Trends in Interstate Migration Among the Aged

By Jacob Fisher*

THE NORMAL MOBILITY of the American people has always been accelerated in wartime. The last war witnessed population shifts on a scale unsurpassed in the history of the United States. The Bureau of the Census estimates that from 16 to 18 million persons, exclusive of the armed forces, changed their county of residence between 1940 and 1945[1] and that in the 14 months after VJ-day some 11 million persons left the county in which they were living when the war ended.[2] These moves are of major significance for the constantly shifting balance between human and natural resources in the different parts of the country. They have a bearing, too, on the size and character of the community's educational, public health, and social security problems.

The present article deals with the participation of the aged in interstate migration. It suggests answers to such questions as the relation of recent State changes in the number of aged persons to long-time trends in the growth of the aged population, the relative roles of natural increase and migration in State changes in the size of the aged population, the extent of difference in these respects between the general population and the aged, and the relation of migration to the distribution of aged beneficiaries under the social security program.

State Changes in Aged Population in 1940–46 and in Earlier Years

From July 1940 to July 1946 the number of persons aged 65 and over in the United States increased by 15 percent. This growth was distributed very unevenly. The Bureau of the Census does not make intercensal-year estimates of State population by age, but projections by the Social Security Administration, based on mortality statistics, indicate that perhaps 18 States gained aged population at a rate equal to or greater than the national average. In the other 31 States the rate of growth appears to have been below the average, and in 12 States the increase was less than an estimated 10 percent (table 1).

Increases of 25 percent or more seem to have taken place in 4 Western States—Arizona, California, Nevada, and Wyoming. All but 4 of the other States with a better-than-average rate were either in the West or in the Northeastern and North Central regions. Of the 12 States with probable gains of less than 10 percent, 7 were in the South and 3 in New England.

Were these regional differences peculiar to 1940–46 or did they reflect a pattern evident also in earlier years?

Examination of the changes from 1930 to 1940 reveals some likenesses but also several important differences. Of the 18 States with a rate of growth in aged population during the forties above the national average, 12—half of them Western States—also had better-than-average gains in the thirties. And the 3 New England States—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont—that had a rate of growth in the forties of half or less than half the national average were also in that group in the thirties. But here the resemblance ends. Unlike their experience in the forties, most Southern States showed large increments of aged persons in the thirties relative to the national rate of increase. (This is true even when allowance is made for what appears to have been, in the judgment of the Census Bureau, the more frequent overstatement of age in the South in 1940.) The industrial States in the Northeast and North Central regions, by contrast, were predominantly above the median State in rate of growth in the forties but below the median in the thirties.

A substantially different picture emerges from a comparison of the periods 1940–46 and 1920–30. In both decades the Western States by and large had better-than-average gains in their aged population, and the Southern States, with some exceptions, showed below-average rates of growth. The greatest difference between the two periods is found for the industrial States east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. These States tended to exceed the national rate of growth in the forties but exhibited a mixed pattern in the twenties.

When the entire period 1920–46 is considered, the cumulative effect of the dominant patterns in the twenties and forties emerges clearly. Florida, where the aged population more than quadrupled, had the most rapid rate of growth, but 7 of the 10 States with the greatest relative gains were in the West, and of the 10 States with the smallest relative increase, 5 were in the South. All but 1 of the Western States exceeded the national rate of growth; 13 of the 17 Southern States had a less-than-average percentage gain. The industrial States of the North fell somewhere between these two trends.

In this perspective the experience of the States in 1940–46 would appear to represent not a phenomenon peculiar to the war years but part of a long-time trend, which may be expected to continue. The 1930's witnessed a temporary break in the trend, for reasons related to the depression and discussed more fully below.

Natural Growth as a Factor in State Changes in Number of Aged

How much of a State's increase in the number of aged is due to the aging of the resident population, how much to the balance of migration of aged persons?

The first factor has two sides: the rate at which the size of the aged population is increased by the accession of persons reaching age 65 and the rate at which it is decreased by departures due to death. The importance of accessions is not the same in each State. Because of differences in birth rates in earlier years and in migration experience, the age classes feeding into the group 65 years and over are relatively larger in some States than in others. Such States

*Bureau of Research and Statistics, Division of Coordination Studies.

[1] Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Wartime Shifts of the Civilian Population," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July 1947.

[2] Bureau of the Census, *Postwar Migration and Its Causes in the United States: August, 1945, to October, 1946* (Current Population Reports—Population Characteristics, Series P–20, No. 4).

are likely to show a greater proportional increase in aged population. In 1940 the percentage relationship between the age class 60–64 years and the age class 65 years and over varied among the States from 44.8 percent in Maine to 66.3 percent in Nevada.

The influence of the losses caused by death may be measured by the mortality experience of the age groups affected. Persons aged 65 and over in a given State in 1948, for example, are the survivors among those who were 57 years and over in 1940 (leaving aside for the moment the effect of in-migration and out-migration). If States differ in survival rates in the older ages, then they may be expected to differ also in the rate of growth in their aged population. In 1940 the death rate for persons 65 years and over varied among the States from 59 per 1,000 in Arkansas to 79.4 in Maryland.[3] Industrial States by and large tended to have rates above the national average of 71.7, and rural States to have rates below the average. How much of this difference is due to more complete reporting of deaths in urban areas is not known.

Some of the variation in death rates reflects differences in the composition of the aged population. The death rate is higher for males than females in every age class; it is higher for nonwhite persons in the two age groups 65–69 and 70–74, but higher for white persons in all succeeding age classes; and it rises, of course, as age advances. Other factors being equal, States with an aged population consisting of relatively more men than in the United States as a whole, or of relatively more persons who are white or have a higher median age, should have a death rate for the aged in excess of the national average.

Even within a given age-sex-color class, however, States are unlike in their mortality experience. This is a second factor making for variation. The death rate in 1940 for white men aged 65 to 74, for instance, ranged from 42.2 per 1,000 in South Dakota to 63.1 in Rhode Island.[4] This kind of difference, it is sometimes suggested, reflects in part differences in mortality at younger ages; that is, older men and women in States with relatively high death rates for younger persons have a better expectation of life than their contemporaries in States where the mortality experience at younger ages is more favorable.

But variation in turn-over (the net balance of accessions and separations in the number of persons 65 years and over) is not a complete explanation of State differences in the rate of growth of the aged population. Kansas, with an "accession ratio" of 48.1 percent in 1940 and a death rate of 67 per 1,000 persons 65 years and over in that year, showed a 1930–40 gain of only 21 percent in its aged population, while Florida, with the same death rate and an accession rate of 49.8 percent, increased its aged population 84 percent during the same decade. The inference is obvious that some aged persons left Kansas in the thirties to live elsewhere and that Florida experienced a substantial in-migration of the aged. For a number

[3] Bureau of the Census, *Summary of Vital Statistics*, 1940 (Vital Statistics—Special Reports, Vol. 14).

Table 1.—*Number and percentage change in population aged 65 and over, by State and specified year, 1920–46*

