

Article

Migration from central to surrounding municipalities in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver

by *Martin Turcotte and Mireille Vézina*

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- ^r revised
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by *Martin Turcotte and Mireille Vézina*

Introduction

After the Second World War, and over the next several decades, the demographic growth of North American residential suburbs occurred as a result of the relocation of individuals and families from city centres or other areas. In society today, many of those who were born in the suburbs may never leave their original area, or may relocate, but continue to reside in a suburb to raise their families.¹ At the same time there continues to be a migration of many young adults and families from central municipalities to surrounding municipalities, while few move in the opposite direction. These intrametropolitan migratory movements are one of the reasons for the discrepancy between the the cities and suburbs with respect to family representation. In fact, the 2006 Census data show, that households consisting of a couple with children continued to be more strongly represented in outlying areas than in city centres in practically all of the country's urban areas.² This discrepancy in family composition is particularly noticeable between central and surrounding municipalities in the Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver

metropolitan areas (for a definition of the concepts of central and surrounding municipalities, see "What you should know about this study").

Various large metropolitan municipalities vie for residents by advertising the attractions and services their environments offer. Additionally, many central municipalities try to reverse the current migratory trend and encourage young adults and their families, particularly those with children, to settle there. For example, the city of Montréal has put a community family action plan in place to attract young families to locate there.³ The cities of Toronto and Vancouver have developed programs focused on child care services to attract new migrants.⁴

Currently, there is little detailed information available about the social and economic characteristics of young adults who move from central municipalities to surrounding municipalities. To fill this gap, this article looks at the intrametropolitan migration of persons aged 25 to 44 (in 2006) in the country's three largest metropolitan areas—Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver.⁵ This group is of particular interest because they are significantly more likely to move

from downtown to a surrounding municipality, and they are at an age where they are establishing families and buying first homes. As a result, they are a particularly sought-after 'clientele' for all municipalities, both central and outlying.

This article uses the 2006 Census of Population data (for more details on the data and concepts, see "What you should know about this study"). Geographic maps are included to clarify the distinction between central municipality and surrounding municipality for each of the three metropolitan areas studied.⁶

For every person who moved from a municipality outside Toronto to Toronto, 3.5 made the opposite move

Numerous demographic studies have shown that age is one of the factors most strongly associated with the probability of migrating. In fact, migration is most frequent in early adulthood when people are experiencing transitions such as pursuing postsecondary studies, entering the labour market and family formation.⁷ The tendency to migrate decreases considerably once these stages have been completed.

What you should know about this study

The data used come from the full 2006 Census questionnaire (completed by 20% of Canadians). People living in collective dwellings (hotels, hospitals, military bases, etc.) in 2006 are excluded from the study.

Definitions

Census metropolitan area

A census metropolitan area (CMA) is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities located around a large urban area (known as the urban core). A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more must live in the urban core.

Central municipality and surrounding municipalities

The central municipality or downtown gives its name to a census metropolitan area. It is generally the historic city, around which the suburbs have developed (with some more remote villages joined by urbanization). In this study, the territory included in central municipalities is bound by the administrative or political boundaries of the cities of Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver. The term 'surrounding municipality' is used to refer to all other municipalities in the metropolitan area (in other sources, these are sometimes called suburban or peripheral municipalities).

Migration and population studied

Migrants are identified by comparing their current place of residence to the one they had five years earlier (as reported in the 2006 Census). Since this study concerns intrametropolitan migration, only persons who resided in the same metropolitan area in 2001 and 2006 were included.

The main group of interest consists of persons who resided in the central municipality of their metropolitan area (i.e. the cities of Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver) in 2001. These persons are considered migrants if they resided in any municipality adjacent to the metropolitan area in 2006. They are considered non-migrants if they still resided in the central municipality (a change of address within the central municipality is not considered migration).

Likewise, persons who resided in any municipality adjacent to the central municipality of the three metropolitan areas were studied.

In addition to municipality of residence five years earlier, the census includes information on place of residence one

year earlier. The analyses performed in preparing this article were replicated using mobility over a one-year period rather than five. This results in smaller proportions of persons moving from the central municipality to a surrounding municipality (since using this methodology, residents 'risk' moving in a single year rather than five). However, the conclusions are the same whether a one- or five-year reference period is used. Thus, the subgroups with the greatest probability of migrating from the central municipality were essentially the same in all 3 CMAs. The advantage of using a five-year period is that analysis can be based on larger samples, thus allowing for more details on the various characteristics of persons who do or do not migrate (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3), and the destinations chosen by migrants (Table A.6).

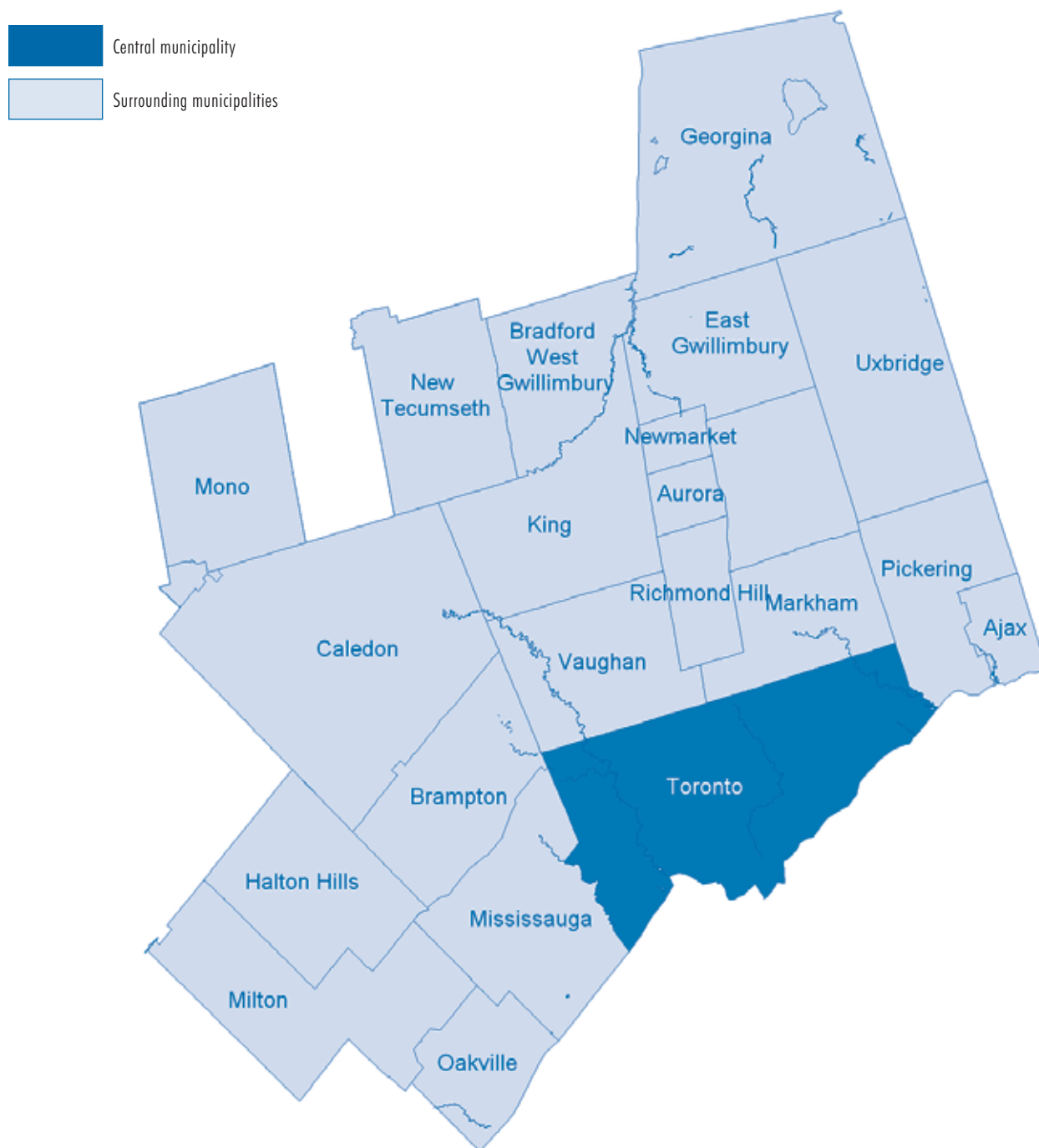
That being said, whether a one- or five-year reference period is used, care must be taken in interpreting certain results. The characteristics of persons were measured in 2006 while the decision to move (or not) was made before the census date. Thus, some personal characteristics might have changed. For example, their income might have been higher or lower when they left the central municipality than when income was measured in 2006.

