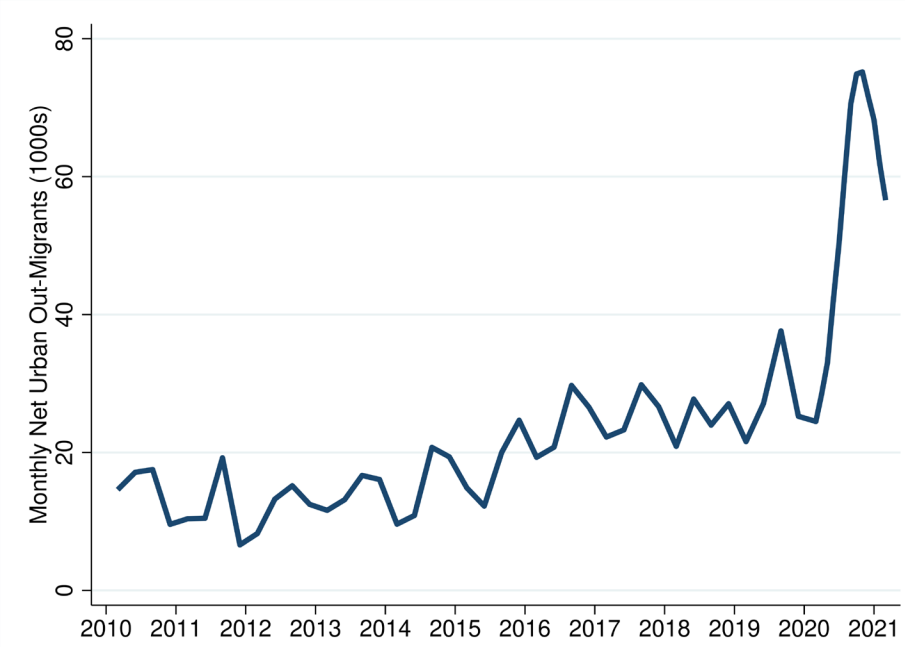
Did the COVID-19 Pandemic Cause an Urban Exodus? First Quarter 2021 Update for Tables and Figures

By Stephan Whitaker, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland
May 24, 2021

This document contains tables and figures from "Did the COVID-19 Pandemic Cause an Urban Exodus?" and "Did the COVID-19 Pandemic Cause an Urban Exodus? Follow-Up Questions and Answers" that have been updated with data through March 31, 2021.

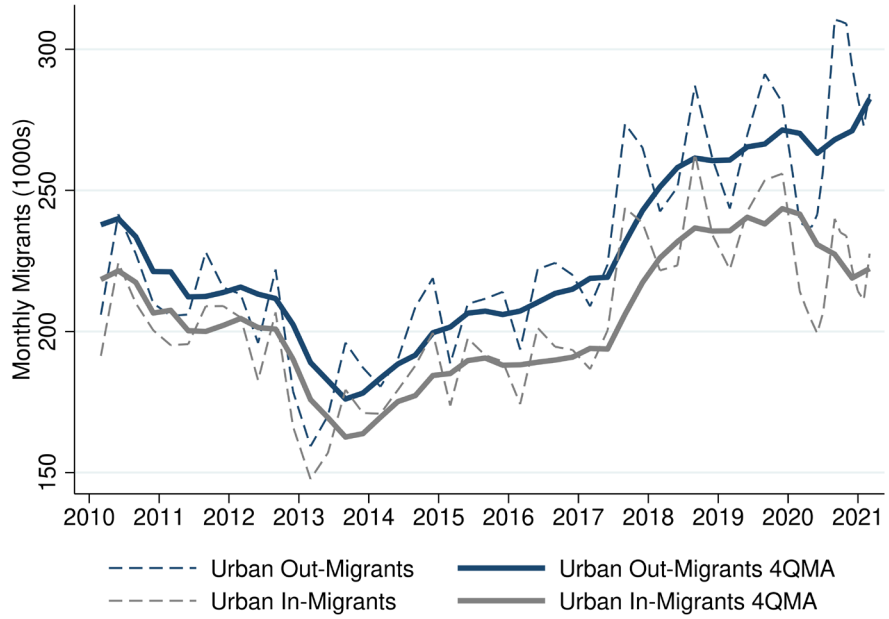
In the first quarter of 2021, net out-migration from urban neighborhoods remained elevated at 57,000 migrants per month. It continued to decline from its peak of 75,000 in November 2020, but it remained 217 percent higher than the average from the three years before the pandemic. In the gross flows, the four-quarter moving average of outflows continued to rise, increasing by more than 9,000 to 282,000 migrants per month. However, the four-quarter moving average of inflows has finally begun to reverse its decline. Most major metro areas followed the national trend of increasing outflows and increasing inflows, including New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, San Diego, and San Jose. In Boston, Denver, Seattle, and Washington DC, the four-quarter moving average of outflows continued to increase, but the moving average of inflows did not display a clear increase.

