Destination Preferences and Motives of Senior and Non-Senior Inter-Provincial Migrants in Canada

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Abstract

Northcott's (1984) hypothesis that senior and non-senior out-migrants share a preference for the same provincial destinations is examined using data from the 1991 Census. The results indicate that senior and non-senior migration preferences are similar to those found in previous migration intervals, with the exception of the 1981-86 period (Bergob, 1992). Using data from the 1990 General Social Survey (Cycle 5), this paper also examines the hypothesis that seniors migrate to be closer to their families (Bergob, 1990). The hypothesis is supported and may account for some of the similarity in destination preferences between senior and non-senior inter-provincial migrants.

Résumé

L'hypothèse de Northcott (1984) postulant que les émigrants internes âgés ou non manifestent une préférence commune pour les mêmes destinations provinciales est examinée à la lumière de données de recensement de 1991. Les résultats indiquent que ces préférences sont similaires à celles des intervalles de migration précédents, à l'exception de la période 1981-86 (Bergob, 1992). Se fondant sur des données issues de l'Enquête sociale générale de 1990 (cycle 5), cet article examine aussi l'hypothèse affirmant que les personnes âgées migrent pour se rapprocher de leurs familles (Bergob, 1990). Cette hypothèse se confirme et pourrait expliquer partiellement la similarité des préférences de destination entre migrants interprovinciaux âgés et non âgés.

Key Words: seniors, migration

Introduction

Canada's seniors represent a growing proportion of the total population each year. This growth is mainly due to a decline in both mortality and fertility in the total population. The decline in the mortality rate has allowed more individuals to live up to and beyond the descriptive age of 'senior' (65 years and older), while decreased fertility following the post-war baby-boom has

resulted in a slower rate of growth in the non-senior population than in the senior population (Desjardines, 1993). Thus, the total population of Canada grew by only 7.5% from 1986 to 1991, while the seniors population grew by 16.2% in the same period.

The growth in the seniors population is a concern to both federal and provincial governments because they share responsibility for the economic, social and health status of Canadians of all ages. At the federal level, the concern is focussed on the increasing costs of pensions, while the provinces face decreased transfer payments for education, social welfare and health care, and increased demands for social services among their ageing populations. While the issue of an ageing population can hardly be addressed by policies directed at increased mortality rates, and those directed at increasing fertility (such as in Quebec) have been marginally effective, migration becomes a more important determinant of provincial and regional population age structures (Ram et al., 1994:31; see also Renaud and Costa, 1995). Of interest in this paper is the impact of the age of migrants on the population age structures in the Canadian provinces.

In particular, this paper examines the potential impact of senior inter-provincial migrants on the population age structures of the ten provinces. At the outset, it is important to acknowledge that few seniors actually do migrate, and that the impact of their inter-provincial migration has a minimal effect on provincial population age structures because of the corresponding large number of non-senior persons who migrate to the same provincial destinations. In a previous study on the 1981-1986 migration interval (Bergob, 1992), it was found that migration destinations for senior and non-senior inter-provincial migrants had diverged over previous migration intervals (see Northcott, 1984). While the inter-provincial migration of seniors has thus far been found to have no significant impact on any other provincial population, there has been little discussion of the impact on the social, economic or cultural milieu of these provinces.

The divergence between senior and non-senior migration streams may be indicative of new trends in population flows. If this divergence continues, the impact of senior in-migration to some provinces may no longer be minimized by concomitant in-migration by non-senior migrants. This divergence, coupled with the future increases in the age of the Canadian population in general, may accelerate the ageing of some provincial populations without a concomitant increase in individuals to provide labour and income support to these older persons. At this time, senior inter-provincial migration may still be considered a minor factor in determining population age structures; however, the senior population is growing faster

than the population overall (Norland, 1994), and inter-provincial migration continues to increase among seniors at every migration interval. While the short-term impact of senior inter-provincial migration may be considered minor, over the longer-term, especially for a rapidly ageing population, the effects may become more pronounced and less amenable to short-term policy solutions.

