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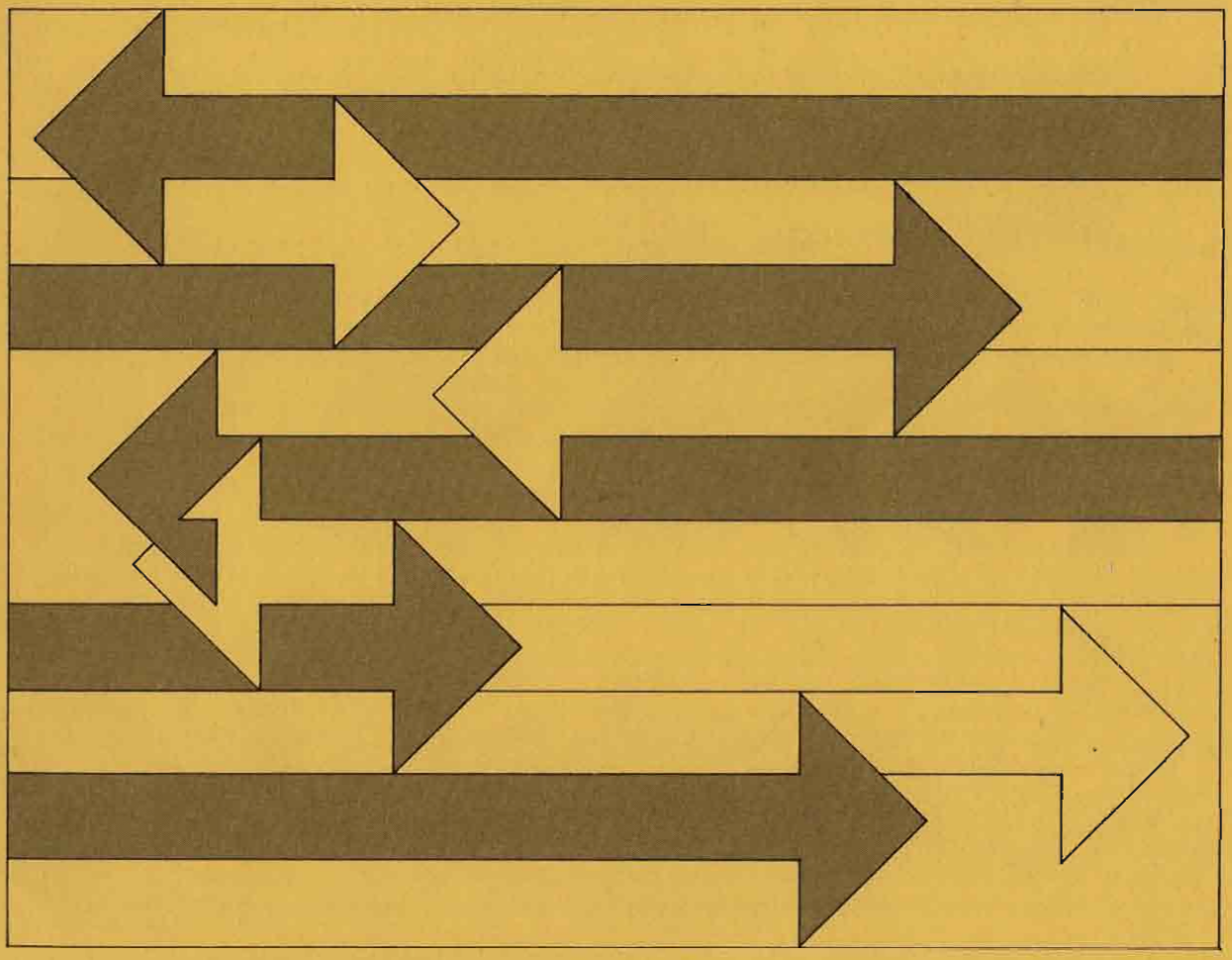
Bulletin 425, April 1974

Residential Mobility of the Population of Connecticut, 1965-70

By Kenneth Hadden, Assistant Professor, Department of Rural Sociology.



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RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY OF THE POPULATION OF CONNECTICUT, 1965-70

by

Kenneth Hadden*

INTRODUCTION

Individuals in all societies change their place of residence from time to time. In very few societies, however, has population movement been as pronounced as it is in our own.

Pre-industrial societies, both historically and contemporarily, may be characterized as having relatively little population movement and residential change. This is so for several reasons. Undeveloped communication systems result in only limited knowledge about other places and about any opportunities which might be available elsewhere, and rudimentary transportation systems make travel difficult, expensive and time consuming. Even if this were not the case, the relatively undifferentiated economies of pre-industrial societies are not conducive to labor mobility since employment opportunities in one community are generally very similar to those in any other. Under circumstances such as these individuals become embedded in networks of familistic relationships, depending on sustained face-to-face contact. This serves further to accentuate an individual's ties to a particular locale, and to minimize inter-community population movement.

In contrast, the populations of industrial societies are much more mobile. For example, in 1970 one in every four Americans was living in a state other than the one in which he was born (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973). Of course, much additional movement occurs within state boundaries. There are many reasons for this shifting and flowing of populations in industrial societies. The highly differentiated economies make for a diversity of employment opportunities which often differ substantially from one community to another. This, when combined with well-developed communication and transportation systems, results in the easy movement of workers (and their families) from a place where opportunities are limited to another location where they are more promising. The heavy reliance on face-to-face relationships, so important in pre-industrial societies, is weakened and generally ceases to be an important restraint to geographic mobility. The extension over a wide area of common symbols (language and currency, for example) and common customs (both formal laws and informal norms) further reduces dependence on a particular locale.

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There have been three trends in population movement of profound social, economic and political importance in American history. These ignore the movement of population from foreign origins into this country, which has been discussed elsewhere (Hadden, 1974). First, the westward movement involved the gradual peopling of the entire nation by the population of European heritage. In the course of this movement, extending over a period of centuries, millions of Americans of European descent migrated progressively further West, displacing, as they went, American Indians (and, in many cases, forcing geographic movement upon Indian populations). While the western frontier has been "closed" since the turn of the century, the Westward movement continues; California is now the most populous state in the nation and continues to grow.

A second major trend in population movement has been toward cities. The proportion of the total U. S. population living in large communities has been increasing regularly since systematic records have been kept. By 1970, 58 percent of the population lived in urbanized areas containing a city of 50,000 population or more. At the same time, of course, the rural population has been declining, reaching 27 percent of the population in 1970.

Finally, a third major population movement has been away from cities and toward suburbs. This suburban-ward movement began in earnest in the United States during the 1920's with the widespread use of automobiles and the consequent increase in commutation distance from home to workplace. In recent decades communities surrounding large cities have been growing more rapidly than those cities themselves; between 1960 and 1970, suburban ring population increased by 44 percent while central city population increased by only 12 percent (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972a, Table 47). This growth derives importantly, but not exclusively, from migration.

While the growth of suburban populations has been importantly influenced by improvements in transportation technology and the consequent separation of the home from the workplace, it has also been influenced by the suburban-ward movement of industrial activities (especially those activities which require extensive space but not a central location) and the consequent increase in jobs in suburban areas. There were, in addition, other large-scale population shifts involving segments of the total population; for example, the movement of Southern blacks to the North and West has been going on for decades and has involved millions of people.

