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Many policy analysts take a narrow view toward assessing demographic change of State elderly populations by focusing only on the migration component. This article examines how 1990 State elderly populations have been affected by "new elderly births" (a State's population ages 55–59 in 1985 which survived to ages 60–64 in 1990) as well as by migration components, over the 1985–90 period. It utilizes 1990 Census migration tabulations of the residence 5-years-ago question, along with demographic decomposition analysis. During this period, elderly births exerted a greater impact than migration on elderly gains and demographic compositions for all States. Migration from abroad is also important for State Latino and Asian elderly populations.

Key Words: Migration, Immigration, Race and ethnicity, Demography

Elderly Demographic Profiles of U.S. States: Impacts of "New Elderly Births," Migration, and Immigration[1]

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The rise in numbers of the nation's elderly population holds important implications at the State level — ranging from the allocation of social services to formulating political agendas that cater to elderly concerns. Yet, many policy analysts take a narrow view of assessing the changing demographics of state elderly populations by focusing only on the migration component. The purpose of this article is to broaden this focus by pointing up the significance of an even more dominant source of demographic change at the State level — "new elderly births," represented by the aging of the pre-elderly population into the elderly ranks as they pass their 60th birthday milestone. From a State's demographic standpoint, the emergence of these "births" over a given period constitute a component of change in its elderly population. Because these new elderly births vary across States in both numbers and demographic characteristics, they can and do exert quite different effects on State elderly population sizes and sociodemographic characteristics. Moreover, as our data will show, their impacts on State elderly populations are much more pronounced than those associated with migration.

New elderly births represented an especially strong component of elderly change over the past two decades. This is because large birth cohorts, reinforced by immigration in the early part of this century, turned age 60 during the 1970s and 1980s (Rogers & Woodward, 1988; Siegel, 1993; Soldo & Agree, 1988; Treas & Torrecilla, 1995). This partly explains why the nation's *elderly* population grew by 46% between 1970 and 1990, while its *total* population grew by only 22%. In a sense this rising tide of elderly births lifted all boats across broad areas of the country. Most States and metropolitan areas experienced increases in their elderly populations, irrespective of their elderly migration patterns (Frey, 1992; Taeuber, 1992). This pervasive growth for larger areas should not be taken to imply that *all* local areas have registered elderly gains as a result of new elderly births. For many small areas, retirement migration has dominated elderly gains and, in others, elderly populations declined (Fuguitt, Brown, & Beale, 1989; Glasgow, 1988).

Although high elderly birth levels contributed to elderly population gains in most States, the States do vary in both the size and demographic attributes of their "newborn" elderly populations. Those best poised to gain large numbers of elderly births with the most select demographic characteristics — high educations, good health, and better incomes — were those which attracted large numbers of in-migrants during their pre-elderly working-aged years. States with smaller elderly birth levels, with less select demographic characteristics, tend to be located in the least prosperous parts of the country where significant pre-elderly working-aged outmigration took place.

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Previous research emphasizes elderly inter-state migration as a component of elderly demographic change [see Bean, Myers, Angel, & Galle (1992), Biggar (1984), Flynn, Longino, Wiseman, & Biggar (1985), Frey (1995), Glasgow (1988), Longino (1990, 1994), Rogers (1992), and Serow (1987)]. Although levels of migration among elderly persons are far lower than for the population as a whole (Long, 1988; Rogers, 1988), elderly migration makes a focused impact on a few selected States. This is because the migration streams from many origin States tend to converge primarily on only a few retiree "magnet" destination States, where the impact is especially strong (Longino, 1994; Rogers & Watkins, 1987). Moreover, demographic characteristics of elderly migrants to these States tend to be favorable — disproportionately comprising newly retired, relatively well-off, husband-and-wife couples (Yeatts, Biggar & Longino, 1987), especially those in their younger elderly ages (Speare & Meyer, 1988). Finally, increasingly large waves of immigrants from abroad suggest that these streams, too, will play a larger role in elderly population growth (Martin & Midgley, 1994). This should be particularly the case among the new minority groups, Latinos and Asians, since immigration laws permit the entry of family members, including elderly parents of current naturalized U.S. citizens.

This article evaluates how new elderly births compare with within-U.S. migration, and migration from abroad in affecting the elderly populations of U.S. States. Specifically it employs special 1990 census tabulations to evaluate how each of these components, over the period 1985–90, affected 1990 state elderly population sizes and sociodemographic compositions. Three questions are addressed:

1. What are the relative impacts of recent elderly births, within U.S. migration, and migration from abroad on State elderly population sizes?
2. What are the relative impacts of recent elderly births and migration on the sociodemographic characteristics of State elderly populations?
3. How have recent elderly births, within U.S. migration, and immigration from abroad incremented the sizes of State elderly black, Latino, and Asian populations?

Methods

The data for this study are drawn from special migration tabulations of the 16.7% sample (weighted to the total population) of the 1990 census based on the "residence-5-years ago" question, which allows determination of population redistribution over the 1985–90 period. The data for interstate migrants, migrants from abroad, and non-migrants, when tabulated by age, permit estimation of contributions to 1990 State elderly populations associated with: 1985–90 within-U.S. migration, 1985–90 migration from abroad, and 1985–90 elderly births. Because the elderly population is considered to be aged 60 and above, the elderly birth component represents the aging of the 1925–30 cohorts, from ages 55–59 in 1985 to 60–64 in 1990. These components pertain to migrants and non-migrants who survived (or did not die) over the 1985–90 period, for the purpose of comparing the relative impacts of these components across each State's 1990 elderly populations.

