



A migration atlas from the 2006 and 2016 Census

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For more information about this research project, visit www.uwaterloo.ca/hamilton-neighbourhood-change-research

The University of Waterloo is situated on the Haldimand Tract, land that was granted to the Haudenosaunee of the Six Nations of the Grand River, and are within the territory of the Neutral, Anishinaabe, and Haudenosaunee peoples.











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1. Introduction and major trends

It sometimes seems as if everyone knows someone, who knows someone who has moved to Hamilton! But to date, no one has counted how many people have moved, which cities they have moved from and into which Hamilton neighbourhoods they are moving to. Moving to Hamilton is therefore both one of the most hotly discussed, and empirically empty planning topics in southern Ontario.

Hamilton's proximity to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), combined with comparatively cheaper housing costs, walkable neighbourhoods, a vibrant arts scene, and its access to nature makes it an attractive alternative to overpriced, congested Toronto. Media stories abound with anecdotes of Torontonians who have moved down the QEW to set up a new life in Hamilton. Typically, these anecdotes revolve around a Toronto couple living in a small house or condominium downtown, in neighbourhoods such as Liberty Village or CityPlace. When a growing family necessitates a larger dwelling (ideally with a yard for the kids), they quickly realize there is nothing within Toronto that they can afford. Instead of moving to an automobile-oriented suburb in Peel, York, Halton, or Durham Regions, they move instead to a neighbourhood in, or near downtown Hamilton. Settling in Beasley, Kirkendall, North End, Corktown, or Delta, they find a similar urban form, aesthetic, and lifestyle to Toronto

neighbourhoods such as High Park, Bloor West Village or Riverdale, all for a fraction of the priceⁱⁱ.

These stories have garnered so much attention that on 26 September 2018, Metro Morning, CBC Toronto's weekday radio morning show, broadcast live from Hamilton's main train stationⁱⁱⁱ. The show focused primarily on affordable housing and being priced out of Toronto's rental and real estate markets. Another notable feature of the program was a 'race' between two commuters traveling from downtown Hamilton to their jobs in downtown Toronto: one driving along the QEW and another taking the GO train (the train passenger won by fifteen minutes). Responses on social media were generally positive, with many people sharing their stories and anecdotes of moving out of Canada's largest city in search of more affordable housing opportunities in Hamilton. One twitter user remarked:

Loving seeing @mattgallowaycbc and the @metromorning at the #HamOnt GO Train Station as I rush into the city. I moved to #HamOnt after being #PricedOut of living in Toronto. Hamilton has a topnotch quality of life & a great community. Been here for 2 years & no plans to leave.

If anything, the COVID-19 pandemic has accelerated stories about people leaving Toronto in search of larger housing, at more affordable prices^{iv}. At present however, there is little empirical data to assess whether more people have moved since the onset of the pandemic, and, equally important, to what extent the pandemic is shaping relocation decisions. However, using data from previous census years will clearly identify patterns that are important for analyzing these migration trends and contextualizing recent events.

One thing is clear: moving from Toronto to Hamilton is a major topic of conversation in both cities. The problem is that the planning, policy, political and public conversations around this migration are based primarily around anecdotes, rather than concrete numbers. To date, no one has calculated how many people have moved from the City of Toronto (and the rest of the GTA) into Hamilton, and where within the City of Hamilton these new residents are settling. This information is urgently needed as intra-provincial migration (that is, people moving from elsewhere in Ontario) is the main source of new inhabitants who move to Hamilton. More people move to Hamilton from other parts of Ontario than either other provinces within Canada (interprovincial migration) or from abroad (immigration). This trend has been evident for several decades and is also the main source of new inhabitants in other mid-sized cities within an hour and a half of Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge, such Guelph, Peterborough, and St. Catharines^v.

The City of Hamilton's population is forecasted to reach over 820,000 by 2050, a 53% increase from the 2016 total of roughly 535,000^{vi}. Much of this growth will be driven by people moving from elsewhere in Ontario, primarily from the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH). This raises important planning and political questions about how to accommodate this growth, especially since the city took the important step of limiting its urban growth boundary in late 2021. Addressing these challenges requires, among other things, a detailed understanding of where people have moved from, and where they are moving to. While there is not yet any concrete data on whether the COVID-19 pandemic will dramatically change these population projections, it is important to stress that these trends were already dominating growth and change in Hamilton before the pandemic arrived.

Using data from the 2016 and 2006 Canadian Census, the aim of this atlas is to provide empirically-grounded and detailed data on migration patterns from the Toronto Region to the City of Hamilton. This is done in order to move beyond anecdotes and provide the necessary information to make informed planning, policy and political decisions.

Four inter-related questions guide this report:

1. How many people have moved to Hamilton from different parts of the GTA, and the rest of Ontario?

- 2. To what extent did these migration flows change between 2006 and 2016?
- 3. What Hamilton neighbourhoods are in-migrants settling in?
- 4. To what extent do these Hamilton neighbourhoods vary based on the city or region that people are moving from?

To answer these questions, we utilize two custom data sets from Statistics Canada from the 2006 and 2016 Census¹. Each data set is based on the question of where respondents lived five years ago. For every Census Tract (CT) in the City of Hamilton, these data sets indicate the numbers of people who five years earlier (2001 and 2011) resided in every Census Subdivision (CSD) within the province of Ontario. A CSD usually corresponds to a municipality, such as the City of Toronto, Mississauga, Burlington, Kingston, and so on. This means that we can analyze the number of people who moved to Hamilton from every city in Ontario between 2001-06 and 2011-16 and also provide information about which parts of the City of Hamilton they moved to. This report therefore provides a detailed account of intraprovincial migration into Hamilton until 2016. A subsequent report will be written when data from the 2021 Census is available.

What are the major trends in migration to Hamilton from the rest of Ontario? The table and map below provide some of the big picture data. After analyzing these migration patterns, several major trends emerge:

- The largest source of in-migration from 'Toronto' to Hamilton does not come from the City of Toronto, but rather the rest of the Greater Toronto Area which surrounds it. Often referred to as 'the 905²' it consists of Halton, Peel, York, and Durham Regions. Within the 905 Region, Halton and Peel Regions are the biggest sources of in-migrants to Hamilton.
- Within Hamilton, in-migration from the 905 Region is predominantly suburban in nature. That is, households moving from the suburbs around Toronto are largely settling in amalgamated parts of the City of Hamilton, such as Ancaster, Flamborough, Glanbrook, and Dundas.
- In-migration from the 905 Region has also seen the largest growth rates. Between 2001-06 and 2011-16, this source of new residents grew by 54.5%.

Big trends

¹ Unless otherwise noted, all data in this report originates from these data sets: Statistics Canada (2019) Custom Tabulation, based on the 2006 and 2016 Census, five-year residential mobility, intra-provincial migration by Census Subdivision (CSD).

² While Hamilton is part of the 905 area code, in this case, we refer to 'the 905' as the regions that surround the City of Toronto: Durham, York, Peel and Halton.

- Migration from the City of Toronto remained relatively stable between 2001-06 and 2011-16 at 6,370 and 6,730, respectively.
- A greater percentage of in-migrants from the City of Toronto settle within the Lower City of Hamilton than those originating from the 905 or the Outer Ring of the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH).
- Despite having a population one-fifth the size of the City of Toronto, more people moved to Hamilton from Halton Region (Burlington, Oakville, Milton) than from Toronto.
- More people move to Hamilton from the Outer Ring of the Greater Golden Horseshoe than from the City of Toronto. (The Outer Ring of the GGH includes Waterloo Region, Guelph, Barrie, Peterborough, Brantford, St Catharines, and Niagara).
- Within the City of Hamilton, the Mountain is the area that receives the fewest in-migrants from elsewhere in Ontario.

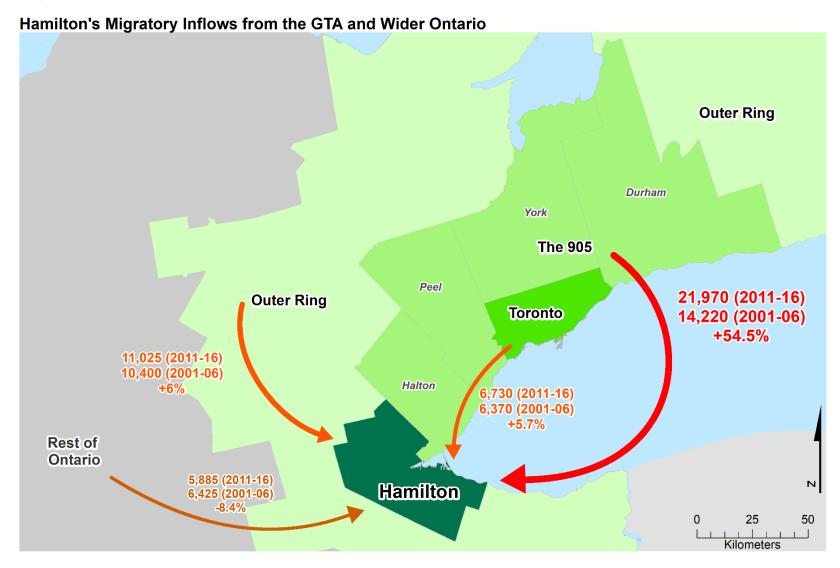


The remainder of the atlas is structured as follows. The next section outlines the custom data sets from Statistics Canada, and how we have used them in our analysis. It also provides an overview of some key terms and concepts. Section Three provides a brief overview of important literature on migration to mid-sized cities, with a specific emphasis on patterns and trends within the Canadian urban hierarchy. Section Four contextualizes Hamilton, including its urban form, mobility patterns, and social characteristics. In Section Five, we present the first data analysis, providing details of the big intraprovincial migration trends to Hamilton. In Section Six, Richard Harris provides some historical context and analysis of the changing nature of Hamilton and how these migration patterns fit within long-term trends in the city. Pierre Filion analyzes Hamilton's shifting role within the suburban landscapes of the 905 and the Toronto region in Section Seven. In Section Eight, we outline some conclusions, recommendations, and future research based on this data analysis. Finally, Section Nine provides the detailed breakdown of migration patterns based on origin locations across Ontario, with a series of maps and tables for each key origin location.

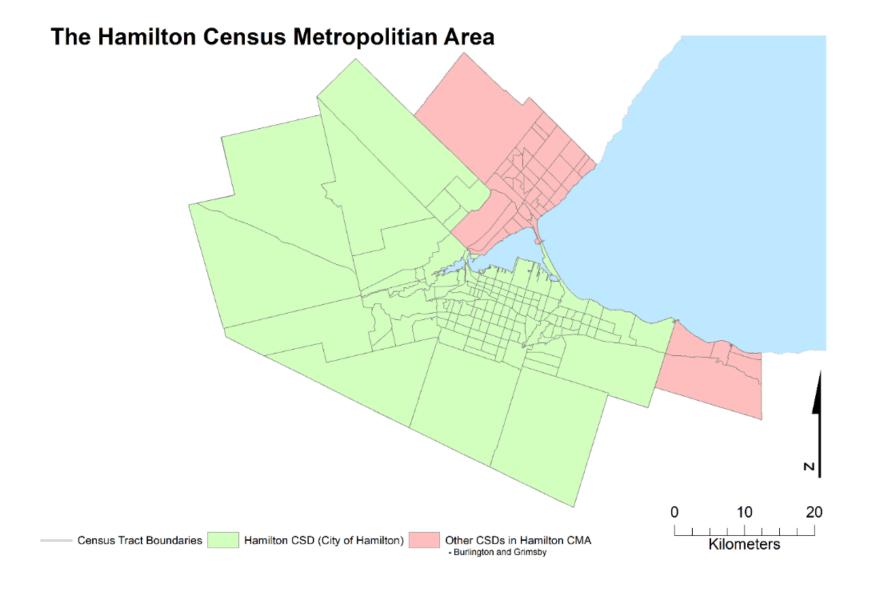


Hamilton: Intra-Provincial In-Migration, 2001-06 to 2011-16

	To	tals	Change	
Orderin Delina	2001-06	2011-16	2001-16 to	o 2011-16
Origin Point	#	#	#	%
All of Ontario	37,415	45,610	8,195	21.9
GTA	20,590	28,700	8,110	39.4
Toronto	6,370	6,730	360	5.7
905	14,220	21,970	7,750	54.5
Halton	9,135	13,610	4,475	49.0
Peel	3,640	6,560	2,920	80.2
Outer Ring	10,400	11,025	625	6.0
Niagara	3,370	3,805	435	12.9
Waterloo	1,565	1,770	205	13.1
Wellington (inc. Guelph)	825	995	170	20.6
Rest of Ontario	6,425	5,885	-540	-8.4



2. Statistics Canada Data and How We Use It



A detailed breakdown of intra-provincial migration is not published by Statistics Canada as part of the publicly-available data for each Census year. These figures are published at the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) level, and include the number of people who moved from the Toronto CMA (which includes places such as Peel and York Regions, as well as parts of Halton and Durham Regions) to the Hamilton CMA (which also includes Burlington and Grimsby). Statistics Canada also publishes the total number of intra-provincial migrants (over both a one-year and five-year period) at the Census Tract (CT) level (that is, the total number of people in each CT that, one or five years earlier, resided within another municipality in Ontario). To get a more detailed breakdown of these numbers, two custom data sets were commissioned from Statistics Canada using the five-year intra-provincial residential mobility data: one from the 2006 Census and one from the 2016 Census. These data sets show for each CT in Hamilton, how many people resided in every municipality in Ontario five years earlier (2001 for the 2006 Census and 2011 for the 2016 Census). It was decided to avoid using the 2011 National Household Survey, as the Federal government of the time made it voluntary, rather than mandatory, leading to significant questions about its reliability vii.

Before exploring this data in more detail, it is important to understand the terminology and different geographies within southern Ontario. Below are the geographic units used by Statistics Canada,

with an explanation of how they relate to the City of Hamilton and the Greater Toronto Area.

Census Metropolitan Area (CMA): CMAs are how Statistics Canada depicts urban regions. The total population of a CMA must exceed 100,000 residents, at least 50,000 of which need to live within a core municipality. A CMA is generally comprised of several cities and towns (see CSD, below) which Statistics Canada defines according to their relative integration with the largest municipality. This is often defined through commuting patterns. The Hamilton CMA also includes the cities of Burlington and Grimsby. Confusingly, Burlington is part of Halton Region, which is considered part of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), and Grimsby is a lower-tier municipality within the Regional Municipality of Niagara, most of which is part of the St. Catharines-Niagara CMA.

Census Subdivision (CSD): Statistics Canada's term for cities and towns, CSDs adhere to the same borders as the municipalities they depict^{viii}. This makes data analysis in this report straightforward as origin locations are broken down by CSD, meaning that the Toronto CSD corresponds with the City of Toronto.

Census Tract (CT): CTs contain 2,500-10,000 people (with an average of around 5,000 inhabitants) and their borders tend to follow recognizable features like roads or rivers^{ix}. CMAs and CSDs are broken down into Census Tracts that can roughly be used as a proxy for 'neighbourhoods'. CT size is determined by extent of population,

rather than area. In older or denser urban neighbourhoods, CTs tend to be smaller in area. In newly-built suburban areas (or urban areas that have seen intense development), it is not uncommon for CTs to be subdivided, as growth in residents pushes them above the maximum population threshold. For our analysis, we took the 138 CTs in the City of Hamilton in the 2016 Census and realigned them back to the 131 CTs that existed in 2006. This allows for a much easier and meaningful comparison over time.

Data analysis

Our analysis is based on the question in the long-form census of 'Where did this person live five years ago?' In the 2016 Census, this was question 23, and referred to the date May 10, 2011. In the 2006 Census, this was question 24, with the reference date being May 16, 2001^x. In the 2016 Census, each respondent could choose one of five possible answers³:

- 1: Born after May 10, 2011.
- 2: Lived at the same address as now.
- 3: Lived at a different address in the same city, town, village, township, municipality, or Indian reserve.

- 4: Lived in a different city, town, village, township, municipality, or Indian reserve in Canada. Specify the name of the city, town, village, township, municipality, or Indian reserve of residence 5 years ago. Province/territory. Postal code.
- 5: Lived outside Canada. Specify the country of residence 5 years ago.

Option Four is where our data is generated from. Respondents indicating said option i.e., that they lived in a different city, town, village, township, municipality, or Indian reserve in Canada – also needed to put the name of that jurisdiction, as well as the provide and postal code.

Based on the answers to this question, respondents are categorized as 'non-movers' – those who resided at the same address five years previously, and 'movers:' everyone else. 'Movers' are then categorized into the following groups:

- Local, within the same city (CSD).
- Intra-provincial: outside the city, but in a city within the same province
- Inter-provincial: from another province
- External: outside of the country (i.e., an immigrant to Canada)

³ In the 2006 census, this question was only for those 15 years of age and older, and therefore the first option was not included.

Aggregate data for all four categories is publicly available from the Statistics Canada website^{xi}. However, this tells us nothing about the breakdown of origin cities for intra-provincial migration. Our custom tabulation from Statistics Canada provides origin CSDs for intra-provincial migration, at the Census Tract level within the Hamilton CMA. In 2016, there were 575 CSDs in Ontario (585 in 2006); the analysis in this report indicates how many people moved from each of these Census Subdivisions (CSD) into every Census Tract (CT) within the City of Hamilton between 2001-06 and 2011-16.

In this report, we have opted for focus exclusively on the City of Hamilton (CSD), rather than the Hamilton CMA. Therefore, in-migrants from both Burlington and Grimsby are considered part of intraprovincial flows into the City of Hamilton.

To understand if an area has an over- or under-representation of a particular variable (in this case, in-migrants), we use Location Quotients (LQs). To calculate an LQ, we divide the percentage of a variable in a particular CT by the percentage of that variable in the entire City of Hamilton. An LQ of 1.0 in a CT means that the percentage exactly matches the Hamilton average. For example, in the 2016 Census, 5.3% of Hamilton residents migrated from the GTA between 2011-2016. An LQ of 1.0 would indicate that 5.3% of residents within that particular CT also migrated from the GTA between 2011-2016. A CT's LQ of 0.5 represents half the city's average percentage and an LQ of 2.0 represents double the city's average. Using LQs provides greater context than percentages alone,

by identifying where migratory flows are above, below or at par with trends across Hamilton.

Finally, we display our data using 'natural breaks'. Employed by analytic software, such as ArcGIS, the natural breaks algorithm organizes all the unique data points for any given variable for each of Hamilton's 131 Census Tracts such that:

- Similar, or clustered, values are grouped together into classes
- The difference between these classes has been maximized^{XII}

The map legends for our numeric (#) and percentage (%) totals, as well as for total numeric growth between periods, have been devised according to these 'natural breaks' principles.

Because every variable we assess possesses its own idiosyncratic data structure (for instance total in-migration from Peel vs. Durham, or automobile vs. transit commuting), natural breaks allow the data to 'speak for itself' instead of us devising arbitrary categories for every variable. The figure below uses several example variables to

briefly demonstrate how natural breaks has organized their respective data ranges.

Peel		Durh	am	Auto	mobile	Trans	sit
	0 - 20		0 - 5		49.1% - 63.5%		0.5% - 4.1%
	21 - 45		6 - 10		63.6% - 75.6%		4.2% - 7.7%
4	46 - 75		11 - 15		75.7% - 83.1%		7.8% - 12.5%
	76 - 120		16 - 20		83.2% - 87.7%		12.6% - 17.4%
	121 - 195		21 - 30		87.8% - 91.7%		17.5% - 25.1%
	196 - 385		31 - 50		91.8% - 96.2%		25.2% - 33.1%
	Data N/A		Data N/A		Data N/A		Data N/A

3. Migration and mobility patterns within Canada and moving to mid-sized cities

In a federal country such as Canada, residential mobility can be measured in five ways. The first is non-moving, that is people who lived at the same address over the period in question. The second is moving within the same municipality. The third is moving elsewhere within the same province (intra-provincial migration). The fourth is moving between provinces (inter-provincial migration). And finally, the fifth is international migration, or immigration, moving from another country. As discussed in the previous section, the Canadian long-form census asks this question about residential mobility, based on where respondents lived one year, and five years previously.

In Canada, large urban areas such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver have long served as "gateway cities" that act as primary destinations for international immigrants "iii. In 1981, 58% of recent immigrants settled in Canada's three largest Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs); in 2001 this increased to 74% (Hou and Bourne, 2007). In the 2016 Census, 46.6% of the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area's (CMA) population was foreign born, the highest in the country. The Hamilton CMA recorded the second-highest level of foreign-born population in Ontario and fifth highest in the country, at 24.1%. But more than three-quarters of recent immigrants settling in Ontario reside within the Toronto CMA.

Within urban regions, the geography of where new immigrants settle has shifted in recent decades; no longer are older, urban neighbourhoods, such as Kensington Market in Toronto or the North End in Hamilton the main immigrant reception areas. Increasingly, new immigrants are settling in suburbs around Canada's largest cities. Toronto has seen a decline in percentage of its population that is foreign-born since 2006 and the two municipalities with the highest share of immigrant population in the country are Richmond, BC (part of the Vancouver CMA) at 60.2%, and Markham (part of the Toronto CMA) at 58.7%. In 2016, 47% of the population of the City of Toronto was foreign born, down from 50% in 2006^{xiv}. But in Canada's largest urban regions, international immigration remains the main source of population growth.

Within large cities, intra-provincial and inter-provincial migration are far less important to net population growth. There is a body of international literature that suggests that while big cities draw people from other parts of the country, this is balanced by high numbers of people who leave big urban regions, and move to smaller, or mid-sized communities predominantly within a few hundred kilometres of the big city. This represents a selective outmigration from large urban areas that is typically domestic-born and less-well

educated than the population as a whole^{xv}. This combination of international in-migration and domestic out-migration leaves more diversity and heterogeneity in large urban areas than in the rest of their countries. A study by Frey found that in the US, outmigration of native-born populations from large urban areas was due to higher costs of living, in particular that a suburban lifestyle was no longer affordable within the largest urban regions^{xvi}. Frey also found that internal migration to major US gateway cities (such as New York) was neutral or slightly negative, but that they gained college-educated residents from elsewhere in the country, while losing greater numbers of lower-educated residents. In the GTHA, the City of Toronto, Toronto CMA and the Regions of York and Peel tend to lose more intra-provincial migrants than they gain.

Mid-sized cities, on the other hand, exhibit very different patterns of migration. In Canada, mid-sized cities are generally considered to have populations between 50,000 and 500,000, although slightly larger urban areas, such as Hamilton, or the tri-cities of Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge are also classified as such^{xvii}. While cities of this population size share many similar characteristics, there are also distinct patterns and types of mid-sized cities. Hamilton is one of several that are situated relatively close to Canada's largest cities, and therefore their housing and labour markets are heavily influenced by this proximity. This group of cities includes Waterloo, Guelph, Peterborough, St. Catharines, Brantford, and Abbotsford. These cities are generally growing faster than the Canadian average and have

different economic trajectories than other mid-sized cities which are situated well beyond commuting distance to Canada's largest cities. The latter include places such as Windsor, Sudbury, Sydney, or Trois-Riviere, where population growth is very low, or, in the case of Saint John, is decreasing^{xviii}.

In general, there are fewer studies of mid-sized cities, especially regarding migration patterns, immigration, gentrification. In Canada, one of the most comprehensive studies of internal migration was conducted by Feng Hou and Larry Bourne. They examined whether Canadian-born, or long-term immigrants are more likely to move away from large urban areas as they receive greater inflows of immigrants; to what extent these patterns vary according to education levels and visible minority status; and whether immigration patterns are associated with parallel patterns of in- and out-migration among the Canadian-born. They found that Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver all witnessed a net out-migration of Canadian-born populations in the 1990s. This loss was largely among white and less well-educated populations, and largely coincided with the growth of immigration. However, at the same time the Toronto region gained migrants with university educations, suggesting these new residents displaced lower-skilled and educated populations. These patterns were also evident in Vancouver, and, to a lesser extent, Montreal. The data on what role increasing house prices and economic restructuring plays in shaping domestic patterns of migration into and out of Canada's largest cities was less clear; however, higher housing costs in Toronto in the 1990s were associated with greater rates of outmigration to elsewhere in Ontario, and to other provinces, and lower rates of domestic in-migration among less-educated populations^{xix}.

David Ley noted that while net domestic migration to large gateway cities has long been negative, there are vastly different characteristics of those arriving and leaving from different parts of the country. He stated that:

"domestic in-migrants and out-migrants are different social cohorts, so that this significant population churning indicates a fairly rapid reconfiguration of the social geography of gateway cities. Net gains through internal migration occurred for well educated young adults, but losses are registered for most other age groups; in terms of socioeconomic status, there are gains of households high in human capital compared with larger losses of lower-income cohorts"."

He outlined three theories which could account for this: cultural avoidance of immigrants and minorities among some segments of the white population, a labour market effect where domestic migration is more responsive to changes in the economy than international migration, and the role of the housing market in global cities, where the increasing unaffordability of housing drives domestic populations

to leave gateway cities, while international immigrants are prepared to pay more for housing or live in overcrowded dwellings because of these large urban areas' economic and social advantages. Ley's analysis focused on the role of the latter of these three theories in Toronto and Sydney, Australia.

Housing market cycles play a role in determining internal migration flows of non-immigrants^{xxi}. But Ley suggested that displacement of lower-educated or lower-income non-immigrants is only part of the explanation. The other is how different segments of the population respond to these housing challenges, which, for many non-immigrants, involves leaving the region entirely. Ley calls this replacement, which can occur when "Mortgage-free, long-settled homeowners could be enticed to cash in their home equity and sell in an inflated market, moving to cheaper housing outside the metropolitan area. This option would be particularly attractive to empty-nest and retired homeowners, who would also have greater freedom to leave the city, contributing to domestic out-migration xxIII, Ley's study noted that empty nesters and retirees were an important segment of the population that was leaving Toronto, an idea echoed by Hou and Bourne, who stated that: "some of Toronto's out-movers are actually equity-migrants, taking advantage of the equity built up in their housing through urban growth and the demands posed by high levels of new immigrant flows xxiii.".

However, a more recent discourse has focused on leaving big urban areas in search of more affordable housing in adjacent mid-

sized and smaller communities. This leads to a paradox that many people leave big cities at times of low unemployment and strong economic growth because they cannot afford the high cost of housing. This process is sometimes referred to as "driving until you qualify" [for a mortgage]. Several studies have noted that the geographies of these commutes, and the distances many households need to travel before housing costs are low enough for them to afford, has increased considerably in recent years. Whereas twenty years ago, households leaving Toronto, particularly young families with children, would move to Richmond Hill, Ajax, or Milton, the increasing cost of housing in these communities means families are moving further afield to Barrie, Bowmanville, Kitchener, Peterborough, Hamilton, or even London^{xxiv}. This also means a further ripple effect in these communities, as rising housing costs cause households there to look even further afield to places such as Stratford, Woodstock, Brantford, Tillsonburg, or smaller communities^{xxv}. What all these studies show, however, is that out-migration from Canada's large urban centres towards relatively proximal mid-sized and smaller communities is not a new trend (i.e., it did not originate because of the pandemic), and has been one of the key dominant demographic and migration patterns shaping these communities for several decades.

In Hamilton, migration from Toronto is often framed in terms of gentrification: wealthier Torontonians moving into neighbourhoods in and around downtown Hamilton – some of which have low average household incomes – and contributing to gentrification, displacement,

changes in the area's character and amenities, and increasingly high housing costs. There have also been many notable instances of resistance, conflict, and protests against this gentrification^{xxvi}. While the data on migration to Hamilton is far more complex than this archetype of the downtown Toronto gentrifier moving to inner-city Hamilton, it is worth briefly discussing some of the literature on the geographies of gentrification.

Much of the research on the spread of gentrification focuses on internal patterns within a city. In general, there are three explanations. The first is centred on the role of spatially-uneven capital investment and rent gaps. When there are profits to be made by upgrading older housing stock, or creating new developments, capital investments are made by homeowners and large and small investors, with the result being the displacement of lower-income populations xxvii The second theory centres on preferences, habits, and lifestyles of middle-class households. It has long been demonstrated that some middle-class, professional households prefer the aesthetics, mixed use, density and proximity to jobs and entertainment found within inner-city neighbourhoods, rather than lifestyles associated with automobile-oriented suburban communities xxviii. When some of these initial gentrification pockets become too expensive, those searching for a similar environment will contribute to gentrification in adjacent areas with similar land use, density, and spatial characteristics. Finally, there is a large body of literature on the role that urban policy plays in stimulating gentrification, focusing on the promotion of certain

types of activities, grants for property restoration, and wider renewal or redevelopment projects. In some cases, this involves policies aimed at cracking down on poverty or anti-social behaviour, in order to make areas more amenable to investment and middle-class consumption^{xxix}.

Within cities, most emphasis has been on why gentrification happens and on how it spreads; only a few studies have explicitly examined factors that inhibit, block, or stall the spatial spread of gentrification. These include the lack of aesthetically-appealing properties, the presence of industry, proximity to very poor neighbourhoods, poor quality local schools, large public housing projects or a tight-knit ethnic community, where real estate is often transacted within the networks inside that community, thereby limiting opportunities for outside investors or middle-class residents^{xxx}. Most of these studies date from the 2000s, and it is interesting to note that in the Canadian context, many of the neighbourhoods cited as being resistant to gentrification have seen the process expand to them in recent years, as growing rent gaps within them, and greater demand for middle-class housing within the urban core have resulted in very few neighbourhoods within the core of Toronto, or Vancouver, not seeing full or partial gentrification today.

This raises the question of where households go if they want an urban lifestyle, with older buildings and aesthetics, walkable neighbourhoods, mixed land uses, and proximity to economic and cultural amenities found in downtowns, but are priced out of the core of large cities such as Toronto? Within the GTHA, Hamilton has the largest concentration of older urban neighbourhoods outside Toronto. The anecdotes and stories about moving to Hamilton suggest that there many people searching for this urban lifestyle who can no longer afford Toronto. They do not want to live in automobile-dependent suburbs and therefore skip over Mississauga, Oakville, and Burlington and settle in older neighbourhoods within Hamilton. Later in this report, we will examine in more detail the number of people who are moving into these neighbourhoods, and where they are moving from.

The literature on the geography of gentrification has generally focused on its spread within cities and there is far less understanding of the relationship, and the spillover effects of gentrification in major global cities such as Toronto, and how it influences patterns of gentrification in adjacent mid-sized cities. The dominant view about this relationship has been that been that gentrification 'cascades' down the urban hierarchy from global cities through economic, cultural or policy diffusion^{xxxi}. That is, it originates in global cities and eventually spreads outward and downward across the urban hierarchy. However, very few studies have empirically examined this relationship. An analysis of Leeds, England, situated 300km north of London, emphasized how gentrification there was partially driven by households 'cashing out' of the London property market xxxii. This would suggest that spillover effects from London were the catalyst for gentrification in Leeds. However, contrary to this, a study of Portland, Maine, suggested that gentrification there did not "lag behind" New York or Boston, but rather existed contemporaneously, albeit unnoticed by researchers^{xxxiii}. At a global level, researchers stress how this geography is more complex than a one-way north-south, or west-east diffusion.

Although housing costs in Hamilton have risen dramatically in recent years, they have typically been among the cheapest in the GTHA, thereby creating a potential rent gap, and an opportunity for those leaving higher-cost cities within the region. Additionally, as we noted above, Hamilton also has a large cluster of neighbourhoods that were constructed before World War II. These neighbourhoods were influenced by the streetcar as the dominant transportation form; the Hamilton Street Railway (HSR) ran electric streetcars until 1951. These neighbourhoods therefore have a dense, walkable urban form, with a mix of functions and uses that create an aesthetic and lifestyle that is appealing to many middle-class gentrifiers xxxiv. These areas, primarily concentrated in Hamilton's Lower City, constitute the Greater Golden Horseshoe's largest cluster of pre-war neighbourhoods outside Toronto, and therefore could offer alternative opportunities for an urban (rather than suburban) lifestyle that could be attractive to those priced out of Toronto's gentrified urban core xxxv. In Hamilton, many of these older neighbourhoods are some of the poorest census tracts in Ontario.