The current demographic transition into a rapidly ageing population combined with divergent inter-provincial migration destinations needs to be considered further in demographic research. Therefore, this paper examines senior and non-senior migration streams, and their impact on provincial population age structures for the Census period spanning 1986-1991. The hypothesis that senior and non-senior migrants share a preference for the same migration destinations (Northcott, 1985) will be examined for the 1986-91 migration interval and compared with earlier migration periods. As well, the hypothesis that seniors who migrate do so to be closer to their families will be examined using data from the 1990 General Social Survey.

The Data

This study is based on aggregate tables of data collected by Statistics Canada on the mobility status and inter-provincial migration of Canadians aged five years and over for the 1986-91 census period. The data are collected from the 2b long-form of the census and represent a 20% weighted sample limited by coverage, non-response, response, processing and sampling errors (see Statistics Canada, 1993). For any given geographic area, the weighted population, household, dwelling or family total or subtotal may differ from that shown in reports containing data collected on a 100% basis. Such variation, in addition to the effect of random rounding, will be due to sampling. As well, since senior migrants constitute a small proportion of a small population, the possibility of sampling error is increased (George, 1970).

Inter-provincial migration is defined as movements involving a change of residence from one province to another. To ensure consistency with previous migration studies based on Statistics Canada data, the description of out-migrants with reference to their province of origin and in-migrants with their province of destination will be maintained. It should be noted that these migration patterns do not include persons who leave a province after a particular census and return to the same province before the next census. Similarly, persons who move from one province to another and then on to a third province, all within one census period, are counted as having moved

only once, from the first province to the last. As well, these data do not identify individuals who have immigrated to or emigrated from Canada during a census period.

The age of migrants refers to their age at the time of the census and not to their age at the time of their move, which may have taken place at any time in the 5-year intercensal period. Canadian residents stationed outside Canada in the armed forces or the diplomatic service as well as inmates and other persons in institutions are excluded from the population universe from which mobility data are collected.

A significant change from prior censuses was introduced in the 1991 Census in which non-permanent residents were enumerated. Non-permanent residents are persons who hold student or employment authorizations, Minister's permits or who are refugee claimants. Total population counts, as well as counts for all variables, will be affected by this change in the 1991 Census universe. According to the 1991 Census, there were 223,410 non-permanent residents in Canada, representing slightly less than 1% (0.8%) of the total population. The effect of this change on this study is expected to be negligible since it is assumed that the age distribution of non-permanent residents will tend to favour the non-senior, and their inclusion in population totals will probably result in a slight under-estimation of the impact of the senior on population age structures for most provinces.

Data from the General Social Survey (GSS) are used to examine reasons for moving among seniors. The GSS was initiated by Statistics Canada in order to reduce gaps in the statistical information system particularly in relation to socio-economic trends. The GSS typically obtains approximately 10,000 respondents, but in 1990 (Cycle 5) was augmented by two over-samples of respondents. The Seniors Secretariat (Health Canada) sponsored a supplementary sample of approximately 2,000 senior Canadians (aged 65 and over) which was derived from the Labour Force Survey. As well, the province of Ontario sponsored an increase in the sample for that province. The total sample size is therefore large enough to allow extensive analysis at the national level (McDaniel, 1994).

The target population of the 1990 GSS consisted of all people aged 15 and over living in the ten provinces of Canada with the exception of residents of institutions. Data collection took place between January and March 1990. Data were collected from 13,495 respondents aged 15 and over (4,830 non-respondents) for a total sample size of 18,325 (McDaniel, 1994). For data limitations, please refer to McDaniel (1994) or the Housing, Family and Social Statistics Division, Statistics Canada.

