The Residential Mobility of Manitoba Seniors: Developing a Comprehensive Typology

by

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ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that seniors primarily make local moves, most research has focused on long distance or interprovincial migration. This thesis addresses the lack of intraprovincial and intraurban research and develops a typology of seniors' residential mobility.

Secondary analyses were conducted on data collected by the Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET) in 1991/1992. Personal interviews were conducted with a sample of 1406 Manitobans aged 65 and over. Half of the sample resided in eight nonmetropolitan sites, and half were from one metropolitan site.

Cross-tabulations and logistic regressions compared selected sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving among seniors with metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations, and with inner city versus suburban destinations. Three types of moves, based on the destinations of moves, were identified: nonmetropolitan moves, suburban moves, and inner city moves.

This thesis demonstrates the importance of using research instruments designed specifically to examine residential mobility and provides guidelines for policy and service provision for older movers with differing mobility destinations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Canada's population is aging. In 1981, almost 10% of Canada's population was aged 65 and over (Novak, 1988). By 1991, the figure had increased to 11.6% (Statistics Canada, 1992b). In addition to an expanding proportion of persons aged 65 and over in the population, life expectancies have increased from 1931 to 1981 by 12 years for men and 17 years for women (Novak, 1988). These changes in the demographic structure of Canadian society have led to increased attention on Canadian seniors in a variety of areas. Of increasing importance is seniors' residential mobility, as the need for more seniors' housing, and more appropriate seniors' housing, escalates with the rising number of older individuals.

While recognising that most seniors are likely to remain in the same homes for long periods of time, seniors who do move tend to make particular types of moves that are unlike those made by younger movers (American Association of Retired Persons, 1992; Speare & Meyer, 1988). Although seniors are reported to make fewer moves than younger age cohorts, many do move (Seniors' Secretariat, 1993). A national study conducted in 1991 on older Canadians found that 20% of those aged 65 and over and 16% of those aged 80 and over had moved in the 5

years prior to the study (Seniors' Secretariat, 1993). It is important to examine the characteristics of older movers and the types of moves that Canadian seniors make as they are significant to policy makers in terms of understanding geographic distributions, service provision requirements, urban/rural planning and development requisites, and housing policy needs (Golant, 1978; Liaw & Kanaroglou, 1986; Ormrod, 1986; Rostum & Thonney, 1991; Speare & Meyer, 1988; Watkins, 1989).

Investigations of seniors' mobility have been typically divided into two domains: long distance migration and shorter distance local moves. Local moves have been defined as those moves within certain geopolitical boundaries, such as provincial borders (Northcott, 1988). Most research, to date, has concentrated on long distance migration. This focus is seen as "overrated" by some (Meyer & Speare, 1985: 82) in light of the relatively small number of long distance moves made by older people.

The lack of research in the area of local seniors' mobility (Carter, 1988) is especially important considering that most moves by those aged 65 and over are made within shorter, local distances (Serow, 1988; Yeatts, Biggar & Longino, 1987). Particularly in the years after age 75, moves become more spatially restricted (Golant, 1978). In Canada, seniors are reported to make "some twenty intraprovincial moves for every one move across a provincial boundary"

(Northcott, 1988: 33). Seniors are even more likely to move within local municipal boundaries, with the majority of elderly mobility being intraurban (American Association of Retired Persons, 1992; Basu, 1979; Northcott, 1988; Stapleton Concord, 1984; Statistics Canada, 1990).

Objectives

Given the prevalence of local moves, compared to long distance migration, and the lack of previous research in this area, this study focused on the intraprovincial residential mobility of individuals aged 65 and over in a Manitoba sample. The purpose was twofold:

1) to develop a comprehensive typology of seniors' residential mobility, based on the destinations of moves; and

2) to explore the relationship between residential mobility and sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, gender, marital status, tenure status, and income; life cycle events, such as retirement, widowhood and declining health; and reasons for moving, such as amenity seeking, preparation for aging, and assistance seeking.

In Chapter Two, existing literature in the area, including Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology of seniors' residential mobility and Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model is examined. Also, research on the sociodemographic characteristics of older movers is

highlighted. The intent of the literature review was to provide an understanding of the concepts in seniors' residential mobility literature, while emphasising the need for integration of the research. The chapter concludes with several research questions developed to address the limitations found in the literature review.

Chapter Three discusses the research population and methodology of the Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET) Needs Assessment Survey, from which the subsample for the present study was selected. The chapter then shows how the subsample was drawn and the methods utilized in the present study to answer the research questions.

In Chapter Four, the destinations of moves made by older Manitoban movers and the location of their moves are explored. The characteristics of the sample are presented, comparisons between the movers and the nonmovers are made, and the life cycle events and reasons for moving reported by the movers are identified.

Chapter Five addresses the remaining research questions. First it examines the bivariate relations between the destinations of moves and certain sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving. The multivariate relations, or the relative influence, of the variables on the destinations of the moves, are then investigated.

Chapter Six discusses the findings of the present research in conjunction with other literature in the area. It evaluates the research in terms of its limitations and implications for policy. Finally, avenues for future research are considered.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a review of the literature relevant to the types of moves that seniors make and the social and demographic characteristics of older movers. It begins with an examination of Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology of moves and Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model, and is followed by a synopsis of the literature on the characteristics of seniors who make certain types of moves. The chapter includes a discussion of the importance of integrating the literature on seniors' residential mobility and examining the interrelationships between factors that influence the types of moves seniors make. Five research questions are then outlined and various hypotheses are formulated to guide the present study.

WISEMAN & ROSEMAN'S TYPOLOGY OF MOVES

Wiseman and Roseman (1979) created a typology of seniors' mobility based mostly on 1960's and 1970's United States' data. They divided their typology into long distance migration and local moves. Only the local moves will be discussed, as they are the primary type of moves that Canadian

seniors make (Northcott, 1988) and are the focus of this thesis.

Within Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) local typology of seniors' moves, there were six basic types: suburbanization, inner city relocation, apartmentalization, communalization, homes of kin and institutionalization. Attention is focused on the first five moves of community residing elderly in order to identify voluntary housing choices reflecting seniors' desires, as well as their needs.

Suburbanization / Exurbanization

Suburbanization was the first local move Wiseman and Roseman (1979) identified. This referred to the "exurban movements" (Wiseman & Roseman, 1979: 331) of some seniors soon after retirement to suburban areas, small towns or rural areas.

Inner City Relocation

Inner city relocators were characterised as individuals who moved within the same inner city area or moved from one inner city environment to another. Wiseman and Roseman (1979) suggested that these types of movers comprised 30% of all local elderly migrants.

Apartmentalization

Apartmentalization refers to moves made by those older people who were attempting to adjust their housing space into smaller and more appropriate quarters. According to Wiseman and Roseman (1979), these moves were made throughout urban

areas and were accompanied by a search for access to public transit, services and activities.

Communalization

According to Wiseman and Roseman (1979), communalization refers to moves made by seniors to multi-unit structures segregated from other age cohorts, where some communal facilities and activities were available. The location of these communities varied between inner cities, small towns and suburban areas, but usually were accompanied by a search for assistance.

Homes of Kin

Homes of kin was the final move discussed by Wiseman and Roseman (1979), referring to moves made by seniors to or near a family member. The authors predicted that with changing family structures, these moves will be replaced by communal and institutional moves.

Limitations of Wiseman & Roseman's Typology of Moves

Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) work provided a basic foundation for many subsequent studies (Clark & Davies, 1990; Litwak & Longino, 1987; Meyer & Speare, 1985; Northcott, 1988). However, there are few studies that have attempted to test the model in its entirety. Most research has taken one type, or a limited number of types of moves, and investigated the sociodemographic characteristics associated with these types of movers (Clifford, Heaton & Fuguitt, 1982; Stapleton Concord, 1984). No studies have been found that question

Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) findings, despite the limitations of their model.

First, some categories in Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology overlap. For example, apartmentalization may be confused with communalization. Often apartments have become strictly or mostly 'seniors' residences', because the clientele has remained in the building and grown older (Mutschler, 1992; Skinner, 1992). Those moving into apartments, whether segregated by age or not, may merely be expressing a wish for less maintenance, less expense, more suitable dwelling space and the closeness of others. Additionally, those moving into smaller or more appropriate dwellings have a wide variety of alternative dwellings to choose from other than apartments, for example, mobile units, shared housing, and 'granny flats'. Wiseman and Roseman (1979) constrained this type of move by limiting it strictly to apartments.

Second, the reason for moving and the location involved need to be more consistently examined in the typology. Exact definitions of inner city, suburban and urban areas were not given. This weakness leads to ambiguity and misrepresentation of the types of moves. For example, by Wiseman and Roseman (1979) including seniors moving to urban areas and seeking access to public transit, services and activities within apartmentalization, they have denied apartmentalization in other fringe areas. Those moving to large metropolitan

centres may be prompted more by assistance seeking behaviour, declining health and the need for close proximity to services and/or kin, compared to apartmentalization movers in small towns who may move for less health related and more comfort and income related reasons. This is not to deny that any number of seniors may make moves combining both apartmentalization and/or communalization with urbanization or assistance seeking. There is, however, a need to clarify seniors' mobility based on the location of the move.

Another example of this limitation in the typology is the suburbanization/exurbanization type of move which included those who "may be purchasing or building the ultimate 'dream home', thus capping a life-long series of residential relocations" (Wiseman & Roseman, 1979: 331). This preference for larger, better or newer homes has been alluded to in other research (Colsher & Wallace, 1990; Golant, 1978; Wister & Burch, 1989). Wiseman and Roseman (1979) admitted that the location of the move may vary from suburban to rural regions. However, this move may also be witnessed in inner city areas. Thus, this housing choice is distinguished more by dwelling type or reason for moving, not by a geographic location, as Wiseman and Roseman (1979) suggested.

Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) structured typology provides a general depiction of the types of moves seniors make. However, it ignores the varying and perhaps competing factors involved in the residential choices of seniors. While the

typology adequately demonstrates the motivations of older movers, it does not reveal the complex nature of seniors' residential mobility, or the importance of linking the reasons why seniors move and the location in which the moves occur. A type of move may be a culmination of several needs or factors; hence, a more comprehensive portrayal of seniors' moves is required.

Attention now turns to Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model. Litwak and Longino (1987) highlighted the life events associated with the particular types of moves that older people tend to make.

LITWAK & LONGINO'S LIFE CYCLE MODEL

Litwak and Longino (1987) hypothesized that major life cycle events heighten the propensity of seniors to make certain types of moves. The authors demonstrated the developmental nature of seniors' mobility in a life cycle model.

The first move Litwak and Longino (1987) identified occurred within a five year period of retirement. Newly retired persons tended to be attracted to places where they had previously vacationed or lived, or to environmentally pleasing nonmetropolitan settings. In this first move, retirees did not require the support or nearness of kin, so they were free to move any distance.

The second move Litwak and Longino (1987) discussed, occurred when the pressure of chronic disabilities and the difficulty of carrying out everyday tasks prompted an assistance seeking move. Litwak and Longino (1987) hypothesized that this move was characterised by seniors locating near to or into the homes of family members in order to secure the amount of support and care they required.

The third move outlined in the developmental model consisted of elderly who were forced into institutional living because their physical health and care resources had deteriorated substantially. This move will not be discussed because of the present study's focus on community dwelling elderly and voluntary residential choices.

Separate from the other three types of moves, Litwak and Longino (1987) detailed urbanization and deurbanization shifts for those seniors who moved from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan regions, or from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan regions, respectively. The first shift, deurbanization, consisted of younger, married and independently living seniors who moved from metropolitan areas where they were formerly employed to less expensive, less harried nonmetropolitan areas where they may have had childhood roots. The second shift, urbanization, consisted of older, more disabled seniors who moved from nonmetropolitan areas to metropolitan areas where their children tended to live and where services, facilities and transportation were more accessible.

Limitations of Litwak & Longino's Life Cycle Model

Litwak and Longino (1987) greatly influenced migratory research with their life cycle model (Carter, 1988; Colsher & Wallace, 1990; Speare & Meyer, 1988; Yeatts, Biggar & Longino, 1987). However, there are limitations to their model.

The main weakness is that the location of seniors' moves was not considered thoroughly. The three moves Litwak and Longino (1987) outlined were guided by life cycle events. The urbanization and deurbanization shifts they included referred strictly to the origin-destination flow or location of moves - metropolitan and nonmetropolitan. There would be a more inclusive representation of seniors' moves if the final move was combined within their main model. The authors admitted that "many of those moving to nonmetropolitan areas are first stage migrants whereas many of those moving to metropolitan areas are second stage migrants" (Litwak & Longino, 1987: 270).

The deurbanization of older movers from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, based on the characteristics of the seniors and the life event (ie., retirement) generally associated with this shift, could easily be encapsulated under the first move of the life cycle model. Plus, the urbanization shift of older adults moving from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas fits into the second move of the life cycle model. The characteristics of movers in Litwak and Longino's (1987) second move and those in the nonmetropolitan

to metropolitan shift are remarkably similar. Additionally, both the second move and the nonmetropolitan to metropolitan shift are associated with the life cycle event of declining health.

If location was included in their main model, Litwak and Longino's (1987) work would provide an excellent foundation for viewing seniors' residential mobility in a broader context. Three other typologies add to the literature exploring the types of moves that older adults make.

OTHER TYPOLOGIES AND THEIR LIMITATIONS

In addition to Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology of moves and Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model, Meyer and Speare (Meyer & Speare, 1985; Speare & Meyer, 1988) developed typologies based on the reasons for moving and the life cycle events associated with seniors' moves. Rogers (1989) presented a model based on redistribution patterns of older movers.

The first model created by Meyer and Speare (1985) identified three basic types of seniors' mobility: assistance moves, preparation for aging moves, and amenity moves. Assistance moves were prompted by a desire to be closer to family and friends because of lower levels of health. Preparation for aging moves were prompted by a preference for smaller units, less maintenance, and proximity to services and facilities. Those moving to prepare for aging often moved to

single rather than multi-level dwellings or seniors' housing. Amenity moves were provoked by desires for improved physical environment and quality of living.

The second model created by Speare and Meyer (1988), linked life cycle events to distinctive types of elderly mobility. Retirement mobility was a move following retirement from paid employment and was similar to amenity mobility. Kinship mobility, which was the most often mentioned type of mobility, was a move based on a desire to be closer to relatives, and widowed mobility was a move following widowhood.

Speare and Meyer (1988) also attempted to link the types of mobility with national geographic regions in the United States, using the SMSA definition of metropolitan. They found that one third of retirement movers made moves from metropolitan locations to nonmetropolitan destinations.

While both Meyer and Speare's (1985) and Speare and Meyer's (1988) models were less extensive in the types of moves identified than Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology, the motivations for the moves found in all three models are similar. Moreover, Speare and Meyer (1988: S77) suggested that the types of mobility that they found "parallel events occurring in Litwak and Longino's first two developmental stages".