While there have been few academic studies that explicitly examine gentrification in mid-sized cities and the role of spillover effects from nearby global cities, this topic has received significant international media attention. It was noted that after a new TGV high

speed train line opened linking Paris with Bordeaux, 70% of new arrivals to Bordeaux were from the Paris region^{xxxvi}. Other news stories have focused on how a growing number of Londoners are leaving the UK capital for cities such as Brighton, Birmingham, Bristol, and Manchester, in addition to long-standing trend of out-migration to the Home Counties and immediate surroundings. In an interview, geography professor Danny Dorling noted that:

"The effect on places within commuting distance is gentrification and rising housing prices to London levels in the most sought-after parts of those places. This then ripples out to most of the rest of Brighton, Reading, Cambridge, even Hastings ... The immigrants who have the greatest effect on life in England are internal immigrants, English-born affluent people with a large deposit*

There are no shortage of studies, reports, and media articles that strongly suggest that proximity to the Greater Toronto Area is one of the main drivers of housing change in Hamilton^{xxxviii}. Scholars, policymakers, and researchers generally assume that in-migration from Toronto is the main contributor to the pockets of gentrification that have emerged (and are growing) in Hamilton in recent years. These sentiments were summarized in a recent scholarly article on gentrification, rent strikes, and financialized capital in Hamilton: "Largely owing to its proximity to Toronto, Hamilton is experiencing a

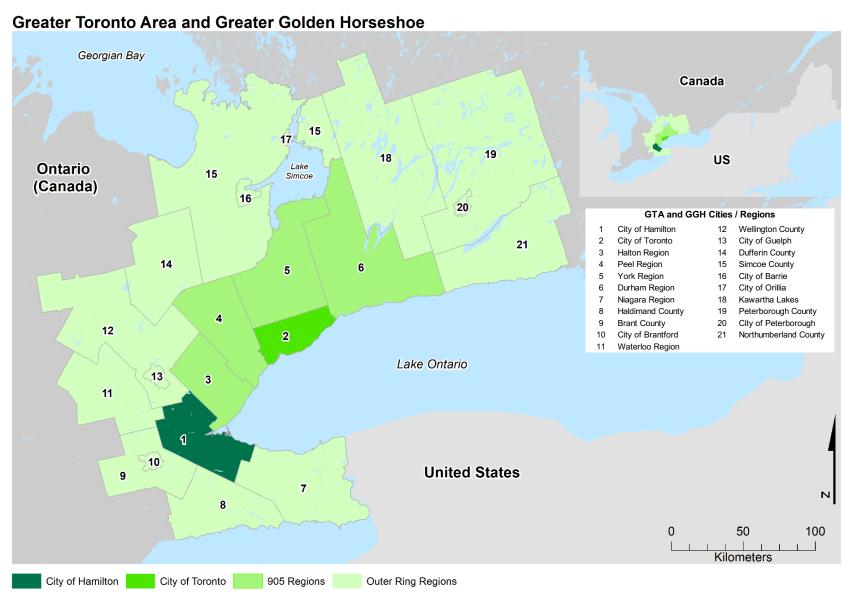
severe housing crisis: average rent for a two-bedroom apartment increased by 39% in nine years (City of Hamilton, 2018a) and 45% of tenant households are paying unaffordable rentsxxxix.. Randall Hansen, director of the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs, stated: "As a direct result of Toronto's gentrification, Hamilton too is gentrifying – and I think you'd be hard-pushed to find anyone who would see that as a bad thingxl.". While debates about gentrification's impact are hotly debated in Hamilton, most analysis attributes these to be primarily driven by the spillover from Toronto. However, the shortcoming of all these assessments is that they assume Toronto to Hamilton migration is driving these trends. However, this assumption is not yet based on a robust analysis of the actual numbers of people who have moved from Toronto (and its surroundings) into Hamilton. While anecdotally it seems like everyone knows someone who has moved to Hamilton, no one has yet tabulated the total number of migrants from different parts of the GTA or analyzed where they are moving from and what Hamilton neighbourhoods they are moving to.

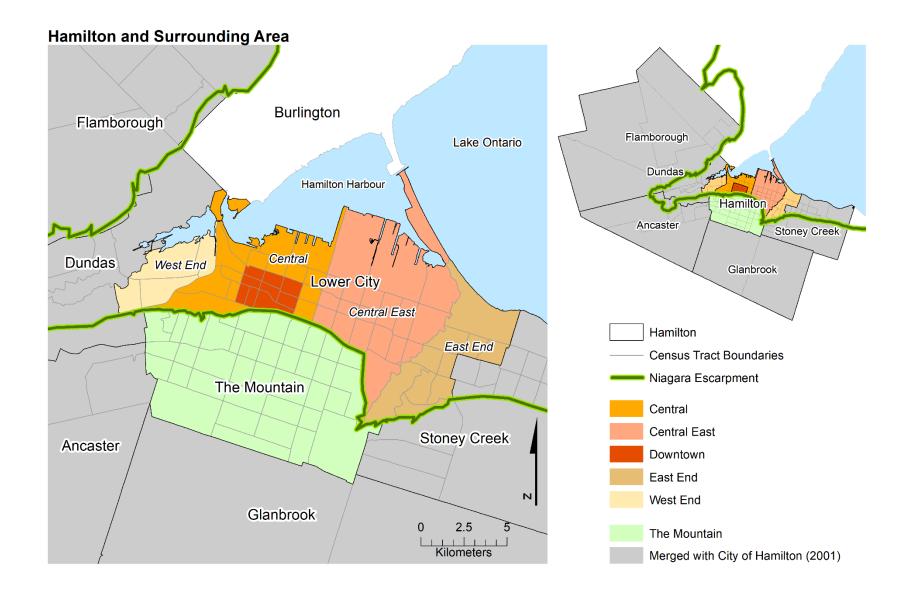
It is too early to conclude whether the COVID-19 pandemic is impacting these trends. The exodus from big cities has been one of the most hotly-debated urban topics since the onset of the pandemic. The pandemic has also accelerated many of these conversations. As a result, there has been no shortage of media stories of people leaving

big cities in search of larger, or cheaper housing elsewhere^{XII}. However, at present, there is little reliable data to go on, and much of this debate is based around anecdotes and speculation, rather than rigorous empirical analysis. One of the most comprehensive accounts of residential mobility thus far was conducted by the New York Times and analyzed change-of-address request data with the US Postal Service. This analysis found greater than normal outflows of people from New York and San Francisco in 2020. However, across the country, these cities were outliers and in general, migration patterns appeared very similar to previous years^{XIII}.

As the data in this report only goes to 2016, we are unable to analyze specific trends that have taken place since the onset of the pandemic. This analysis will be possible with both the 2021 Census (likely available in 2023) and qualitative interviews with people who have moved since 2020 in order to understand what role, if any, the pandemic played in their decisions to move to Hamilton. However, the data in this report is still highly important for today's debates because it sets out the context and longer-term mobility trends that are important for contextualizing what is occurring now. The pandemic did not occur in a vacuum and many of the trends visible during this extended health, economic, and social crisis are accelerations of pre-existing patterns and processes^{xliii}.

4. The Hamilton Context







The City of Hamilton is situated at the western end of Lake Ontario. While it has always lived in the shadow of Toronto, recent decades have witnessed Toronto and its suburbs grow to such an extent that Hamilton is increasingly incorporated into Toronto's commuter shed⁴. Whereas previously, the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) was considered separate from Hamilton, planners and policymakers increasingly speak of the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA), which includes the GTA (the City of Toronto, and the four regional municipalities that surround it: Durham, York, Peel and Halton) and

the City of Hamilton. York, Peel, Halton, and Durham Regions are often referred to as 'the 905,' given their local telephone area code (even though Hamilton also shares this area code).

In the 2016 Census, the GTHA had a population of 6,954,433, which constituted 52% of the province's population. To further complicate things, planners and policymakers also refer to the Greater Golden Horseshoe (GGH), which combines the GTHA with an outer ring of municipalities, regions, and counties that, while economically

achieve more affordable, and often more spacious housing further from dense urban centers.

⁴ The term used to describe the typical distance employees are willing to reside away from their place of work, enduring an extended commute to

and socially separate from the Toronto region, are increasingly within its orbit and commuter shed. As housing costs have risen within Toronto and the 905, many households are increasingly looking to





these communities within the outer ring of the GGH in search of more affordable housing options^{xliv}. The distinct urban, suburban, and rural municipal entities within the GGH feature prominently in the province's growth plan *A Place to Grow: Growth plan for the Greater Golden Horseshoe*, the latest version published in 2020. The GGH extends as far east as Peterborough and west towards Waterloo Region, also including the entire Golden Horseshoe around the western end of Lake Ontario, including Niagara Region. In 2016, it had a population of 9,245,438, constituting 68.7% of Ontario's population.

The City of Hamilton is a product of expansion and amalgamation. Before World War II, the city was primarily situated below the Mountain (the Niagara Escarpment) with expansion east and west of downtown in the first half of the 20th Century. Today, this area is referred to as the Lower City, or Lower Hamilton. City boundaries were expanded in the postwar decades as growth and development took place on the Mountain, the area on top of the Escarpment, south of the Lower City. Surrounding Hamilton, several smaller, independent communities, such as Ancaster, Dundas, Waterdown, and Stoney Creek developed contemporaneously with Hamilton. In the postwar decades, they also increasingly served as the city's suburbs and commuter shed. Due to prevailing westerly winds, in general, Hamilton's more affluent areas are found to the west, with working-class or lower-income neighbourhoods situated to the east where factory pollution tends to be blown. In 1974, the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth was formed as an upper-tier municipality for the region. In 2001, the region was amalgamated into a single-tier City of Hamilton. However, these outlying areas, and some parts of the Mountain are considered suburban due to their lower density and greater automobile-orientation than Lower Hamilton^{xlv}.

Before examining the details of intra-provincial migration to Hamilton, it is worth providing some additional context about different parts of the city, and how they are changing. Between 2006-2016, the City of Hamilton's population grew by 6.4% XIVI. However, this growth was not evenly spread across the city. Some Census Tracts in outlying suburban areas saw population increases of over 20% as new subdivisions were constructed. Much of Hamilton's recent population growth has been suburban, through the development of new neighbourhoods in Waterdown, Ancaster, Stony Creek, and Glanbrook. Rymal and Leckie Park, at the end of the Red Hill Valley Parkway, are other major areas of new growth. Elsewhere in the city, growth has been more modest. Striking is the number of tracts experiencing population decline (a trend that has continued with the 2021 Census), including older neighbourhoods on the Mountain, and many neighbourhoods within the Lower City, particularly in the north and east ends. In some of these, gentrification is occurring, and there are studies that suggest that gentrification and population decline can occur simultaneously due to demographic shifts and the deconversion of rooming houses and small apartments into single family homes xIVIII.



Additionally, some predominantly rural areas at the fringes of the city also saw modest population losses between 2006 and 2016.

Another key area of difference within the City of Hamilton is population density. With the city comprised of many pre-World War II neighbourhoods constructed around the streetcar, automobile-oriented suburbs, former independent villages and rural areas, Hamilton's Census Tracts vary greatly in their population density. In general, neighbourhoods within the Lower City are more densely populated than either the Mountain or the amalgamated suburbs. The amalgamated suburbs also contain neighbourhoods with the greatest share of owner-occupied dwellings, with rural and newly-built suburban areas in the outer rim of the city consisting of more than 78% owner-occupied dwellings. By comparison, the Lower City, East End,

and to a lesser extent the Mountain are where most of the city's rental stock can be found.

Central parts of the Lower City, as well as the East End, also contain the lower share of single-detached dwellings. Unsurprisingly, neighbourhoods with the greatest share of this housing type can be found in suburbs built after World War II, both on the Mountain and in newer suburban areas. Between 2011-2016, most of Hamilton's new housing stock was constructed in Flamborough, Stoney Creek, Ancaster and Glanbrook, with some Census Tracts seeing almost a third of their housing stock constructed in that five-year period. Conversely, it is clear that much of the Lower City was built before 1945 and that the vast majority of the city's pre-World War II housing can be found below the Mountain.

In terms of social trends, Hamilton exhibits several characteristics that set it apart from Canada's largest cities such as Toronto or Vancouver, where gentrification has been *the* defining trend driving urban change in the inner city. In Hamilton, older, innercity neighbourhoods are home to the vast majority of the city's low-income populations, as well as housing that is not considered suitable. While 15.3% of the city's population is considered low income, many neighbourhoods in the Lower City, particularly around downtown and in the north and eastern parts, have low-income rates more than double this figure. Conversely, most Census Tracts in the amalgamated suburbs have low-income levels below 7.5%. While much of the city's poverty is concentrated within the Lower City, it has

also slowly been moving up to the Mountain. Average household income levels across the city also illustrate these trends. The majority of Census Tracts in the Lower City are below the city's average of \$87,775 in 2016. Conversely, virtually all CTs in the amalgamated suburbs have average household incomes above the city's average.

The city's visible minority population was 19% in the 2016 Census. However, many neighbourhoods on the Mountain had levels in excess of this average. In the Lower City, some downtown and East End neighbourhoods, as well as Census Tracts near McMaster University also have higher levels of visible minorities; however, many central east neighbourhoods near the steel plants are far whiter than the city's average. The same is also true for many neighbourhoods in the amalgamated suburbs. In terms of levels of education, there are two distinct clusters within the city: the first is a large area around McMaster University (including Dundas and Ancaster) that have the greatest percentage of residents with a university degree. The second can be found in Lower City neighbourhoods near the heavy industry adjacent to Hamilton Harbour, where very low percentages of the population have university degrees. Within the Lower City, there is much more residential turnover, as evidenced by the percentage of the population that moved house between 2011-2016^{xlviii}.

In terms of employment patterns, there are clear distinctions between parts of the city where most residents work within the City of Hamilton and other parts which function more as dormitory communities where people are primarily employed within other municipalities⁵. The former can be found mostly on the Mountain, which is logical given its post-war history of development providing housing for those employed in the city's manufacturing industries who sought to escape the Lower City's overcrowding and pollution. Bedroom communities can be found in Flamborough, where the percentage of people who work within Hamilton is well-below the city's average of 66.9% of the employed population. The Lower City is a bit of a mix: in parts of the east end, the percentage of people working in Hamilton is high. However, some CTs closer to the city's downtown (and its two railway stations) have greater shares of people who commute out of Hamilton for work.

Finally, in terms of how people get to work, Hamilton exhibits many trends similar to other mid-sized cities in Canada, which are predominantly automobile oriented. The Census only measures one form of mobility – journey to work – and therefore is unable to capture other journeys such as leisure, or shopping trips. It also excludes those who are not working. While 83% of the city's working population drive to work, there are distinct spatial patterns to this, with the highest percentages of auto commuters in amalgamated suburbs, including in

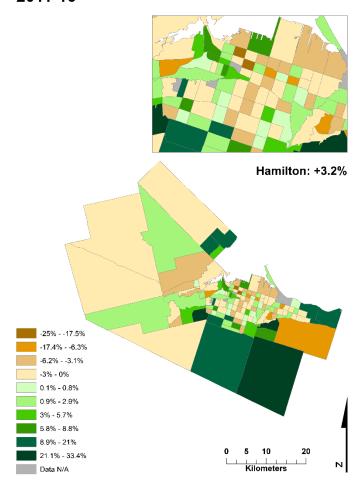
many neighbourhoods where most people travel outside of Hamilton to work. Transit use is clustered in both the Lower City and on the Mountain. 10.5% of Hamilton workers took transit to work, either the city's bus service, Hamilton Street Railway, or GO Transit. Only 4.6% of Hamiltonians walk to work; however, in some downtown neighbourhoods, this figure is over 20%. Less than 1% of people cycle to work, although this rises to over 6% in some Census Tracts near McMaster University. In suburban areas, walking to work is very uncommon and cycling to work is virtually non-existent, patterns that mirror larger cities such as Toronto^{xlix}.



⁵ This data is from 2016 and therefore cannot say anything about working from home during the pandemic.

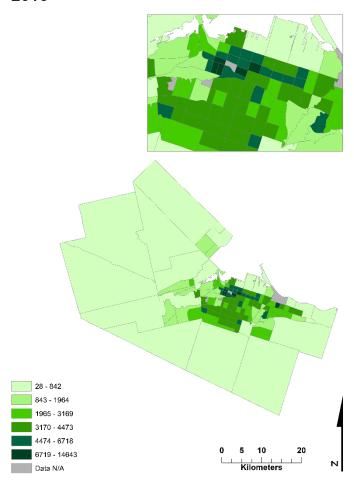
This section has sought to contextualize some of the important social and spatial trends within Hamilton in order to better understand the characteristics of neighbourhoods where people are moving to, as well places that intra-provincial migrants generally avoid when they settle in Hamilton. The remainder of this section provides

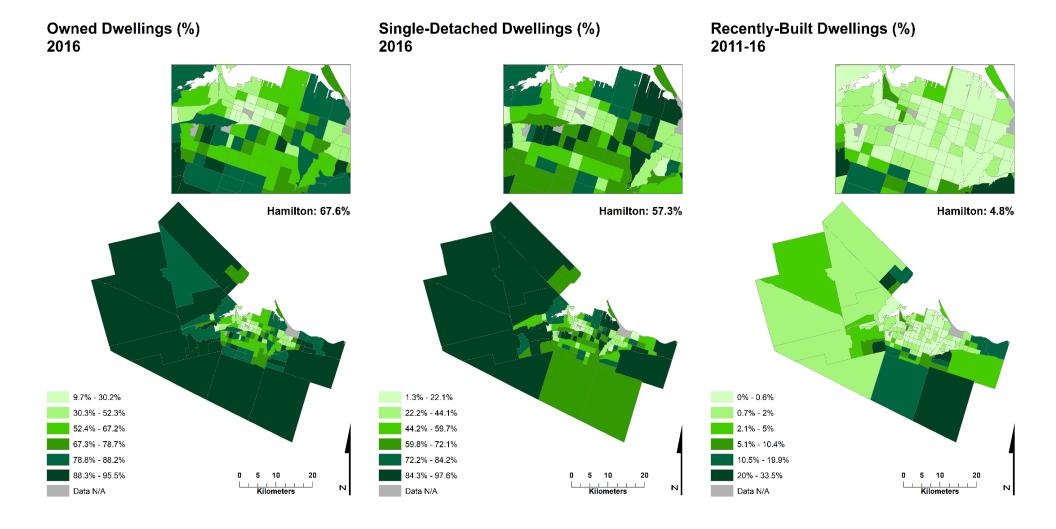
Total Population Growth (%) 2011-16

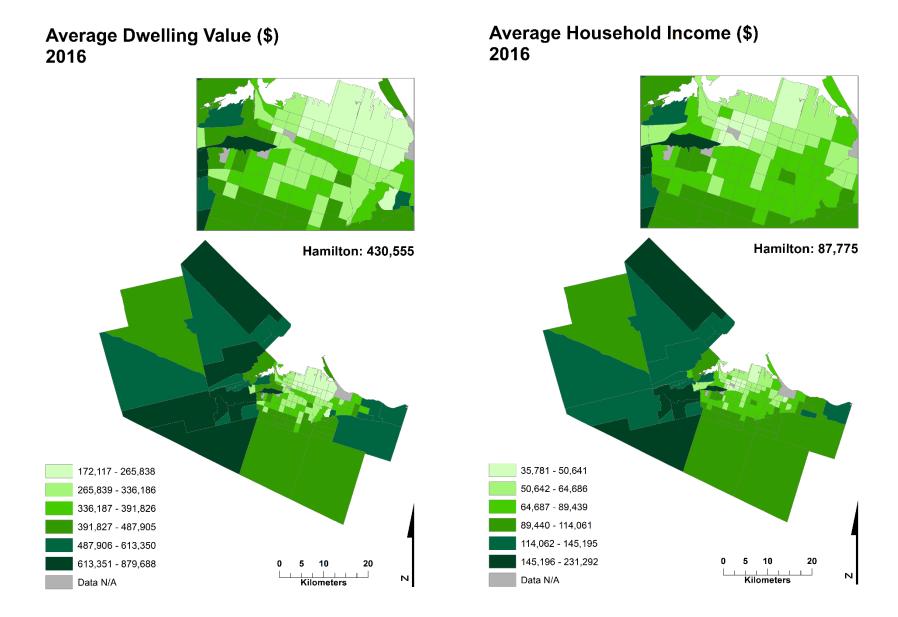


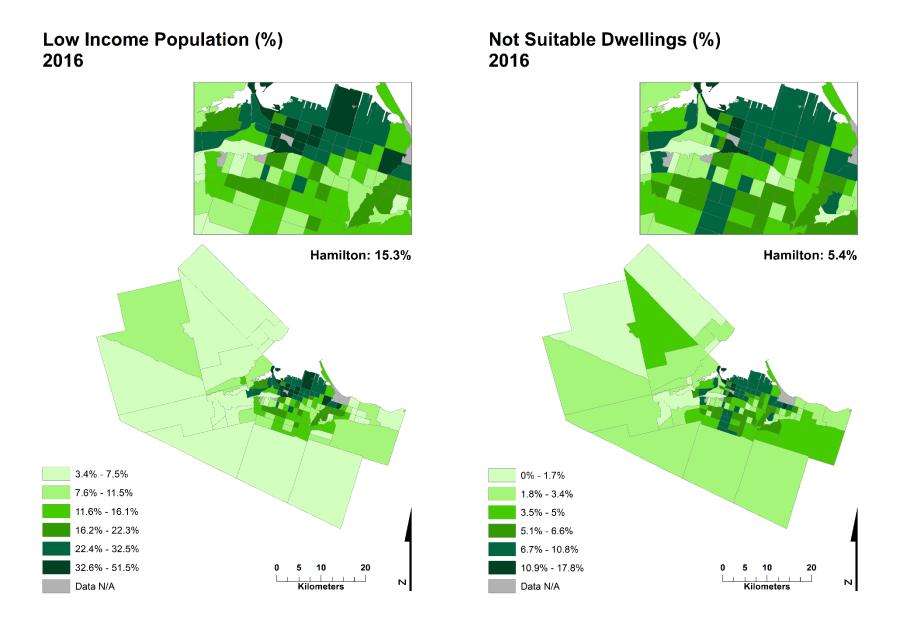
some maps of the key trends within Hamilton discussed above. The next section provides some of the big picture trends of intra-provincial migration to Hamilton, before focusing on migration patterns from specific parts of the province and the Toronto Region.

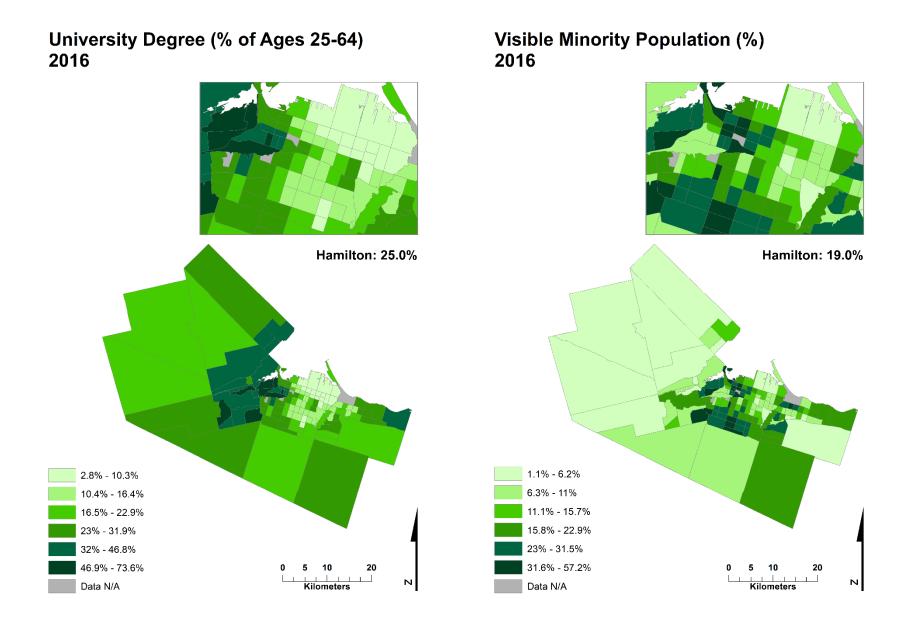
Population Density per Square Kilometer 2016

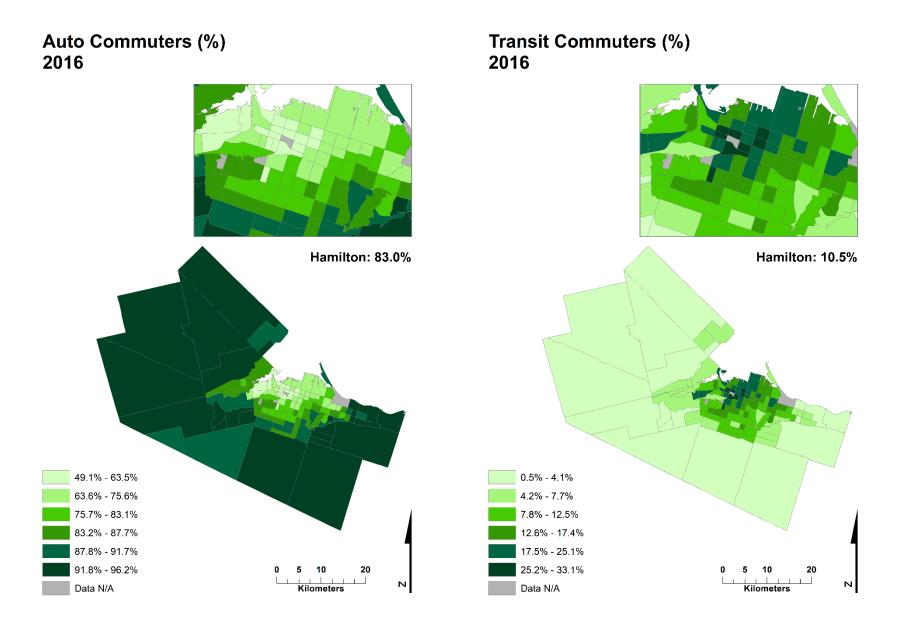


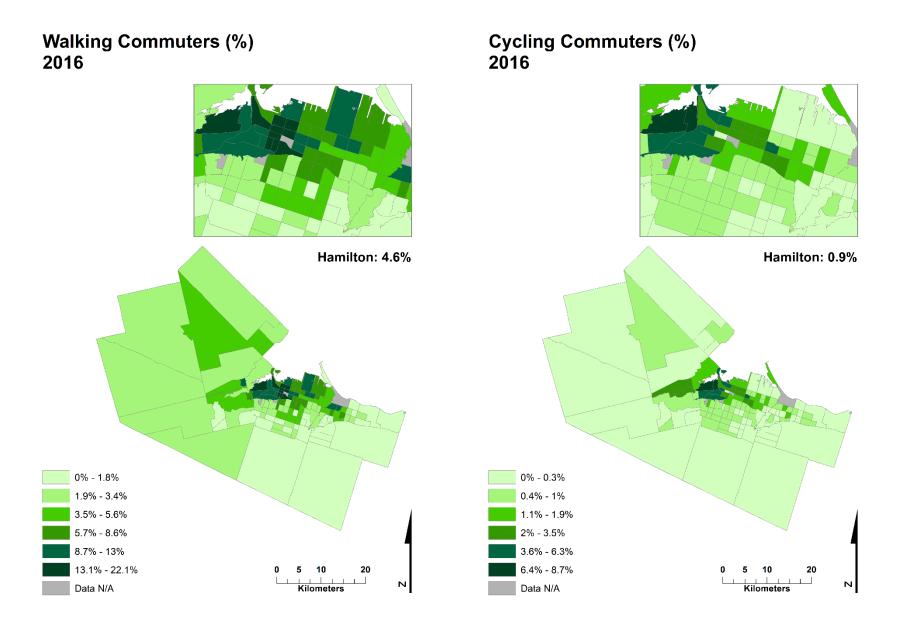


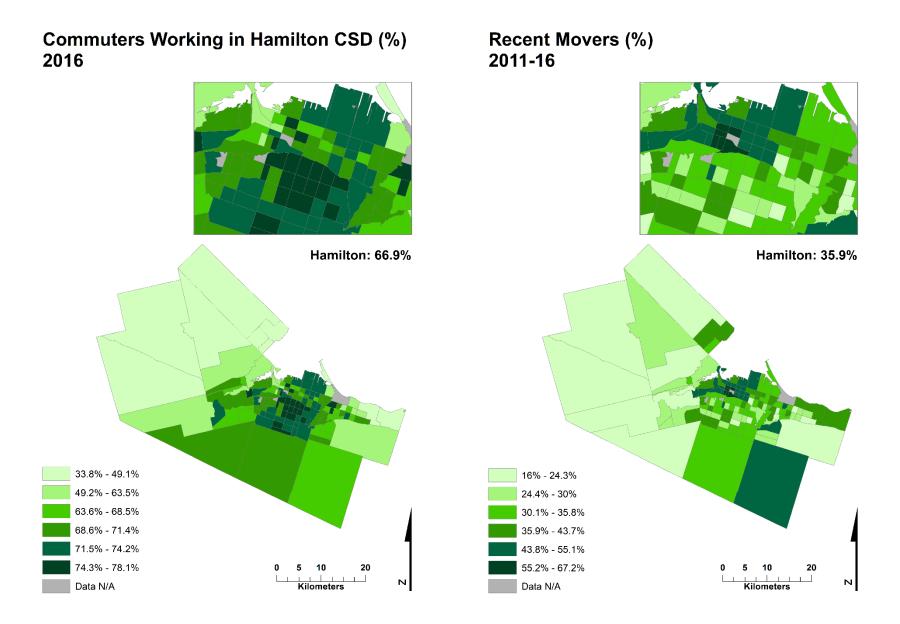












Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

5. Hamilton's overall intra-provincial migration trends



This section provides the big picture data about migration to Hamilton. While local movers constitute the largest share of people who have moved house in Hamilton, new arrivals to the city largely originate from elsewhere in Ontario. Between 2011 and 2016, 46,210 people moved to Hamilton from the rest of Ontario (and remained to be counted in the 2016 Census⁶). This constituted 70.2% of all migration into Hamilton during this time. Between 2001-06 and 2011-16, the number

of people moving to Hamilton from elsewhere in Ontario grew by 22.7%, or an additional 8,560 persons. Intra-provincial migration was the only source that grew over this timespan, resulting in the proportion of migrants originating from elsewhere in Ontario growing from 62.9% to 70.2% of total inward migration.

The following maps show the total number of movers, based on origin location: within the City of Hamilton, external (international

⁶ Total migration figures for the City of Hamilton are based on Statistic Canada's publicly available migration and mobility data. In our custom sets of detailed migration for all Ontario origin CSDs, data is rounded to the nearest

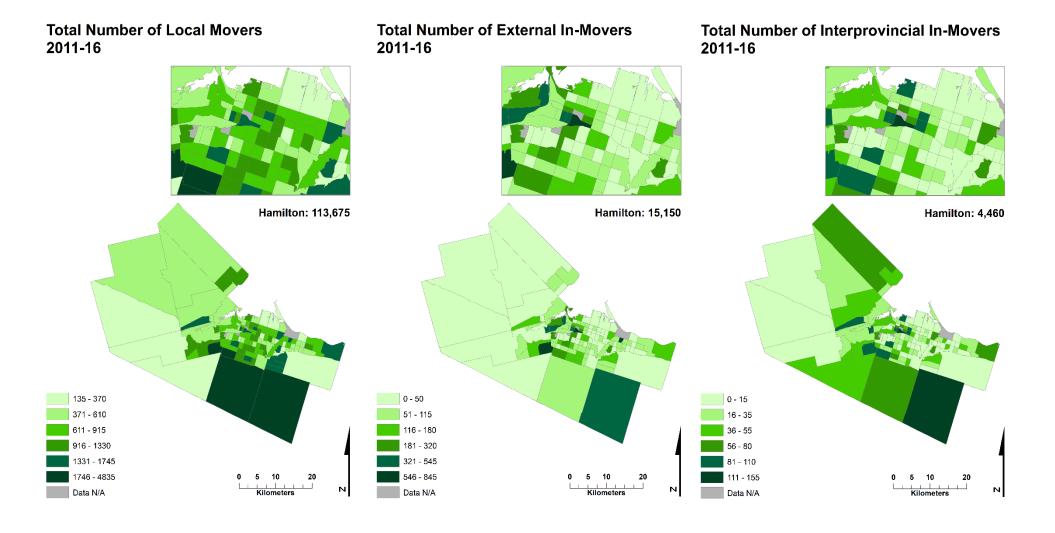
⁵ persons for each of the origins and for destination tracts. That results in figures from the custom data set and the publicly available aggregate data that do not always exactly correspond, as the latter are not subject to this rounding.

migrants), and those who moved from another province. This information is broken-down by Census Tract within Hamilton. Areas with high numbers of internal movers are found in the inner-city, where there is a density of apartments, as well as some of the newly constructed neighbourhoods south of the Lincoln Alexander Parkway. Some international migrants (external) are also moving here; however,

there are also small clusters on the Mountain, near McMaster University, the East End and around downtown, with few international migrants moving to Central East or Flamborough. Inter-provincial migrants are more dispersed throughout the city and can be found in both urban and suburban areas.