Exchange ratio

The exchange ratio (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3) is the number of persons who moved from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality divided by the number of persons who moved in the opposite direction. For example, if, for a given group of persons, 5,000 moved from the central municipality to a surrounding municipality and 2,500 others moved in the opposite direction, the exchange ratio would be 2 ($5,000/2,500$). In this case, the exchange ratio may be interpreted as follows: for each person who moved from a surrounding municipality to a central municipality, two persons moved in the opposite direction.

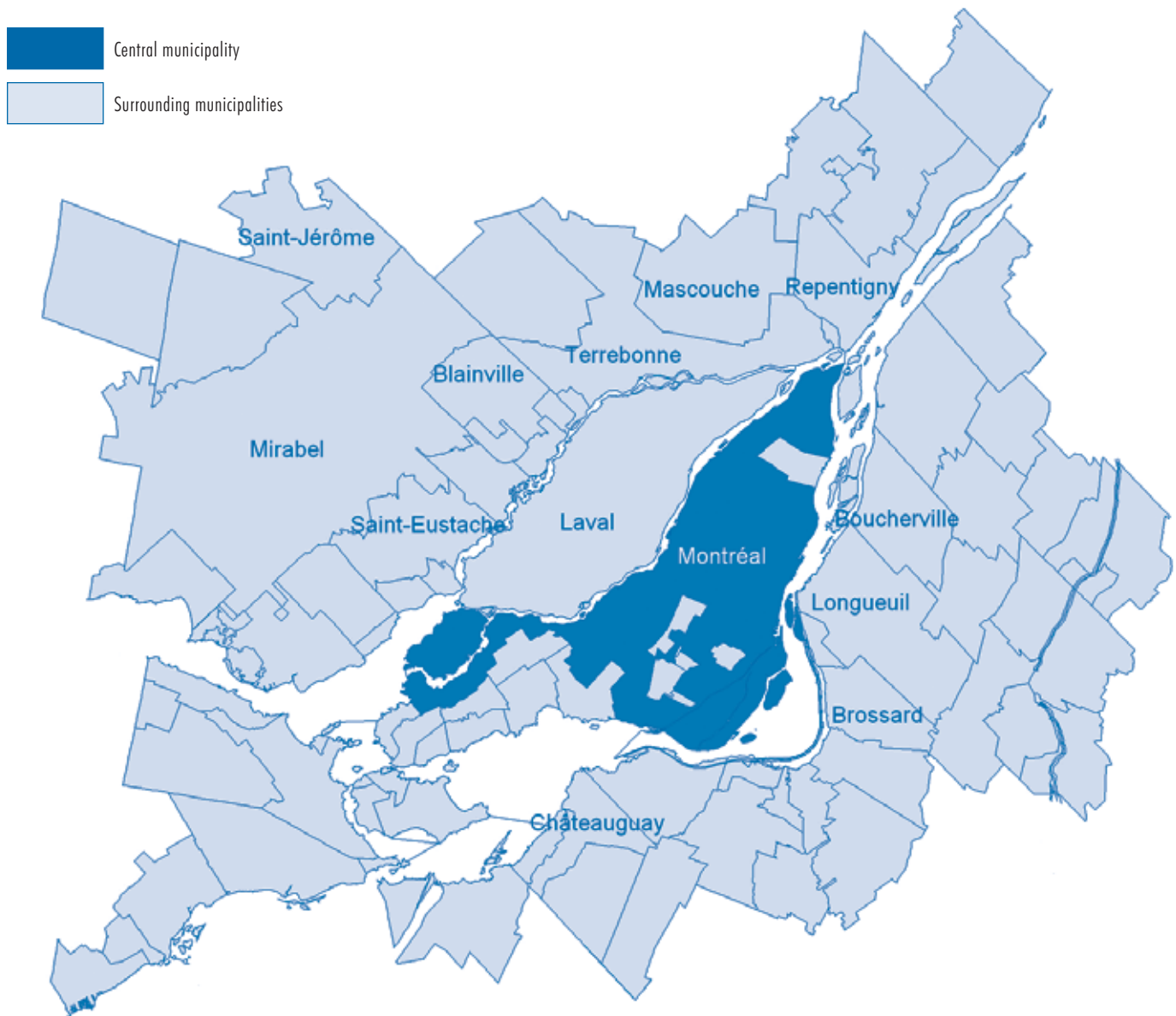
Exchange ratios may be affected by the population size of the two regions being compared (in this case, the central municipality of three metropolitan areas and the surrounding municipalities). For that reason, they must be interpreted with care. In particular, it is not recommended that the exchange ratios of the three metropolitan areas be compared to each other.

Map 1 Municipality of Toronto and outlying municipalities



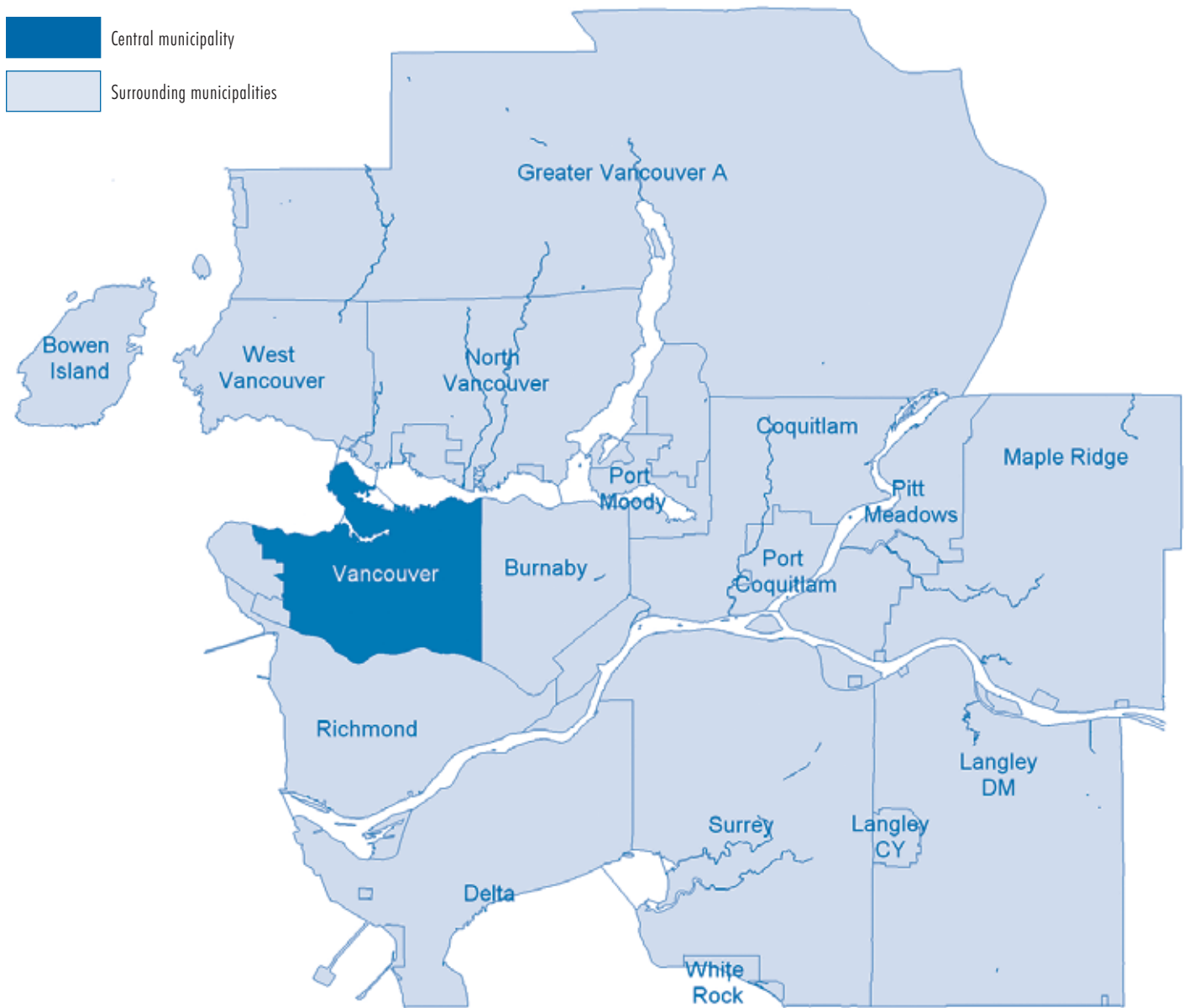
Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

