THE IDENTIFICATION AND PREDICTION OF REINVESTMENT ACTIVITY IN HAMILTON

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses real estate activity in Hamilton, for the period 1973 - 80, in an attempt to identify predictors. Particularly of interest is activity in the older central city neighbourhoods which have been declining for a number of years. After reviewing the literature on the inner city, and the processes operating in it, the Hamilton situation is explored. Seventeen census tracts emerge from the analysis as experiencing reinvestment activity during the above time period. The characteristics which are predictive, and most distinct, deal with the housing in, and location of, the census tracts. Socio-economic characteristics are neither predictive nor significant, for the most part.

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Problem Statement

Since the turn of the century, movement in space has been predominatly from urban to suburban areas. Particularly since, World War II, the "suburban dream" has been widely sought after. With higher standards of living, widespread adoption of private transport - the automobile -, transportation developments - freeways -, and federal government guarantees on mortgages, both individual consumers and industry have been able to exercise their preference for the increased space, and decreased costs associated with a location removed from the central city. The lack of space, congestion, and typically small residences of the central city did not hold any appeal for a large portion of the population.

However, since the early sixties, there has been a turnaround of sorts - a "back to the city" movement as it has been labelled. Whether it is or not is a moot point, as the predominant trend still appears to be one of movement out of the central city, and neighbourhoods which had been previously caught in a vicious cycle of decline are being revitalized. Be it as a result of gentrification, or incumbent upgrading (or whatever other term one wishes to use) these areas have been given a much needed catalyst to rebuild, and restore themselves to their former vitality.

Two results of this injection of capital into these declining neighbourhoods have opened the way for much criticism. First, the revitalization has led to the displacement of low to moderate income families residing in the areas concerned. The exact numbers involved

have been difficult to establish with any degree of certainty, but there are enough persons displaced to be a cause for concern, and contention. Second, and related to the first, low to moderate income families wishing to occupy the housing in these neighbourhoods, are effectively barred from so doing. Competition in the housing markets in these areas tends to so inflate the cost of housing, that it becomes beyond their means. This is not to say that the reinvestment activity itself is undesireable, but, rather, the above effects must be kept to a minimum, if not avoided entirely.

A general body of theory has been developing in an attempt to explain the phenomenon, over the past ten years or so especially. Nevertheless, as several researchers have pointed out (Bourne; Burstein; DeGiovanni; Genung; Nenno; Sumka; Thayer and Waidhas; Witte) the effect of revitalization, and the specific mechanisms operating in any given city are location specific. Because of this, each city requires detailed individual study in order to understand the form that reinvestment is taking and is likely to take in the future.

Thus the specific aims of this study are: 1) to determine those areas in Hamilton that are experiencing reinvestment activity, and 2) to understand the specific characteristics these areas have in common and those distinguishing them from areas not experiencing similar activity.

The Inner City

The central city, or the "inner city" as it has come to be called, given that the suburbs increasingly represent a duplication of

function (Erber, p. 18), represents the essence of urban life. Trimble uses an organic analogy to emphasize the fact. He presents cities as "living organisms with their urban core functioning much as the heart operates in the human being" (Trimble, p.4), and if the heart deteriorates, the result is urban decay - the flight of both business and residents. Increasingly, this has come to be the case - that the inner city has deteriorated, largely as a result of the growth of the suburbs, although as Ley is quick to point out, and is quite readily evident, Canadian cities have not developed the blight and abandonment so characteristic of many old industrial American cities. Rather, there has been a more "continuous phase of redevelopment with each phase leading to a more intensive land use type" (Ley, 1981, p. 125).

Harris and Ullman, writing in the period immediately following the original Burgess and Hoyt conceptions of the "city", noted that cities are unique, and that the patterning of each city develops in response to the specific social and economic needs of the residents. However, as they further develop their argument, they remark that the size and success often result in a "poor local environment" (Harris and Ullman, p. 7). This idea dominates the literature from that time forward, and as Bourne comments, the inner city is a relative term and very value-laden. It conveys an image of blight, poverty and crime, is depicted as a slum or ghetto, and is identified with ethnic or racial communities (Bourne, p. 244). Yezer states that in addition to poverty, the inner city is also seen to be isolated (Yezer, p.A17).

Admittedly, this interpretation may be somewhat harsh in the Canadian context, given the earlier qualification by Ley, but in a study of Canadian inner cities for the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, it is established that the inner city is functionally different from the suburbs and that it does exhibit problems (McLemore et al, p.4).

A discussion of the inner city cannot continue for long without a definition. There exist many different definitions, but for the most part, differences consist of subtleties and variations in language, basically arranged around a common thread of understanding. For the purpose of this analysis, two definitions have been combined, to arrive at a general description and definition of the inner city. First, Bourne defines the inner city as the "geographic area or set of areas in which the built environment,..., is on average older than that in the rest of the urban area, and which, by definition, occupies a central location" (Bourne, p. 225). He suggests that it is an area subject to three analogous processes: 1) the aging and obsolescence of the housing stock, social services, infrastructure, and industrial base, 2) land use competition, especially in the central business district, and 3) demographic transition, as evidenced by an aging population, and the loss of family households (Bourne, p. 225).

Second, McLemore, Aass and Keilhofer, define the inner city as the "central core of urban areas, and the residential and mixed areas around this core" (McLemore et al, p. 2), and observe that it exhibits a number of distinctive characteristics, four to be exact. First, it is typically the area of the city to be initially developed,and

because of its age, and location, it is particularly subject to pressure to change, especially the housing stock. Second, the form is unique. There exists a fine balancing and interweaving of a number of land uses, and to change the function would involve "drastic damage to physical infrastructure" (McLemore et al, p. 2). Third, its location between the central business district and the suburbs requires that it be divided by roads, and there will be tension created by the transition from commerical to residential uses. Fourth, that it generally is the settlement area for in-migrants, creates pressures which have the possibility of becoming serious social problems (McLemore et al, p. 2). The reason for distinguishing between the two, is that while both are very similar, Bourne's definition does not comment upon the importance of the form, and the mixture of land uses. Similarly, the McLemore definition does not account for the demographic changes, except in a very vague fashion when discussing the inner city as a settlement area. By combining the two, it seems that a workable definition of the Canadian inner city - as opposed to the American inner city in which racial factors tend to predominate - is achieved.

Inner City Decline

Continuing with the organic metaphor related in the previous section, Johnson states that "(d)ecline is postulated as a natural process in the life cycle of a neighbourhood" (Johnson, p. 17), and refers to the five stage theory of neighbourhood decline which progresses from a "healthy" state to an abandoned state (Johnson, p.

17). Moving away from the necessarily organic interpretation but still within the realm of the inevitable, Smith although writing from an entirely different perspective, states that the "decline of the inner cities is implied in the more general expansion of urban areas and particularly in the development of the suburbs"(Smith, 1982, p. 148). These are but two examples of a general notion that, left without any active intervention, and quite possibly even in spite of, the decline of the inner city is a foregone conclusion. Nevertheless, as Ahlbrandt and Brophy draw attention to, decline, while occuring over time, occurs at varying rates. Further, they state that the variation and the extent of deterioration are "particularly sensitive to the rate of economic growth of the metropolitan area, as well as intra-metropolitan pressures resulting from locational preferences of households and industry" (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 5).

This purely economic rationale for decline prevades the literature (Ahlbrandt and Brophy; Berry; Lipton; McLemore et al; Ramanos). However, it is also generally tempered with social, demographic and cultural reasons. As Lipton notes, the social, economic and physical changes in American cities, post World War II, are normally understood to reflect the deterioration and aging of the core areas of urban centres (Lipton, p. 136). Stated quite clearly, decline is taken to be characterized by a process of continuous, deteriorating physical conditions, the exodus of the "economically mobile", and the development of social problems (McLemore et al, p. 5).

In particular, the impairment of both housing and environmental conditions precipitates decline (McLemore et al, p. 5; Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 5). Housing deteriorates when too great a portion of income must be spent to obtain living accommodation, precluding maintenace, and promoting deterioration (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 5). Environmental deterioration is seen as a result of the flight of the middle classes (Lipton, p. 136) and the loss of business establishments (McLemore et al, p. 5) which weaken the economic (tax) base, and restricts proper maintenance, and new development, of social services and physical infrastructure. As appealing as this may be, it is still only a partial explanation. In criticizing it, Ley even goes so far as to suggest that it is "ineffective as an explanation of deterioration" (Ley, 1983, p. 253).

In support of this conclusion, Ley cites a study by Nourse and Phares that determined income levels, which decline with the in-migration of poorer residents, to be the crucial factor. They suggest that it is not the age of the housing per se that results in decline, but rather that as the relatively affluent exit to the suburbs (or elsewhere in the city) filtering takes place, and proceeds until the housing is occupied by the poorest members. This in turn has a depressing effect upon property values in the neighbourhoods, which spreads throughout the city, promoting a general state of decline (Ley, 1983, p. 253). In fact, as Gale mentions, there is a complex body of residential theory assuming that housing, and neighbourhoods, filter downward (Gale, 1979, p. 313). Equally

important in this process, is the transition from ownership to tenancy, which has been shown to be "synonymous with decine" (Ley, 1983, p. 255; McLemore et al, p. 5). Also, Ley points out that conditions of excess supply, leading to high vacancy rates, eventually result in abandonment (Ley, 1983, p. 255-56). Similarly, conditions of excess demand, combined with low vacancy rates, may eventually result in deterioration as a result of overcrowding.

The last idea which Ley mentions in his discussion of the pathology of decline is something which Johnson stresses quite strongly. Ley comments that "behind the physical abandonment is a psychological abandonment" (Ley, 1983, p. 256). Johnson feels that decline is quite dependent upon "how the local residents perceive and react" to events in the neighbourhood. Unfortunately the reactions of the residents generally tend to result in a hastening of the process of decline. This occurs as a result of the exit, or relocation, of the middle and upper income residents, and the resignation exhibited by the lower and moderate income residents (Johnson, p. 18).

Inner City Revitalization

Bruce London has set out a somewhat brief, but clear, commentary on the various "theories" of "gentrification", appreciating and discussing the connotations. He identifies four alternative explanations for "urban reinvasion" in the literature: 1) demographic-ecological, 2) socio-cultural, 3) political-economic, and 4) social movements (London, p. 82). In this section the main arguments as to <u>why</u> revitalization occurs are reviewed, and the

goals and negative consequence are briefly discussed. In theoretical terms, it is likely best considered under the aegis of urban social movements. To quote London once more:

> "The social movement perspective emphasizes the ideologies of 'pro-urbanism' (a socio-cultural approach) by elites with the land based interests (the political-economic approach) in order to motivate the behaviour (through a social movement) of large numbers of young, affluent households (the demographic factor). Such a synthesis holds great promise for understanding urban reinvasion" (London, pp. 88-9).

With this in mind, this analysis is a partial study, focusing upon the socio-cultural, economic (as opposed to political-economic) and demographic factors.

