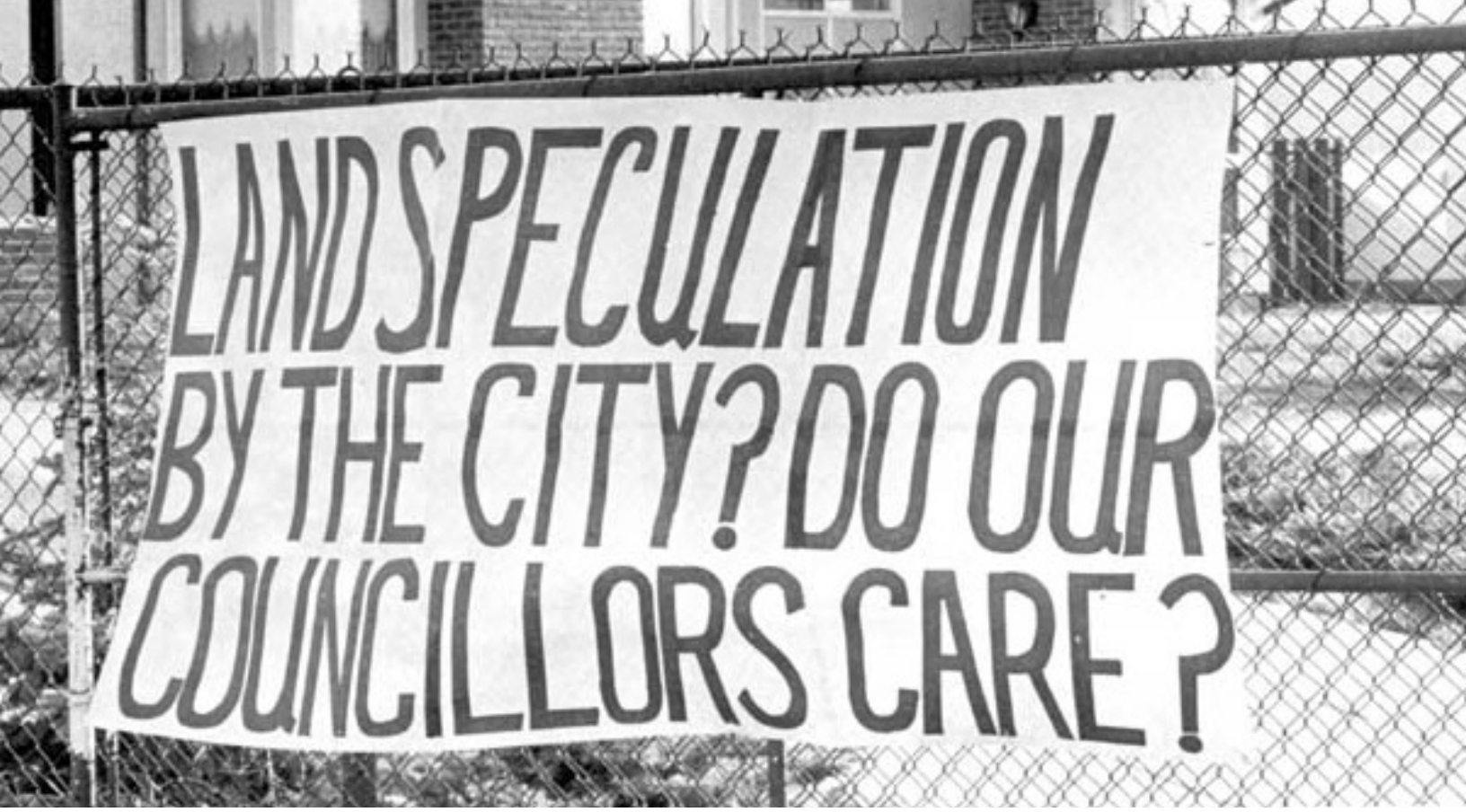
Source: Adapted from data provided by the Cities Centre, University of Toronto

reversed and by 2010, the Gini Coefficient reached .22 or about 20% higher than where it stood in 1970.

To provide some context for the changes observed in the distribution of income amongst Winnipeg neighbourhoods, similar analysis was carried out on several other Western Canadian CMAs as well as the Toronto CMA. Minimum and maximum neighbourhood income levels were compared for 1970 and 2005, the last year for which reliable census data are available from Statistics Canada (see Table 2). The stability in max/min ratios found in Winnipeg is similar to that seen in Hamilton and Halifax. In other cities, change is more marked. In Edmonton, the ratio of the wealthiest to poorest tract fell by 33%. In Calgary, Vancouver, and Toronto the max/min ratios doubled. Toronto showed the greatest disparity with its wealthiest neighbourhood having an average income 21 times that of its poorest one.

Based on Gini coefficients for 1970, Calgary and Edmonton showed the least degree of inequality with coefficient values of just over .17. Toronto and Winnipeg, with coefficients just under .20, displayed the greatest degree of inequality. By 2010 however, a different pattern emerged (see Figure 3).

In terms of relative change over time, Winnipeg's 20% relative increase in neighbourhood income inequality was closely matched by Edmonton and Halifax. However, in Toronto and Calgary, coefficients rose three times as fast, reaching levels 60% higher than those of 1970, while Hamilton's rose by 50%.



UNKNOWN/1980/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7207/18-7207-005)

Suburban Concerns (1980): *"West Kildonan home displays this message of protest against city council plans."*

The Geography of Neighbourhood Income Change in Winnipeg

Analysis of the distribution of census tract incomes over time suggests Winnipeg has experienced a modest increase in income polarization. Has this resulted in significant changes to the geographical pattern of wealth distribution within the metropolitan area? To answer this question, a series of maps were prepared to visualize what areas of the city have experienced significant positive or negative changes in their income levels relative to the metropolitan area as a whole.

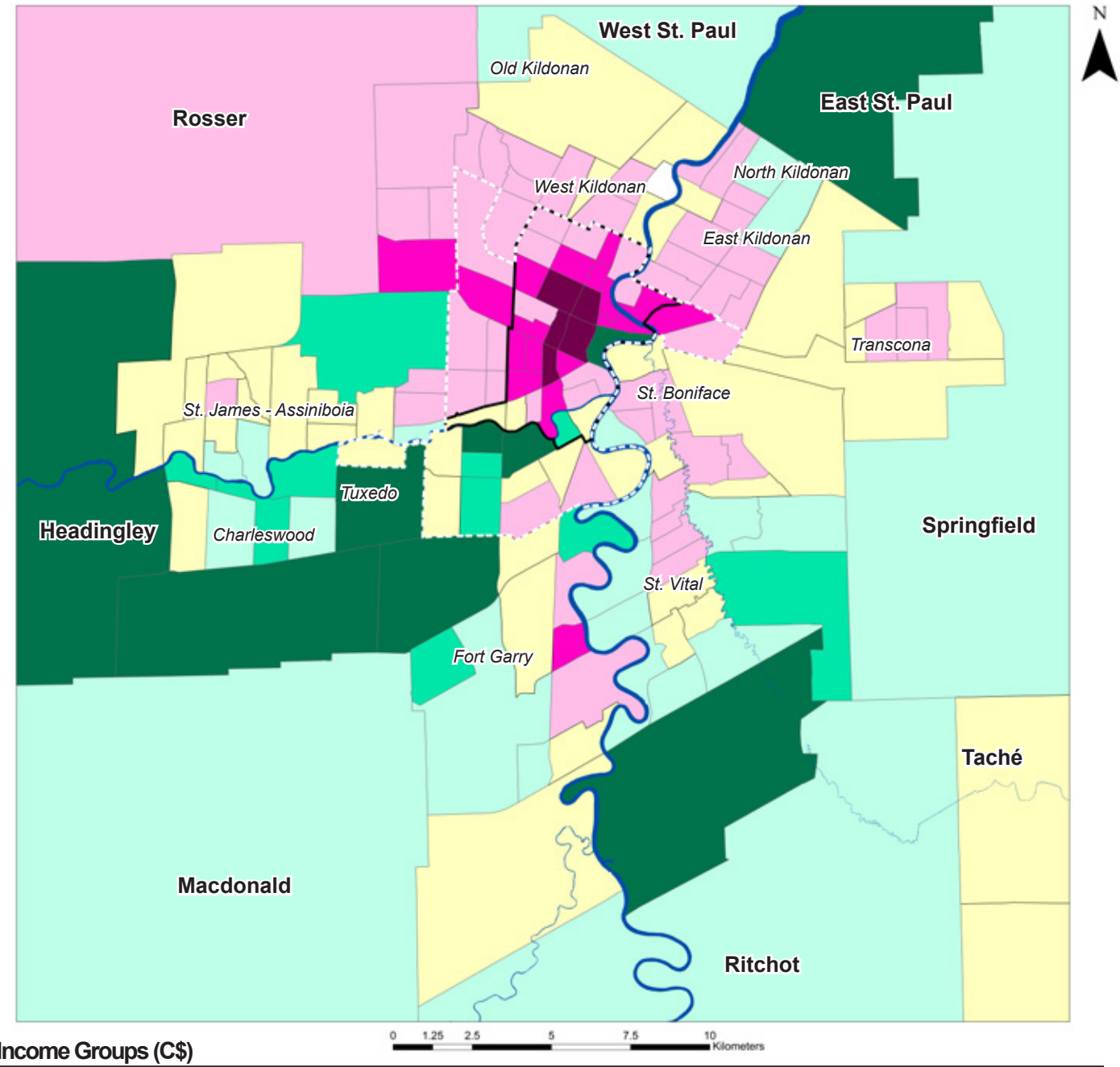
Map 1 shows the spatial distribution of income as of 2010 indicating for each tract the percentage by which it fell below or above the CMA average of $40,019. Three distinct patterns are evident. The first is a dominant wedge of below-average income that originates in the downtown core and radiates out to the northwest culminating in the RM of Rosser as well as north along the Main Street and Henderson Highway corridors.

The second is a wedge of above-average income that extends westward from the Crescentwood and River Heights area through Tuxedo and on to Charleswood and Headingly. Notable is the proximity of some of these neighbourhoods to amenities such as the Assiniboine River, Assiniboine Park, and Assiniboine Forest recreation area.

The third distinct pattern is a band of above-average income that almost completely encircles the city from the RM of MacDonald in the southwest in a counterclockwise direction to the RMs of East and West St. Paul in the north.

To address the question of how neighbourhood incomes have changed over time, neighbourhoods were first classified into one of three categories on the basis of 2010 incomes: lower income (tracts more than 10% below the CMA average), middle income (tracts within +/- 10% of the CMA average), and higher income (tracts more than 10% above the CMA average). Tracts were further classified on the basis of whether their position relative to the CMA average was trending up or down and whether this relative change moved the tract from one income category to another. Table 3 presents an overall summary of how prevalent different types of neighbourhood income change have been in Winnipeg over the past 30 years based on these criteria. Map 2 displays the results graphically.

Map 1: Average Individual Income by Census Tracts, 2010



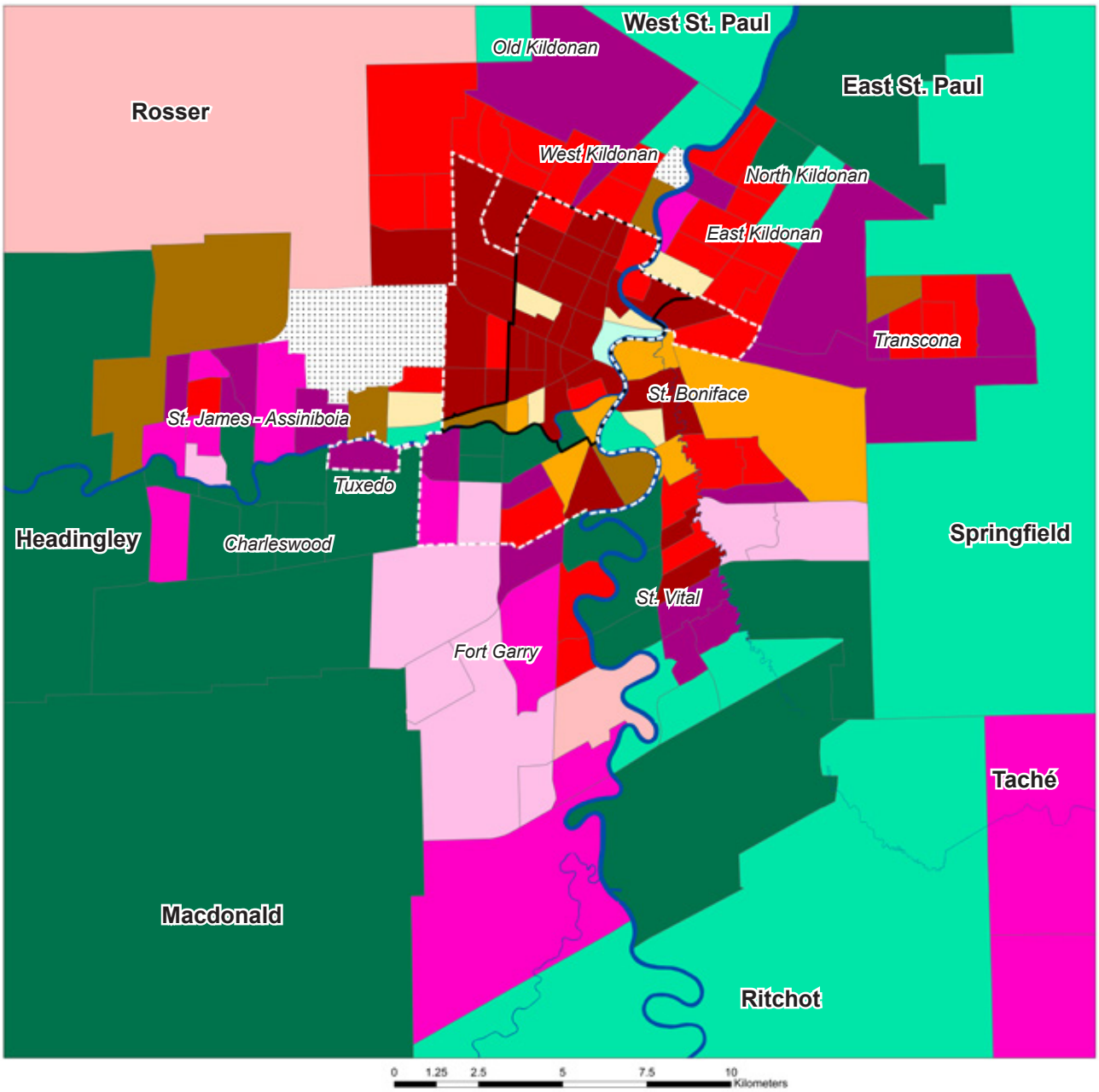
Income Groups (C$)

$18,609–$20,009 (below 50% of CMA average)	$20,010–$28,013 (30%–50% below CMA average)	$28,014–$36,017 (10%–30% below CMA average)	$36,018–$44,020	$44,021–$52,024 (10%–30% above CMA average)	$52,025–$60,028 (30%–50% above CMA average)	$60,029–$97,089 (above 50% of CMA average)

Former City of Winnipeg (1971) | Inner-City Boundary | Major Rivers

Data Source: Taxfiler Data, Government of Canada.
Spatial Data Source: Data Liberation Initiative (2006).
Prepared By: Andrew Kaufman

Map 2: Change in Neighbourhood Income Relative to CMA Average by Census Tracts, 1980–2011



Relative Income Change Type (Number of Census Tracts)

Declining Incomes

- Declined farther below average (33)
- Declined from neutral* to below average (37)
- Declined from above to below average (2)
- Declined but still neutral* (19)
- Declined from above average to neutral* (12)
- Declined but still above average (8)

Rising Incomes

- Rising but still below average (6)
- Rising from below average to neutral* (6)
- Rising but still neutral* (6)
- Rising from below to above average (1)
- Rising from neutral* to above average (10)
- Rising farther above average (22)

- Not Classified
- Former City of Winnipeg (1971)
- Inner-City Boundary
- Major Rivers

Data Source: CHASS. Canadian Census Analyser, 2006 Canadian Census Survey Profile Files, Profile of Census Tracts, University of Toronto.

Spatial Data Source: Data Liberation Initiative (2006).

Prepared By: Andrew Kaufman

*** Neutral: within 10% of CMA average**

Some of the most interesting cases are those that demonstrate extreme types of change. One such neighbourhood is the inner-city's East Exchange District, where average income moved from being only one-half of the CMA average in 1980 to almost 1.9 times the CMA average in 2010, an outcome most likely tied to recent condominium development along Waterfront Drive targeted at double income, young professional households. Other less extreme examples of positive shifts in inner-city neighbourhood incomes can be seen in areas such as Osborne Village and Wolseley.

Extreme negative shifts in income occurred in two tracts: the RM of Rosser and the Fort Richmond area to the south of the University of Manitoba's Fort Garry campus. The decline of relative income in the latter is possibly linked to the increase of rental income properties in the Pembina Highway corridor to meet the demand of a growing student population.

Notwithstanding these extreme shifts, the results suggest that higher income tracts tend not to only maintain that status but strengthen it over time, whereas lower income tracts tend to lose ground to the CMA average. Of the 30 tracts that remained in the high income category, 73% saw their position relative to the CMA average improve. Especially conspicuous within this category are the RMs of East St. Paul, Headingley, and MacDonald, where large-lot, low-density development has been fostered by the attraction of lower property tax rates. Within the city, long-standing higher-income areas such as Tuxedo, Wellington Crescent, North/South Drive, and Kingsway also recorded gains in relative income. Notably, a few more recently established higher income suburban neighbourhoods saw their relative status decline, albeit modestly. An example is Lindenwoods in the city's southwest quadrant, where single family housing has been the mainstay of the neighbourhood. However, in the last 10 years, the remaining parcels of undeveloped land in the subdivision have been filled with apartment-style condominium and seniors housing projects, thereby diluting the dominance of large single-family homes.

To provide some additional context to the spatial pattern of income growth and decline, percentage change in relative income between 1980 and 2010 was also mapped (see Map 3). Notable areas of declining relative average incomes are again found in the inner-city area and in a wedge heading northwest of the downtown, as well as in some established neighbourhoods in Fort Garry along the Pembina Highway corridor. Areas with the highest growth are largely found on the periphery.

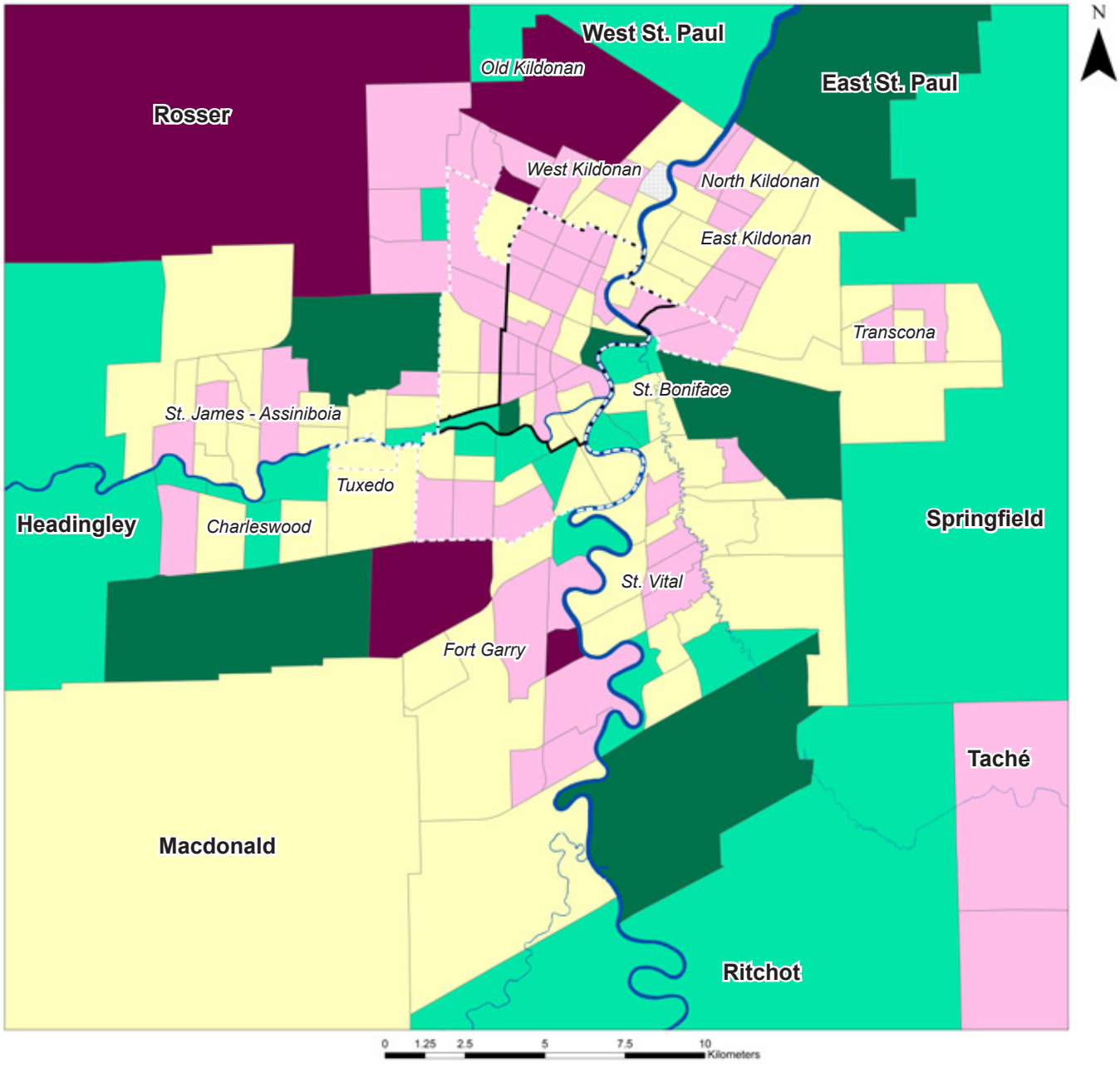
A final geographical perspective on income change was developed by segmenting Winnipeg's neighbourhoods into four zones. The first two comprised the city as it existed prior to the 1970 amalgamation. This area was subdivided into a downtown/inner-city zone and a surrounding zone, referred to here as Old Winnipeg. The third category is termed New Winnipeg and consists of those areas added

Table 3: Frequency of Types of Change in Average Census Tract Income between 1980 and 2010*

1980 / 2010	>10% Below CMA Average		Within 10% of CMA Average		>10% Above CMA Average	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
>10% Above CMA Average	1	0.6	11	6.6	30 (22/8)	18.1
Within 10% of CMA Average	6	3.6	26 (7/19)	15.7	13	7.8
>10% Below CMA Average	39 (6/33)	23.5	37	22.3	2	1.2

*Brackets subdivide cell total into frequency of tracts with increasing and decreasing average incomes (h/i). Percentage values calculated using # of CTs (165) as the base value.

Map 3: Percentage Change in Average Individual Income Relative to CMA Average Income, 1980–2010



Income Percentage Change (Number of Census Tracts)

- Loss –37% to –30.1% (5)
- Loss –30% to –10.1% (61)
- Change –/+ 10% (71)
- Growth 10.1% to 30% (19)
- Growth 30.1% to 266% (7)
- Not Classified
- Former City of Winnipeg (1971)
- Inner-City Boundary
- Major Rivers

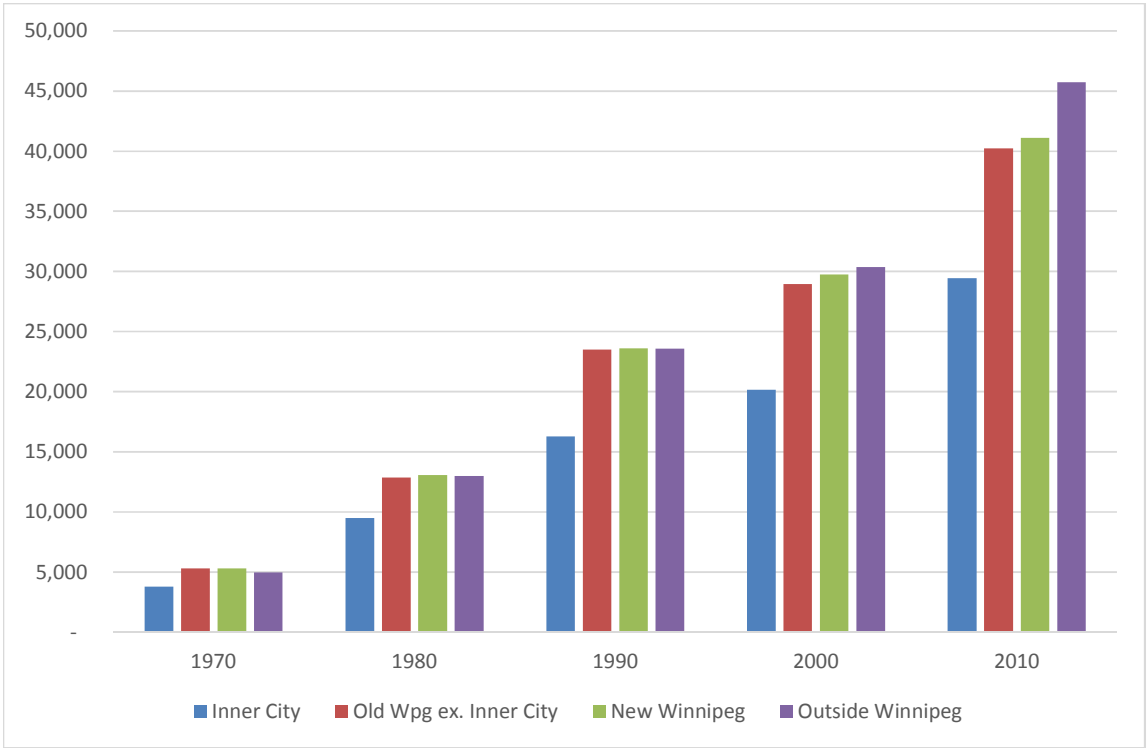
Data Source: CHASS. Canadian Census Analyser, 1980 Canadian Census Survey Profile Files, Profile of Census Tracts, University of Toronto.

2010 Taxfiler Data, Government of Canada.

Spatial Data Source: Data Liberation Initiative (2006).

Prepared By: Andrew Kaufman

Figure 3: Average Neighbourhood Personal Income by Geographical Area and Year (C$)



to the city with the 1972 amalgamation. The final category includes the remaining RMs that are politically independent from the City of Winnipeg but part of the CMA. Average incomes were tabulated for each geographical zone over time beginning with the 1970 data.

The results highlight what has already been demonstrated above—the stark contrast between the inner-city neighbourhoods and the rest of the metropolitan area, especially as one moves through time. By 2010, surrounding RMs collectively had average incomes 1.5 times that of the inner-city, up from 1.3 times in 1970. Differences between Old Winnipeg (excluding the inner-city), New Winnipeg, and the outside RMs are negligible for most of this time span. It is only in the first decade of the new millennium that the surrounding exurban development in the RMs begins to distinguish itself as a higher-income landscape.

Summary and Conclusion

While the relative gap between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg has been shown to have increased over time, the increase has been somewhat modest when compared with larger Canadian metropolitan centres such as Toronto, Calgary, and Vancouver. Whether or not this speaks to Winnipeg's lesser status within the hierarchy of Canada's economy is open to debate. It is plausible, though, to hypothesize that Winnipeg's relatively small cadre of major corporate head offices has played a role in dampening the width of the income gap seen here. Others suggest that the Province of Manitoba's tax structure has lessened inequality by restraining growing after-tax incomes for the most affluent while ensuring that the Child Tax Benefit, clawed back in other provinces, maintained after-tax incomes for those families receiving social assistance (Black, 2012; Hudson & Pickles, 2008). Moreover, it likely is another reflection of Winnipeg's slow-growth experience (Leo & Brown, 2000).

In terms of the spatial pattern of income change, Winnipeg's story is largely one of the contrast between the inner-city and suburban/rural periphery areas. Many inner-city neighbourhoods have average incomes well below the CMA average and are falling further behind, while new developments on the periphery of the city are moving in the opposite direction.

It should be emphasized that the analysis reported here, especially that for aggregated areas such as the inner-city and rural periphery, is based on averages of averages that lead to generalized statements about geographical areas. Averages often mask anomalies. This masking can occur in inner-city neighbourhoods that are experiencing rising incomes, such as the East Exchange and Osborne Village areas, or established suburban areas that have seen average incomes drop, such as the Lindenwoods area. Averages also mask some significant differences in the experience of rural municipalities. In Rosser, for example, the trend in income is more akin to the experience of most inner-city neighbourhoods, while the experience of East St. Paul and Headingley more closely resemble that of Tuxedo. The purpose served by this research, then, is to generate additional questions about neighbourhood change in Winnipeg and to pinpoint areas or themes worthy of more detailed investigation.

The Gates (2014): *Armstrong's Point, an old-city affluent neighbourbood, presents an interesting case where, it falls in the same Census Tract as West Broadway, a neighbourhood which has been exposed to serious forces of decline over the past 30 years.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

End Notes

1. As of the 2011 Census, these include Macdonald, Headingley, St. François Xavier, Rosser, East St. Paul, West St. Paul, St. Clements, Springfield, Taché, and Richot. Also part of the CMA but excluded from the study due to lack of reported data is Brokenhead First Nation.

2. Prior to the 2011 Census, the Government of Canada discontinued the mandatory long form census that had generated income data in previous census years. Taking its place was the National Household Survey (NHS). As participation in the NHS was voluntary, non-response bias surfaced, making reported average incomes in NHS data unreliable.

3. To account for the effects of inflation, CT average incomes have been adjusted using Consumer Price Index values from CANSIM Table 326-0021.

Who Lived Where in 2011:
Demographics of a Divided City

GREG GALLINGER/2014

Panning with James Caribou and Kathy Fisher (2014): *Winnipeg has enacted anti-aggressive panhandling by-laws that are challenged for unfairly targeting people or for not being forceful enough.*

By Andrew Kaufman

Sometimes, it's reassuring to hear the news echo your frustrations with your city. Too often, voices from the margins of society are silenced or forgotten by major media players. But this past year in Winnipeg, something different may have happened. Winnipeg's deep racial and economic divisions captivated local, national, and international journalists. These news writers described growing social momentum and in turn have urged policy makers to ask serious questions about inequality.