However, there are several limitations to both the 1985 and 1988 studies. Methodologically, the survey instrument

that Speare and Meyer (1988) used to assess the reasons why respondents had moved gave them a limited number of choices and did not include a "health" category. The result was that the largest category for reasons for moving was "other" and moves based on declining health were not identified. Thus, the entire realm of seniors' residential relocation decisions was not explored. Additionally, as Speare and Meyer's (1988) study examined the mobility patterns of seniors at a national level, local moves were not identified. This last limitation is applicable also to Meyer and Speare's (1985) study, which examined both long distance and local moves, but did not specifically identify the location and characteristics of local movers, specifically intraurban movers.

The final model considered is Rogers' (1989) elderly mobility transition model which highlighted the importance of examining destinations of older adults' moves. The model suggested that there are three basic redistribution patterns of elderly movers. First, there is a redistribution of the older population from metropolitan areas to dispersed nonmetropolitan areas. Second, there is a pattern of concentrated net migration from metropolitan areas to nonmetropolitan retirement areas. Third, there is a continuing dispersion of older migrants to remote nonmetropolitan areas. Rogers' (1989) model provides a conceptual framework for viewing seniors' mobility in stages.

It promotes an understanding of past, present and future geographic distribution trends of older adult movers.

While Rogers' (1989) elderly mobility transition model provides an excellent framework for conceptualizing phases of elderly mobility, it too has limitations. The main limitation of Rogers' (1989) work is that local moves were not considered. There was no exploration of whether there are different phases of local seniors' mobility or what effect local mobility has on resulting destination areas.

These models provide a starting point for understanding residential mobility destinations of older adults. However, in addition to reviewing the typology and life cycle literature, there needs to be an examination of various sociodemographic characteristics that are related to certain life cycle events, reasons for moving, and resulting destinations of the moves. Thus, research on sociodemographic characteristics of older movers will be highlighted next.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVERS

A growing body of literature has examined the characteristics of older movers related to specific types of moves. A variety of sociodemographic characteristics have been linked to different reasons for moving among seniors. Attention here will focus on age, gender, marital status, tenure status, education and income.

Age

Age, although not an adequate indicator of housing choice (Rostum & Thonney, 1991), has been utilized in a majority of residential mobility studies conducted on seniors. The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (1989) suggested that examining chronological age allows differences to be observed between characteristics, preferences and needs of seniors of varying ages.

Although Liaw and Kanaroglou (1986) found that older individuals did not move as much as younger adults, Watkins (1989) reported a peak around the age of 75 suggesting "an abrupt change in the life course that acts as a motivation for moving" (Watkins, 1989: 48). According to Litwak and Longino (1987), the life cycle events of widowhood or declining health may provoke moves at that age. Golant (1978) found that those aged 75 and over move in more spatially restricted areas, than younger seniors. With increasing age, seniors were more likely to make moves within inner city areas, move to metropolitan areas, and to rent, than younger seniors, who were more likely to make nonmetropolitan moves, using the SMSA

definition of metropolitan[1], (Clifford et al., 1982; Stapleton Concord, 1984; Mutschler, 1992).

Gender

The destinations of the moves made by seniors may be gender influenced. Most studies have found that older females commonly experienced greater mobility than older males (Clifford et al., 1982; Northcott, 1988; Watkins, 1989). The longer life expectancy of women, and the fact that moves are often associated with the death of a spouse, are two reasons accounting for this trend (Everitt & Gfellner, 1994). Females had higher rates of mobility from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas, while older males had higher rates of mobility from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas (Clifford et al., 1982). Older females were also more likely to be renters than homeowners (Mutschler, 1992). Additionally, while men had a mobility peak at ages 65 to 69 and women had a peak at ages 60 to 64 (Warnes, 1983a), women were more

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[1] The diversity within the literature on definitions of geographic locations is vast. Within Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) typology, Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model, and in most other research in the area, exact definitions of inner city/urban cores, suburban regions, metropolitan areas or nonmetropolitan areas are nonexistent. However, the general guidelines adhered to in Canada are Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) which refer to "larger cities and their immediate environs" (Northcott, 1988: 42) and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs) in the United States which refer to all inner city/urban cores and suburban areas within a metropolitan definition and all those areas outside of SMSAs as nonmetropolitan (Rodgers, 1980).

likely than men to move locally, or within the same municipal area (Northcott, 1988).

Marital Status

Couples have been reported to be less likely to move than never married or widowed seniors, who tended to be less likely to move than separated and divorced seniors (Northcott, 1988). Married couples were found to make more suburban or nonmetropolitan moves, while widows or single people made more inner city relocation, apartmentalization, communalization, metropolitan, and kinship moves based on the need for assistance (Clifford et al., 1982; Colsher & Wallace, 1990; Litwak & Longino, 1987; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979).

Tenure Status

Seniors who owned their dwelling were found to be less likely to move than renters (Golant, 1978). Renters were more often found in inner city locations, compared to household owners who were more often found in suburban areas. Further, renters were more likely to be widowed, female and older, compared to owners who were more likely to be married and younger (Mutschler, 1992; Speare & Meyer, 1988; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979).

Education and Income

Education and income have often been utilized to differentiate residential mobility (Clifford et al., 1982; Colsher & Wallace, 1990; Sofranko, Fliegel & Glasgow, 1983). Colsher and Wallace (1990) found that seniors with lower

levels of education and income tended to move more often than seniors with higher levels of education and income. While Northcott (1988) reported that seniors with lower levels of education and income were more likely to move shorter distances, Rodgers (1980) found that older adults with higher levels of education were more likely to have metropolitan than nonmetropolitan destinations. Seniors with middle to upper incomes were more likely to make moves to suburban areas, while seniors with lower incomes were more likely to make inner city relocation and communalization moves (Clifford et al., 1982; Sofranko et al., 1983; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979).

Limitations of the Literature

While literature on the characteristics of older adults who make certain types of moves in later life exists, the studies are often based on a selected type or limited types of moves. The result is a simplistic portrayal of seniors' residential mobility based on two groupings of characteristics.

The first grouping is characterised by seniors who are younger, married, household owners who are more affluent, educated and healthy. These characteristics are often united for those seniors making nonmetropolitan moves (Speare & Meyer, 1988). The second grouping of characteristics includes those seniors who are older, female, widowed, less wealthy and educated, and those who had past tenure as an owner but currently rent. These characteristics are likely to be found

among seniors making metropolitan moves, apartmentalization, communalization, or kinship moves (Speare & Meyer, 1988; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979).

One study, while agreeing with most researchers that "groups of households with rather consistent sets of traits dominate [certain migration] flows" (Stapleton Concord, 1984: 100), attempted to investigate the more complex relationships between selected social and demographic characteristics of intraurban movers aged 55 and over. Stapleton Concord (1984) found that interactions between age, labour force status (employed/retired), income, education, and household type, all influenced the types of moves made by the sample. In general, Stapleton Concord's (1984) model found that younger couples participating in the labour force were more likely than others to move out of the inner city. This study highlights the influence that sociodemographic variables have on the types of moves that seniors' make. Moreover, it demonstrates the importance of viewing seniors' residential mobility within a multidimensional intraurban framework.

SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Wiseman and Roseman's (1979), Meyer and Speare's (1985) and Speare and Meyer's (1988) typology of moves, Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model, Rogers' (1989) elderly mobility transition model, and the literature emphasizing the characteristics of movers provide different perspectives for

examining and explaining the residential mobility of seniors. However, each could be enhanced by the others if they were integrated. The typology literature provides a basic foundation, while the characteristic literature supplies a more detailed description of older movers. Both are reinforced by the developmental literature which promotes viewing seniors' mobility on a continuum, or in a context including the entire life span. What these branches of the literature do not do, however, is attempt to integrate these alternative perspectives in a meaningful manner.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Based on this literature review, the proposed study focused on sociodemographic characteristics of movers, reasons for moving, life cycle events, and the destinations of moves. The first research question was directed at identifying the specific residential mobility destinations of seniors:

1. What types of moves, based on the destinations of moves, are made by older Manitobans?

The particular destinations included one metropolitan and eight nonmetropolitan areas. Within the metropolitan area, a further distinction was made between inner city and suburban areas. Thus, each of the following research questions includes a set of two hypotheses for each proposed relationship; first, one for the general intraprovincial moves of metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations; and

second, one for the specific intraurban moves of inner city versus suburban destinations:

2. Is there a direct influence of certain sociodemographic characteristics on the destinations of moves?

   2.1 Older seniors will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while younger seniors will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

   2.11 Older seniors will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while younger seniors will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

   2.2 Seniors who are female will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who are male will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

   2.21 Seniors who are female will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who are male will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

   2.3 Single, divorced, separated or widowed seniors will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while married seniors will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

   2.31 Single, divorced, separated or widowed seniors will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while married seniors will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

   2.4 Seniors who rent their dwellings will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who own their dwellings will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

2.41 Seniors who rent their dwellings will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who own their dwellings will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

2.5 Seniors with lower levels of education will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors with higher levels of education will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

2.51 Seniors with lower levels of education will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors with higher levels of education will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

2.6 Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

2.61 Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

3. Is there a direct influence of certain life cycle events on the destinations of moves?

3.1 Seniors who move due to declining health or widowhood will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who move due to retirement will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

3.11 Seniors who move due to declining health or widowhood will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who move due to retirement

will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

4. Is there a direct influence of certain reasons for moving on the destinations of moves?

   4.1 Seniors who move due to preparation for aging or assistance seeking reasons will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who move due to amenity reasons will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

   4.11 Seniors who move due to preparation for aging or assistance seeking reasons will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who move due to amenity reasons will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

5. What is the relative influence of selected sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events, and reasons for moving on destinations of moves?

This last research question reflects the integration of the typology, life cycle and sociodemographic characteristic literature on seniors' residential mobility. The variables utilized for this question will be based on the results of Research Questions #2, #3, and #4. Hypotheses are difficult to formulate for this question, though, because no literature has been found regarding the interrelationships of these variables.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a review of the literature pertaining to the residential mobility of older individuals. The sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and

reasons for moving commonly emphasized in past research have been discussed. It was argued that integrating the literature on seniors' mobility is essential in order to provide a comprehensive depiction of seniors' residential mobility. The research questions for the present study were derived from this objective. The next chapter will discuss the methodology utilized to address the research questions.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This study of the intraprovincial residential mobility destinations of older Manitoba movers draws on data from the Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET) Needs Assessment Survey, conducted in Manitoba in 1991/1992. In this chapter, the research population, sample selection, data collection, sample characteristics, and interview schedule of the CARNET study from which the subsample for the present study was selected, are outlined. The chapter then provides a description of the secondary analyses that were conducted. An explanation is given of how the subsample was selected, and how the dependent variable, type of move, and the independent variables were constructed. Finally, the approach used for data analysis is discussed.

THE CARNET NEEDS ASSESSMENT SURVEY

The CARNET Needs Assessment Survey was designed to explore the product and service needs of older Canadians.[1] The Centre on Aging at the University of Manitoba conducted

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[1] Funding for this project was provided by the federal government Networks of Centres of Excellence Program.

the needs assessment among older adults in Winnipeg and eight smaller Manitoba communities.

Research Population and Sample Selection

The selection of sites for the CARNET survey was purposively guided by the distinction between remote and non-remote communities in Manitoba, population size, proportion of elderly living in the community, and availability of a Provincial Department of Health office (Zimmer & Segall, 1992). Since half of the Manitoba population lives in Winnipeg and because its residents have the greatest access to services and goods, Winnipeg was employed as the focal site. The other eight sites were chosen by their distance from Winnipeg, as well as the criteria mentioned above. Four sites - Portage La Prairie, Beausejour, Carman and Morris, were considered non-remote as they were only a short distance from Winnipeg; four sites - Dauphin, Killarney, Roblin and Melita, were considered remote as they were further than a one hour drive from Winnipeg. The size of the 1986 population, the percentage of those aged 65 and over, and the availability of a health office are outlined in Table 3-1.

The sample was drawn from the Manitoba Health Services Commission (MHSC) data base. This data base is considered a relatively thorough listing of older residents, as all Manitobans register through the MHSC for medical coverage.

Table 3-1
Specific Information on Nine Sample Sites

	CHARACTERISTICS				
Site	Population 1986	%65+	Health Office	Km. from Winnipeg	Sample Size
Winnipeg	592,967	16	-	-	703
Portage	13,198	18	YES	70	87
Beausejour	2,535	23	YES	46	88
Carman	2,500	26	NO	62	88
Morris	1,613	21	NO	52	88
Dauphin	8,875	26	YES	311	88
Killarney	2,318	26	YES	217	88
Roblin	1,913	27	NO	392	88
Melita	1,239	29	NO	319	88

Source: Zimmer and Segall (1992)

One-half of the targeted sample was selected from Winnipeg and the other half was divided equally between the eight remaining sites (see Table 3-1 for the sample size in each site).

Respondents were community residing individuals aged 65 and over who were selected by way of a stratified random sample within each site. The sample was stratified by age and gender to be representative of the total elderly Manitoban population. The sample excluded older Manitobans living in institutions, and thus may reflect a healthier group of seniors than is found in the general population.

In order to obtain a final sample size of approximately 1400 respondents, and to ensure that half the respondents resided in Winnipeg and that the remainder were equally distributed throughout the other eight sites, refusals and ineligibles were replaced. As reported in Zimmer and Segall

(1992), 373 of the potential respondents were classified as 'Ineligible' as their health did not permit them to be interviewed, because they had moved, were away during the interviewing period, had died, or spoke a language for which no interviewer was available. There were 251 who were classified as 'No Contacts' as they could not be located, and 63 who were classified as 'Proxy Refusals' because spouses or children refused on behalf of the respondents. A total of 413 of the potential respondents were classified as 'Refusals'.

For the CARNET sampling frame, the refusal rate, calculated by dividing the subject refusals by the sum of the completed and subject refusals, was 22.7%. The response rate was 77.3%, and the completion rate, calculated as the number of completed interviews divided by the total number of attempted contacts, was 56.1%. The completion rate was somewhat lower in Winnipeg (51.5%) than in the non-Winnipeg sites (61.6%) (Zimmer & Segall, 1992). However, the completion and response rates for the entire sample and Winnipeg alone, were better than those reported for other studies (Marshall, 1987).[2]

Data Collection

All potential respondents were sent an introductory letter asking them to participate in the study, and were then

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[2] Research examining the response and completion rates of three Canadian research studies found that "Canadian investigators can expect to attain completion rates in the 40-50 percent range and response rates in the 60-65 percent range" (Marshall, 1987: 223).

telephoned to arrange an interview. Eighteen interviewers were hired and trained to conduct the interviews. The interviews took place in the respondents' homes between September 1991 and March 1992. All respondents were interviewed in person and each interview lasted an average of one hour and fifteen minutes.

