

## **THE GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY OF CANADA'S ELDERLY**

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*Abstract* — This paper examines the five-year mobility status—that is, the difference between current residence and residence five years previous—for elderly Canadians using data from the 1961, 1971, 1976 and 1981 Censuses of Canada. The data indicate that the elderly are increasingly likely to move from one province to another. Further, the data show that elderly persons residing in urban centres move more often than the aged who live in rural locations and that the widowed and divorced elderly move more than the married. Interprovincial elderly migrants show a preference for Vancouver and Victoria which has resulted in relatively high concentrations of elderly in Victoria, in particular, as well as in Vancouver. The aging of the population and the increasing mobility of the elderly, together with the tendency to migrate to certain locations, may have important implications for policymakers concerned with the delivery of services.

*Key Words* — elderly, population aging, geographic mobility

In 1961, Canadians aged 65 and older made up 7.6 per cent of the total population. By 1981, this figure had risen to 9.7 per cent with the upward trend projected to continue well into the twenty-first century (Canada, 1982:4). This growing category of elderly persons makes heavy demands on services such as health care and draws substantially from government transfer payments and private pensions. Because the elderly depend heavily on such services, the growth of the elderly population has

major implications for Canadian policymakers. Further, the geographic mobility of the aged may complicate the policymakers' task in that concentrations of the elderly in certain locations may pose particular problems for service delivery systems (Auerbach and Gerber, 1976:11; Longino and Biggar, 1981:289; Serow, 1978:294; Murphy, 1979:84). With respect to geographic mobility, it has been observed that retirement migration is an increasingly important factor in the spatial distribution of the elderly and is resulting in the "graying" of specific areas of North-west Europe, the U.S.A., and Australia (Cribier, 1980:261; Murphy, 1979). Lee, writing primarily about the U.S.A. notes that the migration of the elderly is and will "continue to be diffuse in origin and highly specific in destination (1980:135)." Lee's comment implies an increasing concentration of the elderly in selective locations.

Similarly, migration in Canada may be a significant process with respect to differentials in the concentration of Canada's elderly. While the elderly are less mobile than the general population, they do move — especially around the retirement age (Chevan and Fischer, 1979:1365, 1369; Shulman, 1980:32). The movement patterns of Canada's aged include the following three points. First, there is evidence that Canada's elderly retirees are drawn disproportionately to the milder climate of British Columbia (Auerbach and Gerber, 1976:10-11; Norland, 1974:41, 47; Shulman, 1980:32-34). Second, the rural aged — especially females — have tended to move from rural farm to rural non-farm or small urban centres (Norland, 1974:47). Third, there is some indication of a tendency to return to one's "home town" following retirement (Shulman, 1980:32). Of course, even if the elderly do not move at all, the (outward) movement of the nonelderly may result in relative concentrations of elderly in certain locations (Courchene, 1970:574-575) as has happened, for example, in Saskatchewan (Auerbach and Gerber, 1976:9). Migration patterns which result in concentrations of the elderly will be of increasing importance to policymakers, especially if today's elderly are increasingly mobile.

Mobility is a general term including all movers, that is, those who have changed residence. In the census, movement is operationalized in terms of five-year mobility status, which is defined as living in a residence on a given census day which is different from one's residence of five years previous. The term "migrants" is defined as movers who cross a municipal boundary.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the five-year mobility status of elderly Canadians by using data from the 1961, 1971, 1976 and 1981

censuses. Previous studies of internal migration in Canada have focused primarily on the bulk of migrants — those 20-34 years of age — and have put little, if any, emphasis on the movement of the elderly population. This study assesses the five-year mobility status of elderly Canadians with respect to the hypothesis that the elderly are becoming increasingly mobile (Lee, 1980; Murphy, 1979:89; Wiseman and Roseman, 1979:328).

### *The Data*

The data are drawn from Census of Canada publications for 1961, 1971, 1976 and 1981. The year 1961 was the first time that the Census of Canada inquired about a person's residence of five years previous (although the 1946 Census of the Prairie Provinces included this item). In 1961, the question "Where did you live five years ago?" was asked of a 20 per cent national sample of Canadians five or more years of age (those under five did not have a terrestrial residence five years previous). The question was not used in 1966. In 1971 and 1976, the five-year mobility question was asked of 33 1/3 per cent national samples. In 1981, a 20 per cent sample was tapped.