The equations below can be used to estimate the contributions to a State's 1990 population associated with each of these components.

$$P^{1990}(60+) = P^{1985*}(60+) + B + I - O + A \quad (1)$$

where:

$P^{1990}(60+)$ = State's population age 60+ in 1990

$P^{1985*}(60+)$ = State's population, age 60+, in 1985 and surviving to age 65+ 1990

B = Elderly Births
(State's population age 55–59 in 1985 and surviving to age 60–64 in 1990)

I = In-migrants from another State
(1985–90 in-migrants from another State, age 55+ in 1985, and surviving to age 60+ in 1990)

O = Outmigrants to another State
(1985–90 outmigrants to another State, age 55+ in 1985 and surviving to age 60+ in 1990)

A = Immigrants from Abroad
(1985–90 in-migrants from abroad, age 55+ in 1985 and surviving to age 60+ in 1990)

Each of the terms in the above equation can be estimated from the census residence 5-years-ago question when cross-tabulated by 1990 residence, for individual States. They can be used to calculate contributions that 1985–90 elderly births, within-U.S. migration, and migration from abroad make to a State's 1990 elderly population.

Contribution (expressed in percent) to 1990 State Elderly Populations Attributable to:

$$\text{1985–90 Elderly Births} = \frac{B}{P^{1990}(60+)} \times 100 \quad (2)$$

$$\text{1985–90 Interstate Migration} = \frac{(I-O)}{P^{1990}(60+)} \times 100 \quad (3)$$

$$\text{1985–90 Migration from Abroad} = \frac{A}{P^{1990}(60+)} \times 100. \quad (4)$$

Each of these contributions indicates how much of the State's 1990 elderly population can be attributed to recent elderly births, interstate migration, or migration from abroad. They can be used to rank States on the degree to which, for example, recent elderly births have contributed to their current elderly population sizes. As discussed above, the significance of elderly births as a source of elderly population growth varies markedly across States. Equation (2) can be used to rank States on this contribution. Likewise, Equations (3) and (4) can be used to rank States on each migration contribution.

These measures will be used to investigate the first

two questions addressed in this research: What are the relative contributions of recent elderly births, and recent migration in contributing to the size and composition of a State's 1990 elderly population? Contributions to a State's 1990 elderly composition can be assessed when the terms in Equation (1) are calculated separately for different population subgroups (e.g., education attainment categories, poverty status categories, gender categories). For example, it is possible to estimate the contribution that recent elderly births exert on a State's poverty rate (i.e., the percent of the State's elderly population which lies below the poverty level). As shown in Equation (5), this involves calculating the difference between the State's actual 1990 elderly poverty rate, and the hypothetical poverty rate which would have resulted in the absence of 1985–90 elderly births (Note: The subscript p denotes terms specific to the poverty population whereas the subscript n denotes terms that are specific to the non-poverty population).

$$\left(\frac{P_p^{1990}(60+)}{P_p^{1990}(60+) + P_n^{1990}(60+)} \times 100\right) - \left(\frac{P_p^{1990}(60+) - B_p}{(P_p^{1990}(60+) - B_p) + (P_n^{1990}(60+) - B_n)} \times 100\right) \quad (5)$$

Two methodological points should be borne in mind in interpreting these results. The first has to do with the treatment of mortality. The primary purpose of this research is to compare the contributions of 1985–90 elderly births with the contributions of 1985–90 migration as they affect each State's 1990 elderly populations. The effect of mortality on each of these components is automatically taken into account because the census data record only individuals who arrived in 1985 and survived until 1990 (i.e., individuals who were "born" into the 60+ age group between 1985–90 but died before 1990, or 1985–90 elderly migrants who died before 1990 are considered as "deaths" rather than as elderly births or migrants, respectively). However, because of this, the results of this analysis cannot be directly compared with those which evaluate the *combined* effects of births and deaths, often termed "natural increase" or "aging-in-place" of the elderly population (Rogers & Woodward, 1988). Rather, the focus of the present study is to isolate the contributions of surviving 1985–90 elderly births as compared with those of surviving elderly migrants on State elderly population sizes and compositions.

The second methodological point pertains to the treatment of international migration. Its assessment in this study is limited to the one-way flow from residence abroad in 1985 to residence in the U.S. in 1990. This is because, unlike with internal migration, it is not possible to obtain outmigration flows from individual States to foreign residences from the U.S. census or any other statistical collection agency in a form that is comparable with the census immigration flow. This restriction to immigration only, therefore, overstates the net impact of international migration on the elderly population. However, the overstatement is moderated by the fact that one-way immigration flows, as reported in the U.S. census, severely understate the number of illegal aliens who reside in the U.S. A crude estimate, based on national statistics for the year 1993, indicates that the number of emigrants from the U.S. amounted to approximately 18 to 23% of the number of immigrants for that year. However, it is also estimated that the number of legal immigrants understates the number of total immigrants (including illegal immigrants who stay permanently) by about 25% (Martin & Midgley, 1994). These statistics represent national estimates rather than for individual States, and apply to the total population rather than to the elderly population only. Nonetheless, they make plain that the migration-from-abroad statistics used in this analysis might be taken as a crude indication of the net contributions attributable to the international migration component.

Results

State Variations in Elderly Birth and Migration Contributions

Although previous research has shown that the contribution of interstate migration on a State's elderly population varies widely across States, less attention has been paid to the way new elderly births and migration from abroad vary in these contributions. Contributions of each of these components to the 1990 elderly populations of individual States are shown in Table 1 (based on Equations (2), (3) and (4), above).

Clearly, new elderly births vary across States in their contributions to 1990 elderly population sizes. They account for 42% of Alaska's elderly population but only 18% of Florida's. The contributions to most States fall within the narrower range of 23–28%. However, even an additional contribution of a few percentage points translates into a substantial numeric gain for a State's elderly population (for example, a 1% gain to Ohio's elderly population represents 19,023 people).

Although migration from abroad is not normally thought to be a large contributor to a State's elderly population, there are four States where this component accounts for 1% or greater — Hawaii, California, Florida, and New York. These represented sizeable numbers of elderly persons in the latter three States (75,608, 30,671, and 31,838, respectively). However, the contribution of 1985–90 migration from abroad is relatively small for most of the States. In fully 30 States, it represents 0.2% or less of the 1990 elderly population.