Figure 1. Estimated Net Out-Migration from Urban Neighborhoods



Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 2. Estimated Gross Migration into and from Urban Neighborhoods

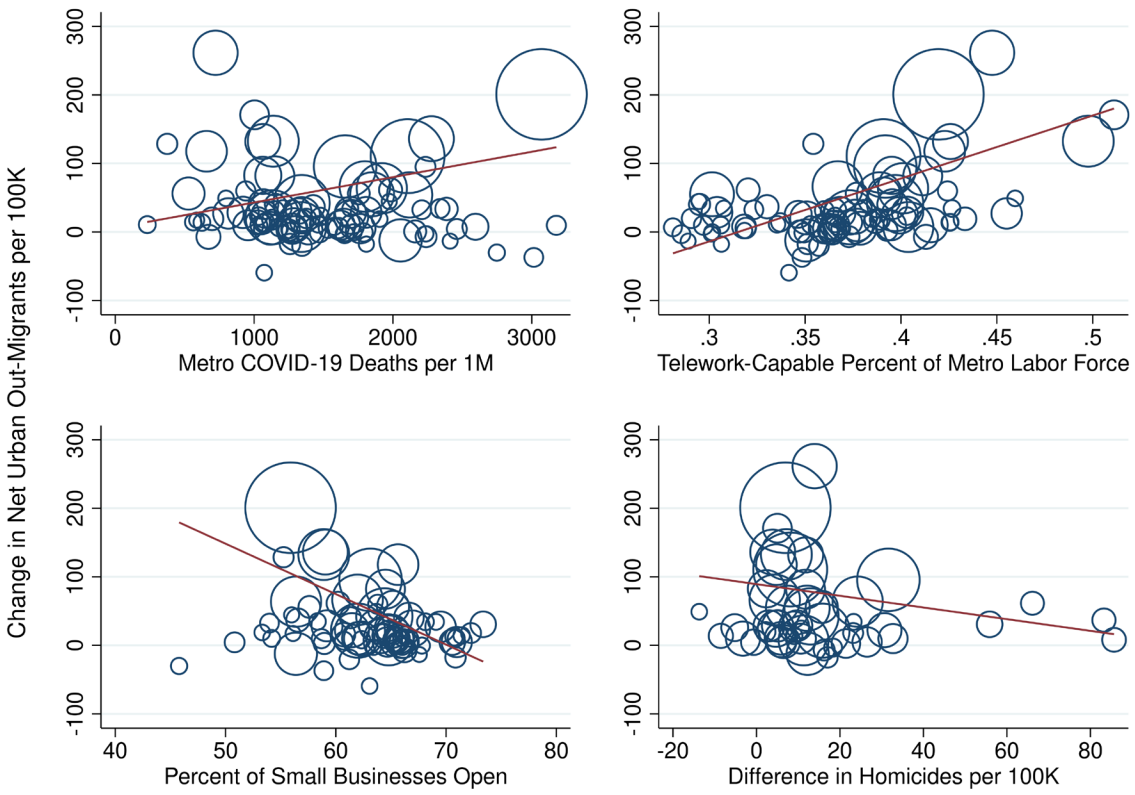


Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 3. Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods by Neighborhood Income, Migrant Characteristics, and Metro Area Population