Data have been presented in census publications that allow for comparisons of mobility status by rural-urban location for 1961 and 1971. Comparisons of mobility status in major centres and for marital statuses are available for 1961, 1976 and 1981.

The limitations of the data (George, 1970:9-12) include: (a) only present residence and residence of five years previous are tabulated, that is, multiple moves and return moves are not recorded; (b) those living in institutions are excluded, and this may especially affect data relating to the elderly population; (c) emigrants from Canada are omitted (inasmuch as they are not present in Canada to respond to the census); (d) those who died during the five years previous to the census are also unavailable to provide information on their mobility (this may be an important limitation with respect to the aged if the elderly who die are more or less mobile than those who survive); (e) a small percentage fail to complete the questionnaire; and (f) there is sampling error, and this error is larger for small *n*'s (this point being especially relevant for the elderly who may constitute a fairly small segment of certain subpopulations, for example, movers in a smaller urban centre).

*The Mobility of the Elderly*

Tables 1 and 2 show the mobility of nonelderly Canadians (5-64 years of age) and of elderly Canadians (65 years of age and older) for 1961, 1971 and 1981. In 1981, the nonelderly were twice as likely to move and

TABLE 1. THE PERCENTAGES OF NONELDERLY AND ELDERLY CANADIAN POPULATIONS WHO WERE MOVERS BY SEX, FOR 1961, 1971, AND 1981

	Percentage of Population Who are Movers <sup>1</sup>			Rates <sup>2</sup> of Change (%)	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81
<b>Males:</b>					
5-64 years of age	40.3	44.3	47.1	9.9	6.3
65+ years of age	25.0	28.8	23.5	15.2	-18.4
Ratio <sup>3</sup>	1.6	1.5	2.0		
<b>Females:</b>					
5-64 years of age	40.8	44.7	47.5	9.6	6.3
65+ years of age	26.6	31.2	25.8	17.3	-17.3
Ratio <sup>3</sup>	1.5	1.4	1.8		

1. A mover is a person whose residence at the time of a given census is different from his/her residence at the time of the previous census five years earlier. Immigrants from outside of Canada are excluded.
2. The rates of change are  $\left(\frac{1971-1961}{1961}\right) \times 100$  and  $\left(\frac{1981-1971}{1971}\right) \times 100$
3. The ratios are % 5-64 years of age divided by the % 65+ years of age. The ratios indicate how much more likely the non-elderly population is to move than is the elderly population.

Sources: Adapted from The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The 1961 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 98-509, Table 11; Statistics Canada, The 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-719, Table 31, and the 1981 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-907, Table 1.

TABLE 2. THE INTERNAL MIGRATION<sup>1</sup> OF NONELDERLY AND ELDERLY CANADIANS BY SEX, FOR 1961, 1971 AND 1981

	Percentage of Population Who are Intraprovincial Migrants			Rates <sup>2</sup> of Change (%)		Percentage of Population Who are Interprovincial Migrants			Rates <sup>2</sup> of Change (%)	
	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81	1961	1971	1981	1961-71	1971-81
<b>Males:</b>										
5-64 years of age	13.8	14.2	15.8	2.9	11.3	3.6	4.7	5.9	30.6	21.3
65+ years of age	7.4	8.4	7.8	13.5	-7.1	1.4	1.7	1.8	21.4	5.9
Ratio <sup>3</sup>	1.9	1.7	2.0			2.6	2.8	3.2		
<b>Females:</b>										
5-64 years of age	14.3	14.9	16.2	4.2	8.7	3.6	4.5	5.3	25.0	17.8
65+ years of age	7.5	8.3	7.5	10.7	-9.6	1.5	1.7	1.8	13.3	5.9
Ratio <sup>3</sup>	1.9	1.8	2.2			2.4	2.6	2.9		
<p>1. A migrant is a person who moves across a municipal boundary. Immigrants from outside of Canada and immigrants of unknown origin are excluded except that in 1981 migrants of unknown origin are assigned proportionately. This exaggerates the 1981 data slightly relative to the 1961 and 1971 data.</p> <p>2. The rates of change are <math>\left(\frac{1971-1961}{1961}\right) \times 100</math> and <math>\left(\frac{1981-1971}{1971}\right) \times 100</math>.</p> <p>3. The ratios are % 5-64 of age divided by the % 65+ years of age. The ratios indicate how much more likely the non-elderly population is to move than is the elderly population.</p> <p>Sources: See Table 1.</p>										

three times as likely to change their province of residence. In short, the elderly — in comparison to the general population — are less likely to move and even less likely to move long distances. Nevertheless, in 1981 25 per cent of the aged had moved at least once in the past five years, including 1.8 per cent (more than 39,000 elderly persons) who had changed their province of residence.