Map 2 Municipality of Montréal and outlying municipalities



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

Map 3 Municipality of Vancouver and outlying municipalities



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2006.

It is not surprising that age was observed to be strongly linked to the possibility of moving from the municipalities of Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver to a surrounding municipality. Examination of the adult population aged 20 and over showed that the propensity to move to a surrounding municipality increases up to age 34 and then decreases in the older age groups (Chart 1).

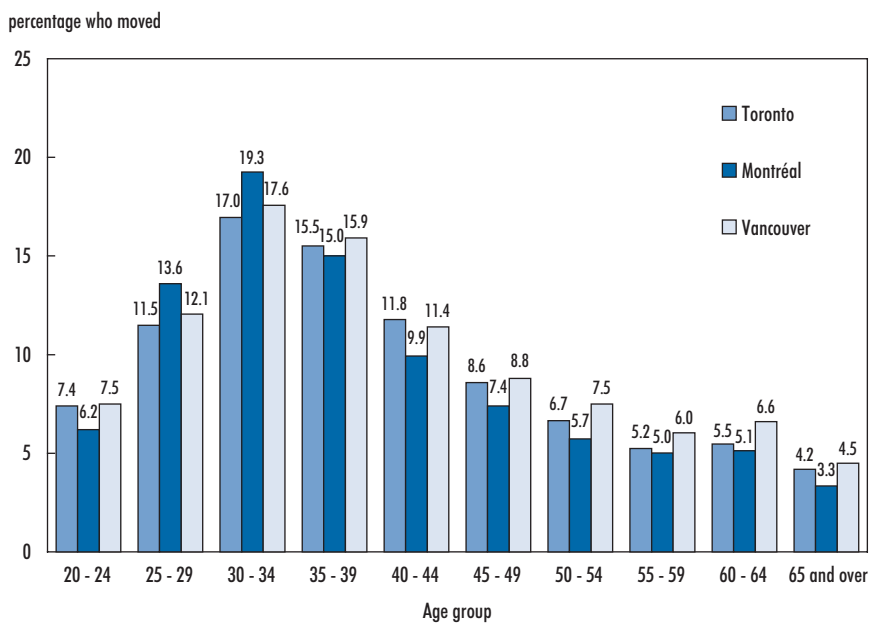
In all three regions, the population aged 25 to 44 was more likely than any other age group to move from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality. According to a recent survey, single homes located in low-density residential neighbourhoods continued to be the type of housing most sought after by persons aged 25 to 44.⁸ The supply of this type of housing is greater in surrounding municipalities than downtown (see, for example, Table A.4).

The three CMAs studied differ significantly from each other with respect to their geography, size of population aged 25 to 44 and distribution of that population between the central municipality and surrounding municipalities. In 2006, 1.6 million persons aged 25 to 44 were enumerated in the Toronto metropolitan area (51% resided in the central municipality), 1.1 million in the Montréal metropolitan area (48% resided in the central municipality) and 630,000 in the Vancouver metropolitan area (32% resided in the central municipality).

Despite these differences, the proportion of 25- to 44-year-olds who moved from the central municipality to a surrounding municipality was the same in all three regions (i.e., 14%) (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3). The proportion of persons in this age group who moved in the opposite direction—that is, from a surrounding municipality to the central municipality—was about three times lower: 5% in Toronto and Montréal, and 4% in Vancouver.

A comparison of moves in the two directions found that the three central municipalities suffered a

Chart 1 People aged 30 to 34 are the most likely to have moved from one of the three central municipalities to a surrounding municipality



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

net loss of 25- to 44-year-olds to surrounding municipalities. For example, in the Toronto region, for each person who left any of the surrounding municipalities to settle in the central municipality, 3.5 persons made the opposite move (see exchange ratio, Table A.1).

New parents are among those most likely to leave the central municipality

Previous research has shown that family structure is a crucial factor in the decision to migrate.⁹ Among the various factors considered in this study, family status was among those that most strongly affected the probability of leaving a central municipality (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3). The finding held even when the effects of age, income and other factors were taken into consideration.

In all three CMAs, individuals who became parents for the first time between 2001 and 2006 were among those most likely to have left

a central municipality. For example, over this period in the Vancouver region, between 27% and 29% of new parents left the city of Vancouver to settle in a surrounding municipality. In comparison, only 8% of persons living alone relocated to surrounding municipalities—about three times less. In the Montréal region, the difference was more pronounced: 34% of persons who became parents of two or more children between 2001 and 2006 left the central municipality compared to 7% of persons living alone (Table A.2).

Several reasons might help explain why parents of young children were more likely to leave the central municipalities. For example, according to previous studies, it is often the desire for more space to accommodate a new family situation that persuades new parents to move to areas where larger houses are more readily available and cost less.¹⁰ In addition to a need for space, many new parents choose a

residential neighbourhood farther from downtown because they want to live close to other families (who have needs similar to theirs)¹¹ and because they perceive these areas as being safer, better suited to raising children and, in some cases, less noisy.¹²

Lone parents are more inclined to remain in the central municipality

When children get older and the family is complete, the probability of moving, whether a short or long distance, decreases considerably. The results show that persons who were already parents in 2001, but did not have other children during that period, were less likely than new parents to move from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3).

One type of family stands out from the others: single-parent families. These families were less likely than average to move from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality. This lower propensity to migrate was not explained by lower incomes. In fact, even at similar income levels (taking other factors like education into account), single-parent families continued to be less likely to have left a central municipality (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3).¹³ According to a study conducted in the Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver regions, lone parents were more interested in living in denser neighbourhoods than two-parent families.¹⁴ One possible explanation for this may be that single-parent families may have less time available for commuting or maintaining a house or garden.

According to one classic economic theory, persons and households vote with their feet—i.e., they choose to live in a municipality that offers them the type of environment they want with the best price-quality ratio (the desired service levels and types at a cost deemed satisfactory, in municipal taxes).¹⁵ Different family situations can create different needs, thus leading to some of the

differences between family types in the propensity to leave central municipalities.