The first set of reasons set forth as to why reinvestment activity is occuring in central city areas deal with transportation costs, and accessibility to the central business district. Proximity to downtown, being the focus of activity in most cities, is cited as a key reason (Sumka, p. 5; McLemore et al, p. 5). The location of both office and service facilities in the central city increases the relative attractiveness of an inner city location, since it reduces the travel time, and cost involved in journeys, to work, shopping, and recreational activities (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 6; Alonso, p. 550; Black, p. 3; Rapkin and Grigsby, p. 55). The importance of the last is increasing for two reasons. First, the increase in the number of multi-worker families means that residential location decisions involve consideration of two or more journeys to work. This tends to reduce the desirability of a suburban location (Lipton, p. 147; Long,

p. 66; Yezer, p. A17). Second, the fuel crisis, and concern for the protection and conservation of the environment and natural resources has also served to increase the attractiveness of an inner city location (Black, p. 3; Trimble, p. 4).

The next set of factors relates to changes in both household composition, and size. Yezer maintains that patterns of residential location represent a "systematic segregation of families by income group". Because higher income households consume greater amounts of housing, they locate at the furthest points out in the city. However, with the decreases in household size which are occurring, the demand for space falls, and the higher income households move in closer to the centre of the city (Yezer, p. A17). Alonso, however draws attention to the fact that it is not just the absolute change in household size, but also that the average number of households is increasing at the same time. (Alonso, p. 543). This is happening for a number of reasons, and both Ley and Alonso refer to changes in society, or "societal definitions", in discussing them. They, as well as others, stress that increased rates of separation and divorce, increased numbers of "non-traditional" (non-nuclear) households, along with the increased desire, and encouragement of young adults to set up their own homes all serve to raise the demand for smaller, central city housing units, by decreasing the average household size (Alonso,p. 543; Ley, 1983, p. 45; Long, p. 66; Rose, p. 16). One final aspect regarding changes in composition that is important deals with the decreasing birth rate. Since the make-up of the population is

changing, as young adults remain single longer, and choose to either remain childless or at least have fewer children, they require less space, and are less concerned wth child related amenities (Black, p.3; Lipton, p. 147). In support, Alonso maintains that there is no longer as great a need of the suburbs as a place to raise children (Alonso, p. 543), while Long states, somewhat more forcefully, that the "presence or impending presence of children provided a powerful stimulus...to move from the cities to suburbs" (Long, p. 64).

Related are factors dealing specifically with changes in the life style and tastes of the population. Yezer and Smith each stress that the economic issues are paramount, but even in so doing, allow that cultural forces are also at work (Smith, 1979, p. 540; Yezer, p. A17), and perform a role. This belief regarding cultural determinants has been discussed by many authors. Rose suggests that one reason for the increased attractiveness of central cities is that the suburbs - the "conventional areas" - do not permit the expression of changed life-styles (Rose, p. 17). The generally homogeneous character of the suburbs is the antithesis of the rich neighbourhood diversity most often found in the central city, and as Weiler claims, "diversity is probably on its way to becoming an accepted part of the middle class lifestyle and value system, at least for urban reinvestors" (Weiler in Ley, 1983, p. 277). Changing interests, and attitudes towards urban living, combined with the fashionable imagery downtowns create, serve to stimulate a desire to reside in these areas (Ley, 1983, pp. 157, 259; Yezer, p. A17). The importance of these changes is likely not to

diminish for some time, as the eighteen to thirty-four year old cohort continues to grow, and express their desire for central residential locations (Long, p. 66).

Before briefly discussing the economic aspects, one last socio-cultural element which is becoming increasingly more important is the role of women. Quite apart from their position with respect to accessibility, household composition, and life-style, the impact of women is worth noting. As more women are drawn into the workforce (Abu-Lughod, p. 596; Long, p. 66; Yezer, p. A17), a fact which hardly requires substantiation, the spatial organization of urban areas is being transformed. Since more women are working, and remaining unmarried, their desire for space, particularly the duties associated with it, is decreasing (Lipton, p. 147). Alonso states that a woman's travel is more complicated, such that she needs to be near her place of employment and have easy access to services (Alonso, p. 550). However much one might wish to take issue on this point, the reformation of women's (and men's) roles has not, even yet, progressed to a point where this statement becomes invalid. Regardless, it is becoming widely accepted that the role of women is of primary importance, although as Rose cautions, the way in which it is involved is still not "adequately conceptualized" (Rose, p. 16).

The final set of factors to be mentioned deal with more specifically economic concerns, those of cost and value. Sumka refers to macro trends within the housing market when discussing causation (Sumka, p. 161), while Black is more specific. He asserts that

increased costs of new construction, for both housing and the supportive infrastructure, are the forces behind the process (Black, p. 3; see also Clay, 1979b p. 16). Ley regards the initial low cost as providing an opportunity for relatively cheaper housing (Ley, 1983, p. 157), and even Rose allows that the affordability question is a major aspect (Rose, p. 17). While Gale accepts that it is a financial investment (Gale, 1977, p. A17), Phipps goes one step further, in a discussion of the unique character of the inner city, and maintains that it is precisely the undervaluation, and expectation of short-run profit that is a key to the explanation. Regardless, the "selection of a neighbourhood will be made on the basis of the price and quality of the housig as well as the quality of the total living environment" (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 6). No matter how physically deteriorated, there appears to be some "inherent value" in the housing stock, and some "intrinsic attractiveness" to the neighbourhoods, within the inner city (Sumka, p. 162).

The argument that the inner city is attractive and valuable, with the associated emphasis upon rehabilitation as opposed to wholesale clearance projects in the name of urban renewal, represents what Eager and Hyatt refer to as "perhaps the most striking and promising urban development of the last decade" (Eager and Hyatt, p. 4; see also Nash, p. 8). The goals of a rehabilitation or conservation program are quite simply to "maintain the economic and social values of a neighbourhood and, where desirable, to improve these values" by "maintaining and improving the physical standards of the

neighbourhood" (Slayton, p. 436). In pursuing a strategy of rehabilitation, costs may be kept to a minimum, the time necessary to realize the goal of suitable housing is shortened, local ties are not unnecessarily severed and, indeed, the total living experience can be psychologically and socially more comfortable and rewarding (Hartman, 975p. 69; Case, p. 168). The specific aim seems to be to prolong the economic and social "life" of the structures and neighbourhoods for at least a period of twenty-five years (Fraser, p. 279; Slayton, p. 439). What happens after this time is not set out. However, it seems reasonable to assume that with proper attention, that is, the removal of structures as they come to require more than regular maintenance, and the infilling with appropriate new construction as this occurs, the process of decline need not reassert itself (Slayton, p. 443).

Despite the rosy picture presented above, the process does not operate without negative side effects. While Smith agrees with Eager and Hyatt on the timing, and claims that rehabilitation has become "fashionable" in the wake of urban renewal (Smith, 1984), Nash shows that in fact there is a "long-standing" tradition of rehabilitation (Nash, p.3), citing by way of example a 1904 issue of Suburban Life . With such a long history, one would expect that problems must surely have surfaced and this has been the case, especially over the last two decades. In particular, displacement is singled out as the problem of greatest concern.

In as much as rehabilitation serves to improve the housing stock, increase the tax base, attract employment and commercial

activities, and improve the quality of local services, it does so at the expense of incumbent low income residents. Rehabilitation generally serves to exacerbate the difficulties which this group experience in finding suitable and affordable housing. The economics of the situation are quite straightforward. As rehabilitation occurs, the neighbourhood becomes more attractive, demand for the housing increases, and lower-income residents are priced out of the market. (Eager and Hyatt, p. 4; Hartman, p. 173; Ley, 1983, p. 277; Lorimer and Ross, p. 217). Genung adds that this problem becomes one of even greater significance in a tight housing market (Genung, p. 12), with the result that residents often have to relocate to poorer quality, even substandard, housing (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 23).

The real thrust of the argument, however, deals with the psychological and social effects of dislocation. Meadows describes communities arising and functioning "as organizations solving the problems and satisfying the social interests of a particular group or groups" (Meadows, p. 4). When the process described above is operating this "community" is adversely affected. As Zeitz states, "dramatically different socio-economic groupings and socio-cultural milieu are created" by rehabilitation efforts (Zeitz, p. 2), resulting in broken neighbourhood ties and people having to move from their familiar surroundings (Genung, p. 12). Besides this "resegregation of the population", the whole process eliminates the neighbourhood diversity which was one of the original attractions (Jackson, p. 17), a rather ironic turn of events. These effects serve to highlight the

differences in meaning for the two groups involved. To the poorer residents, revitalization means a "physically improved neighbourhood occupied by current residents", while to the incoming population, it means both the "physical and social upgrading" of the neighbourhood (Auger, p. 520). Because of these effects and the differences in perspective, the rehabilitation process must be monitored and controlled to minimize them. Even more so, it needs to be anticipated so that the problems may be altogether precluded.

The Setting: Hamilton

Hamilton, as an industrial city, is ripe for some form of reinvestment in its older inner city neighbourhoods, for as Ley observes, the incidence of decline is associated with older deteriorating industrial economies. In Hamilton, early expansion was hindered by the escarpment, which presented a major hurdle to efficient transportation and communication, and residential expansion. As a result, growth was largely confined to the lower city area. This, combined with a lack of planning (as noted in a number of studies: City of Hamilton Housing Market Analysis (HMA); Agenda for Action 1972 (AA1972); Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board Urban Renewal Study (MTPB)), resulted in a dense, and intense land use pattern.

However, this alone does not explain the blighted conditions which exist in some areas of the city (MTPB, p. 116; HMA; Residential Enclaves (RE), p. 12). Hamilton's economy is based on primary metal and manufacturing industries, these being the dominant

industries of long standing (AA1972, p.3). Because of the city's proximity to Toronto, and particularly since the QEW-Highway 403 combination was opened, the concentration of administrative and service activities which typically locate in central city areas has not developed to the extent which would normally be expected. As well, much of the region's industrial development has, since the early 1960's anyway, taken place outside the city proper, particularly in Burlington (which is no longer a part of the Region), with the result that Hamilton has lost many of its formerly important secondary industries (MTPB, p. 129). As McLemore, Aass and Keilhofer state, a weak economic base, as a result of : 1) a weak regional economy, 2) a slow growth rate, 3) suburbanization, and, 4) a lack of new, major functions locating in the region, is one of the reasons for decline. (McLemore et al, p. 5). Taken in combination, the generally obsolete and deteriorated natue of the physical structures in the central business district, the decentralization of service facilities to the east end and the mountain (from 1955 - 65, in the central business district, taxable realty assessment fell 6%, and taxable business assessment fell 18.2% (Agenda for Action 1966 (AA1966), pp. 28-9)), and the lack of new investment, suggest that a process of decline is operating in Hamilton.

Additional support, however is offered by the Regional Housing Statement, which records a number of interesting trends. First, the growth in the number of households in Hamilton has exceeded the rate of population growth, and second, the proportion of non-family

households has continued to increase. Both of these situations strain the existing housing supply. When considered with the third trend, the decreases in annual building activity, the relative taxing of capacity increases. Fourthly, and lastly, the value of property and structures in a number of the older residential areas has been static, or, worse, declining, which is a sure sign of decline (McLemore et al, p.5; Regional Housing Statement (RHS), p. 26).