The mobility data are presented for individuals and ignore any household connection that individuals might have. Inasmuch as families tend to move together as a unit, family data may be more relevant. Given that the average elderly family (or household) is smaller than the Canadian average (Statistics Canada, 1971), the difference between elderly and nonelderly rates of movement should be even less for data presented on a family or household basis.

From 1961 to 1971, both the nonelderly and the elderly populations became more mobile; this was true for both short and long moves. From 1971 to 1981, the nonelderly continued to show increasing mobility, while the elderly showed an increase only in interprovincial migration.

Male and female patterns of mobility are very similar. Both male and female elderly show an increasing tendency to move. Females, whether old or not, are slightly more likely to move, although this differential seems to apply to shorter moves rather than longer moves involving changes in province of residence.

### *Rural-Urban Mobility Patterns*

Tables 3 and 4 show the five-year mobility status for urban, rural non-farm and rural farm elderly populations in 1961 and 1971. Generally, aged residents of urban centres (over 1,000 population) are more likely to have moved than the rural elderly. Among the rural population, the rural non-farm aged are more likely to have moved than the rural farm elderly. With respect to mobility trends, both urban and rural populations show an increasing tendency to move. Again, male and female patterns are very similar.

Tables 3 and 4 show mobility status at destination. However, it may well be that the rural farm population, for example, is more mobile than the data suggest. If a rural farm person moves off the farm to the city, then that person's mobility is reflected in the urban rather than the rural category. In short, these data on rural-urban mobility may present a somewhat distorted picture and must be interpreted with caution.

TABLE 3. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER  
BY RURAL-URBAN LOCATION AND SEX, FOR 1961

Rural-Urban Location of Elderly Population	(n)	Percent <sup>1</sup> of Elderly Who are Movers				
		Non- Migrants	Migrants			Total Movers
			From Same Province	From Different Province	From Outside Canada	
Elderly	Population 65 Years and Over (n)	16.6 18.5	7.4 7.5	1.4 1.5	0.6 1.0	0.1 0.1
Urban (1000+)	Males (622,791) (658,270)	20.6 22.0	7.2 7.3	1.6 1.7	0.7 1.2	0.1 0.1
Rural Non-farm	Males (399,463) (476,641)	11.7 10.9	9.9 9.2	1.3 1.3	0.4 0.5	0.2 0.2
Rural Farm	Males (145,793) (128,022)	5.1 5.1	3.9 4.7	0.4 0.7	0.2 0.4	0.1 0.2
All Canadians	Males 5+ (7,691,110) (7,611,511)	25.1 25.4	13.3 13.7	3.5 3.4	3.1 3.1	0.2 0.2

1. Figures do not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The 1961 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 98-509, Table 11.

TABLE 4. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER  
BY RURAL-URBAN LOCATION AND SEX, FOR 1971

Rural-Urban Location of Elderly	Population 65 Years and Over ( <sub>n</sub> )	Percent <sup>1</sup> of Elderly Who are Movers					Total Movers
		Non- Migrants	Migrants				
			From Same Province	From Different Province	From Outside Canada	Origin Unknown	
Total Elderly							
Males	(782,555)	17.7	8.4	1.7	1.2	1.1	30.0
Females	(961,325)	20.0	8.3	1.7	1.6	1.2	32.8
Urban (1000+)							
Males	(559,915)	20.5	8.0	1.8	1.4	1.1	32.8
Females	(763,810)	22.5	8.0	1.8	1.9	1.2	35.4
Rural Non-farm							
Males	(174,200)	12.1	10.8	1.5	0.7	1.2	26.3
Females	(162,800)	11.1	10.4	1.4	0.9	1.3	25.2
Rural Farm							
Males	( 48,440)	6.0	3.3	0.5	0.2	0.5	10.6
Females	( 34,720)	6.4	4.5	0.7	0.4	0.7	12.8
All Canadians							
Males 5+	(9,855,545)	23.4	13.8	4.4	4.2	1.4	47.3
Females 5+	(9,861,660)	23.5	14.3	4.2	4.1	1.4	47.5

1. Figures do not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, The 1971 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-719, Table 31.