Background

One beginning to this story sees how together the Idle No More Movement, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the inquest into the death of Brian Sinclair, and the Federal government's continued dismissal of missing and murdered Indigenous women drew the public's attention to the gap between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Canadians. A 2014 city-wide poll found that "most Winnipeggers believe there is a deep racial gulf between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens" (Probe Research Inc., 2014, p. 1). News stories quickly multiplied, as agencies including the *Guardian*, *Vice News*, *the National Post*, and *CBC-Manitoba* began writing about Winnipeg as a "divided city" (Brandon, 2014; CBC News, 2014; Kives, 2014; MacKinnon, 2014; Ouellette, 2014; Tabrizy, 2014; Thompson, 2014). Conversations about Winnipeg's divisions figured prominently in the City of Winnipeg's Fall 2014 municipal election, as mayoral candidates debated both racial and income inequality. And while these conversations slowed after the *Spectator Tribune* held a forum called "Our Divided City," an article released by Maclean's magazine in early 2015 returned the divided city to the headlines. In her article, Nancy Macdonald (2015) describes Winnipeg as the epicenter of racism in Canada. Now, everyone from local talk show hosts (Wheeler, 2015) to the BBC (Luxen, 2015) are talking about racism in the geographic heart of Canada. These conversations depict the gaps between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal citizens, and there is a need to relate these divisions to neighbourhood-level inequality in Winnipeg.

Opening this collection, Lorch outlines the extent of income inequality and polarization in Winnipeg. Yet, inequality materializes not just in terms of income, but through the complex intersections between race, ethnicity, gender, age, ability, and various other axes of identity (Crenshaw, 1991; Hulchanski, 2005; Mccall, 2005; Walby, Armstrong, & Strid, 2012). Past research examining urban income inequality has failed to account for the ways in which race interlocks with class (Razack, 2002). To understand the broader context of inequality, this paper explains who lives where in Winnipeg. By examining a number of variables from the 2011 National Household Survey[1] (NHS), the socio-spatial differences between Winnipeg's neighbourhoods are highlighted. A principle component analysis in conjunction with hierarchical and k-means cluster analysis is used to create a classification scheme of Winnipeg neighbourhoods by finding commonalities between census tracts[2] and the urban built environment.

In Winnipeg, previous studies have constructed neighbourhood classifications (Carter & Polevychok, 2003) and distress indexes (Institute of Urban Studies, 2006; 2008), and the City of Winnipeg has used neighbourhood-level classifications to prioritize funding (City of Winnipeg. Community Services Department, 2000). These studies point to the following general spatial pattern in Winnipeg: inner-city neighbourhoods face decline as wealth relocates to the urban fringes (see also Lorch in this volume). Other scholars have investigated neighbourhood-level racial segregation in Winnipeg. For example, Walks & Bourne (2006) find that Winnipeg ranks in the top four Canadian cities for neighbourhood-level segregation of Aboriginal populations but that these numbers are not comparable with the ghettoization of Black populations in American cities. Peters (2005) confirms this argument, finding that, while approaching 50% in neighbourhoods, concentrations of Aboriginal populations in Winnipeg's census tracts do not meet the criteria for a ghetto defined as an area "where a minority group constituted more than 60% of the population, containing at least 30% of the total group population" (p. 360). Instead, they conclude that income appears to be the primary cause of neighbourhood-level sorting in Winnipeg (Peters, 2005; Walks & Bourne, 2006).

Conversations about Winnipeg's divisions raise questions about how income interlocks with other socially constructed categories of identity at the neighbourhood-level including Aboriginal status, ethnicity, immigration status, age, gender, occupation, schooling, housing conditions, and residential mobility. Researchers who use statistical methods have been critiqued for simplifying how identity is constructed by viewing socio-demographic categories and marginalization as additive (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983; Bowleg, 2008; Valentine, 2007). This paper recognizes that individuals' complex experiences cannot be simplified by adding gender to ethnicity to location in order to understand complex socio-spatial divisions. Instead, this paper has a much simpler goal of providing an overview

Pay Day Loans (2014): *Fringe financial services have particular impacts on the inner-city communities they serve.*

GREG GALLINGER/2014

of who lives where in Winnipeg. By discussing the types of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg and their socio-demographic traits, the divisions highlighted throughout the news articles listed above can be examined socio-spatially at the neighbourhood-level.

Methods

A larger research piece to emerge out of the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership is an analysis that classifies neighbourhoods in eight Canadian cities using 2006 Census Data from Statistics Canada. This study, *Who Lived Where in 2006: A Neighbourhood Typology of Eight Canadian Metropolitan Areas*, creates a typological scheme of neighbourhoods in Vancouver, Calgary, Winnipeg, Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa-Gatineau, Montreal, and Halifax (Murdie, Logan, & Maaranen, 2013). Using data from 3,139 census tracts across Canada to represent neighbourhoods, this project combines 30 variables such as economic status, age, family and household status, immigrant and ethnic status, migrant status, and housing status. By examining interrelationships among these variables, Murdie, Logan, and Maaranen (2013) identify 15 specific types of neighbourhoods that exist within Canadian cities. This research paper provides a valuable platform for understanding the distinct socio-demographic traits of neighbourhoods impacted by income inequality and polarization in Canadian cities. However, there's a need to fine-tune the analysis for Winnipeg as a less-populated urban centre with a significant Indigenous population.

In this paper, a similar method is used to classify Winnipeg's neighbourhoods. The units of analysis included 167 Census Tracts (CTs) in Winnipeg (five CTs were eliminated due to non-response rates greater than 50%). Forty variables were initially pulled from the 2011 NHS based both on the selection in Murdie, Logan, and Maaranen (2013) and substantive interrelationships with neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. These variables fall into nine indicator groupings: education, occupation, income, age, household size, ethnic status, immigration status, mobility, and housing status (see Table 4 for complete list).

A Principle Component Analysis[3] (PCA) assisted in variable refinement. PCA was also used to reduce variables into composite scores (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001, p. 612). Composite scores were calculated for each PCA component and were imputed into a hierarchical cluster analysis. As an analytical technique, cluster analysis enables the examination of both complex patterns and groupings within datasets. By interpreting the cluster analysis dendrogram, an appropriate number of clusters were selected. A second K-Means cluster analysis then ensured proper case groupings (George & Mallery, 2003). Descriptive statistics were generated for each cluster and joined with CT spatial data in ArcGIS. Map outputs were created to display neighbourhood cluster memberships. These outputs were interpreted using descriptive statistics to detail neighbourhood clusters in Winnipeg. Together, a principle component analysis and cluster analysis organize a number of variables into distinct neighbourhood types.

Findings

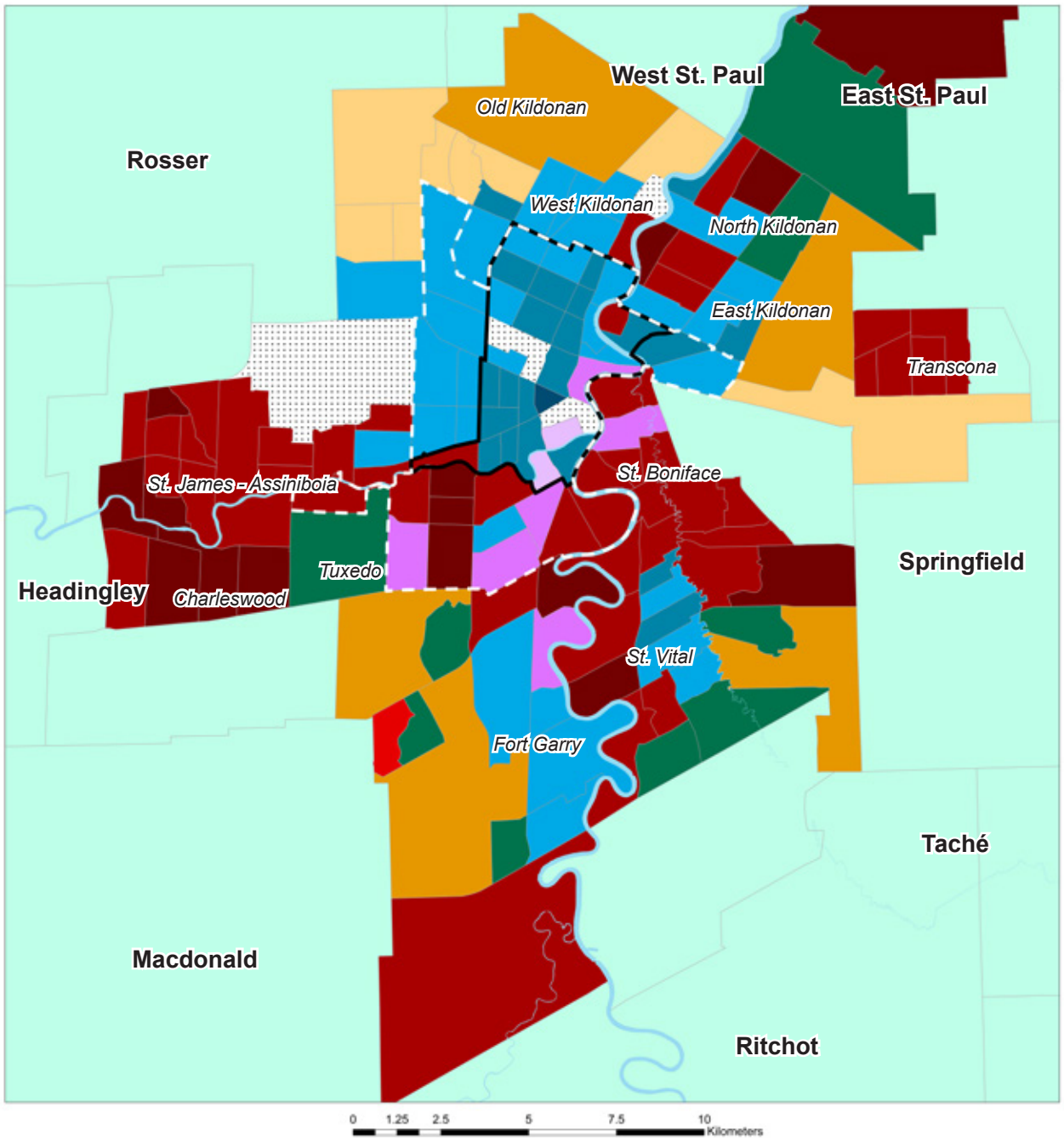
Generated from the methods above, there are twelve types of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg that organize into five broader families (See Map 4). Each neighbourhood type will be examined using its original component variables: socio-economic status, immigration and ethnic status, family and housing status, and mobility and housing opportunity. These socio-demographic details are situated with a brief discussion of the built environment for each neighbourhood type.

Table 4: Study Variables and Principle Component Analysis Results

Variables (N=28)	Mean	SD*	Component Loading**	% Variation	Eigen-value	***α
Component I: Socio-Economic Status				38.53%	10.789	0.934
% Population 25 Years and Over Without a High School Certificate	12.15	12.15	.886			
% Population 25 Years and Over With a Degree	63.29	11.05	-.868			
% Population Aboriginal Identity	8.17	7.09	.855			
% Unattached Individual Income for all Government Sources	10.65	5.53	.823			
% Single Parent Families	15.98	7.67	.761			
% Families Below the Low Income Cut-Off	13.46	9.28	.682			
% High Income Households ($100,000+)	22.69	14.30	-.673			
% Labour Force Managerial and Administrative	26.81	5.51	-.586			
% Dwellings Needing Major Repairs	25.31	7.17	.567			
Unemployment Rate	5.93	2.67	.564			
% Labour Force Sales and Service	22.53	5.30	.515			
Component II: Immigration and Ethnic Status				16.28%	4.558	0.962
% Population Immigrant	20.00	10.81	.960			
% Population Visible Minority Status	20.30	15.22	.956			
% Home Language Neither English nor French	26.00	13.43	.937			
% Population European	71.00	14.77	-.886			
% Population Recent Immigrant	5.02	5.07	.830			
% Dwellings with Unsuitable Person to Room Ratio	6.30	4.70	.694			
Component III: Family and Housing Status				11.71%	3.280	0.805
% One Person Households	26.26	12.88	.791			
% Working Population Car Commuters	79.39	11.88	-.749			
Average Family Size	3.03	0.29	-.703			
% Private Dwellings Rented	28.64	21.89	.637			
% Dwellings Constructed Pre-1960	24.49	29.69	.553			
% Population 20 to 34	22.42	7.40	.383			
Component IV: Mobility and Housing Opportunity				6.03%	1.690	0.751
% People Who Did Not Live at the Same Address 5 Years Ago	42.00	13.2	.802			
% Population 50 to 64	19.85	3.78	-.715			
% Households Where More Than 30% of Income Spent on Housing	16.33	6.02	.639			
% Private Dwellings Condominiums	12.98	14.39	.625			
% Dwellings Constructed 2000 to 2011	13.46	20.78	.601			
Total Variance (N=402)				72.56%		0.921

*Standard Deviation
** From Structure Matrix
*** Cronbach's Alpha

Map 4: Typology of Winnipeg Neighbourhoods by Census Tract, 2011



Neighbourhood Classification (Number of Census Tracts)

A: Peri-urban Areas

A1 Rural and Urban Fringes (14)

B: Suburban Areas

B1 Affluent Older Suburban/Exurban Fringe Neighbourhoods (9)

B2 Affluent New Suburban/Exurban Fringe Neighbourhoods (1)

B3 Newly Create Fringe Ethnoburbs (5)

B4 Multicultural Middle-Income Suburbs (B4)

C: Mature Neighbourhoods

C1 Middle-Income Group Mixed-Neighbourhoods (45)

C2 Old City Establishment (16)

D: Urban Landscapes

D1 Dense, Mixed-Income Neighbourhoods (2)

D2 Well-Educated, Young, and Professional Neighbourhoods (6)

E: Post-industrial Neighbourhoods

E1 Multicultural Older Working-Class Neighbourhoods (35)

E2 Post-Industrial, Inner-City Neighbourhoods (22)

E3 Impoverished Recent Immigrant in High-Rise Apartments (1)

Not Classified

City of Winnipeg (1971)

Inner-City Boundary

Major Rivers

Data Source: CHASS. Canadian Census Analyser, 2006 Candian Census Survey Profile Files, Profile of Census Tracts, University of Toronto.

Spatial Data Source: Data Liberation Initiative (2006).

Prepared By: Andrew Kaufman

Note: This map is based on a k-means cluster analysis using 4 component scores derived from 28 variables at the census tract level in two census metropolitan areas. The 13 distinct clusters are organized into five broad groups based on their statistical similarity across these variables.

Peri-urban Areas (A)

Rural Areas and Urban Fringes (A1): Not neighbourhoods in the traditional sense, this group is composed of a variety of landscapes located around Winnipeg's fringes. These areas often straddle Winnipeg's municipal boundaries and at times fall within separate rural municipalities. Examples include the Transcona Industrial Park, Rosser, La Salle, and Oak Bluff. This zone has the lowest population density of any neighbourhood type and includes a variety of land uses such as agriculture, exurban residential enclaves, and industrial parks. Individuals living in these areas are predominantly employed in manufacturing, trades, or resource based-economies while 30% are managers and administrators. Living in the urban fringes, these middle-aged and older populations have some of the highest car commuter rates. This zone contains low numbers of non-White persons but large numbers of Indigenous persons. This presence may result from the inclusion of First Nation Reserves, like Brokenhead Ojibway Nation, within the Winnipeg CMA.

Suburban Neighbourhoods (B)

Far from uniform, there is an assortment of suburban neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. While older suburbs are absorbed into the city proper,io new fringe developments are inhabited by successive and changing socio-demographic waves. Suburbs located within the city limits are predominantly composed of housing, while those located outside of municipal jurisdictions may have more functional diversity.

Affluent Older Suburban/Exurban Fringe Neighbourhoods (B1): Fifteen years ago, these neighbourhoods had the same conditions, which the "Affluent New Suburban/Exurban Fringe Neighbourhoods" (Cluster B2, below) have today. Often constructed in unincorporated areas outside of the City of Winnipeg's municipal jurisdiction, at first these neighbourhoods had relatively homogenous socio-demographic makeups. Today many of these neighbourhoods have been engulfed by the outward expansions of Winnipeg's urban structure. Marked by high average incomes and high levels of education, the population here is typically employed in managerial and administrative jobs. This cluster includes neighbourhoods like East St. Paul and South St. Vital. Single-family housing in these neighbourhoods is predominantly mortgage-free and owned by ageing European parents of commuter families whose children have left home. The development of retirement communities in these areas may further inflate the ageing demographics of these neighbourhoods. Recent development in these neighbourhoods may be indicative of infill construction projects.

Affluent New Suburban/Exurban Fringe Neighbourhoods (B2): Predominantly constructed in the last 11 years, these neighbourhoods include areas like Whyte Ridge. This is the most affluent neighbourhood type with the highest average individual after-tax income and the second-highest number of high-income households. This area is also characterized by a highly educated population (80% with post-secondary degrees) that is largely employed in managerial, administrative, and professional positions. Houses in these neighbourhoods, while large, may have been built in a period with increased density constraints resulting in smaller lots. These houses are large, single-family dwellings with little need for repairs. This cluster is marked by car commuting (90.4%) and families with slight ethnic mixing (31% visible minority status but an insignificant number of people with Aboriginal ancestry). Far from mixed-income areas, these neighbourhoods include no public housing and have the lowest amount of government transfers of all neighbourhoods.

Newly Created Fringe Ethnoburbs (B3): These neighbourhoods are the newest of the suburban fringe zones. Landscapes that were still farmland 15 years ago have given way to new neighbourhoods, with the highest percentage of houses built in the last 11 years (76.5%). In these areas, definitions of what constitutes a neighbourhood are complicated by whether housing development predicates neighbourhood existence. In Halifax, Prouse, Grant, Radice, and Ramos (2014) make a distinction in suburban areas between neighbourhood change and neighbourhood creation. As new areas, Amber Trails and Island Lakes may in time become functioning neighbourhoods with the building of social connections. These new neighbourhoods hold the highest number of mortgages for any cluster, as they are populated by high-income, young

Rural Estates (2014): *Pritchard Farm Southlands Village is an example of an exurban fringe neighbourhood (B1).*

NEREO JR. EUGENIO/2015

households beginning families. While some condo units exist in these areas, the landscape has an extremely low population density, and high car commuting rates. Unlike older suburban neighbourhoods, changes in immigration patterns over the last 20 years have meant that these neighbourhoods are largely inhabited by non-European linguistic and ethnic populations (36.9% non-White).

Multicultural Middle-Income Suburbs (B4): Changes in immigration patterns over the last 20 years have created new settlement arrangements for developing suburban landscapes. Principally newly constructed neighbourhoods, these areas are a major destination for immigrant settlement in suburban areas. Non-White people compose 40% of the population, with a notable number of recent immigrants. People in these areas are largely employed in trades, manufacturing, sales, and service industries. The families that live here are young and have larger-than-average families. Greater amounts of public housing can be found in these areas, and one-fifth of the housing is rental units. Examples of these neighbourhoods include The Maples, River Grove, and new Transcona.

Mature Neighbourhoods (C)

Surrounding the inner-city, these neighbourhoods include affluent urban enclaves, stable urban villages, and more affluent suburbs engulfed by urban expansion.

Middle-Income Group Mixed-Neighbourhoods (C1): These are middle-class mixed neighbourhoods that have predominantly developed within central city limits. Neighbourhoods include Lord Roberts, Crestview, and Westwood. Nearly half of the housing in these neighbourhoods was constructed before 1960 and a substantial supply of rental and public housing exists here. Inhabitants are older, predominantly European, and mainly employed in manufacturing, trades, and professional positions.

Old City Establishment (C2): Historically containing the most affluent households in Winnipeg, today these neighbourhoods are ageing, with 30.6% of the housing constructed before 1960 and mortgages largely paid off. Occupied by an older, European population, many in these neighbourhoods hold high-paying managerial, administrative, and professional jobs. Often located near water, these neighbourhoods include River Heights, Wellington Crescent, and Southboine.

Urban Landscapes (D)

Dense, Mixed-Income Neighbourhoods (D1): These are dense, mixed-income neighbourhoods. Housing is composed of rental, condominium, and public housing units. The majority of people live alone and in housing conditions that are not affordable. These neighbourhoods are characterized by relatively high residential mobility, with 68% of individuals not living at the same address as

5 years ago. There is a generational mix, with a majority of the population falling in the older than 65 or 20 to 34 year old age ranges. These are primarily non-car commuting, urban communities. While 20% of the population is of visible minority status, these neighbourhoods are still predominantly composed of European populations. Broadway-Assiniboine and Osborne Village are key examples of these neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

Well-Educated, Young, and Professional Neighbourhoods (D2): While some of these neighbourhoods have been exposed to forces of decline, these areas are now being inhabited by young, middle-class wage earners. These neighbourhoods are characterized by home ownership in condominiums, rental housing, and a moderate amount of public housing. While a large portion of these neighbourhoods were built before 1960, these areas have been marked by ongoing development and redevelopment associated with both revitalization and gentrification. Individuals living in these areas are predominantly young, single, or just beginning families. People in these neighbourhoods are highly educated and are fairly evenly distributed across all sectors of the labour market. Approximately one-quarter of these neighbourhoods are composed of non-White peoples and recent immigrants suggesting greater diversity than the "Mixed-Income, Dense Urban" neighbourhoods above. A large portion of people in these neighbourhoods (30%) are non-car commuters and many do not live at the same location 5 years ago. Higher rates of unemployment in these areas occur amidst growing housing unaffordability, resulting in displacement. Exemplar neighbourhoods include Central St. Boniface, Earl Grey, and South Point Douglas.

Post-Industrial Neighbourhoods (E)

Beginning in the 1960s in Western Canada, these communities are defined by the post-industrial processes that have pulled jobs, businesses, and capital away from traditionally blue-collar neighbourhoods.

Multicultural Older Working-Class Neighbourhoods (E1): These neighbourhoods are characterized by lower middle-income groups with individuals predominantly employed in manufacturing, trades, sales, and service industries. Many of these neighbourhoods were constructed in the urban fringes at the start of the 20th century. However, through the 1940s and 1950s, these neighbourhoods were engulfed by outward city expansion. Approximately 31% of this housing stock was constructed before 1960 and is in need of major repairs—only a minimal amount of property development has occurred in the last 10 years. A large number of single-parent families exist in these neighbourhoods and they have become home to a growing number of non-White peoples, recent immigrants, and Indigenous Peoples. Lower incomes in these areas are supplemented by high rates of government transfer payments and public housing. Silver Heights, Munroe West, and Weston serve as examples of these neighbourhoods in Winnipeg.

Post-Industrial, Inner-City Neighbourhoods (E2): Neighbourhoods like West Broadway, Spence, Daniel McIntyre, Centennial, Lord Selkirk Park, William Whyte, and Elmwood share a unique story. Indigenous peoples compose nearly 20% of these neighbourhoods while recent immigrants make up another 10%. These population-dense neighbourhoods are characterized by large numbers of households below the poverty line, low home ownership rates, large numbers of individuals without high school certificates, high unemployment rates, and high government transfer rates. Neighbourhood residents are principally employed in the manufacturing, trades, sales, and services sectors. In these neighbourhoods, housing is mainly rental or public housing units. Constructed before the 1960s, this housing stock is in need of major repairs. While gentrification has been identified as occurring in some of these neighbourhoods (Logan & Vachon, 2008; Silver, 2006), very little development has occurred over the past 11 years within these neighbourhoods. The populations here are generally young and many live alone. Large families located in these neighbourhoods face difficulties finding proper accommodation, with unsuitable person-to-room ratios and unaffordable accommodations.

Impoverished Recent Immigrants in High-Rise Apartments (E3): While not unique in the Canadian landscape, Winnipeg's Central Park stands alone in Western Canadian Cities such as Edmonton, Saskatoon,

and Regina. Central Park is the only neighbourhood classification composed of a single census tract. Of all the neighbourhood types, Central Park has the lowest average individual income, highest number of households below the low-income cut off, top unemployment rate, utmost dependency on government transfer payments (28.3%), and highest concentration of single-parent families. Many in this neighbourhood do not have a high school certificate and the majority of the labour force is employed in the sales and service sector (37.2%). Those who commute mostly use public or active transportation. Central Park is a destination for Canadian newcomers; it holds the greatest concentration of recent immigrants (33.5% recent immigrants) and non-White peoples in this study as well as a highly mobile population (72.4% did not live at the same address 5 years ago). These newcomers compete for high-rise rental and public housing with a large concentration of Indigenous peoples. Central Park stands out as a place of home ownership and mortgages suggesting the conversion of ageing high-rise towers into condominiums.

Conclusions

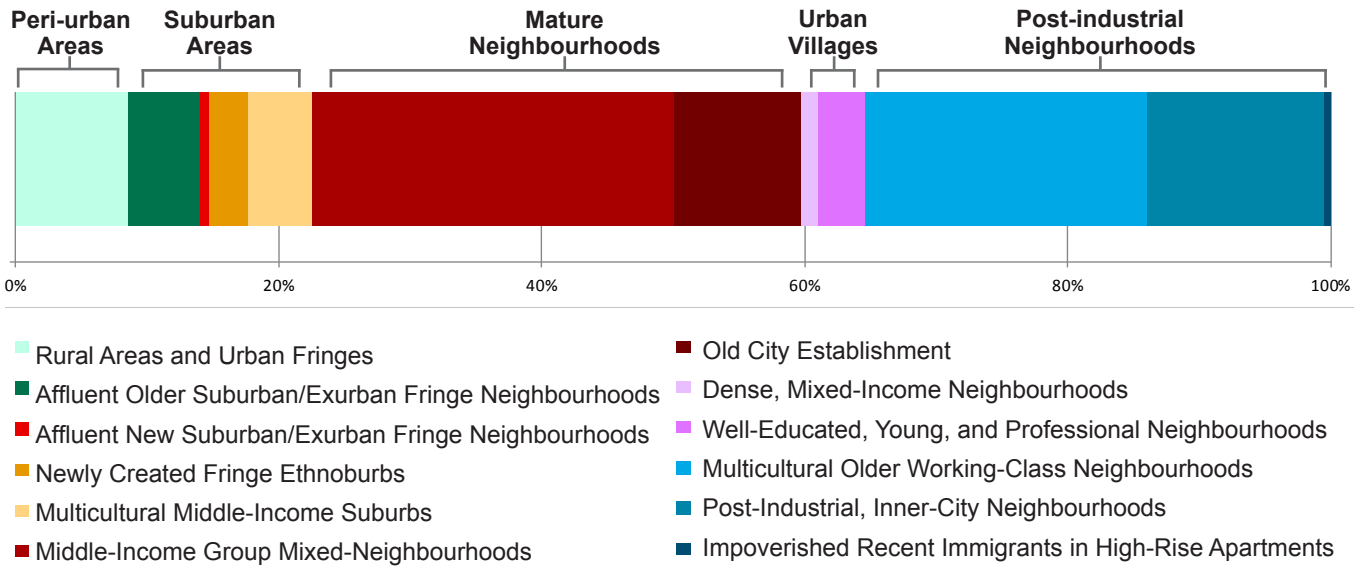
Recent media attention has articulated deep racial divisions between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Winnipegers. This paper highlights the importance of considering these divisions spatially and at the scale of the neighbourhood. Describing who lives where in Winnipeg, the analysis illuminates socio-spatial differences between Winnipeg's neighbourhoods. It suggests that there are twelve types of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg that organize into five broader families. Each neighbourhood type has its own distinct socio-spatial configurations. Figure 4 shows that Winnipeg sorts principally into post-industrial and mature neighbourhoods.

Examining Winnipeg as a city divided along socio-demographic lines shows that inequality takes on a spatial dimension at the neighbourhood-level. Unsurprisingly, and consistent with general urban patterns, Winnipeg's neighbourhoods sort by socio-economic and demographic status. This research finds, in agreement with Lorch's findings

ELISA CONTRERAS CIGALES/2014

Central Park (2014): *As a hub of activity, a new AstroTurf field has changed the way many connect with their neighbourhood.*

Figure 4: Winnipeg's Neighbourhood Types (Percent of Census Tracts)



(this volume), that Winnipeg has a clustering of marginalized populations living within the inner-city. These neighbourhoods are generally surrounded by concentric circles of increasing affluence towards the edges of the city. Unlike Toronto and Vancouver's rapidly gentrifying inner-cities, Winnipeg displays a hollowing out of the inner-city areas consistent with deindustrialization (Ley & Frost, 2006).

Furthermore, the research suggests that Winnipeg is a city divided not just by socio-economic status, but also by race, immigration and ethnic status, family and housing status, and mobility and housing opportunity. While segregation and ghettoization do not occur to the same extent in Winnipeg as in many American cities (Peters, 2005; Walks & Bourne, 2006), the structure of neighbourhood types in Winnipeg reveals that Winnipeg's spatial divisions fall along ethnic lines. Broadly speaking, European populations are concentrated in the affluent south, suburban, and fringe areas of the city, while the inner-city has a clustering of non-white and Indigenous populations. As Razack explains, place can become race when institutional structures normalize spatial configurations (2002, p. 17). That Winnipeg's inner-city is synonymous with both Aboriginal and non-white populations is indicative of structural processes that divide the city by race. Moreover, socio-spatial inequality can be gendered, and this analysis points to interesting socio-spatial patterns along gender lines. Just as place becomes race, place can also become gender. While neighbourhoods throughout Winnipeg have a consistent balance between male and female respondents, approximately 83% of Winnipeg's lone-parent families were female-headed in 2006, and a significant proportion of single-parent families reside in inner-city neighbourhoods. This has important implications, as the spatial configurations of who lives in which neighbourhood reproduce, reshape, and revitalize older hierarchies (e.g. class-based, racial, or patriarchal). When Individuals come to know who they are by the spaces that they live in, their bodies are bounded by these spaces (Razack, 2002).

