

AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES
OF ELDERLY MIGRATION TO SMALL PRAIRIE LAKESHORE COMMUNITIES
IN THE INTERLAKE REGION OF MANITOBA

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in
Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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**An Analysis of the Processes and Outcomes of Elderly Migration to Small Prairie
Lakeshore Communities in the Interlake Region of Manitoba**

BY

Giovanni Spina

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University of
Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree**

Of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

The primary objective of this study is to further our understanding of elderly mobility by investigating the processes and outcomes of the migration of older people to lakeshore retirement communities located in Manitoba's Interlake region. The conceptual framework of the present study specifically incorporates elements of both migration decision-making models and place attachment/integration models. Four research questions were derived from the conceptual framework respectively concerning elderly migrant profile characteristics, the elder's decision to move, the elder's relocation decision-making process, and elderly migration outcomes. A sequential four-stage survey design included: (a) a questionnaire/interview survey of elderly migrants; (b) in-depth life-history interviews with elderly migrants; (c) a questionnaire/interview survey of community leaders; (d) two separate focus group sessions including both elderly migrants and community leaders. Two non-probability sampling procedures (i.e. convenience sampling and snowball sampling) were utilized, generating a total of 34 elderly migrants and 10 community leaders.

The analysis of data involved the use of both descriptive statistical techniques and qualitative methods. In particular, key variables were specified for each research question and organized hierarchically into variable groups and mega themes. The results of the analysis disclose that a large majority of elderly respondents were "young-old" amenity migrants with strong ties to Manitoba. However, the respondents differed with regard to the number of residential moves made throughout the life course, and their amount of previous place experience within the study area. Both push and pull factors

played major roles in elderly migration decision-making, particularly proximity to urban centres, while spousal input and previous place experience were also important. My findings suggest that community leaders and elderly migrants were in general agreement about key issues facing newcomers to the study area. However, the migrants were generally satisfied with their moves to communities in the study area and had no migration intentions for the future. Taken together, these results may be viewed as evidence of the successful place integration of elderly migrants within semi-rural retirement communities located in a cold Canadian climate. To conclude, policy interventions should be directed toward maintaining sustainable retirement communities to facilitate the integration of older migrants.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 OBJECTIVES OF THESIS AND ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

The broad aim of this study is to further our understanding of elderly mobility by investigating the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to regional retirement communities in a cold climate. A regional retirement community is located in a rural or semi-rural area which (i) is rich in amenities and infrastructure, (ii) has high concentrations of elderly residents, and (iii) attracts a relatively high proportion of elderly migrants from places within the same region. Cuba and Longino (1991) have noted that regional retirement destinations have received less attention than those typically attracting migrants over greater distances. Further, although a limited body of literature addresses selected North American regional retirement communities (Watkins 1990; Cuba and Longino 1991; Cuba 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Rowles and Watkins 1993; Dahms 1996; Carlson et al. 1998), few of these studies address this phenomenon in relatively cold climates in a Canadian context. Thus, while we know a great deal about geographic mobility between Canadian provinces (Northcott 1988; Moore and Rosenberg 1997, 2001; McPherson 2004) and within larger Canadian cities (Northcott 1988), little is known about the migration of older people to smaller towns and villages. Accordingly, I am interested in understanding the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore retirement communities in Manitoba.

Previous work has noted that: “very few countries in today’s world are actively getting “younger” in terms of their age profiles; the dominant world trend is towards an

aging society in which elderly populations are not only growing in size but are also growing as a share of the total population” (Macey et al. 2003, 520). The median age of the world’s population is increasing due to both recent declines in fertility, and a 20-year increase in the average life span during the second half of the twentieth century (United Nations 2002). Moreover, elevated fertility levels, known as the Baby Boom, in many countries during the two decades after World War II will result in increased numbers of persons 65 years of age and older between 2010 and 2030 (Kinsella and Velkoff 2001). Globally, dramatic increases in the number and proportion of individuals aged 65 years and over will occur between 2000 and 2030, with the largest increases in absolute numbers of older persons occurring in developing countries (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2003).

In Canada, data from the 2006 Census of Canada indicate that the number of seniors aged 65 years and over surpassed the four million mark for the first time. Specifically, 4,335,255 seniors were enumerated with their proportion of the population increasing from 13.0% in 2001 to 13.7% in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2007a). Moreover, increases in the proportion of older people were registered in every province, territory, and census metropolitan area (CMA) in the nation (Statistics Canada 2007a). Between 2006 and 2026, the number of Canadian seniors is projected to increase from 4.3 million to 8.0 million, while their share of the national population is expected to rise to 21.2%. (Statistics Canada 2007b).¹ The 2006 Census enumerated 1,167,310 people aged 80

¹ In the United States, the proportion of the population and number of people aged 65 years and older is projected to increase from 12.4% (35 million) in 2000 to 19.6% (71 million) in 2030 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2003). In 2000, the worldwide population of persons aged 65 years of age and older was estimated at 420 million (Kinsella and Velkoff 2001).

years and over, as a result of the second fastest increase of all age groups during the period 2001 - 2006. Of this group, about two-thirds (753,970) were women who heavily outnumbered men because of their higher life expectancy (Statistics Canada 2007a). The same census also enumerated 4,635 people aged 100 years and older, with five out of every six of these centenarians being women (Statistics Canada 2007a). The elderly population are generally living longer thanks to extended health care and improved diets (Bourne and Rose 2001). As a result, the life expectancy of Canadians increased appreciably during the twentieth century and in 2006 was 82.5 years for women and 77.7 years for men (Statistics Canada 2007a). Thus, the fact that Canadians are living longer presents a unique opportunity and challenge for geographic research.

The 2006 Census of Canada indicated that 25.3% of the Canadian population were aged 55 years and over (Statistics Canada 2006). The fastest growing age group between 2001 and 2006 were individuals aged 55 to 64 years who were nearing retirement. The 2006 Census counted nearly 3.7 million people in this age group, increasing by 28.1% since 2001. This rate of growth was more than five times greater than the national average of 5.4% (Statistics Canada 2007a). Canadian demographic trends are expected to continue to vary significantly across older age groups in the future. For example, over the next two decades the number of individuals aged 65 to 74 are projected to almost double from 2.3 million to about 4.5 million, while their share of the total population is projected to increase from 7.0% to 11.9% (Statistics Canada 2007b). Further, the number of Canadians aged 85 years and older are projected to rise from approximately 500,000 in 2006 to approximately 900,000 in 2026 (Statistics Canada 2007b).

The aging of the Canadian population implies that the spatial mobility of older people will be a growing force shaping Canadian society. As the Canadian population ages, a larger proportion of the population will be concerned with retirement issues. Retirement often prompts a desire to change home, and in many cases the appeal of a simplified life in a smaller rural or semi-rural community may become the focus of future plans (Walters 2000). As a component of demographic change, elderly mobility has been a focal area of research among geographers, with particular emphasis on the determinants of the elder's decision to move (Macey et al. 2003). In this study I will examine (i) the process of elderly migration decision-making in the specific context of moves to Canadian Prairie retirement communities, and (ii) the effect of post-move changes in residential settings on the personal outcomes and future migration intentions of older people. In particular, I shall consider the impact of the macro-environment of the destination community on these outcomes and intentions.

The next section of Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the research field concerned with elderly migration. This chapter will then briefly introduce the theoretical background of the thesis and outline the research questions of the study. Chapter 1 concludes with an explanation of the contribution of this study to the corpus of literature on elderly migration. Chapter 2 reviews the theoretical and empirical literature that addresses the geographical aspects of the migration of older people. In light of this review, the contribution of this thesis to the relevant literature is explained. In Chapter 3, I present the conceptual framework of the present study and explain the development of the research questions. This framework specifically conceptualizes migration processes and outcomes in the context of the relocation of older people to regional retirement

communities. Chapter 4 presents a profile of the study area, which includes two communities located on the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba's Interlake Region: Gimli and Winnipeg Beach. Chapter 5 outlines the data sources and survey design which address the research questions. Chapter 6 explains the data analysis strategies relating to all of the research questions and details the results of the analysis which address Research Questions 1 - 3. In Chapter 7, the results of the analysis which address Research Question 4 are detailed. Finally, in Chapter 8 the main findings of the study are summarized and interpreted, followed by a discussion of their academic and policy implications. Chapter 8 concludes by offering suggestions for future related research which are followed by my personal reflections concerning this study.

1.2 ELDERLY MIGRATION: AN OVERVIEW

Between 1996 and 2001, 19.2% of all non-institutionalized seniors in Canada changed addresses (Statistics Canada 2001a). Between 1981 and 2001, however, the percentage of seniors aged 65 and over who had changed residences in the previous five years declined by 6.8% (Statistics Canada 2001b). Of the seniors aged 65 to 74 who moved between 1996 and 2001, approximately two-thirds remained in the same geographic area in which they previously resided. Specifically, 48.4% stayed within the same census metropolitan area (CMA), 10% remained within the same city or town (Census Agglomeration or CA), and 8.5% moved within the same rural or small town area (RSTA). A much smaller percentage (5.4%) moved between CMAs. Those who

moved from a “more to less urban area”² (10.1%) outnumbered those who moved from a “less to more urban area”³ (8.6%), while 5.3% moved from outside Canada (Statistics Canada 2001c). The corresponding mobility patterns of seniors aged 75 or older who moved between 1996 and 2001 differ only slightly from those age 65 to 74 (Statistics Canada 2001a). Thus, Canadian seniors generally do not move very far when they change residence.

Fertility, mortality, and migration change are three basic demographic processes responsible for the age distribution of a population. Births increase the size of the younger population, while deaths (since they occur principally in the older age groups) decrease the size of the older cohort (Graff and Wiseman 1978). Further, net migration change together with birth and death rates produces variations in population structures within a given geographical area. However, two major demographic processes produce elderly population change: aging-in-place and net elderly migration change (Graff and Wiseman 1978). First, aging-in-place occurs when the individual remains at the same place of residence as he/she ages. Aging-in-place is therefore a process that associates increasing age with residential inertia (Graff and Wiseman 1978). Secondly, the net migration change of older people is the balance of the number of older in-migrants over the number of older out-migrants in a geographical area during a specified time period (Graff and Wiseman 1978; Rogerson 1996). Positive elderly migration change may therefore contribute to both elderly population growth (i.e. an increase in the absolute

² Moving from a “more to less urban area” includes moving from CMA to CA, from CMA to RSTA, and from CA to RSTA (Statistics Canada 2001c).

³ Moving from a “less to more urban area” includes moving from CA to CMA, RSTA to CA, and RSTA to CMA (Statistics Canada 2001c).

number of older people) and elderly concentration (i.e. the percentage of population comprised of older people) in a given region.⁴

McPherson (2004) noted that in the later years of life, an individual has two alternatives with respect to his/her living arrangements. Specifically, an individual may age in place at the current residence, or an individual may move and age in a new place. Local moves are likely to be involuntary due to events such as widowhood, disability, and neighbourhood change (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Meyer and Speare 1985; Rogers 1992; Walters 2000). On the other hand, relatively distant moves to another country, province, or state are more likely to be voluntary and motivated by the desire for an alternative higher quality lifestyle (Litwak and Longino 1987; Rogers 1990, 1992). Migration may either be long term, such as a permanent move to another county, province, or country, or migration may be short term as in the case of seasonal migration (Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Gober and Mings 1984; Sullivan 1985; McHugh 1990; McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995; McHugh and Mings 1996). In general, elderly migration change may contribute to the creation of unequal spatial distributions and growth patterns of older people across regions (Rogers 1992).

Elderly migration and the redistribution of seniors have important policy implications for providers of services targeted to older people. As people age, they will not only require more housing options, but also medical, transportation, shopping facilities, and other day to day services. In small rural communities, a lack of many of these services will create serious problems for local governments both today and in

⁴ The out-migration of younger persons may also increase elderly concentrations in a given location.

future decades (Rogers 1989). This problem will likely accelerate as the population ages, and if society continues to value the amenities of small towns over the stresses of the city. Therefore, one goal of this thesis is to contribute to work which has attempted to target communities where planning and policy interventions for seniors are most urgently required (Dahms 1996).

There are a number of prominent research themes concerning elderly migration which have been the focus of geographic research (Macey et al. 2003). For example, in the United States studies of the patterns of elderly migration have been conducted at the inter-state level (Watkins 1989; Golant 1990; Ahmed and Smith 1992; Rogers, Watkins, and Woodward 1992; Rowles 1994; Frey 1995), and local level (Watkins 1990; Rowles and Watkins 1993; Rogers and Raymer 1999, 2001). In addition, the influence of the characteristics of migrants and the attributes of places on destination choices have also been addressed in both the United States (Clark et al. 1996; Newbold 1996) and Canada (Everitt and Gfellner 1996). Specific elderly migration issues such as the roles of housing attributes (Clark and White 1990; Steinnes and Hogan 1992; Warnes and Ford 1995), friends and family (Cuba and Longino 1991; Rogerson et al. 1993; Lin and Rogerson 1995; Carlson et al. 1998; Walters 2000), social ties (Cuba and Longino 1991), retirement decision-making strategy (Cuba 1991), and return migration (Rogers 1990; Newbold 1996; Stoller and Longino 2001) have also been addressed.

There is an increasing trend among older people to undertake longer distance migration moves to non-metropolitan areas (Rogers 1990, 1992). In particular, more and more older migrants move longer distances in search of amenity rich communities with sunnier, warmer, and recreationally more enjoyable environments (Rogers 1992). Both

permanent and seasonal moves to amenity destinations are increasing as a consequence of several factors. These include prolonged longevity, the growing absolute and relative sizes of the older population, early retirement, the higher economic and health status of more older adults, and marketing appeals by the tourism and retirement housing industries (Rogers 1992; Lucas 2002, 2004). In fact, amenity migration represents a distinctive type of elderly migration which has been identified and investigated by a number of geographers and other researchers (Cuba 1991; Cuba and Longino 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Dahms 1996; Carlson et al. 1998; Longino, Perzynski and Stoller 2002).

Research has not only been focused on amenity migrants, but also characteristics of the communities to which they move. For example, work on regional retirement communities has addressed the search process employed by migrants (Cuba 1991), and the attractiveness of the communities to older migrants (Cuba and Longino 1991). Research efforts have also addressed the “places of mobility”, explicitly examining the impacts of elderly migration on place (Li and Maclean 1989; Joseph and Cloutier 1991; Hodge 1991; Cuba 1992; Serow and Haas 1992; Rowles and Watkins 1993; Bennett 1993, 1996; McHugh and Mings 1994, 1996; Warnes et al. 1999; Stallman, Deller, and Shields 1999; Day and Barlett 2000). Other work has addressed the role of life-course trajectories in migration and place attachment, and the amenity retirement process (Cuba 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Dahms 1996; McHugh and Mings 1996; Carlson et al. 1998). Additionally, some research has addressed the snowbirding phenomenon, and migration moves to Sunbelt residences among amenity migrants (Hogan 1987; Martin et al. 1988; Tucker and Marshall 1988; McHugh 1990). Further, the temporal continuum in

mobility including seasonal migration (e.g. snowbirds), and the accumulation of spatial experience as a prelude to a permanent move, have been studied (McHugh 1990; Craig 1992; Hogan and Steinnes 1993, 1994; McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995). However, only a limited segment of the research studies addressing aspects of amenity migration has explicitly investigated decision-making and outcomes in the context of regional retirement communities in colder climates (Cuba 1991; Cuba and Longino 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Dahms 1996; Carlson et al. 1998; Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller 2002).

1.3 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aging of the Canadian population is the direct result of a dramatic social transformation in Canada since World War II which is conceptualized as the demographic transition. The demographic transition and its accompanying changing components of population growth has been summarized by Bourne and Rose:

Canada, like most other western countries, but to an even greater extent, underwent a fundamental demographic 'transition' in the immediate post-war period. This period, the 'baby-boom', lasted until about 1963.⁵ It was characterized by high fertility levels (birth rates), declining death rates, earlier marriages, higher marriage rates, and increased levels of family and household formation. This period was followed (with the notable exception of Aboriginal communities) by the 'baby-bust', a period of rapidly declining birth rates, higher divorce rates and increased longevity, that coincided with a stabilization of marriage rates and family formation. A modest 'echo-boom' followed in the 1980s as the baby-boomers reached child bearing ages, but there was no return to the higher fertility rates of the 1950s and 1960s. Fertility levels are now well

⁵ Birth rates reached a peak of 26/1000 in 1962-3, dropped to 15/1000 by 1982, and stabilized at 12.5/1000 after 1986 (Bourne and Rose 2001). Crude birth rates have continued to decrease, hovering between 10.5/1000 - 10.7/1000 since the millennium. In 2004, the crude birth rate was 10.5/1000 (Statistics Canada 2006).

below the traditional demographic 'replacement' rate⁶ (Bourne and Rose 2001, 107).

There are several major geographical implications of Canada's demographic transition and aftermath including the increasing longevity of the Canadian population. In particular, Bourne and Rose (2001) stated that "the increasing size of the cohorts of elderly Canadians has already led to the growth of 'retirement areas' with high concentrations of elderly residents" (Bourne and Rose 2001, 108). From a theoretical perspective, researchers have developed typologies of elderly migration, which have included moves to amenity retirement areas as a specific migration type (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980; Meyer and Speare 1985; Litwak and Longino 1987; Speare and Meyer 1988; Walters 2000). The Litwak and Longino (1987) developmental model is perhaps the best known example of a typology of elderly migration types. Specifically, they proposed that three kinds of moves tend to occur among the elderly who migrate. With regard to the present study, the first type of move is of particular note as it is deemed to occur immediately after retirement primarily for amenity-related reasons. It is also noteworthy that the elderly mobility transition theory (Rogers 1992) offers a useful historical context for the migration moves of older people. Specifically, the theory proposes that nations or societies are characterized by three distinctive elderly migration phases associated with their economic development. Of particular relevance to this thesis is the final migration phase which is characteristic of economically advanced nations. Specifically, this phase involves the geographic dispersal of retirement destinations, of which some are located in inland rural areas with lower property values

⁶ Usually the replacement rate is 2.1 children per couple (Bourne and Rose 2001).

and newly acquired or improved infrastructure. Thus, this stage of the elderly mobility transition essentially conceptualizes moves to regional retirement communities.

The conceptual framework of the present study includes both migration decision-making processes and outcomes with respect to regional retirement communities. The development of the framework was informed by the theoretical perspectives advanced by several studies (Chapter 3, Section 3.1). The framework incorporates a life-course perspective on migration decision-making because residential decisions are often linked to prior life events and transitions. These events and transitions include leaving the parental home, marriage, child-rearing, child launching, retirement and widowhood. The conceptual framework also focuses on the experience of migrants in a regional retirement community after a move has been made. This is accomplished by incorporating a place integration perspective which addresses potential conflicts in the continuity of place for migrants. Ultimately, moves to regional retirement communities may necessitate considerable adaptation on the part of the older person or stimulate a further move. The outcomes of migrants in place, however, are also a reflection of their experiences in the regional retirement community. Accordingly, the conceptual framework explicitly specifies the nexus between the individual migrant and the community to which he/she has moved. It is posited that this relationship will determine both the quality of life of the older migrant and his/her future migration plans. Using my guiding conceptual framework, I formulate four research questions concerning the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore communities. Specifically, the research questions are:

1. What are the profile characteristics of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
2. What factors influence the decision of elderly migrants to move to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
3. What are the relocation decision-making processes of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
4. What are the outcomes of the moves of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

1.4 RESEARCH CONTRIBUTIONS AND POLICY RELEVANCE OF THESIS

The results of this research will be significant in three respects. First, the research will fill an important gap in studies of elderly migration in North America given that the past work on regional retirement communities in cold climates has been relatively sparse, particularly in a Canadian context. Secondly, the research contributes to the development of methodology used to study elderly migration. Instead of solely relying on published census data and structured interview data, four different interview formats are employed, including both ethnographic and survey-based research methods. In particular, in-depth life-history profiles of representative older migrants in the sample are constructed. Combining these research methods will provide a rich description of elderly migration to the destination communities. In addition, qualitative methods and descriptive statistical techniques are used to analyze the data. For example, a mega theme is a broad idea or topic of discussion. Mega themes composed of variables based on the questions included in the four survey stages guide the analysis of the data. Employing a four-stage data collection sequence and associated analytical procedures will demonstrate the utility of employing multiple methods and strategies in one study.

The third contribution of the thesis relates to the policy significance of the research findings, particularly those concerning the nexus between regional retirement communities and the older migrants who move to them. The roles of the communities are examined with specific regard to (i) the integration of elderly migrants into their new residential setting, and (ii) the provision of supports for the in-migrants as they age. From a policy perspective, the extent to which regional retirement communities are able to support aging migrants depends on several factors. However, if communities recognize the concerns of the older migrants and implement appropriate plans to address them, then community-based initiatives are more likely to have a positive impact. Thus, the impact of communities on the experiences of migrants in place will be fully addressed in this study. Clearly, the findings will have particular relevance for policy makers and social planners.

1.5 SUMMARY

Over the next twenty years, the proportion of the Canadian population composed of seniors is projected to increase significantly. An extensive body of geographical and demographic research has studied elderly mobility and its impact on North American society. The objective of the present study is to investigate the process and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore regional retirement communities in Manitoba. To meet this goal, four research questions are formulated. These questions relate to a guiding conceptual framework that explicitly focuses on both elderly migration decision-making processes and outcomes in the context of the regional retirement communities. The data for this study are elicited by incorporating

ethnographic and survey-based techniques, and analyzed using qualitative methodology and descriptive statistical techniques. The findings of this study will extend our knowledge of elderly migration to North American regional retirement communities in the specific context of cold climates. The study will also contribute to the development of methodology used to study elderly migration. Finally, the research will yield findings that have policy relevance, particularly with regard to the nexus between regional retirement communities and older in-migrants. Taken together, the results of this study will contribute significantly to geographic research on elderly migration.

Chapter 2

Review of Literature

This chapter reviews literature concerned with the migration of older people. The chapter commences by providing an overview of the theoretical foundations of elderly migration. This includes a discussion of typologies of elderly migration and a presentation of both general and elderly migration decision-making models. Next, research contributions that have addressed the spatial patterns of elderly migration moves in North America are presented. Studies which have investigated specific elderly migration decision-making factors will then be discussed. This discussion is followed by an outline of research which has addressed the phenomenon of elderly seasonal migration. The economic and social impacts of elderly migrants on communities will then be addressed. Finally, the contribution of this study to existing knowledge of elderly migration is explained.

2.1 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ELDERLY MIGRATION

Research on elderly migration has been grounded in a number of theoretical formulations by geographers and scholars in related disciplines. The following section reviews theoretical literature concerning (i) elderly migration types, and (ii) models of migration decision-making and outcomes.

2.1.1 Typologies of elderly migration

In the later years of life an individual may age in place in his/her current

residence and community, or that individual may move and age in a new place. More than 50 years ago, Hitt (1954) and Vance (1954) discussed the ecological distribution and redistribution of the elderly as a result of permanent migration to places of different residence. Since the mid-1970s, several typologies of migration moves have been developed, based on both aging processes and the circumstances confronting elderly people.

Wiseman and Roseman (1979) developed a typology that assigns elderly migrants to different categories in terms of (i) their decision-making process, and (ii) the outcomes of their residential relocations. The basis of the typology, however, is the geographic dichotomy of local moves verses longer distance migrations. Specifically, Wiseman and Roseman argued that local moves completed by the elderly include: (i) "suburbanization" (i.e. moves to suburban environments) by upper-and middle income older persons; (ii) inner city relocations by less affluent seniors; (iii) "apartmentalization" (i.e. moves to apartments) by both pre-and post retirement elderly households; (iv) "communalization" (i.e. moves to either private or public multi-unit structures); (v) moves to the homes of kin (due to the declining ability to care for oneself); (vi) "institutionalization" which ranges from rather limited-care to full-care facilities. Longer distance migrations are also identified by Wiseman and Roseman. The first type includes movements to amenity areas in search of an attractive climate and leisure resources. Secondly, return migration is the decision to move "back home" once employment bonds to place are severed after retirement. Thirdly, kinship migration involves moving closer to children who live in another community, and occurs after the loss of a spouse or in anticipation of declining health. In a later study, Wiseman (1980)

proposed that three primary types of long-distance migration motivations are related to amenities, assistance, and the desire to return.

Using a longitudinal data set from adult residents of Rhode Island, Meyer and Speare (1985) identified associations between the socio-demographic characteristics of the elderly and their mobility behaviour. Based on the results of this analysis, the authors identified six distinctive types of elderly mobility behaviour: (i) local assistance moves, (ii) out-of-state assistance moves, (iii) out-of-state amenity moves; (iv) preparation for aging by moving into smaller units; (v) moves into elderly housing complexes; (vi) mobility for other reasons.

The Litwak and Longino (1987) developmental model is perhaps the best known example of a typology of elderly migration types. The authors argued that, among the elderly who migrate, three kinds of moves tend to occur. The first move is an immediate post-retirement move, primarily for amenity reasons. Such migrants will tend to be younger, healthier, wealthier, and more often have intact marriages relative to migrants who complete the other two types of moves. The support needs of the migrant at the time of the post-retirement amenity move do not require the proximity to kin. Thus, first-stage movers typically move to retirement communities in the Sunbelt region or to non-metropolitan small town settings. Such moves contrast with those of less affluent retirees who often cannot afford to make moves to satisfy amenity and lifestyle aspirations. Thus, retirement communities attracting first-stage movers are likely to be different in their resident profile compared to communities attracting mostly local movers (Litwak and Longino 1987). The second move occurs in order to be near kin (typically adult children) when older people become moderately disabled and can no longer carry out

everyday tasks without help. The motivation for this type of assistance-related move is compounded when deficits from widowhood and disability are combined. Thus, if older people live at a considerable distance from their child's home, they must move if they are to obtain the services from kin that they need. The third and final move is from more or less exclusive care by kin to an institutional care setting. At this stage, the older person suffers from more severe forms of chronic disability than at the two previous stages, or they may not have children available to care for them. Unlike the other two types of moves, third-stage movers are typically local.

Walters (2000) refined previous typologies of elderly mobility by examining the spatial patterns of later life mobility, and (ii) the life course attributes of retired migrants. However, Walters' categories of moves clearly parallel those included in the Litwak and Longino typology. Specifically, the first type is amenity migration, although Walters argued that while amenity migration has long been associated with good health and favourable economic status "many disabled and lower-income retirees share the immigration pattern typical of amenity migrants" (Walters 2000, 129). These findings suggest that retired migrants will seek amenity destinations as long as they have the financial, emotional or instrumental resources to compensate for their physical disabilities and economic disadvantages. The second type of move identified by Walters is assistance-related and is prompted by economic hardship and/or the absence of a spouse. This type of migration often results in residential and economic dependence, specifically in co-residence with adult children and/or labour force members. However, Walters found "no clear relationship between moderate disability and co-residence with adult children" (Walters 2000, 129). Rather, co-residence with adult children occurs "for

reducing living costs rather than a means of coping with moderate disability” (Walters 2000, 129). The third type of migration is in response to severe disability with the absence of a spouse, often resulting in a move to a nursing home.

The elderly mobility transition theory (Rogers 1992) also addresses the migration moves of older people. Law and Warnes (1982) and Warnes and Law (1984) were among the first scholars to suggest a possible elderly mobility transition. The theory proposes that, at an early stage of rapid urbanization, migrations shortly after retirement result in the return of former rural-urban migrants to widely dispersed rural areas. The second stage, a phase of “concentration”, occurs in urban industrialized societies when long-distance retirement moves are focused on traditional retirement communities. A final phase, which is characteristic of economically advanced nations, involves the dispersal of retirement destinations. In this phase, retirement migrants among the elderly engage in more varied searches in inland, rural, and more distant and remote areas. Thus, this stage conceptualizes moves to regional retirement communities.

2.1.2 Models of migration decision-making

In addition to the theoretical formulations of elderly migration types, both (i) general models of migration, and (ii) elderly migration decision-making models, have been developed. These models frame the migration decision-making process as a multifaceted process influenced by sets of interrelated variables. The present section addresses each of these two groups of models in turn.¹

¹ Some of these models are discussed in greater detail in section 3.1 of Chapter 3.

An important line of theoretical discourse on migration focuses on the decision to move and the decision where to move. In general terms, Lee (1966) argued that four factors are considered in the act of migration: (i) factors associated with the area of origin; (ii) factors associated with the area of destination; (iii) intervening obstacles (such as distance); (iv) personal factors. For Wolpert (1965), one of the central concepts of migration behaviour is the notion of "place utility". Place utility may be a positive or negative quantity expressing an individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to a place. The utility which is associated with potential destinations consists largely of anticipated utility and optimism which lacks the reinforcement of past rewards. Thus, the decision to move is influenced by an individual's immediate subjective environment or action space. Action space comprises the set of positive or negative place utilities which the individual perceives and to which he/she responds. Wolpert stated that: "population migration may be considered to be the result of a decision process which aims at altering the future in some way and which recognizes differences in utility associated with different places" (Wolpert 1965, 162).

Brown and Moore (1970) extended the place utility framework proposed by Wolpert and envisioned two stages in the migration decision-making process: (i) the decision to move (or not to move); (ii) the relocation decision. The decision to move is the end result of internal and external factors that create "stress" in the household. Internal stress arises from the changing needs (i.e. space and facilities) and expectations of the household. External stress occurs from changes in the dwelling itself (i.e. deterioration with age) and the neighbourhood. When the household decides to relocate, it has to make decisions with regards to the type of house and neighbourhood to which it

would like to move. Subsequently, the search process commences through advertisements, real estate listings, and real estate agents who have a powerful influence on the geographic and social spaces in which the household conducts the search. When a vacancy is found, the household unit will either move, remain in its present location, redefine its aspirations, or look for other vacancies (Yeates 1998).

In relation to models of migration decision-making that specifically relate to older people, Wiseman and Roseman (1979) modified the Brown and Moore (1970) model explicitly in the context of the elderly. Specifically, Wiseman and Roseman proposed that the elder's decision-to-move is strongly influenced by three sets of factors: exogenous factors, endogenous factors, and the elder's economic status. Factors exogenous to the individual all relate to the residential environment and may result in dissatisfaction with the current dwelling and neighbourhood. In addition, Wiseman and Roseman (1979) proposed that factors endogenous to the individual such as life-cycle stage and other triggering mechanisms may result in a redefinition of residential needs. These triggering mechanisms, which may comprise both push and pull factors, include retirement, loss of spouse, and health decline, all of which are sources of stimuli for the older person. Further, Wiseman and Roseman (1979) argued that the generally improving economic status of older people, and other factors which counteract residential inertia, facilitate the decision to move. More specifically, conditions that might trigger migration include pre-retirement planning, improved household living standards, dispersion of family members, and the development of retirement communities.

In a related study, Wiseman (1980) modelled the decision-making aspects of the

elder's migration process in a two-stage model developed from Brown and Moore (1970). Wiseman stated that "all people are potential migrants and that individuals continuously re-evaluate their residential situation with respect to their needs, desires, resources, and perceptions of potential outcomes" (146). While decision-to-move factors were again included as endogenous and exogenous variables, Wiseman proposed that the search for a destination is influenced by both the information provided and the availability of opportunities. He identified several specific factors that may encourage an elderly migrant to move to a potential destination including former vacation and residential experiences at that destination, the location of kin and friends at the destination, and the promotional and recruitment efforts of policy-makers at the destination. The second stage of the decision-making process conceptualized by Wiseman is the selection of a destination. The model essentially viewed the search process as a staged set of interrelated decisions relating to potential destinations which involved consideration of neighbourhood factors, type of dwelling unit, and living arrangements. Ultimately, the goal of the elderly migrant is to achieve residential satisfaction and positive utility. However, the ultimate outcome of the model is the decision to move or not to move.

Longino (1981, 1994) and Longino et al. (1991) identified three factors which are important in the elder's migration decision. First, "self-selection" is when an individual makes the decision to move and selects the destination. Self-selection involves a number of factors that will contribute to the likelihood of a move occurring including cost, risk, push factors, pull factors, health and income (Longino et al. 1991). In terms of these factors, self-selection occurs when people weigh the relative quality of

life in their current home against that which is anticipated at a potential destination. When the potential destination appears more attractive, a move is likely (Longino 1994). Self-selection processes may relate to both permanent and seasonal migrants (Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Krout 1983). Secondly, “selective recruitment” refers to the recruitment or marketing efforts of a community to help match migrants to environments (Longino et al. 1991; Longino 1994). Thirdly, “network recruitment” involve friends and family members who comprise a group of informal recruiters in retirement settlements (Longino et al. 1991). Knowledge of individuals at a destination is a major factor facilitating adjustment to the new environment (Longino 1981). For example, Longino (1981) noted that over one-half of the older migrants who moved to several Ozark communities in southern Missouri during the mid-1970s knew someone in these communities prior to their moves:

Network recruitment, like selective recruitment, is a part of the filtering process of persons and locations resulting in a general similarity of migrant backgrounds within respective communities. Network recruitment, however, has the greater long-range impact on an area because it initiates and maintains migration streams from one location to another (Longino 1981, 406).

Haas and Serow (1993) elaborated on the Wiseman (1980) model by adapting it to the circumstances of recently retired, or almost retired, amenity migrants in order to formulate a heuristic model of the retirement migration process. The role of information sources and the interplay of push and pull factors also provide the basis of the Haas and Serow model. For example, amenities (e.g. scenic beauty, four mild seasons, recreational opportunities and cultural amenities) are pull factors which may attract older migrants to given destinations. The authors proposed that push/pull factors and information sources are underlying processes which influence both the “remote thoughts” (early daydreams

of moving) and “serious consideration” phases of the decision-making process. However, once the decision to move is made, a migration destination may not be chosen. Haas and Serow also distinguished between both “destination specific” and “destination search” migrants. While destination specific migrants have a particular site specifically targeted, destination search migrants select between alternative sites. An important consideration in this process is the “timing of the move” which relates to whether migrants conformed to the traditional sequence of retirement followed by an amenity move.

Haas and Serow (1993) also addressed migration outcomes by conceptualizing the development of ties in the host community. These ties essentially determine whether retirees assimilate into the community after a relocation. Moreover, Haas and Serow recognized that new push and pull factors may arise from the continued or increased need for supportive environments, and that subsequent migration decision-making may occur. The Haas and Serow (1993) model was tested successfully in the context of interstate migrants who had retired to Idaho (Carlson et al. 1998) using retrospective questions (Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller 2002). Carlson et al. (1998) further developed the Haas and Serow (1993) model of amenity retirement migration by explicitly focusing on the member of the older migrant household who (i) had the initial idea to move, and (ii) subsequently played the major role in the actual decision to move.

2.2 SPATIAL PATTERNS OF ELDERLY MIGRATION MOVES

In the United States, Watkins (1990) and Rowles and Watkins (1993) have identified southern and westward shifts in aged persons through retirement migration,

particularly to Florida and Arizona. However, Lin (1999) found that the propensity for moving from cold states to warm states (e.g. Florida, Arizona and California) had declined between 1980 and 1990, although states that registered persistent gains in their share of elderly migrants were still located in the south and southwest. Further, Frey, Liaw, and Lin (2000) found that states that serve as classic retirement magnets (e.g. Florida, Arizona) and second-tier retirement magnets (e.g. North Carolina, Nevada) economically benefit the most from elderly interstate migrants.

In Canada, Northcott (1984) found that (i) elderly net in-migration (after eliminating the counterbalancing effects of non-elderly in-migration) contributed modestly to population aging in the 1971-1976 period; (ii) outflows of younger persons increased the relative concentration of the elderly in the remaining population in a region. In a related study, Cheung and Liaw (1987) analyzed the 1971 - 1976 out-migration patterns of the Canadian elderly from the 23 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs). They found that among the elderly, females have a stronger preference for living in metropolitan areas than males. In a further study of the geographic mobility of older Canadians between 1976 and 1981, Northcott (1988) found that the general direction of elderly migration was westward with weaker eastward counterflows.

In a monograph based on the 1991 Census of Canada, Moore and Rosenberg (1997) reported a trend for elderly migrants, who in their working-age years had moved from rural, resource-based areas to the growing urban areas in central and western Canada for employment, returned to the home area after retirement. This return migration phenomenon has received attention in other literature on the mobility of older Canadians (Newbold and Liaw 1990). Moore and Rosenberg (1997) also found

movements of retired Canadians to regions whose physical amenities, (e.g. climate and scenery) are highly attractive. The 1991 Census of Canada disclosed that for these migrants, British Columbia, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island were the primary destinations (Moore and Rosenberg 1997).

Golant (1990), Frey (1992), and Smith (1998) have revealed that older people in both the United States and Canada have become increasingly metropolitanized, in recent years, with a clear majority of elderly persons in each national population now living in metropolitan areas. The increasing attraction of metropolitan areas for elderly individuals has likewise been noted in regional studies of the elderly population in Ontario, Canada (Rosenberg et al. 1989; Rosenberg and Moore 1990; Dahms 1996). There is also an increasing trend among older people to undertake longer-distance migration moves to non-metropolitan areas (Rogers 1990, 1992). Watkins (1990) and Rowles and Watkins (1993) identified the emergence of county clusters within many states in the U.S. that serve as "destination islands". Some of these clusters may be located in areas of high natural amenities (Rogers 1992).

Local moves made by the elderly are due to the changing housing requirements and the need for increased assistance due to economic hardship or declining health (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Meyer and Sepeare 1985; Litwak and Longino 1987; Clark and Davies 1990; Walters 2000). However, aging-in-place is the most common demographic process in later life (McPherson (2004). Moreover, Canadian seniors generally do not move very far when they change residence, often remaining in the same neighbourhood in which they previously resided (Statistics Canada 2001c). Moore and Rosenberg (1997) found that older Canadians who moved locally between 1986 and

1991 included high proportions of the disabled. These local moves were typically associated with the loss, or anticipated loss, of some degree of functional independence. They often resulted in better access to social supports, especially family. This type of move was often return migration of older people to places where they were brought up or had spent much of their lives, and where family supports were available.

2.3 MIGRATION DECISION-MAKING FACTORS

A wide variety of contextual, or exogenous variables influence the decision to move, and the selection of a particular retirement destination (Lee 1966; Wolpert 1965; Brown and Moore 1970; Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980). For example, the selection of a particular retirement destination may be influenced by perceived positive characteristics of potential destinations (pull factors). These may include a favourable climate, scenic terrain, entertainment and recreational opportunities, economic growth, lower cost of living, and low crime rates (Fournier, Rasmussen, and Serow 1988; Bennett, 1996; Sunil, Rojas, and Bradley 2007).

In a study of elderly rural mobility in the Westman region of Manitoba, Everitt and Gfellner (1996) found that among a sample of movers and non-movers 65 years and over, both groups experienced problems in terms of both their health and surrounding physical environments. However, the authors found that movers had attempted to deal with, or at least reduce the effect of, these negative circumstances by moving from one location to another. They also found that many of the changes in residence were made because the movers had little choice if they wished to be close to facilities and services they regarded as necessities. The importance of proximity to medical facilities and

services was also stressed by Watkins (1990) who found that in North Carolina elders were less likely to move because modest health-care facilities were part of many resort areas, while services in larger cities were very accessible.

Conversely, perceived negative characteristics of potential destinations include beliefs that some areas have become congested, overpriced, and vulnerable to crime (Golant 1990). In addition, characteristics of the current (pre-retirement) residential location (push factors) influence retirement migration decisions (Haas and Serow 1993; Stimson and McCrea 2004). Duncombe, Robbins, and Wolf (2003) found that income tax and public services can affect location decisions. However, they also found that other factors, including climate, economic conditions, and population characteristics, appear to play much larger roles in migration and location decisions. However, Haas and Serow (1993) found that pull factors in general are more salient to elderly migrants than are push factors.

In addition to the influence of contextual level or exogenous factors, there are a number of individual level or endogenous factors which influence the migration decision-making process. After a brief discussion of the profile characteristics of elderly amenity migrants, literature addressing four personal factors will be reviewed in this section: the role of amenities in migration decision-making; the role of kin in elderly moves; the search process and movement distances of elderly migrants; the elder's previous place experience and place attachment.

2.3.1 Profile characteristics of elderly amenity migrants

Studies of elderly amenity migration have addressed the characteristics of

migrants. In particular, Litwak and Longino (1987) found that amenity migrants tend to be younger, healthier, wealthier, and more often have intact marriages. Several studies support Litwak and Longino's amenity migrant profile. For example, higher incomes (Wiseman 1980; Oldakowski and Roseman 1986; Cuba 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Hogan and Steinnes 1994; Hazarding and Hardy 1995; Carlson et al. 1998), being married (Wiseman 1980; Longino 1981; Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Krout 1983; Martin et al. 1987; Tucker and Marshall 1988; Cuba 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Hogan and Steinnes 1994; Carlson et al. 1998), and the tendency to originate from a small number of locations (Haas and Serow 1993; Carlson et al. 1998) are common characteristics of amenity migrants. In addition, amenity migrants have been found to be relatively young (Wiseman 1980; Longino 1981; Martin et al. 1987; Tucker and Marshall 1988; Cuba 1991; Hogan and Steinnes 1994; Carlson et al. 1998), healthy (Wiseman 1980; Haas and Serow 1993; Hogan and Steinnes 1994), home owners in their origin state of residence (Martin et al. 1987; Hogan and Steinnes 1994; Stimson and Minnery 1998), and "Anglos" (Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Krout 1983; Oldakowski and Roseman 1986; Martin et al. 1987; and Haas and Serow 1993). Higher education levels and social status have also been noted as important characteristics of amenity migrants (Wiseman 1980; Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Krout 1983; Martin et al. 1987; Tucker and Marshall 1988; Cuba 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Hogan and Steinnes 1994; 1996; Carlson et al. 1998; Stimson and Minnery 1998). Collectively, these characteristics thus afford a detailed profile of amenity migrants as a group.

2.3.2 Role of amenities in elderly migration decision-making

Movements to amenity rich communities in search of an attractive climate and recreationally enjoyable areas represent one distinctive type of migration of the elderly (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980; Meyer and Speare 1985; Litwak and Longino 1987; Speare and Meyer 1988; Speare 1988; Walters 2000). Amenity areas are primarily located in non-metropolitan regions or small town settings where a simplified life prevails (Rogers 1992; Walters 2000). Walters (2002) found that amenity migrants are strongly attracted by pleasant climates and favourable economic conditions, but tend to avoid large metropolitan areas. Dahms (1996), in his study of the south Georgian Bay area of Ontario, found that all the townships in the area offer rugged cliffs along their eastern shores and gentle sandy fringes on the west. He concluded that elderly migrants from urban centres prefer to move to rural areas with lower-cost housing, water bodies, hills, forest, and country amenities. In general, Dahms (1996) found that rural areas with scenic amenities attract large numbers of elderly migrants. He further disclosed elderly migrants from metropolitan centres often move to amenity areas that have historically been cottage and beach resorts. In their study of retirement migration to Idaho, Carlson et al. (1998) discovered that the locations chosen were often areas that have outdoor amenities, such as Kootenai county which includes a resort community built around a mountain lake. Further, Cuba and Longino (1991) found that Cape Cod is a setting offering a variety of amenities desired by older migrants. These studies thus attest to the importance of amenities in migration decision-making of the elderly.

2.3.3 The role of kin in elderly moves

A body of gerontological literature has addressed the role of the spatial proximity of parents and their children on their levels of interaction (e.g. Warnes 1986; Crimmins and Ingegneri 1990; Montgomery and Hirshorn 1991; Rogerson et al. 1993; Lawton et al. 1994; Lin and Rogerson 1995; Silverstein 1995; Greenwell and Bengtson 1997; Smith 1998; Szinovacz and Davey 2001; Vanderbeck 2007). A part of this work has been informed by Litwak's (1960) 'modified extended family model. Closely related to this literature are studies which have explicitly addressed kin-related moves. Kin-related moves are characterized as second-stage moves in Litwak and Longino's (1987) typology of elderly migration types. In certain situations elderly migrants may move under the auspices of kin. Such moves imply that destinations are evaluated and chosen because relatives are present and represent a substantive and reliable source of information (Gober and Zonn 1983). This type of move may in part reflect the desire to live near children for supports (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Litwak and Longino 1987; Serow 1988). Bailey, Blake, and Cooke (2004) examined how family migration decisions are influenced by intergenerational linkages and ties, including the need for adult children to care for older parents. Overall, the location of family and friends may simplify and limit the search for a retirement destination (Longino 1981; Law and Warnes 1982; Cuba 1991; Dejong et al. 1995). Moreover, Schiamberg and McKinney (2003) argued that the prominent role of family/social factors (including peer relationships) in migration decisions cannot be underestimated.

A study by Gober and Zonn (1983) focuses on the role of kin in elderly amenity migration and is based upon interviews with retirement migrants to Sun City Arizona.

The authors concluded that,

Many of the respondents had astonishingly little information about the range of alternative destinations, as evidenced by the fact that the average respondent seriously considered only 1.6 alternate locations before choosing to move to Sun City. The fact that they tended to know someone in the area tended to filter out Sun City from a wide range of Sunbelt retirement oriented options (Gober and Zonn 1983, 293).

Gober and Zonn found that over 40% percent of all of their sample of elderly households had at least one relative in the destination region prior to the move, and that migrants to Sun City communicated with kin and friends there long before retirement. In cases when there was no communication with family and friends, a more formal, institutional type of auspice was organized and promoted by the developer of Sun City, the Del Webb Corporation. In general terms, Gober and Zonn disclosed evidence of highly channelized information flows from Sun City. In fact, siblings living in Sun City featured more prominently than children in the elder's migration decision. When relatives played a relatively small role in providing initial information, friends became more important in the process. This is consistent with Litwak's (1960) contention that persons approaching retirement derive satisfaction from proximity to family members at a comparable stage of the life cycle. However, it is noteworthy that all of the respondents in Gober and Zonn's study had visited Sun City at least once prior to the move.

Gober and Zonn (1983) also noted that many children remained in the regions where their parent's migration moves originated. More specifically, almost one-half of their elderly sample had one child at the place of origin and none in Phoenix, the retirement destination. A concentration of children was located in Southern California, thus suggesting a general movement bias toward the South West region of the United

States rather than the exact locations of children's residences.

On the basis of a survey of 163 older migrants to Cape Cod, Massachusetts, Cuba (1991) found that having a friend or relative on the Cape prior to retirement had little effect on whether elderly migrants considered moving to some other place. Stimson and Minnery (1998), who investigated long-distance 'Sunbelt' migration in Australia, identified a chain migration phenomenon, which may result in family and friends both pushing and pulling migrants. Moorings such as ties to friends and family may hold potential migrants to their place of origin, but if social or cultural conditions change they may act to draw people to new locations.

Using data sets based on a random sample of older adults who migrated to the state of Idaho during 1992 and 1993, Carlson et al. (1998) conducted a multivariate statistical analysis to determine the relative importance of independent variables in their amenity retirement migration model. The result disclosed that age was related to relevant information sources. For example, individuals 65 years of age and over relied on relatives, while those age 56-65 years were more likely to talk with friends. Further, Carlson et al. (1998) found that while the male household member predominantly had the initial idea to move, both parties (typically husband and wife) shared equally in the subsequent migration decision-making process. However while retirement was found to play an important role in both the male and female's decision to move, their motivations were often different. Specifically, males were found more likely to move for a lifestyle change, while females more typically wished to be near family or friends.