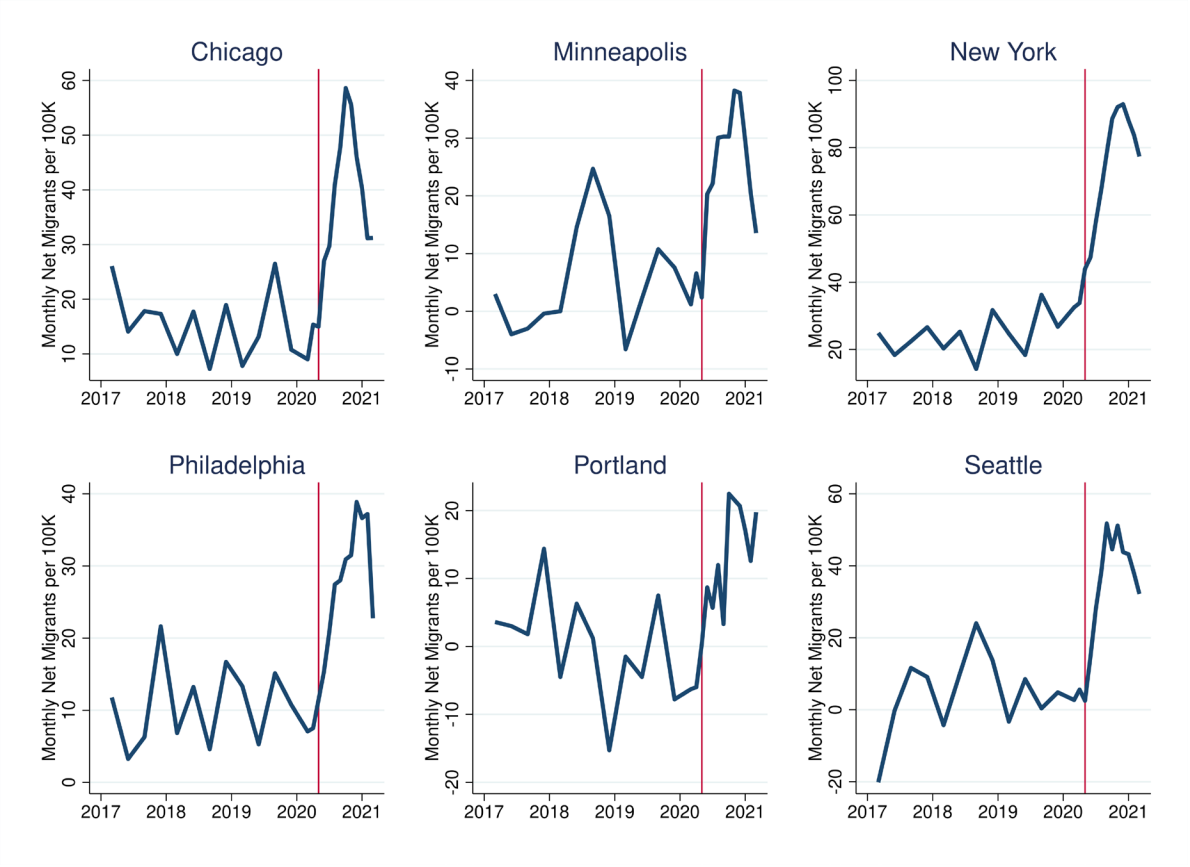
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 4. Change in the Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods for Four Measures That Influence Out-Migration



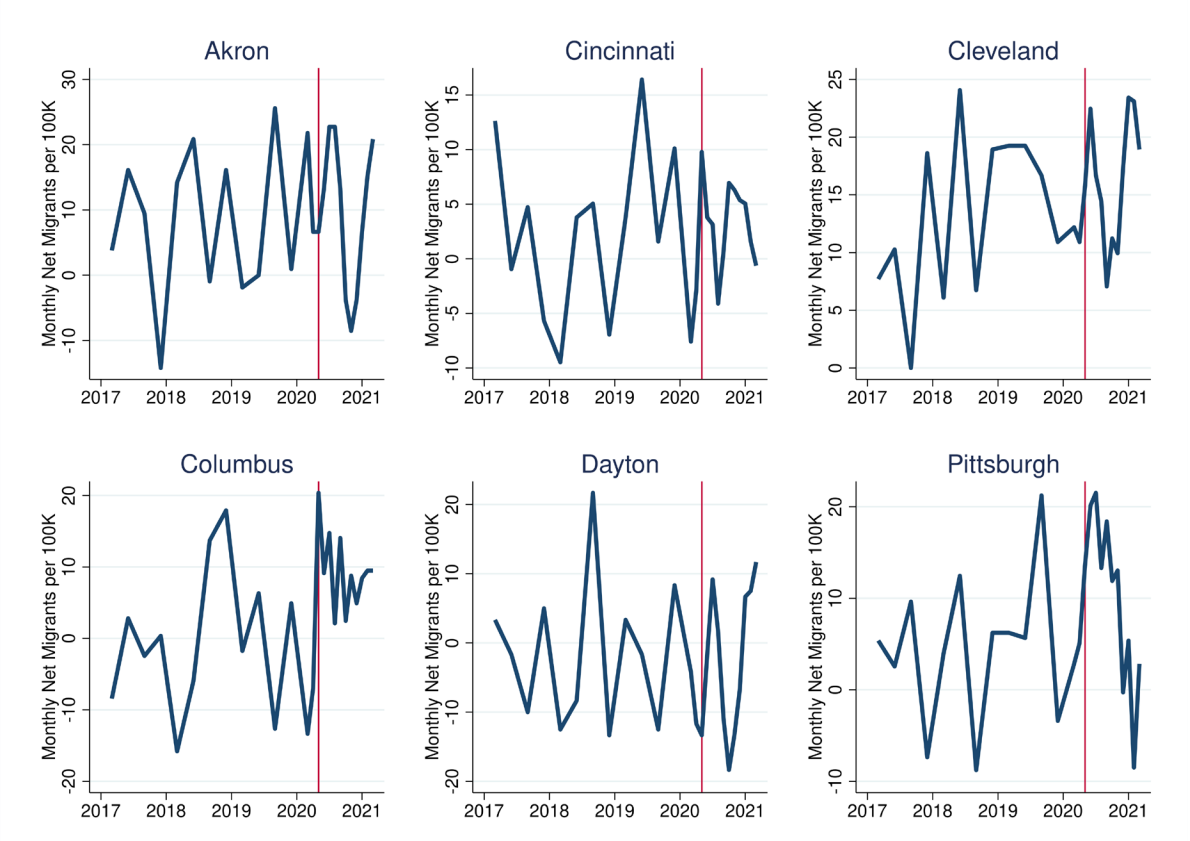
Notes: Trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Marker sizes represent metro populations.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, Center for Systems Science and Engineering, Dingel and Neiman (2020), Homebase, *New York Times*, and author's calculations.