The timing of the interviews varied by geographic location. Interviewing took place in Winnipeg throughout the six month period. Interviews in the smaller communities farthest from Winnipeg (Melita, Roblin and Killarney) started in September and were completed in November. Three interviewers were hired specifically for respondents in Dauphin who were interviewed in October. Interviews also started in Carman in October, followed by Portage and Morris in November, and Beausejour in January.

CARNET Sample Characteristics

The final sample of 1406 older Manitobans consisted of 703 respondents within Winnipeg and 703 from the other communities. About half (51%) of the sample were aged 65 to 74, while the remainder were aged 75 and over (Table 3-2). A larger portion of the sample was female (58%) than male (42%); most respondents were either married (56%) or widowed (35%); and the majority of the respondents (92%) had less than 14 years of education.

There were similarities between the characteristics of the Canadian and Manitoban populations aged 65 and over, and

Table 3-2
Selected Sociodemographic Characteristics of the CARNET Sample and the Manitoban and Canadian populations, 65+

	POPULATION SAMPLE		
	CARNET Sample %	Manitoba 1991 %	Canada 1991 %
CHARACTERISTICS			
Age			
65-74	50.7	56.4	59.8
75+	49.3	43.6	40.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=)	(1406)	(146,600)	(3,169,970)
Gender			
Male	42.1	42.1	42.0
Female	57.9	57.9	58.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=)	(1406)	(146,600)	(3,169,970)
Marital Status			
Single/Divorced/ Separated	9.8	12.3	12.1
Married/ Common Law	55.5	54.1	55.4
Widowed	34.8	33.6	32.5
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0
(n=)	(1404)*	(146,600)	(3,169,970)
Education			
0-8	41.7	42.7	41.2
9-13	49.9	47.8	45.2
14+	8.4	9.4	13.6
Total	100.0	99.9	100.0
(n=)	(1404)*	(136,875)	(2,932,320)

* The n does not always equal 1406 due to missing values.

Sources: Statistics Canada (1992b; 1993)

the CARNET sample (Table 3-2). Distributions according to age, gender and marital status of the CARNET sample, and the Manitoban and Canadian populations of those aged 65 and over, were nearly identical. Also, the education level of the Manitoban and Canadian senior population was similar to the CARNET sample.

Interview Schedule

The finalized interview schedule consisted of both close- and open-ended questions. The interview schedule contained the following sections: sociodemographic characteristics; type and location of housing; contact, proximity and satisfaction with family and friends; activity limitations; health status; accidents; ability to use and experience with telecommunications; utilization of services/programs; dexterity and mobility; recreation and leisure including travel; household products; furniture; clothing; access to and knowledge of information; locus of control; and life satisfaction.

THE PRESENT STUDY: A SUBSAMPLE OF MOVERS

Within the housing section of the CARNET interview schedule, respondents were asked, "For how many years have you lived in this dwelling?". Respondents who had moved locally, or within the province of Manitoba, within the last ten years (n=486) comprised the subsample for this analysis. A

comparison of the characteristics of movers and non-movers is presented in Chapter Four.

The specific variables used in the analysis are described in the following discussion. The questions and response categories in the CARNET interview schedule used to attain the variables for the present study are outlined in Appendix A.

Dependent Variables

There were two dependent variables based on the destinations of the moves: intraprovincial moves and intraurban moves. The first dependent variable, intraprovincial moves, consisted of metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations. These destinations were identified by the place of residence when the interview was conducted. According to Statistics Canada's definitions of Census Metropolitan Areas (1992a)[3], Winnipeg was the only metropolitan city within the sample, while the other eight communities were considered nonmetropolitan.

The second dependent variable, intraurban moves, was based on inner city versus suburban destinations. These intraurban residential mobility destinations were distinguished by the use of postal codes into inner city and

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[3] According to the Statistics Canada (1992a) definition, a Census Metropolitan Area refers to a very large urban area with an urbanized core and a population of at least 100,000.

suburban residents (Brown & Burke, 1979).[4] Of the 41 postal code areas in Winnipeg, 12 were considered as inner city areas and 29 were considered as suburban areas. Appendix B contains the map of postal codes which distinguish inner city and suburban areas.

To describe the destinations of moves more fully, the origin-destination flows of the moves were examined. Respondents who had moved were asked, "Was your last residence... in the same neighbourhood, in the same town/city, or in a different city?". While recognizing this does not identify exact origins of the moves, it was used to determine the approximate origin-destination flows of moves.

Independent Variables

Independent variables are described in terms of the questions used to measure the variables and the method of coding the responses for different analyses. The statistical procedures conducted on the variables are discussed in the data analysis section. The independent variables were categorized and coded according to Statistics Canada definitions, the distribution of respondents, the hypotheses outlined in Chapter Two, and the guidelines discussed in the literature review. Wherever possible, responses were categorized for the time of the move, rather than for the time

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[4] Brown and Burke (1979) defined inner cities by several criteria, including the older central area(s) of a census metropolitan area, a central business core, a mature residential district, local perceptions of the inner city, topography and natural boundaries.

of the study. Appendix A outlines the questions and response categories from the CARNET interview schedule used to attain the variables utilized in the present study.

Age at the Time of the Study: The question, "In what year were you born?", was used to determine age at the time of the interview. Age was recorded as a continuous variable. It was coded into two categories, "65-74" and "75+" in order to compare movers and nonmovers. Many researchers employ these categories so that possible differences between younger and older groups of elderly can be observed (Litwak & Longino, 1987; Speare & Meyer, 1988; Statistics Canada, 1992b; Watkins, 1989).

Age at the Time of the Move: The age at which respondents moved was identified by the questions, "In what year were you born?" and "For how many years have you lived in this dwelling?". The number of years that the movers lived in their current dwellings was subtracted from their age at the time of the study. Age at the time of the move was treated as a continuous variable. It was also collapsed for the bivariate analyses into three categories, "55-64", "65-74" and "75+".

Gender: The gender of the respondents, "Male" and "Female", was coded by the interviewer.

Marital Status at the Time of the Study: Marital status was identified by the question, "What is your marital status?". Responses to this question were coded for comparative purposes

with nonmovers into three categories, "Single/Divorced/ Separated", "Married/Common Law" and "Widowed".

Marital Status at the Time of the Move: Marital status at the time of the move was determined by examining those whose marital status had changed since the time of the move. This was identified by the questions, "What is your marital status?", "For how long have you been _____?", and "For how many years have you lived in this dwelling?".

If the movers had changed their marital status since the time of the move, and if the marital status they reported at the time of the study was widowed, their marital status at the time of the move was coded as married.

For the bivariate analyses, the categories for marital status at the time of the move were "Single/Divorced/Separated", "Married/Common Law Union" and "Widowed". For the multivariate analyses, marital status was dummy coded into "Single/Divorced/ Separated/Widowed" and "Married/Common Law". A discussion of the creation of dummy codes is provided in the section on data analyses.

Tenure Status: Tenure status was identified by responses to the question, "Do you own or rent this dwelling?". Answers were coded into two categories, "Own" and "Rent".

Education: Education was measured by the question, "How many years of elementary, secondary or post-secondary education have you completed?". For comparisons with Statistics Canada data, it was coded into "0-8 years", "9-13 years" and "14+

years". These categories were based on the Statistics Canada definitions in the Educational Attainment and School Attendance: The Nation (1993) document. For the bivariate analyses, education was coded into "0-8 years", "9-12 years", and "13+ years", according to Manitoba school system definitions. For t tests and logistic regressions, education was treated as a continuous variable.

Perceived Adequacy of Income: Perceived adequacy was measured by the question, "How well do you think your income and assets currently satisfy your needs?". Responses were dichotomized into two categories, "Not Completely Adequate" and "Completely Adequate".

It should be noted that respondents in the study were asked to provide information on monthly household income level. They were asked the question, "What is the average monthly income of this household including the old age security payments?". Responses were coded into three categories, "Less Than $999", "$1000-1999" and "$2000+". A number of difficulties were encountered with this variable.

Over 5% of the sample refused to provide their monthly incomes and 7% stated they did not know their incomes (See Appendix C). Cross-tabulations and logistic regressions indicated that a problem existed with this variable. In the logistic regression models, 58 cases never entered into the analyses. The findings from logistic regressions including and excluding monthly household income were significantly

different. These problems did not emerge when using perceived adequacy of income (Appendix C). Therefore, although perceived adequacy of income is a subjective measure of income, it was used here.

Life Cycle Events: The life cycle events reported by the movers were identified by the question, "Can you describe the most important factors which led you to move to your present residence?". Open-ended responses to this question were recorded verbatim by the interviewer. These responses were then coded specifically for the purposes of this thesis.

The first step in the coding process involved categorizing life cycle events. For the bivariate analyses, categories for life cycle events were operationalized on the basis of Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model as "Retirement", "Widowhood" and "Declining Health". Coding reflected respondents' statements that their spouses' or their own retirement, widowhood, or declining health was associated with their decisions to relocate. The life cycle events were also dummy coded into "Retirement/Widowhood" and "Declining Health".

The vast majority of respondents mentioned no life cycle events or only one life cycle event associated with their moves. Only five respondents reported more than one life cycle event. Given the small number of multiple responses, it was not possible to include more than one life cycle event for

each respondent in a manner that would be useful in the analyses.

Content analysis was employed for all cases with multiple responses (Appendix D). The method of content analysis involved an examination of the responses in light of associations between certain life cycle events and other factors for moving in previous studies. The priority was to ensure that the coding of responses reflected as closely as possible the general context of the respondents.

The following is an example of how content analysis was used to code the response of an older mover who stated more than one life cycle event associated with her move. The answer to the question identifying life cycle events was:

> "Husband retired and sold farm because of ill health and moved to town to be near conveniences, med centre, food store"

This respondent stated that both retirement and declining health life cycle events were associated with her move. As discussed in the literature review, Speare and Meyer (1988) suggested that moves associated with retirement were generally made for amenities to an improved physical environment. Litwak and Longino (1987) argued that moves associated with declining health were more apt to be made to be closer to services and medical facilities usually situated in urban areas. The description of moves associated with declining health in the literature is more similar to the general

context of the respondent. Thus, it was decided to code the life cycle event as declining health, not as retirement.

Reasons For Moving: The reasons for moving were identified by the same question as the life cycle events, "Can you describe the most important factors which led you to move to your present residence?". If respondents mentioned retirement, widowhood or declining health, it was coded as a life cycle event. Other responses were coded as reasons for moving.

The categories for the reasons for moving were constructed to correspond to Meyer and Speare's (1985) typology. Responses were recorded verbatim and then coded specifically for this thesis into four mutually exclusive categories, "Amenity Seeking", "Preparation For Aging", "Assistance Seeking" and "Other Reasons" (Figure 3-1). The responses were coded as amenity seeking if the move was made to a nonmetropolitan destination previously lived in or visited, or if the move was made to improve the quality of living of the respondent. Preparation for aging moves were coded as such when respondents mentioned moves made to smaller or more appropriate dwellings where less maintenance was required. Assistance seeking moves were coded if the respondents reported a move made to be closer to family and friends, at either their own or their families' insistence. Other reasons for moving included moves made because of problems with the previous dwelling, changes in living arrangements and financial problems.

Figure 3-1
Constructing Categories for Reasons For Moving

CODING REASONS FOR MOVING

Categories	Reasons For Moving
Amenity Seeking	- area previously inhabited or vacationed / from city to smaller town - improved quality of living / more privacy, less noise - bigger or better home / built own home - preferred to own rather than rent / apartment to house
Preparation For Aging	- moved into or closer to town or city / to be close to services, transportation and facilities - problems with maintenance - smaller / single level unit - safety / security - move to seniors' complex
Assistance Seeking	- closer to family / friends
Other Reasons	- financial reasons - living arrangement changes - other reasons

For the multivariate analyses, the reasons for moving were coded into three dummy variables. The first variable, dummy amenity, was dichotomized into "Not Amenity Seeking" and "Amenity Seeking". The second variable, dummy preparation for aging, was coded as "Not Preparation For Aging" and "Preparation For Aging". The final dummy variable, dummy assistance, was coded as "Not Assistance Seeking" and "Assistance Seeking".

A small number of respondents mentioned two or more reasons for moving (n=17). The method of content analysis employed in these cases is demonstrated in Appendix D and was similar to that discussed for the measure of life cycle events. In each case, the multiple responses included both preparation for aging and assistance seeking reasons. The response was coded as preparation for aging when the overall reason for moving was to be closer to services and facilities. Assistance seeking was coded as such when the principal reason for moving was to be closer to family and friends.

Data Analysis

This section describes the statistical procedures used to address the research questions and hypotheses. The data analyses first focused on addressing Research Question #1 by describing the dependent variables. The second part of the data analyses compared selected sociodemographic characteristics of movers with non-movers (age, gender, marital status, tenure status, education, and perceived adequacy of income). The third part of the data analyses examined the bivariate relationships between the independent variables and the destinations of the moves. In order to test Hypotheses 2.1 through 4.11, each sociodemographic characteristic (age, gender, marital status, tenure status, education and perceived adequacy of income), life cycle event, and reason for moving was cross-tabulated with specific destinations of moves.

To describe the destinations of moves, frequency distributions were conducted. To determine whether variables in the cross-tabulations comparing movers with nonmovers, intraprovincial movers, and intraurban movers were associated, chi-square, the degrees of freedom, and the significance level were examined. The chi-square is a statistical test used to measure the size of differences between two samples which might occur by sampling error (Hickey, 1986). A significance level of $p<.01$ was used for comparisons of the movers with nonmovers because of the large CARNET sample size (n=1406) (Hopkins, Glass & Hopkins, 1987). A significance level of $p<.05$ was used for comparisons of the destinations of moves because the sample size is smaller (n=486).

The strength of the relationships at the bivariate level was measured by Phi or Cramer's V statistics as all the dependent variables were dichotomous. Phi was used for two-by-two tables and Cramer's V was employed for larger tables (Levin & Fox, 1988). Both Phi and Cramer's V have values that range from 0 to 1, where 0 indicates no relationship and 1 represents a perfect relationship (Hickey, 1986).

To further test Hypotheses 2.5 and 2.51, a t-test was utilized to compare the mean level of education of older adult movers with first, intraprovincial and second, intraurban residential mobility destinations (Hopkins et al., 1987). The

same level of significance, $p<.05$, was used for the t-tests as for the cross-tabulations. The corresponding critical t ratio is 1.96 for all sample sizes larger than 120 (Hopkins et al., 1987). T ratios larger than 1.96 indicate that the differences between the sample means are greater than the differences accountable by sampling error.