State	1920	1930	Percentage change, 1920–30	1940	Percentage change, 1930–40	1946[1]	Percentage change, 1940–46[1]	Percentage change, 1920–46[1]
Total	4,933,215	6,633,805	34.5	9,019,314	36.0	10,372,095	15.0	110.2
Alabama	83,498	99,240	18.9	136,209	37.3	141,399	3.8	69.3
Arizona	9,977	15,768	58.0	23,909	51.6	32,915	37.7	229.9
Arkansas	62,092	75,600	21.8	107,260	41.9	110,699	3.2	78.3
California	200,301	366,125	82.8	555,247	51.7	714,854	28.7	256.9
Colorado	41,063	61,787	50.5	86,438	39.9	98,363	13.8	139.5
Connecticut	68,517	93,319	36.2	128,554	37.8	149,963	16.7	118.9
Delaware	12,402	16,678	34.5	20,566	23.3	23,229	12.9	87.3
District of Columbia	20,635	27,253	32.1	41,206	51.2	49,422	19.9	139.5
Florida	40,664	71,202	75.1	131,217	84.3	163,455	24.6	302.0
Georgia	102,111	113,278	10.9	158,714	40.1	163,806	3.2	60.4
Idaho	14,839	22,310	50.3	31,700	42.1	35,672	12.5	140.4
Illinois	297,647	421,073	41.5	567,963	34.9	662,480	16.6	122.6
Indiana	183,695	232,787	26.7	288,036	23.7	312,639	8.5	70.2
Iowa	144,392	184,239	27.6	227,767	23.6	255,106	12.0	76.7
Kansas	104,747	129,468	23.6	157,136	21.4	175,742	11.8	67.8
Kentucky	113,772	142,122	24.9	189,284	33.2	202,022	6.7	77.6
Louisiana	59,443	75,850	27.6	119,003	56.9	131,429	10.4	121.1
Maine	62,101	69,010	11.1	80,325	16.4	81,952	2.0	32.0
Maryland	72,468	92,972	28.3	123,516	32.9	142,908	15.7	97.2
Massachusetts	206,447	274,195	32.8	368,974	34.6	414,111	12.2	100.6
Michigan	190,972	254,891	33.5	330,854	29.8	397,338	20.1	108.1
Minnesota	110,766	163,480	47.6	212,618	30.1	239,640	12.7	116.3
Mississippi	66,708	77,443	16.1	115,418	49.0	117,632	1.9	76.3
Missouri	185,502	244,525	31.8	325,745	33.2	368,798	13.2	98.8
Montana	16,808	26,700	58.9	36,257	35.8	43,848	20.9	160.9
Nebraska	64,341	86,194	34.0	105,632	22.6	117,577	11.3	82.7
Nevada	3,473	4,814	38.6	6,800	41.3	9,452	39.0	172.2
New Hampshire	35,210	41,560	18.0	48,720	17.2	52,376	7.5	48.8
New Jersey	133,481	201,043	50.6	278,821	38.7	341,704	22.6	156.0
New Mexico	12,244	16,825	37.4	23,284	38.4	24,906	7.0	103.4
New York	493,097	667,325	35.3	922,356	38.2	1,112,343	20.6	125.6
North Carolina	98,716	115,671	17.2	156,540	35.3	175,911	12.4	78.2
North Dakota	19,324	30,280	56.7	39,390	30.1	43,608	10.7	125.7
Ohio	319,437	414,836	29.9	539,729	30.1	617,727	14.5	93.4
Oklahoma	64,772	96,888	49.6	144,934	49.6	158,437	9.3	144.6
Oregon	42,583	67,332	58.1	92,728	37.7	108,110	16.6	153.9
Pennsylvania	394,303	508,278	28.9	677,468	33.3	779,486	15.1	97.7
Rhode Island	30,190	39,953	32.3	54,284	35.9	61,850	13.9	104.9
South Carolina	53,375	57,164	7.1	81,314	42.2	82,154	1.0	53.9
South Dakota	25,536	36,915	44.6	44,440	20.4	49,719	11.9	94.7
Tennessee	101,189	119,045	17.6	171,778	44.3	191,917	11.7	89.7
Texas	163,046	232,459	42.6	347,495	49.5	386,989	11.4	137.3
Utah	15,883	22,665	42.7	30,215	33.3	36,827	21.9	131.9
Vermont	29,694	31,253	5.2	34,492	10.4	33,820	−1.9	13.9
Virginia	100,008	116,678	16.7	154,944	32.8	173,165	11.8	73.2
Washington	60,211	101,503	68.6	144,320	42.2	175,587	21.7	191.6
West Virginia	56,140	73,043	30.1	100,974	38.2	116,117	15.0	106.8
Wisconsin	140,406	192,059	36.8	242,182	26.1	276,977	14.4	97.3
Wyoming	4,989	8,707	74.5	12,558	44.2	15,916	26.7	219.0

[1] 1946 estimates are preliminary and subject to revision. Presentation is to the last digit, not because the data are assumed to be accurate but for convenience in summation.

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population*, Vol. 2, Pts. 1-7, State table 8. Data for 1946 estimated by the Social Security Administration. Not adjusted for possible age bias in enumeration.

[4] *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Vital Statistics Rates in the United States 1900–1940*, 1943, table 23.

of States, as a matter of fact, migration is almost as important a factor in determining the size of the aged population as is natural growth.

The Effect of Migration

In 1940, for the first time in any decennial census, the population schedule included a question on place of residence 5 years earlier. The tabulations based on the replies do not tell us how many different individuals moved from one place to another and the number of moves made, but with respect to persons living in the United States in both 1935 and 1940 we do know the number living in the same place in both years and the number who were in a different State or county at the end of the period. For each State, three figures are thus available—the number who lived in the State in 1940 but not in 1935 (in-migrants), the number who lived there in 1935 but not in 1940 (out-migrants), and the net balance (in-migrants minus out-migrants).

The data indicate that all States lost some aged persons and gained others as a result of migration between 1935 and 1940. Only 16 States, however, showed a net balance of aged migrants. The fact that 12 of the 16 States were in the South and West, regions with above-average increases in aged population from 1930 to 1940, suggests that migration was a significant factor in the rate of growth of the aged during the decade (table 2).

The 1935–40 data are not too satisfactory for our purpose because they cover only half a decade. Six States with a net in-migration for the 5 years had a rate of increase for the entire decade below the national average. Fourteen States, on the other hand, with a net out-migration in 1935–40 gained aged population during the thirties at a rate in excess of the national average. Does the explanation lie in migration shifts that took place in 1930–35?

Unfortunately, migration data covering a decade and comparable, therefore, with census population statistics are not available. One way of approximating the volume of net migration over a decade is to obtain the gross difference between the State's aged population as anticipated from survival rates at the beginning of the 10-year period and as enumerated in the census at the end.

In 1934 the National Resources Board published estimates by Thompson and Whelpton of the future population of the States, based in part on death rates in 1930.[5] When the projections for 1940, in the estimates that assume no net immigration and no internal migration, for the age group 65 years and over are compared with data from the 1940 census, some interesting differences emerge. All States increased their aged population between 1930 and 1940, but 18 had more aged persons in 1940 than might have been expected from their 1930 population 55 years and over, while 30 had fewer. In other words, 30 States probably lost and 18 States gained aged persons as a result of interstate migration (table 3).

With some exceptions the States with a net in-migration on this basis

Table 2.—*Net internal migration, 1935–40, total and as percent of 1940 population; total population and population aged 65 and over, 1940, by State*

State	Total population			Persons aged 65 and over		
	Number, 1940	Net migration, 1935–40		Number, 1940	Net migration, 1935–40	
		Number	Percent of 1940 population		Number	Percent of 1940 aged population
Total	131,669,275			9,019,314		
Alabama	2,832,961	−72,978	−2.6	136,209	−1,203	−0.9
Arizona	499,261	37,771	7.6	23,909	810	3.4
Arkansas	1,949,387	−75,463	−3.9	107,260	−1,589	−1.5
California	6,907,387	664,866	9.6	555,247	26,569	4.8
Colorado	1,123,296	9,112	.8	86,438	107	.1
Connecticut	1,709,242	24,885	1.5	128,554	292	.2
Delaware	266,505	10,325	3.9	20,566	262	1.3
District of Columbia	663,091	22,487	3.4	41,206	−429	−1.0
Florida	1,897,414	146,849	7.7	131,217	14,836	11.3
Georgia	3,123,723	−33,245	−1.1	158,714	−498	−.3
Idaho	524,873	16,376	3.1	31,700	−54	−.2
Illinois	7,897,241	−19,055	−.2	567,963	−6,450	−1.1
Indiana	3,427,796	26,282	.8	288,036	−932	−.3
Iowa	2,538,268	−60,883	−2.4	227,767	−2,282	−1.0
Kansas	1,801,028	−111,050	−6.2	157,136	−3,233	−2.1
Kentucky	2,845,627	−54,813	−1.9	189,284	−1,292	−.7
Louisiana	2,363,880	8,638	.4	119,003	128	.1
Maine	847,226	−8,627	−1.0	80,325	−265	−.3
Maryland	1,821,244	61,318	3.4	123,516	1,144	.9
Massachusetts	4,316,721	−32,242	−.7	368,974	−2,004	−.5
Michigan	5,256,106	76,006	1.4	330,854	344	.1
Minnesota	2,792,300	−17,944	−.6	212,618	−1,598	−.8
Mississippi	2,183,796	−28,430	−1.3	115,418	−441	−.4
Missouri	3,784,664	−85,489	−2.3	325,745	−2,349	−.7
Montana	559,456	−11,129	−2.0	36,257	−1,191	−3.3
Nebraska	1,315,834	−106,648	−8.1	105,632	−2,905	−2.8
Nevada	110,247	8,014	7.3	6,800	−23	−.3
New Hampshire	491,524	6,118	1.2	48,720	149	.3
New Jersey	4,160,165	29,381	.7	278,821	460	.2
New Mexico	531,818	13,785	2.6	23,284	−300	−1.3
New York	13,479,142	−57,150	−.4	922,356	−6,958	−.8
North Carolina	3,571,623	−14,940	−.4	156,540	257	.2
North Dakota	641,935	−66,481	−10.4	39,390	−2,091	−5.3
Ohio	6,907,612	−9,751	−.1	539,729	−2,216	−.4
Oklahoma	2,336,434	−183,899	−7.9	144,934	−1,604	−1.1
Oregon	1,089,684	77,445	7.1	92,728	2,032	2.2
Pennsylvania	9,900,180	−103,673	−1.0	677,468	−4,378	−.6
Rhode Island	713,346	411	.1	54,284	−279	−.5
South Carolina	1,899,804	−15,987	−.8	81,314	−93	−.1
South Dakota	642,961	−61,212	−9.5	44,440	−1,749	−3.9
Tennessee	2,915,841	−38,750	−1.3	171,778	−345	−.2
Texas	6,414,824	−20,131	−.3	347,495	1,401	.4
Utah	550,310	−12,392	−2.3	30,215	−285	−.9
Vermont	359,231	−5,731	−1.6	34,492	−151	−.4
Virginia	2,677,773	43,950	1.6	154,944	578	.4
Washington	1,736,191	80,351	4.6	144,320	1,815	1.3
West Virginia	1,901,974	−27,242	−1.4	100,974	−684	−.7
Wisconsin	3,137,587	−31,776	−1.0	242,182	−902	−.4
Wyoming	250,742	2,741	1.1	12,558	−411	−3.3