The contribution of internal migration is, consistent with previous literature, most pronounced in traditional "elderly magnet" States. Among all States, Nevada, Florida and Arizona lead the rest where 1985–90 internal migration contributed 14.9, 10.6, and –9.4%, respectively, to their elderly populations. At the other end of the spectrum, the largest negative contributions attributable to recent internal migration are shown for Alaska and New York at 9.4%

Table 1. Percentage Contributions to 1990 Elderly Populations, U.S. States

State	1990 Elderly Population	1985–90 Within U.S. Migration	1985–90 Elderly Births	1985–90 Migration from Abroad
Alabama	704,530	1.0	25.2	0.1
Alaska	34,865	–9.4	42.1	0.8
Arizona	631,518	9.4	21.1	0.6
Arkansas	457,870	2.6	22.0	0.1
California	4,224,171	–1.3	25.9	1.8
Colorado	449,582	0.5	27.1	0.4
Connecticut	594,794	–4.0	26.4	0.4
Delaware	110,636	1.8	26.3	0.2
Washington, DC	103,211	–4.9	25.7	0.7
Florida	3,049,932	10.6	18.3	1.0
Georgia	890,552	1.5	26.1	0.2
Hawaii	173,521	–0.4	27.3	2.0
Idaho	159,776	0.7	23.7	0.2
Illinois	1,923,668	–3.6	26.6	0.5
Indiana	938,832	–1.1	26.3	0.1
Iowa	553,862	–1.2	23.5	0.1
Kansas	447,872	–1.4	23.9	0.1
Kentucky	627,589	0.3	25.3	0.1
Louisiana	638,787	–1.0	27.2	0.1
Maine	217,695	0.5	24.4	0.1
Maryland	710,517	–1.5	27.8	0.6
Massachusetts	1,081,161	–2.9	25.0	0.6
Michigan	1,508,964	–2.8	27.6	0.2
Minnesota	717,664	–0.6	24.2	0.2
Mississippi	427,191	0.9	24.2	0.1
Missouri	948,236	0.0	24.1	0.1
Montana	140,323	–0.4	24.1	0.1
Nebraska	290,441	–0.7	23.7	0.1
Nevada	180,638	14.9	23.7	0.8
New Hampshire	169,192	0.9	25.8	0.2
New Jersey	1,393,199	–4.0	27.1	0.7
New Mexico	222,300	2.2	25.8	0.4
New York	3,193,437	–5.7	27.4	1.0
North Carolina	1,092,556	3.3	25.4	0.1
North Dakota	118,195	–1.2	23.5	0.1
Ohio	1,902,329	–1.7	26.8	0.1
Oklahoma	561,060	0.3	24.4	0.1
Oregon	510,893	4.1	22.2	0.3
Pennsylvania	2,437,953	–1.0	25.2	0.2
Rhode Island	197,757	–1.5	24.0	0.4
South Carolina	541,061	3.5	25.3	0.1
South Dakota	133,350	–0.7	23.3	0.1
Tennessee	832,644	1.3	25.1	0.1
Texas	2,336,775	0.4	26.8	0.5
Utah	202,027	1.1	25.7	0.3
Vermont	88,645	1.1	24.9	0.1
Virginia	907,260	0.4	26.7	0.5
Washington	765,848	2.4	23.9	0.6
West Virginia	360,428	–0.2	25.3	0.0
Wisconsin	860,820	–0.8	24.6	0.1
Wyoming	64,910	–2.8	28.7	0.1

Note: Percentage contributions to elderly (Age 60+) population in 1990 attributable to 1985–90 net within U.S. migration, elderly births and migration from abroad [see text Equations (2),(3), and (4)].

and –5.7%, respectively. Of the 51 States (including the District of Columbia), 25 show positive internal migration contributions, with 9 showing contributions greater than 2%. Among the elderly outmigration States, nine show negative contributions of 2% or more.

A State Classification of Elderly Demographic Change

Because the questions to be addressed involve comparing the relative contributions the three components exert on a State's elderly population, we have constructed a typology of States to aid in these comparisons. This is shown in Table 2 and depicted in Figure 1. The typology includes: 9 Elderly In-Migration States, 9 Elderly Out-Migration States, 10 High Elderly Birth States, and 6 Low Elderly Birth States. In constructing this typology, we chose not to incorporate immigration as a separate dimension. This is because its *relative* contribution to elderly population, compared with the other components, is small. However, its contribution is important for selected race and ethnic groups, and this will be the focus of the final part of the analysis.

One of the purposes of this typology is to enable comparisons of distinct demographic selectivity patterns (by education, poverty status, etc.) that are associated with different mixes of components. For this reason, it is important to distinguish those few States with accentuated net in-migration and net outmigration of elderly populations, because migration is known to be highly selective on these demographic characteristics. The nine Elderly In-Migration States include the perennial retiree magnets, Florida and Arizona, that still attract the plurality of elderly migrants in terms of aggregate numbers. However, when the contribution of recent net migration is calculated as a percent of the elderly population (the measure used here), Nevada leads all States, and Oregon and the Carolinas fall in right behind the two traditional "magnets." It is noteworthy that while the elderly birth contribution is larger than the within-U.S. migration contribution in each of these States, the former is generally smaller in these Elderly In-Migration States than in most other categories.

The Elderly Out-Migration States include six large northeastern and midwest "Frost Belt" States, in addition to Alaska, Washington, DC, and Wyoming. Most of these States house industrialized urban populations which have typically been associated with accentuated elderly outmigration to South and West States. Yet, unlike the Elderly In-Migration States, several of the Elderly Out-Migration States show relatively high elderly birth contributions — which will more than compensate for the outmigration losses. For example, New York's 5.7% net migration loss represents net out-movement of 182,000 people. Yet, its 27.4% gain attributable to recent elderly births adds 873,000 to the State's 1990 elderly population.