The Analysis

Analysis of the data is based upon the following: the Senior Population Percentage is the division of the total senior population by the total population for Canada and each province; the Change in Senior Population Percentage is the difference between the population percentage aged 65+ in time one and the population percentage aged 65+ in time two ($t_2\% \text{ 65+} - t_1\% \text{ 65+}$); the Rate of Change in Senior Population Percentage is the division of the change in senior population percentage by the senior population percentage in time one, multiplied by 100 $\{(t_2\% \text{ 65+} - t_1\% \text{ 65+})/t_1\% \text{ 65+}\} * 100$. Net Migration is the difference between in-migration (from province i to province j) and out-migration (from province j to province i). The Net Senior Migration Rate is the division of the net migration of the population aged 65 and over in time two by the population aged 60 and over in time one, multiplied by 1000 $\{(t_2 \text{ 65+} / t_1 \text{ 60+}) * 1000\}$. The population represented by 60+ is the population at risk for migration (Northcott, 1984). The Net Non-senior Migration Rate is the division of the net migration of the population aged 5 to 64 in time two by the population aged 0 to 59 in time one, multiplied by 1000 $\{(t_2 \text{ 5-64} / t_1 \text{ 0-59}) * 1000\}$. Both net migration rates can be read as a net gain or loss per 1000 original residents. The Index of Dissimilarity is the sum of one half the absolute value of the percentage of senior out-migration minus the percentage of non-senior out-migration by province for the 1986-91 migration interval ($ID = \frac{1}{2} |E1 - N1|$).

Changes in Provincial Senior Populations

Seniors represent a larger percentage of Canada's total population each year. In 1981, seniors represented 9.7% of the total population and 10.7% in 1986; by 1991, seniors represented 11.6% of Canada's total population. At the provincial level, senior populations ranged from a low of 9.1% in Alberta (also the lowest in 1986, at 8.1% and in 1981 at 7.3%) to a high of 14.5% in Saskatchewan (12.7% in 1986 and 12.0% in 1981). Almost all provinces have over one-in-ten of their population in the senior category with only Newfoundland (9.7%) and Alberta (9.1%) as the exceptions.

Changes in provincial seniors populations ranged from a low of 3.1% in Prince Edward Island (4.1% in 1981-86) to a high of 13.4% in Saskatchewan (almost double the 5.8% growth in 1981-86). Overall, five provinces (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and British Columbia) had lower percentage changes in their senior populations in the 1986-91 interval than in the 1981-86 interval. At the same time

Table 1: Senior and Non-Senior Provincial Population Totals, Canada: 1981-1991.

Province:	Percentage of Provincial Population aged 65 years and over			Change in Provincial Populations aged 65 years and over	
	1981	1986	1991	1981-86	1986-91
Newfoundland	7.7	8.8	9.7	14.3	10.2
Prince Edward Island	12.2	12.7	13.1	4.1	3.1
Nova Scotia	10.9	11.9	12.8	9.2	7.6
New Brunswick	10.0	11.1	12.2	9.9	9.9
Quebec	8.9	10.0	10.9	12.4	9.0
Ontario	10.1	10.9	11.8	7.9	8.3
Manitoba	11.9	12.6	13.8	5.9	9.5
Saskatchewan	12.0	12.7	14.4	5.8	13.4
Alberta	7.3	8.1	9.1	11.0	12.3
British Columbia	10.9	12.1	13.0	11.0	7.4
CANADA	9.7	10.7	11.6	10.3	8.4

Source: Statistics Canada Cat. No. 93-322

however, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had higher percentage changes in their senior population totals in 1986-91 than in the 1981-86 interval while New Brunswick had the same percentage change in both intervals. These changes may be accounted for by fertility and mortality trends in each province as well as by migration of both senior and non-senior migrants. The next section will examine the effect of inter-provincial migration on senior population totals for the provinces in the 1986-91 interval.

Net Migration of Senior and Non-Senior Out-Migrants

Few provinces have higher net migration rates among seniors than non-seniors. For example, in the 1986-91 migration interval, Saskatchewan had the largest loss in the net migration rate of non-seniors (-69.2), while it also had the second highest loss in the net migration of seniors (-9.4). Concomitantly, in British Columbia, the net gain in the migration rate of seniors to that province in 1986-91 doubled to 18.8 from 9.4 in 1981-86 while showing also the highest net gain in the net migration rate of non-seniors (47.8). In almost every instance, there was a higher gain or loss in the net migration of non-seniors than seniors for each province. This indicates the greater propensity of a larger number of non-seniors than seniors to migrate.