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population—Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940, Age of Migrants*, table 15.

[5] National Resources Board, *Estimates of Future Population by States*, 1934.

of estimate were also States above the national average in the actual rate of growth of aged population; the States that lost through migration were, by and large, States with a rate of growth below the national average.

Certain regional differences are characteristic of the rates of population growth during the thirties. With one exception, all the States with a net in-migration were in the South and West. Of the 30 States with a net out-migration, 19 were in the Northeast and North Central regions of the country.

The migration balance of the aged for the twenties may similarly be estimated by relating the number of aged persons enumerated in the 1930 census to the number obtained by applying to the State's 1920 population 55 years and over the survival rates for the decade 1920–29. Unlike the situation in the following decade, most States in the twenties gained more migrants than they lost, in part because the migrants included a substantial number of aged immigrants from other countries, a group too small to be noticeable in the thirties. Thirty-five States had a net gain in migrants, 14 States a net loss (table 4). The correlation of migration balance and rate of growth in the aged population was less pronounced in the twenties than in the thirties, possibly because of the differential effect that immigrants from abroad had on the migration balance.

Rough calculations by the writer for the period 1940–46 suggest that about three-fifths of the States had more in-migrants than out-migrants. All regions in the country were represented among the States that attracted more aged migrants than they lost, but the West and the North to a far greater extent than the South. In fact, most Southern States had a negative migration balance, as might be expected from their generally below-average rate of growth in aged population during the present decade.

For the total period 1920–46, two general patterns are discernible—a continuous in-migration for some States and out-migration for others, at varying rates, in all three decades; and in-migration for some States and out-migration for others during periods of relatively full employment, with an opposite balance of migration during depression.

Fourteen States fall into the first group. Nine of these States, located mostly on the west coast or around the Nation's Capital, seem to have had a net in-migration of aged persons:

California
Colorado
Delaware
District of Columbia
Florida
Maryland
Missouri
Oregon
Washington

Five States in different parts of the country, the data suggest, consistently lost aged migrants:

Arkansas
Idaho
New Mexico
Pennsylvania
Rhode Island

Table 3.—*Population aged 65 and over, as enumerated in 1940 and as anticipated from 1930 survival rates*

State	Enumerated, 1940 [1]	Anticipated, 1940 [2]	Difference presumably due to migration, unadjusted [3]	Anticipated, 1940, adjusted [4]	Difference presumably due to migration, adjusted [5]	Presumed migration as percent of 1940 enumeration	
						Unadjusted [6]	Adjusted [7]
Total	9,019,314	8,385,000	627,314	9,021,400	−2,086		
Alabama	136,209	124,000	12,209	133,300	2,909	9.0	2.1
Arizona	23,909	23,000	909	24,725	−816	3.8	−3.4
Arkansas	107,260	105,000	2,260	112,875	−5,615	2.1	−5.2
California	555,247	476,000	79,247	511,700	43,547	14.3	7.8
Colorado	86,438	80,000	6,438	86,000	438	7.4	.5
Connecticut	128,554	120,000	8,554	129,000	−446	6.7	−.3
Delaware	20,566	18,000	2,566	19,350	1,216	12.5	5.9
District of Columbia	41,206	34,000	7,206	36,550	4,656	17.5	11.3
Florida	131,217	92,000	39,217	98,900	32,317	29.9	24.6
Georgia	158,714	143,000	15,714	153,725	4,989	9.9	3.1
Idaho	31,700	31,000	700	33,325	−1,625	2.2	−5.1
Illinois	567,963	542,000	25,963	582,650	−14,687	4.6	−2.6
Indiana	288,036	274,000	14,036	294,550	−6,514	4.9	−2.3
Iowa	227,767	224,000	3,767	240,800	−13,033	1.7	−5.7
Kansas	157,136	158,000	−864	169,850	−12,714	−.5	−8.1
Kentucky	189,284	177,000	12,284	190,275	−991	6.5	−.5
Louisiana	119,003	100,000	19,003	107,500	11,503	16.0	9.7
Maine	80,325	75,000	5,325	80,625	−300	6.6	−.4
Maryland	123,516	110,000	13,516	118,250	5,266	10.9	4.3
Massachusetts	368,974	349,000	19,974	375,175	−6,201	5.4	−1.7
Michigan	330,854	313,000	17,854	336,475	−5,621	5.4	−1.7
Minnesota	212,618	204,000	8,618	219,300	−6,682	4.1	−3.1
Mississippi	115,418	102,000	13,418	109,650	5,768	11.6	5.0
Missouri	325,745	303,000	22,745	325,725	20	7.0	[8]
Montana	36,257	39,000	−2,743	41,925	−5,668	−7.6	−15.6
Nebraska	105,632	106,000	−368	113,950	−8,318	−.3	−7.9
Nevada	6,800	7,000	−200	7,525	−725	−2.9	−10.7
New Hampshire	48,720	46,000	2,720	49,450	−730	5.6	−1.5
New Jersey	278,821	267,000	11,821	287,025	−8,204	4.2	−2.9
New Mexico	23,284	23,000	284	24,725	−1,441	1.2	−6.2
New York	922,356	840,000	82,356	903,000	19,356	8.9	2.1
North Carolina	156,540	138,000	18,540	148,350	8,190	11.8	5.2
North Dakota	39,390	44,000	−4,610	47,300	−7,910	−11.7	−20.1
Ohio	539,729	510,000	29,729	548,250	−8,521	5.5	−1.6
Oklahoma	144,934	147,000	−2,066	158,025	−13,091	−1.4	−9.0
Oregon	92,728	86,000	6,728	92,450	278	7.3	.3
Pennsylvania	677,468	639,000	38,468	686,925	−9,457	5.7	−1.4
Rhode Island	54,284	51,000	3,284	54,825	−541	6.0	−1.0
South Carolina	81,314	71,000	10,314	76,325	4,989	12.7	6.1
South Dakota	44,440	49,000	−4,560	52,675	−8,235	−10.3	−18.5
Tennessee	171,778	157,000	14,778	168,775	3,003	8.6	1.7
Texas	347,495	315,000	32,495	338,625	8,870	9.4	2.6
Utah	30,215	29,000	1,215	31,175	−960	4.0	−3.2
Vermont	34,492	34,000	492	36,550	−2,058	1.4	−6.0
Virginia	154,944	142,000	12,944	152,650	2,294	8.4	1.5
Washington	144,320	133,000	11,320	142,975	1,345	7.8	.9
West Virginia	100,974	97,000	3,974	104,275	−3,301	3.9	−3.3
Wisconsin	242,182	232,000	10,182	249,400	−7,218	4.2	−3.0
Wyoming	12,558	13,000	−442	13,975	−1,417	−3.5	−11.3

[1] From table 1.
[2] From National Resources Board, *Estimates of Future Population by States*, 1934.
[3] Enumerated population in 1940 minus population anticipated for 1940.
[4] Population anticipated for 1940 times 107.5 percent, representing relation between enumerated and anticipated population. The purpose of the adjustment is to eliminate from the estimate of migration the difference due to factors other than interstate migration.
[5] Enumerated population in 1940 minus population anticipated for 1940, adjusted.
[6] Difference presumably due to migration, unadjusted, as percent of enumerated population in 1940.
[7] Difference presumably due to migration, adjusted, as percent of enumerated population in 1940.
[8] Less than 0.05 percent.

