

Chapter 5.

Geographic Distribution

Geographic Changes in the Elderly Population, 1980-90

The South and West Regions Experienced Largest Percent Increase in Elderly and in Oldest Old Population During the 1980's

Over the decade of the 1980's, the largest percent increases in elderly population (65 years and over) were mostly in the West, particularly the Mountain States, and in the South, especially the South Atlantic States of Florida, South Carolina, and Delaware (figure 5-1, table 5-1). The percent change in the elderly population during the 1980's ranged from a low of 4 percent in Washington, DC to a

high of 93 percent in Nevada. The South and West regions also experienced the largest percent increases in the oldest old population in the 1980's (table 5-2).

Every State's elderly population and oldest old population increased during the 1980's. The proportion elderly and the proportion oldest old of the total population of each State also rose between 1980 and 1990 (table 5-3).

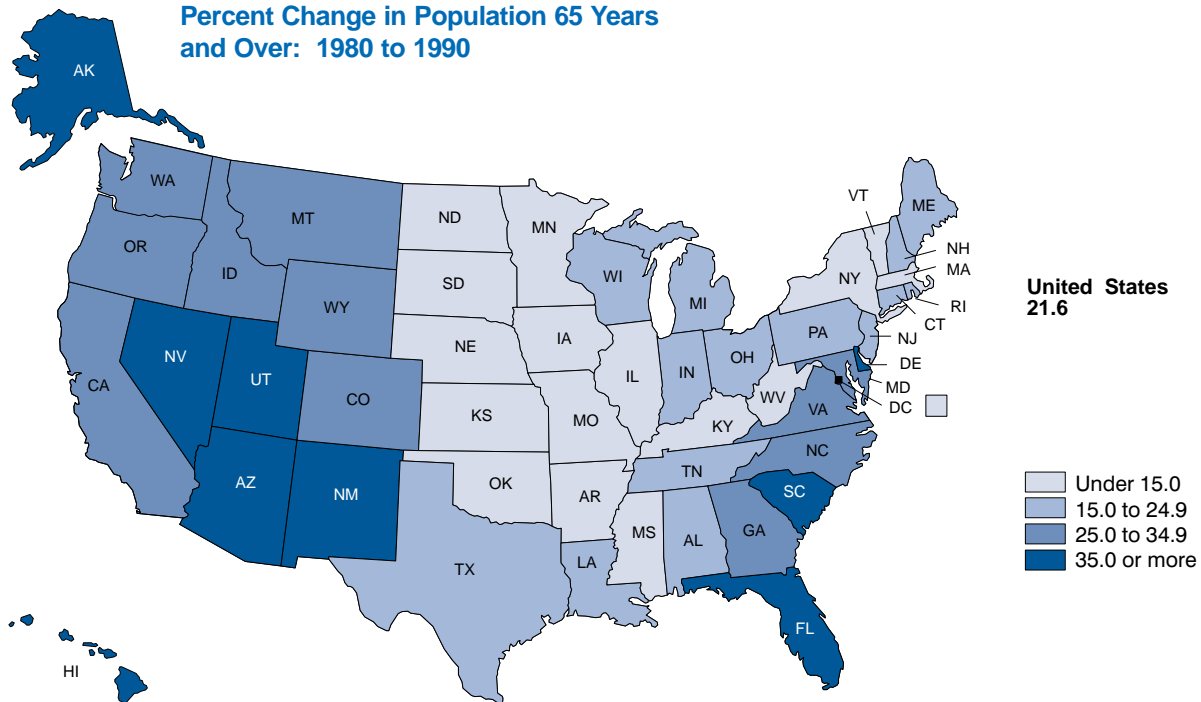
The regional relocation of the elderly to the South and West has been occurring among the younger elderly since the 1960's and among the older elderly since the 1970's. In addition

to the older adult migrants to these areas generally tending to be among the young old, they also have tended to be relatively well-educated and relatively well-off financially.¹ As a result, such migrants tend to rejuvenate and enrich the older population of the receiving States.²

¹ Lawrence E. Hazelrigg and Melissa A. Hardy, "Older Adult Migration to the Sunbelt: Assessing Income and Related Characteristics of Recent Migrants," *Research on Aging*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1995, pp. 209-234.

² Charles F. Longino, Jr., "Geographic Distribution and Migration," *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*, (3rd ed.), in Robert H. Binstock and Linda K. George (eds.), 1990, San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Figure 5-1.
Percent Change in Population 65 Years and Over: 1980 to 1990



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data consistent with *U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 1991*, Current Population Reports, P25-1095, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1993.

293Table 5-1.
Percent Change of Population 65 Years and Over by Region, Division, and State: 1980 and 1990

Region, division, and State	Number		Change, 1980-90	Percent change, 1980-90	Region, division, and State	Number		Change, 1980-90	Percent change, 1980-90
	1980	1990				1980	1990		
United States	25,549,544	31,078,895	5,529,351	21.6	West North Central—Con.				
Northeast	6,071,865	6,948,232	876,367	14.4	Nebraska	205,684	222,667	16,983	8.3
New England	1,520,446	1,761,658	241,212	15.9	Kansas	306,344	341,977	35,633	11.6
Middle Atlantic	4,551,419	5,186,574	635,155	14.0	South Atlantic	4,367,143	5,801,662	1,434,519	32.8
Midwest	6,692,026	7,725,193	1,033,167	15.4	Delaware	59,179	80,285	21,106	35.7
East North Central	4,493,259	5,280,452	787,193	17.5	Maryland	395,607	514,359	118,752	30.0
West North Central	2,198,767	2,444,741	245,974	11.2	District of Columbia	74,287	77,084	2,797	3.8
South	8,487,699	10,668,679	2,180,980	25.7	Virginia	505,299	661,388	156,089	30.9
South Atlantic	4,367,143	5,801,662	1,434,519	32.8	West Virginia	237,948	267,830	29,882	12.6
East South Central	1,656,780	1,920,425	263,645	15.9	North Carolina	603,039	800,199	197,160	32.7
West South Central	2,463,776	2,946,592	482,816	19.6	South Carolina	287,361	394,049	106,688	37.1
West	4,297,954	5,736,791	1,438,837	33.5	Georgia	516,722	650,542	133,820	25.9
Mountain	1,061,036	1,516,439	455,403	42.9	Florida	1,687,701	2,355,926	668,225	39.6
Pacific	3,236,918	4,220,352	983,434	30.4	East South Central	1,656,780	1,920,425	263,645	15.9
New England	1,520,446	1,761,658	241,212	15.9	Kentucky	409,826	464,999	55,173	13.5
Maine	140,997	162,862	21,865	15.5	Tennessee	517,584	616,143	98,559	19.0
Vermont	58,166	65,887	7,721	13.3	Alabama	440,014	519,898	79,884	18.2
New Hampshire	102,967	124,524	21,557	20.9	Mississippi	289,356	319,385	30,029	10.4
Massachusetts	726,531	815,005	88,474	12.2	West South Central	2,463,776	2,946,592	482,816	19.6
Rhode Island	126,922	149,749	22,827	18.0	Arkansas	312,474	348,783	36,309	11.6
Connecticut	364,863	443,631	78,768	21.6	Louisiana	404,320	466,419	62,099	15.4
Middle Atlantic	4,551,419	5,186,574	635,155	14.0	Oklahoma	376,142	422,956	46,814	12.4
New York	2,160,767	2,340,113	179,346	8.3	Texas	1,370,840	1,708,434	337,594	24.6
New Jersey	859,780	1,025,021	165,241	19.2	Mountain	1,061,036	1,516,439	455,403	42.9
Pennsylvania	1,530,872	1,821,440	290,568	19.0	Montana	84,559	106,197	21,638	25.6
East North Central	4,493,259	5,280,452	787,193	17.5	Idaho	93,688	120,901	27,213	29.0
Ohio	1,169,454	1,402,841	233,387	20.0	Wyoming	37,175	46,966	9,791	26.3
Indiana	585,384	693,937	108,553	18.5	Colorado	247,360	328,364	81,004	32.7
Illinois	1,261,992	1,429,420	167,428	13.3	New Mexico	115,931	161,900	45,969	39.7
Michigan	912,242	1,104,101	191,859	21.0	Arizona	307,347	476,016	168,669	54.9
Wisconsin	564,187	650,153	85,966	15.2	Utah	109,220	149,482	40,262	36.9
West North Central	2,198,767	2,444,741	245,974	11.2	Nevada	65,756	126,613	60,857	92.5
Minnesota	479,564	545,870	66,306	13.8	Pacific	3,236,918	4,220,352	983,434	30.4
Iowa	387,584	425,666	38,082	9.8	Washington	431,581	572,914	141,333	32.7
Missouri	648,127	715,508	67,381	10.4	Oregon	303,336	389,765	86,429	28.5
North Dakota	80,445	90,939	10,494	13.0	California	2,414,304	3,111,851	697,547	28.9
South Dakota	91,019	102,114	11,095	12.2	Alaska	11,547	22,095	10,548	91.3
					Hawaii	76,150	123,727	47,577	62.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data consistent with *U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 1991*, Current Population Reports, P25-1095, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1993.

Table 5-2.
Percent Change of Population 85 Years and Over by Region, Division, and State: 1980 and 1990

Region, division, and State	Number		Change, 1980-90	Percent change, 1980-90	Region, division, and State	Number		Change, 1980-90	Percent change, 1980-90
	1980	1990				1980	1990		
United States	2,240,178	3,021,425	781,247	34.9	West North Central—Con.				
Northeast	546,516	693,231	146,715	26.8	South Dakota	10,427	13,213	2,786	26.7
New England	151,402	190,414	39,012	25.8	Nebraska	23,744	28,918	5,174	21.8
Middle Atlantic	395,114	502,817	107,703	27.3	Kansas	33,474	41,832	8,358	25.0
Midwest	649,419	828,541	179,122	27.6	South Atlantic	326,955	504,210	177,255	54.2
East North Central	414,833	530,728	115,895	27.9	Delaware	5,269	7,005	1,736	32.9
West North Central	234,586	297,813	63,227	27.0	Maryland	32,665	45,596	12,931	39.6
South	663,816	971,892	308,076	46.4	District of Columbia	6,385	7,590	1,205	18.9
South Atlantic	326,955	504,210	177,255	54.2	Virginia	41,131	58,829	17,698	43.0
East South Central	134,004	182,232	48,228	36.0	West Virginia	19,439	25,064	5,625	28.9
West South Central	202,857	285,450	82,593	40.7	North Carolina	45,197	68,647	23,450	51.9
West	380,427	527,761	147,334	38.7	South Carolina	20,062	29,999	9,937	49.5
Mountain	86,306	130,552	44,246	51.3	Georgia	39,434	56,013	16,579	42.0
Pacific	294,121	397,209	103,088	35.0	Florida	117,373	205,467	88,094	75.1
New England	151,402	190,414	39,012	25.8	East South Central	134,004	182,232	48,228	36.0
Maine	14,130	17,956	3,826	27.1	Kentucky	35,033	45,716	10,683	30.5
New Hampshire	9,650	13,075	3,425	35.5	Tennessee	41,443	57,745	16,302	39.3
Vermont	6,007	7,424	1,417	23.6	Alabama	34,019	47,282	13,263	39.0
Massachusetts	73,908	90,339	16,431	22.2	Mississippi	23,509	31,489	7,980	33.9
Rhode Island	11,978	15,640	3,662	30.6	West South Central	202,857	285,450	82,593	40.7
Connecticut	35,729	45,980	10,251	28.7	Arkansas	26,354	34,534	8,180	31.0
Middle Atlantic	395,114	502,817	107,703	27.3	Louisiana	30,545	42,382	11,837	38.8
New York	192,983	241,008	48,025	24.9	Oklahoma	33,980	45,084	11,104	32.7
New Jersey	72,231	93,194	20,963	29.0	Texas	111,978	163,450	51,472	46.0
Pennsylvania	129,900	168,615	38,715	29.8	Mountain	86,306	130,552	44,246	51.3
East North Central	414,833	530,728	115,895	27.9	Montana	8,837	10,549	1,712	19.4
Ohio	108,425	136,156	27,731	25.6	Idaho	8,476	11,264	2,788	32.9
Indiana	54,410	70,945	16,535	30.4	Wyoming	3,473	4,451	978	28.2
Illinois	114,710	144,970	30,260	26.4	Colorado	24,365	32,540	8,175	33.6
Michigan	81,652	105,170	23,518	28.8	New Mexico	8,784	13,888	5,104	58.1
Wisconsin	55,636	73,487	17,851	32.1	Arizona	19,879	37,090	17,211	86.6
West North Central	234,586	297,813	63,227	27.0	Utah	8,852	13,443	4,591	51.9
Minnesota	52,789	68,069	15,280	28.9	Nevada	3,640	7,327	3,687	101.3
Iowa	44,940	54,691	9,751	21.7	Pacific	294,121	397,209	103,088	35.0
Missouri	61,072	79,996	18,924	31.0	Washington	41,476	55,463	13,987	33.7
North Dakota	8,140	11,094	2,954	36.3	Oregon	28,431	38,267	9,836	34.6
					California	218,034	292,217	74,183	34.0
					Alaska	619	1,200	581	93.9
					Hawaii	5,561	10,062	4,501	80.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data consistent with *U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 1991*, Current Population Reports, P25-1095, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1993.