For movement on such large scales to have occurred, residential change and population redistribution must perform some valuable functions for individuals and for society. Individuals and families, insofar as they do change their residence, seem to do so in conjunction with other changes in their lives and circumstances. Residential change often is associated with changes in the life cycle of the family. Marriage (the formation of a new family) is usually an occasion for residential change for one or both of the new mates; the birth of children (family growth) often requires relocation to larger living quarters, while the departure of children from home or the death of a spouse (family decline) may be accompanied by a return to a smaller residential unit. Similarly, residential change may be associated with changes in the career of the head of the family. In the early stages of one's career, income tends to be low and only modest living quarters can be afforded. As the career progresses and income increases, a more expensive residence may be selected.

A return to more modest accommodations may occur after retirement. And, of course, throughout an occupational career changes in the location of employment may necessitate residential change. In all of these cases, residential change is seen to be an adjustment by individuals and families to the circumstances confronting them.

Residential changes, particularly if they involve long-distance moves, may have negative consequences as well. Existing social bonds, such as friendships, and organizational affiliations may be destroyed. In a highly mobile society, however, new social bonds are readily established and many organizations (such as churches, political parties, labor unions and so on) transcend localities so that membership may simply be transferred.

On a societal level, geographic movement is the only short-term mechanism for maintaining an equilibrium between jobs (or labor demand) and workers (or labor supply). In the longer run differential fertility and differential mortality may have a substantial effect on population redistribution but these mechanisms respond slowly and indirectly to labor market conditions. Factors other then the labor markets may influence population distribution and redistribution on a societal level. The structure of transportation systems, for example, will facilitate growth in some areas at the expense of other, less accessible areas. Environmental factors, such as climate, may serve as attractions to industry and to large numbers of migrants; witness the rapid growth in Florida and the Southwest in recent years.

Areas experiencing rapid population growth through migration may have unusual age and sex composition; frontier towns, for example, tend to be inhabited largely by young males, while administrative centers often have disproportions of young and middle-aged females. This occurs, of course, because different population groups are differentially attracted to some types of communities. Unusual age or sex distributions which result in this way may affect marriage chances, fertility levels and mortality rates. These factors, in turn, may influence demand for such services as schools, hospitals, police, and single-family dwellings.

Population moves, then, in response to the particular circumstances confronting individuals as well as in response to changes occurring in the larger society. Similarly, movement itself has implications for individuals who move, for those who do not, for the sending and receiving communities, and for the larger society.

DEFINITIONS AND PROBLEMS

For purposes of studying residential change and population movement one crude distinction which may be made is between people who moved during the April 1965 to April 1970 period and those who did not. Individuals were classified according to how they answered the following question which appeared on the 1970 census questionnaire: "Did (you) live in this house on April 1, 1965?" Three responses were possible: "Yes", in which case the individual is defined as non-mobile; "no", in which case the individual is defined as mobile; and "born April 1965 or later". Since persons in this last category cannot be classified as either non-mobile or mobile, children under five years old in April 1970

have been omitted from consideration and will not be dealt with in this report.

Individuals who indicated that they lived in a different house in 1970 were asked an additional question: "Where did (you) live on April 1, 1965?" Answers to this question were in terms of: (a) state, foreign country, U. S. possession, etc.; (b) county; (c) if inside the corporate limits of a city, town or village, the name of that unit. Similar information was obtained for April 1970 as well. When the information for 1965 and 1970 was compared, a number of classes of mobile individuals may be constructed. First, people who moved but reported a 1965 residence in the same county as their 1970 residence are called intracounty movers or simply movers. Second, people who moved between counties during the period are called intercounty migrants or migrants. Third, people who were living in this country in 1970 but whose place of residence in 1965 was outside the United States are called persons living abroad. And fourth, people who were five years old and over who moved during the 1965 to 1970 period but for whom sufficiently complete and consistent information concerning place of residence on April 1, 1965 was lacking are placed in a not reported category.

The migrant population is further subdivided into persons who lived in a different county but in the same state in 1970 as in 1965, called intrastate migrants, and who lived in a different state in 1970 than in 1965, called interstate migrants.

Finally, recognizing that considerable movement is associated with military service and college attendance, the various migrant categories will sometimes be subdivided according to whether individuals were in the military in April, 1965, attending college in April, 1965 or neither.

A summary of the above classifications may be in order in outline form:

I. Persons under 5 years old on April 1, 1970 - omitted.
II. Persons 5 years old and over on April 1, 1970.
  A. Non-mobile: Same residence in 1965 and 1970.
  B. Mobile: Different residence in 1965 and 1970.
    1. Movers: Same county in 1965 and 1970.
    2. Migrants: Different county in 1965 and 1970.
      a. Intrastate migrants: Same state in 1965 and 1970.
        (1) In military in 1965
        (2) In college in 1965
        (3) Neither
      b. Interstate migrants: Different states in 1965 and 1970.
        (1) In military in 1965
        (2) In college in 1965
        (3) Neither
    3. Persons living abroad in 1965, but in the United States in 1970.
    4. Place of residence in 1965 inadequately reported.

Several limitations of measuring migration in the way the U. S. Bureau of Census does should be noted. First, persons who moved or migrated after 1965 but returned to the same house, same county or same state will be misclassified as non-mobile. Second, information

is not available on the number of moves which occurred between 1965 and 1970, only on the place of residence at those points in time. We are therefore unable to distinguish between individuals who moved only once and those who moved a large number of times. Third, the numbers of mobile individuals during the 1965-1970 period will actually be understated because: (a) some of the very young children who have been excluded from consideration will have moved and (b) some individuals who moved during the period will have died prior to April 1, 1970. And finally, the not reported category discussed earlier will result in understatements of the numbers in the various mobile categories.

BASIC MOBILITY PATTERNS

Lifetime Mobility

Before turning to a detailed consideration of the mobility of Connecticut's population during the 1965 to 1970 period, let us briefly look at exchanges in population between Connecticut and the other states. Here we are concerned with the state in which people were born and the state in which they were living in 1970. Table 1 indicates the number of people who were born in Connecticut but were living in each of the other states in 1970, and the number of people who were born in one of the other states but were living in Connecticut in 1970. The third column of Table 1 indicates the amount of gain or loss through lifetime migration to and from Connecticut.

In 1970 approximately 860 thousand of Connecticut's population had been born in some other state; this means that about 28 percent of Connecticut's 1970 population had migrated to the state from someplace else in the United States. The largest number of in-migrants to Connecticut were born in New York--almost one-quarter of a million people; about 135 thousand people had been born in Massachusetts. Large numbers of 1970 Connecticut residents were born in Pennsylvania (68 thousand), Maine (61 thousand), New Jersey (45 thousand), Rhode Island (28 thousand) and Vermont (24 thousand). Every state sent at least one thousand people to Connecticut except Montana, Wyoming, New Mexico, Nevada and Alaska. In general, large numbers of people migrated to Connecticut from nearby states, located in the Northeast, while small numbers came from distant states.

In 1970, 520 thousand people born in Connecticut were living in some other state. The major recipients of migrants born in Connecticut were New York (89 thousand), Massachusetts (70 thousand), California (62 thousand), Florida (54 thousand) and New Jersey (31 thousand). Each state received at least 500 people from Connecticut except North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming and Utah. Again, there is a tendency for Connecticut to send the largest number of people to nearby states and smaller numbers to distant states. Notable exceptions to this pattern are California and Florida, both of which have drawn migrants in large numbers from throughout the nation.