The analysis here serves as a point of departure for further conversations/exploration around how social inequalities are spatially configured in Winnipeg—and about the implications of those inequalities. The relationship between society and space can reproduce both justice and injustice (Soja, 2010), and inequality, whether related to income, ethnicity, or gender, is reproduced at the neighbourhood-level through institutional policies and inadequate support. The findings raise questions about what policies and processes either maintain inequality or allow populations

to transgress structures of socio-spatial inequality in Winnipeg. Some critical scholars suggest that the modern city is premised on maintaining distinct neighbourhood categories with separate spaces of inhabitation for different socio-demographic populations. However, the emergence of ethnoburbs (e.g., Neighbourhoods B3 and B4) shows that new neighbourhood realities are possible in Winnipeg. When looking at income inequality in relation to race, future research should examine how law, policy, and governance come together to form enduring structures that place marginalized populations in the inner-city and affluent European populations in the urban Fringes. For to contest the inner-city as the de facto location of socio-economically marginalized populations is to denaturalize arguments about the spatial sorting of populations. The attention of journalists around the world on Winnipeg's divisions has rightly enraged people. Scholars, politicians, citizens, and those affected by the divided city can seize this opportunity to establish genuine friendships (Illich, 1997) with the aim of redressing growing inequality and forming a more just city.

Inner-City Housing (2013): *William Avenue located in the Centennial Neighbourhoods has a mixture of deteriorating housing.*

GREG GALLINGER/2014

End Notes

1. Replacing Statistics Canada's long census questionnaire (Census Form 2B), the voluntary NHS has reduced the number of high and low income CTs while inflating middle income brackets; falsely equalizing income in Canada (Hulchanski, Murdie, Walks, & Bourne, 2013; Walks, 2013). Recognizing this limitation, the decision was made to proceed cautiously with 2011 NHS data under the premise that problematic data is better than data that no longer reflects current socio-spatial realities. For all levels of NHS data, Global Non-Response Rates (GNR) were calculated. Data from CTs with a GNR above 50% was suppressed by Statistics Canada. The Mean GNR for the 402 CTs used in this analysis was 28.02% (Min 12.3%; Max 49.3%).

2. Defining neighbourhoods is difficult as boundaries evolve, are subjective, and not necessarily mutually exclusive. As small, standardized spatial units, CTs present the strongest avenue for comparative studies of Canadian neighbourhoods. CTs tend to be uniform in socio-demographic characteristics and housing conditions (Kitchen,2001). CTs have however, been recognized to conflate distinct socio-demographic areas as defined by community members. There are cases across Canada where high and low-income neighbourhoods coexist within one CT, complicating neighbourhood definitions (Walks, 2013, p. 143).

3. Multivariate statistical tools like PCA and cluster analysis require a certain number of cases, neighbourhoods in this instance, per variable. To that end, Edmonton was included in the analysis as there are not enough neighbourhoods in Winnipeg to run this analysis. Edmonton was chosen as a comparative city due to perceived socio-spatial commonalities. 402 Census Tracts (CTs) from Winnipeg, Manitoba and Edmonton, Alberta were used as the unit of analysis for this study.

Part II

The Processes

Black Clouds (2012): *Winnipeg's Fort Garry Hotel watches while hundreds are evacuated from St. Boniface as a fuel plant explodes.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2012

Policies for a Slow-Growth City

ADRIAN STONESS/2014

Two Sizes Too Big (2014): *Pock-marked with surface parking lots, Winnipeg struggles with an expansive downtown footprint suited to a larger population.*

By Dr. Christopher Leo

A number of years ago, with help from two friends, I published a pair of academic articles on the subject of slow urban growth, a topic that had previously received almost no attention, either by academics or in the real world. The articles were novel because they challenged conventional wisdom, in which it was taken for granted that slow urban population growth, and its first cousin, decline, were undesirable. This view was so entrenched that, for the most part, both academics and practitioners stated it as fact without bothering to argue the case.

The two articles (Leo & Anderson, 2006; Leo & Brown, 2000) argued that neither slow-growth nor rapid growth is inherently good or bad, but that they are different in ways that our decision-makers need to appreciate. Though I have no way of being sure, I like to think the articles have had a modest influence, certainly in Winnipeg, where today slow growth is often spoken of simply as a fact, not as a blight to be eradicated.

The discourse about growth has improved, but facts on the ground are more tenacious. The articles argued that our cities cannot be governed intelligently if leaders do not understand how rates of population growth change the game in important policy areas such as housing, economic development, infrastructure, and even immigration. Although in some ways governance has improved since these two articles were published, in others, policy remains mired in the ways of the past (Leo & Anderson, 2006; Leo & Brown, 2000).

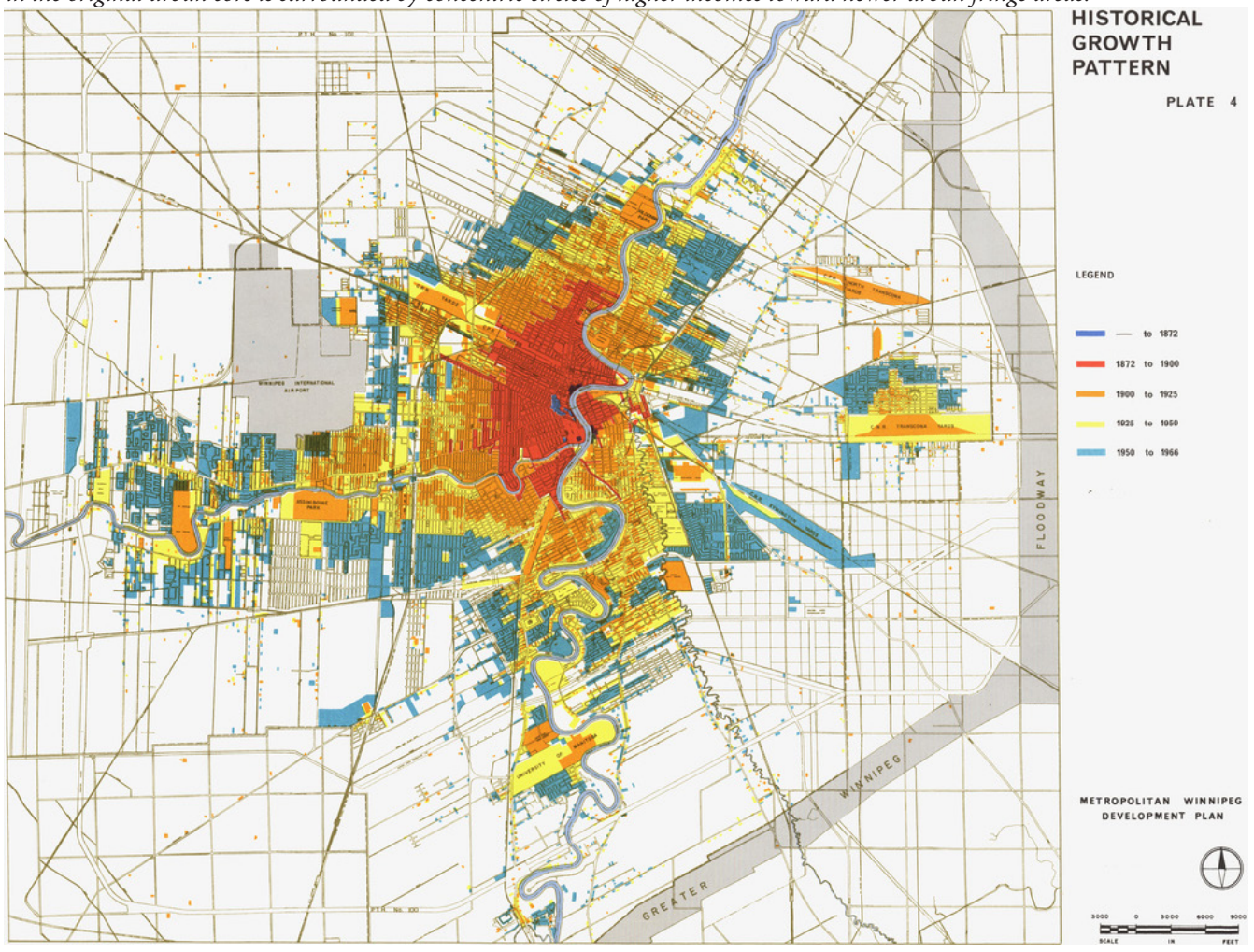
Now is a good time, therefore, to take another look at the research and review its main findings. In the rest of this essay, I'll briefly explain how slow-growth affects each of the four policy areas introduced into the discussion—housing, infrastructure, economic development, and immigration—and what the implications are for public policy.

Housing

A major advantage of slow-growth is that it keeps housing prices down however, as much as we may complain about rents in Winnipeg, both rental and purchase costs are even higher in such growth magnets as Toronto and Vancouver. In the cheap-labour economy North America has become, finding housing is a struggle everywhere for low-income earners, but it is a much greater struggle in Vancouver than here—so much so that, as I have argued elsewhere, gentrification remains a non-issue in Winnipeg (Leo, 2013).

Vancouver's Mayor Gregor Robertson has courageously declared a policy of ending homelessness, and he has made serious progress toward that goal (Burrows, 2011). In a rapidly growing city, everyone understands that the

Historical Growth Patterns (1966): *Income sorting tends to follow Winnipeg's development patterns: a clustering of poverty in the original urban core is surrounded by concentric circles of higher incomes toward newer urban fringe areas.*



HISTORICAL GROWTH PATTERNS. WINNIPEG PLANNING DIVISION. WINNIPEG HISTORICAL GROWTH PATTERN [MAP]. 1:72,600. IN: WINNIPEG PLANNING DIVISION. THE METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT PLAN. WINNIPEG: THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG, 1966, PLATE 4.

Failed Growth Promises (1973): *Buildings are demolished at Main Street and Portage Avenue to make way for a major office development, which would falter and instead become a surface parking lot.*

UNKNOWN/1973

elimination of homelessness is a long shot, but in Winnipeg it would be a much less daunting venture.

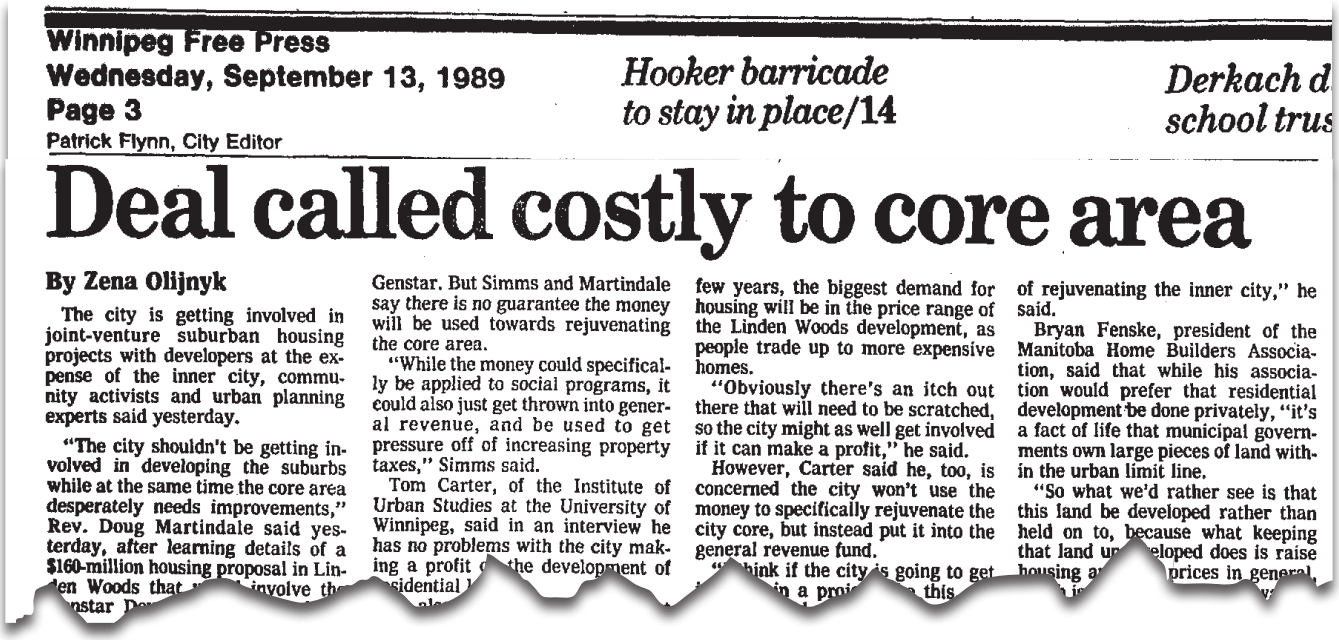
Infrastructure and Services

Of all the slow-growth arguments I've advanced over the years, this is the one that has received the most public attention and the least policy response. Some readers may well be tired of seeing me argue that Winnipeg city council pursues a de facto policy of allowing developers to locate new development almost anywhere they wish (Leo, 2012), and accept an obligation to extend all of its services—from roads and sewers to snow removal and mosquito control—to new, far-flung neighbourhoods.

As a result, we're spending so much money on infrastructure and services that we can't even afford to maintain our streets, let alone pursue more ambitious policy objectives—for example the abolition of homelessness.

Economic Development

In the last two policy areas, governance has become smarter than it was when I published the first of my two slow-growth articles. It has long been the habit of slow-growth cities to imagine they can magically accelerate growth by chasing smokestacks and glass towers—using taxpayer giveaways to lure national or international corporations. Those policies were usually disastrously misconceived, for many reasons, not the least of which were that the cost of subsidies reduced or even wiped out any possible gains



Winnipeg Free Press
Wednesday, September 13, 1989
Page 3
Patrick Flynn, City Editor

Hooker barricade to stay in place/14

Derkach d school trus

Deal called costly to core area

By Zena Olijnyk

The city is getting involved in joint-venture suburban housing projects with developers at the expense of the inner city, community activists and urban planning experts said yesterday.

"The city shouldn't be getting involved in developing the suburbs while at the same time the core area desperately needs improvements," Rev. Doug Martindale said yesterday, after learning details of a $160-million housing proposal in Linden Woods that [illegible] involve the [illegible] Genstar. But Simms and Martindale say there is no guarantee the money will be used towards rejuvenating the core area.

"While the money could specifically be applied to social programs, it could also just get thrown into general revenue, and be used to get pressure off of increasing property taxes," Simms said.

Tom Carter, of the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg, said in an interview he has no problems with the city making a profit [illegible] the development of [illegible] few years, the biggest demand for housing will be in the price range of the Linden Woods development, as people trade up to more expensive homes.

"Obviously there's an itch out there that will need to be scratched, so the city might as well get involved if it can make a profit," he said.

However, Carter said he, too, is concerned the city won't use the money to specifically rejuvenate the city core, but instead put it into the general revenue fund.

"[illegible]hink if the city is going to get [illegible]in a proj[illegible] this [illegible] of rejuvenating the inner city," he said.

Bryan Fenske, president of the Manitoba Home Builders Association, said that while his association would prefer that residential development be done privately, "it's a fact of life that municipal governments own large pieces of land within the urban limit line.

"So what we'd rather see is that this land be developed rather than held on to, because what keeping that land u[illegible]eloped does is raise housing a[illegible] prices in general, [illegible]

ZENA OLIJNYK/SEPT. 13, 1989/WINNIPEG FREE PRESS/ ARCHIVES.WINNIPEGFREEPRESS.COM/

Contested Suburban Growth (1989): *A joint-venture project between the City of Winnipeg and Genstar Development Co. is contested as inner-city advocates push for core area support.*

and that the companies that were lured by subsidies often took their first opportunity to look for better subsidies elsewhere.

For slow-growth cities everywhere, these policies were always a race to the bottom and often self-defeating—a reality that has been increasingly recognized in recent years. Since the early 2000s, Winnipeg's decision-makers have pursued a line of policy that is both more moderate and more promising, emphasizing the identification of existing areas of economic strength, building upon them, and seeking opportunities for the export of local production, in preference to luring producers from elsewhere to locate mega-projects here.

Immigration

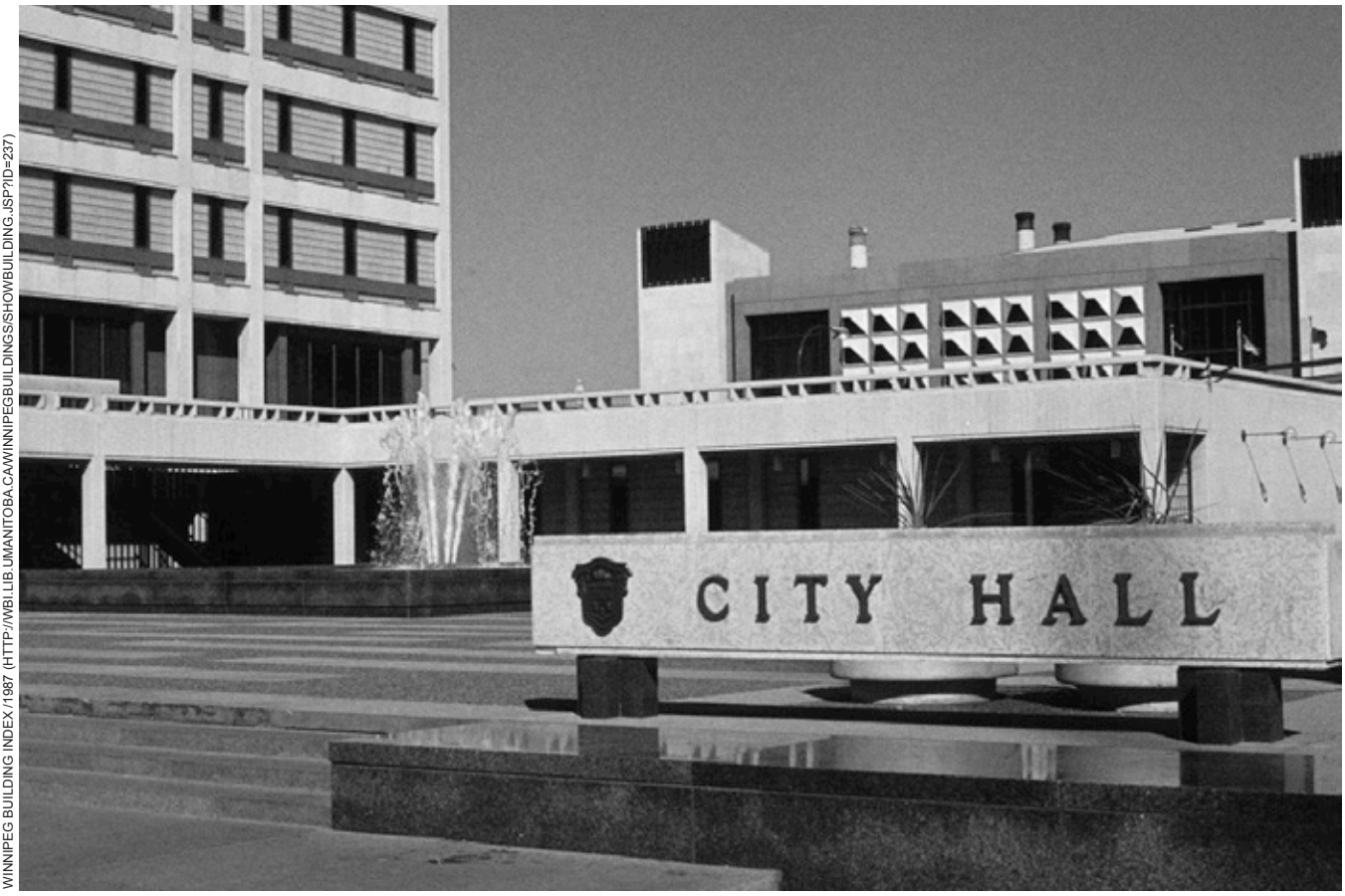
The original slow-growth article argued that while cities like Vancouver were struggling to deal with a massive influx of immigrants, Winnipeg offered ideal circumstances for a policy of encouraging more immigration. Those conditions included labour shortages and an inexpensive housing stock that stood to benefit from hard-working immigrants looking for "fixer-uppers." In this policy area, as in the case of economic development, government policy has become smarter.

The provincial government, in close consultation with community groups, and in cooperation with the federal government, developed the Provincial Nominee Program (Leo, 2009), through which many thousands of immigrants have come to Winnipeg to fill available jobs. The program was so successful that it has been recognized around the world as a model. It remains to be seen whether and to what extent, recent changes in federal-provincial arrangements for immigration, forced upon the provinces by the federal government, will undermine these successes (Redekop, 2014).

At the best of times, smart policy making is a challenge in an arena where three orders of government must coordinate their activities in a complex economic and technological environment. It is encouraging that the political discourse in Winnipeg has recognized the salience of urban growth rates and responded to that recognition in some areas. At the same time, it's disheartening that in other areas policy remains trapped in its old ways, and that backsliding is an ever-present danger.

For a detailed discussion of how slow-growth impacts cities and their infrastructure see Leo & Brown (2000), ***Slow-Growth and Urban Development Policy****; and Leo and Anderson (2006)* ***Being Realistic About Urban Growth****.*

One Great Suburb:
Municipal Amalgamation and the Suburbanization of Winnipeg



WINNIPEG BUILDING INDEX /1987 (HTTP://WBI.LIB.UMANITOBA.CA/WINNIPEGBUILDINGS/SHOWBUILDING.JSP?ID=237)

Suburban Council (1960): *After the 1972 Unicity Project, city hall was increasingly dominated by suburban councilors.*

By Robert Galston

Winnipeg's future was fundamentally altered on January 1, 1972 when the municipal government of Unicity was formed, amalgamating 12 distinct municipalities into the City of Winnipeg. On that day, the Metropolitan and local governments were united into one big City of Winnipeg. The amalgamation came after more than a decade of suburban growth, downtown and inner-city decline, and increasingly strained relationships between the Metropolitan government and the dozen municipalities that made up the region. The municipal amalgamation process, commonly enacted across North American cities, would have lasting impacts on Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

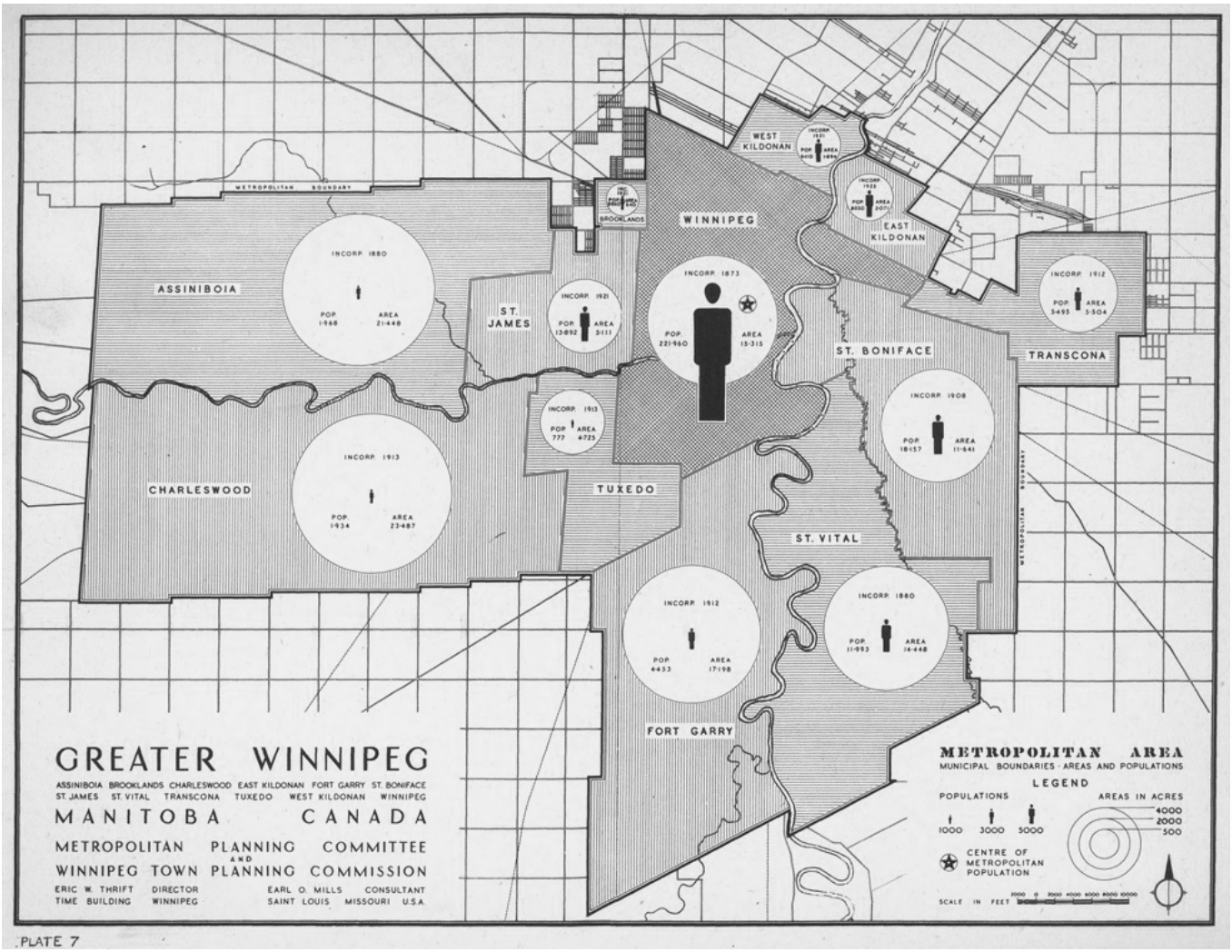
Twelve municipalities would be amalgamated into one big city government that would provide all municipal services. The new council would stay close to administration through the use of commissions. At the same time, the vastly larger city government would consult citizens through the creation of community committees and resident advisory groups.

The main aims of Unicity were to make the municipal taxation and provision of services more equitable, to empower the municipal government to more ably tackle issues such as downtown development, to deliver services more efficiently, and to better engage citizens in local politics and decision-making (Axworthy & Cassidy, 1974, pp. 2–3).

There was support for Unicity among the citizens of the old City of Winnipeg, because the city centre was where emergent social issues were concentrated. Support for Unicity in the suburbs was due to municipalities enjoying increasing tax revenues through new growth. It was hoped that amalgamation would strike a balance between these urban costs and suburban resources. A number of suburban councillors and mayors feared increased taxes and a loss of local autonomy, but there were few suburbanites who would argue that the existing two-tiered system was delivering services effectively and efficiently (Axworthy, 1972, pp. 31-38).

While the level of success Unicity had in improving citizen engagement in municipal politics is a worthwhile topic of debate, the focus of this short essay is on two long-term consequences Unicity would have on growth and income inequality in Winnipeg. First, equitable service provision not only encouraged continued growth in former suburbs, but also in exurban municipalities. Second, suburban dominance on council led to complex urban issues being ineffectively addressed.

Population of Metro Winnipeg (1946): *Unicity amalgamated 12 distinct municipalities.*



METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMITTEE AND WINNIPEG TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION. METROPOLITAN AREA MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES, AREAS AND POPULATIONS [MAP]. 1:108,000. IN: METROPOLITAN PLANNING COMMITTEE AND WINNIPEG TOWN PLANNING COMMISSION. BACKGROUND FOR PLANNING GREATER WINNIPEG. WINNIPEG: 1946, PLATE 7.

Little Suburb on the Prairie (2014): *Fringe growth continues in Winnipeg's south end.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Suburban Service Provision

One clear and immediate success of Unicity was that it drastically reduced both the disparity of Greater Winnipeg's property tax rates and provision of services between the central city and suburbs (Axworthy, 1974, p. 12). The first post-Unicity budget showed that recreation, capital works, and maintenance heavily favoured the former suburban municipalities. Axworthy (1974) suggests this was partly because significantly higher rates of population growth in the suburbs required greater levels of investment in public works, but also because, "reorganization has influenced a choice of civic priorities favouring suburban residents and against those of the inner-city" (p. 10).

The expansion of utilities and roadways facilitated major commercial growth on the new city's fringes, closer to the exurban municipalities. Sometimes, the Unicity council took a very direct role in this process, such as in 1974 when it approved a policy to create six new regional shopping malls in the city's suburban areas (Lyon & Fenton, 1984, p. 100). Not only would this commercial expansion harm retail on Portage Avenue, which for decades had been the primary shopping district of the metropolitan region, but it would also provide nearby amenities for the growing number of residents of exurban communities.

Higher taxes in the former suburbs did not push the development of exurbs as much as better municipal services lured it there. Tuxedo would retain its status as the highest income area in the Winnipeg region, even after property taxes increased by 40% in 1972 (Axworthy, 1974, p. 12). Old city neighbourhoods such as Crescentwood and River Heights have had above-average incomes since the 1970s, while the East Exchange District in the urban core has recently emerged as a new high-income census tract. Wealth does not necessarily follow the path of least taxation, but it does follow the quality provision of municipal and commercial services (which are dependent on the provision of new and expanded transportation routes and utilities). These changes in infrastructure, create closer proximities between exurban residential developments and urban employment, shopping, and entertainment.

A Suburban City Council

Suburban dominance on the new council put both reform-minded centrists and left-leaning councilors from the central city in the minority position. Axworthy (1974) notes that in 1974, two councillors from the central city resigned from the pro-business coalition, the Independent Citizens Election Committee, because of its increasingly suburban approach to urban issues and growth (p. 10).

With suburban resources came suburban influence over the direction of the downtown and the central city. Population growth on the city's edges saw suburban councillors outnumber urban ones. The suburban-dominated council did not ignore downtown, though, and was quite enthusiastic about development there. In fact, one $100 million development, "involving a complicated land transfer from the city," was approved four days after it was first proposed to council (Axworthy, 1974, p. 14). However, the priorities for the new council were large-scale development projects and cleaning up dilapidated areas, rather than tackling tough social issues or working toward more a more holistic revitalization. This phenomenon has been noted in other cities as well as suburban communities vote as a block (e.g., in Hamilton; see Spicer, 2012). Axworthy (1974) notes that council showed a "disregard for economic or social development policies that would meet the needs of native people who have migrated to the central city" (p. 11). And so, while downtown development was long on bricks-and-mortar solutions and short on planning, the increasingly impoverished inner-city that surrounded Winnipeg's downtown was largely ignored by council.

Unicity's equitable municipal taxation and service provision would help augment the suburbanization of Winnipeg from 1970 on: residential growth continued in the city's suburban areas, commercial growth and roadway expansion facilitated exurban development, and short-sighted fixations on mega-projects downtown exacerbated urban problems. While the recent emergence of the Exchange District, rising popularity of Corydon and West Broadway, and increasing stability in inner-city neighbourhoods like North Point Douglas and Lord Selkirk Park are significant, they remain modest exceptions to the Winnipeg region's general pattern of suburbanization. Winnipeg still has significant spatial disparities in income distribution between inner-city and suburban neighbourhoods.