Table 5-3.
Percent 65 Years and Over and 85 Years and Over of the Total State Population: 1980 to 2020

Region, division, and State	Persons 65 and over					Persons 85 and over				
	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
United States	11.3	12.5	12.8	13.3	15.7	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.0	2.1
Northeast	12.4	13.7	14.1	14.3	16.9	1.1	1.4	1.8	2.2	2.3
New England	12.3	13.3	14.0	14.4	17.5	1.2	1.4	1.9	2.5	2.5
Middle Atlantic	12.4	13.8	14.1	14.2	16.7	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.2	2.3
Midwest	11.4	12.9	13.1	13.4	16.2	1.1	1.4	1.7	2.1	2.2
East North Central	10.8	12.6	12.8	13.2	15.9	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.2
West North Central	12.8	13.8	13.7	14.0	17.1	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.4
South	11.3	12.5	13.1	14.0	17.5	0.9	1.1	1.6	2.0	2.2
South Atlantic	11.8	13.3	14.3	15.5	19.2	0.9	1.2	1.7	2.3	2.6
East South Central	11.3	12.7	12.9	13.7	17.0	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.1
West South Central	10.4	11.0	11.2	11.8	14.9	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.8
West	10.0	10.9	10.9	11.6	14.6	0.9	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.8
Mountain	9.3	11.1	11.4	12.4	16.0	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.0
Pacific	10.2	10.8	10.8	11.4	14.1	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.7
New England	12.3	13.3	14.0	14.4	17.5	1.2	1.4	1.9	2.5	2.5
Maine	12.5	13.3	14.2	14.6	18.3	1.3	1.5	1.9	2.3	2.5
Vermont	11.4	11.7	12.2	13.1	16.8	1.2	1.3	1.6	1.9	2.1
New Hampshire	11.2	11.2	12.1	13.0	16.9	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.0	2.1
Massachusetts	12.7	13.5	14.1	14.5	17.4	1.3	1.5	2.0	2.5	2.6
Rhode Island	13.4	14.9	15.1	14.8	17.9	1.3	1.6	2.1	2.6	2.6
Connecticut	11.7	13.5	14.4	14.8	2.6	1.1	1.4	2.0	2.6	2.6
Middle Atlantic	12.4	13.8	14.1	14.2	16.7	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.2	2.3
New York	12.3	13.0	13.3	13.6	15.8	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.2
New Jersey	11.7	13.3	13.7	13.9	16.3	1.0	1.2	1.6	2.0	2.1
Pennsylvania	12.9	15.3	15.6	15.3	18.2	1.1	1.4	1.9	2.5	2.5
East North Central	10.8	12.6	12.8	13.2	15.9	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.2
Ohio	10.8	12.9	13.5	13.9	2.3	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.2	2.3
Indiana	10.7	12.5	12.8	13.3	16.2	1.0	1.3	1.6	2.0	2.1
Illinois	11.0	12.5	12.4	12.6	14.8	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.9	2.0
Michigan	9.8	11.9	12.4	12.7	15.2	0.9	1.1	1.5	2.0	2.1
Wisconsin	12.0	13.3	13.2	13.8	17.3	1.2	1.5	1.8	2.2	2.3
West North Central	12.8	13.8	13.7	14.0	17.1	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.4
Minnesota	11.8	12.5	12.5	13.3	16.9	1.3	1.6	1.8	2.1	2.3
Iowa	13.3	15.3	15.0	15.0	18.0	1.5	2.0	2.3	2.7	2.8
Missouri	13.2	14.0	14.1	14.5	17.5	1.2	1.6	1.9	2.2	2.3
North Dakota	12.3	14.2	14.5	13.7	16.2	1.2	1.7	2.5	2.7	2.7
South Dakota	13.2	14.7	14.0	13.6	16.4	1.5	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.5
Nebraska	13.1	14.1	13.8	13.9	16.8	1.5	1.8	2.1	2.3	2.4
Kansas	13.0	13.8	13.5	13.5	16.5	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.3	2.4
South Atlantic	11.8	13.3	14.3	15.5	19.2	0.9	1.2	1.7	2.3	2.6
Delaware	10.0	12.1	13.1	13.8	16.7	0.9	1.1	1.4	2.0	2.2
Maryland	9.4	10.8	11.3	12.1	14.8	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.8
District of Columbia	11.6	12.7	13.5	12.5	13.7	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.0	1.9
Virginia	9.5	10.7	11.4	12.5	15.7	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.7	1.9
West Virginia	12.2	14.9	15.1	15.2	18.5	1.0	1.4	1.9	2.4	2.5
North Carolina	10.3	12.1	13.1	14.4	18.1	0.8	1.0	1.5	2.0	2.4
South Carolina	9.2	11.3	12.3	13.3	16.8	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.8	2.0
Georgia	9.5	10.0	10.5	11.7	15.0	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.7
Florida	17.3	18.2	19.6	21.0	25.6	1.2	1.6	2.4	3.4	3.8

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5-3.
Percent 65 Years and Over and 85 Years and Over of the Total State Population: 1980 to 2020—Continued

Region, division, and State	Persons 65 and over					Persons 85 and over				
	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
East South Central	11.3	12.7	12.9	13.7	17.0	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.1
Kentucky	11.2	12.6	12.8	13.5	16.9	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.0
Tennessee	11.3	12.6	12.9	14.0	17.6	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.1
Alabama	11.3	12.9	13.2	13.8	16.7	0.9	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.0
Mississippi	11.5	12.4	12.7	13.4	16.6	0.9	1.2	1.6	1.9	2.1
West South Central	10.4	11.0	11.2	11.8	14.9	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.6	1.8
Arkansas	13.7	14.8	14.9	15.7	19.3	1.2	1.5	1.9	2.2	2.4
Louisiana	9.6	11.1	11.5	11.8	14.3	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.7
Oklahoma	12.4	13.4	13.4	13.6	16.5	1.1	1.4	1.8	2.0	2.1
Texas	9.6	10.1	10.3	11.1	14.2	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.7
Mountain	9.3	11.1	11.4	12.4	16.0	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.8	2.0
Montana	10.7	13.3	12.8	13.0	16.2	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.2	2.3
Idaho	9.9	12.0	11.1	11.9	15.4	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.7	1.8
Wyoming	7.9	10.4	9.7	9.0	11.2	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3
Colorado	8.6	10.0	10.2	11.4	15.3	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.8
New Mexico	8.9	10.7	11.2	11.9	15.0	0.7	0.9	1.3	1.7	1.9
Arizona	11.3	13.0	14.0	15.4	19.6	0.7	1.0	1.6	2.3	2.6
Utah	7.5	8.7	8.7	9.3	12.1	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.5
Nevada	8.2	10.5	10.8	12.0	15.5	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.4	1.6
Pacific	10.2	10.8	10.8	11.4	14.1	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.6	1.7
Washington	10.4	11.8	11.1	11.9	15.6	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.7	1.8
Oregon	11.5	13.7	12.7	13.0	16.6	1.1	1.3	1.6	2.0	1.9
California	10.2	10.5	10.6	11.2	13.8	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.7
Alaska	2.9	4.0	4.4	4.8	6.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
Hawaii	7.9	11.2	11.9	12.3	14.4	0.6	0.9	1.3	1.9	2.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 and 1990 from unpublished data consistent with *U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 1991*, Current Population Reports, P25-1095, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1993; 2000 to 2020 from unpublished data consistent with Series A - preferred series, from *Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994.

In the nation as a whole, the oldest old population increased more rapidly (35 percent) than the elderly population (22 percent) during the 1980's. The greater percent increase of the oldest old compared to the elderly held for all States, with the exception of Delaware and Montana.

State Estimates and Projections of Elderly and Oldest Old

Most Populous States Tend to Also Have Most Elderly, Florida and Midwestern States Among Highest Proportions Elderly

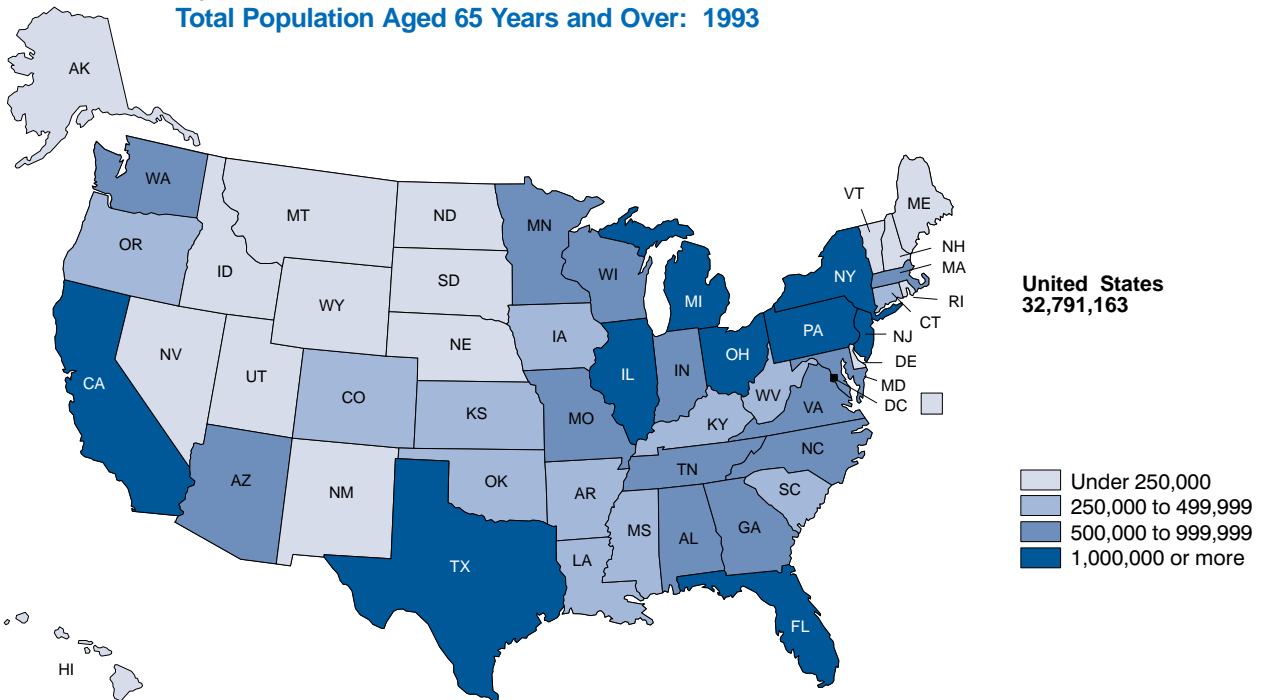
Our most populous States are also the ones with the largest number of elderly. In 1993, nine States had more than 1 million elderly: California,

Florida, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, and New Jersey (figure 5-2, table 5-4).