The second group contains 23 States, of which 6 are long-range exporters of aged population and 17 are long-range importers. In these 23, the trend for the three decades was temporarily reversed in the thirties. The gainers (but losers in the 1930's), mostly located in the Northeastern and North Central regions of the country, appear to be:

Arizona	Nebraska
Connecticut	New Hampshire
Illinois	New Jersey
Indiana	Ohio
Iowa	South Dakota
Kansas	Utah
Massachusetts	Wisconsin
Michigan	Wyoming
Minnesota	

The long-range losers (but gainers of aged migrants in the thirties) are apparently all in the South:

Alabama	South Carolina
Georgia	Tennessee
North Carolina	Virginia

The 12 remaining States fit into neither pattern. Some gained in the first 10-year period but lost migrants in both the thirties and forties; others gained aged migrants in the twenties and thirties but had a net out-migration during 1940–46; still others lost aged migrants in both prewar decades but in the forties received more than they lost.

Migration Trends in the General Population and Among the Aged

To what extent do the aged differ from the rest of the population in the volume and direction of interstate migration?

Since the economic advantage that induces most migrants to leave their homes is less compelling for older persons, migration should be more infrequent for the aged than among other age groups. Available data seem to support this conclusion. Persons living in 1940 in a State other than the one in which they resided in 1935 comprised 4.9 percent of the total population. This ratio was as high as 8.8 percent among the highly mobile 25 to 29-year-olds and dropped to 2.5 percent for the group 65 years old and over.[6] The Census Bureau estimates on the basis of a sample survey that at least 8.5 percent of the population shifted from one State to another between April 1940 and February 1946; among the aged, however, the proportion was 4.1 percent, or about half the average for all ages.[7]

A difference in favor of the age group under 65 years is also evident in estimates of the net balance of interstate migration for the periods 1930–40 and 1920–30. For the thirties the ratios are 2.0 percent for the total population and 1.8 percent for the group 65 years and over; for the preceding 10 years, 6.0 and 5.7 percent.

Do the migration preferences of the aged tend to resemble those of the general population? The data suggest a general conformity in the overall geographic pattern, but with differences.

During the years 1935–40, a period

[6] *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population—Internal Migration 1935 to 1940, Age of Migrants,* table 8.

[7] Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States: April, 1940, to February, 1946* (Population, Series P–S, No. 11).

Table 4.—*Population aged 65 and over enumerated in 1930 and as anticipated from 1920–29 survival rates*

State	Enumerated, 1930 [1]	Anticipated, 1930 [2]	Net gain or loss presumably due to migration	
			Number [3]	Percent of 1930 enumeration
Total	6,633,805	6,295,250	338,555	5.1
Alabama	99,240	99,954	−714	−.7
Arizona	15,768	13,989	1,779	11.3
Arkansas	75,600	77,401	−1,801	−2.4
California	366,125	260,050	106,075	29.0
Colorado	61,787	59,715	2,072	3.4
Connecticut	93,319	87,026	6,293	6.7
Delaware	16,678	15,694	984	5.9
District of Columbia	27,253	25,806	1,447	5.3
Florida	71,202	50,018	21,184	29.8
Georgia	113,278	123,745	−10,467	−9.2
Idaho	22,310	22,361	−51	−.2
Illinois	421,073	402,142	18,931	4.5
Indiana	232,787	222,142	10,645	4.6
Iowa	184,239	169,615	14,624	7.9
Kansas	129,468	118,698	10,770	8.3
Kentucky	142,122	138,568	3,554	2.5
Louisiana	75,850	73,653	2,197	2.9
Maine	69,010	66,682	2,328	3.4
Maryland	92,972	92,335	637	.7
Massachusetts	274,195	266,845	7,350	2.7
Michigan	254,891	237,708	17,183	6.7
Minnesota	163,480	148,902	14,578	8.9
Mississippi	77,443	76,821	622	.8
Missouri	244,525	231,310	13,215	5.4
Montana	26,700	28,248	−1,548	−5.8
Nebraska	86,194	79,827	6,367	7.4
Nevada	4,814	4,902	−88	−1.8
New Hampshire	41,560	38,775	2,785	6.7
New Jersey	201,043	184,569	16,474	8.2
New Mexico	16,825	17,512	−687	−4.1
New York	667,325	669,353	−2,028	−.3
North Carolina	115,671	116,801	−1,130	−1.0
North Dakota	30,280	29,132	1,148	3.8
Ohio	414,836	395,589	19,247	4.6
Oklahoma	96,888	89,390	7,498	7.7
Oregon	67,332	57,539	9,793	14.5
Pennsylvania	508,278	520,097	−11,819	−2.3
Rhode Island	39,953	40,126	−173	−.4
South Carolina	57,164	63,563	−6,399	−11.2
South Dakota	36,915	34,329	2,586	7.0
Tennessee	119,045	120,960	−1,915	−1.6
Texas	232,459	207,106	25,353	10.9
Utah	22,665	21,708	957	4.2
Vermont	31,253	30,862	391	1.3
Virginia	116,678	117,459	−781	−.7
Washington	101,503	90,076	11,427	11.3
West Virginia	73,043	69,283	3,760	5.2
Wisconsin	192,059	178,406	13,653	7.1
Wyoming	8,707	8,458	249	2.9

[1] From table 1.

[2] Estimated by applying to 1920 population aged 55 and over survival rates for 5-year sex and color classes computed from Bureau of the Census, *United States Life Tables, 1929 to 1931* . . ., tables III A–D (1920–29).

[3] Enumerated population in 1930 minus population anticipated for 1930 from 1920–29 survival rates.

Table 5.—*Net internal migration, 1935–40, total and as percent of 1940 population; total population and population aged 65 and over, 1940, by regional group*

Regional group	Total population			Persons aged 65 and over		
	Number, 1940	Net migration, 1935–40		Number, 1940	Net migration, 1935–40	
		Number	Percent of 1940 population		Number	Percent of 1940 aged population
Total	131,669,275			9,019,314		
New England [1]	8,437,290	−15,186	−0.2	715,349	−2,258	−0.3
Central Atlantic seaboard [2]	32,968,100	6,638	(8)	2,218,877	−9,321	−.4
Florida	1,897,414	146,849	7.7	131,217	14,836	11.3
Southeast, excluding Florida [3]	23,639,229	−277,747	−1.2	1,229,234	−4,171	−.3
Great Lakes [4]	26,626,342	41,706	.2	1,968,764	−10,156	−.5
Central bloc [5]	19,137,882	−761,081	−4.0	1,445,437	−21,056	−1.5
Southwest [6]	9,229,756	36,159	.4	518,141	1,710	.3
Pacific coast [7]	9,733,262	822,662	8.5	792,295	30,416	3.8

[1] Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine.
[2] New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia.
[3] West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana.
[4] Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin.
[5] Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming.
[6] Texas, Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Nevada.
[7] California, Washington, Oregon.
[8] Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population—Internal Migration, 1935 to 1940, Age of Migrants*, table 15.

for which we have the most satisfactory migration data, 26 States experienced a net out-migration both of the population as a whole and of aged persons; 14 States, a net in-migration. The migration balance for the two groups was unlike in only 9 States. Not only did the population shifts due to migration take the same general direction for both groups, but the States receiving the largest relative number of younger migrants also attracted the largest proportion of aged migrants. The 3 States that gained most in general population as a result of migration—Arizona, California, and Florida—also had the largest percentage increase in aged population attributable to this factor. North Dakota and South Dakota were the chief losers of both younger and older migrants (table 2).

The broad regional similarities are illustrated in table 5. Florida, the Pacific coast, and the Southwest, which enjoyed the largest influx of migrants as a whole, were the goals of most aged migrants in 1935–40. Both young and old tended to leave the farm States of the Middle West, the northern Rocky Mountain States (grouped together in the table as the central bloc), New England, and the States in the Southeast (excluding Florida). Age differences in migration, on the other hand, may be observed for the industrial States around the Great Lakes and along the central Atlantic seaboard. These States experienced a slightly favorable balance in younger migrants but a net loss in older migrants.