*Mobility Patterns In the Large Cities*

Thirty-nine per cent of the elderly in 1961 and 43 per cent in both 1976 and 1981 resided in the 10 census metropolitan areas (CMAs) having the largest numbers of elderly residents. Table 5 shows that from 1956 to 1961, the elderly in these large urban centres were more likely to have moved than the average elderly Canadian. While the majority of these moves were within the same CMA, there was wide variation in the number of in-migrants from different provinces. For example, almost no elderly persons from outside of Quebec chose Quebec City as their destination. In 1961, the most popular destinations — as measured by the per cent of the local elderly population that had come from another province within the last five years — were Victoria, Calgary, Vancouver and Edmonton, in that order. In absolute numbers, the greatest in-migration stream of elderly was to Vancouver. Note that these data focus on in-migration and reflect neither elderly out-migration nor net migration.

Table 6 shows that from 1971 to 1976 the elderly in these large urban centres continued to be quite mobile, with approximately one-third having moved at least once in the past five years. Again, most of these moves were within the same city. Quebec City continued to be unattractive to interprovincial migrants, while the most attractive cities for elderly interprovincial migrants (in terms of per cent of elderly residents who had migrated from another province) continued to be Victoria followed by Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver. In absolute numbers, the greatest in-migration stream of elderly was to Vancouver followed by Victoria and Toronto. From 1961 to 1976, Victoria appears to have become increasingly attractive to elderly interprovincial migrants.

Table 7 shows that from 1976 to 1981, the elderly were somewhat less mobile than in previous periods. Nevertheless, over one-quarter of the residents of the large urban centres moved at least once in the 1976-81 period. Interprovincially, moves to Quebec City or Montreal were rare, while Victoria continued to draw heavily from other provinces. In absolute numbers the greatest interprovincial in-migration stream of elderly was to Vancouver followed by Toronto and Victoria.

Quebec City and Victoria have elderly populations of comparable size — 44,000 and 37,000, respectively. In 1981, a little less than 0.3 per cent of Quebec City's elderly had come from another Canadian province in the previous five years. On the other hand, in 1981, 7.0 per cent of Victoria's elderly had come from another province in the previous five years.

TABLE 5. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER FOR THE TEN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH THE LARGEST CONCENTRATIONS OF ELDERLY, BY SEX, FOR 1961

Census Metropolitan Area of Residence in 1961	Population 65+ Years (n)	Percent of Elderly Who Are Movers <sup>1</sup>				Total <sup>2</sup> Movers
		Within Same CMA	From Same Province	From Other Province	Origin Unknown	
Toronto						
Males	(56,852)	26.9	2.0	1.0	0.1	30.0
Females	(76,282)	28.8	2.4	1.0	0.1	32.3
Montreal						
Males	(50,798)	33.5	2.0	0.9	0.2	36.6
Females	(64,502)	35.2	1.7	1.0	0.2	38.0
Vancouver						
Males	(36,563)	27.3	3.0	3.6	0.1	34.1
Females	(41,064)	29.5	2.7	3.1	0.1	35.3
Winnipeg						
Males	(18,687)	24.8	2.8	1.8	0.1	29.4
Females	(20,660)	26.6	2.5	2.0	0.1	31.3
Hamilton						
Males	(12,859)	22.4	2.4	1.2	0.3	26.2
Females	(15,928)	23.4	3.6	0.9	0.1	28.0
Ottawa						
Males	(10,452)	27.4	3.4	2.3	0.1	33.2
Females	(14,808)	28.5	3.4	3.0	0.1	35.0
Victoria						
Males	(10,377)	24.9	5.3	6.0	0.0	36.2
Females	(11,650)	25.4	5.1	5.5	0.1	36.2
Calgary						
Males	( 8,654)	23.1	5.9	4.0	0.1	33.0
Females	( 9,018)	22.8	5.6	4.6	0.0	33.0
Edmonton						
Males	( 8,795)	24.6	6.5	2.4	0.1	33.6
Females	( 8,869)	22.8	6.5	3.7	0.3	33.3
Quebec						
Males	( 7,571)	24.5	2.5	0.1	0.0	27.0
Females	( 9,814)	27.5	2.6	0.2	0.1	30.4
All Elderly Canadians						
Males	(622,791)					25.5
Females	(658,270)					27.6

1. Immigrants from outside of Canada are omitted.

2. Components may not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The 1961 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 98-529, Table 1.