The States with the greatest proportion of elderly are generally different from those with the greatest number. While California has by far the largest number of persons aged 65 and over, its proportion elderly of the State population ranks 46th among the States and the District of Columbia. Florida, however, with almost 19 percent of its population aged 65 or older in 1993, had both a large number and the highest proportion. Pennsylvania also has a high ranking in terms of both the number and proportion of elderly. Florida's proportion elderly ranks far above the proportions of other States (figure 5-3). Other

States with high proportions elderly (14 to 16 percent), ranked in descending order, were Pennsylvania, Iowa, Rhode Island, West Virginia, Arkansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Missouri, Connecticut, Kansas, and Massachusetts. The proportion of a State's total population aged 65 years and over is one indicator of the importance an aging population has with regard to the State's resources. Some States "age" because of in-migration of elderly, some because of out-migration of the young, and some because of sustained low fertility (or some combination of these factors). The Farm Belt States have a higher proportion of elderly than for the total United States (12.7 percent in 1993) primarily because of out-migration of the young.

Figure 5-2.
Total Population Aged 65 Years and Over: 1993



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, State Age-Sex Population Estimates Consistent with Census Advisory, CB94-43.

Table 5-4.
Population 65 Years and Over and 85 Years and Over for States: 1993, 2000, 2010, and 2020

(Numbers in thousands)

Region, division, and State	Persons 65 years and over					Persons 85 years and over				
	Number				Percent change, 1993 to 2020	Number				Percent change, 1993 to 2020
	1993 ¹	2000	2010	2020		1993 ¹	2000	2010	2020	
United States	32,791	35,322	40,104	53,348	62.7	3,369	4,333	5,969	6,959	106.5
Northeast	7,199	7,304	7,600	9,348	29.9	753	923	1,198	1,295	72.0
New England	1,832	1,853	1,979	2,537	38.5	207	257	338	369	78.6
Middle Atlantic	5,366	5,451	5,622	6,811	26.9	546	665	861	926	69.4
Midwest	8,060	8,367	8,912	11,206	39.0	906	1,099	1,407	1,549	71.0
East North Central	5,533	5,754	6,097	7,578	37.0	583	719	941	1,032	77.1
West North Central	2,527	2,613	2,815	3,627	43.6	323	380	466	517	60.0
South	11,360	12,724	15,058	20,513	80.6	1,115	1,512	2,158	2,613	134.4
South Atlantic	6,228	7,132	8,560	11,644	86.9	587	840	1,264	1,549	163.9
East South Central	2,007	2,167	2,461	3,247	61.8	207	260	335	391	89.3
West South Central	3,125	3,425	4,037	5,622	79.9	321	412	559	673	109.6
West	6,173	6,927	8,534	12,281	99.0	595	800	1,206	1,501	152.1
Mountain	1,677	1,925	2,361	3,374	101.2	155	222	338	417	169.9
Pacific	4,496	5,002	6,174	8,906	98.1	441	578	868	1,084	145.9
New England	1,832	1,853	1,979	2,537	38.5	207	257	338	369	78.6
Maine	170	176	192	256	50.4	19	23	30	34	79.5
New Hampshire	134	141	166	237	76.8	15	19	25	29	98.1
Vermont	69	72	82	110	59.1	8	9	12	14	66.6
Massachusetts	842	842	881	1,109	31.7	97	120	155	168	73.6
Rhode Island	155	151	153	195	26.2	17	21	27	28	66.2
Connecticut	462	471	504	630	36.3	51	65	88	96	88.3
Middle Atlantic	5,366	5,451	5,622	6,811	26.9	546	665	861	926	69.4
New York	2,388	2,426	2,526	3,028	26.8	257	301	379	418	62.7
New Jersey	1,071	1,112	1,192	1,480	38.2	102	128	171	187	83.3
Pennsylvania	1,908	1,913	1,904	2,303	20.7	187	236	310	320	71.1
East North Central	5,533	5,754	6,097	7,578	37.0	583	719	941	1,032	77.1
Ohio	1,480	1,547	1,619	1,986	34.2	151	186	252	276	82.4
Indiana	728	772	836	1,048	44.0	77	95	125	139	80.1
Illinois	1,479	1,513	1,588	1,952	32.0	157	193	243	262	66.2
Michigan	1,171	1,211	1,277	1,579	34.9	116	148	200	219	88.4
Wisconsin	676	711	776	1,013	50.0	80	97	121	136	69.2
West North Central	2,527	2,613	2,815	3,627	43.6	323	380	466	517	60.0
Minnesota	568	602	683	918	61.5	73	88	110	126	73.3
Iowa	436	439	449	546	25.1	58	67	80	85	46.5
Missouri	741	769	837	1,072	44.6	89	104	129	143	61.1
North Dakota	94	93	93	117	23.9	13	16	18	20	55.7
South Dakota	105	108	111	142	34.3	14	16	20	22	55.6
Nebraska	229	236	248	317	38.5	31	35	42	46	47.6
Kansas	353	366	395	517	46.5	46	54	67	75	64.3

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5-4.
Population 65 Years and Over and 85 Years and Over for States: 1993, 2000, 2010, and 2020—Continued
 (Numbers in thousands)

Region, division, and State	Persons 65 years and over					Persons 85 years and over				
	Number				Percent change, 1993 to 2020	Number				Percent change, 1993 to 2020
	1993 ¹	2000	2010	2020		1993 ¹	2000	2010	2020	
South Atlantic	6,228	7,132	8,560	11,644	86.9	587	840	1,264	1,549	163.9
Delaware	87	100	113	146	67.2	8	10	16	19	134.6
Maryland	549	602	701	929	69.2	52	66	95	111	115.1
District of Columbia	77	73	72	87	13.2	8	10	12	12	47.3
Virginia	712	803	967	1,319	85.3	67	91	134	162	143.7
West Virginia	278	277	280	342	23.1	28	35	44	46	67.3
North Carolina	865	998	1,200	1,633	88.7	80	114	170	213	166.3
South Carolina	426	482	575	788	84.9	35	52	79	96	171.8
Georgia	695	798	998	1,419	104.0	65	89	125	156	138.2
Florida	2,539	2,999	3,654	4,982	96.2	245	372	589	735	200.4
East South Central	2,007	2,167	2,461	3,247	61.8	207	260	335	391	89.3
Kentucky	482	509	563	729	51.3	52	62	77	88	70.1
Tennessee	651	717	839	1,129	73.5	66	84	112	133	102.9
Alabama	545	591	668	874	60.4	54	69	90	106	95.4
Mississippi	329	350	391	514	56.3	35	45	55	64	82.4
West South Central	3,125	3,425	4,037	5,622	79.9	321	412	559	673	109.6
Arkansas	362	383	436	580	60.1	39	49	62	72	86.5
Louisiana	487	514	565	741	52.0	47	60	77	88	88.0
Oklahoma	440	454	501	661	50.4	50	60	75	85	70.6
Texas	1,835	2,074	2,534	3,640	98.4	186	244	344	428	130.3
Mountain	1,677	1,925	2,361	3,374	101.2	155	222	338	417	169.9
Montana	113	118	130	174	54.2	12	16	22	24	102.9
Idaho	130	144	172	246	89.4	13	18	25	29	121.7
Wyoming	51	51	54	74	43.4	5	6	8	8	69.5
Colorado	357	416	514	743	108.0	37	48	72	89	143.8
New Mexico	178	204	247	350	97.3	16	24	35	44	166.6
Arizona	529	623	783	1,121	111.9	46	72	117	146	221.2
Utah	165	187	230	334	102.4	16	23	34	42	161.1
Nevada	155	183	231	333	115.6	10	15	27	34	245.3
Pacific	4,496	5,002	6,174	8,906	98.1	441	578	868	1,084	145.9
Washington	612	676	836	1,245	103.5	62	84	123	146	135.5
Oregon	418	434	505	724	73.2	43	56	76	84	95.2
California	3,303	3,704	4,605	6,622	100.5	323	418	636	809	151.0
Alaska	26	31	38	54	103.3	2	2	3	4	197.0
Hawaii	137	158	190	262	91.6	12	18	30	40	241.8

Note: Totals may not add due to independent rounding and percents are computed on unrounded numbers.

¹These estimates are consistent with the population as enumerated in the 1990 census, and have not been adjusted for census coverage errors. Includes Armed Forces residing in each State.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993 data consistent with 1994 Census Advisory, *Updated National/State Population Estimates*, CB94-43; 2000, 2010, and 2020 from *Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994, Series A - preferred series.

In 2020, Arizona and Arkansas Would Have Higher Proportions Elderly Than Florida Today

While Florida is the only State in 1993 with more than 16 percent of its population aged 65 and over, by 2020 a projected 32 States will fall in this category (figure 5-3, table 5-2).³ In the U.S. as a whole, about 1 of every 6 persons will be elderly, compared to about 1 of 8 persons in 1993. In 2020, nearly 1 of every 5 persons will be elderly in Arizona and Arkansas. These proportions are greater than those of present-day Florida. In 2020, Florida will continue to have the nation's highest proportion of State population aged 65 years and over. One-fourth of the State's population will be elderly.

³ Paul R. Campbell, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Population Projections for States, by Age, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994. State projections in this report are from Series A, the preferred series, a time-series model that uses the State-to-State migration observed from 1975-76 through 1991-92.

Over Half of U.S. Elderly Likely to Live in Just 10 States in 2020

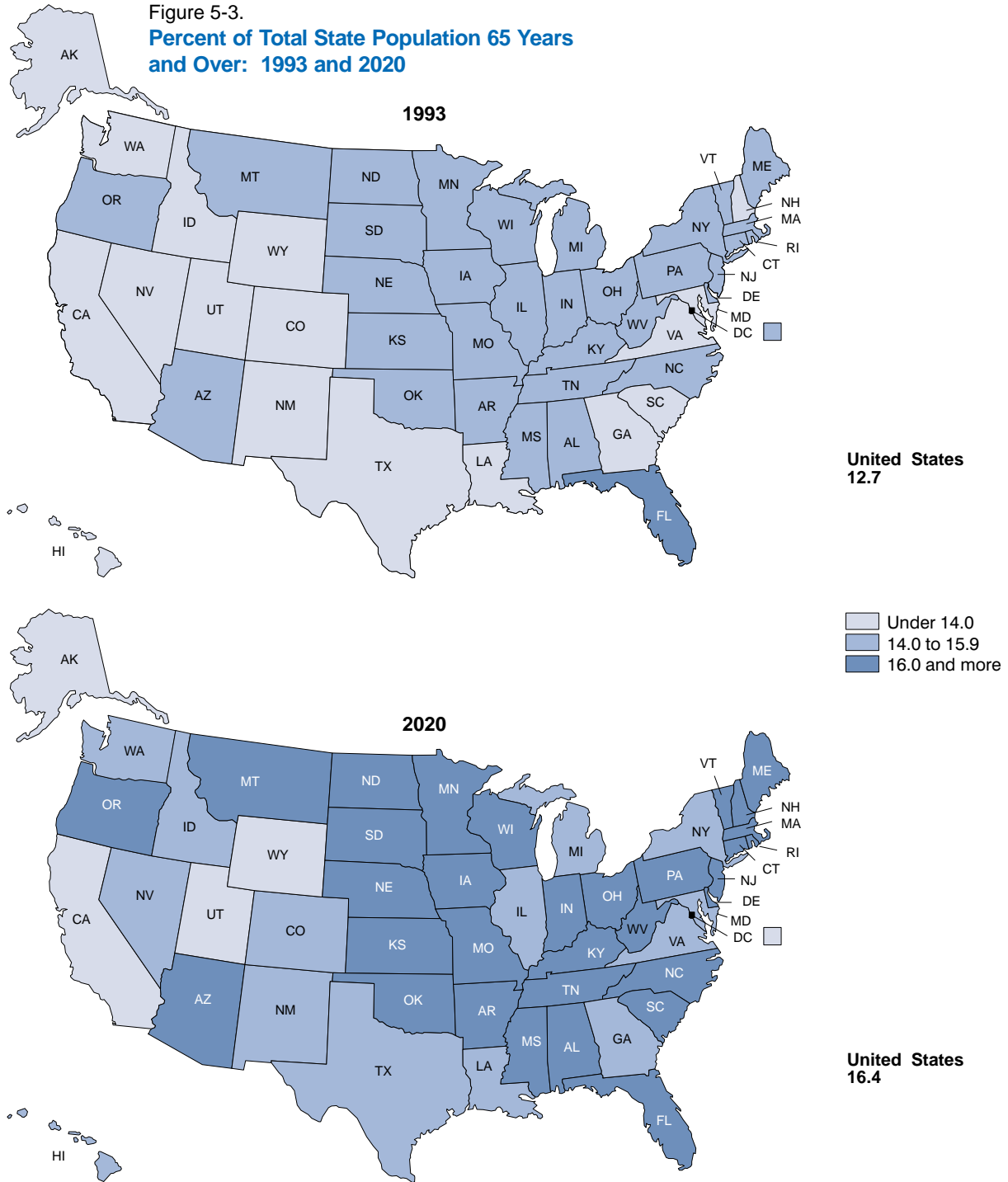
Census Bureau projections indicate that the West and the South would increase their elderly population by 99 and 81 percent, respectively, from 1993 to 2020 while the elderly of the Midwest would increase by only 39 percent and the Northeast by 30 percent over the same period (table 5-4).