Hamilton: Population and Migration, 2006 to 2016

	To	tals	Change			
	2006	2016	2006 to	2016		
	#	#	#	%		
Population	504,555	536,920	32,365	6.4		
	2001-06	2011-16	2001-06 to	2011-16		
	#	#	#	%		
Recent Movers	175,715	179,495	3,780	2.2		
Local Movers	115,820	113,675	-2,145	-1.9		
Intraprovincial Migrants	37,650	46,210	8,560	22.7		
Interprovincial Migrants	5,540	4,460	-1,080	-19.5		
External Migrants	16,700	15,150	-1,550	-9.3		



ALL INTRA-PROVINCIAL MIGRATION TO HAMILTON

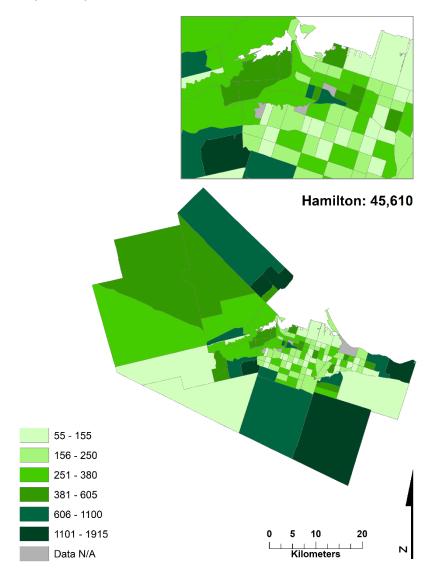
Intra-provincial migrants are settling in Hamilton according to patterns quite distinct from local movers, those coming from other provinces and those moving to Hamilton from abroad. The first important point to note is that the number of intra-provincial migrants increased significantly between 2001-11 and 2011-16, whereas the number of inter-provincial and international migrants went down. 22.7% more people move to Hamilton from elsewhere in Ontario during this time, while inter-provincial migration numbers decreased by 19.5%. Intra-provincial migration also constitutes the largest group of new arrivals into Hamilton; between 2011 and 2016, 70.2% of new arrivals came from elsewhere in Ontario.

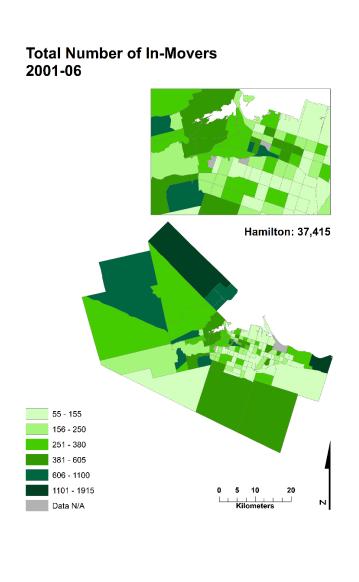
Very few of these intra-provincial migrants settled on the Mountain. This is in contrast to the trend for new immigrants. The largest number of intra-provincial migrants move to amalgamated outer suburbs. Despite having only 39% of Hamilton's population in 2016, these areas received 46% of all intra-provincial migrants. The biggest destinations

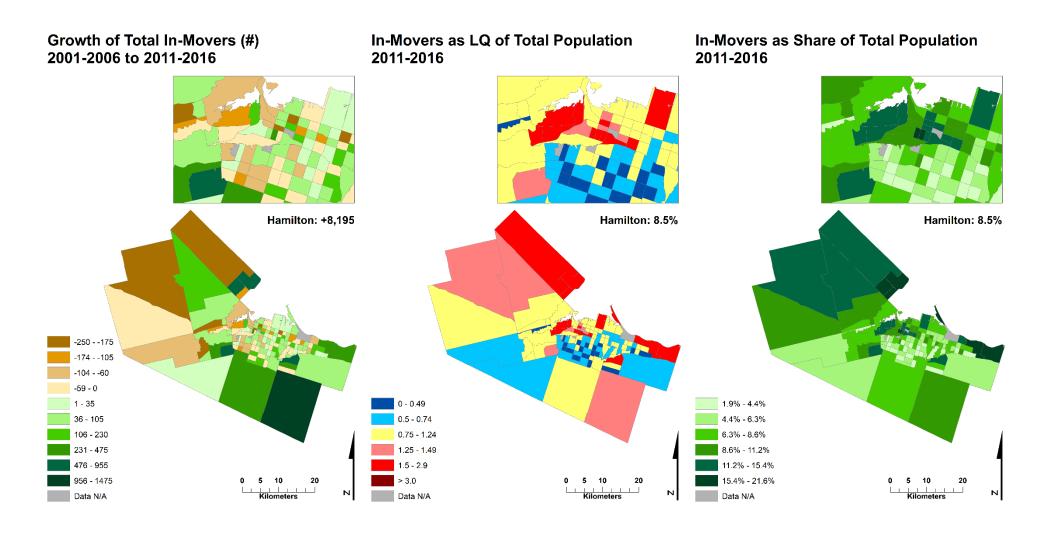
are Flamborough, Glanbrook, and Stoney Creek. These areas are predominantly suburban, with a high share of people who work outside the city, and they contain many new housing subdivisions. They are also close to major highways that connect with the GTA. Other clusters of intra-provincial migration include older neighbourhoods south and west of downtown, situated close to the main GO transit station, near McMaster University and in Ancaster and Dundas. In terms of location quotients, most neighbourhoods on the Mountain and in the East End are at or below the average in-migration levels for the city.

In terms of the top ten destination Census Tracts for all intra-provincial migration, nine are found within the outer suburbs. All of these have average household incomes of above \$100,000, well higher than the city's average of \$87,775. The other CT is found within the Lower City and only has a household income of \$59,468. It is, however, very close to the GO station and contains a mix of older houses and rental properties.

Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16









				Total	In-Movers +	Population S	hare	In-Move	r Change	Total Pop	oulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total +	Population	Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	2011	-16	2001	L-06		-06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	vincial	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	1915	10.9	440	7.8	1475	335.2	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
2	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	1860	21.6	905	13.2	955	105.5	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
3	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	1600	16.5	1125	17.7	475	42.2	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
4	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	1565	12.1	895	12.6	670	74.9	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
5	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	1480	19.5	700	13.0	780	111.4	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
6	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	1100	21.5	660	12.8	440	66.7	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7
7	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	910	12.8	1160	15.3	-250	-21.6	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
8	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	905	14.3	115	2.8	790	687.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
9	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer	880	7.1	595	6.2	285	47.9	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7
10	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	780	18.9	350	12.4	430	122.9	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
	Hamilton			45,610	8.5	37,415	7.4	8,195	21.9	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

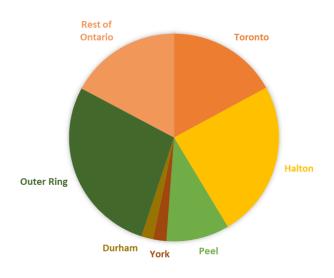
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	ic + Socioecoi	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HI	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
2	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
3	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
4	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
5	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
6	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
7	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
8	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
9	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
10	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775	

Hamilton: Intra-Provincial In-Migration, 2001-06 to 2011-16

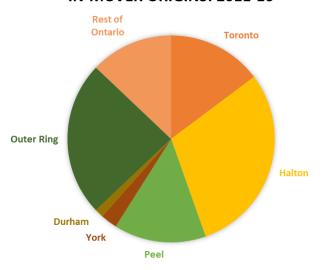
Hamilton: Intra-Provincial In-Migration, 2001-06 to 2011-16

	То	tals	Cha	nge		•	of All Intra-	Change
	2001-06	2011-16	2001-16 t	o 2011-16		Provincia	I Migrants	.
Origin Point	#	#	#	%	Origin Point	2001-06	2011-16	2001-16 to 2011-16
All (O.)	07.445	45.040	0.405	04.0		%	%	+/-
All of Ontario	37,415	45,610	8,195	21.9	All of Ontario	100.00	100.00	-
GTA	20,590	28,700	8,110	39.4				
Toronto	6,370	6,730	360	5.7	GTA	55.0	62.9	7.9
905	14,220	21,970	7,750	54.5	Toronto	17.0	14.8	-2.3
Halton	9,135	13,610	4,475	49.0	905	38.0	48.2	10.2
Burlington	6,545	8,365	1,820	27.8	Halton	24.4	29.8	5.4
Oakville	1,945	3,505	1,560	80.2	Burlington	17.5	18.3	0.8
Milton	460	1,285	825	179.3	Oakville	5.2	7.7	2.5
Peel	3,640	6,560	2,920	80.2	Milton	1.2	2.8	1.6
Mississauga	2,625	4,720	2,095	79.8	Peel	9.7	14.4	4.7
Brampton	940	1,710	770	81.9	Mississauga	7.0	10.3	3.3
York	770	1,175	405	52.6	Brampton	2.5	3.7	1.2
Durham	675	625	-50	-7.4	York	2.1	2.6	0.5
Durnam	070	020	00	7.7	Durham	1.8	1.4	-0.4
Outer Ring	10,400	11,025	625	6.0	Outon Dina	27.8	24.2	-3.6
Niagara	3,370	3,805	435	12.9	Outer Ring			
Grimsby	740	900	160	21.6	Niagara	9.0	8.3	-0.7
St. Catharines	1,070	835	-235	-22.0	Grimsby	2.0	2.0	0.0
Waterloo	1,565	1,770	205	13.1	St. Catharines	2.9	1.8	-1.0
Wellington (inc. Guelph)	825	995	170	20.6	Waterloo	4.2	3.9 2.2	-0.3 0.0
Dufferin	175	210	35	20.0	Wellington (inc. Guelph)	2.2		
Haldimand	1,595	1,455	-140	-8.8	Dufferin Haldimand	0.5 4.3	0.5 3.2	0.0 -1.1
Brant (inc. Brantford)	1,545	1,705	160	10.4				
Simcoe (inc. Barrie & Orillia)	855	660	-195	-22.8	Brant (inc. Brantford)	4.1	3.7	-0.4
Northumberland	125	125	0	0.0	Simcoe (inc. Barrie & Orillia)	2.3	1.4	-0.8
Peterborough (city & county)	205	230	25	12.2	Northumberland	0.3	0.3	-0.1
Kawartha	140	70	-70	-50.0	Peterborough (city & county) Kawartha	0.5 0.4	0.5 0.2	0.0 -0.2
					rawarina	0.4	0.∠	-∪.∠
Rest of Ontario	6,425	5,885	-540	-8.4	. Rest of Ontario	17.2	12.9	-4.3

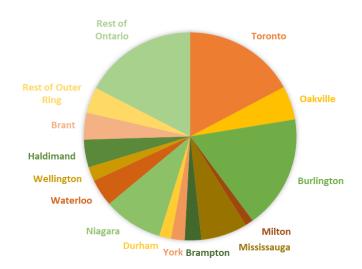
IN-MOVER ORIGINS: 2001-06



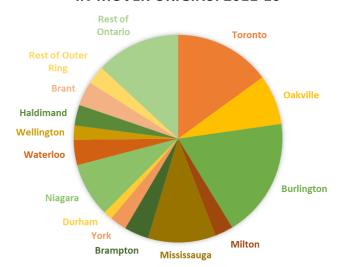
IN-MOVER ORIGINS: 2011-16



IN-MOVER ORIGINS: 2001-06



IN-MOVER ORIGINS: 2011-16



Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

Hamilton: Intra-Provincial In-Migration by Neighbourhood, 2011-16

Intraprovincial Origins	Lower City	West End	Central	Downtown	Central East	East End	Mountain	Outer Suburbs	Dundas	Stony Creek	Flamborough	Ancaster	Glanbrook	Total
Total	16,700	2,050	4,050	4,060	4,440	2,100	7,720	21,190	1,860	6,445	6,460	3,630	2,795	45,610
GTA	9,755	1,105	2,405	2,125	2,765	1,355	4,210	14,735	1,035	4,495	5,175	2,435	1,595	28,700
Outer Ring	3,940	360	900	1,085	1,060	535	2,345	4,740	580	1,575	980	720	885	11,025
Rest of Ontario	3,005	585	745	850	615	210	1,165	1,715	245	375	305	475	315	5,885
Toronto	3,595	335	1,195	910	835	320	1,285	1,850	340	445	380	465	220	6,730
The 905	6,160	770	1,210	1,215	1,930	1,035	2,925	12,885	695	4,050	4,795	1,970	1,375	21,970
Halton	3,515	280	745	700	1,305	485	1,695	8,400	520	2,355	3,615	1,110	800	13,610
Burlington	2,205	150	485	390	915	265	1,040	5,120	330	1,565	2,210	545	470	8,365
Oakville	960	100	185	255	285	135	420	2,125	120	545	850	375	235	3,505
Milton	225	20	45	30	55	75	130	930	70	205	440	170	45	1,285
Peel	1,915	250	360	330	515	460	1,000	3,645	145	1,445	1,030	575	450	6,560
Mississauga	1,265	130	255	200	345	335	720	2,735	120	1,055	810	395	355	4,720
Brampton	605	120	95	130	150	110	250	855	25	360	205	170	95	1,710
York	470	180	50	110	70	60	100	605	30	170	105	205	95	1,175
Durham	260	60	55	75	40	30	130	235	0	80	45	80	30	625
Niagara	1,285	85	285	340	330	245	760	1,760	105	1,065	140	155	295	3,805
Grimsby	215	10	50	35	30	90	185	500	30	305	40	40	85	900
St. Catharines	345	40	80	95	85	45	125	365	10	220	30	40	65	835
Waterloo	640	85	115	200	185	55	395	735	115	165	330	90	35	1,770
Wellington (inc. Guelph)	450	65	130	150	75	30	165	380	105	40	145	70	20	995
Dufferin	90	10	25	25	15	15	40	80	0	30	25	10	15	210
Haldimand	445	0	110	135	160	40	410	600	40	115	85	95	265	1,455
Brant (inc. Brantford)	515	50	125	145	145	50	425	765	160	120	105	215	165	1,705
Simcoe (inc. Barrie & Orillia)	345	45	50	80	110	60	75	240	20	20	100	45	55	660
Northumberland	40	0	10	10	10	10	20	65	10	10	10	20	15	125
Peterborough (city & county)	90	20	30	0	20	20	45	95	15	10	40	20	10	230
Kawartha	40	0	20	0	10	10	10	20	10	0	0	0	10	70

Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

6. Hamilton: What In-Migration has Meant

Richard Harris

In this report, Brian Doucet and Brayden Wilson have shown just how much the available data can tell us about the ways in which Toronto has been embracing Hamilton. It confirms some of the impressions that locals have, putting numbers on them. More importantly, it shows us one big thing of which most locals are blissfully unaware, at least judging from media coverage. I will get to this later. But there is one thing that available statistics cannot tell us: what Hamiltonians know and think about Toronto's embrace or, as many would have it, 'takeover bid'. Drawing on personal observation and media reports, this essay offers some thoughts about that.

The gravitational pull

Lately, Hamilton has been getting a sort of come-uppance. Back in the 1830s it outgrew its older neighbour, Dundas, and a century later began to absorb it. In 2001, the Mike Harris government – no relation – completed the process through a forced amalgamation of the City of Hamilton with all its suburbs, including Dundas. While Hamilton has not yet become a suburb of Toronto, and may never be formally annexed, locals know they are on a slippery slope. After all, everyone now talks about the GTHA.

Hamilton has been feeling the gravitational pull of Toronto for decades. The QEW, completed as a freeway in the 1950s, and then GO train service from the 1960s, made commuting easier and then, as traffic increased, more annoying. Toronto grew, more in the direction of Hamilton than of Oshawa, in turn conquering Mississauga, Oakville, and then Burlington, Hamilton's neighbour. Meanwhile, it spread into Peel and Halton. Hamilton was drawn into a commuterland of increasing scope and complexity.

One of the clearest indicators of Hamilton's growing dependence has been the way its house prices have moved in lockstep with Toronto's since the 1970s, albeit several paces behindⁱⁱ. Commuters were the link, hopscotching across the intervening municipalities. Then, as real estate prices in both cities rose more rapidly than incomes, Hamilton became more expensive while Toronto became simply unaffordable. Commuting became more common while a growing number of frustrated workers decided to see whether Hamilton might offer a living. By 2018, the Canadian Real Estate Agency suggested that buyers from the GTA were behind the 70 percent increase in Hamilton's house prices in the previous five yearsⁱⁱⁱ. Then, during the pandemic, prices in Hamilton (and other small- and mid-sized centres) rose more rapidly than in the GTAⁱⁱⁱⁱ.

Many observers suggested that this reflected a wave of outmigration as many people were now working from home. It is unclear whether this is a harbinger, or whether the surge will ebb, but there is every reason to believe that Hamilton will be increasingly drawn into Toronto's orbit.

The City itself has played a small part in this process, in part by encouraging The Economic Development Department to actively seek Toronto investors. In 2017, for example, it employed a Toronto marketing agency to organize an event – 'The Hamilton Consulate' – at the Burroughs at Queen Street West and Bathurst, which was attended by the mayor^{liv}. The principal of the marketing agency was in a good position to further the evening's goal, "to attract development", since she herself had moved to Hamilton six years previously. A month later, the *Hamilton Spectator* reported that Brad Lamb, one of those present at the gathering and himself "Toronto's condo king", was now planning a couple of large projects in Hamilton^{lv}.

More importantly, the City has also marketed itself to new residents. Over the course of the twentieth century, Hamilton had styled itself the 'Ambitious City', the 'Birmingham of Canada' and, increasingly as Stelco and Dofasco came to rule the industrial roost, 'Steel City'. Since the 1970s, however, manufacturing plants have closed, and the steel companies downsized. This contributed to the decline of the Lower City, that is, the older districts, developed before WWII and lying below the Niagara Escarpment. Taking advantage of the growing Arts community, the City and local media adopted the

slogan 'Art is the New Steel' At the same time, leveraging the fact that the city straddles the escarpment, it has been presented as 'The City of Waterfalls'. Condé Nast Traveler reckons that Hamilton is "the waterfall capital of the world" Some of the falls are little more than a dribble, but Tourism Hamilton now hosts a website with a comprehensive guide telling visitors and locals alike how to reach all of them. It is impossible to say which of these two recent efforts at branding have been most effective; both have certainly had an impact.

Visible effects

Hamiltonians have long been aware of the growing impact of the Toronto connection. Since the 1980s, three effects have been visible, each with its own geography. The first – seed for the first new slogan – was the expansion of an existing Arts community, then district, along James Street, immediately north of the downtown low. This had been a rundown strip in a declining area that planners call Beasley. Hamilton had always had an active local music scene, but migration, especially from Toronto's Queen Street West, enabled the Arts scene to grow and diversify. This soon became highly visible, a source of pride. New businesses opened and storefronts were fixed up. Belatedly, in 2013, the City came on board with a Cultural Plan lix. Grass-roots organizations had already created an Art Crawl on James Street in 2004, and then Supercrawl, a multi-arts festival, in 2009. It began to feature in the *Globe and Mail* as an event by 2011. Ix As the area slowly

gentrified, rents rose, so that some of the original stores and galleries on James have lately been displaced. As a Toronto journalist commented, "Hamilton is our Brooklyn now" It has been a classic, evolving example of artist-led gentrification.

A second type of change has been geographically more diffuse but almost as visible. People with no particular connection to the arts have helped to drive nascent gentrification across the better parts of the Lower City. This has been concentrated, and is most visible, in the neighbourhoods surrounding two commercial streets: Locke and Ottawa. Both areas had once thrived, went into some decline, and have lately revived. They have acquired interesting restaurants and, notably in the case of Locke, predictable businesses that include a yoga studio, fitness centre, health food store, chocolatier, Gelato café, and seasonal farmer's market. Located in the inner east end, the Ottawa Street area is more affordable, but challenged because it is situated in a working-class area that had somewhat declined: the local schools have a mixed reputation and air pollution can be a problem. In contrast, Locke Street is part of the only area in the Lower City where household incomes have long been higher than the city average lxii. It has also been the only area with a clear increase in average household income between 1980-2015. 'Moving to Hamilton' shows that this has been partly driven by migrants from Toronto. So does street ethnography. In July of 2017, while strolling Locke, I overheard an encounter between two women dressed in appropriate casuals, both walking hounds. "Excuse me", one addressed the other, "I've just moved from Toronto. Is there somewhere near here I can let my dog run free"? "Funny", her newfound friend replied, "I've only been here a couple of months myself".

Along with James Street North, but at a step up in terms of cost, Locke Street has become the most visible form of Toronto-driven gentrification in Hamilton. Here, too, the City has thrown its weight behind the change, financing a wholesale repaving and facelift in 2018-19. Appropriately, Locke has been the main target of critics who argue that gentrification raises house prices and rents, triggering displacement. In March of 2018, thirty masked, (self-described) anarchists went on a rampage, smashing store windows as a gesture against neighbourhood upgrading and rising rents. It happened that Justin Trudeau had a scheduled visit to Hamilton soon after and, in a gesture typical both of Trudeau and of Locke Street's symbolism, he made a detour to take a couple of bites from a chai donut at Donut Monster, one of the vandalized businesses kill. News reports do not make it clear whether Trudeau himself paid the \$3 charge. Hamiltonians had known about Locke Street for years and now so did the nation, or at least those who read news items from the Canadian press.

Over the past decade, the impact of Torontonians – or, more generally, those from the GTA – have been apparent in a third way, one which the second attempt at branding has contributed to. The environmental and cultural significance of that escarpment had come

to be recognized in the 1960s, with the creation of extensive conservation areas and the dedication of lands for the Bruce Trail, which generally follows the escarpment edge. In addition to trails through woodland, Hamilton's green spaces contain many waterfalls. It was inevitable that, as the population of the Golden Horseshoe increased, more people would be attracted to these falls, and the varied green spaces in the region, but marketing has surely supercharged this trend. I have used local trails regularly for more than thirty years, and it is clear that the uptick in usage over the past decade or so has been greatly disproportionate. It used to be possible to spontaneously visit Webster's, as high as Niagara and the most impressive of the falls, on any day of the year, parking nearby. But, for several years now, it has been accessible in the summer only by shuttle and, at the time of writing, online registration for the period between May and November. Registration is now also required to visit the lilac and iris gardens, or the arboretum, of the Royal Botanical gardens, which straddles the border of Hamilton and Burlington. On summer days, some trails are packed. And, most striking of all, the incidence of accidents at the falls or along the escarpment edge has shot up. The number of rope rescues peaked at 23 in 2016, at which point the City began to impose restrictions, erect fences, and employ inspectors in a successful attempt to limit access. There are people deficient in rope-climbing skills, equipment, and common sense everywhere. But, again judging from conversations overheard, it is clear that use, and misuse, of Hamilton's green resources has been greatly elevated by visitors from the GTA. As with house prices, this

trend has been boosted by the pandemic. Rope rescues, which had declined substantially after 2016, peaked again in 2020 and continuing into 2021 lxiv.

Under the radar.

In the context of a continuing real estate boom, a vibrant arts community, gentrification, and rope rescues are all visible signs of the growing influence of outsiders on Hamilton. All have been well-covered in traditional and social media; in different ways, all have been targets of municipal policy and are familiar to any Hamiltonian who pays even passing attention to local affairs. A fourth influence, substantial in the statistics, has largely flown under the radar.

'Moving to Hamilton' shows that movers from the GTA have had by far their greatest impact in a number of suburban districts. That impact has been largest both in terms of the numbers of people involved and also in the proportion of neighbourhood residents who have come from away. The scale of this in-migration is surely obvious to the residents of the subdivisions in question, assuming that they talk to their neighbours. Before the pandemic, and now again as controls are being lifted, it has contributed to lines at suburban stores, such as the Costco in Ancaster's Meadowlands Centre. But it has not been covered in the media; judging from its public statements, neither has it been an overt concern of the municipality.

Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

A major reason why this trend has been less visible is that it is suburban and generic. Unlike the growing Arts community, it does not create anything that sets Hamilton apart, or which might attract visitors. Unlike usage of trails and conservation areas, it is not dependent on any quality unique to the Hamilton area -- beyond, that is, the lower cost of real estate. New suburban subdivisions in Dundas, Ancaster, or Flamborough are indistinguishable from those in neighbouring Halton region. Indeed, it is likely that new suburban residents prefer to keep the City of Hamilton, as a place and as a symbol, at a distance. The amalgamation of 2001 was widely unpopular in the suburbs, and a city-suburban divide has persisted unpopular in the suburbs, and a city-suburban divide has persisted Unless they work there, suburban residents rarely visit the Lower City Ixvi. Currently, suburban councillors are still opposing the

construction of an LRT line that will service the Lower City, even though the federal and provincial governments have offered a large subsidy. The statistics show a movement from the GTA *to* Hamilton but, in the suburbs at any rate, it is not in any meaningful sense *about* Hamilton.

All of which serves to underline the value of 'Moving to Hamilton'. It confirms, and qualifies things we thought we knew, putting them in context. Torontonians may be contributing to the gentrification of Hamilton but, as yet, the case can be overstated. In addition, what it reveals for the first time is that, in a much more substantial way, outsiders are driving change in the suburbs. Literally.

Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

7. Hamilton: Suburbanization, Absorption in the GTHA and Migration

Pierre Filion

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an interpretation of the data introduced in this atlas by focussing on urban dynamics at the scale of a self-contained city and at that of a large metropolitan region. It pictures Hamilton residential migration trends highlighted in the atlas as driven by the suburbanization of this city and its absorption by the Greater Toronto and Hamilton Area (GTHA). These trends are also depicted as catalysed by housing value gradients mirroring centralized features of the GTHA.

The chapter presents a three-stage chronology of Hamilton concentrating on the evolution of urban dynamics at the scale of the city and of the GTHA. The first stage concerns the period when Hamilton was a self-contained urban area gravitating around a vigorous downtown and a large central cluster of heavy industries. The second stage is associated with the emancipation of the Hamilton suburbs from the central city. Suburbs then achieved a great deal of autonomy by acquiring activities traditionally concentrated downtown. Finally, the third stage marked Hamilton's integration to the GTHA.

The chapter describes these urban transitions and their effects on migration to Hamilton. It presents the settlement of new

residents in Hamilton as mostly a suburban phenomenon, composed largely of former residents of GTHA suburban regions migrating to suburban Hamilton. The process is interpreted as fuelled by house price gradients and facilitated by the relative equivalence of suburban sectors in terms of housing options and activity distribution. Comparatively low residential values in Hamilton, a function of its location at the edge of the GTHA, are perceived as a factor of attraction.

Hamilton as a Distinct Urban Area

From 1881 to 1961, Hamilton ranked 5th among Canadian cities in most censuses. Hamilton had a strong identity as an urban centre. Not only was it the heart of the Canadian steel industry (referred to as "Steel City"), but it had a vibrant downtown, which contained headquarters of steel companies, and reputable public institutions, notably hospitals and McMaster University^{lxvii}. At 50 kilometres from Toronto (pre-1997 boundaries), Hamilton was until the 1960s separated from this city by expanses of rural land.

Hamilton could then be perceived as part of a megalopolis ringing the western part of Lake Ontario, consisting of one large and many middle-size urban centres maintaining their individuality and distinct urban perimeter The legacy of its long history as one of the main Canadian cities, is reflected in Hamilton's built environment, especially its large traditional downtown configuration and inner-city neighbourhoods. One distinctive trait of contemporary Hamilton is that it is the only place in the GTHA, apart from old-boundary City of Toronto, to provide such an urban form, albeit admittedly at a much smaller scale than Toronto. But since the 1960s, Hamilton has lost some of its individuality as it was absorbed by advancing Toronto suburbanization into the built perimeter of the GTHA.

Centralized to Dispersed Hamilton

Until the mid- to late-1950s, North American cities were structured around their downtown. It was in this sector that one found the largest concentration of office employment, retailing, services, culture, entertainment as well as public institutions. Downtown was the primary public transit hub, at a time when ridership was high. It was the undisputed first order of activity centres in its city, second order centres, neighbourhood commercial streets, were by comparison much smaller. They catered mostly to routine needs, in contrast to multifunctional downtowns with an incomparably superior comparison-shopping potential.

With a rapid escalation of automobile use and the tailoring of infrastructure and built form to the car, North American urbanization transitioned, over the prosperous post-World-War-II decades, from a centralized downtown-focussed to a dispersed suburban-dominated urban structure. At first, suburbs were primarily dormitories maintaining strong connections with downtown, but they soon emancipated themselves as destinations such as retailing, services. employment, and institutions settled there. The transition did not, however, take the form of a simple locational shift of land uses following the decentralization of residents. There were substantial differences in the distribution and journey implications of these activities. They adopted dispersed configurations in spatially specialized suburbs thereby generating multiple middle-range activity destinations at a distance of each other, such as shopping malls and big box stores, in contrast with the large concentrations of activities in traditional downtowns. Likewise, in sharp contrast with the public transit accessibility and pedestrian-orientation of downtowns, the suburban dispersion of destinations made them accessible nearly exclusively by car lxix.

Before suburban decentralization, downtowns grew by accretion as their urban region expanded, adding activities which in turn themselves became larger. Such growth resulted in more functionally diversified downtowns attracting more journeys from enlarged catchment areas. Thus existed a direct connection between the evolution of downtowns and that of their respective urban areas,

as they relied on downtowns for many of their needs. The suburban dispersion of activities that used to be concentrated in downtowns spawned new urban dynamics. Henceforth, most activities people needed to reach were present in distinct locations within a ten-to-fifteen-minute drive. Suburbs thus generated accessibility bubbles, largely equivalent to each other. Contrary to the synchronization of downtown expansion with that of its urban region, suburban areas grew by replicating each other. In this sense, new suburban subdivisions offer the same assortment of activities as in other such areas and older suburbs.

Of course, not all suburban journeys take place within the tento-fifteen-minute bubble. Some still have downtown as a destination and in large metropolitan regions, there is a second, external suburban bubble, surrounding the first one, whose boundaries are defined by the range of less frequent journeys covering a quadrant of these regions. Such an external bubble is shaped by journeys to specialized jobs and services, less usual shopping needs, occasional participation in events and so on. The suburban replication principle also applies to activities found in external bubbles, which explains why in large metropolitan regions, these bubbles cover one of their quadrants, not the entirety of these regions. For example, mega-employment sectors are distributed across the GTHA, meaning that such concentrations are accessible within each of the region's quadrants^{lxx}. Hence, the low proportion of journeys taking place from one end to another of large metropolitan regions.

The suburbanization of activities caused a relative decline of traditional downtowns everywhere in North America. But if some large metropolitan region downtowns were able to keep growing in absolute terms thanks to their large employment, retailing, service, cultural, entertainment critical mass and their role as hubs of high-capacity public transit, this was not the case for the downtowns of mid-size cities. Bereft of the advantages of large metros' downtowns, they suffered steep relative and absolute declines^{lxxi}. This was notably the case in Hamilton, despite (or maybe partly due to) one of the most ambitious downtown urban renewal initiatives in Canada.

Figure 1, based on data from the Transportation Tomorrow Survey, launched in 1986, shows that while the trends described in this section originated in the 1950s, their effects were still, albeit likely more moderately, felt from the mid-1980s onwards. We indeed observe, especially between 1986 and 1996, a decline in suburban journeys to inner-city Hamilton, which includes downtown. Over this decade, journeys within the Hamilton suburban realm increased and then stabilized in later decades. And journeys from Hamilton to suburban regions of the GTHA experienced a rise between 2006 and 2016, the object of the next section.

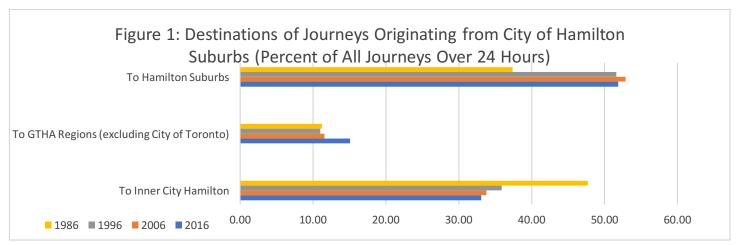
Absorption in the GTHA

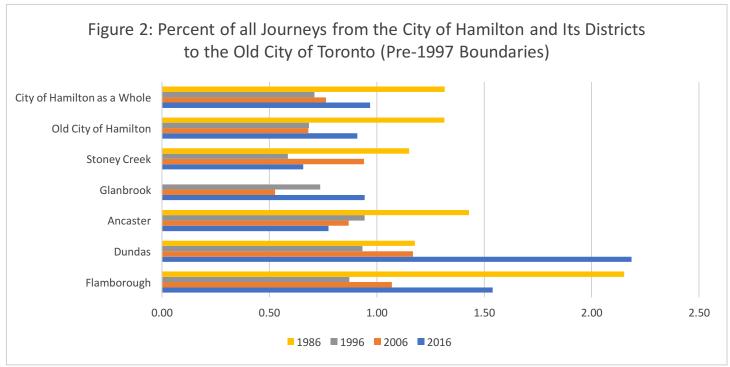
Journey Patterns

Had Hamilton been a discrete urban area, this story would end with the consequences of suburban decentralization on its journey and migration patterns. But parallel to decentralization, there is the integration of this urban area within the GTHA. The absorption of Hamilton by the GTHA takes different forms. There was first the incorporation of the built perimeter of Hamilton within that of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), as Hamilton suburbs connected with those of Halton Region and thus became part of the GTA, relabelled GTHA to acknowledge this new urban reality. Journey patterns show that urban dynamics also mirrored the integration of Hamilton to the GTHA. We have already noted in Figure 1 a recent increase in the number of journeys between suburban Hamilton and suburban GTHA regions.