Figure 5. Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods for Six Metro Areas, by Central City



Note: The red vertical line is placed at the end of May 2020, when nationwide protests began.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 6. Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods for Fourth District Metro Areas, by Central City



Note: The red vertical line is placed at the end of May 2020, when the nationwide protests began.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Follow-Up Table 1. Estimated Number of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas by Type of Destination during the Pandemic

	To suburb of the same metro area		To high-cost, large metro areas (>2M)		To lower-cost, large metro areas (>2M)		To midsized metro areas (500K–2M)		To small metro areas (<500K), towns, and rural areas	
	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change
New York	226,620	16.9	89,600	13.7	93,500	25.3	91,140	29.9	69,260	36.0
Los Angeles	180,240	1.6	116,660	4.9	49,320	14.0	37,780	17.1	36,260	14.8
Chicago	112,260	7.7	22,400	-6.1	26,000	12.4	15,020	5.1	21,580	10.9
Miami	123,440	5.0	15,260	-5.8	21,000	2.5	15,380	15.2	16,300	8.6
Washington, DC	96,940	4.3	20,660	-7.9	25,920	11.7	17,040	13.4	16,720	22.9
San Francisco	62,980	11.2	64,340	24.2	14,880	23.7	17,840	27.4	25,980	34.0
Boston	66,180	4.0	24,040	9.1	11,240	6.0	24,800	29.9	13,940	18.9
San Diego	58,700	0.0	22,160	-0.9	10,600	13.4	9,420	11.5	11,520	11.6
San Jose	30,120	3.9	34,640	5.4	6,820	14.4	8,600	15.0	9,840	9.0
Seattle	51,980	3.1	12,120	4.2	6,320	11.9	5,140	13.0	11,920	16.6
Riverside	46,540	7.4	17,040	5.5	3,820	-0.7	2,920	22.7	3,920	12.4
Denver	46,460	4.8	5,280	-1.5	6,340	13.8	5,500	8.8	11,000	14.0
Sacramento	28,320	-3.6	5,620	-8.9	2,240	23.5	2,960	6.2	5,840	10.2
Portland, OR	27,920	-0.1	4,300	-17.8	2,920	30.7	2,520	14.2	7,180	10.7
Philadelphia	62,820	8.5	16,260	5.0	8,380	11.1	9,120	5.9	11,180	7.2
Houston	71,500	5.7	4,740	-11.7	7,320	-5.8	4,020	10.8	5,940	-4.3
Dallas	71,680	6.4	4,940	-8.5	6,100	-8.0	4,720	16.8	6,340	-2.5
Las Vegas	44,120	-0.2	9,200	1.2	5,240	27.8	4,500	-1.6	7,980	15.7
Phoenix	48,120	12.7	4,020	-0.7	2,700	13.8	2,780	5.3	5,360	14.5
Baltimore	31,120	-4.1	9,820	0.1	4,340	3.3	3,220	-3.0	4,540	-0.7
Minneapolis	34,260	7.2	3,320	-22.9	2,760	13.4	2,040	1.3	6,000	16.7
Detroit	27,140	-1.4	1,980	25.8	2,300	8.2	1,680	-9.4	2,620	-11.5
Cleveland	23,140	-0.7	2,220	-10.5	3,220	3.2	3,440	1.8	2,120	-10.4
Pittsburgh	22,960	2.1	3,720	-9.3	2,920	-11.0	2,100	-8.4	3,620	14.6
Atlanta	22,120	7.3	2,480	-12.5	1,780	2.3	1,800	-5.9	2,040	0.3
Columbus	17,620	4.2	1,800	-0.7	2,200	-7.0	2,000	22.0	2,160	-3.0
St. Louis	17,840	1.9	2,260	-7.4	2,140	8.4	1,120	-6.7	2,520	11.8
San Antonio	16,920	0.9	700	-15.3	1,760	-4.3	1,040	-0.6	1,720	-10.7
Tampa	15,440	6.8	1,780	16.6	1,420	1.4	1,620	4.3	1,660	29.7
Cincinnati	15,180	4.2	1,240	-15.8	1,880	7.2	1,600	8.1	1,540	12.7
Austin	10,660	-2.1	800	-23.6	2,280	0.3	720	30.1	1,260	12.5
Indianapolis	9,840	9.7	940	-6.0	820	8.8	540	-10.0	1,480	-8.3
Kansas City	8,680	-0.3	1,080	-5.8	920	-8.6	700	8.2	900	-18.7
Providence	19,460	-4.4	6,580	8.2	2,320	22.5	2,820	-8.8	2,720	27.1
Honolulu	14,820	3.6	6,100	0.1	3,700	8.8	3,080	2.0	4,760	-0.1
Milwaukee	17,940	1.4	2,480	-16.2	2,720	-1.0	1,680	-13.7	3,760	-9.6
Virginia Beach	15,580	-0.1	2,240	-17.6	1,900	-5.9	2,540	2.4	2,940	-2.4