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**TABLE 6. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER FOR THE TEN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH THE LARGEST CONCENTRATIONS OF ELDERLY, BY SEX, FOR 1976**

Census Metropolitan Area of Residence in 1976	Population 65+ Years (n)	Percent of Elderly Who are Movers <sup>1</sup>				
		Within Same CMA	From Same Province	From Other Province	Origin Unknown	Total <sup>2</sup> Movers
Toronto						
Males	( 90,275)	24.4	1.8	0.9	1.0	28.1
Females	(139,015)	27.5	2.0	1.1	1.5	32.1
Montreal						
Males	( 88,135)	26.5	2.1	0.5	0.9	30.0
Females	(133,910)	29.1	2.2	0.8	1.0	33.1
Vancouver						
Males	( 52,740)	26.7	2.2	2.7	2.7	34.3
Females	( 70,425)	29.2	2.1	2.3	2.8	36.5
Winnipeg						
Males	( 24,240)	24.3	2.3	1.8	1.8	30.2
Females	( 34,390)	30.2	1.8	1.9	1.9	35.9
Ottawa-Hull						
Males	( 17,970)	27.8	2.8	1.9	1.6	34.2
Females	( 29,295)	33.6	3.2	2.7	1.6	41.2
Hamilton						
Males	( 19,145)	21.2	3.2	0.8	1.1	26.3
Females	( 27,910)	24.1	3.4	0.9	1.5	29.8
Quebec						
Males	( 15,080)	22.3	3.8	0.3	0.8	27.3
Females	( 24,225)	25.1	4.4	0.5	1.0	31.0
Edmonton						
Males	( 15,805)	22.2	3.4	2.5	2.4	30.5
Females	( 19,950)	27.7	3.2	3.1	2.3	36.3
Victoria						
Males	( 13,790)	25.1	6.0	8.0	1.8	41.0
Females	( 19,940)	28.4	4.5	6.3	2.3	41.4
Calgary						
Males	( 13,010)	22.8	3.5	4.3	2.4	33.0
Females	( 17,430)	26.9	2.8	4.8	2.4	36.9
All Elderly Canadians						
Males	(875,385)					28.8
Females	(1,126,900)					31.2

1. Immigrants from outside of Canada are omitted.

2. Components may not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, The 1976 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-828, Table 37.

TABLE 7. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER FOR THE TEN CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH THE LARGEST CONCENTRATIONS OF ELDERLY, BY SEX, FOR 1981

Census Metropolitan Area of Residence in 1981	Population 65+ Years (n)	Percent of Elderly Who are Movers <sup>1</sup>			
		Within Same CMA	From Same Province	From Other Province	Total <sup>2</sup> Movers
Toronto					
Males	(103,240)	20.0	2.1	1.4	23.5
Females	(151,425)	21.5	2.2	1.7	25.4
Montreal					
Males	( 95,825)	26.5	1.9	0.4	28.8
Females	(146,380)	29.2	2.1	0.4	31.7
Vancouver					
Males	( 56,720)	21.7	2.5	3.2	27.4
Females	( 76,290)	22.8	2.3	3.1	28.2
Winnipeg					
Males	( 25,850)	18.6	1.7	1.7	22.0
Females	( 36,735)	20.8	1.4	1.9	24.1
Ottawa-Hull					
Males	( 20,905)	19.6	2.5	3.6	25.7
Females	( 32,675)	21.2	3.0	3.8	28.0
Hamilton					
Males	( 21,975)	18.0	3.5	1.3	22.8
Females	( 30,235)	19.9	3.7	1.5	25.1
Quebec					
Males	( 16,600)	23.1	3.0	0.2	26.3
Females	( 27,190)	25.8	3.1	0.3	29.2
Edmonton					
Males	( 16,845)	19.5	3.0	2.8	25.3
Females	( 22,180)	23.7	2.8	4.0	30.5
Victoria					
Males	( 15,095)	20.0	4.8	8.3	33.1
Females	( 21,620)	21.5	4.2	6.0	31.7
St. Catharines					
Males	( 14,120)	14.8	4.3	1.6	20.7
Females	( 18,360)	17.8	4.2	1.4	23.4
All Elderly Canadians					
Males	(954,645)				23.5
Females	(1,229,905)				25.8

1. Immigrants from outside of Canada are omitted. Migrants of unknown origin are distributed proportionately.

2. Components may not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, The 1981 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-907, Table 3.