Figure 2 concentrates on journeys from the City of Hamilton as a whole and its different sectors to the "old" (pre-1997 boundaries) City of Toronto. We can safely assume that the destination of a high

proportion of these journeys is Downtown Toronto. These statistics reflect one form of integration between Hamilton and the GTHA. We see that in the case of both the City of Hamilton as a whole and the old City of Hamilton (pre-2001 amalgamation), the proportion of all journeys with the old City of Toronto as a destination declined between 1986 and 1996 to rebound somewhat between 2006 and 2016. Meanwhile, there was a considerable increase in Dundas and a slight one in Glanbrook. All other sectors experienced a decline. Even more noteworthy than these fluctuations are the low proportion of Hamilton journeys directed at the old City of Toronto. It is under one percent for the entire City of Hamilton and 2.18 percent for Dundas, which registers the highest proportion. It also exposes the weakness of a centre-to-centre connection, between central Hamilton and central Toronto. When seen side-by-side with Figure 1 statistics, indicating that fifteen percent of all Hamilton journeys have suburban GTA destinations, low proportions recorded in Figure 2 confirm that Hamilton's integration to the GTHA is above all a suburban phenomenon.





Source: Malatest (2018)

The purpose of Table 1 is to compare journey patterns between the GTHA's top tier jurisdictions (two amalgamated cities and four regions) to identify different levels of integration in order to see if Hamilton stands out. Does Hamilton maintain a distinct identity, or does it behave like other GTHA jurisdictions? With its high population and concentration of activities, we can expect the City of Toronto to register high internal journey scores. The fact that it does is thus not a surprise. But it is Hamilton that posts the highest percentages of internal journeys among GTHA jurisdictions. Given the much lower population of Hamilton than that of the City of Toronto and its far lesser concentration of activities, we could interpret these statistics as an indication of its relative autonomy and legacy as a former independent urban area, now at the edge of the GTHA. But it must be noted that of all Table 1 top tier jurisdictions, it is the one that has experienced the steepest decline in the proportion of its journeys that are internal, moving closer to the GTHA norm in this regard. This decline is accompanied by a modest increase in the proportion of Hamilton journeys to the City and Toronto and a more important rise for those to GTHA suburban regions. The proportion of Hamilton journeys with a GTHA suburban region destination is nearly six times higher than for those to the City of Toronto. All this evidence further points to the primarily suburban nature of the Hamilton integration to the GTHA.

Table 1 points to different GTHA suburban journey patterns.

Durham Region journey trends mostly replicate those of Hamilton. But

other suburban regions take a different trajectory. Peel and especially York have experienced an increase in the proportion of their internal journeys, in both cases a reflection of a reduced dependence on the City of Toronto — consistent with the suburban emancipation phenomenon. In the case of Peel, this decline was accompanied by a rise in journeys to other GTHA suburban regions. The evolution of the destinations of journeys from Halton Region is unique in the GTHA. Both internal journeys and those having non-City of Toronto GTHA destinations have risen considerably, while those to the City of Toronto have remained stable since 1996. Halton trends can be explained by a reduction of out-of-GTHA journeys and their replacement by internal and non-City of Toronto GTHA destinations.

Table 2 takes us back to the discussion of suburban 10–15-minute bubbles and larger external bubbles. It demonstrates that an overwhelming proportion of out-of-Hamilton GTHA journeys go to neighbouring Halton Region. Peel Region, the next closest to Hamilton, is a distant second in terms of Hamilton journey destinations, followed by the City of Toronto with its large concentration of activities. The low proportion of journeys to York and especially Durham, which is at the other extremity of the GTHA, confirms the overlapping of Hamilton external bubbles with the closest metropolitan region quadrant.

Table 1: Destinations of Journeys from GTHA Regions and Single Tier Municipalities, Percent of All Journeys 24 Hours, from 1986 to 2016*

From	То	2016	2011	2006	2001	1996	1986
City of Hamilton	City of Hamilton	82.28	83.92	85.16	87.57	87.46	92.32
	City of Toronto	1.68	1.37	1.33	1.38	1.32	1.18
	Rest of GTHA	9.95	9.22	8.36	8.26	7.80	6.49
City of Toronto	City of Toronto	81.36	81.62	81.78	82.34	83.56	87.36
	Rest of GTHA	17.70	17.55	17.34	16.81	15.64	12.64
Durham Region	Durham Region	81.04	83.09	83.74	83.02	83.61	87.16
	City of Toronto	11.57	10.53	10.13	10.62	10.95	10.00
	Rest of GTHA	5.19	4.60	4.14	4.36	3.65	2.84
York Region	York Region	69.25	70.34	68.36	66.82	65.02	63.10
	City of Toronto	21.61	21.34	23.16	24.55	26.89	31.40
	Rest of GTHA	3.27	6.20	6.18	6.32	5.76	5.50
Peel Region	Peel Region	74.14	76.27	75.67	74.73	72.86	73.29
	City of Toronto	13.23	12.62	13.47	14.84	17.40	19.97
	Rest of GTHA	10.24	8.87	8.66	8.72	7.78	6.75
Halton Region	Halton Region	70.43	71.75	72.15	71.67	72.83	52.79
	City of Toronto	5.39	5.57	5.34	5.92	5.96	3.84
	Rest of GTHA	20.29	19.38	19.66	20.06	18.56	10.87

Source: Malatest (2018) *Note that the sum of percentages does not amount to 100 because the denominator used to calculate the percentages included journeys with a destination outside the GTHA, which are not listed in the table.

Table 2 All Journeys (24 Hours) from the City of Hamilton to GTHA Regions and the City of Toronto

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Upper Tier	Number of Hamilton	Percent of all Hamilton
Jurisdiction	Journeys to GTHA	Journeys to GTHA
City of Toronto	17,500	14.44
Durham	900	0.74
Region		
York Region	3,400	2.81
Peel Region	19,500	16.01
Halton Region	79,900	65.92
Total	121,700	100

Source: Malatest (2018)

Migration Patterns

The City of Hamilton migration profile is shaped by its location within the GTHA. There is first the attraction of migrants to the GTHA, which can be expected to benefit the City of Hamilton. Another impact has to do with migration movements within the GTHA, driven by the combination of suburban dynamics and residential price gradients.

Table 3 presents the origin of migrants to the City of Hamilton. It shows that 56 percent of migrants come from outside the GTHA. From these statistics, one could easily conclude that its presence within the GTHA enhances the appeal of Hamilton for different categories of migrants. But comparing Hamilton to three self-standing Southern Ontario industrial cities and to the Toronto CMA (covering most of the GTHA) paints a different picture.

Table 4 fails to detect a City of Hamilton GTHA-related migration advantage relative to the CMAs of London, Windsor, St.

Catharines-Niagara and Toronto. While the Hamilton proportion of migrants relative to population is close to that of Windsor, but lower in the case of external migrants, it is less in all categories compared to London. Migration is much lower in Hamilton than it is in St. Catharines-Niagara, but higher in the case of external migrants. Overall, there is thus no evidence of a GTHA effect conferring a migration advantage to Hamilton relative to these three self-standing industrial cities. The comparison with Toronto CMA points to lagging migration in Hamilton relative to the remainder of the GTHA. If the level of internal migration to the City of Hamilton and Toronto CMA is equivalent, that of external migration is proportionally twice as high in Toronto than in Hamilton.

The GTHA is the source of 44 percent of the migration to Hamilton, hence effects on this city of GTHA-wide urban structure and residential trends. The foremost influence on Hamilton comes from immigration from GTHA suburban regions, which has risen 54.5 percent between 2001-06 and 2011-16. The accelerating growth of suburban GTHA migration is further evidence of the absorption of Hamilton into the GTHA suburban realm.

Returning to Table 3 statistics, they confirm the influence on migration of the intra-GTHA proximity principle, identified in the case of journey patterns. Most of the GTHA migration to Hamilton (70.28%) comes from its two closest suburban region neighbours, Halton and Peel. The quadrant-based dynamics shaping GTHA journey patterns are thus mirrored by residential migration. Table 3 data also highlight

the relatively minor contribution of the City of Toronto to Hamilton migration trends. While representing half of the population of the GTHA (excluding the City of Hamilton), Toronto accounts for only 23.45 percent of the GTHA migration to Hamilton. The low Toronto percentage is further confirmation of the predominantly suburban origin of GTHA migration to Hamilton. This is especially the case since these City of Toronto data pertain to this jurisdiction as a whole, wherein approximately two-thirds of its residents live in a post-1946 suburban-like urban form.

The suburban predominance of the Hamilton migration is also expressed at the receiving end of the phenomenon. Sectors of this city with a suburban configuration (defined as parts of the City of Hamilton other than the West End, Central, Downtown and Central East districts) is where 69 percent of migrants to Hamilton settle.

A large measure of equivalence between suburban areas, a function of their standardized housing formulas, similar zoning and comparable accessibility to routine activities, facilitates migration from one suburb to another. By comparison, residing in an inner-city neighbourhood makes it harder to find an equivalent residential area. If living in suburban Hamilton is largely comparable to residing elsewhere in the GTHA suburban realm, the same cannot be said about living in inner-city Hamilton relative to inner-city Toronto.

Hamilton does not have the animated commercial streets found in most Toronto inner-city neighbourhoods.

The main force that propels migration within the GTHA is the cost of housing. Even though the vast majority of journeys in suburban areas take place within above-described inner bubbles and quadrants of large metropolitan regions, those metros with strong centres, such as central Toronto in the GTHA, generate residential value gradients. The appeal of central Toronto translates in residential value peaks at the core, with distance-decay descending slopes. Notwithstanding the predominance of suburb-to-suburb journeys, the number of metropolitan core destination trips and the prestige and uniqueness within the region of centrally located activities account for residential value gradients. Easy reach of the concentration of employment, institutions, services, cultural events, entertainment of central Toronto translates into a housing price premium. It follows that Hamilton migration trends are at the confluence of two opposite phenomena. There is first suburban equivalence reflected in the two concentric journey patterns – the ten-to-fifteen-minute drive bubble and, beyond this, reliance on a quadrant of the metro. The second phenomenon is the distance decay effect of the metropolitan core on residential values.

Table 3: Origins of Migration in Hamilton, 2011-2016

					Percent of Total Migration to Hamilton
Ontario				45610	69.93
	GTHA (excluding Hamilton)			28700	44.00
		City of Toronto		6730	10.32
		GTA Suburban Regions		21970	33.69
			Halton	13610	20.87
			Peel	6560	10.06
	Outer Ring of GGH			11025	16.90
	Rest of Ontario			3805	5.83
Interprovincial				4460	6.84
International				15150	23.23
Total Migration to Hamilton				65220	100.00

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 census

Table 4: Origins of Migrants to the City of Hamilton and Selected Ontario CMAs, 2011-2016

	City of H	amilton	London	СМА	Windsor	СМА	St. Catharines Niagara CMA		Toronto C	MA
		Percent of		Percent of		Percent of		Percent of		Percent of
		Population		Population		Population		Population		Population
Population	536917	100	494070	100	329144	100	406074	100	5928040	100
Migrants	65820	12.26	72285	14.63	41990	12.76	64995	16.01	967975	16.33
Internal Migrants (from Canada)	50675	9.44	54155	10.96	30095	9.14	56910	14.01	577355	9.74
External Migrants (from outside Canada)	15150	2.82	18130	3.67	11900	3.62	8090	1.99	390620	6.59

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 census

Hamilton is part of the GTHA's residential price leap frogging. Prices are generally lower in Hamilton because it is at the edge of this region. Two high housing cost Hamilton districts, Flamborough and Ancaster, do stand out on Table 5, however. It is relevant that both these districts are mostly composed of recently built, single-family homes (the most expensive form of housing) and well connected to expressways and thus to the GTHA. Ancaster is also where, among the listed areas, home prices have most increased, along with the recently built detached-housing subdivision of Glanbrook. Other Hamilton districts, where the housing stock is more mixed, register lower prices than western GTHA municipalities (Burlington, Oakville and Mississauga) whose housing is also diversified, but which are closer to Toronto.

We can assume that the more housing prices escalate, the more intense is migration towards the less costly GTHA periphery. The impact on Hamilton would then be a rise in housing values and increasing population. But the residential leap frogging fuelled by the housing price gradient does not stop at the boundary of the GTHA. Higher housing prices is a factor in the relocation of Hamilton residents to close-by out-of-GTHA urban areas^{lxxii}. Hence the negative migration balance sheet between Hamilton and Kitchener, Brantford and St. Catharines-Niagara CMAs observed on Table 6. Hamilton is thus one stage in a multi-stage housing-price-driven population redistribution process across and beyond the GTHA.

Table 5: Price of Housing Units Sold in Different Sectors of Hamilton and in Surrounding Municipalities, May 2021

Municipality	Sector	Average Cost of Sold	% Change in Cost
		Units	Over One Year
Hamilton	Flamborough	1,154,000	37.8
	Ancaster	1,186,000	47
	Hamilton Mountain	736,000	31.3
	Hamilton East	622,000	34.1
	Stoney Creek	835,000	28.4
	Glanbrook	918,000	47.7
	Hamilton West	686,000	29.5
	Hamilton Centre	566,000	30.1
	Dundas	971,000	24.1
Burlington		1,035,000	17.9
Oakville		1,476,000	33.8
Mississauga		1,064,000	33.6

Source: WOWA (June 4th 2021) Toronto Housing Market Report. wowa.ca/toronto-housing-market

Table 6: Hamilton 2016-20, Total Out-Migration, Ontario and Three Most Important Urban Destinations

Destination of Out-Migration	Out-Migrants	Net Migration to and from
		Hamilton
Ontario	20295	22807
Kitchener CMA	3251	-872
Brantford CMA	4908	-2748
St. Catharines-Niagara CMA	7894	-3117

Source: Statistics Canada, 2016 census

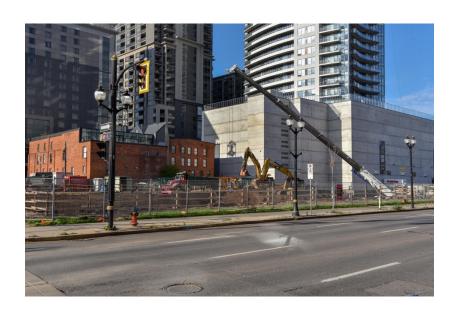
Conclusion

The chapter has interpreted migration to the City of Hamilton through the lens of three urban dynamics operating at different scales: 1) the suburbanization phenomenon producing urban form and accessibility equivalence; 2) the absorption of the City of Hamilton within the suburban realm of the GTHA; 3) the effect of GTHA-wide housing price gradients on migration within this region.

We have seen that while not advantaged from a migration perspective relative to other places by its presence within the GTHA, migration to the City of Hamilton is nonetheless shaped by GTHA dynamics. Hamilton migration is at the confluence of two apparently

opposite tendencies. There is the suburban nature of Hamilton-bound GTHA migration, which means moving from and to places which, by virtue of the dispersion of activities, enjoy comparable accessibility within 10-to-15-minute drive bubbles and, beyond this, within quadrants of large metropolitan regions. The proximity effect of suburban journeys is mirrored by migration. Most GTHA resettlement to Hamilton indeed originates from nearby suburban regions. Paradoxically, the force driving the mostly suburban patterns of Hamilton migration stems from the strength of the Toronto core area within the GTHA. Centralization indeed fosters a residential price gradient, which fuels migration towards the periphery of the region and beyond.

8. Conclusions, recommendations, and future research





The situation since 2016

We will need to wait until the results of the 2021 Census are published to understand how the trends and patterns we have identified in this report have evolved since 2016. Fine-grained data about those who moved between 2016-2021 will only be available in 2023. However, Statistics Canada publishes annual aggregate in and out-migration numbers in the years following the most-recent census. The table below outlines these trends with regard to Hamilton. It is important to note that this is only available at the CMA (or in some cases CA) level, meaning that some intra-provincial migration to the City of Hamilton

(such as from Burlington) is lost because both are part of the same CMA. By far the biggest source of inward migration between 2016 and 2019 was from the Toronto CMA, which includes the City of Toronto, Peel and York Regions, and parts of Halton (Oakville, Milton) and Durham Regions. Each year, between 13,941 and 14,569 people moved from the Toronto CMA to the Hamilton CMA (including Burlington and Grimsby). This was more than double the number who moved in the other direction, leading to annual net levels of migration to the Hamilton CMA of 7,257 and 7,813. This data does not include any information about origin cities or destination neighbourhoods.

Hamilton Census Metropolitan Area: In- and Out-Migration Totals for Select Ontario CMAs / CAs, 2016-19

		In-Migration			Out-Migratio	n		Net Migration	1	Total Not Missachia
Origin / Destination	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	Total Net Migration
Toronto (CMA)	14,592	13,941	14,569	6,779	6,684	6,832	7,813	7,257	7,737	22,807
Oshawa (CMA)	215	241	223	184	153	161	31	88	62	181
Sudbury (CMA), Thunder Bay (CMA), Sault Ste. Marie (CA)	195	186	167	189	179	171	6	7	-4	9
Barrie (CMA), Orillia (CA)	190	189	168	192	190	215	-2	-1	-47	-50
Peterborough (CMA)	81	58	69	65	98	102	16	-40	-33	-57
Ingersoll (CA)	12	9	13	26	30	44	-14	-21	-31	-66
Collingwood (CA)	21	24	23	64	52	44	-43	-28	-21	-92
North Bay (CA)	57	58	56	109	90	71	-52	-32	-15	-99
Tillsonburg (CA)	11	19	12	54	60	45	-43	-41	-33	-117
Kingston (CMA)	106	90	118	175	151	123	-69	-61	-5	-135
Windsor (CMA), Sarnia (CA), Chatham-Kent (CA)	304	371	306	349	390	394	-45	-19	-88	-152
Woodstock (CA)	78	29	61	156	96	113	-78	-67	-52	-197
Guelph (CMA)	358	339	408	531	436	460	-173	-97	-52	-322
London (CMA)	443	361	454	633	672	541	-190	-311	-87	-588
Ottawa - Gatineau (CMA)*	318	293	296	529	525	615	-211	-232	-319	-762
Kitchener - Cambridge - Waterloo (CMA)	732	738	909	1,134	1,107	1,010	-402	-369	-101	-872
Norfolk (CA)	190	180	152	467	560	483	-277	-380	-331	-988
Brantford (CMA)	717	712	731	1,733	1,625	1,550	-1,016	-913	-819	-2,748
St. Catharines - Niagara (CMA)	1,650	1,622	1,507	2,794	2,635	2,467	-1,144	-1,013	-960	-3,117
Area Outside Ontario CMAs and CAs	1,778	1,634	1,656	3,170	3,427	3,225	-1,392	-1,793	-1,569	-4,754

^{*} Ontario part only

However, it is evident that migration from the GTA remains the biggest source of new residents to Hamilton. Given the population sizes of both CMAs, as well as their physical proximity, it is also logical that these flows constitute the largest intra-provincial movements to and from Hamilton.

The table also shows where people from Hamilton have been moving to within the province, something our customized data sets from the 2006 and 2016 Census did not include. The first thing that

becomes clear is that between 2016 – 2019, Hamilton has lost more residents than it has gained from most other parts of the province. This includes other large and mid-sized cities in Ontario, such as Ottawa, Kitchener-Waterloo-Cambridge, and London. It also includes many places west of Hamilton (or further from Toronto) that are still within commuting distance back to Hamilton, such as Brantford, St. Catharines, and Norfolk. Finally, the Hamilton CMA loses more people to small towns and rural parts of the province than it gains. Between

2016-2019, total net outmigration to non-CMA or CA parts of the province amounted to 4,754 people.

These trends suggest a ripple effect and patterns similar to the relationship between Toronto and Hamilton: people leave Hamilton in search of more affordable housing options in communities further afield. With only three years' worth of data, it is difficult to see long-term trends and to disassociate them with year-to-year fluctuations. However, the relationship between Toronto and Hamilton, and Hamilton and some of its hinterland to the west appear similar and are likely to be interconnected. However, more research is needed (including interviews or surveys with ex-Hamiltonians who have moved to places such as Brantford or Niagara) in order to fully understand these trends.

Discussion and Recommendations

This last point relates to one of our key recommendations: the need to move beyond anecdotes and employ a variety of research methods (data analysis, surveys, interviews) in order to empirically ground our understanding of the migration patterns to (and from) Hamilton. Moving to Hamilton is both one of the most hotly discussed and empirically empty planning topics in southern Ontario. This report is a first step in this regard in that we have provided concrete numbers to debates that are largely driven by anecdotes. Importantly, this report has been able to go beyond the big picture data to identify specific municipalities within the Greater Toronto Area where people are

moving from, and neighbourhoods within the City of Hamilton where inbound migrants are moving to.

In our report, we have also been cautious in our assessment of what these patterns mean for processes of neighbourhood change in different parts of the city. While there appears to be strong correlations within the Lower City between neighbourhoods where migrants originating from the City of Toronto are moving to and recent patterns of gentrification, the numbers we have presented, in and of themselves, do not prove causality. Further research, including interviews, or an analysis of *who* is moving to Hamilton (demographics, income, education, occupation) could shed more light on this. This report is intended to enhance our understanding of the spatial patterns of migration to Hamilton, but any assessment of the role that this migration plays in shaping socioeconomic patterns within Hamilton will require further investigation.

The dominant migration pattern that we have found in our analysis of intra-provincial migration to Hamilton is the one that is most overlooked: suburban to suburban migration. As we stated at the outset, the anecdotes that have driven debates about Hamilton's relationship to Toronto have primarily been framed within an urban context: people priced out of downtown Toronto neighbourhoods who find new opportunities within the Lower City of Hamilton, both of which share similar urban forms, land use, density, and aesthetic patterns. This is definitely happening (though we cannot be sure of exactly where within the City of Toronto new Hamilton residents have moved from). The City of Toronto to City of Hamilton migration patterns show

distinct patterns involving several clusters of Lower Hamilton neighbourhoods. However, when compared with overall GTA or GGH to Hamilton trends, the number of people moving to areas in and around downtown Hamilton are small, and did not grow particularly rapidly between 2006 and 2016. These flows were certainly not the dominant 'moving to Hamilton' trends.

This is because the story of Toronto to Hamilton migration is primarily a suburban one that, as Pierre Filion outlined, sees Hamilton's rapidly growing suburbs increasingly becoming part of the Toronto commuter shed and part of the solution for GTA households, particularly from the western quadrant, when searching for more affordable housing options. Like Hamilton, the Toronto Region is primarily suburban, rather than urban, so it is no surprise that much of the migration from the GTA emerges from its suburbs and settles within outer parts of the City of Hamilton. The one exception to this is the city's first phase of postwar, automobile-oriented suburbs on the Mountain. In line with other trends across Canada and beyond, these neighbourhoods are starting to see processes of downgrading, as they possess neither the aesthetics and walkability of prewar neighbourhoods, nor the newness of outer ring suburbs.

It is in the outer suburbs where much of the Toronto to Hamilton migration takes place. Over the past two decades, much of this growth has been in newly-constructed, sprawling and automobile-oriented communities. However, these patterns are likely to change in the years ahead as Hamilton City Council made the decision to stop urban growth boundary expansion and concentrate growth within

existing urban areas. This poses both challenges and opportunities. For those households looking for this type of lifestyle and housing type, there will be fewer options within the City of Hamilton. Within the outer suburbs of the city, this decision means moving away from low-density subdivisions towards denser forms of housing, a trend that was already evident in some recent developments.

This also requires utilizing vacant land across the city in order to meet population growth in a compact and sustainable way. Fortunately, a group of grassroots volunteers has been developing a map that identifies vacant and under-utilized spaces across the city that can meet growth targets for the next 30 years. Importantly, this group has identified sites in all areas of Hamilton meaning that new inmigrants to Hamilton will still have a range of housing choices and neighbourhood typologies to choose from. What this decision means for shifts in the proportion of migrants that settle in the outer suburbs, Mountain and Lower City remains to be seen.

Hamilton is not alone in having urban growth boundaries that limit sprawl and encourage more intensification within existing urban areas. In 2009, the Region of Waterloo enacted the Countryside Line, an urban growth boundary around its three cities and some towns and villages as well. Faced with a development model that saw 65% of new residential units constructed on greenfield sites that encroached on productive and culturally-important rural areas, the Countryside Line and the region's LRT, which opened in 2019, have worked hand-in-hand to reverse these trends. Today, the majority of new residential growth takes place within existing urban areas, and a large percentage

of this is along the LRT corridor. This, in turn, poses its own set of new challenges, specifically that much of the housing that has been built does not meet the housing needs of families, or households with low or, increasingly, moderate incomes^{lxxiv}. To avoid similar problems in Hamilton, the city will need to be proactive in shaping not only where growth takes place, but what kind of housing gets built and for whom.

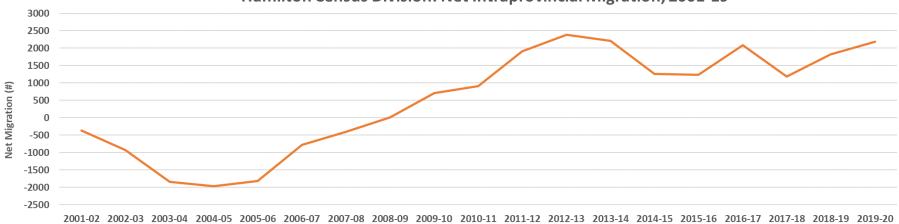
Future Research

This report sheds important light on migration patterns between Toronto and Hamilton. It has provided numbers behind the anecdotes that both reinforce and challenge the preconceived ideas about moving to Hamilton. However, numbers do not tell the whole story; simply looking at migration data, even at a fine-grained scale as we have done, tells us nothing about who is moving to Hamilton, why they have moved or their levels of satisfaction with life in Hamilton. Parallel to this report, qualitative interviews with some of the people who have moved from the Toronto Region to Hamilton will shed more light on this. This is also important when considering the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on intra-provincial migration patterns. We are likely to see an uptick in the number of households leaving big cities in 2020-2021. However, even if these numbers show larger numbers of migration to Hamilton, or other mid-sized cities and smaller communities, important questions remain: what role (if any) did the pandemic play in these relocation decisions? Did the decision to leave big cities emerge during the pandemic, or were households already contemplating this move prior to 2020? Did the pandemic accelerate

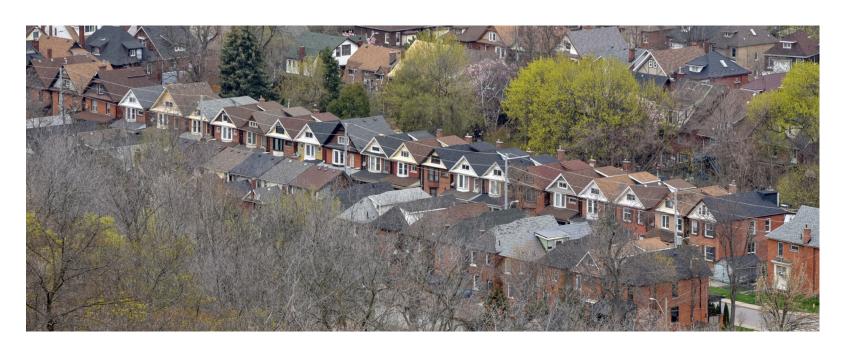
the decision to move, or did it create a new desire to move away from Toronto? These are questions that numbers alone cannot answer, so we will need to involve other methodologies in order to assess what role the pandemic plays in any increase in migration away from big cities. The latest Census provided a snapshot of Canada on 11 May 2021. The long form question of 'where did you live one year ago' will provide some insights into residential mobility during the pandemic and the same question we have analysed (where did you live five years ago) will update these trends. When this data becomes available, we will commission another custom dataset to provide detailed analysis and maps of the trends between 2016 and 2021. It is clear that migration from the Toronto Region to Hamilton is the major driver of population growth in Hamilton and that this trend long predates the pandemic. This is a multidimensional story, but one that is increasingly of Hamilton's suburbs becoming more and more connected to the GTA, as one of North America's largest urban regions sprawls further outward, incorporating more and more places into its orbit. While some residents from the City of Toronto move to downtown Hamilton (and are likely influencing patterns of neighbourhood change there), this is by no means the only, or even dominant spatial pattern. Plannings and policymakers need to move beyond these anecdotes when planning for growth and change and acknowledge that moving from Toronto to Hamilton is far more of a suburban story than an urban one.

Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes





---Net Intraprovincial Migration

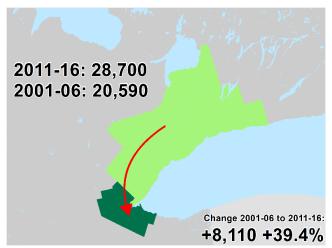


9. Detailed breakdown of intra-provincial migration by place of origin

The final section of the report provides the detailed and fine-grained data on intra-provincial migration to Hamilton, from various points of origin throughout Ontario. It details migration to Hamilton from the following locations:

- Greater Toronto Area
- City of Toronto
- The 905 (Halton, Peel, York, and Durham Regions)
- Halton Region
- City of Burlington
- Town of Oakville
- Town of Milton
- Peel Region
- City of Mississauga
- City of Brampton
- York Region
- Durham Region
- Outer Ring of the Greater Golden Horseshoe
- Niagara Region
- Region of Waterloo
- Wellington County
- County of Brant
- Haldimand County
- The Rest of Ontario

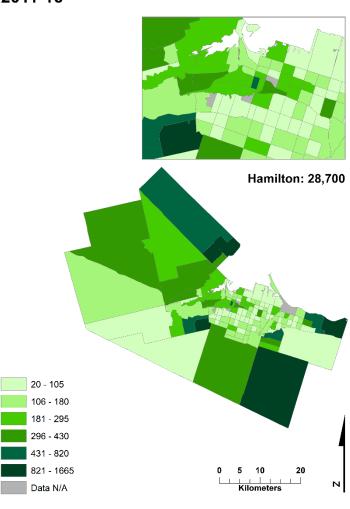
Each origin location is briefly introduced and contextualized, with the general migration trends to Hamilton between 2001-2006 and 2011-2016 outlined and mapped. For each, the share of migrants to the three parts of Hamilton (Lower City, Mountain, Suburbs) are also presented in context with the population share of those three parts of the city. Location Quotient maps helps to contextualize in which neighbourhoods greater proportions of migrants from each origin area are settling. Finally, the top ten Census Tracts for in-bound migration between 2011 and 2016 are mapped, with a table providing some socioeconomic and demographic information about these areas. Some origin locations are included in multiple sections; for example, Mississauga is part of Peel Region, which is part of both the 905 and the GTA.