Estimates for the decade as a whole reveal the same general configurations. In most States that lost population through migration, more aged persons pulled up stakes and left than came in from other States. Most States with a substantial in-migration also had a net influx of aged migrants. The west coast, Florida, and the central Atlantic seaboard were areas with a net in-migration; they also received more aged migrants than they lost. The reverse was true, with respect both to all migrants and to aged migrants, in New England and the Middle West. Departing from this general pattern, the Southeast (exclusive of Florida) and the Southwest lost more total migrants than they gained, but gained more aged migrants than they lost (table 6).

The pull of the west coast and of Florida for young and old migrants was also evident in the twenties. As in the thirties, a small positive balance in both total migration and aged migration was recorded for the central Atlantic seaboard. Unlike the thirties, however, the 1920's brought a loss to the Southeast (except Florida) in all migrants and the aged. A net in-migration for both groups seems to have taken place in New England, the Great Lakes States, and the Southwest. The farm States of the Middle West and the upper Rocky Mountain States had a net out-migration as a whole but gained more aged migrants than they lost (table 7).

Preliminary estimates for the period 1940–46 suggest that these years were more like the twenties than the thirties. The Pacific Coast States and

Table 6.—*Net gain or loss, 1930–40, attributable to migration, as percent of 1940 population, by regional group* [1]

Regional group	Total population			Persons 65 years and over		
	Number, 1940	Net gain or loss, 1930–40		Number, 1940	Net gain or loss, 1930–40	
		Number	Percent of 1940 population		Number	Percent of 1940 aged population
Total	131,669,275	−446,725	−0.3	9,019,314	−2,086	(2)
New England	8,437,290	−70,710	−.8	715,349	−10,276	−1.4
Central Atlantic seaboard	32,968,100	429,100	1.3	2,218,877	15,127	.7
Florida	1,897,414	340,414	17.9	131,217	32,317	24.6
Southeast, excluding Florida	23,639,229	−895,771	−3.8	1,229,234	37,059	3.0
Great Lakes	26,626,342	−85,658	−.3	1,968,764	−42,561	−2.2
Central bloc	19,137,882	−1,443,118	−7.5	1,445,437	−84,288	−5.8
Southwest	9,229,756	−46,244	−.5	518,141	5,366	1.0
Pacific coast	9,733,262	1,325,262	13.6	792,295	45,170	5.7

[1] Estimates of net gain or loss attributable to migration are presented to the last digit not because they are assumed to be accurate but for convenience in summation.
[2] Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: Data for persons aged 65 and over from table 3. States in regional groups are identified in table 5. Total population in 1940 from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population*, Vol. 1, table 3. Net gain or loss in total population, 1930–40, computed by relating actual 1940 population to population anticipated for 1940 (based on 1930 survival rates, no allowance for migration) in *Estimates of Future Population by States*, National Resources Board, 1934.

Table 7.—*Net gain or loss, 1920–30, attributable to migration, as percent of 1930 population, by regional group* [1]

Regional group	Persons aged 10 and over			Persons aged 65 and over		
	Number, 1930	Net gain or loss, 1920–30		Number, 1930	Net gain or loss, 1920–30	
		Number	Percent of 1930 population aged 10 and over		Number	Percent of 1930 aged population
Total	[2] 98,723,000	3,083,000	3.1	6,633,805	338,555	5.1
New England	6,707,000	90,000	1.3	549,290	18,974	3.5
Central Atlantic seaboard	25,389,000	1,427,000	5.6	1,630,227	4,914	.3
Florida	1,174,000	349,000	29.7	71,202	21,184	29.8
Southeast, excluding Florida	16,368,000	−1,330,000	−8.1	872,856	−10,492	−1.2
Great Lakes	20,674,000	1,393,000	6.7	1,515,646	79,659	5.3
Central bloc	14,993,000	−1,017,000	−6.8	1,105,306	67,635	6.1
Southwest	6,494,000	255,000	3.9	354,318	29,386	8.3
Pacific coast	6,922,000	1,916,000	27.7	534,960	127,295	23.8

[1] Estimates of net gain or loss attributable to migration are presented to the last digit not because they are assumed to be accurate but for convenience in summation.

[2] Total is sum of unrounded figures.

Source: Data for persons aged 65 and over from table 4. States in regional groups are identified in table 5. Persons aged 10 and over in 1930 from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population*, Vol. 2, Pts. 1–7, State table 7. Net gain or loss in persons aged 10 and over, 1920–30, computed by relating actual 1930 population aged 10 and over to population anticipated for 1930 (based on 1920–29 survival rates, no allowance for migration) in C. Warren Thornthwaite's *Internal Migration in the United States*, 1934, plate VII–D, opposite p. 22. The net gain in population for the United States as a whole, 3,083,000, compares with a net gain through immigration of 3,207,000 for the period 1920–29. The figure 3,083,000 excludes children under age 10 in 1930.

Florida led the others in attracting both young and old migrants. The industrial States of New England, the Great Lakes, and the central Atlantic seaboard seem to have gained from migration as in the twenties, but less spectacularly. In all three regions the migration balance appears to have been positive for both total population and aged population. The Southeast (except Florida) seems to have had, again, a net out-migration of young and old, and the Central States a net out-migration for the population as a whole but a net in-migration for the aged. The principal difference between the twenties and forties appears to have been in the Southwest. In the earlier decade those States gained more migrants, young and old, than they lost; in the forties the data point to a loss in both groups (table 8).

In summary, three areas—the Pacific coast, Florida, and the central Atlantic seaboard—had a net increment of both young and old migrants in all three decades. Two areas—New England and the Great Lakes—gained young and old migrants in the twenties and forties but not in the depression thirties. The Southeast (exclusive of Florida) and the central bloc of States lost migrants in each of the three decades, but the Southeast had a positive balance of aged migrants in the thirties, and the central bloc a positive balance in the twenties and forties. The Southwest gained migrants of all ages in the twenties and had a net out-migration in the forties, while the picture in the thirties was mixed—a loss in the general population and a gain in the aged population.

The major flow in the migration stream through all three periods, only partly interrupted by the depression, has been to the West, and to a lesser extent to the industrial northeastern quarter of the Nation and to Florida. The migrants have come mostly from the farm States in the southeastern and middle regions of the country. With some exceptions, as noted, this has also been the pattern of aged migration.

The effect on population growth over the past quarter century is illustrated in table 9 and in charts 1 and 2. The Pacific coast, the Southwest, and Florida grew more rapidly than the United States as a whole. The industrial States around the Great Lakes maintained an average rate of growth. Other areas gained population at a slower rate, with the smallest gains of all registered for the farm States of the Middle West and the northern group of Rocky Mountain States.

Over the same period the largest increase in aged population took place in Florida and on the west coast. Above-average gains also occurred in the Southwest and along the central Atlantic seaboard. Accessions to the aged population in other regions were at a rate below the national average.

Table 8.—*Net gain or loss, 1940–46, attributable to in-migration, as percent of 1946 population, by regional group* [1]

Regional group	Total civilian population			Persons aged 65 and over		
	Number, 1946	Net gain or loss, 1940–46		Number, 1946	Net gain or loss, 1940–46	
		Number	Percent of 1946 population		Number	Percent of 1946 aged population
Total	138,394,474	785,780	0.6	10,372,095	147,013	1.4
New England	9,001,650	423,112	4.7	794,072	4,120	.5
Central Atlantic seaboard	34,010,170	304,704	.9	2,622,257	30,400	1.2
Florida	2,248,595	246,913	11.0	163,455	17,900	11.0
Southeast, excluding Florida	23,358,280	−2,478,978	−10.6	1,322,387	−77,915	−5.9
Great Lakes	28,402,039	954,005	3.4	2,267,161	56,588	2.5
Central bloc	18,610,131	−1,438,875	−7.7	1,614,762	30,022	1.9
Southwest	9,804,891	−145,407	−1.5	589,452	−5,298	−.9
Pacific coast	12,958,718	2,920,306	22.5	998,551	91,196	9.1

[1] Estimates of net gain or loss attributable to migration are presented to the last digit not because they are assumed to be accurate but for convenience in summation.

