Canadian Studies in Population, Vol. 11 (1), 1984, pp. 61-78

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE INCIDENCE AND NATURE OF REPEAT MIGRATION WITHIN CANADA, 1968-71

E. Kenneth Grant and **John Vanderkamp**
University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, Canada

Résumé — En utilisant une grande série de micro données, cette étude détermine la quantité, la probabilité et la nature de la migration répétée (progressive et de retour) à l'intérieur du Canada durant la période 1968-71. Des mouvements répétés constituent une proportion importante des courants migratoires annuels. Dans le cas des vastes régions géographiques, les mouvements de retour constituent la majeure partie des mouvements répétés et la plupart de ceux-ci arrivent durant la première année après le déménagement initial. Les émigrants répétés sont sélectifs en termes des caractéristiques personnelles, du lieu d'origine, de l'expérience migratoire précédente et de la durée d'absence du lieu d'origine. Les indications préliminaires suggèrent que l'expérience en revenu des émigrants de retour est moins favorable que celle des autres émigrants.

Abstract — This study quantifies and describes the probability and nature of repeat migration (onward and return) within Canada in the period 1968-71 using a large micro data set. Repeat moves constitute a significant proportion of annual migration flows. For large geographical areas, return moves constitute the majority of repeat moves, and most of these occur within the first year after the initial move. Repeat migrants are selective in terms of personal characteristics, the origin location, previous migratory experience and the length of absence from the origin. Preliminary evidence suggests that the income experience of return migrants is less favourable than that of other migrants.

Key Words — **return and repeat migration**

Introduction

Research concerning the incidence, causes and effects of multiple migration within Canada has lagged considerably behind that for the United States due to the lack of longitudinal micro data for Canada. Most studies of repeat migratory flows within Canada on a national basis have dealt solely with return migration and have relied heavily on data which cover return migration after one year's absence (Vanderkamp, 1972) or census information which quantifies return migration to the place of birth or education (Marr and Millerd, 1980). Vanderkamp, using insured population data (those who contributed to the Canadian unemployment insurance programme), estimates return migration, 1967-78, to be 21.6 per cent of "new" 1966-67 migrants (those who had not returned to their 1965 province of employment in the period 1966-67),[1] while Marr and Millerd estimate that approximately one-eighth of those who migrated prior to 1966 returned to their school-finishing province during the census period 1966-71.

The purpose of this paper is to quantify and describe the probability and nature of repeat migration (onward and return) within Canada in the period 1968-71; as such, it represents the preliminary stage of a more extensive econometric analysis. With the exception of Stone's work (1978) on the frequency of inter-municipality moves, little is known about multiple migration in Canada. We felt that a report whose primary purpose was to provide a descriptive analysis of the data would be a useful addition to the literature. Given the nature of our data, our analysis of multiple migration is restricted to the migratory behaviour of individuals who made repeat moves within a four-year time frame.

Our theoretical framework is in the human capital tradition and follows the recent work of DaVanzo (see particularly DaVanzo, 1981; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1981). For well-known reasons, this framework explains the selectivity of migrants by various personal and economic characteristics including age and occupation. The incidence of multiple move behaviour is likely to be high for young persons because they have attitudes which are conducive to moving often (Morrison, 1971). Specifically, short time preferences, relatively few family responsibilities, low risk aversion and a strong desire for locational change will trigger multiple moves among young adults. In addition, given the extent to which career considerations require multiple moves within the short periods of time, we should expect to observe migration propensities for

certain occupations (young professionals, military personnel and transportation and construction workers) in one time period to be positively affected by previous geographical moves.

Most migration decisions are made in uncertainty and may lead to disappointment. The propensity of a subsequent move should be high for those migrants who have overestimated their earning potential and/or psychic benefits in the destination and for those whose actual earnings fall short of their expectations (see Allen, 1979; Yezer and Thurston, 1976). These individuals are perhaps those who have conducted little information search and/or who have limited prior migration experience. According to DaVanzo and Morrison, movers among Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) who made a return move one year after the initial move were younger, less educated and more prone to unemployment before the initial move and just before the second move, compared with primary or onward moves. In summary, disappointed migrants are more likely to make a repeat move.