After the cross-tabulations were conducted, the independent variables significantly associated at the $p<.05$ level with intraprovincial and intraurban destinations respectively were retained for further analyses. For the correlation matrix test and logistic regressions, categorical variables (gender, marital status, tenure status, perceived adequacy of income, and reasons for moving) were dummy coded. The number of dummy variables created was one less than the number of categories contained in each categorical variable (Hopkins et al., 1987). The dummy variables were scored either 0 or 1 depending on their absence or presence in the category.

Before the multivariate analyses were conducted, a Pearson Product Moment Correlation Matrix test for multi-collinearity was used to determine correlations between the independent variables. Correlation coefficients of +1 or -1 mean the variables are perfectly associated. A coefficient of 0 indicates no association. Generally, associations with a value of .6 or more are considered strong. Variables with values between about .3 and .6 are considered to be correlated

moderately, and values less than .3 indicate slight associations (Hickey, 1986).

Logistic regressions were used to examine the relative influence of the independent variables on the destinations of moves. This is the most appropriate multivariate method for analyses with the dichotomous dependent variable, destinations of moves (Norusis, 1990). The logistic regression model estimated the probability that a move was made to a specific destination (Norusis, 1990). Each variable included in the final model increased the odds of predicting moves made into or within metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations or inner city versus suburban destinations. None of the variables were forced into the model as the purpose of the regression analysis was exploratory. Instead, the forward stepwise procedure was utilized in order to examine each variable that increased the odds of predicting the destination outcome.

CONCLUSION

This chapter included a description of the CARNET Needs Assessment Survey from which the subsample of older Manitoba movers was drawn. It outlined the research population, sample selection, data collection, sample characteristics and interview schedule. Additionally, this chapter discussed the measurement of the variables and the secondary data analyses to be conducted.

The following chapter addresses Research Question #1 as stated in Chapter Two, by describing the destinations of moves of the subsample of local movers. It compares selected sociodemographic characteristics of movers to nonmovers. As well, life cycle events and reasons for moving of older adult movers are discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR
DESTINATIONS OF MOVES AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVERS

In this chapter, Research Question #1 on the destinations of moves made by older Manitoban movers is addressed. Specifically, intraprovincial and intraurban residential destinations are explored, as well as the origin-destination flows of the moves. Additionally, the sociodemographic characteristics of movers are illustrated and comparisons are made with nonmovers. The final section identifies the life cycle events and reasons for moving reported by local movers.

RESEARCH QUESTION #1: WHAT TYPES OF MOVES, BASED ON THE DESTINATIONS OF MOVES, ARE MADE BY OLDER MANITOBANS?

Within the subsample of 486 movers, 52% of the respondents lived in a metropolitan area and 48% lived in nonmetropolitan areas. Cross-tabulations were conducted to determine the origin-destination flows of the moves (Table 4-1). While the exact origins were not measured in the CARNET Survey, the flows of the moves, that is whether the moves were made within the same neighbourhood or town or from a different city, were utilized to allow an observation of where the moves were made from.

Table 4-1
Intraprovincial Destinations BY Location of the Move

	INTRAPROVINCIAL DESTINATIONS	
	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
	%	%
PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE		
Same Neighbourhood	40.6	27.4
Same Town	46.6	27.4
Different City	12.7	45.3
Total	99.9	100.1
(n=474)*	(251)	(223)

X^2=62.29, d.f.=2, p=.00; Cramer's V=.36

* The n does not always equal 486 due to missing values.

Among seniors who had a metropolitan destination, the vast majority (87%) had moved within the same neighbourhood or town (Table 4-1). Relatively few (13%) had moved from a different city/town. In contrast, almost half (45%) of those who had nonmetropolitan destinations formerly lived in a different city/town. Seniors who have moved from a farm to a nearby town were included with nonmetropolitan movers who moved from a different city or town. Almost 55% of the nonmetropolitan movers moved within the same neighbourhood or town.

Table 4-2 provides more detailed information about the origin-destination flows of the moves for the intraprovincial sample, according to each metropolitan and nonmetropolitan destination. Respondents with Winnipeg (the only city considered metropolitan in the sample) destinations were

Table 4-2
Detailed Destination of Residence BY Location of the Move

	PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE				
	Same Neighbourhood %	Same Town %	Different City %	Total %	N
DESTINATIONS					
Metropolitan					
Winnipeg	40.6	46.6	12.7	99.9	251
Nonmetropolitan					
Beausejour	20.8	16.7	62.5	100.0	24
Carman	26.7	26.7	46.7	100.1	30
Dauphin	36.0	36.0	28.0	100.0	25
Killarney	12.9	38.7	48.9	100.0	31
Melita	36.4	22.7	40.9	100.0	22
Morris	23.3	30.0	46.7	100.0	30
Portage	37.1	28.6	34.3	100.0	35
Roblin	26.9	15.4	57.7	100.0	26

(n=474)*
X^2=78.57, d.f.=16, p=.00; Cramer's V=.29

* The n does not always equal 486 due to missing values.

more likely to have moved within the same neighbourhood or town (87%) than from a different city (13%). Respondents who resided in Portage and Dauphin (which are not as populated as Winnipeg, but are more populated than the other nonmetropolitan locations) were no more likely to have moved from a different city than within the same neighbourhood or town. The remaining respondents who lived in the smallest populated nonmetropolitan towns, including Beausejour, Carman, Roblin, Killarney, Melita and Morris were more likely to have moved from a different city (Table 4-2). These findings suggest that older adults moving within or into more populated areas were more likely to have moved within relatively

restricted geopolitical boundaries (same neighbourhood/town). Those with less populated destinations were more likely to have moved from a different city/town.

Turning to intraurban destinations, 30% of the older respondents who lived in Winnipeg lived in the inner city and 70% lived in suburban areas (Table 4-3). According to Brown and Burke's (1979) definitions, only 12 postal codes in Winnipeg are considered inner city compared to 29 which are considered suburban. The large percentage of older adults who had suburban destinations may in part reflect the geographical distribution of postal codes defined as inner city in Winnipeg. The origin-destination flows of the moves to intraurban destinations are examined in Table 4-3. Both those with inner city (88%) and suburban (87%) destinations are more likely to have moved within the same neighbourhood or town than from a different city/town (12% and 13% respectively) (Table 4-3).

Thus, in answer to Research Question #1, for the intraprovincial moves, this subsample of older Manitobans were equally likely to have metropolitan as nonmetropolitan destinations. However, the relative flows of their moves were different depending on their mobility destinations. Seniors who lived in the metropolitan area of Winnipeg were more likely to have moved within the same neighbourhood or town than from a different city/town. Conversely, seniors who

Table 4-3
Intraurban Destinations BY Location of the Move

	INTRAURBAN DESTINATIONS	
	Inner City	Suburban
	%	%
PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE		
Same Neighbourhood	47.4	37.9
Same Town	40.8	48.9
Different City	11.8	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=250)*	(76)	(174)

X^2=1.97, d.f.=2, p=.37; Cramer's V=.09

* The n does not always equal 486 due to missing values.

resided in the nonmetropolitan areas, specifically the least populated nonmetropolitan areas, were more likely to have moved from a different city than within the same neighbourhood or town. For the intraurban sample, there were no significant differences between the flows of the moves and the inner city versus suburban destinations of older movers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVERS AND A COMPARISON TO NONMOVERS

Several sociodemographic characteristics were selected from the data in order to describe the movers. Movers were then compared to nonmovers. At the time of the study, movers ranged in age from 66 to 99 years, with a mean age of 76 years and a standard deviation of 7.0 (Table 4-4). At the time of the move, the age of movers ranged from 56 to 97 years, with

Table 4-4
Sociodemographic Characteristics of Movers and Nonmovers

	SAMPLE Movers %	Nonmovers %
CHARACTERISTICS		
Age (Study Time)		
65-74	47.3	52.6
75+	52.7	47.4
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=1404)	(486)	(918)
X^2=3.56, d.f.=1, p=.06; Phi=.05		
Age (Move Time)		
55-64	18.3	
65-74	52.1	
75+	29.6	
Total	100.0	N.A.
(n=486)	(486)	
Gender		
Male	38.3	44.0
Female	61.7	56.0
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=1404)	(486)	(918)
X^2=4.29, d.f.=1, p=.04; Phi=.06		
Marital Status (Study Time)		
Single/Divorced/Separated	13.0	8.1
Married/Common Law	44.7	61.2
Widowed	42.3	30.8
Total	100.0	100.1
(n=1402)	(485)*	(917)*
X^2=35.41, d.f.=2, p=.00; Cramer's V=.16		
Marital Status (Move Time)		
Single/Divorced/Separated	13.0	
Married/Common Law	51.8	
Widowed	35.3	
Total	100.1	N.A.
(n=485)	(485)*	

continued...

Table 4-4 continued
Sociodemographic Characteristics of Movers and Nonmovers

CHARACTERISTICS	SAMPLE Movers %	Nonmovers %
Tenure Status		
Own	42.2	86.2
Rent	57.8	13.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=1404)	(486)	(918)
X^2=298.21, d.f.=1, p=.00; Phi=.46		
Education		
0-8 years	39.1	43.0
9-12	47.5	45.9
13+	13.4	11.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=1402)	(486)	(916)*
X^2=2.70, d.f.=2, p=.26; Cramer's V=.04		
Perceived Adequacy of Income		
Not Completely Adequate	54.6	56.2
Completely Adequate	45.4	43.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=1388)	(482)*	(906)*
X^2=.33, d.f.=1, p=.56; Cramer's V=.01		

Note: Two respondents did not report the last time they had moved; thus the sample size of the cross-tabulations of movers versus nonmovers is only 1404, instead of 1406.

* The n does not always equal 486 for movers and 918 for nonmovers due to missing values.

an average age of 71 years and a standard deviation of 8.0. Two-thirds (62%) of movers were female and 38% were male.

At the time of the study, movers had similar rates of widowhood and marriage (42% and 45% respectively). At the time of the move, 52% of the movers were married and 35% were widowed. Only 42% of the movers owned their dwellings

compared to 58% who rented. The movers had an average of 10 years of education with a standard deviation of 3.0. Additionally, almost one-half (45%) of the movers perceived their incomes to be completely adequate.

The subsample of movers was different in two ways from the nonmovers. At the $p<.01$ significance level, there were statistically significant differences between the two groups with regard to marital status and tenure status (Table 4-4). Movers at the time of the study were more likely to be widowed, single, divorced or separated (55%) than nonmovers (39%). Nonmovers were more likely to be married (61%) than movers at the time of the study (45%). Additionally, movers were far more likely to rent (58%) than nonmovers (14%) and less likely to own their residences (42%) than nonmovers (86%). There were no statistically significant differences between local movers and nonmovers in terms of age, gender, education, and perceived adequacy of income.

Life Cycle Events and Reasons For Moving Reported By Movers

A life cycle event was reported by only one third of the movers (n=156). Among those older adults who reported a life cycle event, most cited declining health (67%) as associated with their moves (Table 4-5). Smaller percentages reported retirement (20%) or widowhood (14%) as the life cycle event associated with their moves.

Table 4-5
Life Cycle Events and Reasons For Moving of the Movers

LIFE CYCLE EVENTS AND REASONS FOR MOVING	
Variables	Percentage (%)
Life Cycle Events	
Retirement	19.9
Widowhood	13.5
Health	66.7
Total	100.1
(n=156)	(156)*
Reasons For Moving	
Amenity Seeking	20.7
Preparation For Aging	56.2
Assistance Seeking	12.9
Other	10.2
Total	100.0
(n=482)	(482)*

* The n does not always equal 486 due to missing values.

Most movers reported a reason for moving (n=482). The most frequently mentioned reason for moving was preparation for aging (56%) (Table 4-5). Amenity seeking (21%) and assistance seeking (13%) reasons followed respectively, with other (10%) reasons being the least frequently mentioned.

An inspection of the various reasons reported for moving revealed a broad mix of factors involved in residential mobility choices (Table 4-6). Of the 100 respondents coded as amenity seeking movers, 49% reported they were either moving from a larger area to a smaller town or were moving to a place in which they had previously worked or lived. Other respondents reported building new homes or moving to bigger, better or newer homes (31%). A small number of amenity

Table 4-6
Distribution Table of Specific Reasons For Moving

REASONS FOR MOVING	DISTRIBUTIONS Number	Percentage (%)
Amenity Seeking		
Built New Home	31	31.0
Move to a Smaller Town	49	49.0
Prefer to Own, not Rent	13	13.0
Quality of Living	7	7.0
Total	100	100.0
Preparation For Aging		
Problems Maintaining a House	110	40.6
Move to a Larger Town	83	30.6
Smaller, Single Level Unit	38	14.0
Safety, More People Around	33	12.2
Seniors' Residence	7	2.6
Total	271	100.0
Assistance Seeking		
Closer to Family and/or Friends	62	100.0
Total	62	100.0
Other		
Financial	31	63.3
Change in Living Arrangements	14	28.6
Other	4	8.2
Total	49	100.1

seeking movers preferred to own than rent their accommodations or wanted a house not an apartment (13%), and some made moves for more privacy, less noise, or generally to improve their quality of living (7%).

Most of the 271 respondents who gave responses coded as preparation for aging stated that they were having problems with maintaining their former homes (41%). The next largest group reported a preference for living closer to a larger town, services, transportation or medical facilities (31%).

Other seniors whose responses were coded as preparation for aging wanted smaller or single level units (14%), desired safety or security, with more people around (12%), or moved to a seniors' residence (3%).

All respondents moving for assistance seeking reasons desired to be closer to family and/or friends (n=62). Additionally, the 49 respondents whose responses were coded as other reasons stated that they had problems with finances (63%), changes in living arrangements (29%), or moved because of other miscellaneous reasons (8%).

The cross-tabulation of life cycle events and reasons for moving provided further information (Table 4-7). Of the seniors who reported retirement, one-half (52%) mentioned amenity seeking reasons for moving, 36% mentioned preparation for aging, 7% mentioned assistance seeking and 7% reported other reasons for moving. While none of the seniors who reported widowhood reported amenity seeking reasons for moving, 71% cited preparation for aging, 24% cited assistance seeking and 5% cited other reasons for moving. Most of the seniors who reported declining health mentioned preparation for aging reasons (84%), 9% reported assistance seeking, 5% reported other reasons, and 3% reported amenity seeking reasons for moving.

Table 4-7
Reasons For Moving BY Life Cycle Events

	LIFE CYCLE EVENTS			
	Retirement	Widowhood	Declining Health	No LCE
	%	%	%	%
REASONS FOR MOVING				
Amenity Seeking	51.6	----	2.9	24.8
Preparation For Aging	35.5	71.4	83.5	48.8
Assistance Seeking	6.5	23.8	8.7	14.1
Other	6.5	4.8	4.9	12.3
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=481)*	(31)	(21)	(103)	(326)

* The n does not always equal 486 due to missing values.