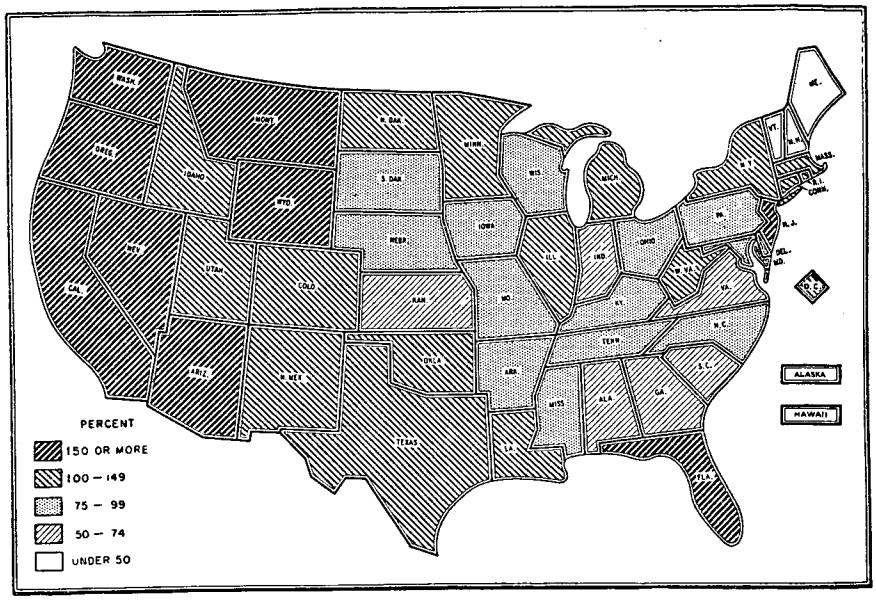
Source: Number of persons aged 65 and over from table 1. States in regional groups are identified in table 5. Total population in 1946 and net gain or loss, 1940–46, from Bureau of the Census, *Estimated Population of the United States, by Regions, Divisions and States: July 1, 1946* (Current Population Reports—Population Estimates, Series P–25, No. 2). Net gain or loss in persons 65 years and over, 1940–46, estimated by relating 1946 aged population to estimated survivors of population aged 59 and over in these States in 1940, using for that purpose survival rates computed from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, United States Life Tables and Actuarial Tables, 1939–1941*, tables 5, 6, 8, 9.

Factors Influencing Migration Among the Aged

Population movements are generally associated with regional differences in economic opportunities. Areas of limited opportunities—in recent decades primarily the farm States of the Southeastern and Central portions of the country—are continually losing population to areas with relatively brighter economic prospects—the west coast and the industrial States east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac Rivers. The volume and direction of migration shift when a depression reduces the magnitude of regional differences or actually changes the ranking of regions on the scale of economic attractiveness. This happened, for instance, in the thirties, when total migration fell below the level of the twenties, migration to the west coast and to the industrial Northeast slacked off, out-migration from the Southeast slumped, and the Great Lakes States lost more migrants than they gained.

The data cited in the preceding sections suggest that, with some exceptions, aged migrants and younger migrants tend to be alike in the source and direction of their movement. Can we therefore conclude that migration among the two groups is prompted by similar considerations?

Chart 1.—*Percentage increase in population 65 years and over, 1920–46*

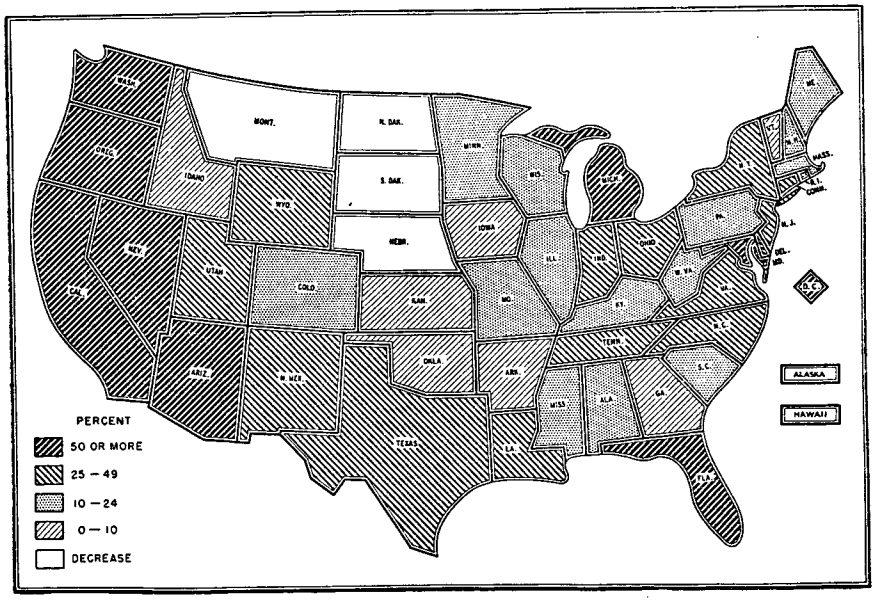


In October 1946 the Census Bureau asked persons included in its monthly population sample whether they had moved between August 1945 and October 1946 and the reason for the last move. Of every 100 persons changing their county of residence in the 14 months, 56 had moved because they or the family head went to another county to take a job or look for work. Among intercounty migrants 45 years and over, this ratio fell to 42 percent.[8] If separate data were available for the group 65 years and over, the proportion for that group would probably have been still lower.

The influence of age on the economic motive for migration is reflected also in the difference in the volume of migration from April 1935 to April 1940, on the one hand, and from December 1941 to March 1945, on the other. Net interstate migration increased from 5.6 percent of the population in the first period to 6.6 percent in the second, though the latter was shorter by one-third. The explanation, of course, was the unprecedented expansion in job opportunities. Among the aged, however, the volume of migration remained at approximately the same relative level—2.5 percent in 1935–40, 2.4 percent in 1941–45.[9]

The findings of the October 1946 survey suggest that, as age advances, health, housing problems, and "other" reasons for migration, including presumably retirement from the labor force and death of spouse, gain in im-

Chart 2.—*Percentage increase in total population, 1920–46*



[8] Bureau of the Census, *Postwar Migration and Its Causes in the United States*, op. cit.

[9] Bureau of the Census, *Civilian Migration in the United States: December, 1941, to March, 1945* (Population—Special Reports, Series P–S, No. 5).

Table 9.—*Percentage increase in population, 1920–46, by regional group*

Regional group	Total population			Persons aged 65 and over		
	Number, 1920	Number, 1946	Percentage increase, 1920–46	Number, 1920	Number, 1946	Percentage increase, 1920–46 [1]
Total	105,710,620	138,394,474	30.9	4,933,215	10,372,095	110.2
New England	7,400,909	9,001,650	21.6	432,159	794,072	83.7
Central Atlantic seaboard	26,680,666	34,010,170	27.5	1,226,394	2,622,257	113.8
Florida	968,470	2,248,595	132.2	40,664	163,455	302.0
Southeast, excluding Florida	19,294,196	23,358,280	21.1	734,952	1,322,387	79.9
Great Lakes	21,475,543	28,402,039	32.3	1,132,157	2,267,161	100.3
Central bloc	17,499,893	18,610,131	6.3	818,108	1,614,762	97.4
Southwest	6,824,172	9,804,891	43.7	245,686	589,452	139.9
Pacific coast	5,566,871	12,958,718	132.8	303,095	998,551	229.5

[1] 1946 estimates of aged population by region are preliminary and subject to revision.

Source: Data for total population in 1946 from table 8, for persons aged 65 and over from table 1. States in regional groups are identified in table 5. Total population in 1920 from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population*, Vol. 1, table 3.

portance. In the absence of cross tabulations of migrants by age and employment status, there is no direct evidence of the extent to which migration is induced by retirement. Another survey,[10] made in February 1946 and covering the period from April 1940 to the survey month, gives some indication of the influence of the death of the spouse and other causes of family break-up and reorganization. Aged migrants included relatively fewer family heads and wives of heads than did the aged nonmigrants, but about twice the proportion of persons related to the family head either as parent or as other relative. Among relatives of the head of the family, as a matter of fact, the ratio of migrants did not decline with age, departing in this respect from the general trend.

These characteristics of aged migrants are consistent with known data concerning the influence of age on labor-force participation, marital status, and household relationships. Membership in the labor force drops sharply with age, particularly after age 65. One consequence is a lessened ability to maintain one's own home and a tendency to move in with relatives, particularly children. Aged men in rural areas and aged nonwhite men, who tend to stay in the labor force longer, had lower-than-average migration ratios in 1935–40.