The periodicity between moves and the destination of a subsequent move for disappointed individuals is not clear, but it seems reasonable to argue that the greater the negative discrepancy between actual and anticipated migration payoffs, the faster these individuals will make a subsequent "corrective" move with a return move having a high probability. As DaVanzo and Morrison explain, disappointed migrants are likely to return quickly in order to avoid the depreciation of their location-specific capital (such as kinship ties, job experience and, for businessmen, clientele) in the origin region. At the same time, destination-specific human capital accumulates over time, and hence, for both reasons, the probability of a repeat move should decrease as the length of residence in a location increases (see Clark and Huff, 1977).

Students of migration have considered the distance from the origin to various destinations to be a rough proxy for information flows as well as a measure of the direct costs of move. There is ample evidence in the literature that the propensity to move is a decreasing function of distance. Considering only the cost of the movement aspect, we should expect to find that return migration probabilities also decrease with the distance of the original move. However, if information reliability declines as the distance of the initial move increases, thereby making disappointment more likely, the probability of return (and other repeat) moves might vary positively with distance.

Data

The special data set available to us is the data base established by the Unemployment Insurance Commission (U.I.C.) to analyse the effects of the new unemployment insurance legislation and regulations. This data base combines information from a number of different sources, mostly within the U.I.C., but also contains tax records obtained from the Department of Revenue/Taxation. The tax record is the source which is used to track the migratory experience of each individual. Although tax information as a basis for recording migration has its shortcomings (see Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976), it is considerably better than Family Allowance data, which exclude families without children or those with older children. In addition, the longitudinal nature of tax files permits us to identify the timing, frequency and type of move (primary, return and onward) for each individual in the sample.

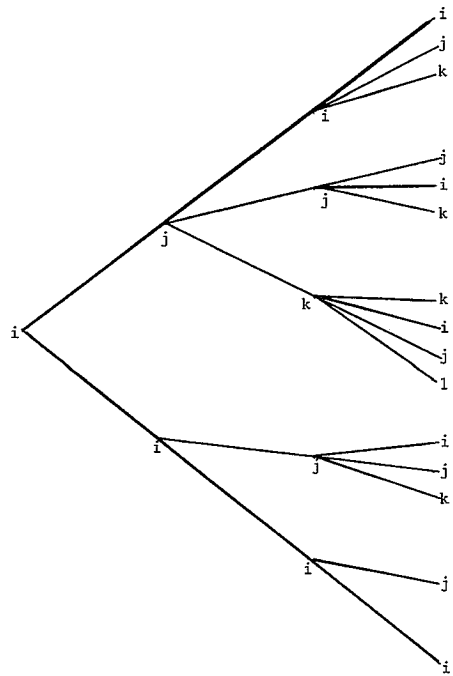
The particular sample which is used for this study is comprised of approximately 14,000 weighted observations of cases with continuous annual information concerning location for the complete period 1968-71. The actual number of individuals is about 28,000, but they are weighted to reflect the sampling technique. The original sample consisted of close to 300,000 individuals. To bring this sample down to a more manageable size, we took the following four steps. First, we eliminated all individuals who had no record (except a social insurance number) in any of the years 1965-71 (see Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976:9). Second, we eliminated all individuals who had incomplete records for any of the years 1968-70; the reason for concentrating on individuals with complete records in 1968-70 is that we have more information about individual characteristics, etc., for this period. As a result of these two steps, we reduced the total sample to about half of its original size. However, there are some disadvantages associated with a sample which uses continuous records. It is more likely to exclude casual and secondary participants in the labour force. In addition, a continuous record sample discriminates against new entrants into the labour force after 1966 as well as those leaving the labour force before 1971. Thus young persons and women are more likely to be excluded. Since the young are very mobile and have low income levels but relatively high annual percentage increases, a continuous record sample underestimates mobility rates, overestimates income levels and underestimates percentage increases in income.

Third, this set was separated into "movers" and "stayers" – a "mover" being an individual who migrated between localities (see below) at some

point in the period 1968-70. Fourth, we took a 10 per cent random sample of all "stayers" – those who did not migrate between localities in 1968-70 – and combined them with *all* "movers" to give us our sample. For present purposes we also excluded people without a record in 1971. The result is our set of about 28,000 individuals, over half of whom are "movers" (in the sense defined), but because "movers" have been "sampled" ten times as intensively as "stayers," we give all movers a weight of 0.1 which results in just over 14,000 weighted observations. All this should be kept in mind when interpreting the various tables reported here, particularly Table 3 which contains detailed breakdowns of various migrant categories.