The key group of States identified for this analysis are the High Elderly Birth States. States in this group are not typically thought of as elderly "magnets" in most analyses because they have relatively low levels of net in- and out-elderly migration. However, among States with low levels of elderly migration activity, these 10 States exhibited the highest 1985–90 elderly birth contributions to their 1990 elderly populations. They include the South Atlantic States of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia — all with dynamic economies over the last decade or two (Frey, 1995). Also included on this list are the mid-

Table 2. State Classification of Elderly Demographic Change, 1985–90

State	Contributions to 1990 Elderly Population: Within U.S. Migration	Elderly Births	Migration from Abroad
Elderly In-Migration States			
Nevada	14.9	23.7	0.8
Florida	10.6	18.3	1.0
Arizona	9.4	21.1	0.6
Oregon	4.1	22.2	0.3
South Carolina	3.5	25.3	0.1
North Carolina	3.3	25.4	0.1
Arkansas	2.6	22.0	0.1
Washington	2.4	23.9	0.6
New Mexico	2.2	25.8	0.4
Elderly Out-Migration States			
Wyoming	–2.8	28.7	0.1
Michigan	–2.8	27.6	0.2
Massachusetts	–2.9	25.0	0.6
Illinois	–3.6	26.6	0.5
New Jersey	–4.0	27.1	0.7
Connecticut	–4.0	26.4	0.4
Washington, DC	–4.9	25.7	0.7
New York	–5.7	27.4	1.0
Alaska	–9.4	42.1	0.8
High Elderly Birth States			
Maryland	–1.5	27.8	0.6
Hawaii	–0.4	27.3	2.0
Louisiana	–1.0	27.2	0.1
Colorado	0.5	27.1	0.4
Texas	0.4	26.8	0.5
Ohio	–1.7	26.8	0.1
Virginia	0.4	26.7	0.5
Delaware	1.8	26.3	0.2
Indiana	–1.1	26.3	0.1
Georgia	1.5	26.1	0.2
Low Elderly Birth States			
Kansas	–1.4	23.9	0.1
Idaho	0.7	23.7	0.2
Nebraska	–0.7	23.7	0.1
Iowa	–1.2	23.5	0.1
North Dakota	–1.2	23.5	0.1
South Dakota	–0.7	23.3	0.1
Selected Other States			
California	–1.3	25.9	1.8
Pennsylvania	–1.0	25.2	0.2
Tennessee	1.3	25.1	0.1

Note: Contributions to elderly (Age 60+) population in 1990 attributable to net within U.S. migration, elderly births, and migration from abroad, 1985–90.

Source: 1990 U.S. Census tabulations of "residence 5 years ago" migration question compiled at the Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

western States of Ohio and Indiana, the southwestern States of Texas and Louisiana, and also Colorado and Hawaii. Several of the latter States have had turbulent economies over the 1970s and 1980s, but each has had a period when it attracted in-migrants from other parts of the country. It is these States which are best poised to contribute not only sizeable numbers to their elderly populations, but more highly select sociodemographic characteristics.

Elderly Demographic Change

STATE CLASSIFICATION

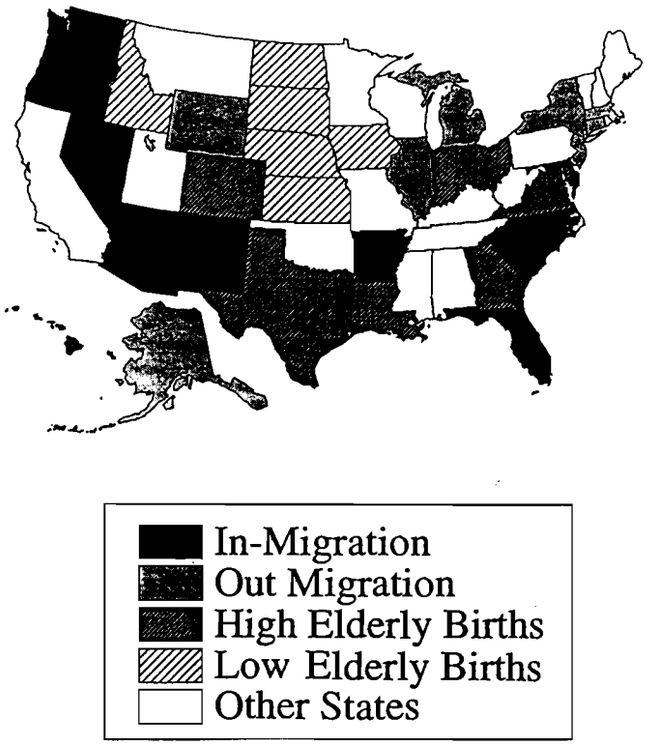

Figure 1. Elderly demographic change: State classification by in-migration, outmigration, and elderly births.

Finally, the classification scheme includes six Low Elderly Birth States. These States are all located in the western part of the Midwest region, except for Idaho. Economic downturns associated with agriculture and mining have caused them to lose and not attract large working-aged populations who would now be graduating into their elderly ages (Frey, 1995; Fuguitt et al., 1989). Not only do these places show relatively low elderly birth contributions to their elderly populations, but five of the six exhibit a small net outmigration of their elderly populations.

These four classes of States represent distinct types of areas with respect to their mixes of demographic components. While a great deal of attention has been given to elderly "magnets" such as Nevada, Florida, and Arizona, the data make plain that other South Atlantic States such as Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia are gaining significant elderly as a result of new elderly births. Finally, it should be noted that there are 17 States which do not appear on this classification because they do not show extremely high or low contributions for either elderly births or internal migration. Among these are three large States which, nonetheless, have large elderly populations. California's elderly birth contribution of 25.9 is not extreme, but the State leads the nation in the absolute number of elderly births — 1,094,000 — over the 1985–90 period. While not approaching that magnitude, Pennsylvania and Tennessee are also

large States with sizeable numbers of elderly births. Because of the numbers of elderly that are represented in these three States, their statistics are presented in the text table comparisons.