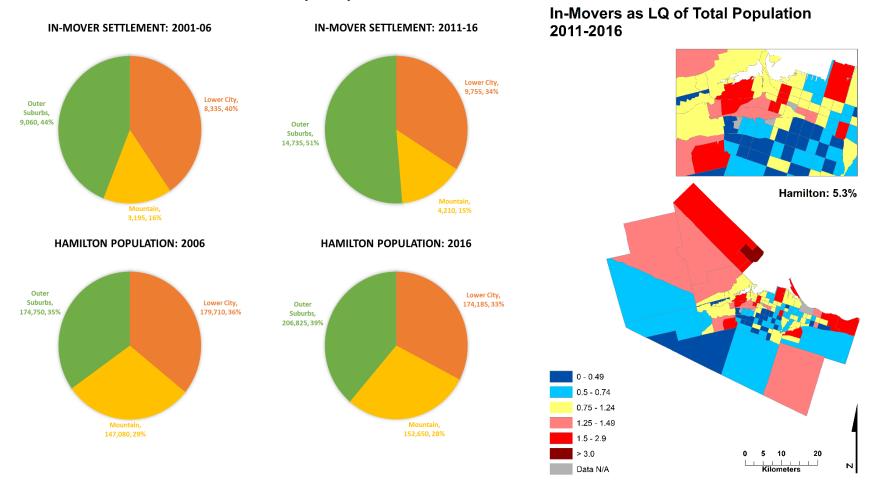


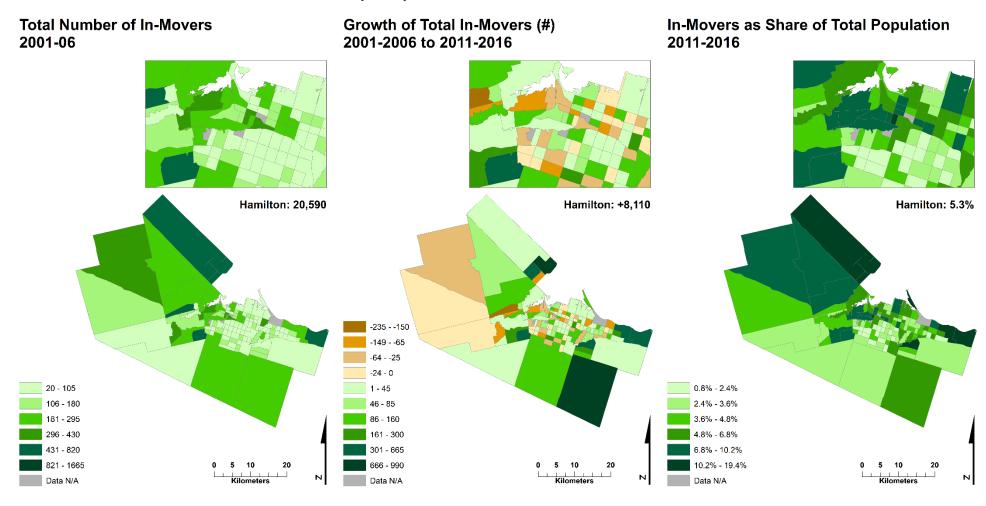
The Greater Toronto Area (GTA) consists of the City of Toronto, as well as Durham, York, Peel and Halton Regions and is the largest urban region in Canada. In 2016, its population was 6,417,516. Later in this section, we will break down migration from different parts of the GTA, but it is worth beginning with an overview of inward migration from this region as a whole. Moving from various parts of the GTA to Hamilton has long been a trend; over 20,000 people made this move between 2001 and 2006 and a decade later, almost 29,000 people left the GTA to reside in Hamilton over a five-year period. This represents a 39.4% increase in migration levels. In the 2016 Census, 5.3% of Hamilton residents lived in the GTA in 2018, constituting a sizable share of the city's population.

The geography of where in-migrants from the GTA have settled is highly uneven. Between 2011-16, the Outer Suburbs of Hamilton were the destination for 51% of GTA migrants, despite comprising only 39% of the city's population. This is up from 44% of migrants settling in the Outer Suburbs between 2001-06, suggesting an increase in suburbanization of migration from the GTA. In parts of Flamborough, between 15-20% of residents moved from the GTA between 2011-16. There are also clusters in Ancaster and Stoney Creek, both of which are close to highways that connect Hamilton with the GTA. There are also small pockets of areas with high percentages of migrants from the GTA within Lower Hamilton, particularly north and west of downtown, however, only one Census Tract ranks in the top ten for in-bound migration.

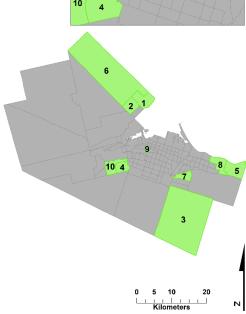
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16





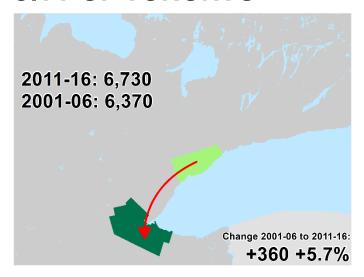






				To	tal In-Movers	+ Population	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent I	Moves: Total	+ Population	n Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	:	011-16	200	1-06		-06 to	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpr	ovincial	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	1665	19.3	765	11.1	900	117.6	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
2	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	1195	15.8	560	10.4	635	113.4	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
3	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	1190	6.8	200	3.5	990	495.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
4	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	1130	8.7	555	7.8	575	103.6	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
5	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	1100	11.3	680	10.7	420	61.8	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
6	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	820	11.5	815	10.8	5	0.6	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
7	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	725	11.4	60	1.5	665	1108.3	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
8	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	610	14.8	210	7.4	400	190.5	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
9	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City Down	ntown 585	11.4	425	8.3	160	37.6	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7
10	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	555	7.2	255	3.6	300	117.6	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
	Hamilton			28.70	5.3	20.590	4.1	8.110	39.4	536.920	3.2	113.675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0

					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutir	g, 2016			Demographi	ic + Socioecoi	nomic, 2016	i	
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average Hi	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
2	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
5	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
6	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
7	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
8	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
9	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
10	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775	

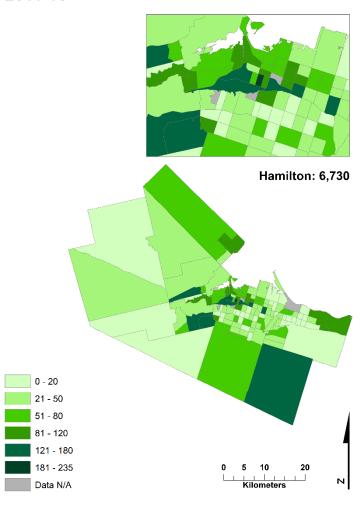


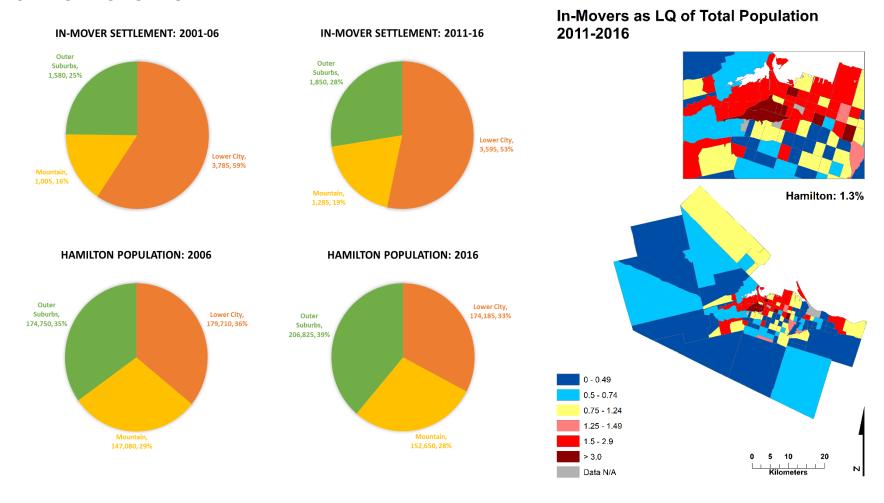
The City of Toronto is Canada's largest city, with a population of 2,731,570 in the 2016 Census. Between 2011-16, 6,730 people moved from Toronto to Hamilton, the second highest figure of any city (CSD) in the province, behind only Burlington at 8,365. Migration from Toronto to Hamilton increased by 360 people, or 5.7% between 2001-06 and 2011-16. This growth was far lower than the suburban municipalities in the rest of the GTA, or other cities, counties, and regions within the Greater Golden Horseshoe.

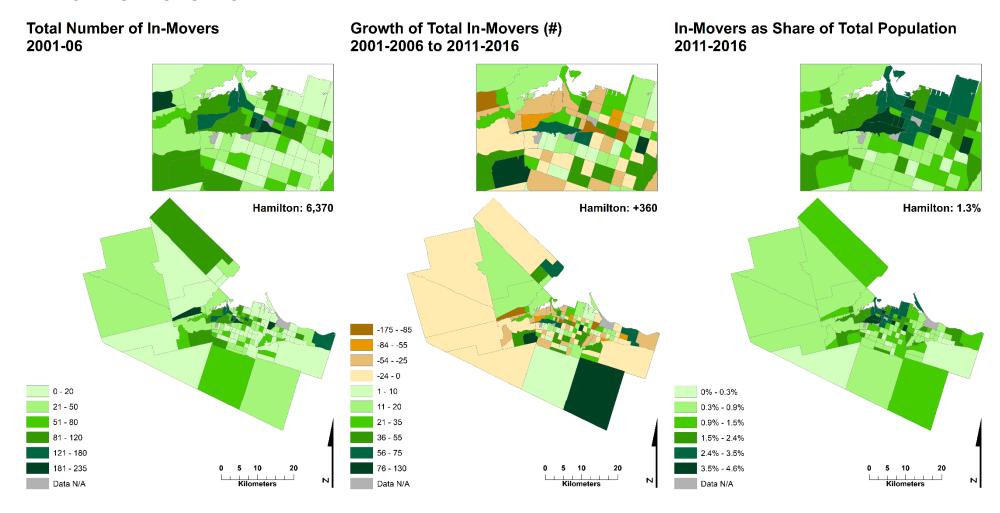
In the 2016 Census, 1.3% of Hamilton's population resided within the City of Toronto five years earlier. More than half of all those who moved from Toronto to Hamilton have settled in the Lower City, although this figure declined somewhat over the two census periods from 59% to 53%. Like other points of origin, those moving from Toronto largely settle in the Lower City or the suburbs, with only 19% moving to the Mountain between 2011-16. Within the Lower City, clusters of ex-Torontonians can be found towards the base of the Mountain, especially on the west side, as well as neighbourhoods near Hamilton's two GO train stations. Small pockets can also be found in older communities such as Ancaster and Dundas, and in newly-constructed suburbs near the city's edge.

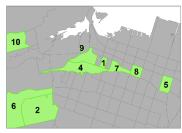
Because of the range of neighbourhoods spread throughout much of the city, the top ten destination neighbourhoods had owner-occupied, household income, education and visible minority rates both above and below the city's average. Three neighbourhoods, all within the Lower City, had higher than average percentages of low-income population.

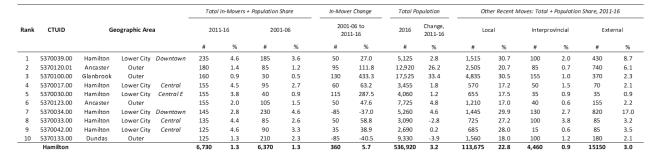
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

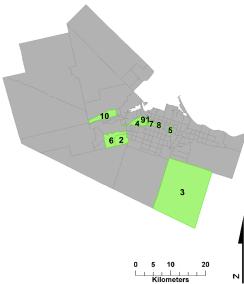






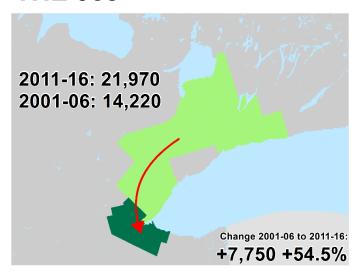






					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	· Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
2	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370017.00	1308.7	83.7	69.1	78.6	1.8	640,358	1.5	71.2	77.8	40.8	2.5	66.4	10.1	5.5	154,358	1.8
5	5370030.00	3866.7	85.9	88.0	92.3	0.0	352,509	0.8	68.7	81.5	40.1	2.5	24.1	7.8	8.8	85,466	1.0
6	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
7	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5
8	5370033.00	4414.3	48.5	43.8	85.1	0.0	367,766	0.9	69.3	67.4	39.1	2.4	21.5	14.4	25.6	62,014	0.7
9	5370042.00	1781.5	59.9	58.0	76.4	0.0	411,958	1.0	68.1	70.2	41.4	2.2	42.0	8.5	12.2	76,960	0.9
10	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775	

'THE 905'

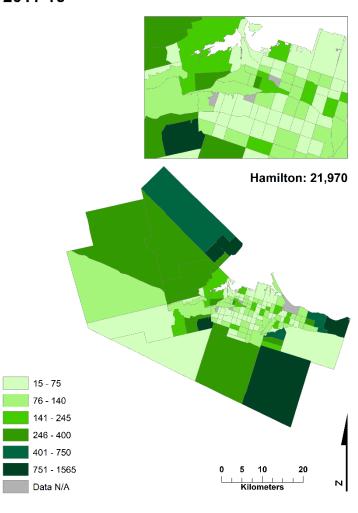


The 905 region consists of the four regions surrounding the City of Toronto, that is, the GTA without Toronto. This includes Peel, York, Halton, and Durham Regions, which in the 2016 Census, had a combined population of 3,685,945, a sum greater than the City of Toronto. While small towns and villages existed within these regions before World War II, 'the 905' is largely the product of post-war suburban and automobile-oriented expansion. Unlike the core of the City of Toronto or Lower Hamilton, there are few large areas of pre-war housing, with their associated mixed use and denser urban form.

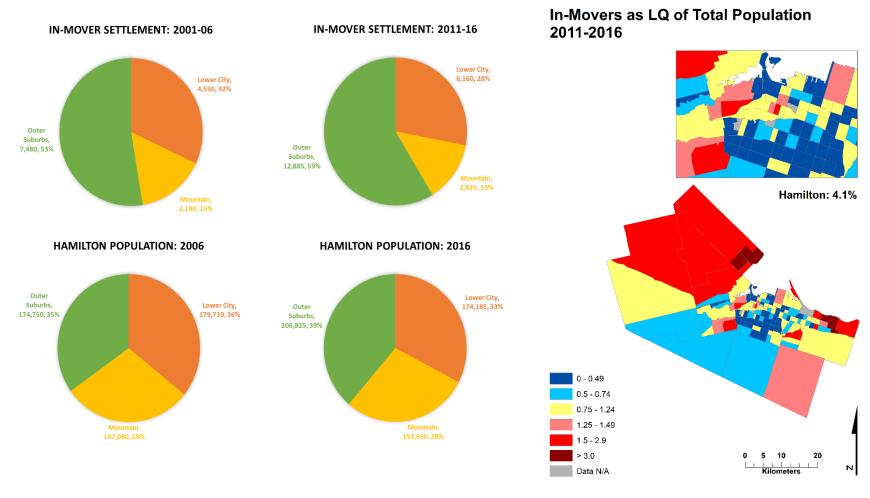
Apart from the GTA as a whole, the 905 is the largest source of inward migration to Hamilton. It is also growing at a rapid rate; between 2001-06 and 2011-16, this migration flow increased by 54.5%, or an additional 7,750 people. As subsequent sections describe in more detail, the overwhelming majority of these migrants moved from the western sections of the 905 (Halton and Peel Regions).

In many ways, settlement patterns within Hamilton are the opposite of Toronto's: the majority of arrivals from the 905 moved to suburban parts of Hamilton; between 2011-16, 59% settled in the suburbs and only 28% within the Lower City. The share moving to the Mountain was only 13%. None of the top 10 destination CTs were in the Lower City; hotspots in 2016 were around Flamborough and Waterdown, Stoney Creek, Glanbrook and Ancaster, all of which provide easy highway access to the 905. All the top-ten CTs had a greater proportion of owner-occupiers than the city's average, as well as greater than average home values.

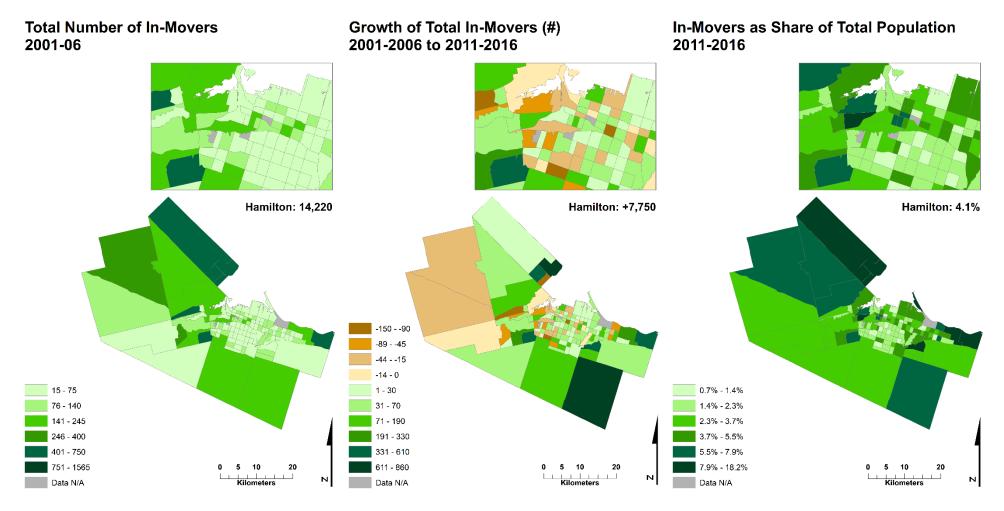
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16



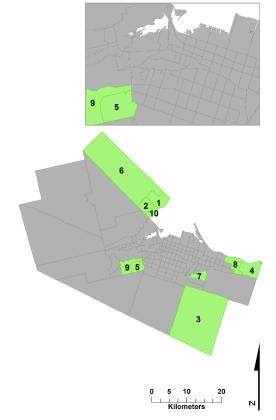
THE 905



THE 905

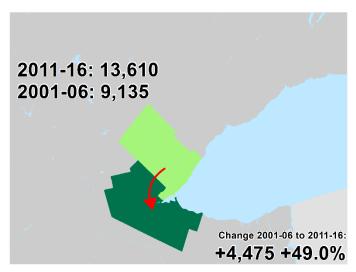


THE 905



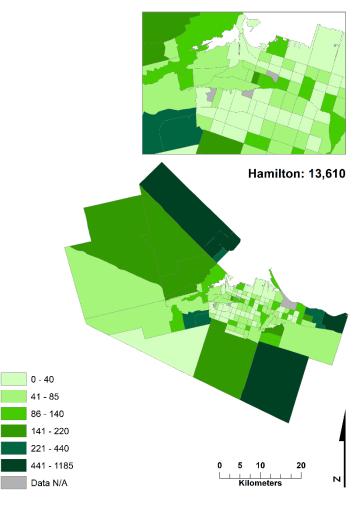
				Total	n-Movers	+ Population S	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total -	- Population	Share, 2011	-16
Rank	CTUID	Geo	graphic Area	2011	-16	200:	1-06		-06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovincial	Exte	ernal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	1565	18.2	725	10.6	840	115.9	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
2	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	1125	14.8	540	10.0	585	108.3	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
3	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	1030	5.9	170	3.0	860	505.9	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
4	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	1000	10.3	555	8.7	445	80.2	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
5	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	950	7.4	470	6.6	480	102.1	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
6	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	750	10.5	730	9.6	20	2.7	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
7	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	660	10.4	50	1.2	610	1220.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
8	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	515	12.5	185	6.5	330	178.4	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
9	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	400	5.2	150	2.1	250	166.7	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
10	5370140.04	Flamborough	Outer	395	10.9	485	13.7	-90	-18.6	3,635	4.3	540	15.3	25	0.7	40	1.1
	Hamilton			21,970	4.1	14,220	2.8	7,750	54.5	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

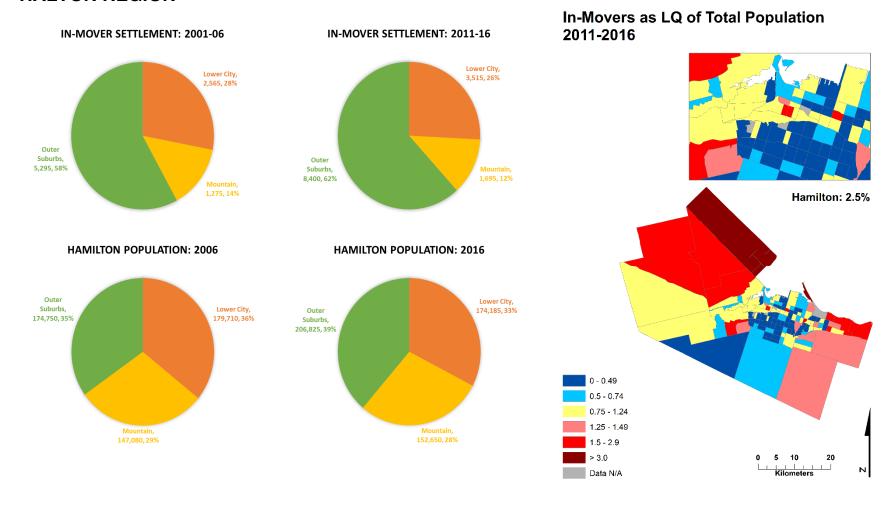
					Dwellin	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016	;	
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
2	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
5	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
6	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
7	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
8	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
9	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
10	5370140.04	1199.7	94.3	66.2	8.3	5.7	557,908	1.3	35.0	92.8	39.3	2.8	36.1	5.1	3.4	133,149	1.5
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87.775	

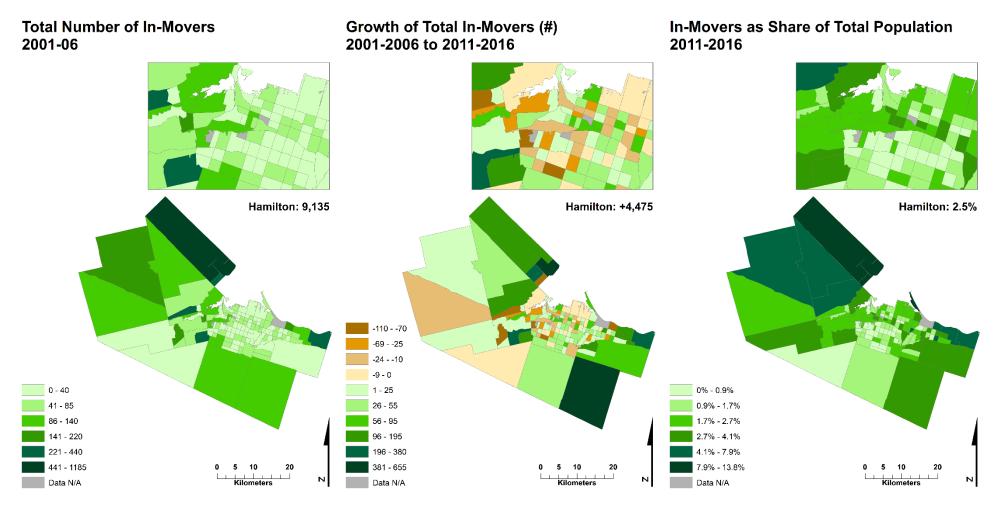


Halton Region comprises the City of Burlington, and the Towns of Oakville, Milton, and Halton Hills. Despite having a population of only 548,435 (the lowest level of any sub-area of the GTA), 2.5% of the City of Hamilton's 2016 population resided in Halton Region in 2011. Between 2011-16, 13,610 people moved from Halton to Hamilton, more than double the amount that moved from the City of Toronto. This constituted a 49% increase in migration between 2001-06 and 2011-16, a trend similar to other suburban areas on the western side of the GTA and GGH. 62% of this migration is to the suburbs of Hamilton, an even greater number than the 905 as a whole. Unsurprisingly, four of the top ten destination census tracts are within adjacent Flamborough, including around older villages such as Waterdown and in newly-built communities. None of the top ten destination CTs are either in the Lower City or on the Mountain and all had average household incomes of greater than \$100,000 (the City of Hamilton average in 2016 was \$87,775). As with the 905 overall, none of the top ten destination tracts had low-income percentages greater than the city's average

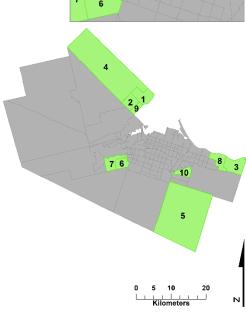
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16





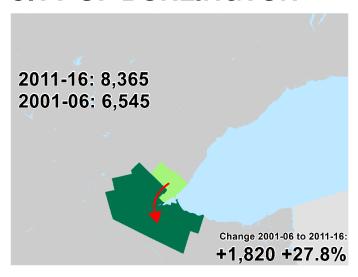






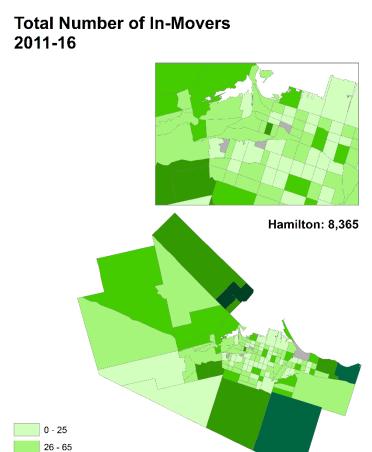
				Total	n-Movers	Population :	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	Aoves: Total -	- Population	n Share, 2011	-16
Rank	CTUID	Geo	graphic Area	2011	-16	200:	1-06		06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovincial	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	1185	13.8	530	7.7	655	123.6	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
2	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	840	11.1	460	8.5	380	82.6	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
3	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	650	6.7	380	6.0	270	71.1	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
4	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	630	8.9	525	6.9	105	20.0	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
5	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	605	3.5	130	2.3	475	365.4	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
6	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	440	3.4	320	4.5	120	37.5	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
7	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	310	4.0	85	1.2	225	264.7	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
8	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	295	7.2	140	5.0	155	110.7	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
9	5370140.04	Flamborough	Outer	290	8.0	400	11.3	-110	-27.5	3,635	4.3	540	15.3	25	0.7	40	1.1
10	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	220	3.5	25	0.6	195	780.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
	Hamilton			13,610	2.5	9,135	1.8	4,475	49.0	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average Hi	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
2	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
3	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
4	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
5	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
6	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
7	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
8	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
9	5370140.04	1199.7	94.3	66.2	8.3	5.7	557,908	1.3	35.0	92.8	39.3	2.8	36.1	5.1	3.4	133,149	1.5
10	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775	

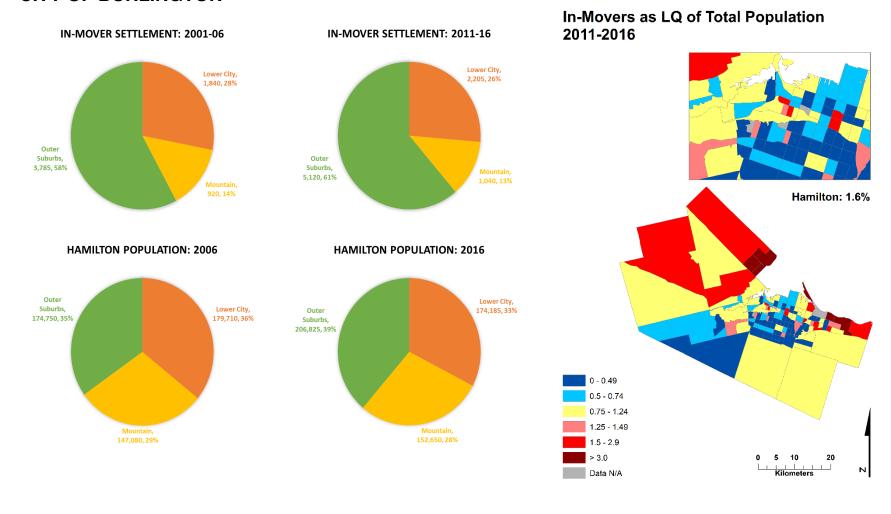


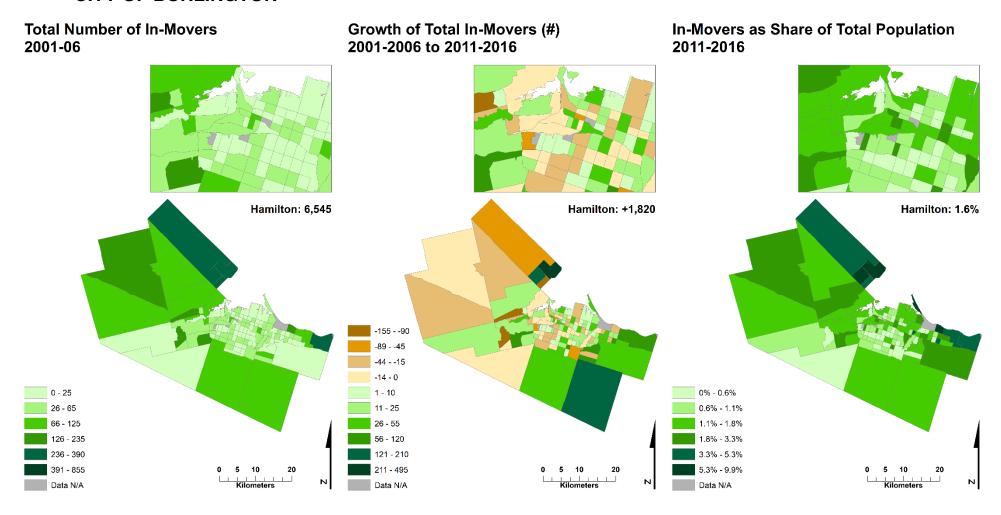
Situated within Halton Region, the City of Burlington had 183,315 inhabitants in 2016. 18.3% of all intra-provincial migrants between 2011-2016 originated from Burlington, a percentage greater than the City of Toronto.

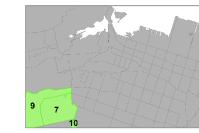
As 61.5% of migrants from Halton Region moved from Burlington between 2011-16, many of the migration trends noted in the previous section will apply to those moving specifically from Burlington as well. What is noteworthy is that of the three municipalities within Halton where data has been tabulated (Burlington, Oakville, Milton) the rate of growth from Burlington was slowest, at only 27.8%. While the greatest clusters can be found close to the Burlington border, or over the Skyway in Stoney Creek, other hotspot areas are in more rural parts of Flamborough.

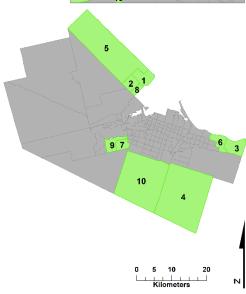


66 - 125 126 - 235 236 - 390 391 - 855 Data N/A



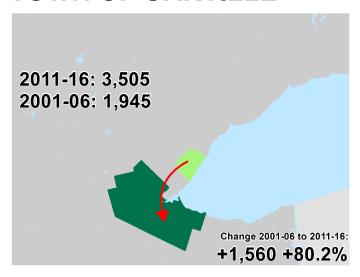






				Total	In-Movers	+ Population :	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	Noves: Total +	- Population	Share, 2011	16
Rank	CTUID	Geo	graphic Area	2011	-16	200:	1-06		-06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovindal	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	855	9.9	360	5.2	495	137.5	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
2	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	590	7.8	380	7.0	210	55.3	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
3	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	390	4.0	315	5.0	75	23.8	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
4	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	315	1.8	105	1.9	210	200.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
5	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	235	3.3	295	3.9	-60	-20.3	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
6	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	205	5.0	105	3.7	100	95.2	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
7	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	195	1.5	170	2.4	25	14.7	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
8	5370140.04	Flamborough	Outer	180	5.0	335	9.4	-155	-46.3	3,635	4.3	540	15.3	25	0.7	40	1.1
9	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	175	2.3	55	0.8	120	218.2	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
10	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer	155	1.3	110	1.1	45	40.9	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7
	Hamilton			8,365	1.6	6,545	1.3	1,820	27.8	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0

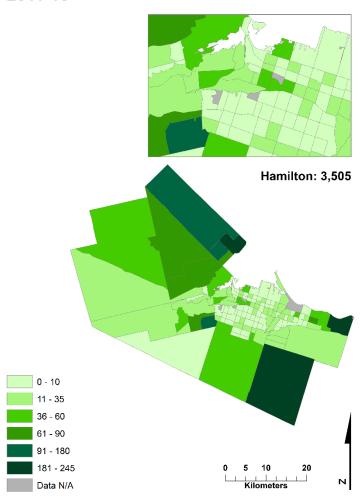
					Dwellin	gs, 2016			Commutin	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average Hi	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
2	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
3	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
4	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
5	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
6	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
7	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
8	5370140.04	1199.7	94.3	66.2	8.3	5.7	557,908	1.3	35.0	92.8	39.3	2.8	36.1	5.1	3.4	133,149	1.5
9	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
10	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87.775	



The Town of Oakville is situated along Lake Ontario within Halton Region. In the 2016 Census, it had a population of 193,830. Between 2001-6 and 2011-16, there was an 80.2% increase in the number of people who moved from Oakville to Hamilton. Between 2011-2016, that constituted 3,505 people, virtually the same as the number of people who moved from the City of Brampton and York and Durham Regions combined, emphasising the importance of the western quadrant of the GTA in terms of Hamilton-bound migration.

Neighbourhoods with Location Quotients of 1.5 and above can be found throughout much of the suburban parts of Hamilton, as well as in pockets of the Lower City, though this is still a predominantly suburban-to-suburban migration story, with the top ten destination CTs all within Hamilton's suburban areas.

Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

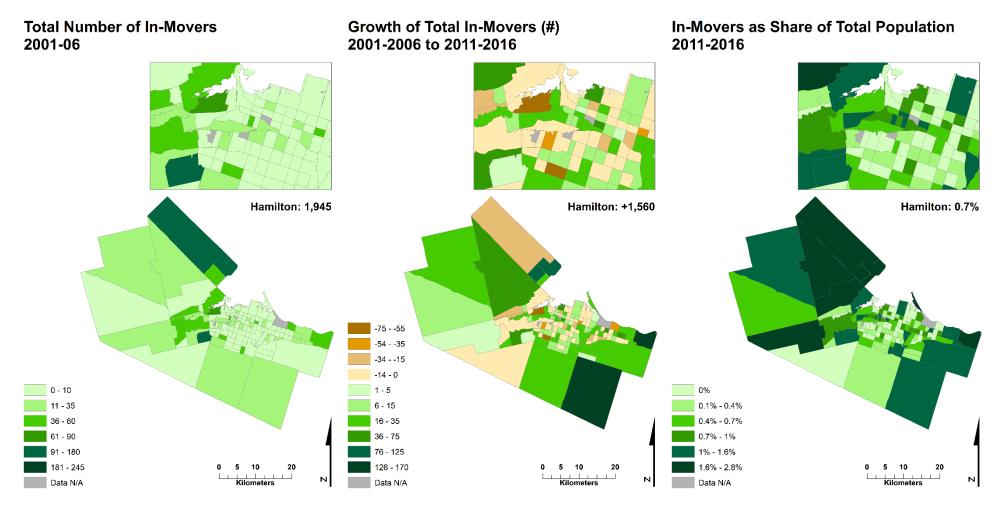


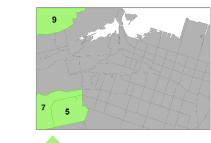
98

IN-MOVER SETTLEMENT: 2011-16 IN-MOVER SETTLEMENT: 2001-06 Lower City, Lower City, 535, 27% 960, 27% Outer Outer Hamilton: 0.7% Suburbs, Suburbs, 1,160,60% 2,125,61% 420, 12% **HAMILTON POPULATION: 2006 HAMILTON POPULATION: 2016** Outer Lower City, Suburbs, Lower City, Outer 174,185,33% 174,750,35% 179,710,36% Suburbs, 206,825,39% 0 - 0.49 0.5 - 0.74 0.75 - 1.24 1.25 - 1.49 1.5 - 2.9 > 3.0 Mountain, Data N/A 147,080,29% 152,650,28%

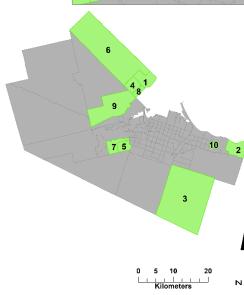
In-Movers as LQ of Total Population

2011-2016

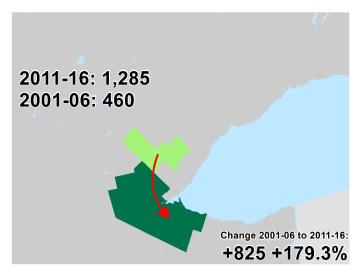




				Total	In-Movers +	Population S	hare	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	loves: Total +	Population	Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Geo	graphic Area	2011	-16	2001	-06	2001- 201		2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	vincial	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	245	2.8	120	1.7	125	104.2	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
2	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	225	2.3	55	0.9	170	309.1	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
3	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	195	1.1	25	0.4	170	680.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
4	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	180	2.4	55	1.0	125	227.3	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
5	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	145	1.1	140	2.0	5	3.6	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
6	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	135	1.9	160	2.1	-25	-15.6	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
7	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	90	1.2	30	0.4	60	200.0	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
8	5370140.04	Flamborough	Outer	80	2.2	55	1.6	25	45.5	3,635	4.3	540	15.3	25	0.7	40	1.1
9	5370141.00	Flamborough	Outer	75	1.9	0	0.0	75	0.0	3,995	-3.4	430	11.0	50	1.3	40	1.0
10	5370085.02	Stoney Creek	Outer	70	1.1	15	0.2	55	366.7	6,525	-1.7	1,070	17.2	40	0.6	100	1.6
	Hamilton		-	3,505	0.7	1,945	0.4	1,560	80.2	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0



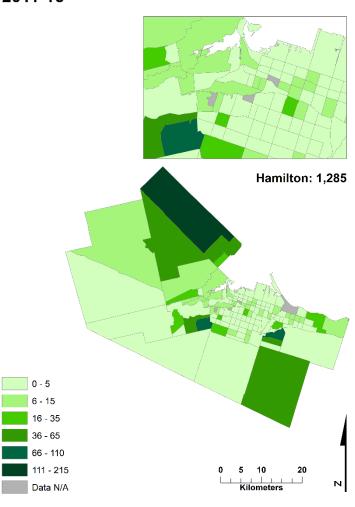
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016	i	
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
2	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
5	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
6	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
7	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
8	5370140.04	1199.7	94.3	66.2	8.3	5.7	557,908	1.3	35.0	92.8	39.3	2.8	36.1	5.1	3.4	133,149	1.5
9	5370141.00	105.3	94.2	93.4	46.3	2.0	656,105	1.5	61.7	92.4	43.9	2.7	32.9	6.2	6.3	145,195	1.7
10	5370085.02	3771.7	92.4	63.2	6.7	3.4	384,713	0.9	62.4	91.5	40.4	2.9	23.3	20.1	7.4	99,935	1.1
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87.775	

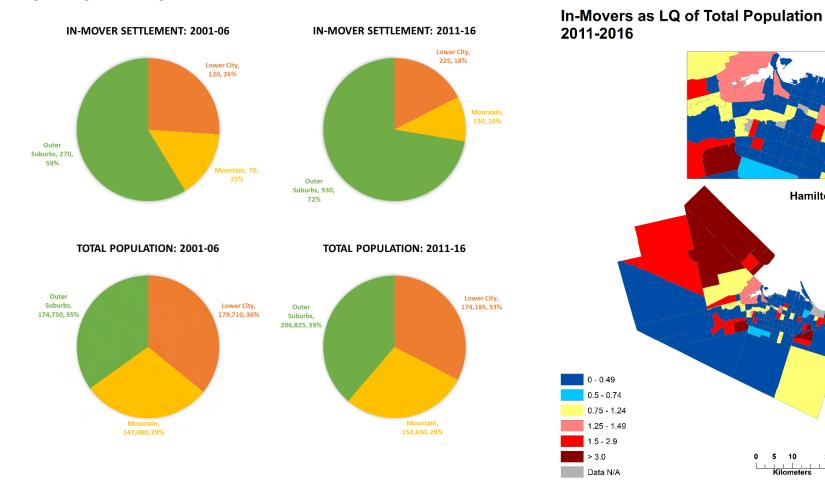


Of all the origin locations featured in this report, the Town of Milton saw the greatest percentage increase of Hamilton-bound migration between 2001-06 and 2011-16 at 179.3%. The Town of Milton is situated in Halton Region and is largely a product of suburban expansion since the early 2000s. Its 2016 population was 110,128, growing from 31,471 in 2001.

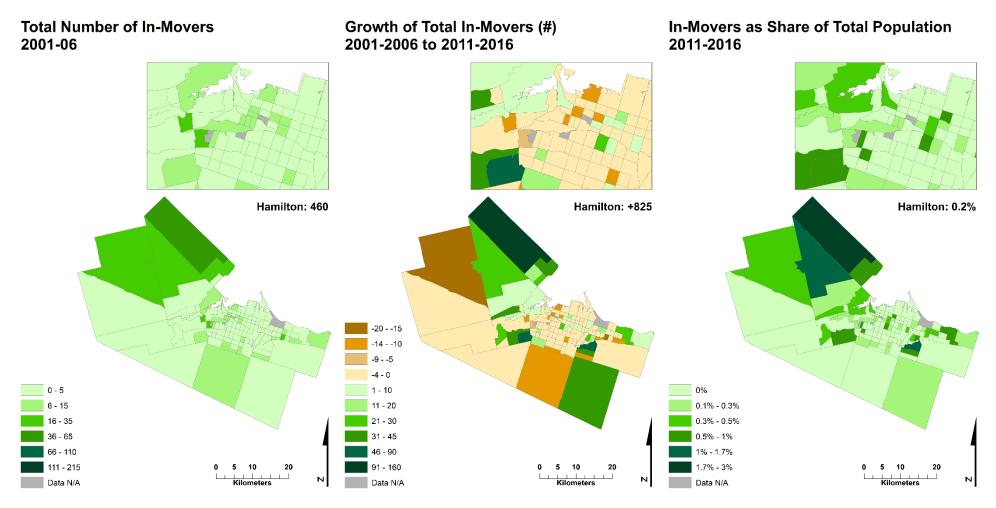
In 2006, many Hamilton CTs recorded no in-migration from Milton. In 2016, many still have numbers between 0-5, although a few small suburban clusters are evident. 72% of those who moved from Milton to Hamilton between 2011-2016 settled in suburban areas and all of the top ten destination CTs have above average incomes and rates of home ownership, and below average rates of low-income populations.

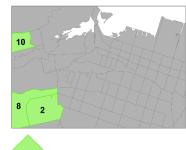
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

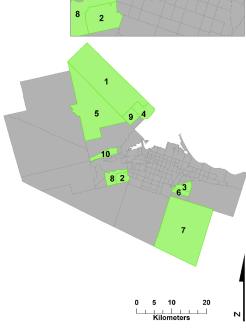




Hamilton: 0.2%



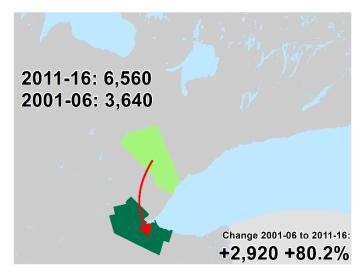




			Total I	Total In-Movers + Population Share				In-Mover Change		Total Population		Other Recent Moves: Total + Population Share, 2011-16					
Rank	CTUID	Geographic Area		2011	2011-16		2001-06		2001-06 to 2011-16		Change, 2011-16	Local		Interprovincial		External	
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer	215	3.0	55	0.7	160	290.9	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
2	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	100	0.8	10	0.1	90	900.0	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
3	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer	90	1.4	0	0.0	90	0.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
4	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer	65	0.8	25	0.4	40	160.0	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
5	5370143.00	Flamborough	Outer	65	1.7	35	0.9	30	85.7	3,835	1.4	410	11.3	30	0.8	0	0.0
6	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer	45	0.5	0	0.0	45	0.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0
7	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	45	0.3	0	0.0	45	0.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
8	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer	45	0.6	0	0.0	45	0.0	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2
9	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	40	0.5	25	0.5	15	60.0	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
10	5370133.00	Dundas	Outer	35	0.4	0	0.0	35	0.0	9,330	-3.9	1,560	18.0	100	1.2	180	2.1
	Hamilton			1,285	0.2	460	0.1	825	179.3	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

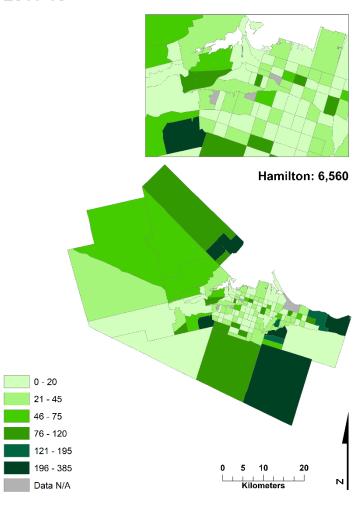
	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Dwellings, 2016						Commutii	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016						
Rank			Home- Owner %	Single- Detach %	Built Pre-1960 %	Built 2011-16 %	Average Value		Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Income	
							\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
2	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
3	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
4	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
5	5370143.00	49.0	87.7	95.6	30.1	1.1	613,024	1.4	49.1	93.5	41.4	2.9	20.0	2.6	7.2	119,753	1.4
6	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409,226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108,074	1.2
7	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
8	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8
9	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
10	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3
	Hamilton	4E1 6	67.6	E7 2	25.2	40	430 555		66.0	83.0	A1 3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	97 775	

REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEEL

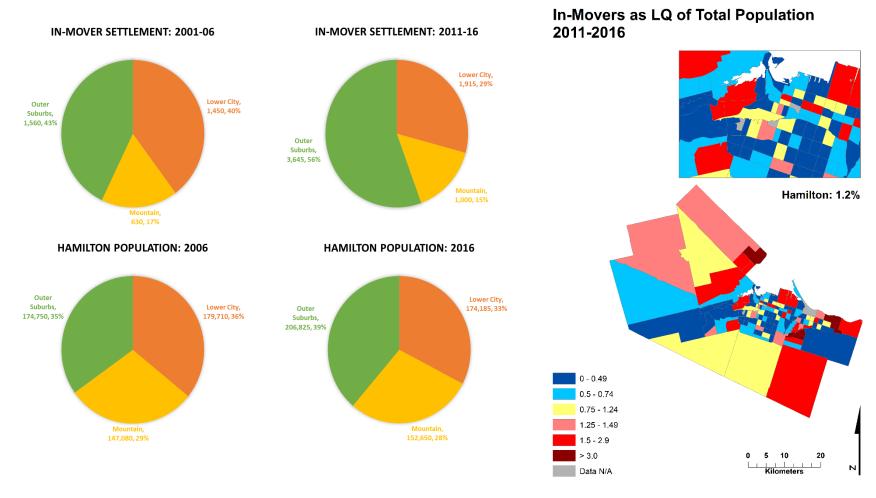


The Region of Peel consists of the cities of Mississauga and Brampton and the Town of Caledon and had a population of 1,381,739. In terms of population, it is the largest of the regional municipalities in the 905. Of these four regional municipalities, it had the second highest number of in-bound migrants to Hamilton in both the 2001-06 and 2011-16 periods, behind only Halton Region. However, the growth in migration to Hamilton was the highest within the 905. Like other suburban parts of the GTA, this migration to Hamilton is largely suburban in nature, with only one of the top-ten destinations found within the Lower City.

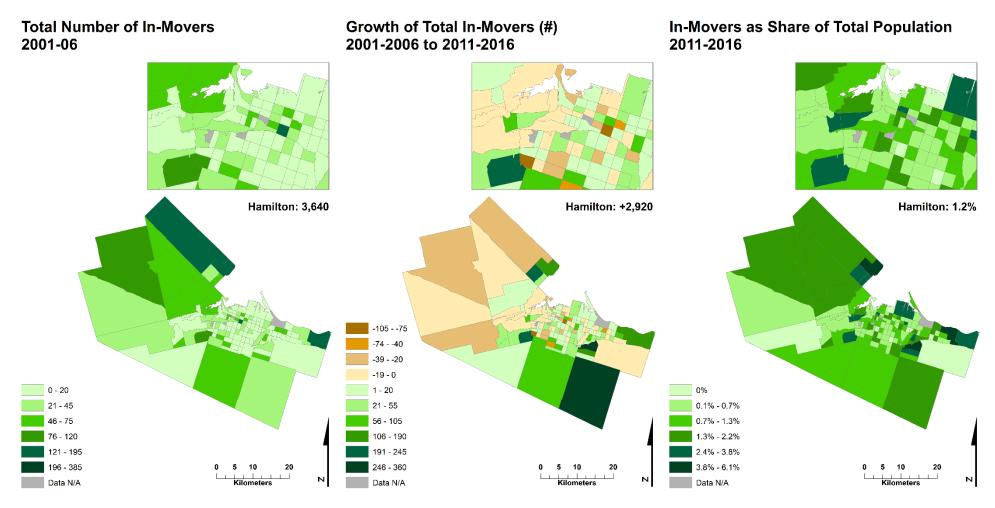
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16



REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEEL

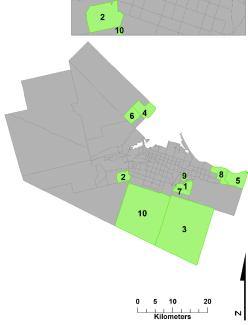


REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEEL



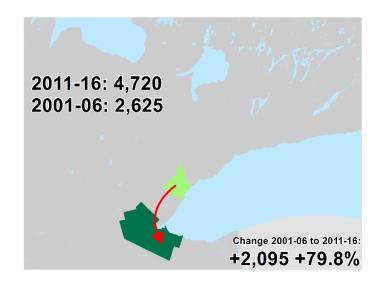
REGIONAL MUNICIPALITY OF PEEL





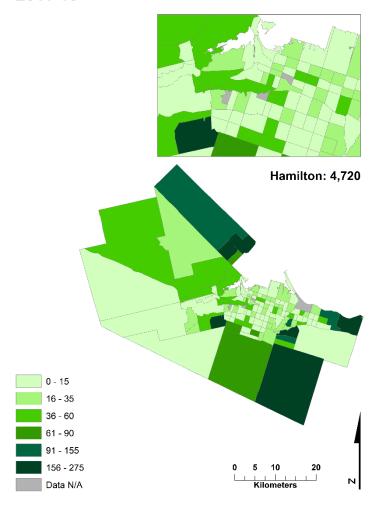
					Total	In-Movers -	Population S	hare	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	Aoves: Total -	- Population	Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	a	2011	l-16	2001	-06		-06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpre	ovincial	Exte	rnal
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		385	6.1	25	0.6	360	1440.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
2	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer		345	2.7	100	1.4	245	245.0	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
3	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		330	1.9	40	0.7	290	725.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
4	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer		330	3.8	140	2.0	190	135.7	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
5	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer		300	3.1	135	2.1	165	122.2	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
6	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer		265	3.5	40	0.7	225	562.5	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
7	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer		195	2.3	20	0.3	175	875.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0
8	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		190	4.6	45	1.6	145	322.2	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
9	5370026.06	Hamilton	Lower City	East End	160	2.9	55	1.0	105	190.9	5,435	-6.7	1,495	29.1	70	1.4	215	4.2
10	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer		120	1.0	55	0.6	65	118.2	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7
	Hamilton	-			6,425	1.2	3,640	0.7	2,920	80.2	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

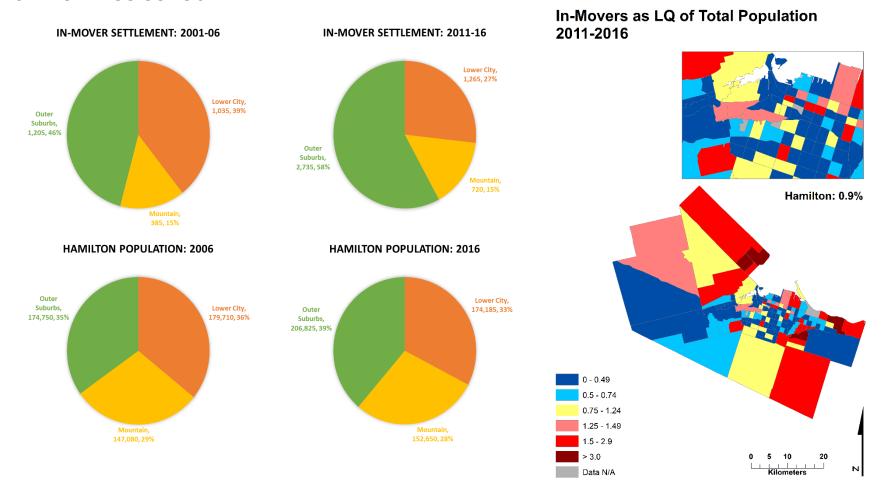
					Dwellin	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016	i	
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
2	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
5	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
6	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
7	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409,226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108,074	1.2
8	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
9	5370026.06	4645.3	55.1	11.4	7.8	0.7	253,383	0.6	69.8	82.5	37.2	2.6	14.3	24.4	20.3	69,366	0.8
10	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
	Hamilton	AE1 6	67.6	E7 2	25.2	40	420 EEE		66.0	92 N	A1 2	2 5	25.0	10.0	15.2	97 775	

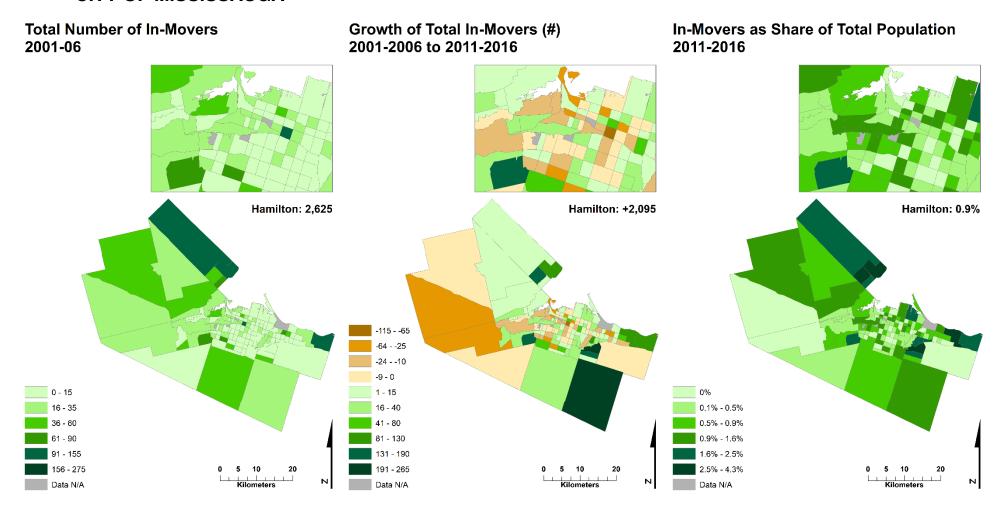


Mississauga is the sixth largest city in Canada, with a 2016 population of 721,599. Most intra-provincial migrants from Peel Region were from Mississauga and its rate of migration growth is similar to the region as a whole. Just under 1% of Hamilton's 2016 population resided in Mississauga in 2011.

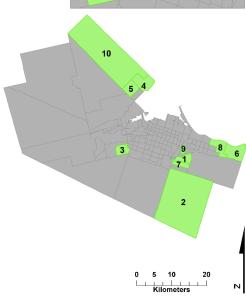
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16





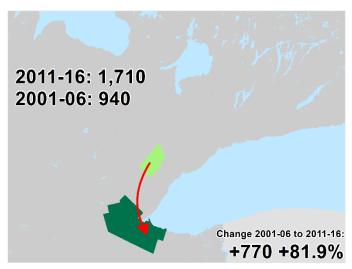




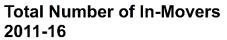


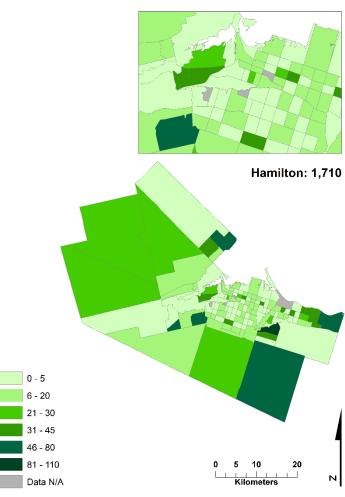
					Total	In-Movers -	Population S	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	Noves: Total -	- Population	n Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	a	2011	-16	200:	1-06		-06 to	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovincial	Exte	rnal
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		275	4.3	10	0.2	265	2650.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
2	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		265	1.5	20	0.4	245	1225.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
3	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer		255	2.0	90	1.3	165	183.3	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
4	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer		250	2.9	120	1.7	130	108.3	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
5	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer		230	3.0	40	0.7	190	475.0	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
6	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer		225	2.3	135	2.1	90	66.7	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
7	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer		155	1.9	10	0.1	145	1450.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0
8	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		145	3.5	25	0.9	120	480.0	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
9	5370026.06	Hamilton	Lower City	East End	135	2.5	25	0.4	110	440.0	5,435	-6.7	1,495	29.1	70	1.4	215	4.2
10	5370144.00	Flamborough	Outer		120	1.7	110	1.5	10	9.1	7,110	-1.3	585	8.8	65	1.0	40	0.6
	Hamilton				4.720	0.9	2.625	0.5	2.095	79.8	536.920	3.2	113.675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0

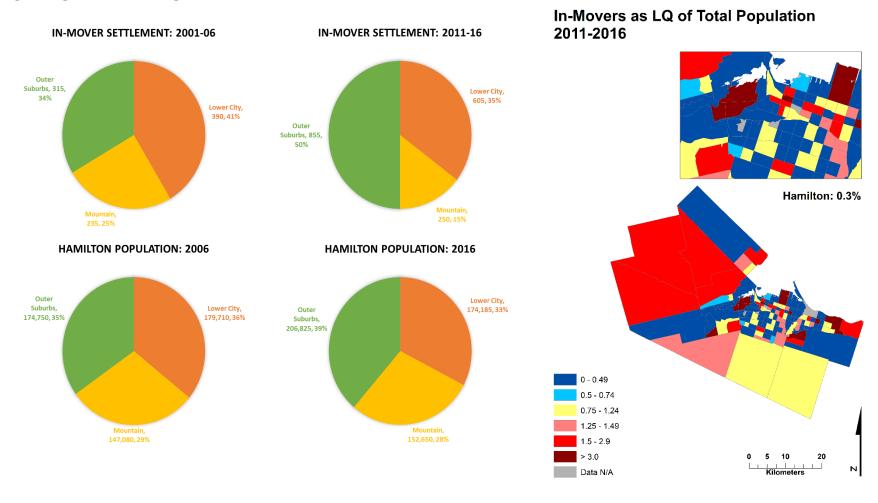
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioecoi	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
2	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
3	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
4	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
5	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
6	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
7	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409,226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108,074	1.2
8	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
9	5370026.06	4645.3	55.1	11.4	7.8	0.7	253,383	0.6	69.8	82.5	37.2	2.6	14.3	24.4	20.3	69,366	8.0
10	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430 555		66.9	83.0	41 3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87 775	

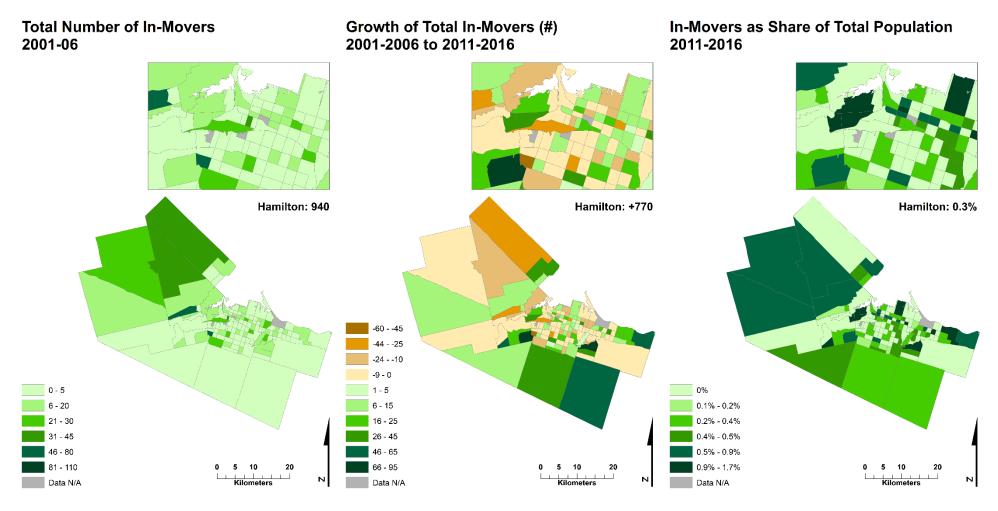


Brampton is situated to the north of Mississauga and contained 593,638 inhabitants in 2016. Again, migration patterns follow those of Peel region and although numbers are small, they increased by over 80% between 2001-06 and 2011-16. Of note was the fact that only half of this migration went to outer suburban parts of Hamilton, a percentage much lower than in other parts of the GTA. Three of the top ten destination Census Tracts were in the Lower City, including a small cluster around McMaster University.

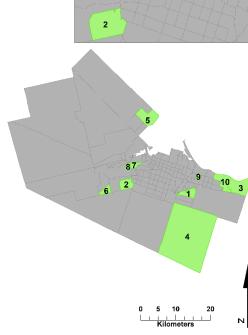






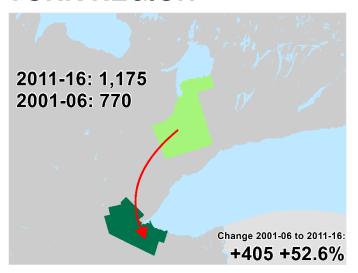






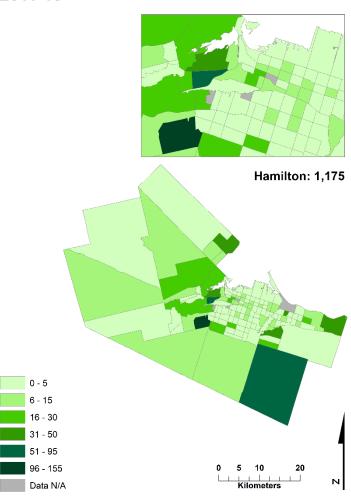
					Total	In-Movers +	Population :	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total +	Population	Share, 2011	16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	1	2011	-16	200	1-06		06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	vincial	Exter	rnal
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		110	1.7	15	0.4	95	633.3	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
2	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer		80	0.6	10	0.1	70	700.0	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
3	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer		65	0.7	0	0.0	65	0.0	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
4	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		65	0.4	0	0.0	65	0.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
5	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer		65	0.8	20	0.3	45	225.0	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
6	5370122.01	Ancaster	Outer		60	1.1	10	0.2	50	500.0	5,385	-3.5	890	17.6	55	1.1	95	1.9
7	5370043.00	Hamilton	Lower City	West End	45	1.3	15	0.4	30	200.0	3,590	-10.8	685	19.9	30	0.9	545	15.9
8	5370044.00	Hamilton	Lower City	West End	45	1.0	0	0.0	45	0.0	4,490	2.7	1,155	28.6	105	2.6	385	9.5
9	5370072.03	Hamilton	Lower City	East End	45	0.7	20	0.3	25	125.0	6,550	-7.7	1,505	24.5	50	0.8	845	13.8
10	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		45	1.1	20	0.7	25	125.0	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
	Hamilton				1,710	0.3	940	0.2	770	81.9	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

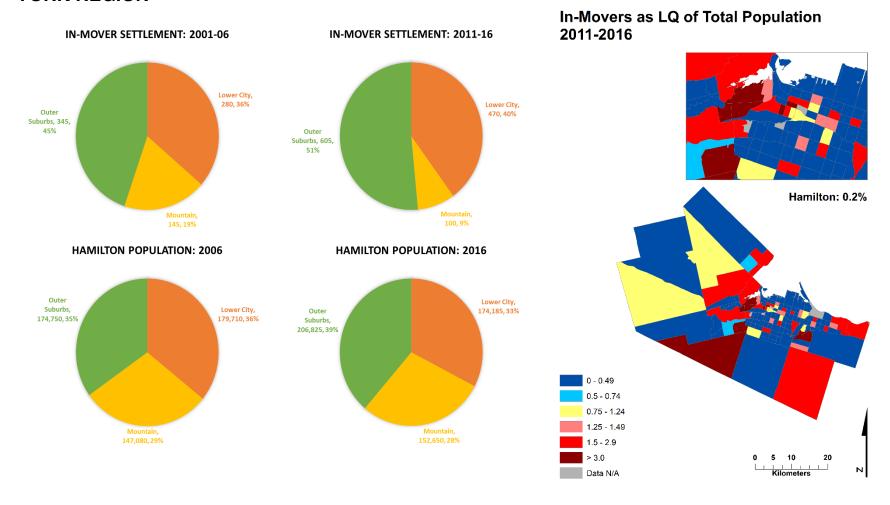
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016	i	
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HI	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
2	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
3	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
4	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
5	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
6	5370122.01	1902.8	94.7	71.0	11.6	2.5	514,776	1.2	64.7	94.1	40.3	2.7	43.6	11.9	5.2	127,524	1.5
7	5370043.00	1909.6	46.5	53.0	49.0	0.7	416,210	1.0	72.0	61.3	37.3	2.4	48.7	42.7	32.5	59,296	0.7
8	5370044.00	3870.7	30.2	14.8	31.3	0.0	307,547	0.7	76.1	71.4	44.1	1.9	35.9	26.1	25.7	53,114	0.6
9	5370072.03	9357.1	15.2	4.6	14.6	0.4	297,763	0.7	70.4	75.0	39.9	2.4	16.8	42.6	33.7	49,464	0.6
10	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87.775	

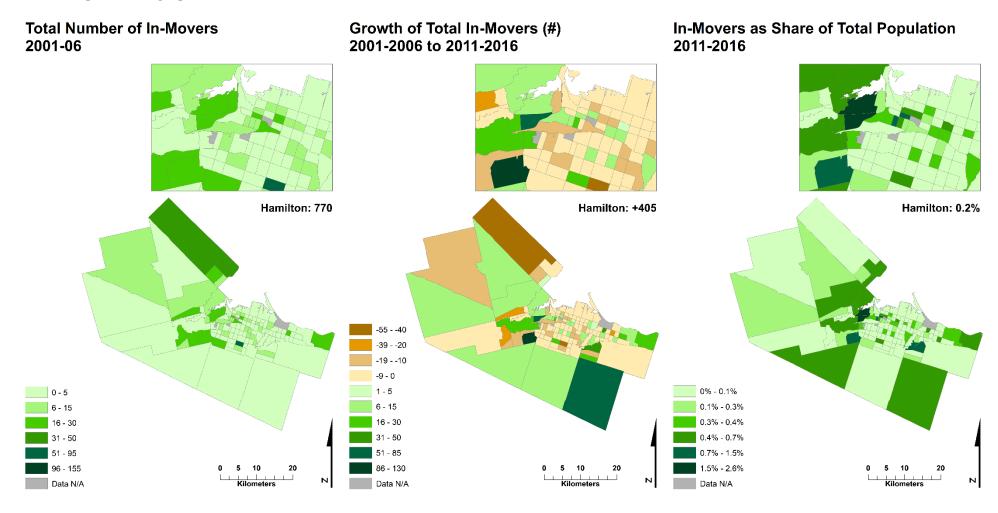


York Region is the second most populous of the four regional municipalities within the 905 and had a 2016 population of 1,109,909. It is situated north of Steeles Avenue, the northern boundary of the City of Toronto and extends to Lake Simcoe. It is largely suburban in character and also includes rural areas in its northern end. It includes the lower tier municipalities of the Cities of Vaughan, Markham and Richmond Hill, the Towns of Aurora, East Gwillimbury, Georgia, Newmarket and Whitchurch-Stouffville and the Township of King. Despite its size, migration numbers to Hamilton were smaller than both Brampton and Milton in the 2011-2016 period. Migration patterns are less centred on the Outer Suburbs and there are Census Tracts in all three parts of the city within the top ten destinations.