Locational designations are derived from two sources in an individual's tax file. The taxing province refers to the province of residence as of 31 December of a particular year. A change in taxing-province codes between two years is therefore denoted as a *taxing-province move*. The second locational designation is the home address from which an individual mailed his/her tax return before the end of April of the year following the taxation year. There are 337 locality codes (excluding outside Canada) which cover all counties and census divisions as well as 100 major urban areas identified separately. A change in the code from one year to the next is defined as an inter-locality move. The time of a move is such that for 1968-69 migration, the actual move took place between March/April of 1969 and March/April of 1970 because individual tax forms are mailed three to four months after the completion of the relevant taxation (calendar) year. Locality codes by year were also aggregated into 44 regional areas (see Appendix C of Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976) and into 10 mailing provinces, and hence two additional types of moves were obtained: *inter-regional moves* and *mailing-province moves*. Therefore, for each of the four definitions of location, a maximum of three moves is possible for the period 1968-71. In addition, there are four types of continuous "stayers." Because of differences in timing, mailing-province moves and taxing-province moves for the same years do not refer to exactly the same group of migrants, although they overlap by about two-thirds.

There are 15 possible migration sequences within the 1968-71 period for each of the four locational definitions, and these are illustrated schematically by the probability "tree" in Figure 1. The notations i, j, k and l refer to different locations. In all cases, i refers to any origin region, j is any destination of the initial move, k is any destination of the second move except location i, and l is any destination of the third move



Case	Classifications	Propensities (% of Total Sample) Inter-locality	Inter-regional	Interprovincial Mailing Prov.	Interprovincial Taxing Prov.
1	ijii	.412	.309	.156	.178
2	ijij	.039	.027	.019	.029
3	ijik	.055	.032	.006	.013
4	ijjj	3.571	2.386	1.023	1.114
5	ijji	.240	.181	.096	.095
6	ijjk	.444	.214	.043	.050
7	ijkk	.495	.238	.064	.060
8	ijki	.054	.028	.008	.013
9	ijkj	.042	.019	.004	.011
10	ijkl	.102	.032	.004	.003
11	iiji	.373	.287	.114	.156
12	iijj	2.988	2.023	.802	.840
13	iijk	.387	.186	.036	.036
14	iiij	4.092	2.586	1.030	.971
15	iiii	86.705	91.452	96.561	96.402

FIGURE 1. MIGRATION PROBABILITY TREE AND MIGRATION PROPENSITIES, 1968-71

except for locations *i, j* and *k*. For example, the classification *ijii* (case 1) refers to persons who moved from *i* to *j* in 1968-69, returned to *i* in 1969-70 and remained in *i* in 1970-71. Obviously, the classification *iiii* represents continuous stayers in location *i* (case 15). Primary movers (cases 4, 12 and 14) are individuals who made only one move, namely in 1968-69, 1969-70 and 1970-71, respectively. Repeat movers who made only two moves can be classified as either onward movers (three different locations for cases 6, 7 and 13) or return movers to region *i* (cases 1, 5 and 11). The other five cases all involve three moves.

Even though we only have four years of data, the length of residence in the destination region (*j*) between the first and second move may differ. Cases 5 and 6 represent a two-year gap while cases 1, 7, 11 and 13 represent a one-year interval. The values for each branch of the tree may thus be used to calculate migration propensities which differ by the number of moves, the date of the original move and the periodicity of moves. It should be remembered that we treat 1968-69 as the point of the initial moving decision, but prior moves clearly may (and in fact) have occurred before 1968.

Our micro data base also provides information on migrants' characteristics which will be analyzed in a later section. Certain characteristics – such as age, sex, marital status, location and average income – are available for the whole of this particular sample. Other information on occupation, industry and unemployment claims is available only for members of the insured population (covering about 60 per cent of our sample). Information on previous moves (before 1968) is not available for new entrants into the sample.

Migration Propensities

The probability tree information allows us to analyze migration behaviour in two ways. The data in Table 1 track the subsequent migratory experience of individuals after their initial move/stay decision in 1968-69 and record annual migratory propensities throughout the period. The data in Table 2 represent a retrospective approach: the impact that migratory experience (including frequency and periodicity) prior to 1970 had on the probability of making a move 1970-71.