Overall, only four provinces had net gains of senior in-migrants in the 1986-91 migration interval: British Columbia (18.8), Nova Scotia (3.7), Prince Edward Island (2.4) and Alberta (1.7). At the same time, only two provinces had concomitant net gains in non-senior migrants: British Columbia (47.8) and Ontario (6.4).

Where Have They Gone This Time?

Despite British Columbia's net gain of both senior and non-senior migrants, Ontario remains one of the more popular migration destinations among senior and non-senior in-migrants.¹ In the Atlantic region, 53.3% of Newfoundland, 46.2% of Nova Scotia, 39.0% of New Brunswick and 33.1% of Prince Edward Island non-senior out-migrants chose Ontario as their destination. As well, 42.7% of Nova Scotia, 39.8% of Newfoundland, 31.7%

¹ However, while Ontario is a popular destination for in-migrants, it is also a major source of out-migrants, and in the 1986-91 interval, it had a net loss of inter-provincial migrants.

Table 2: Net Migration Rates of Senior and Non-Senior Interprovincial Migrants.

	Net Migration Rates					
	Non-Seniors			Seniors		
	71-76	81-86	86-91	71-76	81-86	86-91
Newfoundland	-13.7	-31.7	-27.2	-2.1	-1.5	-0.8
Prince Edward Island	24.7	14.1	-8.2	5.7	4.2	2.4
Nova Scotia	7.7	8.1	-7.4	2.9	3.5	3.7
New Brunswick	15.6	-2.8	-9.8	9.5	4.1	-0.7
Quebec	-10.5	-10.1	-3.9	-4.5	-8.0	-3.8
Ontario	-7.8	12.9	6.4	1.4	2.8	-2.1
Manitoba	-26.5	-0.6	-37.3	-25.3	-5.9	-10.1
Saskatchewan	-35.4	-2.7	-69.2	-14.4	-3.9	-9.4
Alberta	41.8	-13.8	-12.2	-0.4	-0.3	1.7
British Columbia	47.0	2.3	47.8	21.2	9.4	18.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 93-322.

Also adapted from Northcott (1984:16): Table 5.

Table 3: Non-Senior Out-Migration by Province, 1986-91.

Province of Destination	Province of Origin									
	NFLD	PEI	NS	NB	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALTA	BC
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Newfoundland	***	2.1	5.4	2.8	1.9	4.4	0.8	0.2	1.3	1.2
Prince Edward Island	1.6	***	3.6	2.9	0.5	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.3
Nova Scotia	18.2	23.8	***	21.3	3.0	9.0	2.5	0.8	2.9	3.8
New Brunswick	4.9	16.2	13.8	***	6.1	5.2	1.4	0.6	1.6	1.7
Quebec	2.2	10.4	6.9	15.7	***	23.7	5.1	1.9	3.5	5.2
Ontario	53.3	33.1	46.2	39.0	68.0	***	30.1	14.6	29.6	35.4
Manitoba	2.5	1.0	2.3	3.0	1.9	5.9	***	9.7	5.1	5.4
Saskatchewan	0.8	1.8	1.2	1.4	0.9	2.9	9.5	***	7.6	5.6
Alberta	9.2	7.0	10.1	7.7	7.0	17.9	22.3	45.8	***	41.4
British Columbia	7.3	4.6	10.4	6.2	10.7	29.8	27.7	26.1	47.9	***
Total (in percent)	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.9	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistics Canada Cat. No. 93-322

Totals may not equal 100.0% because of rounding.

Table 4: Senior Out-Migration by Province, 1986-91.