In total, Connecticut has gained approximately one-third of a million inhabitants through its exchanges with other states. Connecticut has gained population through exchanges with 36 states and the District of Columbia; the largest gains have been in exchanges with New York

Table 1: Lifetime Migration of Native Born Population To and From Connecticut, by State: 1970

State	Living in Conn. in 1970 Born in Other State	Born in Conn. Living in Other State in 1970	Net Gain or Loss Through Migration
New York	227,597	89,169	+138,428
Massachusetts	134,524	69,620	+ 64,904
Maine	60,961	11,649	+ 49,312
Pennsylvania	68,480	19,914	+ 48,566
Vermont	24,220	8,555	+ 15,665
New Jersey	44,969	31,142	+ 13,827
South Carolina	17,559	3,979	+ 13,580
North Carolina	19,668	6,380	+ 13,288
Rhode Island	28,355	15,340	+ 13,015
New Hampshire	17,588	9,449	+ 8,139
Georgia	12,687	5,078	+ 7,609
Wisconsin	10,537	3,018	+ 7,519
Alabama	8,543	2,074	+ 6,469
Illinois	17,707	11,592	+ 6,115
Ohio	19,303	13,486	+ 5,817
West Virginia	5,739	964	+ 4,775
Missouri	6,577	3,202	+ 3,375
Iowa	4,544	1,549	+ 2,995
Washington, D. C.	5,830	3,160	+ 2,670
Michigan	13,173	10,659	+ 2,514
Kentucky	3,804	1,805	+ 1,999
Nebraska	2,827	974	+ 1,853
Mississippi	2,491	803	+ 1,688
Indiana	5,588	3,988	+ 1,600
Oklahoma	2,588	1,106	+ 1,482
Kansas	2,844	1,447	+ 1,397
Tennessee	3,499	2,161	+ 1,338
Minnesota	4,586	3,425	+ 1,161
Arkansas	1,932	825	+ 1,107
Louisiana	2,951	2,017	+ 934
North Dakota	1,330	493	+ 837
South Dakota	1,006	313	+ 693
Utah	1,008	443	+ 565
Virginia	14,836	14,432	+ 404
Idaho	1,013	738	+ 275
Montana	781	558	+ 223
Wyoming	466	305	+ 161
Texas	8,801	8,952	- 151
Delaware	1,424	1,812	- 388
Alaska	430	941	- 511
New Mexico	693	1,216	- 523
Hawaii	1,124	1,764	- 640
Nevada	336	1,494	- 1,158
Oregon	1,437	2,793	- 1,356
Colorado	2,609	4,384	- 1,775
Washington	3,230	5,883	- 2,653
Arizona	1,214	5,719	- 4,505
Maryland	8,764	13,271	- 4,507
Florida	11,368	53,873	- 42,505
California	16,757	62,171	- 45,414
TOTAL	860,298	520,085	+340,213

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, 1973, Table 13.

(138 thousand), Massachusetts (65 thousand), Maine and Pennsylvania (about 49 thousand each). Connecticut has lost population in exchanges with the remaining 13 states; only two of these exchanges have involved substantial losses--California (45 thousand) and Florida (43 thousand).

Finally, we might observe that approximately 1.4 million people moved from their state of birth to Connecticut or from Connecticut, their state of birth, to one of the other states. A great deal of this migration turns out to have been counterbalanced, as indicated by the fact that the end result of all this movement was a gain of 340 thousand people for Connecticut. In short, only one of these lifetime moves in every four resulted in a real interstate redistribution of population.

Population Mobility in Connecticut, 1965-70

Table 2 presents the mobility status of Connecticut residents as of April 1, 1970. Of the approximately 2 3/4 million persons five years old and over, almost six in ten (57.5 percent) were living in the same house as they had lived in five years earlier. The corresponding figure for the population of the United States is 52.9 percent, indicating that Connecticut's population was somewhat less mobile than Americans in general.

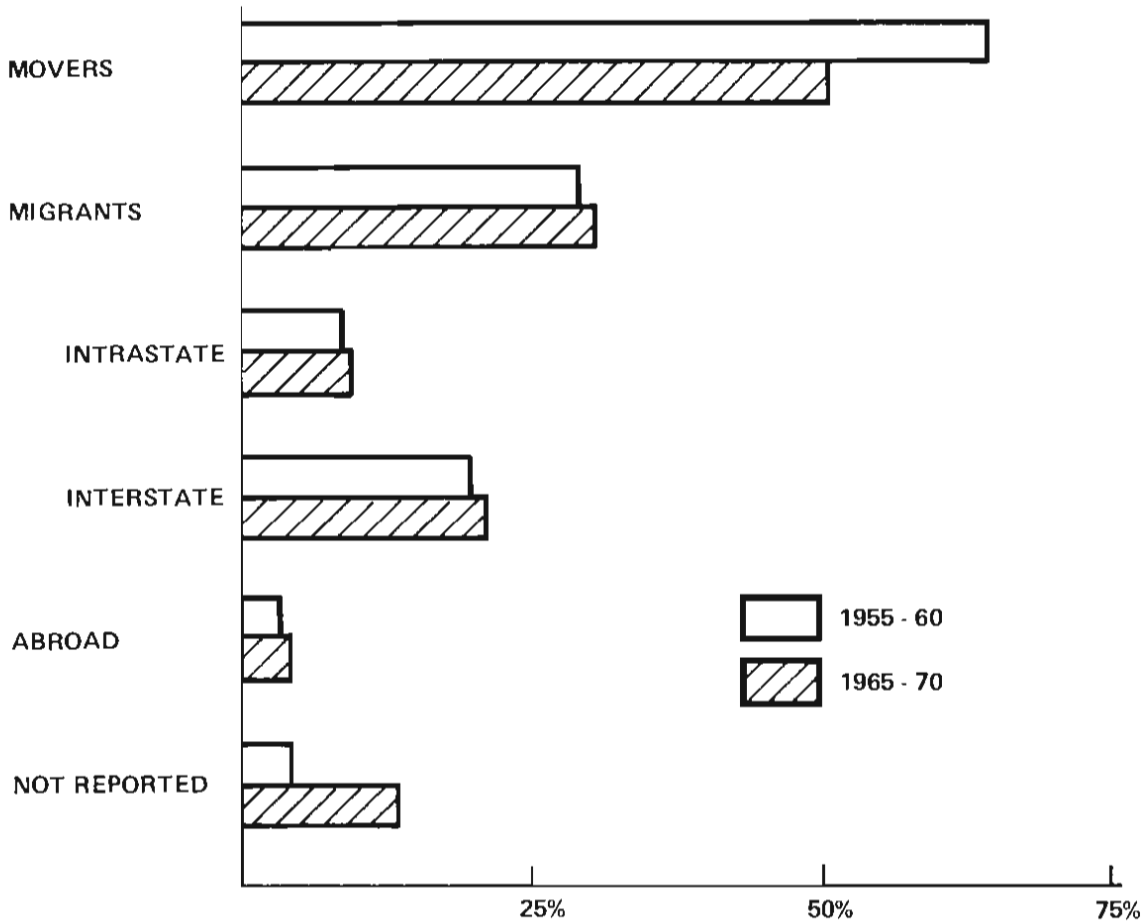
Table 2: Mobility Status of Connecticut's Population 5 Years Old and Over: 1955-60 and 1965-70

Mobility Status	1965-70		1955-60	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Non-mobile	1,597,541	57.5	1,213,363	53.8
Mobile	1,181,418	42.5	1,043,641	46.2
Movers (Intracounty)	604,082	21.7	683,398	30.3
Migrants (Intercounty)	362,506	13.1	287,218	12.7
Intrastate	106,069	3.8	81,852	3.6
Military (1965)	1,154	0.0	---	---
College (1965)	8,242	0.3	---	---
Neither (1965)	96,673	3.5	---	---
Interstate	256,437	9.3	205,366	9.1
Military (1965)	11,933	0.4	---	---
College (1965)	29,052	1.1	---	---
Neither (1965)	215,452	7.8	---	---
Abroad	52,545	1.9	34,579	1.5
Military (1965)	4,476	0.2	---	---
Moved, Not Reported	162,285	5.8	38,446	1.7
TOTAL	2,778,959	100.0	2,257,004	100.0

Source: Stockwell, 1964, Table 1; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Table 50.