Annual migration flows in the top panel of Table 1 display a somewhat strange cyclical pattern over a period in which unemployment rates in

Canada increased from 4.8 per cent in 1968 to 6.4 per cent in 1971.[2] A speculative explanation is that the increase in unemployment – particularly the jump recorded in 1969-70 – had the effect of reducing "new" migration (first recorded initial move) in 1969-70, but by increasing the incidence of repeat migration particularly of the return variety in 1970-71, led to an increase in the annual migration rate in 1970-71 compared with 1969-70. The information in Table 1 provides some support for this contention. The probability of a return move in 1970-71, with the population at risk being persons who made their initial move in 1969-70 (case 11), is higher for each of the four types of moves compared with the

TABLE 1. MIGRATION PROPENSITIES, 1968-71
(Per Cent)

	Inter-locality	Inter-regional	Inter-provincial	
			Mailing Prov.	Taxing Prov.
1. Annual Migration Rates				
1968-69	5.46	3.47	1.42	1.59
1969-70	4.95	3.18	1.24	1.34
1970-71	5.83	3.59	1.39	1.38
2. Number of Moves				
None	86.71	91.45	96.56	96.40
One	10.65	6.99	2.86	2.95
Two	2.35	1.42	.54	.58
Three	.29	.14	.04	.07
3. Propensity of Repeat Move, 1969-70 (first move 1968-69)				
--return (cases 1, 2, 3)	9.29	10.61	12.70	13.81
--onward (cases 7, 8, 9, 10)	12.70	9.12	5.66	5.45
4. Propensity of Repeat Move, 1970-71				
a) first move, 1968-69				
--return to 1968 area (cases 5, 8)	5.39	6.05	7.29	6.73
--return to 1969 area (cases 2, 9)	1.49	1.33	1.62	2.51
--onward (cases 3, 6, 10)	11.02	8.01	3.69	4.81
b) first move 1969-70				
--return (case 11)	9.95	11.51	14.70	15.14
--onward (case 13)	10.32	7.44	3.64	3.53

probability that a return move was made in 1969-70 after an initial move in 1968-69 (cases 1 through 3). Furthermore, we estimate from data underlying Table 2 that 30 per cent of the 1970-71 migratory flows was comprised of persons who had moved prior to 1970 and that the ratio of return moves to all repeat moves in 1970-71 ranged from 43 per cent (for inter-locality moves) to 75 per cent (for inter-provincial moves).

Inter-locality moves entail shorter average distances than those for inter-regional and inter-provincial moves. We observe that the highest propensities – on an annual basis as well as for repeat migration one year after the initial move – are for inter-locality changes, while the lowest are for inter-provincial moves. We estimate that about 20 per cent of the individuals who moved one year previously, move again. However, the composition of this flow differed substantially according to the size of the geographical unit. The odds of a return move to an onward move are very high for inter-provincial moves but low for inter-locality moves. This observation can be explained as follows. First, short distance moves are more likely associated with a change in housing, for example, between an urban area and its surrounding rural locality. Second, information about job opportunities for short distances may be better, and hence the incidence of disappointing moves may be lower. Third, kinship ties are more easily retained at short distances thus reducing the need to return to a former location. Finally, some of the onward migration cases in the inter-locality dimension will be reclassified as return migration cases when we adopt broader (regional or provincial) definitions: these are migrants who are returning "home" in the broader sense.

Table 1 contains information which supports the contention that the probability of a return move decreases as the length of absence from the origin area increases. About 17 per cent of inter-regional and 20 per cent of inter-provincial movers in 1968-69 returned to the 1968 region (province) by 1971 (although not all of the 1969-70 returnees stayed, see cases 2 and 3). About 65 per cent of the return moves occurred one year after the 1968-69 move. Of the remaining 35 per cent, most of the cases involved a stay of two years after the initial move (case 5).

The probability of a move is likely to be positively related to previous migratory experience (including the frequency of moves) and negatively related to the length of residence in a particular location. We also argued that a subsequent move which attempts to correct for an unsuccessful initial move is likely to occur quickly. Support for these arguments is clear-

ly illustrated by Table 2.[3] The percentage migration rates for 1970-71 are cross-tabulated by the number of moves prior to 1970 and by the length of residence in the 1970 location, the maximum value being three years. The length of residence and the number of previous moves seem to have separate effects. Reading down the column listed as "total sample," we find that the migration rate in 1970-71 was positively influenced by the number of prior moves. These patterns generally prevail – reading down the "one year" column which represents one year of residence in the 1970 location – the notable exception being for inter-provincial moves. DaVanzo (1981) has offered an explanation for this exceptional case. She argues that the probability of a move in a particular period should be positively affected by a move immediately prior to the period in question, *except* in the case in which the last prior move was a return move.