Follow-Up Table 1. Estimated Number of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas by Type of Destination during the Pandemic

	To suburb of the same metro area		To high-cost, large metro areas (>2M)		To lower-cost, large metro areas (>2M)		To midsized metro areas (500K–2M)		To small metro areas (<500K), towns, and rural areas	
	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change	Migrants	Percent change
Bridgeport	11,580	14.8	4,640	1.9	1,540	13.8	4,420	13.9	1,300	12.7
Salt Lake City	13,760	-0.8	1,600	-26.2	1,220	5.2	3,780	2.3	2,660	4.2
New Orleans	13,720	13.2	2,380	14.1	2,220	-5.1	1,620	-12.6	2,640	2.9
Buffalo	11,620	-2.0	2,220	3.7	1,760	2.3	1,920	16.1	1,800	23.9
Albany	10,420	8.9	2,340	-6.1	920	7.0	1,220	0.0	2,000	6.0
Hartford	10,020	5.1	1,160	-31.0	940	-4.1	2,020	-2.6	1,140	17.9
New Haven	7,860	7.2	2,180	-11.9	1,240	39.8	2,580	-0.3	1,200	16.1
Stockton	7,820	-5.9	3,580	1.3	740	11.0	1,580	9.2	1,340	2.0
Oxnard	8,160	-3.1	3,020	-13.2	1,160	9.4	1,180	14.9	1,760	-0.4
Worcester	7,900	-7.5	2,660	27.5	620	9.4	1,340	9.2	1,100	27.9
Allentown	8,460	15.2	1,820	11.4	1,460	1.9	720	-8.5	1,380	8.9
Fresno	9,260	0.7	980	-13.0	460	25.5	480	14.3	1,460	-11.0
Rochester	7,920	-0.3	900	-0.7	660	-27.2	840	-21.7	980	-12.5
El Paso	7,480	-16.0	440	-28.3	1,200	-11.8	560	-13.4	1,560	14.7
Bakersfield	7,360	-1.5	1,020	-0.6	380	46.2	460	1.5	900	-8.8
Louisville	7,380	-1.4	340	-30.1	640	-14.3	800	50.0	1,140	30.5
Springfield	6,020	-9.7	1,180	8.6	620	-13.9	1,280	3.8	740	-19.6
Scranton	6,220	-0.4	1,020	-31.1	960	2.9	840	0.8	1,520	16.9
Omaha	6,740	5.4	700	32.9	800	34.8	440	-15.4	1,020	0.7
Syracuse	4,800	4.2	980	17.6	580	2.4	780	6.4	720	-19.4
Toledo	5,280	2.7	380	3.6	880	-4.3	520	27.9	800	-27.7

Notes: Metro areas included in this table have at least 100,000 urban residents. Populations indicated in parentheses. The pandemic period is 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1. The percentage change is relative to the equivalent average migration flows between 2017:Q2 and 2020:Q1.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York Consumer Credit Panel / Equifax Data, American Community Survey, National Association of Realtors, and author's calculations.

Follow-Up Table 2. Estimates of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas during the Pandemic, by Distance

	To another region within 150 miles		To another region beyond 150 miles	
	Migrants	**Change**	**Migrants**	**Change**
New York	86,820	43.2	257,500	19.9
Los Angeles	85,280	13.5	156,140	8.3
Chicago	11,900	23.6	73,120	2.7
Miami	8,920	30.3	59,860	1.4
Washington DC	20,160	18.9	60,220	5.0
San Francisco	43,760	24.2	79,340	27.7
Boston	25,260	32.1	48,840	9.7
San Diego	13,300	5.4	40,500	6.7
San Jose	31,220	6.3	28,740	10.6
Seattle	7,100	13.2	28,460	10.4
Riverside	14,740	4.0	12,980	10.6
Denver	6,000	14.8	22,260	8.7
Sacramento	7,000	5.4	9,660	2.4
Portland, OR	3,680	0.5	13,260	6.0
Philadelphia	19,260	7.6	25,840	6.5
Houston	2,540	-18.8	19,500	-1.8
Dallas	1,780	-13.3	20,320	-1.1
Las Vegas	1,120	51.4	25,860	8.0
Phoenix	1,680	11.5	13,200	7.1
Baltimore	8,780	0.7	13,140	-0.7
Minneapolis	2,660	21.6	11,460	-2.1
Detroit	2,320	3.9	6,260	-0.3
Cleveland	4,240	11.4	6,880	-9.9
Pittsburgh	2,080	12.6	10,280	-6.7
Atlanta	980	5.0	7,120	-6.3
Columbus	3,320	11.9	4,840	-5.1
St. Louis	960	9.1	7,080	1.2
San Antonio	680	-37.8	4,540	-1.2
Tampa	1,620	29.3	4,920	8.7
Cincinnati	1,780	17.1	4,540	-0.6
Austin	1,680	26.0	3,380	-7.8
Indianapolis	920	-14.8	2,880	-0.7
Kansas City	320	-36.0	3,300	-3.5
Providence	6,720	17.9	7,720	2.6
Honolulu	660	33.8	17,240	1.3
Milwaukee	3,900	-14.8	6,740	-7.1
Virginia Beach	1,680	-7.7	7,940	-5.8
Bridgeport	7,400	17.5	4,520	-2.7
Salt Lake City	3,600	2.5	5,680	-6.7
New Orleans	1,780	9.9	7,120	-1.7
Buffalo	1,260	11.8	6,500	11.2
Albany	3,100	-4.1	3,380	4.8
Hartford	2,780	-4.1	2,480	-11.4
New Haven	4,100	8.3	3,100	-2.9