Lowest-income and highest-income persons were less likely to have migrated to a surrounding municipality

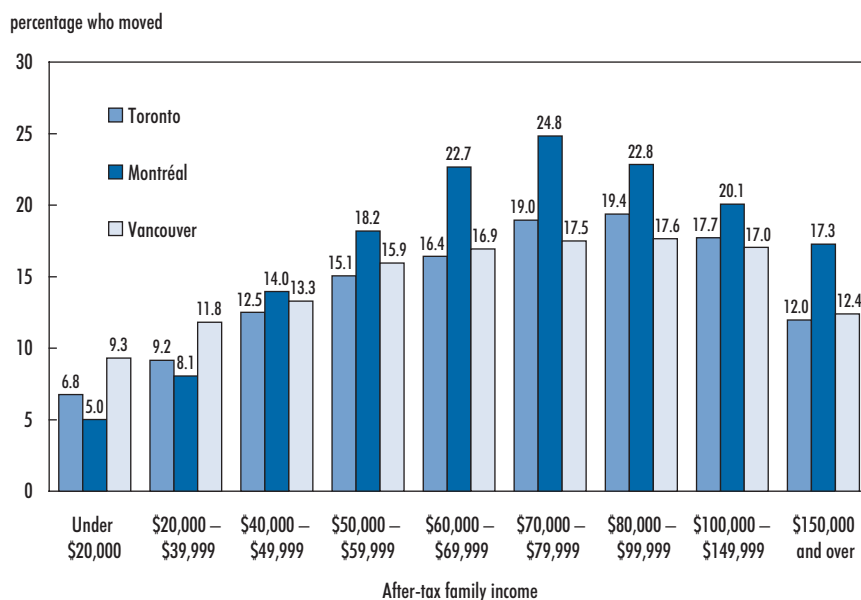
Apart from age and family status, family income is a key factor affecting the decision to move: higher incomes allow households and families to choose the type of housing they prefer and where they want to live.¹⁶ Conversely, having too low an income makes it difficult to buy a vehicle, which is often essential to living in low-density suburbs.¹⁷ Whether in Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver, persons with the lowest incomes (less than \$20,000 after taxes)¹⁸ were the least likely of all to have moved from the central municipality to a surrounding municipality (Chart 2). In Vancouver, for example, only 9% of persons in the lowest income category migrated from the downtown area. In comparison, the proportion

was twice as high, 18%, for those with after-tax incomes between \$80,000 and \$99,999 (Table A.3).

In each of the three CMAs, the highest proportion of moves to surrounding municipalities occurred in families having after-tax incomes between \$70,000 and \$99,999. In Montréal, for example, persons in this income bracket were about five times more likely to have moved to a surrounding municipality than those who had after-tax incomes of \$20,000 or less.

Despite the positive correlation between income and the probability of leaving the central municipality, this trend reversed at the top of the income scale. That is, those with the highest incomes were *less* likely to move to a surrounding municipality. For example, in Toronto and Vancouver, those with the highest after-tax incomes were less likely to have migrated to a surrounding municipality than were, on average, all 25- to 44-year olds residing in the central municipality in 2001.

Chart 2 People with a family income less than \$40,000 are less likely to move from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality



Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

This reversal at the top end of the income scale may be because these individuals and families are more likely to be able to afford housing in more central areas where properties of equivalent size generally cost more.¹⁹ For most households, a compromise must be made between distance from downtown and desired residence size. For wealthier families, this compromise can be avoided since they can more easily purchase relatively spacious housing close to downtown. Additionally, persons with incomes at the top of the scale may place a higher premium on the possibility of access to certain 'luxury' services and consumer goods (restaurants, clothing, etc.) that are often found in densely populated central areas.²⁰

If the analysis is restricted to only new parents (i.e., those who had a first child or more between 2001 and 2006), the impacts that 'family status' and 'income' have on the probability of leaving a central municipality are evident. For example, in Montréal,

among new parents who had their first two (or more) children between 2001 and 2006 and who had an after-tax income between \$50,000 and \$99,999 more than 40% moved from the municipality of Montréal to a surrounding municipality (Chart 3).

Those who had completed college or had a bachelor's degree more likely to leave a central municipality

In each of the three metropolitan areas, persons who completed their college or bachelor's studies (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3) were more likely to leave the central municipality. The finding was the same when the effect of other factors—income, age and family status—was taken into account. The many benefits of postsecondary education are well known—higher income, greater job security, better working conditions and, in general, better health.²¹ The migration of those with diplomas or undergraduate degrees to surrounding municipalities is likely a result of

them having more stable incomes, since much of the housing available in suburban municipalities requires a stable income.²²

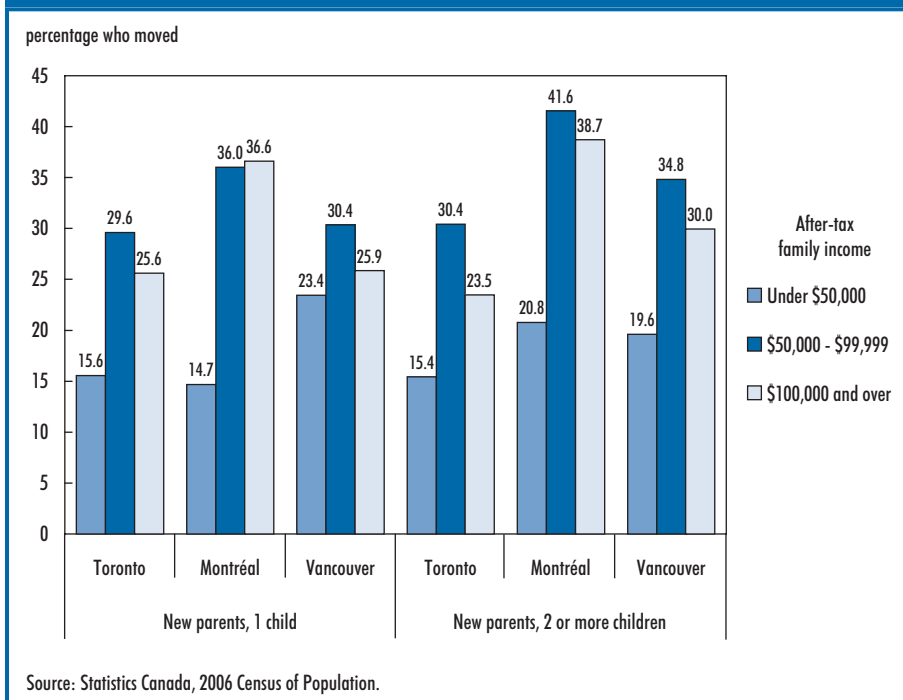
On the other hand, whether in Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver, the most educated were slightly less likely to leave the central municipality. For example, in Montréal, when other factors were kept constant in the logistic regression, the odds of moving to a surrounding municipality were 49% lower for persons with a master's degree or doctorate than for those with a college diploma. This might be because those with the highest levels of education may place a premium on the amenities typically found in city centres such as museums, concert halls, and a wide variety of restaurants, and are more willing to pay more or live in lower-quality housing in order to be close to them.²³

Artists and the university professors more likely to remain in central municipalities

According to some urban affairs experts, large cities and metropolitan areas should do everything they can to train, attract and retain members of a certain "creative class", i.e., scientists, engineers, artists and knowledge industry workers, because their presence would improve quality of life and possibly increase the variety and number of well-paid jobs.²⁴ Influenced by this idea, many large cities have developed marketing strategies aimed at attracting these workers by highlighting the cultural vitality and cosmopolitan nature of their cities.²⁵

As shown in Table A.5, artists who were living in a central municipality were likely to remain there. Whether in Toronto, Montréal or Vancouver, creative and performing (musicians, dancers, actors) arts professionals were among those least inclined to migrate to a surrounding municipality (6%). Interestingly, arts, culture, sports and recreation managers were also less likely to leave the central municipality (7% in Montréal, for

Chart 3 New parents with incomes over \$50,000 are particularly likely to have moved from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality



example), which was not the case for senior managers in other industries (19% in the Montréal metropolitan area). It should be noted that in all three metropolitan areas, significantly more artists aged 25 to 44 resided in the central municipality than in a surrounding municipality. For example, in 2006, in the Toronto CMA, 76% of creative and performing arts professionals resided in the central municipality (results not shown).