TABLE 2. MIGRATION RATES, 1970-71, BY DURATION OF RESIDENCE AND NUMBER OF MOVES IN RECENT PAST
(Per Cent)

No. of Moves of the type listed made 1968-70	Duration of Residence in 1970 area			
	1 YEAR	2 YEARS	3 YEARS	TOTAL SAMPLE
Inter-locality				
0	--	--	4.5	4.5
1	20.3	16.1	--	18.0
2	24.4	--	--	24.4
Inter-regional				
0	--	--	2.8	2.8
1	19.0	14.2	--	16.5
2	20.1	--	--	20.1
Inter-provincial (Mailing Province)				
0	--	--	1.1	1.1
1	18.3	11.9	--	14.9
2	15.5	--	--	15.5

This seems a reasonable argument particularly in cases for which the return move was occasioned by an unsuccessful move prior to the return move, and hence these individuals became "gun-shy" about making subsequent moves. Comparing the migration rates in Figure 1 for the aggregate of cases 1 through 3 (the so-called gun-shy return migrants) and for the aggregate of cases 7 through 10 (the onward movers), we note in the table below that the probability of a move in 1970-71 was lower for persons who had return moved in 1969-70.

Probability of a Move, 1970-71

	Cases 1 to 3 (return move 1969-70)	Cases 7 to 10 (onward move 1969-70)
	%	%
Inter-locality	18.6	28.6
Inter-regional	16.0	24.8
Inter-provincial (Mailing Province)	13.8	20.0

Given the previously demonstrated fact that return migrants constitute the majority of repeat migrants – especially for inter-provincial moves – DaVanzo's argument is suggestive. It suggests that in micro-econometric testing we should expect the effects of prior migration experience and length of residence to be different for these two groups of migrants.

Finally, Table 2 suggests that the longer the length of residency in a location, the lower the probability of a move. This can be seen by reading along the row listed in "1 move." The inter-regional migration rate or cases in which a person lived two years in the 1970 region (cases 5 and 6) was 14.2 per cent as contrasted to 19.0 per cent for individuals who lived there only one year (cases 11 and 13). This finding is also in line with the proposition that the probability of a return move falls with the length of absence from the origin region.

Characteristics of Inter-regional Migrants

In this section we examine the characteristics of repeat migrants by comparison with other individuals who moved inter-regionally, 1968-71. We have chosen to concentrate on inter-regional moves because they represent the intermediate case and because, to our knowledge, this is the first time that statistics of this kind for Canadian multiple movers have been reported.

In order to keep the classification of inter-regional migrants (primary, return and onward) as simple as possible, we have limited our analysis to persons who made no more than two moves in the period 1968-71. This restriction eliminates less than 0.2 per cent of the total sample or less than 2 per cent of the total number of migrants.

We observe from Table 3 that migrants on average are younger than those who stay, which accords with other research results (see DeVanzo and Morrison, 1981, and Stone, 1978). Those who made repeat moves are younger than primary movers, and onward movers are somewhat younger than return migrants. The youth selectivity of repeat migrants accords with observations that (1) anywhere from 11 to 17 per cent of those in the various repeat migrant categories underwent some form of educational experience in 1969 and (2) fewer of the repeat migrants are married with fewer dependents.

Any data set which is a segment of the complete life cycle migratory experience is likely to misclassify migrant categories. Ours is no exception. Unfortunately, we do not have complete locational information as far back as 1965 for about 3000 individuals of the 14,000 sample, and these exclusions are problematic: they are particularly concentrated in young age groups and those which are movers in the 1968-71 period. We see from Table 3 that many of the moves that we classified as primary in either 1968-69 or 1969-70 are incorrectly specified. Many migrants had moved between regions in the interval 1965-68. This is particularly the case for onward movers in the 1968-71 period.

The data in Table 3 suggest that return migrants (cases 1, 5 and 11) had the least previous migration experience relative to onward and primary movers. Perhaps it is because of their lack of previous migratory experience that these migrants had disappointing experiences in the 1969 destination region and hence returned to the origin region. The data also indicate that all migrant groups had more migration experience in 1965-66 than in 1967-68, which is in conflict with an earlier observation.