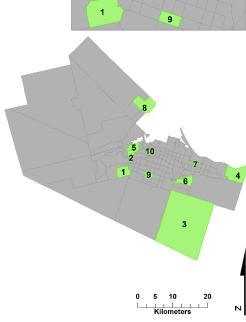
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16





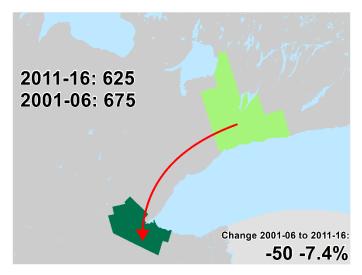






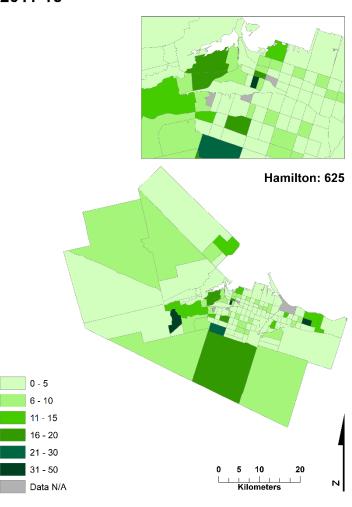
				_	Total	In-Movers +	Population :	Share	In-Mov	er Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total +	Population	Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CSD	Ge	ographic Are	a	2011	-16	200	1-06		1-06 to 11-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovincial	Exte	rnal
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer		155	1.2	25	0.4	130	520	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
2	5370043.00	Hamilton	Lower City	West End	95	2.6	25	0.7	70	280	3,590	-10.8	685	19.9	30	0.9	545	15.9
3	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		85	0.5	0	0.0	85	0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
4	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer		50	0.5	30	0.5	20	66.66667	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
5	5370045.00	Hamilton	Lower City	West End	45	1.5	30	0.9	15	50	2,935	-2.7	395	13.6	45	1.5	260	8.9
6	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		45	0.7	0	0.0	45	0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
7	5370072.03	Hamilton	Lower City	East End	35	0.5	0	0.0	35	0	6,550	-7.7	1,505	24.5	50	0.8	845	13.8
8	5370140.02	Flamborough	Outer		35	0.4	40	0.6	-5	-12.5	8,605	13.7	1,035	13.4	55	0.7	105	1.4
9	5370001.05	Hamilton	Mountain		30	0.6	0	0.0	30	0	5,345	12.2	1,330	27.3	55	1.1	100	2.1
10	5370037.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Downtown	30	1.2	20	0.8	10	50	2,585	4.7	730	29.6	75	3.0	295	11.9
	Hamilton				1,175	0.2	770	0.2	405	52.6	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0

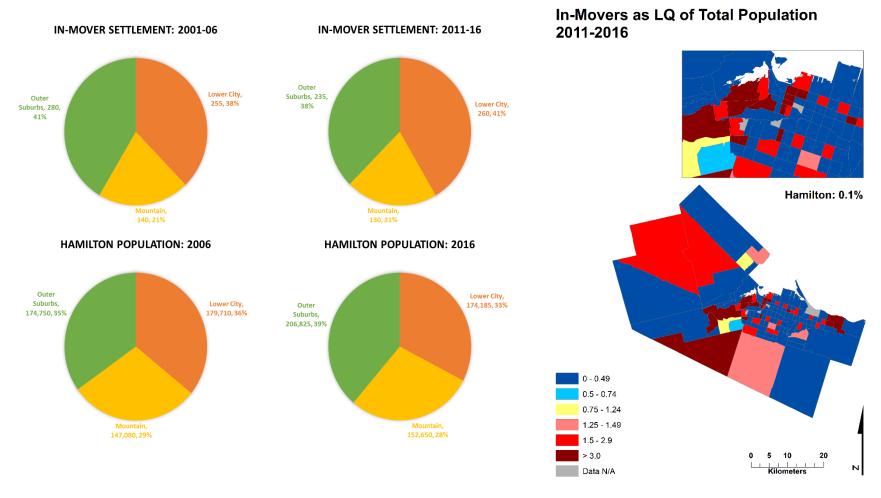
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CSD	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
2	5370043.00	1909.6	46.5	53.0	49.0	0.7	416,210	1.0	72.0	61.3	37.3	2.4	48.7	42.7	32.5	59,296	0.7
3	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
4	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
5	5370045.00	928.8	66.8	77.1	83.2	0.9	613,350	1.4	69.7	60.9	38.3	2.5	73.6	24.5	17.1	126,856	1.4
6	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
7	5370072.03	9357.1	15.2	4.6	14.6	0.4	297,763	0.7	70.4	75.0	39.9	2.4	16.8	42.6	33.7	49,464	0.6
8	5370140.02	842.0	78.5	61.6	17.2	14.1	578,962	1.3	34.2	90.6	39.1	2.8	34.7	12.5	7.5	120,971	1.4
9	5370001.05	3448.4	80.7	67.2	3.1	13.4	441,941	1.0	73.2	86.0	38.6	3.3	25.8	41.9	14.4	96,577	1.1
10	5370037.00	8078.1	19.8	1.3	28.9	3.9	254,236	0.6	72.6	52.2	46.8	1.3	35.7	33.9	51.5	35,781	0.4
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57 3	35.2	4.8	430 555		66.9	83.0	41 3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87 775	

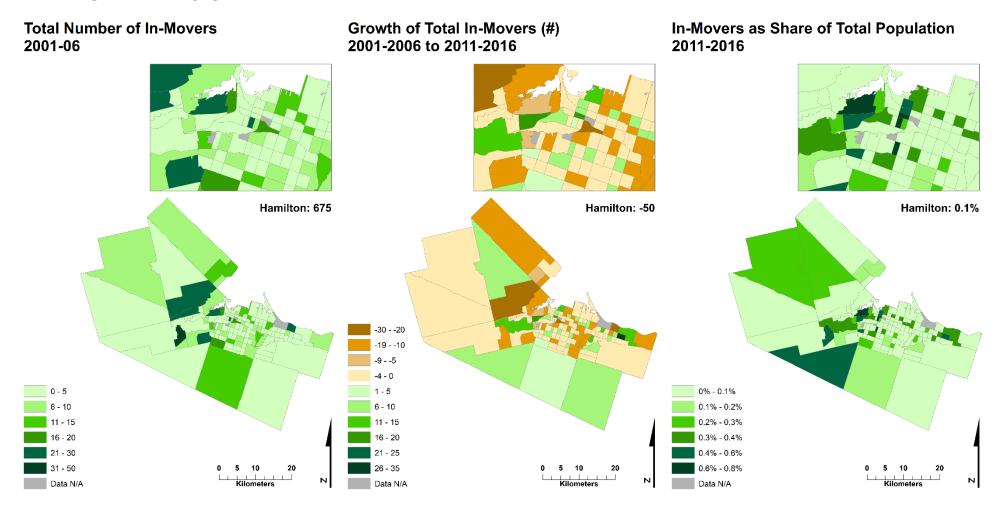


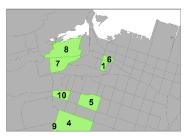
Durham Region is situated to the east of the City of Toronto and includes the Cities of Oshawa and Pickering, the Towns of Whitby and Ajax, the Municipality of Clarington and the Townships of Scugog, Uxbridge and Brock. It had a population of 645,862 in the 2016 Census. Its relative distance from Hamilton means that migration from here is very low, at only 625 between 2011-16 and 675 between 2001-2006. It is, however, the only part of the 905 where migration numbers fell between these two periods. Like York Region, there is a mix of destinations in the Lower City, Mountain, and Outer Suburbs among this small group of movers. Unlike in-movers from Halton and Peel Regions, there is also much greater diversity in terms of average income levels, rates of home ownership and visible minority populations in the top ten destination Census Tracts.

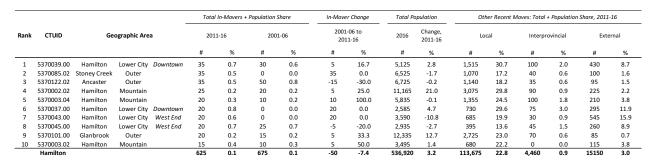
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

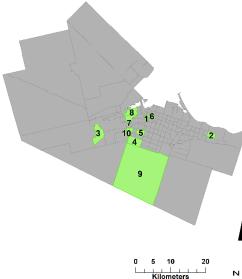






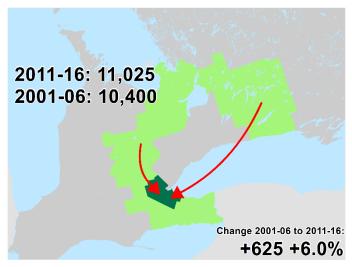






					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016			Demographi	ic + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
2	5370085.02	3771.7	92.4	63.2	6.7	3.4	384,713	0.9	62.4	91.5	40.4	2.9	23.3	20.1	7.4	99,935	1.1
3	5370122.02	1120.8	95.2	79.5	15.5	4.8	661,247	1.5	71.8	94.2	42.8	2.9	49.8	10.9	4.0	170,420	1.9
4	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2
5	5370003.04	3353.4	58.8	49.1	12.3	0.0	387,154	0.9	73.5	81.4	40.6	2.6	23.2	27.5	22.3	70,454	0.8
6	5370037.00	8078.1	19.8	1.3	28.9	3.9	254,236	0.6	72.6	52.2	46.8	1.3	35.7	33.9	51.5	35,781	0.4
7	5370043.00	1909.6	46.5	53.0	49.0	0.7	416,210	1.0	72.0	61.3	37.3	2.4	48.7	42.7	32.5	59,296	0.7
8	5370045.00	928.8	66.8	77.1	83.2	0.9	613,350	1.4	69.7	60.9	38.3	2.5	73.6	24.5	17.1	126,856	1.4
9	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
10	5370003.02	4017.2	65.3	27.4	3.8	0.0	325,319	0.8	70.9	86.6	46.6	2.7	24.8	22.0	11.7	79,572	0.9
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775	

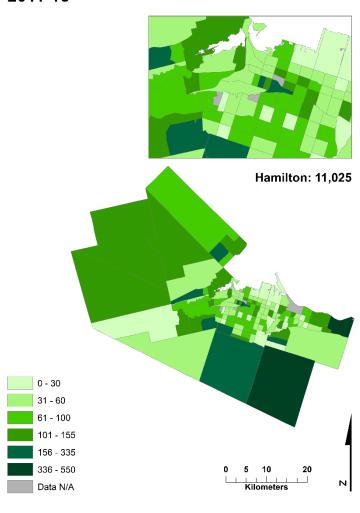
OUTER RING OF GREATER GOLDEN HORSESHOE (GGH)



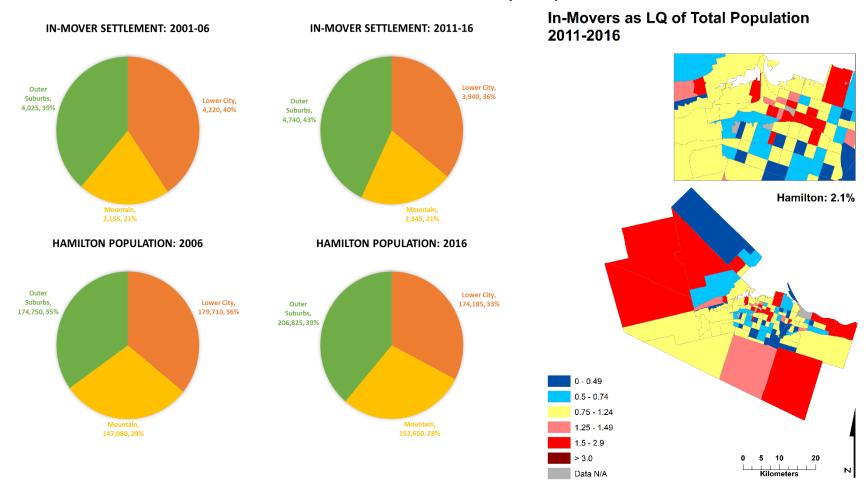
The outer ring of the Greater Golden Horseshoe refers to a rim of regions and cities that surround the GTHA and include urban, suburban, and rural areas. While core areas of the Greater Toronto Area have a population of 6,954,433 (2016), the outer ring contained 2,226,094 inhabitants. This area consists of Niagara Region to the immediate east of Hamilton, Haldimand and Brant (including Brantford) Counties to the south, Waterloo Region and Wellington (including Guelph) to the north, and further beyond, Dufferin County, Kawartha Lakes, Northumberland County, Peterborough (County and City) and Simcoe County, including Barrie and Orillia.

Between 2011 and 2016, 11,025 people moved from these areas into Hamilton. By comparison, this is 4,295 more people than from the City of Toronto. The GGH saw an increase of 6% over the 2001-2006 period. While the biggest destination for these migrants was the Outer Suburbs of the city, this trend was not as suburban dominated as in-migration the 905, as only 43% of Outer Ring GGH migrants moved to the Outer Suburbs of Hamilton, while 36% moved to the Lower City.

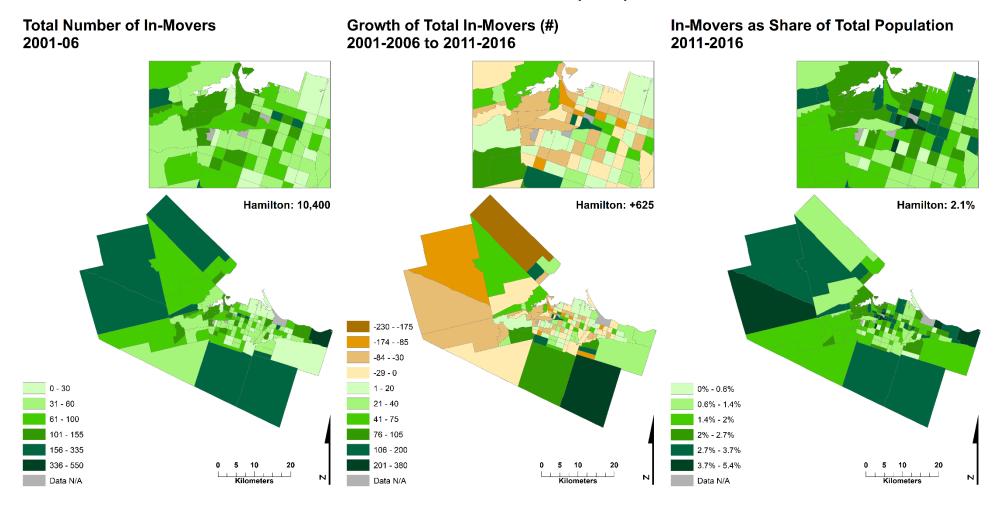
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16



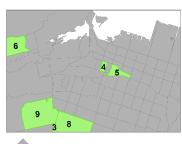
OUTER RING OF THE GREATER GOLDEN HORSESHOE (GGH)



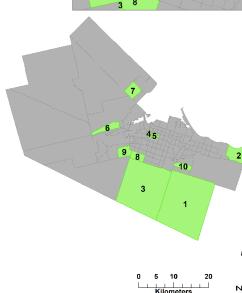
OUTER RING OF THE GREATER GOLDEN HORSESHOE (GGH)



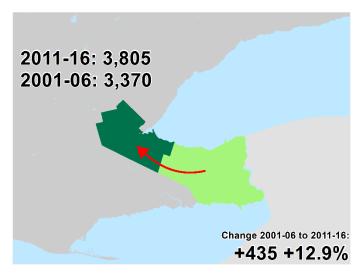
OUTER RING OF THE GREATER GOLDEN HORSESHOE (GGH)



				Total	In-Movers -	+ Population S	hare	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	oulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total +	Population	Share, 2011-	16
Rank	CTUID	Geo	ographic Area	2011	-16	2001	-06		-06 to 1-16	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	vincial	Exte	rnal
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	550	3.1	170	3.0	380	223.5	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
2	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer	425	4.4	385	6.1	40	10.4	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
3	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer	335	2.7	230	2.4	105	45.7	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7
4	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	275	5.4	110	2.1	165	150.0	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7
5	5370034.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	270	5.1	70	1.4	200	285.7	5,260	4.6	1,445	29.9	130	2.7	820	17.0
6	5370133.00	Dundas	Outer	265	2.8	200	2.2	65	32.5	9,330	-3.9	1,560	18.0	100	1.2	180	2.1
7	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer	235	3.1	80	1.5	155	193.8	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6
8	5370002.02	Hamilton	Mountain	215	1.9	80	1.0	135	168.8	11,165	21.0	3,075	29.8	90	0.9	225	2.2
9	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	200	1.5	100	1.4	100	100.0	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1
10	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer	190	2.3	50	0.6	140	280.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0
	Hamilton			11,025	2.1	10,400	2.1	625	6.0	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4,460	0.9	15150	3.0



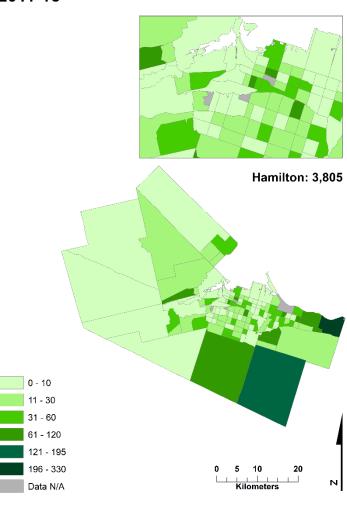
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016			Demographi	c + Socioeco	nomic, 2016		
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H	H Income
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
2	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
3	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
4	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
5	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5
6	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3
7	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5
8	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2
9	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6
10	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409.226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108.074	1.2

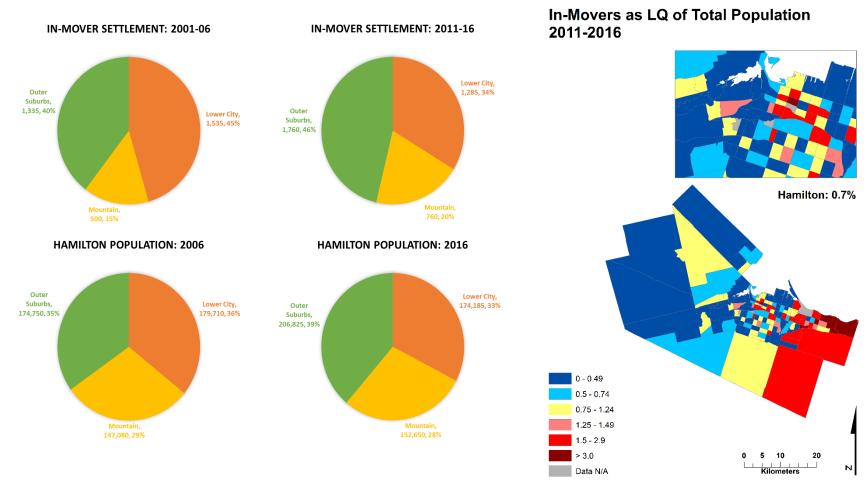


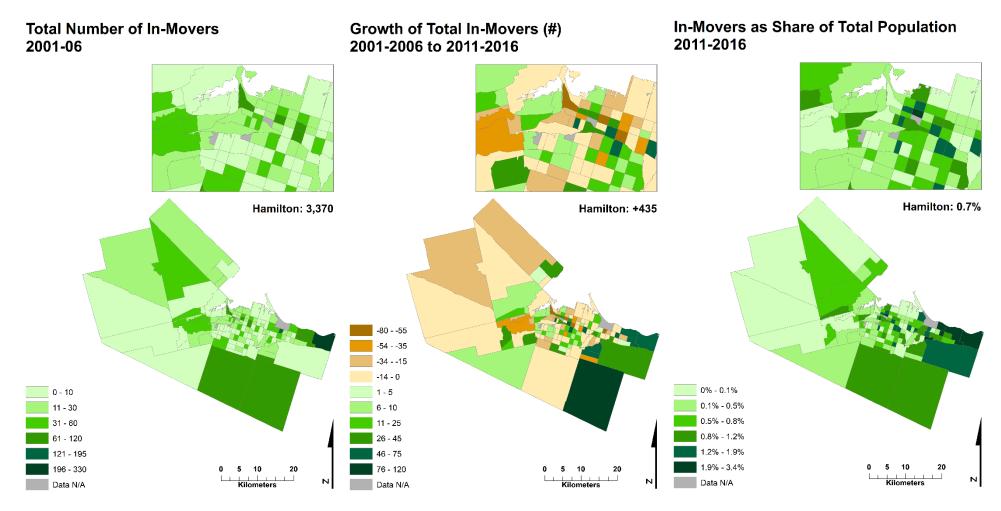
Niagara Region is an upper tier municipality to the immediate east of the City of Hamilton. St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, Port Colborne, Thorold, and Welland are the cities within the region and there are five additional towns and two townships. One of these towns, Grimsby, is included with the Hamilton CMA. The Region's population in 2016 was 447,888. More people moved to Hamilton from Niagara than from any other jurisdiction within the Outer Ring of the GGH.

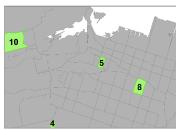
Migration flows are generally situated within the eastern parts of the City of Hamilton, as would be expected given Niagara's location. Given the urban, suburban, and rural nature of Niagara, settlement within Hamilton can be found in different neighbourhood types and locations.

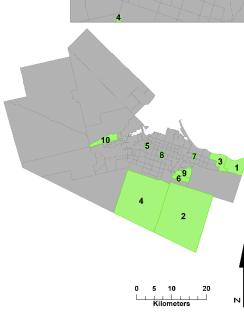
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16





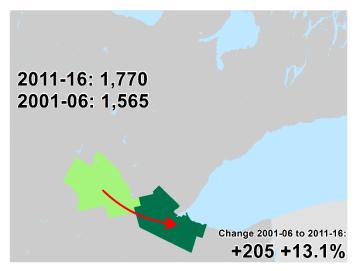






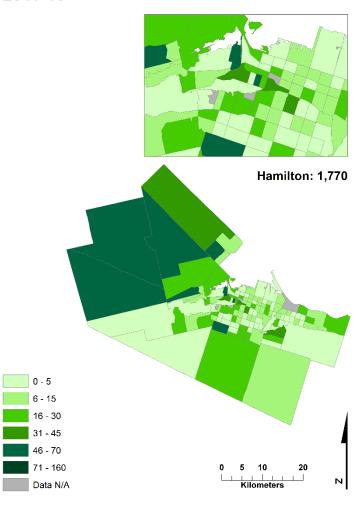
				_	Total	In-Movers	+ Population S	Share	In-Move	er Change	Total Po	pulation	Oth	er Recent N	1oves: Total +	+ Population	n Share, 2011-	.16
Rank	CTUID	Ge	ographic Area	1	2011	-16	2001	1-06		-06 to	2016	Change, 2011-16	Loc	al	Interpro	ovincial	Exte	rnal
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1	5370086.00	Stoney Creek	Outer		330	3.4	280	4.4	50	17.9	9,725	11.9	1,580	17.5	75	0.8	130	1.4
2	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		195	1.1	75	1.3	120	160.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3
3	5370085.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		120	2.9	70	2.5	50	71.4	4,120	12.5	655	17.5	25	0.7	100	2.7
4	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer		100	0.8	100	1.0	0	0.0	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7
5	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Downtown	95	1.9	20	0.4	75	375.0	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7
6	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer		90	1.1	30	0.4	60	200.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0
7	5370072.03	Hamilton	Lower City	East End	80	1.2	140	2.0	-60	-42.9	6,550	-7.7	1,505	24.5	50	0.8	845	13.8
8	5370022.00	Hamilton	Mountain		75	1.6	15	0.3	60	400.0	4,705	-0.2	1,295	28.7	35	0.8	170	3.8
9	5370080.03	Stoney Creek	Outer		75	1.2	25	0.6	50	200.0	6,335	28.2	1,690	29.4	45	0.8	150	2.6
10	5370133.00	Dundas	Outer		75	0.8	50	0.6	25	50.0	9,330	-3.9	1,560	18.0	100	1.2	180	2.1
	Hamilton				3.805	0.7	3.370	0.7	435	12.9	536.920	3.2	113.675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0

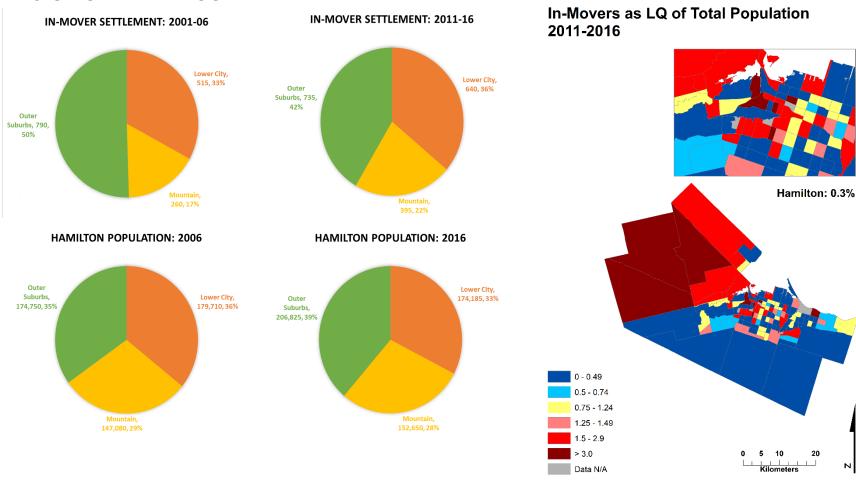
		Dwellings, 2016 Commuting, 2016			Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016												
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Inco	
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ
1	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4
2	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3
3	5370085.03	513.7	87.9	50.5	14.6	15.9	519,818	1.2	49.1	96.1	43.0	2.6	29.3	16.8	11.2	112,875	1.3
4	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2
5	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7
6	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409,226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108,074	1.2
7	5370072.03	9357.1	15.2	4.6	14.6	0.4	297,763	0.7	70.4	75.0	39.9	2.4	16.8	42.6	33.7	49,464	0.6
8	5370022.00	5114.1	53.9	53.1	70.3	0.6	269,382	0.6	75.3	75.2	43.2	2.0	15.2	12.8	16.6	61,467	0.7
9	5370080.03	1325.3	81.1	53.2	0.7	28.9	437,849	1.0	65.4	93.0	36.3	2.9	26.4	28.6	12.4	100,973	1.2
10	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430 555		66.9	83.0	41 3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87 775	

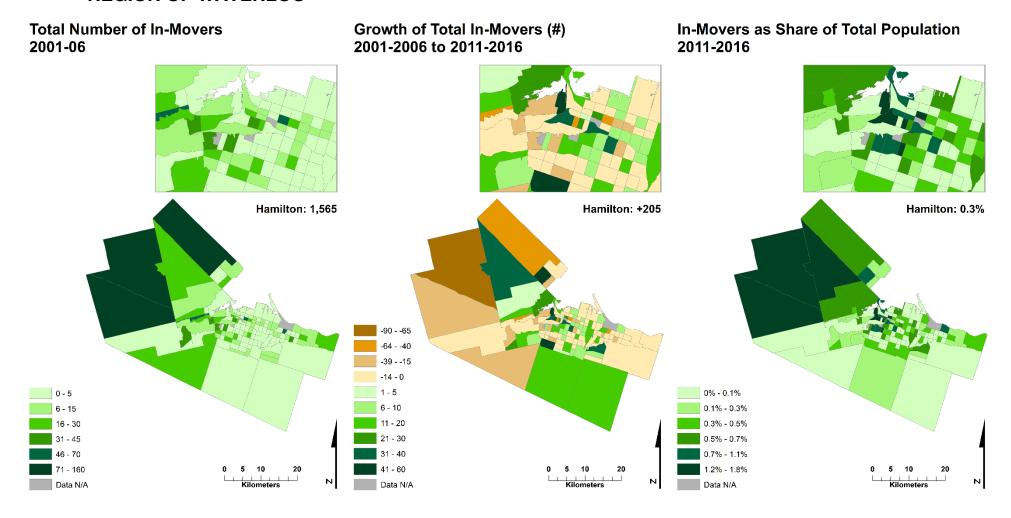


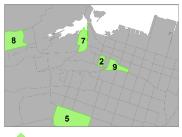
The Region of Waterloo is an upper tier municipality that shares a border with the northwest part of Hamilton. It consists of three cities: Kitchener, Waterloo, and Cambridge, and four rural townships. Its 2016 population was 535,154 and it regularly ranks as one of Canada's fastest growing urban areas. Migration from Waterloo Region is relatively modest, with only 1,770 people moving to Hamilton between 2011 and 2016, an increase of 13.1% since 2001-2006. Just as Niagara movers tend to settle on the eastern side of Hamilton, Waterloo migrants can largely be found in the west. Overall distribution of these new Hamilton residents roughly aligns with the population breakdowns of the three parts of the city and unlike bigger migration flows from The 905, the majority are not destined for suburban parts of Hamilton.