Among aged women the loss of the home is more frequently associated with the death of the husband than with retirement from the labor force. Since mortality rates are more favorable for women and proportionately more are survivors, more women than men are found living with relatives, fewer in homes of their own. For both 1935–40 and 1940–46 the migration ratio was higher for aged women than for aged men. In the latter period, 52 percent of the migrant aged women were related to the family head, but not as wife; we may hazard the guess that most of them were widows.

Retirement from the labor force and loss of spouse or home often take place before age 65, and indeed the data for 1940–46 indicate that the greater mobility of the individual without a spouse was true not only for the aged but also for persons 45–64 years of age. Among young adults, however, the propensity to migration was more evident among the married. Whether this was a phenomenon associated with the large numbers of families that were being reestablished after the discharge of the husband from the armed forces cannot be definitely ascertained in the absence of information on the age and marital status of migrants in the prewar years 1935–40.

It is known, on the other hand, that the unattached individual—that is, the person not living with any relative—is more likely to be a migrant than the person living in a family group. Data for both periods agree on this point. Since in the population as a whole the proportion of unattached men and women rises after age 50, it may be assumed that a substantial share of migration among the aged is attributable to this factor.

In a number of respects the aged migrants tend to be like those under 65 years of age. When they moved to another State there was some tendency for both city and farm migrants, but particularly the latter, to move into rural nonfarm dwellings. (The "typical" aged migrant was not an Iowa farmer moving to Los Angeles but a New York City or Chicago oldster settling in a suburb of either Los Angeles or Miami.) Distances moved were not very different. Approximately the same proportions of young and old migrants in States with a heavy in-migration came from noncontiguous States; the principal exception was in Florida, whose older in-migrants more commonly had a distant origin.

What answer, in conclusion, seems indicated to the question asked earlier about the reasons for the broad similarity in the geographic origins and destination of aged migrants and younger migrants?

The preceding paragraphs imply that there is no close resemblance in the principal motives impelling migration—the search for better jobs or business opportunities in the case of the younger migrants, and retirement, poor health, and family break-up among the aged.

But the economic motive, while of diminished significance among the aged, does not cease to operate at age 65. After all, 6 out of 10 men between the ages of 65 and 70 are still in the labor force; some of them are no doubt attracted to the same States that annually draw millions of young people. Part of the answer then is that the economic considerations influencing younger migrants also affect some of the aged.

Another part is wrapped up in the circumstance that the west coast and Florida are not only attractive in terms of economic rewards but have also a well-advertised climate, and possess therefore a special appeal to aged people in poor health or seeking a congenial setting in retirement. Moreover, among the aged who move in with their children following the break-up of their own home are un-

[10] Bureau of the Census, *Internal Migration in the United States*, op. cit.

doubtedly some whose children had earlier migrated to other States; in such cases the aged followed in the footsteps of the young, albeit some years later.

The relative significance of these and other factors cannot be established in the absence of more information than we now possess; they are suggestive of areas of further inquiry.

Relation of Migration Trends to Social Security Programs

The bearing on social security programs of interstate migration among the aged merits some attention. To what extent has migration affected the distribution of program beneficiaries? To what extent, on the other hand, have the programs influenced migration?

Primary beneficiaries of old-age and survivors insurance are drawn from aged workers with fully insured status. Other things being equal, the relative number of such beneficiaries, State by State, should bear a fairly close relationship to the relative number of aged insured workers. When primary beneficiaries are distributed by State of residence on December 31, 1945, and the resultant percentage distribution is compared with that of aged workers with wage credits in 1945 and with fully insured status on January 1, 1946, a rough relationship between the two may be observed, but also some contrasts.

Such relatively heavy in-migrant States as California, Florida, Oregon, and Washington had relatively more beneficiaries than insured workers. In the aggregate, however, out-migrant States were twice as frequent as in-migrant States among States with a beneficiary "surplus." Among the States with a "deficit" of beneficiaries, by contrast, all but two were in-migrant States.

That States losing aged migrants tend to have more insurance beneficiaries than one might anticipate from the number of aged insured workers is paradoxical, since it would seem reasonable to assume that aged workers retiring from the labor force are more likely to leave the State than workers remaining in the labor force.

The explanation may lie in the association between the migration balance on the one hand and relative wealth and opportunities for covered employment on the other. Out-migrant States tend to be poor States and to have relatively few jobs in covered industry. The opposite is generally true of in-migrant States. In States with relatively more covered employment opportunities and with relatively high wages, the insurance benefit probably possesses less attraction for an aged person able to hold a job than it does in an agricultural low-income State. The result would seem to be fewer retirements (relative to the number of aged insured workers) in the rich industrial States than in the poor farm States and therefore a deficit of beneficiaries in the first group and a surplus in the second. The negative association between the migration balance and the relative number of primary beneficiaries appears to be a reflection of these relationships.

The relation of migration and the old-age assistance program does not lend itself to the same kind of analysis because eligibility conditions vary from State to State and information on the relative number of potential recipients of assistance is lacking. The materials do permit, however, an examination of the relation of migration to the relative number of aged actually receiving assistance and to the size of the assistance payment.

In January 1941 the number of old-age assistance recipients per 1,000 aged persons varied from 86 in the District of Columbia to 522 in Oklahoma. Of the 10 States with the highest recipient rates, 6 had a net out-migration of the aged in 1935–40, 4 a net in-migration. Among the 10 States with the lowest recipient rates, 4 lost and 6 gained aged migrants. Net aged migration during the period 1940–46 was positive for 6 of the first 10 States by recipient rate in June 1946, negative for 4. Among the 10 States with the lowest recipient rates, 7 gained migrants, 3 lost.

There is evidently no direct relation between recipient rate and migration. States with high recipient rates do not attract more aged migrants than States with low recipient rates.

Size of payment, on the other hand, reflects State differences in average income, among other things, and may therefore be expected to be associated to some degree with migration preferences. The 10 States making the highest payments in December 1946 all appear to have been in-migrant States for the aged in 1940–46. Half the high-payment States in December 1940 had lost aged migrants from 1935 to 1940, but this nonrelationship may have been due to the effects of the depression. Nine of the 10 States with the lowest payment in December 1946 and 7 of the 10 in December 1940 seem to have lost aged migrants in the preceding quinquennium.

Does this mean that the newspaper editor and the State legislator who fear that high payments attract indigent aged from other States are right? Not necessarily. One cannot prove a causal relationship between high assistance payments and in-migration as such. The States with relatively large payments have, by and large, been in-migrant States for the aged for several decades, while the reverse is true for many of the States with low payments. In other words, the economic factors that affect the tides of migration also influence the size of payment. Poor States tend to have low payments and to lose migrants of all ages; States with high per capita incomes tend to have high payments and a net in-migration of persons of all ages.

Summary

The increase in aged population since 1920 has been markedly uneven among the States. The most rapid growth has taken place in the West, the least rapid in the Southeast and in New England. The presence of a long-range trend is indicated by the recurrence of approximately the same regional growth patterns in the twenties and the forties. The experience of the thirties, when otherwise slow-growing regions gained more rapidly while the rate of increase in fast-growing regions dropped, suggests that a depression may interrupt the trend but does not alter it permanently.

The rate of change in the aged population of a given State is determined by the turn-over of the resident population and the net balance of migration.

Among the States the mortality of the resident population varies because of differences in sex, age, and color

composition and in age-specific death rates. Death rates for aged persons as a whole tend to be higher in industrial States, lower in rural States.

States with a net in-migration of aged persons tend to have a rate of growth of aged population in excess of the national average and vice versa. Regional differentiation in rate of growth reflects broad differences in the balance of migration.

Between 1920 and 1946, migration among the aged was smaller in relative volume than among younger age classes but resembled it in origin and direction. The major flow of migrants of all ages was from the farm States in the Southern and Central regions of the country to the West and, to a lesser extent, to the industrial States around the Great Lakes and along the northern Atlantic seaboard. This movement is largely induced by regional differences in economic opportunities.

Most migration in the early and middle years of a working lifetime represents a search for a better job, higher wages, or brighter business prospects. With advancing years the economic motive in migration diminishes in importance, and the significance of such factors as health, retirement from the labor force, and family break-up increases. The shift is consistent with changes associated with old age—decline in labor-force participation, failing health, death of spouse, loss of home, and tendency to move in with relatives.

The similarity in the regional origins and destination of young and old migrants is due to the continued, although reduced, influence of the economic factor among aged migrants, the possession by regions with a large in-migration of climatic as well as economic advantages, and the circumstance that aged persons who move in with children after they have lost their own home necessarily follow the geographic shifts made earlier by the children.