University professors also stood out from other professions. In fact, in all three CMAs, less than 7% moved between 2001 and 2006. In comparison, their colleagues at the college, secondary and elementary levels were almost three times more likely to move to the suburbs, possibly partly because of the location of the institutions where they worked (since many colleges and secondary schools are found in surrounding municipalities, while many universities are in the central municipality).

In the Montréal CMA, francophones are more likely to leave the city of Montréal than anglophones and allophones

Francophones—i.e., persons whose mother tongue is French—represented about two-thirds of the total population of Montréal's metropolitan area (65.7%) in 2006.²⁶ However, their relative weight was not the same everywhere. While they were a slight minority on Montréal Island, they were clearly in the majority on the northern and southern tips.

This situation is partly explained by the fact that francophone Montrealers aged 25 to 44 have a greater tendency than anglophones and allophones to leave the city of Montréal (17% for francophones compared to 11% for anglophones and allophones, Table A.2). Moreover, when they left the city of Montréal, francophones were more likely to move to municipalities off Montréal Island, such as Longueuil, Terrebonne or Repentigny. Thus, while only 3% of

persons whose mother tongue was French who left the city of Montréal chose a municipality on Montréal Island, 26% of anglophones and 11% of allophones did so (data not shown).

When mother tongue is taken into account along with family status and income, the differences among the groups are more pronounced. Almost one-half of all new francophone parents with incomes between \$50,000 and \$99,999 left the city of Montréal for a surrounding municipality between 2001 and 2006 (45%). The corresponding proportions were 26% for allophones and 30% for anglophones.

In the Montréal and Vancouver CMAs, persons born in Canada are more likely to leave the central municipality

In general, the reasons why members of certain immigrant communities are attracted to suburban residential areas are very similar to those of non-immigrants: the possibility of becoming a home owner, lower housing prices and areas perceived to be safer for children.²⁷ Access to ownership is also considered by many as a mark of social integration and economic success in the host society.²⁸

Historically, non-immigrants were more closely associated with the exodus to the suburbs. That view still quite accurately describes the situation in Montréal, where non-immigrants were more likely to leave than immigrants, regardless of their place of birth. For example, in that CMA, 18% of non-immigrants aged 25 to 44 left the central municipality compared to only 6% of immigrants from South Asia.

On the other hand, in Toronto, immigrants, particularly those from South Asia (22%) and the Middle East (18%), had the greatest propensity to move from the city of Toronto to a surrounding municipality (only 11% of Torontonians born in Canada had become 'ex-Torontonians' in 2006).

Finally, in Vancouver, the propensity of non-immigrants to move approached that of immigrants born in certain specific regions (South America, Middle-East, South Asia), but exceeded that of immigrants of other origins.

In the Toronto and Vancouver regions, several municipalities outside the central municipality have large immigrant populations (both in number and proportion).²⁹ This has an effect on the propensity to move from the central municipality, since immigrants are more likely to choose municipalities where immigrant groups already constitute a large part of the population.

Data on the municipalities chosen by persons who relocated from a central municipality gives a better understanding of this situation (Table A.6). For example, in the Toronto CMA, 21% of immigrants who moved from the municipality of Toronto to a surrounding municipality chose the municipality of Brampton (compared to only 9% of non-immigrants). Similarly, the municipality of Markham was chosen by 19% of immigrants who moved from the city of Toronto, compared to 7% non-immigrants who relocated from the city of Toronto.

In Vancouver, proportionally more immigrants chose the municipalities of Richmond and Burnaby, two the municipalities with the highest immigrant populations in Canada.

Finally, in the Montréal region, the municipality of Laval was significantly more popular with immigrants who moved from the city of Montréal (41% chose Laval) than among non-immigrants also who decided to leave the central municipality (16% chose Laval).

While new immigrants (those who arrived in Canada between 2001 and 2006) were not included in this study, it should be noted that about 7 out of 10 new immigrants choose to settle in the Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver CMAs. Additionally, a majority of new immigrants settle in the central municipality of these

three CMAs, despite the growing popularity of the surrounding municipalities.³⁰ Moreover, these newcomers contribute greatly to maintaining demographic growth in these central municipalities.

Childless couples are more likely to migrate to a central municipality

Up to this point, emphasis has been placed on the characteristics of persons who were more likely to

move from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality. But it is equally interesting to examine those individuals who move in the opposite direction—that is from the surrounding areas to the central municipality.

In each of the three municipalities examined here, between 4% and 5% of persons living in a surrounding municipality in 2001 relocated to a central municipality in 2006 (Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3). Generally

speaking, the people least inclined to move from their municipality to a central municipality were those aged 40 to 44, those who were already parents in 2001 (and thus had children aged 5 or over in 2006) and those who also worked in a non-central municipality.

New parents living in a surrounding municipality in 2001 were also less inclined than average to migrate to the central municipality. For that reason, in central municipalities,

Profile of the population of central municipalities and surrounding municipalities in the Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver metropolitan areas

Previous research has repeatedly shown that the populations of North American suburbs have never been as homogeneous as is commonly believed.¹ This homogeneity has decreased even more so in recent decades because these populations are rapidly diversifying in terms of demographic, economic and cultural points of view.² The stereotypical image of suburbanites—i.e, young, non-immigrant, middle or upper class families consisting of married couples with two kids — corresponds less and less to reality. Despite this diversification, differences remain in the demographic and socioeconomic profile of the populations of central municipalities and their surrounding municipalities.

First, in the three metropolitan areas, the population aged 0 to 19 is slightly underrepresented in the central municipality compared to surrounding municipalities. For example, in 2006, 22% of residents of the municipality of Toronto were under 20 years of age compared to 28% in the surrounding municipalities (data not shown).

Among the 25- to 44-year old group, fewer parents were observed in central municipalities than in surrounding municipalities. For example, in Toronto, 38% of persons aged 25 to 44 lived as couples with children. The corresponding proportion was 57% in the surrounding municipalities (Table A.4). Conversely, a larger percentage of those living alone or with roommates were found in the central municipalities with roommates. For example, in 2006, 29% of persons aged 25 to 44 residing in the city of Montréal lived alone or roomed with others compared to 13% in surrounding municipalities.

In all three metropolitan areas, persons born in Canada to parents also born in Canada (non-immigrants) were less represented in central municipalities than in surrounding municipalities. The gap was particularly large in the Montréal area where non-immigrants represented less than one-half of the central municipality's population (45%). In comparison, non-immigrants represented 74% of the population in Montréal's surrounding municipalities. The corresponding proportions in the Vancouver CMA were 29% in the central municipality and 34% in the surrounding municipalities.

Central municipality residents were more likely to have finished university (but slightly less likely to have finished college and just as likely to have finished high school) (Table A.4). Paradoxically, residents of central municipalities were more likely to have low income after-tax than those in surrounding municipalities.

In terms of housing, central municipality residents were much more likely to rent, more inclined to live in an apartment building and more likely to live in apartments with two or fewer rooms. Finally, those living in the central municipality were more likely to also work in the central municipality and were much more likely to use public transit or walk to work (Table A.4).