Given that inner city decline has been occurring in Hamilton, the effects may be expected to become apparent quickly, and noticeably in the condition of the housing stock, for one. Supporting this, is the 1958 Urban Renewal Study undertaken upon the request of the Board of Control, by the City Planning Commissioner. The report urged that: 1) the City develop an "adequate" official plan, 2) the City adopt a minimum standards by-law (to this time there had not been one), and , 3) the City adopt a long-term urban renewal program stressing the redevelopment of blighted areas, and the rehabilitation of decling areas (MTPB, pp. 114 - 15). Out of the forty-eight neighbourhoods into which Hamilton was divided for the purpose of the study, nineteen were classed as blighted or declining, most of these being located in the older central city area (MTPB, pp.116-17; Hamilton Housing Needs (HHN), p. 25). The Housing Market Analysis in 1971, confirms these findings. Based upon the American Public Health Association Appraisal Techniques, the study found that in more than half the census tracts (as defined in 1971), greater than fifty percent of the stock was in need of rehabilitation and improvement, or was physically impaired

(HMA, see Map 1). Further, the City's Housing Report stresses that the housing stock in the older residential areas is in need of regular maintenance (RHS, p. ii).

Perhaps partly in response, the city assigned a Housing Task Force, which issued a preliminary report in 1974. Unfortunately the study was not particularly intensive in terms of gross numbers of units, and conditions based upon assessment figures. There was no detailed physical examination of the stock itself. (This is not an isolated incident, as evidenced by the statement that "throughout the course of this study it readily became apparent that no one group or agency has a clear understanding of the housing situation in Hamilton" (HHN, p. 28)). Nevertheless, the general findings are of interest and concern. The Report notes the small annual increases to the existing stock (Housing Task Force Preliminary Report (Task), p. 11), indicating that it is of great importance, and advises that active programs to encourage both rehabilitation and new construction efforts are required to ensure an adequate and continuing supply of satisfactory accommodation (Task, p. 11). The Regional Housing Statement also recommends that the large population of older housing units "must be maintained to ensure a healthy housing stock" (RHS, p. 25). The Task Force Report most emphatically asserts the need for older and poorer quality units to be rehabilitated. Rehabilitation of these elements of the existing stock, would be an "effective means to provide low-cost housing" (Task, p. 11), a sentiment voiced by other groups (A Response by the Housing Action Committee (Response);

The Social Costs of Urban Renewal (SPC63); Brief to the Advisory Task Force (SPC73)).

In a brief prepared, and presented to the Advisory Task Force, the Social Planning Council shows that the housing market in Hamilton was (and indeed it still is (RHS, p. i)) very tight - vacancy rates being atypically low - and that, in combination with the rapid increases in the costs of newly constructed homes, the housing available for low-income residents is insufficient for their needs (SPC73, pp.3-5). The recommendations in the Report, to promote more "non-profit and co-operative construction" and renovation to upgrade the quality of the existing stock (SPC73, p. 9), echo the claim by the Housing Action Committee that an "effective housing policy must increase the supply, and conserve and improve the quality of the existing stock", since an effective rehabilitation program is the only way to significantly affect the low-income household's housing situation (Response, p. 16). However, while "rehabilitation programs offer opportunities to preserve communities and avoid the social and human costs of redevelopment and rehousing" (Response, p. 16), success is not guaranteed. As Hartman quite pointedly states, "(u)nfortunately, however attractive and compelling the thought of this logic, its application has frequently failed" (Hartman, 1975, p. 69). In Hamilton, problems are evident.

The report by Barnard Associates (HHN) indicates that the available supply of low-income housing is being eroded by rehabilitation programs, as a result of sales of rental units to owner occupiers by absentee landlords. The North End, where an urban

renewal program is in place, is cited as a specific example (HHN, p. 26). In general, the report indicates that there exists interest, and activity, in private rehabilitation across the city. Nevertheless, if this interest should increase, the problems, or the potential for problems, will be compounded. As it is, large or low-income households, as well as older and long-term residents, have great difficulty in satisfying their housing requirements, and depend upon established familial and communal lines of assistance (SPC63, pp. 4-5). As a result of displacement, in the face of rehabilitation, these coping networks are liable to be broken (SPC63, p. 5) and Hamilton, has not traditionally had a well established network of community organizations to assist in relocation and coping with the longer term effects of displacemet (Hamilton's Changing Urban Scene (Summary), p. 1).

In the previous section, reference was made to demographic, socio-cultural and economic changes that are understood to promote reinvestment activity. These trends are evident in Hamilton, and support the argument that reinvestment activity, if not already occurring, may occur in the not so distant future. The data have been compiled by the Social Planning Council (Social Trends in Hamilton Wentworth: Past, Present and Future (SPC 83)), and it is from this study that the following is drawn.(1)

First, as is evident from the age profile of the population, the proportion in the age group nineteen to forty, has been slowly increasing. In 1976, it accounted for 33.1%, in 1978, 34% and in 1980, 34.7%. If one studies the changes in the population to age eighteen,

it seems reasonable to conclude that the former group will continue to grow in size for some time yet (Table 1). Next, both the birth rate, and the number of persons per occupied dwelling have been decreasing over the same time period. This would appear to support the argument that child related amenities are decreasing in importance, and that there is increasing pressure being place upon the housing stock. (Table 2 and 3). Fourth, the number of households headed by a female has also been rising. This, with the dramatic changes in the number of single parent families due to divorce, and the large increase in number of unwed mothers, implies that women's needs are becoming of greater importance. (Tables 4 and 5). Sixth, the service sector has been steadily expanding, with the expectation that it will account for sixty percent of employment opportunities by 1986 (Table 6). Lastly, female participation rates have increased, with the majority being employed in trade and service activities (Tables 7 and 8).

This very cursory purview of the Hamilton situation provides an idea of the housing situation, and the status of the inner city. It suggests: 1) the potential for increased activity in the older area of the city, 2) the consequent potential for increased levels of displacement, and, 3) the need for an understanding of the factors which might serve to indicate where the activity is, and is not, likely to take place in the future, in order to control for possible negative consequences. This study focuses primarily on the last issue.

METHODOLOGY

Variable Selection

To explain real estate and renovation activity, each census tract in Hamilton was described by twenty-two variables. Broadly, these may be classed as five housing, five locational, and twelve socio-demographic variables. The data were collected from the 1971 Census of Canada, so that predictors of later activity could be identified. Data was collected for all census tracts, so that comparisions could be made between old and new areas, and between areas renovating and not.

The first housing variable is the proportion of single family dwellings. The appeal of this type of unit is widely established (Berry and Kasarda, p. 126; Clay, p.22; Smith and Williams). Second, the number of rooms per dwelling is included, since the areas which are prime targets for renovation activity often contain structures which have been subdivided, and are prone to overcrowding. Third, the percentage of the occupied dwellings which were built before 1946 is included. This is being used as a very loose measure of architectural or historial significance (see McLemore et al), which is a contributing factor (Clay, p. 22; Laska et al, p. 161; Thayer and Waidhas, p. 20). Finally, the condition of the structure and the value are included. It is housing in poorer condition and of lower value which is of interest, but thereis variation even on these accunts. Typically it is the structures of lowest value, but of best condition which are reclaimed first, and later those which are in a more deteriorated state (Rose, p.14; Sumka, p.162).

The condition of the housing stock was established by consulting the Housing Market Analysis, which is based upon a field

survey from June to September 1969. The criteria for physical condition were: construction material, age and economic durability of the building, exterior condition, and maintenance level. Criteria for environmental condition were: land crowding, maintenance of yards and ancillary buildings, community facilities, general neighbourhood amenities, and the extent of hazards. Five reasons given for poorer conditions were: air pollution, lack of community facilities, general neighbourhood amenities, and the extent of hazards. Five reasons given for poorer conditions were: air pollution, lack of community facilities, overcrowding, traffic hazards, and insufficient development control (HMA, p. 13).

However, even this survey, which is the most extensive and detailed one available, is insufficient. All such studies, or inventories, besides being few and far between, suffer from a vague generality in their approach. Most are limited to windshield surveys, with no physical examination of the structures involved. The HMA did involve physical examination, but only on a sampled basis, the majority being windshield examinations. It quickly becomes apparent that a complete housing inventory needs to be conducted in Hamilton. One way of getting around this problem and which was the original intent in this study design, is to use building permit data. This data would provide accurate, up to date information about exactly how much expense and effort was being put into the maintenance of the housing stock. Unfortunately, in Hamilton at least, the data is not available in any usable form. If it could be compiled in future, it would go a long way to providing the desperately needed information

about the housing stock (Ahlbrandt and Brophy, p. 55; DiGiovanni, p.37; Phipps. p. 240).

The first locational variable is the relative proportion of public housing for families within the tract (See Map 2). Units for seniors were excluded from consideration, because there is considered to be a difference in perceived impacts between the two, while the designation as public is important (Clay, p.22; Laska et al, p. 159). Further, only those units in buildings owned and operated by the Ontario Housing Corporaton were included. Rental supplement units were not included since they are located in buildings which are privately maintained, and as such are not readily identifiable as public. Second, the proportion of the tract which was assigned to parkland was included, since open space has been shown to be a positive predictor. Two variables were created to describe proximity to industry. One refers to manufacturing and light industrial land uses, while the other refers to heavy industrial land uses (0 = not within tract, 1 = within tract). The last location variable measures the distance (in millimetres on a map) from the centre of the tract to the central business district, where the corner of King and James is taken as the centre point. Proximity to the central business district, because of its employment, cultural, and recreational opportunities has been shown to be an important indictor in most cases (Berry and Kasarda, p. 126; Gale, p. 320; Lipton, p. 147; Thayer and Waidhas, p. 20) although not in all (Laska et al, p. 164).

Lastly, twelve socio-demographic variables were included. The number of persons per room, number of persons per household, and the

population density were included as measures of the importance assigned to the housing, and how intensively it is used. The absence of children and the proportion of elderly homeowners were included, since elderly homeowners and families have been shown to be particularly at risk . The proportion of owner occupied dwellings and long-term residents, and the median household income were used as indicators of community stability, and the need for the housing in a particular location. The proportion of residents with only a public school education and those with a university degree were used as alternate measures of socio-economic status. Finally, male and female participation rates were included since there tends to be an aversion to areas of higher unemployment.

At this point, it must be stressed that these variables do not necessarily have any claim to causal status. They are being used here, as elsewhere in studies of this type, purely as useful indicators, as indirect measures of the actual processes in operation. The presence or absence of any one of these characteristics does not imply the presence or absence of activity. It simply states that it is something which can be shown to be related to activity.