When a move is made, spaces and particular sites develop their own age identities (Pain 2001). This emplacement of age-based identities has important

implications for intergenerational relationships and contributes to the (re)production of patterns and processes of age differentiation and segregation (Vanderbeck 2007). Segregation has been embodied in the growth of regions of the Sunbelt for retirement migration in the U.S. (Laws 1995; McHugh and Mings 1996; McHugh 2000b; Fischer et al. 2004). McHugh (2005) noted that retirement communities are places rich in meaning that have collective identity in aging. Pain (2001) noted that significant gaps remain in our basic understanding of the geographies of age segregation and intergenerational interactions at multiple spatial scales and social networks. Laws (1993, 1997) urged geographers to consider how 'reformed age relations' might be promoted between younger and older generations. In addition, Vanderbeck (2007) examined conceptual and applied literatures that explicitly attempt to foster age integration and improved intergenerational relationships. Further, Hopkins and Pain (2007) and Horton and Krafft (2008) outlined the benefits on creating relational geographies of age.

2.3.4 The search process and movement distances of elderly migrants

Cuba (1991) questioned whether Wiseman's (1980) two-stage model of elderly migration decision-making adequately described migrant search behaviour. Accordingly, Cuba conceptualized the characteristics of the search for a retirement destination in terms of (i) the spatial extent of the search for a retirement destination, and (ii) the factors that distinguish intending older migrants who engage in a comparative search for a potential retirement destinations from those who focus their search on one destination only. For Cuba, "one destination" referred to two communities on Cape Cod. Cuba (1991) asserted that the scope of the destination search of older people is important for

two reasons:

First, unlike those moving mainly for employment related reasons, the range of potential destinations for older migrants should be comparatively greater. The destination search of older movers, who are not in the labour force, is neither directed nor restricted by job opportunities available elsewhere. Second, and of greater significance, the scope of the destination search has important implications for Wiseman's (1980) model of elderly migration decision making. If a migrant considers only a single destination prior to moving, to what extent is the decision to move made apart from the decision of *where* to move? (Cuba 1991, 204).

Cuba (1991) revealed that 60% of respondents in his study reported that they did not consider moving anywhere other than to Cape Cod. Thus, they did not engage in a comparative search for a potential retirement destination. Cuba argued that this is evidence that the decision to move is seldom made apart from the decision of where to move. Cuba also noted that the majority of older migrants to Cape Cod were destination-specific. This finding thus supports the contention that older movers seldom engage in a comparative assessment of place utilities of several retirement areas (Law and Warnes 1982). Rather, older movers are attracted to specific places that contain specific attributes such as a suitable climate. Similarly, Carlson et al. (1998) disclosed that 60% of their sample of migrants to the state of Idaho did not consider an alternative state as a destination. Of those who did consider another state, two-thirds of them considered another state in the Pacific Northwest or Intermountain West. In addition, Haas and Serow (1993) found that competing retirement destinations were considered by 56.9% of those making an initial move, and that they considered 1.9 different areas on average. Further, they noted that destination-specific migrants were less likely than others to be influenced by important pull factors such as climate, cultural amenities, recreational opportunities, cost of living, and housing cost. Rather, destination-specific migrants

were more likely to be influenced by the pull of friends (Haas and Serow 1993).

Lee (1966) has argued that distance from the current place of residence is a barrier to migration. In fact, the oldest theories of migration (e.g. Ravenstein 1885) emphasize distance and destination as major factors determining where people will move and how far they will move. Yeatts, Biggar, and Longino (1987) examined migration streams of persons age 60 years and older that shared a common origin state, but with widely separated county-group destinations, to determine the relative effect of distance upon migration selectivity. Their findings revealed that distance had relatively limited impact on selectivity. In Canada, Liaw and Kanaroglou (1986) analyzed the 1971 - 1976 out-migration patterns of the Canadian males elderly from the 23 Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and found that the probability of choosing a particular destination is negatively related to distance.

Cuba (1991) found Cape Cod, Massachusetts, to be a more important regional destination, rather than a national retirement destination, for migrants. Thus, most in-migrants to Cape Cod originated from Massachusetts or nearby states. Migration distance was also related to previous place experience (vacationing and seasonal residence). Specifically, movers within Massachusetts were more likely than out-of-state migrants to have visited Cape Cod and been seasonal residents before becoming full-time residents. Cuba also noted that in some cases retirement migrants to the Cape moved closer to friends or family.

The location of cities appear to strongly influence elderly migration patterns. For example, Cuba (1991) found that intra-state migrants had a greater desire to remain near familiar surroundings than out-of-state movers. Cape Cod is also attractive because

certain amenities are located nearby in Boston. Thus, migrants are not completely giving up the comforts associated with an urban lifestyle by moving to Cape Cod. Similarly, Watkins (1990), in a study of Appalachian elderly migration, found that the role of relatively large urban centres (i.e. Asheville) in the elderly migration decisions of movers to Kentucky and Western North Carolina could not be overemphasized.

The distance moved by older migrants is also associated with age. Longino (1981) found that for the 65 - 70 age cohort, there was an increase in the interstate migration rate, especially for men. This is an age when older people are most inclined to make long-distance moves due to a desire to improve residential amenities upon retirement. Such long-distance moves to amenity destinations are increasing in many economically advanced nations (Rogers, Watkins, and Woodward 1990).

2.3.5 The elder's previous place experience and place attachment

Wiseman (1980) noted that prior travel experience plays an important part in migration decisions through the development of ties to specific places. The accumulation of place ties throughout the life-course impacts both the attachments that elderly migrants have with different locations and their migration patterns. Several studies have found that elderly migrants tend to move, or anticipate moving, to places they know through various ties, including friends and family, previous residence, and repeated vacations or visits (Williams and Sofranko 1979; Gober and Zonn 1983; McHugh 1984; Oldakowski and Roseman 1986; Longino et al. 2008).

Previous contact with the migration destination may play an important role in the migration process in general and amenity migration in particular (Cuba 1991). Cuba and

Longino (1991) identified the reasons why Cape Cod attracts elderly migrants from New England and surrounding states and found that: (i) Cape Cod is a familiar place for most of the migrants; (ii) Cape Cod is relatively near the migrants' communities of origin, allowing them to maintain ties to their previous residences. The authors found that a majority of migrants originated from within the state and that out-of-state migrants appear to be more mobile than their Massachusetts counterparts. Further, Massachusetts movers were more likely to have visited the Cape on a regular basis, typically as seasonal residents, prior to moving.

Repetitive vacationing to a location may also restrict the search for potential retirement destinations because older persons who move to an area have often previously vacationed there (Longino 1981; Law and Warnes 1982; Yeatts, Biggar, and Longino 1987; Cuba 1991). A history of vacationing in an area may also generate ties with other vacationers or with residents (Haas and Serow 1993). Prior contact with persons in a community has been cited as the most important factor contributing to developing ties or "sense of place" in the community (Carlson et al. 1998). Some migrants become seasonal residents, often referred to as snowbirds (Longino et al. 1991). Overall, a strong tendency to return to the same area on an annual basis may eventually precipitate the decision to move to that area (Martin et al. 1987; Tucker and Marshall 1988; Stimson and Minnery 1998). Variations in previous place experience may also have very important effects on the destination search. For instance, Cuba (1991) revealed that the greater the intensity of prior contact that older migrants had with Cape Cod, the less likely they were to consider alternate destinations.

Destination ties have been found to be a determinant of migration expectations.

Oldaskowski and Roseman (1986) examined the changing context of migration decisions by analysing factors that influence the expectation of migrating as they vary throughout this life-course:

Over the life course individuals are exposed to places in a variety of ways and accumulate economic, social, and emotional ties to many of them. At any given point in time, these attachments may interact with an individuals changing personal attributes and circumstances and become important in the migration decision (Oldakowski and Roseman 1986, 290).

In Oldaskowski and Roseman's interview survey, a sample of residents in the city of Chicago was asked (in late 1982) whether or not they expected to move away from the Chicago area within the next five years. Three groups of respondents were investigated: 215 general adult members, 68 pre-retirement individuals, and 64 elderly group members. A multiple discriminant analysis model was used to determine the relative importance of three sets of factors for each of the three population subgroups as predictors of the expectation of moving. The three factors were (i) personal characteristics; (ii) ties to the origin; and (iii) ties to potential destinations. On the basis of the results of their analysis, Oldakowski and Roseman concluded that the influence of ties to both the origin and potential destinations on migration expectations will increase with age because: (i) there is more opportunity over time to develop specific attachments with places; and (ii) non-employment factors are greater in later stages of life. They also found that young adults expect to migrate on the basis of residential experience elsewhere, while persons in the pre-retirement stage expect to migrate predominately on the basis of high income, being white, and home ownership. In contrast, elderly persons expect to migrate on the basis of ties elsewhere, namely property ownership. Thus, the purchase of property or a second home may be a precursor to migration.

Rowles (1983) explored the tension between factors that encourage elders to remain in their homes in Appalachia and those that encourage relocation to the homes of children living outside the region. Rowles concluded that the desire to remain in place is enforced by intimate bonding with place which involves three complementary themes. First, "physical insideness" which relates to the familiarity with the physical configuration of the setting. Second, "social insideness" which stems from integration within the social fabric of a local age peer group society. Finally, "autobiographical insideness" is an affinity for place that develops from the lifelong accumulation of layer upon layer of experiences within a setting. Rowles further suggested that there are a number of accommodation strategies employed by elders to allow them to remain in place. These strategies include: (i) frequent correspondence, such as the exchange of letters and cards and regular telephone calls received at preset times each week; (ii) a reorientation of the old person's support system toward peers, neighbours, and other community members who may come to take on a "surrogate" family role; (iii) taking trips to visit children. This pattern is similar to the "snowbirding" phenomenon and such visits may be a prelude to permanent migration. Rowles also identified a variety of other factors that encouraged relocation such as the deterioration of health, environmental change (e.g. physical deterioration of housing), and deterioration in the physical setting.

Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002), in an attempt to identify issues that underlie the decision process of retirement moves, found place ties to be very important. They based their study on two samples of retirees: (i) people who moved to an east coast Florida community following retirement; (ii) people who decided to age in place in a Minnesota where they were living after retirement. The authors found that among the

Florida retirees: (i) most migrants had previously visited and vacationed in their destination communities, often many times; (ii) climate and ties to persons and place represent important pushes and pulls. However, both samples (i.e. Florida movers and Minnesota stayers) were generally satisfied with where they currently live.

Stoller and Longino (2001) concluded that the probability of return migration among retirees is dependent upon ties to the home community, consistent with Litwak and Longino's second stage. Shenk, Kuwahara, and Zablotsky (2004) explored the themes in the place attachments of four older widows in Charlotte, North Carolina who still lived in the homes that they previously occupied with their husbands. They found that each of the women drew physical and emotional comfort from her home. Further, Burholt (2006) examined older people's attachment to place in rural Wales and identified several key attachment factors. These factors included general location satisfaction, the aesthetic and emotional components of a location, social support, social integration, and relocation constraints.

2.4 ELDERLY SEASONAL MIGRATION

In an early study, Hoyt (1954) investigated the seasonal movement of the elderly to retirement communities. Specifically, he observed that most of the residents of a Florida trailer park owned another residence elsewhere and that their median annual residence in the park was 6.7 months. However, 12% of Hoyt's sample lived in the park for ten or more months per year on average. Most of these residents were married couples from rural and small towns from east and north-central U.S. states. They were attracted to Florida primarily by the climate, and resided in the park partly to enjoy the

sociability of people in a community composed exclusively of retired and quasi-retired persons. Hoyt foresaw the evolution of small cottage retirement communities with recreational facilities similar to the early trailer parks.

Sullivan and Stevens (1982) focused on the seasonal migration of retirees to travel trailer and mobile home parks in Arizona. Participants in their study were white, married, well-educated retirees usually from the north-central and western states. Further, travel trailer residents tended to be younger, healthier, and less affluent than mobile home residents.

Sullivan (1985) examined the phenomenon of seasonal migration of households in three contiguous planned retirement communities located 12 miles west of Phoenix, Arizona. A detailed typology of migration status based on annual length of residence is used to explore the relationship between type of migration and facilitating/inhibiting variables. The findings suggest that out-of-state children and ties to small towns are inhibiting influences on permanent relocation after retirement. Facilitating factors associated with seasonal migration include: (i) a spouse in the household; (ii) higher socio-economic status; (iii) the absence of health restrictions on activities.

Evidence of diverse mobility histories and residence in multiple locales throughout the life course has been reported by Gober and Mings (1984). Specifically, the authors examined the movement patterns of non-permanent residents identified in the 1980 census (i.e. persons who were living somewhere other than their usual residence on the April 1, 1980 census day). Movement from the usual residence to the census residence was found to typically converge on the sunbelt states of Florida, Arizona, California, Texas, and Louisiana. Conversely, movement from the census residence to

the usual residence was found to be much more spatially dispersed.

A proposition advanced by Happel et al. (1983) was that “non-permanent” movement substitutes for, rather than pre-dates, traditional migration. This is consistent with Gober and Ming’s (1984) assertion that: “Non-permanent residents are engaged in a lifestyle that allows them officially to remain in the same residence but to live away from that residence for a portion of the year” (172).

Krout (1983) suggested that seasonal migration may change the sizes and compositions of the populations of two places: the origin and the destination. These changes impact the social fabric of the places and raise important policy questions (e.g. demands on existing services and the ability of the resident elderly to access to them). Secondly, seasonal migration may also be conceptualized as a process which eventually culminates in a residential relocation. Krout contends that seasonal mobility increases a potential migrant’s knowledge of an area. Ultimately, the establishment of personal and economic ties with that area facilitates a migration move. Thirdly, seasonal migration may also act as a substitute for, or alternative to, a permanent change in residence. Thus, a potential migrant may avoid the personal, social, and economic dislocations associated with a permanent move.

For the vast majority of older people, elderly seasonal migration constitutes an alternative lifestyle rather than a prelude to a permanent migration move (Sullivan 1985; McHugh 1990). Sullivan and Stevens (1982) found that there was little evidence that seasonal migrants were exploring potential permanent locations. While older people to mobile home or travel trailer parks are pulled by the amenities of retirement communities, they are also inhibited from relocating by ties to their community of origin.

This finding again underscores the importance of place ties inhibiting migration.

McHugh (1990) attempted to examine theoretical links between seasonal and permanent migration among the elderly using survey data for winter visitors to RV parks in Phoenix, Arizona. McHugh's main objective was to identify the conditions under which seasonal migration to Phoenix serves as a substitute for, or precursor to, permanent migration. Survey questionnaires were administered in households in nine randomly selected RV parks in the East Mesa-Apache Junction area located on the eastern fringe of the Phoenix metropolis. Completed questionnaires were obtained for 1,001 RV households. The results of a discriminant analysis indicate that position in the lifecycle plays a critical role in the linkages between seasonal and permanent migration as the vast majority of winter visitors of retirement age had settled into a pattern of seasonal migration. Second, place ties strongly influence migration plans. If bonds to home weaken then a permanent move is more likely, particularly if the elder has family members or close friends living in the community of the seasonal residence. Under these conditions, seasonal movement may thus serve as a precursor to permanent migration, although this may not have been the original intent. Thirdly, RVers are mobile, building ties in two or more places, and a minority (the so-called full timers) are completely nomadic. McHugh noted that for the majority of snowbirds, seasonal migration is a lifestyle rather than a prelude to permanent migration. However, seasonal migration is not restricted to older people pursuing the RV lifestyle, but may also be associated with residents of a retirement community (Sullivan 1985).

Hogan and Steinnes (1998) employed household (micro) data from state wide surveys conducted in Arizona and Minnesota to analyze seasonal migration as an

economic decision. In the case of Arizona, they found that seasonal migrants tended to be recent movers from northern states. Also, Minnesota seasonal migrants tended to be younger than their Arizona counterparts and therefore could have been at a different stage of the elderly migration life cycle. It is possible that they might ultimately return as permanent migrants to the north to be near caregivers (Litwak and Longino 1987).

Reece (2004) tested the hypothesis that demand for household leisure travel to South Carolina is the same for senior and non-senior households. Reece (2004) found that two variables, housing type and distance, affected senior households' leisure travel behaviour differently from the behaviour of non-senior households. First, he found that senior households travel farther than non-senior households. Secondly, despite having lower income levels, members of the mature market are prepared to travel perhaps because of the effect of homeownership on their unmeasured income. In other words, seniors have more homeowner equity than their non-senior counterparts.

McHugh, Hogan, and Happel (1995) proposed a life course framework as an explanatory schema in the study of multiple residence and recurrent mobility. "The life course concept is potent in migration research because residential decisions are often linked with life events and transitions" (McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995, 254). Since life events and transitions such as leaving the parental home, marriage, child-rearing, child launching, retirement and widowhood differ among elders, different forms of multiple residence may be expected. First, they estimated the prevalence of selected types of multiple residence in Arizona. Secondly, they examined associations between multiple residence types and a set of socio-demographic characteristics. Based on the author's conservative estimate, approximately one in seven Arizonans engage in one of

three major classes of multiple residence: temporary in-movement, temporary out-movement, and dual residence within the state. Not surprisingly, life-course transitions associated with retirement from the labour force assumed particular importance in facilitating cyclical movements to and from Arizona. Further, cyclical migration to Arizona often occurs in stages, beginning with vacations and shorter visits in midlife and building toward extended winter residence upon full retirement. This lifestyle wanes or is terminated altogether at an advanced age due to declining health, death of one's spouse, limited financial resources, or loss of interest and desire for change. Also, the vast majority of temporary out-movers are previous migrants to Arizona who have maintained ties elsewhere, often back in the home where they grew up and lived most of their lives. These findings thus demonstrate how 'conventional' migration sets the stage for subsequent cyclical mobility. In a related study, Smith and House (2006) analyzed the temporary in-and out-migration of elderly adults in Florida and found that income, education, employment and health status are among the major determinants of temporary migration.

McHugh and Mings (1996) explored the meaning of home, place, and migration among elders residing in multiple locales linked by seasonal movements and travel. The central focus was on the elderly migrant's evolving attachments and relationships with place over the course of his/her life. Focusing on several Phoenix area RV parks, the authors presented biographical portraits of five couples who circulated between summer and winter homes.

McHugh and Mings (1996) suggested that rather than viewing seasonal migration in "linear" (origin-destination) terms, the circle represents a more illuminating metaphor.

They noted that “the circle symbolizes the totality of lives of seasonal migrants, of movements and experiences in a recurring cycle of journeys to and from home places” (McHugh and Mings 1996, 530). They conceptualized the circle of migration in three phases: separation; experience; return. These phases have varying time frames, ranging from a single annual cycle to recurring cycles over the life course. During each of these phases a number of options may be chosen by the migrants based on their unique life-course trajectories which include three general types or options: still rooted, suspended, and footloose. A circular space-time path involves migratory elders remaining rooted in a home place. Secondly, a “suspended trajectory” involves a drift from the home place in the lives of elders suspended between summer and winter residences. Moorings are loosened in the long-term home and social ties are weakened. Eventually, elders settle in one place. Thirdly, a “footloose lifestyle” is marked by careerism and repeated migration. Children in footloose families are likely to absorb values of social and geographic mobility and by the time that parents reach retirement age the family is scattered. Further, since footloose elders have weak attachments with places and a history of mobility, they circulate between different locations including amenity locales and the shifting locations of children.

McHugh and Mings (1996) further asserted that ideas embedded in life course trajectories have relevance beyond elders who seasonally migrate: “circumstances and experiences early in life set individuals on divergent paths that are amplified over the life-course...space-time paths are conditioned by many factors, but inexorably these paths reflect evolving attachments with place” (McHugh and Mings 1996, 546). Space-time frameworks at the macro-and-micro scales have much potential in aging research

given the likely future impact of the migration and life histories of the large baby boomer cohort.

Gustafson (2001) investigated the experiences of transactional mobility (combining the ideals of mobility with multiple place attachment), and cultural differences among Swedish retirees pursuing seasonal migration between Sweden and Spain. During one summer season, qualitative interviews (semi-structured) were made with 46 Swedish retirees (22 married or cohabiting couples and two women living alone) who spent their summers (at least three months per year) in Sweden and winters in Spain. The interviewees were generally recruited through personal contacts and chain referral sampling. The interviews were held during the summer season, usually in the Swedish homes of the respondent, with couples interviewed together. The interviewees were asked to describe their experiences of living in two different countries, with particular emphasis on their life in Spain. They were also asked (i) why they had chosen this way of life; (ii) what Spain and Sweden meant to them, and (iii) where they felt at home. The analysis of the transcribed interviews data produced three ideal-typical transactional lifestyles: (i) translocal normality, (ii) multilocal adaptation and (iii) routinised sojourning. These lifestyles not only reflect different strategies for managing cultural differences, but also different forms and aspects of place attachment and various ideals of mobility.

Translocal normality combines modest ideals of mobility (Gustafson 2001). This type of lifestyle represents health, well-being, and the ability to live an active life and avoid boredom. At the same time, strong multiple place attachment is maintained with a focus on the area of residence, and a low degree of cultural adaptation. Multilocal

adaptation combines relatively advanced ideals of mobility with multiple place attachment, implying a desire for, and often quite substantial efforts towards, cultural adaptation. Routinised sojourning implies little or no place attachment. Those who pursue this lifestyle make a clear distinction between being at home and being temporary visitors.

There is no doubt that one underlying lesson to be learned from these studies (Hoyt 1954; Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Gober and Mings 1984; Sullivan 1985; McHugh 1990; McHgh, Hogan, and Happel 1995; McHugh and Mings 1996; Hogan and Steinnes 1998; Gustafson 2001; Reece 2004) is the essentially varied nature of seasonal and permanent migration. Of particular note is the temporal continuum relating to the mobility of seasonal movers (e.g. snowbirds) and their accumulation of spatial experience as a prelude to a permanent move.

2.5 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF ELDERLY MIGRATION

There is a branch of literature that addresses the economic and social consequences of retiree concentrations in North America (Serow 2003). For example, Bennett (1993, 1996), in work focused on the economic impact of retirees on several counties located on the United States South Atlantic coast, found that retired in-migrants were a positive benefit to their new "home" communities. These results suggest that there is little reason to be concerned about retirees being a financial drain on the destination community. Bennett (1993) noted that benefits brought by retired in-migrants to communities include purchases, taxes paid, jobs created, and volunteering. Stallman, Deller, and Shields (1999) likewise found that elderly people had a positive net fiscal

impact on a rural community in Wisconsin. However, the young-old elderly likely provided a larger positive fiscal impact on the community than the old-old elderly. In addition, Serow and Haas (1992) discovered that as a result of elderly migration, the extra costs and extra revenues for local governments of communities in western North Carolina were almost equal.

Li and MacLean (1989) examined data for over 304 towns and villages in Saskatchewan from 1971 to 1986. Not surprisingly, the authors found that the gains and losses in the elderly population in small towns were related to their relative population sizes. They concluded that local retail sales and the functional diversity of small communities are largely dependent upon change in the elderly population, although the distance from a city and local economic conditions are also important. Declines in elderly populations may result in the demise of the economies of many small towns. Evidence for this assertion is afforded by the findings of Hodge's (1991) study of three small communities in British Columbia which indicate that retirees are an economic blessing for smaller communities. Day and Barlett (2000) in their study of one retirement region, Texas Hill Country which contain 34 counties, disclosed a close relationship between elderly in-migrant flows and economic resurgence in several of the counties. In particular, elderly in-migration rates were closely tied to increases in county income, together with growth in the service, retail, and construction sectors. Everitt and Gfellner (1996) also suggested that the mobility decisions of the elderly will have implications on the construction of housing in rural areas.

Dahms (1996) concluded that the concentration of rural non-farm persons age 60 years and over in the Georgian Bay region presents both challenges and opportunities.

As they age, these people will require more medical, transportation, and shopping services. This will pose problems for small local governments especially in the townships without major urban nucleations. Carlson et al. (1998) noted that as communities grow, maintaining the current quality and pace of life will be important in retaining retired migrants. As the number of residents expands, environmental factors and other aspects of community life, such as increased congestion or crime, will be issues that community leaders and service providers need to address. Watkins (1990) also recognized that there are both benefits and drawbacks associated with elderly migration to an area. Clearly, there is potential for benefit if older migrants are transporting wealth into an area. However, there are also potential drawbacks such as adverse changes in the local environment while taxes may increase in response to demands for the expansion of public services. Furthermore, as the elderly population eventually ages into more dependent states, the cost of support may ultimately outweigh any benefits accruing from their initial arrival. Rowles and Watkins (1993), in their study of selected Appalachian communities, considered the range of impacts that might be experienced. On the one hand, these potential impacts include savings and investment transfers, and increased local spending on housing and luxury items. On the other hand, they may involve increased service demands and the polarization of, and conflict between, socially and culturally disparate groups.

Joseph and Cloutier (1991) interviewed 202 elderly residents of Grey County, Ontario. Their results confirm the importance of migration as a dynamic determinant of aging patterns in rural communities, and of residential history as a potentially important precondition of service dependence among their elderly residents. Most notably, local

movers (i.e. within community of residence) were found to be much more likely than longer-distance migrants to make a residential adjustment that was indicative of declining independence (i.e. a move from a house to an apartment).

Ma and Chow (2006) evaluated the economic impacts of amenity-seeking elderly people moving from Hong Kong to The Pearl River Delta in mainland China. This study differs from other work including Bennett (1996) and Hodge (1991) because it: (i) focuses on the economic impact of elderly seasonal movers and elderly vacationers rather than permanent migrants; (ii) evaluates the economic implications for both The Pearl River Delta and Hong Kong. The findings disclose that the expenditure of the respondents had a substantial economic impact on the local economy of the host community, but had a significant adverse impact on Hong Kong.

Rowles and Watkins (1993) commented on the absence of models specifically addressing the temporal changes which small communities experience in their demographic, economic, environmental, infrastructural, social and political characters as a result of the arrival of elderly migrants. Accordingly, they attempted to develop such a model on the basis of their study of elderly migration and its implications for selected communities in Appalachia. Specifically, Rowles and Watkins' model conceptualizes patterns of population and community change in response to an influx of elderly migrants. The model focuses on several interrelated phases of population development. The first phase involves the emergence of a community as an elderly-migration destination. Such emergence is often serendipitous and unplanned, and may involve increasing numbers of amenity, return, or assistance migrants. In small communities, the number of migrants necessary to have demographic impact may be small. However, as

migrant numbers increase, the community is likely to move into the phase of recognition when its potential as an elderly-migration destination becomes increasingly apparent to community decision makers. One possible consequence is that the community takes initiatives to attract additional migrants. Eventually, if the process continues unabated, the community may reach a level of elderly population saturation, or fear within the community that such saturation will occur. This may result in new concerns regarding the likelihood of overcrowding, and the ability of the community to cope with increasing numbers of elderly migrants who are subsequently aging-in-place. The authors concluded that recognition of distinctive community life-courses provides a challenging new research direction. In addition, the various implications of communities attracting different types of elderly migrants (e.g. amenity migrants versus return migrants) over time merit in-depth empirical examination.

Serow (2001) attempted to identify rural areas in the southeast United States that have consistently attracted older migrants since 1950 and investigate their social, demographic, and geographic characteristics. He found that retirees were particularly attracted to coastal locations whose existing populations had consistently achieved some measure of prosperity and were not dissimilar from the retirees themselves in terms of level of income, age, and being white. The results suggest that development of local infrastructure should precede retiree recruitment rather than merely relying on funds occurring from the direct and indirect economic effects of retiree spending. Other potential strategies are related to advertising and the development of retirement-oriented housing. For example, if retiree recruitment is selected as a development strategy, advertising in out-of-state media may be helpful.

With regard to the social consequences of retiree concentrations, the reaction of local residents to retiree in-migrants has been explored by Longino (1990). He found that local residents had mixed feelings about incoming elderly migrants to North Carolina communities as the migrants inevitably inflated the housing prices. This benefits the sellers but tends to price houses out of reach of some local families who participate in the same housing market. Cuba (1992) found that older migrants in Cape Cod are more likely to express concern solely over changes in the physical environment of the community, whereas non-migrants and younger migrants are more likely to be concerned about a wider range of issues, particularly those relating to changes in the community's social environment.

Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002) attempted to understand the diversity of perceptions of retiree concentrations and identify issues that underlie the decision process of retirement moves. After people have moved into a retirement community, the consequences for social life within a community were described by Van den Hoonaard (2002). Instead of older persons doing activities together the author found that a process of marginalization was often evident. Three types of elders were subject to such marginalization: snowbirds, newcomers, and widows. Over time, the widowed become marginalized in formal activities, and interpersonal relations, while newcomers may have difficulty crossing the social boundaries that are maintained by the established residents. Snowbirds may also face marginalization due to the imposition of social barriers that result from being absent for months.

Kaplan, Liu, and Hannon (2006) focused on an intergenerational intervention strategy titled "Generation Station", which was established and field tested at a

continuing care retirement community (CCRC) in central Pennsylvania over a 13-month period. With the goal of exposing residents to a broad range of possibilities for intergenerational contact, the emphasis of this intervention was on building the institution's capacity to conduct intergenerational programs rather than creating a finite activity-specific program. The authors found that CCRC residents and staff deemed multiple activities with multiple organizational partners helpful in establishing a flexible program to address the diverse interests, abilities, and preferences of both retirement community residents and local youth.

Work has not only been conducted on the economic and social impact of elderly migrants on the receiving communities, but also the efforts of those communities in attracting elderly migrants. Lucas (2002) studied the marketing literature describing retirement communities in the Kitchener-Waterloo region in Ontario and found that the communities were often presented as a continuation of suburbia. Accordingly, retirement communities were marketed as representing old values in new packages, embodying the ideals of home ownership, consumption, nature, and the nuclear family. Lucas argued for an adaptation of the suburban dream, with retirement communities constructing changed notions of home ownership and the nuclear family. Thus, home may represent equity to be used to purchase new dwellings in retirement communities, while the nuclear family is regarded as multi-generational, embracing both grandparents and grandchildren. Lucas (2004) also found that the promotional brochures depicting life in a number of retirement communities in the region focused on physical features and amenities. Images associated with the idea of successful aging also appeared repeatedly in the brochures, while references to physical decline associated with later life occurred

infrequently. More generally, Wilson et al. (2001) identified and examined those factors that help rural communities successfully develop tourism and entrepreneurship opportunities.

Carder (2002) provided a heuristic contribution to the limited research literature concerned with marketing issues in the field of aging. Specifically, a content analysis of printed marketing materials used by 63 assisted-living facilities in Oregon at two points in time over a four-year time period. The article essentially provides a time perspective and does not attempt to evaluate the degree to which the materials are fair or deceptive. One interesting finding was that while the marketing materials which were analyzed stressed an American value of “independence”, materials also emphasized that the facilities provided services for persons who require assistance with tasks of daily living.

2.6 CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY TO THE LITERATURE

Based on the preceding review, several gaps in the existing literature on retirement migration among the elderly may be identified. For example, the incorporation of a life-course perspective on retirement migration is needed because residential decisions are often linked to previous life events and transitions. Accordingly, the present study will build on previous related work (e.g. McHugh and Mings 1996) and explicitly focus on the migration moves that migrants have made throughout their lives. In addition, the present study will investigate the previous place experience that older migrants have obtained through vacations and other activities.

A further gap in the existing literature on retirement migration concerns a fuller understanding of the experiences of the older migrant in the destination community after

the migration move has been completed. Indeed, some migration models have proposed that, after a move has been completed, various push and pull factors may ultimately prompt a move from the new residence (e.g. Haas and Serow 1993). The current study addresses this issue by adopting a place-integration perspective which explicitly focuses on conflicts in the continuity of place for older individuals. Whether older migrants integrate or disintegrate with place is presumed to be dependent on a number of factors relating to the role of both the elder's experiences and community structures. Thus, previous work has failed to address the nexus between the individual elderly migrant and the destination community after the move has been completed. There is no doubt that the everyday experiences of older people in a community are shaped by the community and the decisions of community leaders. Accordingly, the current study attempts to understand how communities influence the outcomes of moves of elderly migrants. In particular, an attempt is made to understand the extent to which communities encourage the integration of migrants into their communities. It is particularly important to determine whether community leaders and elderly migrants agree on issues that are vital for the successful integration of the latter into the destination community.

In somewhat broader terms, the thesis thus extends further work by not only focusing on elderly migrant profiles (including migration histories) and decision-making, but also on migration outcomes in the specific context of regional retirement communities. Accordingly, the conceptual framework and associated research questions of the study are developed in order to address these objectives. Moreover, unlike most of the previous work addressing elderly migration, the present study involves the use of multiple interviewing techniques, and both quantitative and qualitative analytical

methods.

Finally, the thesis highlights small Prairie lakeshore communities that are currently experiencing high rates of in-migration of older Canadians. Thus, the thesis explicitly focuses on the elderly migration phenomenon in a cold climate in Canada. This contrasts with much of the previous work on elderly migration which has typically investigated moves to Sunbelt destinations or regional retirement communities located elsewhere in the United States (Sullivan and Stevens 1982; Sullivan 1985; McHugh 1990; Watkins 1990; Cuba 1991; Cuba and Longino 1991; Haas and Serow 1993; Rowles and Watkins 1993; McHugh, Hogan and Happel 1995; McHugh and Mings 1996; Carlson et al. 1998; Hogan and Steinnes 1998; Smith and House 2006).

Chapter 3

The Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I shall introduce the conceptual framework of the present study. To meet my research objectives, a theoretical perspective is required to conceptualize migration processes and outcomes with respect to regional retirement communities. In the first section of this chapter, a brief outline of previous theoretical work which informed the development of my conceptual framework will be offered. Next, the conceptual framework will be explained with a detailed outline of the constituent components and relationships. The research questions that address the objectives of the present study will then be presented with reference to the components of the conceptual framework. Finally, a summary of the chapter is offered.

3.1 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

The conceptual framework of the present study is informed by previous theoretical work which has conceptualized (i) the decision-making process, and (ii) the outcomes of migrations. Much of the work which informed the conceptual framework of the present study concerns older people whose moves were primarily motivated by amenities. Amenity-related moves are explicitly represented in Litwak and Longino's (1987) developmental model of elderly migration as the first type of move in a three stage sequence. They are also conceptualized in terms of the latter two stages of the three-stage elderly mobility transition model (Rogers 1990, 1992).

An important basis for theoretical formulations which explicitly focus on the

migration decision-making of older people is the work of Brown and Moore (1970) (see pages 21-22). Brown and Moore's work had considerable influence on the development of research conceptualizing the residential decision-making of older people (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980) (see pages 22-23). In particular, Haas and Serow (1993) elaborated on the Wiseman (1980) model by adapting it to the circumstances of recently retired, or almost retired, amenity migrants (see pages 24-25). Carson et al. (1998) further developed the Haas and Serow (1993) model of amenity retirement migration in relation to interstate migrants who retired to Idaho (see page 25).

My conceptual framework is also informed by theoretical work which has addressed specific aspects of the elderly migration process and outcomes (Cuba 1991). For example, Cuba (1991) addressed migrant search behaviour (see pages 35-36). Moreover, Cuba and Longino (1991) noted the absence of explicit information concerning the motives for moving, or the logic of the elder's decision-making, in research on regional retirement centres. To address this lacuna, Cuba and Longino (1991) explored (i) the factors governing the attractiveness of regional destinations to older migrants, and (ii) and salient differences among regional retirement migrants in the context of Cape Cod.

Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002) addressed the decision to move in relation to retirement. They noted that one advantage of elderly migration decision models (Wiseman 1980; Haas and Serow 1993; Carlson et al. 1998) is that they frame the decision to move as a multifaceted process. However, the same authors also recognized that migration decisions are extremely complex. Accordingly, they attempted to identify: (i) features of the potential destination; (ii) features of the pre-retirement location; (iii)

pre-retirement familiarity with potential migration destinations; (iv) lifetime migration experience among their Florida and Minnesota samples.

A separate theoretical line of inquiry concerning elderly migration relates to the notion of place attachment. Place attachment refers to the emotional ties that connect people to places (Cutchin 2001). In his participant observation study of older people in Appalachia, Rowles (1983) explicitly explored the tension between factors that reinforce inertia and those that encourage relocation to the homes of children living in distant locations.

Cutchin (2001) attempted to further develop the concept of place attachment by proposing the notion of place integration to extend our knowledge of the experience of elders in place. Cutchin argued that to move beyond the concept of place attachment, the concept of “place integration” should be adopted. According to Cutchin, place integration refers to the short-term elimination of conflicts in place and the creation of new meanings and values for individuals. Further, the elimination of conflicts in place occur through individual and social action. Cutchin also argued that Rowles’ three dimensions are more than mere connections to place. In fact, Cutchin argued that the elder’s problems in place and the challenges that they present should be the main focus of our inquiries. In particular, the elder’s response to ongoing and problematic social situations should also be addressed. For instance, Cutchin noted that the ongoing experience of place includes disjuncture, fragmentation, or conflicts in the continuity of place which ultimately threaten the elder’s attachments. Thus, the problem for older people in place is to develop the ability to integrate and reintegrate place in a meaningful way. Cutchin attempted to address the utility of the place integration perspective in the

study of aging-in-place and elderly migration decision-making.

Several studies have addressed the development of place ties following a move and the decision to make additional moves. Haas and Serow (1993) addressed the development of place ties after relocation and whether retirees assimilate into the host community. They found that while amenity migrants contributed to the community through voluntary organizations and were often politically active, their friendship patterns often tended to segregate them from the host community. Haas and Serow (1993) contended that push and pull factors may relate to the need for more supportive environments, thus triggering further migration decision-making. Carlson et al. (1998) found that social ties appear to be developed soon after a move through activities such as volunteering, eating out, and shopping locally. They discovered that for the majority of older migrants, their current communities and home state (Idaho) were where they planned to spend the rest of their lives. Further, Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002) found that migrants to Florida expressed high levels of satisfaction with their current location.

Another theoretical line of inquiry concerns seasonal migration (Krout 1983; McHugh 1990; McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995; McHugh and Mings 1996) (see pages 42-50). McHugh and Mings (1996) offered five theoretical conclusions based on their results based on their survey of elders residing in multiple locales linked by seasonal movements and travel. First, increasing numbers of elders have attachments in multiple places. Secondly, snowbirds transform space (RV parks) into place (communities). Thirdly, they recognize the merit of multiple and contrasting perspectives in scrutinizing places and environments in aging. Fourthly, the lives of

seasonal migrants are defined by the “circle of migration,” recurring journeys to and from home (resting) places. Fifthly, circumstances and experiences early in life set individuals on divergent paths that are amplified over the life course.

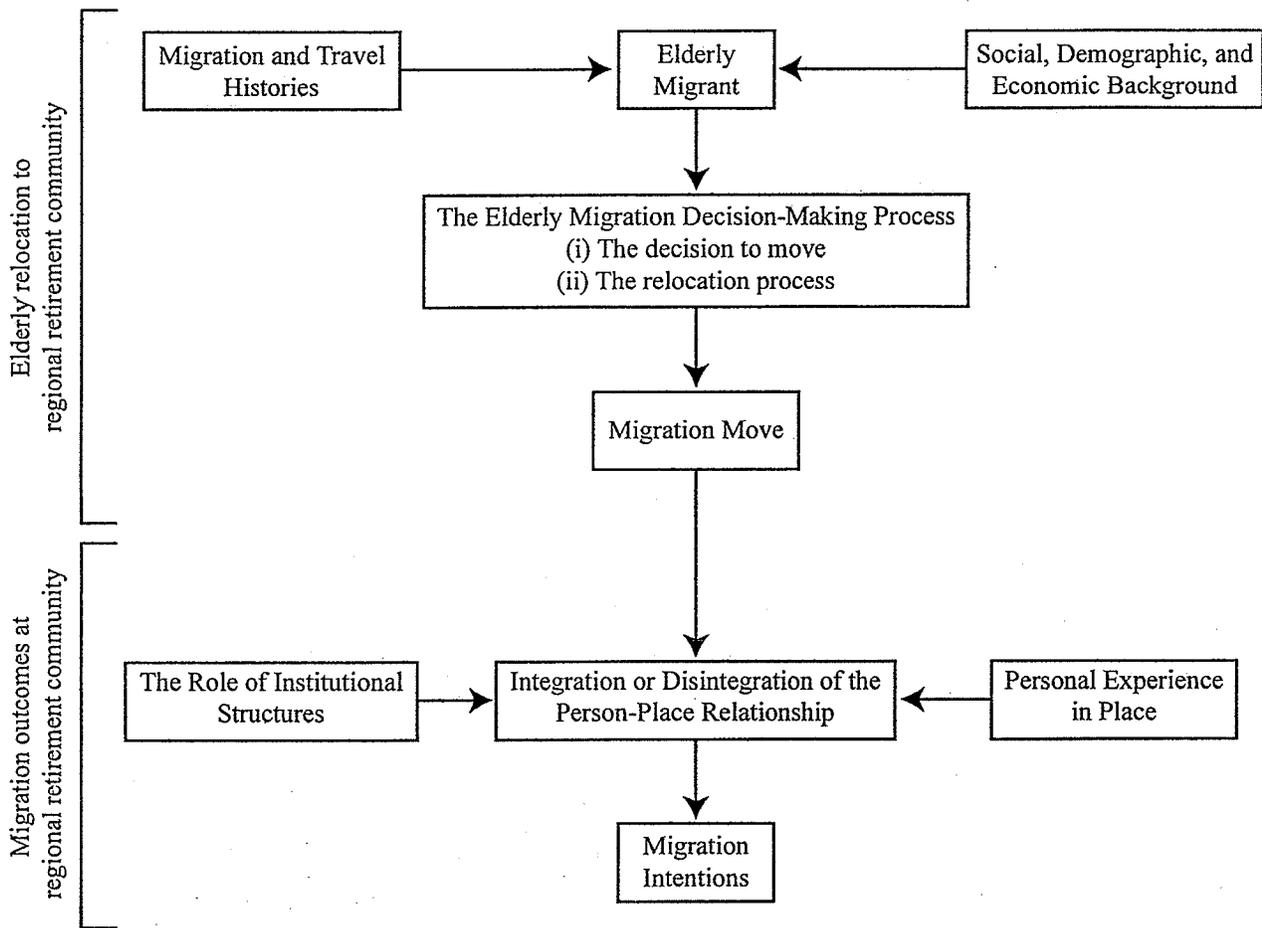
3.2 A MODEL OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS AND OUTCOMES OF ELDERLY MOVERS TO REGIONAL RETIREMENT COMMUNITIES

The conceptual framework of the present study incorporates elements of both the migration decision-making models and place attachment/integration models outlined in Section 3.1. Specifically, the model conceptualizes the migration processes and outcomes of older movers to regional retirement communities. An overview of components and relationships comprising the conceptual framework is first presented. This is followed by a more detailed outline of the constituent components of the conceptual framework, and an explanation of the derivation of the research questions from the framework.

3.2.1 Overview of the conceptual framework

It is the premise of the present study that further progress in the study of elderly relocation to regional retirement communities requires the development of a theoretical framework which addresses: (i) the influence of the life-course on the elder’s migration decision-making process; (ii) the post-move experiences or outcomes of the elderly migrant in place after a move has been completed; (iii) the role of larger structures on the everyday experiences of elderly migrants; (iv) the future migration intentions of elderly migrants. Figure 3.1. outlines my conceptual model which incorporates these

Figure 3.1. Conceptual Framework of Elderly Relocation to Regional Retirement Communities: Migration Process and Outcomes



components in the specific context of elderly relocation to regional retirement communities. In the conceptual model, two major sequential stages concerning elderly migration are specified: (1) *elderly relocation to the new community* (Stage 1); (2) *migration outcomes at the new community* (Stage 2).

The basis of the model is the *elderly migrant*. The characteristics of the elderly migrant that are particularly relevant include his/her: (a) *social, demographic, and economic background*, and (b) *migration and travel histories*. With regard to Stage 1 of the model, these characteristics are conceptualized as inputs to *the elderly migration decision making process*. There are two major components of this process: (i) *the decision to move*; (ii) *the relocation process*. Ultimately, this decision-making may or may not result in a *migration move* actually taking place. If a move is completed, Stage 2 of the model conceptualizes the *integration or disintegration of the person-place relationship* that will subsequently occur. In part, integration or disintegration is dependent upon a migrant's *personal experience in place* which includes ongoing disjuncture, fragmentation, or conflicts in the continuity of place. While it is quite rare for most people to recognize the role of larger structures in their everyday experiences (DeVerteuil 2003), *the role of institutional structures* is also specified as an input to place integration/disintegration. Due to varying levels of integration or disintegration among migrants, their consequent *migration intentions* may vary considerably. It is important to note that not only are the theoretical components of the migration decision making process represented in this model, but also the components of outcomes. My conceptual framework thus integrates both migration process and outcomes in the specific context of regional retirement communities providing the foundation for the

development of the research questions of the present study.

3.2.2 The conceptual framework and research questions

In relation to the *elderly migrant*, past work (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980; Meyer and Speare 1985; Litwak and Longino 1987; Serow 1987; Speare and Meyer 1988; Walters 2000) has consistently found the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of older people to be important indicators of both the decision to move and the type of move. The *social, demographic, and economic background* of elderly migrants is based on a wide variety of profile characteristics including his/her age, sex, place of birth, country of citizenship, level of education, marital status, family status, income status, health status, employment status, and family, education and employment history. In the present study, questions are addressed which explicitly relate to these characteristics. For example, are older migrants to regional retirement communities more likely to be “younger” persons (55 - 64 years of age) who are in relatively good health? Are older migrants likely to have been born near the community to which they subsequently move in old age? Are older migrants typically married and still working? Thus, a profile of key characteristics of movers to regional retirement communities will be developed.

The development of the elderly migrant’s profile may be further enhanced by incorporating a life-course perspective into the conceptual framework (McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995). Since life events and transitions differ among elders, so too will their residential decisions. In the present study, I argue that varied life courses and mobility histories influence the selection of the regional retirement destination in old age. Thus, it

is anticipated that elderly migrants comprise a diverse group with varied *migration and travel histories*. Each of these histories is unique and experience with a particular place may occur for different reasons. I argue that the development of the elder's life course profile should include the location(s) of his/her previous residence(s). Thus, migration histories will uncover the sequence of moves and mobility levels of the elder, which conclude with a move to a regional retirement destination in old age. In addition, the past vacation patterns of migrants will likewise be explored. The older individual's vacation patterns may reveal a preference for locations with particular place attributes, with one vacation location subsequently becoming the migration destination of choice in old age. In more general terms, an elderly individual's exposure to a place may lead to an affinity for living in that place, with a permanent move to that place ensuing. Thus, it is desirable to determine *migration and travel histories* of movers to regional retirement destination in old age. On the basis of the above arguments, Research Question 1 states: What are the profile characteristics of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

The profile characteristics of the elderly migrant may also be viewed as inputs to his/her *elderly migration decision-making process*. I wish to address the two major aspects in this process, *the decision to move* and *the relocation process* (Brown and Moore 1970; Wiseman 1980; Cuba 1991). The decision to move encompasses push factors motivating migrants to move away from their pre-migration residence, and pull factors which attract people to new locations. Some of these push and pull factors may be influenced by an elder's socio-economic characteristics such as income and migration/travel history. For instance, an elder's migration and travel history may provide indicators of how preferences for selected characteristics of the regional

retirement centre have been developed in the past. In addition, other factors may influence the decision to move including individuals who were involved in the decision, proximity of potential destinations to large population centres, and the ownership of multiple residences. All of these factors may impact on the selection of the migration destination. Accordingly, Research Question 2 is: What factors influence the decision of elderly migrants to move to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

The relocation decision-making process is complex. This decision-making is influenced by the elderly migrant's information sources that were important in gathering information about potential destinations such as previous place experience, and friends and/or family. In addition, the decision-making process is influenced by characteristics the migrants, search space such as amenities, infrastructure, the presence of friends and/or family, climate, dwelling/property characteristics, and the general neighbourhood/community environment. Other influences include the distances of potential destinations from the elder's residence, and from the residences of family and friends. The elderly migrant's attachments and relationships with places evolve over time. In this regard, the role of vacation visits assumes particular importance. Accordingly, Research Question 3 is: What are the relocation decision-making processes of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

While the distinction between the decision to move and the relocation process is often blurred, I believe that addressing each separately will provide considerable insight into migration decisions. Many elders who engage in migration decision-making may ultimately make the decision not to move and thus age in place. However, for those elders who do decide to relocate, a *migration move* results. When a migration move is

completed, a host of new decisions must be made. These decisions include the immediate outcomes of the move such as the selection of the type of dwelling, tenure status, and living arrangements.