Follow-Up Table 2. Estimates of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas during the Pandemic, by Distance

	To another region within 150 miles		To another region beyond 150 miles	
	Migrants	**Change**	**Migrants**	**Change**
Stockton	4,360	5.3	2,880	2.1
Oxnard	2,640	-13.3	4,480	4.2
Worcester	3,320	24.2	2,400	15.8
Allentown	3,640	17.9	1,760	-13.7
Fresno	1,320	-15.7	2,060	3.7
Rochester	560	-38.7	2,840	-8.2
El Paso	300	12.5	3,460	-7.2
Bakersfield	1,240	12.0	1,520	-6.2
Louisville	900	8.0	2,020	11.4
Springfield	1,920	-5.0	1,900	-2.1
Scranton	2,600	4.3	1,740	-15.5
Omaha	300	-25.0	2,680	18.9
Syracuse	720	-2.7	2,440	3.7
Toledo	1,100	-19.9	1,480	3.3

Notes: Metro areas included in this table have at least 100,000 urban residents. The pandemic period is 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1. The percentage change is relative to the equivalent migration flows between 2017:Q2 and 2020:Q1.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York Consumer Credit Panel/Equifax Data, American Community Survey, National Association of Realtors, and author's calculations.

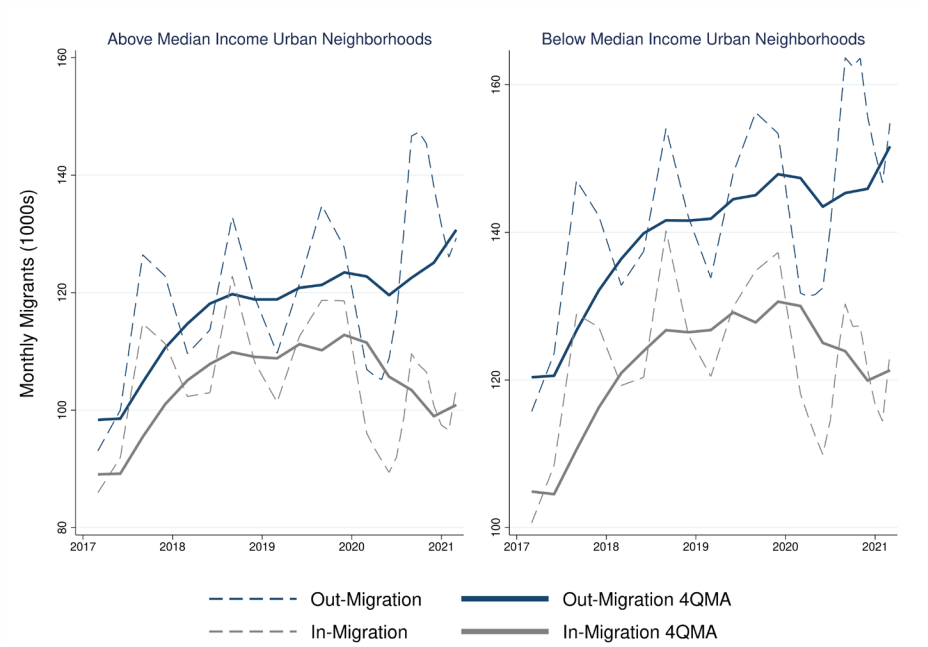
Appendix

Table A1. Change in Net and Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods

	Change in net flow	Change in gross outflow	Change in gross inflow
National	31.8	19.8	-12.0
Below median income	13.2	9.0	-4.3
Above median income	18.6	10.8	-7.8
Homebuyers	10.4	10.8	0.4
Renters	21.4	8.9	-12.4
18–34 years old	17.7	9.0	-8.7
35–64 years old	12.1	9.8	-2.3
65+ years old	2.1	1.0	-1.0
500K to <2M metro population	4.1	1.2	-2.9
2M to <5M metro population	8.6	5.3	-3.3
≥5M metro population	16.8	13.3	-3.5