1. For example, Jackson, K. T. (1985). *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
 2. Smith, P. J. (2007). "Suburbs." *Canadian Cities in Transition*. Third Edition. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. Katz, B. et Lang, R. E. (2003). *Redefining urban and suburban America: evidence from the Census 2000*. Washington: Brookings Institution Press.
- Jackson, K. T. (1985). *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

the departure of new parents far outweighed the arrival of parents from surrounding municipalities. The exchange ratios (last columns in Tables A.1, A.2 and A.3) illustrate this. In the Montréal area, for example, for every new parent of two or more children who left a surrounding municipality for downtown, 17 moved to the suburbs.

Non-family persons (mostly those living alone), younger people and childless couples were more likely to move from a surrounding municipality to a central municipality. After leaving their parents' home, but before becoming parents themselves, many people choose to live near downtown to finish their education or start a first job. For them, the city might represent a place of transition.³¹ Single people might prefer downtown life for all kinds of reasons, one of which is that this environment allows them to meet other people more easily.³² Also, people living alone might more easily find housing that suits their financial situation and lifestyle in a central municipality since more rental housing is available in the core than in most neighbouring municipalities (Table A.4).

In the three CMAs, those in the lowest income bracket, (under \$20,000) were more likely than others to move from a surrounding municipality to a central municipality. In Montréal and Vancouver, the number of persons with incomes under \$20,000 who migrated from a

surrounding municipality to a central municipality was slightly higher than the number of those moving in the opposite direction (exchange ratio less than 1).

More generally, there are many other reasons why residents of surrounding municipalities move to a central municipality such as shorter commuting distances or a desire to change lifestyles. In fact, many people like urban living and its cultural offerings, as well as the street culture found in certain neighbourhoods with their public spaces, cafes and greatly diversified populations.³³ These factors help attract new residents and also may encourage people already living in the central areas to remain.

Summary

The migration of individuals and families from central municipalities to the suburbs is an important issue for urban planners. From the central municipalities' point of view, it is important to clearly understand the characteristics of people moving to surrounding municipalities in order to better target action aimed at countering such movements. From the surrounding municipalities' point of view, it is useful to understand the characteristics of the residents in order to better plan for the appropriate infrastructure and services that may be required.

In Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver, this study has shown that among people living in a central

municipality in 2001, those aged 25 to 44 were particularly likely to move to a surrounding municipality. In all three metropolitan areas, almost 1 person in 6 in this age group left downtown and moved to a surrounding municipality. There was a significantly lower likelihood of moving from a surrounding municipality to a central municipality, with no more than 5% of people doing so in the three metropolitan areas studied.

The propensity to move to a surrounding municipality varied considerably depending on individual's social and economic characteristics. Those most likely to move were new parents, people with a college diploma or bachelor's degree, and those with after-tax incomes between \$70,000 and \$99,999. In Montréal, non-immigrants were more likely than immigrants to leave the central municipality, while the opposite was true in Toronto. In Montréal, more francophones than anglophones or allophones left the central municipality for the one of the surrounding municipalities.

Those who relocated to the centre were more likely to be younger, live alone or with room-mates and have low incomes.



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Table A.1 Factors associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Toronto to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44

Characteristics	Moved from the municipality of Toronto to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Toronto		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Total	14	...	5	...	3.5
Sex					
Women †	14	1.00	4	1.00	3.7
Men	14	0.89*	5	1.18*	3.3
Age group					
25 to 29 †	11	1.00	8	1.00	1.6
30 to 34	17	1.07*	6	0.67*	3.7
35 to 39	16	0.87*	4	0.49*	5.0
40 to 44	12	0.64*	2	0.33*	5.3
Family status					
Childless persons					
Adult child living with parents	7	0.67*	2	0.10*	4.2
Non-family (person living alone or with roommates) †	6	1.00	17	1.00	0.8
Persons in a couple	16	1.97*	10	0.75*	2.5
Persons with children					
Lone parents	10	1.57*	5	0.36*	2.9
Married or common-law parents					
Were parents in 2001, no other children since	17	2.30*	1	0.16*	9.5
Were parents in 2001, at least one new child since	21	2.72*	2	0.15*	10.5
Had their first child between 2001 and 2006	25	3.18*	4	0.29*	7.0
Had their first children between 2001 and 2006 (2 or more children)	24	3.29*	3	0.19*	8.5
Highest level of education attained					
No high school diploma	11	0.68*	4	1.03	4.0
High school diploma	13	0.82*	4	0.95	3.7
College or vocational school diploma †	15	1.00	4	1.00	3.8
University degree, bachelor's	15	0.90*	7	1.73*	3.0
University degree, master's or doctorate (including medical studies)	14	0.77*	7	2.32*	3.7
After-tax family income					
Under \$20,000	7	0.45*	11	2.57*	1.4
\$20,000 to \$39,999	9	0.49*	9	2.48*	1.9
\$40,000 to \$49,999	13	0.64*	7	2.15*	2.5
\$50,000 to \$59,999	15	0.75*	5	1.70*	3.4
\$60,000 to \$69,999	16	0.84*	4	1.21*	4.6
\$70,000 to \$79,999 †	19	1.00	3	1.00	5.9
\$80,000 to \$99,999	19	1.04	3	0.91	5.4
\$100,000 to \$149,999	18	1.03	2	0.71*	6.2
\$150,000 and over	12	0.68*	3	0.79*	4.3

Table A.1 Factors associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Toronto to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44 (continued)

	Moved from the municipality of Toronto to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Toronto		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Low-income status after-tax					
No	15	...	4	...	3.7
Yes	8	...	8	...	2.2
Place of birth					
Canada ¹ †	11	1.00	4	1.00	2.3
Canada, with at least one immigrant parent	12	1.10*	5	1.12*	2.3
South America	14	1.33*	5	1.27*	4.4
Europe	16	1.40*	4	0.96	5.1
Africa	11	1.10	5	1.06	4.3
Middle East	18	1.93*	5	1.17	4.8
East Asia	16	1.37*	5	0.95	6.0
Southeast Asia	13	1.04	6	1.55*	4.0
South Asia	22	1.74*	3	0.92	7.1
United States, Oceania and others	9	0.76*	5	1.25	2.4
Place of work					
City of Toronto †	9	1.00	11	1.00	2.3
Other municipalities in the CMA	34	5.09*	2	0.17*	6.1
Outside the CMA	20	2.90*	3	0.25*	4.1
No fixed place of work	13	1.83*	4	0.29*	4.0
No place of work	10	1.30*	4	0.39*	4.0

† reference group

* difference statistically significant compared to the reference group at $p < 0.05$

1. Includes persons born outside Canada but who are nevertheless Canadian by birth.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table A.2 Characteristics associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Montréal to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44