Method of Analysis

Having explained the variables used in attempting to understand the patterns of activity, it is appropriate to explain how activity has been measured. A one-in-ten systematic sample of the listings identified as sales for the period 1973 -1980 was taken. Data was colected from the archives of the Metropolitan Hamilton Real Estate Board. In sampling, only those sales which involved a structure

were recorded. As a result, 2567 property transfers were recorded, and then grouped according to census tract. This accepts that there may be reason to question equating real estate sales activity with renovation activity. However, as has been noted elsewhere, in older declining central city areas, increased levels of sales activity are most often due to renovation for owner occupancy, or speculation for future renovation and resale. As a result, changes in activity level are reliable predictors of renovtion activity in these areas (DiGiovanni, p. 26; Laska et al, p. 158; Zeitz, p. 94).

The method of analysis itself, is quite straightforward. A series of stepwise multiple regressions was performed, and a series of t-tests to establish significance across cases on the socio-demographic variables. These steps progressed from the general case of activity for the city as a whole, to the specific cases of interests, activity in the old, declining central city neighbourhoods. By following through this progression, those factors which are specific to the renovating tracts are preseted clearly.

RESULTS

Activity Citywide

As may be seen by studying Table 9, six variables enter into the equation as predictors for activity for the city as a whole. Interestingly enough, it is public housing which enters as the strongest predictor (Beta = .77901, R = .22173). This would appear to counter the widespread aversion to these types of units, but may not necessarily do so. First, the data were collected at a later date, and would appear (upon visual examination at least, see Map 2) to

reflect changes in the location strategy for public housing. The units are not clustered in one area; rather, they are dispersed throughout the city. Second, and continuing from the first, public housing has been incorporated into the newer suburban developments. These are the same tracts which have been most active during the period under consideration. Because of this, it is possible that the introduction of this variable as a predictor is misleading. Once constraints are applied to activity, in a later section of the analysis, it should be possibe to judge what the correct interpretation should in fact be.

Two other location variables enter into the equation. First, the age of housing stock enters positively, indicating a preference for older housing. This variable (as well as the variable to indicate whether or not the tract was built up in 1913) is being used as a proxy for attractiveness, be it historical or architectural because there does not exist a complete inventory of the housing stock according to either historical or architectural significance. It would seem that there is in fact some inherent value or attractiveness in the older stock. Further, it leads one to expect increased levels of activity in the older areas. Second, the density of parkland, a measure of the relative amount of open space in the tract, enters into the equation.

With respect to social variables, two enter into the discussion. The first is the proportion of home-owners who are long-term residents, which has a strong beta weight (Beta = .46224) and accounts for 27% of the total explained variance (R^2 = .15287).

This would seem to indicate a preference for older established communities. It is possible that it is a reflection of the importance of community stability and neighbourhood ambience in deciding where to live. But, at the same time, it is a warning flag - for it just as surely is an indication that the same established communities are being disrupted by changing locational preferences.(This disruption occurs since reinvestors typically are of different socio-economic status, and even ethnic background (Ayotte and Cohen)) The second 'social' variable to enter the equation is the absence of children. This underscores the assumption that child related concerns are of little (or at least declining) importance.

Lastly, one economic indicator enters into the equation. This is the male participation rate in the labour force, which enters positively. If one assumes that employment is in part a measure of community stability, this then further emphasizes the relationship mentioned above. Similarly, if unemployment is considered an indicator of lower economic status, and of social pathology, then there clearly appears to be an aversion to areas with those characteristics.

Activity Citywide, by Level

In this section, the city is divided into areas of higher and lower activity rates. In assigning tracts to the categories "high" and "low" activity, or "active" and "inactive" the median value for total activity was used. The median was chosen in an attempt to compensate for the skewed distribution of activity. During the period under consideration, a number of tracts were excessively active - as a

result of development near the city limits. Since the median is more sensitive to this occurence, it was used. The result of this is that interesting picture emerges (see Map 4). On the one hand, the tracts of greatest activity, have public housing as the strongest predictor (r = .32989), with the proportion of long-term residents and the absence of children the other predictors. (see Table 10) On the other hand, the tracts of lowest activity are predicted by value, which is strongly negative (Beta = -.52856), while preference is still exhibited for stable areas (see Table 11).

Examination of the socio-economic characteristics of the tracts points out some significant differences (see Table 12). The areas which are active have a greater number of persons per dwelling, a greater number of persons per household, and more children per family. One interpretation is that the housing is more intensively used, and under greater pressure than elsewhere in the city. Also significant are differences in educational levels, with the active areas having a less well educated population. When taken in consideration with the lower household incomes and lower property values (alhough it must be stressed that these differences are not significant) a picture is created of established, lower status neighbourhoods, subject to increasing pressure, being disrupted by increased levels of activity.

The active areas also tend to be located at a greater distance from the central business district. This is largely due to the heightened activity in the developments along, or near the city limits. But, even taking these extremes into account, the result is

still to be expected. While proximity to the central business district is a positive attribute, it does not usually imply location within the district. Typically it involves locating in the area surrounding the central business district, and the spatial distribution as seen on the map shows this quite clearly.

There is one unexpected result. The active areas are significantly associated with greater incidence of heavy industrial land uses. This could be due to one of a number of reasons. First, it may simply be a reflection of the pervasiveness of heavy industry in Hamilton. Second, it could reflect the targeting of renewal activities in areas, such as the North End, adjacent to heavy industry. Or it could simply be a problem inherent in the use of census data. The actual location of the activity could be far removed from the location of the industrial activity. At this point, it is difficult to say exactly how this attribute enters into consideration.

Activity by Age of Housing Stock

If one considers the "old" tracts in relation to the "new" tracts,(See Map 5) the range of predictors narrows further. Tracts were classified as "old" if greater than 49.491% of the occupied dwellings were built before 1946, this figure being the mean value. This is consistent with McLemore et al, who used the 1946 figure in their study, and with Laska et al who used a 1939 figure. When considering the old tracts (see Table 13), value enters as the strongest predictor, and enters negatively. This is not surprising, given that the older structures tend to be in poorer condition, and

regardless of their physical attractiveness, tend to be functionally obsolete. Owner-occupancy is the other predictor. Once again the issue of community stability appears to enter into the decision.

For the new tracts (see Table 14), population density enters negatively as the strongest predictor (Beta = -.37417). Again, this result is expected, since these suburban areas are designed with larger lots, and more single family units, both of which serve to lower the population density. Public housing enters as the second predictor and as before, caution must be exercised in interpreting its inclusion. Since it does not appear in the equation for the old areas, strength is added to the argument that it is in fact the result of changes in ideology. Lastly, even in these new areas, the preference seems to be for established, stable communities, as evidenced by the inclusion of the variable for length of residence.

In comparing the socio-economic characteristics (see Table 15), there are some interesting observations to note, and the uncertainty surrounding pubic housing seems to be resolved. The older tracts have a higher population density, a greater proportion of elderly residents, and a lower participaton rate. Once more, the suggestion is that these older areas are subject to greater strain on their housing stock, and are providing accomodation for those on low and fixed incomes who possibly cannot afford to live elsewhere. The differences in housing condition (noticably poorer) and value (much lower) bear out this conclusion. The most important difference, however, is in the density of public housing. In the old tracts, the relative concentration is negligible, whereas in the new tracts it is

significantly higher. This strongly points to the conclusion that the importance of this indicator as it appeared in earlier discussion, is in fact misleading. One is led to reason that it is in fact a result of changed ideologies, and not so much a factor predicting or constraining location decisions. Public housing is now a regular feature of the landscape, and no matter where one locates, is liable to be present.

Activity by Age and Value

The discussion now turns to those areas which are of greatest interest as far as this study is concerned. These are the old tracts, and the tracts which are both old, and of low value, implying a deteriorated housing stock, amongst other things. This next section will address the investment activity in these tracts.

First, the differences between the old tracts which are active, and those which are inactive will be discussed.(See Map 6) This is most likely due to the nature of the distribution for activity, as noted earlier. By dividing activity at the fiftieth percentile, much of the variation is removed. In this case, this effect is increased, because of the distribution of activity. The particular distribution is such that there is little variance amongst those tracts identified as active.

For the tracts classed as inactive (See Table 16) age is strongly related to activity (R = .47338). Similarly, value, (entering negatively) while not explaining to much of the variation, is strongly correlated (R = -.6204). Higher activity levels are clealy associated with lower cost housing. The third variable to enter

is that for density of parkland, or open space, for which there is a demonstrated preference. Fourth, the female participation rate enters as an explanatory factor. Lastly, the presence of heavy industrial land uses enters, again showing that there is not necessarily an aversion to those types of activity.

Visual examination of the distribution of investing and non-investing tracts shows two quite distinct groupings (see Map 6). The active group is clustered to the east of the central business district, while the inactive group is clustered in the central business district and immediately around it to the west. The two active areas to the north-west which seem displaced are areas in which urban renewal programs are in place - York Blvd. and the North End. The clustering does serve to point at that while the central business district may be an attraction, it is not desired as a place to live in.

An examination of the socio-demographic characteristics presents an interesting profile (see Table 17). The areas of activity are further from the central business district, of lower value, and poorer condition. At the same time, there are more owner occupied, single family dwellings, and the residents tend to be of longer term, having less education. As well, the housing is used more intensively as evidenced by the higher number of persons per room and household. Finally, the median household incomes tend to be lower on average. The striking characteristics of this profile, is that it corresponds to the description of high-risk communities presented in the literature. Combined with the concerns, noted earlier, of the Social Planning

Council, and the Planning and Development Office, it strongly sggests that there is indeed a housing problem, liable to worsen, for lower-income residents of the city.

When value is included as a constraint, the regression yields two variables which together account for forty-eight percent of the explained variance (See Map 7 and Table 18). The proportion of owner occupied dwellings enters strongly positive (Beta = .65587) explaining thirty-nine percent of the variation. Home-ownership is a strongly felt desire, and a goal often achieved at great expense. The result is that the homeowners are made susceptible to increased pressure to sell out. Also, given the very large ethnic population in Hamilton, this desire for home-ownership is likely to be heightened. The presence of the variable, however again brings in the issue of neighbourhood stability.

Second, the proportion of open space enters, negatively. This is likely in part due to the historical development of the area of Hamilton. These neighbourhoods were poorly planned - one could go so far as to say they were unplanned - with the result being a dense development pattern with little allowance for open space. The City did not begin proper planning activities until relatively late. Because these are the areas where the housing is oldest, and seeing thatthe age of the housing, - for its structural, historical or architectural qualities - is so important, the suggestion is that other factors are compensating for the lack of space. This may however be an inadvertent oversight in the design.. The density of parkland was calculated in an attempt to compensate for differences in impact

due to size (ie., between King's Forest and Inch Park). Unfortunately, this measure does not account for the diffuse impact of the larger parks. If both aspects were captured, the result might be quite different. Once again, it may be that the regression's stability and strict entry criteria are not allowing these compensatory factors to present themselves.

While there appears to be some dramatic difference amongst the socio-demographic characteristics, only a few of them are significant (Table 19). Nevertheless, it is worth noting the differences. The housing in the active tracts appears (on average) to be more intensively used, and the population density of the tracts is much lower. This in part reflects the much greater concetration of apartments in the most central tracts. Also, the population tends to be less well educated, and have a lower median income. In addition, a greater proportion of the housing is older.