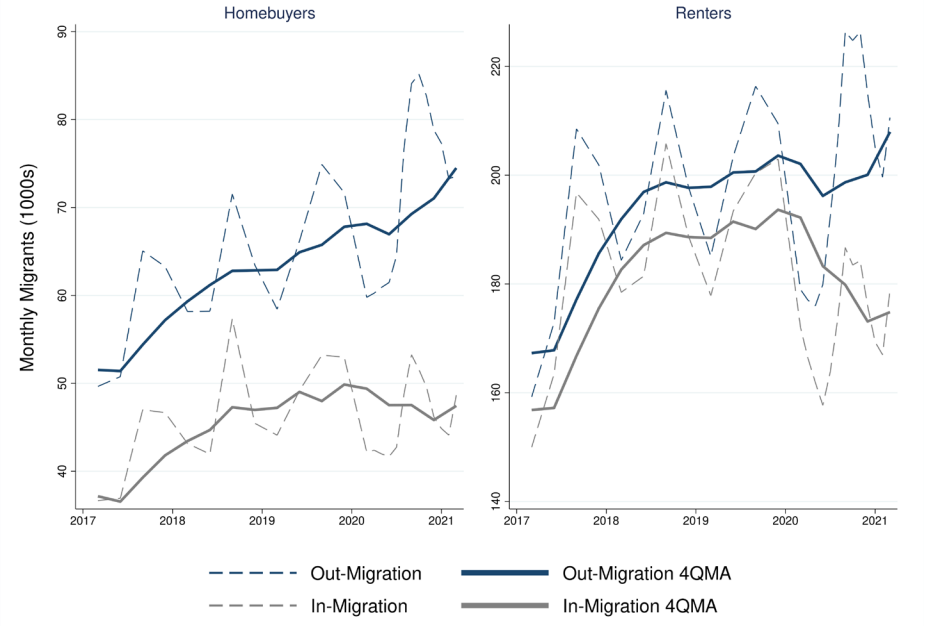
Notes: The units are thousands of migrants per month. The change is calculated as the difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A1a. Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 3, by Neighborhood Income



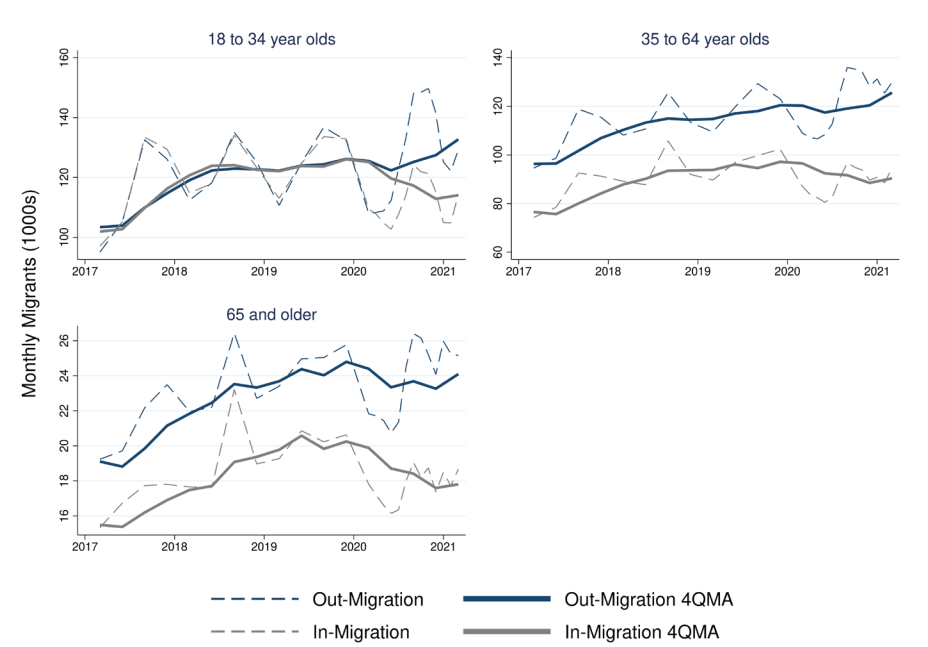
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A1b. Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 3, by Migrant Homeowner Status