Province of Destination	Province of Origin									
	NFLD	PEI	NS	NB	QUE	ONT	MAN	SASK	ALTA	BC
Newfoundland	***	---	4.4	2.1	0.7	2.1	---	0.5	0.3	0.3
Prince Edward Island	---	***	4.7	2.9	0.6	1.3	---	---	0.7	0.2
Nova Scotia	29.1	38.5	***	26.6	3.5	8.8	0.4	0.4	0.5	1.5
New Brunswick	5.8	13.8	13.0	18.0	5.7	4.3	0.5	0.4	0.7	0.9
Quebec	3.9	7.7	8.2	***	***	16.4	3.3	2.2	2.1	3.4
Ontario	39.8	27.7	42.7	31.7	68.5	***	18.1	8.3	15.9	24.8
Manitoba	---	---	2.8	2.1	1.0	4.8	***	7.0	3.2	9.5
Saskatchewan	---	---	0.9	---	0.6	3.1	10.9	***	8.4	11.3
Alberta	6.8	3.1	8.2	5.8	7.1	13.6	13.5	34.0	***	48.0
British Columbia	14.6	9.2	14.9	10.8	12.4	45.6	53.1	47.2	68.2	***
Total (in percent)	100.0	100.0	99.8	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.9

Source: Statistics Canada Cat. No. 93-322

Totals may not equal 100.0% because of rounding.

of New Brunswick and 27.7% of Prince Edward Island senior out-migrants also chose Ontario as their destination.

The majority of Quebec's non-senior (68.0%) and senior (68.5%) out-migrants also chose Ontario as their premier migration destination. At the same time, 23.7% of Ontario's non-senior out-migrants went to Quebec, while another 29.8% migrated to British Columbia. In contrast, the majority of Ontario's senior out-migrants went to British Columbia (45.6%).

In the Western regions, the non-senior out-migrants from Manitoba went to Ontario (30.1%), British Columbia (27.7%) or Alberta (22.3%), while those from Saskatchewan went to Alberta (45.8%) or British Columbia (26.1%). Alberta non-seniors migrated to British Columbia (47.9%) or to Ontario (29.6%), while British Columbia non-senior migrants went to Alberta (41.4%) or to Ontario (35.4%).

Western senior migrants showed a preference for British Columbia, and 53.1% of Manitoba, 47.2% of Saskatchewan, and 68.2% of Alberta senior out-migrants chose this province as their migration destination. British Columbia senior out-migrants went to Alberta (48.0%) or to Ontario (24.8%) in the 1986-91 migration interval. The end result is that British Columbia was the premier destination for senior and non-senior inter-provincial migrants.

Indices of Dissimilarity: Testing the Divergence Hypothesis

Migration destinations among senior and non-senior inter-provincial migrants in 1981-86 indicated a divergence (Bergob, 1992) from those indicated by previous studies (Northcott, 1984; 1985). In the 1981-86 migration interval, Quebec senior and non-senior out-migrants indicated the most similarity in preferences (Index of Dissimilarity = 8.2), while Alberta senior and non-senior out-migrants were most dissimilar in destination preferences (I.D. = 31.9).

In the 1986-91 migration interval, the Indices of Dissimilarity ranged from a low of 2.9 for Quebec, to a high of 26.8 for Manitoba. However, in comparison to the 1981-86 migration interval, only British Columbia (16.5), Manitoba (26.8) and Newfoundland (20.8) senior and non-senior out-migrants indicated an increased difference in their destination preferences; in every other province, senior and non-senior out-migrants indicated a decreased difference in their destination preferences over the previous migration interval. This may indicate that the difference between senior and

Table 5: Indices of Dissimilarity among Provincial Senior and Non-Senior Out-Migrants, 1971-1991.