CONCLUSION

This chapter focused on Research Question #1 by describing the destinations of moves of older Manitobans. Selected sociodemographic characteristics associated with local movers were described and compared to those of nonmovers in the CARNET sample. Additionally, life cycle events and reasons for moving reported by the movers were identified.

The next chapter addresses the bivariate relationships between the independent variables and the destinations of moves. Associations between the independent variables are tested by correlational analysis. Additionally, the relative influence of the independent variables that were associated at the bivariate level with the dependent variables, and the destinations of the moves are examined.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The findings from tests of the research questions and hypotheses outlined in Chapter Two are presented here, first by examining the bivariate relationships between the independent variables and the destinations of moves, and second, by investigating the relative influence of select independent variables on the destinations of moves. The format of this chapter follows that of the hypotheses. The first section considers the influence of each sociodemographic characteristic on both the intraprovincial and intraurban destinations of moves. The second and third sections explore the direct effects of life cycle events and reasons for moving on intraprovincial and intraurban mobility destinations.

The fourth section highlights the multivariate findings, first for the intraprovincial moves and second, for the intraurban moves. As well, associations between the independent variables are examined. The chapter concludes with a summary of the multivariate findings.

RESEARCH QUESTION #2: IS THERE A DIRECT INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS ON THE DESTINATIONS OF MOVES?

There are 12 hypotheses related to Research Question #2. Each hypothesis is discussed separately. In order to assess these hypotheses, each sociodemographic characteristic,

including age, gender, marital status, tenure status, education and perceived adequacy of income, was cross-tabulated first with metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations, and second, with inner city versus suburban destinations.

Hypothesis 2.1: Older seniors will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while younger seniors will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

There was no support for Hypothesis 2.1 in the intraprovincial subsample, using age at the time of the move.[1] Older seniors (47%) were no more likely to make metropolitan moves than younger seniors (49%) (Table 5-1). Additionally, younger seniors (51%) were no more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations than older seniors (53%).

Hypothesis 2.11: Older seniors will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while younger seniors will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Hypothesis 2.11 was rejected. The cross-tabulations of age at the time of the move with inner city and suburban destinations revealed no statistically significant differences (Table 5-1). Older seniors (28%) were no more likely to have inner city destinations than younger seniors (30%). Moreover,

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[1] To address the limitations of retrospective studies, age was calculated for the time of the move, rather than for the time of the study, in both the intraprovincial and intraurban analyses. Chapter Three discusses the specific calculations used to conduct this transformation.

Table 5-1
Destinations BY Age at the Time of the Move

	AGE (MOVE TIME) 55-64 %	65-74 %	75+ %
DESTINATIONS			
Intraprovincial			
Metropolitan	49.4	56.1	47.2
Nonmetropolitan	50.6	43.9	52.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=486)	(89)	(253)	(144)
X^2=3.26, d.f.=2, p=.20; Cramer's V=.08			
Intraurban			
Inner City	29.5	31.9	27.9
Suburban	70.5	68.1	72.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=253)	(44)	(141)	(68)
X^2=.36, d.f.=2, p=.83; Cramer's V=.04			

younger seniors (71%) were no more likely to have suburban destinations compared to older seniors (72%).

Hypothesis 2.2: Seniors who are female will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who are male will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

Table 5-2 illustrates that Hypothesis 2.2 was not supported. Female seniors (53%) were no more likely to make metropolitan residential moves than males (52%), and male seniors (48%) were no more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations than females (47%).

Table 5-2
Destinations BY Gender

	GENDER Male %	Female %
DESTINATIONS		
Intraprovincial		
Metropolitan	51.6	52.7
Nonmetropolitan	48.4	47.3
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=486)	(186)	(300)
X^2=.05, d.f.=1, p=.82; Phi=.01		
Intraurban		
Inner City	38.5	25.5
Suburban	61.5	74.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=253)	(96)	(157)
X^2=4.80, d.f.=1, p=.03; Phi=.14		

Hypothesis 2.21: Seniors who are female will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who are male will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Table 5-2 reveals that females (26%) were less likely to make inner city moves than males (39%), and were more likely (75%) to make suburban moves than males (62%). At the $p<.05$ level of significance, the null hypothesis that there was no difference between the residential destinations of older adults with different genders must be rejected. However, Hypothesis 2.21 must also be rejected as the opposite pattern was found.

Hypothesis 2.3: Single, divorced, separated or widowed seniors will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while married seniors will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations.

Hypothesis 2.3 was strongly supported (Table 5-3). The marital status of the respondents was calculated for the time of the move, rather than the time of the study.[2] The cross-tabulations indicated that single/divorced/separated (68%) and widowed (56%) seniors were more likely to have metropolitan destinations than married seniors (46%). Married (54%) movers were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations than single/divorced/separated (32%) and widowed (44%) movers.

Hypothesis 2.31: Single, divorced, separated or widowed seniors will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while married seniors will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Cross-tabulations of marital status at the time of the move for intraurban movers revealed some support for Hypothesis 2.31, as well as some conflicting findings (Table 5-3). Married (72%) and widowed (75%) seniors were more likely to have suburban destinations than single, divorced or separated seniors (54%). In contradiction to Hypothesis 2.31, widowed (75%) seniors were more likely to be found in suburban areas than single, divorced and separated seniors (54%).

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[2] The limitations of retrospective studies were avoided by calculating marital status for the time of the move, rather than for the time of the study for both the intraprovincial and intraurban analyses. Chapter Three demonstrated how these calculations were performed.

Table 5-3
Destinations BY Marital Status at the Time of the Move

	MARITAL STATUS (MOVE TIME) Single/ Divorced/ Separated %	Married/ Common Law %	Widowed %
DESTINATIONS			
Intraprovincial			
Metropolitan	68.3	45.8	55.6
Nonmetropolitan	31.7	54.2	44.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=485)*	(63)	(251)	(171)
X^2=11.38, d.f.=2, p=.00; Cramer's V=.15			
Intraurban			
Inner City	46.5	27.8	25.5
Suburban	53.5	72.2	74.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=252)*	(43)	(115)	(94)
X^2=6.71, d.f.=2, p=.03; Cramer's V=.16			

* The n does not always equal 486 for the intraprovincial movers and 253 for the intraurban movers due to missing values.

Hypothesis 2.4: Seniors who rent their dwellings will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who own their dwellings will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

Hypothesis 2.4 was supported. Table 5-4 reveals the differences between the intraprovincial destinations of those who rent compared to those who own their dwellings. Older Manitoban movers who rent (63%) were significantly more likely to have metropolitan destinations than owners (37%). Seniors who own their dwellings (63%) were significantly more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations than seniors who rent (37%).

Table 5-4
Destinations BY Tenure Status

	TENURE STATUS	
	Own	Rent
	%	%
DESTINATIONS		
Intraprovincial		
Metropolitan	37.1	63.3
Nonmetropolitan	62.9	36.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=486)	(205)	(291)
X^2=32.79, d.f.=1, p=.00; Phi=.26		
Intraurban		
Inner City	21.3	34.3
Suburban	78.7	65.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=253)	(75)	(178)
X^2=4.17, d.f.=1, p=.04; Phi=.13		

Hypothesis 2.41: Seniors who rent their dwellings will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who own their dwellings will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Table 5-4 shows that Hypothesis 2.41 was supported at the $p<.05$ significance level. Renters (34%) were more likely to have inner city destinations than owners (21%), while household owners (79%) were more likely to have suburban destinations than renters (66%).

Hypothesis 2.5: Seniors with lower levels of education will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors with higher levels of education will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

The cross-tabulations of education and intraprovincial destinations did not reveal statistical support for Hypothesis 2.5 (Table 5-5a). However, there was an observable trend that

seniors with higher levels of education were more likely to have metropolitan destinations than seniors with lower levels of education.

To further investigate this trend, a t-test was conducted (Table 5-5b). The t-test allowed for observation of differences between the two destination groups in terms of education that were only hinted at in the cross-tabulations (Hickey, 1986; Hopkins et al., 1987). The average number of years of education of seniors with metropolitan destinations (9.82) was significantly higher than those with nonmetropolitan destinations (9.11). Thus, Hypothesis 2.5 was rejected as the opposite pattern was found.

Hypothesis 2.51: Seniors with lower levels of education will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors with higher levels of education will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

There was no statistical support in the cross-tabulations for Hypothesis 2.51. Regardless, there was a tendency for seniors with higher levels of education to have suburban destinations compared to seniors with lower levels of education (Table 5-5a).

A t-test was conducted on the variables to examine this trend more closely (Table 5-5b). The t-test examined the mean number of years of education of seniors in inner city versus suburban destinations (Hickey, 1986; Hopkins et al., 1987). It illustrated that the mean level of education of metropolitan seniors was significantly higher in suburban

Table 5-5
Destinations BY Education

Table 5-5a

	EDUCATION 0-8 %	9-12 %	13+ %
DESTINATIONS			
Intraprovincial			
Metropolitan	50.0	51.1	63.1
Nonmetropolitan	50.0	48.9	36.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=486)	(190)	(231)	(65)

X^2=3.57, d.f.=2, p=.17; Cramer's V=.09

Intraurban			
Inner City	36.8	28.2	22.0
Suburban	63.2	71.8	78.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=253)	(95)	(117)	(41)

X^2=3.51, d.f.=2, p=.17; Cramer's V=.12

Table 5-5b

	EDUCATION Number of Cases	Mean	Standard Deviation
DESTINATIONS			
Intraprovincial			
Metropolitan	254	9.82	3.42
Nonmetropolitan	232	9.11	3.13

t value=2.36, d.f.=484, p=.02

Intraurban			
Inner City	77	9.10	3.64
Suburban	176	10.12	3.23

t value=2.18, d.f.=251, p=.03

areas (10.12) than in inner city areas (9.10) (Table 5-5b). Thus, Hypothesis 2.51 was supported by the t-test.

Hypothesis 2.6: Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

At the $p<.05$ significance level, Hypothesis 2.6 must be rejected (Table 5-6). Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate (56%) were no more likely to have metropolitan destinations than seniors who perceive their incomes to be adequate (48%). While the significance level is almost reached ($p=.05$), the Phi value of .09 indicated that the relationship was not strong (Hickey, 1986). As well, there was less than a 10% difference between seniors who perceive their income as not completely adequate with metropolitan destinations and those who perceive their incomes as completely adequate.

Hypothesis 2.61: Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Hypothesis 2.61 was supported. Seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate (37%) were more likely to have inner city destinations than seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate (20%) (Table 5-6). Conversely, seniors who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate (80%) were more likely to have suburban

Table 5-6
Destinations BY Perceived Adequacy of Income

	PERCEIVED ADEQUACY OF INCOME	
	Not Completely Adequate	Completely Adequate
	%	%
DESTINATIONS		
Intraprovincial		
Metropolitan	56.3	47.5
Nonmetropolitan	43.7	52.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=482)*	(263)	(219)
X^2=3.70, d.f.=1, p=.05; Phi=.09		
Intraurban		
Inner City	37.4	20.2
Suburban	62.6	79.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=251)*	(147)	(104)
X^2=8.56, d.f.=1, p=.00; Phi=.18		

* The n does not always equal 486 for the intraprovincial movers and 253 for the intraurban movers due to missing values.

destinations than seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate (63%).

To summarize thus far, investigation of the sociodemographic characteristics of older intraprovincial movers revealed significant differences in terms of marital status, tenure status and education. Single, widowed, divorced or separated movers, renters, and seniors with higher mean levels of education were more likely to have metropolitan residential mobility destinations than other seniors in the sample. Conversely, married seniors, household owners, and seniors with lower mean levels of education were significantly

more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations. No differences were found according to age at the time of the move, gender, and perceived adequacy of income.

Cross-tabulations of the sociodemographic characteristics and the intraurban destinations revealed statistically significant differences with regard to gender, marital status, tenure status, education, and perceived adequacy of income. Older males, single, divorced or separated seniors, renters, those with lower mean levels of education, and seniors who perceive their incomes to be not completely adequate were more likely to have inner city residential mobility destinations. In comparison, older females, married or widowed seniors, household owners, seniors with higher mean levels of education, and those who perceive their incomes to be completely adequate were significantly more likely to be found in suburban areas. No differences were found between age at the time of the move and the different intraurban mobility destinations.

RESEARCH QUESTION #3: IS THERE A DIRECT INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN LIFE CYCLE EVENTS ON THE DESTINATIONS OF MOVES?

This section presents the results of the tests of Hypotheses 3.1 and 3.11. The purpose was to determine if there was any influence of life cycle events such as retirement, widowhood or declining health on intraprovincial and intraurban residential destinations.

Hypothesis 3.1: Seniors who move due to declining health or widowhood will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who move due to retirement will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

A large number of respondents (n=326) did not mention a life cycle event as being associated with their moves. In other words, only 156 respondents reported either retirement, widowhood or declining health associated with their moves. This was unexpected considering research cited in the literature review which suggested that seniors' moves were often associated with life cycle events (Litwak & Longino, 1987; Speare & Meyer, 1988).

To explore this further, cross-tabulations were conducted for those who reported a life cycle event associated with their moves versus those who did not (Table 5-7a). Seniors who reported a life cycle event associated with their moves (60%) were more likely to have metropolitan residential mobility destinations than seniors who did not report a life cycle event (42%). Seniors who did not report a life cycle event associated with their moves (58%) were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations than those who reported a life cycle event (40%).

Given the relatively small number of respondents who mentioned life cycle events, Hypothesis 3.1 could not be tested. For example, only 21 respondents reported widowhood associated with their moves (Table 5-7b). Nonetheless, it was noticed that seniors who cited retirement (74%) were more likely to have

Table 5-7
Destinations BY Life Cycle Events

Table 5-7a	LIFE CYCLE EVENT REPORTED	
	Not Reported	Reported
	%	%
DESTINATIONS		
Intraprovincial		
Metropolitan	42.0	59.6
Nonmetropolitan	58.0	40.4
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=482)*	(326)	(156)

X^2=13.09, d.f.=1, p=.00; Phi=.16

Intraurban		
Inner City	31.4	27.0
Suburban	68.6	73.0
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=251)*	(188)	(63)

X^2=.43, d.f.=1, p=.51; Phi=.01

Table 5-7b	LIFE CYCLE EVENTS		
	Retirement	Widowhood	Declining Health
	%	%	%
DESTINATIONS			
Intraprovincial			
Metropolitan	25.8	52.4	42.3
Nonmetropolitan	74.2	47.6	57.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=156)*	(31)	(21)	(104)
Intraurban			
Inner City	75.0	81.8	70.5
Suburban	25.0	18.2	29.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=63)*	(8)	(11)	(44)

continued...