TABLE 3. CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS BY TYPE OF MOVE

	Continuous Stayers (Case 15)	Primary Movers (Cases 4, 12, 14)	Onward Movers (Cases 6, 7, 13)	Return Movers (Cases 1, 5, 11)
No. of Weighted Observations*	13,052	998	91	111
Age, years (1969)	41.9	33.7	29.5	31.0
Female, %	28.2	28.6	28.7	28.1
Married, (1969), %	68.2	61.3	55.6	50.4
Student (1969), %	4.7	10.8	15.9	12.3
Previous Regional Moves, %**				
1965-66	3.3	13.2	19.3	11.0
1966-67	2.7	12.6	14.8	10.0
1967-68	1.8	9.6	17.8	7.0
Total Income, $				
1967	4,961	4,576	4,144	4,071
1968	5,453	5,176	4,683	4,485
1969	5,572	5,889	5,447	4,992
1970	5,952	6,428	6,190	5,481
1971	6,354	7,024	6,921	5,775
Unemployment, (% of insured population)				
1967	4.4	3.7	2.5	4.3
1968	5.4	4.7	3.7	6.1
1969	4.5	4.1	3.0	5.0
1970	6.3	7.9	6.9	9.3

*It should be noted that these are weighted observations. As is explained in the data section, the actual number of migrants in most cases is ten times as large.

**These rates are for individuals who had valid regional codes in each of the pair of years.

In particular, if previous migrants are less likely to make another move the longer the time spent in the "new" region, then we should expect that present (1968-69) migrants are more likely to have had a migration experience in 1967-68 than in 1965-66. We have no complete explanation for the pattern observed in Table 3, although the migration rates for 1966-67 and 1967-68 are too low because the tax records of many of those who moved showed an "unknown" locality code in 1967 – apparently the result of the introduction of "personalized" income tax forms in 1967 (see Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976). It was partly for this reason that we chose our sample with concentration on migration experience in the 1968-71 period.

The youth selectivity of migrants – especially of repeat migrants – accords with low levels of initial (1968) income relative to stayers. It is interesting that although primary movers are on average about eight years younger than stayers, their 1968 income is only slightly lower while their 1971 income is higher compared with that of stayers. Our tabular evidence suggests that the income profile of primary migrants is steeper than that of stayers since the ratio of 1971 to 1968 income is higher for primary migrants than for stayers. This in turn suggests that the migration decision has a positive pay-off. However, as we have demonstrated previously by econometric testing of earnings functions (Grant and Vanderkamp, 1980; see also Polachek and Horvath, 1977), primary migrants in this period experienced income losses, and so tabular information is inadequate for judging migration returns. In particular, the shape of the age-earnings profile is quite complex and many other variables associated with, for example, marital status, sex, industry change, occupation and unionization are not controlled for in our simple tabular comparisons.

Although we must await the results of a detailed econometric analysis of income profiles for various migrant categories, our raw data give the general impression that income increases are greatest for onward movers. The increase in income from 1968 to 1971 for onward movers is 48 per cent compared with 17 per cent for stayers and 36 per cent for primary movers. Why onward movers seem to be the most successful in increasing their income is difficult to ascertain at this preliminary stage of our work. In addition, onward migrants had comparably lower incidences of unemployment.

On the other hand, the labour market experience of returnees – particularly for those who returned one year after their initial move – ap-

pears to be less successful than for other migrant groups. Consistent with the work of Davanzo and Morrison, we find that returnees experienced the lowest percentage increase in income and the highest incidence of unemployment benefits after the initial move.[4] These observations are consistent with the proposition that many return moves are necessitated by disappointing previous moves, as we have argued previously. Of course, what is required in future work is a thorough test of this disappointment hypothesis. This will involve the computation of a "disappointment" index measured by the ratio of actual income to some level of income which the migrant expected to earn after the initial move.

Summary

This descriptive analysis has been based on a Canadian set of micro data which contains some longitudinal information for the period 1965-71. We are particularly concerned with the frequency of repeat migration and with the characteristics of the two subgroups, return and onward migrants.

Initially, we concentrated on a probability tree which characterizes all of the 15 possible alternatives available during 1968-71. Based on different geographical definitions, we differentiate between four types of probability trees. Of course, all migration probabilities diminish as we define broader geographical regions, in our case as we go from 337 localities to 10 provinces. For the intermediate definition of 44 regions, we show that 17 per cent of the 1968-69 migrants returned to their home region by 1971, and almost two-thirds of these did so in 1969-70 – the first year after the original move. The relative frequency of onward versus return moves is also strongly affected by the geographical definitions, and we suggest a number of reasons for this.