As we will see shortly, young adults are much more likely to be mobile than any other age groups; Connecticut's population is somewhat older (median age of 29.1) than the nation's population with a median age of 28.1 (Hadden and Townsend, 1973). Thus, the age composition of

Figure 1: Mobile Population, by Mobility Status: Connecticut, 1955 - 60 and 1965 - 70.



Source: See Table 2.

Connecticut's population is probably partially responsible for its relatively low level of mobility. Stockwell (1964, p. 4) made a similar observation for the 1955-60 period.

The remaining 42.5 percent of the state's residents were classified as mobile since their place of residence changed between 1965 and 1970. The comparable proportion for 1955-1960 was 46.2 percent, indicating that a slight decline in the propensity to change residence occurred over the course of the decade. This decline appears to have been general since the percentage of the total U. S. population which was mobile declined from 50 percent during 1955-60 to 47 percent during 1965-70.

Over one-half of all mobile people in Connecticut moved between 1965 and 1970 within county boundaries. The next largest category of mobile persons was the intercounty migrants--about 13 percent of total population five years old or over in the state. About one-third of this migrant group moved between counties in the state and the remaining two-thirds moved to Connecticut from some other state. This indicates that if a person is going to change residence, he will do so locally if that is possible; if not, the tendency is for the move to be over a rather long distance (i.e., between states). For Connecticut residents, anyway, movers are unlikely to change their county of residence within the state. This may be a function of the small size of the state, limiting as it does the possibility of intrastate migration between only eight counties.

Figure 1 breaks the mobile population down into its several components and presents comparisons for 1955-60 and 1965-70. We have just observed that mobility declined from the former to latter time periods, and Figure 1 indicates how that decline occurred. The decline in mobility occurred exclusively because there was a decline in short distance movers. During 1955-60, almost two-thirds of all moves were within a particular county; slightly more than one-half (51 percent) of all moves during 1965-70 were short distance. Short-distance moves are likely to be at least partially affected by changes in the life cycle of families, such as marriage and the birth of children. Steahr (1973) has shown that fertility in Connecticut declined substantially during the decade of the 1960's. This suggests that one reason for the decline in local residential changes may derive from the relative decrease in the number of children being born. Undoubtedly, there are other reasons, such as the ease with which home financing is obtainable and the rate of new housing construction, but we are unable to estimate the possible impact of such factors.

Continuing with Figure 1, we see that intercounty migration accounted for a larger share of all moves in 1965-70 (31 percent) than it did during 1955-60 (28 percent). These moves are likely to be associated with seeking employment or job changes, including entry into and departure from the Armed Forces and college (U. S. Bureau of Census, 1966). The economy was expansive during much of the 1965-70 period, with many new jobs being created and a concomitant demand for workers to fill them. Also, there was considerable migration associated with military service and college during this period; Table 1 indicates that about 50 thousand people classified as migrants between 1965 and 1970 were either in college or the service in 1965.

Both intrastate and interstate migration increased from the earlier to the later period. The largest increase was in interstate migration: in the 1955-60 period, 20 percent of all movers were classified as interstate, while in the later period 22 percent were classified as interstate migrants.

The proportions of movers who were abroad at the beginning of the 1955-60 and 1965-70 periods and who lived in the state at the end of the time periods were approximately the same, 3 and 4 percent respectively. There was, however, a large increase in the "moved, not reported" category, from 4 to 14 percent. This was probably a consequence of changes made between 1960 and 1970 in the way in which the Census was conducted. In 1960 most of the population was interviewed by "census takers" who were in a position to check responses for completeness and adequacy on the spot. In 1970, however, questionnaires were sent through the mail to homes to be filled out and returned by mail; it was therefore much more difficult for incomplete answers to be remedied under the 1970 procedures.

In summary, only about four people in ten living in Connecticut in 1970 had changed their residence between 1965 and 1970. Most of those who moved did so within a given county. Migrants from outside Connecticut were predominant among those who changed the county of residence between 1965 and 1970. The propensity to move declined in the state, as in the nation, between 1955-60 and 1965-70. This was totally the result of a decline in short distance intracounty moves. There were slight increases in the tendency to migrate, both intra- and interstate between these same time periods.

County Variations in Residential Mobility

The eight counties of Connecticut display varying rates of mobility. The detailed statistics concerning mobility status of the populations of the counties are presented in Table 3. For simplicity, however, we will concentrate our attention on Table 4 which presents summary percentage measures of various types of mobility.

Table 4 indicates that the mobility rates for counties varied from 38 percent for Litchfield to 49 percent for Tolland; New London County also had a relatively high rate of mobility (49 percent). The high mobility of the population of Tolland County is largely attributable to the presence of The University of Connecticut and the confinement facility at Somers, while the high mobility of the population of New London County is understandable in terms of the large number of military personnel and dependents residing there. The remaining six counties do not show substantial variability in their rates of mobility.

When we confine our attention to the mobile population, several interesting patterns emerge. The metropolitan counties of Fairfield, Hartford and New Haven had the highest rates of local movement; in these counties more than one-half of all moves between 1965 and 1970 occurred within the boundaries of the county of 1970 residence. At the other extreme, only about one-quarter of all moves were local for Tolland County; this reflects the non-local character of the university and of the prison.

Finally, three counties showed unusually high rates of interstate migration. About one-third of all moves made by New London County

Table 3: Mobility Status of the Population Five Years Old and Over by Counties: Connecticut 1970

Counties	Total Population	Mobile Population					
		Total	Intracounty Movers	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Abroad	Moved, Not Reported
Fairfield	729,868	310,997	157,348	11,338	85,075	17,845	39,391
Hartford	748,842	322,823	176,496	20,296	57,600	16,507	51,924
Litchfield	131,909	49,936	22,677	11,327	9,612	1,058	5,262
Middlesex	105,116	45,704	19,737	10,806	8,673	1,567	4,921
New Haven	683,264	275,084	157,134	23,966	46,828	11,264	35,892
New London	208,980	98,902	42,367	7,855	31,749	2,549	14,382
Tolland	93,953	46,252	12,364	14,834	10,978	978	7,098
Windham	77,027	31,720	15,959	5,647	5,922	777	3,415

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972b, Table 119.