Impacts on State Sociodemographic Structures

What were the relative impacts of 1985–90 new elderly births and elderly migration on the sociodemographic characteristics of 1990 State elderly populations? This question will be answered in this section. Previous research has shown that elderly migration is most selective on younger, better educated, and financially well-off elderly migrants (Longino, 1990; Yeatts et al., 1987). Partially because of these characteristics, more husband-wife couples are likely to migrate than single female-headed households (which comprise a large share of the total elderly population). As a consequence, States which gain more elderly migrants than they lose (with large elderly net migration contributions) should show disproportionate gains among elderly persons with these more "select" characteristics.

Are States with high net migration contributions likely to gain disproportionately in more well-off, and educated elderly? Do these more positive contributions to a State's sociodemographic structure also characterize their gains via new elderly births? The answers to these questions are a qualified "yes" based on the statistics in Table 3. Shown here are the education, poverty, and gender-specific contributions associated with both within-U.S. migration and new elderly births for eight hand-picked States. (Note: These contributions were estimated from Equations (2) and (3) for specific population categories.) These include two Elderly In-Migration States (Florida and Arizona), two Elderly Out-Migration States (Illinois and New York), two High Elderly Birth States (Texas and Georgia), and two Low Elderly Birth States (Nebraska and South Dakota).

The migration contributions to a State's sociodemographic structure are evident for the Elderly In-Migration States. That is, in both Florida and Arizona the impact of net in-migration on the State elderly population is much more pronounced for persons with high school educations or above, and especially college graduates. The contributions of nonpoverty net in-migration are about double those for the poverty population, and there is a distinct gender difference favoring the in-migration of males. Because education is often associated with health status, these statistics indicate that elderly in-migration States, such as Florida and Arizona, are attracting healthier migrants as well as those who are not impoverished. The gender differences are indicative of the fact that younger husband-wife couples comprise a large share of the in-migration flow.

The impact of net outmigration for the elderly populations of Illinois and New York is something of a mirror image of the net in-migration impacts. Al-

Table 3. 1985–90 Within U.S. Migration and Elderly Births as Percent of 1990 State Elderly Populations by Education, Poverty, and Gender

	Percent of 1990 Elderly Population											
	Migration	Elderly Births	Total	Migration	Elderly Births	Total	Migration	Elderly Births	Total	Migration	Elderly Births	Total
	Florida			Illinois			Texas			Nebraska		
Education												
Less than high school	7.4	16.5	25.3	–2.4	19.6	17.9	0.2	21.9	22.8	–0.1	15.8	15.8
High school graduate	11.9	18.7	31.2	–3.3	29.8	26.8	0.5	29.6	30.5	–0.8	28.5	27.8
Some college	12.7	19.9	33.4	–5.7	33.1	27.8	0.6	31.8	32.9	–0.9	27.0	26.1
College graduate	13.7	20.2	35.0	–6.6	37.2	31.3	0.4	33.3	34.4	–2.3	31.2	29.1
Poverty Status												
Poverty	5.8	18.2	26.4	–2.8	23.1	21.4	0.0	23.1	23.8	–0.1	16.8	16.7
Nonpoverty	11.6	18.7	31.2	–3.8	28.1	24.8	0.4	28.7	29.6	–1.0	26.1	25.2
Gender												
Male	12.7	19.0	32.8	–4.3	30.5	26.7	0.2	29.7	30.4	–0.9	27.2	26.4
Female	9.0	17.7	27.8	–3.0	23.8	21.3	0.5	24.7	25.8	–0.5	21.1	20.6
	Arizona			New York			Georgia			South Dakota		
Education												
Less than high school	5.5	19.5	25.8	–4.2	20.9	18.1	1.4	21.0	22.6	–0.3	16.5	16.3
High school graduate	10.3	20.9	31.6	–6.3	30.0	24.3	1.9	31.6	33.7	–0.7	30.9	30.3
Some college	11.1	22.5	34.0	–8.1	33.8	26.4	1.7	32.1	34.0	–1.9	26.2	24.4
College graduate	13.6	22.8	37.1	–7.3	36.6	30.2	1.4	33.3	35.1	–1.1	27.5	26.7
Poverty Status												
Poverty	4.7	23.0	28.7	–3.9	23.0	21.4	1.0	19.5	20.7	0.2	17.2	17.7
Nonpoverty	10.3	21.3	32.1	–6.0	28.9	23.8	1.7	28.6	30.5	–0.8	25.8	25.1
Gender												
Male	10.8	22.1	33.5	–6.4	30.9	25.5	1.5	29.8	31.4	–0.5	26.0	25.7
Female	8.3	20.3	29.2	–5.2	24.9	20.7	1.6	23.7	25.5	–0.9	21.2	20.4

Note: Total columns include the combined components of 1985–90 Within-U.S. Migration, Elderly Births, and Migration From Abroad.

though the magnitudes of these percentages are lower, net outmigration is most prominent among the most educated, the nonpoverty population, and males in each of these States and is consistent with the general "circulation of elites" model of migration. In the remaining four States, the levels of migration are much lower, and their impacts on sociodemographic structure are not nearly as distinct. In fact, the effects of net outmigration patterns in the two Low Elderly Birth States (Nebraska and South Dakota) are a bit more distinct than for the two High Elderly Birth States (Texas and Georgia). Hence, part of the qualified "yes" to the question raised above draws from the observation that migration has its most pronounced sociodemographic effect in those States with relatively large elderly migration contributions.