Based on human capital considerations, DaVanzo (1981) has suggested that both previous migratory experience and length of residence influence migration propensities. Although our main data cover only a short period, we provide support for DaVanzo's findings. Length of residence appears to have a negative effect and previous migration experience has a positive effect on current migration decisions. The main exception to this occurs when the previous migration experience involved a return move, in which case the individual is less likely to migrate again. We also provide evidence that all groups of 1968-71 migrants had more frequent migration experience between 1965 and 1968 than did the

1968-71 stayers. Return migrants seem to have had the least prior migratory experience of all migrant groups.

Considering a number of personal characteristics, we show that inter-regional migrants were on average younger than stayers, with a smaller proportion being married and a larger proportion in the student category. These tendencies were generally strongest for onward migrants and least strong for primary migrants (one-time movers), with return migrants taking an intermediate position. In line with these characteristics, all migrant groups started off in 1967 with lower average incomes than stayers, but by 1971 all inter-regional migrant groups – except return migrants – had higher average incomes than stayers.

The income (and unemployment) experience of return migrants was clearly less favourable. Their final incomes were lower than for all other groups. We provide some evidence for a disappointment hypothesis related to return migrants. We also discuss, at some length, the earlier migration experiences of the various groups. In a subsequent paper we plan to report on some direct tests of the disappointment hypothesis.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Kerry Prentice for her very capable programming assistance. The paper also benefitted from useful comments by two referees. This research was financed by a grant from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Footnotes

1. In terms of "population at risk," the percentage is slightly lower, that is, 19.3 per cent of people who migrated between provinces in 1966-67 returned to their provinces of origin in 1967-68.
2. Our estimates of annual inter-provincial propensities are generally in line with other Canadian studies but somewhat lower partly due to differing time periods and data (Vanderkamp, 1968) and partly due to the restriction that a person must have four years of continuous records (Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976). In addition, Vanderkamp (1972) established a significantly positive relationship between return migration and unemployment rates.
3. Our Table 2 has an identical format to that of Table 2 in DaVanzo (1981). Although different countries are involved, the estimated migration propensities are strikingly similar.

4. Income data are from annual tax records, and unemployment rates are measured by the percentage of those eligible who received unemployment benefits in a particular year.

References

Allen, J. 1979. Information and subsequent migration: Further analysis and additional evidence. Southern Economic Journal 45:1274-1284.

Clark, W.A.V. and J.O. Huff. 1977. Some empirical tests of duration of stay effects in intraurban migration. Environment and Planning 9:1357-1374.

DaVanzo, J. 1981. Repeat migration, information costs, and locational-specific capital. Population and Environment 4:45-73.

_____ and P.A. Morrison. 1981. Return and other sequences of migration in the United States. Demography 18:85-102.

Grant, E.K. and J. Vanderkamp. 1976. The economic causes and effects of migration: Canada 1965-71. Ottawa, Ontario: Economic Council of Canada.

_____. 1980. The effects of migration on income: A micro study with Canadian data, 1965-71. Canadian Journal of Economics 13:381-406.

Marr, W. and F. Millerd. 1980. Income differences through migration within Canada. In J. Simon and J. DaVanzo (eds.), Research in Population Economics. Vol. 2. Greenwich, Connecticut: J.A.I. Press.

Morrison, P.A. 1971. Chronic movers and the future redistribution of population. Demography 8:171-184.

Polachek, S. and F. Horvath. 1977. A life-cycle approach to migration: Analysis of the perspicacious peregrinator. In R.G. Ehrenberg (ed.), Research in Labor Economics. Vol. 1, Greenwich, Connecticut: J.A.I. Press.

Stone, L.O. 1978. The Frequency of Geographical Mobility in the Population of Canada. Statistics Canada. Ottawa, Ontario: Supply and Services.

Vanderkamp, J. 1968. Interregional mobility in Canada: A study of the time pattern of migration. Canadian Journal of Economics 3:595-608.

_____. 1972. Return migration: Its significance and behavior. Western Economic Journal 10:460-465.

Yezer, A.M.J. and L. Thurston. 1976. Migration patterns and income change. Southern Economic Journal 42:693-702.

Received August, 1982; revised March, 1983.