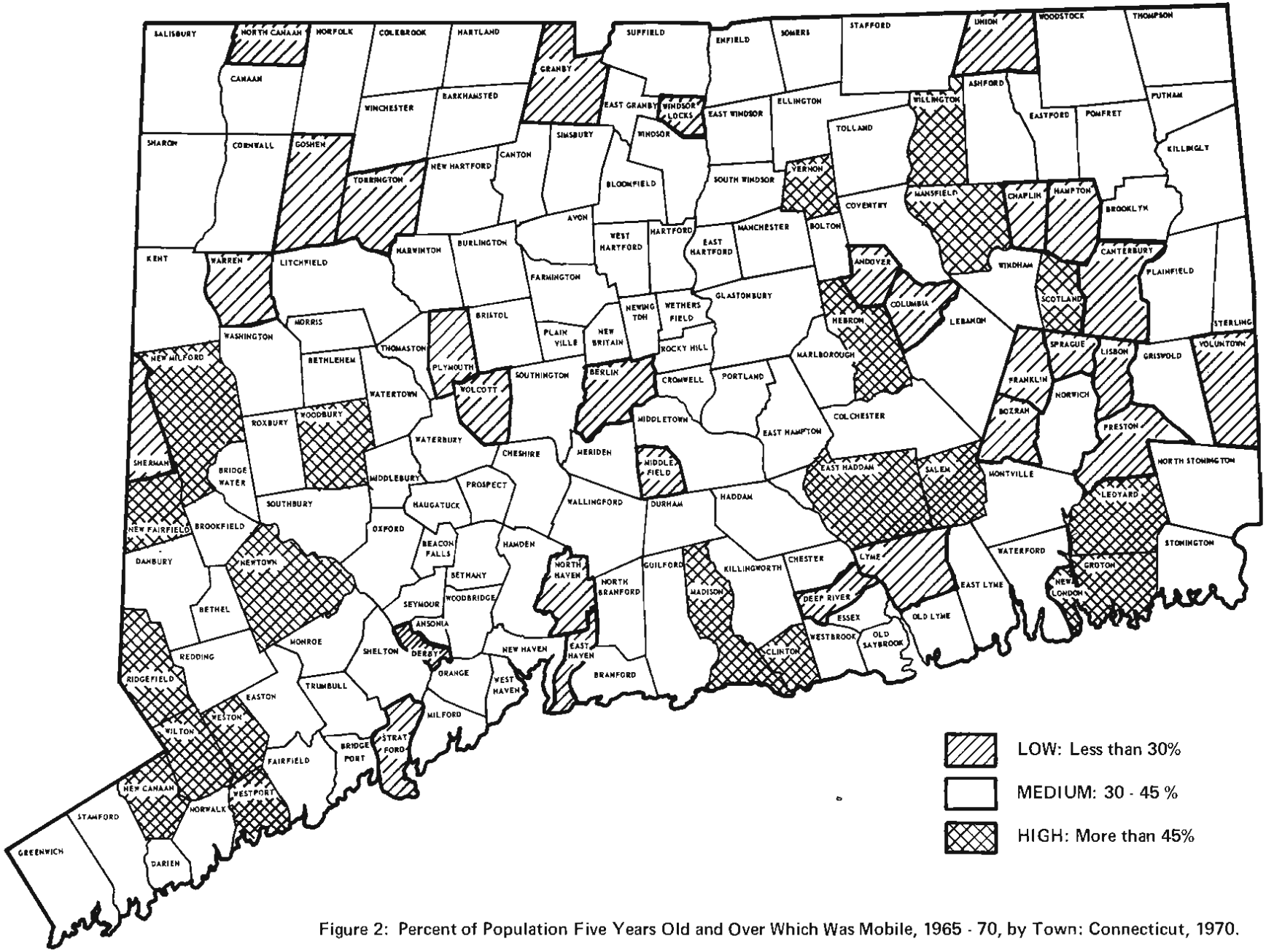


Figure 2: Percent of Population Five Years Old and Over Which Was Mobile, 1965 - 70, by Town: Connecticut, 1970.

Source: Steahr, Bolduc, and Skambis, 1974.

Table 4: Percent Mobile and Percent of the Mobile Who Moved Intracounty and Who Moved Interstate, for the Population of Counties Five Years Old and Over: Connecticut, 1970

County	Percent Mobile	Percent of the Mobile Population	
		Moved Intracounty	Moved Interstate
Connecticut	42%	51%	22%
Fairfield	43%	51%	27%
Hartford	43%	55%	18%
Litchfield	38%	45%	19%
Middlesex	44%	43%	19%
New Haven	40%	57%	17%
New London	47%	43%	32%
Tolland	49%	27%	24%
Windham	41%	50%	19%

Source: See Table 3.

residents originated in some other state. This clearly shows the impact of the military installations which draw personnel from throughout the nation. Approximately one-quarter of the moves made by residents of Fairfield and Tolland Counties originated in some other state. The high rate of interstate movement for Fairfield may reflect its increasing integration with New York City and the consequent relocation of workers and firms in Fairfield County. The University of Connecticut, again, is largely responsible for the high rate of interstate migration for Tolland County.

In summary, the information presented in Table 4 suggests that the presence in a county of non-local institutions, such as military bases, colleges and prisons, may have a pervasive influence on the mobility of the county's population, particularly its rate of interstate migration. In addition, the metropolitan character of a county appears to increase the likelihood of population movement to occur locally.

Town Variations in Residential Mobility

Figure 2 presents rates of mobility for towns cartographically. Three categories of mobility rates are depicted: "high" includes those towns in which more than 45 percent of the 1970 population five years old or older were mobile; "medium" includes the towns having 30 to 45 percent mobile; and "low" includes towns with less than 30.0 percent of their population classified as mobile.

There were 29 towns falling in the low mobility category. They seem to be fairly dispersed around the state, although there is a cluster in the east central section of the state. Three towns had very low mobility rates: Warren (17 percent), Bozrah and Andover (20 percent each).

There were 21 towns in the high mobility category. These towns are concentrated in the southwest, southeast and east central sections of the state; there were no highly mobile towns in the northwest or

central sections. Four towns had mobility rates in excess of 50 percent: Hebron and Groton with 52 percent mobile, and Clinton and Madison with 51 percent mobile.

There seems to be no easily discernible pattern involving either the low or high mobility towns. Some of each are metropolitan and some of each are highly rural. The populations of some low mobility towns are fairly young and some are fairly old; a similar situation obtains for high mobility towns. Several of the high mobility towns contain non-local institutions discussed above; for example, The University of Connecticut in Mansfield and military populations in New London, Groton, and Ledyard. Other highly mobile towns contained no such institutions. It appears that one would have to be quite familiar with the local conditions in each town to adequately explain the mobility rates of Connecticut towns.

Some Regional Comparisons

Table 5 presents data concerning the mobility status of the populations of the New England States and the United States. Table 6 presents in more easily digestable form some of the salient information contained in Table 5.

From Table 6 we see, first of all, that the populations of all six New England States were less mobile than Americans in general. New Hampshire and Vermont had mobility rates of about 45 percent, Connecticut and Rhode Island had rates of about 42.5 percent, Maine had 41.7 percent, and Massachusetts had the least mobile population in New England --40.9 percent.

Three states had higher local (intracounty) mobility rates than the United States in general; over 50 percent of the mobility of the populations of Connecticut, Maine and Massachusetts between 1965 and 1970 was accounted for by local moves. The figures were nearly as high for Rhode Island and Vermont. New Hampshire, on the other hand, had a somewhat lower local mobility rate (43.8 percent).