I propose that the concept of place integration will help further our understanding of the experiences of migrants in regional retirement communities following a move. Cutchin (2001) argued that the ongoing experience of place includes conflicts in the continuity of place. Further, Cuba and Longino (1991) claimed that continuity was very important in the lives of regional migrants to Cape Cod, with migrants beginning a new stage in their lives in an environment only marginally different from that which they had vacated. Once a move has been made, the migrant may integrate into, or disintegrate within, the new community. In effect, the *integration or disintegration of the person-place relationship* occurs. Whether aging-in-place or migrating to a new community, older people may experience place and this experience may involve problems which require action in order to achieve solutions. Thus, it is important to understand the specific dimensions of these problematic qualities of the elder's situation that may prompt action. In other words, the elder's *personal experience in place*, which includes any problematic situations that he/she may encounter represents a major input to the elder's place integration or disintegration. Relevant components of place experience include the views of migrants concerning the provision of services. In addition, the wider level of migrant satisfaction with the move represents a further indicator of his/her place integration.

A full understanding of migration outcomes requires consideration of the role of institutional structures on migrant integration. For both elders who age-in-place and

those who migrate to a new community, social and institutional structures play a role in the integration or disintegration of person and place. Some of these include adult day care centres, assisted living facilities, infrastructure of the community, and health care facilities. In the context of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore communities, I shall therefore examine how migrant experiences are in part shaped by external forces involving local community structures. In this way, communities are not only seen as repositories of migrant streams from varied locations, but active agents in the place integration and *migration intentions* of new elderly residents. In considering the role of larger structures in the everyday experiences of elderly migrants, direct interactions between communities and the migrants themselves are also relevant through public consultations and focus groups comprised of both migrants and community leaders. Certainly, the voices of the migrants should be heard in formulations of local government policy with regard to service delivery and access to facilities targeted to seniors. Personal experience in place also includes migrant perceptions of the responsiveness of communities to their problems, and the roles of service groups and community organizations in facilitating the place integration. Identifying the problematic situations that migrants encounter in place and how migrants perceive the responsiveness of communities to these problems may also shed light on how various institutional strategies can keep elders from spinning out of the place integration cycle and ultimately leaving the community to relocate elsewhere (Cutchin 2001). Further, migration moves are always an option among older migrants who feel that their needs can be better met in another community. Thus, a further outcome concerns the formulation of *migration intentions*. In particular, it is important to understand the point at which integration is no

longer considered feasible and when a further migration move is thus likely. Therefore, Research Question 4 is: What are the outcomes of the moves of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

3.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the conceptual framework of the present study is presented. The migration decision-making models and place attachment/integration models which inform the development of the conceptual framework are first outlined. The components and relationships of the conceptual framework provide the basis for the development of four research questions. Specifically, the framework conceptualizes the migration process and outcomes of elderly moves to regional retirement communities. Accordingly, the derivation of each of the research questions from the framework is outlined in detail.

Chapter 4

Profile of the Study Area

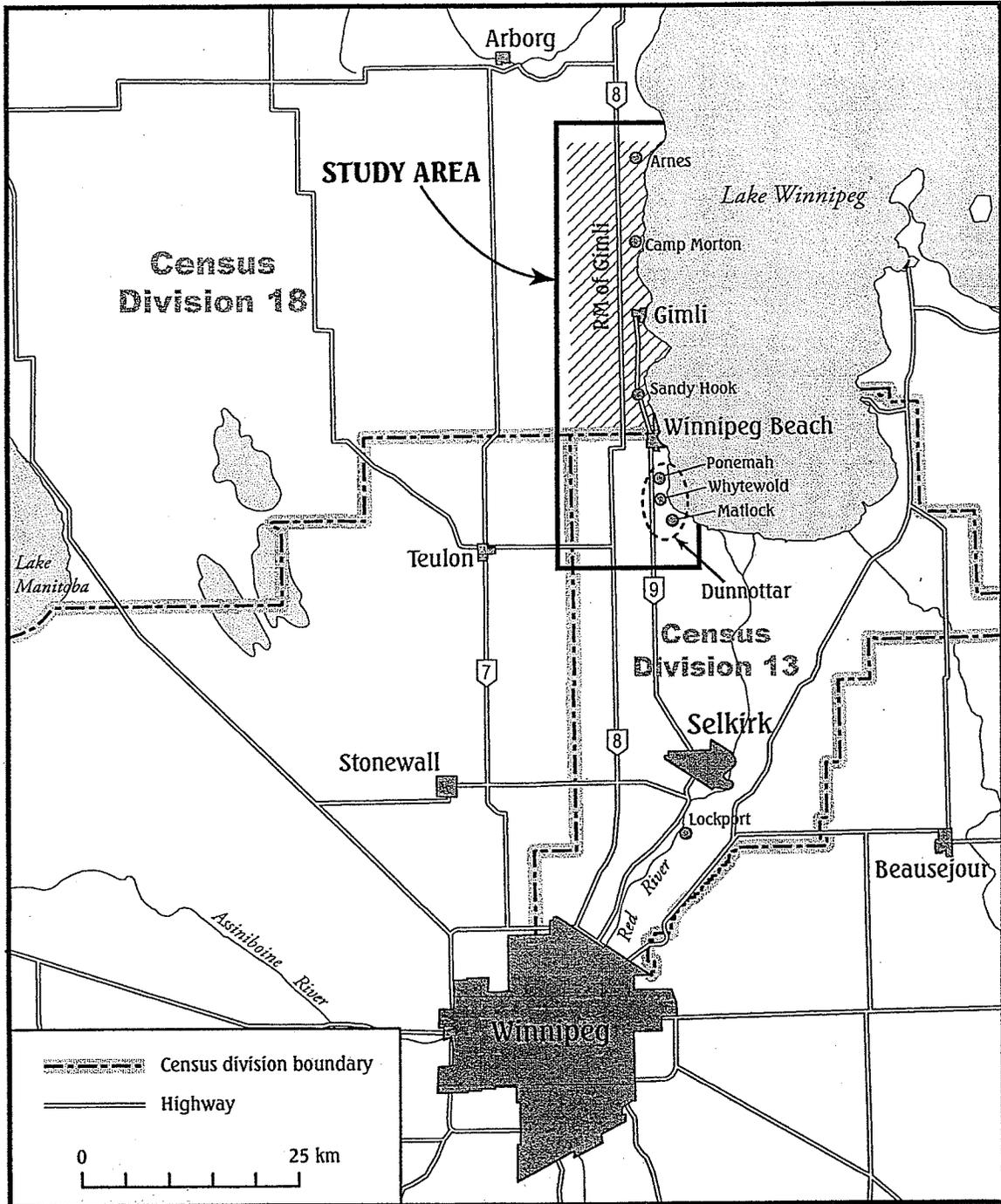
In this chapter, a profile of the study area is presented. The chapter commences by offering an overview of Manitoba's Interlake region (Figure 4.1.) with particular emphasis on two regional retirement communities: (1) Gimli; (2) Winnipeg Beach. The overview includes demographic and historical profiles of both the study area and regional retirement communities. A brief rationale for the selection of the study area and communities is then offered, followed by a comparison of the study communities.

4.1 THE STUDY AREA

In 2006, 25.0% of Manitoba's population was age 55 years and over, which was slightly below the national percentage for this age cohort (Statistics Canada 2007b).¹ An age baseline of 55 years of age will be utilized in the present study as the lower age limit for the elderly population due to the trend towards earlier retirement and the use of this baseline by many community and age-based organizations. Figure 4.1. indicates that Manitoba's Interlake region is located north of the Assiniboine River and the City of Winnipeg. In the east, the region is bounded by Lake Winnipeg (the eleventh largest freshwater lake in the world), and in the west by Lake Manitoba. Lake Winnipeg is the sixth largest lake in Canada, lying in a lowland basin that was scoured out of limestone and shale bedrock by continental glaciers during the Ice Age. Today, Lake Winnipeg has

¹ This is a reversal of trends exhibited in the 2001 Census of Canada whereby the percentage of Manitoba's population 55 years of age and older was greater than that of Canada.

Figure 4.1. Southern Interlake Region of Manitoba, Winnipeg, and Location of the Study Area.



the largest commercial fishery in the province. Lake Winnipeg's high waves with their uprush effects have caused considerable storm damage, backshore flooding and shoreline erosion along recreational beaches on the southern shore (McGinn and Paton 2007). Figure 4.1. indicates that the study area is contained within Census Divisions 13 and 18. Manitoba's Interlake is comprised of 14 rural municipalities; one city (Selkirk), four towns (Arborg, Stonewall, Teulon, and Winnipeg Beach), and two villages (Riverton and Dunnottar). There are also a number of first nations communities such as Peguis and Fisher River located in the Manitoba Interlake region. While the Manitoba Interlake economy is primarily agricultural, manufacturing is also significant (Government of Manitoba: Interlake Regional Profile 2007). Today, Provincial Highways 6, 7 and 8 are the main routes used by travellers to the area (Figure 4.1.).

Tourism contributes almost one billion dollars annually to the Manitoba economy (Gill 1996). Manitoba offers the tourist a wide range of both cultural and natural attractions. As the largest tourism centre, Winnipeg has the broadest array of cultural attractions. However, the diverse cultural landscapes and numerous festivals and events throughout the province are also important elements of local tourism. Many cultural celebrations have become attractions in Manitoba's Interlake region including the Icelandic festival of Gimli, the St. Laurent Metis days celebrations, the Teulon Veselka Ukrainian dance festival, and the Peguis treaty days and pow-wow (Government of Manitoba: Interlake Regional Profile 2007). Natural attractions include lakes, beaches, rivers, wilderness and wildlife. In particular, Manitoba's Interlake region also offers extensive beaches along the shores of Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba. In the vacation communities around the south basin of Lake Winnipeg, the summer cottage is a

fact of life for many Manitobans (Selwood 1996). Permanent residents of these shores are augmented each summer by both cottagers and vacationers. Manitobans are also drawn to either the beaches of Lake Winnipeg or the Canadian Shield lakes of the Whiteshell region of eastern Manitoba. Both areas are within weekend or day-trip distance from Winnipeg and have developed as cottage destinations (Gill 1996). While the continental location of Manitoba results in cold winters that non-residents generally view as undesirable, the Arctic air masses also bring high-pressure systems and plenty of sun to the study area where temperatures typically vary between -15°C (5°F) in January to 27°C (80.6°F) in July.

4.1.1 Gimli

The former town of Gimli is only 92 kilometres north of Winnipeg and is the largest settlement on the western shore of Lake Winnipeg. Gimli is located in the Rural Municipality of Gimli, which extends from Silver Harbour in the north to Provincial Road 229 in Sandy Hook in the south, and is bordered by Lake Winnipeg in the east and Highway 7 in the west. On January 1, 2003, the surrounding Rural Municipality of Gimli annexed the town of Gimli so that the town no longer exists officially and is now part of the Rural Municipality (Tergesen 2007). The Rural Municipality of Gimli's population was 5,797 according to the 2006 Census of Canada. Of this population, the proportion age 55 years or older was approximately 47.9% (Statistics Canada 2007c). The 2006 Census of Canada also reports data for the dissolved town of Gimli whose population was 1,590. Of this population, the proportion age 55 years or older was approximately 45.9% (Statistics Canada 2007f).

Gimli is a major regional service centre, offering many professional services as well as supporting recreational and tourist activities. Tourism, a commercial fishery, farming, and the Crown Royal whisky distillery, one of the largest distillers in Canada, support the economy. A vibrant and diverse arts community enhances the area's rich heritage. Gimli hosts an annual Icelandic festival and film festival (Tergesen 2007).

Gimli's history dates back to 1875 when the Canadian Federal Government granted land along Lake Winnipeg to Icelandic settlers. The Icelanders quickly established a virtually sovereign nation with its own constitution, government system, schools and laws. This area soon became known as New Iceland. In 1876, federal surveyors divided the republic into townships and three town sites. One of these sites became the community of Gimli. In 1877, the first post office in Gimli went into operation. New Iceland retained its government system until 1887 when it became part of the province of Manitoba (Tergesen 2007).

In 1897, the Gimli area was opened up to homesteaders and witnessed a surge of settlers, the majority being Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian and German (Gimli 1981; Tergesen 2007). The arrival of the railroad in 1906 made the area accessible to summer tourists arriving from Winnipeg. In time, Winnipeg residents began to build cottages in Winnipeg Beach, Sandy Hook, and Gimli. The influx of summer residents created a market for fresh farm produce, improving the economic level of the residents in the area (Ewanchuk 1977). In 1908, Gimli was incorporated as a village and became a town in 1947 (Tergesen 2007). The first telephones in Gimli were installed in 1908, while hydro reached Gimli in December, 1930 (Gimli 1981). Gimli witnessed a surge in population during the Second World War with the construction of an air base and the Royal

Canadian Air Force (RCAF) Service Flying Training School. Closed in 1945, the base opened again in 1950 as a jet fighter training school. Thousands of Canadian pilots were trained until 1971 when the base was abandoned and later converted into an industrial park. The closure of the base had significant impacts on local sales, income, and employment levels (MacMillan, Lu, and Framingham 1975).

4.1.2 Winnipeg Beach

The second study community is the resort town of Winnipeg Beach which is also located on the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, approximately 18 kilometres south of Gimli. In 2006, the population of Winnipeg Beach was 1017 (Statistics Canada. 2007d). The proportion of the population in Winnipeg Beach that was 55 years of age or older was approximately 51.0%, which is thus considerably higher than the corresponding national and provincial values for the same age cohort (Statistics Canada 2006).

The property that would become Winnipeg Beach was owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) at the turn of the twentieth century. As Lehr, Selwood, and Badiuk (1991) have noted: "Commercial exploitation of Winnipeg's lakeshore for recreational use was made possible by the railroad companies...Winnipeg Beach was the first major resort development on the south basin of Lake Winnipeg. It was established in 1902-3 when the CPR built the west Selkirk extension 40 miles up the west shore of the lake" (Lehr, Selwood, and Badiuk 1991, 48). Sir William Whyte, president of the Canadian Pacific Railway, had travelled the west shore of Lake Winnipeg by motor boat, searching for a location to establish a summer resort for Winnipeggers who demanded vacation resort property. In 1900, he bought 330 acres of lake frontage land and named it

Winnipeg Beach (Gimli Women's Institute 1979). The CPR line was then extended from Selkirk to Winnipeg Beach. In 1909 Winnipeg Beach had grown sufficiently to achieve township status which became official in 1910.

The beachfront was subsequently developed as a major vacation and recreation spot. The town's two kilometres of beach attracted both the common labourer and the social elite. For many years, it was Winnipeggers' most popular summer resort, with the CPR running daily excursions carrying up to 40,000 passengers to the beach annually. After World War II, the resort declined in popularity as Winnipeggers turned elsewhere for their recreation. With the improvement in road conditions and increased use of cars, train services began to decline, and the CPR sold the amusement section of Winnipeg Beach to private enterprise (Gimli Women's Institute 1979). Some of the facilities burned down, the popular beachfront entertainments disappeared, and railway passenger service was discontinued in 1961 (Great Plains Publication Staff 2007). Further, Lehr, Selwood, and Badiuk (1991) noted that the automobile and fickle nature of the market led to the closure of the Winnipeg Beach amusement park.

However, "Winnipeg Beach still continued to function as a cottage resort, and as a popular destination for Winnipeg motorists seeking a day or weekend by the lake" (Lehr, Selwood, and Badiuk 1991, 49). People did not abandon the lake, because growing affluence and improved road access made the purchase or rental of a vacation cottage possible for much of the populace (Selwood 1996). Further, the south basin of Lake Winnipeg is so convenient to Winnipeg that new lakeside subdivisions and communities continue to spring up around the lake, thus creating a continuous strip of development along much of the lake's shoreline (Selwood 1996). Also, in 1968 the

government created a provincial park at the beachfront and began a rehabilitation program leading to the restoration of the boardwalk in the 1990s (Great Plains Publication Staff 2007). These developments stemmed from the Canada-Manitoba Interlake Fund for Rural Economic Development (FRED) plan, whereby the Winnipeg Beach lakefront was purchased and re-developed by the provincial government (Gimli Women's Institute 1979). Much of the local economy is driven by the "tourist dollar". However, Winnipeg Beach also supports Lake Winnipeg's commercial fishery, while many of the town's businesses are targeted to agricultural activities (Government of Manitoba: Town of Winnipeg Beach Community Profile 2007)).

4.1.3 Other communities

Besides Gimli and Winnipeg Beach, there are other popular resort communities located on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg. These amenity-based communities include Sandy Hook, located between Winnipeg Beach and Gimli, while Arnes and Camp Morton are two communities located a short drive north of Gimli. Residents in these smaller communities must travel to nearby Gimli, Winnipeg Beach, or beyond to obtain retail services.

The village of Dunnottar is a very small community of 692 residents and is located 16 kilometres south of Winnipeg Beach on the southwestern shore of Lake Winnipeg (Figure 4.1.). No fewer than 51.4% of the population of Dunnottar was 55 years of age and older in 2006 (Statistics Canada. 2007e). Dunnottar includes the beaches of Matlock, Whytewold, and Ponemah (Figure 4.1.). In common with other Lake Winnipeg communities, the population swells during the summer months as

cottagers from Winnipeg and surrounding areas arrive to enjoy the lakeside beaches and outdoor activities that Dunnottar has to offer. Similar to Winnipeg Beach, Dunnottar developed into a vacation resort with beach lovers arriving by train until the 1950s. “Improved accessibility by road has helped both to spawn, and to develop further, many lakefront cottage resorts. Some such as Whytewold Beach and Ponemah on the west shore, were initially developed because of railroad access” (Lehr, Selwood, and Badiuk 1991, 52). The economic base of Dunnottar consists mainly of retail stores and services, which not only support local cottages and the summer tourist rush, but also local commercial fishing (Great Plains Publication Staff 207).

4.1.4 Rationale for the selection of the study area and study communities

There are several reasons why the western lakeshore communities of Manitoba’s Interlake region offer an ideal study area for exploratory research on elderly migration to Canadian regional retirement communities. First, the study area has a highly truncated population in terms of age distribution, with a large percentage in the older categories. Secondly, communities in the study area have developed as popular “retirement resorts” for both permanent and seasonal migrants in old age cohorts. Community leaders recognize that the study area attracts large numbers of elderly seasonal migrants on a yearly basis who will subsequently become permanent residents (Government of Manitoba: R.M. of Gimli Community Profile 2007). Thirdly, although past work has investigated selected U.S. and Canadian regional retirement communities in cold climates, few have addressed this phenomenon on the Canadian prairies.

It is also noteworthy that the three main study communities (i.e. Gimli, Winnipeg

Beach, and Dunnottar) offer some interesting contrasts in terms of their housing resources, social services, and infrastructure. A significant concentration of health care services is available in Gimli including a hospital, medical clinic, and “The Betel Personal Care Home” consisting of 80 private rooms. On the other hand, no health care facilities or services are available in Winnipeg Beach or Dunottar, with residents in those two communities obliged to utilize resources in Gimli and nearby Selkirk (Figure 4.1.). In addition, Gimli provides ambulance and police services for residents of all of the study communities. In Gimli, there are also innercity transit service, seniors residences (e.g. “The Waterfront Centre” and “Rotary Towers”) and all levels of schooling up to and including high school. Gimli is the only community in the area to offer these services, although schooling below high school is available in Winnipeg Beach. While Gimli and Winnipeg Beach each has a public water/municipal sewer system, business and professional services are more numerous in Gimli than the other two communities. Overall, the western shoreline of Lake Winnipeg has emerged as one of Manitoba’s premier resort attractions based on its cultural and natural amenities, with particular emphasis on summer recreation opportunities.

4.2 SUMMARY

In this chapter, a profile of the study area is presented. More specifically, two regional retirement settlements in the region are profiled in detail: (i) Gimli; and (ii) Winnipeg Beach. Each of these communities has a long history of tourism and activities supporting local agriculture and Lake Winnipeg’s commercial fishery. These activities remain an important part of their economic base. Gimli and Winnipeg Beach are also

examined on the basis of their current functions and population characteristics. Other communities including Arnes, Camp Morton, Dunnottar and Sandy Hook are also discussed. The rationale for the selection of the study area is presented.

Chapter 5

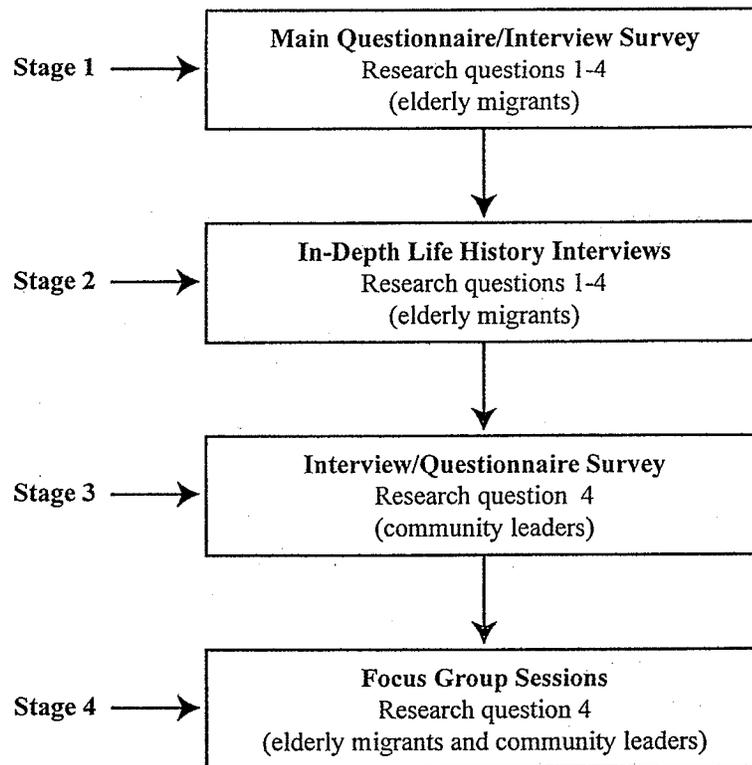
Data Sources and Data Collection

This chapter commences by providing an outline of the survey design and sampling procedures, which include the identification of the four stages of the survey and the research questions associated with each stage. Overviews of the survey instruments and data collection procedures are then offered. Next, the four survey stages are discussed in detail. Specifically, the survey stages include: (a) the main questionnaire/interview survey of elderly migrants; (b) the in-depth life-history interviews with elderly migrants; (c) the questionnaire survey of community leaders; (d) two separate focus group sessions involving both elderly migrants and community leaders. This chapter concludes with a summary of the data sources and data collection procedures utilized in this study.

5.1 THE SURVEY DESIGN AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

To address Research Questions 1 - 4, a sequential four-stage survey design was devised. Figure 5.1. presents the four survey stages and identifies the research questions associated with each stage. Each of the four stages addresses distinctive aspects of elderly migration to the study communities. Stage 1 includes the main questionnaire/interview survey of older migrants, while Stage 2 involves in-depth life-history interviews with seniors. Each of these stages specifically addresses Research Questions 1 - 4. Stage 3, which involves an interview/questionnaire survey of community leaders, addresses Research Question 4. The final survey stage (Stage 4),

Figure 5.1. Overview of Survey Stages and Research Questions



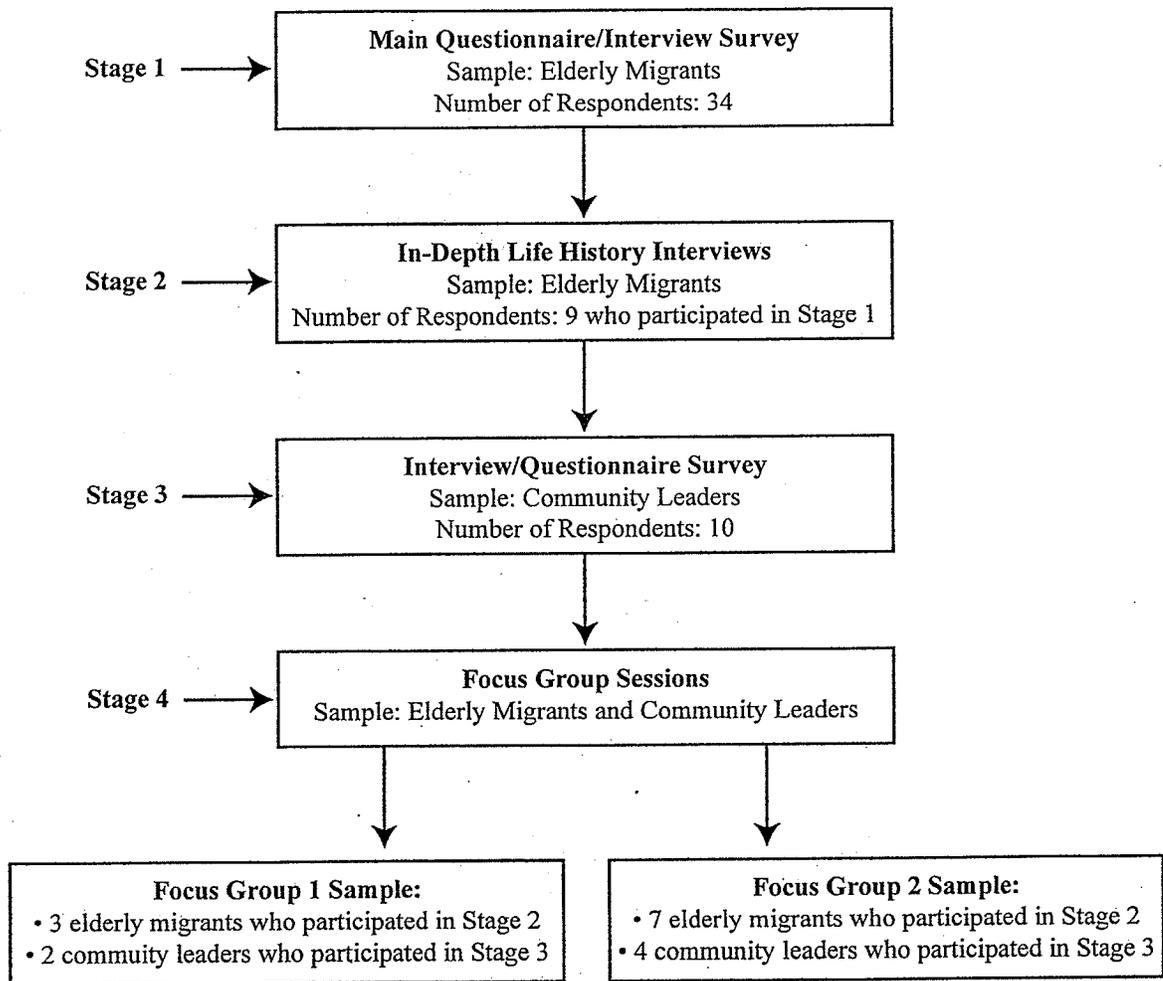
which is comprised of two focus group sessions with both elderly migrants and community leaders, also addresses Research Question 4.

A sample of elderly subjects was initially selected to complete the main questionnaire/interview survey (Appendix A). Subsequently, sub-samples of these respondents completed the Stage 2 in-depth life-history interviews (Appendix B), and the Stage 4 focus group interviews (Appendix D). In addition, a sample of community leaders was initially selected to complete the Stage 3 questionnaire/survey (Appendix C). Subsequently, sub-samples of the community leaders also participated in the focus group interviews (Appendix D). In this way, all participants in the two focus group interviews had participated in at least one earlier stage of the survey. Figure 5.2. presents a summary of the samples and respondent numbers for each stage.

Ethical approval to conduct all components of the field survey was granted by the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review Committee (Appendix E). This approval was based on the committee's consideration of a description of the entire research project, as well as the survey instruments. The interviews comprising all survey stages were preceded by the presentation of an informed consent form for each participant to review and sign (Appendixes A - D). Respondents who signed this form thus indicated to the researcher that (i) they understood to their satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project, and (ii) agreed to participate as subjects. However, participants were advised that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions at their discretion without prejudice or consequence.

In this study, an elderly migrant is defined as an individual who had made a

Figure 5.2. The Survey Stages: Summary of Sample and Respondent Numbers



permanent move to the study area within five years prior to the survey, and was also 55 years of age or older at the time of the survey. An additional eligibility criterion was that the elderly migrant's place of origin was located outside the census division in which the destination community was located. It was assumed that migration decisions made within five years of the survey would be recalled by the elderly migrant with reasonable accuracy. Elderly migrants living in any of the communities within the study area (Figure 4.1.) who satisfied all of the above criteria were thus eligible for inclusion in the sample.

When a target population has a specific attribute such as the elderly, it is often difficult to derive a representative sample using probability sampling. For many studies involving the elderly, a list of older people from which a probability sample can be drawn is not always readily available. Even when a probability sample is elicited, it may often be drawn from an easily accessible population, or a population characterized by similar social and economic characteristics (e.g. elderly persons living in only one nursing home). Thus, the sample may not be representative of the total elderly population which typically includes individuals with different demographic, racial, ethnic, economic and social backgrounds (McPherson 2004). In the current study, the number of "recent" elderly migrants in the study area age 55 years and over is not reported by the Census of Canada, and thus no formal sampling frame is available.

On the basis of the above considerations, two non-probability sampling procedures were utilized in the present study: a convenience sample and a snowball sample. In convenience sampling, sampling units (individuals) are conveniently or readily available to the researcher and are thus selected to represent a population (Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht 1984). The researcher, however, must ensure that the

sampling units fulfill the selection criteria of the proposed study. In snowball sampling, the selection of individuals is based on referrals from other individuals (Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht 1984; Alder and Clark 1999; May 2001; Corbetta 2003). In this way, the pool of potential respondents continues to be expanded until the researcher has obtained the necessary number of interviews (Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht 1984). Again, individuals selected must fulfill the predetermined eligibility criteria for inclusion in the sample. However, it should be recognized that by utilizing a snowball sampling procedure, the sample will be biased towards individuals who have strong social networks. Thus, the views and opinions of others who are not part of such networks of friends and acquaintances will be omitted. Clearly, this is a major disadvantage in utilizing the snowball sampling procedure but one that is unavoidable.

In Gimli, an advertisement about the nature and purpose of the research project, and the need for participants, appeared in each of the August and September 2005 editions of a newsletter titled "*Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre Hilites*" (Appendix F, 1 - 2). These advertisements also indicated that two forthcoming public presentations concerning the project (i.e. one presentation in each of Gimli and Winnipeg Beach) would be held. This newsletter is a monthly publication of the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre," an organization formed specifically to serve the seniors in Gimli and surrounding areas. The purpose of the newsletter is to inform members and others of the wide variety of activities offered by the Centre to seniors living locally. The Centre provides its members with a comfortable meeting place for relaxation, companionship, and activities. At the time of the data collection phase of the research project, the Centre had a membership of about 10% of the people 55 years of

age and older living in the Rural Municipality of Gimli (Statistics Canada 2007c).

The public presentation in Gimli was held at the “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre”. This setting was chosen for three reasons. First, since the Centre is an organization that serves people 55 years of age and older, it provided a strong conduit between the researcher and potential subjects. Secondly, the strong support of the Centre for the research project effectively ensured the support of potential respondents, other related organizations, and community leaders throughout the study area. Upon learning that the Centre supported the research, respondents seemed to feel a sense of “safety” in participating in the study. To facilitate the recruitment of eligible participants, the Centre provided the researcher with a partial list of new members in the year preceding the survey.¹ Thirdly, the extensive local outreach efforts of the Centre facilitated the recruitment of eligible participants for the survey.

In Winnipeg Beach, an advertisement concerning the purpose of the research project and the need for participants, together with an announcement of the two public presentations concerning the project, appeared in the August and September 2005 editions of a community newsletter titled “*The Blue Rooster Gazette*” (Appendix F, 3 - 4). This newsletter is produced on a monthly basis by an apparel and gift store in Winnipeg Beach named “The Blue Rooster”. Copies of the newsletter were distributed to both businesses and residents throughout Winnipeg Beach and neighbouring communities. In addition, details of the project appeared in the September 2005 edition of the “*Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion Newsletter*” (Appendix F, 5). The

¹ The Centre also permitted the researcher to speak to a group of seniors before a Bingo session held at the facility.

Legion not only helps Canadian veterans of the two world wars (although it is unknown whether there are any survivors in the area) and perpetuates the memory of those who died in battle, but also provides community service and programs for both youth and seniors. Following the dissemination of information concerning the research project through these channels, the second of two public presentations was held at the “Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion”. The rationale for the selection of the “Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion” as the setting for this presentation is similar to that concerning the choice of the “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre” as the site of the presentation in Gimli. Specifically, the Legion served as a conduit between the researcher and potential subjects. In addition, participation in the research project was encouraged by the support of the Legion, and its broad links with surrounding areas through outreach programs.

Other efforts were made by the researcher to facilitate the recruitment of eligible participants for the study. For example, 700 flyers with information about the purpose of the project and the need for participants, and two public presentations, were distributed by the Winnipeg Beach postmaster to all post office boxes in Winnipeg Beach, Ponemah (Dunnottar), and a part of Whytewold (Dunnottar) (Figure 4.1. and Appendix F, 6). The same flyers were also posted on notice boards at the Gimli and “Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion”, “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre”, and billboards throughout the study area that advertised local events. In addition, the flyers were placed in every customer’s shopping bag at the “Blue Rooster” store in Winnipeg Beach, commencing two weeks prior to the first presentation in Gimli.

The author was also invited to give short presentations about the study in Gimli

at: (a) the September 2005 General Meeting of the “Kiwanis Organization”; and (b) the September 2005 General Meeting of the “Gimli Seniors Resource Council”. The “Kiwanis Organization” is a service club of volunteers comprised of residents 55 years and over based in Gimli. The “Gimli Seniors Resource Council” assists seniors in continuing to live independently by serving as a point of contact for information and referral, and developing new services needed by seniors at the local level. Finally, the study was announced on both the Gimli and Winnipeg Beach Internet Web Sites (Appendix F, 7 - 8). The researcher subsequently received cold calls from six elderly individuals who had heard about the study and wished to participate. In addition, 21 subjects were recruited as part of a snowball sample, while a further seven subjects were recruited as part of a convenience sample. These seven subjects attended one of two public presentations concerning the project, one presentation in each of Gimli and Winnipeg Beach. Therefore, the entire sample of seniors include 34 subjects. These respondents lived at various locations throughout the study area (Table 5.1.), although the majority were residents of Gimli.

Table 5.1. Residential locations of elderly migrant sample (N=34)

Location in Study Area	Number of Respondents
Arnes	1
Camp Morton	1
Gimli	19
Sandy Hook	5
Winnipeg Beach	7
Matlock (Dunnottar)	1

In the current study, a community leader is defined as an individual who directly or indirectly “impacts” the older population of the study area. These impacts may be made through the individual’s participation in groups and organizations specifically serving seniors or through his/her broader decision-making power on issues impacting

on the wider community. The community leaders included in the present study were all knowledgeable on topics related to the elderly population of their communities. Community leaders from any of the communities within the study area were deemed eligible for inclusion in the “community leader” sample, even though their influence may have extended beyond the boundaries of the study area.

The sample of local community leaders was developed over the three-month survey period. Through the use of the Internet and the “Interlake Spectator” Newspaper, the author made cold calls to three community leaders who appeared to be knowledgeable on issues addressed in this study. These leaders acted as constant information sources from the earliest stages of the project. Once data collection in the study area commenced, five additional community leaders were recruited through a convenience sample, while two further community leaders were recruited through a snowballing process. On this basis, the community leader sample includes 10 subjects. The primary position and extent of influence of each of these community leaders are summarized in Table 5.2. Community leaders included subjects who were involved in the provision of services for the entire study area and further afield (Resource Coordinator of The Gimli Seniors Resource Council), and overseeing general operations in selected communities within the study area (Mayors of Dunnottar and Winnipeg Beach). The responsibilities of other community leaders included the management of the 55+ living facility in Gimli, “The Waterfront Centre”, and serving as program director of the “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre”.

Table 5.2. Community leader sample members (N=10): Spheres of influence

COMMUNITY LEADER (Alias Name Used)	SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
CHARLES MALONE	GIMLI
SUSAN SIMPSON	ENTIRE STUDY AREA
MICHAEL ARMSTRONG	WINNIPEG BEACH
TOM MURPHY	GIMLI
BELINDA MARTIN	DUNNOTTAR
AMY LEWIS	GIMLI
SUE GOLDSMITH	GIMLI
NORAH DOWLING	ENTIRE STUDY AREA
SCOTT SPENCE	WINNIPEG BEACH
SERGE SHAW	DUNNOTTAR

Interviewees were encouraged to speak with others regarding the interviews. The staff of the “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre” and community leaders who were part of the study were also encouraged to speak to older people in an attempt to recruit eligible participants for the study. The contact information on eligible participants was then collected. My contact information was also given to interviewees to pass on to additional potential participants with the hope that they would contact me. In response, some interviewees readily provided the information concerning potential participants who could be contacted and recruited for the study. If possible, interviews were scheduled at either the “Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre” or the “Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion”. However, interviews were also conducted at locations deemed most convenient by respondents, particularly their home residences. The entire interview period extended over three months (September - November 2005). This time-period was necessary as seasonal migrations among the elderly were reported by community leaders to be a common occurrence during both the summer and winter

months.

An investigation into the process and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore communities raised important issues of positionality. In particular, I anticipated that the issue of exploitation might emerge during the research process. More specifically, I anticipated that elderly migrants, community decision-makers, local institutions, and local residents would want to know about the utility of this research, and how it could possibly benefit them. My response focused on two primary benefits of the study. The first concerned the benefit of the study to the migrants themselves. For example, the study gave migrants a chance to voice their concerns about their communities and to relate their migration histories. Secondly, the study provided community decision-makers and local institutions insight into the needs of elderly migrants and their perceptions of the home community. Upon completion of the analysis of the data collected in this research, I submitted a report to the appropriate community leaders and migrants who participated in the study. The report detailed the concerns of the migrants and how they believed that the community impacted upon their place integration and migration outcomes (Appendix H).

5.2 THE SURVEY INSTRUMENTS AND OVERVIEW OF DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

In the following section, a broad overview of the instruments and response formats used in the four-stage survey design are presented (Appendixes A - D). A brief overview of the data collection procedures is then offered.

5.2.1 The survey instruments

The selection of response formats to be included in the survey instruments drew inspiration from May's (2001) work on qualitative research methods. Specifically, May distinguished four types of interviews based on the type of response format employed: structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews, and group interviews. While there are four distinctive interviewing strategies used in social science research, the researcher may combine two or more of them in the design of a specific interview (May 2001).

A structured interview will usually contain a series of questions that are to be read to the respondent together with a set of predetermined response categories (Fontana and Frey 1994). The respondent then selects one of the answers provided and the interviewer records that response in the appropriate place on the interview schedule. In addition, the form and order of the questions that are administered are usually the same for all respondents (Chadwick, Bahr, and Albrecht 1984; Fontana and Frey 1994). According to May (2001), this method permits comparability between responses and is dependent in part "upon good pilot work and the training of interviewers in order that the range of possible responses are covered by the interview schedule and the replies result from questions which are asked in a uniform and non-directive manner" (May 2001, 92). Structured response formats have been used in several studies involving retirement migrants and elderly mobility (Cuba 1991; Cuba and Longino 1991; Everitt and Gfellner 1996; Carlson et al. 1998). For example, Cuba (1991) relied exclusively on a structured interview schedule to explore sample characteristics such as demographic profiles, migration histories, previous vacation experience, motivations for leaving communities

of origin and for choosing migration destinations, consideration of alternative destinations, migration expectations, reactions of friends and family to moving, satisfaction with destinations, and post-move experiences.

The central difference between the unstructured interview and both the structured and semi-structured interview is the completely open-ended character of the former (Jackson 1999; May 2001). In a semi-structured interview, the questions are predetermined while the response categories are not (May 2001; Corbetta 2003). Accordingly, respondents are asked the same questions but are given the freedom in answering them in the manner they choose, which includes open-ended responses. However, the most distinctive feature of a semi-structured interview is that the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answers which is not possible in interviews utilizing a more structured format (May 2001; Corbetta 2003). Thus, “qualitative information about this topic can then be recorded by the interviewer who can seek both *clarification* and *elaboration* on the answers given” (May 2001, 93). This not only enables the interviewer to have more latitude to *probe* beyond the answers but it also allows “people to answer more on their own terms than the standardized interview permits, but still provide a greater structure for comparability over the focused interview” (May 2001, 93). Thus, the ability of the interviewer to probe beyond initial answers in a semi-structured interview, together with the use of the open-ended format, clearly distinguishes the semi-structured interview from the structured interview. Semi-structured response formats were utilized by Gustafson (2001) who studied Swedish retirees pursuing seasonal migration between Sweden and Spain.

In an unstructured interview, the respondent may speak at length about abroad

topic broached to him/her (May 2001). This method provides qualitative depth by allowing interviewees to talk about the subject in terms of their own 'frame of reference' without many probes. Therefore, the unstructured interview may provide a greater understanding of the subject's point of view (May 2001). Naturally, the interviewer must exercise a degree of control by leading the respondent back to the point if the conversation begins to digress towards subjects that have nothing to do with the issue under examination (Corbetta 2003). It is noteworthy that this technique includes what are known as 'life-history' or 'oral history' interviews (May 2001). In relation to migration studies, an underlying assumption of the approach is that the meaning of an individual's migration decision is situated in his or her life history, rather than just in the moment which the decision is made (Halfacree and Boyle 1993; Findlay and Li 1997). The value of such qualitative approaches to migration research has been recognized by Halfacree and Boyle (1993), Vandsemb (1995), and Gutting (1996). McHugh (2000a) drew attention to the potential of ethnographic studies in furthering our understanding of migration and circulation systems. He argued that there are many forms and complexities in human migration and mobility which can be explored through the use of ethnographic approaches.

Thus, the use of a narrative life-history approach can be found in work by McHugh and Mings (1996), Watkins (1999), and Van den Hoonard (2002). For example, McHugh and Mings (1996) developed "biographical portraits" to explore the meaning of home, place, and migration among elders residing in multiple locales linked by seasonal movements and travel. Watkins (1999) investigated how "unimposed life-course trajectories and transitions play into the migration decision...examining the diversity of

times, ages, and events that influence individual spatial behaviour” (294-295) among four older subjects using narrative life histories. He also examined the spatial nature of the life-course which concerns both the sources and extent of spatial knowledge and how that knowledge, is incorporated into mobility decisions. In the present study, the spatial behaviour of three respondents throughout the life-course, uncovered through the use of in-depth interviews, appear in three time space prisms on pages 188 - 190.

Finally, group interviews involve a number of individuals who discuss a particular topic under the direction of a moderator (Corbetta 2003; Fontana and Frey 1994). Group interviews constitute a valuable tool of investigation, allowing the researcher to focus upon group norms and dynamics around issues under investigation (Jackson 1999). Focus groups allow the facilitator to hear the richly contrasting viewpoints that become evident when group members react to each other’s comments, thus providing information that might not be forthcoming in one-on-one settings (O’Brien 1993; Krueger 1994). The focus group interviews rely exclusively on a combination of semi-structured and unstructured questions which permit the researcher to probe once a formal question has been posed to focus group participants.²

In the present study, a combination of structured questions, semi-structured questions, and unstructured questions were utilized in Stage 1: the main questionnaire/interview survey of older migrants. However, mainly semi-structured and unstructured questions were utilized in the in-depth life-history interviews with elderly

² May (2001) notes that it is possible to gain different results from group and individual interviews. Specifically, the two formats may produce different perspectives on the same issue because “our actions and opinions are modified according to the social situation in which we find ourselves” (95).

migrants (Stage 2), the questionnaire survey of community leaders (Stage 3), and the focus group sessions with elderly migrants and community leaders (Stage 4).

5.2.2 Overview of data collection procedures

The entire sample of 34 elderly subjects completed the main (Stage 1) questionnaire/interview survey (Figure 5.2., Appendix A). The relatively small sample allowed the researcher to investigate the diverse array of migrant experiences, emphasizing depth over breadth. Also, 34 subjects was a manageable sample size for one interviewer. The sample of elderly migrants were a diverse group with different personal and migration histories and differing abilities to cope with challenges following a move.

The in-depth life history interviews comprising Stage 2 (Appendix B) were conducted with a sub-sample of nine of the 34 elderly respondents who had already completed the main questionnaire/interview survey (Figure 5.2.). These respondents were chosen on the basis of their willingness and availability to participate in an additional interview. A sample of 10 community leaders was initially selected to complete the (Stage 3) survey questionnaire for community leaders (Figure 5.2., Appendix C). Subsequently, a sub-sample of these respondents participated in the focus group interviews based on their availability. Both types of interviews provided opportunities to explore how the external pressures created by a shifting elderly population base were being addressed through internal plans and initiatives.

Two focus group sessions consisting of both elderly migrants and community leaders (Stage 4) were conducted (Figure 5.2., Appendix D). The elderly subjects were required to have also participated in Stage 2, while the community leaders were required

to have also participated in Stage 3. In order to select participants for each of the focus groups, a short form (Appendices A and B) was administered to subjects prior to each of the Stage 1 and Stage 2 interviews to determine whether they were interested in participating in either of the focus group sessions. A short form (Appendix C) was also administered to community leaders prior to the Stage 3 interviews to determine whether they were likewise interested in participating in the same sessions. Both of the focus group sessions were conducted at the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre". The first focus group session included three elderly migrants who also participated in both Stages 1 and 2 of the survey, and two community leaders who also participated in Stage 3. The second focus group session consisted of seven elderly migrants who also completed both Stages 1 and 2 of the survey, and four community leaders who also completed Stage 3. All elderly migrants and community leaders who participated in the first focus group also participated in the second focus group.

5.3 THE SURVEY STAGES

This section presents each of the four survey stages in turn. The four surveys which involved face-to-face interviews administered by the researcher (Stages 1 - 3), or group interviews (Stage 4), were taped and subsequently transcribed for future analysis. Using print copies of these transcriptions, the data were labelled using terms that would easily identify its content. Similar labels between interviews within survey stages were used and the data were relocated to individual computer files. Pilot interviews were conducted to provide input for the design of the main (Stage 1) questionnaire/interview survey (Appendix A) and the (Stage 2) in-depth life-history interviews (Appendix B).

Specifically, the researcher conducted in-person interviews with two older individuals living in the study area to evaluate the clarity of questions and the survey instruments. These pilot interviews took place in the homes of these older individuals which were the most convenient for them. These respondents did not participate in the main survey. Only a few cosmetic revisions to the survey instruments were made on the basis of the pilot interviews.