The Census Bureau projects (in Series A) that in 2020, over half (55 percent) of the nation's 53 million elderly will live in the same nine States with the most elderly in 1993, plus North Carolina. California still would have the nation's largest elderly population, with 6.6 million persons 65 years and over, a 100-percent increase from 1993 (figure 5-4). Florida would have the second highest elderly population with 5.0 million, a 96-percent increase from 1993. One in four Floridians (26 percent) would be elderly in 2020. Texas would replace New York as the State with the country's third-largest elderly population in 2010. Texas' ranking would remain third in 2020, with 3.6 million elderly, a 98-percent increase from their 1993 estimate. Alaska had the smallest number of elderly in 1993 and, based on Series A projections, would still have the smallest elderly population in the year 2020, with an elderly population of only 54,000.

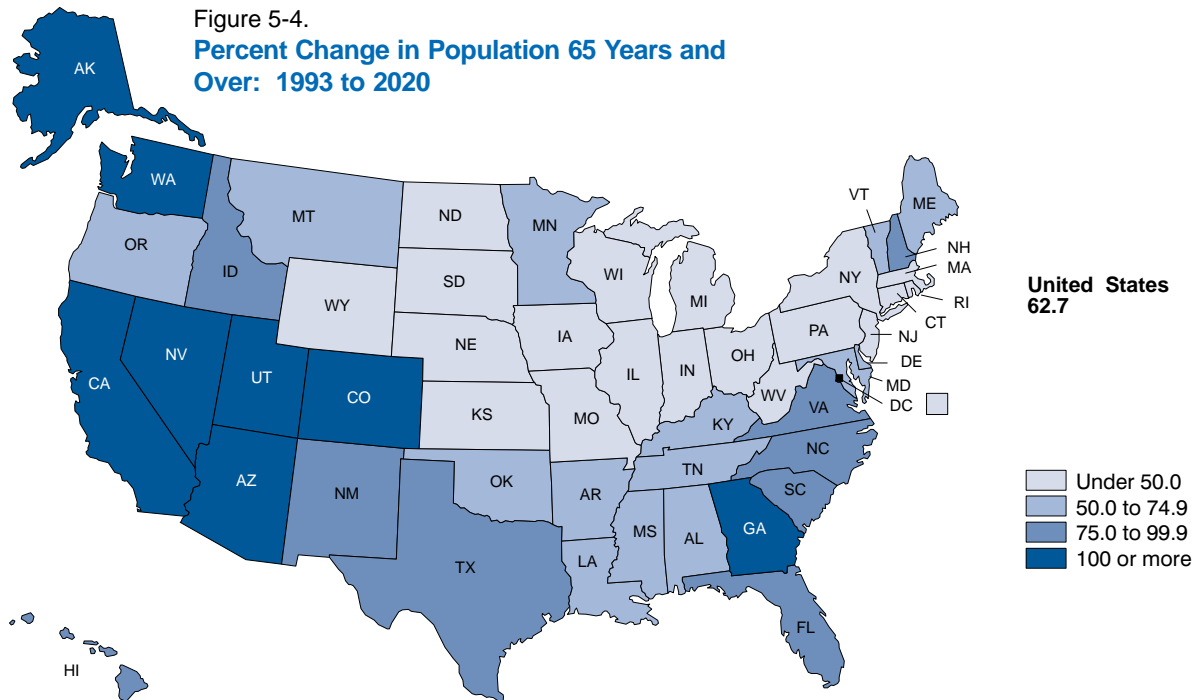
Elderly Population Would Double in 8 States From 1993 to 2020

Eight States would double their percentage of persons aged 65 years and over from 1993 to 2020, according to Census Bureau projections (figure 5-4, table 5-4). All of these States (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and Washington) would be in the West, with the exception of Georgia. Most of the States with the least percent change in the elderly population would be in the Midwest and the Northeast. Among the 20 States with less than a 50 percent increase in their elderly population during the 1993 to 2020 period, only 1 (Wyoming) would be in the West, and only 2 in the South (West Virginia and the District of Columbia).

Figure 5-3.
**Percent of Total State Population 65 Years
 and Over: 1993 and 2020**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993 from State Age-Sex Population Estimates Consistent With Census Advisory CB94-43; 2020 from *Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993 from 1994 Press Release, *Updated National/State Population Estimates*, CB94-43; 2020 from *Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994.

Percent Oldest Old Population Highest in Midwestern States; By 2020, Florida To Have Highest Percent Oldest Old

Those States with large numbers of elderly also had large numbers of persons aged 85 and over (table 5-4). In 1993, the nine States with more than 100,000 oldest old persons were the same nine States with more than 1 million elderly (see above), and also the top nine States in terms of total population size. Their ranking of oldest old population was also the same as their ranking of elderly population, with one exception—New York had the second largest oldest old population, switching places with Florida, which had the second largest elderly population, behind California. About half (51 percent) of the 3.4 million

oldest old in the United States lived in these nine States in 1993.

The five States with the highest proportion of persons aged 85 years and over of their total population in 1993 were all farm States: Iowa (2.1 percent), North Dakota (2.0 percent), South Dakota (1.9 percent), Nebraska (1.9 percent), and Kansas (1.8 percent). Alaska had the smallest proportion of oldest old with 0.3 percent of its population aged 85 or older (figure 5-5).

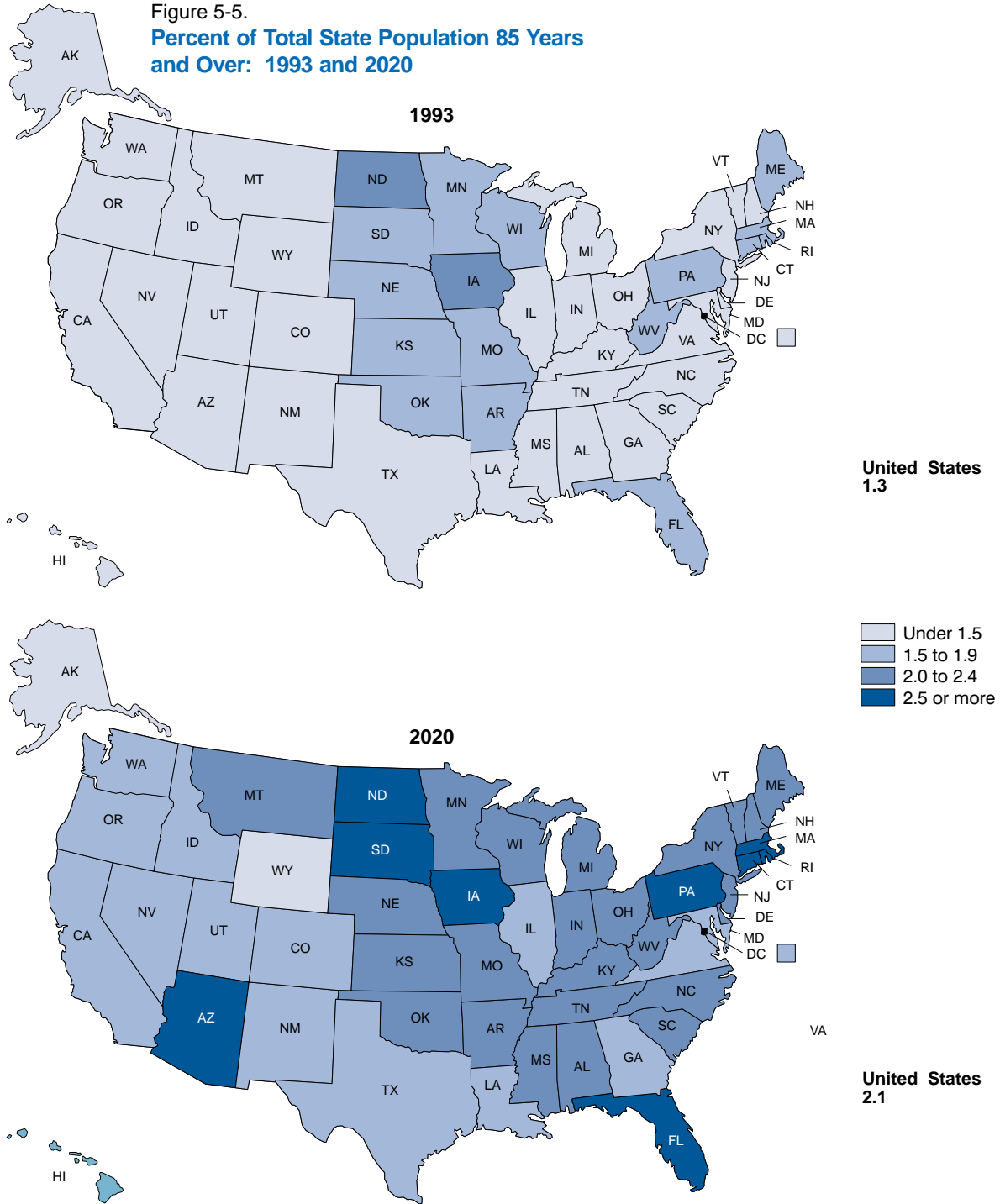
In 1993, only Iowa had more than 2 percent of its population aged 85 years and over, but by 2020, thirty-four States would fall in this category. The oldest old also would be over 2 percent of the nation's population.

The percentage of Florida's population that is 85 or older would reach nearly 4 percent under the assumptions of Series A, surpassing Iowa as the State with the highest proportion of oldest old population. Another eight States would have a proportion of their population aged 85 years and over in 2020 between 2.5 and 3.8 percent.

Distribution Inside and Outside Metropolitan Areas

During the 1980's, there was a renewed disparity in elderly and non-elderly geographic population shifts. Among the nonelderly, population gains in the Sunbelt were more concentrated in large metropolitan areas,

Figure 5-5.
**Percent of Total State Population 85 Years
and Over: 1993 and 2020**



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993 from State Age-Sex Population Estimates Consistent With Census Advisory CB94-43; 2020 from *Population Projections for States, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1993 to 2020*, Current Population Reports, P25-1111, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994.

while their shift away from large metropolitan areas in the North (Northeast and Midwest) contributed to increased elderly population concentrations inside metropolitan areas of the Northeast and Midwest.⁴ The more concentrated pattern of population growth in the 1980's among the non-elderly "led to a significant number of areas whose elderly concentrations have risen due to aging-in-place,"⁵ and these aging-in-place metropolitan areas were found disproportionately in the Northeast and Midwest, and among moderate and smaller-sized metropolitan areas in the South.