Before ending the discussion of the results, it is worth looking at the old, active tracts by their peak year of activity. Early peaking tracts are defined as those which were most active during the period 1973 - 74. The spatial distribution (See Map 8) points out that the tracts which were most active were quite concentrated to the east of the central business district, around Main Street/Queenston Road. However, there does not appear to be as simple a logic to the distribution of the later peaking tracts. Further, when considering the socio-demographic characteristics there are no significant differences (See Table 20), and none of the differences are even striking to the eye. This appears to agree with the findings

that revitalization concentrates initially in defined areas, but not that it then spreads out in some type of circular pattern (Sumka, p. 162).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This paper has dealt with real estate activity patterns in Hamilton for the period 1973 - 80, in an attempt to determine what census tract characteristics are predictors of such activity. Particularly of interest have been the patterns of activity and tract profiles of the older central neighbourhoods in the City. Given: 1) the economic situation in Hamilton, 2) the efforts on the part of the City to spur the redevelopment and rehabilitation of some of these areas, 3) the housing situation in Hamilton, and, 4) the general demographic trends, there is reason to suspect that these areas are going to experience heightened activity and increased pressure on their housing stock. The results of this exploratory study have borne this out, by identifying seventeen census tracts which are old, central, and to some degree blighted, but, which had greater than average activity levels throughout the period under consideration.

Overall, the housing measures emerge as good predictors of activity, and serve to distinguish quite well between those areas which are active and those which are not. Particularly, the age of the housing is strongly related to reinvestment activity. There is an attraction to areas of older homes - perhaps being less sterile, having some character of their own, some historical or architectural appeal (if this variable is indeed an accurate representation of those qualities). The proportion of owner-occupied and single family

dwellings respectively are quite strong predictors. The indication is that regardless of other positive attributes, the issue of stability is important, and that there is an aversion to large concentrations of multiple unit (high rise apartment) buildings. The number of rooms per dwelling and the condition of the structure do not appear as strong predictors. This is, however, likely bound in their relationship to value, and the strict entry criteria used in the analysis. That the areas in which the housing is most active are also the areas in which the housing is of much lower value (although not the absolute lowest, which is to be expected at such an early stage) is a very strong point in favour of the argument for reinvestmet in the stock. All other conditions remaining either relatively stable, or continuing in the same trends, this activity is likely to increase in future.

The locational variables result as the second strongest set of predictors and differ quite markedly between the active and inactive tracts. Proximity to public housing, and an intermediate distance from the central business district are the two most important factors. While the data show a greater concentation of public housing in the active tracts, the map clearly deomonstrates how little public housing there is in these areas, as compared to the rest of the city. It seems on balance that public housing is in fact a non-issue, but future location policy decisions could bring it to the fore.

The old, active tracts also tend not to be in or immediately adjacent to the central business district, but rather a step removed. How important the central business district is, does not emerge

clearly from this study. The mountain must be considered - for the limits it imposed upon early development efforts - as it resulted in a particular development pattern. It seems reasonable to assume that proximity to the central business district is important, but exactly how much so is open to question.

The positive predictive power of proximity to industry is an unexpected result. As noted earlier, it could in part be due to the use of the census tract as a unit of analysis. Alternatively, it could be due to the particular mixture of land uses. The mix is such that what are now commonly held to be incompatible land uses are interspered. Indeed, part of the life-style argument is that the attraction is to something other than the homogeneity - the dull "sameness" - of the suburbs. As Laska et al note, it appears that perhaps the avoidance of industrial land uses noted in the early literature was overemphasized.

The socio-demographic variables do not emerge as strong predictors, nor for the most part are there significant differences amongst them by activity. That owner occupancy, and a greater proportion of long-term residents are important again suggests that community stability and structure are considerations. Also, there does not appear to be an aversion to poverty - participation rates, education, and median income not being significantly different.

This discussion suggests avenues for future research. What is necessary is to look in more detail at the areas which have been identified as reinvesting - old, low value and active - in an effort to better understand the situation at a less aggregated level. In

carrying out such a study, the way in which public housing, proximity to the central business district, and proximity to industry actually fit into the picture should become apparent. More detailed understanding will also allow for the development of appropriate policy response. The results of the York Blvd. and North End renewal schemes, with the great number of persons displaced and households disrupted to date, are only symptomatic of the conditions likely to exist in the not so distant future. More disturbing is that these conditions resulted from a planned program, and the activity discussed here is anything but planned. Identifying the areas which are at risk before the fact is the only way in which the City will be able to cope with the impact of future reinvestment activity. The activity, which is of benefit to the City, particularly given Hamilton's efforts to impove its image of recent years, is of questionable benefit if it creates severe social problems for certain members of the community.

Appendix A

Table 1

Regional Population By Age (1976-78-80)

	1976		1978		1980	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
0-4	25006	6.2	24024	6.0	23281	5.9
5-13	59611	14.9	55143	13.8	51786	13.1
14-18	39330	9.8	38665	9.7	36482	9.2
19-25	53704	13.4	54070	13.6	53204	13.4
26-40	79062	19.7	81489	20.4	84295	21.3
41-64	104371	26.0	103940	26.1	103690	26.1
over 64	29850	9.9	41365	10.4	43877	11.1

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future February 1983.

Table 2

Hamilton Birth Rate

Year	Number	% Change
1976	2532	
		-7.03
1977	2354	
		-4.12
1978	2257	
		0.00
1979	2254	
		-3.99
1980	2164	

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future, February 1983

Table 3

Persons Per Occupied Dwelling Unit in Hamilton-Wentworth (1975-80)

Year	Number Per Unit
1975	3.0
1976	3.0
1977	2.9
1978	2.9
1979	2.8
1980	2.8
2001	2.5

Source: Social Planning Council: Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future February, 1983: Planning and Development Department Hamilton-Wentworth Region: Regional Housing Statement Update 1982, February 1982

Table 4

Female Headed Households as Percent All Families Hamilton CMA

Year	%
1951	7.3
1961	5.9
1971	6.9

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth:Past, Present and Future February 1983.

Table 5

Single Parent Families by Cause Hamilton CMA

	1951	1961	1971
Unwed Mothers	0.9	1.3	4.6
Divorced	4.9	7.5	16.4
Separated	32.8	35.4	36.5
Widowed	61.4	55.8	42.5

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future February 1983

Table 6

Wentworth County Labour Force By Industrial Sector

Year	Manufacturing	Service	Primary
1951	57.7	38.0	4.3
1961	47.6	47.9	4.5
1971	45.2	52.9	1.9
1986	39.6	59.0	1.4

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future February 1983

Table 7

Female Participation Rates

Year	%
1951	29.5
1961	31.2
1971	41.3
1976	44.1

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future February 1983

Table 8

Females as Percent Labour Force By Industrial Sector for Hamilton CMA (1981)

Sector	%
Manufacturing	16.6
Construction	5.8
Transportation, Communication and other Utilities	21.5
Trade	39.9
Service	50.0

Source: Social Planning Council, Social Trends in Hamilton-Wentworth: Past, Present and Future

Table 9

Stepwise multiple regression for activity, for city (n=72)

Variable	R	Beta	r
family public housing	.22173	.77901	.4824
% long-term residents	.37460	.46224	.1394
absence of children	.45158	-.34811	-.2137
male participation rate	.48187	.40310	.1331
% built before 1946	.52364	.30061	.0183
density of parkland	.55851	.20740	-.1063

Table 10

Stepwise multiple regression for high activity, citywide (n=36)

Variable	R	Beta	r
family public housing	.32989	1.08631	.5908
% long-term residents	.57600	.65279	-.0714
absence of children	.67000	-.31763	-.3247

Table 11

Stepwise multiple regression for low activity, citywide (n=36)

Variable	R	Beta	r
value	.36675	-.52856	-.6204
% owner occupied	.61684	.37200	.5461
% long-term residents	.67352	.29108	.5856

Table 12

Comparison of active and inactive tracts for entire city

	Active tracts n = 36	Inactive tracts n = 36
rooms per dwelling	5.5611	5.2000*
persons per room	0.6211	0.5972
persons per household	3.4500	3.1056**
population density	10286.2224	13373.3132
children per family	1.5639	1.3889*
median household income	9227.0833	10634.6944
% elderly	12.1404	12.9795
house condition	1.8056	1.7222
value	21882.5556	24262.9167
% owner occupied	69.6590	51.4517***
% single family	78.4120	58.3974***
% long-term residents	44.8200	39.7588
public housing density	2.0308	0.5945
% built before 1946	54.2755	44.7059
zoned manufacture or light industrial	0.3333	0.3889
zoned heavy industrial	0.3889	0.1389*
% public school education	70.8336	63.5563**
% university education	1.9754	3.7106*
male participation rate	92.5822	91.7664
distance from CBD	192.8889	138.3889*

* significant at 0.05
** significant at 0.01
*** significant at 0.001

Table 13

Stepwise multiple regression for old tracts (n = 37)

Variable	R	Beta	r
value	.26834	-.48115	-.1450
% owner occupied	.48306	.47568	.3718

Table 14

Stepwise mlultiple regression for new tracts (n = 35)

Variable	R	Beta	r
population density	.35287	-.37417	.2871
family public housing	.46072	.60878	.4824
% long-term residents	.54998	.37708	.1394

Table 15
Comparison ($\bar{x}$) of old and new tracts

	old tracts n = 37	new tracts n = 35
rooms per dwelling	5.4838	5.2714
persons per room	0.5857	0.6340**
persons per household	3.2054	3.3543
population density	13859.0076	9684.5715**
children per family	1.4676	1.4857
median household income	9972.9459	9886.4286
% elderly	14.6678	10.3316**
house condition	2.2703	1.2286***
value	20387.5135	25911.4000***
% owner occupied	56.8859	64.4344
% single family	64.1800	72.8707
% long-term residents	45.6258	38.7623
public housing density	0.1557	2.5358*
%built before 1946	82.4086	14.6918***
zoned manufacture or light industrial	0.4324	0.2857
zoned heavy industrial	0.4054	0.1143
% public school education	72.0927	62.0173
% university eduation	2.2858	3.4321
male particpation rate	90.1784	94.2842***
distance from CBD	131.1622	202.0857***

* significant at 0.05
** significant at 0.01
*** significant at 0.001

Table 16

Stepwise multiple regression, tracts old and inactive (n = 17)

Variable	R	Beta	r
% built before 1946	.47338	.32474	.2013
value	.63607	-.72256	-.6204
density of parkland	.80792	.61176	.2517
female participation rate	.87750	.22923	.2032
zoned heavy industrial	.91031	.23239	.2082

Table 17

Comparison ($\bar{x}$) of old tracts

	Active n=20	Inactive n=17
rooms per dwelling	5.555	5.400
persons per room	0.608	0.559*
persons per household	3.370	3.012**
population density	13306.780	14508.687
children per family	1.525	1.400
median household income	8287.900	11955.353
% elderly	14.698	14.633
house condition	2.300	2.235
value	18934.750	22096.647*
% owner occupied	66.178	45.954***
% single family	73.578	53.123
% long-term residendents	49.315	41.285
public housing density	0.288	0.000
% built before 1946	86.418	77.691*
zoned manufacture or light industrial	0.350	0.529
zoned heavy industrial	0.550	0.235
% public school education	76.889	66.450*
% university education	1.154	3.617*
male participation rate	90.688	89.579
distance from CBD	164.700	91.706**