5.3.1 *Stage 1: Main questionnaire/interview survey of elderly migrants*

The Stage 1 questionnaire (Appendix A) elicited data on the demographic, social and economic profiles of respondents. The instrument also elicited data concerning previous place experience, distance of the most recent move from the respondent's previous permanent residence, location of respondent's friends and family, contextual (push and pull factors), other factors involved in the decision to move to the present destination, and factors influencing the respondent's residential search space. In addition, data were elicited on the experiences of the migrants after relocation to the new community. These data relate to the problems encountered in the new community, the respondent's perception of the new community, level of satisfaction with the new community, and current vacation patterns. Finally, the future migration intentions of the migrants were also elicited.

The questionnaire included structured questions, semi-structured questions and unstructured questions (see pages 96 - 99). The use of a variety of response formats in the questionnaire permitted a further uncovering of the migration decision-making process and migration outcomes of the respondents. The majority of these questions

were developed specifically for this study. The respondents were required to complete all questions included in the interview schedule. The main questionnaire/interview survey was typically administered within a 45 - 60 minute time period.

5.3.2 *Stage 2: In-depth life history interviews with elderly migrants*

The second survey stage involved in-depth life-history interviews (Appendix B). The questions included in the in-depth life-history interviews differed from those already asked in the main interview survey questionnaire. Specifically, the in-depth questionnaire included questions targeted to an intensive investigation of the elder's life-course trajectory utilizing semi-structured and unstructured formats. In particular, the instrument elicited detailed data on the respondent's employment, education, and family history which parallels the work of Watkins (1999). It should be noted that the questions placed particular emphasis on the links between major life-course events and migration moves. The in-depth life-history interviews were completed within 45 - 60 minutes.

5.3.3 *Stage 3: Interview/questionnaire survey of community leaders*

The principal aim of Stage 3 of the survey (Appendix C) was to elicit data from community leaders concerning (i) the role of larger institutional structures in influencing the mobility patterns of elderly migrants, and (ii) the integration of elderly migrants into the new communities. The survey questionnaire included both semi-structured questions and unstructured questions (see pages 97 - 99) while the main focus of the survey questionnaire concerned the perspectives of the community leaders on issues and policies impacting older people, data were also gathered on the leaders' future plans for

their community which could likely impact the elderly population. The Stage 3 interviews took approximately 45 - 60 minutes to complete.

5.3.4 Stage 4: The focus group sessions

The final survey stage included two focus group sessions, each involving both elderly migrants and community leaders (Appendix D). All of the elderly migrants and community leaders who participated in the first focus group session also participated in the second larger focus group session. The two focus group sessions were held in order to determine whether: (i) the topics discussed in the two groups were influenced by group size; and (ii) the opinions of focus group members on the topics discussed differed in the two sessions. The focus group sessions yielded data on problems in the community perceived by elderly migrants, the effects of the new community on the adjustment of the migrants, and the strengths and weaknesses of local service groups and community organizations in facilitating the integration of migrants into their community. In addition, the sessions yielded responses concerning potential impacts of the continued migration of elderly on the community, the greatest changes identified by migrants in their new community since their arrival, and factors influencing the likelihood of migrants leaving the community. The sessions also yielded the responses of community leaders on these same topics.

As a facilitator of the focus groups, I attempted to create an atmosphere of trust and openness between myself and the participants. I established the agenda for the discussion and outlined the ground rules for the session. I also provided reassurances of anonymity to the focus group participants and emphasized that all opinions expressed by

participants would be valued, regardless of how different or unusual. My role involved anticipating the various directions that the discussions might take, and recognizing beneficial topics of discussion as opposed to dead ends. During the process, I paused and probed in order to obtain additional information from group participants, but ensured that the session was completed after approximately 60 - 90 minutes.

5.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the four-stage survey design and sampling procedures are first presented. The survey instruments are then explained followed by a broad overview of the data collection procedures. Finally, a detailed outline of the conduct of each of the four stages of the survey is presented.

Chapter 6

The Analysis: General Strategies and Research Questions 1 - 3 (Elderly Migrant Profiles and Decision-Making)

In this chapter, the data analysis strategies relating to all of the research questions are first outlined. The results, based on the analysis of data relating to Research Questions 1 - 3 are then presented in turn. These questions concern elderly migrant profiles and migration decision-making. In Chapter 7, the results of the analysis which addresses Research Question 4 (i.e. concerning migration outcomes) are detailed. Chapter 7 also offers the in-depth life-history profiles of representative older migrants included in the sample who completed Survey Stage 2. In both chapters, overviews of the main findings relating to the research questions are presented, with particular emphasis on their theoretical implications.

6.1 DATA ANALYSIS STRATEGIES

In this section I present the data analysis strategies that were specifically designed to address my research questions. The data were collected through the four survey stages outlined in Chapter 5. On the basis of data elicited from these survey stages, key variables are specified for each research question. These variables are organized hierarchically into variable groups and mega themes (Tables 6.1. - 6.4.). A mega theme is a broad idea or topic of discussion. The mega themes essentially identify the associations among the variables.

Research Question 1 concerns the profile characteristics of my sample and is associated with two mega themes (Table 6.1.). The first mega theme, socio-demographic

Table 6.1. Derivation of mega themes for research question 1

MEGA THEMES	VARIABLE GROUP	LEVEL 1 VARIABLES	LEVEL 2 VARIABLES
SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC AND HEALTH PROFILES	Demographic	Sex Date of birth Location of birth place Country of citizenship Age Marital status Family status Family history	Location of children
	Socio-economic	Education level Education history Income status Employment status Employment history	
	Health	Health status	
TRAVEL HISTORY PROFILES	Later migration history	<i>Two most recent residences</i> Origin / destination locations Date of move Dwelling type (origin / destination) Tenure type (origin / destination) Living arrangements (origin / destination)	
	Earlier migration history	<i>Earlier residences</i> Origin / destination locations Date of move Dwelling type (origin / destination) Tenure Type (origin / destination) Living Arrangements (origin / destination)	
	Vacation history (over past 10 years)	Number of vacations Mean length of vacations Mean frequency of vacations Reasons for vacations	

and health profiles of respondents, is comprised of 15 variables organized into two hierarchical levels and three groups: (i) demographic; (ii) socio-economic; (iii) health. The second mega theme concerning the travel history profiles of respondents is comprised of 14 variables organized into three groups: (i) later migration history (two most recent residences); (ii) earlier migration history (earlier residences); (iii) vacation history (over the past 10 years). Data addressing Research Question 1 were obtained

Table 6.2. Derivation of mega themes for research question 2

MEGA THEME	LEVEL 1 VARIABLES
PUSH FACTORS (PREVIOUS RESIDENCE)	General neighbourhood / community environment Dwelling / property characteristics Crime Local property taxes/ rent Proximity to larger centres Spouse (death, health)
PULL FACTORS (CURRENT RESIDENCE)	Services / facilities (i.e. hospital) General neighbourhood / community environment Dwelling /property characteristics, Familiarity with community Location of friends and / or family Physical environment Cost of living Proximity to larger centres Proximity to second residence Multiple residence
ROLE OF PERSONAL CONTACTS IN THE DECISION TO MOVE TO CURRENT RESIDENCE	Input from spouse Input from children Input from friends Input from in-laws Input from siblings

from the first two survey stages.

Research Question 2 concerns the elder's decision to move and is associated with three mega themes (Table 6.2.). The first of these mega themes, push factors from previous residence, is comprised of 6 variables, while the second theme, pull factors to current residence, is based on 10 variables. The third mega theme relating to Research Question 2, role of personal contacts in the decision to move to current residence, is developed from five variables. Data to address the second research question were obtained from Survey Stages 1 - 2.

Research Question 3 concerns the relocation process and is associated with three mega themes (Table 6.3.). The first of these themes, information sources concerning study area, is based on two variable groups comprised of 12 variables organized into two

Table 6.3. Derivation of mega themes for research question 3

MEGA THEME	VARIABLE GROUP	LEVEL 1 VARIABLES	LEVEL 2 VARIABLES
INFORMATION SOURCES CONCERNING STUDY AREA	<p>Type of source</p> <p>Vacation history in study area</p>	<p>Previous place experience Visit family and / or friends in area or obtained information from them Publications (government publications, newspapers, real estate magazines, seniors guides) Real estate agents</p> <p>Number of vacation visits over past 10 years Mean length of vacations Mean frequency of vacations per year Reasons for visiting study area</p>	<p>Leisure / recreation / relaxation To visit family and / or friends Owned cottage in community and / or lived in community Scouting for retirement</p>
THE SEARCH SPACE	<p>Alternative communities considered</p> <p>Alternative residences considered in destination community</p>	<p>Number of communities considered Location of alternative communities considered Reasons why alternative communities were considered</p> <p>Reasons why destination community was selected over alternatives</p> <p>Number of communities Location of communities Reasons why communities were considered</p>	<p>General neighbourhood / community environment Amenities Closeness to family and / or friends Dwelling / property characteristics Medical facilities</p> <p>Dwelling characteristics General neighbourhood / community environment Services Affordability of living in area Proximity to larger communities Amenities Reasons associated with other locations</p>
CHARACTERISTICS OF SELECTED DWELLING		<p>Dwelling type Tenure type Living arrangement</p>	

hierarchical levels. The two variable groups are: (i) type of source; (ii) vacation history in study area. The second mega theme associated with Research Question 3, the search space, is composed of 19 variables organized into two hierarchical levels and two groups. The two variable groups are: (i) alternative communities considered, and (ii) alternative residences considered in destination community. The third mega theme associated with Research Question 3, characteristics of selected dwelling, is composed of three variables: dwelling type, tenure type, living arrangement. All of the relevant data used to address Research Question 3 were obtained from Survey Stages 1 - 2.

Research Question 4 concerns the outcomes of moves to the lakeshore communities and is associated with two mega themes (Table 6.4.). The first of these themes, role of elder's experience in place integration, is comprised of 15 variables organized into five groups. The five groups are: (i) overall satisfaction with community; (ii) problems in community; (iii) changes in community; (iv) vacation patterns; (v) future migration intentions. The second mega theme associated with Research Question 4, role of community structures in place integration, is comprised of eight variables organized into two groups. The two groups are: (i) role of community leaders; (ii) role of service groups and community organizations. Data used to address Research Question 4 were obtained from Survey Stages 1 - 4.

Based on the data elicited from the four survey stages, I develop profiles of older migrants and compare the responses of the participating subjects in order to address the research questions. More specifically, I employ three distinct analytical strategies to make these profiles and comparisons:

Table 6.4. Derivation of mega themes for research question 4

MEGA THEMES	VARIABLE GROUP	LEVEL 1 VARIABLES	LEVEL 2 VARIABLES
ROLE OF ELDER'S EXPERIENCE IN PLACE INTEGRATION	Overall satisfaction with community	General satisfaction level Preference to have remained in previous residence	Evaluation of service provision in community Service travel patterns
	Problems in community	Perceptions of problems Responses to problems Evaluation of community's responses to problems	
	Changes in community	Perception of changes Overall evaluation of change in community	
	Vacation patterns	Location of vacation destinations Mean duration of vacations Mean frequency of vacations Reasons for vacations	
	Future migration intentions	Change in future migration intentions since migration to destination community Community change impacting future migration intentions	
ROLE OF COMMUNITY STRUCTURES IN PLACE INTEGRATION	Role of community leaders	Responsibilities of community leaders Community leaders' awareness of impact of elderly migrants Community leaders' perceptions of problems of elderly migrants Community leaders responses to problems of elderly migrants Future plans for community	
	Role of service groups and community organizations	Membership patterns Elder's reasons for membership Membership outcomes	

1. *Development of statistical profiles of older migrants based on survey stage 1.* In the main questionnaire/interview survey (Survey Stage 1), elderly migrants responded to a series of questions concerning their socio-economic and health characteristics, travel histories, and migration behaviours and outcomes. Descriptive statistical data are used to

develop overall profiles of the 34 elderly migrants participating in Stage 1 of the survey.

2. *Comparison of qualitative responses to questions in each of the four survey stages.* In each of the four survey stages respondents were asked a series of questions using semi-structured and unstructured response formats (see pages 97 - 99). These responses were coded in order to identify the main issues raised by the respondents. The coded responses permit comparisons among respondents participating in the same survey stage.

3. *Comparisons across the four survey stages:* While the first strategy developed profiles of elderly migrants and the second strategy compared respondents participating in each survey stage treated separately, the third strategy investigates associations across the survey stages by comparing the responses of the samples. Through detailed analysis, the survey stages may reveal both complementary and related characteristics of elderly migration to the study area. In particular, the responses of the sample of community leaders are compared with those of the samples of elderly migrants in order to determine how institutional structures impact the place integration of the elders. For instance, are there gaps in the institutional resources that are available to help new migrants deal with emerging or existing problems in place? Ultimately, this analytical strategy thus examines how the concerns of elderly migrants and community leaders are both related to each other and to change in their community.

6.2 THE FINDINGS

6.2.1 Research Question 1: Elderly migrant profile characteristics

Research Question 1 states: "What are the profile characteristics of elderly

migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?” Research Question 1 is addressed by the analysis of data relating to two mega themes (Table 6.1.). The first mega theme concerns the socio-demographic and health profiles of elderly migrants, while the second mega theme relates to their travel history profiles. The results of the analysis of data relating to each of these mega themes are presented in turn.

6.2.1.1 Mega theme: Socio-demographic and health profiles of elderly migrants

The first mega theme concerning Research Question 1, which relates to the socio-demographic and health profiles of elderly migrants, is composed of three variable groups: (i) demographic; (ii) socio-economic; (iii) health. The data relating to this mega theme were elicited from Survey Stages 1 - 2. In relation to Stage 1, Table 6.5. presents the age and sex composition of the 34 elderly respondents who completed the main questionnaire/interview survey. Almost two-thirds of the respondents were female, while the mean age of the sample was 65.9 years. A small majority of the respondents were 55 - 64 years of age, while only 5.8% were 85 years of age and over. The high percentage (79.3%) of “young-old” respondents (i.e. less than 75 years of age) is partly indicative of the typically higher mobility levels among “young-old” migrants to amenity destinations.

Table 6.6. summarizes the location of birth and citizenship of the Stage 1 sample. While more than two-thirds of the sample were born in the province of Manitoba, only one of these respondents was born in the study area. (Thus, the movement of this respondent into the study area is indicative of a return migration.) The remaining respondents are equally divided into those who were born in Canada, and those who

were born elsewhere. Of the twenty-four respondents who were born in Manitoba, 15 were born in Winnipeg. Of those born outside the province, two respondents were born in Ontario, while one respondent was born in each of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Nova Scotia. With the exception of one respondent who was an American citizen, all members of the Stage 1 sample were Canadian citizens.

Table 6.5. Age and sex characteristics of stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Sex	
Male	38.2 (13)
Female	61.7 (21)
Age (years)	
55 - 64	55.8 (19)
65 - 74	23.5 (8)
75-84	14.7 (5)
85+	5.8 (2)
Mean age: 65.9	
Age range: 55 - 92	

Table 6.6. Location of birth place and citizenship of stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Location of birth place	
Within study area	2.9 (1)
Outside study area, within Manitoba	67.6 (23)
Outside Manitoba, within Canada	14.7 (5)
Outside Canada, within North America	2.9 (1)
Outside North America	11.7 (4)
Country of citizenship	
Canada	97.0 (33)
United States	2.9 (1)

Table 6.7. presents the income status, education level and employment status of Stage 1 respondents. Although approximately two-thirds of the respondents recorded annual incomes in excess of \$30,000 per year, the income level data need to be treated with caution due to the number of non-responses. Nonetheless, the income level data do suggest that the Stage 1 sample was moderately affluent, with sufficient financial resources to support their recent moves to the study area. Although the level of educational attainment among Stage 1 sample members was variable, no fewer than 15

(44.1%) had at least some academic background at the college/university level. While 76.4% of Stage 1 sample members were fully retired at the time of their move to the study area, Table 6.7. indicates that 82.3% were retired at the time of the interview survey. Of the six respondents who were still working, five were employed full-time. It is noteworthy that four of these five respondents reported a household income in excess of \$70,000 per year (Table 6.7.). Interestingly, three of the five respondents who were employed full-time were real estate agents. Two of these respondents worked in Winnipeg, one commuting from Winnipeg Beach to Winnipeg and the other commuting from Sandy Hook to Winnipeg on a daily basis. The third respondent worked in his home community of Gimli. Of the other two respondents employed on a full-time basis, one worked as a senior account manager in Winnipeg and commuted daily from Winnipeg Beach to Winnipeg, while the other worked as an engineering technician and commuted daily from Sandy Hook to Selkirk.

In Table 6.8., data concerning the marital status and family status of the Stage 1 sample are presented. Over two-thirds of the respondents were legally married (and not separated), while the remainder were widowed. No fewer than 33 members of the Stage 1 sample had at least one child, of whom the overwhelming majority had 2 - 4 children. Table 6.9. presents data on the residential locations of the children of Stage 1 sample members, and indicates that approximately two-thirds of the respondents' children resided in Manitoba. (In fact, almost one-half of the respondents' children resided in Winnipeg.) for six members of the Stage 1 sample, their nearest child lived in the study area; while for 23 members, their nearest child lived in Winnipeg. For one Stage 1 sample member, their nearest child lived in Selkirk; and for the three remaining sample

members with children, their nearest child lived outside of Manitoba but within Canada. These results confirm that the availability of local support from children varies greatly between Stage 1 sample members. Table 6.10. presents data concerning the health status of Stage 1 sample members. This table indicates that the respondents were generally healthy, with no fewer than 94.0% of the sample reporting either “very good” or “fairly good” health.

Table 6.7. Income status, education level and employment status of stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Household income status	
\$10,000 - \$19,999	2.9 (1)
\$20,000 - \$29,999	14.7 (5)
\$30,000 - \$39,999	26.4 (9)
\$40,000 - \$49,999	11.7 (4)
\$50,000 - \$59,999	5.8 (2)
\$60,000 - \$69,999	5.8 (2)
\$70,000+	11.7 (4)
No response	20.5 (7)
Education level	
Grades 9 - 13:	55.8 (19)
<i>Without high school graduation certificate</i>	26.4 (9)
<i>With high school graduation certificate</i>	29.4 (10)
College education with certificate or diploma	14.7 (5)
University education	29.4 (10)
<i>Without any qualifications</i>	5.8 (2)
<i>Certificate or diploma, but without degree</i>	5.8 (2)
<i>Bachelor's degree or higher</i>	17.6 (6)
Employment status	
<i>Pre-move working status</i>	
Employed full time (more than 30 hours / week)	23.5 (8)
Employed part time (less than 30 hours / week)	0.0 (0)
Retired	76.4 (26)
<i>Current Working Status</i>	
Employed full time (more than 30 hours / week)	14.7 (5)
Employed part time (less than 30 hours / week)	2.9 (1)
Retired	82.3 (28)

Table 6.8. Marital and family status of stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Marital status	
Legally married (and not separated)	70.5 (24)
Widowed	29.4 (10)
Family status (number of children)	
0	2.9 (1)
1	8.8 (3)
2	47.0 (16)
3	32.3 (11)
4	8.8 (3)

Table 6.9. Residential location of children of stage 1 sample (N=80)

Residential location	% (n)
Within study area	7.5 (6)
Outside study area, within Manitoba	57.5 (46)
Outside Manitoba, within Canada	30.0 (24)
Outside Canada, within North America	2.5 (2)
Outside North America	2.5 (2)

Table 6.10. Health status of stage 1 sample (N=34)

Health status	% (n)
Very good	52.9 (18)
Fairly good	41.1 (14)
Neither good nor poor	5.8 (2)

The mega theme was further addressed by data gathered in the in-depth life-history interviews (Survey Stage 2). In these interviews, nine elderly migrants were asked to discuss their family, work, and education histories. cursory examination of this data reveals similar life-course stages through which these individuals passed. For example, the onset of full-time employment or a job change usually followed the completion of the individual's formal education. Shortly thereafter, the individual typically married, changed residence, and experienced the birth of his/her first child.

Overall, it is thus clear that the majority of the Stage 1 sample were comprised of "young elderly" retirees aged 55 - 64 years and born in the province of Manitoba. Moreover, relatively high proportions of the sample were female and married with at least one child. It is also notable that the moderately high socio-economic status indicators suggest that the Stage 1 sample typically included seniors who could be

broadly characterized as “middle class”. Sample members also appear to have passed through similar life-course stages.

6.2.1.2 Mega theme: Travel history profiles of elderly migrants

The second mega theme concerning Research Question 1 relates to the travel history profiles of respondents. This mega theme is based on three variable groups: (i) later migration history (two most recent residences); (ii) earlier migration history; (iii) vacation history (over the past 10 years) (Table 6.1.). This mega theme is addressed by data elicited from Survey Stages 1 - 2. To determine the later migration history of the Stage 1 sample, respondents were asked to discuss their two most recent residences prior to the move to the current residence.¹ For each of these residences, respondents were first asked to provide locational details of their moves (Table 6.11.). For one-half of the sample, both of their two most recent residences were in Winnipeg, although other locations throughout Manitoba were cited.

Table 6.11. Migration histories of stage 1 sample (N=34): Location of previous residences

Location	Most recent residence % (n)	Second most recent residence % (n)
Within study area	8.8 (3)	2.9 (1)
Outside study area, within Manitoba	82.3 (28)	91.1 (31)
<i>(Within Winnipeg)</i>	<i>52.9 (18)</i>	<i>70.5 (24)</i>
Outside Manitoba, within Canada	8.8 (3)	5.8 (2)

With regard to the two most recent residences, Table 6.12. summarizes the information that Stage 1 respondents provided concerning dwelling type, tenure type, and living arrangements. For the majority of migrants, the two most recent residences were single-detached, owner-occupied homes where the living arrangements involved at

¹ Data on the most recent residence is discussed in section 6.2.3.3 and Tables 6.24. - 6.25..

least one other person. However, comparison of the two most recent residences discloses marginal increases in percentages of movable dwellings, cottages, and condominiums, and marginal decreases in percentages of semi-detached homes and farms. In addition, the dominant overall tenure type shifted further towards ownership.

Table 6.12. Migration histories of stage 1 sample (N=34): Dwelling characteristics, tenure type, and living arrangements

	Most recent residence % (n)	Second most recent residence % (n)
Dwelling type		
Singe-detached house	73.5 (25)	73.5 (25)
Semi-detached house	0.0 (0)	5.8 (2)
Apartment building	8.8 (3)	8.8 (3)
Movable dwelling	2.9 (1)	0.0 (0)
Cottage	2.9 (1)	0.0 (0)
Condo	11.7 (4)	5.8 (2)
Farm	0.0 (0)	5.8 (2)
Tenure type		
Owner	82.3 (28)	76.4 (26)
Renter	14.7 (5)	23.5 (8)
Other	2.9 (1)	0.0 (0)
Living arrangements (Did you live with anyone?)		
Yes	97.0 (33)	97.0 (33)
No	2.9 (1)	2.9 (1)

The mega theme was further addressed by data gathered in the in-depth life-history interviews (Survey Stage 2). In these interviews, nine elderly migrants were asked to discuss their earlier residences (Appendix G). Careful examination of this data again reveals similarities among individuals. For example, after several residential moves and departure of children from their homes, most individuals ultimately moved to the study area. However, it must be cautioned that although individuals may exhibit commonalities in their life histories they also exhibited important differences. For example, Brenda, who was married with two children, and retired in Winnipeg Beach, had not visited the study area within 10 years prior to her move. She openly discussed her 27 residential moves from birth, through two marriages and retirement, expressing a

sense of “placelessness” throughout her life due to her high level of mobility. In contrast, other respondents were much less mobile than Brenda. For example, Frank, who was married with two children, and retired in Gimli, had vacationed in the area within the 10 year period prior to his move. His life history revealed that he was born in 1948 and moved out of his parental home in Winnipeg when he was married in 1969. After this initial move in Winnipeg, four further moves were completed within the city. These were followed by a move in 1975 to Stonewall, Manitoba (Figure 4.1.), where Frank remained until 2000 when he retired. He subsequently moved to Gimli in 2001. Thus, Frank’s residential history was very stable since the mid-1970s relative to that of Brenda. Brenda and Frank’s respective histories nicely illustrate the diversity of individual histories with regard to the number of residential moves made by individuals throughout their lives (See Chapter 7, Section 7.1.2, where the diversity of individual histories is further illustrated by the stories of three respondents.)

Data relating to the vacation histories of the Stage 1 sample over the past 10 years are presented in Table 6.13. With the exception of one respondent, all subjects reported having taken a vacation at least once during the past 10 years. Nevertheless, six respondents who reported taking a vacation were unable to state the precise number. Twenty-three respondents reported taking at least five vacations over the 10-year time period, with approximately two-thirds indicating that their mean vacation time was under four weeks in duration. (However, it should be noted that four sample members were unable to estimate the mean lengths of their vacations.) Table 6.13. also discloses that approximately two-thirds of the respondents reported taking a vacation on average at least once a year, although four sample members were unable to estimate the mean

annual frequency of their vacations.

Table 6.13. Vacation patterns over past 10 years of stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Number of vacations	
0	2.9 (1)
1 - 4	11.7 (4)
5 - 9	20.5 (7)
10 - 14	35.2 (12)
15 - 19	5.8 (2)
>19	5.8 (2)
Not known (but at least one vacation)	17.6 (6)
Mean length of vacation (weeks)*	
0	2.9 (1)
1 - 4	67.6 (23)
5 - 8	8.8 (3)
>8	8.8 (3)
Not known (but at least some weeks)	11.7 (4)
Mean frequency of vacations (per year)	
<1	20.5 (7)
1	47.0 (16)
2	11.7 (4)
>2	8.8 (3)
Not known (but greater than zero)	11.7 (4)

*Vacations have been rounded to the nearest week

Table 6.14. presents the reasons for taking vacations which are based on the enumeration of the citations elicited from the respondents. More specifically, the enumeration of citations is determined on the basis of a count of the number of open-ended responses given by a respondent to the question: "For what reason(s) did you take these vacations?" Citations relating to similar themes are then grouped together. Table 6.14. reveals that the most frequently cited reasons for taking vacations were related to visiting friends and/or family, followed by pleasure and rest. Less frequently cited reasons concerned amenities such as a warmer climate and recreational facilities, and the need to experience different places. Overall, it appears that, in addition to moving to a new location within the past five years, the Stage 1 sample were also quite mobile with regard to their past vacation behaviours.

Table 6.14. Reasons for vacations over past 10 years: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Reasons for vacations:**	Number of citations
To visit friends and / or family	23
Pleasure and rest	15
Amenities (e.g. climate, recreational resources)	8
To see different locations	4
<i>Total citations = 50 (33 respondents)</i>	

*One respondent did not take any vacations

**Only citations which were enumerated more than once are presented.

Some elders live away from their permanent residence for a portion of the year, thus building ties with two or more places. Thus, I am also interested in how many of my respondents owned a second residence in a location other than the study area. Only four of the Stage 1 respondents reported the maintenance of a second residence in addition to their permanent residence in the study area. One of these respondents maintained second residence in eastern Canada (Ingolf, Ontario), while the other three reported residences in the United States (Weslaco, Texas; Pharr, Texas; Palm Desert, California). The four respondents who maintained the second residence usually visited the residence once per year for a period of 2 - 5 months. However, all of them considered their residence in the study area to be the primary residence. They stated that they felt at home in their primary residence due to a variety of factors including the activities available locally, peace and quiet, affordability of living, people in the area, the community as a whole, and service availability in the community. Each of the four respondents planned on maintaining their multiple residence lifestyle. Second residences were maintained due to climatic factors, and proximity to friends and activities.

One respondent with a second home, Sophia, maintained an 1100 square foot trailer at the Pine To Palms trailer park resort in Weslaco, Texas. The resort, owned and operated by two residents of Swan River, Manitoba, boasts a snowbird population of

about 600 people, of which more than two-thirds migrate from Manitoba every year. Sophia, who spends January through late April at her second residence, was asked in her Stage 1 interview why she maintains this residence. In her words,

It's a beautiful, warm climate there...you feel so relaxed there it's not cold, like when you're here it's, it's damp and it's cold and you just, you tense up. And...when you get older your parts work better when it's warmer LOL! I don't know, it's, its a lovely place to go. Plus there's, oh, a lot of things to do...we live in, like a retirement village, and...it's...just constant going, like we're walking...we're a shuffling, we're...I...play bingo there too...we're in crafts, I'm in crafts, Rob (husband) golfs...there, there's a sauna there, there's a health spa in...our thing, they just put in a new exercise facility...we bike...you name it, we do it there, it's lots.

Each of the four sample members with multiple residences felt that visiting their second home was a "vacation," which was one of the principal reasons for maintaining it. For example, Sophia anticipated continuing to maintain her multiple residence:

Because it's too cold here in the winter and you aren't active enough in the winter, you can't be because it's so cold. Your sort of house bound and both my husband and I don't like that. We like to get out and walk and do and...visit...we're busy, and that's what we like in the winter, and you basically can't do that that well so.

Therefore, despite the attraction of the study area as a regional retirement destination, Manitoba's cold climate continued to be a deterrent to year-round living for at least the small minority of respondents with the means to maintain multiple residences.

6.2.2 Research Question 2: The elder's decision to move

Research Question 2 states "What factors influence the decision of elderly migrants to move to small Prairie lakeshore communities?" In Survey Stage 1, respondents were asked which of the following were "more important" in their decision to move to their current residence: (i) features of their previous residence (push factors);

(2) features of their current residence (pull factors); (3) neither features of their previous residence or current residence. Twenty-three respondents (64.6%) reported that features of their current residence (pull factors) were more important in their decision to move to the current residence. One respondent reported that features of their previous residence (push factors) were more important, while 10 respondents (29.4%) reported that neither features of their previous or current residence were more important.

Table 6.2. indicates that Research Question 2 is addressed in terms of three mega themes. The first of these relates to the push factors concerning the previous residence, while the second is based on pull factors associated with the current residence. The third mega theme concerns the broader role of personal contacts in the decision to move to the current residence. The results of the analysis of data used to address Research Question 2 will be presented sequentially on the basis of the three mega themes.

6.2.2.1 Mega theme: Push factors concerning the previous residence

Mega Theme 3 is based on six variables (Table 6.2.). This mega theme is addressed by utilizing data elicited by Survey Stage 1. Table 6.15. presents the number of citations grouped into categories of push factors. These factors essentially motivate Stage 1 sample respondents to leave their previous residence and move to the study area. In total, 46 citations of push factors are registered. Characteristics of the general neighbourhood/community environment (e.g. isolation, lack of activities, changing population characteristics) and dwelling/property characteristics (e.g. house and yard too large and requiring too much maintenance) were the most commonly cited sets of push factors, registering 14 and 13 citations respectively. Push factors receiving significantly

fewer citations include crime, local property taxes/rent, proximity to larger centres, and the death or health of the respondent's spouse.

Table 6.15. Push factors influencing the decision to move away from previous residence to current residence: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Push factors	Number of citations
General neighbourhood / community environment	14
Dwelling / property characteristics	13
Crime	5
Local property taxes / rent	5
Proximity to larger centres	3
Spouse (health, death)	3
Other	3
	<i>Total citations = 46 (28 respondents)</i>

*Six respondents cited no push factors

In relation to the general neighbourhood/community environment, one respondent, Peter, in his Stage 1 interview, discussed the factors which prompted his move from Oakville, Ontario, to Camp Morton, Manitoba, in December 2000. In his words, "I don't know if you know Toronto at all but Oakville is a town outside Toronto, it's just on the edges, for all intensive purposes it could be a suburb of Toronto, but it isn't, but it has all the characteristics, lots of traffic, overcrowded, everybody rushing everywhere, then I'd had enough of that." With regard to dwelling and property characteristics, Dale, who moved to Gimli from Winnipeg in 2002 at the age of 89 years of age stated,

I left Winnipeg because...things were getting a little beyond my control in that I was getting too old to do a lot of the maintenance work, the yard work, I had a big yard with, ah, lots of lawns and things like that, trees to trim, hedges to trim and maintain, the building which wasn't a new one, it was a more or less an old one and regular maintenance was necessary.

In addition, Holly relocated from Amaranth, Manitoba (located on the western shore of Lake Manitoba), to Winnipeg Beach because her retirement home burned down. This particular push factor was very unique and thus enumerated only once.

6.2.2.2 Mega theme: Pull factors concerning the current residence

The second mega theme associated with Research Question 2, which relates to pull factors concerning the current residence, is based on 10 variables (Table 6.2.). This mega theme is addressed by responses to Survey Stages 1 - 2. In relation to Survey Stage 1, Table 6.16. presents frequencies of citations of sets of pull factors. These factors attracted Stage 1 sample members to their current residence in the study area. Table 6.16. indicates that the sets of pull factors are determined on the basis of no fewer than 121 citations. The most frequently cited include the availability of services and facilities (e.g. Johnson Memorial Hospital in Gimli), general neighbourhood/community environment, dwelling/property characteristics, and location of friends and/or family. Other less frequently cited factors include the physical environment (e.g. proximity to Lake Winnipeg), the cheap cost of living, proximity to major centres such as Winnipeg and Selkirk, and familiarity with the community.

Table 6.16. Pull factors influencing the decision to move to current residence: Stage 1 sample (N=34)

Pull factors	Number of citations
Services	30
General neighbourhood / community environment	24
Location of friends and / or family	18
Dwelling / property characteristics	12
Physical environment	12
Cost of living	10
Proximity to larger centres	8
Familiarity with community	7
<i>Total citations = 121 (34 respondents)</i>	

In his Stage 1 interview, Bill, who had moved from Winnipeg to Gimli cited several key pull factors relating to both the retirement community and wider study area:

Artistic community and the idea of a...living in a resort community appealed to us and thought it might also attract our children to come and visit us more often than if we were, you know, in some farming community...right. We both like the idea of being a little closer to nature and this house is surrounded by trees...The attraction here is that there is a, at least a hospital and a decent sized town. You

know like in Grand Beach there is no town, there's Pine Falls and there's Lac du Bonnet which is quite a ways from the other side of the lake so at least there's a hospital here should we ever need it, and let's hope we don't, but the health facilities and the size of the town, the shopping, whatever...kind of said this would be a better place to be.

Brenda moved to Winnipeg Beach from Lac du Bonnet without originally intending to remain there. However, after moving to the resort she found that she really liked Winnipeg Beach and made it her new home. Her new found fondness of the resort's general community thus acted as a pull factor. Nancy, while living in Winnipeg, encountered friends she had not seen in 30 years who then began inviting her to Gimli. These visits exposed Nancy to the community which she subsequently made her retirement destination. Again, Nancy's fondness of the general community environment operated as a pull factor.

Pull factors associated with migration decisions are often related to the attachments that people develop through their experiences with place. For instance, McHugh (1984) noted that attachments with places are based on factors such as the location of friends and relatives, vacations, and travel. Watkins (1990) also discovered that experience plays an important part in migration decisions through the formation of ties to specific places. In relation to the present study, knowledge and familiarity with places in the study area obtained through previous experience likewise served as a strong pull for some older migrants. Indeed, experience played an important part in migration decisions through the formation of ties to specific places. For example, one respondent, Helen, who lived in Sandy Hook, stated in her Stage 1 interview,

We...we have been like I have been a Winnipeg Beach summer person since the year I was born, and...we have had a family cottage here so I'm very familiar with the area and when we...before we decided to move out here we

found a cottage because we didn't care for...co-habiting in the cottage with my sister and her husband just, just too many people and it never works so we took it upon ourselves to buy our own cottage in Winnipeg Beach and...started coming down a lot more often. Then we went for a couple of drives, my husband was golfing and...we were driving around Sandy Hook golf course and before I knew what had happened we had bought a lot, and I said 'you know in 10 or 15 years we can consider maybe building a house on this lot and we could retire out here'. So having said that...almost immediately my husband talked me into selling our house in the city (Winnipeg) because we were both excited about moving out here, and...so we decided I just said 'if we can if we can get the price that we should be getting for our house in the city I'll agree to move anytime'.

When asked directly about the influence of Winnipeg and/or Selkirk, 24 Stage 1 respondents (70.5%) felt that their close proximity to the study area was an important pull factor. The most frequently cited reasons for the importance of the centres included the close proximity that they afforded to friends and/or family, shopping facilities, medical professionals, and employment opportunities, together with their familiarity. The attraction of being close to a larger centre was explained by Jackie, a respondent who moved from Winnipeg to Matlock. In her words,

Well it's still, you know, you can be in the city (Winnipeg) for...personal visits to family, for...shopping, for medical appointments in less than an hour and that...you know, that's one of the reasons I decided not to buy a cottage in Kenora (Ontario) or some of the other places. I looked at, Falcon Lake (Manitoba), it just was too far for that.

The maintenance of a second residence by elderly migrants may also impact the decision to move. Of the four Stage 1 respondents who reported the maintenance of a second residence, two stated that the ownership of this second residence was an influence on their move to the study area. However, for these respondents, ownership of the second residence appeared to be an indirect influence. Specifically, prior to the move their second residences were located on a golf course outside of the study area. The

opportunity to likewise live on a golf course in the study area was the primary motivation for them to purchase property in the area. Thus, it may be argued that place characteristics in the study area which replicated desirable features of the second residence represented a further pull factor.

The responses elicited by the in-depth interviews (Survey Stage 2) further underscore the importance of previous place experience on the migration decision-making process. In her Stage 2 interview, Helen, who had vacationed in the study area since she was a child, indicated that her previous experience with Winnipeg Beach made her move to Sandy Hook in 2001 easier than it would have been otherwise: "...and such a comfort level with knowing where everything is and...you know, if we're going to live in a community outside of Winnipeg, this is where we want to live cause it's, it's so familiar it's almost like home. It was like home before we moved here, yeah so." Frank, who had previous vacation experience with Gimli, dating back to when he was a child, noted in his Stage 2 interview, "I had made a comment to my wife, I remember this, I said 'this would be a nice little community to retire to' not really thinking twenty years later you would be doing that but I've always, that, that comment had always stuck with me."

Clearly, previous place experience, or the knowledge and familiarity with an area one obtains through such experience, can operate as a strong pull factor for migrants in the migration decision-making process. However, one's previous place experience with an area may also deter migration. For example, one respondent, Holly, lived in Gimli in 1968 for one year, 34 years before her move to Winnipeg Beach in 2002. When asked in her Stage 2 interview what was her least favourite community of residence and why,

Holly cited Gimli. In her words,

...I would probably have to say, oh Gimli! Yes, definitely Gimli...I like the area but...it was very different til now. Like there was no, there wasn't shops there much or anything and it was just like...people, like...I like my neighbours and stuff but I don't like people being in and out of my house all the time and a lot of the people, and I don't know if you'll find this, but, we've met a lot of air force people that have been used to living in communal living kind of, and they just, like will walk into your house and stuff like that and I don't like that type of thing. So Gimli the least. But now, Gimli has changed so it wouldn't, it wouldn't be that situation now...Yeah, and it wasn't really air force it was just that, ah, everybody lived on the air force because those places were empty and so everybody that worked at Saunders, most of them kept their Winnipeg homes and lived up there rented, so it got to be. And of course we were younger, I was expecting my first baby so I wasn't drinking or anything so...

Thus, Holly's previous experience with Gimli might have discouraged her from moving back to the study area in 2002. However, new experiences may also influence migration behaviour and reversing negative impressions based on previous place experience with an area. When discussing the importance of having previous knowledge of a community before deciding to move there, Holly stated in her Stage 2 interview,

Well I think it's important either to visit there or have information through other people. Like the reason, that we didn't really visit here that much but Jim's (husband's) brother told us a lot of things that were going on here and...how people were moving in and retiring here so we thought, you know, we might be, he thought we'd be happy here and that we'd be closer to him and closer to, like his mother-in-law, his mom, and stuff like that. So we really didn't visit a lot, we did come a couple of times and drive around, drove around Gimli, and we hadn't been here for quite few years so, I mean, even though we lived up here late, before that, probably, it's a good thing we did drive around because we might not have come here if we didn't drive around to see how it has grown, yeah.

Indeed, previous research (Gober and Zonn 1983; Stimson and Minnery 1998) has shown that kin and friends play an important role in the migration process in general, and amenity migration in particular. For instance, the presence of friends and family in a community may limit the search for a potential retirement destination in the area where

that community is located. Holly's family, particularly her brother-in-law who lived in Matlock, provided a substantive and reliable source of information for her, simplifying her selection of a retirement destination. Thus, one cannot diminish the importance of friends and family on the decision-making process and integration of migrants into new communities. The role of kin and friends in the migration process will be discussed more thoroughly in section 6.2.3.2.

6.2.2.3 Mega theme: Role of personal contacts in the decision to move to current residence

The second mega theme concerning Research Question 2, which relates to the broader role of personal contacts in the decision to move to the current residence, is associated with five variables (Table 6.2.). This mega theme is addressed by responses to Survey Stage 1. In relation to both push and pull factors, I was interested in the identities and roles of family and friends involved in the decision to move to the study area. In total, no fewer than 29 of the 34 respondents indicated that relatives and friends had been involved in the decision to move. The data presented in Table 6.17. disclose that the most frequently cited individual involved in the decision to move to the study area was the respondent's spouse. Other family members, such as in-laws and siblings, together with friends were cited to a much lesser degree. However, it is notable that there were 13 citations of input from friends and family already living in the study area and who were sometimes visited. In these cases, the locations of family and friends thus appear to represent an important pull factor regarding the decision to move.

Table 6.17. Categories of personal contacts involved in the decision to move: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Personal contact	Number of citations
Input from spouse	26
Input from children	6
Input from friends	3
Input from in-laws	2
Input from siblings	1
	<i>Total citations = 38 (29 respondents)</i>

*Five respondents cited that no personal contacts were involved in the decision to move

Barry, who moved from Selkirk to Winnipeg Beach in 2004, noted in his Stage 1 interview that his wife was the instigator in the decision to move: "I'd have to say my spouse was a primary mover on this because I had...just done some residing...well work on the house. And then she said well I guess, I think we should move because...she also liked the area very much. Ah, she was the primary mover. She just said let's move already, you know". Brenda, who moved from Lac du Bonnet to Winnipeg Beach, indicated that the decision was a mutual one between her and her husband. She noted in her Stage 1 interview that,

Really the decision was ours to leave Lac du Bonnet...we didn't really move here to be with our friends because our friends at....talked us into buying the lot though it as a way to dispose of our house...it did put us closer to the city (Winnipeg) and therefore closer to my son....but I would say mainly the decision was ours...Yeah and it was a mutual I didn't talk him into he didn't talk me into it...we talked about it a lot the pros and cons of living in Lac du Bonnet as opposed to the pros and cons of living here.

In addition, Victor, who moved from Brandon to Gimli after 35 years in 2000, stated that,

It was a really...a tough decision, a very tough decision, yeah. And I think I was the ah biggest instigator in the whole thing. And everybody is following in agreement with it after the fact but LOL! you know, people would say to me 'How could you just pick-up and leave? You've been here for 35 years and?' But ah...it was mutually agreed upon but I was the prime...

6.2.3 Research Question 3: The elders' relocation decision-making process

Research Question 3 states: "What are the relocation decision-making processes of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?" Research Question 3 is addressed by the analysis of data relating to three mega themes (Table 6.3.). Specifically, these mega themes relate to the information sources concerning the study area, the search spaces of elderly migrants, and characteristics of the selected dwelling. The results of the analysis of data relating to each of these mega themes are presented in turn.

6.2.3.1 Mega theme: Information sources concerning study area

The first mega theme associated with Research Question 3, which relates to the information sources concerning the study area, is composed of two variable groups: (i) type of source; (ii) vacation history in study area. The data relating to this mega theme were elicited from Survey Stage 1. Brown and Moore (1970) noted that prior knowledge of the characteristics of an area derives from two basic sources: (i) the household's day-to-day activities which yield information from direct contact; (ii) second-hand sources such as acquaintances, experiences, and the mass media which comprise indirect contact space. Previous place experience, or the knowledge and familiarity that migrants have with a place due to prior contact, may influence the decision of migrants to later relocate to that place. Table 6.18. summarizes the information sources about the study area that were cited by members of the Stage 1 sample. Migrants learned about the study area in a number of ways including previous place experience with the area (20 citations), and contacts with friends and/or family living in the study area (20 citations). Less commonly cited sources include information from relevant publications and the use of

real estate agents. For example, Greg explained how he learned about the study area: “Because we would come visit our friends here, and a, we, we’d been coming for a number of years and they always told us what they were doing and some of which we weren’t doing in Winnipeg so, so we a, we were kind of envious of them. They were, they seemed to have activities going all year round”.

Table 6.18. Information sources concerning potential migration destinations in the study area: Stage 1 sample (N=34)

Information sources	Number of citations
Previous place experience	20
Owned cottage	8
Drove around	6
Visited	5
Rented	1
Visited friends and / or family in area and/or obtained information from them	20
Publications (government publications, newspapers, real estate magazines, seniors guides)	7
Real estate agents	5
	<i>Total citations = 52 (34 respondents)</i>

I was also interested in the elderly migrant’s evolving attachments and relationships with places in the study area throughout the past ten years. At least 52.0% of respondents reported having vacationed in places in the study area over the ten-year period immediately prior to the permanent move (Table 6.19.), with 17.5% reporting at least 25 vacation visits. At least half of the sample had taken a vacation in the study area at least twice a year, although most visits were three days or less. Respondents had previously visited the area for a number of vacation-related reasons including leisure, recreation and relaxation (Table 6.20.). In contrast, nine respondents had absolutely no direct contact with the study area prior to the move.

Table 6.19: Previous vacation visits to study area (past 10 years): Stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Number of vacation visits over past 10 years	
0	26.4 (9)
1 - 24	35.2 (12)
25 - 49	2.9 (1)
50 - 74	2.9 (1)
Over 100	11.7 (4)
Not known	20.5 (7)
Mean frequency of vacation visits	
Never	26.4 (9)
Less than once a year	2.9 (1)
Once a year	14.7 (5)
Twice a year	23.5 (8)
More than twice a year	26.4 (9)
Not known	5.8 (2)
Mean length of vacation visits	
3 days	52.9 (18)
<3 days	8.8 (3)
No visits	26.4 (9)
Not known	16.0 (4)

Table 6.20. Reasons for visiting study area (past 10 years) : Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Reason for visiting study area**	Number of citations
Leisure, recreation, relaxation	22
To visit friends and / or family	8
Owned cottage in community, lived in community	3
Scouting for retirement	2
	<i>Total citations = 35 (25 respondents)</i>

*Nine respondents did not visit the study area over the past ten years

**Only citations which were enumerated more than once are presented.

6.2.3.2 Mega theme: The search space

Research Question 3 also addresses the search for a destination prior to moving. Thus, the second mega theme concerning this question specifically relates to the search spaces of respondents. This mega theme is based on two variable groups: (i) alternative communities considered; (ii) alternative residences considered in destination community. This mega theme is addressed by utilizing data elicited by Survey Stages 1 - 2. One of the major inputs to the search spaces of migrants is the previous place experience that they had with the destination community. The amount of previous experience with the

study area varied considerably among my respondents. For example, Holly lived in Gimli for one year in the 1960s which was an unpleasant experience for her. Holly had moved to Gimli at this time because her husband, Jim, was transferred there by his employer. Ian, on the other hand, had been preparing his retirement home in Sandy Hook for 15 years before moving there, although he was not retired at the time of the move. Brenda had no direct contact with Gimli or Winnipeg Beach with the exception of living for less than one year in Gimli during the early 1960s. However, she subsequently moved to Winnipeg Beach because it reminded her of parts of B.C. Monica, who had vacationed in Winnipeg Beach at the family cottage since she was a child, indicated that she had always intended to move to Winnipeg Beach in order to retire.