Nearly 3 Times as Many Elderly Lived Inside Metropolitan Areas Than Outside Metropolitan Areas in 1990

In 1990, about 23 million elderly Americans lived inside metropolitan areas compared with 8.2 million living outside metropolitan areas. However, the elderly represented a higher proportion (15 percent) of the population outside metropolitan areas than inside (nearly 12 percent), compared to a proportion elderly of 12.5 percent for the United States total population. Over 800,000 persons aged 85 or older lived outside metropolitan areas of the United States, with over 2 million oldest old living within them (table 5-5). The oldest old represented a larger proportion (1.5 percent) of the

⁴ William H. Frey, "Metropolitan Redistribution of the US Elderly: 1960-70, 1970-80, 1980-90," Chapter 7 in *Elderly Migration and Population Redistribution*, Andrei Rogers (ed.), with the assistance of William H. Frey, Alden Speare, Jr., Philip Rees and Anthony M. Warnes, 1992, London: Belhaven Press.

⁵ Ibid. Metropolitan areas were defined as aging-in-place during the decade if: 1) their percent elderly exceeded the end-of-decade U.S. elderly percentage, 2) the increase in percent elderly exceeded the U.S. decade increase, and 3) the percent change in the nonelderly population was less than the U.S. nonelderly percent change for the decade.

population outside metropolitan areas than inside (1.1 percent), the same pattern as for the elderly.

Elderly American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts (AIEA) were the only racial group more likely to live outside metropolitan areas than inside. Elderly Asians are particularly more likely to live inside metropolitan areas (417,000 lived inside metropolitan areas and 33,000 outside in 1990). Elderly Hispanics were about 8 times more likely to have lived inside metropolitan areas than outside in 1990, Blacks about 4 times more likely, and Whites about 3 times more likely. For each racial group, the likelihood of living outside metropolitan areas was slightly higher for the 85-and-over population than for persons aged 65 to 84 years.

Geographic Distribution of Elderly Racial Groups and Hispanics

Elderly Whites Are More Evenly Distributed Among U.S. Regions; Elderly of Races Other Than White and Elderly Hispanics Are More Regionally Concentrated

About one-third of the U.S. elderly population lived in the South region in 1991. The South also had the largest number of oldest old among the country's regions (table 5-6). Elderly Whites were most numerous in the South, but were more evenly distributed among the nation's four regions than the elderly of other race groups and Hispanic elderly. Elderly Blacks are most numerous in the South region, as is the total Black population. The elderly Asian and Pacific Islander population is especially numerous in the West. More elderly American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut

(AIEA) lived in the West than in any other region, but a large number of AIEA elderly also lived in the South region. Large numbers of Hispanic elderly were found in both the South and the West in 1991. The regional concentrations of the elderly for these population groups are similar to the concentrations of the total population of each group.

Over half of elderly Blacks lived in Southern States. Nearly 60 percent of America's Blacks aged 85 or older lived in the South in 1991. Thirteen States had an elderly Black population of 100,000 or more. These States represented nearly 70 percent of the elderly Black population and were either in the South and West, or the largest States of either the Northeast (New York and Pennsylvania) or the Midwest (Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan).⁶

Three out of four AIEA elderly (78 percent) lived in Western (43 percent) and Southern States (35 percent). Forty percent lived in Oklahoma, California, and Arizona. These were also the only States with more than 10,000 American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts aged 65 or older. Four out of five (79 percent) AIEA oldest old were found in Western and Southern States in 1991.

Seven States had an elderly Asian and Pacific Islander (API) elderly population of 10,000 or more in 1991. Eighty-four percent of the API elderly lived in these States—California, Hawaii, and Washington in the West,

⁶ Data discussed in this section on the numerical distribution of the elderly and oldest old population by race and Hispanic origin in 1991 are from U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.

Table 5-5.
Population 65 Years and Over Inside and Outside Metropolitan Areas by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1990

Inside and outside metropolitan areas, sex, and age	Total	White	Black	American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	Asian and Pacific Islander	Hispanic origin ¹
INSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS						
Both sexes						
65 years and over	22,871,814	20,426,368	1,972,310	55,808	417,328	1,015,512
65 to 69 years	7,521,588	6,630,605	702,352	21,792	166,839	383,781
70 to 74 years	5,879,669	5,244,833	508,068	14,365	112,403	251,757
75 to 79 years	4,448,069	3,989,815	374,704	9,952	73,598	186,621
80 years and over	5,022,488	4,561,115	387,186	9,699	64,488	193,353
80 to 84 years	2,834,842	2,571,143	219,328	5,665	38,706	112,774
85 years and over	2,187,646	1,989,972	167,858	4,034	25,782	80,579
Male						
65 years and over	9,102,704	8,138,533	754,682	22,835	186,654	415,809
65 to 69 years	3,343,086	2,963,826	295,365	9,758	74,137	170,621
70 to 74 years	2,482,650	2,226,186	200,567	6,048	49,849	103,951
75 to 79 years	1,716,691	1,542,690	136,776	3,768	33,457	71,596
80 years and over	1,560,277	1,405,831	121,974	3,261	29,211	69,641
80 to 84 years	964,098	870,237	73,282	1,954	18,625	41,647
85 years and over	596,179	535,594	48,692	1,307	10,586	27,994
Female						
65 years and over	13,769,110	12,287,835	1,217,628	32,973	230,674	599,703
65 to 69 years	4,178,502	3,666,779	406,987	12,034	92,702	213,160
70 to 74 years	3,397,019	3,018,647	307,501	8,317	62,554	147,806
75 to 79 years	2,731,378	2,447,125	237,928	6,184	40,141	115,025
80 years and over	3,462,211	3,155,284	265,212	6,438	35,277	123,712
80 to 84 years	1,870,744	1,700,906	146,046	3,711	20,081	71,127
85 years and over	1,591,467	1,454,378	119,166	2,727	15,196	52,585
OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS						
Both sexes						
65 years and over	8,207,081	7,594,194	519,911	60,345	32,631	130,711
65 to 69 years	2,544,247	2,353,373	157,342	21,582	11,950	47,219
70 to 74 years	2,099,991	1,946,180	130,009	15,466	8,336	32,328
75 to 79 years	1,654,860	1,528,526	108,831	11,570	5,933	24,811
80 years and over	1,907,983	1,766,115	123,729	11,727	6,412	26,353
80 to 84 years	1,074,204	995,125	68,955	6,571	3,553	15,528
85 years and over	833,779	770,990	54,774	5,156	2,859	10,825
Male						
65 years and over	3,390,062	3,145,874	202,254	26,039	15,895	59,021
65 to 69 years	1,164,453	1,083,709	65,288	9,900	5,556	22,328
70 to 74 years	916,625	853,615	52,400	6,711	3,899	14,745
75 to 79 years	672,204	622,371	41,919	4,784	3,130	10,768
80 years and over	636,780	586,179	42,647	4,644	3,310	11,180
80 to 84 years	391,732	361,947	25,069	2,687	2,029	6,783
85 years and over	245,048	224,232	17,578	1,957	1,281	4,397

See footnotes at end of table.

Table 5-5.
Population 65 Years and Over Inside and Outside Metropolitan Areas by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1990—Continued

Inside and outside metropolitan areas, sex, and age	Total	White	Black	American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	Asian and Pacific Islander	Hispanic origin ¹
OUTSIDE METROPOLITAN AREAS—Con.						
Female						
65 years and over	4,817,019	4,448,320	317,657	34,306	16,736	71,690
65 to 69 years	1,379,794	1,269,664	92,054	11,682	6,394	24,891
70 to 74 years	1,183,366	1,092,565	77,609	8,755	4,437	17,583
75 to 79 years	982,656	906,155	66,912	6,786	2,803	14,043
80 years and over	1,271,203	1,179,936	81,082	7,083	3,102	15,173
80 to 84 years	682,472	633,178	43,886	3,884	1,524	8,745
85 years and over	588,731	546,758	37,196	3,199	1,578	6,428

¹Hispanic origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, unpublished data consistent with *U.S. Population Estimates, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1980 to 1991*, Current Population Reports, P25-1095, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1993.

Table 5-6.
Persons 65 Years and Over by Age, Race, and Hispanic Origin for Regions: 1991

Age, race, and Hispanic origin ¹	United States	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
All Persons					
65 years and over	31,763,630	7,049,503	7,860,059	10,944,022	5,910,046
65 to 84 years	28,610,352	6,333,404	7,002,436	9,917,779	5,356,733
85 years and over	3,153,278	716,099	857,623	1,026,243	553,313
White					
65 years and over	28,594,585	6,506,306	7,327,151	9,449,202	5,311,926
65 to 84 years	25,714,822	5,832,388	6,515,223	8,564,907	4,802,304
85 years and over	2,879,763	673,918	811,928	884,295	509,622
Black					
65 years and over	2,551,325	464,032	481,285	1,408,937	197,071
65 to 84 years	2,319,900	426,656	438,844	1,272,878	181,522
85 years and over	231,425	37,376	42,441	136,059	15,549
American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut					
65 years and over	122,040	8,946	18,348	42,395	52,351
65 to 84 years	111,536	8,145	16,969	38,745	47,677
85 years and over	10,504	801	1,379	3,650	4,674
Asian and Pacific Islander					
65 years and over	495,680	70,219	33,275	43,488	348,698
65 to 84 years	464,094	66,215	31,400	41,249	325,230
85 years and over	31,586	4,004	1,875	2,239	23,468
Hispanic Origin¹					
65 years and over	1,229,844	208,218	75,222	477,085	469,319
65 to 84 years	101,749	16,509	6,085	40,621	38,534
85 years and over	1,128,095	191,709	69,137	436,464	430,785

¹Hispanic origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin*, PE-16.

along with four States (New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Texas) from the other three U.S. regions. Among all API elderly, over half lived in just two States, 45 percent in California, and 19 percent in Hawaii. The West region accounted for 70 percent of all elderly Asian and Pacific Islanders in the United States in 1991. Three out of four (77 percent) elderly and oldest old Hispanics (who may be of any race) were concentrated in the South (39 percent) and West (38 percent) in 1991. Sixty-two percent of all elderly Hispanics lived in just three States—California (27 percent), Texas

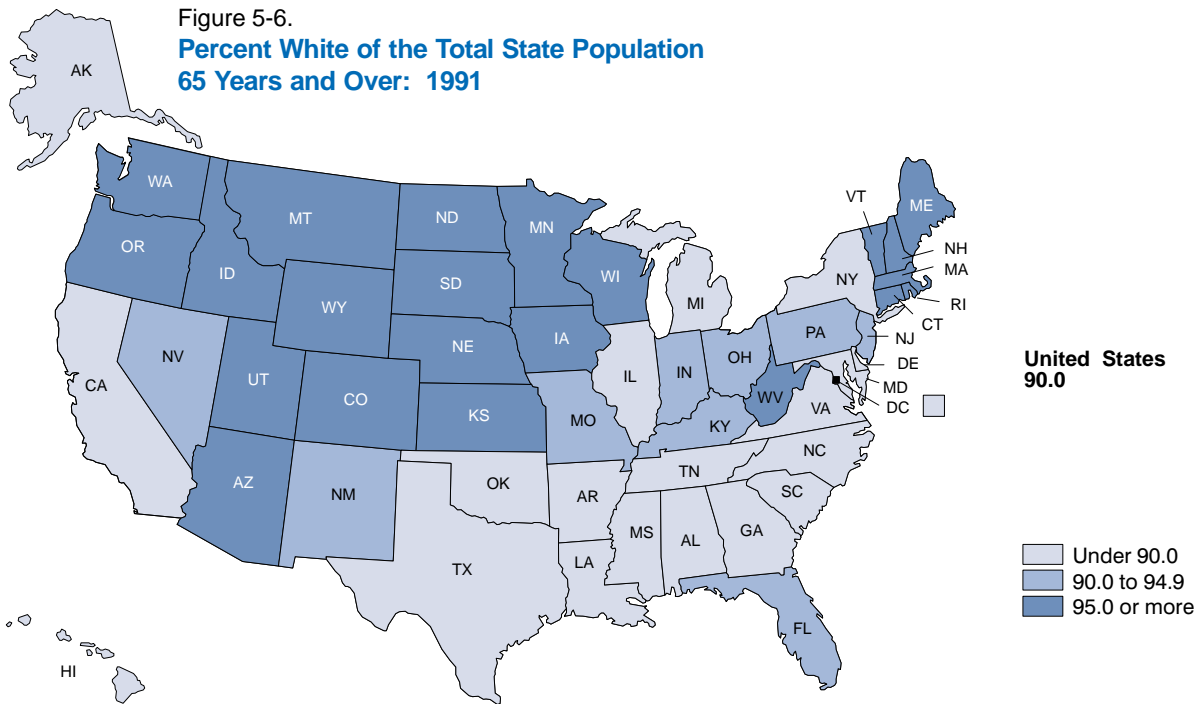
(20 percent), and Florida (15 percent). Adding New York, the State with the fourth largest number of Hispanic elderly in 1991 (and where 11 percent of all elderly Hispanics lived), nearly three of every four (73 percent) elderly Hispanics lived in these four States.