Table 5-7 continued
Destinations BY Life Cycle Events

Table 5-7c	DECLINING HEALTH REPORTED Retirement/Widowhood %	Declining Health %
DESTINATIONS		
Intraprovincial		
Metropolitan	36.5	42.3
Nonmetropolitan	63.5	57.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=156)*	(52)	(104)
Intraurban		
Inner City	21.1	29.5
Suburban	78.9	70.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(n=63)*	(19)	(44)

* The n does not always equal 486 for the intraprovincial movers and 253 for the intraurban movers due to missing values.

nonmetropolitan destinations than seniors who cited widowhood (48%) or declining health (58%). Conversely, seniors who reported widowhood (52%) or declining health (42%) were more likely to have metropolitan destinations than those who reported retirement (26%). Caution must be taken with regard to these findings due to the extremely small sample size.

Almost 67% of those who reported a life cycle event cited declining health. Combined, those who reported retirement (20%) and widowhood (14%) accounted for only one third of the sample. Thus, to obtain more cases in the cells, a cross-tabulation was conducted by pooling respondents who reported retirement or widowhood (Table 5-7c). Still, no significant differences were found between those who cited declining

health and different intraprovincial destinations and those who cited retirement or widowhood.

Hypothesis 3.11: Seniors who move due to declining health or widowhood will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who move due to retirement will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Only 63 respondents in the intraurban sample reported a life cycle event associated with their moves. Analyses of those reporting life cycle events revealed there were no differences between seniors who reported a life cycle event according to intraurban destinations. Seniors who reported a life cycle event associated with their moves (27%) were no more likely to have inner city destinations than those who did not report a life cycle event (31%) (Table 5-7a).

Hypthesis 3.11 could not be tested because of the small sample size. Table 5-7b illustrates that only eight seniors reported retirement and 11 mentioned widowhood while 44 reported declining health.

Most of the respondents who reported a life cycle event cited declining health (n=44), while only 19 reported retirement or widowhood. Those who cited retirement or widowhood were pooled to examine whether there were significant differences in declining health and other life cycle events (Table 5-7c). Seniors who reported declining health (30%) were no more likely to have inner city destinations than those who reported retirement or widowhood (21%).

In summary, the analyses of the life cycle events reported by both intraprovincial and intraurban movers were limited by the small number who reported a life cycle event. Differences were found at the intraprovincial level between the residential destinations of those who reported a life cycle event and those who did not. However, no differences were found at the intraprovincial or intraurban level between different residential destinations of seniors who reported different life cycle events.

RESEARCH QUESTION #4: IS THERE A DIRECT INFLUENCE OF CERTAIN REASONS FOR MOVING ON THE DESTINATIONS OF MOVES?

This section presents the results of tests of Hypotheses 4.1 and 4.11. The cross-tabulations explored whether reasons for moving, including amenity seeking, preparation for aging, assistance seeking and other, directly influenced the intraprovincial and intraurban destinations of seniors' moves.

Hypothesis 4.1: Seniors who move due to preparation for aging or assistance seeking reasons will be more likely to have metropolitan residential destinations, while seniors who move due to amenity seeking reasons will be more likely to have nonmetropolitan residential destinations.

The findings were partially in support of, and partially in conflict, with Hypothesis 4.1 (Table 5-8). Older movers who reported assistance seeking (71%) reasons for their moves were significantly more likely to have metropolitan destinations than seniors who reported amenity seeking (48%),

Table 5-8
Destinations BY Reasons For Moving

	REASON FOR MOVING			
	Amenity Seeking %	Prepare For Aging %	Assistance Seeking %	Other %
DESTINATIONS				
Intraprovincial				
Metropolitan	48.0	49.1	71.0	56.3
Nonmetropolitan	52.0	50.9	29.0	43.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
(n=482)*	(100)	(271)	(62)	(49)
X^2=11.93, d.f.=4, p=.02, Cramer's V=.16				
Intraurban				
Inner City	31.9	30.1	13.6	55.6
Suburban	68.1	69.9	86.4	44.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n=251)*	(47)	(133)	(44)	(27)
X^2=14.01, d.f.=3, p=.00, Cramer's V=.24				

* The n does not always equal 486 for the intraprovincial movers and 253 for the intraurban movers due to missing values.

preparation for aging (49%) and other (56%) reasons (Table 5-8). Conversely, seniors who cited amenity (52%), preparation for aging (51%) or other (44%) reasons were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations than those who cited assistance seeking (29%) reasons.

The findings partially supported Hypothesis 4.1 in that assistance seeking older movers were more likely to have metropolitan destinations, and amenity seeking movers were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations. However, the hypothesis that seniors moving for preparation for aging

reasons would have metropolitan destinations was not supported, and the opposite was found.

Hypothesis 4.11: Seniors who move due to preparation for aging or assistance seeking reasons will be more likely to have inner city residential destinations, while seniors who move due to amenity reasons will be more likely to have suburban residential destinations.

Hypothesis 4.11 was not supported. However, there were significant findings illustrating an opposite pattern. Seniors who cited amenity (32%), preparation for aging (30%) and other (56%) reasons were more likely to have inner city destinations than those with assistance seeking (14%) reasons (Table 5-8). Movers who cited assistance seeking (86%) reasons were more likely to have suburban destinations than those who cited amenity (68%), preparation for aging (70%) and other (44%) reasons.

To summarize, the most frequently mentioned reason for moving for both intraprovincial and intraurban older movers was preparation for aging. In the intraprovincial sample, older Manitobans who reported assistance seeking reasons were more likely to have metropolitan destinations, compared to seniors reporting amenity reasons or preparation for aging reasons who were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations. Within the metropolitan area, seniors who cited assistance seeking reasons were more likely to have suburban destinations; while those who cited other reasons were more likely to have inner city destinations.

Summary of the Bivariate Analyses

Figure 5-1 summarizes the bivariate analyses. The cross-tabulations of the intraprovincial moves revealed that the characteristics associated with metropolitan destinations included marital status (widowed, single, divorced or separated), tenure status (rent), education (higher mean level) and reasons for moving (assistance seeking). Characteristics associated with nonmetropolitan destinations include marital status (married), tenure status (own), education (lower mean level) and reasons for moving (amenity seeking or preparation for aging).

For intraurban moves, the characteristics associated with inner city destinations included gender (male), marital status (single, divorced or separated), tenure status (rent), education (lower mean level), perceived adequacy of income (not completely adequate), and reasons for moving (other reasons including finances or changes in living arrangements). The characteristics associated with suburban destinations included gender (female), marital status (widowed or married), tenure status (own), education (higher mean level), perceived adequacy of income (completely adequate) and reasons for moving (assistance seeking reasons).

The following section uses the findings of the bivariate analyses as a basis for more complex multivariate analyses. Variables found in the cross-tabulations to be statistically

Figure 5-1
Summary of the Bivariate Findings

	INTRAPROVINCIAL DESTINATIONS	
	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Age	--------	--------
Gender	--------	--------
Marital Status	- widowed - single, divorced or separated	- married
Tenure Status	- rent	- own
Education	**- higher education**	**- lower education**
Adequacy of Income	--------	--------
Life Cycle Event	--------	--------
Reasons For Moving	- assistance	- amenity **- prepare for age**

	INTRAURBAN DESTINATIONS	
	Inner City	Suburban
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Age	--------	--------
Gender	**- male**	**- female**
Marital Status	- single, divorced or separated	- married **- widowed**
Tenure Status	- rent	- own
Education	- lower education	- higher education
Adequacy of Income	- not adequate	- adequate
Life Cycle Events	--------	--------
Reasons For Moving	- other	**- assistance**

Note: Variables considered significant but not in the hypothesized direction are in bold.
Note: Variables considered but not significant have dashes.

significant predictors of either intraprovincial or intraurban moves were employed in the following logistic regression analyses. The goal is to address Research Question #5 by assessing the relative influence of the independent variables on the residential destinations of older movers.

RESEARCH QUESTION #5: WHAT IS THE RELATIVE INFLUENCE OF SELECTED SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, LIFE CYCLE EVENTS, AND REASONS FOR MOVING ON DESTINATIONS OF MOVES?

Research Question #5 was tested for both intraprovincial and intraurban moves. Investigations of the independent variables that were associated with metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations at the bivariate level are discussed first. Then, analyses of the variables that were associated with inner city versus suburban destinations are discussed.

Correlation Matrix

Given that logistic regression analyses may be hindered by the existence of correlated independent variables, it was important to evaluate the strength of association between the independent variables before conducting logistic regressions (Table 5-9). Variables that were highly correlated were selected for input into the analyses separately. Hickey's (1986) levels of association were utilized for defining inclusion of correlated variables.

Table 5-9 indicates that none of the independent variables included in the present study were strongly correlated with each other. Moderate associations were found between married/not married and tenure status (own/rent), between amenity seeking and preparation for aging, and between preparation for aging and assistance seeking. While the association between married and tenure status was important to note, it was not strong enough to justify excluding one of

Table 5-9
Pearson Product Moment Correlation Matrix, Independent Variables

	Age[1]	Gender	Tenure	Education	Income	Married[2]	Amenity[3]	Prepage	Assist
Age	1.0								
Gender	.0739 p=.10	1.0							
Tenure Status	.2751 p=.00	.1761 p=.00	1.0						
Education	-.0802 p=.08	.0140 p=.76	.0035 p=.94	1.0					
Perceived Income	.0715 p=.12	.0005 p=.99	.1603 p=.00	-.0402 p=.38	1.0				
Married	.2020 p=.00	.2740 p=.00	**.3751** p=.00	-.0185 p=.68	-.0349 p=.45	1.0			
Amenity Seeking	.2381 p=.00	.1050 p=.02	.2549 p=.00	.0029 p=.95	.0693 p=.13	.2190 p=.00	1.0		
Preparation For Aging	-.1577 p=.00	-.0700 p=.13	-.2369 p=.00	-.0235 p=.61	-.0260 p=.57	-.0506 p=.27	**-.5820** p=.00	1.0	
Assistance Seeking	.1638 p=.00	.0586 p=.12	.0037 p=.94	-.0272 p=.55	.0897 p=.05	.1247 p=.01	.1971 p=.00	**.4370** p=.00	1.0

Note: Associations considered moderately significant are in bold.

[1] Age was calculated for the time of the move rather than the time of the study.

[2] Marital status was dummy coded into two categories, "Married" and "Not Married".

[3] The Amenity Seeking, Preparation for Aging and Assistance Seeking variables were dummy coded reasons for moving.

these variables rather than the other from the analyses (Hickey, 1986). The associations between amenity seeking and preparation for aging and between preparation for aging and assistance seeking were high as all three were reasons for moving. The negative association between amenity seeking and preparation for aging was expected as these two reasons for moving were opposite. Seniors making amenity seeking moves were generally moving to bigger and better dwellings, whereas those moving for preparation for aging reasons were moving into smaller, more manageable dwellings. The positive association between preparation for aging and assistance seeking was understandable as both reasons for moving entail a process of accomodating changes due to increasing age or declining health.

Intraprovincial Moves

At the beginning of this chapter, the bivariate relationships were examined between the independent variables and metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations. The cross-tabulations found that marital status, tenure status, education and the reasons for moving were associated with intraprovincial destinations of older Manitobans. These variables were entered into a forward stepwise logistic regression procedure so that variables that were significant predictors of the destinations of the moves were highlighted (Table 5-10) (Norusis, 1990).

Table 5-10
Metropolitan Moves BY The Significant Independent Variables
Logistic Regression Table

	LOGISTIC REGRESSION STATISTICS		
	B	Wald	p
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Tenure Status (Rent)	1.2247	34.7803	.0000
Education (High)	.0752	5.3985	.0202
Assistance Seeking	.7263	4.5637	.0327
Preparation For Aging	-.4479	3.9007	.0483

Model X^2=52.598, d.f.=4, p=.0000

Note: Variables considered but not significant: married and amenity seeking reasons.

The final model of the logistic regression for the intraprovincial moves consisted of tenure status, education, assistance seeking and preparation for aging as variables that increased the odds of predicting metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations (Table 5-10). Renters, those with higher levels of education, and those who move for assistance seeking reasons were more likely to have metropolitan destinations. Household owners, seniors with lower levels of education, and those moving for preparation for aging reasons were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations. Being married and moving to seek amenities were considered in the logistic regression but were not significant.

Intraurban Moves

This section examines the relative influence of selected independent variables for inner city versus suburban destinations (Table 5-11). The variables found to be significantly associated with inner city versus suburban destinations at the bivariate level were gender, marital status, tenure status, education, perceived adequacy of income and the reasons for moving.

The logistic regression procedure was utilized to determine the relative influence of these variables on intraurban destinations. The final logistic regression model included education, assistance seeking, perceived adequacy of income and gender as significantly associated with intraurban moves. Seniors with lower levels of education, seniors who move for other than assistance seeking reasons, those who perceive their incomes as not completely adequate, and males were more likely to have inner city destinations. Conversely, seniors with higher levels of education, those who move for assistance seeking reasons, older movers who perceive their incomes as completely adequate, and females were more likely to have suburban destinations.

These findings illustrated that education was the strongest predictor of intraurban moves. Assistance seeking, perceived adequacy of income and gender also contributed, in that order, to increasing the log odds of predicting the

Table 5-11
Inner City Moves BY The Significant Independent Variables
Logistic Regression Table

	LOGISTIC REGRESSION STATISTICS		
	B	Wald	p
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES			
Education (High)	-.1347	7.2669	.0070
Assistance Seeking	-1.2556	6.7497	.0094
Perceived Adequacy of Income (Completely)	-.7330	5.5906	.0181
Gender (Female)	-.6350	4.5088	.0337

Model X^2=25.942, d.f.=4, p=.0000

Note: Variables considered but not significant: married, tenure status, amenity seeking and preparation for aging reasons.

residential mobility destinations of older intraurban movers. Married, tenure status, amenity seeking and preparation for aging were also considered in the logistic regressions but were not significant.

Summary of the Multivariate Analyses

The multivariate analyses are summarized in Figure 5-2. The logistic regressions illustrated that certain variables were more strongly associated with seniors' local mobility destinations than others.

Tenure status was the strongest predictor of intraprovincial mobility, while education, assistance seeking and preparation for aging reasons also increased the odds of correctly classifying cases into metropolitan or

Figure 5-2
Summary of the Multivariate Findings

	INTRAPROVINCIAL DESTINATIONS	
	Metropolitan	Nonmetropolitan
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Marital Status	--------	--------
Tenure Status	- rent	- own
Education	- higher education	- lower education
Reasons For Moving	- assistance	--------
		- prepare for age

	INTRAURBAN DESTINATIONS	
	Inner City	Suburban
INDEPENDENT VARIABLES		
Gender	- male	- female
Marital Status	--------	--------
Tenure Status	--------	--------
Education	- lower education	- higher education
Adequacy of Income	- not adequate	- adequate
Reasons For Moving	--------	- assistance

Note: Variables considered but not significant have dashes.

nonmetropolitan destinations (Figure 5-2). For the intraurban moves, education, assistance seeking, perceived adequacy of income and gender, in that order, contributed to the logistic model predicting inner city versus suburban moves (Figure 5-2).

CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the results of tests of Hypotheses 2.1 through 4.11. Cross-tabulations of certain sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving with different intraprovincial and

intraurban residential mobility destinations of older Manitobans were conducted. Independent variables that were found to be significantly associated with intraprovincial and intraurban destinations at the bivariate level were selected for logistic regression analyses. The results of tests of Research Question #5 were then presented.

The next chapter discusses the bivariate and multivariate findings with reference to relevant literature. It concludes by considering the limitations and implications of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

DISCUSSION

This study investigated seniors' local residential mobility with two objectives in mind: 1) to develop a comprehensive typology of seniors' residential mobility; and 2) to explore the relationship between residential mobility and certain sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving.

The typology was based on the destination of moves made by older Manitobans. The types of moves were divided into two destination groups. Intraprovincial mobility was examined for the sample of Manitobans with metropolitan (Winnipeg) versus nonmetropolitan residential destinations. Further, intraurban mobility was examined among older adults living in Winnipeg with either inner city or suburban destinations.

Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) and Meyer and Speare's (1985) general typologies of seniors' mobility, combined with Litwak and Longino's (1987) life cycle model were used as a basis for the present research. Within the literature on seniors' mobility, a wide variety of factors have been linked to the types of moves made by older people. The present study selected a number of the most commonly mentioned

sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving in order to examine the influence of these factors on a sample of Canadian seniors' local residential mobility destinations.

This chapter commences by describing a typology of seniors' mobility developed from the present research. The typology is discussed in relation to pertinent literature. The chapter concludes with the limitations of the present research and the implications the study holds for policy and future research.

TYPOLOGY OF MANITOBAN SENIORS' LOCAL RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Research on seniors' residential mobility has tended to concentrate on long distance migration (Warnes, 1983b; Watkins, 1987; Yeatts et al., 1987). While comparisons have been made between the types of moves older adults make to metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan destinations (Clifford et al., 1982; Litwak & Longino, 1987; Speare & Meyer, 1988), few studies have explored the types of moves made to inner city versus suburban areas. This study combined an examination of the intraprovincial and intraurban moves of a sample of older Manitoban movers. Three basic types of local residential mobility were found, based on the destinations of the moves: 1) nonmetropolitan moves; 2) suburban moves; and 3) inner city moves (Figure 7-1).

Figure 6-1
Typology of Older Manitoban Moves

NONMETROPOLITAN MOVES
- nonmetropolitan destinations
- moves made from a different city/town
- married, own household, lower education
- move for preparation for aging and amenity reasons

SUBURBAN MOVES
- suburban destinations
- moves made within the same neighbourhood or town
- female, widowed, married, own household, higher education, perceive incomes as completely adequate
- move to be closer to family and friends for assistance seeking reasons

INNER CITY MOVES
- inner city destinations
- moves made within the same neighbourhood or town
- male, single, divorced or separated, rent, lower education, perceive incomes as not completely adequate
- move for other reasons

The first type of move was identified from the intraprovincial analyses. Cross-tabulations of the flow of the moves revealed that seniors with nonmetropolitan destinations were more apt to move from a different city/town. While these nonmetropolitan moves may have been made over longer distances from one city to another, they also included moves made within relatively short distances from rural farms to nearby towns.

Cross-tabulations of the movers' characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving by the intraprovincial destinations revealed similar findings to that of the

literature review (Clifford et al., 1982, Serow, 1988; Sofranko et al., 1982; Warnes, 1983; Yeatts et al., 1987). The bivariate analyses in the present study found that married seniors, household owners, those with lower levels of education, and seniors moving for amenity or preparation for aging reasons were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations.

Wiseman and Roseman (1979) and Meyer and Speare (1985) also found that married seniors, household owners, and those moving for amenity reasons were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations. Wiseman and Roseman (1979) called this type of move exurbanization or suburbanization. Meyer and Speare (1985) defined it as an amenity seeking move.

The multivariate analyses of the intraprovincial moves revealed that tenure status emerged as the most significantly associated variable relative to the others when predicting nonmetropolitan versus metropolitan destinations, with owners being more likely to make nonmetropolitan moves. Clifford et al. (1982) also found the relationship between seniors who own their homes and those who moved within or into nonmetropolitan areas as the most important in their study. Education (lower mean level) and reasons for moving (preparation for aging) also increased the log odds of predicting nonmetropolitan residential mobility destinations of Manitoban seniors. Marital status and amenity seeking reasons were considered but

were not strongly associated with intraprovincial moves relative to the other variables.

The finding that seniors moving for preparation for aging reasons were more likely to have nonmetropolitan destinations was contrary to some literature which found preparation for aging reasons for moving amongst older adults moving to smaller, more manageable dwellings in metropolitan areas (Meyer & Speare, 1985; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979). However, it was similar to Gfellner and Everitt's (1993) finding that nonmetropolitan dwellers tended to move from farms to houses in neighbouring communities. It is suggested that although the moves were made to be closer to services, older adults with nonmetropolitan destinations who cited preparation for aging reasons for moving preferred to live in smaller towns rather than the metropolitan area of Winnipeg. Research by Sofranko et al. (1983) is supportive of this suggestion as they found that seniors with nonmetropolitan destinations were highly satisfied with their residences and preferred living in the countryside rather than in a metropolitan area.

The finding that nonmetropolitan moves were made for both preparation for aging and amenity seeking reasons is supported by research conducted by Serow (1988) which combined data from nine countries and summarized the residential mobility of seniors into two basic types. The nonmetropolitan moves in the present sample are similar to the first type of move described by Serow (1988). This move was prompted by a desire

for a residential change to a better environment which was "associated with the desire for smaller and/or cheaper and/or easier to maintain housing" (Serow, 1988: 588). This definition incorporated both amenity seeking and preparation for aging reasons within the same type of move. Nonetheless, the fact that the preparation for aging reasons for moving were stronger predictors of nonmetropolitan mobility than amenity seeking reasons in the logistic regressions emphasizes the importance of examining the multivariate, and not just the bivariate relations of factors influencing seniors' mobility.

The second type of move identified by the present typology was suburban moves. Suburban moves are similar to the second move highlighted by Serow (1988). Suburban moves were more likely to be made within the same neighbourhood or town compared to nonmetropolitan moves. Clifford et al. (1982) suggested that assistance seeking reasons for moving provoked longer distance moves from nonmetropolitan to metropolitan areas. However, the finding that suburban movers seeking assistance moved within the same neighbourhood or town has implications that older adults in this sample were already living relatively close to their family members even before they made the move for assistance.

Drawing on the bivariate findings, females, widows, married seniors, household owners, seniors with a higher mean level of education, seniors who perceived their incomes as completely adequate, and those moving to be closer to family

and friends for assistance seeking reasons were found to be more likely to make suburban moves. Serow (1988), Wiseman and Roseman (1979) and Meyer and Speare (1985) identified these moves in their typologies as assistance seeking moves made to metropolitan areas in general. They failed to differentiate between the specific metropolitan destinations of those moving for assistance seeking reasons. In fact, while Wiseman and Roseman (1979) did not mention a particular metropolitan destination for those moving for assistance seeking reasons, they did state that movers living in suburban areas were more likely to move for amenity seeking reasons. This is contrary to the present research's findings and those of Basu (1979) who found that seniors needing care moved to the suburbs to be closer to their families.

The multivariate analyses of the intraurban moves demonstrated that education, then assistance seeking, perceived adequacy of income and gender increased the log odds of predicting suburban versus inner city destinations. Relatively, marital status, tenure status and reasons for moving other than amenity seeking, preparation for aging or assistance seeking were not strongly associated with different intraurban mobility destinations.

Clifford et al. (1982) stated that alternative living arrangements and decreases in family dependency are responsible for increasing numbers of seniors living alone in late adulthood. Especially in fringe areas outside of central

cities, household owners are more likely to remain owners in late adulthood (Clark & Davies, 1990; Golant, 1977). These factors may account for the finding that while suburban movers tend to pursue support from their families, they are still more likely to be household owners.

The third move apparent in the typology of older Manitoba movers is inner city moves. Like other studies, the present research found that inner city moves were generally made within the same neighbourhood or town (Clark & Davies, 1990; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979). Based on the bivariate findings, males, single, divorced or separated seniors, renters, those with lower mean levels of education, those who perceive their incomes as not completely adequate, and seniors moving because of other reasons (other than amenity seeking, preparation for aging or assistance seeking reasons) are more likely to make inner city moves. This move is similar to the inner city relocation move identified by Wiseman and Roseman (1979) that is made because of environmental stress. Clark and Davies (1990) suggested that income and neighbourhood dissatisfaction were associated with seniors living in inner city areas. This seems true of the present sample of inner city movers who perceived their incomes as not completely adequate and who moved for other reasons including financial problems or changes in living arrangements.

The multivariate analyses demonstrated that the two indicators of social class, education and perceived adequacy

of income, were stronger predictors than reasons for moving (amenity seeking or preparation for aging), marital status and tenure status, which were also considered but were not significant. This finding is supported by other literature (Carter, 1988; Clark & Davies, 1990) which suggests that even though inner city moves are considered voluntary, they may be influenced by factors beyond the individual's control, such as damaged, unstable and dangerous living conditions (Seniors' Secretariat, 1993).

Some findings in the present study are in conflict with the results from other research (ie. those moving for preparation for aging reasons having nonmetropolitan destinations and those moving for assistance seeking reasons having suburban destinations). This could be due to a variety of reasons. First, the sample of older Manitoban local movers may be different from other studies which tended to use only long distance movers or included both long distance and local movers (Speare & Meyer, 1988; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979).

The dependent variable for the present study was based solely on the destinations of the moves. While many studies have utilized the destinations of moves as the dependent variable (Clark & Davies, 1990; Golant, 1978; Ormrod, 1986; Sofranko et al., 1983; Yeatts et al., 1987), other studies, such as Wiseman and Roseman's (1979), based their typologies on a number of factors simultaneously, including the destinations of moves, the flows of moves and reasons for

moving. The only other research found that employed multivariate analyses (Speare & Meyer, 1988) used reasons for moving as the dependent variable.

The different findings may indicate that there were interaction effects that were not examined here between the independent variables or that the present study did not have enough detailed information to identify different types of moves with the same destinations. This latter reason may account for Wiseman and Roseman's (1979) finding that married seniors and household owners were more likely to make moves to suburban areas after retirement for amenity seeking reasons. The present research also found married seniors and household owners making suburban moves at the bivariate level. However, the multivariate analyses did not find them significant. The different research methods may have led to the conflicting findings.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study examined the residential destinations of older Manitobans in relation to a variety of sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving. It formulated a typology of mobility that includes both intraprovincial and intraurban moves. The limitations of this study, the implications for policy, and suggestions for further research are discussed next.

Limitations

The limitations of cross-sectional and retrospective studies are generally acknowledged (Wister & Burch, 1989). The inadequacies of retrospective studies were heightened in the present research by including those who had moved within 10 years of the study. Responses of seniors who had moved within one year were weighted equally with those who had moved ten years earlier. Bias and forgetfulness may have led to inaccurate testimonies, particularly amongst those who had moved five or more years earlier. As well, multiple moves within that period were not considered. Only the move that respondents had made to their place of residence at the time of the study was reported.

Analyses conducted to reduce the retrospective nature of the study may have served only to confuse the data with other measurements. For example, marital status was calculated for the time of the move, whereas tenure status was identified at the time of the study. A study conducted by Stapleton Concord (1984) illustrated that there were interaction effects between marital status, tenure status and the dependent variable, type of move. While the present study demonstrated that marital status and tenure status were mildly associated[1], when the two variables were calculated for different times, the association

[1] See the correlation matrix in Chapter Five for details.

may have been weakened. This may have limited the preciseness of the logistic regression analyses.

The sample of movers for the present study was selected from a larger data set collected by the Canadian Aging Research Network (CARNET). This type of secondary analyses may not be as accurate or appropriate as research based on a sample and interview schedule designed specifically to explore residential mobility patterns (Everitt & Gfellner, 1994). Although the CARNET interview schedule included a section on housing arrangements, the way in which the questions were posed was not ideal for the purposes of the present study and may have induced measurement problems. The same question was employed to determine both the life cycle events associated with the move and the reasons for moving[2]. An interpretive method of coding was used to distinguish life cycle events from reasons for moving. This resulted in a small sample size of respondents who stated life cycle events (n=156), and little variation in the responses (eg. 67% stated declining health as the life cycle event associated with their moves compared to only 20% who reported retirement and 14% who cited widowhood).

Some studies have found that only a small number of older adults move in response to certain life cycle events (Mutschler, 1992; Warnes, 1983a). It is unclear whether this

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[2] See Chapter Three or Appendix A for more detail on the CARNET survey and its interview schedule.

may also be true of the individuals in the present sample or if the small number of those identified as reporting life cycle events was due to limitations of the secondary analyses.

Another limitation of the research was the small number of respondents with inner city destinations. Comparisons at an intraurban level were difficult as almost three-quarters of the metropolitan sample (70%) had suburban destinations. Although the larger proportion of older adults with suburban rather than inner city destinations may signify the preference that seniors have for living in suburban areas and the resulting trend towards suburbanization (Golant, 1978; Ormrod, 1986; Wiseman & Roseman, 1979), it most likely reflects the larger number of postal code areas in Winnipeg that are considered suburban rather than inner city. A larger sample size of both inner city and suburban dwellers may improve investigations on intraurban mobility.

Finally, the sample consisted of only those older adults who currently reside in Manitoba. Moreover, the sample did not represent an equal distribution of residents throughout Manitoba since only 8 nonmetropolitan and 1 metropolitan communities were surveyed. Manitoba is unique from other provinces within Canada and states in the United States in terms of its harsh winters, its large nonmetropolitan, farming and Native populations, its distinct tourist attraction areas, as well as having only one census metropolitan area. It might be difficult to generalize the findings of this study to other

provinces or states which have less severe climates, larger populations and smaller proportions of older adults in their populations.

Implications For Policy

While recognizing these limitations, findings from the present research may heighten policy makers' understanding of older Manitobans' residential mobility. With increased comprehension, appropriate changes can be made. Because the findings indicated that the sociodemographic characteristics and seniors' reasons for moving differ according to mobility destinations, changes in the level and orientation of service provision for older adults in nonmetropolitan versus suburban versus inner city areas are required. Three areas of change for policy and service provision are discussed below.

First, some seniors from the sample with nonmetropolitan destinations tended to make moves to small towns for preparation for aging reasons. Services such as transportation and health care in some nonmetropolitan areas may not be as complete as those in metropolitan areas (Rostum & Thonney, 1991; Sofranko et al., 1983). To meet the needs of older adults who prefer to live in nonmetropolitan areas, services must be initiated or expanded. Outreach services based in small towns are also necessary to gain access to seniors moving to outlying communities and farms.