New Hampshire, however, made up for this by having the highest interstate migration rate in New England. Almost one-third of its (and Vermont's) mobile population moved in from some other state. New Hampshire had the highest population growth rate during the 1960's (Groff and Reiser, 1973, Table 1) and apparently interstate migration played an important role in New Hampshire's overall growth. Connecticut, Maine and Rhode Island had interstate migration rates somewhat above the national level of 18.4 percent of the mobile population. Massachusetts was the only New England state with an interstate migration rate below the U. S. level; only about one mobile Massachusetts resident in six moved in from some other state.

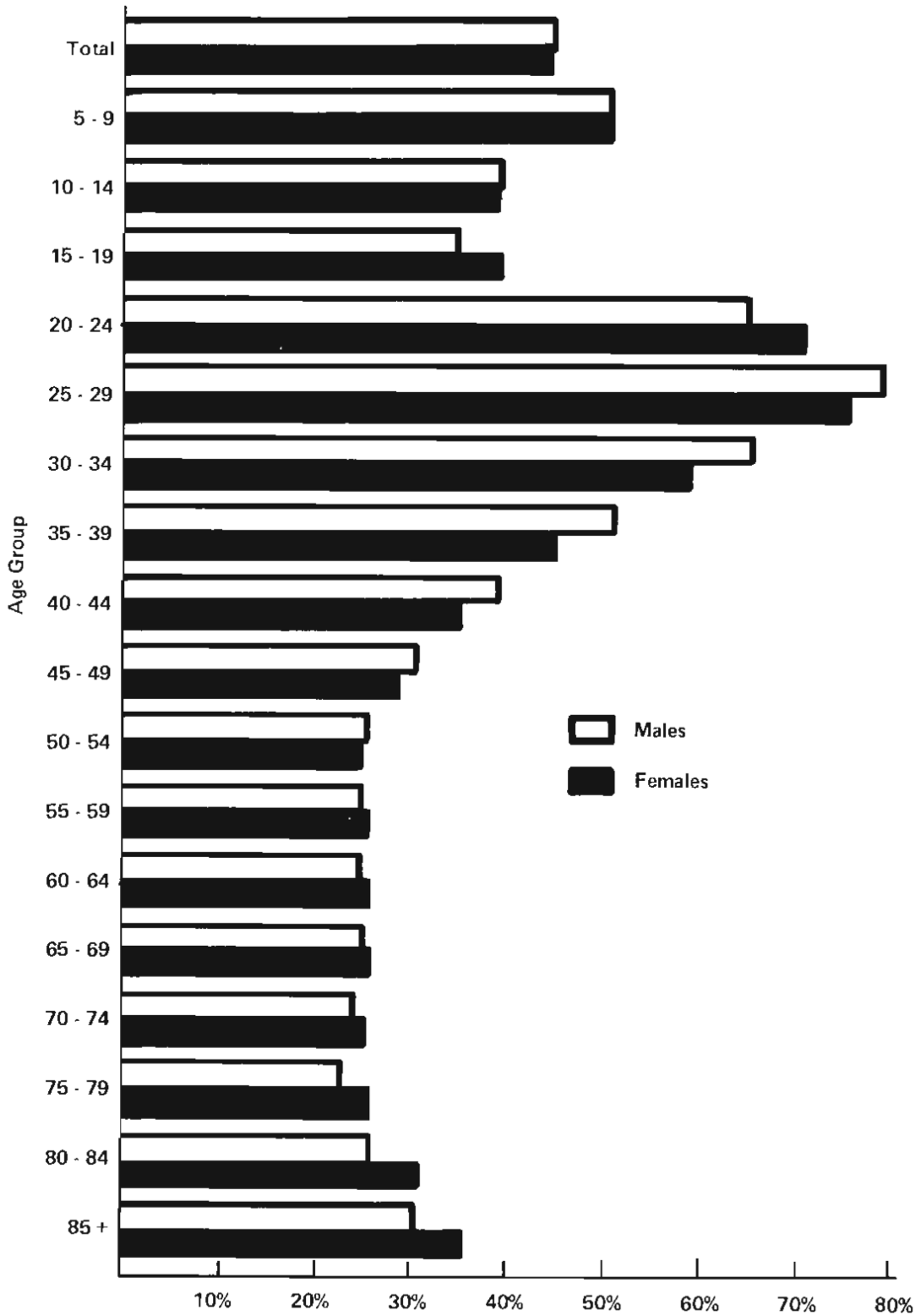
In summary, Connecticut's population was moderately mobile by New England standards, although well below the national level. The mobile population of Connecticut moved primarily within Connecticut counties. Its rate of interstate migration was moderate as compared with other New England states, but somewhat higher than the national rate.

Table 5: Mobility Status of the Population Five Years Old and Over, 1965-70: New England States, 1970

State	Total Population	Mobile Population					
		Total	Movers	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Abroad	Moved, Not Reported
Connecticut	2,778,959	1,181,418	604,082	106,069	256,443	52,545	162,285
Maine	909,135	378,975	207,838	57,464	73,407	8,888	31,378
Massachusetts	5,219,775	2,135,898	1,107,022	322,044	351,194	96,985	257,653
New Hampshire	672,185	302.175	132,286	30,525	98,045	8,153	33,166
Rhode Island	872,978	371,457	180,181	30,905	87,801	15,997	56,573
Vermont	404,692	182,638	88,036	22,975	52,765	4,128	14,734
United States	186,094,822	87,531,161	43,356,797	15,656,054	16,080,812	2,696,618	9,740,880

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972d, Table 148.

Figure 3: Percent of Connecticut's Population Five Years Old and Over Which Was Mobile Between 1965 and 1970, by Age and Sex: 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972C, Table 145.

Table 6: Percent of Population Five Years Old and Over Which is Mobile, and Percent of Mobile Population Which Moved Intracounty and Intrastate, 1965-70: New England States, 1970

State	Percent Mobile	Percent of Mobile Who Moved: Intracounty	Interstate
Connecticut	42.5%	51.2%	21.7%
Maine	41.7%	54.8%	19.3%
Massachusetts	40.9%	51.8%	16.4%
New Hampshire	44.9%	43.8%	32.4%
Rhode Island	42.6%	48.5%	23.6%
Vermont	45.1%	48.2%	32.2%
United States	47.0%	49.5%	18.4%

Source: See Table 5.

DIFFERENTIAL MOBILITY

Some segments of the population are more highly mobile than others. This fact was implicit in the earlier discussion of the family life cycle and career stages. In this section we raise the question: What groups are highly mobile and what groups are non-mobile? Specifically, we will look at the mobility of groups classified according to age, sex, race, ethnic backgrounds, and place of residence in 1970. After differential propensities to move become apparent, we attempt to explain why these differences exist.

Age and Sex

Table 7 presents the number of people in the various mobility categories according to age. The age group which was 25 to 29 years old in 1970 contained the largest number of mobile individuals--almost 158 thousand. The next youngest group--20 to 24 years old in 1970--contained almost as many mobile people--154 thousand. These two groups, which contain about 15 percent of the total population five years old and over, accounted for more than 25 percent of all mobile individuals in the state. It is apparent, then, that people in their twenties constitute a highly mobile group. Other age groups are, accordingly less mobile.

Differential propensities to move displayed by the various age groups is strikingly shown in Figure 3; this figure indicates mobility rates according to sex as well as age.