* significant at 0.05
** significant at 0.01
*** significant at 0.001

Table 18

Stepwise multiple regression, tracts old and of low value (n=28)

Variable	R	Beta	r
% owner occupied	.39232	.65587	.3718
density parkland	.48306	-.32659	-.1063

Table 19

Comparison ($\bar{x}$) of tracts both old and of low value

	Active n=17	Inactive n=11
rooms per dwelling	5.476	5.100
persons per room	0.623	0.596
persons per household	3.412	3.064
population density	13638.791	16251.422
children per family	1.576	1.445
median household income	8070.471	13421.818
% elderly	14.267	12.898
house condition	2.471	2.636
value	18038.647	19272.909
% owner occupied	65.431	42.921***
% single family	74.908	51.020**
% long-term residents	48.621	39.886*
public housing density	0.339	0.000
% built before 1946	85.797	79.220
zoned manufactured light industry	0.353	0.636
zoned heavy industrial	0.647	0.273
% public school education	79.427	73.772
% university educaion	0.755	1.919*
male participation rate	90.118	88.204
distance from CBD	163.706	78.636**

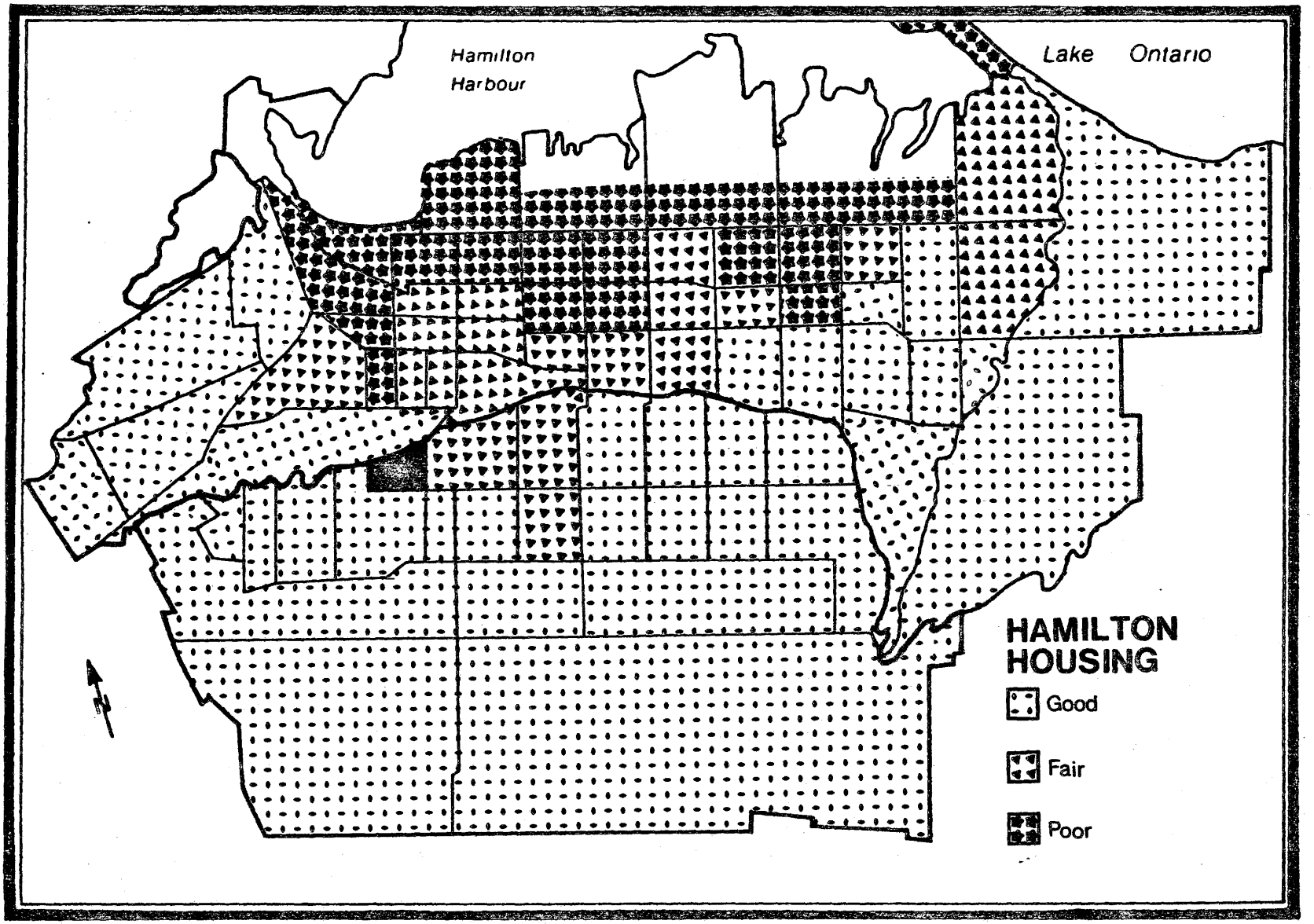
* significant at 0.05
** significant at 0.01
*** significant at 0.001

Table 20

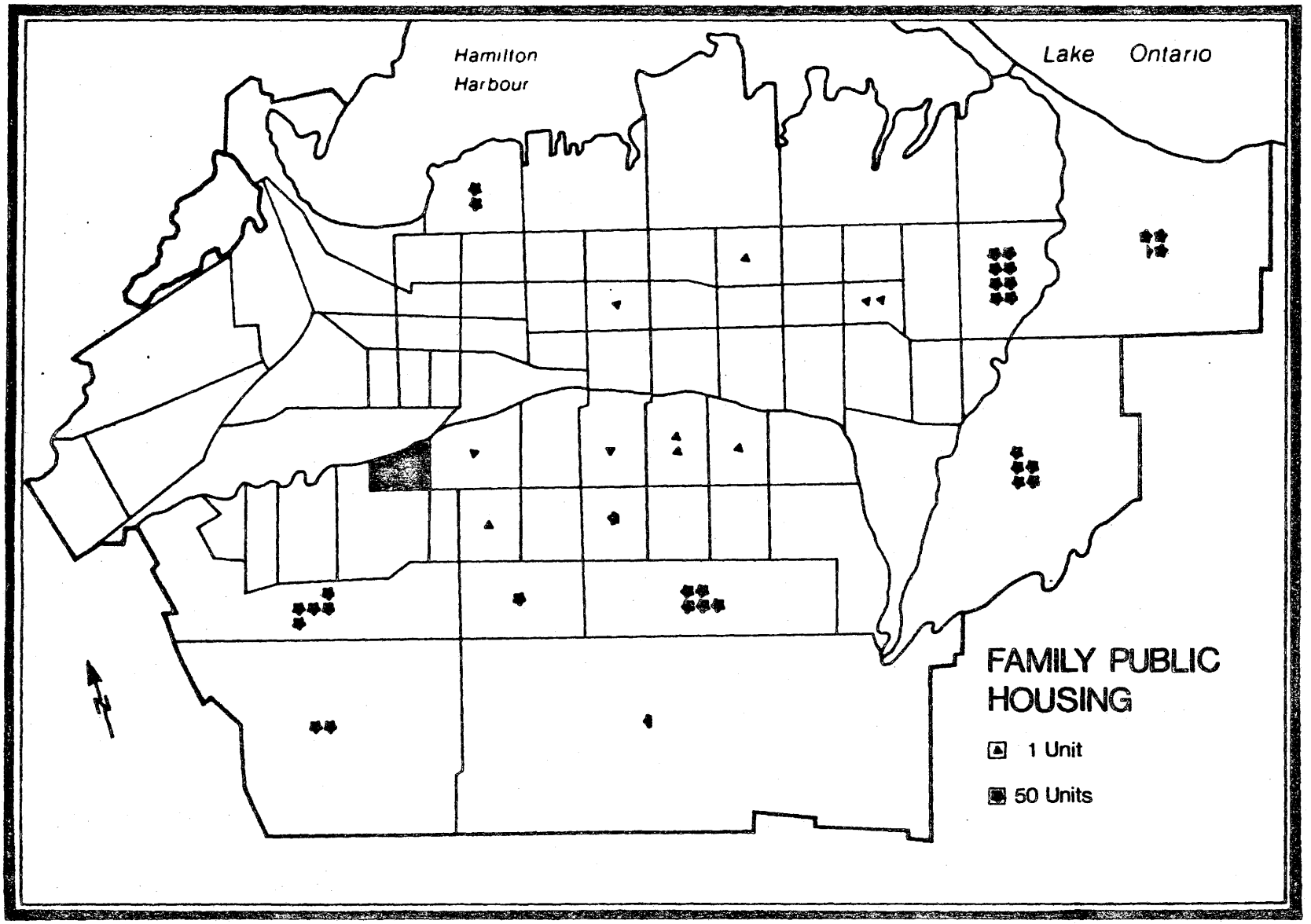
Comparison ($\bar{x}$) early vs late peaking tracts

	Early n=8	Late n=12
rooms per dwelling	5.487	5.600
persons per room	0.610	0.607
persons per household	3.338	3.392
populatin density	14663.464	12402.323
children per family	1.475	1.558
median household income	8398.500	8214.167
% elderly	15.545	14.133
house condition	2.125	2.417
value	18608.250	19152.417
% owner occupied	71.267	62.786
% single family	76.562	71.589
% long-term residents	52.144	47.430
% built before 1946	85.526	87.013
public housing density	0.020	0.467
zoned manufactured light industrial	0.125	0.500
zoned heavy industrial	0.375	0.667
% public school education	76.697	77.016
% university educaion	0.844	1.361
male participation rate	91.162	90.371
distance from CBD	195.875	143.917