Wiseman and Roseman (1979) suggested that seniors are more likely to make moves to areas they have previously lived

in or visited. Thus, seniors in nonmetropolitan areas may be hindered from moving to larger areas that have the services they need, because of fear of the unknown and lack of knowledge. Service providers may be able to aid seniors who desire to move to unfamiliar places with information about housing resources, support during the move, and linking moving seniors to existing networks in the new area.

Second, the present study indicated that females and those moving for assistance seeking reasons are more likely to have suburban destinations. Because these individuals tend to be more reliant upon their families but prefer to live in their own homes, services in suburban areas focusing more on caregiving support such as respite programs and adult day care programs, and aiding those who prefer to age in their own residences such as emergency response systems and alternative housing innovations, might be valued (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1989).

Finally, the characteristics of seniors living in the inner city were distinct from those with suburban destinations. The bivariate analyses revealed that males, renters, seniors with lower mean levels of education, those who perceive their incomes as not completely adequate and older adults moving because of other reasons including financial problems and changes in living arrangements were more likely to have inner city destinations. Skinner (1992) suggested that economic disadvantage, racial segregation and

ageism make it difficult for inner city movers to find appropriate dwellings. Policies need to address racial and age discrimination in housing. Most private sector services, such as retirement communities, are directed towards middle to upper class seniors (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1989). Consequently, there is a need for progressive services oriented towards ensuring comfortable and reliable housing for older adults living in the inner city.

Further Research

The differences found in the present study between the characteristics associated with metropolitan versus nonmetropolitan and with inner city versus suburban older movers illustrate the importance of examining local seniors' mobility apart from long distance migration. Additionally, the multivariate findings emphasize the importance of integrating the literature and using a multifactorial approach to explaining older adults' residential mobility.

However, research designed specifically for the purposes of examining the local residential mobility of older Canadians is needed. An interview schedule consisting of both close- and open-ended questions probing the life cycle events and reasons for moving separately is crucial. The following are examples of questions which might identify the life cycle events and reasons for moving associated with older adults' moves separately:

"Where did you move from? That is, what city and which area?

"What type of dwelling did you move from?"

"Looking back on your move to this residence, please explain in your own words how and why you decided to move."

"Some people move because of certain events that happen in their lives. Did you move because you retired? your spouse died? your health was declining? If yes to retirement or widowhood, how long after you retired/your spouse died did you move?"

"Below is a list of commonly mentioned reasons for moving. Please identify which ones applied to you when you moved to this residence, in order of the most important reason to the least important reason... wanted a bigger house, wanted to live in a smaller town, wanted a smaller dwelling, wanted a dwelling with less maintenance, needed assistance from family and friends, etc."

Another way to integrate a variety of research efforts would be to examine the mobility history of older Canadians (Stone & Fletcher, 1987). Examining all the moves made over an extended time period and the reasons given for the moves may help to clarify how life cycle events are associated with seniors' mobility and the flows of moves.

As the interview schedule was not designed specifically for examining residential mobility, this study could only use the destinations of the moves as the dependent variables. There is a need to examine alternate definitions of the types of moves that older adults make. For example, including the origins with the destinations in the dependent variable would would allow an examination of whether moves were made from metropolitan to nonmetropolitan areas, from nonmetropolitan to

metropolitan areas, within metropolitan areas, or within nonmetropolitan areas. While the present study explored whether moves were made within the same city or from a different city, it could not determine whether moves in nonmetropolitan areas were made from farms to nearby towns, or which city, be it metropolitan or nonmetropolitan, the move originated from.

Finally, finding that lower education was associated with seniors' moves to nonmetropolitan destinations, and lower income with those making inner city moves points to the importance of examining the influence of class on mobility decisions. Watkins (1989) suggested that new cohorts of older adults may have different perceptions, experiences and cultural backgrounds. Thus, further research examining both the direct association between class and other key variables and the types of moves, and the relative influence of class amongst other factors on the types of moves, is required to ensure that service provision is adequate and appropriate for all Canada's elderly.

Conclusion

This study developed a typology of older Manitoban's local residential mobility. Three types of moves were identified, based on intraprovincial and intraurban destinations of moves: nonmetropolitan moves, suburban moves and inner city moves. As well, the relationship between these

types of moves and selected sociodemographic characteristics, life cycle events and reasons for moving was explored.

Even though there were some limitations to the data set and analyses, the findings of this study are important in terms of providing guidelines for appropriate policy initiatives and service provision to older movers.

Some of the findings of this study are in conflict with the results of other research. These differences may indicate the importance of integrating the literature and conducting multivariate analyses instead of bivariate analyses on seniors' residential mobility. However, differences between the present study and other research in terms of the type of sample, the definition of the dependent variable and the method of data analysis may have heightened these inconsistencies. Further research investigating these differences would be beneficial.

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APPENDIX A

VARIABLES USED IN THE DATA ANALYSES

Identification of the Sample
For how many years have you lived in this dwelling?
- number of years coded directly

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Age
In what year were you born?
- year coded directly

Gender
Sex of Respondent
- coded by interviewer

Marital Status
What is your marital status?
1-Single
2-Married
3-Divorced/Separated
4-Widowed
5-Other (Specify)
9-Missing

For how long have you been _____?
- coded in years

Tenure Status
Do you own or rent this dwelling?
1-Own
2-Rent
3-Other(Specify)
4-Missing

Perceived Adequacy of Income
How well do you think your income and assets currently satisfy your needs?
1-Completely adequate
2-Somewhat adequate
3-Somewhat inadequate
4-Totally inadequate
9-Missing

Income
What is the average monthly income of this household including the old age security payments?
00-No income
01-Less than $500
02-$500-999
03-$1000-1499
04-$1500-1999
05-$2000-2499
06-$2500-2999
07-$3000-3499
08-$3500-3999
09-$4000-4499
10-$4500-4999
11-$5000-5499
12-$5500-5999
13-$6000 or more
98-Don't Know
99-Missing

Life Cycle Events
Can you describe the most important factors which led you to move to your present residence?
- open-ended responses recorded verbatim and then coded
1-Retirement
2-Widowhood
3-Declining Health

Reasons for Moving
Can you describe the most important factors which led you to move to your present residence?
- open-ended responses recorded verbatim and then coded
1-Amenity Seeking
2-Preparation For Aging
3-Assistance Seeking
4-Other Reasons

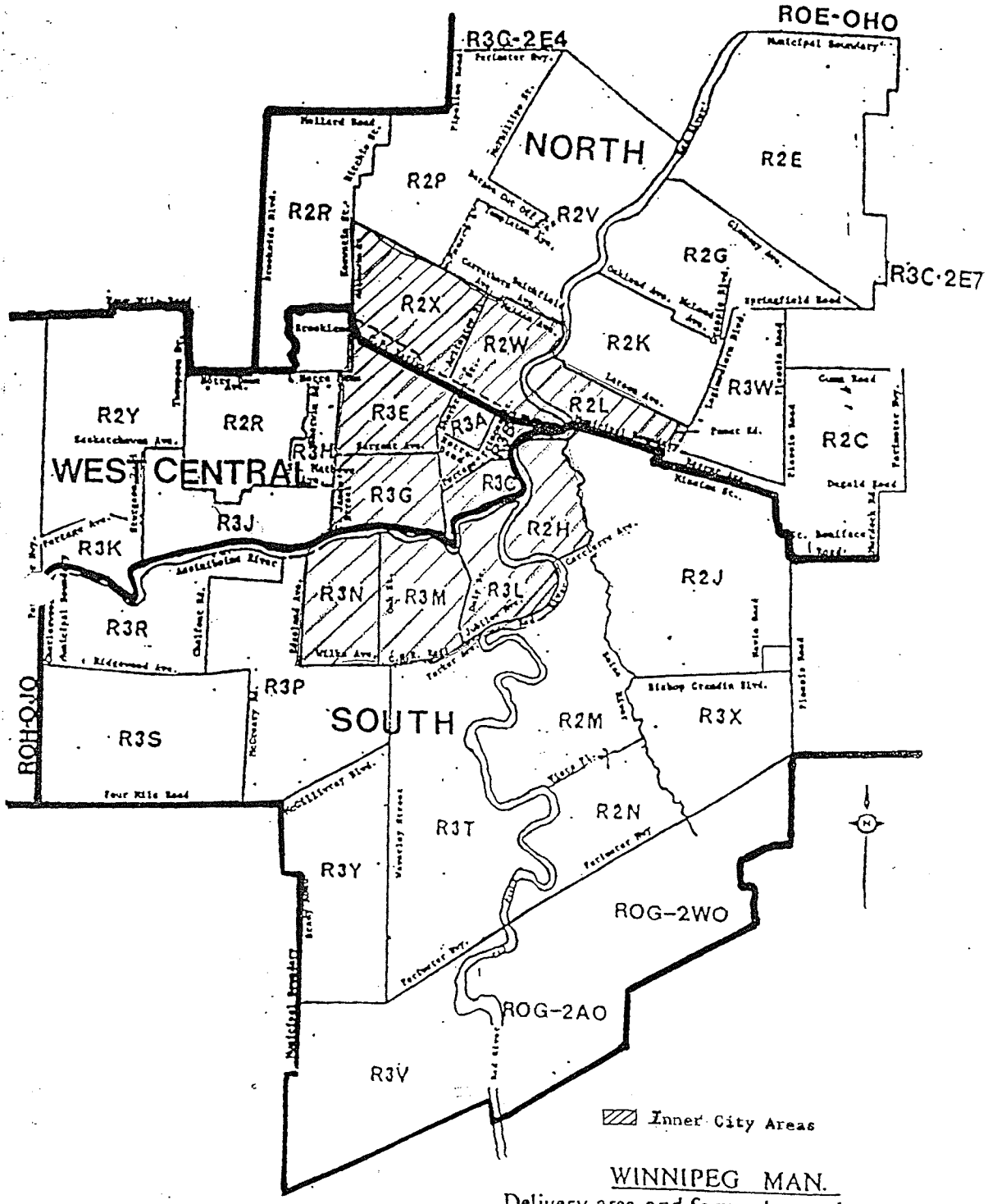
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Location of Move
Was your last residence...
1-in the same neighbourhood
2-in the same town/city
3-in a different city
7-NA
9-Missing

Place of Residence
City name
Zip codes for those respondents in Winnipeg
- coded by interviewer

APPENDIX B

INNER CITY/SUBURBAN BOUNDARIES



WINNIPEG MAN.

Delivery area and forward sortation areas

APPENDIX C

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF INCOME

INCOME VARIABLES	DISTRIBUTIONS Number	Percentage (%)
Household Income Level		
Less Than $999	133	27.4
$1000-1999	201	41.4
$2000+	94	19.3
Don't Know	33	6.8
Missing	25	5.1
	486	100.0
Perceived Adequacy of Income		
Not Completely Adequate	263	54.1
Completely Adequate	219	45.1
Missing	4	.8
	486	100.0

APPENDIX D

CODING SCHEDULE: LIFE CYCLE EVENTS AND REASONS FOR MOVING WITH MULTIPLE RESPONSES

Multiple Life Cycle Event Responses (n=5)

1. "Husband died and she couldn't manage house repairs and maintenance, security, declining health, yard maintenance"
Possible categories: widowhood and declining health
Coded: declining health as the move seems to be linked more to the respondent's failing health and inability to manage the yard than her husband's death

2. "I couldn't keep the house after husband died and my own health began to slip"
Possible categories: widowhood and declining health
Coded: declining health as the literature has found associations between declining health and preparation for age moves more than widowhood

3. "Husband retired and sold farm because of ill health and moved to town to be near conveniences, med centre, food store"
Possible categories: retirement and declining health
Coded: declining health as the move and retirement were made because of declining health

4. "Retirement, declining health, age"
Possible categories: retirement and declining health
Coded: declining health because even though retirement was mentioned first, declining health and age are often meant as the same

5. "When retired, moved back to home town, close to friends and family, poor health, no stairs, near conveniences"
Possible categories: retirement and declining health
Coded: retirement because it was the first life cycle event mentioned, and the literature suggests that retirement moves are often made back to seniors' home towns where they had previously resided

Multiple Reasons For Moving Responses (n=17)

1. "Sister (widow) wanted her to move back to Roblin to be near her; her home in Grandview was also too much work when her husband died"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance
Coded: assistance because maintenance seems to be an afterthought

2. "For health reasons, couldn't look after the big house any more, needed a place where they could be looked after"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as assistance seeking was not reported to be to family and friends

3. "Emerson had no bus route clearing, very inconvenient, moved to Morris for better transportation and family living there"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as the most prevalent responses were identical to definitions of preparation for age moves in the literature

4. "Location closer to Winnipeg, size smaller, enjoy Carmen, family close by"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as the first three responses were preparation for age compared to only the last one which was assistance seeking

5. "I didn't drive, house too big, things closer, kids closer"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because three out of four of the reasons were linked to preparation for age reasons as defined in the literature review

6. "Close to family, close to medical center, unable to do maintenance required on her mobile home so moved into a seniors' complex"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because even though the first response was assistance seeking, most of the answers pertained to preparation for age reasons, and moves to seniors' complexes are considered preparation for age in the literature

7. "Health was declining so she moved out of her house into an apartment; also to be near family"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because assistance seeking seemed to be an afterthought

8. "Husband found upkeep of house too hard, this was closer to family"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because although the location was determined by the family, the move was prompted by maintenance problems

9. "Was no longer able to manage her home and yard, husband was in nursing home with Alzheimers, son got this apartment for her close to friends and family"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because it was the first response and the move was not made to receive assistance from the family

10. "Unable to manage the yard, close to family and friends
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because it was the first response, and because it was the reason for the move rather than the location of the move which the assistance seeking response was

11. "House very big to care for, this suite was available and was close to family
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as it seemed that this is the general meaning of the responses

12. "Was in a house too hard to upkeep so wanted apartment and to be closer to family"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as it seemed to be the overall meaning of the responses

13. "Size (smaller home), fewer stairs (declining health), safety, close to family (location)"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because more responses corresponded to preparation for age definitions

14. "Unable to look after yard due to injury, now is close to daughter as well"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because the reason for moving seemed to be related to preparation for aging reasons, while the proximity of family appeared to have only determined the location

15. "Size (wanted smaller apartment), close to family"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age because it was the first response

16. "Could no longer take care of her home due to stroke and declining health, in the neighbourhood she loved, close to family and friends and all conveniences"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as the move did not seem to depend on family support

17. "The location was unsafe, also wanted to be close to son"
Possible categories: preparation for age and assistance seeking
Coded: preparation for age as it was the first response and seemed to be the most important reason for moving