It is clear that peak mobility for both males and females is in the twenties and early thirties. This, of course, is the time when families are being formed and are growing in size; it is also the time when careers are being established. These factors, as argued earlier, often lead to residential changes. Further support for the family formation idea is provided when we look at mobility rates by sex for these age groups. In the 20 to 24 year old group (and also the 15 to 19)

Table 7: Mobility Status of the Population Five Years Old and Over, by Age: Connecticut, 1970

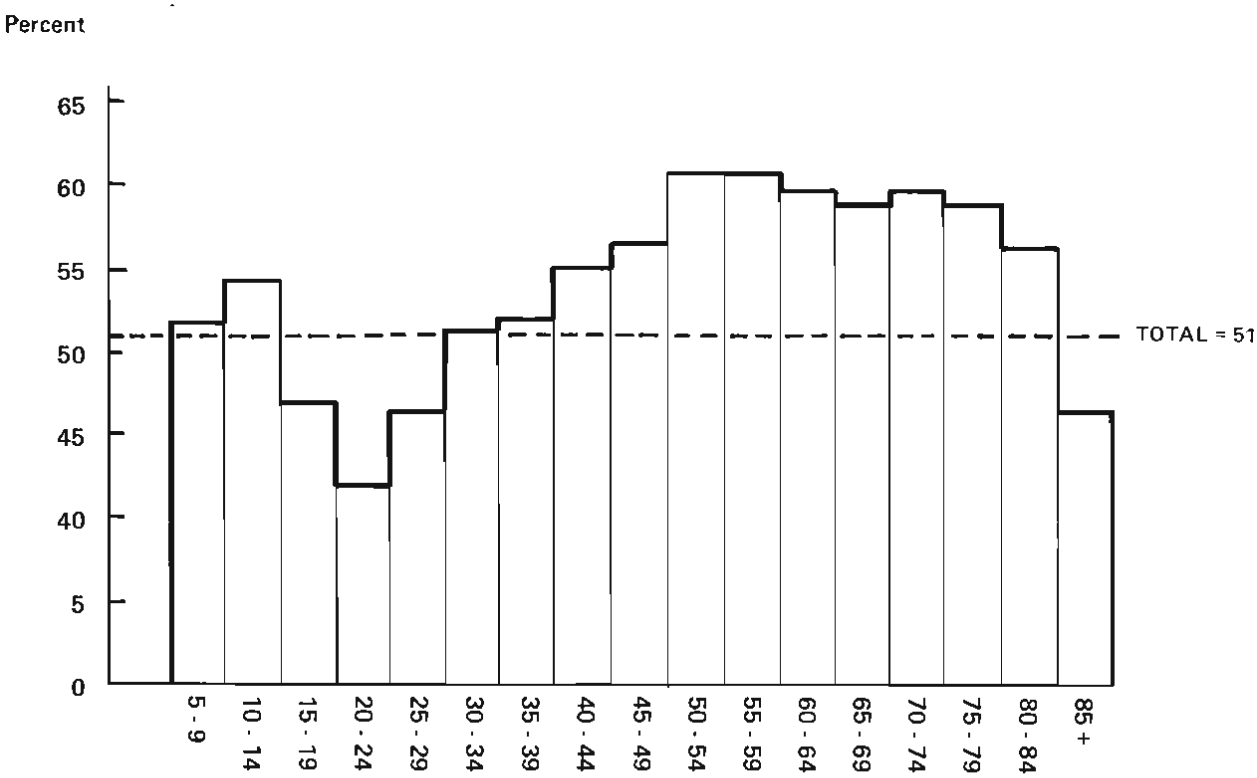
Age Groups	Total Population	Mobile Population					
		Total	Intracounty Movers	Intrastate Migrants	Interstate Migrants	Abroad	Moved, Not Reported
TOTAL	2,778,959	1,181,418	604,082	106,069	256,443	52,545	162,285
5-9 years	297,374	151,235	79,271	13,282	31,837	5,764	21,081
10-14 years	304,832	116,850	62,933	9,575	24,039	4,784	15,519
15-19 years	265,539	97,851	45,947	10,451	22,447	4,676	14,330
20-24 years	225,718	154,424	64,776	17,149	43,769	7,075	21,655
25-29 years	203,193	157,831	72,954	15,617	40,911	9,376	18,973
30-34 years	170,731	106,278	54,023	9,794	24,706	5,382	12,373
35-39 years	167,633	78,786	40,777	6,933	17,083	4,238	9,755
40-44 years	188,722	68,414	37,309	4,791	14,589	3,361	8,364
45-49 years	198,055	58,123	32,944	4,175	10,449	2,825	7,730
50-54 years	182,545	46,766	28,331	3,347	6,822	1,693	6,573
55-59 years	156,999	38,343	23,469	2,583	5,210	1,369	5,712
60-64 years	127,684	30,923	18,188	2,366	4,423	911	5,035
65-69 years	97,045	24,402	14,245	1,975	3,600	445	4,137
70-74 years	78,436	19,147	11,301	1,466	2,691	317	3,372
75-79 years	57,222	13,972	8,162	1,133	1,683	146	2,848
80-84 years	34,354	10,147	5,713	710	1,195	122	2,407
85 and over	22,877	7,926	3,739	722	1,983	61	2,421

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1972c, Table 145.

female mobility is higher than male, while in the 25 to 34 year old groups male mobility is higher. Since women generally marry at younger ages then men and marry men older than themselves, the observed pattern of mobility rates is consistent with residential change at the time of marriage. Further, the relatively high rates of mobility among the 5 to 9 year olds in part reflects movement of families which are in the growth stage of the family life cycle.

After age 30 and up to about age 50, mobility rates for both men and women decline consistently. After age 30, marriage and fertility rates decline with increasing age, thereby substantially reducing two of the reasons for movement. Career patterns tend also to become increasingly stable as age increases and as the opportunity for alternative employment diminishes.

Figure 4: Percent of the Mobile Population Who Moved Locally (Intracounty) Between 1965 and 1970, by Age: Connecticut, 1970.



Source: Table 7.

The population between age 50 and 65 is the least mobile of all the age groups; mobility rates for these age groups are approximately one-third of the peak level (ages 25 to 29). Even at these ages, however, with low likelihood of family formation or growth or of career or employment change, mobility is still appreciable--about 25 percent of the population in these age groups changed their residence between 1965 and 1970.

The slight increase in mobility for both men and women at the older ages is probably a result of two factors: retirement, which sometimes entails residential change, and the breakup of families brought about by the death of one of the spouses. The higher mobility of women in the older age groups probably reflects the greater longevity of women, the likelihood that they will outlive their husbands and be the ones to move upon the dissolution of the family.

There appears to be an inverse relationship between the likelihood of mobility according to age and the likelihood of moving locally according to age. We have just seen that people in their twenties and early thirties were most likely to have changed their residence between 1965 and 1970; that people between 50 and 65 were least likely to have been mobile; and that the elderly population were somewhat more mobile than the middle-aged groups. Figure 4, which presents the percentage of Connecticut's mobile population (by age group) which moved locally between 1965 and 1970, shows that those groups which were most mobile were also least likely to move locally. Similarly, those groups which were least mobile were most likely to contain intracounty movers.

These findings seem to suggest that young adults, having left their parential home and not yet having formed their own strong and persistent relationships, are not constrained to remain in any particular location; this group is highly mobile, and a majority of moves made by this group are long distance (i.e., between counties). The middle-aged groups, on the other hand, have developed strong relationships in their communities and are constrained by these considerations to make most of their moves within the local area.