States with an in-migration of aged persons tend to have fewer aged old-age and survivors insurance beneficiaries than might be expected from the number of aged insured workers, and States with an out-migration to have more beneficiaries. These relationships reflect differences in employment opportunities for the aged in covered industry. In-migrant States tend to be high-income States and to have relatively more covered employment than out-migrant States. In such States the benefit has relatively less attraction than in out-migrant low-income agricultural States, the volume of retirement is relatively lower, and the "deficit" of beneficiaries therefore is relatively larger.

There appears to be no direct relation between the recipient rate in old-age assistance and migration. Though in-migrant States tend to have high assistance payments and out-migrant States low assistance payments, one is not the cause of the other. Both tendencies are related to economic factors that make for high per capita income, heavy in-migration, and high assistance payments in some States, and low per capita income, out-migration, and low assistance payments in other States. The migration differences predate the old-age assistance program.

Technical Note

To assist the reader to evaluate the reliability of the estimates presented in the article, a brief statement is appended on the methods used and the possible biases involved.

The 1946 estimate of aged population by State (table 1) is based on deaths among aged persons in the State as reported to the National Office of Vital Statistics. For each State and for each of the 7 years 1940–46 the number of deaths within each 5-year age-sex-color class was divided by the national death rate for that class. (The latter represents the relation between the number of deaths in the class in the country as a whole and the midyear size of the class, as estimated by the Bureau of the Census.) A regression line for the State was fitted from the results and the 1946 value read from the line, after adjustment for 1940 differences in the estimate of aged population as obtained by this method and as enumerated (adjusted in each State for overstatement of age along lines suggested by the Bureau of the Census) and for a presumed diminution in State differences in age-sex-color death rates. The Bureau of the Census provided some of the basic data for the estimates and was helpful in the development of the method outlined. The estimates are preliminary. Revised figures are in preparation for later publication.

Use of the national death rate would seem to give results which overlook State differences in specific death rates and differences in the completeness of death registrations. These limitations are partly taken care of by the adjustment for national-State differences in 1940. The use of a straight line to chart 1940–46 population growth is necessary to smooth out irregularities arising from the character of the data, but it also tends to remove the true irregularities in any population-growth curve.

State estimates of the net balance of migration among the aged for the period 1920–30 (table 4) were developed by matching the enumerated population 65 years and over in 1930 with the anticipated number of survivors of the 1920 population 55 years and over on the basis of 1920–29 death rates for the age-sex-color classes affected. No adjustment was made for State variations in death rates or for possible biases in age reporting in 1920 or 1930.

A similar procedure was followed to estimate the net balance of migration among the aged for the period 1940–46 (table 8). The range of error in the results is probably greater because anticipated survivors were matched not with an enumerated population in 1946 but with an estimated population, and because no allowance was made for an improvement in mortality rates (1939–41 rates were used). The net gain of 147,013 in table 8 for the country as a whole is probably too high to be accounted for by immigration and suggests that the use of 1939–41 death rates probably understates the number of survivors that may be anticipated from the 1940 population 59 years and over.

The estimate of net balance of migration among the aged for the decade 1930–40 (table 3) was derived by matching the 1940 enumerated population with the Thompson-Whelpton 1934 forecast for 1940 in the series that assumed no net immigration and no interstate migration. The forecast assumed a reduction in death rates and a decline in interstate differences in death rates. No adjustment was made for possible biases in age reporting in the 1930 or 1940 censuses.

Estimates of the net balance of migration for the total population for the period 1920–30 (table 7) were taken directly from Thornthwaite, who developed them by applying to the 1920 population national "survival rates" for specific age-color groups and relating the results to the 1930 enumerated population 10 years old and over. The national survival rates were computed by dividing the 1930 United States enumerated population 15–19 years old by the 1920 United States enumerated population 5–9 years old, et cetera. To exclude the effect of migration Thornthwaite used the native white rate for foreign-born whites and nonwhites other than Negroes. The results tend to disregard State differences in survival rates.

(*Continued on page 40*)

Persons, first Director of the USES as set up by the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933, who summarizes the work of the Service in its early years; John J. Corson, head of the USES during 1941–42, who discusses "Mobilizing Manpower—Retrospect and Prospect"; Robert C. Goodwin, present Director, who sums up "The Employment Service Today"; and Victor Christgau, President of the Interstate Conference of Employment Security Agencies and Director of the Minnesota Division of Employment and Security, who reports on "The Interstate Conference and the Development of the Public Employment Service."

Public Welfare and Relief

BUELL, BRADLEY. "Welfare Planning Comes of Age." *Public Aid in Illinois,* Chicago, Vol. 14, Nov. 1947, pp. 8–11.

"The Future of Public Assistance Institutions." *The Medical Officer,* London, Vol. 78, Dec. 27, 1947, pp. 272 ff.

Discusses the future of public assistance institutions in the light of the National Assistance bill now before Parliament.

MAINE. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND WELFARE. *A Guide to Family Spending at Low Cost.* Augusta: The Department, 1947 (?). 11 pp.

Designed to help families with limited incomes and also public and private welfare agencies meet the problem of the increased cost of living.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION. *Report of the Director General to the Council.* Washington: The Administration, Oct. 1947. (DGR–13.) 82 pp.

This report, which covers the period April–June 1947, includes a chapter on displaced persons, showing how many of them have received assistance and what countries they came from.

Maternal and Child Welfare

ENOCHS, ELISABETH SHIRLEY. *American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood.* Washington: U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1947. 6 pp. (Department of State Publication 2865—Inter-American Series 33.) 5 cents.

Describes the origin and development of the Institute.

Health and Medical Care

GOIN, LOWELL S. "What Will Compulsory Sickness Insurance Do for the American People?" *The Mother,* Chicago, Vol. 9, Oct. 1947, pp. 18–27.

HELD, ADOLPH. "Health and Welfare Funds in the Needle Trades." *Industrial and Labor Relations Review,* Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., Vol. 1, Jan. 1948, pp. 247–263. $1.

Describes the types and cost of benefits provided and discusses the funds' investments and reserves.

HILL, JOHN G. "The Inherent Problems in Planning a National Health Service." *Social Service Review,* Chicago, Vol. 21, Dec. 1947, pp. 456–477. $1.50.

ZIEGLER, MARK; WEINERMAN, E. RICHARD; and ROEMER, MILTON I. "Rural Prepayment Medical Care Plans and Public Health Agencies." *American Journal of Public Health,* New York, Vol. 37, Dec. 1947, pp. 1578–1585. 70 cents.

Describes the medical care program for low-income farm families that was sponsored by the Farm Security Administration.

(*Continued from page 12*)

The net balance of migration for the total population for the decade 1930–40 (table 6) was estimated by matching the 1940 enumerated population with the Thompson-Whelpton 1934 forecast in the series that assumed no net immigration and no interstate migration. The forecast assumed a decline in the birth rate from 1930 to 1940 and a reduction in death rates and in interstate differences in death rates; it adjusted for possible underenumeration of children under 5 years in the 1930 census but not for biases in the reporting of age in other age groups in that year.

The estimates of net migration for the total population for the period 1940–46 (table 8) were made by the Bureau of the Census and are based on data from the 1940 census, statistics on school enrollment, and on registrations for War Ration Book No. 4.[11]

[11] For a detailed description see *Estimates and Forecasts of the Population* (Population—Special Reports, Series P–47, No. 4), method II.

(*Continued from page 15*)

Third Meeting of Inter-American Committee on Social Security

During the Conference the Permanent Inter-American Committee on Social Security held its third meeting. The Committee is responsible for the business and administrative work of the organization, for giving effect to the resolutions and recommendations adopted by the Conference, and for carrying out its work between meetings.

Among its important actions the Committee adopted a budget of $30,000 for 1948, agreed to convene the medical and statistical technical commissions in 1948, and decided to publish a new edition of the Inter-American Handbook of Social Security Institutions.

The Committee reelected Mr. Altmeyer as Chairman; Antonio Díaz Lombardo, Director-General of the Mexican Social Insurance Institute, was made Vice-Chairman. The Committee also elected the four members of its executive body, which acts for the Committee during intervals between sessions. The four men elected were Helvécio Xavier Lopes of Brazil; Nicasio Silverio of Cuba; Edgardo Rebagliati of Peru; and Amadeo Almada of Uruguay. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman complete the membership of the executive body.

At the close of the session it was agreed to accept the Colombian Government's invitation to hold the next meeting in Bogotá.