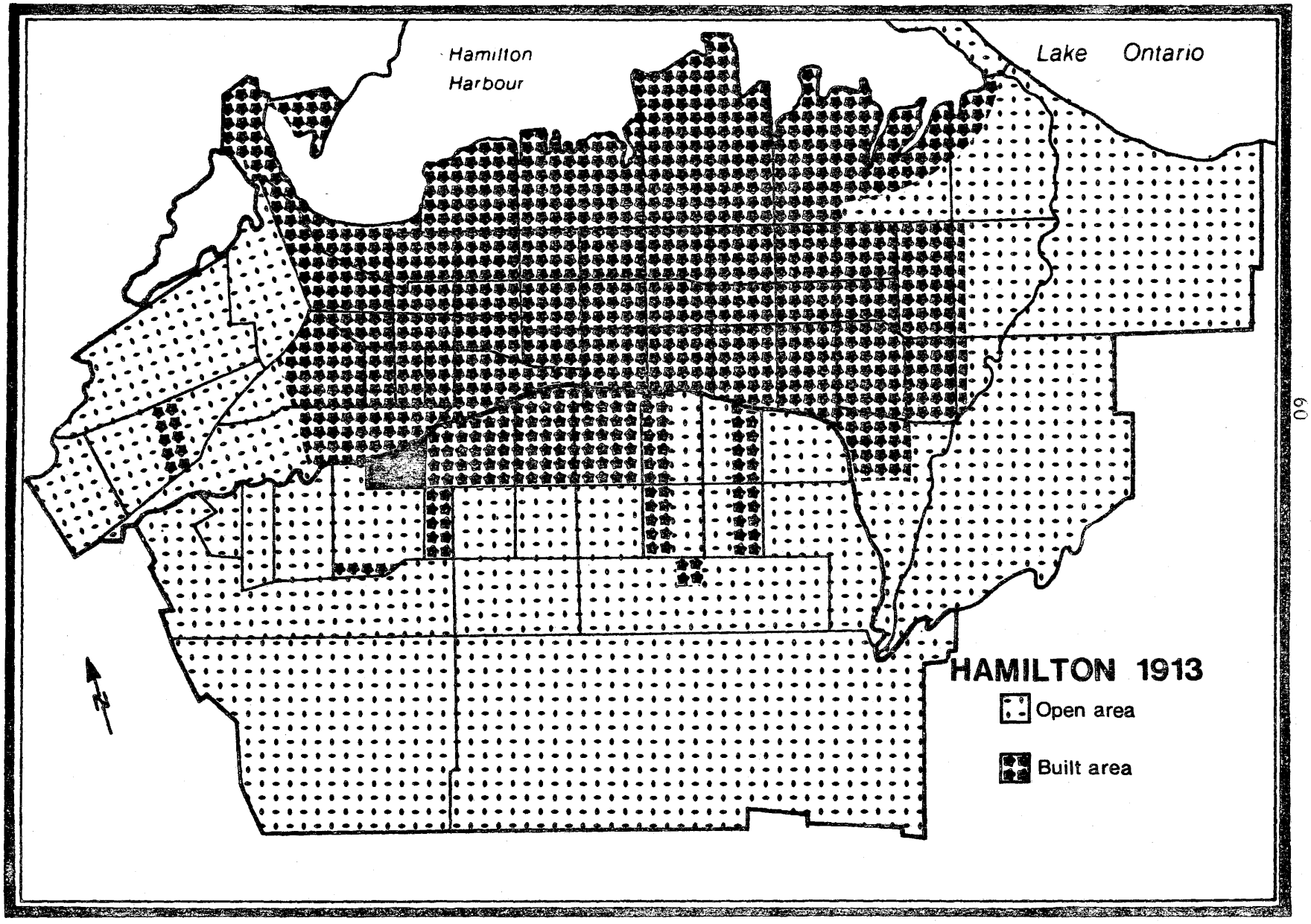
Appendix B



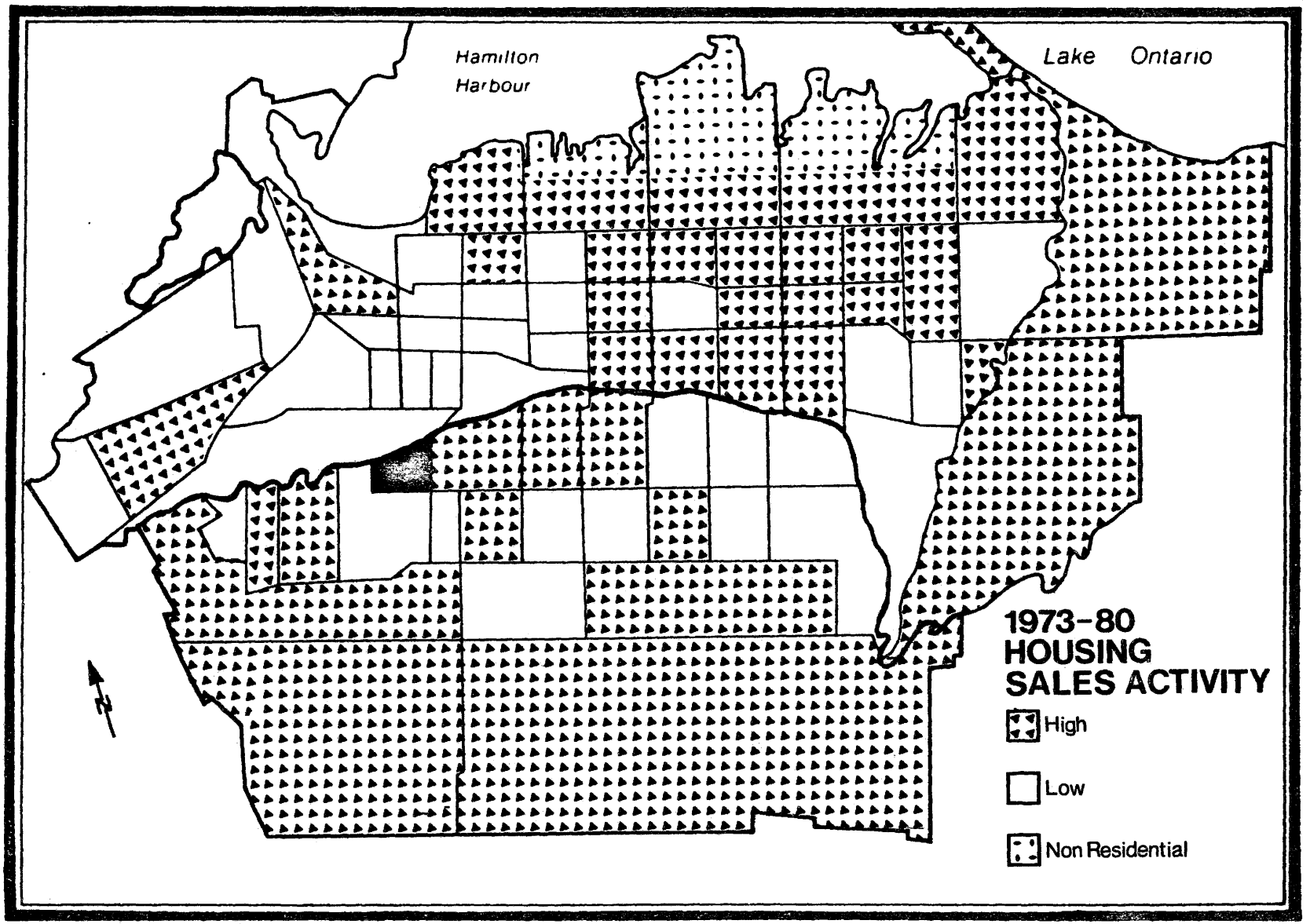
Map 1. Hamilton Housing Condition



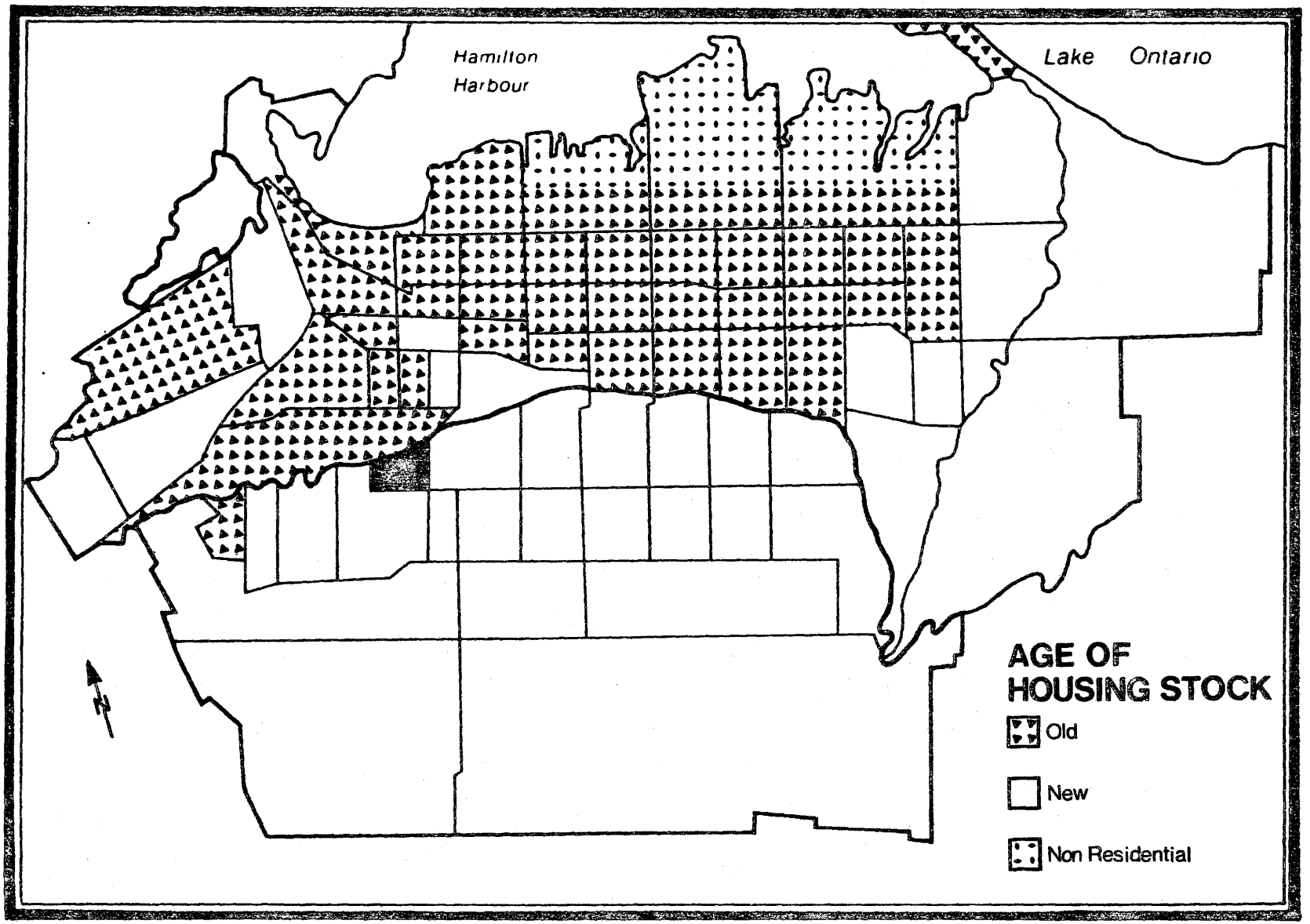
Map 2. Hamilton Public Housing



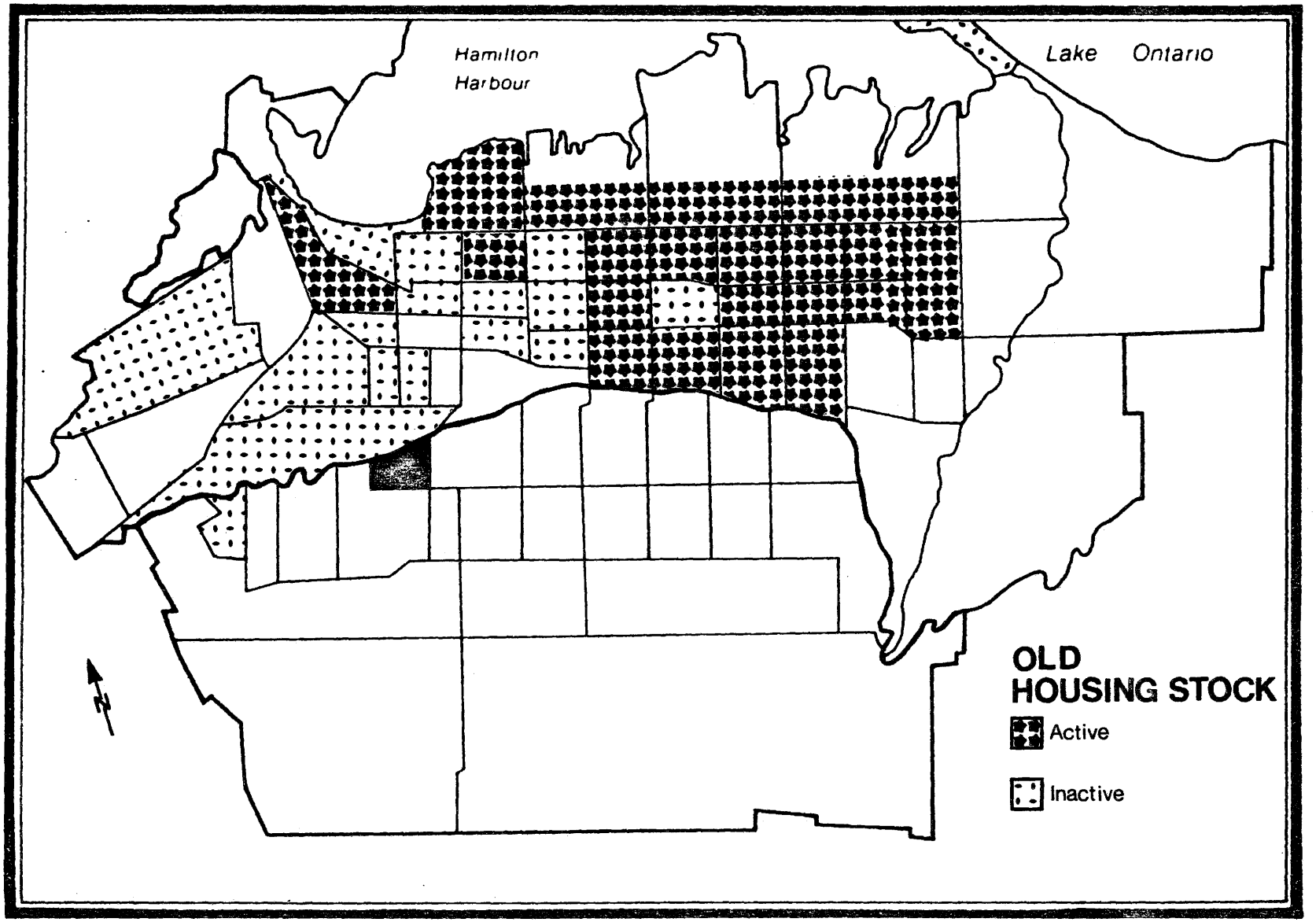
Map 3. Hamilton Built Area 1913 – within 1971 boundary