Some migrants engage in a comparative search for a retirement destination while others do not. The scope of the destination search space of older people may be impacted upon by a number of factors. Stage 1 respondents were asked about their consideration of alternative communities at the time the decision to move was made. Three decision-making alternatives were proposed to migrants: (i) whether they made the decision to move first and then considered alternative potential destination communities; (ii) whether they made the decision to move while already considering alternative potential destination communities; (iii) whether they made the decision to move without considering alternative potential communities. The Stage 1 respondents were almost evenly divided among these three migration decision-making categories.² However, it should be noted that almost one-half of the Stage 1 sample did not consider moving

² Eleven respondents were included in decision-making category (i); twelve respondents were included in decision-making category (ii); and eleven respondents were included in decision-making category (iii).

anywhere other than the study area. Using terminology proposed by Cuba (1991), these migrants are referred to as "destination specific migrants". All of the other Stage 1 respondents considered locations outside their current town of residence. Using terminology coined by Cuba (1991), these migrants are "destination search migrants". Further, 14 of these 18 respondents did not consider moving to another province. The other four "destination search migrants" cited alternative potential destination communities in British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario. Table 6.21. indicates that my destination search migrants considered moving to alternative communities for a number of reasons, including factors associated with the general neighbourhood/community environment, presence of amenities, and closeness to friends and/or family. Receiving fewer citations were dwelling/property characteristics, and medical facilities.

While only 17.6% of the Stage 1 sample thought it was important to relocate near their previous residence, no fewer than 58.8% thought that it was important to be close to friends and/or family. Kin play an important role in the migration process in general and elderly migration in particular (Gober and Zonn, 1983). For instance, Brenda felt isolated at her previous residence in Lac du Bonnet, and for this reason felt that it was important to move to a residence which was close to her friends and her family. She stated, "Yes...of course to be with friends to do things with them not having to drive for an hour and a in Lac du Bonnet it was an hour and three quarters to the city as opposed to 45 minutes here to my son's place so that was a factor".

For some elderly migrants, the location of friends and/or family in the study area prevented them from feeling like "strangers in a strange land" once a move was made. Frank, who moved from Stonewall, Manitoba, to Gimli, noted that it was important to be

Table 6.21. Characteristics of search spaces of stage 1 sample (N=34)*

	Number of citations
Location of alternative communities considered by respondent	
Within study area	14
Outside of study area, within Manitoba	21
Outside of Manitoba, within Canada	6
	<i>Total citations = 41 (18 respondents)</i>
Reasons why alternative communities were considered	
General neighbourhood / community environment	9
Amenities (i.e. climate, recreational activities, general amenities)	8
Closeness to friends and / or family	8
Dwelling / property characteristics	6
Medical facilities	4
	<i>Total citations = 35 (18 respondents)</i>
Reasons why the destination community was selected over alternative(s)	
Limitations/perceived problems of "alternatives"	20
General neighbourhood/community environment	6
Social factors	6
Climate	4
Distance from major centres	1
Other	3
Advantages of destination	29
Dwelling characteristics	10
General neighbourhood / community environment	5
Services	5
Affordability of living in area	4
Proximity to larger communities	3
Amenities	2
	<i>Total citations = 49 (18 respondents)</i>

*16 of the respondents did not consider alternative communities in their migration decision making.

close to his Gimli friends. In his words,

Well friends, we we have friends up here so we moved here, it helps to break the ice a little with new people playing, coming in, makes it easier, they've joined organizations and so they, you know, hold your hand for the first little while and introduce you to everybody. Makes life a little, you know, getting into the community, makes it a little easier.

Friends and family may not only provide a reliable source of information about a potential destination to elderly migrants, but their presence at that destination may offer a conduit to successful integration. Frank felt that it was important to move to a location which was close to friends. In his in-depth interview (Survey Stage 2) Frank stated,

Yes, yeah it is, just to break the ice with the locals. As long as there's one or two in the area. Like when we moved here we had neighbours...people that we, our kids grew up with in Stonewall (Manitoba) that live out here...and we used to come and visit them out here, once in a while, ah, so that was probably one of the reasons, they introduced us to where we live now and it doesn't really matter where I live, you know, my home is where I hang my hat, so I can feel comfortable no matter where. So we...we just decided to move here and of course they're here and they eased you into community and that's basically why we're here today...Yeah, you're not just a stranger moving into town, there's actually a friendly face that gets you introduced to other people, so.

In her in-depth interview (Survey Stage 2), Monica stated that having her sister spend a few years living in the study area before her own move to Winnipeg Beach made her move easier:

And her move here made it much easier for us because Helen spent a few winters here and so we know what it's like because we've been, we stayed for weekends and we've been down here in the winter with them. And so that gave us a taste of winter down here and knowing what they think of the winter down here and they love it, that really gave up more confidence for the winter part of all.

For the destination search migrants, there is clear evidence that they look for similar place characteristics in the alternative communities to which they consider moving. Brenda, who seriously considered the Kootenay area of B.C. before moving to Winnipeg Beach, stated in her Stage 1 interview,

We stayed for a month in Parksville which is just north of Nanaimo, 15 minute drive from Nanaimo and from there we would go up to Falcon Beach and it's really artsy there there's a lot of artists and what not and...then we'd come back to our motel in Parksville. Then we'd go to Nanaimo which is a hub of the city, we'd go to the theatre there, to the show a couple of times a week.you'd see the the young punks driving around and you'd say oh gosh I don't want this. But that's what we have here in Winnipeg Beach, we have the beauty of being in a beach town...15 minutes to Gimli to go to the shows, similar to what we had in Parksville, you know, go to Nanaimo...if we want to go to Winnipeg, that that's what I love about living here....we love going up to Gimli...in fact we probably go to Gimli more than we do Selkirk...makes me feel like I am living on the west coast and going up to Qualicum Beach for the day.

Similar place characteristics between the home community and potential alternative destination communities were also important for some respondents. Linda, who moved to Gimli from Plymouth, Massachusetts stated in her Stage 1 interview,

I came to check it out (Gimli) really, to see how it was and my grandson, my only grandson was coming so, and I'd heard it was a lot like Plymouth Massachusetts because that's where my daughter's husband-to-be came to visit, we took him there and it was all similar to Gimli he couldn't get over it...So I was very interested in that. I said 'well if it was anything like that I liked it', you know.

Table 6.21. indicates that the destination search migrants chose their current town of residence due to the limitations of other locations (e.g. lack of properties which interested them, too much distance from Winnipeg, lack of health facilities or stores) and preferences concerning dwelling characteristics in the destination community. Factors cited less frequently also relate to advantages associated with the destination community and include the general neighbourhood/community environment, available services (including hospital), proximity to larger communities (note: only three respondents cited proximity), and affordability. For some respondents, the perceived affordability of the study area seemed to imply that it was a poor man's retirement haven. Peter, who considered moving to Victoria and Nanaimo, B.C., stated that he subsequently moved to Camp Morton, Manitoba because, "It was mostly value for money with real estate that took me away from Vancouver, from Vancouver Island because it was just, we couldn't get anything that I knew Janet (wife) would like for anything that reasonable." Similarly, Brenda explained that she considered moving to the Kootenay area of B.C. but moved to Winnipeg Beach, "Because we could afford it LOL! yeah, yeah in Vancouver Island once we went around with the realtor we realized it was

out of the question. Kootenays we still could have afforded it”.

For those migrants who engage in a comparative search for a retirement destination, there may be alternative communities in the study area which they considered. Eleven respondents in the Stage 1 sample stated that there was more than one community in the study area to which they considered moving. In total, 14 alternative locations in the study area were considered (Table 6.22.). Some of these locations were within communities such as Gimli or the Village of Dunnottar, while others were located outside such communities. There were a number of reasons why other locations in the study area were considered (Table 6.23.). It is notable that the general neighbourhood/community environment was the most commonly cited reason. For example, the desire to live among “like people” in the community (i.e. retired people), size of the community, and surroundings of the community were cited.

Table 6.22. Alternative residences considered in study area: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Location of alternative residences in study area considered by respondent	Number of citations
Gimli	6
Dunnottar	3
Sandy Hook	1
Winnipeg Beach	1
North of Camp Morton	1
Property located between Gimli and Winnipeg Beach	1
Property located between Arborg and Sandy Hook	1
<i>Total citations = 14 (11 respondents)</i>	

*Twenty-three respondents did not consider moving to more than one community in the study area

Table 6.23. Reasons why alternative residences in study area considered by stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Reasons why alternative residences considered**	Number of citations
General neighbourhood / community environment	8
Amenities	3
Dwelling / property characteristics	3
Physical characteristics	2
<i>Total citations = 16 (11 respondents)</i>	

*Twenty-three respondents did not consider alternative residences in the study area

**Only citations which were enumerated more than once are presented.

In his Stage 1 interview, Geoff, who moved from Winnipeg to Gimli, discussed his residential selection process which involved four locations in the study area prior to the purchase of a home in Siglavik, a residential development in Gimli. Specifically, Geoff's selection process sequentially involved consideration of Lake Forest Estates (north of Camp Morton), the community of Gimli, a lot on a golf course in Gimli, and Siglavik. In Geoff's words,

I liked the privacy there (Lake Forest Estates). There was a, quite a large piece of property with, like an acre and a half. And it had...some of the amenities that...that appealed to us at the time like a two-car garage and a wood burning fireplace and, and all that. But in hindsight we're glad that fell apart because we wouldn't have been happy there because we're, it was too far away from the water.

In speaking about the town of Gimli Geoff stated,

Well that was a house...that was more of a cottage than a house and we were looking on that as a...temporary measure, we were gonna live there for a year, kind of get acclimatized to living in Gimli and the area and, and then treat it as an investment and just sell it and then move, move on. But as it turns out it ended up being a bit of a bidding war for the house and we just said no, we're not interested. And then the lot at the golf course, it was a really a nice lot and I think it was priced right and everything else, ah, it wasn't on the lakefront but it was on, kind of one of those man-made ponds that you have on golf courses you know as a water hazard or whatever and it was really quite nice. But then, you know, we came to grips with the fact, we're not real huge golfers, and if your living on a golf course, I mean, that's why you should be there, I mean, we like being out on the water so, so then we ah, when this one came up on Belliveau in Siglavik, and not many houses come available in Siglavik...we made a full priced offer and got it...we checked it out and we thought you know this, this makes the most sense of all really because we want to be near the water, the house wasn't maybe quite what we wanted but nevertheless it had good potential in it so that's what we did, we sold the lot.

Stephanie, who moved from Winnipeg to Gimli was attracted by the amenities of Gimli. She stated, "There seems to be...it was a nice size and there seemed to be lots of...amenities here, you know, like the banks, the hairdressers, the, the general store, the

hardware store,...this sort of thing”.

Barry, in speaking about why he considered moving to Gimli and Sandy Hook before moving to Winnipeg Beach, stated, “Because they had similar options or things we liked that we have here....the beach, you know, and...off season type of, more relaxed.....surroundings I guess you’d call them.” But Barry subsequently chose Winnipeg Beach as a place to move to because: “We found a house we liked here. We had shopped Sandy Hook and Gimli...prices were a thing too, the prices were higher, especially close to the golf course at Sandy Hook, they’re, the prices were higher there and in Gimli the prices were higher.”

In discussing dwelling and property characteristics, Greg stated that he moved to Gimli because: “It wasn’t overly expensive, it was a...well the right size for us, it has three bedrooms...it’s a, it’s only a, when we bought it, it was only a four year old house, there wasn’t anything that was run down. And a, it has a fairly sizable yard where we can put a garden and things of this sort.”

Several respondents in the Stage 1 survey also made reference to local accessibility as a factor in the migration decision-making process. When asked whether it was important to move to a residence which was close to friends and/or family Gina, who moved from Morden to Gimli upon retirement, stated: “It was very nice, but it wasn’t, it’s not an important thing, not in today’s society when you can get in a car and you can be in Winnipeg in 40 minutes”. Indeed, some migrants were cognizant of different feelings held by people about commuting. Bill stated in his Stage 1 interview,

Ah people that I went to University with...it was like they thought if they moved outside the Perimeter Highway the world drops off, they were like Columbus...You know, yeah, you know, the world drops off there, there’s a big

cliff and you fall into the big abyss. Ah, there's guys that would have taken a job driving a cab before they'd take a job outside the city.

Such an assessment by Bill raised the question of whether local accessibility is actually an important factor in the elder's migration decision-making process. McHugh and Mings (1996) recognized that the geography of aging in the twenty-first century will be impacted upon by the migration and life histories of the large and highly mobile baby boomer cohort. Therefore, do high mobility levels throughout one's life make later life migration and commuting easier? Geoff seemed to agree when he stated in his Stage 1 interview,

Oh I would say, I mean there, there's a lot of people within the city of Winnipeg that you're, you're probably right, that never ventured beyond the Perimeter Highway and I'm telling you a lot of people,.....and then, then people that have lived there all their lives and have never lived anywhere else, they just can't understand, you know, uprooting yourself and moving like this at this stage of our lives but. I mean, we've lived, I played professional hockey and ah, so I've lived in Providence Rhode Island and Baltimore Maryland and Ottawa and Kingston.....Yeah, yeah, way back in the American Hockey league days. Ah, so that, moving was never a big deal to us, my wife was pretty good about it and, and a, then, then in business I moved to Milton Ontario for 5 and a half years and then we moved back to Winnipeg. So, so moving at our stage of living wasn't quite as traumatic as it might be to somebody else whose never moved, always lived in Winnipeg all their lives.

Geoff also stated in his Stage 1 interview,

Yeah I, I would think that, that people have made a life choice decision in their 50's to kind of uproot and move to a place like Gimli aren't...aren't the same as the people that have decided to, to stay in their same residence they've been in for 40 plus years. I don't know whether they've had similar experiences that, that we've had in that they're a little more transient I suppose than, than the people that have been same job, same house, same neighbourhood all their lives. So I, I don't know whether there's going to be a pattern there or not, you know, for the people that you interviewed. I would venture a guess that a lot of the people you interview in, in Gimli, are not going to be from that, that pattern of being in the same house, same neighbourhood, same job for 40 years, cause I think that would be too traumatic to a lot of people to up root and start all over again.

The implications of Geoff's statements is that high levels of mobility throughout the life-course influence later life migration and commuting to locally accessible areas.

6.2.3.3 Mega theme: Characteristics of selected dwelling

The third mega theme relating to Research Question 3 concerns the characteristics of the selected dwelling after the search for a destination has been completed. This mega theme is addressed by data elicited from Survey Stage 1. This mega theme is based on three variables: (i) dwelling type; (ii) tenure type; (iii) living arrangement. Table 6.24. presents the data on the dwelling and tenure types of the Stage 1 sample in the destination community. The table discloses that almost three-quarters of respondents lived in a single-detached home, while the remainder resided in apartments or condominiums. Five respondents resided in the 55+ living facility in Gimli named "The Waterfront Centre", which offers apartments and life lease units, allowing occupants to purchase the right to occupy a life-lease unit in the centre for a specified period of time. Four other respondents occupied units in a condominium complex named "Aspen Park" also located in Gimli. The majority of survey respondents were owners of their properties. Table 6.25. discloses that slightly more than two-thirds of the sample lived with his/her spouse, while over a quarter were living alone. In addition, one respondent lived with her daughter, son-in-law and grandchild.

Table 6.24. Dwelling and tenure types in destination community: Stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Dwelling Type	
Single-detached house	70.5 (24)
Apartment building: Five or more stories	14.7 (5)
Condo	14.7 (5)
Tenure Type	
Owner	85.2 (29)
Renter	14.7 (5)

Table 6.25. Living arrangement in destination community: Stage 1 sample (N=34)

	% (n)
Living Arrangement	
Living with Spouse	70.5 (24)
Living with daughter and son-in-law and grandchild	2.9 (1)
Living alone	26.4 (9)

6.3 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS CONCERNING RESEARCH QUESTIONS 1 - 3

The data elicited through the four survey stages outlined in Chapter 5 were organized hierarchically into variable groups and eight mega themes concerning Research Questions 1 - 3. The mega themes addressing these Research Questions were related to the profile characteristics and migration processes of elders moving to small Prairie lakeshore communities.

Two mega themes address Research Question 1. The profile characteristics of elderly migrants were viewed as inputs to the decision-making process. These mega themes respectively concern the elder's (i) *social, demographic, and economic background*; and (ii) *migration and travel histories* (Figure 3.1.). The analysis of the relevant data revealed that the majority of Stage 1 sample members were "young elderly", that is 55 - 64 years of age. In addition, the Stage 1 sample typically included relatively healthy middle-class seniors who were moderately affluent and married with more than one child. Further, most sample members had not appeared to have moved

very far, having been born and living near the community to which they subsequently moved to in old age. These migration patterns were encouraged by strong family ties within Manitoba. Three-quarters of sample members were retired, thus appearing to follow the conventional sequence of retirement followed by an amenity move. For the remaining sample members, an inverted retirement migration sequence typically occurred where a later life move was followed a few years later by retirement (Haas and Serow 1993). Additionally, respondents appeared to live a relatively active lifestyle as evidenced by their general vacation patterns over the previous 10 years. While these vacations were taken primarily to visit friends and/or family, for a select few respondents, they were characterized by longer-term snowbirding.

My conclusions concerning Research Question 1 parallel the propositions of Wiseman and Roseman (1979) who argued that the generally improving economic status of older people facilitated the decision to move. In addition, the attributes of the respondents are consistent with Litwak and Longino's (1987) first-stage movers in their developmental model of elderly migration types. Specifically, the Litwak-Longino model first-stage movers are distinguished in terms of an immediate post-retirement move, primarily for amenity reasons.

Migrant characteristics influence the decision to move and the type of move that is completed. Research Question 2 addresses the first of two components of the elderly migration decision-making process: *the decision to move* (Figure 3.1.). Three mega themes are associated with Research Question 2. The first of these themes relates to two sets of factors influencing the migration decision: push factors (associated with the previous residence) and pull factors (associated with the current residence). The findings

reveal that the Stage 1 sample rated pull factors more important than push factors. The most important push factors were associated with the general neighbourhood/community environment and dwelling/property characteristics. Examples of factors associated with the general neighbourhood/community environment include a lack of seniors' activities, general noise and fumes, and changes in the social characteristics of the home neighbourhood (e.g. the types of people and their living arrangements). Examples of factors associated with dwelling/property characteristics include the elder's house and yard being too large to maintain, and the high expense of maintaining his/her home after retirement.

The most important pull factors were also associated with the general neighbourhood/community environment of the study area. In particular, the resort setting, activities for seniors, small-town atmosphere, closeness to nature, and peaceful and slower-paced community were important characteristics. Other important pull factors were dwelling/property characteristics, location of friends and/or family in the study area, and the physical environment (most notably proximity to Lake Winnipeg). Further, my sample were also motivated to move to amenity-rich destinations which bolsters the argument that they are similar to first stage amenity movers identified by Litwak and Longino (1987). In addition, the moves of the respondents could be characterized as conforming with the final stage of the elderly mobility transition (Rogers 1990, 1992), which explicitly conceptualizes moves to regional retirement communities in predominantly rural settings.

In relation to the third mega theme associated with Research Question 2, the findings indicate that there were several types of personal contacts involved in the

decision-to-move. However, the individual involved in the decision-to-move were most commonly the respondent's spouse. This conclusion further attests to the importance of the role of family in the migration decision-making process (Bailey, Blake, and Cooke 2004).

Research Question 3 addresses the second component of the elderly migration decision-making process: *the relocation process* (Figure 3.1.). The first of the three related mega themes addresses information sources concerning the study area. The findings reveal that the Stage 1 sample relied on previous place experience, and contacts with friends and/or family already living in the study area who served as information sources concerning potential migration destinations. In his in-depth interview (Stage 2), Frank discussed how his friends already living in Gimli helped him ease into the community through introductions to locals and breaking the ice with them. In addition, Monica spoke of the confidence she acquired about spending her first winter in the study area after her sister successfully survived a winter of her own. Some respondents also relied upon publications and information provided by real estate agents. The use of similar sources has been reported in previous research (e.g. Longino 1981; Longino et al. 1991). In particular, Longino (1981) found that contacts with individuals at a destination are a major factor facilitating adjustment to the new environment. Further, slightly more than half of the Stage 1 sample had a history of vacationing in the area over the past 10 years, with most visits 3 days or less in duration. These vacation trips also provided respondents with information about their future destination communities.

In relation to the second mega theme related to Research Question 3 which concerns the search space, the findings reveal that the Stage 1 sample was almost evenly

divided on whether they considered moving to a location outside or inside the study area. Thus, some migrants engage in a comparative search for a retirement destination while others clearly do not. These results are thus consistent with those of Cuba (1991) who originally distinguished between destination specific and destination search migrants. It is noteworthy that more than one-half of my sample thought it was important to move to a location where friends and family were located, while the importance of proximity to larger centres was also frequently cited.

McHugh (1984) and Watkins (1990) reported that attachments people develop through their experiences with place impact their migration decisions. In this study, many respondents developed attachments with the study area over a considerable time-period prior to the move through visitation. However, some of the reasons why migrants decided to move to the area (e.g., proximity to water, scenery, and golf facilities) were very different from the reasons why they visited the area before the move (e.g., visit friends and/or family, leisure, relaxation). Nevertheless, these earlier visitation patterns can be conceptualized as a process which eventually culminates in a residential relocation. This conclusion is consistent with Krout's (1983) contention that seasonal mobility increases a potential migrant's knowledge of an area, thus establishing personal and economic ties which ultimately facilitate a migration move.

In relation to the Stage 2 in-depth interviews concerning Research Questions 1 - 3, it is noteworthy that respondents exhibited both commonalities and differences in their life histories (work, education, and family histories). Overall, they appeared to live their lives free from devastating social and/or economic hardships which may not have been the case with other population groups (e.g. homeless populations). The importance of

previous place experience on the migration decision-making process was underscored throughout these interviews. All in-depth sample members agreed that a significant amount of previous place experience with a destination was necessary prior to moving. In one particular case, this experience was quite negative, although upon further exposure to their destination community a move followed. Further, most of the Stage 2 sample members felt that the close proximity of larger centres to the study area was an important factor in their relocation decision-making process. In their in-depth interviews, respondents also spoke of the importance of having friends and family residing at the destination who provided a reliable source of local information and served as a conduit to successful integration. These conclusions, and the stories which allowed them to be made, could not have been reached without the use of in-depth interviewing techniques, thus highlighting their importance in migration research.

Overall, the results of the data analysis relating to the first three research questions has revealed that the role of family in the migration decision-making process is significant either directly or indirectly. Further, the appeal of an amenity rich environment is evident among the responses of my sample. These conclusions are based on the results of a data analysis strategy that involved comparisons of the statistical profiles of older migrants and their qualitative responses to semi-structured and open-end questions.

6.4 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the data analysis strategies relating to all of the research questions are outlined. Further, the results of the analyses relating to Research Questions 1 - 3

concerning elderly migrant profiles and decision making are presented. An overview of the main findings relating to Research Questions 1 - 3 is then presented, with particular emphasis on their theoretical implications and relevance to previous related literature.

Chapter 7

The Analysis: Research Question 4 (Migration Outcomes) and Life-history Profiles

In this chapter, the findings based on the analysis relating to Research Question 4, which concerns migration outcomes, are first presented. The chapter then offers findings based on in-depth life-history profiles of three older migrants who completed the Stage 2 interviews. An overview of the main findings relating to Research Question 4 and the in-depth life-history profiles are next presented, with particular emphasis on their theoretical implications.

7.1 THE FINDINGS

7.1.1 Research question 4: Elderly migration outcomes

Research Question 4 states “What are the outcomes of the moves of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?” Research Question 4 is addressed by the analysis of data relating to two mega themes (Table 6.4.). The first mega theme focuses on the role of the elder’s experience in place integration, while the second concerns the role of community structures in place integration. The results of the analysis of data relating to each of these mega themes are presented in turn.

7.1.1.1 Mega theme: Role of elder’s experience in place integration

The first mega theme associated with Research Question 4 relates to the role of the elder’s experience in place integration, and is composed of five variable groups: (i) overall satisfaction with community; (ii) problems in community; (iii) changes in

community; (iv) vacation patterns; (v) future migration intentions. The data relating to the mega theme were elicited from interviews comprising Stages 1, 2 and 4. All Stage 1 sample members were generally satisfied with their move to their current community. Table 7.1. presents the reasons why sample members were satisfied with their move. The most commonly cited reason for satisfaction with the move was the general neighbourhood/community environment. Other cited factors included the range of social activities, dwelling/property characteristics, affordability of the new community, and the people in the community who were friendly and “like-minded”. For example, Frank, a resident of Gimli, stated in his Stage 1 interview, “Oh yes, yes, we love it here. Everyone’s so friendly, it’s a nice quiet community, you can walk down the street at 2 in the morning. You can, you always meet somebody, you know, it’s one of those little Andy Griffith towns, you know, it’s nice”.

Table 7.1. Reasons for general satisfaction with move: Stage 1 sample (N=34)

Reasons for satisfaction	Number of citations
General neighbourhood/community environment	31
People	21
Activities/social life	5
Dwelling/property characteristics	4
Affordability	2
	<i>Total citations = 63 (34 respondents)</i>

Table 7.2. presents data on whether respondents preferred to remain in their previous residence. The table reveals that no fewer than 82.3% of the Stage 1 sample preferred not to remain in their previous residence. Those who did not wish to remain in their previous residence cited a number of reasons, the most important of which were related to aspects of their housing, neighbourhood, and community. More specifically, respondents stated that their previous homes were increasingly difficult to maintain, and were located in deteriorating neighbourhoods. Additional reasons for moving included a

lack of activities in their previous community, and high taxes in Winnipeg. Three sample members were undecided as to whether they wished they had remained in their previous residence and three other sample members wish they had remained. Two of the three sample members who wished they had remained in their previous residence also cited reasons for leaving this residence.

Table 7.2. Reasons for preferring not to remain in previous residence: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Reasons for leaving previous residence	Number of citations
Dwelling/property characteristics (previous and current locations)	23
Neighbourhood/community environment (previous and current locations)	11
Activities (previous and current locations)	2
Death of spouse	2
Time for change	2
People in current location	1
<i>Total citations = 41 (31 respondents)</i>	

*3 respondents preferred to remain in their previous residence and 3 respondents were undecided whether they preferred to remain in their previous residence. The reasons why the 3 undecided respondents did not want to remain in their previous residence are included in Table 7.2.

A number of problems may be encountered in the new communities after the move. Table 7.3. presents the problems identified by Stage 1 respondents with regard to their home communities. Twelve respondents felt that there were no problems in their community. With regard to the remainder of the Stage 1 sample, there was no general agreement concerning major problems. However, the most frequently reported problems included the inability to secure trades people to perform various jobs, and difficulties in accessing adequate medical attention. Other problems included an inefficient sewer system, flooding or the threat of flooding, and unpaved roads. It should be noted that residents of the same community sometimes cited similar problems (i.e. two residents of Sandy Hook citing unpaved roads in the area). This partly reflects the diversity of the study area whereby only certain locations are plagued by a particular problem. Addressing the lack of physicians in the study area, Stephanie, who had migrated from

Winnipeg to Winnipeg Beach stated in her Stage 1 interview,

It's a big problem in the Interlake, getting family physicians to...work in small communities and let's face it, the majority of people here are sort of, it's geriatric medicine. There used to be two operating rooms at, when it was Johnson Memorial Hospital, but now they're, they don't have any operating rooms, there's no minor surgery, none other than a suture or something, you know...so, I don't, I don't know, unless they expanded it I don't think they're going to attract...the right sort of family practitioners...I don't know how they intend to get around it.

Table 7.3. Problems in new community cited by stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Type of Problem	Number of citations
Availability of trades people	4
Availability of medical services	4
Inefficient sewer system	3
Flooding problems	3
Unpaved roads	2
Other problems	13
<i>Total citations = 29 (22 respondents)</i>	

*12 respondents did not cite any problems in their community

Joan, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, also discussed the medical situation in the study area and how the realities of the situation may impact future migration to the area.

In her Stage 1 interview, Joan stated,

Yeah, that's the thing we discussed and its become a very sore issue here is, is the medical facilities, not being able to get a doctor...when we first moved here there, there was a doctor that was taking patients but, hindsight,...we had no idea...that, that particular doctor would get such a huge practice. And there's, there's four practicing doctors and they all have waiting lists. And now there's even the worst dilemma where they're, they're thinking of closing the emergency department.....And, and, the point, my point is that if people who are moving out here, if they realized how difficult it will, was once you get sick, how difficult, difficult it was to get a doctor...they'd probably think twice about it. They see this beautiful hospital and that's basically what, what a, helped our decision to stay here, was the hospital, and we knew that they were renovating so to us that was a major factor.....You know, we thought, we saw that hospital as a viable hospital for any type of ah, medical emergencies or whatever, and, and...after living here and finding out that whatever renovations they did is just a glorified Manitoba Health Authority and that's all it is, it's huge.

In response to this problem Joan took action:

I've written, I, actually I wrote an e-mail to the (Winnipeg) Free Press and I was

published in the editorial page and that was my, my issue was that fact that there weren't any doctors in this area and my other issues was that they have this, this fancy phone number that's manned by someone and what they're supposed to do is they're supposed to (tell) you where the doctors are and when I phoned that number they just said "I'm sorry, there aren't any doctors". So that's when I realized how really bad the situation was.

My Stage 1 interview with Joan was significant because we discussed what she had identified as a serious problem in the community. It is particularly noteworthy that she also addressed the potential impact of this problem on future elderly migration to the area. This underscores the importance of identifying problematic situations for elderly residents that are specifically associated with where they live.

In the two focus group sessions for both elderly migrants and community leaders (Survey Stage 4), health care provision was again cited as being one of the main problems in the study area. In particular, focus group members spoke of the lack of government funding for health care in rural areas contributing to existing health care problems. Participants noted that, in general, rural areas receive little money for health care. However, in resort communities, usage of health care resources is very uneven throughout the year as many communities have a reduced population during the winter months and a swelled population throughout the summer months. To complicate this matter, the average age of the populations of rural communities is increasing. Michael, a community leader, stated in one of the focus groups,

The biggest.....problem is in...in...rural areas, the population is sparse compared to cities, so you'll find more of the concerns are being looked after in larger centres than the smaller centres. Whereas the smaller centres now you'll find the majority of, of people are over the age of 50...and they're gonna require that care. And you don't see that, you don't see the funding coming up to the rural areas because they deal with the majority. And again, let's be realistic. You're voting, you're gonna get to public office, you're gonna go with the bigger population than the little guy. That's realistic I think...

A further problem which some migrants identified was the lack of a sewer system. In her Survey Stage 1 interview, Sophia, a resident of Gimli, identified the lack of a sewer system as being the most serious problem in Gimli. She stated,

It, it's, it's quite high on the community,...complaint list...and there are meetings about it quite often...and some people want it, actually the people who live here year round want it, people who are just cabin owners don't want it because they don't wanna pay for it.....the environmentalists are concerned...with people, now I've heard this, I, I don't know if it's the truth whether, some people just have a grey area, and everything goes into the grey area, and then it washes into the lake, that is not good, not good at all. And we don't want that to happen because, inevitably, that would ruin our lake and we're very concerned about it.

In relation to the Stage 1 sample, 58.8% reported being satisfied with the provision of services in their new community, although some of these respondents did express reservations. The remaining respondents expressed general dissatisfaction with service provision in the new community. Table 7.4. presents the services with which Stage 1 sample members expressed dissatisfaction. The main concerns or problems related to the provision of medical services, and to a lesser extent financial, retail and general services. No fewer than 31 respondents obtained at least some services outside of the community (Table 7.5.). Respondents visited Gimli (i.e. non-Gimli residents living in the study area), Winnipeg Beach (i.e. non-Winnipeg Beach residents living in the study area), Winnipeg, Selkirk, Arborg and Steinbach to purchase services (Figure 4.1.). In particular, these communities afforded shopping facilities, including big box stores in Selkirk and Winnipeg, for purchases of groceries, clothing, and furniture. In addition, places outside the new community provided medical services, financial services, restaurants, entertainment, and a variety of miscellaneous services (Table 7.6.). Twelve Stage 1 respondents (35.2%) indicated that additional services in their town of residence

would reduce or eliminate trips elsewhere. The services cited included improved shopping and medical facilities in Gimli, Sandy Hook, and Winnipeg Beach, while the lack of a branch of the Bank of Montreal in Winnipeg Beach was also mentioned. If more services were provided in their town of residence, however, the remaining 19 respondents (55.8%) would continue trips elsewhere. One respondent, Geoff, a resident of Gimli, stated in his Stage 1 interview that he felt that services in Gimli were adequate given the size of the town. In his words,

...for the most part it's satisfactory (services) I mean, when you come from a big city you kinda take a lot of things for granted...but, when you move to small place like this, you know, you realize that you, you haven't got as much choice and a, that's one of the trade-offs of moving to a small town. Ah, so no we're not satisfied with, you know, for example the, the grocery stores as ok but on occasion my wife will drive to Selkirk to go to a Safeway, for example, cause she just much prefers to have the best choice that you get at a Safeway that you don't get here. And, you know, the financial institutions I think here tend to have a bit of a captive market so...they might not be as competitive as they should be.

Janet, who had relocated from Thompson, Manitoba, to Gimli, stated that her move had been partly prompted by proximity to shopping facilities in Selkirk because there were few shopping resources in Thompson. Would additional services in Gimli reduce or eliminate Janet's trips to Selkirk? Janet stated in her Stage 1 interview,

I suppose, yes. If there were more retail stores it would, yeah, it would, but I don't want more retail stores here LOL!.....Because I...then it changes things and it changes like I don't want a Wal-mart down the street, I don't want a Canadian Tire, I don't want those because then it changes the whole "feel" of Gimli.....The feel of Gimli is small townresort community.....easy to live, easy to get around. I don't know how, I, that's just me, I don't want to see any of those stores here, I would sooner drive.....Not to spoil the ambience of Gimli, that's my feeling. I mean I like the little shops that are here, the little shops in the hotel, and Tergusons, and, I may not buy anything in there but I still like the smallness of it, yeah.

Table 7.4. Main concerns with the provision of services: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Service concerns	Number of citations
Provision of medical services	11
Provision of financial services	5
Range of retail services and services in general	4
	<i>Total citations = 20 (14 respondents)</i>

*20 respondents were satisfied with the provision of services in their community

Table 7.5. Where services are obtained outside new community: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Place outside home community	Number of citations
Winnipeg	29
Selkirk	14
Gimli / Winnipeg Beach	13
Arborg	4
Steinbach	1
	<i>Total citations = 61 (31 respondents)</i>

*3 respondents did not obtain services outside of their community

Table 7.6. Services obtained outside new community: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Services obtained outside of home community	Number of citations
Medical services	29
Groceries	21
Miscellaneous	22
Financial services	14
Big box stores (i.e. Walmart)	11
Furniture	9
Clothing	8
Restaurants	8
Entertainment	5
	<i>Total citation = 127 (31 respondents)</i>

*3 respondents did not obtain services outside of their community

I was also interested in how older people respond to ongoing problematic situations. In particular, I was interested in the strategies that my respondents employed to address their problems in the new community. Table 7.7. presents the responses to problems cited by Stage 1 sample members. The table indicates that some migrants who identified problems in their new community had contacted a community leader about the problem, or adopted a persistent attitude to solve the problem with individuals other than community leaders. Two respondents solved their problems without assistance, while a further two respondents attended community meetings to air their concerns about the problem. Table 7.8. indicates that the respondents were somewhat divided on whether

the community was responsive to their problems or otherwise. For 14 respondents, however, the responsiveness of communities to their problems was not applicable. Twelve of these respondents had cited no problems (Table 7.7.), while the other two respondents indicated that the community could not have solved their problems.

Table 7.7. Responses to problems in the new community cited by stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Type of response	Number of citations
Contacted someone in the community	6
Adopted a persistent attitude to solve problem with non community leaders	3
Solved problem without assistance	2
Attended meetings	2
Other responses	14
<i>Total citations = 27 (22 respondents)</i>	

*12 respondents did not cite any response strategy

Table 7.8. Evaluation of community's response to problems cited by stage 1 sample (N=34)

Evaluation of response	% (n)
Community responded to problem(s)	17.6 (6)
Community did not respond to problem(s)	26.4 (9)
Don't know	14.7 (5)
Not applicable	41.1 (14)

Table 7.9. presents data on changes in the new community cited by the Stage 1 sample. The type of change which received the highest number of citations by respondents was the construction and renovation of buildings with 31 citations, followed by population growth and change with 11 citations. Table 7.10. presents the overall evaluation of changes in the new communities by Stage 1 sample members. Migrants generally viewed the changes which they identified as being either "good" or "very good".

Sarah, a resident in Gimli, recognized that the growth in the number of buildings and population increase would create further pressure on Gimli's inadequate sewer system. When asked in her Stage 1 interview about the most significant changes in her community, Sarah stated,

Table 7.9. Changes in new community cited by stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Type of Change	Number of citations
Construction and renovation of buildings	31
Population growth and change	11
Dyking activity	2
Increased businesses activity	2
Increased value of property	2
<i>Total citations = 48 (30 respondents)</i>	

*Four respondents cited no change

Table 7.10. Overall evaluation of change in new community of stage 1 sample (N=34)

Evaluation	% (n)
Very good	41.1 (14)
Good	29.4 (10)
Neither good nor bad	14.7 (5)
Bad	2.9 (1)
No change reported	11.7 (4)

Yeah, I guess it, it would be the.....building of houses, you know, the obvious...increase in population. Because certainly even in Siglavik (Gimli) a lot of lots have been bought, and have been bought for quite a few years but people are just building on them now. And...in town I, I was so surprised this sort of winter and spring how many new houses went up, never mind the, the...condos and stuff that they're building...the sewer system is overwhelmed, so then you kind of wonder why they're attaching all these houses.

Monica, whose parents owned a cottage in Winnipeg Beach since the 1950s, had visited the area since she was a child and always planned on retiring there now having lived as a permanent resident in Winnipeg Beach. Monica considered that the amount of renovations in the community was the most significant change. However, she had mixed feelings about these renovations. In her Stage 1 interview, Monica stated,

Well it depends on how you look at it.....you know I would have to say neither good nor bad. It really depends on how you look at it. I mean, don't particularly, I'm not glad on the one hand that this neighbourhood's changing a whole lot, I don't like it not a bit....On the other hand my job is to sell real estate and I like selling lots of houses down here so people moving down here it's great and also I like to get my friends to move down here so I'd have to say neither good nor bad...I'm not crazy about it to become a metropolis, I like the way it is...I didn't want them to pave this front street... Its just gonna make people go faster. So you know....they paved it and then they put stop signs up every second block.

Geoff, a resident and realtor in Gimli stated that the most significant change that

he had seen was the construction of homes and noted that this had had a noticeable impact on the local housing market. Geoff stated in his Stage 1 interview,

And, you know, it's created kind of a, a demand on some of the existing homes in the core, like I mean cause a lot of people want to be where they can walk to downtown, not have to get in their car, and wanna be on the town water and sewer system which, which is in the core of Gimli, and, so consequently there's only so many houses that fall into that category and puts pressure on those, demand is, demand for those therefore the prices go up.

In consequence, Geoff had mixed feelings about the construction boom in the area:

Well, you know, the good from a taxpayers' standpoint I guess the a, you broaden the base and you have more tax payers contributing to the, to the pot. ...but the same time why people moved out to Gimli in the first place was kind of the elite character of the town and the area and so on. And my concern is...if it gets overdeveloped then your gonna lose some of it. For example, they're building a brand a brand new condo on the lakeshore in Gimli right now that's gonna change the face of downtown Gimli forever, and a...So I mean I think that, that changes kind of the...unique character of Gimli somewhat, but I guess, you know some of the old time residents could, could say the Lakeview Hotel changed Gimli forever too once it was built, it became more of a modern town than a sleepy little fishing village that it used to be. And that's neither good nor bad I guess but, I suppose we're in the twenty-first century and progress is kind of what everybody a, is used to and nothing stays the same.

My discussion with both Geoff and Monica illustrate not only a recognition of changes in communities, but a critical analysis of their impacts on their community. These impacts may potentially influence future elderly migration to the study area and related migration outcomes.

Consistent with results gleaned from the Stage 1 survey, participants of both focus groups (Stage 4 Survey) voiced that the most significant changes seen in their community include the building and renovating of homes and buildings. However, respondents expressed different views on whether new construction was good or bad. Monica, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, discussed her mixed feelings about these

changes. She stated in one of the focus group interviews,

Well, I'm down here cause I, I'm talking about Winnipeg Beach, I moved down to Winnipeg Beach because I really like the quietness of it. I'm a realtor so I love to sell houses to people moving down here and do all the time. But on the other hand I'm not sure I really want things to change very much. I really like the way it is, I moved here because I like the way it is. If another store opens in Winnipeg Beach, I don't care if another one ever opens in Winnipeg Beach, I don't care if another restaurant ever opens. I don't care if, I, I was unhappy when Prospect was paved, I would have loved to, I was tempted to go and dig trenches for, reverse pot holes and for...speed bumps, that's, you know, so, what we did ...I'm not sure that I really want to see any growth, I know it's good for the tax base.

Brenda, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, picked up on Monica's argument and stated in the same focus group,

We like the way it is too because...in my opinion, as long as you got a decent grocery store that you can go and get you're stuff that you run out of and it won't cost you an arm and a leg. We got a post office, we got restaurants in town and then for us it's a treat to come to Gimli, to go to Selkirk, to explore other things, so I know what you're saying coming from the beach.

Frank, a resident of Gimli, held an entirely different perspective which he verbalized in one of the focus groups:

I think Winnipeg Beach and Gimli area that would be whole...Dunnottar, in all these, I think its stuck in, my personal feelings, its still stuck in 30 years ago in which 'do we expand' or 'do we just stay the way we are?'. Or do we really put money in the community and really, like there's really no attraction for people to come here, like, to bring tourists for the weekend, but if I'm just going down to the beach you need a real, you have to turn the whole area into a resort...I think that our leaders here have to start promoting that wonderful lake they have out there as, whether its from 30 miles north or all the way down to where the lake ends, as a resort area...cause you cannot, it can't sustain itself on permanent residents.....And that's all stopped. And the thing about Gimli, there's nothing here to, it has to be turned into a resort, you need outfitters to start and to really push fishing in the lake, to go hunting further north, to have tours around here, like turn it into a Banff.

In one of the focus groups, Serge, a community leader, noted that the most significant change in Dunnottar is younger families moving there from Winnipeg

because of the high cost of living in the latter: “That is unbelievably...like...ten years ago there were hardly any kids around in the summer, definitely not that many during the off-season. But now...just in the area that I live in, there’s at least a dozen young families who moved in there in the last few years”.

Throughout the Stage 1, 2 and 4 surveys, the researcher was informed that the immigration of younger families was more noticeable in recent years relative to the immigration of older age cohorts. However, the researcher was also informed that there is a lack of housing to accommodate all incoming migrants. Certainly, the absence of an affordable congregate living facility for individuals 55 years of age and older will affect the plans of seniors still living in their homes. For example, in one of the focus group sessions Brenda, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, stated,

I think the only thing that would drive us away would be if, if we could not maintain our house any more and there was no...affordable 55 plus for us to move into. That might be the only thing that might push us back to Winnipeg. Other than that, as you get older you...you don’t do the...the recreation, like the bowling, the curling, etc. So that, I don’t think that would be an issue. I think housing would probably be the only issue that would push us away. That would be... everything else is, even medical, so if you gotta go to the city it’s only a forty minute drive if you have to go see a doctor.

Other significant changes in the area noted by focus group members included increased dyking, an increased amount of garbage in the ditches, and restaurants changing hands in Winnipeg Beach.

Over one-half of my Stage 1 respondents (55.8%) took vacations after moving to their new community. Vacation destinations frequented by respondents ranged from outside of the study area but within Manitoba, to locations outside of North America. Interestingly, half of vacations taken outside of Canada but within North America were

to traditional U.S. Sunbelt states such as Texas, Florida, Arizona and California. In relation to respondents who took vacations, the overwhelming majority reported that their vacations lasted under eight weeks. With one exception, all respondents who took vacations did so at least once a year with eight taking vacations at least twice a year. The most common motivation for taking vacations was to visit friends and/or family. Other factors cited were related to amenities at the vacation destinations. Essentially, these destinations were viewed as “different”, offering various attractions, and recreational activities. Some respondents cited the need to get away from the Manitoba winter climate, and to experience pleasure, escapism, and fun. Thus, the majority of the Stage 1 sample enjoy at least some vacation time on an annual basis.

Interestingly, the respondents had varying conceptions of what constitutes a vacation. Respondents frequently stated that “when you’re retired, everyday is like a vacation”. Glen, who moved from Rosser, Manitoba to Gimli, Manitoba, discussed this matter in his Stage 1 interview: “More here revolves around something special like a, maybe on a Wednesday you’re gonna go on a hundred mile snowmobile trip or, you know, you got a big plan for the weekend ice fishing with a bunch of guys or, or, you know, I mean it more revolves around that type of thing in your daily life here”. This particular positive personal experience in place may be evidence of Glen’s integration into his community.

One of the unexpected themes to emerge from the Stage 2 interviews concerned the impact of the vacations of established residents in the new community on the lifestyle choices of the migrants. This topic of discussion emerged in my in-depth interview with Ian. Ian, a resident of Sandy Hook, recalled his conversations with

residents in the area which addressed one specific aspect of their lifestyle, snowbirding:

Everybody says go to either "Browns" or "McAllen"...I talked to other people that done it, what they did is they just got in the car, drove down to one place...checked out, used that as a base and checked out different communities and maybe decided on one next year. Like they all have rental units or sometimes if you luck out you can even buy something down there for next to nothing, estate sale or whatever, and you got a fully furnished trailer for next to nothing and just have to pay the fees for having to sit there.

Also,

Next winter, I don't know what our plans will be but think we're gonna take after Christmas either get in a vehicle, go away for a Christmas, winter holiday, someplace warm, or get in a car, whatever we got, and drive right down to Texas and just see what's there down there and try to rent a trailer for three months or whatever and then just see how we like that and, go, just close the place up as the weather starts to warm up, just get away from the cold. Like January, February, and probably March.

Thus, it may be argued that once moving to a community and living among people who live a particular lifestyle, new residents may adopt features of that lifestyle. In Ian's case this "adopted lifestyle" involved annual vacations in the form of snowbirding.

Studying the future migration plans of elderly migrants is important as they will also reveal problems associated with their communities, and possibly disintegration of the person-place relationship. Thirty-two Stage 1 respondents (94.1%) stated that their future migration plans had not changed since the time of their move. The remaining two respondents noted that their plans had changed and would now involve leaving the new community due to deteriorating health and the desire to live closer to family living outside of the study area. No fewer than 82.3% of the Stage 1 sample had no future intentions of moving away from the study area. Reasons cited by the remaining Stage 1 sample members for a potential move included "something drastic" such as the removal of a golf course in the area or if their community got "flooded out". When discussing the

intention of moving, Glen, a resident of Gimli, explained that even though he had no plans to move, "It will come a time when you'll have to though, you know, you have to realize that you don't live forever and a, you know if you get to the point when you, when you have trouble driving or a, or have some health problems, you know, it's not a very good place to live". Such a sentiment was echoed by respondents more than once which led the author to believe that migrants generally felt that to live in the study area you had to be relatively healthy. For Holly, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, a future move, even one within the study area, would be directly related to changes in the housing market in the community. In her Stage 1 interview, she stated, "If they, if they build these 55 plus places that they say they have in mind, that would be where we would intend to go, for sure. Then we wouldn't have to move to Gimli, or Selkirk, cause you know you, get established here it would be nice to go there".