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For List of General Abbreviations see Opposite Page

SUBURBAN ABBREVIATIONS

Chswd—Charleswood Kil—Kildonan Ft Garry—Fort Garry St Bon—St Boniface Wpg—Winnipeg

SPECIAL ABBREVIATIONS

CIL—Canadian Industries Ltd
CNIB—Canadian National Institute for the Blind
CNR—Canadian National Railway
CPR—Canadian Pacific Railway
DVA—Department Veteran's Affairs
HBC—Hudson's Bay Co
IBM—International Business Machines
MIT—Manitoba Institute of Technology
PFAA—Prairie Farm Assistance Administration
PFRA—Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Administration
RCAF—Royal Canadian Air Force
RCMP—Royal Canadian Mounted Police
VON—Victorian Order of Nurses

EXPLANATION

Wives names are listed with husbands, the name of the wife is shown in parenthesis following the husband's as follows: Gregory Richd M (Mary L).

In case of a widow by death, wherever possible the name of the deceased husband is shown in parenthesis as follows: Gregory Mary L (wid Richd M).

The occupation and place of employment is listed as follows: Gregory Richd M (Mary L) slsmn Starr Clothing Co.

Names in heavy type denote advertisers in this City Directory.

Ownership or co-ownership of a firm is indicated by showing the individual's name in parenthesis following the firm name, as follows: Carson Grocery Co (Geo B and Paul N Carson).

A firm name enclosed by parenthesis indicates ownership or co-ownership by the individual whose name precedes, as follows: Carson Geo B (Carson Grocery Co).

The head of the house is indicated by h preceding the street address; other members of the family and roomers are indicated by r preceding the street address.

City Directory (1965): *The municipalities of Metropolitan Winnipeg before amalgamation.*

Serious reform of Winnipeg's Capital Region's government structure was needed in 1972, but the attempt to stop growing fiscal disparity with municipal amalgamation enabled greater socio-economic disparity. Today, enhanced autonomy for Winnipeg's urban centre through policy development is needed. This policy should understand the interconnectedness of the inner-city and downtown and would help create a stronger city better able to tackle the challenges of growth, transition, and income inequality.

Beyond Our Borders:
Growth in Winnipeg's Capital Region

BRIAN LORCH/2003

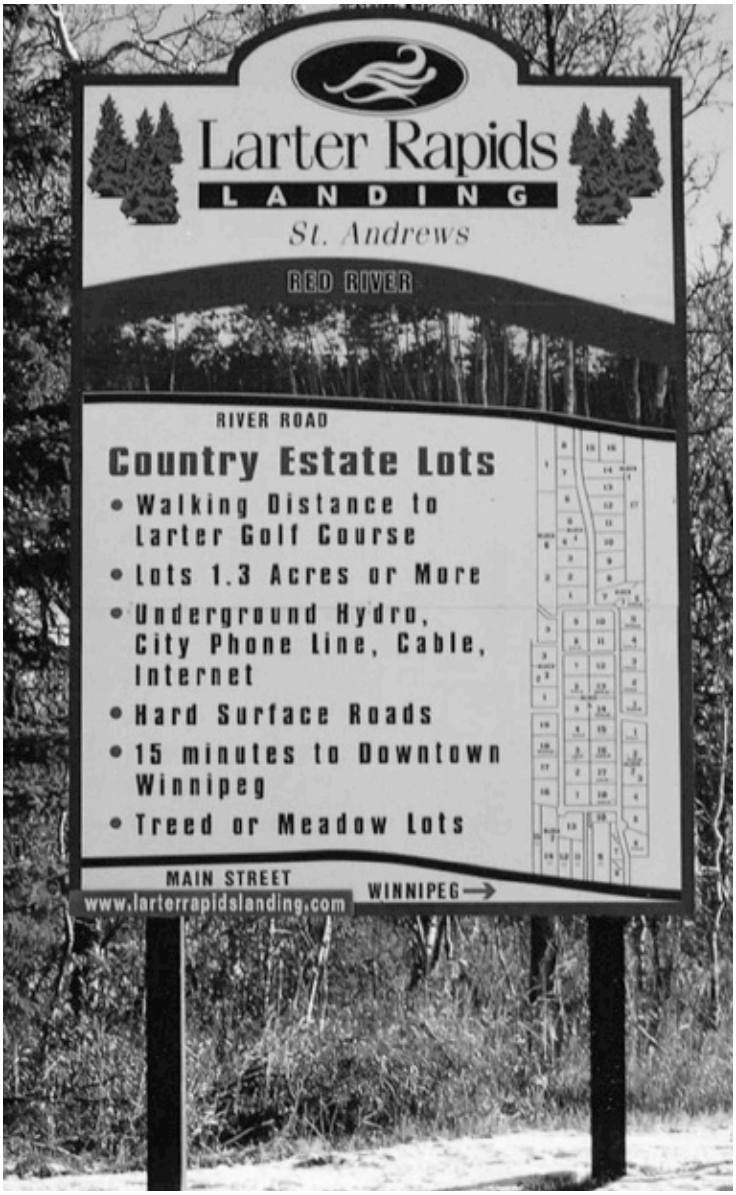
West St. Paul (2003): *An example of large lot sizes and exurban growth.*

By Dr. Brian Lorch

Over the past few decades, a key dimension of neighbourhood development and change in Winnipeg has been the extent to which population growth has found its way to areas beyond the city's boundaries. Particularly conspicuous has been the emergence of residential landscapes in the politically independent communities of Headingley and East and West St. Paul, which feature large homes on large lots occupied by households with average incomes that exceed average city household incomes by between 150 and 175%.[1]

These landscapes are reflective of the classic underbounded core city where the daily flows associated with the production and consumption of private and public goods and services cross over the boundaries of a politically fragmented region. One needs to look no further than commuting patterns to see the dependence of many exurban residents on the city. On average, 50% of the workforce in outlying municipalities work in Winnipeg. In Headingley and East and West St. Paul, commuter rates approach 70%.[2]

Exurban development and its associated benefits and costs have not escaped the attention of the provincial government, the agency that ultimately controls land use development and regulation. Various reports, strategies, and policies developed during the 1990s and early 2000s consistently recognized the importance of cross-jurisdictional planning to ensure the overall social and economic well-being of the so-called Capital Region.[3] Policies that promoted economic and environmental sustainability were identified as necessities in terms of competing for investment in an increasingly globalized economy. All parts of the region were seen as having a vested interest in maintaining a vibrant and economically healthy core city as well as in working towards more efficient patterns of settlement and more ecologically sensitive approaches to resource conservation.[4]



BRIAN LORCH/2003

Leaving the City Behind (2003): *Capital region growth in the Rural Municipality of St. Andrews.*

For proponents of measures to limit the ills of exurban sprawl, these reports, strategies, and policies hit all the right notes. What was less encouraging was the Province's unwillingness to use its clout to limit or counter jurisdictional parochialism. While early cooperation between municipalities through the work of the Capital Region Committee provided significant input into the Province's 1996 Capital Region Strategy, participation in the process was not mandated but simply voluntary. As well, there was no legal requirement for individual municipalities to implement policies at the local level, nor was there much of an appetite for any discussion related to alteration of municipal boundaries, especially if it involved outward expansion of Winnipeg's jurisdiction (Paetkau, 1996). In fact, the exact opposite occurred in 1992 when the Province passed legislation allowing Headingley to secede from the city. Two later reports by government-appointed review panels echoed a similar theme. One concluded that it could find no consensus that "development beyond the Winnipeg perimeter, and consequent inefficient use of infrastructure, has reached crisis proportions, but there is a general feeling that it is an incipient problem which needs regional attention" (Capital Region Review, 1999, p. 45). The other

Waverley West (2007): *Approved in 2005, Waverley West aims to house 40,000 people in seven neighbourhoods.*

ABOVE/UNKNOWN/2007

recommended a status-quo governance model suggesting that "a positive economic climate in the Capital Region can be achieved without the creation of another level of government. The problems in the Capital Region are not of such a magnitude as to require major restructuring of governments or the establishment of major new institutions to deal with them—and there appears to be little support for such action among most local governments or the provincial government" (Regional Planning Advisory Committee, 2006, p. 6).

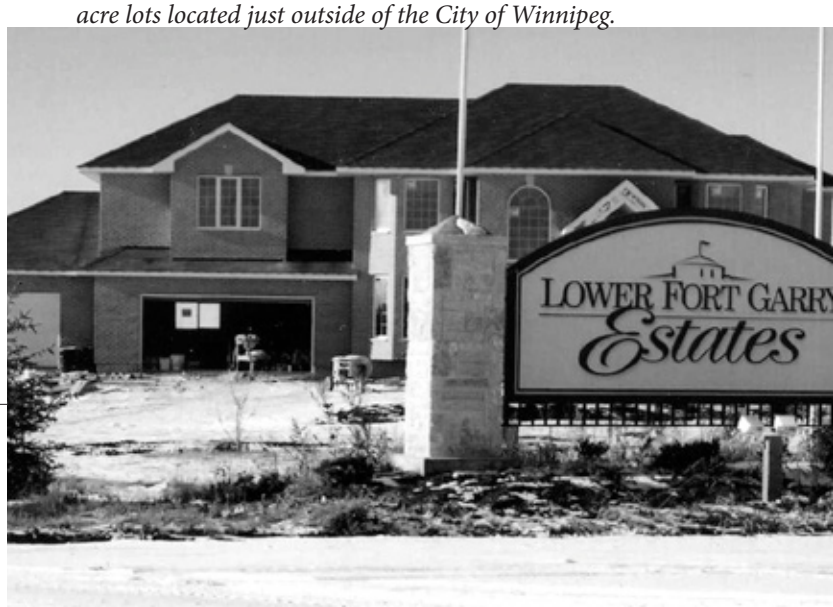
In the absence of any meaningful restrictions, growth in the Capital Region beyond the Perimeter Highway has continued to occur. In the case of Headingley, its 2011 population was 68% higher than what it was in 2001. For East and West St. Paul, increases were in the range of 17 to 20%, still quite high when compared to Winnipeg's population growth rate that decade of only 7%. Perhaps more telling is the share of overall Capital Region population growth held by the outlying municipalities. During the 1990s, a period of relatively slow growth, the Capital Region experienced a net population increase of just under 15,000. Of this, Winnipeg captured only 30% (Lorch, 2002). Data from the most recent census denote a stark reversal in this pattern. Between 2001 and 2011, the Capital Region saw a net addition of 60,000 people, with Winnipeg responsible for 80% of that increase.

BELOW/BRIAN LORCH/2003/

BELOW/UNKNOWN/1966//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18-565-001NEG)

New Roads (1966): *Mayor Juba unveils new road development aimed at enabling suburban commuting.*

Lower Fort Garry Estates (2003): *An exurban community with 1 + acre lots located just outside of the City of Winnipeg.*



What could account for such a turnaround in fortunes? At least two theories seem worthy of exploration. The first revolves around the supply of building lots within Winnipeg. Following a dearth of subdivision development in the 1990s, the 2000s have seen areas such as Waverley West, Sage Creek, and Amber Trails become available for new home construction, thereby offering up some competition for developers selling lots outside of the city. The second is related to changing tastes and preferences for housing. We speculate that younger generations are beginning to forsake the suburban and exurban lifestyles preferred by their parents and grandparents in favour of higher density and urban amenity-rich inner-city neighbourhoods?

The Exurban Debate (1998): *A growing interrogation of exurban growth emerged in the 1990s.*

A4 Winnipeg Free Press, Monday, May 4, 1998 **Local**

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Ex-urban growth erodes Winnipeg's tax base

Is capital region sustainable?

Does Winnipeg and its surrounding area have a workable plan for development? Today, Free Press reporter Aldo Santin looks at the province's capital region plan. Tonight, a public forum on the issue will be held at the Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce at 6 p.m., sponsored by the Free Press, the Chamber of Commerce, the Council of Women of Winnipeg and the Winnipeg Real Estate Board.

By Aldo Santin
Staff Reporter

DURING THE 10 years the Filmon government has been in power, it has given more than $17.6 million in grants for water and sewer construction to the 15 communities surrounding Winnipeg.

For the 87,527 residents, that's an average of $201.21 each.

In the same time frame, the Filmon Tories gave Winnipeg $6.67 million in 1994 for the construction of sewer lines. (There were no grants for water lines or water treatment.) That's a subsidy of $10.78 for each of the 618,477 residents.

Of course, the province provides additional grants to Winnipeg and the ex-urban communities for other projects. But the money invested in water and sewers for the surrounding communities is central to the debate about the impact of development, or as others label it, urban sprawl, in the capital region.

The glaring discrepancy in the level of subsidy between Winnipeg and the ex-urban fringe begs the question: Does it makes sense to invest outrageous sums of money for a relative handful of people who were fully aware of the type of environment they were moving into?

Rural Development Minister Len Derkach says the province has no alternative. In an interview with the *Free Press* in early March, Derkach said this is not an issue of urban sprawl or unchecked development. The province, he said, has the responsibility to ensure every citizen has access to potable water and adequate sewer services. Costs, locations or the size of the community, he said, weren't factors.

"Look at it from the rural perspective," Derkach said. "The municipalities are saying, "This isn't an acceptable way for us to live. We need clean, potable water for our children, our mothers."

"I can't say, "No, you can't have water. No, you can't have sewage treatment." I can't say to any municipality that you don't have the right to have water."

Derkach says the government's position is complemented with a strategy paper, *Capital Region Policies: Sustainable Development*, that protects Winnipeg and the other 15 communities.

The document, released in March 1996 and endorsed unanimously by all 16 municipalities including Winnipeg (Winnipeg Mayor Susan Thompson moved the motion to endorse the plan at a capital region meeting), proclaims that growth throughout the region can be accomplished without impacting a neighbouring community.

If this were Vancouver, Calgary or southern Ontario, the strategy would probably be appropriate; in those communities, there is enough prosperity to go around. But this is Manitoba, where a typical year is flat growth, or a slight decline. Even in our current good times, economists predict Manitoba's growth to range between two and three per cent. Considering Manitoba's inflation rate is 2.2 per cent, there is no growth.

SO GROWTH in any of the capital region communities generally must come from a neighbouring municipality, and Winnipeg has the most to lose.

Critics of Thompson's plan to sell water and sewer services to Headingley used these figures to kill that plan. Derkach argued that providing services to Headingley wasn't going to trigger a mass exodus from Winnipeg. He was right. Most Winnipeggers couldn't afford to move there. But the developers who own the thousands of acres of vacant land that will be easily and cheaply serviced with the help of government subsidies don't want most Winnipeggers. They want the people the city can least afford to lose: The young, the employable, the affluent.

The heavy provincial subsidization of development ensures that property taxes remain lower in the fringe than in Winnipeg, which makes the ex-urban areas more attractive for growth. The capital region strategy does nothing to stop this.

And even if the new panel the province promised to appoint this month to look into development issues comes up with strong recommendations to balance growth, it will have no effect as long as the province is prepared to heavily subsidize expensive infrastructure projects.

Such an approach to development is unsustainable. As ex-urban growth continues, it undermines the city's tax base. If enough residents flee, commerce and industry will follow (just as they did from the inner city to the suburbs), further eroding the city's tax base.

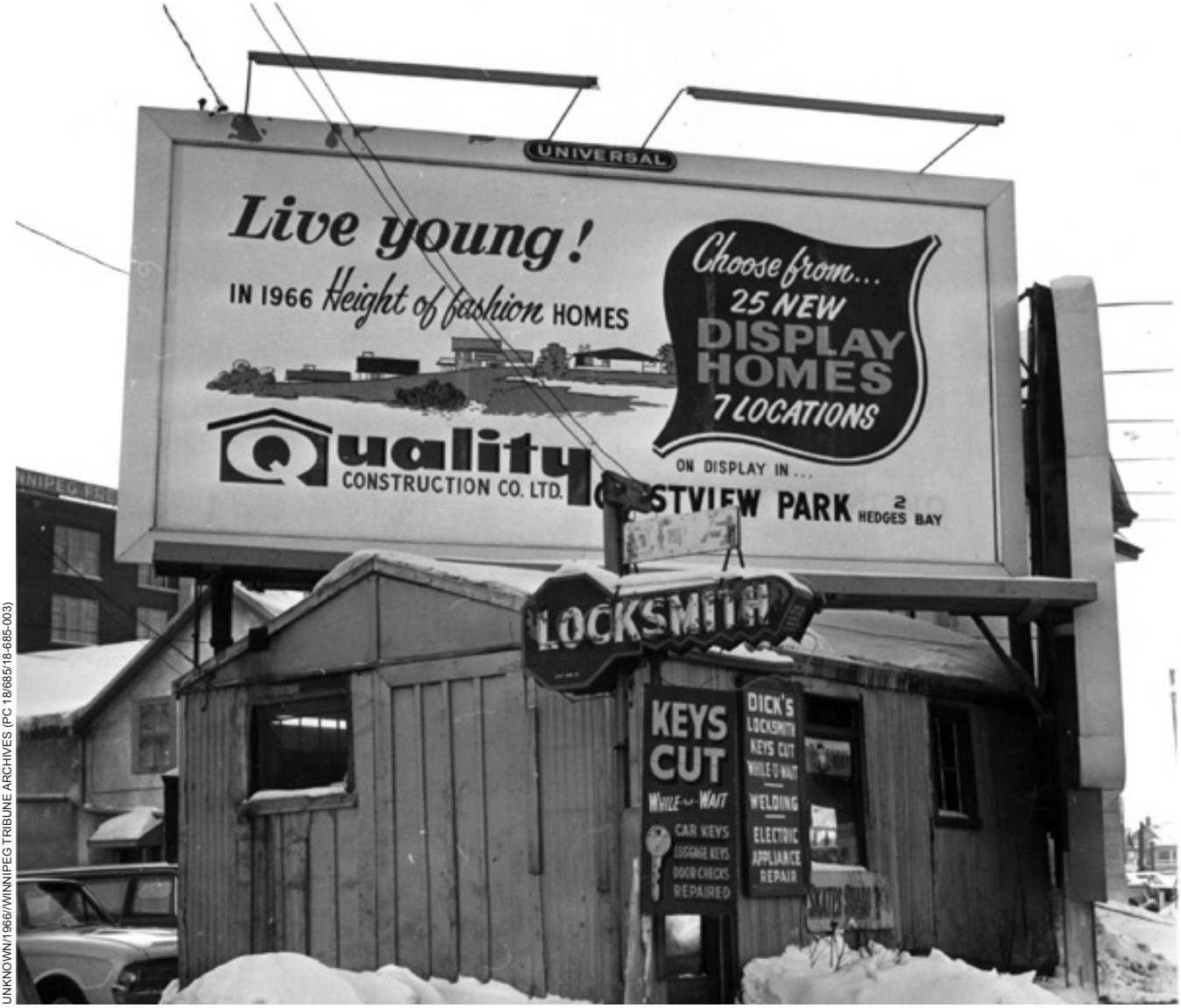
Instead of ensuring a strong, vibrant capital region, the strategy cripples the city and ultimately the entire region. The city becomes unattractive and unable to attract new development; and unable to afford the crumbling infrastructure that remains behind.

ALDO SANTIN/MAY 4, 1998/WINNIPEG FREE PRESS/ARCHIVES.WINNIPEGFREEPRESS.COM/

End Notes

1. Derived from the 2011 National Household Survey.
2. Ibid.
3. The Capital Region includes the Cities of Winnipeg and Selkirk, the Town of Stonewall, and the Regional Municipalities of Cartier, East St. Paul, Headingley, Macdonald, Ritchot, Rockwood, Rosser, Springfield, St. Andrews, St. Clements, St. Francois Xavier, Tache and West St. Paul.
4. For a detailed bibliography of government reports and previous research on the Capital Region, see www.gov.mb.ca/ia/capreg/rss.html.

Winnipeg's Developers:
The Birth of the Suburbs, 1946–1991



UNKNOWN/1966/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/685/18-685-003)

Billboard (1966): *Advertisement for a new suburban development.*

By Mike Maunder

The major force that created many neighbourhoods in modern-day Winnipeg was the birth of the suburbs. Understanding how these suburbs came to be —particularly the stories of the developers who created them—is an essential introduction to understanding the city of today.

By 1951, the demand for housing was enormous in Winnipeg. In the context of the baby boom post-war prosperity—everyone needed houses. Old-style construction methods were not sufficient to meet growing demand and, early in the 1950s, developers created a new style—the suburban neighbourhood. Twenty years later these neighbourhoods were being constructed on every edge of the city: Garden City, Windsor Park, Ft. Richmond, and at least 20 other totally new neighbourhoods. In those 20 years, Winnipeg's suburbs grew 133%.

Birth of the Suburbs (1958): *The construction of suburbs in Transcona ushered in a new era of growth.*

Transcona News

SERVING TRANSCONA AND EASTERN MANITOBA

$6,000,000 BUILDING PLAN OK'D

Council finalizes agreement to develop Transcona's East End

Our council in session

The agreement

UNKNOWN/DEC. 4, 1958/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE

The development of Transcona at this time was typical. In the early years after the war, homes had been constructed by individual builders and contracting companies. Krahn Construction was a major builder. Gradually Krahn and other companies became connected to Metropolitan Construction, which began developing stretches of infill and then the first new development, Regent Park. More businesses joined forces and in 1962, Kern Park became the first major development in east Transcona. Partners included Krahn Construction, Home Development Co. Ltd., and realtors Ernst, Liddle & Wolfe. By 1971, new neighbourhoods stretched west, north, and east of Transcona's traditional downtown, bringing the population to 22,425, a 232% increase in 20 years.

In all the suburbs surrounding Winnipeg the story was the same—huge growth, new styles of homes and developments, and new partnerships creating new neighbourhoods. The period from 1951 to 1971 saw the birth of these development companies and the birth of a new suburban Winnipeg (Tables 5 and 6) as the population drained from Old Winnipeg.

An examination of Winnipeg's historical growth pattern shows an outward explosion of the city—new neighbourhood followed new neighbourhood until Winnipeg reached its present shape. We know the impact of the suburban landscape on neighbourhood change and

Downtown Departure (1971): *Business relocation couched in suburban growth patterns.*

Furniture Store To Move To Suburbs

New trends in retail furniture sales have prompted Gensers Furniture Ltd., one of Winnipeg's largest and oldest downtown furniture store, to leave their Portage Avenue location and move to the suburbs.

The move, however, will be beneficial to their customers, says David E. Genser, the general manager of the firm.

"Its a matter of economics," said Mr. Genser Friday in an interview at his downtown store, 291 Portage Avenue.

"Furniture, appliances, stereo and television sets are being sold in warehouse showroom operations. The day of the mass merchandiser in the home furnishing field on the main street of a big city is over."

Mr. Genser, whose grandfather started the first store on Portage Avenue 45 years ago, said that he had anticipated this trend over the last four or five years.

The new location, which has not been revealed, likely will open early in 1972. And Gensers doesn't plan to stop there because several of these warehouse showroom operations are planned for suburban Winnipeg.

The valuable location on Portage has been rented, said Mr. Genser because company officials feel a greater return can be realized renting the building to other companies rather than staying in business in downtown Winnipeg.

The family does not plan to sell the downtown property.

Canadian Institute Of Public Opinion Gallup Poll

UNKNOWN/SEPT. 4, 1971/WINNIPEG FREE PRESS/ ARCHIVES.WINNIPEGFREEPRESS.COM/

neighbourhood-level income distributions, but we know very little of who these property developers were. There has been ample criticism of the suburban model (Duany, Plater-Zyberk, & Speck, 2010) but it is not clear that anyone else, or any other method, could have satisfied the demands of this period.

Despite their complete alteration of the city's fabric, the story of these developers has never been told. How did particular groups of realtors, financiers, engineers, architects, designers, building supply companies, concrete companies, builders, sewer contractors, and others come together to create single vertically-integrated companies that were able to assemble land, plan subdivisions, finance, and build what came to be a completely new way of life?

Table 5: The Birth of Winnipeg's Suburban Neighbourhoods, 1951 to 1971

	1951 Population	1971 Population	Percent Change	Major Neighbourhoods Built by Developers
St. James (includes Assiniboia)	22,232	68,767	+209%	Woodhaven, Sturgeon Creek, Kirkfield Park, and Crestview
West Kildonan and Old Kildonan (now Seven Oaks)	11,623	25,156	+125%	Garden City
East Kildonan, North Kildonan, and Elmwood (now Rivereast)	31,366	67,135	+114%	Kildonan Drive, Rossmere, Morse Place, and East Elmwood
St. Boniface	26,342	44,367	+74%	Windsor Park and Southdale
St Vital	18,637	32,570	+93%	Worthington and Pulberry
Ft. Garry	8,193	27,448	+251%	Parker Ave., Maybank , Vincent Massey, and Fort Richmond
Charleswood and Tuxedo	5,507	16,103	+190%	Central Tuxedo, and Roblin Park
Transcona	6,752	22,425	+232%	Regent Park, North Transcona, and Kern Park
Total suburbs population	30,652	304,878	+133%	
Old Winnipeg population*	220,710	250,429	+13%	Churchill Drive, Central River Heights, and Inkster
Total population	351,365	555,307	+58%	

Sources: City of Winnipeg, 1971, 1991

*Old Winnipeg refers to the neighbourhoods, which made up the city, prior to the 1970 amalgamation.

It was a different era, where servicemen back from the war, translated a "can-do" attitude into entrepreneurial businesses to meet overwhelming needs. By seeking out interviews with developers from this historical period, future research could tell the story of this new way of business, this new way of construction, and this new way of life. Guidance can come through contacts with the Manitoba Home Builders' Association, Winnipeg Real Estate Board, and representatives from development companies like Qualico, Ladco, and Genstar.

To gain this important perspective on neighbourhood change however, future research needs to tell the stories of the property development industry in Winnipeg because it is the birth of the suburbs that have shaped the city in which we now live.

Table 6: Continued Growth of Winnipeg's Suburban Neighbourhoods, 1971 to 1991

	1971 Population	1991 Population	Percent Change	Major Neighbourhoods Built by Developers
St. James (includes Assiniboia)	68,767	62,370	-9%	
West Kildonan and Old Kildonan (now Seven Oaks)	26,156	50,570	+93%	The Maples, Parkway Village, and Red River
East Kildonan, North Kildonan, and Elmwood (now Rivereast)	67,135	82,485	+23%	Sun Valley, Valley Gardens, and Oakwood Estates
St. Boniface	44,367	43,520	-2%	
St Vital	32,570	57,395	+76%	Meadowood Park, Island Lakes, Greendell, and South St. Vital
Ft. Garry	27,448	57,255	+108%	Waverley Heights, Lindenwoods, and Whyte Ridge
Charleswood and Tuxedo	16,013	35,715	+123%	Shaftesbury
Transcona	22,425	30,695	+36%	Lakeside Meadows, Mission Gardens, and Canterbury Park
Total suburbs population	304,878	420,005	+37%	
Old Winnipeg population*	250,429	195,210	-22%	
Total population	555,307	615,215	+15%	

Sources: City of Winnipeg, 1968, 1971; Artibise, 1977.

*Old Winnipeg refers to the neighbourhoods, which made up the city, prior to the 1970 amalgamation.

Part III

The People

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Legends Never Die (2014): *Reluctantly called Winnipeg's Homeless Hero, Faron Hall passed away in September 2014 after a difficult life full of courageous gestures and has been memorialised in this poster by KUSH.*

Introducing Complexity:
Aboriginal Urbanization Patterns in Winnipeg, 1951–2011

DEBOY/1972/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 89-095-006NEG)

Protest (1972): *"Demonstration at the Legislature."*

By Dr. Evelyn Peters

The proportion of the total Aboriginal population residing in urban areas in Canada has increased steadily from just 6.7% in 1951 to slightly more than 53% in 2006. By 2006, more than one-quarter (26.8%) of the Aboriginal population lived in ten large Canadian cities (See Table 7). With more than 78,000 people, Winnipeg has the largest Aboriginal community of any city in Canada. In 2011 the city's Aboriginal people made up 11% of the city's population. Although the Aboriginal populations in Saskatoon, Regina, and Thunder Bay are smaller than that of Winnipeg, in all of these cities urban Aboriginal populations comprise around one-tenth of city populations. In addition to Winnipeg, Aboriginal urbanization has resulted in relatively large urban Aboriginal communities in two other cities—Edmonton (61,765 people) and Vancouver (52,375 people). Contextualized in both national and urban patterns, this analysis focuses on Aboriginal urbanization for the city of Winnipeg from 1951 to 2011. With this focus, the following paper introduces some complexity into understandings of the urbanization process.

Shamattawa First Nation (1976): *A Chippewa Treaty 9 Reservation located in North Eastern Manitoba.*

ABOVE/UNKNOWN/1976//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3691/18-2933-018)

While average annual growth rates of the Canadian Aboriginal populations are higher than the average rates of the entire Canadian population for various census periods, Table 8 shows that growth rates of Aboriginal populations in the ten cities studied here are even higher.

Growth rates of Aboriginal populations in the ten cities are relatively high at the beginning of these time periods, when urban Aboriginal populations are relatively small. The 1961 to 1971 period shows the greatest differences between the growth of urban Aboriginal populations and the growth of the total Aboriginal population, with differences decreasing after 1981. These comparisons suggest that the growth in urban Aboriginal populations is not a result of higher fertility rates in cities but represents other demographic forces. Winnipeg saw some of the largest average annual growth rates of any large cities in early decades preceding 1991. After 1991 annual growth rates slowed down, but Winnipeg's total Aboriginal population has continued to increase.