Percent White of Elderly State Populations Highest in Parts of Midwest and West; Percent Black Highest in Southern States

Overall, the future elderly population in the United States will become more racially and ethnically diverse.

However, State-level data on the elderly in 1991 by race and Hispanic origin indicate that the elderly populations of the major race groups and Hispanic elderly tend to be concentrated in particular States or regions of the country.

In 1991, the White elderly population represented 90 percent or more of a State's elderly population in 31 States (figure 5-6). In 22 States, 95 percent or more of their elderly populations were White. Among these 22 States, 8 were in the West, 7 in the Midwest, 6 in the Northeast, and only 1 (West Virginia) in the South region.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.

The percent Black of a State's elderly population was 10 percent or more in 13 States in 1991 and all were in the South, with the exception of Michigan (figure 5-7). Black elderly constituted between 20 and 30 percent of all elderly in Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi (listed in increasing order). Two of every three elderly in the District of Columbia were Black.

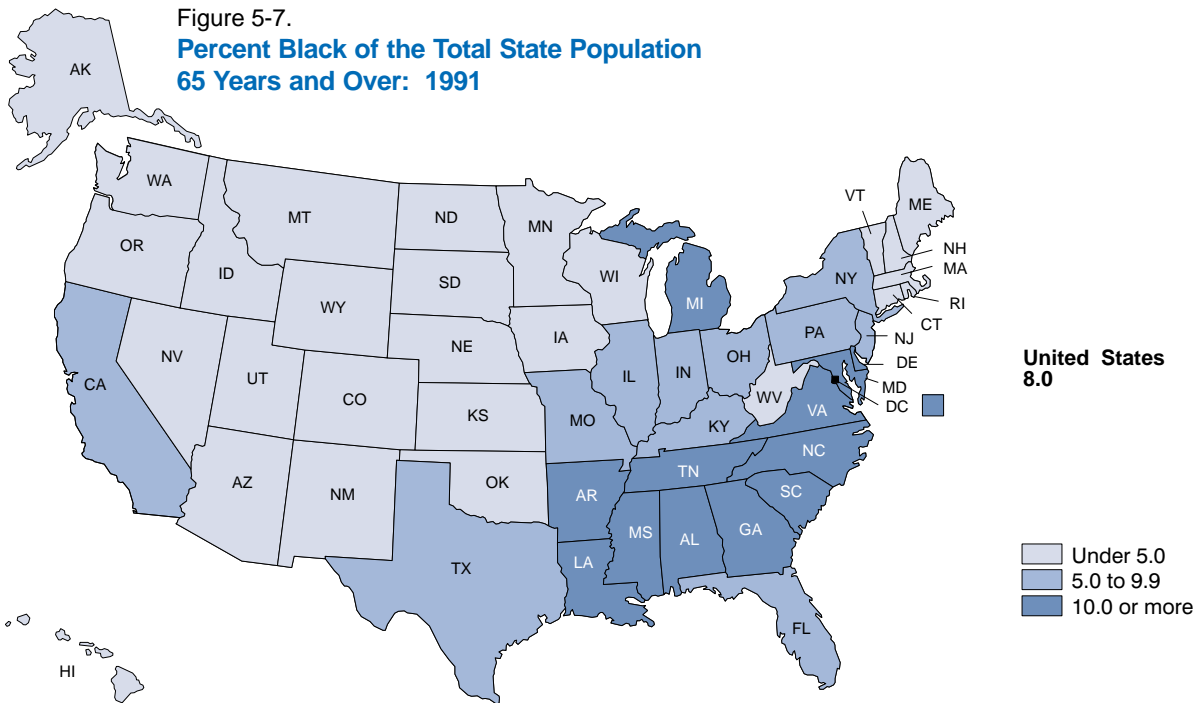
Percent AIEA of Elderly State Populations Highest West of the Mississippi

Although California has the second largest number of elderly American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts (AIEA), it ranks fifteenth in terms of the proportion AIEA of total State elderly populations. Alaska, with the numerically smallest total elderly population, ranks first in percent AIEA elderly (figure 5-8). Nearly 1 of every 5 (19 percent) of elderly Alaskans were AIEA in 1991. Only 6 additional States had at least 1 percent elderly AIEA of their total elderly populations. The top ten States in percent elderly AIEA in 1991 were all west of the Mississippi River.

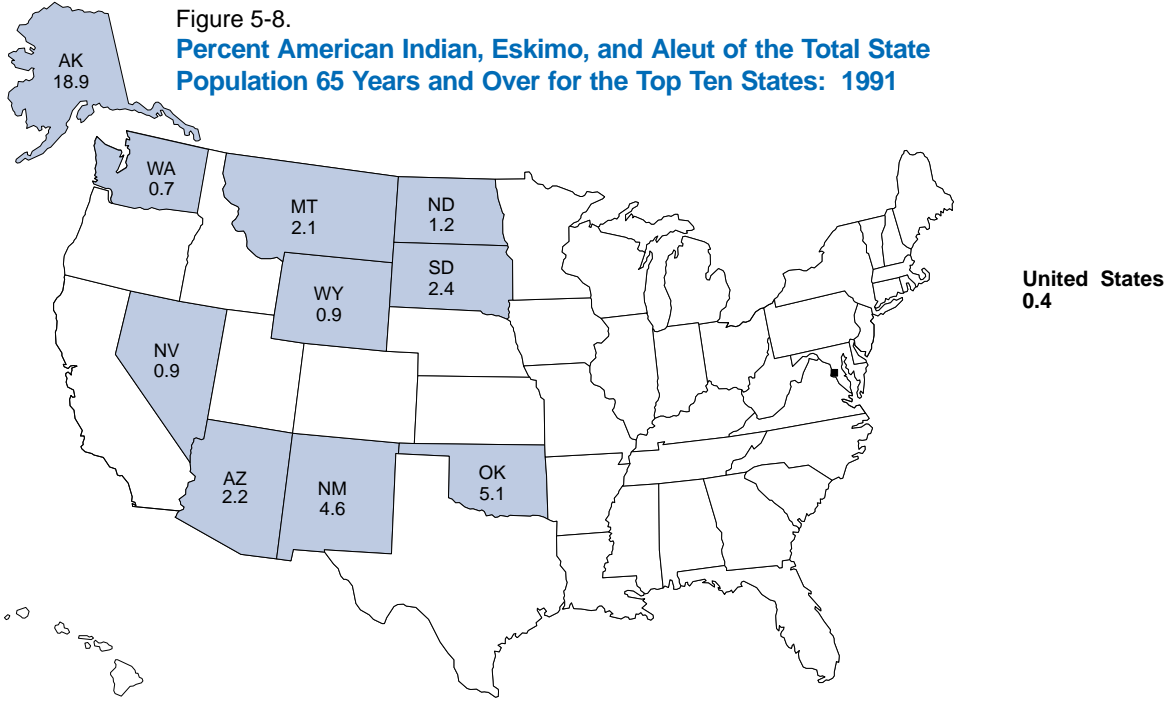
Hawaii and California Had Highest Percents API Elderly

Nearly three of every four (73 percent) elderly in Hawaii in 1991 were Asians or Pacific Islanders (API). California had the next largest percent API of its elderly population (figure 5-9). These two States were also ranked first and second (but in reverse order) with respect to the total number of elderly API. In only two other States (Alaska and Washington) did the API elderly population represent at least 2 percent of the total elderly State population.

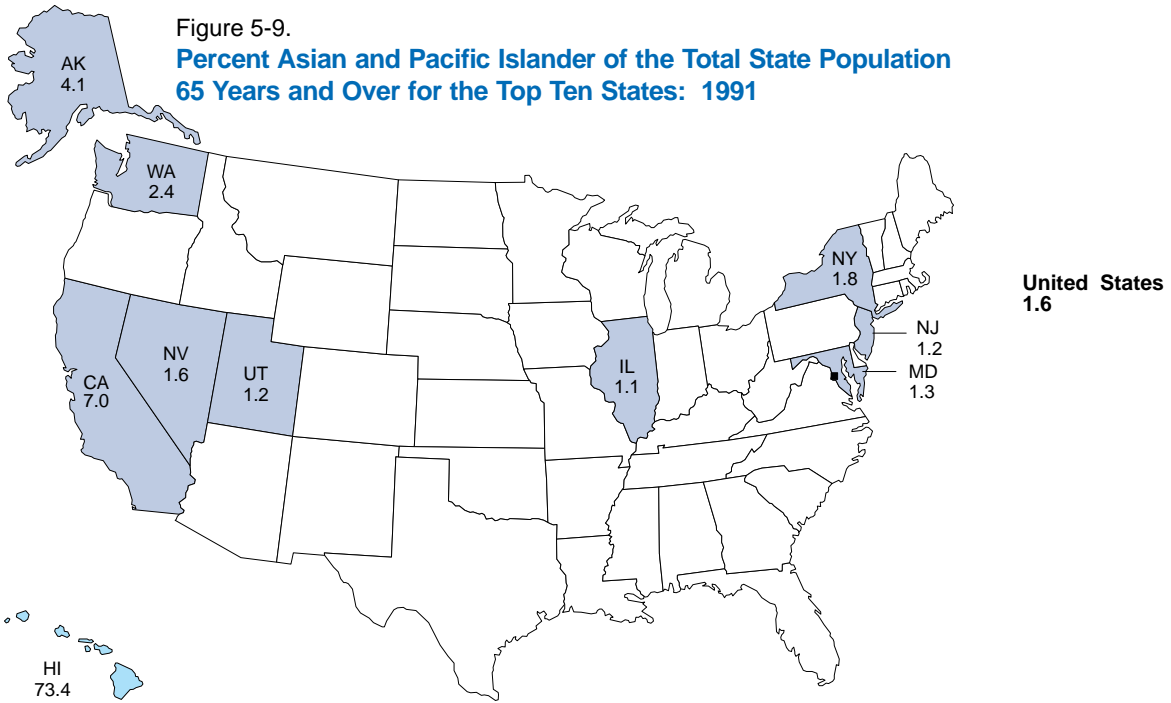
Figure 5-7.
Percent Black of the Total State Population 65 Years and Over: 1991



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.

New Mexico Had Highest Percent Hispanic Elderly

One-fourth (27 percent) of all elderly in New Mexico were of Hispanic origin in 1991. The States with the highest percents Hispanic of their elderly population were the border States with Mexico (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas), plus Florida, Colorado, and New York (figure 5-10). Less than 1 percent of the elderly population was Hispanic in more than half (27) of the States. Of these States with low percents Hispanic elderly, 12 were in the South, 10 in

the Midwest, 4 in the Northeast, and only 1 (Montana) in the West region.