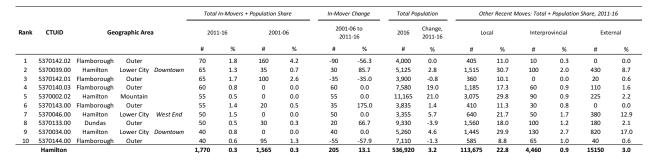
Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

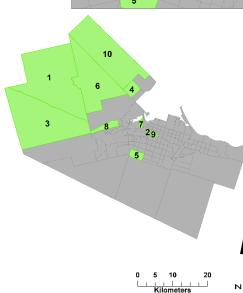




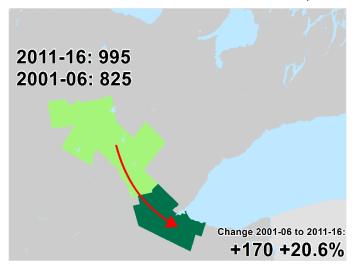


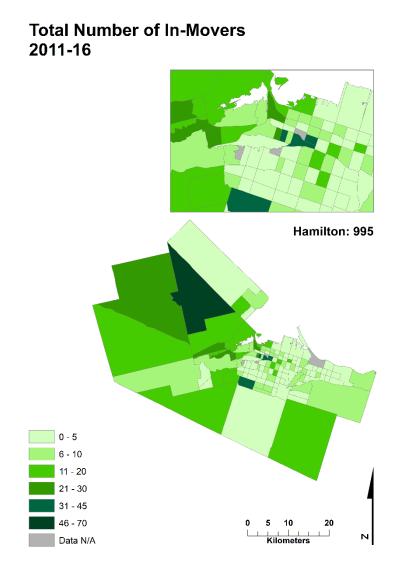


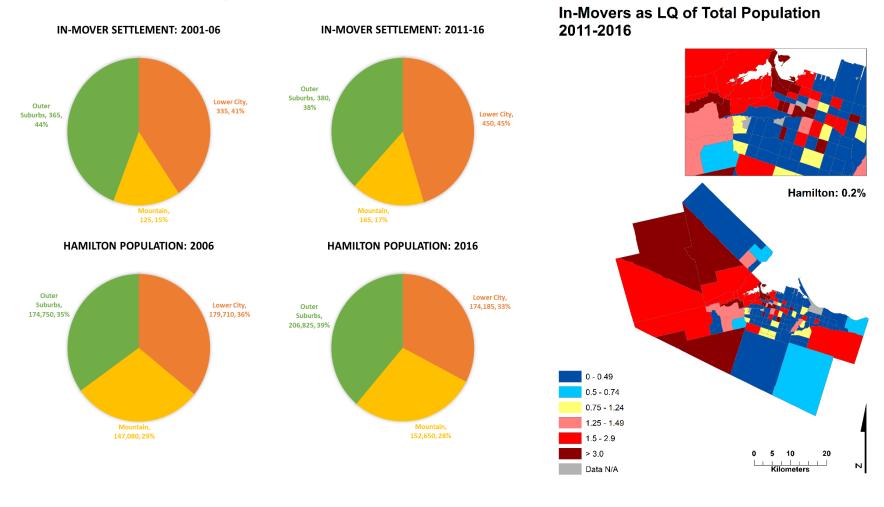


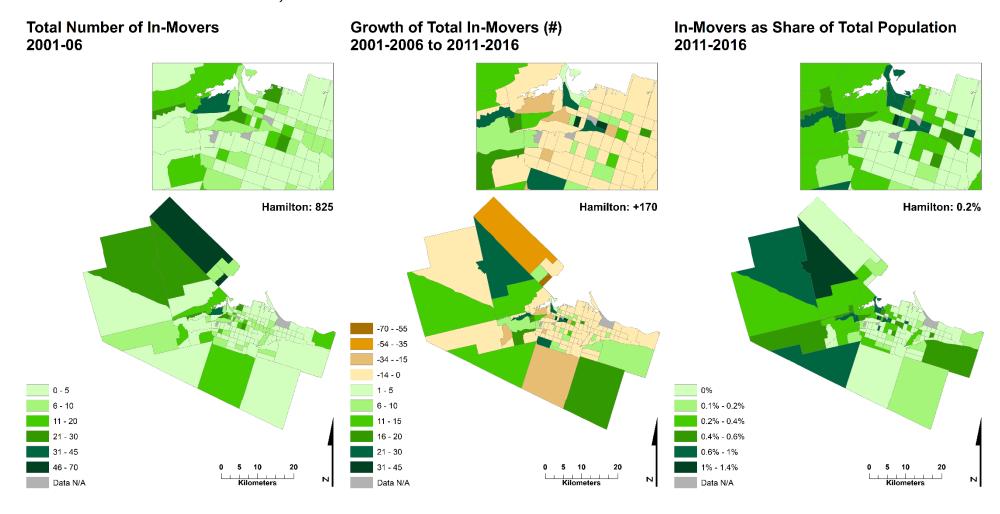


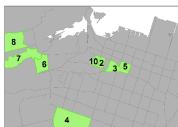
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016							
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average Value		Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Income		
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ	
1	5370142.02	29.1	93.8	86.2	20.7	4.9	487,905	1.1	33.8	95.5	48.7	2.5	17.0	1.4	8.3	104,259	1.2	
2	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7	
3	5370142.01	31.9	91.4	97.0	42.3	1.5	558,985	1.3	45.6	95.9	40.1	2.9	18.2	1.2	6.0	127,845	1.5	
4	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5	
5	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2	
6	5370143.00	49.0	87.7	95.6	30.1	1.1	613,024	1.4	49.1	93.5	41.4	2.9	20.0	2.6	7.2	119,753	1.4	
7	5370046.00	2750.0	46.2	49.5	59.6	0.0	416,505	1.0	69.4	63.5	40.1	2.4	57.8	30.0	24.2	75,146	0.9	
8	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3	
9	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5	
10	5370144.00	74.9	93.2	96.2	21.8	1.1	782,670	1.8	39.4	94.5	41.5	3.0	30.8	4.7	4.9	169,049	1.9	
	Harris Maria	454.6	67.6	F7 2	25.2	4.0	420 FFF		CC 0	02.0	44.2	2.5	25.0	40.0	45.3	07.775		

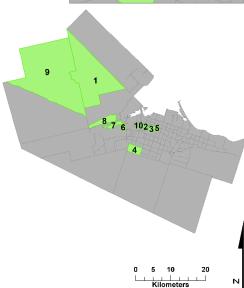








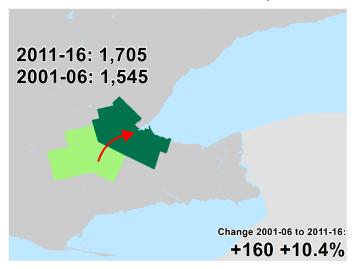


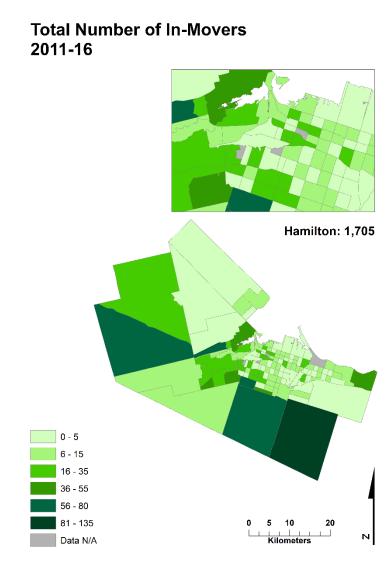


				_	Total	In-Movers +	Population	Share	In-Move	r Change	Total Po	pulation	Other Recent Moves: Total + Population Share, 2011-16						
Rank	CTUID	Geographic Area			2011-16		200	2001-06		2001-06 to 2011-16		Change, 2011-16	Local		Interprovincial		External		
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1	5370143.00	Flamborough	Outer		55	1.4	30	0.7	25	83.3	3,835	1.4	410	11.3	30	0.8	0	0.0	
2	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Downtown	45	0.9	0	0.0	45	0.0	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7	
3	5370034.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Downtown	40	0.8	10	0.2	30	300.0	5,260	4.6	1,445	29.9	130	2.7	820	17.0	
4	5370002.02	Hamilton	Mountain		35	0.3	10	0.1	25	250.0	11,165	21.0	3,075	29.8	90	0.9	225	2.2	
5	5370035.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Downtown	35	1.0	0	0.0	35	0.0	3,645	-0.7	845	26.6	80	2.5	205	6.4	
6	5370044.00	Hamilton	Lower City	West End	30	0.7	10	0.2	20	200.0	4,490	2.7	1,155	28.6	105	2.6	385	9.5	
7	5370130.02	Dundas	Outer		30	0.8	0	0.0	30	0.0	3,805	-3.9	425	11.6	20	0.5	20	0.5	
8	5370133.00	Dundas	Outer		30	0.3	15	0.2	15	100.0	9,330	-3.9	1,560	18.0	100	1.2	180	2.1	
9	5370142.02	Flamborough	Outer		30	0.8	30	0.8	0	0.0	4,000	0.0	405	11.0	10	0.3	0	0.0	
10	5370040.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Central	25	1.3	15	0.7	10	66.7	1,985	0.0	475	26.0	40	2.2	55	3.0	
	Hamilton				995	0.2	825	0.2	170	20.6	536.920	3.2	113.675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0	

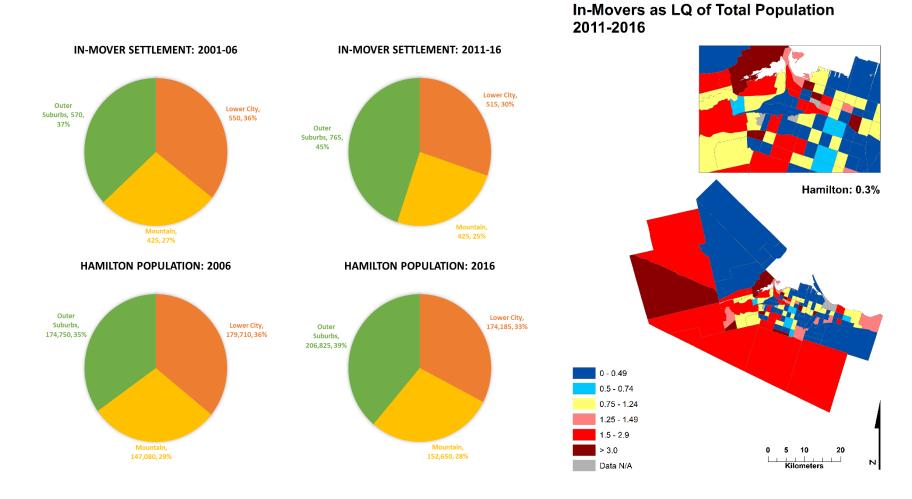
	CTUID				Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016							
Rank		Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960 %	Built 2011-16	Average Value		Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Incom		
			%	%		%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ	
1	5370143.00	49.0	87.7	95.6	30.1	1.1	613,024	1.4	49.1	93.5	41.4	2.9	20.0	2.6	7.2	119,753	1.4	
2	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7	
3	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5	
4	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2	
5	5370035.00	8284.1	29.9	15.1	66.2	0.5	351,492	0.8	71.0	58.0	41.4	2.0	23.6	24.1	35.2	50,641	0.6	
6	5370044.00	3870.7	30.2	14.8	31.3	0.0	307,547	0.7	76.1	71.4	44.1	1.9	35.9	26.1	25.7	53,114	0.6	
7	5370130.02	1452.3	94.1	86.8	20.9	1.3	513,781	1.2	58.5	86.3	46.3	2.5	53.4	3.4	3.8	129,124	1.5	
8	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3	
9	5370142.02	29.1	93.8	86.2	20.7	4.9	487,905	1.1	33.8	95.5	48.7	2.5	17.0	1.4	8.3	104,259	1.2	
10	5370040.00	5838.2	41.3	32.7	70.2	0.0	484,805	1.1	62.9	68.1	40.5	1.9	53.6	10.0	14.2	81,962	0.9	
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775		

COUNTY OF BRANT, INCLUDING BRANTFORD

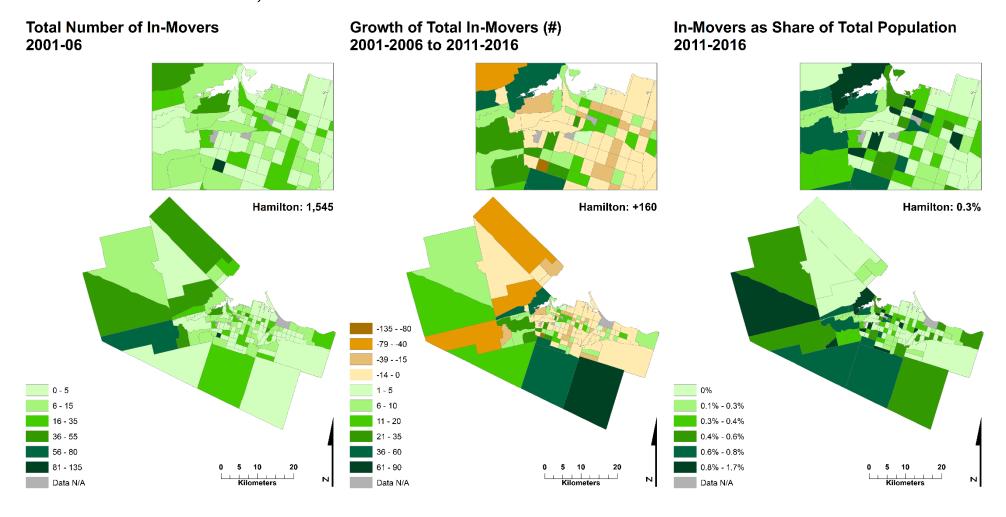




COUNTY OF BRANT, INCLUDING BRANTFORD

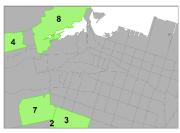


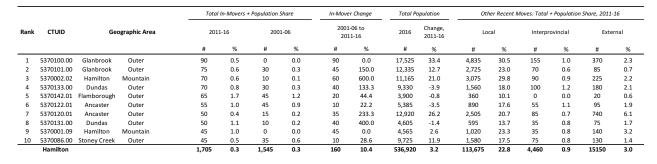
COUNTY OF BRANT, INCLUDING BRANTFORD



COUNTY OF BRANT, INCLUDING BRANTFORD

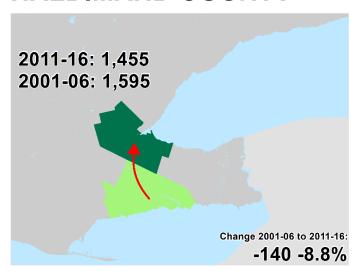
In-Mover Top Ten Destination Tracts 2011-16



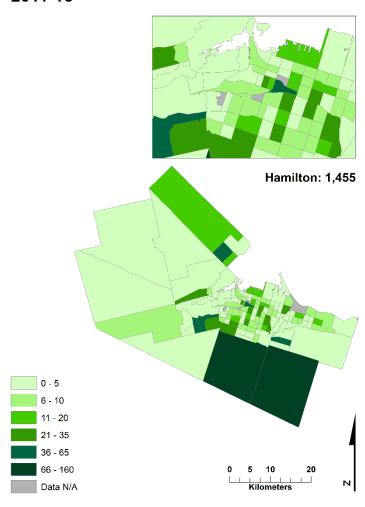


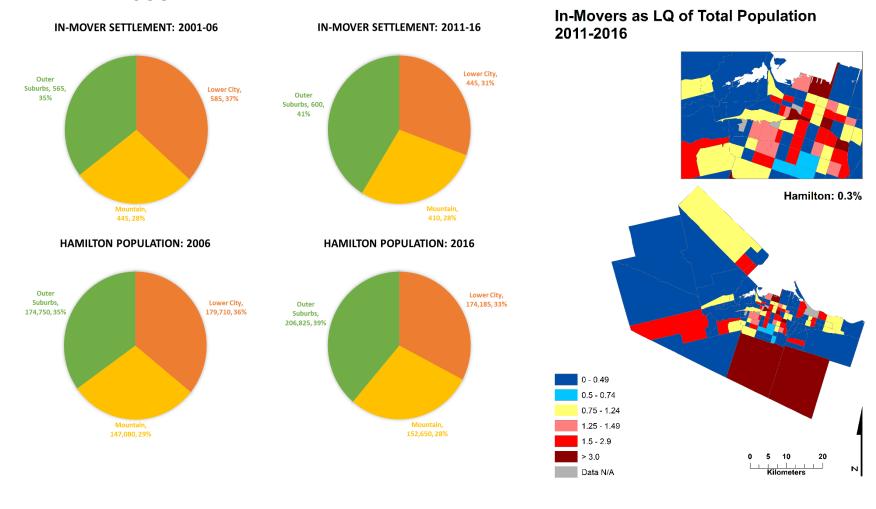


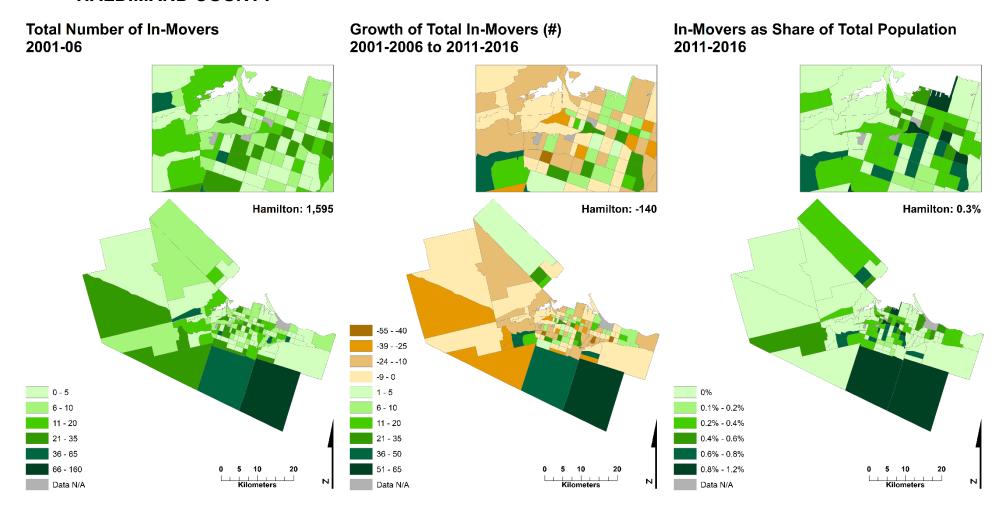
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016							
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner %	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average Value		Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Incon		
				%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ	
1	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3	
2	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2	
3	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2	
4	5370133.00	1448.8	80.7	55.0	32.4	2.7	506,609	1.2	68.8	85.8	45.3	2.5	43.7	8.8	8.7	115,563	1.3	
5	5370142.01	31.9	91.4	97.0	42.3	1.5	558,985	1.3	45.6	95.9	40.1	2.9	18.2	1.2	6.0	127,845	1.5	
6	5370122.01	1902.8	94.7	71.0	11.6	2.5	514,776	1.2	64.7	94.1	40.3	2.7	43.6	11.9	5.2	127,524	1.5	
7	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6	
8	5370131.00	416.0	79.3	75.2	52.4	0.5	470,571	1.1	62.7	87.3	43.4	2.4	36.7	8.3	8.3	104,554	1.2	
9	5370001.09	2317.3	85.3	63.3	8.3	5.0	439,430	1.0	75.1	86.3	34.9	3.3	23.1	36.0	14.6	100,300	1.1	
10	5370086.00	818.6	91.2	86.2	14.2	11.5	522,789	1.2	48.8	93.8	36.4	3.1	33.6	20.8	5.5	125,879	1.4	
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430,555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775		



Total Number of In-Movers 2011-16

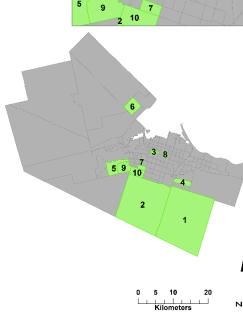






In-Mover Top Ten Destination Tracts 2011-16

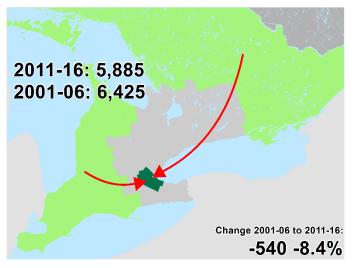


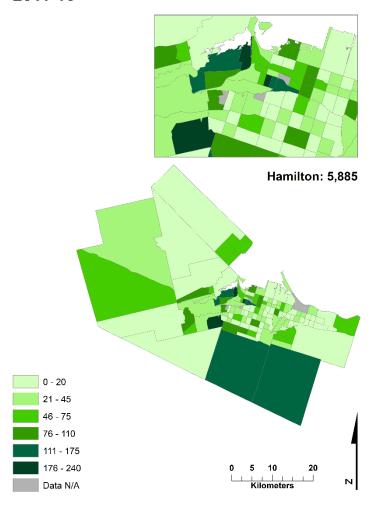


			Total In-Movers + Population Share In-Mover Change Total Population								pulation	Other Recent Moves: Total + Population Share, 2011-16							
Rank	CTUID	Ge	Geographic Area			2011-16 20				2001-06 to 2011-16		Change, 2011-16	Local		Interprovincial		Exte	rnal	
					#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer		160	0.9	95	1.7	65	68.4	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3	
2	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer		105	0.9	60	0.6	45	75.0	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7	
3	5370034.00	Hamilton	Lower City L	Downtown	50	1.0	15	0.3	35	233.3	5,260	4.6	1,445	29.9	130	2.7	820	17.0	
4	5370080.04	Stoney Creek	Outer		50	0.6	0	0.0	50	0.0	8,320	8.8	1,470	19.4	20	0.3	75	1.0	
5	5370123.00	Ancaster	Outer		50	0.6	0	0.0	50	0.0	7,725	4.8	1,210	17.0	40	0.6	155	2.2	
6	5370140.03	Flamborough	Outer		50	0.7	20	0.4	30	150.0	7,580	19.0	1,185	17.3	60	0.9	110	1.6	
7	5370002.01	Hamilton	Mountain		35	0.7	0	0.0	35	0.0	5,125	0.9	900	18.5	25	0.5	95	2.0	
8	5370032.00	Hamilton	Lower City	Central E	35	1.1	0	0.0	35	0.0	3,180	-4.2	1,030	36.0	50	1.7	50	1.7	
9	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer		35	0.3	20	0.3	15	75.0	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1	
10	5370002.02	Hamilton	Mountain		30	0.3	25	0.3	5	20.0	11,165	21.0	3,075	29.8	90	0.9	225	2.2	
	Hamilton				1,455	0.3	1.595	0.3	-140	-8.8	536,920	3.2	113,675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0	

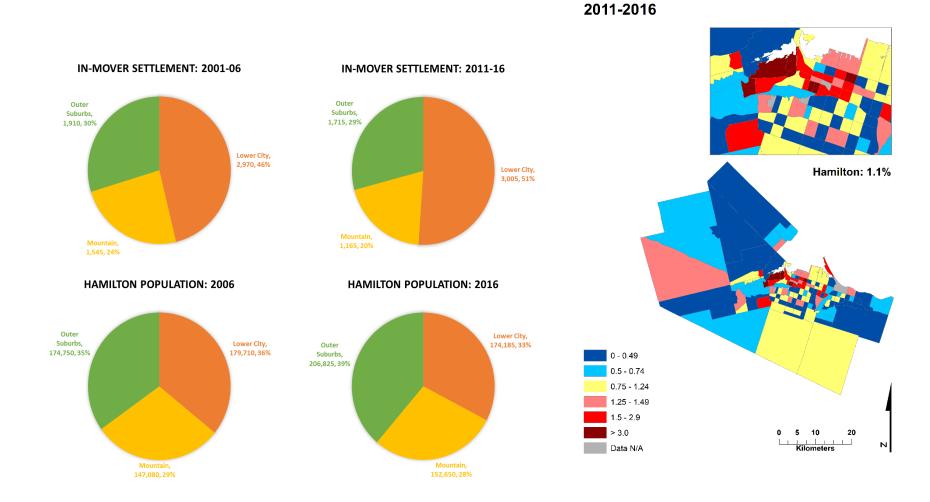
					Dwelling	gs, 2016			Commuti	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016								
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average Value		Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average H			
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ		
1	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3		
2	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2		
3	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5		
4	5370080.04	2324.0	91.9	75.0	2.1	12.9	409,226	1.0	68.5	94.0	39.2	3.2	19.7	16.7	6.9	108,074	1.2		
5	5370123.00	1038.3	92.0	85.8	32.4	10.4	679,523	1.6	65.3	92.7	43.9	2.9	45.5	9.5	5.9	155,409	1.8		
6	5370140.03	1105.0	91.4	64.8	3.0	23.4	556,612	1.3	37.0	90.6	34.6	3.0	36.1	9.1	4.1	128,939	1.5		
7	5370002.01	3462.8	90.2	73.1	8.6	4.3	417,445	1.0	72.8	87.3	37.4	3.1	27.2	28.2	9.9	105,794	1.2		
8	5370032.00	4297.3	39.8	36.4	61.2	0.7	352,714	0.8	70.3	73.7	41.4	2.2	15.7	14.9	27.6	56,692	0.6		
9	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6		
10	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2		
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87,775			

REST OF ONTARIO (OUTSIDE GGH)





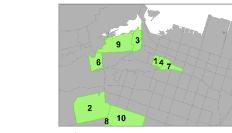
REST OF ONTARIO (OUTSIDE GGH)

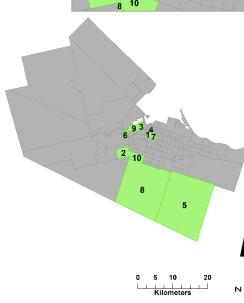


In-Movers as LQ of Total Population

REST OF ONTARIO (OUTSIDE GGH)

In-Mover Top Ten Destination Tracts 2011-16



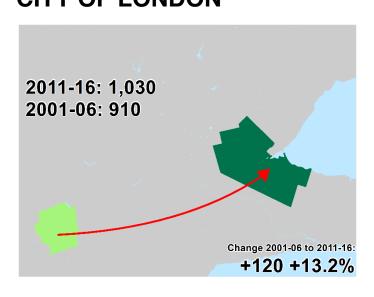


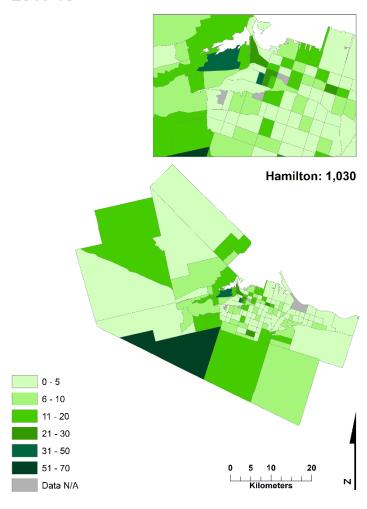
			_	Total	In-Movers -	Movers + Population Share			2001-06 to 2011-16		Total Population		Other Recent Moves: Total + Population Share, 2011-16						
Rank	CTUID	Ge	eographic Area	2011-16 20			1-06				Change, 2011-16	Local		Interprovincial		Exte	rnal		
				#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%		
1	5370039.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	240	4.7	125	2.4	115	92.0	5,125	2.8	1,515	30.7	100	2.0	430	8.7		
2	5370120.01	Ancaster	Outer	235	1.8	240	3.4	-5	-2.1	12,920	26.2	2,505	20.7	85	0.7	740	6.1		
3	5370046.00	Hamilton	Lower City West End	200	6.0	55	1.7	145	263.6	3,355	5.7	640	21.7	50	1.7	380	12.9		
4	5370038.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	175	4.5	175	4.8	0	0.0	3,915	7.2	1,285	33.3	110	2.9	375	9.7		
5	5370100.00	Glanbrook	Outer	175	1.0	70	1.2	105	150.0	17,525	33.4	4,835	30.5	155	1.0	370	2.3		
6	5370044.00	Hamilton	Lower City West End	160	3.6	80	1.7	80	100.0	4,490	2.7	1,155	28.6	105	2.6	385	9.5		
7	5370034.00	Hamilton	Lower City Downtown	145	2.8	220	4.4	-75	-34.1	5,260	4.6	1,445	29.9	130	2.7	820	17.0		
8	5370101.00	Glanbrook	Outer	140	1.1	100	1.0	40	40.0	12,335	12.7	2,725	23.0	70	0.6	85	0.7		
9	5370045.00	Hamilton	Lower City West End	125	4.3	90	2.7	35	38.9	2,935	-2.7	395	13.6	45	1.5	260	8.9		
10	5370002.02	Hamilton	Mountain	110	1.0	40	0.5	70	175.0	11,165	21.0	3,075	29.8	90	0.9	225	2.2		
	Hamilton			5.885	1.1	6.425	1.3	-540	-8.4	536.920	3.2	113.675	22.8	4.460	0.9	15150	3.0		

					Dwellin	gs, 2016			Commutii	ng, 2016	Demographic + Socioeconomic, 2016							
Rank	CTUID	Population Density (km2)	Home- Owner	Single- Detach	Built Pre-1960	Built 2011-16	Average	Value	Within CSD	By Auto	Average Age	Average HH Size	University Degree	Visible Minority	Low Income	Average HH Inco		
			%	%	%	%	\$	LQ	%	%	#	#	%	%	%	\$	LQ	
1	5370039.00	14642.9	17.8	7.7	42.0	0.3	444,176	1.0	69.3	55.4	39.6	1.7	38.8	25.8	28.1	59,468	0.7	
2	5370120.01	2311.3	92.2	67.6	0.5	26.0	592,253	1.4	64.8	92.8	37.0	3.2	48.3	39.8	10.3	137,528	1.6	
3	5370046.00	2750.0	46.2	49.5	59.6	0.0	416,505	1.0	69.4	63.5	40.1	2.4	57.8	30.0	24.2	75,146	0.9	
4	5370038.00	11863.6	16.1	2.9	37.7	5.6	330,162	0.8	75.7	51.0	47.3	1.5	38.3	24.9	34.4	49,234	0.6	
5	5370100.00	158.2	93.2	66.2	7.0	33.5	480,634	1.1	65.2	96.2	34.6	3.0	25.9	18.7	6.5	109,844	1.3	
6	5370044.00	3870.7	30.2	14.8	31.3	0.0	307,547	0.7	76.1	71.4	44.1	1.9	35.9	26.1	25.7	53,114	0.6	
7	5370034.00	5717.4	18.7	4.8	33.7	0.7	291,951	0.7	73.9	49.2	38.5	1.8	29.6	39.3	36.7	46,125	0.5	
8	5370101.00	133.0	94.8	70.9	16.2	12.3	458,164	1.1	70.4	94.4	44.9	2.6	20.7	8.4	5.1	102,914	1.2	
9	5370045.00	928.8	66.8	77.1	83.2	0.9	613,350	1.4	69.7	60.9	38.3	2.5	73.6	24.5	17.1	126,856	1.4	
10	5370002.02	2411.4	84.9	63.7	3.9	19.9	462,783	1.1	72.8	89.6	41.8	3.0	31.9	28.7	7.6	106,021	1.2	
	Hamilton	451.6	67.6	57.3	35.2	4.8	430.555		66.9	83.0	41.3	2.5	25.0	19.0	15.3	87.775		

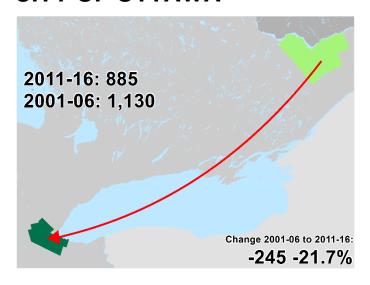
Moving to Hamilton: the numbers behind the anecdotes

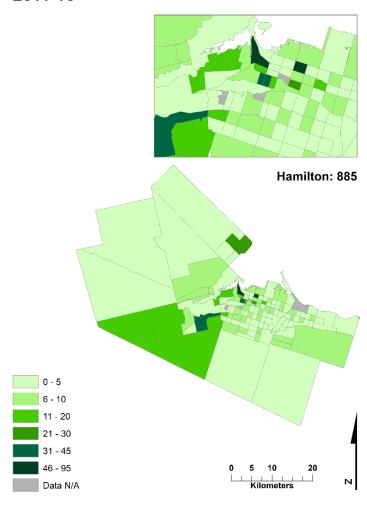
REST OF ONTARIO: TOP 5 ORIGINS CITY OF LONDON



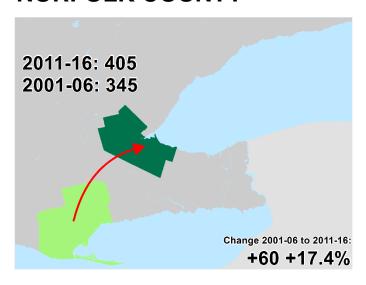


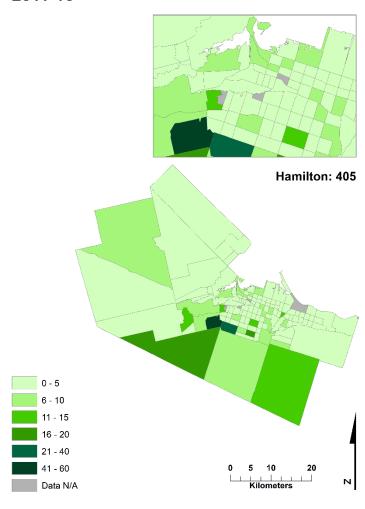
CITY OF OTTAWA



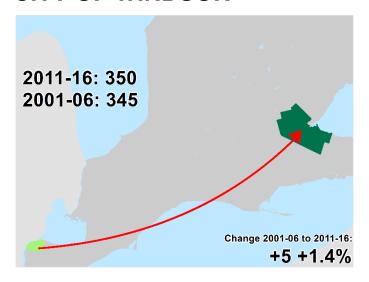


NORFOLK COUNTY



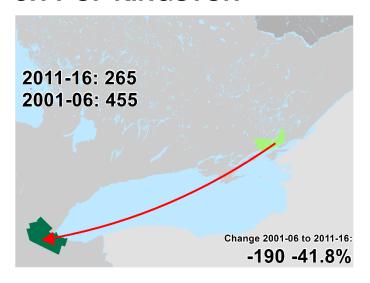


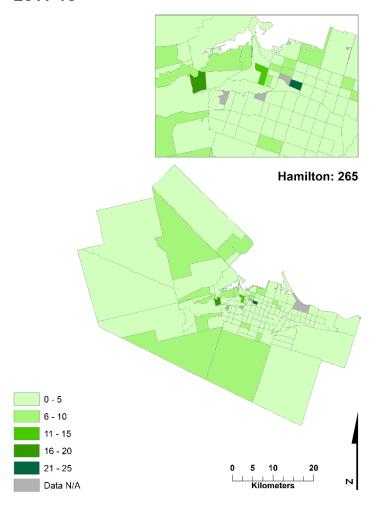
CITY OF WINDSOR





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