The considerable growth of Aboriginal populations in both rural and urban areas brings us to the subject of the extent to which migration has contributed to urban growth. Migration data are not available for the entire Aboriginal population before 1986, but data for Registered Indians show that migration contributed to the growth of urban Registered Indian populations from 1966 to 1971 (Clatworthy & Norris, 2007). There are no data available that document migration patterns for other Aboriginal groups before 1986, but

BELOW/WILEY/1979//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3709/18-2942-007)

Opening of the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre (1979): *Friendship Centres play an important role in creating space for Indigenous culture and expression.*

UNKNOWN/1964//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18-1730-001)

Friendship Centre (1979): "*Young people wash cars at the Indian and Métis Friendship Centre in order to raise money for a trip to the Indian Ecumenical Conference.*"

Table 7: Total Aboriginal Population Residing in All Urban Areas, Ten Large Cities*, and Winnipeg, Canada, 1951–2011

	All Urban Areas		Ten Large Cities		Winnipeg	
Year	Number	% of Total Aboriginal Population	Number	% of Total Aboriginal Population	Number	% of Total Winnipeg Population
1951	11,015	6.7	2,524	1.5	210	0.1
1961	28,382	12.9	5,571	2.5	1,082	0.4
1971	90,705	30.7	43,320	19.5	4,940	2.0
1981	192,680	40.0	90,325	18.8	16,575	2.9
1991	320,000	44.4	159,325	22.1	35,150	5.6
1996	394,710	49.4	199,680	25.0	45,750	7.4
2001	494,010	50.6	244,500	25.0	55,970	8.6
2006	623,925	53.2	301,095	25.7	68,385	10.0
2011	n/a	n/a	375,120	26.8	78,420	11.0

Sources: Peters, 2002; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1994:22–23; Siggner & Costa, 2005; and Statistics Canada, 1974, 1993, 2008, and 2013

*Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau, and Montreal

Table 8: Average Annual Growth Rate of Total Canadian Population, Urban Aboriginal Population, Aboriginal Population in 10 Large Cities, and Winnipeg, Canada, 1951–2010

	Total Canadian Population	Total Aboriginal Population	Aboriginal Population in 10 Large Cities	Aboriginal Population in Winnipeg
1951–1961 (10 year average)	2.7	3.3	12.1	41.5
1961–1971 (10 year average)	2.9	4.2	67.8	35.7
1971–1981 (10 year average)	3.6	5.7	10.9	23.6
1981–1991 (10 year average)	2.8	4.7	7.6	11.2
1991–1996 (5 year average)	1.1	2.2	5.1	6.0
1996–2001 (5 year average)	1.5	4.4	4.5	4.5
2001–2006 (5 year average)	1.2	4.0	4.6	4.4
2006–2011 (5 year average)	1.2	3.9	4.9	2.9

Sources: Goldmann, 1993; Peters, 2002; Siggner & Costa, 2005; and Statistics Canada, 1993, 2008, 2013

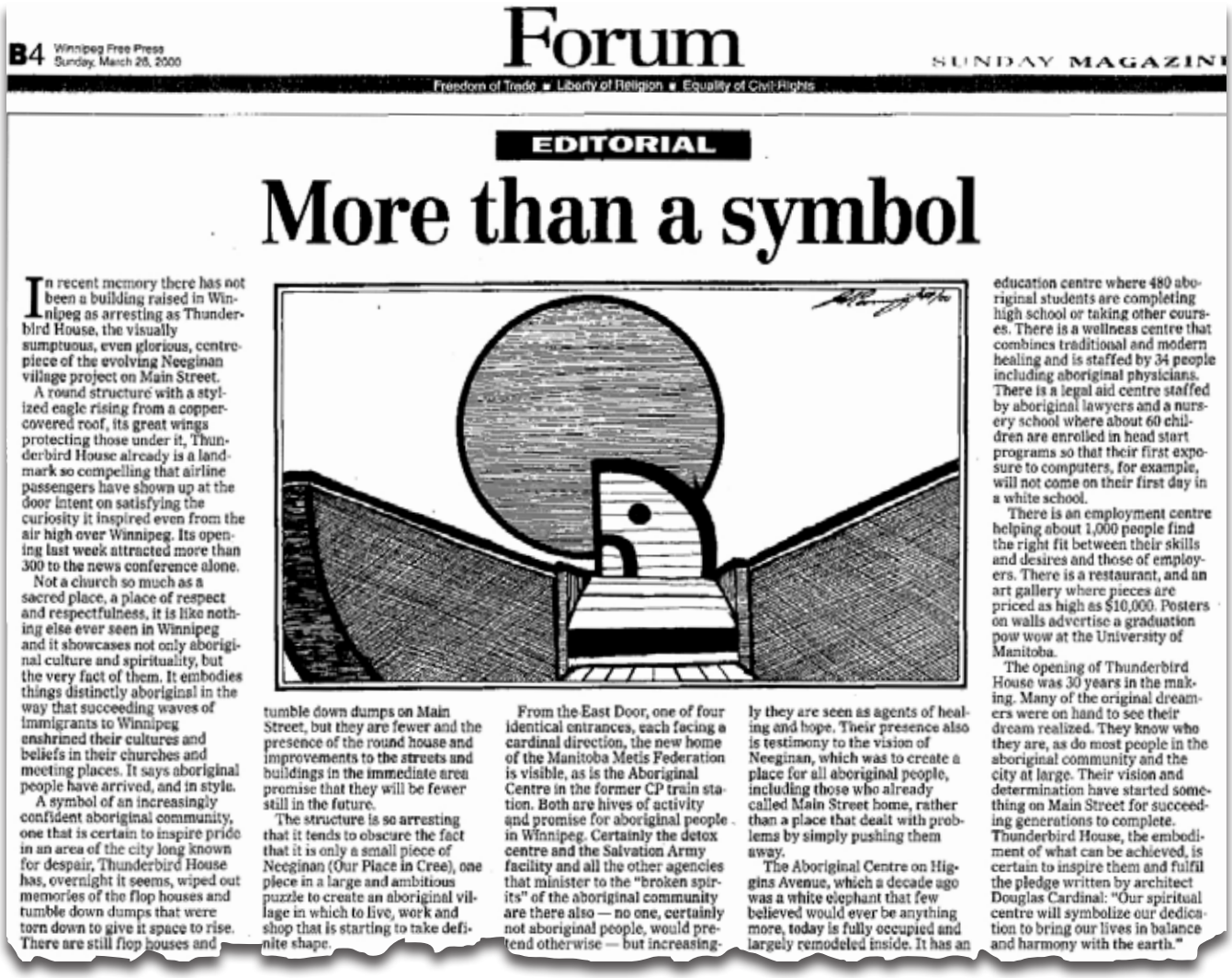
*Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Regina, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Ottawa-Gatineau, and Montreal

various documents from the 1950s and 1960s suggest that observers saw substantial increases in migration of both First Nations and Métis people for the first few decades following 1951. The emergence of Friendship Centres to assist with migrant adaptation to urban life and attempts by provincial governments to make the federal government responsible for programming for urban Aboriginal populations suggest growing numbers, with consequent increasing demands on the public purse (Peters, 2002).

While migration appears to have been a major factor at the beginning of the period of Aboriginal urbanization, its impact on urbanization clearly diminished over later periods, with large urban areas experiencing either small net inflows or net outflows of migrants. Demographic research shows that migration does not appear to be a major contributor to Aboriginal urbanization after 1986 (Norris, Clatworthy, & Peters, 2012).

Population change can be attributed to three main components: natural increase (i.e., the excess of births over deaths), net migration (in-migrants minus out-migrants), and changes in patterns of self-identification. Guimond (2003, 2009) terms the latter *ethnic mobility*, referring to changes in self-reporting of identity from one census to another. Analyses of components of growth are not available for the period after 2001, but data available for the 1996–2001 period for the ten large cities show that natural increase accounted for one-third (33%) of the growth in their Aboriginal populations and that net migration accounted for less than 1% (0.2%) of population growth. The largest factor influencing population growth was ethnic

Thunderbird House (2000): *Located at the corner of Main Street and Higgins Avenue, Thunderbird House is meant to be a piece of a larger Aboriginal neighbourhood known as Neeginan Village (Our Place in Cree).*



B4 Winnipeg Free Press Sunday, March 26, 2000

Forum

SUNDAY MAGAZIN

Freedom of Trade ■ Liberty of Religion ■ Equality of Civil Rights

EDITORIAL

More than a symbol

In recent memory there has not been a building raised in Winnipeg as arresting as Thunderbird House, the visually sumptuous, even glorious, centrepiece of the evolving Neeginan village project on Main Street.

A round structure with a stylized eagle rising from a copper-covered roof, its great wings protecting those under it, Thunderbird House already is a landmark so compelling that airline passengers have shown up at the door intent on satisfying the curiosity it inspired even from the air high over Winnipeg. Its opening last week attracted more than 300 to the news conference alone.

Not a church so much as a sacred place, a place of respect and respectfulness, it is like nothing else ever seen in Winnipeg and it showcases not only aboriginal culture and spirituality, but the very fact of them. It embodies things distinctly aboriginal in the way that succeeding waves of immigrants to Winnipeg enshrined their cultures and beliefs in their churches and meeting places. It says aboriginal people have arrived, and in style.

A symbol of an increasingly confident aboriginal community, one that is certain to inspire pride in an area of the city long known for despair, Thunderbird House has, overnight it seems, wiped out memories of the flop houses and tumble down dumps that were torn down to give it space to rise. There are still flop houses and tumble down dumps on Main Street, but they are fewer and the presence of the round house and improvements to the streets and buildings in the immediate area promise that they will be fewer still in the future.

The structure is so arresting that it tends to obscure the fact that it is only a small piece of Neeginan (Our Place in Cree), one piece in a large and ambitious puzzle to create an aboriginal village in which to live, work and shop that is starting to take definite shape.

From the East Door, one of four identical entrances, each facing a cardinal direction, the new home of the Manitoba Metis Federation is visible, as is the Aboriginal Centre in the former CP train station. Both are hives of activity and promise for aboriginal people in Winnipeg. Certainly the detox centre and the Salvation Army facility and all the other agencies that minister to the "broken spirits" of the aboriginal community are there also — no one, certainly not aboriginal people, would pretend otherwise — but increasingly they are seen as agents of healing and hope. Their presence also is testimony to the vision of Neeginan, which was to create a place for all aboriginal people, including those who already called Main Street home, rather than a place that dealt with problems by simply pushing them away.

The Aboriginal Centre on Higgins Avenue, which a decade ago was a white elephant that few believed would ever be anything more, today is fully occupied and largely remodeled inside. It has an education centre where 480 aboriginal students are completing high school or taking other courses. There is a wellness centre that combines traditional and modern healing and is staffed by 34 people including aboriginal physicians. There is a legal aid centre staffed by aboriginal lawyers and a nursery school where about 60 children are enrolled in head start programs so that their first exposure to computers, for example, will not come on their first day in a white school.

There is an employment centre helping about 1,000 people find the right fit between their skills and desires and those of employers. There is a restaurant, and an art gallery where pieces are priced as high as $10,000. Posters on walls advertise a graduation pow wow at the University of Manitoba.

The opening of Thunderbird House was 30 years in the making. Many of the original dreamers were on hand to see their dream realized. They know who they are, as do most people in the aboriginal community and the city at large. Their vision and determination have started something on Main Street for succeeding generations to complete. Thunderbird House, the embodiment of what can be achieved, is certain to inspire them and fulfil the pledge written by architect Douglas Cardinal: "Our spiritual centre will symbolize our dedication to bring our lives in balance and harmony with the earth."

Métis Demonstration (1979): "*Six year old Lisa Head from Sherridon was in Winnipeg for Métis demonstration.*"

RON DOBSON/1979/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/4642/18-3834-002)

mobility (Guimond, 2003). In the 1996–2001 period in Winnipeg, the two main contributors to growth in the population were changes in identity (47.8%) and natural increase (46.6%), with net migration accounting for only 5.6% of the increase. In the other ten cities, natural increase accounted for slightly more of the population growth, but in most net migration accounted for less than 10% of the increase during this period.

The finding that migration does not constitute an important source of growth in the contemporary urban Aboriginal population may seem surprising to a variety of service organizations involved in attempting to help individuals transition to the city and make their way in the urban milieu. In Winnipeg, as in other cities, workers in these organizations find that migrants to the city are often not prepared for urban economies and housing markets (S. Kern interview, 2013; McCallum and Isaac, 2011; Ward et al., 2008). The dynamics of this aspect of urban migration have not been closely studied, but Norris and Clatworthy (2003) have suggested there is substantial circular migration between cities and reserves that may account for the number of recently arrived migrants faced by these services. Researchers examining the mobility patterns of homeless Aboriginal people in urban centres have found complex mobility patterns between cities and reserves (Distasio, 2004; Peters et al., 2009).

There is almost no material available that focuses on individual cities in Canada and their unique histories of Aboriginal urbanization. According to an initial review by Norris, Clatworthy, & Peters. (2012), with the implication that urban Aboriginal communities in different cities will have dissimilar characteristics, needs, and capacities. Cities with high rates of migration in early time periods, like Winnipeg, might have more second- or third-generation residents, with implications for how they express and practice their urban identities (see Lucero, 2012). Where these urban Aboriginal populations are large, such as in Winnipeg, it is likely that there would be greater "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964), with organizations that address a large number of policy areas. Cities where in-migration still contributes significantly to urban Aboriginal population growth will continue to require services that were created historically to assist migrants in adapting to urban life.

Table 9: Percentage of First Nations and Métis Populations in Winnipeg, Canada, 1991–2011

	First Nations	Métis
1991	57.6	21.3
2001	49.0	50.4
2011	38.8	59.1

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1993, 2003, and 2013

Where changes in self-identification contribute significantly to urban growth, the needs of urban Aboriginal populations may be configured differently. Available data suggest that the populations that began to identify as Aboriginal in recent censuses are more likely to have higher education levels (Siggner, 2003). In other words, this population may have a higher socio-economic status than the rest of the urban Aboriginal population. While very little research is available on the urban Aboriginal middle class, focus groups with middle-class Toronto Aboriginal residents indicated that they did not make use of Aboriginal organizations because these were mostly service organizations focusing on a variety of social problems. Instead, they emphasized the need for Aboriginal language and cultural programs that addressed their aspirations (Urban Aboriginal Strategy, 2005).

Patterns and components of urbanization are different for First Nations and Métis populations. The 2006 census shows that Métis people are more highly urbanised than First Nations people, with 69.4% of the Métis population living in cities, compared to 44.7% of First Nations people. Scattered studies in the western provinces suggest that, historically, Métis may have been more likely to live in or near urban settlements than First Nations people (Davis, 1965; Lagassé, 1958). The failure to identify Métis in the 1951, 1961, and 1971 censuses means that it is difficult to reconstruct early patterns of Métis urbanization. Recently, Métis populations have grown rapidly, particularly in prairie cities. Analysis by Guimond, Robitaille, and Senécal (2009) suggests that changes in patterns of self-identification have contributed substantially to the growth of urban Métis populations. Table 9 shows that, while Métis made up slightly more than one-fifth of the Winnipeg Aboriginal population in 1991, by 2011 they comprised almost three-fifths. The implications of these shifts include a greater demand for Métis-specific services and organizations and increased capacity within the urban Métis population to provide programs and services. Since Métis populations in aggregate tend to be better off socio-economically than other Aboriginal groups, these changes mean that the total urban Aboriginal population may appear to advance economically, when in reality some of these apparent changes may be due to changes in the composition of the population.

Table 10 provides information about Aboriginal settlement patterns in Winnipeg over time, describing changes between 1996 and 2006 (these data are not available from the 2011 National Household Survey yet). Inner-city areas were defined as those census tracts where the proportion of housing built before 1946 was twice the metropolitan average in 2006. Census tracts that did not meet these criteria but were surrounded on three sides by inner-city tracts were included to incorporate areas that have been redeveloped. Table 10 shows that between 1996 and 2006 the proportion of the inner-city Aboriginal population did not increase as much as the total Aboriginal population did. While the Winnipeg Aboriginal population increased by almost 50%

Pro-Native Racism (2012): *Sharp divides surface in messages left throughout the city.*

ADRIAN STONESS/2012

in this period, the proportion that they represented of inner-city populations increased by less than 2%. In other words, many of the individuals who contributed to the increase in urban Aboriginal populations over that decade are found in areas outside the core. The urban Aboriginal population is over-represented in inner-city areas, however. In 1996, over half of the Aboriginal Winnipeg population lived in the inner-city. In 2006 that had dropped to 40.4%. Moreover, Aboriginal people are disproportionately represented in high-poverty neighbourhoods. Following Jargowsky's (1997) definition, high-poverty neighbourhoods are defined as neighbourhoods where 40% or more households fall below the poverty line. While Aboriginal people represented 10% of the total Winnipeg population in 2006, they represented 28.1% of the population living in high-poverty areas.

Focused on Winnipeg, this short paper examined some of the population demographics of Aboriginal urbanization in Canada. In contrast to a simple story of increasing urban Aboriginal populations, these findings introduce some complexity. First, the recent increase in urban Aboriginal population numbers appears to be a function of changing reporting concerning identities rather than migration from rural and reserve areas. Secondly, urban areas are unique in terms of migration patterns, the size of the population, and cultural composition—it is difficult to generalize across urban areas. Finally, while urban Aboriginal people are over-represented in marginalized inner-city populations, more recent changes suggest Aboriginal suburbanization and the emergence of higher income individuals. Together, these demographic insights provide a more nuanced context for examining income inequality and polarization among urban Aboriginal populations.

Table 10: Aboriginal Identity Population in Relation to Winnipeg Inner-City and High-Poverty Areas, 1996–2006

	Winnipeg
% increase in Aboriginal identity population, 1991–2006	49.5
% of inner-city that is Aboriginal, 1996	15.7
% of inner-city that is Aboriginal, 2006	18.5
% of total CMA Aboriginal population in inner-city, 1996	51.6
% of total CMA Aboriginal population in inner-city, 2006	40.4
% of CMA that is Aboriginal	10.0
% of high poverty tract population that is Aboriginal	28.1
% of total Aboriginal population in high poverty tracts	22.5

Source: Statistics Canada, 2008

Ageing in Winnipeg's Inner-City:
Exclusion or Inclusion in Polarized Urban Spaces

UNKNOWN/1975-1980/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7150/18-6309-012)

Seniors in North Point Douglas (1975–1980): "*Triangle Park in North Point Douglas is a popular place for senior citizens who live in the area. It's hard to believe that some of the worst parts of the Main Street strip are only a couple of blocks away."*

By Dr. Gina Sylvestre

The social and ecological restructuring occurring in postmodern cities has particular impact on the elderly, as these processes create new spatial relations that work to either include or exclude older people from the everyday life of urban places. The new enclaves of privileged suburbs relegate the most deprived sectors of the population, including seniors, to the neglected areas of the inner-city, limiting their participation in mainstream economic and social life (Phillipson & Sharf, 2005). While these spatial divides clearly exist in Winnipeg, research on marginalization in its inner-city does not extend to an ageing lens. Enhanced understanding about the nature of poverty and exclusion for older adults is crucial for the creation of inclusive and sustainable places that counter the suburban ideal.

ANDREW KAUFMAN/12014

KeKiNan (2014): *Aboriginal Seniors Housing near Lord Selkirk Park.*

Canadian Polish Manor (2014): *Retirement Home in Winnipeg's North End on Selkirk Avenue.*

Overall, the topic of ageing and urban poverty has been narrowly examined through spatial analysis of inner-city concentrations of seniors in North America (Clark, 1971). Segregation of older adults in the central city was a phenomenon throughout the 1970s when extensive urban change was occurring in the newly developing suburbs (Kennedy & De Jong, 1977; Massey, 1980). Such was the experience of Winnipeg, and Smith (1998) found evidence that by 1991 older populations ageing-in-place were increasing in suburban census tracts of the city. More recently, Carter and Gunn (2008) have identified ageing suburban neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. From a policy perspective, increasing suburban ageing raises concerns for urban planners to achieve the much-promoted concept of age-friendly communities. The premise of greater accessibility for seniors is to redress the car-centred culture of the dominant suburban landscape. The questions rarely raised are about those who have remained in the central neighbourhoods of Winnipeg and their options for ageing well in environments that presumably create greater risk for the elderly.

Urban change has a profound effect on seniors, as the community context is particularly salient and they experience greater vulnerability to the conditions of deprived inner-city areas. Declines in physical and cognitive functioning, as well as reductions in social, supportive, and financial resources and networks, lead to greater dependence on the local environment that may be characterized by lack of services and greater safety risks (Gilroy, 2008; Yen, Michael, & Perdue, 2009). At a population level there is strong evidence of the negative health consequences of poverty environments, but very little is known concerning the contextual factors that older adults perceive to be

BELOW/THORDARSON/1977/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/6054/18-5176-004)

Work (1977): *"George Chudnow, who just celebrated his 89th birthday, still works a full, six-day, week as a salesman in a Bargain World store. And he says he's going to keep working until he drops."*

substantive in their experiences of living in neighbourhoods of concentrated and prolonged poverty. It is imperative to pursue the meaning of growing old in places once vital to the urban core, and now excluded from the social and economic hub of suburban locales. Winnipeg could offer some of these answers, as the complexity of its inner-city neighbourhoods contain multilayered meanings of both vulnerability and inclusion for populations that are ageing.

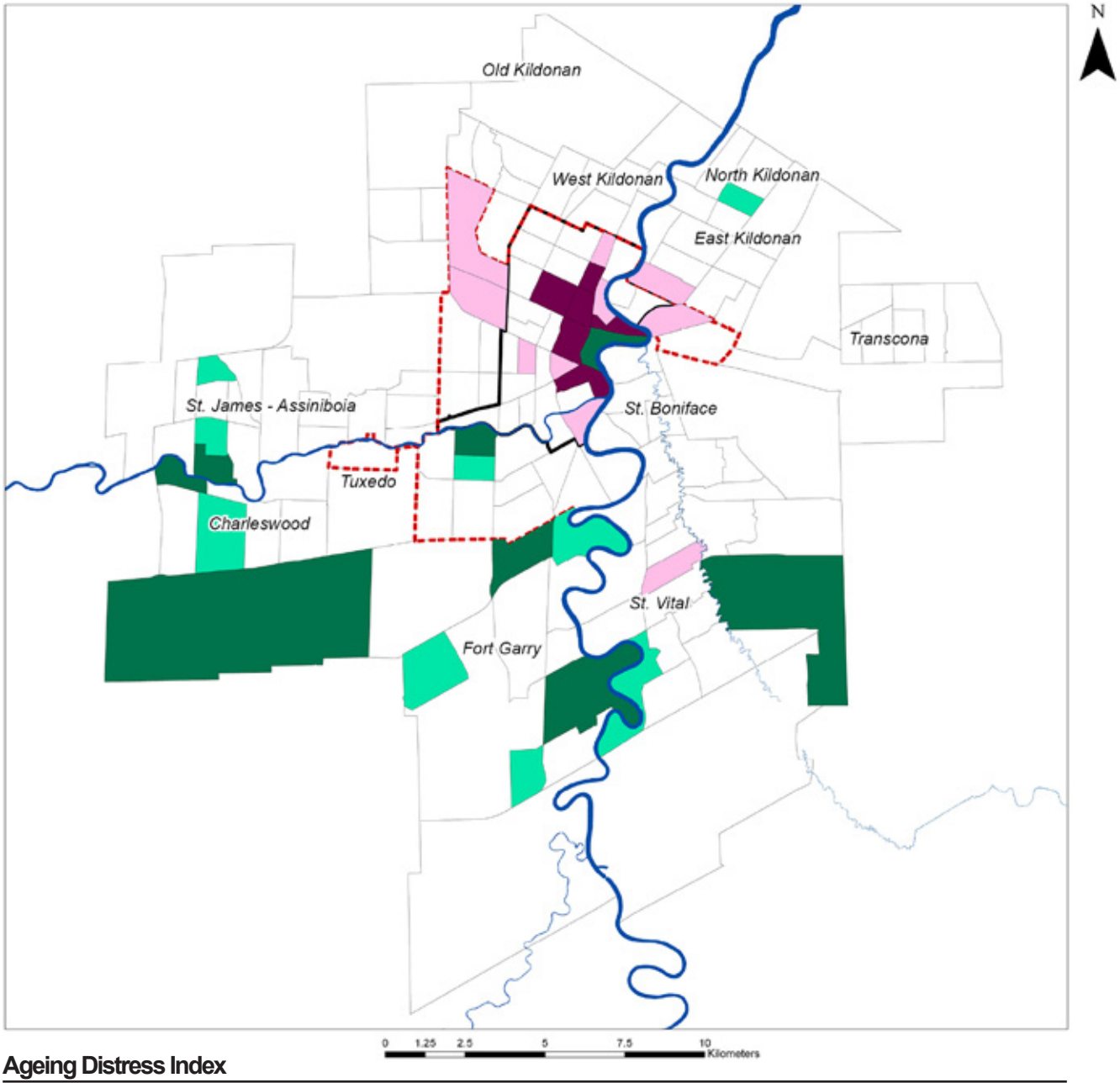
Using 2006 Census of Canada cross-tabulated data, an analysis was undertaken to identify the location of those seniors in Winnipeg with the greatest disadvantage. An index of ageing and poverty was developed, using principal component analysis that identified the primary indicators of deprivation for the population 65 years and older, including low income, less than a high school education, living alone, moving within the last year, and activity limitations. Map 5 illustrates the census tracts in Winnipeg with the highest and lowest ageing and poverty index values. This map provides stark evidence of the clear spatial division between advantaged and disadvantaged seniors. Winnipeg's downtown area and the Selkirk–Point Douglas corridor contain the core concentration of older adults living in poverty. High index values of ageing and poverty are also found in the adjacent inner-city neighbourhoods of the West End, Keewatin, and Elmwood. While the concentration of poor seniors is in Winnipeg's inner-city, the relatively high values in the two census tracts of Osborne Village and St. Vital suggest that ageing and poverty is not just a "North End" phenomenon.

The map symbolizes a starting point to pursue further understanding of how older adults perceive their experience of living in

Evicted Woman (1967): "*Lena Birch was evicted from her home because the City of Winnipeg expropriated the land on which her home was built.*"

FRANK CHALMERS/1967/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/1332/18-1332-003)

Map 5: Ageing Distress Index by Census Tract, 2006



Ageing Distress Index

Using 2006 Census of Canada cross-tabulated data, an analysis was undertaken to identify the location of those seniors in Winnipeg with the greatest disadvantage. An index of ageing and poverty was developed using principal component analysis that identified the primary indicators of deprivation for the population 65 years and older including: low income, less than a high school education, living alone, moving within the last year, and activity limitations. This map illustrates the census tracts in Winnipeg with the highest and lowest ageing and poverty index values. A value of 1 represents absolute distress while a value of 0 represents the absence of distress.

Least Distressed CTs

- 0.00 – 0.26
- 0.27 – 0.31

Most Distressed CTs

- 0.69 – 0.78
- 0.79 – 1.00

- City of Winnipeg (1971)
- Inner-City Boundary
- Major Rivers

Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2006.
Spatial Data Source: Data Liberation Initiative (2006).
Prepared By: Andrew Kaufman

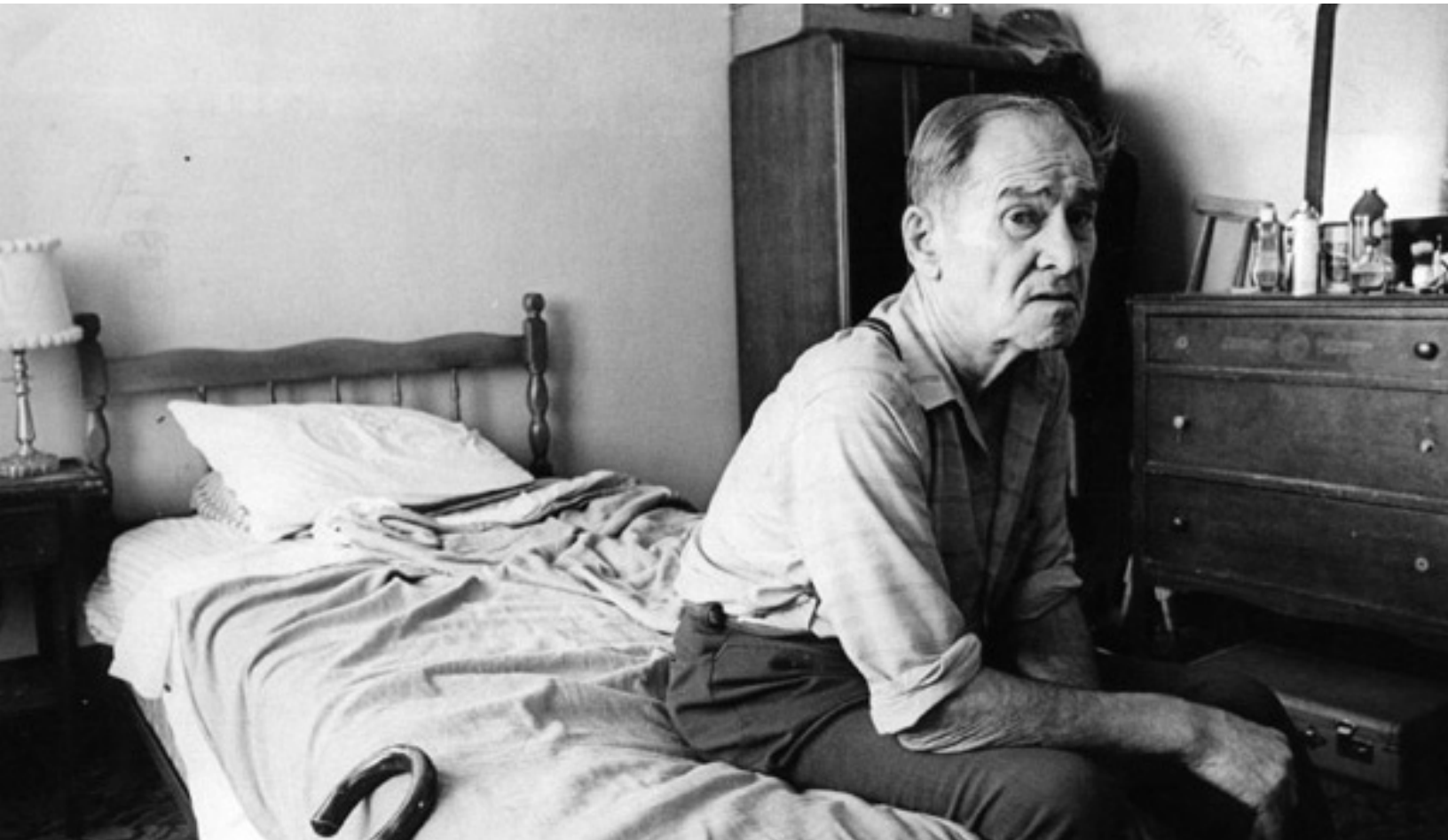
areas of high concentrations of poor seniors. There is limited understanding of the meaning of ageing in poverty, and the Winnipeg neighbourhoods included on this map represent distinct communities that comprise a breadth of experiences and perspectives.