Elderly and Oldest Old for Counties

Nine Counties Had More Than 250,000 Elderly in 1991; Eight Counties Had More Than 25,000 Persons Aged 85 or Older

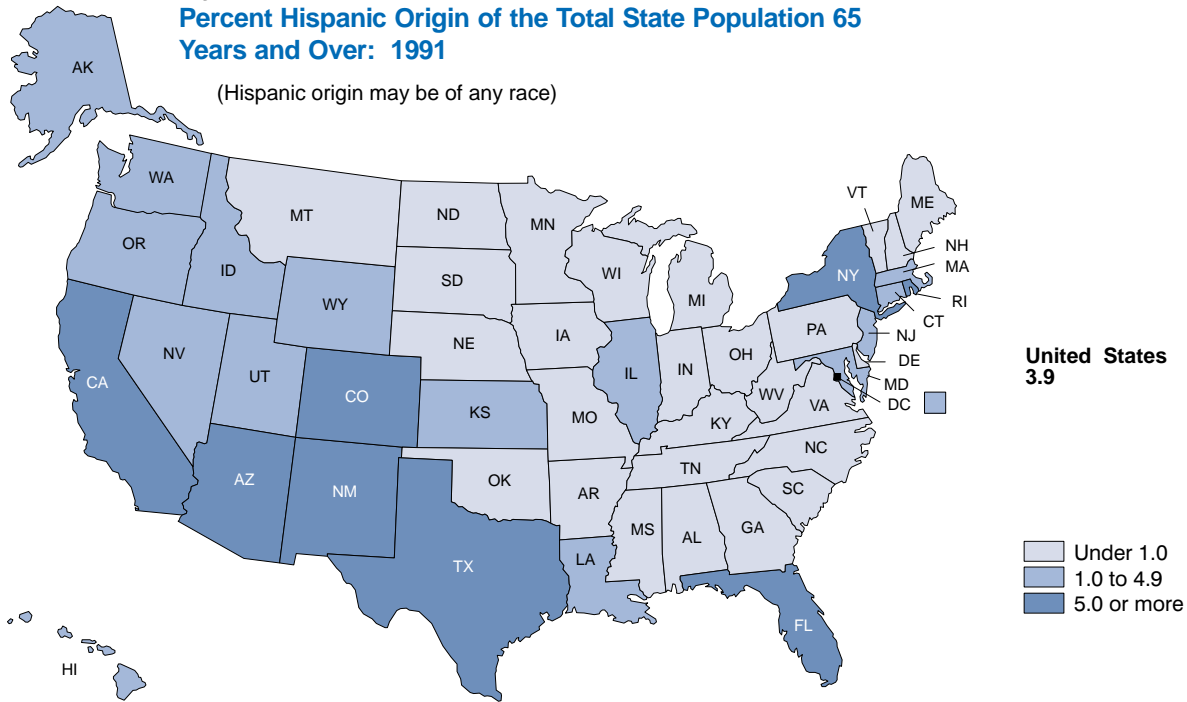
In the 1980's, many of the fastest growing counties in terms of elderly population were in traditional retirement community areas in Florida and

Arizona, and in recent retirement magnets in South Atlantic and Mountain States.⁷ Most counties with faster growing elderly populations in the 1980's resulted from past migration of working-age adults who "graduated" into seniorhood, and who, like elderly migrants, tend to be married and to have above-average incomes. These

⁷ William H. Frey, "Mature Markets—Elderly Growth Patterns in US Counties," Research Report No. 93-270, 1993, Population Studies Center, University of Michigan; and Dianne Crispell and William H. Frey, "American Maturity," *American Demographics*, 1993, pp. 31-42.

Figure 5-10.
Percent Hispanic Origin of the Total State Population 65 Years and Over: 1991

(Hispanic origin may be of any race)



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1991 Estimates of the Population of States by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin," PE-16.

counties were disproportionately found in the West region.

Of the more than 3,000 counties in the United States, nine had over 250,000 persons aged 65 or older in 1991, and 573 counties had elderly populations of at least 10,000 persons (detailed table 8-4). Among the nine largest counties, two were in California (Los Angeles and San Diego), two in New York (Queens and Kings), two in Florida (Dade and Broward), with one county in Arizona (Maricopa), Illinois (Cook), and Michigan (Wayne). These counties are all representative of large cities, including Los Angeles, San Diego, New York, Miami, Ft. Lauderdale, Phoenix, Chicago, and Detroit. Although these counties had large numbers of elderly, only Broward county had at least 20 percent of its population aged 65 or older.

As with the largest counties in elderly population, the eight counties with over 25,000 persons aged 85 or older in 1991 were all representative of large cities. The counties were: Los Angeles, California (85,507), Cook, Illinois (58,941), Dade, Florida (31,187), Queens, New York (28,851), Pinellas, Florida (27,857), Kings, New York (26,911), Broward, Florida (26,049), and San Diego, California (25,626). All of these counties were among the same nine counties ranked highest in terms of elderly population size, with the exception of Pinellas county (St. Petersburg), which had by far the highest percentage of its total population 85 or older (3.2 percent) among these counties. The oldest old represented 2.0 percent of Broward county's and 1.6 percent of Dade county's population. Los Angeles and San Diego county's oldest old were only 1.0 percent of their total population, the

lowest proportion in this group of counties (detailed table 8-4).

Counties With Highest Percent Elderly Concentrated in 18 States; Counties With Highest Percent Oldest Old Mainly in the Midwest

In over 400 counties of the United States, at least 1 of every 5 persons is aged 65 years and over (detailed table 8-5). All of these counties with high percent elderly are located in 30 States. The top 100 ranking counties in terms of percent elderly are found in only 18 States, 9 of which are in the Midwest, 5 in the South, and 4 in the West. None of the 100 counties with the highest percent elderly is in the Northeast region. Among the top 11 counties (which all had at least 30 percent elderly), 6 were in Florida (Charlotte, Highlands, Pasco, Sarasota, Citrus, and Hernando), and all had elderly populations of at least 10,000 persons. The other 5 counties (Kalawao, Hawaii; Llano, Texas; Sierra, New Mexico; Keweenaw, Michigan; and McIntosh, North Dakota) all had large percents elderly, but elderly populations of less than 5,000 persons.

There were only 29 counties in the United States in 1991 that had both more than 10,000 elderly and at least 20 percent of the county's population elderly. The top 13 of these counties were all in Florida. Among all 29 counties, 18 were in Florida. Also, there were 3 in Arizona (Yavapai, Garland, and Mohave), 2 in North Carolina (Henderson and Moore), 2 in New Jersey (Ocean and Cape May), and one each in Massachusetts (Barnstable), Oregon (Josephine), Washington (Clallam), and Pennsylvania (Schuylkill).

Ranking the 410 counties with at least 20 percent elderly population in 1991 by their proportion of population aged 85 and over indicates that the vast majority were in the Midwest. Among the top 29 counties (which all had at least 4 percent oldest old), 25 were in the Midwest, with 17 of these counties in Kansas and Nebraska. The top 75 counties in terms of percent oldest old all had fewer than 500 persons aged 85 and over.

Patterns of Migration

Most Elderly Don't Move

Most older people stay put. Persons aged 65 years and over represented 4 percent of all movers within the United States between 1992 and 1993. About 1.7 million noninstitutionalized elderly (about 6 percent) moved to a different house in the United States between 1992 and 1993. Only 773,000 elderly, about 3 percent of all elderly, moved far enough to change their county of residence. Only 1 percent of the elderly population moved to another State. The proportions of persons aged 75 or older who moved were similar.⁸

The proportional distribution of elderly movers within the United States by race and Hispanic origin was similar to the racial and Hispanic origin distribution of the total elderly population. For example, 86 percent of elderly movers between 1992 and 1993 were White and a similar proportion of elderly persons are White. Elderly

⁸ Kristin A. Hansen, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Geographical Mobility: March 1992 to March 1993*, Current Population Reports, P20-481, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994, table 2.

Blacks and Hispanics also moved within the United States in proportions similar to their representation among the total elderly population.

Of those elderly who moved during 1992-93, about half (49 percent) remained within the same metropolitan area.⁹ Another 18 percent of elderly movers moved from one metropolitan area to another and 6 percent moved from outside a metropolitan area to inside a metropolitan area. Among all elderly movers in the United States, 8 percent left a metropolitan area and

moved to a nonmetropolitan area. An additional 19 percent of elderly movers went from one nonmetropolitan area to another.

Most elderly migrants (persons who moved to a different county) stayed in the same region of the country where they had lived the year before (table 5-7). In the Northeast, from 1992 to 1993, about 131,000 elderly moved from one county to another; 82 percent came from another county within the Northeast and only 18 percent came from some other part of the country. About one-fourth of migrants in the Midwest (23 percent), the South

(26 percent), and the West (30 percent) came from other regions.

Among persons aged 65 years and over, about 5 to 7 percent moved within the United States between 1992 and 1993 (table 5-8). This compares to about 18 percent of persons ages 1 to 64 years. Only about 1 percent of elderly men and women moved to a different State during this 1-year period. The proportions of women movers were comparable to those of men for all elderly age groups and mobility types between 1992 and 1993.

⁹ Ibid., table 34.

Table 5-7.

Region of Residence in 1992 and 1993 for County Migrants 65 Years and Over: 1993

(In thousands. For meaning of abbreviations and symbols see introductory text.)

Residence in 1993	Total migrants ¹	Residence in 1992			
		Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Number					
United States	774	169	179	275	150
Northeast	131	107	-	22	2
Midwest	183	9	140	16	18
South	297	42	19	220	16
West	162	11	20	16	114
Percent Distribution, by Region of Residence in 1993					
United States	100.0	21.8	23.1	35.5	19.4
Northeast	100.0	81.7	-	16.8	1.5
Midwest	100.0	4.9	76.5	8.7	9.8
South	100.0	14.1	6.4	74.1	5.4
West	100.0	6.8	12.3	9.9	70.4

¹ "Migrants" are persons who moved from a different county within the United States.

Note: Regions may not add to the total, due to independent rounding.

Source: Kristin A. Hansen, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Geographical Mobility: March 1992 to March 1993*, Current Population Reports, P20-481, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994, tables 5 and 20.

Table 5-8.

Percent Distribution of Geographical Mobility for Persons 60 Years and Over by Age and Sex: 1992-93

(Numbers in thousands)

Sex and mobility type	Age					
	60 to 64 years	65 years and over	65 to 69 years	70 to 79 years	80 to 84 years	85 years and over
Total Men	5,084	12,832	4,334	6,208	1,498	792
Same house	92.8	94.5	94.5	94.7	93.6	94.9
Different house in the U.S.	6.9	5.3	5.5	5.1	6.0	4.7
Same county	4.2	2.9	3.2	2.7	3.5	2.3
Different county	2.8	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.6	2.4
Same state	1.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.6	1.5
Different state	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.9	0.8
Abroad	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.4
Total Women	5,445	18,038	5,498	8,291	2,451	1,798
Same house	93.7	94.1	93.8	94.5	94.2	93.4
Different house in the U.S.	6.1	5.6	5.9	5.3	5.8	6.6
Same county	3.8	3.1	3.1	2.8	3.2	4.0
Different county	2.3	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.6
Same state	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	0.8	1.3
Different state	1.3	1.4	1.6	1.3	1.8	1.3
Abroad	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.0

Source: Kristin A. Hansen, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Geographical Mobility: March 1992 to March 1993*, Current Population Reports, P20-481, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1994, table 2.

Table 5-9.

Percent Distribution of Geographical Mobility for the Elderly Population by Age: 1975-80 and 1985-90

Mobility type	Age							
	65 years and over		65 to 74 years		75 to 84 years		85 years and over	
	1975-80	1985-90	1975-80	1985-90	1975-80	1985-90	1975-80	1985-90
Total	25,799,910	31,195,275	15,781,654	15,215,153	7,806,843	9,973,466	2,211,413	3,003,328
Same house	19,874,845	24,159,537	12,270,516	12,290,250	6,050,298	7,764,583	1,554,031	2,052,352
Different house, U.S.	5,815,675	6,888,313	3,433,287	2,827,654	1,730,673	2,173,417	651,715	943,621
Same county	3,481,783	4,080,984	1,977,231	2,459,230	1,086,989	1,534,403	417,563	588,398
Different county	2,333,892	2,807,329	1,456,056	1,902,827	643,684	50,616	234,152	355,223
Same state	1,195,443	1,459,467	704,357	562,237	351,307	458,954	139,779	219,138
Different state	1,138,449	1,347,862	751,699	705,319	292,377	370,373	94,373	136,085
Abroad	109,390	147,425	77,851	97,249	25,872	35,466	5,667	7,355
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Same house	77.0	77.4	77.8	80.8	77.5	77.9	70.3	68.3
Different house, U.S.	22.5	22.1	21.8	18.6	22.2	21.8	29.5	31.4
Same county	13.5	13.1	12.5	16.2	13.9	15.4	18.9	19.6
Different county	9.0	9.0	9.2	12.5	8.2	0.5	10.6	11.8
Same state	4.6	4.7	4.5	3.7	4.5	4.6	6.3	7.3
Different state	4.4	4.3	4.8	4.6	3.7	3.7	4.3	4.5
Abroad	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, Summary Tape File 5, National Institute on Aging Special Tabulations, table 5 and 1990 Census of Population, Special tabulations for Administration on Aging, table 5.