Another theme to emerge in the in-depth (Stage 2) interviews concerned attachment to place early in life and subsequent behavioural patterns in later life. McHugh and Mings (1996) have argued that "circumstances and experiences early in life set individuals on divergent paths that are amplified over the life-course...space-time paths are conditioned by many factors, but inexorably these paths reflect evolving attachments with place" (pp. 546). Therefore, a lack of attachment to place early in life may also have consequences on subsequent behavioural patterns that are amplified over the life course. For example, Brenda, a resident of Winnipeg Beach whose father worked with the Royal Canadian Air Force, completed several residential moves before she was 20 years old that were associated with her father's job transfers. As an adult, Brenda continued to be highly mobile searching for residences that were close to her workplaces.

In addition, Brenda also sought out residences that were affordable. Brenda reflected on these moves, "Because I talk to people that have lived in the same house from the time they were born until they move out and get married and I always think 'Gee, I wish I could have done that and had more roots', you know".

While not being happy with her "rootless" lifestyle, Brenda felt that not having "roots" made it easier for her to move later in life. However, her views on attachment had changed in recent years:

You don't get attached, and that's why to me a house is a house, a car is a car. Like a car is transportation, I don't need something fancy, as long as the house is nice and neat. To me its more important that my scenery around me is nice, that I can, because you leave your house and you do things, so that's why as long as your house is, is decent, it's not run down...to me a house, mind you, I'm gettin attached to this place because I'm ready to settle down, you know, after all this moving around all my life, I've reached the point where I'm too tired to do it anymore, you know, it's a...you gather stuff, you have to get rid of it and...

Brenda's high level of mobility throughout her life had impacted on what she desired in a community today: "So, that's why I just love it here, that fact that we can walk. I mean, even if we wanted to just walk to the store to get a loaf of bread we don't have to get in a vehicle to do it. That, to me, that is important, to, being close to, having things close".

Finally, Brenda's rootless lifestyle made it hard for her to understand why people who have lived in a place for a long time did not have roots or a feeling of responsibility to their community:

...because I don't have any roots to this community, I can't understand why people that have lived here or vacationed here most of their life, I can't understand why they're not more community oriented.....like I can see young people when they come here it's for a vacation, they don't wanna get involved. But once your retired and living here...it's your community now...like I use the example the sandbagging, and not attending the entertainment.

McHugh and Mings (1996) have argued that space-time frameworks at both the macro and micro-scales have much potential in aging and migration research. In Brenda's case, her migration history had clearly impacted her current behaviour and opinions. It may therefore be suggested that research on the migration patterns of the baby boomer cohort would best be served by examining their migration and life histories.

7.1.1.2 Mega theme: The role of community structures in place integration

The second mega theme associated with Research Question 4, which relates to the role of community structures in place integration, is composed of two variable groups: (i) role of community leaders; (ii) role of service groups and community organizations. The data relating to this mega theme were elicited from Survey Stages 1, 3 and 4. One of the topics that I was interested in exploring were the views of community leaders on the impact of the current influx of older people on the study area. Community leaders were certainly well aware of the movement of the elderly into their communities and frequently referred to their demands on local housing resources. As Michael pointed out in his Stage 3 interview,

A lot of these places we have cottages that have to be winterized...and what happens is these people coming into retirement, what we're getting is people that have a high income, tearing down, they're selling their houses in Winnipeg, tearing down the cottage or...home and building something new. Those things are happening and we're seeing that growth.

Concern was also expressed about the lack of new housing in the area targeted to low-income seniors which therefore resulted in new housing being unaffordable to many older people. Moreover, the overall high demand for housing in the study area was

typically blamed for raising real estate prices throughout the study area. The urgent need for affordable local housing was recognized by Tom, a community leader, who stated in his Stage 3 interview,

...Gimli does not have as most communities don't have a lot of...low cost housing. The real estate market in Gimli has been fairly vibrant and that's increased the cost of real estate in Gimli. Therefore, affordability of housing becomes an issue, always will be, but it...its, more and more properties are... have probably gone up 30 percent in Gimli in the last two years. That means that they're less affordable for people.

However, Michael, in his Stage 3 interview, acknowledged that the development of a senior housing project in Winnipeg Beach will be difficult:

But people have to realize that in order to get a facility up like that you need the money and you can't get the money if there's nobody willing to invest in it first of all. So, if, if you want a 55 complex, there's two ways of doing it. One, is you get an investor to build the facility, ok? If there's no investors, you can't make it happen. You can't force John Doe to come in and build the place, the numbers aren't there.

Higher priced real estate may negatively impact (i) seniors already living in the community with low incomes, and/or (ii) seniors that are already living in senior housing like the Waterfront Centre or Rotary Towers in Gimli where rents will increase. Nora, a community leader, noted the housing demand created by both younger families moving into Winnipeg Beach and elders with changing needs as they age. In her Stage 3 interview she stated,

What I'm seeing now is a lot more younger families coming in...a lot of the seniors that have moved out of the, out of the Winnipeg Beach area, they had to because they wanted to be in a, in a home or somewhere where they don't have to mow their own lawn anymore. With Winnipeg Beach there's nothing like that available so they moved to Gimli.

Tom, in his Stage 3 interview, stated that he felt that the influx of elderly into the study area could negatively impact the stereotype of Gimli: "...it could lead to the fact

that Gimli will get the label as a, as an old-person town...that could lead to young people not specifically wanting to be there". However, despite Tom's concerns, the continued in-migration of younger families has been observed by other community leaders. Other impacts of population growth cited by community leaders included the need for a higher capacity sewer system in Gimli and overcrowding at the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre".

Community leaders and elderly migrants interacted in a very friendly manner throughout the two focus groups (Stage 4). Both parties engaged in identifying and discussing relevant issues, and their causes, implications, and potential solutions, in a constructive manner. When discussing the potential impacts of the current influx of elderly into the study area in a focus group setting, Holly, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, expressed a view echoed by both seniors and community leaders throughout the data collection process: "Keep hearing about the 55 pluses coming to Winnipeg Beach and it's something that we would probably be interested in because we wouldn't want to leave the area". Holly's concerns were representative of many residents in the study area who realize that at some point in the future they will have to leave their homes, but do not want to leave their current community.

However, even if a new facility were to be built, it clearly must be affordable for seniors currently residing in the community. In one of the focus groups, Brenda, a resident of Winnipeg Beach, stated:

See and that's, we bought that big property...for now because we wanted, like, we like the space but I, I know that 10 years from now I'm not, we're not gonna be able to maintain that yard. Well Billy (husband) probably still will be able to but I probably won't be able to. But when we saw that those condos were selling for a hundred and thirty-four thousand LOL!

In one of the focus groups (Stage 4), Susan, a community leader, discussed how important affordable housing is in the study area:

A lot of seniors that, these women never worked out, they always stayed at home, and now to be able to live somewhere, there isn't anyplace for them to live. We've got a lot of single mums that want to stay here because they're raising they're family, they feel that it's a safe place to be. But when you work for a little bit more than minimum wage, how do you, you can't afford to pay the dollars that are being requested. So, and even the facilities that have been built, our complexes that have been built here lately, they're quite high. There's lot of people that can't afford to go into those type of life-lease because they don't have that kind of money sitting in their bank accounts and still pay a monthly rent that I don't even know what they are.

The greatest problems facing the elderly and their community that were cited by the community leaders were categorized into three categories: (i) housing (five citations); (ii) health care (four citations); (iii) low-income seniors who were unable to utilize local recreational facilities (e.g. "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre") sufficiently (two citations). A lack of housing was generally cited as being a problem in the communities. For example, the entire study area is home to only one non-profit assisted living facility, the "Betel Personal Care Home", which is located in Gimli. There is also a lack of space in subsidized Manitoba Government housing, with one building located in Winnipeg Beach and three located in Gimli. In addition, senior living facilities, such as the "Waterfront Centre" and "Rotary Towers" in Gimli, are not affordable for many of today's seniors. Thus, the availability of housing throughout the study area is a paramount concern. Susan noted in her Stage 3 interview:

We're also looking at the fact that...the seniors that are staying in their home have no place to go. You see, then they can't afford to go to the Rotary, they can't afford to go to the Waterfront, Manitoba housing is full...And people want, that are on social assistance or single mums that are on, have lower income, when it comes time to go to Manitoba Housing so they can get some sub, some subsidized housing, we only have eight units out at Aspen Park, there are no

more. So the availability for even that is not here.

Community leaders reported that a lack of available housing for seniors is placing pressure on the existing housing market by: (i) seniors living in the study area who want to move from their homes; (ii) the in-migration of both seniors and younger families into the study area. Many seniors are unable to move out of their homes into an affordable senior living facility because of the lack of housing throughout the study area. Without these facilities, seniors are obliged to live in their homes longer than they would wish, thus reducing the amount of housing available to other seniors and younger age cohorts moving into the study area. Moreover, when elders do ultimately move into senior housing facilities, they must also typically leave their home community due to the lack of such facilities locally.

Community leaders particularly stressed the additional pressures on the existing housing market due to the in-migration of younger families into the study area. Serge, stated in his Stage 3 interview,

...I just went on...streets on 4...5 on either side of me and then when I looked at all, what's happened over the last five years on those four or five streets, it's amazing the number of young families there and its not. Ten years ago, yes it was older people who buy them, you know, that's not what's happening now. Not all at once, no doubt about that. Generally they are younger and younger people.

In addition, Serge also noted that the locational characteristics of younger cohorts in the communities in the study area display a very unique spatial pattern. Thus, younger families tend not to settle in areas of higher priced real estate, such as in Sandy Hook, where the more affluent seniors have purchased or built homes. Instead, younger families tend to settle in areas where the cost of real estate is lower, such as Dunnottar or Winnipeg Beach, thus allowing them opportunities to upgrade their homes.

One consistent theme to emerge in the Survey Stage 3 discussions about the major problems facing the elderly and community as a whole was the issue of housing affordability for older people in relation to both existing and future housing stock. There is no doubt that despite a focus on the in-migration of seniors into the study area, housing and the creation of more affordable housing is not just an important issue for in-migrants, but also for those seniors already living in the community.

Consistent with major problems cited by elderly migrants in the main interview/questionnaire survey (Stage 1), community leaders in the Stage 3 interviews identified the lack of medical practitioners as a serious issue throughout the entire study area. The lack of medical practitioners has prevented doctors from increasing their case loads and accepting new patients. Thus, residents of all ages in the study area must often travel to larger centres such as Winnipeg to visit appropriate health care professionals. Moreover, shortages of medical practitioners specializing in the needs of seniors, medical equipment, and personal care homes were also raised by community leaders. It is noteworthy that Amy, a community leader, discussed how medical hardware, such as wheelchairs, crutches, canes, and walkers, was stored on the site of the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre". Consequently, if a community elder required an item of hardware as recommended by a health professional, the hardware would then be provided to that individual by the Centre. Unfortunately, at the time of the present study, this program had been discontinued due to the loss of government funding.

In relation to Gimli, Susan noted in her Stage 3 interview,

Well for any new people that are coming in that are relocating in here and have doctors in Winnipeg its very hard to have a doctor here because they're case load is already full because some of them have been looking after their patients ever

since they started up their practice and now they're in their 80's and 90's and some are in their hundreds because that also look after the residents in Betel, I don't know if you know that to...Yup. There's a couple of them that look after the Betel residents so that's a personal care home that they're responsible for as well. So I mean they have...a pretty big case load as is, so when you have new young families, for example some RCMP offices that are being relocated or if, for example, our distillery...hired someone new, never mind our seniors, where do you go? Some of them won't take any new patients, they're already full.

Susan also noted that this is a problem not unique to Gimli,

Well, that's been, if you want to talk about a real hot issue, we're not quite so bad as what Ashern is up in the Interlake. Right now Ashern has no doctors. They've got a few that have agreed just to be...go into a clinic, I think its once a week, they don't have anybody on call for emergency or anything. So for some reason it seems to be an issue for any of the rural areas...we're still fortunate, we have 4 doctors.

When discussing the doctors in Gimli, Susan noted in her Stage 4 interview:

They got their clinics to worry about plus the emergency where you just don't have one that's dealing with heart. And I mean, these doctors aren't getting any younger that we have here, they've been here for a long time, we have.....But also like you say, the population has grown so, we're just, we're always, um, how do they word it to me? They always deal with a crisis, there's never the prevention ahead of time

When discussing the current provision of services in the area, a number of limitations were cited by community leaders. In addition to a lack of medical practitioners, these limitations include the lack of a retail outlet which specializes in seniors aid equipment, personal care homes, and a recreational facility in Dunnottar. In Winnipeg Beach, the absence of transportation and housing for seniors was noted. In addition, the poor public works department was cited as a serious service failure in Gimli. Tom stated in his Stage 3 interview,

There are a lot of services in the community for the elderly...the only deficiencies I've seen are that sometimes the local public works does not spend the time cleaning the sidewalks...that are the conduits for the elderly...a lot of elderly people no longer have drivers licences, the sidewalk to them is as

important as the street is to people with cars and enough care isn't take to keep those sidewalks...maintained so that year- round they can be used on a daily basis...it doesn't do people much good if a sidewalk is snowed in for three days and then its cleared and you say the sidewalks cleared because for three days those people were, were immobilized.

Community leaders cited a number of persistent problems in the communities including: (i) the lack of an adequate sewer system; and (ii) a poorly run municipal government. It is notable that several elders who completed the Stage 1 questionnaire/interview survey likewise identified the lack of an adequate sewer system as one of the most serious problems in the study area. The majority of residents throughout the study area utilize a holding tank for the removal of their household waste. The lack of a sewer system was attributed by some community leaders to: (1) opposition to a system among cottagers in the area; and (2) short-sighted planning by the communities themselves. In her Stage 3 interview, Belinda, a community leader, described the opposition of cottagers (although she did not specify whether they were young or old) to the implementation of a sewer system in Dunnottar:

They don't want to see change. 'This was my grand, my grandpa built this cabin and, and I', you know, 'we don't want it to be any different than the way grandpa had it', you know, this kind of thing.....But its just that, they just feel that we're taking away their rights, that that was their right to have a biffy, they don't want a sewer system, why should they have to have it? 'We still like our biffy, we like to come out here and bring our water from the city and use our backhouse and your taking that privilege away from us' LOL!

Michael explained that another argument against the implementation of a sewer system was that there would be a mass exodus of cottage owners if they were forced to pay for such a system. Regardless of the merit of this argument, the sewage opposition of cottagers to the establishment of a sewer system has effectively prevented major development in Dunnottar. Michael stated in his Stage 3 interview,

But now you have.....cottagers against guys that live year round, they're saying 'Well, you know, I only use it for a couple, why do I have to spend that kind of money and my outhouse has been good for years? I'm not gonna spend four thousand dollars for a bathroom with water in it, forget it'...So you got 800 cottagers (general reference of Dunnottar) against 390 permanent residents, how do you think that votes gonna go? What happens with development? It stays stagnant.

The general lack of development in the area (including the sewage issue) may not only have been hindered by the ongoing debate between cottage owners and permanent residents, but also by shortcomings of local government. Tom argued that the existing municipal government in Gimli was to blame for the lack of a sewer system and other infrastructure. As Tom noted in his Stage 3 interview,

I think in Gimli...the biggest problem as I see it is that...our current municipal government is...is a little short on planning. If you're going to be successful in the future you need to plan in the present...they tend to...they tend to...to manage as opposed to govern. Good governance is policy making and having visions and plans, its not reacting to day to day, just reacting to day to day issues, and, and that's where we seem to be, so I think we need a , a little more governance and planning.

Community leaders were involved in a number of projects and initiatives to serve the elderly population in the study area. These projects and initiatives addressed major concerns about the communities shared by both community leaders and the older migrant populations. In her Stage 3 interview, various community projects and initiatives were discussed at length by Norah, a community leader. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is the federal, national, and paramilitary police force in Canada. Norah noted how the RCMP consultative group, holds a "fun day" once a year in the study area. At these fun days, the RCMP presents information that they think would be of interest to seniors, such as issues addressing health care, recreation, and safety. Lectures at these "fun days" educate seniors on how to address problems in the community and the

availability of personal support options. Norah indicated that lectures were offered concerning (i) resolution management with neighbours; (ii) credit card fraud impacting seniors; (iii) problem solving. All of these presentations were thus geared towards improving the general safety of seniors in the area.

A further project involved a recreation centre located in Winnipeg Beach. Michael discussed a proposal to convert the centre, whose current function is as a hockey rink into to a year-round indoor facility. This facility would include a variety of activities for seniors including lawn bowling, indoor walk-in clinics, and badminton. Michael, in his Stage 3 interview, clearly recognized that the majority of people living in the study area are seniors:

So that's the kind of thing I wanted to do, was cater to the adult population because the adult population was much higher. Seniors are the highest population. They're, they're...in the daytime. Seniors only travel and do things during the day. The evening times it's a little bit more difficult for them to out because of...things like...driving...they're not comfortable driving at night, so they like to do things during the day. Now during the daytime a lot of these people under 55 are working. So we would have programming for that age group in the evening. So then it's year-round, long period of time that we have the facility bringing in revenues. Where hockey will only bring revenues in the winter. They used to have bingo. Bingo used to bring in the revenues. Bingo's not bringing those revenues...populations. So the community has to look elsewhere. And seniors nowadays perhaps have...are more active then what they used to be. Whereas at the age of 55 they're doing all the things, they're playing...they're playing hockey, they're playing volleyball, they're.....First they complain about the money that they're not making and they're losing money and they keep going to the town, say they need more money, they can't operate with the money. Why can't you operate with the money that your making? Well we don't have the revenues. Then we should look at what things are going to bring more revenues. Seniors! The senior population. We're missing them cause they are the ones that have the income.

In his Stage 3 interview, Michael, a community leader, discussed a proposal to build an affordable 28-unit, senior housing project in Winnipeg Beach. He stated,

There's a lot of, you know...seniors that are living in their homes right now. They're small homes, probably in the income, or value level of 50 to 60 thousand dollar range. There's nothing in the area where they can move to, where they can maintain a good quality of life. So rather than moving from where they'd like to live, they stay in their homes, and they can't do any work so their houses start to disintegrate, yard work starts to get left behind. Cause they're expensive, there's no place for them to go...get those people from the beach into this housing, clean up the more affordable housing for younger couples. Cause right now, if you look at Winnipeg Beach, we don't have a housing market or the houses from thirty to seventy thousand. So there ain't a lot of houses for sale in that price range.

Michael recognized the importance of having seniors moving into specialized age-segregated facilities which, in turn, creates more housing options for younger families wanting to move into the community. Accordingly, he stated in his Stage 3 interview,

That's for the younger families. And the way we're going to get the younger families is if we can have seniors living in and family visit them. You know what? I wanna be close to mom and dad, they're having a great time, why don't we move out here? You know? You know what? There's a lot of these little old ladies and old guys that have these houses and they can't move out. We've seen young couples, like I, kids that I knew like that grow up and got married at Winnipeg Beach, have a child, they want to live at the beach but there's nothing here. So then they move outside of our community, you know, and, and that's, starts the trend. Move outside, you're not getting them to go to our schools.

Michael attributed to the lack of housing development to a generally poorly managed municipal government in the study area. More specifically, he believed that local government tended to focus on day-to-day issues such as snow and garbage removal rather than being proactive with regard to wider issues and asking "what can we do to attract more people?". Thus, community leaders recognized that housing is a problem in the study area and that viable solutions would aid in the integration of both younger and older migrants into their communities.

When discussing future plans in the communities likely to impact the elderly, community leaders again placed particular emphasis on discussing housing issues. In

addition to a proposed affordable 55+ housing complex in Winnipeg Beach, it was noted that new condominiums were being built in Gimli. Tom identified a problem with new construction in Gimli, which he discussed in his Stage 3 interview:

...again, there's, there's construction in place that will have a positive impact, they're building a new credit union, the, they are, they're, building downtown office space with hopefully there will be professionals or retails...in that office space that the seniors will use...on the negative side, they're building condominiums...probably at the expense of the communities' infrastructure, they're probably going to have to give up some of the public parking...those kinds of things, in order to build them...I don't know if that will impact positively or not on the, on the comm, probably it won't be positive.

Tom elaborated on why he thought that the new development initiatives would not be positive for the community:

Well if, if, any increased demand on the real estate regardless will raise the price of real estate and a lot of seniors...don't have the income to, to, be able to afford high priced real estate...they will...continue to come to Gimli if they can find affordable housing, ah, the, the average senior, I'm, I'm not talking about the affluent senior, they'll always be something for the affluent senior wherever they want to go.

Thus, once again housing issues were the focus of future plans likely to impact the elderly in the study area.

In the Stage 1 survey, 58.8% of the sample indicated that they belonged to a service group or community organization. Most of these respondents belonged to the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre" (Table 7.11.). However, organizations and clubs cited much less frequently included the Winnipeg Beach and Gimli Royal Canadian Legion, the Johnson Memorial Hospital Auxiliary, the Gimli Icelandic Museum, the Gimli Art Club, and the Gimli Bowling Group. Table 7.12. indicates that the main reasons why respondents joined service groups or community organizations were to engage in the activities, to have the opportunity to meet people and enjoy the

social interaction associated with membership, to “get out of the house”, to volunteer, and to help themselves get attached to the community.

Table 7.11. Service group and community organization membership(s): Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Name of Group / Organization**	Number of citations
Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre	15
Winnipeg Beach / Gimli Royal Canadian Legion	3
Hospital auxiliary	2
Museum	2
Gimli Art Club	2
Bowling group	2
<i>Total citations = 26 (20 respondents)</i>	

*14 respondents did not belong to any group or organization.

**Only 7 groups/organizations which were cited enumerated more than once are presented. Thus, 17 citations are not reported in this table

Table 7.12. Reasons for membership(s) of service groups and community organizations: Stage 1 sample (N=34)*

Reason for Membership**	Number of citations
Participate in activities	19
Social interaction	13
Get involved, busy, something to do, get out of house	6
Volunteer work	6
Help get attached to community	3
Asked to help out	2
<i>Total citations = 49 (20 respondents)</i>	

*14 respondents did not belong to any group or organization.

**Only citations which were enumerated more than once are presented.

One respondent, Sarah, a resident of Gimli, stated in her Stage 1 interview that she belongs to the hospital auxiliary,

Because...well for two reasons. I think if you move into a town, or any place, the more places you join, the more people you meet. And I, I think that's important, not because I need bosom buddies but it's nice to, to know people, to have, you know, I mean this is a very nice thing about Gimli, you come into town and you walk in almost any place and you see somebody you know. And, you know, so you say hi and you feel like your part of the community, I think it, that's what it is. I think if you join these, these, these places, whatever, um, then you feel like your part of the community.

Respondents generally reported that high membership numbers appeared to be a strength of the service clubs and community organizations. However, the respondents were generally divided on the question of whether there were sufficient volunteers. One

respondent, Peter, a resident of Camp Morton, felt that there was a limited and declining core of people prepared to volunteer. In his Stage 1 interview, he stated,

I...sus.....people are getting older. I suspect its because this community is made up of people like me which are incomers, and for incomers to take any real interest in this is not usual....So its people are come here are used to buying what they want, or they volunteered and they're burnt out and they let someone else do it now. But I think its mainly incomers are used to paying for what they want, they've been too busy surviving to give time to...that is that is not a study, that's partly conjecture but that's a point of views that's been put to me and it seems to be the right one.

When asked whether local service groups and community organizations helped migrants integrate into the community, 47.0% of the Stage 1 sample replied in the affirmative, while 14.7% felt that they did not help them integrate. For 38.2% of the Stage 1 sample who did not belong to any groups or organizations, this question was not applicable. Janet, a resident of Gimli, who was once a member of the "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre" discontinued her membership. In her Stage 1 interview, she explained why:

We didn't find it very friendly. And all people were really old LOL! and they were really old, yeah...I didn't find there very welcoming...Yeah, I did the floor curling, I did that, and that was ok. I didn't do the shuffleboard, I did the floor curling but...I just didn't find them, you know 'let's go and have a cup of coffee after' or, you know, 'let's go downtown for', you know, I just didn't find that, you know, you had your game and then everybody left.

A lack of transportation within Gimli also discouraged another resident from renewing her membership. However, in general, these local service groups and community organizations appear to help mediate the integration of migrants into their communities by providing a resource which migrants can draw upon. By entering the social realm of the elderly, respondents who were members of these groups and organizations cited (i) their benefits in terms of the respondent's experiences of migrants in the new

communities, and (ii) the meaning of having clubs present in the communities. In particular, the groups and organizations appear to facilitate the development of place ties between migrants and their communities.

I was also interested in whether community leaders were satisfied with the activities of service groups and community organizations in the study area. The role that these groups and organizations play in filling gaps was stressed by the leaders, with the volunteer base cited as a particular strength. On the other hand, the most commonly cited weakness of the service groups and community organizations was that their membership numbers were declining.

The importance of having larger centres in close proximity to regional retirement destinations was also raised by community leaders in my Stage 3 sample. The amenities and personal connections which can be found less than an hour's driving time away from the study area were recognized as an attraction for elderly in-migrants. Thus, the latter are not obliged to give up the comforts associated with an urban lifestyle despite living in a relatively small regional retirement destination. When discussing the importance of proximity to larger centres, community leaders agreed that these centres assumed a major role in the provision of specialized shopping facilities. One community leader pointed out that a local resident could drive from Winnipeg Beach to Selkirk in 25 minutes and shop at big box stores such as Wal-mart and Canadian Tire. Community leaders also stated that medical facilities in other centres were important for seniors. For instance, a much wider range of general medical services and health specialists are available in Winnipeg, Selkirk and Teulon relative to local health care facilities. When discussing Johnson Memorial Hospital in Gimli, Tom stated in his Stage 3 interview,

...it doesn't do a lot of the testing, it doesn't do very much surgery at all, it doesn't do any of the hip replacement, it doesn't do any of the eye examinations or the, the eye operations, it.....it's more clinical so therefore they need those, those, those services that are more sophisticated that are available and being within an hour is, is, is really important...in my experience, an hour is kind of a magic number...to, if, if you're within an hour of a major centre, it makes you're community much more attractive to all people then if you're more than an hour.

In the same interview, Tom also made reference to an issue raised by Stage 1 respondents concerning the changing conceptions of travel time:

Yup, seen it in Saskatchewan, I've seen it in Manitoba...also...for people who have family, an hour is often a nice distance to be to and from you're family...the, the next generation doesn't necessarily have their parents, their in-laws on their doorstep all the time if they're an hour away, but if needs be, they're only an hour away. An hour is also a, a, a distance that, that people will...travel to go to the, the amenities that aren't in Gimli, the professional sports teams, the symphony, the, the, the plays, the museum, the, the zoo, baseball games, an hour is, is not a big issue, if it becomes more than an hour then I think it becomes an issue.

The conception of travel time among migrants was also addressed by Michael in his Stage 3 interview who stated,

...when you talk about...distance and transportation, Winnipeg's only 45 minutes away, people want that closeness. Forty-five minutes to people now a days isn't that far and people are starting to, over 55 are starting to realize that...you, you start to realize You know what? It's not that far for me to go into Selkirk or where they have other things that we need such as the Wal-marts, the Canadian Tires. They want to move outside, they don't want all that other things that comes with large cities.

7.1.2 In-depth life-history profiles

One of the purposes of the in-depth interviews is to illustrate how unimposed life-course trajectories and transitions play into the migration decision (Watkins 1999). These trajectories involve family, education, and work histories which gain texture and

enhanced meaning when considered in unison. Thus, I will be examining the diverse times, ages, and events that influence individual spatial behaviour. Graphic representations of the spatial behaviour of my three respondents are presented in Figures 7.1. - 7.3. These figures present both the date and location of birth of each of these respondents, while the dates of moves to different locations are also displayed. However, the number of moves made within a particular town or city is not indicated.

Life histories indicate that although individuals usually display major commonalities in their life courses (e.g. completion of formal education, marriage, child-bearing, retirement), they may also exhibit many important differences including their migration behaviours. What follows are stories from three respondents in their Stage 2 interviews, the presentation of which is intended to illustrate the relationship between major life-course events and residential moves. More specifically, these stories are also intended to illustrate the diversity of individual trajectories with regard to (i) the number of residential moves made by the individual throughout his/her life, and (ii) the level of previous place experience that the individual had with the study area before making it the location of their permanent residence. Overall, these stories have potential to help address all of the research questions.

Figure 7.1. Residential Moves of Monica Brown

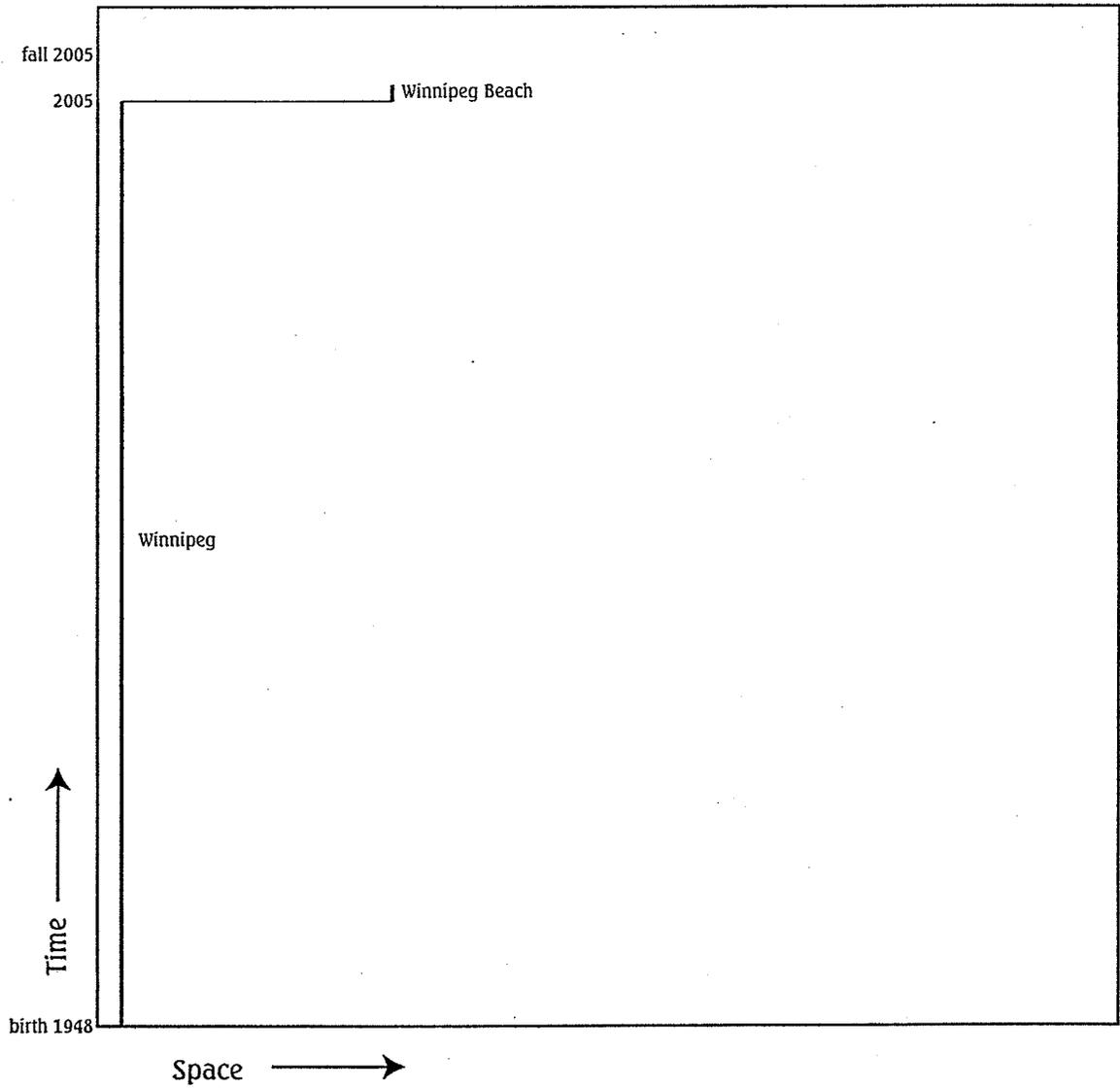


Figure 7.2. Residential Moves of Holly Cormon

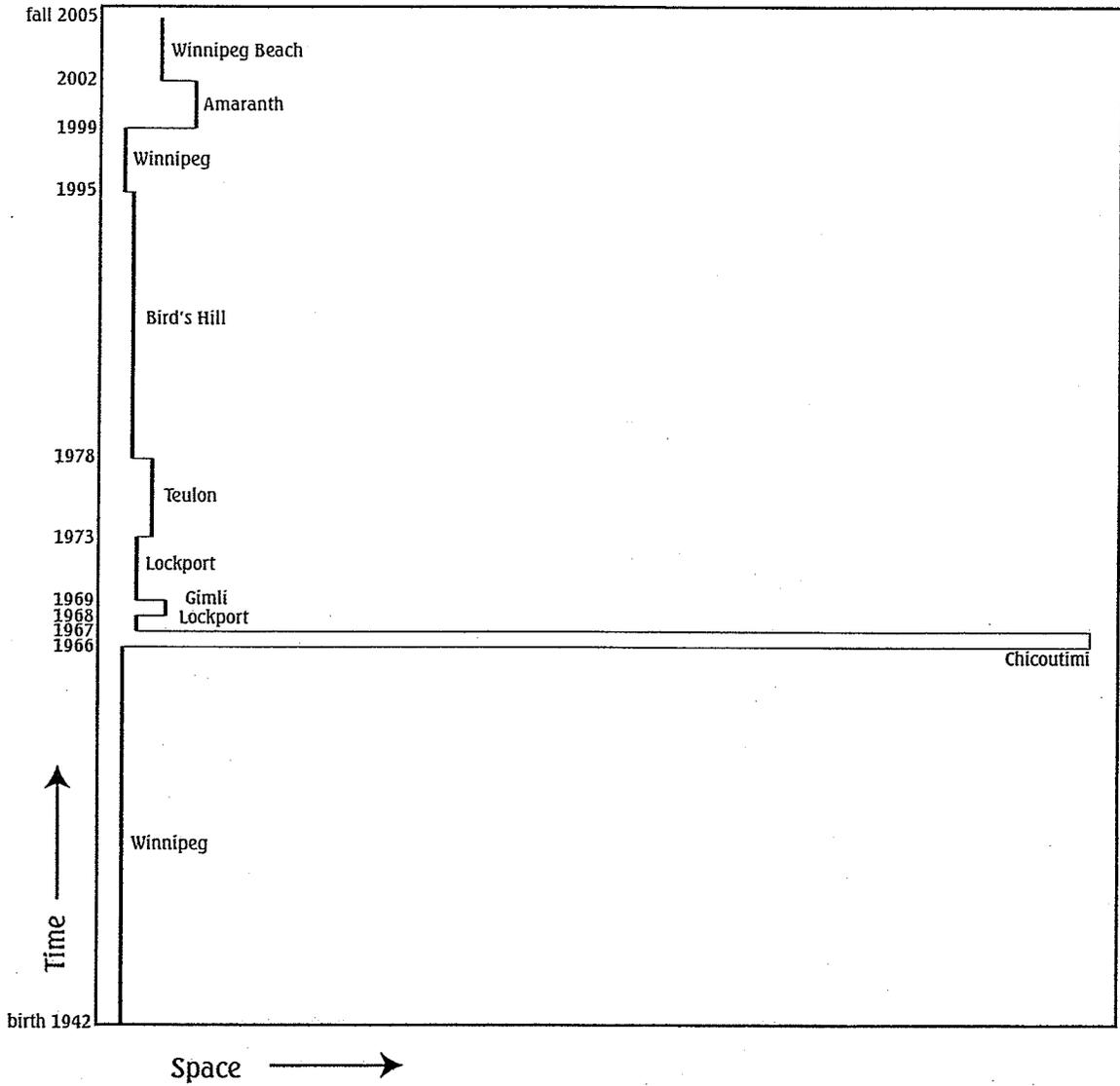
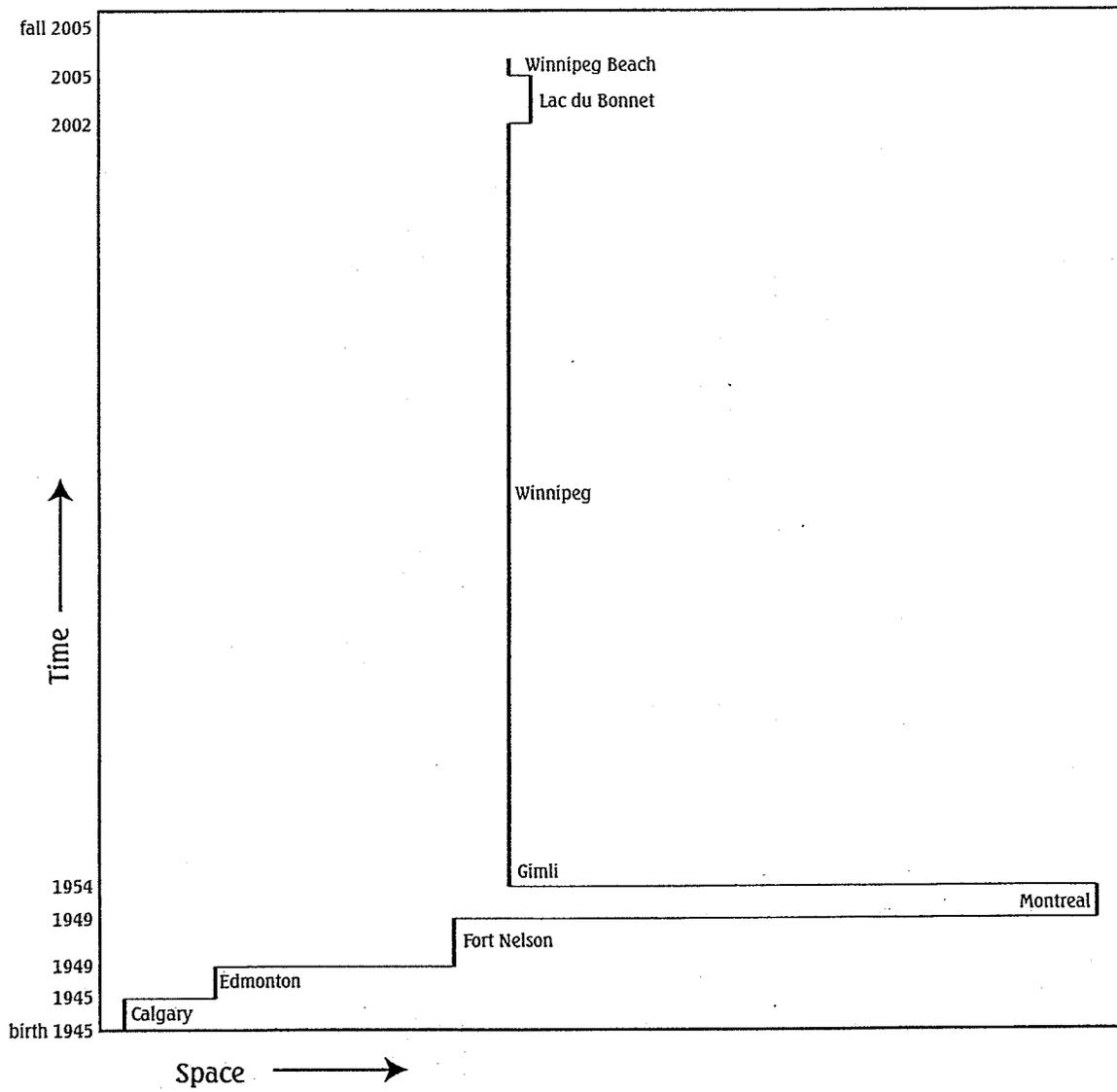


Figure 7.3. Residential Moves of Brenda Smith



7.1.2.1 Monica

Monica is one of my respondents who is representative of those who made a limited number of migration moves throughout their life, but also had a lifetime of experience with the study area before moving there. Monica, born in 1948 in Winnipeg, lived in her parental home. This early period in her life was marked by one residential move within Winnipeg at the age of five. While still in high school Monica commenced part-time employment in 1965, and working full-time in 1966. She completed high school in 1966 and college in 1970. Although Monica ceased employment in 1968 while still at college, she resumed full-time employment in 1970. Monica finally moved from her parental home in 1972 when she was married, and moved into an apartment with her husband in Winnipeg.

In common with many newly married couples, Monica's early years were characterized by several residential moves. Between 1972 and 1975 Monica made three residential moves to different apartments in Winnipeg, each successive apartment being larger than its predecessor. Following a job change in 1974, Monica ceased all employment in 1975 when she had her first child, and it was not until 1976 that she moved into her first house which was located in Winnipeg. In 1979, following the birth of her second child, Monica moved to a larger house in the city to accommodate her growing family. However, she ultimately desired to live in the area where she had grown up. Accordingly, 1982 saw Monica and her family move again to a residence in her original Winnipeg neighbourhood which she maintained for the following 17 years.

After resuming full-time employment in 1984, Monica changed her job in 1991. Monica's new job required her to participate in industry-related courses annually which

has continued to the present day. Monica's children moved out of their home in 2004 - 2005. Finally, in 2005 she moved with her husband to Winnipeg Beach, a community where she not only had family and friends, but had also been a vacation destination every summer throughout her life. Originally, Monica's parents bought a cottage in Winnipeg Beach in 1950. Monica had always planned on moving into the community and never considered moving elsewhere once her husband retired.

Monica stated that her move to Winnipeg Beach was made much easier because her sister had moved to the community four years before her. However, although Monica had spent her summers in Winnipeg Beach all her life, she had never lived there during the winter. Interestingly, Monica began spending weekends in Winnipeg Beach during the winter before her move. She explained that the purpose of this was to get a taste of winter knowing that her sister loved the winter in the Winnipeg Beach area. Also, this further helped Monica gain the confidence to move there. Monica felt that she was very lucky to be in the position she was in because, unlike many other elderly in-migrants to the community, she had benefited from her prior experience of living in Winnipeg Beach.

7.1.2.2 Holly

Holly is representative of older migrants who made a moderate number of moves throughout their lives and had limited experience with the study area prior to their move. Born in Winnipeg in 1942, Holly lived in her parental home in Winnipeg until 1960. At that time, she moved into an apartment with two female roommates simply to assert her independence. Meanwhile, by 1959 Holly had completed high school and commenced

full-time employment.

Holly married in 1964 and moved into a small house in Winnipeg, followed by a move in 1966 to an apartment in the city. Later that year, her husband received a job transfer to Chicoutimi, Quebec, where they lived for less than a year. In 1967, they moved back to Manitoba and purchased a home just outside Winnipeg, south of Lockport (Figure 4.1.). After her husband gained employment in Gimli, the couple were reluctant to sell this house. Therefore, they also rented property in Gimli. However, after spending about a year in this rented accommodation they moved back to their Lockport home in 1969. In 1973, the couple moved to Teulon, Manitoba (Figure 4.1.) to be closer to the husband's job in Gimli.

Following a job change in 1970, Holly ceased all employment in 1972 with the birth of her first child, while in 1974 she gave birth to twins. Both Holly and her husband then commenced working full-time in Winnipeg. In 1978, the couple sold their house in Teulon and moved to Bird's Hill in Winnipeg's northern exurbia. They lived in this house for 17 years, moving to the city of Winnipeg in 1995 when all of the children were grown. A major reason for the move was to reduce the commuting time for the children who had jobs in Winnipeg. In 1998, the couple started building their retirement home in Amaranth, Manitoba (located near the western shore of Lake Manitoba), moving there in 1999 when Holly retired. By this time, Holly's children had all left the parental home. In 2002, a fire destroyed the home in Amaranth which subsequently resulted in the couple moving to Winnipeg Beach during the same year.

The limited experience that Holly had with Gimli in the 1960s was generally negative. Holly described Gimli at that time as not having many shops, with the

community full of “Air Force people” who were used to communal living. Holly didn’t like such people moving in and out of her house to “party”. She realized that Gimli would not necessarily be that way now but these were her recollections of the community. Holly’s story highlights the importance of family in the migration process as she stated that the reason the couple visited Winnipeg Beach before moving to the area was because her brother-in-law informed them about what was happening in the town and how people were retiring there. However, driving around Winnipeg Beach prior to the move was very important to them, with Holly stating that, “it’s a good thing we did drive around because we might not have come here if we didn’t drive around to see how it was grown, particularly Gimli”.

7.1.2.3 Brenda

Brenda is an example of a respondent who made a large number of moves throughout her life and had no experience with the study area before moving there. She was born in Calgary, Alberta, in 1945. Her father was in the Royal Canadian Air Force which resulted in Brenda’s family making a large number of residential moves during her formative years. For example, between Brenda’s birth and fourth birthday, her family lived in Edmonton Alberta. Subsequently, they moved to Fort Nelson, B.C. Following a further move to Montreal, Brenda and her mother moved to Winnipeg in 1954 when her father spent a year in Germany. While in Winnipeg, two other residential moves were completed, followed by a move to Gimli. However, by the end of 1954 the family moved back to Winnipeg, while between 1954 and 1961 they completed no fewer than four moves with the city. Following the death of her mother in 1961, Brenda made an

additional ten moves within Winnipeg before 1970, all without her father. Following marriage in 1963, Brenda's residential moves were made for the purpose of upgrading her residences and involved renting suites in homes or apartments.

Brenda completed high school with no certificate in 1962, and commenced part-time employment in 1962. Subsequently, full-time employment commenced in either 1963 or 1964. Brenda ceased working in 1964 and gave birth to two children. In 1966 she began part-time employment and then purchased a home. However, she separated from her husband in 1971, returning to a highly mobile lifestyle that involved renting different homes and apartments in Winnipeg. Following her separation, Brenda returned to full-time employment in 1971 and completed four moves in Winnipeg between 1970 and 1978. Again, these moves essentially represented attempts to upgrade her accommodations subject to affordability and closeness to work. In the 1970s, Brenda's employment history was characterized by several job changes, although she always worked full-time. In addition, in 1977 Brenda received her General Education Development (GED) which is a group of five tests which (when passed) certified that the taker has American or Canadian high school-level academic skills. In 1978, she moved into a home of her own in Winnipeg which was upgraded in both 1986 and 1993, but downsized later in 1993. Brenda had her divorce finalized in 1989, but remarried in 1991. In 1990, Brenda received some additional education and in 1994 retired. Brenda later worked full-time for one year (1999) to finance the couple's future retirement home.

Brenda had friends who lived in Winnipeg Beach while the couple owned a home in Langruth, Manitoba, west of Lake Manitoba. At the same time, they moved into

a cottage in 2002 in Lac du Bonnet, Manitoba, intending to retire there. While they attempted to sell their property in Langruth, Brenda and her husband found that they could not sell it for an acceptable price. However, their friends in Winnipeg Beach convinced them to buy a lot in that community. Consequently, they transported their home from Langruth to Winnipeg Beach where it was subsequently sold. Initially, the couple spent weekends with their friends in Winnipeg Beach until they finally sold their house. Subsequently, they moved to Winnipeg Beach on a permanent basis in order to enjoy their retirement in 2002.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS CONCERNING RESEARCH QUESTION 4 AND IN-DEPTH LIFE-HISTORY PROFILES

The factors that are viewed as inputs to migration outcomes including the integration or disintegration of the person - place relationship, include: (a) *personal experience in place*; and (b) *the role of institutional structures* (Figure 3.1.). These two sets of factors define two mega themes that address Research Question 4. The first of these mega themes addresses the role of the elder's experience in place on place integration. Stage 1 data relating to the first of these mega themes revealed that all of the elderly migrants were generally satisfied with their move to their current community, with most preferring not to remain in their previous residence. These findings are broadly consistent with the high levels of migrant satisfaction found by Carlson et al. (1998) among older adults who migrated to the state of Idaho, and Longino, Perzynski, and Stoller (2002) among their Florida and Minnesota samples of seniors. Overall, a high level of migrant satisfaction with his/her move may be regarded as a broad indicator

of place integration.