In short, young adults are quite likely to change their residence and such a change is, more often than not, a relatively long distance move. Middle-age individuals are less likely to move and, when they do, the move is quite likely to be within the local area. Elderly individuals are somewhat more likely to change their residence than are middle-age people and are also more likely to move from one county to another when they do move. Finally, the mobility of children under age 15 almost exclusively reflects the mobility of their parents.

Race and Ethnic Background

In this section we will examine any differences which may exist between the mobility of whites, Negroes and persons of Spanish language. Table 8 presents the mobility status of these three groups.

Table 8: Mobility Status of the White, Negro and Spanish Language Populations Which Was Five Years Old and Over: Connecticut, 1970

Mobility Status	White		Negro		Spanish Language	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Non-mobile	1,527,627	58.5%	66,383	41.9%	17,111	27.4%
Mobile	1,082,523	41.5	92,070	58.1	45,248	72.6
Movers (Intracounty)	556,364	21.3	45,892	29.0	19,464	31.2
Migrants (Intercounty)	343,362	13.2	17,339	10.9	7,878	12.6
Intrastate	103,474	4.0	2,338	1.4	1,205	1.9
Military (1965)	1,115	0.0	39	0.0	14	0.0
College (1965)	8,132	0.3	78	0.0	103	0.2
Neither (1965)	94,227	3.7	2,221	1.4	1,088	1.7
Interstate	239,888	9.2	15,001	9.5	6,673	10.7
Military (1965)	11,311	0.4	511	0.3	174	0.3
College (1965)	27,904	1.1	900	0.6	492	0.8
Neither (1965)	200,673	7.7	13,590	8.6	6,007	9.6
Abroad	47,477	1.8	2,808	1.8	11,459	18.4
Military (1965)	4,202	0.2	179	0.1	152	0.2
Moved, Not Reported	135,320	5.2	26,031	16.4	6,447	10.4
TOTAL	2,610,150	100.0	158,453	100.0	62,359	100.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972b, Table 50.

The white population of Connecticut was much less mobile between 1965 and 1970 than either the Negro or Spanish language populations. Only about four out of every ten whites changed their residence during this period, while almost six out of every ten Negroes and seven out of every ten Spanish language individuals changed their residence. One important reason for the difference in mobility rates for whites as compared with Negroes and the Spanish language population is the differing age compositions of these populations. In an earlier report (Hadden, 1973) it has been shown that the white population of Connecticut is substantially older (median age = 29.7) than either the Negro (median age = 21.8) or the Spanish language (median age = 20.3) populations. In short, the white population contains relatively fewer highly mobile young adults than either of the other two groups, and this disproportion expresses itself in a lower mobility rate for whites than for Negroes or for the Spanish language population.

Table 8 further indicates the types of moves which resulted in the higher mobility rates for Negroes and the Spanish language population. Since the "moved, not reported" category is substantially larger for Negroes and Spanish language persons than for white, caution must be exercised in interpreting the percentages in the various mobility status categories for these groups. Negroes were more likely than whites to have moved locally (intracounty) between 1965 and 1970. The Spanish language population was also more likely than the white population to have moved locally, more likely to have moved to Connecticut from some other state, and ten times as likely to have moved to Connecticut from abroad (from Puerto Rico and elsewhere in Latin America).

In summary, both the Negro and Spanish language populations of Connecticut were more mobile than white populations between 1965 and 1970; these differences derive, at least in part, from differing age compositions. In addition to being more mobile in general, Negroes had higher rates of local movement than whites and were more likely to have moved from some unreported 1965 residence. The Spanish language population, too, had higher rates of local movement than whites; they were also more likely to have moved to Connecticut from some other state, from abroad, and from an unreported 1965 residence. Finally, white migrants were somewhat more likely than Negro or Spanish language migrants to have been in college in 1965; there was no appreciable difference among these groups in their likelihood to have been in the military in 1965.

Rural-Urban Residence

In this section we will examine such differences as exist between the mobility rates of urban and rural residents of Connecticut between 1965 and 1970. Briefly, the urban population consists of all people living in communities of 2500 inhabitants or more; the rural population consists of people not living in urban communities. Table 9 indicates the mobility status of these two population groupings.

Table 9 indicates that the rural group was slightly more mobile than the urban population. Approximately four out of ten persons in each group changed residence between 1965 and 1970.

Table 9: Mobility Status of Connecticut's Population Five Years Old and Over, by Urban-Rural Residence: 1970

Mobility Status	Urban		Rural	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Non-mobile	1,242,359	57.8%	355,182	56.6%
Mobile	908,608	42.2	272,810	43.4
Movers	482,029	22.4	122,053	19.4
Migrants	249,054	11.6	113,452	18.0
Intrastate	66,021	3.1	40,048	6.3
Military (1965)	749	0.0	405	0.1
College (1965)	5,622	0.3	2,620	0.4
Neither (1965)	59,650	2.8	37,023	5.8
Interstate	183,033	8.5	73,404	11.7
Military (1965)	8,419	0.4	3,514	0.6
College (1965)	22,479	1.0	6,573	1.0
Neither (1965)	152,135	7.1	63,317	10.1
Abroad	46,465	2.2	6,080	1.0
Military (1965)	3,566	0.2	910	0.1
Moved, Not Reported	131,060	6.0	131,225	5.0
TOTAL	2,150,967	100.0	627,992	100.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, 1972b, Table 50.

Despite their similarity in overall mobility, these groups do differ with respect to types of mobility. The urban population was somewhat more likely to move locally than the rural population; this is consistent with the earlier observation that metropolitan counties had relatively high rates of intracounty movement. The rural population, on the other hand, was more likely to have migrated within the state, and to have migrated to Connecticut from some other state. The rural and urban populations did not differ in any important way with respect to the migration of military personnel and college students or to Connecticut from abroad.

In the preceding analysis we have seen that different groups of people display different propensities to change their residences. Among those groups which are highly mobile are: young adults in their twenties and early thirties; and black and persons of the Spanish language. On the other hand, groups which are relatively non-mobile are: people over age 50; and whites.

SUMMARY

Between 1965 and 1970 approximately 1.2 million people who lived in Connecticut in 1970 changed their residence. About half of these mobile individuals (over 600 thousand) did not change their county of residence; another 100 thousand changed their county of residence but remained within Connecticut. During the five year period Connecticut attracted more than one-quarter million people from some other state and 52 thousand people from abroad. Finally, approximately 162 thousand people moved but did not supply sufficient information on their census returns to permit an identification of the nature of their moves.

Some population groups display greater propensities to move than others. We have seen, for example, that men and women in their twenties and early thirties are highly mobile, as are the black and Spanish language populations residing in Connecticut. On the other hand, people over age 50 and people living on farms are relatively immobile. Variations in mobility among Connecticut counties, Connecticut towns, and New England States have also been discussed.

Geographical mobility of population has been an important source of population growth for the state and for localities within the state. It has also been one of the basic short-term mechanisms by which individuals adjust to changing circumstances. As Stockwell (1964, p. 11) observed, "A knowledge of the extent to which this phenomenon is occurring, and the degree to which it varies from one group to another, is necessary to adequately understand the population changes that have occurred, are occurring, and will continue to occur in the years ahead."

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