Turning now to the question of whether elderly birth contributions exhibit a similar sociodemographic impact as net migration, we focus first on the two High Elderly Birth States. The Table 3 data show that in both Texas and Georgia, there is a noticeable impact on education attainment structure associated with the elderly birth contribution. In fact, among all 10 High Elderly Birth States (not shown), the 1985–90 elderly birth component accounts for about one-third of these States' 1990 elderly college graduate populations. With respect to both poverty status and gender, elderly births contribute disproportionately to their nonpoverty and male elderly populations.

While Illinois and New York are both classed as Elderly Out-Migration States, they each have large elderly birth contributions. In each case, this contribution shows a significant impact on the State's education, poverty, and gender composition. These effects are also apparent in the Low Elderly Birth States (Nebraska and South Dakota). Only in Florida and Arizona does the elderly birth contribution not show up to be very sharply selective on measures of education, poverty, and gender.

Overall, these statistics show that elderly births over the 1985–90 period did contribute to more favorable effects on the 1990 elderly demographic compositions in States where this contribution was large. As a summary, Table 3 shows a "total" column which includes the effects of within-U.S. migration, elderly births, and also the small effect of migration from abroad, combined. When these are compared across different categories of States, it becomes clear that the combined effects of these contributions were not that much different in the Elderly In-Migration States of Florida and Arizona than they were for the High Elderly Birth States of Texas and Georgia. In the Elderly Out-Migration States, Illinois and New York, the overall impact was muted since the negative sociodemographic impacts of net outmigration cancelled out some of the positive effects of elderly births. Although the overall impact of the elderly birth contribution was smaller in Nebraska and South Dakota, this component contributed to improved demographic characteristics in their elderly populations, as well.

The analyses of Table 3 assessed the selective impacts of elderly migration and elderly births on different social and demographic categories of State populations. Another, more comprehensive, way of evaluating the two components' impact is to assess their overall contributions on selected summary measures of State elderly population characteristics. These can be assessed with the statistics in Table 4. Shown here are 1990 State summary measures on: the percentage of elderly with at least high school educations, the percentage of elderly in poverty, and the percentage of elderly who are male. Next to each of these summary measures are the contributions that are attributable to 1985–90 within-U.S. migration, and 1985–90 elderly births.

For example, Table 4 shows that the elderly 1990 population of Maryland comprises 56.4% high school graduates. In the adjacent columns it shows that recent within-U.S. migration had the effect of reducing that percentage by 0.3, and recent elderly births had the effect of increasing it by 3.4. These contributions were arrived at by decomposing the overall elderly population's educational attainment into that which would have occurred in the absence of 1985–90 within-U.S. migration and elderly births, respectively. [See earlier discussion of this method and expression (5).] Although the contributions may appear to be small, it should be remembered that the overall summary measures will not change dramatically over a single five-year period, and it is the directions of change which are important to assess.

The contributions to percent high school graduates make clear that elderly births make a much greater impact than within-U.S. migration. In only two States (Florida and Arizona) has recent migration made a more positive contribution than recent elderly births on this measure, although migration's impact is generally positive in those States where there is a net in-migration. Although High Elderly Birth States show uniformly large positive contributions to the elderly education measure, the elderly birth component also shows large impacts in the Elderly Out-Migration States of New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, and Michigan. These are negated, somewhat, by the negative contributions of within-U.S. migration.

Turning to the impacts on State elderly poverty levels, one again finds an almost uniform contribution attributable to elderly births toward reducing the levels of elderly poverty. (Two exceptions are Arizona and Alaska, where elderly births slightly increase elderly poverty.) The magnitudes of these contributions are also greater than those associated with recent elderly migration, for the most part. The three notable exceptions here are Nevada, Florida, and Arizona, where elderly migration leads to a greater poverty reduction than recent elderly births.

The last comparison involves an assessment of the contributions to the percent males in the elderly population, shown in the last three columns of Table 4. With the sole exception of Hawaii, elderly births serve to increase the male percentage of elderly populations. There are particularly strong contributions in the High Elderly Birth States of Maryland, Ohio, and Georgia and in several of the Elderly Out-

Table 4. 1990 Elderly Demographic Characteristics and Contributions Attributable to 1985–90 Within-U.S. Migration and Elderly Births