Characteristics	Moved from the municipality of Montréal to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Montréal		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Total	14	...	5	...	2.7
Sex					
Women †	15	1.00	5	1.00	2.9
Men	14	0.91*	5	1.09*	2.6
Age group					
25 to 29 †	14	1.00	11	1.00	1.4
30 to 34	19	1.12*	6	0.59*	4.0
35 to 39	15	0.87*	3	0.37*	4.3
40 to 44	10	0.58*	2	0.30*	3.0
Family status					
Childless persons					
Adult child living with parents	6	0.52*	2	0.16*	2.8
Non-family (person living alone or with roommates) †	7	1.00	15	1.00	0.8
Persons in a couple	19	1.73*	10	1.00	2.2
Persons with children					
Lone parents	8	1.27*	5	0.46*	1.8
Married or common-law parents					
Were parents in 2001, no other children since	14	1.67*	1	0.23*	6.1
Were parents in 2001, at least one new child since	19	2.24*	1	0.17*	11.8
Had their first child between 2001 and 2006	28	3.11*	4	0.37*	7.7
Had their first children between 2001 and 2006 (2 or more children)	34	4.08*	2	0.19*	16.9
Highest level of education attained					
No high school diploma	9	0.76*	3	0.82*	2.6
High school diploma	12	0.89*	4	0.95	2.6
College or vocational school diploma †	16	1.00	5		2.9
University degree, bachelor's	16	0.79*	7	1.78*	2.7
University degree, master's or doctorate (including medical studies)	13	0.51*	10	2.61*	2.4
After-tax family income					
Under \$20,000	5	0.25*	12	4.32*	0.9
\$20,000 to \$39,999	8	0.33*	10	3.40*	1.2
\$40,000 to \$49,999	14	0.52*	6	2.38*	2.4
\$50,000 to \$59,999	18	0.66*	4	1.69*	3.8
\$60,000 to \$69,999	23	0.85*	3	1.28*	5.3
\$70,000 to \$79,999 †	25	1.00	2	1.00	6.9
\$80,000 to \$99,999	23	0.92	2	1.00	5.7
\$100,000 to \$149,999	20	0.88*	2	0.89	5.8
\$150,000 and over	17	0.75*	2	0.99	4.0

Table A.2 Characteristics associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Montréal to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44 (continued)

	Moved from the municipality of Montréal to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Montréal		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Low-income status after-tax					
No	16	...	5	...	3.0
Yes	5	...	10	...	1.2
Mother tongue					
English	11	0.85*	6	0.92	2.1
French †	17	1.00	5	1.00	2.4
Other	11	0.82*	6	0.91	5.0
Place of birth					
Canada ¹ †	18	1.00	5	1.00	2.4
Canada, with at least one immigrant parent	11	0.65*	7	1.14*	2.6
South America	11	0.79*	8	1.81*	5.0
Europe	13	0.87*	6	1.50*	4.5
Africa	11	0.76*	8	1.40*	5.8
Middle East	13	1.06	4	0.75	6.5
East Asia	11	0.86	5	0.77	5.8
Southeast Asia	7	0.47*	9	2.19*	2.8
South Asia	6	0.44*	7	1.49	5.6
United States, Oceania and others	12	0.66*	6	1.35	2.4
Place of work					
City of Montréal †	11	1.00	10	1.00	2.1
Rest of the Island of Montréal	18	1.73*	6	0.55*	2.9
Other area municipalities outside the Island of Montréal	44	5.95*	2	0.13*	5.7
Outside the CMA	21	2.26*	3	0.24*	3.5
No fixed place of work	14	1.46*	5	0.36*	2.5
No place of work	7	1.03	4	0.32*	3.0

† reference group

* difference statistically significant compared to the reference group at $p < 0.05$

1. Includes persons born outside Canada but who are nevertheless Canadian by birth.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table A.3 Characteristics associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Vancouver to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44

Characteristics	Moved from the municipality of Vancouver to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Vancouver		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Total	14	...	4	...	1.8
Sex					
Women †	14	1.00	4	1.00	1.8
Men	14	0.94	4	1.11*	1.7
Age group					
25 to 29 †	12	1.00	7	1.00	0.9
30 to 34	18	1.13*	5	0.72*	2.0
35 to 39	16	0.98	3	0.50*	2.7
40 to 44	11	0.75*	2	0.37*	2.2
Family status					
Childless persons					
Adult child living with parents	7	0.75*	1	0.09*	2.6
Non-family (person living alone or with roommates) †	8	1.00	11	1.00	0.6
Persons in a couple	19	2.44*	7	0.73*	1.8
Persons with children					
Lone parents	13	1.90*	2	0.34*	1.8
Married or common-law parents					
Were parents in 2001, no other children since	12	1.85*	1	0.24*	2.4
Were parents in 2001, at least one new child since	19	3.01*	1	0.22*	4.4
Had their first child between 2001 and 2006	27	4.21*	3	0.33*	4.9
Had their first children between 2001 and 2006 (2 or more children)	29	4.72*	2	0.24*	6.3
Highest level of education attained					
No high school diploma	12	0.78*	3	0.98	1.8
High school diploma	13	0.83*	3	0.95	1.8
College or vocational school diploma †	16	1.00	3	1.00	2.1
University degree, bachelor's	14	0.85*	7	2.10*	1.5
University degree, master's or doctorate (including medical studies)	13	0.62*	6	2.70*	1.7
After-tax family income					
Under \$20,000	9	0.82	7	2.28*	0.9
\$20,000 to \$39,999	12	0.88*	6	1.88*	1.1
\$40,000 to \$49,999	13	0.84*	5	1.58*	1.5
\$50,000 to \$59,999	16	0.94	3	1.31*	2.1
\$60,000 to \$69,999	17	0.97	3	1.12	2.6
\$70,000 to \$79,999 †	17	1.00	3	1.00	2.7
\$80,000 to \$99,999	18	0.96	2	1.01	2.7
\$100,000 to \$149,999	17	1.01	2	0.93	3.4
\$150,000 and over	12	0.75*	3	1.20	2.0

Table A.3 Characteristics associated with the probability of moving from the municipality of Vancouver to a surrounding municipality in the metropolitan area between 2001 and 2006 for persons aged 25 to 44 (continued)

	Moved from the municipality of Vancouver to a surrounding municipality		Moved from a surrounding municipality to the municipality of Vancouver		Net intrametropolitan migration between the central municipality and other municipalities
	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	percentage	adjusted odds ratio	exchange ratio
Low-income status after-tax					
No	15	...	4	...	1.9
Yes	11	...	5	...	1.2
Place of birth					
Canada ¹ †	17	1.00	4	1.00	1.7
Canada, with at least one immigrant parent	13	0.75*	5	1.19*	1.4
South America	15	0.82	5	1.44*	1.8
Europe	14	0.73*	4	1.13	1.6
Africa	14	0.82	3	1.01	1.9
Middle East	15	1.01	5	1.45*	1.1
East Asia	13	0.72*	5	1.34*	2.2
Southeast Asia	13	0.63*	4	1.20	2.5
South Asia	16	0.67*	1	0.37*	4.0
United States, Oceania and others	13	0.67*	2	0.64*	3.5
Place of work					
City of Vancouver †	9	1.00	11	1.00	1.1
Other municipalities in the CMA	26	3.93*	2	0.18*	2.8
Outside the CMA	14	2.34*	2	0.19*	2.3
No fixed place of work	13	1.76*	4	0.30*	1.5
No place of work	11	1.54*	2	0.23*	2.2

† reference group

* difference statistically significant compared to the reference group at $p < 0.05$

1. Includes persons born outside Canada but who are nevertheless Canadian by birth.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table A.4 Profile of population aged 25 to 44 in 2006, by place of residence, 2006