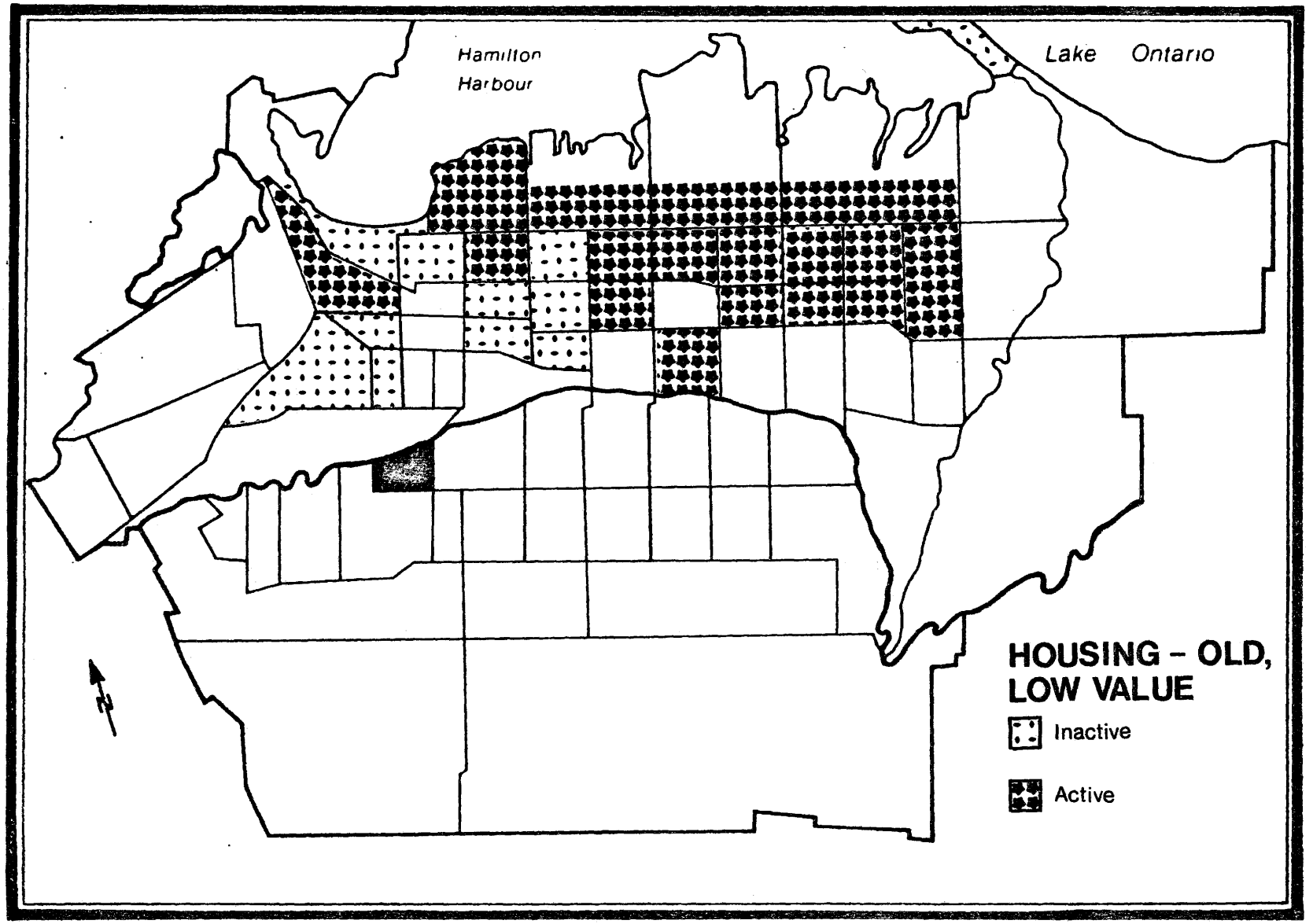
Map 4. Hamilton Housing Activity



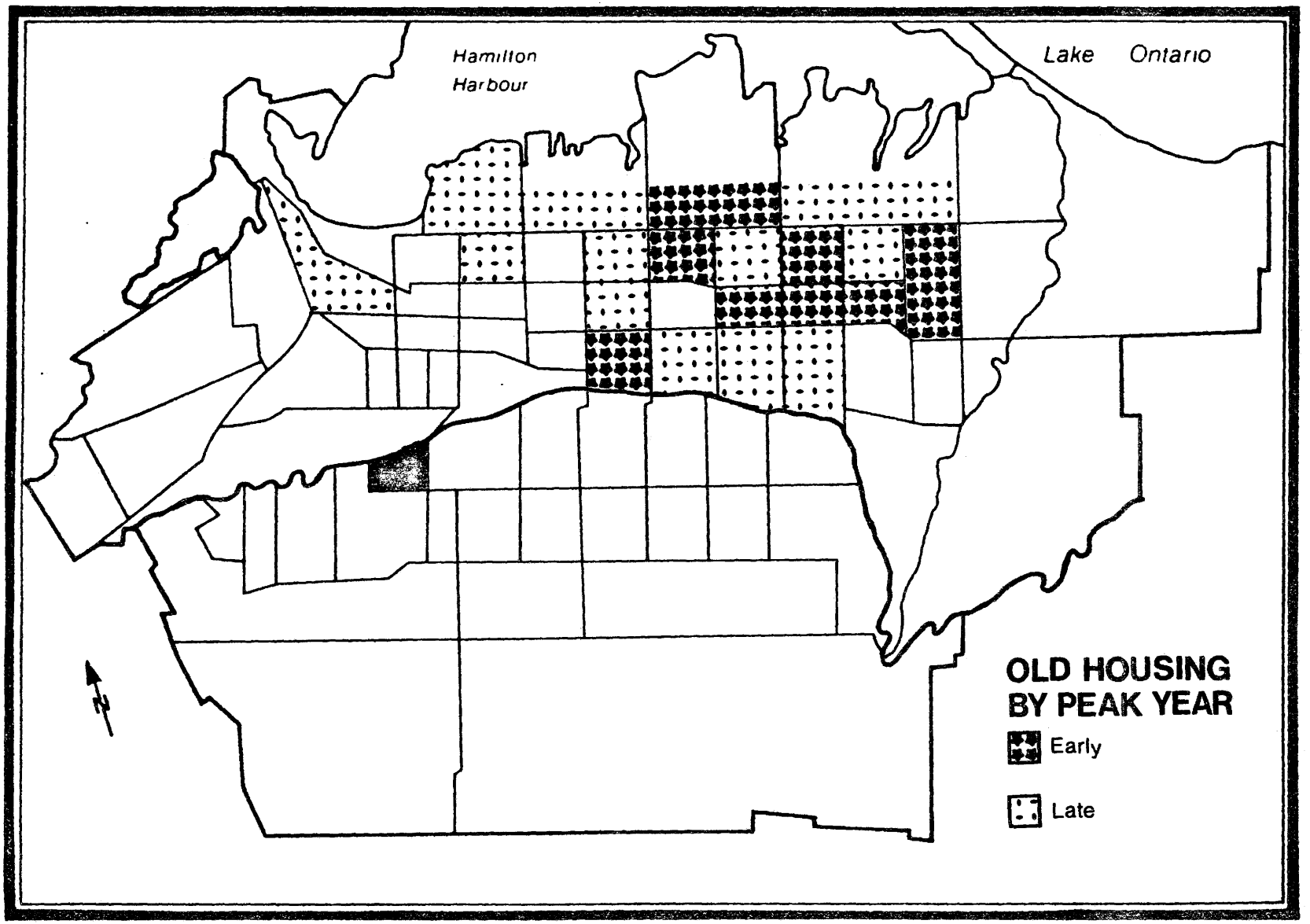
Map 5. Hamilton Housing Stock by Age



Map 6. Old Housing Stock by Activity



Map 7. Housing Activity by Age and Value



Map 8. Old Housing by Peak Year

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