State	Percent Who Are High School Graduates			Percent in Poverty			Percent Male		
	State 1990 Value	Contributions of 1985–90: Within U.S. Migration[a]	Contributions of 1985–90: Elderly Births[b]	State 1990 Value	Contributions of 1985–90: Within U.S. Migration[a]	Contributions of 1985–90: Elderly Births[b]	State 1990 Value	Contributions of 1985–90: Within U.S. Migration[a]	Contributions of 1985–90: Elderly Births[b]
Elderly In-Migration States									
Nevada	64.6	0.4	1.8	9.3	–0.4	–0.1	47.2	0.4	0.9
Florida	63.1	1.3	0.8	10.6	–0.6	–0.1	43.1	1.0	0.4
Arizona	67.2	1.4	0.7	10.8	–0.6	0.2	43.9	0.7	0.6
Oregon	66.7	0.5	2.0	9.8	0.0	–0.3	43.3	0.1	1.1
South Carolina	46.3	1.0	2.3	18.6	–0.4	–1.6	40.6	0.4	1.5
North Carolina	46.6	1.0	2.6	17.5	–0.3	–1.8	40.7	0.2	1.7
Arkansas	43.4	0.8	2.7	21.2	–0.4	–1.4	41.9	0.6	0.9
Washington	68.6	0.3	2.1	8.6	0.0	–0.4	43.4	–0.1	1.3
New Mexico	57.5	0.5	1.9	16.1	–0.1	–0.3	44.1	0.1	1.0
Elderly Out-Migration States									
Wyoming	65.0	–0.3	2.9	10.3	0.0	–0.6	44.9	–0.3	2.4
Michigan	54.0	–0.5	4.1	10.3	0.2	–0.7	42.2	–0.3	2.1
Massachusetts	62.5	–0.3	2.7	8.7	0.1	–0.7	40.0	–0.3	2.0
Illinois	55.9	–0.5	4.2	10.1	0.1	–0.6	41.1	–0.3	2.2
New Jersey	55.6	–0.7	4.5	7.8	0.0	–0.8	41.4	–0.3	2.0
Connecticut	59.6	–0.7	4.0	6.5	0.1	–0.7	41.5	–0.5	2.2
Washington, DC	56.3	–0.7	1.5	16.8	0.8	–0.8	38.7	0.4	1.9
New York	56.6	–0.6	3.9	11.2	0.2	–0.8	40.6	–0.3	2.0
Alaska	62.9	–1.1	4.7	7.9	–0.4	1.2	48.9	–1.0	3.2
High Elderly Birth States									
Maryland	56.4	–0.3	3.4	9.6	0.1	–1.0	41.6	–0.4	2.2
Hawaii	54.2	0.0	5.5	7.3	0.0	–0.7	47.3	0.3	–0.5
Louisiana	45.5	–0.3	3.9	22.8	0.1	–1.4	41.1	0.0	1.8
Colorado	67.4	0.0	3.1	10.3	0.0	–0.8	42.8	–0.3	1.8
Texas	52.8	0.1	3.1	17.3	–0.1	–1.1	42.0	–0.1	1.6
Ohio	56.0	–0.4	2.8	10.1	0.1	–0.6	41.3	–0.2	2.1
Virginia	52.9	–0.2	3.3	12.8	0.0	–1.4	41.4	–0.2	1.8
Delaware	58.3	–0.2	2.8	9.4	–0.1	–0.6	42.2	–0.1	1.5
Indiana	56.2	–0.3	2.9	10.0	0.1	–0.8	41.1	–0.2	1.9
Georgia	45.8	0.1	3.7	18.5	–0.1	–1.9	40.1	0.0	2.0
Low Elderly Birth States									
Kansas	64.0	0.1	3.2	11.1	0.1	–1.0	41.7	0.1	1.9
Idaho	63.6	–0.1	2.5	10.9	0.0	–0.6	44.8	0.2	1.0
Nebraska	61.5	–0.2	3.9	11.0	0.1	–1.2	42.0	–0.1	2.0
Iowa	60.8	–0.3	3.5	10.4	0.1	–0.8	41.4	–0.1	1.8
North Dakota	48.6	–0.4	3.9	13.5	0.1	–1.2	43.9	0.0	1.3
South Dakota	54.9	–0.2	4.0	14.2	0.1	–1.4	43.5	0.1	1.5
Selected Other States									
California	65.0	–0.1	2.1	7.6	–0.1	–0.1	42.7	–0.1	1.6
Pennsylvania	52.4	–0.2	3.8	10.1	0.1	–0.6	40.9	–0.1	1.7
Tennessee	42.2	0.1	2.9	19.2	–0.1	–1.7	41.0	0.1	1.7

[a]Change in migration equals actual 1990 value minus the hypothetical value which would have resulted from the absence of 1985–90 Within-U.S. Migration.

[b]Changes in elderly births equals actual 1990 value minus the hypothetical value which would have resulted from the absence of 1985–90 Elderly Births.

Migration States which also have large elderly birth contributions. Alaska's 48.9 male elderly percentage has increased by 3.2% as a result of elderly births over the late 1980s. Migration's positive contribution to the elderly male percentage is highest in the Elderly In-Migration States. In only Florida and Arizona is this contribution larger than that shown for elderly births.

In sum, this review has shown that the positive sociodemographic impacts of elderly births are greater and more pervasive than those for migration. While net migration to the few Elderly In-Migration States exerts a noticeable impact on these States' elderly education, poverty, and gender compositions, its impact is relatively small in other States. The elderly birth contributions to sociodemographic structure are far more prevalent — showing up to be strongest in the High Elderly Birth States, and serving to counter the negative effects of outmigration in the Elderly Out-Migration States.

Contribution to Black, Latino, and Asian Elderly Populations

The previous analysis has established the importance of elderly births during the late 1980s as an important component of State elderly population gains and sociodemographic compositions. Those States which have been able to garner large numbers of working-aged migrants in the past are now benefiting from their numbers and "good demographics" as they move into their elderly years. Yet, the past migration patterns of blacks have always been different from those of the white population (Longino & Smith, 1991; Watkins, 1989), and Latinos and Asians show migration and recent immigration patterns that are even more distinct (Barringer, Gardner, & Levin, 1993; Biafora & Longino, 1990). Do the conclusions drawn above, with respect to elderly birth contributions, hold as well for these three minority groups? Tables 5, 6, and 7 show selected data for each group, respectively, for States that house large numbers of elderly blacks, Latinos, or Asians.

As shown in Table 5, 26 States (including DC) housed more than 20,000 elderly blacks at the time of the 1990 census. While the elderly birth component makes the largest contribution to 1990 black elderly populations in all States, it is clear that Florida benefits most from within-U.S. black elderly migration. Still, only five additional States show elderly migration contributions greater than 1% (North and South Carolina, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia), and 14 of the 26 exhibit a net outmigration of black elderly led by New York and Connecticut. Certainly, elderly births make a strong contribution to the black elderly populations in most States. Their contributions are highest in States with a large black elderly outmigration, or with little migration change. These include all of the traditional northern destinations of blacks from the original South to North migration streams. Elderly births are likely to be a continued source of black elderly gains in these States.