It is important to pursue the contrary views of ageing and poverty evident in urban gerontology. The dominant perspectives in urban gerontology emphasize the exclusion of seniors produced by the ecological changes of suburban expansion and the counter-process of economic decline in the inner-city. The Winnipeg neighbourhoods with the highest ageing and poverty index values are typical of the decay and neglect portrayed as barriers to the participation of older community members. Winnipeg's core is characterized by deteriorating public space that is a product of abandoned buildings, crumbling sidewalks, signs of disorder, degraded infrastructure, and the loss of businesses. It is believed that older adults in these urban environments are experiencing greater exclusion, isolated in their homes and facing increasing crime rates, a lack of decent and affordable housing, and reductions in service provision. Phillipson and Scharf (2005) refer to the confinement and imprisonment of seniors in these neighbourhoods as a result of poor walking environments and the fear of crime. This exclusionary view stresses that inner-city elderly residents are especially affected by diminishing social capital and the reciprocal values of reciprocity and trust. But there is a contrary outlook, which is that long-term residents of older neighbourhoods hold an attachment to place that is vital to maintaining the social and historical networks that are bonded on the streets, ensuring ongoing social connections. While the researcher may consider inner-city areas to have multiple indicators of poverty, older residents remain attached to the place in which they have spent their lives building a community. An older woman who has invested her life in a neighbourhood may play the role of "neighbourhood keeper" and be vigilant to the changing fortunes of the community (Scharf, Phillipson, & Smith, 2005).

A great deal remains to be understood about these divergent experiences; undoubtedly both contexts serve as realities for persons ageing in neighbourhoods set apart by abandonment and poverty in the global age of suburbanization. In the setting of inner-city Winnipeg, the deterioration of the social, economic, and physical environment creates many barriers within urban space, leading to the exclusion of older residents. Yet, there exists an informal, community-based social structure in many locales that

GREG BURNER/1976/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/50677/18-4261-025)

Rooming Houses (1976): *Rudolph Nejedly (62) and his room at a guest home.*



Seniors in Central Park (1977): *Seizing their last chances to sit outside this year, these men talk on a bench in Central Park.*

JIM WALKER/1977/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/6054/18-5176-009)

serves to maintain and enhance the overall well-being of seniors. Further inquiry must attempt to understand the dualities of ageing in declining neighbourhoods and the community elements that serve to exclude and include some of the most vulnerable segments of the population.

In preliminary fieldwork on this theme, two focus groups were held in the fall of 2012 that uncovered unexpected qualities of the social context of ageing in poverty. At an independent seniors building in Winnipeg's North End, while social cohesion was anticipated, the discussion revealed distrust and conflict amongst residents. In a separate interview, the tenant resource worker spoke of how some of this conflict was related to changes in the ethnic background of new seniors moving into the building. Significantly, there were diverse expectations of family support amongst different groups in the seniors residence.

At the second focus group, instead of distrust, a well-established network of ageing men residing in rooming houses in North Point Douglas was discovered. With limited family resources, these men relied on one another for emotional and physical support. Gardner (2011) refers to these as natural neighbourhood networks based on principles of interdependence and focusing on respect and reciprocity rather than on one-sided transfers of support. This network was manifested spatially as individual members identified specific zones of group security. Their main space of interaction was a neighbourhood centre, and the one-block perimeter around this centre was the safe zone where the rooming houses were situated. Intriguingly, the group perceived greater danger in the area closer to Main Street, a high-traffic thoroughfare with a clustering of social services and single-room occupancy hotels. This network was committed to ensuring safety in the neighbourhood, with the strongest image being that of an older ex-convict with a cane who stood guard daily over the nursery school children from the centre while they waited for their bus.

The opposing perspectives of inclusion and exclusion in the focus group findings suggest that there are subtle, complex, and multifaceted experiences that are overlooked by objective measures of an older person's interaction with the neighbourhood. New approaches are essential to pursue deeper understanding of the meaning of growing old in declining inner-city locations. Using ethnographic and participatory techniques, more can be illuminated about the lived experience of place and ageing in neighbourhoods such as those identified in Winnipeg to contain the highest concentrations of poor seniors. It is envisioned that a greater understanding of the issues faced by elderly persons in disadvantaged neighbourhoods can lead to place-based policy strategies to improve the quality of life of these individuals and the community overall.

Challenges in Their New Home:
Housing and Neighbourhood Experiences of Refugees in Winnipeg

WILEY/1979/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/5676/18-4823-192)

Refugees (1979): *"Winnipeg residents rolled out the welcome mat when 53 Vietnamese refugees arrived in the city."*

By Dr. Tom Carter

Under a proactive immigration policy, Manitoba has become a significant immigrant destination over the past 15 years. Average annual arrivals jumped from 3,800 in the 1996–2000 period to 14,000 in the 2008–2012 period, a 268% increase. Over the 1996–2012 period 141,134 international immigrants moved to Manitoba, approximately 80% to Winnipeg. Twelve percent of the total arrivals, or 17,428, were refugees, with close to 90% settling in Winnipeg. Coming from over 150 countries, the new arrivals add tremendous ethnic, racial, social, and economic diversity to the neighbourhoods in which they settle. Arrivals include skilled professionals, business investors, skilled trades people, and general labourers. Although this increasing diversity adds cultural enrichment, it also presents challenges. Resettlement is not always a pleasant experience and integration can be a challenging process.

Refugees represent the most marginalized group of arrivals as they come with few skills, virtually no material assets, and many have a range of health problems after spending years in refugee camps. This short essay will focus on this more marginalized group, specifically those who settle in Winnipeg. Work by Carter et al.(Carter, 2010; Carter & Osborne, 2009; Carter, Polevychok, Friesen, & Osborne, 2008; Carter, Polevychok, & Osborne, 2009) highlights the socio-economic and housing characteristics of these arrivals and follows their changing circumstances over a 3-year period, from 2008 to 2010. Approximately 70% were visible minorities from Africa or the Middle East, which made their adjustment and integration even more difficult. Seventy-five households in Winnipeg were interviewed initially in 2006. In 2007, 55 of the original 75 households were re-interviewed: a retention rate of 73%.

Income

Over the 3-year period, refugee households faced high levels of poverty. In the first year their average annual income was $23,636—less than one-third of the City average of $63,025. By the third year, this figure had increased approximately 50% to $35,411, still only slightly more than half the City average (Table 11). In year one over 90% of the households were below the poverty line. By year three this had fallen to 53%, still more than twice the City average. Forty percent of study households had used a food bank at some point and 20% relied on food banks every month. In the first year at least one person was employed full time in 49% of the households; by year three this had increased to 72% but nearly all those working were employed in low paying service sector jobs.

Housing

The larger size of refugee households, 4.0 versus 2.4 persons per household for the City of Winnipeg, makes it difficult to find rental accommodation with enough bedrooms to adequately accommodate the household at an affordable rent. In the first year 40% found their accommodation crowded (Table 11). This improved over the three years but 31% still found their space too small in the third year. In the first year 23% felt their home was not safe for their children, and approximately 30% felt their home contributed to health problems. Improvement over the three years reduced these figures to between 10% and 15% (Table 12).

Relations with landlords and caretakers were quite varied. Half of the interviewees reported having had good experiences with caretakers, who sometimes went above and be-

Table 11: Housing and Income Characteristics of Recently Arrived Refugees

	Year One	Year Two	Year Three
Average Income (C$)	23,636	28,276	35,411
Incidence of Poverty (%)	91	69	53
Employed (%)	49	62	72
Owners (%)	2	13	15
Renters (%)	95	85	82
Living with Others (%)	3	2	3
Affordability Problems			
Owners	-	33	75
Renters	46	27	23
Household Size	4.0	3.8	3.7
Crowded Households (%)	49	28	31

Source: Personal Interviews

Table 12: Housing Satisfaction Indicators

	Year One %	Year Two %	Year Three %
Like Size of Place	39	74	82
In Good Condition	74	56	67
Repair Problems Not Addressed	26	44	33
Not Safe for Children	23	15	13
Contributes to Health Problems	29	11	10

Source: Survey of Study Households

yond their responsibilities to ensure the newcomer tenants were satisfied with their living situations. One-quarter of the interviewees, however, had very negative experiences with landlords and/or caretakers, some of which even involved harassment, personal threats, threats of eviction, and not returning damage deposits. An inadequate knowledge of tenant and landlord rights and responsibilities was common among the refugees, leaving them vulnerable to misunderstandings and exploitation. There were cases in which they did not understand the rental agreements they signed and found themselves tied to one-year leases in unsafe, unsuitable housing in poor condition.

Close to 50% of the renter households faced affordability problems in year one. They were paying 30% or more of their gross before-tax income for housing—12% were paying more than 50%. By year three there was a considerable improvement, as the percentage had fallen to just over 23% (Table 11).

Social Housing Provides Advantages

Improvement in affordability can be attributed to the fact that by the end of the third year 40% had been able to access social housing. With rents set at 27% of gross before-tax income, those in social housing saved more than $150 a month on rent compared to households renting in the private sector (Table 13). A higher percentage in social housing also had enough bedrooms to adequately accommodate household size and composition than those in the private sector. Refugees in public housing were also happier with their landlords and caretakers. After three years, however, those living in social housing were much less likely to feel safe in their neighbourhood or safe in their

Table 13: Social Versus Private Sector Housing: Satisfaction Indicators

	Year One %		Year Two %		Year Three %	
	Private	Social	Private	Social	Private	Social
Proportion of Sample	76	24	59	41	61	39
Crowded Households	52	44	35	21	35	31
Housing is Safe	74	78	90	69	95	67
Neighbourhood is Safe	69	56	84	78	93	46
Mean Rent (C$)	585	388	617	384	602	451

Source: Survey of Study Households




UNKNOWN/1962//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/1494/18-1494-003) AND ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

UNKNOWN/1962//WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7203/18-6247-005) AND ELISA CONTRERAS/2014

Central Park Then and Now *(from left to right)*: *Central Park Lodge 1962 and 2014; Park Benches 1962 and 2014.*

housing, perhaps because the majority in social housing lived in the inner-city where safety is an issue.

Market Circumstances Make Accessing Affordable Housing Difficult

Market circumstances make access to adequate, affordable private sector housing very difficult for refugees. Rental vacancies are low (approximately 1%) and choice is limited. Vacancies that do exist are in the older rental stock which is in poor condition, or the newer stock which is in a price range well beyond what refugees can afford to pay. There are virtually no vacant three-or-more bedroom units that many of the larger refugee households require. Apartments with three or more bedrooms comprise only 2% of private rental units in Winnipeg. Current rents exceed what most refugee households can afford to pay without exceeding acceptable rent-to-income ratios.

Winnipeg's Inner-City is not a Preferred Residential Location

Certain areas of cities have traditionally been destinations for new immigrants. Generally these areas have been characterized by low cost and low quality rental housing and are not always considered the best part of town. Winnipeg's inner-city is such an area and is the first home for many new arrivals, particularly refugees. They have to seek out less expensive housing because of their very low incomes.

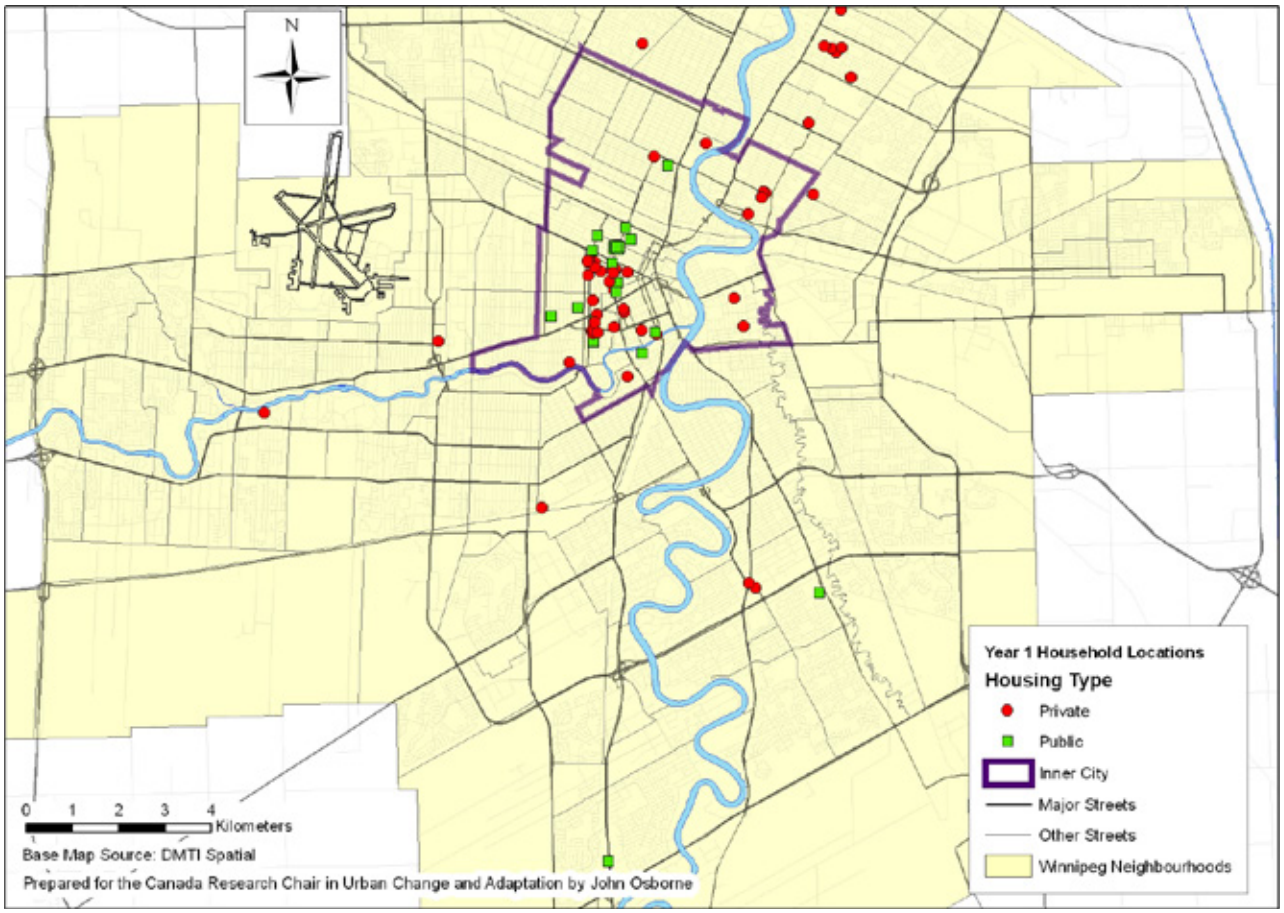
The majority of the study households lived in the inner-city—over three-quarters in year one falling to approximately 60% in years two and three (Table 14 and Map 6). Many of the neighbourhoods in Winnipeg's inner-city where refugees live are characterized by urban decline. Poverty and unemployment rates are high and the incidence

Table 14: Neighbourhood Satisfaction Indicators

	Year One %	Year Two %	Year Three %
Living in Inner-City	77	62	62
Like Neighbourhood	76	77	72
Do Not Feel Safe	33	15	18
Want to Move to Different Neighbourhood	76	58	61
Would Prefer to Live in non-Inner-City	77	90	87

Source: Survey of Study Households

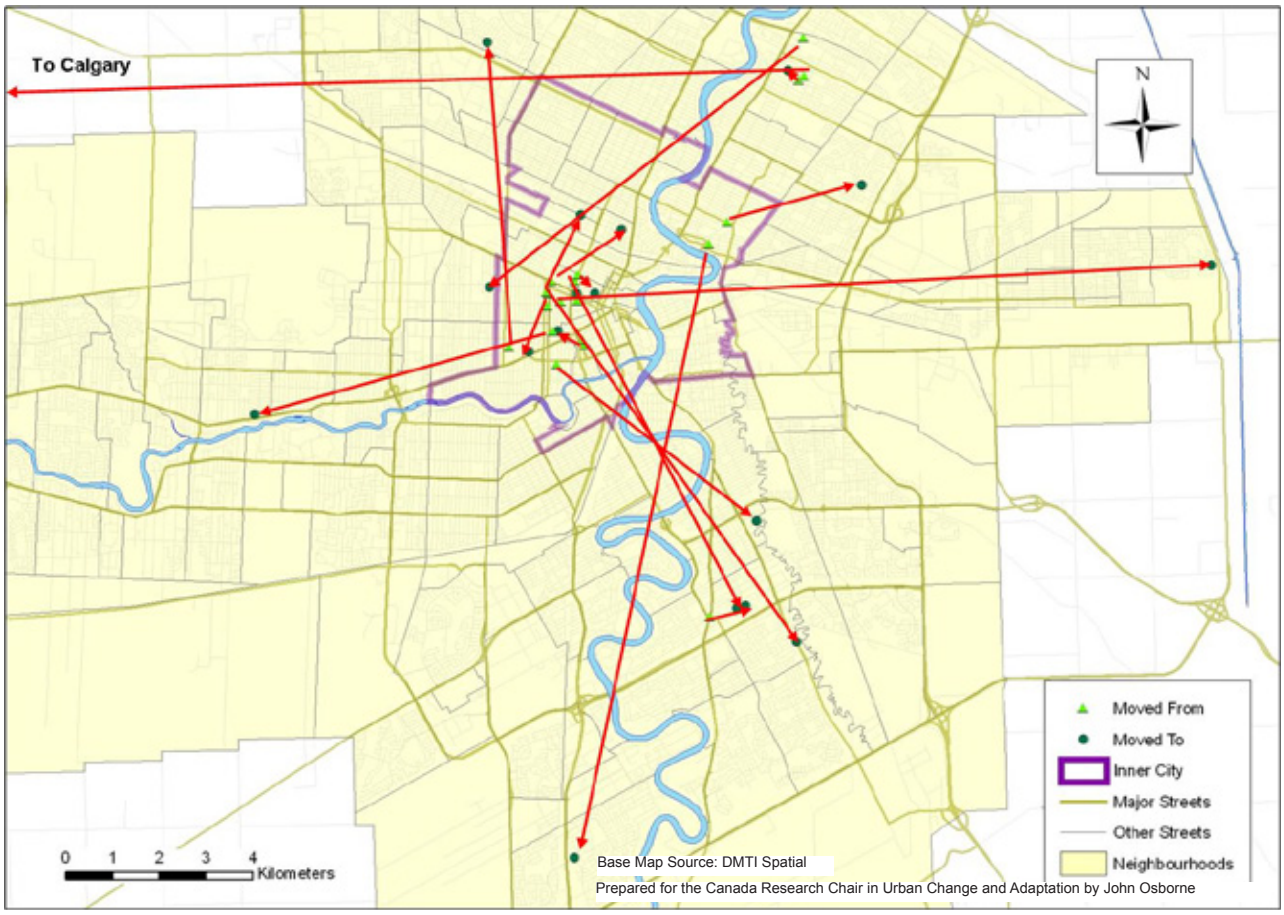
Map 6: Refugee Households by Residential Location in Winnipeg, 2006–2007



of crime, both property and personal, such as murder, attempted murder, rape, and assault is much higher in these neighbourhoods. Thirteen of the fifteen neighbourhoods in the City recording the highest crimes against persons (homicide, assault, sexual offences, abduction, and robbery) are in the inner-city (Carter & McGregor, 2006). The housing stock is also older and of poorer quality. The area contains the highest number of vacant and placarded dwellings—close to 80% of the city total. Dwellings in need of major repairs exceed 20% in some neighbourhoods, compared to 9% for the City as a whole.

Despite these characteristics, approximately three-quarters of the sample in all three years indicated they liked their neighbourhood, although in year one, one-third of the households indicated they did not feel safe in their neighbourhood. In years two and three this proportion fell to 15%–20% (Table 14). Despite what seem to be reasonably high levels of satisfaction, three-quarters of the sample in the first year wanted to move to a new neighbourhood, with this proportion remaining around 60% in years two and three. Close to 90% of the sample in years two and three indicated they would prefer to live in non-inner-city areas. Many leave the inner-city as soon as they find accommodation elsewhere (Map 7). More detailed analysis of household preferences clearly indicate that there are many aspects of living in the inner-city neighbourhoods that refugee households do like: proximity to services, being close to immigrant and refugee support agencies, cheaper housing, proximity to friends, and better public transportation to name a few. However, because of issues associated with crime, safety, and security most people would prefer to live

Map 7: Mobility of Refugee Households in Winnipeg, 2006–2007



in a suburban area. Some of the quotes from those interviewed substantiate this situation:

- *"The only reason I live here [the inner-city] is because I can afford it. Nothing else is good about it."*
- *"A bunch of kids asked for cigarettes and then jumped me. Not a good place for kids. Kids will learn things that are not good for them. Bad activities."*
- *"The area is not safe. Many bad persons drinking and people who are drunk. There are gangsters on the next street. Two of our family have been chased on their way home: one from Safeway at 7 p.m. and another at 8 p.m."*

Conclusion

Resettlement and integration into a new environment and new society is difficult under any circumstances and resettlement in declining inner-city neighbourhoods adds another layer of complexity and difficulties. The provision of more affordable social housing is an important initiative needed to facilitate resettlement and integration. Social housing may be a better resettlement option but evidence from this study suggests it has to be combined with initiatives to address neighbourhood safety and security issues. Refugees arrive facing serious socio-economic deprivation. Often their resettlement in the inner-city does little to address the social and economic inequities they face.

Part IV

The Responses

ADRIAN STONESS/2011

The Iconic Bell Hotel Sign Comes Down (2011): *The Bell Hotel, a former North Main Street single-room occupancy hotel, was converted into a supportive housing facility through a tripartite partnership between the CentreVenture Development Corporation (the City of Winnipeg's downtown development agency), the Province of Manitoba, and the Government of Canada.*

Marked Interventions:
Thirty Years of Governmental Involvement in Neighbourhood Stabilization and Renewal

GREG GALLINGER/2013

Closing Sale (2013): *Winnipeg's downtown suffers another loss as Zeller's closes at the historic Hudson's Bay Building.*

By Dr. Jino Distasio

Countless cities throughout North America have experienced, to varying degrees, the demise of their central cores and surrounding inner-city neighbourhoods. The outcome for such cities can generally be characterized by a dramatic rate of depopulation, a reduction in the economic influence of the inner-city and downtown (relative to emerging suburban clusters), the outward flight of capital and people, and the spatial polarization of lower-income households. In reaction, city leaders have proposed and acted upon countless means by which to revitalize, stimulate, and/or redevelop blighted and declining areas while addressing areas of concentrated poverty.

In Canada, Winnipeg stands as an unfortunate example of a city crippled by a period of slow and stagnant growth that emerged in the 1960s. What is confounding is that Winnipeg's growth prior to the 1960s had been bolstered by periods of intensive expansion that propelled a city of less the 300 inhabitants in 1871 to become Canada's third largest city by 1911, behind Montreal and Toronto (Artibise, 1979). By 1931, Vancouver overtook Winnipeg and from that period onward, Winnipeg's overall position among Canadian cities would slip further and further down the urban hierarchy.

The reversal of Winnipeg's fortune began in 1956 when the city peaked at a population of 255,093, with a growth rate of 8.2% over the previous census. Development was driven by a robust post-war economy and an emerging baby boom. However, 1956 would mark Winnipeg's last high rate of growth. In the following 1961 and 1966 censuses, the population of Winnipeg saw successive declines that dropped the 1971 population to a level below that of 1956 (Artibise, 1977). From 1970 onward, Winnipeg's urban structure would continue down a path of decline that would necessitate a highly localized set of tripartite policy responses that focused attention on inner-city neighbourhoods and the downtown.

The Tripartite Model

This essay highlights Winnipeg's urban policy approach that evolved into a strong government-led tripartite model between municipal, provincial, and federal agencies. In the broadest sense, this approach originated in the 1960s with the Federal Urban Renewal schemes and in the 1970s with the Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP) and the Neighbourhood Improvement Program (NIP; Leo, 2006). Proposed in the early 1960s, an example of neighbourhood intervention occurred in the Lord Selkirk neighbourhood's urban renewal scheme that emphasized large-scale redevelopment. This 1964 plan focused on slum clearance and dealing with the physical challenges of an area with a strong community that had a housing stock in need of extensive repairs (City of Winnipeg, 1964).

These early efforts planted the seeds for what would become an explosive level of government investment, framed by tripartite cooperation, to address blight within Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods and downtown. The model would be unique among Canadian cities.

UNKNOWN/1980/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7150/18-6309-003)

Winnipeg Core Area (1980): *"Owner's note in window is a sign of the times in plagued core neighborhood north of Portage."*

The Forks Then and Now (*from left to right*): *The Canadian National East Yards (1970) and the Canadian Museum for Human Rights (2011). The forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers has been a major site of tripartite investment.*

UNKNOWN/1970/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC-18-1364-011)

ADRIAN STONESS/2011

In particular, this essay highlights the period of 1980–2010, in which three approaches emerged from a period of government-led interventionist polices. It should be noted that this discussion is intended to provide an introduction and not to critique each program's strengths or weaknesses. The focus is on explaining how these interventions tried to influence the trajectory of neighbourhood decline in Winnipeg through a sustained effort among all three levels of government. Unique within the Canadian context, these interventions include:

1. The Winnipeg Core Area Initiative (CAI), 1981–1992;
2. The Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA) and later renamed the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement (WPA), 1994–2001; and
3. The Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (WHHI), 2001–2012.

Changing Fortunes for a Prairie City

For Winnipeg, slow population growth and the contraction of the economy extended through the 1970s. By the late 1970s, elected officials had taken notice of the rising level of poverty within the inner-city of Winnipeg. The outcome for many neighbourhoods was a dramatic population loss and the spatial polarization of poverty and poor quality housing in the inner-city against a backdrop of rising incomes and wealth in the emerging suburbs. For example, a 1977 City of Winnipeg report captures the concept of interventionist policies succinctly in stating that, "it has been shown that the downtown does not present as large a potential for profit as do peripheral areas of the City, and that increased residential construction will depend upon municipal incentives to establish more a competitive position" (City of Winnipeg, 1977, p. 2). The nearby inner-city neighbourhoods were also hit hard by population losses, with Dector & Kowall (1990) estimating that Winnipeg's core area population dropped 23% between 1971 and 1982.

In direct response to mounting calls for intervention, the three levels of government launched the Core Area Initiative (CAI) in 1981 with a five-year mandate to improve the social and physical condition of an area encompassing nearly 10 square miles. The CAI was based on a similar Provincial framework used in northern Manitoba, called the Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) Agreement, which was adapted for the city (Dector & Kowall, 1990). The CAI would be subsequently renewed for a second mandate in the mid-1980s, before coming to an end in 1992 (Carter, 1991).

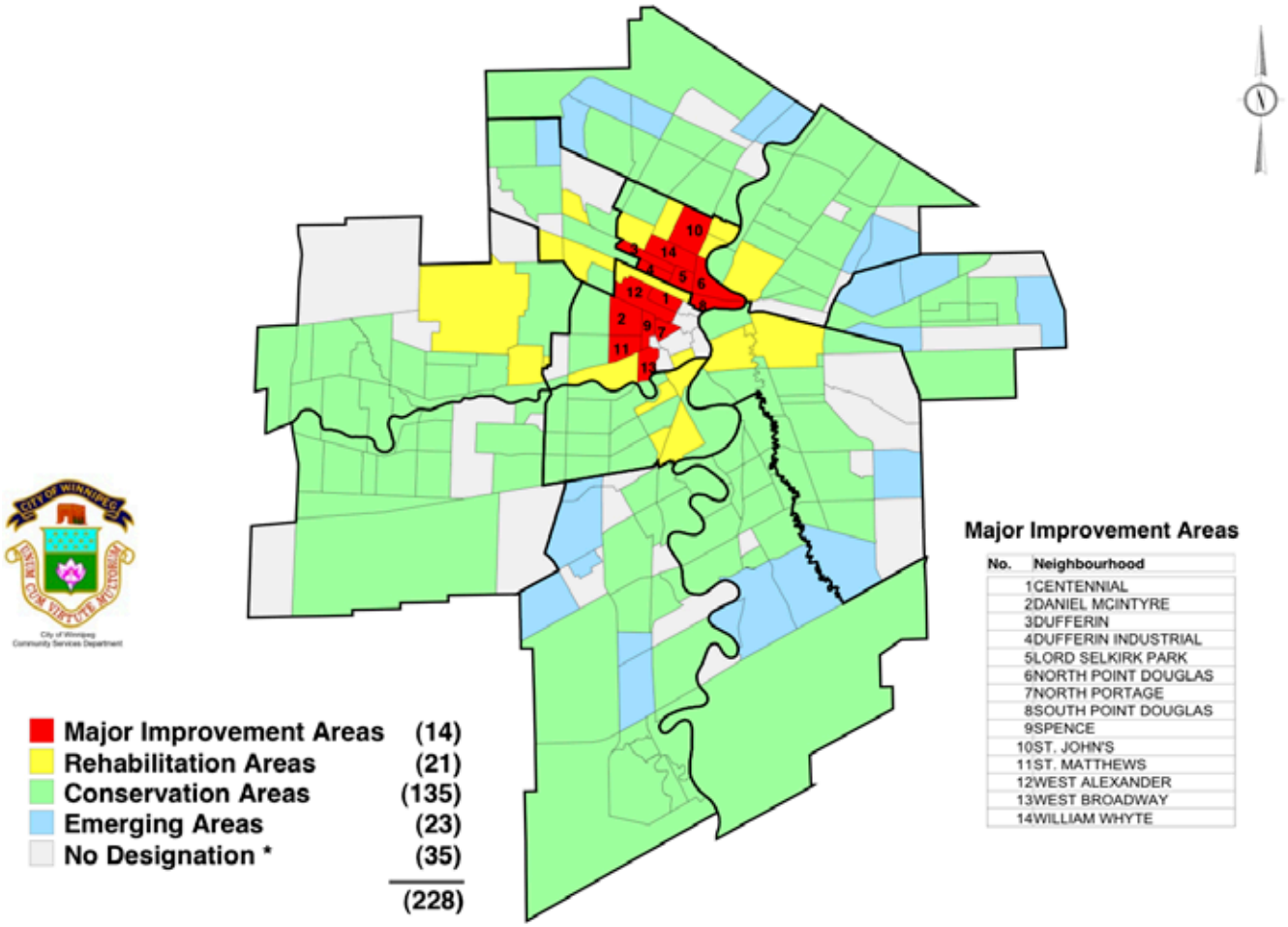
For neighbourhoods struggling with population loss and increasing signs of decline, the CAI would come to shape Winnipeg's urban policy direction, including a focus on neighbourhood revitalization efforts, for over a decade. The Winnipeg CAI model was based on an equal contri-

bution by each level of government and totalled nearly $200 million over the two iterations of the CAI. A unique ownership model saw funding and government support directed through the CAI office that acted as secretariat.