Respondent outcomes were also assessed in terms of the problems that they experience in place which may ultimately threaten their attachment with place. Stage 1 respondents identified several problems in their community. One of the most frequently reported problems was the inability to receive adequate medical attention. Further, in the two focus group interviews for both elderly migrants and community leaders (Stage 4), health care provision was likewise cited as one of the main problems in the study area. However, in addition to medical services, general dissatisfaction was expressed by Stage 1 respondents regarding the provision of financial, retail, and general services.

A relevant component of place experience includes the views of elderly migrants concerning the provision of services which facilitate place integration (Cutchin 2001). Most respondents obtained services from outside their community, although some respondents stressed that additional services in their town of residence would reduce or eliminate trips made elsewhere. Obtaining services outside of their community can be viewed as an action taken by the migrants in response to a problematic situation concerning inadequate service provision locally. This individual action by no means eliminates the problem or conflict in place, although there may be some amelioration. Personal experience in place also includes migrant perceptions of the responsiveness of the community to their problems. Respondents were somewhat divided on whether the community was indeed responsive to their problems or otherwise. Despite these conflicting perceptions, communities were involved in a number of projects and initiatives in an attempt to serve the elderly. These included the development of affordable 55+ housing for seniors in Winnipeg Beach and Dunnottar, the conversion of

an existing recreation centre into a year-round indoor facility in Winnipeg Beach, and the dissemination of information to seniors regarding health care, recreation, and safety throughout the study area.

Over one-half of my respondents took vacations on an annual basis. Interestingly, respondents had varying conceptions of what constitutes a vacation. These differences raise questions about the meaning of a vacation to seniors who are retired. Therefore, with more disposable time available to retirees, what must a vacation entail to justify the use of the term by older age cohorts? Further, in what respects do the motivations for, and activities associated with a vacation differ between older age cohorts and younger working-age populations?

Stage 1 respondents cited a number of changes in the community since their move to the study area. The most widely cited was the construction and renovation of buildings, followed by population growth and change. In the focus group discussions (Stage 4), the building and renovation of homes and buildings, and the in-migration of younger families into the study area were likewise cited as major changes, with respondents having mixed feelings about them. However, these changes may become potential drawbacks to retired migrants living in the community. Questions may arise among residents concerning the ability of communities to deal with changes that are viewed negatively. The raising of such questions would thus represent the "new concerns" phase of the model of temporal changes which a small community experiences as a result of the arrival of new migrants (Rowles and Watkins 1993). These results also support the contention of Carlson et al. (1998) that as communities grow, maintaining the current quality and pace of life will be important. If changes are

uncontrolled and become problematic for residents, then it is quite possible that there will be conflicts in place for migrants and place disintegration resulting in a future move away from the community (Cutchin 2001).

Most of the Stage 1 sample had no future intentions of moving away from the study area. Haas and Serow (1993) argued that push and pull factors may relate to the need for more supportive environments, thus triggering further migration decision-making. However, even if my sample felt their needs could be better met in another community, future moves were not a viable option for the majority given that their place attachments had not been severed.

Migrant experiences are in part shaped by external forces involving local community structures. The second mega theme associated with Research Question 4 concerns the role of community structures on place integration. In their Stage 3 interviews, community leaders identified the most important problems facing the elderly in-migrants and their community as housing, health care, and low-income seniors. Consistent with major problems cited by elderly migrants in the main interview/questionnaire survey (Stage 1), community leaders particularly stressed that the lack of medical practitioners was a serious issue in communities throughout the study area. Other problems cited by community leaders include the lack of an adequate sewer system, a problem also identified by respondents in their Stage 1 interview, and poorly run municipal governments. In somewhat broader terms, community leaders were well aware of the movement of the elderly into their communities and frequently referred to their demands on local housing resources, an issue also raised in the focus groups (Stage 4) discussions with seniors. It is noteworthy that community leaders were involved in a

number of projects and initiatives dealing with health care, recreation, safety of seniors and housing.

While almost one-half of the Stage 1 sample felt membership numbers were to be a strength of the service clubs and community organizations, other respondents were concerned about the limited number of volunteers and declining membership. For community leaders, the most commonly cited weakness of the service groups and community organizations was that their membership numbers were declining. In part, these declines were related to difficulties in introducing younger people to groups dominated by aging members. Despite this problem, most Stage 1 respondents felt that service groups and community organizations helped them integrate into their communities.

The in-depth migration history profiles uncovered the sequence of moves and mobility levels of the elder, which concluded with the move to a regional retirement destination in old age. The in-depth stories of three elderly respondents in their Stage 2 interviews illustrate (i) the diversity of individual trajectories with regard to the number of residential moves made by the individual throughout his/her life, and (ii) the level of previous place experience that the individual had with the study area before the move. There is little doubt that major transitions in the lives of respondents, as evidenced by their family, work, and education histories, were strongly associated with their residential moves, despite the uniqueness of each respondent history. Further, variations were also evident in the amount of previous place experience that migrants had with the study area before moving there permanently. Further, while circumstances and experiences early in life influence migration behaviour over the life-course, they also

impact the current values and desires of migrants. Thus, it is important to understand the migration histories and life histories of elders in order to understand later life migration.

7.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the results of the analysis relating to Research Question 4 are presented. Further, the in-depth life-history profiles of three older migrants are outlined. An overview of the main findings relating to Research Question 4 and migration history profiles are presented, with particular emphasis on their theoretical implications and empirical significance. Throughout this chapter, an underlying theme in the migration outcomes of older people is the role of individual and social action in the place integration process.

Chapter 8

Summary and Conclusions

The primary goal of this study is to investigate the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore retirement communities in Manitoba, Canada. The study involves a conceptual framework developed from migration decision-making models and place attachment/integration models. The components and relationships of the conceptual framework provide the basis for the development of four research questions:

1. What are the profile characteristics of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
2. What factors influence the decision of elderly migrants to move to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
3. What are the relocation decision-making processes of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?
4. What are the outcomes of the moves of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities?

With the aim of contributing to a greater understanding of senior mobility in Canada, a brief overview of the research field concerned with elderly migration and the theoretical background of the thesis are provided in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, a more thorough review of theoretical and empirical literature that address geographical aspects of the migration of older people is presented. In addition, the contribution of this thesis to this literature was briefly explained. This study adopts a guiding conceptual framework that explicitly focuses on both elderly migration decision-making processes and outcomes in the context of regional retirement communities (Chapter 3). The

framework proposes that the outcomes of migrations are the result of both personal experience in place, and the role of community structures, after the completion of the move.

Chapters 4 and 5 outline the study area and data sources of the thesis. The study area, located on the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg in Manitoba's Interlake region, is an area rich with amenities. The area has a long history of tourism and settlement which to this day remain part of its economic base. The data sources are based on four survey stages designed to answer the research questions. Specifically, the survey stages include: (a) the main questionnaire/interview survey of elderly migrants (Stage 1); (b) in-depth life-history (Stage 2) interviews with elderly migrants (three of these detailed profiles are presented in-depth in Chapter 7); (c) the questionnaire/interview survey of community leaders (Stage 3); (d) two separate focus group sessions with both elderly migrants and community leaders (Stage 4). The sampling procedures include a snowball sample and convenience sample which generated 34 elderly migrants and 10 community leaders who participated in the survey stages. The data analysis strategies involve (i) development of statistical profiles of older migrants based on Stage 1; (ii) comparison of qualitative responses to questions in each of the four survey stages; (iii) comparisons across the four survey stages.

This chapter offers an overview of the main findings of the study. The implications of these findings for the development of policy for regional retirement communities are then outlined, followed by appraisals of the theoretical and methodological contributions of the thesis. In addition, directions for future research are suggested. In order to provide a background to the material presented in this chapter, a

summary of the research design is first presented.

8.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The conceptual model for the present study proposes that the process of elderly migration is influenced by (i) the social, demographic, and economic background of elderly migrants, and (ii) their migration and travel histories. This personal profile information is conceptualized as an input to the elderly migration decision-making process. There are two major components of this process: (i) the decision to move; (ii) the relocation process. Ultimately, the migration-decision-making may, or may not, result in a migration move actually taking place. The model also proposes that the outcomes of recent movers to regional retirement communities are influenced by their personal experience in place, and the role of institutional structures. The consequent integration or disintegration of migrants within their communities are posited to influence their migration intentions. Both the migration decision-making process and migration outcomes are represented in the conceptual model. Further, the four research questions were developed from this model. The first research question relates to the profile characteristics of elderly migrants to regional retirement communities, while the second and third research questions relate to the decision to move and the relocation decision-making process. The final research question focuses on the outcomes of the migrations.

For the study, elderly migrants who registered a permanent move to the study area within five years prior to the survey, were 55 years of age or older, and whose place of origin was not located in the same census division as the destination community, were

selected to participate in the study. Further, community leaders who directly or indirectly “impacted” the older population of the study area, were knowledgeable on issues relating to the elderly population located in their communities, and worked in communities within the study area, were also deemed eligible to participate in the study.

In order to examine the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to the communities, the survey design of this study involved four survey stages that yielded four sets of data. The first survey stage included information collected from elderly migrants relating to their demographic, social and economic characteristics, push and pull factors in relation to the previous and current residence respectively, and the role of personal contacts in the decision to move to the current residence. Stage 1 also elicited the elder’s information sources concerning the study area, his/her search space, characteristics of the selected dwelling, and the role of the elder’s personal experiences on place integration. Survey Stage 2 elicited data related to the elder’s life-course trajectory which included employment, education, family histories, and links between major life-course events and migration moves. Stage 3 included data relating to the role of community structures on place integration. Stage 4 elicited data from two focus group sessions, each involving elderly migrants and community leaders. Stage 1 included a series of structured, semi-structured, and unstructured questions relating to the profile characteristics of elderly migrants, the decision to move, the relocation process, and the outcomes of the moves. However, mainly semi-structured and unstructured questions were utilized in the in-depth life-history interviews with elderly migrants (Stage 2), the questionnaire survey of community leaders (Stage 3), and the focus group sessions (Stage 4). Stages 1 and 2 addressed all four research questions, while Survey 3 and 4

only addressed Research Question 4.

The main questionnaire/interview survey (Stage 1) was conducted with 34 elderly respondents, while the in-depth life history interviews (Stage 2) involved a sub-sample of nine of these respondents. Ten community leaders were selected to complete the survey questionnaire for community leaders (Stage 3), while the two focus group sessions (Stage 4) involved small sub-samples of both elderly migrants and community leaders who had either completed Stages 1 and 2 (elderly migrants) or Stage 3 (community leaders) of the survey. The value of using four survey stages is that (i) each stage addressed distinctive aspects of elderly migration to the study communities, and (ii) the varied sets of data yielded by the stages provided deeper insight into the migration context and experiences of respondents.

The analysis of Stage 1 data involved the use of descriptive statistical techniques to compare respondents and to develop overall profiles of the 34 elderly migrants. However, all the survey stages included semi-structured and unstructured questions. Thus, the open-ended responses elicited from these questions had to be prepared for analysis. Preparation involved transcribing all of the interviews (which had been audio tape recorded) word-for-word, using a micro cassette transcriber. Using print copies of these transcriptions, the data were labelled using terms that would easily identify its content. Similar labels between interviews within survey stages were used and the data were relocated into individual computer files. Direct quotes representative of the data were identified, while “emergent themes” were identified. The derivation of the mega themes commenced with an analysis of the data elicited from the four survey stages. This involved the specification of key variables for each research question. These variables

were organized hierarchically into variable groups which were used to identify broader mega themes associated with each research question.

8.2. THE FINDINGS

8.2.1 Research question 1: Elderly migrant profile characteristics

Research Question 1 asks: What are the profile characteristics of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities? These profile characteristics are associated with two mega themes. The first of these addresses the socio-demographic and health profiles of the elderly migrants. Overall, the findings indicate that the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of my Stage 1 sample are broadly similar to first-stage amenity migrants outlined in Litwak and Longino's (1987) typology of elderly migration types. These movers are composed of younger, healthier, wealthier, and married individuals. Such characteristics have been recognized as important factors in both the decision-to-move and relocation process (Wiseman and Roseman 1979; Wiseman 1980; Longino 1981, 1994; Longino et al. 1991). In particular, McHugh and Mings (1996) revealed that sufficient retirement incomes allow considerable mobility potential among boomer cohorts. In addition, a small number of my Stage 1 sample members continued to be employed in Winnipeg despite having moved to the study area. In effect, continued employment in Winnipeg is a reflection of the process of exurbanization whereby people who previously lived in cities currently reside in rural areas, but still have at least one wage/salary member of the household employed in the former (Davies and Yeates 1991).

With regard to the age profile of the Stage 1 sample, the findings reveal that a large majority of respondents were less than 75 years of age. This relatively high

percentage of “young-old” respondents is partly indicative of their higher mobility levels with respect to amenity destinations. Also consistent with the typical profile of amenity migrants, the sample was composed of seniors who did not appear to require the close proximity of children. However, six of the Stage 1 respondents’ children actually lived in the study area, while almost two-thirds resided in Manitoba, mostly within an hour’s drive. For 23 respondents, their nearest child lived in Winnipeg and for one respondent, their nearest child lived in Selkirk. The moderately short distances of many respondents from their children suggests a movement bias whereby respondents remain sufficiently near to children to enjoy at least occasional interaction and the provision of instrumental supports when required (Gober and Zonn 1983).

It is also notable that five movers included in the Stage 1 sample resided in a 55+ living facility in Gimli named The “Waterfront Centre”. These respondents were all widowed and registered a mean age of 82.4 years at the time of the interview survey. Residents of the Centre sought an increased and immediate level of support upon relocation, more consistent with second- and third-stage movers in Litwak and Longino’s (1987) typology.

With regard to the second mega theme which relates to travel history profiles, descriptive analysis of the residential characteristics of the movers revealed that the majority of the Stage 1 sample was comprised of respondents who were born in Manitoba, particularly Winnipeg. Further, almost one-half of the Stage 1 sample reported that their two most recent previous residences were both located in Winnipeg. These results indicate that although amenity moves are typically associated with longer distance migrations (Litwak and Longino 1987), small Prairie resort towns serve as

regional rather than national retirement destinations. The regional importance may be partly due to the small size of the towns, which is unlikely to appeal to out-of-province seniors. The limited regional importance of the communities may also be due to their location in a cold climate. For nearby elderly residents, these towns are familiar and may often be visited. These results and interpretations are consistent with Cuba's (1991) conclusion that Cape Cod is essentially a regional retirement destination for migrants from nearby Massachusetts or nearby states. Further, it may be argued that by migrating to a destination which is close to the community where the migrant has strong place ties sets the stage for subsequent cyclical mobility (McHugh, Hogan, and Happel 1995).

Research Question 1 was further addressed by data gathered in the in-depth life history interviews with a small sample of elderly migrants (Stage 2). One of the objectives of the in-depth life history interviews was to illustrate how unimposed life-course trajectories and transitions play into the migration decision. Examination of this interview data revealed similar life-course stages through which these respondents proceeded. However, individuals differed with regard to the number of residential moves made throughout the life course, and the amount of previous place experience they had with the study area.

Some residential histories of my Stage 2 sample were dictated by employment demands. For example, Victor, who commenced working as a journeyman plumber in Winnipeg in 1957, accepted a job as a plumbing instructor in Brandon in 1965. Victor therefore moved to Brandon and remained there until his move to Gimli in 2000. Ian's residential history was also directed by his employment as a mechanical engineer with Manitoba Hydro. In particular, Ian completed more than a half-dozen moves throughout

the 1970s due to his progression through a rotational training program administered by his employer.

However, residential moves throughout the life-course are not only dictated by employment demands. In his Stage 2 interview, Frank explained that although he had worked full-time in Winnipeg since 1972, he moved to Stonewall, Manitoba, in 1975 to escape from the crime of the larger centre. Frank subsequently lived in Stonewall until his retirement in 2000. Holly explained the motivations behind several of her residential moves in her Stage 2 interview. For example, in 1978 Holly moved from Teulon to the exurbia of Bird's Hill to be closer to Winnipeg. Later, in 1995 Holly did in fact move from Bird's Hill to Winnipeg. At that time, her children had completed their schooling and were driving to Winnipeg to work everyday. By relocating to Winnipeg, the commuting times for all of her family members to their jobs were reduced. In 2002, Holly moved from Amaranth to Winnipeg Beach to be easily accessible to her family.

8.2.2 Research question 2: The elder's decision to move

Research Question 2 asks: What factors influence the decision of elderly migrants to move to small Prairie lakeshore communities? This Research Question is associated with three mega themes. Addressing the first mega theme concerning push factors related to the previous residence, Stage 1 findings indicate that these factors strongly influenced the decision to move. In particular, the general neighbourhood/community environment (e.g. changing population characteristics), dwelling/property characteristics (e.g. house and yard too large requiring too much maintenance), and proximity to large centres were identified as important push factors.

These factors are thus broadly similar with Wiseman (1979) and Wiseman and Roseman's (1980) categories of exogenous (contextual), endogenous (individual), and economic factors associated with the migrants' place of origin..

In relation to the second mega theme which addresses pull factors concerning the current residence, both previous place experience and the location of family and/or friends in the study area were cited as influencing the decision to move. Overall, however, the results parallel those of both McHugh (1984) and Watkins (1990) who found that past experience plays an important role in migration decisions through the formation of ties and attachments to specific places. However, in one respondent's Stage 2 interview (Holly), the role of previous place experience in deterring migration was discussed at length.

An example of the general neighbourhood/community environment as a pull to the current study area was provided by Victor in his Stage 2 interview. Victor stated how he had always wanted to live close to the water and his boat, which was possible in Gimli. Further, he was familiar with the area and the fact that there was very little driving involved in such a small community appealed to him. Victor's previous residence was located in Brandon where he lived from 1965 to 2000. While in Brandon, Victor would constantly drive to Winnipeg and Selkirk to visit family. Thus, minimal driving was an attraction for Victor. Examples of dwelling/property characteristics of a residence in the study area acting as pull factors to migrants were expressed by both Monica and Nancy in their Stage 2 interviews. In particular, both respondents were strongly attracted by the yards at their new residences which thus represented a major pull factor.

Other prominent pull factors were related to the general neighbourhood/community environment of the study area such as the resort setting, activities for seniors, closeness to nature and the peaceful small-town atmosphere. Thus, the findings further confirm that rural areas with scenic amenities are likely to attract elderly migrants (Litwak and Longino 1987; Rogers 1990, 1992; Dahms 1996). It is notable today that tourism and cottaging are both important components of communities in the study area.

The findings also reveal that the close proximity of urban centres to a regional retirement destination is important in elderly migration decision-making. Almost three-quarters of my Stage 1 sample felt that the close proximity of Winnipeg and/or Selkirk to the study area was important to them when making the decision to move. Migrants particularly stressed the importance of these centres in terms of affording close proximity to friends and/or family, shopping facilities, medical professionals, jobs (for those migrants still employed), and familiar urban environments. Consequently, retirees to the study area are able to enjoy the benefits of a nearby city as well as local natural amenities. For example, in her Stage 2 interview, Brenda indicated that she moved to Winnipeg Beach to be close to shopping facilities and her son, both located in Winnipeg. In his in-depth interview, Victor stated that he moved to Gimli to have access to the infrastructure of Winnipeg, namely, health services. Frank, on the other hand, who was living in Stonewall before his move to Gimli wanted to move further away from Winnipeg upon retirement due to the high crime rate in Winnipeg.

Indeed, larger centres not only provide a greater variety of shopping and entertainment opportunities, but also offer a large pool of services that are essential to

later life. Thus, close proximity to an urban area allows these migrants to maintain access to the comforts associated with an urban lifestyle even though they have moved to a small regional retirement destination. Clearly, the importance of the role of the close proximity of regional retirement destinations to large urban centres in elderly migration decisions cannot be overemphasized. Further, my results are consistent with the arguments of Watkins (1990) and Cuba (1991) that the locations of cities appear to strongly influence elderly migration patterns. Conversely, the attraction of small rural amenity-rich communities would weaken considerably were they not located in close proximity to larger urban centres. In many cases, older people who move short distances to regional retirement communities both anticipate and encounter a marginally different environment, a place where they can commence a new stage in the life course near their previous homes. In line with the findings of Cuba and Longino (1991), my research suggests that continuity between the previous and current residence is very important in the lives of regional migrants.

The third mega theme related to Research Question 3 concerns the role of personal contacts in the decision to move to the present residence. The data disclose that the most frequently cited individual involved in the decision to move to the study area was the respondent's spouse, although other family members and friends were cited to a much lesser degree. Thus, the role of family and friends in the migration decision-making process is important (Gober and Zonn 1983; Cuba 1991; Carlson et al. 1998; Stimson and Minnery 1998; Schiamberg and McKinney 2003; Bailey, Blake, and Cooke 2004).

8.2.3 Research question 3: The elder's relocation decision-making processes

Research Question 3 asks: What are the relocation decision-making processes of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities? The first of two mega themes associated with Research Question 3 addresses the information sources concerning the study area. In general, the findings indicate that previous place experience in the study area was a major source of information for older migrants. Types of previous place experience ranged from the ownership or renting of a cottage, or simply visiting or driving around the area. However, it is noteworthy that the amount of previous place experience varied considerably among my respondents. Further, migrants had varying ideas of how much personal experience and knowledge of an area is required before the decision to move can be made. For example, in her Stage 2 interview, Helen felt that two weeks experience with a location combined with the testimonials of others, would be needed before a move to a new community could occur. Further, Holly felt that it was important to visit or have information through others. The findings also indicate that a slight majority of the sample had vacationed in the area over the 10 year period before their move with at least half visiting at least twice a year. Most vacations were three days or less, indicative of a short-term getaway. Further, nine respondents had no direct contact with the study area prior to the move.

With regard to the second mega theme which concerns the elder's search space, my findings reveal that respondents were almost evenly divided between the two search types identified by Cuba (1991). The first search type, "destination specific migrants", did not consider moving to any location other than in the study area and equated moving after retirement with relocating to a specific place. The second search type, "destination

search migrants”, considered locations outside of their current community of residence. It must be noted, however, that 14 of 18 destination search migrants in my sample did not consider moving to a province other than Manitoba. A preference among these respondents to remain in Manitoba thus affords evidence of a clear regional bias in the migration patterns, and a desire for continuity between their previous and current residence. Further, with regard to the search behaviour of my sample, the results confirm that elderly migrants are not passive movers. Instead, they are able to evaluate carefully the advantages and disadvantages of a move to a different location.

In general, the findings suggest that high mobility levels of migrants throughout the life-course made later life migration easier. Thus, it may be argued that for older people, both long-and short-distance migrations are increasingly viable options. This conclusion is consistent with the broad claim that the geography of aging in the 21st century will be impacted by the migration and life histories of the large and highly mobile baby boomer cohort (McHugh and Mings 1996). Further, an increasingly mobile senior population with enhanced place experiences suggests that place ties to a wider range of locations will likely be forged. Thus, an increasing number of moves throughout the life course may serve as a precursor to a permanent migration. Further, for some elderly migrants, the location of friends and/or family in the study area made their integration process easier, as discussed by Monica and Frank in their Survey Stage 2 interviews.

Counterurbanization describes a state in which the growth of the largest places (i.e. metropolitan urban areas) begins to decrease while that of small non-metropolitan or rural areas begins to increase (Berry 1976). The movement of elders from large urban

centres such as Winnipeg may thus be indicative of a counterurbanization trend among a segment of the elderly population. This trend will have certainly been encouraged by the prevalence of transportation corridors (i.e. Highways 7, 8, 9) between Winnipeg and the study area. It may be argued that growth is occurring in the study area in an age in which distance has been annihilated. Nevertheless, the importance of the close proximity of Winnipeg to the study area is clearly an important factor in promoting this growth. In somewhat broader terms, the outward spread of the elderly population fuelled by an aging Canada is having a significant impact on urban structure (Lucas 2002). The study area, within a short distance of the city of Winnipeg, provides an example of a region where such shifts in elderly population concentrations and urban social structure are occurring.

The third mega theme related to Research Question 3 concerns the characteristics of the selected dwelling in the destination community. The majority of respondents owned their property and lived with their spouse. The most popular housing option were single detached homes. For those respondents who did not reside in such homes, apartments, life-lease units, and condominiums were the chosen alternatives.

8.2.4 Research question 4: Elderly migration outcomes

Research Question 4 asks: What are the outcomes of the moves of elderly migrants to small Prairie lakeshore communities? Two mega themes are associated with Research Question 4 and respectively concern the role of the elder's experience in place, and the role of community structures, in place integration. Therefore, this study extends the scope of previous work on elderly regional retirement migration by explicitly

focusing on the subsequent migrant-community relationship. Overall, the findings indicate that a lack of medical practitioners, sewer systems, housing, and a poorly run municipal government were cited as being the major problems in the study area by both community leaders (Stages 3 - 4) and elderly migrants (Stages 1, 4). In broad terms, my findings suggest that community leaders and elderly migrants are in general agreement about issues facing new migrants to the area. It is notable that both groups indicated that the most significant changes witnessed in their communities included the building and renovating of homes and other structures. These changes may be a reflection of the changing demographic profile of the area, with the built environment changing dramatically as local communities respond to the influx of elderly migrants. These changes are expected to become more diverse and pronounced with the demographic restructuring of Canadian society and increased levels of migration to regional retirement destinations.

The increasing population of elderly residents in the study area was apparent to community decision-makers (Stages 3 - 4). Indeed, the age structures of communities in the study area have been transformed by an increasing proportion of older residents, which is characteristic of a broader population restructuring. This is indicative of one of several overlapping phases of population development identified by Rowles and Watkins (1993) whereby small communities experience temporal changes in their demographic, economic, environmental, infrastructural, social and political characteristics as a result of the arrival of elderly migrants.

Overall, the results reveal that all of the migrants (Stage 1) were generally satisfied with their move to the destination community. This high level of migrant

satisfaction may be viewed as an indicator of a lack of disintegration of the person-place relationship. It would appear that the trade-off of losing some convenience related to the lack of provision of goods and services in the new community was balanced by a perceived better quality and pace of life. Most of the Stage 1 sample had no future intentions of moving away from the study area. Thus, even if my sample felt their needs could be better met in another community, future moves were not considered to be an option. Accordingly, their attachments were neither sufficiently broken with the study area nor strong enough with their previous residence to necessitate a move. This result may therefore be taken as evidence of successful place integration. In common with the findings of Haas and Serow (1993), only a small group of migrants perceived a time in the future when they might have to leave the region to find suitable housing and enjoy better access to such services as medical facilities and public transportation. While the exigencies of late life will no doubt eventually cause further moves by individuals who had not originally planned to leave the area, the host community will likely have to accommodate the demands of the majority of these aging migrants.

For those migrants who do move, it will be their attempt to deal with, or at least reduce the effect of, negative circumstances. As Everitt and Gfellner (1996) found among a group of elderly movers in the Westman region of Manitoba, the process of moving had positively affected the elder's quality of life (at least in his/her view). For instance, the move typically resulted in a greater degree of life satisfaction and improved health self-ratings into at least the immediate future despite the fact that many of the elderly wished to have remained at, or near to, their previous home. In effect, many of the residential moves were imposed upon the elders who needed to have close proximity

to facilities and services that they regarded as essentials. It may be argued that a similar scenario may face at least some of my sample members as they age in the study area.

As Dahms (1996) so aptly concluded, concentrations of older persons in rural areas present both challenges and opportunities for smaller communities. Small communities need to understand the implications of an aging population's migration to their community. Small communities must also determine how they will deal with the changes that may be necessary in the future to accommodate this population and retain retired migrants. How prepared will small amenity-rich communities in the study area be for increasing concentrations of the elderly? This study has attempted to highlight some of these problem areas for communities in the study area.

8.3 IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR POLICY, THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTIONS AND LIMITATIONS, AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Elderly migration plays a major role in determining the spatial distribution of older people in a population. In light of the aging of Canadian society, increased migration of seniors to smaller rural or semi-rural communities is expected. Thus, the explicit focus on the processes and outcomes of elderly migration to small Prairie lakeshore communities is warranted. It is significant that the present study focused on Manitoba's Interlake region given that the area is characterized by a particularly cold climate. The findings of the study not only have significance for the development of policy related to regional retirement communities in Manitoba, but also for communities in rural and semi-rural settings more generally. The policy significance of the present study, however, must be treated with caution due to the small sample sizes upon which

the findings are based. This section considers the implications of the findings for policy-makers and the wider theoretical and methodological significance of the study. The section also outlines the limitations of the study and offers some directions for future related research.

My findings support the results of previous research indicating that older movers to regional retirement communities are attracted by key amenities offered by the communities (Rogers 1992). The results of my research also demonstrate the importance of both individual and contextual inputs into the processes and outcomes of elderly migration moves to small Prairie lakeshore communities. The results affirm that policy directed to the sustainability of these communities should focus on the issues which migrants consider problematic in order to facilitate their integration into the retirement communities, thus producing positive migration outcomes. For example, the research findings suggest that policy interventions should occur in the provision of leisure/recreational activities for seniors. These activities were shown to be particularly important as both push and pull factors. The research findings also suggest that policy interventions should be directed towards the provision of improved health care, local infrastructure (i.e. sewer system, unpaved roads), more financial institutions, and a wider variety of retail services. Further, specialized senior housing options are required to provide the increased level of care required by older residents who experience a loss of functional independence. Each of these interventions should be aimed at preventing the disintegration of person and place relationships. In other words, planning and policy interventions for seniors must be implemented in critical areas which impact the experience of migrants in place. The policy relevance of this study is reflected in a

detailed report addressing the concerns, needs, and perceptions of elderly migrants of their home community which were forwarded to community leaders and migrants who participated in the study (Appendix H).

In relation to the theoretical contributions of the study, an integrated conceptual framework is developed which incorporates both elderly migration processes and outcomes in the context of the relocation of older people to regional retirement communities. Moreover, the framework incorporates a life-course perspective on migration decision-making. Further, the concept of place integration was employed to investigate the outcomes of moves of elderly migrants in relation to their experience in place. Place integration is ultimately viewed as the outcome of complex sets of personal and institutional inputs. In particular, the outcomes of migrants in place are a reflection of their experiences in the regional retirement community, and the nexus between the individual migrant and the community to which he/she has moved. The role of community structures in the integration or disintegration of older migrants with place cannot be overemphasized. The provision of the necessary supports and ultimately a high quality of living will determine the success of policy-makers in retaining new seniors in the community.

My conceptual framework thus represents a significant advance on previous related theoretical work which has modelled the migration decisions and outcomes of older people. For example, Haas and Serow (1993) and Carlson et al. (1998) conceptualized the development of ties within a community as indicators of assimilation into the community. My research treats migration outcomes as involving a larger set of factors including the role of a migrant's personal experience and the role of community

structures. Future research should continue to develop and improve conceptual models that explicitly focus on the experiences of older movers with their migration destinations.

With reference to the contributions of the present study concerning the empirical methodology, my data sets are enhanced by the use a variety of response formats including structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, unstructured interviews (including 'life history' or 'oral history' interviews), and focus group interviews. The use of these techniques contributes to our understanding of migration processes and outcomes by allowing the voices of migrants to be heard. This approach helped to tap subtle variations in the migrant's experiences, teasing out the complex interplay between various migration factors. For instance, my data sets enabled the impact of the respondents' migration histories on their subsequent mobility patterns to be uncovered.

Each of the interview types and response formats had their advantages and disadvantages. For example, while structured questions were valuable for the collection of data to develop elderly migration profiles, open-end question formats were required to address Research Questions 2 - 4. Certainly, the study of migration decision-making and outcomes requires the inclusion of open-ended response formats in order to fully capture the elder's motivations to move and his/her personal experience in place. Likewise, unstructured questions proved invaluable with regard to tapping community leaders' assessments of key issues relating to older in-migrants. The focus group interviews also played a valuable role in investigating the interaction of elderly migrants and community leaders involving discussions of issues of mutual concern. Thus, qualitative interviewing methods, especially the narrative and focus group approaches, have considerable

potential for the enrichment of data sets concerning elderly migration behaviour and outcomes. Ultimately, my survey elicited rich ethnographic descriptions of elderly migration, which complemented quantitative descriptive data

The findings also demonstrate the value of the use of life-histories in the study of elderly migration. Through the use of life-histories, the study helped extend the scope of previous work on elderly migration in Canada by treating migration and travel histories as inputs to subsequent elderly migration decision-making processes. Specifically, data were elicited on key life-course experiences of migrants which may have ultimately shaped their migration behaviour in old age. For example, the in-depth interviews (Stage 2) reveal how previous place experience with a destination before a move is crucial in the migration process. Both Ian and Helen had extensive previous experience with their destination communities before making permanent moves. I also learned how residential moves throughout the life-course may be motivated by a variety of unforeseen reasons such as the case of Victor who, while living in Brandon, purchased homes and renovated them, and then sold them at a profit. I was also impressed by changes in Brenda's reasons for moving throughout her life-course depending on what she thought she needed at different stages. These methods thus place personal experiences within a time-frame rather than merely concentrating on the point in time when the decision to move is made. However, further analysis is required in order to gain a more complete understanding of the links between the life-course experiences and migration decision-making of older people. For example, to what extent do the life-course experiences of child launching or retirement directly impact the migration moves of older people?

McHugh (2000a) argues that "Ethnographic approaches should be included in

our methodological suite. Cultivating ethnographic approaches will help enliven migration studies in geography and foster linkages with other branches of the discipline, opening up new vistas in migration, culture and society” (85-86). A part of the methodological contribution of this thesis thus highlights the utility of using diverse interviewing strategies in order to gain a fuller understanding of elderly migration processes and outcomes.

This research has considerably expanded our knowledge of how a semi-rural area in a cold climate in Canada is capable of supporting an ever-expanding aging resident population. However, a limitation of the study is that the migration outcomes of older movers were evaluated within a five-year period after the move. In order to advance our understanding of migration outcomes, a longitudinal study design incorporating a longer post-move period is required. More specifically, an extended post-move period would enable the monitoring of changes in levels of migrant integration or disintegration in the retirement destinations over a longer period of time. While the results of the present study reveal that migration outcomes were generally positive, it would be valuable to monitor outcomes over longer periods of residence in the destination communities. For instance, the outcomes may be profoundly impacted by either additional changes within the community (e.g. further population concentration) or the migrants themselves as they age (e.g. decline in health). In such a study, the three eligibility criterion of elderly migrants would be maintained with the provision that participants must be willing to participate in follow-up interviews even if they move away from the destination community. Further, the interview period could be extended over a one-year period with follow-up interviews at two year intervals. In addition, vacation patterns among the

elderly migrants should be carefully explored as a potential precursor of a future migration move. Further, it would be valuable to evaluate notions of space held by long-time residents, recent movers, and cottagers in the study area.

Although this research focused on a group of elderly migrants who were residents in the study area, some older real estate agents in the area, who were part of the Survey Stage 1 sample, alluded to another group of older migrants who, after moving to the study area, subsequently moved to Winnipeg. Interestingly, some of these moves were return migrations in order to obtain services targeted to seniors. It is likely that some of these migrants had moved away from the study area due to negative outcomes, and thus represent a segment of the elderly population who were excluded from my sample. Clearly, their exclusion may impose a systematic bias on my findings concerning migration outcomes. In other words, it may be argued that since my sample had remained in the study area, they were more likely to register higher levels of satisfaction.

One of the methodological limitations of this study was the utilization of snowball and convenience sampling methods. While these methods greatly simplified my sampling task, their use precludes evaluation of the representativeness of my sample in relation to the wider population of elderly in-migrants living in the study area. Moreover, snowball and convenience sampling do not permit the targeting of specific elderly migrant subgroups that I wished to study such as owners of second residences (most notably snowbirds living in RV parks during winter). Further work therefore needs to specifically target those subgroups of elderly migrants in Prairie retirement communities who are of particular interest to the researcher.

To conclude, Lees (2003) has argued that “our research and writings need to be

much less opaque about the complexities and practicalities of method and methodology” (107-108). Lees (2003) also noted that we should be more forthright in these matters because,

It allows others potentially to check our work by repeating the research we have done. Even if they never do, this exercise in transparency is important for assuring the quality of research. Being explicit about our research practices forces us to be reflexive about them - for example, to question why we use a particular method or data set (108).

In relation to the present study, it is the author’s hope that such methodological transparency has been fully realized, and further related work thus encouraged.

8.4 PERSONAL REFLECTIONS

This final section offers personal reflections on the findings and the overall research process. I focus on two areas of interest: (a) the nature of elderly migration, and (b) practical advice from the field when dealing with “difficult-to-research populations”.

When the data collection phase of this research was initially undertaken in July 2005, I was unaware if there would be major differences between the needs of elderly migrants expressed by community leaders and by the migrants themselves. I was pleased by the level of agreement between the two groups on a number of critical points regarding the successful integration of older migrants into the communities. For example, the level of agreement of both groups on issues relating to services and infrastructure was surprisingly strong.

I contend that the impact of elderly migration may deepen if the rate of movement into the study area accelerates as appears likely. Today, several communities in the area have at least one-half of their population over the age of 55 years (Statistics

Canada 2007cde). In particular, more elderly persons in larger centres, most notably Winnipeg, will seek affordable and amenity-rich places for retirement such as those located in the study area. Thus, the unique demands of increasing numbers of elderly in-migrants will place increased pressure on existing community infrastructure targeted to support this population group.

The research process employed in this study bears some reflection on account of its time-consuming and intensive nature. Given the convenience and snowball sampling methods used to recruit my respondents, the interviews were conducted as soon as possible while the “lead was hot”. Moreover, I was aware of the unpredictable nature of respondent recruitment and at times questioned whether my sampling methods were adequate to meet my research objectives. Given the voluntary nature of participant recruitment, however, all of the respondents were generous with their time. At the conclusion of the interviews, I asked respondents how they felt regarding their participation. In response, all of them indicated that they were pleasantly surprised of the “painless nature” of their interviews, and were helpful in providing me with a short list of names and phone numbers of potential participants.

I was also aware that transcriptions of all interviews would need to be performed by myself in order to analyze my data. I was not prepared, however, for the incredible time commitment and intensive work required to transcribe approximately 56 interviews that ultimately extended over five months (December - April, 2005 - 06). Nonetheless, I consider that the benefits of this type of research are considerable. In particular, I feel that my extremely focused and rewarding interactions with older people, with their diverse and complex stories, have added to our understanding of the elderly migration

process.

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APPENDIX A

Survey Stage 1

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A.1. CONSENT FORM

Research Instrument: Main Survey Questionnaire for Elderly Migrants

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Research Project Title: Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Researcher: John Spina

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information that is not included, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of the research: The purpose of this research is to investigate the characteristics of small lakeshore communities in Manitoba with high concentrations of older persons. This research also studies the characteristics of elderly migrants to these communities and factors which influence their decision to move. In addition, processes involved in making the move together with the outcomes of the move will be investigated. Finally, the role of communities in helping elderly migrants adjust to life in their new setting will be addressed. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete one interview.

Expected Length of the Interview: Approximately one to one and a half hours.

Description of Risk: There is no risk involved in completing the interview.

Description of Recording Devices: With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded.

If you are interested in participating in both: (1) a more in-depth follow-up interview; and (2) a group interview, please complete the contact form, giving your name, address, telephone number and/or e-mail address. There is no risk involved in participating in either of the interviews.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be maintained as only the principal researcher will be conducting the interviews and have subsequent access to the tape recordings of them. Further, the tape recordings will be stored by the principal researcher in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research project. Any results gleaned from the tape recordings will not be associated in any way with individual participants.

Feedback: Research findings will be made available on request to subjects in the form of a short report once the research has been completed. Collectively subjects will be credited with their participation in the study, although confidentiality will be maintained.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

**Principal researcher: John Spina (204) 669-3576
Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey C. Smith (204) 474-7039**

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Review Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail Margaret.bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

A.2. PARTICIPATION FORM

If you are interested in participating in: (1) a in-depth follow-up interview; and (2) a group interview, please complete the following form.

Yes, I am interested in participating in: (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

- 1. The in-depth follow-up interview**
- 2. The group interview**

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

A.3. REQUEST OF SHORT REPORT FORM

If you are interested in receiving a short report of research findings once the research has been completed, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

A.4. MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE / INTERVIEW SURVEY

Research Instrument: Main Survey questionnaire for Elderly Migrants

Hi, My name is _____. I am part of the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Manitoba studying elderly migration to small lakeshore communities in Manitoba. The purpose of this interview is to determine: (1) the factors that may have influenced your decision to move to your current community; (2) the processes involved in your decision where to move; and (3) the outcomes of your move. Your participation is both voluntary and confidential.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ / _____ / _____
DD MM YY

INTERVIEW NUMBER: _____

A. INTERVIEW COMPLETE? ____ Yes ____ No. If No, why not?

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

The following questions concern your basic personal characteristics.

1. Sex: ____ Male ____ Female

2. When were you born? _____
Day / Month / Year

3. Where were you born?

City / Town Province / State, Country

4. Are you a Canadian citizen? ____ Yes ____ No. (IF A CANADIAN CITIZEN PROCEED TO QUESTION 6)

5. If you are not a Canadian citizen, with which country do you hold citizenship?

6. How old are you at the time of this interview? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. 55 - 64
2. 65 - 74
3. 75 - 84
4. 85+

7. Which of the following descriptions best describes your current marital status? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Never legally married (single)
2. Legally married (and not separated)
3. Separated (but still legally married)
4. Divorced
5. Widowed
6. Living together
7. Other (Please state) _____

8. Do you have children? ____ Yes ____ No. (IF NO, ADVANCE TO QUESTION 11)

9. How many children do you have? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. 1 child
2. 2 children
3. 3 children
4. 4 children
5. 5 children
6. Other (Please state): _____

10. Where do each of your children live?

Child 1:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Child 2:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Child 3:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Child 4:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Child 5:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Other:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

11. What is your highest level of schooling? (SHOW CARD WITH RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER AND LETTER WHERE APPROPRIATE)

1. Less than grade 9
2. Grades 9 - 13
 - A. Without high school graduation certificate
 - B. With high school graduation certificate
3. Trades certificate or diploma
4. College Education
 - A. Without certificate or diploma
 - B. With certificate or diploma
5. University Education
 - A. Without any qualifications
 - B. With certificate or diploma, but without degree
 - C. With Bachelor's degree or higher
6. Other (specify) _____
7. Don't know?

12. To which ethnic and/or cultural group(s) do you belong? For example, French, English, Chinese, Italian, German, Ukrainian, etc. Specify as many groups as applicable.

This next question relates to the approximate yearly income of your household. Remember that you don't have to answer questions which make you uncomfortable.

13. What is the approximate yearly income of your household? (SHOW CARD WITH RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. \$1,000 - \$9,999
2. \$10,000 - \$19,999
3. \$20,000 - \$29,999
4. \$30,000 - \$39,999
5. \$40,000 - \$49,999
6. \$50,000 - \$59,999
7. \$60,000 - \$69,999
8. \$70,000+

14. What is your current working status? (IF RETIRED, PROCEED TO QUESTION 16) (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Employed full time (more than 30 hours / week)
2. Employed part-time (less than 30 hours / week)
3. Currently unemployed
4. Retired

15. If working what is your main occupation?

16. Were you working when you arrived in the community? ____ Yes ____ No. (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 18)

17. If you were working when you arrived in your current community, what was your main occupation at that time?

18. How would you say your health is these days? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Very good
2. Fairly good
3. Neither particularly good nor particularly poor
4. Poor
5. Very poor

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED THE DECISION TO MOVE

The following questions concern factors which influenced your decision to move to (specify town of residence). These factors include features of your previous residence and current residence, the role of other individuals such as friends and family, the proximity of other areas, and your residence patterns.

19. What features of your previous residence prompted you to consider moving to your current location? For example, lack of medical facilities in area, property tax rate, etc. Specify as many factors as applicable.

20. What features of (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE) were important in attracting you to make a permanent move there? For example, recreational opportunities, closer to family, etc. Specify as many factors as applicable.

21. What was most important in your decision to move to (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE): (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Features of your previous residence
2. Features of your current residence
3. Neither features of your previous residence nor of your current residence.

22. Who was involved in the decision to move away from your previous residence and to your current residence? For example, spouse, children, friends, etc. Specify as many individuals as applicable.

23. Was the close proximity of Winnipeg and/or Selkirk an influence on your decision to move to your present residence? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, state the reason(s) why?

The next questions will ask about your residence patterns.

24. Are you a year-round full-time resident in (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE)? ____ Yes ____ No. If No, where do you maintain another residence or other residences? (IF YES, PROCEED TO QUESTION 32)

Place 1:

City / Town / Province / State, Country

Place 2:

City / Town / Province / State, Country

Place 3:

City / Town / Province / State, Country

Place 4:

City / Town / Province / State, Country

25. Why do you maintain this (these) residence(s)?

26. How often do you visit this (these) residence(s)?

27. Was (were) this (these) residence(s) a factor in choosing to move to (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE)? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further:

28. In which city or town is your primary residence located? In other words, where do you feel 'at home'?

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

29. For what reason(s) do you feel 'at home' in the location you just indicated?

30. Do you anticipate continuing to maintain multiple residences? ____ Yes
____ No. Please explain further:

31. Would you stop maintaining this (these) residence(s) if changes or improvements were made in (SPECIFY NAME OF COMMUNITY)? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, which one(s) would you discontinue?

Place 1:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 2:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 3:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 4:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

PROCESSES INVOLVED IN YOUR DECISION TO MOVE TO THIS COMMUNITY

The following questions concern processes involved in your decision to move to (SPECIFY NAME OF COMMUNITY).

32. What sources were important to you in gathering information about alternative residences to move to?

33. When you were thinking about moving, did you consider moving to (a) residence(s) other than those in (specify town of residence)? ____Yes ____No. (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 37)

34. If you did consider moving to some other residence outside (specify town of residence) what communities were considered?

Place 1:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 2:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 3:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 4:

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

35. For each of your possible destination alternatives, please state why you considered moving there?

Place 1: _____

Place 2: _____

Place 3: _____

Place 4: _____

36. Why did you move to a residence in (specify town of residence) instead of the alternatives that you have mentioned?

37. Was it important for you to move to a residence which was close to your previous residence? _____ Yes _____ No. Please explain further:

38. Was it important for you to move to a residence which was close to your friends and/or family? _____ Yes _____ No. Please explain further:

39. When you were making the decision to move did you: (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

- 1. Make the decision to move first and then consider alternative destination(s)?
- 2. Make the decision to move while considering alternative destination(s)?

40. In the next set of questions, I am going to ask you to discuss your last three (3) permanent residences.

I What was the location of your residence immediately prior to moving to (SPECIFY NAME OF COMMUNITY)?

RESIDENCE 1 (MOST RECENT)

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

a. What were your primary reasons for moving to and from this residence? For example, to be closer to family, friends, and recreational opportunities, or maybe there was a lack of medical facilities at your previous location, etc. Specify as many reasons as applicable.

To: _____

From: _____

b. Which type of housing did you live in at your previous address?

c. Were you an owner or a renter? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

A. Owner

B. Renter

d. Did you live with anyone? _____ Yes _____ No. If yes, who did you live with? For example, spouse, child, friend, etc. Specify as many individuals _____ as applicable.

e. Which type of neighbourhood did you live in at your previous address? For example, inner city, suburb, etc.

II What was the location of your second most recent residence immediately prior to moving to (SPECIFY NAME OF COMMUNITY)?