In 1981, the population of Quebec City was 8.3 per cent elderly while the population of Victoria was 17.0 per cent elderly. These statistics indicate that migration does affect the relative concentrations of the elderly.

As Tables 5 through 7 reveal, elderly females in Canada's largest cities have tended to be more mobile than elderly males, though much of this differential is accounted for by the greater tendency of aged females to make local moves within the same CMA. In general, the rate of mobility increased from 1961 to 1976 and then declined to 1981.

### *Mobility and Marital Status*

Mobility may be influenced by the presence or absence of a spouse. It should be instructive, therefore, to examine mobility for the different marital statuses. Tables 8, 9 and 10 show the five-year mobility status for single, married, widowed and divorced elderly persons in 1961, 1976 and 1981.

In 1961, the widowed and divorced elderly (combined in the 1961 census analysis) were the most mobile and were somewhat more likely to move than those who had never married. The currently married were by far the least mobile.

The majority of the elderly (59 per cent) were married. The married elderly were disproportionately male because of the tendency for the wife to be younger than her husband; that is, many elderly males have nonelderly wives. On the other hand, the elderly widowed are disproportionately female because of the wife's tendency to outlive her husband. It follows, therefore, that the two predominant groups of elderly in 1961 were (a) married males of whom 24 per cent moved during the 1956-61 period and (b) widowed and divorced females of whom 33 per cent were mobile. Similar patterns were obtained for 1976 and 1981. The divorced elderly were the most mobile, followed by the widowed and the never married. The married elderly were again least likely to move.

The majority of moves tended to be local moves. The mobility patterns of males and females for both short and long moves were very similar within any given marital status. With respect to interprovincial moves, the divorced were by far the most likely to change their province of residence. The widowed also were somewhat more likely to move interprovincially than either the married or never married.

The never married, married, widowed and divorced elderly tended to show increased mobility from 1961 to 1976 for every kind of move —

TABLE 8. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER  
BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, FOR 1961

Marital Status of Elderly Population	Population 65 Years and Over (n)	Percent <sup>1</sup> of Elderly Who are Movers				
		Non- Migrants	Migrants			Total Movers
			From Same Province	From Different Province	From Outside Canada	
Total Elderly						
Males	(622,791)	16.6	7.4	1.4	0.6	26.1
Females	(658,270)	18.5	7.5	1.5	1.0	28.6
Single (Never Married)						
Males	( 55,202)	20.6	7.8	1.3	0.4	30.3
Females	( 54,917)	20.0	6.1	1.1	0.9	28.3
Married (includes Separated)						
Males	(446,458)	15.3	7.0	1.4	0.5	24.3
Females	(286,395)	15.0	6.8	1.3	0.6	23.9
Widowed or Divorced						
Males	(121,131)	19.9	8.6	1.5	0.8	30.9
Females	(316,958)	21.3	8.3	1.8	1.3	32.9
All Canadians						
Males 5+	(7,691,110)	25.1	13.3	3.5	3.1	45.1
Females 5+	(7,611,511)	25.4	13.7	3.4	3.1	45.8

1. Figures do not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The 1961 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 98-527, Table 1, and Cat. No. 98-509, Table 11.

TABLE 9. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER  
BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, FOR 1976

Marital Status of Elderly Population	Population 65 Years and Over (n)	Percent <sup>1</sup> of Elderly Who are Movers				
		Non- Migrants	Migrants			Total Movers
			From Same Province	From Different Province	From Outside Canada	
Total Elderly						
Males	(875,385)	15.8	9.1	1.6	1.2	1.2
Females	(1,126,900)	19.3	8.6	1.7	1.4	1.7
Single (Never Married)						
Males	(83,845)	21.0	8.9	1.4	0.8	2.5
Females	(115,800)	20.1	8.8	1.6	1.1	1.9
Married (includes Separated)						
Males	(647,445)	13.8	9.1	1.6	1.2	0.7
Females	(436,560)	13.9	8.5	1.5	1.1	0.8
Widowed						
Males	(133,475)	21.3	9.2	1.9	1.3	2.9
Females	(563,020)	23.0	8.6	1.8	1.6	2.2
Divorced						
Males	(10,620)	25.9	12.8	2.6	1.2	2.0
Females	(11,520)	28.0	10.8	2.5	2.5	1.0
All Canadians						
Males 5+	(10,549,270)	23.3	16.3	4.4	3.4	1.0
Females 5+	(10,689,635)	23.7	16.6	4.2	3.4	0.9

1. Figures do not add exactly due to rounding error.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, The 1976 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-828, Table 35.