On the ground there was much debate about the effectiveness of the CAI, with some arguing that it was too focused on bricks and mortar and not enough on people and social issues. However, at the neighbourhood-level, there was little doubt that the efforts to repair housing, support homeownership, and rebuild community infrastructure helped stabilize communities that were mired in a long period of decline. Using indicators based on housing conditions, crime rates, and socio-economic factors much of the neighbourhood-level investment occurred within Winnipeg's inner-city and in neighbourhoods that were designated as Major Improvement zones, as displayed in Map 8 (City of Winnipeg, 2000). Below is a small snapshot of the types of initiatives supported over the decade of the CAI:

- 48 neighbourhood facilities were assisted with nearly $10 million in total investment
- 63 neighbourhood services were supported with nearly $6 million
- 198 grants provided for home ownership with $1.8 million from the CAI supporting nearly $9 million in housing purchases
- 535 homeowners provided with funds to repair homes with $2.1 million
- 488 rental units repaired with $2 million from CAI supporting a total $8.1 million in repairs

Map 8: Neighbourhood Designation Categories



* Neighbourhoods which had 2 or less residential dwellings.

Source: City of Winnipeg, 2000

Downtown Winnipeg (2014): *On the far left the Canadian Museum of Human Rights looks out over Winnipeg's core area.*

ADRIAN STONESS/2014

When funding ended in 1992, there remained a strong need for further investment in the local community. After some negotiation, the Winnipeg Development Agreement (WDA) was announced in 1994 with $75 million funneled into four areas that included "building sustainable neighbourhoods to support the efforts of residents, and continue to restore Winnipeg's historic inner-city communities to health and vibrancy" (Province of Manitoba, 2004).

The WDA had fewer resources but expanded the mandate by including Indigenous communities to a higher degree than the CAI. Subsequently, the WDA would evolve into the Winnipeg Partnership Agreement (WPA) and would run for several more years. This governance structure continued to be premised on the tripartite model, albeit with fewer resources and less impact (Leo & Pyl, 2007).

While the tripartite model would continue within the WDA/WPA, the Canadian policy environment began to shift in the late 1990s to more on homelessness (Frankish, Hwang, & Quantz, 2005; Hulchanski, 2004). Much of the early funding in Winnipeg was derived from the Federal Government's Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI), which formed a key part of the early response to homelessness delivered by the then Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC). The SCPI program launched in 1999 and had a three-year window with $750 million in funding.

In Winnipeg, the SCPI funding established the last tripartite model, the Winnipeg Housing and Homelessness Initiative (WHHI), which had a focus on housing and community. While the mandate of the SCPI was broadened to include homelessness, local organizations were drawn to the single-window access of the WHHI, which was intended to be a one-stop-shop for funding from all three levels of government. Much of the emphasis of the WHHI model was on housing rehabilitation and the expansion of resources for agencies supporting homeless individuals. However, hundreds of rental housing units were built and renovated during the WHHI's operation. The WHHI model would be restructured in 2012, ending nearly 30 years of commitment among the three levels of government to direct supports for housing and neighbourhood projects.

During the period between 1980 and 2010, Winnipeg built a strong base from which many neighbourhoods groups were able to seek funds and supports. What is important to note is that the funding delivery model shifted dramatically over the years from the direct delivery model of the CAI to a more community driven model of the WHHI, which had community based organizations (CBOs) responding to calls for funding. While this model resulted in significant competition among CBOs, it cannot be denied that extensive investment flowed into Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods. This funding was critical in responding to a significant level of decline that accelerated during the 1970s.

The tripartite funding model was crucial to facing Winnipeg's many distinct challenges explored elsewhere in this report. What is most important to take from this overview is that neighbourhood investment in Winnipeg was led by a model that was strongly supported by government at a time when private investment was scarce.

A Transactional Approach:

The City of Winnipeg's Planning Department and Neighbourhood Change, 1970–2014

THORDARSON/1978/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7207/18-7207-006)H

Planning Protest (1966): *"University of Manitoba students picket a lack of civic planning."*

By Martin Sandhurst

During the 40 years following its amalgamation with surrounding cities and municipalities under the Unicity governance model, Winnipeg has met its legislated responsibility to prepare new city-wide development plans every decade or so. Although it has been argued that Winnipeg's plan has attempted to be all things to all people and on that basis is an ineffective guide for development decisions and investments, *Plan Winnipeg* has consistently kept the downtown and established neighbourhoods in its policy focus—from the earliest plan's "Infill/Revitalization Containment" option, to the later "Downtown First" emphasis. Winnipeg's most recent development plan—*OurWinnipeg* and the companion document *Complete Communities*—appears to provide the downtown and mature communities with comparable status to that of other urban structure areas.

A key role of city decadal development plans is to provide a foundation for day-to-day, year-over-year Council decisions and administrative actions. Through *The City of Winnipeg Charter*, the Government of Manitoba mandates the preparation of a development plan and related regulatory and procedural requirements. In addition, the Charter authorizes several discretionary powers, such as the preparation of secondary plans—each representing a small area-focused sub-set of the city development plan. Secondary plans (aka neighbourhood plans, small area plans, local area plans, area redevelopment plans, area structure plans, corridor plans) are employed almost universally among cities seeking to provide more detailed, context-specific property development guidance for individual neighbourhoods than can be achieved under the city-wide plan. Since their preparation is optional in Winnipeg, secondary plan service delivery provides a unique window through which to glimpse planning division practices and their intentional interventions in neighbourhoods. Regarding terminology, it should be noted that the term *planning division* used in this paper includes the core group within Winnipeg's planning department that has been responsible for a variety of plan-making and development review functions during the time-frame investigated. Four distinct eras of secondary planning practice are evident in Winnipeg: 1972–1982; 1983–2001; 2002–2007; and 2008–2014.

Map 9: Local Area Plans, 2014

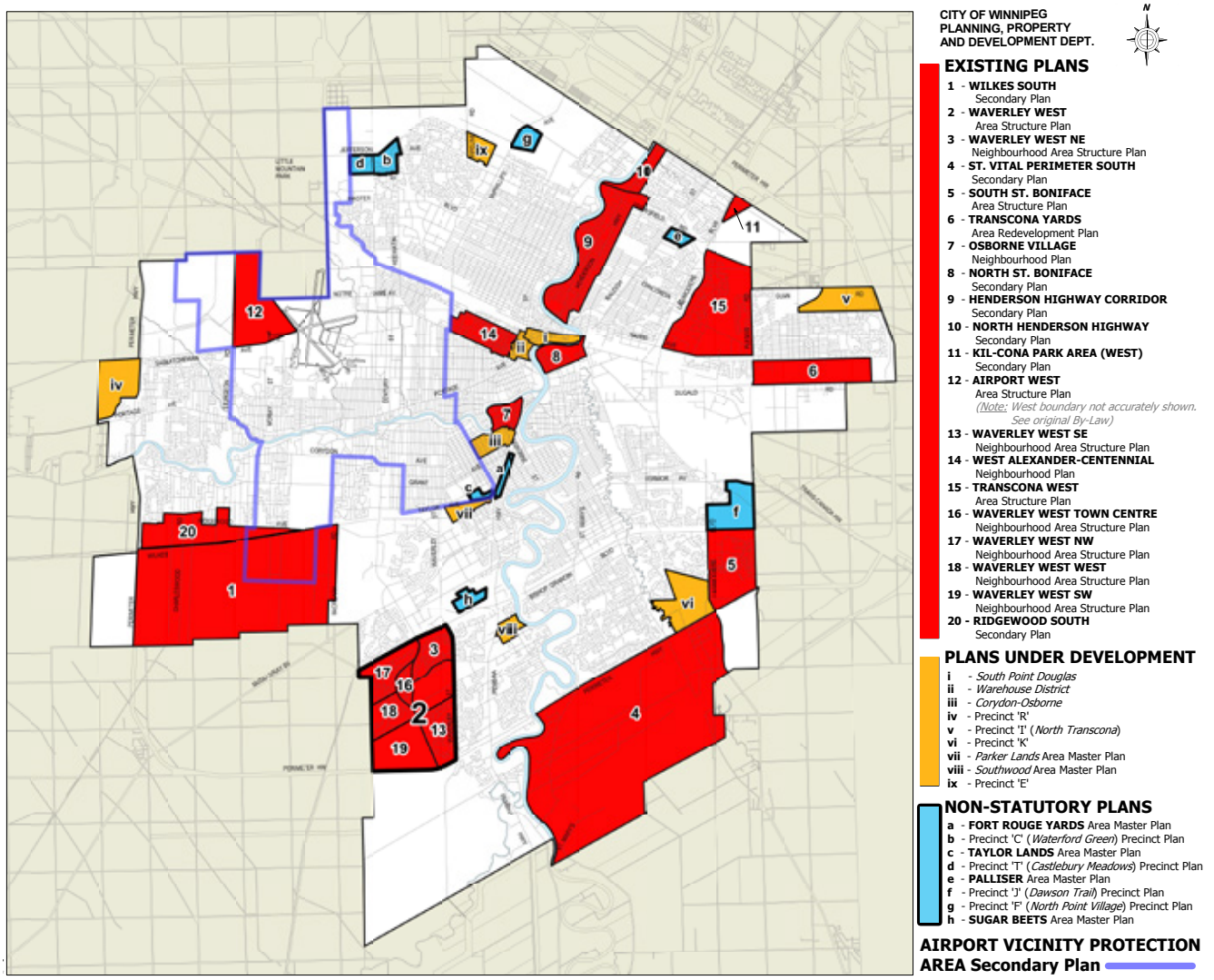


Table 15: Neighbourhood Plans, 1972–1982

Plan	Adoption	Location Characteristic	Ownership Concentration
Downtown Plan	1975	urban	multiple
North St. Boniface Secondary Plan	1975	urban	multiple
North Henderson Highway Secondary Plan	1976	suburban	multiple
St. Vital Perimeter South Secondary Plan	1977	suburban	multiple
River-Osborne District Plan	1979*	urban	multiple
Henderson Highway Corridor Secondary Plan	1982	urban	multiple

Sources: City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1977, 1979, and 1982b
*Repealed in 1985

1972–1982: Spark

During the decade immediately following the Unicity amalgamation, Winnipeg's planning division prepared six secondary plans (aka *Action Area Plans*)—for areas including the downtown, a neighbourhood main street, two established residential communities, a developing arterial street, and a rural residential area (See Table 15). This output is impressive, in terms of both the number of plans and their variety. Although there is no explicit record of what prompted preparation of these plans, it is likely new legislation authorizing area-focused planning, federal funding contributions towards neighbourhood improvement, and perhaps pent-up demand while the governance model was revamped were contributing factors.

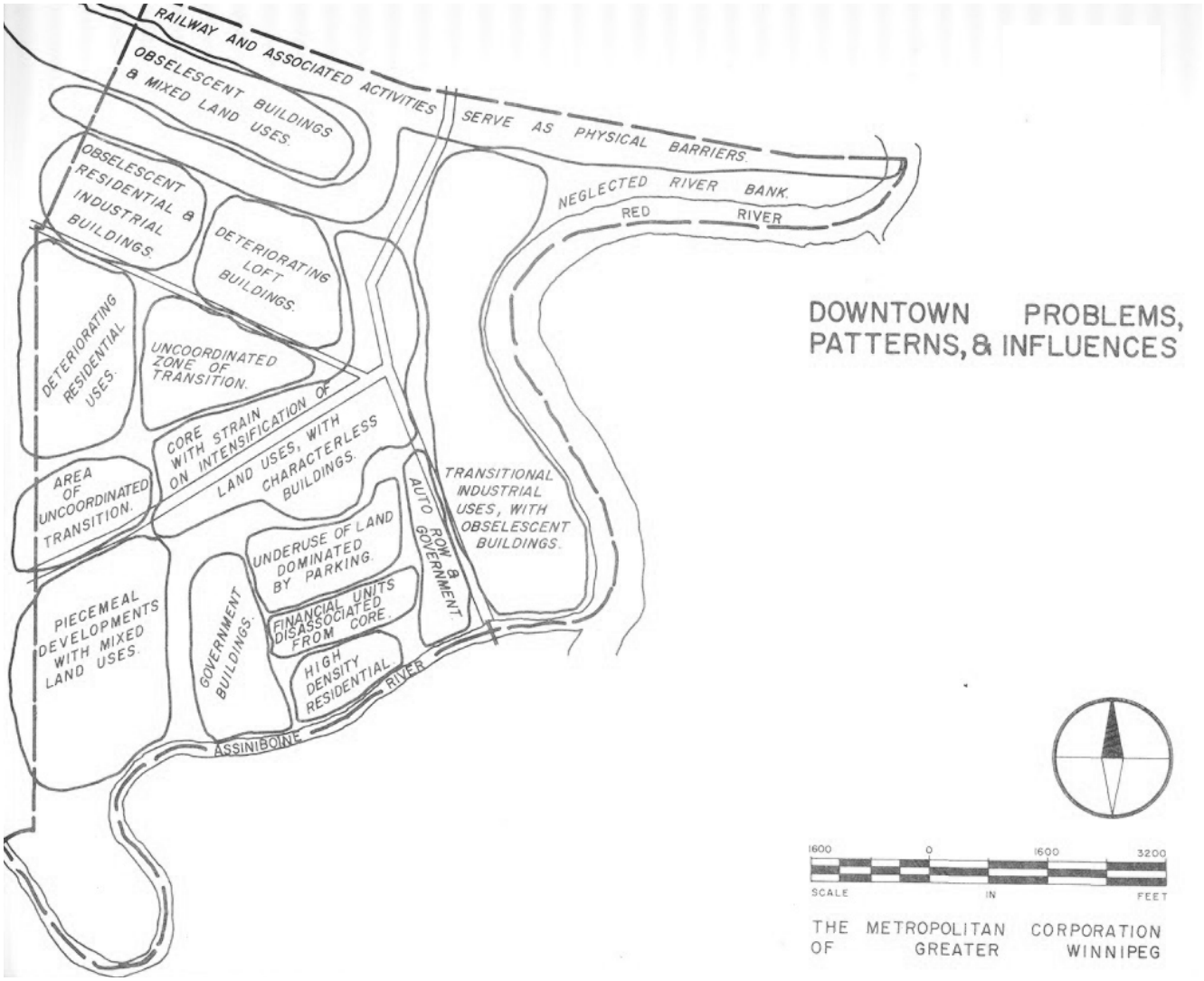
1983–2001: Dark Age

Over the next 20 years, one secondary plan was repealed and only four new plans were prepared—including three rural residential areas and an airport vicinity noise exposure forecast plan (See Table 16). Inexplicably, it appears the planning division itself was responsible for withdrawal from this service delivery area. In its *Neighbourhood Management & District Planning* report (City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning, 1982a) to the Environmental Planning Committee, ostensibly concerned with the status of planning services post-Unicity, the division reached surprising conclusions and proposed perplexing recommendations regarding the effectiveness of secondary plans.

Table 16: Neighbourhood Plans, 1983–2001

Plan	Adoption	Location Characteristic	Ownership Concentration
Kil-Cona Park Area (West) Secondary Plan	1988	suburban	multiple
Airport Vicinity Protection Area Secondary Plan	1994	suburban	multiple
Wilkes South Secondary Plan	1994	suburban	multiple
Old Kildonan Secondary Plan	2000*	suburban	multiple

Sources: City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department 1988, 1994a, 1994b, and 2000a
*Authorized for public hearing, but not formally adopted



THE METROPOLITAN CORPORATION OF GREATER WINNIPEG/1967/ IN: REID, CROWTHER & PARTNERS. A MARKET ANALYSIS FOR METROPOLITAN WINNIPEG : APPENDIX I. [WINNIPEG]: REID, CROWTHER & PARTNERS, 1967. FIG. 2.5. SHOWBUILDING

Map of Downtown with Characterization Labels (1967): "*Downtown Problems, Patterns, & Influences.*"

Referring to the rural residential plan for the St. Vital Perimeter South area as the most effective plan prepared to date—due to the simplicity of issues at play at the time—the report states that "experience has shown that secondary plans as by-laws have limited utility when applied to complex neighbourhood issues" (City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning, 1982a, p. 5). Among a number of apparent shortcomings, secondary plans are criticised for being "end-state products," ineffective "as conditions change over time," open to interpretation due to "vague or general" wording, "encumbering" for Council members wanting to make quick decisions, and for fostering an "adversarial approach for representations" at public hearings. In short, the report concludes, planning at a neighbourhood- or small area-scale is only useful in select circumstances—namely, rural residential areas where issues are straightforward and the planning process is a strictly technical exercise. Based on these conclusions, the report recommends that the planning division concentrate on other planning tools, namely:

- Zoning rationalizations—by ensuring that zoning districts reflect existing land uses and protect the status quo, the degree of uncertainty regarding potential "land use intrusions into neighbourhoods" will be minimized and "thereby contribute to stability of the area" (City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning, 1982a, p. 6);
- Public hearings on property development applications—by reviewing development applications

in the context of overall trends within neighbourhoods, the division observes "that the process of approving development applications is a very effective tool in shaping the character of neighbourhoods and protecting their viability" (City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning, 1982a, p. 7); and

- Suggested subdivision patterns—by preparing conceptual property development lay-outs for undeveloped areas, the division will provide a tool to assist Council members in their evaluation of "specific development proposals at the public hearing stage" (City of Winnipeg. Department of Environmental Planning, 1982a, p. 8).

By the early 1990s, planning division staff resources were devoted primarily to the development application review process, with occasional forays into neighbourhood- or area-focused planning, achieved, initially, through temporary assignment of a staff planner and, later, through more-or-less permanent assignment of one or two planners on an ongoing basis.

2002–2007: Spotlight

Council's endorsement of the *Integrated Planning Model* report (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2002b) signaled a renewed interest in neighbourhood- or area-focused planning: "With an integrated model in place. . . neighbourhood plans would be recognized as the key to the protection and revitalization of neighbourhoods" (p. 7). This report was prepared shortly after the department director had informed Council that its requests for enhanced planning services could not be met without additional resources—a message that was not well received. This report includes an implied critique of the division's custodial approach over the previous 20 years, challenging Council to recognize the need "to have more proactive planning in order to have development decisions driven by plans rather than regulation" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2002b, p. 13). In order to eventually develop a plan for every existing neighbourhood and emerging area, the report recommends that "capacity for planning should be enhanced through the allocation of 4 additional permanent full time positions in the Planning & Land Use Division" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2002b, p. 17).

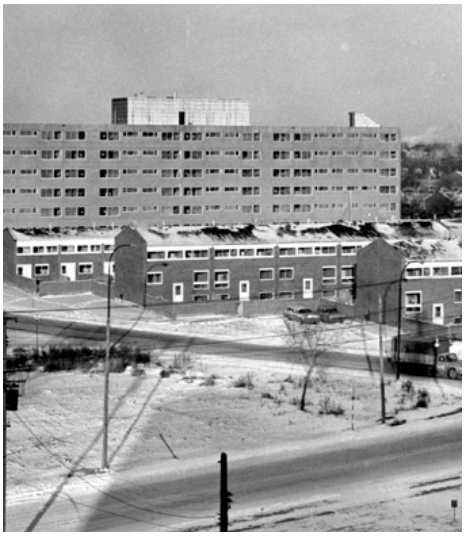
Over the next decade, the demands for secondary plan services increased due to: *Plan Winnipeg* requirements for emerging areas; a combination of increased development activity and community organization in established areas; and a division strategy to inform Council, community organizations, and development industry interests about secondary planning benefits. Even though the allocation of staff positions to neighbourhood- and area-based planning was often below the recommended complement for extended periods, seven new secondary plans were approved and several more were initiated. Of these, two plans

Table 17: Neighbourhood Plans, 2002–2007

Plan	Adoption	Location Characteristic	Ownership Concentration
Airport Area West Secondary Plan	2002	suburban	multiple
Transcona Yards Ind. Area Redevelopment Plan	2005	suburban	limited
South St. Boniface Area Structure Plan	2005	suburban	limited
Osborne Village Neighbourhood Plan	2006	urban	multiple
Waverley West Area Structure Plan	2006	suburban	limited
Transcona West Area Structure Plan	2006	suburban	multiple
West Alexander/Centennial Neighbourhood Plan	2008	urban	multiple

Sources: City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department 2002a, 2005a, 2005b, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2008c

THORDARSON/1978/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7190/18-6237-002)



UNKNOWN/1967/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/256/18-256-080)
UNKNOWN/1969/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/256/18-256-058)

Planning Perspectives *(from left to right)*: *Heritage Building Protest (1978); Lord Selkirk Park Public Housing Development in Winnipeg's North End (1967); and Apartment construction in the Osborne Village neighbourhoods (1969).*

targeted existing neighbourhoods, two more provided for industrial areas, and the remainder guided development in emerging residential areas (See Table 17). Concurrently, the planning division introduced a variety of new service delivery tactics, taking the lead role in plan preparation for established areas characterized by multiple property ownership and assuming project oversight responsibilities for developer-led processes in emerging areas. The division also, in a step towards creating more fully-developed service delivery work plans, began submitting annual *Secondary Plan Priorities* reports to the Property & Development Committee that provided status reports on initiated processes, identified recent requests, and outlined the service focus for the forthcoming year.

Table 18: Neighbourhood Plans, 2008–2014

Plan	Adoption	Location Characteristic	Ownership Concentration
Fort Rouge Yards area master plan	2010*	urban	limited
Precinct plan C (Inkster Gardens)	2012*	suburban	limited
Precinct plan Q (Ridgewood South)	2013	suburban	limited
Precinct plan T (North Inkster)	2013*	suburban	limited
Palliser area master plan	2013*	urban	limited
Taylor area master plan	2013*	urban	limited
Precinct plan F (North Point Village)	2014*	suburban	limited
Precinct plan I (North Transcona)	2014	suburban	limited
Precinct plan J (Dawson Trail)	2014*	suburban	limited
Precinct plan K (Royalwood South)	2014	suburban	limited
Bishop Grandin Crossing area master plan	2014*	urban	limited

Sources: City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department 2012b, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2014a, 2014b, and 2014c; Lexington Investment Corp, 2010; McGowan Russell Group, Inc., 2013

***Adopted by Council resolution, not by-law**

2008–2014: Fade to Black

By 2007, it is evident that neighbourhood- or area-based planning had begun to achieve a more elevated status in the planning division's service delivery hierarchy. Traditionally, as part of its submissions to inform Council's annual operating budget process, the division had provided a gloss of City Planning service areas and demonstrated its efficiency through a packet of development application-related data (e.g., building permits issued, subdivisions approved, and rezoning applications processed). New to the submission for 2007 was attention to secondary plans, including these statements:

> "The primary function of a Secondary Plan is to attempt to strategically and pro-actively manage change in the built environment…This may either be in the form of new development or re-development, decline, or transformation of existing neighbourhoods" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2007a, p. 81);
>
> "There is a priority need to complete secondary plans such that the entire city can be developed based on current and relevant information. Secondary plans need to be detailed enough to provide infrastructure phasing and costing that can form the basis for Capital Budgeting. Unplanned changes in land use are developing in the absence of plans, causing development in inadequately serviced areas of the city" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2007a, p. 82);
>
> "There is a lack of information about land use planning in Winnipeg that is readily accessible to the public. Therefore, there is no consistent approach to ensure that residents play an active and informed role in the ongoing development of their neighbourhoods" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2007a, p. 82); and
>
> "Generate secondary/neighbourhood plans for targeted neighbourhoods (areas undergoing change—development or decline) in consultation with the local residents and the development community" (City of Winnipeg. Planning, Property, & Development Department, 2007a, p. 84).

To leverage recent secondary planning achievements and growing interest in this service, the division's 2008 budget submission included a recommendation to "reallocate existing resources to achieve more Secondary Planning capacity, perhaps by changing our role in the approval of

UNKNOWN/1970/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7207/18-7207-004)

Grammar Conventions (1970): *From 1970 through to 2014, a convention centre is touted as a revitalization strategy.*

Food Desert (2014): *Amidst another grocery store closure in Winnipeg's inner-city, many call for more options.*

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

development applications in unplanned areas of the city," reference to a map illustrating progress on secondary plan preparation over the previous 5 years, and a table comparing planning department staffing numbers and service allocations among several cities (City of Winnipeg, 2007a, p. 84). It appeared that the role of neighbourhood- or area-based planning in achieving Council and community goals was on the verge of mainstream recognition. Instead of recognizing the benefits of secondary planning and further committing to this approach, an Executive Policy Committee member responded by commissioning an independent comparison of planning departments across Canada to demonstrate that Winnipeg's lack of area-based planning progress had more to do with inefficiency and incompetence than under-resourcing (Swandel, 2008).

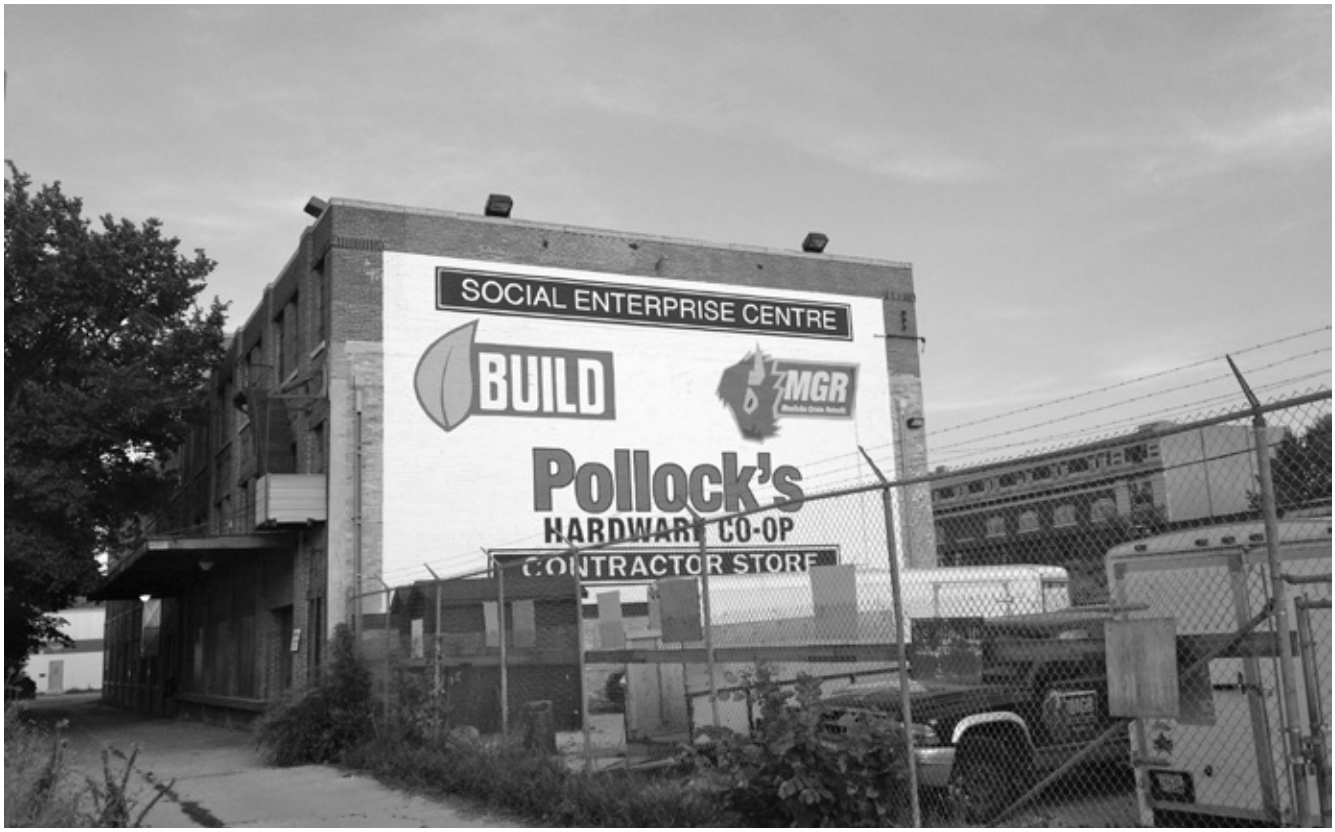
Since then, plan-making activity has focused on emerging areas (aka precinct plans) and single-owner infill sites (aka area master plans). This focus follows Council's adoption of *OurWinnipeg* and *Complete Communities* and occurs despite increasing interest in plan preparation, in established neighbourhoods, expressed by individual councillors and numerous community organizations. The planning division's recent *Local Area Planning Initiatives* reports to the Property & Development Committee explain that "local area planning should primarily be focused on Transformative Areas identified in the Urban Structure" (City of Winnipeg, 2014d, p. 5). From 2008 through 2014, seven plans for emerging areas and four for single-owner infill sites have been adopted by Council (See Table 18).

Conclusions

Plan preparation is underway for more precinct plans for emerging areas and area master plans for sites within established neighbourhoods (See Map 9). For multiple-owner areas within established neighbourhoods, the planning division began introducing "zoning overlays," adding a layer of area-specific regulations, as a proxy for area-specific plans. Otherwise, aside from the Corydon Village plan preparation process, community consultations in established neighbourhoods have been suspended in some cases and are in limbo, even for those locations identified in *OurWinnipeg* as "transformative areas."

It is premature to reach conclusions concerning Winnipeg's neighbourhood planning practices, post-*OurWinnipeg* and *Complete Communities* adoption. Current attention to emerging areas and single-owner infill sites may soon be balanced by future focus on established neighbourhoods, mixed-use centres, mixed-use corridors, and reinvestment centres. However, the fragility of plan preparation processes, such as that initiated in Corydon Village, and the withdrawal from other processes, such as those in the Warehouse District and South Point Douglas, indicate former tendencies may be resurfacing. In its Implementation section, *Complete Communities* refers to a yet-to-be developed set of enabling tools that is to be captured in a forthcoming Planning Handbook. It will be revealing to see how progressive these new tools are once developed—or whether they evoke the regressive practices advocated by the planning division in 1982, when zoning and site plan review were seen as a substitute for neighbourhood planning. As a test case for the division's ability to prepare plans for a multiple-owner established neighbourhood in the *OurWinnipeg* era, a lot is riding on the outcome of the on-again/off-again Corydon Village process. A failure or sub-par result could lead to a de facto planning division repudiation of its commitment to and leadership role in planning mature communities and the downtown.