RESIDENCE 2 (SECOND MOST RECENT)

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

a. What were your primary reasons for moving to and from this residence? For example, to be closer to family, friends, and recreational opportunities, or maybe there was a lack of medical facilities at your previous location, etc. Specify as many reasons as applicable.

To: _____

From: _____

b. Which type of housing did you live in at (i.e. your second most recent address)?

c. Were you an owner or a renter? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

A. Owner

B. Renter

d. Did you live with anyone? ____ Yes ____ No. If yes, who did you live with?
For example, spouse, child, friend, etc. Specify as many individuals as applicable.

e. Which type of neighbourhood did you live in at your second most recent address?
For example, inner city, suburb, etc.

III What was the location of your third most recent residence immediately prior to moving to (SPECIFY NAME OF COMMUNITY)?

RESIDENCE 3 (THIRD MOST RECENT)

_____/_____
City / Town Province / State, Country

a. What were your primary reasons for moving to and from this residence? For example, to be closer to family, friends, and recreational opportunities, or maybe there was a lack of medical facilities at your previous location, etc. Specify as many reasons as applicable.

To: _____

From: _____

b. Which type of housing did you live in at (i.e. your third most recent address)?

c. Were you an owner or a renter? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

- A. Owner
- B. Renter

d. Did you live with anyone? ____ Yes ____ No. If yes, who did you live with?
For example, spouse, child, friend, etc. Specify as many individuals as applicable.

e. Which type of neighbourhood did you live in at (i.e. your third most recent address)? For example, inner city, suburb, etc.

The next set of questions are concerned with your activities in (SPECIFIC TOWN OF RESIDENCE).

41. Had you ever visited (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE) in the 10 year period before making the decision to move to this community? _____ Yes _____ No. (IF NO, ADVANCE TO QUESTION 48)

42. If Yes, approximately how many visits were made over this time period? _____

43. How long would those visits last on average?

44. Where were you living when you started visiting (STATE NAME OF CURRENT COMMUNITY)?

_____ / _____
City / Town Province / State, Country

45. For what reason(s) did you visit (STATE NAME OF CURRENT COMMUNITY)?

46. When did you start making those visits? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

- A. less than 1 year ago
- B. 1-2 years ago
- C. 3-4 years ago
- D. 5-6 years ago
- E. 7-8 years ago
- F. 9-10 years ago

47. How often would you make those visits? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

- 1. less than once a year
- 2. once a year
- 3. twice a year
- 4. more than twice a year
- 5. unknown

The next set of questions are concerned with your general vacation patterns.

48. Over the past 10 years did you ever take a vacation? _____ Yes _____ No. (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 53).

49. Approximately how many vacations were taken during this ten-year period?

50. How long did those vacations last on average?

51. For what reason(s) did you take these vacations?

52. How often would take these vacations? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

- A. less than once a year
- B. once a year
- C. twice a year
- D. more than twice a year
- E. unknown

MIGRATION OUTCOMES

This following questions deal with various aspects of the outcomes of the move to (specify town of residence).

53. Which type of housing do you currently live in? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER AND LETTER WHERE APPROPRIATE)

- 1. Single-detached house
- 2. Semi-detached house
- 3. Row house
- 4. Apartment, detached house
- 5. Apartment building
 - A. Five or more stories
 - B. Less than five stories
- 6. Other single-attached house
- 7. Movable dwelling

54. Are you currently an owner or a renter? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

- 1. Owner
- 2. Renter

55. Do you currently live with anyone? _____ Yes _____ No. If Yes, who do you live with? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Spouse
2. Child
3. Children (Please state number) _____
4. Other (Please state) _____

56. In the time you have lived in (specify town of residence) please indicate the most serious problems you have had to deal with concerning any aspect of the community?

57. How have you dealt with these problems?

58. Do you feel that the community is doing anything to deal with these problem(s)?
_____ Yes _____ No. If Yes, how?

59. In the time that you have lived in (specify town of residence), name the most significant change(s) you have seen in the community?

60. In general do you consider these changes to be: (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE NUMBER)

1. Very Good
2. Good
3. Neither good nor bad
4. Bad
5. Very bad

The next questions will ask for your views concerning services in (STATE NAME OF COMMUNITY).

61. Do you feel satisfied with the provision of services in (STATE NAME OF COMMUNITY)? For example, financial services (i.e., banks), health services (i.e., hospitals and medical clinics), etc. _____ Yes _____ No. If No, why not?

62. Do you travel outside of this community for any service(s)? ____ Yes ____ No. If yes, which service(s)? Where do you go to obtain this/these service/services? (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 64)

63. Would additional service(s) in (specify town of residence) reduce or eliminate trips you make to obtain them? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, which services?

I am now going to ask you some questions about service groups (for example, Royal Canadian Legion), and community organizations (for example, Gimli New Horizons' 55+ Centre).

64. Do you belong to any service groups and community organizations? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, which ones and why? (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 67).

65. Are there any particular strengths or weaknesses concerning local service groups and community organizations?

66. Do you feel that service groups and community organizations have been successful in helping you to integrate into the community? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, which groups/organizations and how have they helped you?

The next questions are concerned with your future migration plans.

67. Do you intend on moving from this residence in the foreseeable future?

68. Have your plans to move from, or stay at, your residence changed since you originally moved to (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE)? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, how have they changed?

69. Are you intending to move? ____ Yes ____ No. If you are intending to move, what are you doing to prepare for this move? For example, preparing your current residence to sell, visiting potential destinations, etc.

70. If changes were made in the community would your future migration plans change? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further:

71. Are you generally satisfied with the outcome of your move? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further:

72. Would you have preferred to remain in your previous residence? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further?

The next questions will ask about your current vacation patterns.

73. Do you currently take vacations? ____ Yes ____ No. (IF NO, END INTERVIEW)

74. If yes, how long do those vacations last on average?

Weeks

Months

75. For what reason(s) do you take these vacations?

76. How often do you take a vacation? (CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

- A. less than once a year
- B. once a year
- C. twice a year
- D. more than twice a year

77. When you take your vacation(s), where do you go?

Place 1:

_____ / _____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 2:

_____ / _____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 3:

_____ / _____
City / Town Province / State, Country

Place 4:

_____ / _____
City / Town Province / State, Country

78. Why do you go to that/these vacation destination(s)?

Place 1:

Place 2:

Place 3:

Place 4:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY.

APPENDIX B

Survey Stage 2

CONTENT

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B.4.	In-depth life history Interview.....	270

B.1. CONSENT FORM

Research Instrument: In-Depth Life-History Interviews for Elderly Migrants

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Research Project Title: Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Researcher: John Spina

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information that is not included, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of the research: The purpose of this research is to investigate the characteristics of small lakeshore communities in Manitoba with high concentrations of older persons. This research also studies the characteristics of elderly migrants to these communities and factors which influence their decision to move. In addition, processes involved in making the move together with the outcomes of the move will be investigated. Finally, the role of communities in helping elderly migrants adjust to life in their new setting will be addressed. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete one interview.

Expected Length of the Interview: Approximately one to one and a half hours.

Description of Risk: There is no risk involved in completing the interview.

Description of Recording Devices: With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded.

If you are interested in participating in both: (1) a more in-depth follow-up interview; and (2) a group interview, please complete the contact form, giving your name, address, telephone number and/or e-mail address. There is no risk involved in participating in either of the interviews and the interviews.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be maintained as only the principal researcher will be conducting the interviews and have subsequent access to the tape recordings of them. Further, the tape recordings will be stored by the principal researcher in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research project. Any results gleaned from the tape recordings will not be associated in any way with individual participants.

Feedback: Research findings will be made available on request to subjects in the form of a short report once the research has been completed. Collectively subjects will be credited with their participation in the study, although confidentiality will be maintained.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

**Principal researcher: John Spina (204) 669-3576
Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey C. Smith (204) 474-7039**

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Review Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail Margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

B.2. PARTICIPATION FORM

If you are interested in participating in: (1) a group interview, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

B.3. REQUEST OF SHORT REPORT FORM

If you are interested in receiving a short report of research findings once the research has been completed, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

B.4. IN-DEPTH LIFE-HISTORY INTERVIEW

Research Instrument: In-Depth Life History Interviews for Elderly Migrants

Hi, You may remember that my name is _____. I am part of the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Manitoba studying elderly migration to small lakeshore communities in Manitoba. Some of the topics we will discuss will have been addressed in my one-on-one interviews with you. Today, I want to explore some of these topics in greater detail. Your participation is both voluntary and confidential.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ / _____ / _____
DD MM YY

NAME: _____

INTERVIEW # _____

This survey focuses on various events in your life in more detail.

A. INTERVIEW COMPLETE? ____ Yes ____ No. If No, why not?

1. RECONSTRUCTION OF FAMILY, WORK, AND EDUCATION HISTORY I would like to discuss some significant events in your life.

a. What are the most significant events in your life concerning your family history? For example, marriage, birth of children, children moving out of your home, retirement, divorce, death of parent(s), death of spouse, etc. Specify as many significant events as applicable with approximate dates of when those events occurred.

b. What are the most significant events in your life concerning your work history? For example, taking up part-time/full-time employment, job change, retirement, etc. Specify as many significant events as applicable with approximate dates of when those events occurred.

c. What are the most significant events in your life concerning your education history? For example, when you began and exited high school, vocation school, college, a University, etc. Specify as many significant events as applicable with approximate dates of when those events occurred.

2. RECONSTRUCTION OF RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

I am also interested in your permanent and temporary changes of address throughout your life.

a. (1) Provide details of all of the changes of address that you have made in your life; (2) indicate why you moved to each residence and why you moved away from each residence; (3) state the approximate dates of when these moves occurred.

b. What were your least favorite residences and why?

c. What were your most favorite residences and why?

3. RECONSTRUCTION OF VACATION HISTORY

I am also interested in where you took vacations throughout the course of your life.

a. Did you take vacations throughout your life? (IF NO, END INTERVIEW)
(CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER)

A. Yes

B. No

b. How often did you take a vacation?

c. What were your favorite vacation destinations and why?

d. What were your least favorite vacation destinations and why?

4. RECONSTRUCTION OF YOUR DECISION TO MOVE

I am also interested in your decision to move to (SPECIFY TOWN OF RESIDENCE).

a. Was the proximity of Winnipeg and/or Selkirk an influence on your decision to move to the community?

b. Was it important for you to move to a location which was close to your previous residence?

c. Was it important for you to move to a location which was close to friends and family?

d. How important do you feel it is to have personal knowledge of (or previously visited) a community before deciding to move there?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY.

APPENDIX C

Survey Stage 3

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C.1. CONSENT FORM

Research Instrument: Survey Questionnaire for Community Leaders

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Research Project Title: Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Researcher: John Spina

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information that is not included, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of the research: The purpose of this research is to investigate the characteristics of small lakeshore communities in Manitoba with high concentrations of older persons. This research also studies the characteristics of elderly migrants to these communities and factors which influence their decision to move. In addition, processes involved in making the move together with the outcomes of the move will be investigated. Finally, the role of communities in helping elderly migrants adjust to life in their new setting will be addressed. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete one interview.

Expected Length of the Interview: Approximately one to one and a half hours.

Description of Risk: There is no risk involved in completing the interview.

Description of Recording Devices: With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded.

If you are interested in participating in: (1) a group interview, please complete the contact form, giving your name, address, telephone number and/or e-mail address. There is no risk involved in participating in either of the interviews and the interviews.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be maintained as only the principal researcher will be conducting the interviews and have subsequent access to the tape recordings of them. Further, the tape recordings will be stored by the principal researcher in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research project. Any results gleaned from the tape recordings will not be associated in any way with individual participants.

Feedback: Research findings will be made available on request to subjects in the form of a short report once the research has been completed. Collectively subjects will be

credited with their participation in the study, although confidentiality will be maintained.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

**Principal researcher: John Spina (204) 669-3576
Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey C. Smith (204) 474-7039**

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Review Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail [Margaret bowman@umanitoba.ca](mailto:Margaret_bowman@umanitoba.ca). A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

C.2. PARTICIPATION FORM

If you are interested in participating in: (1) a group interview, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

C.3. REQUEST OF SHORT REPORT FORM

If you are interested in receiving a short report of research findings once the research has been completed, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

C.4. COMMUNITY LEADER INTERVIEW

Research Instrument: Survey Questionnaire for Community Leaders

Hi, My name is _____. I am part of the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Manitoba studying elderly migration to small lakeshore communities in Manitoba. I am interested in understanding the role of larger institutional structures in influencing the mobility patterns of elderly migrants, their integration into communities, and their future migration intentions. Your participation is both voluntary and confidential.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ / _____ / _____
DD MM YY

NAME OF INFORMANT: _____

TITLE / POSITION: _____

ADDRESS: _____

PHONE: _____

FAX: _____

E-MAIL: _____

A. INTERVIEW COMPLETE? ____ Yes ____ No. If No, why not?

1. What are the main responsibilities of your position?

2. From your perspective, what are the biggest problems facing the elderly and community as a whole?

3. Are you involved in any projects / initiatives that serve the elderly population in your community? ____ Yes ____ No. If Yes, please describe. (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 5)

4. What prompted your involvement in any projects / initiatives serving the elderly population in your community?

5. Do you feel that the current provision of services in the community is adequate for the elderly? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further:

6. Do you feel that the service groups and community organizations which serve the elderly have any particular strengths or weaknesses? ____ Yes ____ No. Please explain further:

7. Do you feel there are any persistent problems in the community? ____ Yes ____ No. If yes, what are these problems? (IF NO, PROCEED TO QUESTION 9)

8. What do you think the result of persistent problems in the community will have on the migration intentions of the elderly?

9. What potential impacts do you feel the current influx of elderly will have on your community?

10. What do you feel is the importance of closeness to large cities such as Selkirk or Winnipeg to residents in your community, particularly the elderly?

11. Are there any future plans for the community that will likely have an impact on the elderly? ____ Yes ____ No. If yes, please explain (IF NO, TERMINATE THE INTERVIEW).

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY.

APPENDIX D

Survey Stage 4

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D.1. CONSENT FORM

Research Instrument: First Focus Group Interview Schedule for Elderly Migrants and Community Leaders

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Research Project Title: Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Researcher: John Spina

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information that is not included, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of the research: The purpose of this research is to investigate the characteristics of small lakeshore communities in Manitoba with high concentrations of older persons. This research also studies the characteristics of elderly migrants to these communities and factors which influence their decision to move. In addition, processes involved in making the move together with the outcomes of the move will be investigated. Finally, the role of communities in helping elderly migrants adjust to life in their new setting will be addressed. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete one interview.

Expected Length of the Interview: Approximately one to one and a half hours.

Description of Risk: There is no risk involved in completing the interview.

Description of Recording Devices: With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be maintained as only the principal researcher will be conducting the interviews and have subsequent access to the tape recordings of them. Further, the tape recordings will be stored by the principal researcher in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research project. Any results gleaned from the tape recordings will not be associated in any way with individual participants.

Feedback: Research findings will be made available on request to subjects in the form of a short report once the research has been completed. Collectively subjects will be credited with their participation in the study, although confidentiality will be maintained.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction

the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

**Principal researcher: John Spina
Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey C. Smith (204) 474-7039**

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Review Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail Margaret.bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature

Date

D.2. REQUEST OF SHORT REPORT FORM

If you are interested in receiving a short report of research findings once the research has been completed, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

D.3. FOCUS GROUP 1 INTERVIEW

Research Instrument: First Focus Group Interview Schedule for Elderly Migrants and Community Leaders

Interview guide for focus group

Hi, My name is _____. I am part of the Department of Environment and Geography at the University of Manitoba studying elderly migration to small lakeshore communities in Manitoba. Some of these topics have already been addressed in my one-on-one interviews with you. Today, I want to explore some of these topics in a group setting. Your participation is both voluntary and confidential.

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____ / _____ / _____
DD MM YY

A. INTERVIEW COMPLETE? ____ Yes ____ No. If No, why not?

Let's begin by all introducing ourselves to the other group members. I will begin and introduce myself to all of you.

1. In the time that you have lived in your current community, name the biggest problem(s) you have seen in the community?

Elicit: Do you feel that the community is doing anything to deal with this (these) problem(s)?

2. What do you feel your community is doing to help you adjust to your new residential setting?

Elicit: Do you think your communities can be doing more to help you integrate into the community?

3. Are there any particular strengths of weaknesses concerning local service groups and community organizations?

4. What potential impacts do you feel the current influx of elderly people will have on your community?

5. What do you think the result of any of the problems we have discussed here today will be on the likelihood of you leaving your community in the future?

Elicit: Are there any future plans for the community that will likely have an impact on the elderly?

6. Are there any other issues which you would like to discuss?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY.

D.4. CONSENT FORM

Research Instrument: Second Focus Group Interview Schedule for Elderly Migrants and Community Leaders

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Research Project Title: Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Researcher: John Spina

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more details about something mentioned here, or information that is not included, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Purpose of the research: The purpose of this research is to investigate the characteristics of small lakeshore communities in Manitoba with high concentrations of older persons. This research also studies the characteristics of elderly migrants to these communities and factors which influence their decision to move. In addition, processes involved in making the move together with the outcomes of the move will be investigated. Finally, the role of communities in helping elderly migrants adjust to life in their new setting will be addressed. The research is related to a Ph.D. dissertation.

Procedures: You will be asked to complete one interview.

Expected Length of the Interview: Approximately one to one and a half hours.

Description of Risk: There is no risk involved in completing the interview.

Description of Recording Devices: With your permission, the interview will be tape recorded.

Confidentiality: Confidentiality will be maintained as only the principal researcher will be conducting the interviews and have subsequent access to the tape recordings of them. Further, the tape recordings will be stored by the principal researcher in a secure location and destroyed upon completion of the research project. Any results gleaned from the tape recordings will not be associated in any way with individual participants.

Feedback: Research findings will be made available on request to subjects in the form of a short report once the research has been completed. Collectively subjects will be credited with their participation in the study, although confidentiality will be maintained.
Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction

the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and/or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

Principal researcher: John Spina
Supervisor: Dr. Geoffrey C. Smith (204) 474-7039

This research has been approved by the University of Manitoba Faculty of Arts Review Ethics Board. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or e-mail Margaret bowman@umanitoba.ca. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature Date

Researcher and/or Delegate's Signature Date

D.5. REQUEST OF SHORT REPORT FORM

If you are interested in receiving a short report of research findings once the research has been completed, please complete the following form.

Name: _____

Address: _____

Telephone: _____

E-mail: _____

Signature: _____

5. What do you think the result of any of the problems we have discussed here today will be on the likelihood of you leaving your community in the future?

6. Are there any other issues which you would like to discuss?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS SURVEY.

APPENDIX E. Human Ethics Approval Certificate



UNIVERSITY
OF MANITOBA

OFFICE OF RESEARCH
SERVICES
Office of the Vice-President (Research)

244 Engineering Bldg.
Winnipeg, MB R3T 5V6
Telephone: (204) 474-8418
Fax: (204) 261-0325
www.umanitoba.ca/research

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

03 August 2005

TO: John Spina
Principal Investigator
(Advisor G. Smith)

FROM: Wayne Taylor, Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFRE~~B~~)

Re: Protocol #J2005:085
"Elderly Relocation to Small Prairie Lakeshore Communities:
Migration Processes, Outcomes and Community Structure"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement. This approval is valid for one year only.

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note that, if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

APPENDIX F

Promotional Material

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**F.1. August 2005 "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre Hilites"
Advertisement**

NOTICE OF PUBLIC PRESENTATION:

Elderly relocation to Small Prairie lakeshore communities: migration processes, outcomes, and community structure.

Currently there is little information on elderly migration to rural communities on the Canadian Prairie Provinces. This exploratory research aims to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada by studying elderly migrants 55 years of age and over to small Prairie lakeshore communities in Manitoba's Interlake region.

The data for this study will be obtained from a sample of 25 migrants 55 years of age and older who had made a permanent move within the past 5 years to Manitoba's Interlake region. The elderly migrant must have crossed at least one municipal boundary (Census Division) in the migration process to a lakeshore community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, bounded in the north by Arnes and in the south by Dunnottar. The data for this study will also be obtained from a sample of community leaders who are able to speak about elderly related issues in these communities.

If you would like more information about this research, your eligibility, and what your participation would involve, you may reach me by e-mail or by phone

You are also invited to attend a half-hour presentation at 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday, September 14th at the Gimli 55+ New Horizons Seniors Centre.

Election 2005

"Think about it!

How about running for election or volunteering to assist one of the Directors?

The Nominating Committee is now working towards putting together a Slate of candidates for 2005/06.

If you are interested, or want more information, please call any of the committee members:

Zulma Cherlet
Champ Russenholt

Eva Haddad
Don Smith

Thank you.

**F.2. September 2005 "Gimli New Horizons 55+ Activity Centre Hilites"
Advertisement**

55+ Volunteers needed for University of Manitoba Study

Although people age 55+ have retired to rural communities for years, there is actually very little recorded information about this activity. Some interesting exploratory research on this mobility is currently being done by the University of Manitoba. By studying the movement of 55+ persons to Manitoba's Interlake region, Mr. John Spina from the Department of Environment and Geography hopes to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada. The data will be obtained from a sample of 25 people 55 years of age and over who have made a permanent move within the past 5 years to Manitoba's Interlake region. These people must have crossed at least one census division boundary in their move to a lakeshore community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, between Arnes and Dunnottar. Mr. Spina is also interested in speaking with community leaders who are able to discuss elderly-related issues in these communities. The study will give migrants a chance to voice their concerns about their communities and to tell their story of migration. It will also provide community leaders and institutions some insight into the needs of elderly migrants.

**A half-hour presentation about this research is slated for
10:00 a.m. on Wednesday September 14th at the
Gimli New Horizons 55+ Centre.**

If you'd like more information, please call

Mr. John Spina :

Ethical approval to conduct this research was granted by the U of M's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review Committee.



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F.3. August 2005 “Blue Rooster Gazette” Advertisement

F.4. September 2005 "Blue Rooster Gazette" Advertisement

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The Beach, 319 Kernstead & #9 Hwy
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Volunteers needed for the Harvest Festival and Trade Show September 24th and 25th 2005. Contact Lee Hanson at 389-5126.

HWY #9 ROADHOUSE

MON - SAT 10AM - 1AM
SUNDAY 12AM - 10PM
Vendor open 7 days a week

SAT SEPT 3 AT 1PM
Horseshoe Tournament

SAT SEPT 24
Rising Star Karaoke

SUNDAY 11:30AM - 9PM
MON - THURS 10AM - 9PM
FRI & SAT 10AM - 10PM
389-3537

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389-LOCK

"Shoreline Cleanup" team needs you on Sept 10th
by Audra Taylor of team "The Maples"
The Great Canadian Shoreline Cleanup (sponsored by TD Trust) is coming up on September 10 - 18, 2005. Team "The Maples" is registered to clean up the shoreline right here in Winnipeg Beach, starting at Maple Beach through to Hazel Street, including Boundary Creek and the Marina area. It's an ambitious project, so come out and help to beautify Winnipeg Beach! This is the first time Winnipeg Beach has ever registered a team, so let's show that we really care about our Beach environment. Join "The Maples" at Maple Beach anytime between 10-4, Saturday, September 10th. Cleaning supplies are provided. Your team co-ordinator, Audra, will be there to direct you all day. Call 997-4056 or 1-877-427-2422 for more information or to let the team captain know you're coming. Check out the website at www.vanaqua.org/cleanup.

MEMORABLE QUOTES

"Happiness is having a large loving, caring, close-knit family in another city." - George Burns

"Never raise your hands to your kids. It leaves your groin unprotected." - Red Buttons

"I'm at an age when my back goes out more than I do." - Phyllis Diller

"I don't feel old. I don't feel anything until noon. Then it's time for my nap." - Bob Hope

"Smartness runs in my family. When I went to school I was so smart my teacher was in my class for 5 years." - George Burns



Peter Bjornson, MLA for Gimli

Representing Gimli, Winnipeg Beach, Dunnottar, St. Andrews and West St. Paul

Constituency Office: Room 105, 94-1st Avenue, Gimli MB, R0C 1B1
Phone: 204-642-4977 * Toll Free 1-866-253-0255
Fax 204-642-8991
Email: gimlirlmla@mts.net

U OF M STUDY PUTS FOCUS ON INTERLAKE SENIORS

Currently there is little information on elderly migration to rural communities in the Canadian Prairie Provinces. This exploratory research aims to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada. **If you are 55 years of age and over, have made a permanent move within the past 5 years to a community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, between Arnes and Dunnottar, and crossed at least one census division boundary in the process, I am interested in interviewing you.** I am also interested in speaking with community leaders who are able to discuss elderly-related issues in these communities.

To participate or for further information, please call Mr. John Spina at (204) 669-3576 or email johnspina@shaw.ca. I am looking forward to hearing from you. You are also invited to attend a half-hour presentation about this research at these locations:

Wpg Beach Legion Branch 61
Tues, Sept 13th at 1:00 pm

Gimli New Horizons Seniors Centre
Wed, Sept 14th at 10:00 am

Ethical approval to conduct this research was granted by the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review Committee.

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1-204-641-1244

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Friday 4 - 11
Saturday 12 - 11
Sunday 12 - 9

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WINNIPEG BEACH **GOLF COURSE**

HWY #9 WPG BEACH

Notice - month of September Course closed
Tuesdays & Wednesdays
Members may golf any time
Passes may be purchased in advance to golf when course is closed.
Clubhouse Hours: 9:30am - 6pm

389-5858

Check out the great selection of Cd's at Blue Rooster in Winnipeg Beach.

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Weekdays ALL NEW 8:30am - 8:00pm GIFT
Fridays & Saturdays SHOP 8:30am - 10:00pm **MOVIES**

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30 MAIN ST, WINNIPEG BEACH **389-5945**

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**F.5. September 2005 Winnipeg Beach Royal Canadian Legion newsletter
Advertisement**

NEWSLETTER

55+ VOLUNTEERS NEEDED FOR UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA STUDY

ALTHOUGH PEOPLE AGE 55+ HAVE RETIRED TO RURAL COMMUNITIES FOR YEARS, THERE IS ACTUALLY VERY LITTLE RECORDED INFORMATION ABOUT THIS ACTIVITY. SOME INTERESTING EXPLORATORY RESEARCH ON THIS MOBILITY IS CURRENTLY BEING DONE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA. BY STUDYING THE MOVEMENT OF 55+ PERSONS TO MANITOBA'S INTERLAKE REGION, MR JOHN SPINA FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT AND GEOGRAPHY HOPES TO FURTHER OUR UNDERSTANDING OF ELDERLY MOBILITY IN CANADA. THE DATA WILL BE OBTAINED FROM A SAMPLE OF 25 PEOPLE 55 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER WHO HAVE MADE A PERMANENT MOVE WITHIN THE PAST 5 YEARS TO MANITOBA'S INTERLAKE REGION. THESE PEOPLE MUST HAVE CROSSED AT LEAST ONE CENSUS DIVISION BOUNDARY IN THEIR MOVE TO A LAKESHORE COMMUNITY ALONG THE SOUTHWEST SHORE OF LAKE WINNIPEG, BETWEEN ARNES AND DUNNOTTAR. MR. SPINA IS ALSO INTERESTED IN SPEAKING WITH COMMUNITY LEADERS WHO ARE ABLE TO DISCUSS

ELDERLY-RELATED ISSUES IN THESE COMMUNITIES. THE STUDY WILL GIVE MIGRANTS A CHANCE TO VOICE THEIR CONCERNS ABOUT THEIR COMMUNITIES AND TO TELL THEIR STORY OF MIGRATION. IT WILL ALSO PROVIDE COMMUNITY LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONS SOME INSIGHT INTO THE NEEDS OF ELDERLY MIGRANTS.

A HALF HOUR PRESENTATION ABOUT THIS RESEARCH IS SLATED FOR TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 13TH AT 1:00 PM AT THE WINNIPEG BEACH LEGION HALL. IF YOU LIKE MORE INFORMATION, PLEASE CALL MR. JOHN SPINA AT 204-669-3576 OR EMAIL johnspina@shaw.ca. ETHICAL APPROVAL TO CONDUCT THIS RESEARCH WAS GRANTED BY THE U OF M'S FACULTY OF ARTS ETHICAL REVIEW COMMITTEE. HOPE TO SEE YOU ON SEPTEMBER 13TH.

BRANCH ELECTIONS

NOVEMBER 17th, ALL EXECUTIVE AND COMMITTEE CHAIRS ARE OPEN. IF INTERESTED IN ANY OF THE CHAIRS GIVE SID BARNES OR THE OFFICE A CALL.



ANNUAL CHRISTMAS DINNER & DANCE

MARK YOUR CALENDARS SATURDAY NOVEMBER 26TH. WATCH FOR THE INFORMATION POSTER AND TICKETS TO GO ON SALE STARTING NOVEMBER 1ST.

THE LEGION NEWLETTER WILL BE PUBLISHED FOUR (4) TIMES A YEAR AT THE END OF MARCH, JUNE, SEPTEMBER & DECEMBER. ANY ARTICLES YOU WOULD LIKE TO SUBMIT MUST BE INTO THE BRANCH OFFICE NO LATER THAN THE FIRST OF EACH OF THOSE MONTHS.

NEXT EDITION

DECEMBER 2005



F.6. Information Flyer: 55+ Volunteers Needed for University of Manitoba study

55+ Volunteers needed for University of Manitoba Study

Currently there is little information on elderly migration to rural communities on the Canadian Prairie Provinces. This exploratory research aims to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada. If you are 55 years of age and over, have made a permanent move within the past 5 years to a community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, between Arnes and Dunnottar, and crossed at least one census division boundary in the process, I am interested in interviewing you. I am also interested in speaking with community leaders who are able to discuss elderly-related issues in these communities.

To participate or for further information, please call Mr. John Spina. I am looking forward to hearing from you. You are also invited to attend a half-hour presentation about this research on:

**1:00 p.m. on Tuesday September 13th at the
Winnipeg Beach Legion Hall; and**

**10:00 a.m. on Wednesday September 14th at the
Gimli 55+ New Horizons Seniors Centre**

**Ethical approval to conduct this research was granted by the
University of Manitoba's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review
Committee**

F.7. Gimli Internet Web Site Announcement

A Great Place For Fun... A Great Place To Work

The Rural Municipality of Gimli

[Home](#)
[Location](#)
[Public Notices](#)
[About The RM](#)
[Local Services](#)
[Meeting Agendas](#)
[Meeting Minutes](#)
[Motor Sport Park](#)
[Industrial Park](#)
[RM Council](#)
[RM Staff](#)
[Local Links](#)
[Contact Info](#)

Public Notices

55+ Volunteers needed for U of M Study

9/14/2005

55+ Volunteers needed for University of Manitoba Study

Although people age 55+ have retired to rural communities for years, there is actually very little recorded information about this activity. Some interesting exploratory research on this mobility is currently being done by the University of Manitoba. By studying the movement of 55+ persons to Manitoba's Interlake region, Mr. John Spina from the Department of Environment and Geography hopes to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada.

The data will be obtained from a sample of 25 people 55 years of age and over who have made a permanent move within the past 5 years to Manitoba's Interlake region. These people must have crossed at least one census division boundary in their move to a lakeshore community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, between Arnes and Dunnottar. Mr. Spina is also interested in speaking with community leaders who are able to discuss elderly-related issues in these communities.

The study will give migrants a chance to voice their concerns about their communities and to tell their story of migration. It will also provide community leaders and institutions some insight into the needs of elderly migrants.

A half-hour presentation about this

Tuesday, August 2, 2005

Return

[Gimli Model Farm](#)
[Loni Beach Recreation](#)
[4th Annual Elv](#)
[Artists Wave](#)
[55+ Volunteer](#)
[for U of M Study](#)
[Notices Home](#)

[Gimli Motor Sport Park information](#)
[Click here](#)
[Garbage Calendar](#)
[Click here](#)

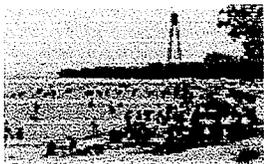
research is slated for 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday September 13th at the Winnipeg Beach Legion Hall and for 10:00 a.m. on Wednesday September 14th at the Gimli 55+ New Horizons Seniors Centre. If you'd like more information, please call Mr. John Spina

Ethical approval to conduct this research was granted by the U of M's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review Committee.

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F.8. Winnipeg Beach Internet Web Site Announcement



Winnipeg Beach Where Manitoba Comes To Play!

Town Hall Business

Minutes Agendas By-Laws Council Administration Your Opinion

Community Info

Local Residents - Community Notices

Not

[Return](#)

- > [Community Events](#)
- > [Community Notices](#)
- > [Weekly Activities](#)
- > [Recreation](#)
- > [Service Groups](#)
- > [Discussion Forum](#)
- > [Local Resident Index](#)

55 + Volunteers needed for University of Manitoba Study

Event Date: 9/13/2005

Although people age 55+ have retired to rural communities for years, there is actually very little recorded information about this activity. Some interesting exploratory research on this mobility is currently being done by the University of Manitoba. By studying the movement of 55+ persons to Manitoba's Interlake region, Mr. John Spina from the Department of Environment and Geography hopes to further our understanding of elderly mobility in Canada.

The data will be obtained from a sample of 25 people 55 years of age and over who have made a permanent move within the past 5 years to Manitoba's Interlake region. These people must have crossed at least one census division boundary in their move to a lakeshore community along the southwest shore of Lake Winnipeg, between Arnes and Dunnottar. Mr. Spina is also interested in speaking with community leaders who are able to discuss elderly-related issues in these communities.

The study will give migrants a chance to voice their concerns about their communities and to tell their story of migration. It will also provide community leaders and institutions some insight into the needs of elderly migrants.

- > [55 + need Univ Mani](#)
- > [Volun](#)
- > [Falcc Shoc](#)
- > [Publi Nam](#)
- > [Lost phon](#)
- > [Disar Assis](#)
- > [Kanc Tour](#)
- > [EXTI FOR BEA SERI](#)
- > [Banc Boar](#)
- > [Musi](#)
- > [Falcc Serie Notic](#)
- > [2nd / Harv Show](#)
- > [Hip-t](#)
- > [Musi](#)
- > [LOS](#)
- > [Winn Golf](#)
- > [Citize Prog](#)
- > [Cour Dele](#)

[Co](#)

[C](#)

A half-hour presentation about this research is slated for 1:00 p.m. on Tuesday September 13th at the Winnipeg Beach Legion Hall. If you'd like more information, please call Mr. John Spina

Cc
Nc

Ethical approval to conduct this research was granted by the U of M's Faculty of Arts Ethical Review Committee.

All-net.ca

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APPENDIX G.

In-Depth Life-history Interviews

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G.1. Holly Cormon

FAMILY HISTORY

1964: Married
1972: First Child Born
1974: Twins Born
1990: First Child Moves Out
1996: First Child Returns Home
1996: First Child Moves Out
1996: First Twin Moves Out
1999: Second Twin Moves Out
1999: Mother Dies
2000: Father Dies

WORK HISTORY

1959: Began Full-Time Employment
1970: Job Change
1972: Stopped All Employment
1977: Began Full-Time Employment
1999: Retired

EDUCATION HISTORY

1959: Completed High School
1996: Began and Completed 3 Month Full-Time Course

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1942: Birth in Winnipeg, MB
1961: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1964: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1966: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1966: Move to Chiquotimi, QUE
1967: Move Just South of Lockport, MB
1968: Move to Gimli, MB
1969: Move Just South of Lockport, MB
1973: Move to Tuelon, MB
1978: Move to Bird's Hill, MB
1995: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1998: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1999: Move to Amaranth, MB
2002: Moved Within Amaranth, MB
2002: Move to Winnipeg Beach, MB

G.2. Ian Cooper

FAMILY HISTORY

1974: Married
1984: Only Child Born
2000: Mother Dies
2001: Only Child Moves Out
2003: Only Child Returns Home
2005: Only Child Moves Out

WORK HISTORY

1962-64: Began Part-Time Employment
1964: Began Full-Time Employment
1968: Job Change
1968: Job Change
1972-73: Job Change
1974: Job Change
1975: Job Transfer
1975-76: Job Transfer
1976-77: Job Transfer
1977: Job Transfer
1978: Job Transfer
1979: Job Transfer
1990: Job Transfer
2000: Job Transfer
2004: Job Transfer
2006: Retirement

EDUCTATION HISTORY

1964: Completed High School
1964: Began Full-Time College
1965: Exit Full-Time College
1969: Began Full-Time College
1972: Exit Full-Time College

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1946: Birth: Rural MB
1946-69: Move Within Rural MB
1969: Move To Winnipeg, MB
1969-72: Several Moves Within Winnipeg, MB
1972-73: Move To Brandon, MB
1974: Move To Winnipeg, MB
1975: Move To Selkirk, MB
1975-76: Move To Great Falls, MB
1976-/77: Move To Gillam, MB
1977: Move To Winnipeg, MB
1978: Move To Brandon, MB
1979-04: Move To Winnipeg, MB
2005: Move to Sandy Hook, MB

G.3. Brenda Smith

FAMILY HISTORY

1961: Mother Dies
1963: Married
1964: First Child Born
1965: Second Child Born
1971: Separation From Husband
1980: First Child Moves Out
1989: Divorce
1989: Father Dies
1991: Second Child Moves Out
1991: Remarriage
1993: First Child Returns Home
2002: First Child Moves Out

WORK HISTORY

1962: Began Part-Time Employment
1963-4: Began Full-Time Employment
1964: Stops Working
1966: Began Part-Time Employment
1971: Began Full-Time Employment
1971: Job Change
1973: Job Change
1976: Maintains Part-Time Job in Addition to Full-Time Job
1977: Job Change
1979: Job Change
1979: Begins Part-Time Employment
1994: Retirement
1998: Comes out of Retirement
1999: Begins Full-Time Employment
2000: Retirement

EDUCATION HISTORY

1962: Completed High School With No Certificate
1977: Received GED
1990: Obtained Instructors Certificate With Revenue Canada
1990: Obtained Supervisor Certificate From Revenue Canada

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1945: Birth: Calgary, AB
1945-49: Move To Edmonton. AB
1949: Move To Fort Nelson, B.C.
1949-54: Moved to Montreal, QUE
1954: Moved to Winnipeg, MB
1954: 2 - 3 Moves Within Winnipeg. MB
1954: Move to Gimli, MB
1954: Move To Winnipeg, MB

1954-61: 4 Moves Within Winnipeg, MB
1961-65: 4 moves Within Winnipeg, MB
1966-70: 2 moves Within Winnipeg, MB
1970-78: 4 moves Within Winnipeg, MB
1978: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1986: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1993: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
2002: Move to Lac du Bonnet, MB
2005: Move to Winnipeg Beach, MB

G.4. Victor Ward

FAMILY HISTORY

- 1963: Marriage
- 1968: Adopted First Child
- 1970: Adopted Second Child
- 1986: Father dies
- 1988: Adopted Second Child Moves Out
- 2000: Adopted First Child Moves Out

WORK HISTORY

- 1957: Begins Full-Time Employment
- 1965: Job Change
- 1977: Leave of absence and job change
- 1997: Retirement
- 1997: Resumes Part-Time Employment

EDUCATION HISTORY

- 1957: Completes High School
- 1957: Began College
- 1962: Exit College
- 1966: Begins work on obtaining teaching certificate
- 1968: Receives teaching certificate
- 1967: Begins Part-time University
- 1977: Exits university
- 1965-97: Professional seminars (2 per year)

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

- 1939: Birth: Beausejour MB
- 1941: Move to Helston, MB
- 1946: Move to Tendy, MB
- 1949: Move to Selkirk, MB
- 1963: Move within Selkirk, MB
- 1965: Move to Brandon, MB
- 1965-2000: Move 7 times within Brandon, MB
- 2000: Move to Gimli, MB

G.5. Helen Carter

FAMILY HISTORY

1971: Marriage
1975: Father Dies
1983: Divorce
1984: Mother Dies
1994: Remarriage

WORK HISTORY

1967: Begins Part-Time Employment
1969: Begins Full-Time Employment
1969: Job Change
1970: Job Change
1990: Job Change
1991: Job Change
1994: Job Change

EDUCATION HISTORY

1968: Completed High School
Mid-Late 70s: Completed Computer Marketing Course at RRC
Early 1990s: Completed Mutual Funds Course
1994: Completed Real Estate Course
1994: Has taken mandatory courses every year since 1994 offered by the Manitoba real estate association and Manitoba securities commission

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1950: Birth: Winnipeg, MB
1953: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1969: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1969: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1971: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1973: Move to Calgary, AB
1974: Move To Winnipeg, MB
1977: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1991: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
2001: Move To Sandy Hook, MB

G.6. Monica Brown

FAMILY HISTORY

1972: Married
1975: First Child Born
1975: Father Dies
1979: Second Child Born
1984: Mother Dies
2004: Second Child Moves Out
2005: First Child Moves Out

WORK HISTORY

1965: Begins Part-Time Employment
1966: Begins Full-Time Employment
1968: Stops All Employment
1970: Begins Full-Time Employment
1974: Job Change
1975: Stops All Employment
1984: Begins Full-Time Employment
1990: Stops All Employment
1991: Job Change

EDUCATION HISTORY

1966: Completes High School
1968: Enters College
1970: Completes College
1990: Completes Marketing Courses - intensive 10 days
1991: Completes Real Estate Course
1991-2005 3 Courses / year (mandatory)

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1948: Birth: Winnipeg, MB
1953: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1972: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1972: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1973-74: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1974-75: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1976: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1979: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1982: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
2005: Move to Winnipeg Beach, MB

G.7. Sophia Walters

FAMILY HISTORY

1972: Marriage
1975: First Child Born
1976: Second Child Born
1980: Third Child Born
1988: Father Dies
1992: Mother Dies
1992: Respondent Moves and Leaves First Born Child
1992: Respondent Moves and Leaves Second Born Child
2003: Respondent Moves and Leaves Third Born Child

WORK HISTORY

1963-65 Begins Full-Time Employment Over Summer
1965: Begins Full-Time Employment
1973: Job Change
1975: Stops All Employment
1986-95 Begins Full-Time Employment
1986-95 Job Change
1995 Stops All Employment
1999 Begins Full-Time employment
2002 Retired

EDUCATION HISTORY

1965: Completed High School
1970-75 Completes Several Job Related Training Courses

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1947: Birth: Winnipeg, MB
1970: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1972: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1973: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1973: Move To Saskatoon, SK
1977: Move To Brandon, MB
1982: Move To Edmonton, AB
1986: Move To Saskatoon, SK
1995: Move To Winnipeg MB
2003: Move to Gimli, MB

G.8. Nancy Vernon

FAMILY HISTORY

1946: Married
1947: First Child Born
1949: Second Child Born
1962: Father Dies
1965: Second Child Moves Out
1968: First Child Moves Out
1997: Mother Dies
2005: Husband Died

WORK HISTORY

1944: Begins Full-Time Work
1945: Stops All Employment
1956: Begins Full-Time Work
1958: Job Change
1958: Stops All Employment
1960: Begins Full-Time Work
1961: Stops All Employment
1966: Begins Full-Time Work
1968-69: Stops Employment
1973: Begins Full-Time Work
1976: Begins Part-Time Employment
1976: Job Change
1991: Retired

EDUCATION HISTORY

1943: Completed High School
1944: Enters and Exits Full-Time College

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1926: Birth: Scott, SK
1926-31: Move Within SK
1931: Move To Pope, MB
1944: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1946: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1946-55: Move 3 times Within Winnipeg, MB
1955: Move to Victoria B.C.
1955: Move Within Victoria, B.C.
1958: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1960: Move Within Winnipeg, MB (Bird's Hill)
1960: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1965: Move to Germany
1969: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1972: Move to Inwood, MB
1972: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1973: Move to Stonewall, MB

1978: Move to Winnipeg, MB
1983: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1999: Move to Buffalo Point, MB
1999: Move to Winnipeg, MB
2000: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
2000: Move to Gimli, MB

G.9. Frank Robinson

FAMILY HISTORY

1969: Marriage
1970: First Child Born
1972: Second Child Born
1989: First Child Moves Out
1990: Second Child Moves Out
1990: Second Child Returns For Winter
1991: Second Child Returns For Winter
1992: Second Child Returns For Winter
1996: Father Dies
2002: First Child Returns Home
2002: First Child Moves Out
2002: Mother Dies

WORK HISTORY

1963-65 Begins Full-Time Work (Summers Only)
1966: Begins Full-Time Work
1966: Job Change
1970: Job Change
1973: Job Change
2000: Retirement

EDUCATION HISTORY

1966: Completes High School
1971-72 Completes Courses to Finish High School

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

1948: Birth: Winnipeg, MB
1969: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1970: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1971: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1971: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1974: Move Within Winnipeg, MB
1975: Move to Stonewall, MB
2001: Move to Gimli, MB

APPENDIX H. Report to Community Leaders and Migrants

To: _____

Between September and November 2005 you were a participant in a study on elderly migration to regional retirement communities located on the Canadian Prairie Provinces. I would like to thank you for your participation in this study. In this short report, an overview of the study is presented, along with the major findings.

The primary objective of this study is to further our understanding of elderly mobility by investigating the processes and outcomes of the migration of older people to lakeshore retirement communities located in Manitoba's Interlake region. The conceptual framework of the present study specifically incorporates elements of both migration decision-making models and place attachment/integration models. Four research questions were derived from the conceptual framework respectively concerning elderly migrant profile characteristics, the elder's decision to move, the elder's relocation decision-making process, and elderly migration outcomes. A sequential four-stage survey design included: (a) a questionnaire/interview survey of elderly migrants; (b) in-depth life-history interviews with elderly migrants; (c) a questionnaire/interview survey of community leaders; (d) two separate focus group sessions including both elderly migrants and community leaders. Two non-probability sampling procedures (i.e. convenience sampling and snowball sampling) were utilized, generating a total of 34 elderly migrants and 10 community leaders.

The analysis of data involved the use of both descriptive statistical techniques and qualitative methods. In particular, key variables were specified for each research question and organized hierarchically into variable groups and mega themes. The results of the analysis disclose that a large majority of elderly respondents were "young-old"

amenity migrants with strong ties to Manitoba. However, the respondents differed with regard to the number of residential moves made throughout the life course, and their amount of previous place experience within the study area. Both push and pull factors played major roles in elderly migration decision-making, particularly proximity to urban centres, while spousal input and previous place experience were also important. My findings suggest that community leaders and elderly migrants were in general agreement about key issues facing newcomers to the study area. However, the migrants were generally satisfied with their moves to communities in the study area and had no migration intentions for the future. Taken together, these results may be viewed as evidence of the successful place integration of elderly migrants within semi-rural retirement communities located in a cold Canadian climate.

The results affirm that policy directed to the sustainability of these communities should focus on the issues which migrants consider problematic in order to facilitate their integration into the retirement communities, thus producing positive migration outcomes. For example, the research findings suggest that policy interventions should occur in the provision of leisure/recreational activities for seniors. These activities were shown to be particularly important as both push and pull factors. The research findings also suggest that policy interventions should be directed towards the provision of improved health care, local infrastructure (i.e. sewer system, unpaved roads), more financial institutions, and a wider variety of retail services. Particular emphasis was placed on the provision of improved health care and local infrastructure. Further, specialized senior housing options are required to provide the increased level of care required by older residents who experience a loss of functional independence. Although

selected areas offer small concentrations of the above-mentioned services, their distribution is uneven. Thus, each of these interventions should be aimed at preventing the disintegration of person and place relationships. In other words, planning and policy interventions for seniors must be implemented in critical areas which impact the experience of migrants in place.