TABLE 10. FIVE-YEAR MOBILITY STATUS OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER  
BY MARITAL STATUS AND SEX, FOR 1981

Marital Status of Elderly Population	Population 65 Years and Over (n)	Percent <sup>1</sup> of Elderly Who are Movers				
		Non- Migrants	Migrants			Total Movers
			From Same Province	From Different Province	From Outside Canada	
Total Elderly						
Males	(954,645)	14.0	7.8	1.8	1.3	24.8
Females	(1,229,905)	16.5	7.5	1.8	1.5	27.2
Single (Never Married)						
Males	(71,645)	18.6	7.8	1.4	0.4	28.2
Females	(111,120)	17.3	7.0	1.7	1.1	27.1
Married (includes Separated)						
Males	(743,855)	12.6	7.6	1.8	1.3	23.3
Females	(522,235)	12.6	7.4	1.8	1.1	23.0
Widowed						
Males	(122,095)	17.8	8.3	1.8	1.6	29.5
Females	(576,660)	19.4	7.5	1.9	1.8	30.6
Divorced						
Males	(17,045)	28.2	11.2	2.9	1.0	43.4
Females	(19,895)	27.9	9.0	3.3	2.2	42.5
All Canadians						
Males 5+	(11,032,790)	24.7	15.1	5.3	2.5	47.5
Females 5+	(11,247,285)	25.0	15.2	4.9	2.5	47.7

1. Figures may not add exactly due to rounding error. Migrants of unknown origin are distributed proportionately.

Source: Adapted from Statistics Canada, The 1981 Census of Canada, Cat. No. 92-907, Table 1.



short or long. From 1976 to 1981, the trend was towards less mobility, with the exception of interprovincial moves where all marital statuses continued to show an increase.

### *Discussion and Summary*

From 1961 to 1981, the nonelderly Canadian population (5 to 64 years of age) has shown increasing geographic mobility. Elderly Canadians also became more mobile during the 1961 to 1971 period; however, from 1971 to 1981, only elderly interprovincial migration continued to increase while rates of movement locally and within the same province declined. The hypothesis that the elderly are becoming increasingly mobile is supported for interprovincial migration.

The elderly who reside in rural locations are less mobile than those who reside in urban centres. Among the rural aged, the non-farm population appears to move more than the farm population. These data may simply reflect the fact that movement tends to be toward rather than away from the city (that is, a person who moves from farm to city is classified as an urban mover).

Within the large cities where a substantial proportion of Canada's elderly reside, there is a substantial amount of mobility. While most of these moves are local, some cities experience considerable in-migration from out-of-province. From 1961 to 1981, Vancouver received the largest number of interprovincial elderly migrants. The city having the largest percentage of its elderly population originating from out-of-province has been Victoria. Calgary and Edmonton also have fairly large percentages of their elderly population originating from out-of-province. While some of the elderly in these cities may "return home" at some time or may move to be near kin or may leave for some other reason, nevertheless, the attraction that Victoria and Vancouver hold for the elderly has resulted in rather high percentages of aged persons in the populations of these two cities (Shulman, 1980). This is not true for Edmonton and Calgary because, presumably, the heavy in-migration of elderly has been exceeded by an even heavier in-migration of nonelderly.

The widowed and divorced elderly are more mobile than the married. Inasmuch as one-half of all elderly females are widowed (Chappell, 1982: 205), widows constitute a significant group of movers.

The increasing interprovincial mobility of the elderly coupled with a propensity to move to certain locations implies that the elderly will

become disproportionately concentrated in certain areas of Canada — the West Coast, for example. Because the elderly are heavy users of services such as health care, these trends have important implications for policymakers. A detailed analysis of the interprovincial migration patterns of elderly Canadians has been attempted in a separate paper (Northcott, 1984).

### *Acknowledgments*

This research was supported in part by a leave fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. The suggestions of anonymous referees are gratefully acknowledged.

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*Received March, 1983; revised September, 1984.*