Community-Based Organizations:
A Force for Neighbourhood Resilience



ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Social Enterprise Centre (2014): *Located on North Main Street, a number of of organizations call this location home.*

By Brendan Reimer and Sarah Leeson-Klym

Complex challenges such as income inequality, poverty, social exclusion, and urban decline persist in Winnipeg (Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives –MB, 2009). These challenges result from human constructs—the legacy of how society has chosen to structure our social and economic relations and models. However, they can be effectively addressed with comprehensive, long-term, multifaceted, and integrated approaches that are community led—a development methodology that is often referred to as Community Economic Development (CED; Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, 2009; Bernas & Reimer, 2011). CED organizations have become a force for neighbourhood resilience, reducing poverty, and building human capacity and hope, while creating more sustainable livelihoods and communities for many in our city.

While CED terminology emerged in the last few decades, the practice has been around for a very long time. Indeed, the values guiding First Nations communities and economies aligned closely with modern CED principles, as did the cooperative movement that emerged in Manitoba over the last century as a response to poverty and market inequalities (Cabaj, 2004; Reimer, Bernas, & Adeler, forthcoming). For just as long, non-profits and other civil society organizations have used various strategies to achieve outcomes in line with modern CED principles (Reimer, Bernas, & Adeler, forthcoming).

CED is not easy to describe, as it is not a particular legal structure or practitioner template, and it may be practiced in any type of activity and sector. The fact that *community* may refer to a geographic neighbourhood, a demographic within a neighbourhood or region, or a community of interest further diversifies the potential models of CED. As a community-led model, CED will reflect the priorities of each community, and no two communities are precisely the same. The intrinsic distinctive features of any collection of people will result in their own characteristics, vision, priorities, and chosen path to achieve that vision—even when guided by the same principles. Externalities such as public policy, market and economic trends, social innovation, historical context, the generation of knowledge, and many other factors will also mean that particular models receive greater attention in given time periods than others.

Winnipeg's development path is no different. As a snapshot in time, the last three decades of CED in this city make for an interesting story of how CED is manifested in different contexts. While many of the approaches and models have appeared over the last century, there were particular areas

Inner-City Life (2005): *Lord Selkirk Park Housing Development, pictured below, saw nearly nine in ten households fall below Statistics Canada's low income cut-off in 2005.*

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B1

CITY & BUSINESS

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Great rooms
New store to showcase Palliser furniture
Business B5

Poverty, drugs sad part of life in inner city

Report calls for more cash to end the cycle of despair

By Mary Agnes Welch

WHEN an eight-year-old boy offered to sell her crack, Christina Paul knew something was very wrong in Lord Selkirk Park.

"I said to him, 'You should be in school, kiddo. If you were my kid, you'd be in school,' " said Paul, who used to live in the Manitoba Housing complex and returns there every day to check on her mother. "People can't walk around here at night or during the day. There's too much drugs, too much violence, too many drunks, too many hookers. I can't even walk down the street without someone asking me 'how much?' "

Lord Selkirk Park, a 1960-style collection of row houses just west of Main Street and south of Selkirk Avenue, is known as "the development" or "the D." In a report on the inner city released yesterday, Lord Selkirk Park was singled out as the neighbourhood with one of the most "entrenched and intractable" crime and poverty problems. Some residents quoted in the report recommended the government bulldoze "the D" and start fresh.

Continued
Please see LORD SELKIRK B2

'There are so many different issues to deal with that I'm pretty sure that will take a long time,' says Jennifer Seaton, an inner-city resident.

MARY AGNES WELCH/NOV, 15, 2005/WINNIPEG FREE PRESS/ARCHIVES.WINNIPEGFREEPRESS.COM/

Dufferin Avenue (1978): *Many homes for sale in Winnipeg's North End neighbourhoods.*

THORDARSON/1978/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3567/18-2800-162)

of emphasis that demonstrated the morphing of development priorities in response to the dynamics and externalities mentioned above.

In the 1990s, there was coalescence around the principles and terminology of CED (Loxley, Silver, & Sexsmith, 2007). The goal was to find solutions to poverty—making sure that root causes were identified and that interventions dealt with systemic and deep-seated barriers. It was about creating change, not charity. CED addresses the reasons poverty exists by breaking down institutional barriers so that people can access opportunities rather than tacitly reenforcing the systems and institutions causing marginalization with charitable acts of poverty alleviation. Many CED organizations were created in Winnipeg with these outcomes as their mission. Opportunities for Employment addresses labour market barriers by linking job seekers with good jobs in partnership with business owners (Opportunities for Employment, 2009). Jubilee Loan Fund addresses access to capital barriers by mobilizing capital to provide loan guarantees to CED projects that traditional financial institutions would not support (Jubilee Fund, 2014). SEED Winnipeg addresses income barriers and gaps in entrepreneurship supports by assisting low-income people in starting their own businesses (SEED Winnipeg, 2013). Neechi Foods Co-op addresses employability barriers for Aboriginal people through worker-ownership as well as the market failure that created inner-city food deserts (Canadian CED Network [CCEDNet], 2011).

In addition to creating community-based CED initiatives and organizations, there was also an organizing movement to influence key institutions with this development paradigm, including the Assiniboine Credit Union, the United Way, and the Winnipeg Foundation. These actors were also instrumental in political efforts that shaped and then populated the new Provincial government at the end of this decade (Loxley & Simpson, 2007).

With conservative governments at the provincial and municipal levels during the time period, this burst of CED activity is hardly attributable to a supportive policy environment. More appropriately, the urgency to create community solutions would have been driven by public policies that generated greater inequities, poverty, and desperate circumstances for so many people in Winnipeg. However, there was some support from governments for a few of these CED initiatives, which may have been aided by the fact that these were 'market-based solutions to poverty' that focused on labour market and enterprise development.

GREGG BURNER/1979/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/1293/18-1293-006)

Assiniboine Credit Union (1979): *Assiniboine Credit Union has played an integral role in supporting CED activities.*

The first decade of the twenty-first century saw a new CED model emerge and gain traction in Winnipeg. Based on successful initiatives in Cape Breton and Montreal, the North End Community Renewal Corporation was the first in Winnipeg to move from a focus on creating economic opportunities for individuals to addressing a very specific geographic territory (Colussi, Perry, Lewis, & Loewen, 2003). This Neighbourhood Renewal Corporation (NRC) model was created in 1998 by a coalition of community organizations, but the model achieved scale with the newly elected provincial government when it created Neighbourhoods Alive! as a program to implement their newly created CED Policy Framework (Bernas & Reimer, 2011). By the end of this decade, there were five NRCs in Winnipeg's inner-city, and another seven in smaller urban communities throughout Manitoba, with a mandate to pursue comprehensive community renewal through strategies designed by the very people who lived in those neighbourhoods (CCEDNet, 2013). Community leadership and social innovation created the first NRC, but the growth of the model is strongly tied to the development of a supportive public policy and program as they were resourced with 5-year core funding from the Province and supported with additional project funds (Reimer, Bernas & Adeler, forthcoming).

The vision for the NRC model was that it would engage those with the greatest vested interest in community renewal in determining their own future in a way that built their own knowledge, leadership, and skills. Grounded in the knowledge that development determined from the 'outside' or 'top-down' usually does not reflect local priorities, contexts, and certainly does not get local actors involved in the process, this model sought to maximize the long-term capacity of the community for the greatest outcomes and impact (Kliewer, 2010). Even if the priorities identified by the community seem obvious and align with what outsiders would prioritize (safety, housing, employment, etc.), dynamics of identity, leadership, ownership, and pride are greatly improved when developed through this model—leading to greater results (Amyot, Downing, & Tremblay, 2010; EKOS Research Associates, 2010).

The second decade of this century brought another CED model to the forefront—social enterprise. The 1990s focused on economic opportunities for individuals, the first decade of the 2000s were about geographic neighbourhoods, and this new shift has emphasized a particular organizational model to achieve a variety of objectives. Social enterprises are businesses usually owned by non-profit organizations that act in the market for the purpose of achieving a social impact (enterprising non-profits, 2010).

Some, such as Salvation Army and Mennonite Central Committee Thrift Stores as well as Habitat for Humanity's Re-Store, generate profit through sales in order to support the work of the charities that own them. Some, such as the St. Norbert Farmers' Market, are created to meet community needs where the market fails. Others, such as Fort Whyte Alive, use a business model to advance a non-profit's mission—environmental education in this case. Many more have a mission to reduce poverty and social exclusion by creating jobs for people with barriers to employment, such as BUILD, Diversity Foods, L'Arche Café, Mother Earth Recycling, Imaginability, Manitoba Green Retrofit, and Inner City Renovation. Even some social enterprises that have been around a long time, such as Goodwill Industries created to provide jobs for people with barriers to employment in 1930s, have been transformed based on the social enterprise model (Canadian Goodwill Industries, n.d.). This decade saw a new energy and focus on the social enterprise model

The recent interest in the social enterprise model is being driven by the potential it has to achieve results that other models may not be able to, but also in part by public policy dynamics. Non-profits are often tasked with tackling complex societal challenges such as poverty, social exclusion, and environmental sustainability that are inadequately addressed by, and in fact sometimes created by, governments and the market economy (Enterprising Non-Profits, 2010). As funding in this decade, particularly from the federal government, has been reduced for programs and organizations that deal with these challenges, communities and non-profits are desperately trying to figure out how to generate the required resources to continue providing essential services and achieving their social missions. In this negative public policy context, the potential to create a business model that generates revenues from the market to sustain the mission brings hope. At the same time, particularly with governments that see the market as the solution to all societal challenges, there is growing public policy support across the country for social enterprise—albeit sometimes with an unfortunate motivation of offloading government responsibilities to non-profits (Loxley & Simpson, 2007). From another perspective, governments also see that a social enterprise model will leverage public investments to generate additional market resources for a larger aggregate investment in that particular mission than the government alone could have provided, and for a greater net impact. Non-profits also see this potential for net resource gain as well as increased autonomy from government if sufficient market-based strength is gained.

One of the catalysts for the emergence of social enterprise development in Manitoba has been The Canadian CED Network – Manitoba (Ekos Research Associates, 2011;

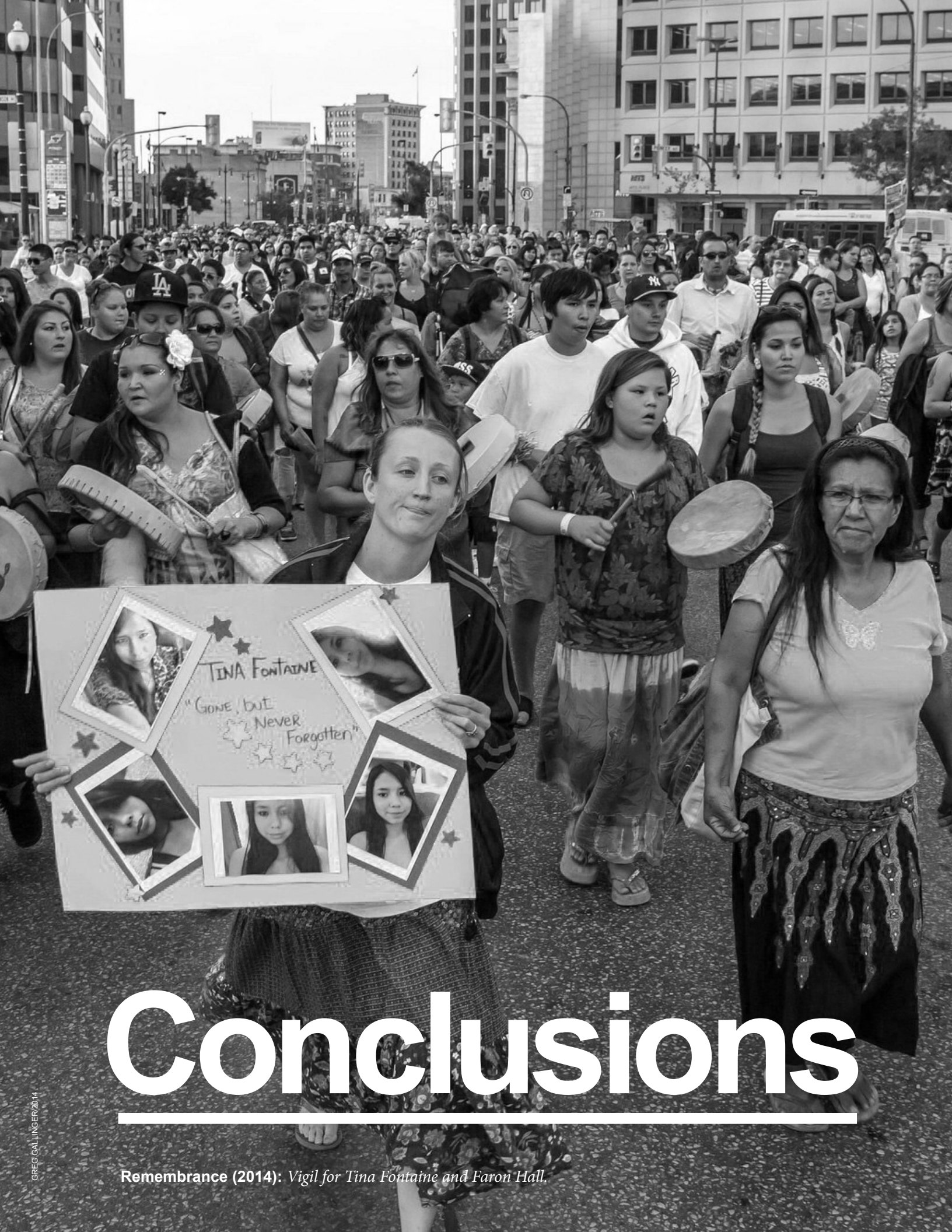
ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Neechi Commons (2014): *A well known Aboriginal owned and operated worker cooperative in Winnipeg's North End.*

Citizens' Health Action Committee (1978): *"The Health Action Centre has outfitted a van with stethoscopes and blood pressure cuffs and has taken to the road to check the health of core area Winnipeggers."*

CCEDNet, n.d.a). Its membership consists of the leading social enterprises in Manitoba addressing labour market opportunities, as well as most of the organizations that support social enterprise development. CCEDNet – Manitoba's Spark program brings resources to social enterprise development through consultation and assessment services, referrals to necessary resources, and matching organizations with pro bono volunteers who complete specialized technical tasks to support social enterprises (CCEDNet, n.d.b). CCEDNet – Manitoba's Enterprising Non-Profits program provides business planning workshops and development grants, and has become a resource hub for social enterprise development (CCEDNet, n.d.c). Partners and members of the Network have formed a Solutions Table (CCEDNet – Manitoba, SEED Winnipeg, Assiniboine Credit Union, United Way of Winnipeg, Jubilee Loan Fund, and the Manitoba Co-operative Association) that make decisions on the grants as well as provide additional supports and resources for social enterprise development. In 2011, CCEDNet – Manitoba conducted research on the sector to ascertain the scale and scope of the sector, and it is now in the process of conducting this research again to begin building a longitudinal base of knowledge about the development and needs of the sector (O'Connor, Elson, & Reimer, 2012). As well, the members of CCEDNet – Manitoba successfully convinced the Province of Manitoba to work in partnership toward the creation of a comprehensive Manitoba Social Enterprise Strategy in 2014 (Province of Manitoba, 2014).

Poverty affects us all, and the reduction of poverty makes Winnipeg a better place to live for everyone. As a human construct, poverty is solvable—particularly in a country as wealthy as ours. The values of CED—community leadership, systemic change, as well as comprehensive and integrated solutions—are woven throughout the practice of CED regardless of the shifts in focus and models. The visionary and courageous leaders who dedicate their lives and careers to the creation of these important community solutions deserve our admiration and gratitude. But as a society, we need to demand that our public policy leaders sufficiently invest in these important, long-term solutions. The legacy of their impacts will ripple throughout our city for decades to come, making it a more equitable and just city for all of us.



Conclusions

GREG GALLINGER/2014

Remembrance (2014): *Vigil for Tina Fontaine and Faron Hall.*

A Divided Prairie City

UNKNOWN/1966/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/3585/18-2814-031)

Winnipeg Core Area (1966): *"Slum Housing aka Skid Row."*

By Dr. Jino Distasio and Andrew Kaufman

Winnipeg is a dynamic city that has experienced significant neighbourhood change and challenges over the last century. Once a rapidly growing urban centre, Winnipeg stalled in the mid-twentieth century. From 1960 to 2010, periods of economic decline were interrupted only by sustained periods of slow-growth. Winnipeg's flat economic trajectory, in conjunction with districts of poor infrastructure and housing, revealed a division between have and have-not neighbourhoods. This is not new information; many in Winnipeg recognize that there is an income gap between inner-city neighbourhoods, including the North End, and the rest of the city. What this collection exposes, instead, is that increasing income inequality impacts Winnipeg's neighbourhoods in new and powerful ways—Winnipeg has become a divided prairie city.

In cities across Canada, the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership (NCRP) has uncovered a growing income gap between rich and poor census tracts (Hulchanski, 2005; Ley & Lynch, 2012; Prouse, Grant, Radice, & Ramos, 2014; Rose & Twigge-Molecey, 2013; Walks, 2013). Mounting income inequality and polarization intensifies the divisions between rich and poor neighbourhoods as some groups of residents are isolated from income gains.

When we talk about Winnipeg as a divided city, we reference a number of scholars who have examined how cities fragment, partition, and polarize (Burgers, 2002; Fainstein, Gordan & Harloe, 1992; Marcuse, 1993; and van Kempen, 2007). These scholars understand that neighbourhoods have consistently been home to different groups of people, that each neighbourhood has unique characteristics, and that a perfectly undivided city is a myth (van Kempen, 2007, p. 15). However, the concept of the divided city contends that urban centres are a reflection of broader social trends. Therefore, increasing income inequality is reflected in stark spatial separations between neighbourhoods. Divided cities are characterised by a lack of interaction between different socio-economic groups as residential life, work, commercial activities, and recreational services are separated (Marcuse & van Kempen, 2000). Divided cities see an increasing defensiveness of the walls between have and have-not populations as neighbourhoods are physically separated by distance, the built environment, and different policy structures (Marcuse, 1993). It is from this understanding of divided cities that this collection explores the trajectory of Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

The purpose of this collection is two-fold: first, to examine the extent of socio-spatial inequality and polarization in Winnipeg from 1970 to 2010; and second, to explore site-specific processes of neighbourhood change, the people impacted by income inequality, and the community responses to these unjust geographies. This collection does not claim to cover all themes of income inequality and neighbourhood change in Winnipeg. Instead this collection brings together a variety of experts to build a larger conversation about growing gaps between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. Over the coming years, this conversation needs to be extended into collaborative relationships with more partners to address the objectives of the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership. Themes that can be explored include trends in urban and neighbourhood change since 1971; the processes responsible for these changes; the consequences of change that lead to inequality and polarization; and policy and program options that address inequality.

In examining neighbourhood change, income inequality refers to a general dispersion of wealth across income brackets, whereas income polarization refers to a stark distribution between high and low-income earners associated with a hollowing out of middle-income groups. What is clear, from Part I of this collection, is that Winnipeg's overall level of change in income inequality has been slow but clearly identifiable based on neighbourhood geographies. Examining income polarization, Lorch finds increasing disparity between mean and median personal incomes: the gap in 2010 is twice the size of what it was in 1970. Consistent with wider Canadian trends, income polarization is occurring in Winnipeg, but not at the same scale as in Toronto, Calgary, or Vancouver. We should, however, remember that inequalities nest within varying scales—the National Household Survey, while deeply flawed by problems with data collection, reports that two of the three poorest postal codes in Canada are found in Winnipeg's inner-city (CHASS Data Centre, 2011). Irrespective of concentrated poverty, when compared to other Canadian cities, Winnipeg's lessened neighbourhood-level income inequality and polarization poses interesting opportunities for the assessment of policy interventions.

As a divided prairie city, Lorch references four distinct neighbourhood quarters in Winnipeg: the inner-city, old Winnipeg (those neighbourhoods surrounding the inner-city that belonged to Winnipeg prior to municipal amalgamation in 1972), new Winnipeg (those areas added to the city with the 1972 amalgamation), and exurban Winnipeg (those rural municipalities that are politically independent from the City of Winnipeg but that are part of the Census Metropolitan Area). Lorch finds an accelerating concentration of poverty within inner-city neighbourhoods co-occurring with rising affluence in Old Winnipeg, New Winnipeg, and Exurban Winnipeg. These shifts in the concentration of wealth are consistent with earlier urban geographical examinations of the post-Fordist, postmod-

ernist, and post-industrial city. In Lorch's review of income distributions (Map 2) just over 70 census tracts fell further below the average income cut-offs between 1980 and 2011, with the deepest drops located within Winnipeg's inner-city neighbourhoods like Logan, West Alexander, and Centennial. At the same time, suburban landscapes adjacent to parks, like Charleswood and Tuxedo, saw increasing concentrations of wealth and population growth. While the "Three Cities method" (Hulchanski, 2005) did not necessarily fit with Winnipeg's urban structure, these four neighbourhood quarters are one mechanism for understanding socio-spatial inequality among Winnipeg's neighbourhoods.

In creating a classification scheme for Winnipeg's neighbourhoods, Kaufman explains that spatial patterns of income inequality interlock with other socio-demographic categories. Kaufman finds 12 types of neighbourhoods in Winnipeg that sort into five larger families: peri-urban areas, suburban areas, mature neighbourhoods, urban villages, and post-industrial neighbourhoods. Winnipeg is principally divided between mature communities and post-industrial neighbourhoods, according to the number of census tracts in each family. This research suggests that Winnipeg is a city divided not just by socio-economic status, but also by race, immigration and ethnic status, family and housing status, and mobility and housing opportunity. Broadly speaking, affluent European populations are concentrated in the affluent south, suburban, and fringe areas of the city, while the inner-city has a clustering of non-white, newcomer, and Indigenous populations. Examining these results, Kaufman highlights that future research must ask what policies and processes either maintain socio-spatial inequality or allow populations to transgress these enduring inequities.

ADRIAN STONESS/2009

Tiger Markets (2009): *Some of downtown's most stable commerical growth is found in discount store chains.*

UNKNOWN/1958/WINNIPEG TRIBUNE ARCHIVES (PC 18/7243/18-6475-70)

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Osborne Village 1958 and 2014 (*from left to right*): *An inner-city neighbourhood once full of rooming houses, Osborne Village has transitioned through various stages from a trendy urban neighbourhood into a gentrified urban village.*

As discussed in Part II of this collection, the uneven balance of incomes and growth in Winnipeg is a distinctive policy area that has been subject to significant research and attention. For Leo, his effort to assess decline and change through the lens of slow-growth is most fitting to Winnipeg which has, since the 1970s, experienced few population or economic booms. This has also impacted the governance of the city, requiring the development of specific policies on housing, infrastructure, economic development, and immigration to spur on growth. For Winnipeg, slow-growth is an important theme for future research, and one that will be revisited as the NCRP study progresses. It is this slow-growth development that provides an important distinction between Winnipeg and other Canadian cities like Vancouver, Calgary, Toronto, and Montreal, while offering a point of comparison with cities like Halifax.

Slow-growth, within the City of Winnipeg, can be contrasted against population growth and redistribution within a broader zone known as the Capital Region. Lorch notes that while population growth in Winnipeg has remained low, rates of change in some areas of the Capital Region like Headingley have exploded by almost 70%, with many more double digit gains found throughout the region. This outward flight of high-income households has put pressure on both the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba to respond to what Prouse, Grant, Radice, & Ramos (2014) term "neighbourhood creation" in areas like East St. Paul. The changes in the Capital Region will have implications for this research and warrant further study to assess the impact of the increasing polarization of high income-households in largely homogenous communities.

There are exceptions to these general trends of capital leaving the inner-city and clustering in suburban, peri-urban, and exurban areas of Winnipeg. Four unique cases of neighbourhood change in Winnipeg include the East Exchange District, Osborne Village, the Fort Richmond neighbourhood, and the Rural Municipality of Rosser. As a waterfront warehouse area, the East Exchange District moved from having only one-half of the CMA average income in 1980 to almost 1.9 times the CMA average in 2010. This change is tied to recent condo development, which has attracted double-income households as well as property investors. While many in Winnipeg debate the processes of revitalization versus displacement in West

Broadway, Osborne Village is a neighbourhood distinctly marked by ongoing gentrification. Highlighted in Kaufman and Distasio (2014), this neighbourhood previously contained a concentration of rooming houses that almost entirely vanished by 2010. Located south of the University of Manitoba, Fort Richmond is an interesting example of an extreme negative shift in income for a suburban neighbourhood. Declines here may be linked to the presence of public housing coupled with a growth in rental properties serving student populations. While outside of Winnipeg's municipal boundaries, the Rural Municipality of Rosser presents an exception to exurban rises in income levels—potentially demonstrating decline on the urban fringe. Together, these exceptions to general spatial income trends in Winnipeg present opportunities for future exploration.

The steps taken through the 1970s to unite 12 distinct municipalities into the City of Winnipeg would have lasting impacts consistent with the experiences of other Canadian cities. Galston highlights how the Unicity project impacted growth and income inequality in Winnipeg. While the demands for equitable service provision encouraged fringe development and the outward cloistering of incomes, suburban political dominance of Winnipeg's city council saw a push for large-scale development projects at the expense of inner-city improvements. Interestingly, Maunder's study of the growth of the suburbs and the role of developers also presents a foundation for further work to explore the growth of the suburbs within the context of an overall slow-growth city. Within the context of population redistribution, future research can examine the dramatic shifts in people's housing locations, and the processes by which both developers and proponents of suburb construction have drawn populations out of older neighbourhoods.

While the built environment suffers under conditions of deprivation, it is the people of the city that bear the burden of increasing income inequality and polarization—it is in people that income inequality and polarization become an intergenerational phenomenon. In Part III, a set of essays by Peters, Sylvestre, and Carter paint a poignant picture of the demographic changes that have occurred over the last few decades. In her piece, Peters provides an introduction to the urbanization of Aboriginal peoples and an overview of urban Indigenous population growth. This is an important starting point to explore unique patterns of mobility and demographic change within lasting frameworks of colonialism. The urban Aboriginal story needs to play a significant role in understanding the socio-spatial transformation of Winnipeg and the intensive growth of Indigenous service providers to shape urban policy.

Sylvestre and Carter point to other socio-demographic shifts that interact with neighbourhood income inequality. Sylvestre's Ageing Distress Index demonstrates how ageing disadvantage concentrates along the Selkirk–Point Douglas corridor, which is congruent with Lorch's description of a below-average income wedge originating in the downtown core and radiating out through northwest neighbourhoods. As a slow-growth city, immigration has in recent years been the primary driver of population growth in Winnipeg. Carter's description of the spatial concentration of refugee resettlement in inner-city neighbourhoods exacerbates the socio-economic inequalities they face. There are distinct consequences for the changing socio-spatial patterns presented by all three authors.

The final section of this collection examines the broad theme of community responses to the challenges of in-

ANDREW KAUFMAN/2014

Fortress Winnipeg (2014): *High walls surround this home in Old Tuxedo near Assiniboine Park.*

Notre Dame Avenue (2013): *Leading northwest from the downtown, Notre Dame has an assortment of businesses that cater to both Canadian newcomers and the blue collar area residents.*

GREG GALLINGER/2014

come inequality, division, and neighbourhood decline in Winnipeg. In the first essay, Distasio paints a picture of increasing need within the inner-city and the ensuing government-led interventions delivered through tripartite agreements. This approach helped form the basis from which all three levels of government equally supported extensive investment in inner-city and downtown neighbourhoods over a 30 year period. While much of this intervention was top-down, Winnipeg was a Canadian leader in urban policy focused on addressing decline using such a model. It will become more important to drill down into the finer aspects of these program delivery mechanisms to better understand the legacy they have left behind. Moreover, while many of these programs like the Core Area Initiative may have been aimed at alleviating poverty or creating resilient neighbourhoods, their links to addressing issues of increasing income inequality and polarization are less than clear.

Focused on the City of Winnipeg Planning Department's approach to neighbourhoods, Sandhurst outlines the progression of secondary neighbourhood plans over four consecutive eras following municipal amalgamation. An earlier lack of engagement with neighbourhoods was rectified in 2002 through an Integrated Planning approach aimed at protecting and revitalizing neighbourhoods. Chronic department under-resourcing and the retrenchment of some planning processes may return the City to an earlier era of policies that neglect neighbourhoods. The impacts these municipal interventions have on neighbourhood-level income inequality remain to be seen.

In the final essay, Reimer and Leeson-Klym offer an overview of community-based organizations (CBOs) as drivers of supporting neighbourhood revitalization in Winnipeg. This represents a significant shift away from the top-down policies of the Core Area Initiative to a more bottom-up approach. As CBOs grew in strength and number, program platforms morphed from a neighbourhood-centric approach to one organized around principles of community economic development (CED). Examinations of the effectiveness of CED work at alleviating income inequality tie in with larger cross-site examinations by the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership that aim to examine community efficacy and resilience. The evolution of CBOs in Winnipeg offers another important glimpse into an area of community development in which Winnipeg remains a leader within Canada.

Each of the papers in this preliminary collection help set a course of action for further research and advocacy as the Neighbourhood Change Research Partnership develops over the coming years. While this collection introduces an assortment of themes, this list is by no means exhaustive in nature. This introductory collection highlights a larger area of study while building relationships and conversation among a number of experts invested in understanding neighbourhoods and the spatial dimensions of income inequality and polarization. This research narrates the changes, challenges, and aspirations of a city that has faced many obstacles but has been able to find local solutions to navigate often choppy waters. Our collection highlights some of the stories about the people, spaces, and places most impacted by the growing gap between rich and poor neighbourhoods in Winnipeg. What we argue is that in the end, the story about neighbourhood change in Winnipeg is really about community resiliency in the face of an increasingly divided, prairie city.

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