Migration from abroad represents a relatively small contribution to black elderly gain. Only in four States (Massachusetts, New York, Florida, and Connecticut) is its contribution greater than 1%, and this represents, largely, black movement from the Caribbean. Yet, among the new immigrant groups, Latinos and Asians, migration from abroad is more substantial. Twenty-two States house more than 5,000 Latino elderly and in eight of these, recent migration from abroad accounts for more than 5% of their 1990 elderly populations (Table 6). Among the 14 States with more than 5,000 Asian elderly (Table 7), migration from abroad accounts for more than 10% in all but one (Hawaii). Among Asians, in particular, the migration-from-abroad component is far more significant than the within-U.S. migration component. This is the case, for several States, with the Latino population as well. Elderly births still make the dominant contribution to all States' elderly Latino and Asian populations, but the impact of migration from abroad is also significant.

Table 5. Contributions to 1990 State Elderly Populations: Blacks

State	Percent of 1990 Elderly Black Population		
	Within U.S. Migration	Elderly Births	Migration from Abroad
Florida	4.5	26.9	1.2
North Carolina	2.1	25.4	0.1
Maryland	2.0	30.2	0.4
Virginia	2.0	26.0	0.1
Georgia	1.8	25.0	0.1
South Carolina	1.6	24.6	0.0
Indiana	0.9	28.8	0.0
Oklahoma	0.8	24.2	0.0
Alabama	0.6	23.6	0.0
Tennessee	0.6	24.6	0.0
Mississippi	0.3	21.9	0.0
Texas	0.1	27.2	0.1
Missouri	-0.1	27.3	0.0
Kentucky	-0.1	24.8	0.0
Louisiana	-0.2	26.3	0.0
Michigan	-0.2	28.8	0.0
Ohio	-0.3	29.9	0.0
Arkansas	-0.3	21.2	0.0
California	-0.3	29.2	0.4
Pennsylvania	-0.5	28.7	0.1
New Jersey	-1.6	31.7	0.8
Illinois	-1.8	31.0	0.1
Massachusetts	-2.3	29.4	3.2
Washington, DC	-2.5	27.0	0.2
Connecticut	-4.2	32.6	1.1
New York	-5.0	32.0	1.7

Note: Includes States with 1990 black elderly populations that exceed 20,000.

Discussion

This article offers a comprehensive view of how 1990 State elderly populations have been affected by recent migration and "new elderly births.' It differs from many earlier studies, which focused only on the migration component in evaluating changes in State elderly demographic profiles. The analyses presented here make plain that, during the 1985–90 period, elderly births contributed significantly to both the sizes and improved demographic compositions of States that had been successful in attracting working-aged in-migrants in the past. The "good" demographics — high educations, lower poverty levels, and preponderance of males (indicating more husband-wife couples) — associated with these advancing new elderly cohorts, when coupled with their large sizes, effected positive impacts on the elderly populations of more States than did selective migration over the same period. This is especially the case in High Elderly Birth States such as Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Colorado, and Texas. Moreover, in several States with large elderly outmigration flows such as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, and Michigan, the beneficial demographic effects of elderly births have more than compensated for these losses. Elderly births also make a large contribution to State black, Latino and Asian elderly populations although, for the latter two groups, recent migration from abroad is often a significant source of elderly gain.

Table 6. Contributions to 1990 State Elderly Populations: Latinos

State	Percent of 1990 Elderly Latino Population		
	Within U.S. Migration	Elderly Births	Migration from Abroad
Nevada	13.2	29.5	4.7
Florida	7.8	24.2	6.7
Washington	4.0	32.5	4.0
Arizona	2.2	32.3	1.9
Virginia	2.2	33.5	10.4
New Mexico	1.1	29.2	0.5
Colorado	0.6	32.7	1.0
Texas	0.4	31.9	1.6
Kansas	0.4	33.9	1.1
Hawaii	–0.7	34.4	1.2
California	–1.0	34.3	3.7
Massachusetts	–1.2	31.1	11.6
Maryland	–1.4	31.9	9.0
Pennsylvania	–1.5	33.2	5.7
Ohio	–1.7	37.3	2.1
Michigan	–1.8	36.7	1.8
Indiana	–2.8	38.3	1.3
Louisiana	–3.2	31.9	3.4
Connecticut	–3.5	34.3	9.4
Illinois	–5.4	42.6	5.0
New York	–6.3	35.9	4.9
New Jersey	–7.6	37.2	6.1

Note: Includes states with 1990 Latino elderly populations that exceed 5,000.

Table 7. Contributions to 1990 State Elderly Populations: Asians

State	Percent of 1990 Elderly Asian Population		
	Within U.S. Migration	Elderly Births	Migration from Abroad
Florida	9.4	28.2	15.2
New Jersey	4.8	24.8	21.1
Virginia	2.4	32.6	18.8
Washington	2.4	28.7	11.4
California	1.8	26.7	13.7
Hawaii	–0.2	27.5	2.3
Oregon	–0.3	28.2	10.7
Massachusetts	–0.7	28.8	15.2
Maryland	–3.2	32.2	16.2
New York	–4.0	30.0	15.6
Pennsylvania	–4.0	29.6	19.8
Texas	–4.8	31.9	19.7
Michigan	–5.7	30.5	17.2
Illinois	–6.3	29.6	18.5

Note: Includes states with 1990 Asian elderly populations that exceed 5,000.

The importance of recent elderly births lies, largely, with the sizes of the population cohorts that survive to 60+ ages. Over the 1970 through 1990 period, these cohorts were relatively large due to the high birth rates and sizable immigration waves in the early part of this century. As a result, most States saw gains in their elderly populations although, as shown here, some fared much better than others. This historical note holds an important implication for the contribution of elderly births over the next 10 years. It will be during this period that the tiny birth cohorts of the Great Depression will be advancing to their 60+ ages. These cohorts are still better educated and more well-off financially than most of today's elderly population (Treas & Torrecilla, 1995) but their smaller numbers will reduce the overall impact of elderly births for most States. It will not be until the year 2006, when the first baby boom cohort members turn 60 — that the "new elderly birth" component will again become a strong force.

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