An analysis of intercounty migrants during the 1980-85 period among male householders aged 55 and over in 1980 indicated that such migrants tended to move toward lower cost-of-living areas, especially if they were younger, and toward lower-crime areas, especially if they were younger and homeowners.¹⁰ There also was a tendency for these migrants to move toward nonmetro areas and toward locations where family and friends resided.

The decennial census measures movement over a 5-year period. Data from the 1980 census show that 23 percent of elderly persons changed their residence between 1975 and 1980 (table 5-9). Ten years later, 1990 census data reveal that the proportions of the elderly moving to a different house, county, or State during the 1985-90 period remained consistent with the corresponding 1975-80 proportions; 22 percent of the elderly moved during 1985-90. In the 1955-60 period, over one-fourth (28 percent) of elderly changed residence.¹¹

In general, the central cities of metropolitan areas have lost elderly migrants to nonmetropolitan areas. Decennial census data indicate that the trend of the loss of elderly migrants from metropolitan areas and the gain of elderly migrants in nonmetropolitan areas has been

¹⁰ Jeffrey E. Kallan, "A Multilevel Analysis of Elderly Migration," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 2, 1993, pp. 405-416.

¹¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1960*, Vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population*, Part 1, *United States Summary*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1964, table 164.

consistent during the 1960-70, 1970-80, and 1980-90 decades.¹²

In an analysis of age patterns of migration among the elderly using data for selected developed countries, including the United States, Rogers¹³ found two basic patterns of elderly migration. One pattern is characterized by intercommunity, amenity-motivated, long-distance migrations, and the other pattern by intracomunity, assistance-motivated, short-distance moves.

In the 1985-90 period, the oldest old (85 years and over) were more likely to have moved within the United States than either the younger old (65 to 74 years) or the aged (75 to 84 years; table 5-9). This suggests that the moves of the oldest old may be related to health problems and that perhaps nursing homes or the residences of near relatives are their destinations.

Research has found that an increase in instrumental disabilities increases the probability that an older person will move. In addition, when health declines are combined with becoming widowed, the probability of a move is greatly increased.¹⁴ "The strong evidence of a final rise in the migration propensity in extreme old age among females is undoubtedly associated

¹² Glenn V. Fuguitt and Calvin L. Beale, "The Changing Concentration of the Older Nonmetropolitan Population, 1960-90, CDE Working Paper 93-05, University of Wisconsin-Madison, table 3.

¹³ Andrei Rogers, "Age Patterns of Elderly Migration: An International Comparison," *Demography*, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1988, pp. 355-370.

¹⁴ Julia E. Bradsher, Charles F. Longino, Jr., David J. Jackson, and Rick S. Zimmerman, "Health and Geographic Mobility Among the Recently Widowed," *Journals of Gerontology*, Vol. 47, No. 5, 1992, pp. S261-S268.

with the higher incidence and prevalence of widowhood among women."¹⁵ Levels of disability also have been shown to predict residential mobility and institutionalization, as well as a change to more dependent living arrangements.¹⁶

As the size of the elderly population has increased, so also has the volume of movement of elderly persons, from about 4.5 million persons 65 years and over in the 1955-60 period to 5.8 million from 1975 to 1980, and to 6.9 million between 1985 and 1990.

The volume of different types of migration has also increased along with the elderly population itself. For example, interstate migration of elderly persons increased from 1.1 million persons between 1975 and 1980 to 1.3 million persons in the 1985-90 period. While the volume of elderly interstate migrants increased from 1975-80 to 1985-90, the proportion of the elderly moving to a different state remained about the same during these periods, at just over 4 percent. As a result of the increase in the number of interstate elderly migrants, Longino and Crown¹⁷ note that planners "are becoming increasingly concerned about the economic implications" of such migration, and that some States that have been major

¹⁵ Rogers, 1988, op.cit.

¹⁶ Alden Speare, Jr., Roger Avery, and Leora Lawton, "Disability, Residential Mobility, and Changes" Charles F. Longino, Jr. and William H. Crown, "Retirement Migration and Interstate Income Transfers," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 30, No. 6, 1990, pp. 784-789. in *Living Arrangements*, *Journals of Gerontology*, Vol. 46, No. 3, 1991, pp. S133-S142

¹⁷ Charles F. Longino, Jr. and William H. Crown, "Retirement Migration and Interstate Income Transfers," *The Gerontologist*, Vol. 30, No. 6, 1990, pp. 784-789.

sources of elderly out-migration are becoming concerned about their economic loss. For States receiving older migrants, their data suggest that “the taxes generated by the infusion of retirement income circulating in a state economy may at least partially offset the public cost incurred by these new residents, at least for those services targeted to the elderly.”

Longino¹⁸ finds that interstate migration of persons age 60 and over has tended to be concentrated among relatively few origin and destination States. During 1965-70, 1975-80, and 1985-90 Florida was the State with the largest net in-migration of

¹⁸ Charles F. Longino, Jr., *Retirement Migration in America*, Houston, TX: Vacation Publications, 1995, pp. 16-17.

persons 60 and over while New York had the largest out-migration. Also, while Florida remains the dominant receiving State among older migrants, during the past four decades there has been a gradual decrease in the share of total in-migrants held by the major destination States.

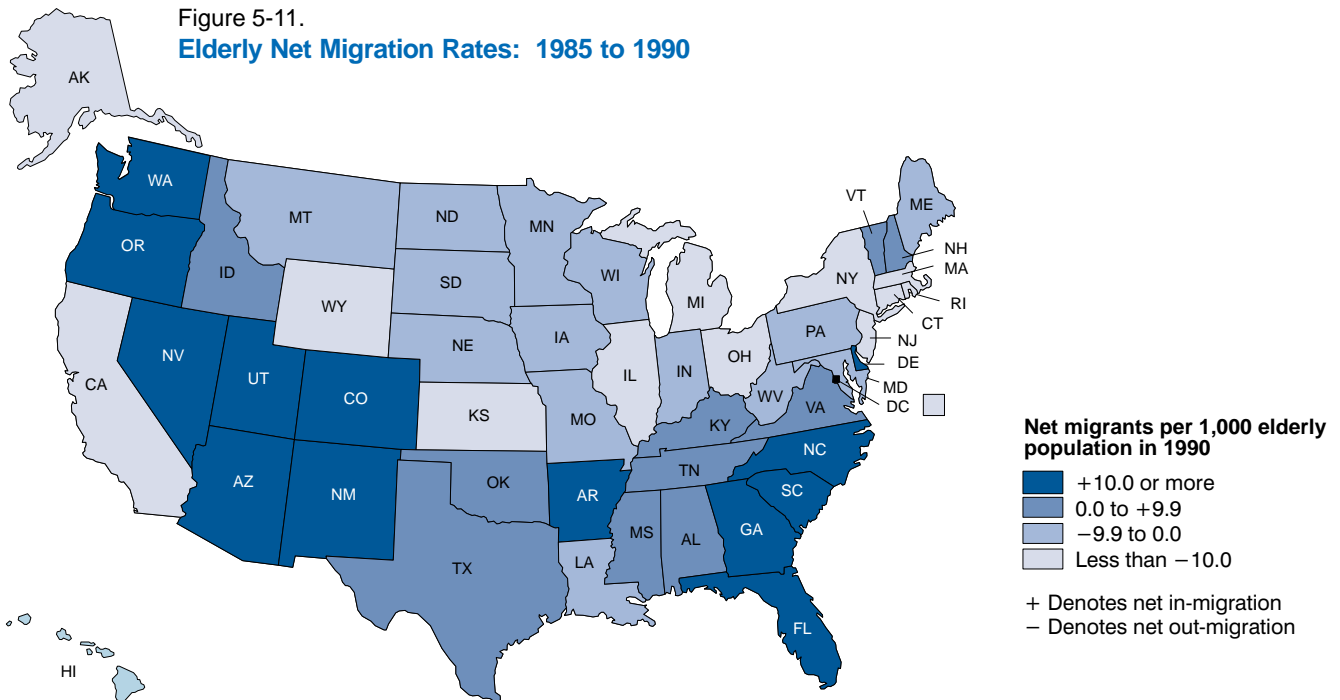
Data from the 1990 census¹⁹ permit the derivation of elderly net migration rates by State during the 1985-90 period (figure 5-11). These rates reveal a clear geographic pattern. Of the 12

¹⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, “County-to-County Migration Flow Files: In-Migration,” CD90-MIG-01, and “County-to-County Migration Flow Files: Out-Migration,” CD90-MIG-02, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Special Project 312 (SP312), 1995.

States in the Midwest, 11 were net losers of elderly migrants between 1985 and 1990. All 13 States with the highest net elderly in-migration rates were in the South and West. Among the 25 States with net in-migration of the elderly, 22 were in the South and West. Only New Hampshire, Kentucky and Vermont had net in-migrants of the elderly among the 21 States of the Northeast and Midwest regions.

Substantial amounts of retirement income may be transferred between States as a result of retirement migration. In 1989, Florida is estimated to have received a net \$6.5 billion in transferred income due to interstate migration of the population aged 60

Figure 5-11.
Elderly Net Migration Rates: 1985 to 1990



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, “County-to-County Migration Flow Files: In-Migration,” CD90-MIG-01, and “County-to-County Migration Flow Files: Out-Migration,” CD90-MIG-02, 1990 Census of Population and Housing, Special Project 312 (SP312), 1995.

and over, while New York lost a net \$3.3 billion to other States, with more than half of that loss (\$1.9 billion) going to Florida.²⁰ Comparable data for 1979 from the 1980 population census showed Florida with a net gain of \$3.5 billion, and New York with a net loss of nearly \$2.0 billion, again with over half (\$1.2 billion) going to Florida.²¹

Research on elderly migration streams generally suggests that "older persons moving from sunbelt to frost-belt states are disproportionately disabled and widowed in comparison with older persons moving in the opposite direction."²² This pattern is consistent with a "second" elderly move after the "first" retirement move,

and is believed to be motivated by the onset of disability and represents a "return to their home community or move to a community where children or other relatives can better care for them." Using Longitudinal Study of Aging data, Silverstein found that a decline in older parents' health "increased the propensity of parents and children to become temporally closer to each other." While a study of 1980 census data indicated that return migrants in the United States were older and more residentially dependent than nonreturn migrants, this finding did not hold for each region of the United States.²³ This research suggested that these return moves may not indicate a return to the State of birth, "but rather a return from a Sunbelt retirement move to an earlier

place of residence, regardless of whether one was born there." Other research has concluded that available cross-sectional data indicate that elderly persons are not more likely than nonelderly to return to their native state, and that "a dynamic perspective" is needed in order to better address this research question.²⁴ To the extent that a selectivity of retirement move migration versus "second" move migration operates, States such as Florida presumably benefit by receiving relatively healthier and wealthier migrants, while "sending" States first lose well-off consumers and then may later gain back migrants more likely to place greater demands on social and health services.

²⁰ Longino, 1995, op.cit.

²¹ Longino and Crown, 1990, op.cit.

²² Merrill Silverstein, "Stability and Change in Temporal Distance Between the Elderly and Their Children," *Demography*, Vol 32, No. 1, 1995, pp. 29-45.

²³ Charles F. Longino, Jr. and William J. Serow, "Regional Differences in the Characteristics of Elderly Return Migrants," *Journals of Gerontology*, Vol. 47, No. 1, 1992, pp. S38-S43.

²⁴ Andrei Rogers, "Return Migration to Region of Birth Among Retirement-Age Persons in the United States," *Journals of Gerontology*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 1990, pp. S128-S134.