	1971-76	1981-86	1986-91
Province:			
Newfoundland	18.6	(17.1)	20.8
Prince Edward Island	16.2	29.0	(19.3)
Nova Scotia	12.2	(10.9)	(7.5)
New Brunswick	10.9	17.5	(12.2)
Quebec	6.8	8.2	(2.9)
Ontario	18.9	(18.5)	(16.1)
Manitoba	32.4	(25.6)	26.8
Saskatchewan	25.3	27.9	(21.7)
Alberta	23.6	31.9	(21.3)
British Columbia	8.0	10.0	16.5

Figures in parentheses indicate convergence in destination preferences from the previous migration interval

Source: Statistics Canada Cat. No. 93-322

Also adapted from Northcott (1984:16), Table 5.

non-senior migration preferences found in the 1981-86 migration interval (Bergob, 1992) was an anomaly in the general trend of shared destination preferences between senior and non-senior inter-provincial out-migrants (Northcott, 1984; 1985).

Although destination preferences were less different between senior and non-senior inter-provincial migrants in the 1986-91 interval, the hypothesis that they are becoming more divergent needs to be examined over time. Indices of Dissimilarity between senior and non-senior out-migrants from each province were calculated for the 1971-76, 1981-86 and 1986-91 migration intervals. The results indicate that between the 1971-76 and the 1981-86 intervals, six provinces were more divergent (British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Quebec, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island), while three provinces showed a slight convergence trend (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Ontario) and Manitoba indicated a more substantial convergence in the destination preferences of its senior and non-senior out-migrants.

In the 1986-91 interval, migration patterns between senior and non-senior out-migrants were substantially more convergent than in the 1981-86 interval. Moreover, only British Columbia indicated a clear trend across all these time periods toward increasing divergence among its senior and non-senior out-migrants in their destination preferences. In particular, while the majority of senior and non-senior British Columbia out-migrants went to either Ontario or Alberta, seniors from British Columbia were more likely than non-seniors from this province to move to Manitoba and Saskatchewan. This is evidenced in a substantive increase in the percentage change in the provincial population aged 65 years and over in both Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the 1986-91 interval (from a 5.8% increase in 1981-86 to a 13.4% increase in 1986-91 for Saskatchewan, and from a 5.9% increase in 1981-86 to a 9.5% increase in 1986-91 for Manitoba). Concomitantly, both Manitoba and Saskatchewan lost large numbers of non-senior out-migrants to British Columbia facilitating the acceleration of the growth in the senior population percentage in these two provinces and off-setting the impact of the in-migration of these provinces' senior out-migrants to British Columbia. In other words, the large number of seniors who left Manitoba and Saskatchewan for British Columbia was still proportionately smaller than the concomitant non-senior migrants who also left these two provinces for British Columbia. In this instance, British Columbia gained a substantial number of senior in-migrants but did not 'age' because of the large number of non-seniors who also selected this destination. At the same time, Manitoba and Saskatchewan lost seniors but aged due the large number of non-seniors who also left these provinces.

*Why are Seniors Moving?*²

It was hypothesized that seniors left home to be closer to their families. It is not known whether these moves were a result of seniors or their families originally changing locations, or both, but the results of the 1990 General Social Survey (GSS) indicate that seniors who move have different reasons for moving different distances. In the 1990 GSS, respondents were asked why they moved from one location to another, the distance of the move and their age at the time of the move.

When the reasons for moving are examined by age groups (see Che-Alford, 1992), it is apparent that there are substantial differences. Among younger persons, moves are typically for the purpose of purchasing a home, moving to a larger home or to a better neighbourhood. Among the pre-retirement movers, the primary reason for moving was to live in a better neighbourhood or to purchase a home. Among seniors, the primary reason to move was to live in a smaller home followed by the desire to live in a better neighbourhood.

When these reasons for moving are examined by the distance of the move, some interesting results are obtained. For seniors (persons aged 65 years and over at the time of their move), the primary reasons for moving a short distance (10-100 kilometres) were to live in a smaller home or in a better neighbourhood. Seniors who moved a moderate distance (200-400 kilometres) typically indicated the desire to be closer to their families or to move to a better neighbourhood. Among those seniors who moved a long distance (1,000 or more kilometres), the primary reason was to be closer to their family.