Characteristics	Place of residence					
	Toronto CMA		Montréal CMA		Vancouver CMA	
	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality
	percentage					
Family status	100	100	100	100	100	100
Childless persons	38	56	38	59	44	67
Adult child living with parents	15	14	9	10	12	11
Non-family (person living alone or with roommates)	9	23	13	29	15	33
Persons in a couple	15	19	16	20	18	24
Persons with children	62	44	62	41	56	33
Lone parents	5	6	7	7	6	4
Married or common-law parents (total)	57	38	55	34	50	29
Were parents in 2001, no other children since	29	18	30	15	26	13
Were parents in 2001, at least one new child since	13	8	11	8	11	6
Had their first child between 2001 and 2006	10	8	9	8	9	7
Had their first children between 2001 and 2006 (2 or more children)	5	3	5	3	4	3
Highest level of education attained	100	100	100	100	100	100
No high school diploma	8	9	11	10	8	7
High school diploma	23	20	18	16	24	19
College or vocational school diploma	35	29	45	36	37	30
University diploma, bachelor's	27	31	21	26	23	33
University diploma, master's or doctorate (including medical studies)	8	11	5	11	7	11
After-tax family income	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under \$20,000	6	15	7	21	11	18
\$20,000 to \$39,999	13	22	17	30	18	23
\$40,000 to \$49,999	9	11	12	12	10	11
\$50,000 to \$59,999	10	10	13	10	10	9
\$60,000 to \$69,999	10	8	12	7	10	8
\$70,000 to \$79,999	10	7	10	6	9	7
\$80,000 to \$99,999	17	10	14	7	13	9
\$100,000 to \$149,999	19	11	11	5	13	10
\$150,000 and over	7	6	3	2	5	4
Low-income status after-tax	100	100	100	100	100	100
No	90	81	91	75	85	80
Yes	10	19	9	25	15	20
Place of birth	100	100	100	100	100	100
Canada ¹	24	21	74	45	34	29
Canada, with at least one immigrant parent	26	23	11	15	21	23
South America	7	9	3	9	2	3
Europe	10	10	4	9	7	7
Africa	3	4	2	8	2	1
Middle East	3	4	2	4	2	2

Table A.4 Profile of population aged 25 to 44 in 2006, by place of residence, 2006 (continued)

	Place of residence					
	Toronto CMA		Montréal CMA		Vancouver CMA	
	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality	Surrounding municipalities	Central municipality
	percentage					
Place of birth (continued)						
East Asia	7	11	1	3	14	20
Southeast Asia	5	7	1	3	6	9
South Asia	13	11	1	3	9	3
United States, Oceania and others	1	1	1	1	3	3
Place of work	100	100	100	100	100	100
Downtown	25	62	32	63	16	53
Surrounding municipality	53	14	48	13	58	24
Outside the CMA	3	2	4	2	3	2
No fixed place of work	10	10	8	7	12	10
No place of work	9	13	8	15	11	11
Tenure	100	100	100	100	100	100
Renter	15	47	24	68	28	54
Owner	85	53	76	32	72	46
Type of housing	100	100	100	100	100	100
Single house	59	25	63	7	44	19
Semi-detached or row house	23	15	10	7	14	5
Apartment	18	60	27	86	42	77
Number of rooms in dwelling	100	100	100	100	100	100
2 or less	17	54	30	65	35	64
3	39	28	45	27	30	14
4 or more	44	18	25	8	35	22
Mode of transportation to get to work	100	100	100	100	100	100
Car	85	52	84	51	80	54
Public transit	13	37	12	36	15	26
Walking, cycling or other	3	11	4	12	6	20
Median distance between place of work and place of residence (in km)	12	7	12	6	9	4

1. Includes persons born outside Canada but who are nevertheless Canadian by birth.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table A.5 Selected occupations and percentage of persons aged 25 to 44 who moved to or from a central municipality between 2001 and 2006

	Moved from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality			Moved from a surrounding municipality to a central municipality		
	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver	Toronto	Montréal	Vancouver
	percentage					
Occupations						
All persons aged 25 to 44 (including those without an occupation)	14	14	14	5	5	4
Senior management occupations	13	19	15	4	4	4
Business, finance and administrative occupations ¹	16	18	17	5	4	4
Managers in art, culture, recreation and sport	9	7	11	11	5	11
Business, finance and administrative occupations	15	20	16	6	7	6
Professional occupations in natural and applied sciences and similar occupations	20	18	15	6	7	7
Technical occupations related to natural and applied sciences	19	18	16	5	6	5
Health occupations	12	17	13	6	6	8
Nurse supervisors and registered nurses and technical and similar health sector personnel	16	18	17	4	4	4
Judges, lawyers and Quebec notaries	6	18	16	13	11	14
Postsecondary and university professors and assistants	5	6	7	13	26	12
College, secondary and elementary school teachers and support personnel	15	18	16	5	5	5
Writing, translation and public relations professionals	8	11	11	12	11	8
Creative and performing artists	5	6	9	14	12	12
Photographers, graphic arts technicians and technical and coordinating occupations in motion pictures, broadcasting and performing arts	6	10	11	12	11	9
Creative designers and craftpersons	10	10	12	9	11	6
Other occupations related to arts and culture	6	12	4	7	12	8

1. This category excludes managers in art, culture, recreation and sport.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

Table A.6 Destination of persons aged 25 to 44 who moved from a central municipality to a surrounding municipality

Destination	Immigrant status and country of birth			
	Total	Canada ¹	Canada	Autres pays
		Parents born in Canada	With at least one immigrant parent	Immigrants
	percentage			
From the city of Toronto to...	100	100	100	100
Mississauga	20	18	18	21
Brampton	17	9	11	21
Markham	15	7	11	19
Vaughan	12	6	17	12
Richmond Hill	8	5	6	9
Ajax	6	9	7	5
Oakville	5	10	6	3
Pickering	5	7	5	4
Others	13	28	19	7
From the city of Montréal to...	100	100	100	100
Rest of the Island	7	4	12	11
Laval	25	16	41	41
Longueuil	9	10	6	10
Terrebonne	7	8	6	5
Repentigny	5	7	3	3
North Shore (others)	24	29	18	13
South Shore (others)	23	27	14	17
From the city of Vancouver to ...	100	100	100	100
Burnaby	22	16	23	26
Richmond	16	9	15	22
Surrey	17	16	13	20
Coquitlam	8	8	9	7
Delta	7	9	7	5
New Westminster	6	10	6	4
Others	24	32	28	16

1. Persons born outside Canada but who are nevertheless Canadian by birth.
Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Population.

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- For the city of Vancouver, see <http://vancouver.ca/commsvcs/socialplanning/initiatives/childcare/ccgrants1.htm>. For the city of Toronto, see <http://www.toronto.ca/children/subsidy.htm>.
- In the country's other large metropolitan areas such as Ottawa-Gatineau, Calgary or Edmonton, surrounding municipalities are much less numerous and densely populated than in the three largest CMAs. Consequently, the question of moves from the central municipality to surrounding municipalities is a bit less relevant there.
- It should be noted that this article does not deal directly with urban sprawl. In fact, the boundaries between central and surrounding municipalities do not allow the various elements to be taken into account in studies on urban sprawl (population densities, usage mixing, etc.) to be adequately measured.

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13. For example, if only parents with incomes of \$50,000 or more are examined, the proportion of lone parents or heads of single-parent families who left the central municipality in the Montréal area was only 12%. The corresponding proportion for new parents of a single child was 36%. There were similar discrepancies in the Toronto and Vancouver areas.
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18. Family income can vary considerably from one year to another. Therefore care must be taken in interpreting data since 2005 income is used to characterize greater or lesser propensity to have migrated between 2001 and 2006. That being said, one can be confident of the validity of the results since the relationships observed in Tables 1.a, 1.b and 1.c follow trends identical to those obtained when we focus solely on central municipality/surrounding municipality migrations between 2005 and 2006 (results not shown).
19. For example, according to the 2006 Census, the average value of a single house in the city of Toronto was a little over one-half million dollars (\$506,000). In the city of Brampton, a municipality located west of Toronto that is experiencing strong demographic growth (+33% between 2001 and 2006), the average cost of housing of this type was about \$375,000. There are some non-central municipalities where average single house costs are even higher than in the central municipality, for example, Richmond Hill, in the Toronto area, Westmount, in the Montréal area and West Vancouver, in the Vancouver area. In general, however, prices are significantly lower in the outskirts than downtown.
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