Among persons in the pre-retirement age group (55 to 64 years), the reasons for moving any particular distance were about the same as for their senior counterparts. That is, among persons in the pre-retirement age group who moved a short distance (10-100 km), the primary reasons were to purchase a home, to live in a better neighbourhood or to live in a smaller home. Pre-retirees who moved a medium distance (200-400 km) indicated that retirement was their main reason for moving followed by a desire to be closer to their family or to live in a better neighbourhood. When pre-retirees moved a long distance (1,000 or more km), they did so to be closer to their families or to retire. Thus, individuals who are in their pre-retirement or

² Due to the small numbers of respondents to these questions, the actual figures are not provided, though they are available from the author. As well, the results should be interpreted with caution given the small sample of respondents.

retirement years at the time of their move, tend to relocate over longer distances to be closer to their families. There is, however, a strong indication that both groups are concerned with their environment in terms of their neighbourhood or their housing needs. In many cases, pre-retirement and retirement individuals are changing locales to obtain a better neighbourhood or better housing whether it requires a short or a long move. When these individuals move short distances, proximity to their families may not be an issue if their family is already within a reasonable distance.

Among non-seniors (under the age of 54), the reasons for moving longer distances are typically economic; in particular, most non-seniors moved 1000 or more kilometres because of work or because of another family member's work. More men reported moving because of their work, while women typically reported moving for another family member's work situation. A small percentage of non-seniors also reported moving long distances to be closer to their family.

Discussion

Inter-provincial migration of older individuals remains an interesting and important facet of any demographic analysis of the Canadian population. At present, however, the migration of older individuals has a negligible impact on the population proportions of most provinces generally because the number of senior migrants is smaller than the concomitant migration of non-seniors to most provinces. However, future analyses should consider the impact of both migration patterns on population dynamics rather than on population structures. In particular, provinces face populations that are 'ageing-in-place', and are being supplemented or depleted by concomitant non-senior migration. In some instances, such as in Newfoundland, there is a significant out-migration of younger individuals that accelerates this 'ageing-in-place' phenomenon. At the other end of the country, British Columbia experiences 'boom and bust' patterns of non-senior in-migration coupled with an almost constant stream of senior in-migration. At present, British Columbia's population ages in 'fits and starts', and the dynamics of these cycles makes planning for the future increasingly difficult.

The most important consideration of these demographic analyses is the fact that Canada is ageing, and that this process will accelerate dramatically as the baby-boomers approach their senior years. What must be considered is whether the future patterns of senior migration will be off-set by a concomitant inter-provincial migration of non-senior persons. As well, if economic disparities among the provinces increase, centres that draw in

larger proportions of the working age population may leave other provinces with rapidly ageing populations unsupported by younger working individuals—a situation that may be developing in Saskatchewan. How migration patterns, coupled with ageing-in-place populations, affect provincial social milieus provides an interesting question on the future of an ageing Canadian population.

Finally, that seniors tend to move longer distances to be closer to their families has important implications for demographic planning and research. In particular, research designs need to take into consideration whether seniors are returning to their families or are following their families' migration histories and patterns. Knowing that seniors are moving to be closer to their families may also provide a partial explanation for the similarities in migration destination preferences among these senior and non-senior migrants. However, it is equally important to begin to collect information on the health and socio-economic status of these migrants and their expectations of their destination province. At present, it is apparent that non-seniors move for economic reasons and that seniors may follow their families at a later date. This may partially explain the anomaly in the 1981-86 migration preferences between senior and non-senior migrants. In other words, it is probably easier for younger migrants who move for economic reasons to change their location than it may be for their older, more established counterparts who are moving to be closer to their families. While it is important to note that pre-retirement and retirement-age individuals are motivated to move to improve their environmental living conditions including obtaining a better neighbourhood and/or a smaller house, it is also apparent that economic and climactic conditions seem to be of less importance to Canada's increasingly mobile seniors than their family, home, and neighbourhood.

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