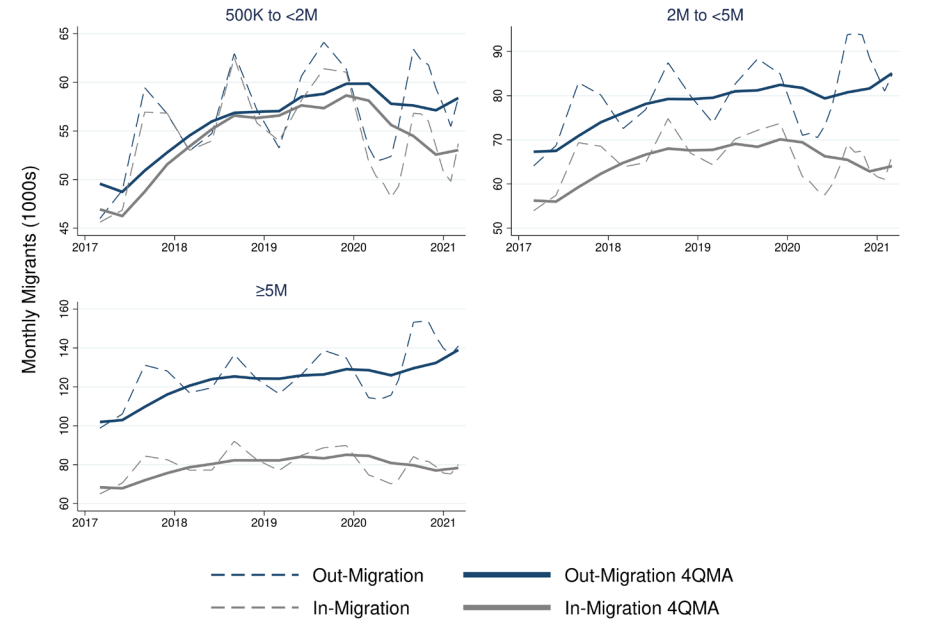
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A1c. Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 3, by Migrant Age



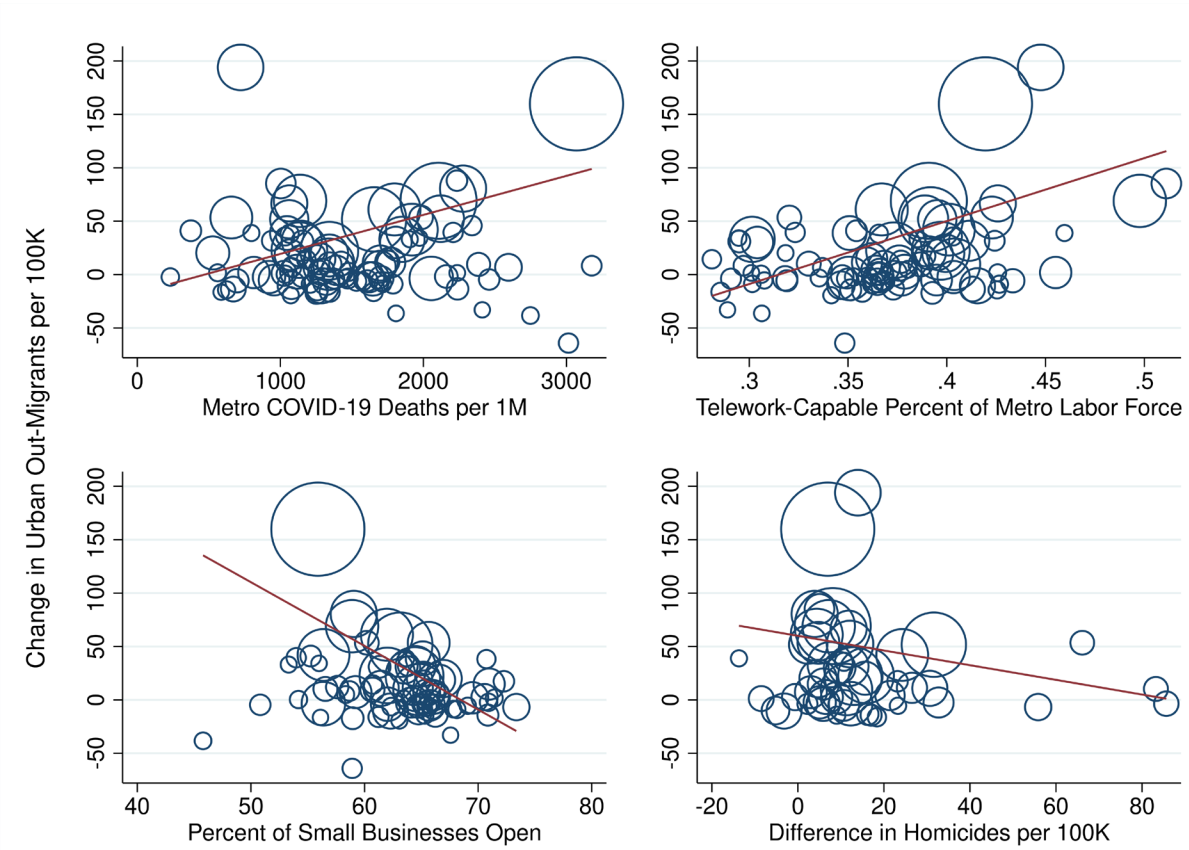
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A1d. Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 3, by Metro Area Population



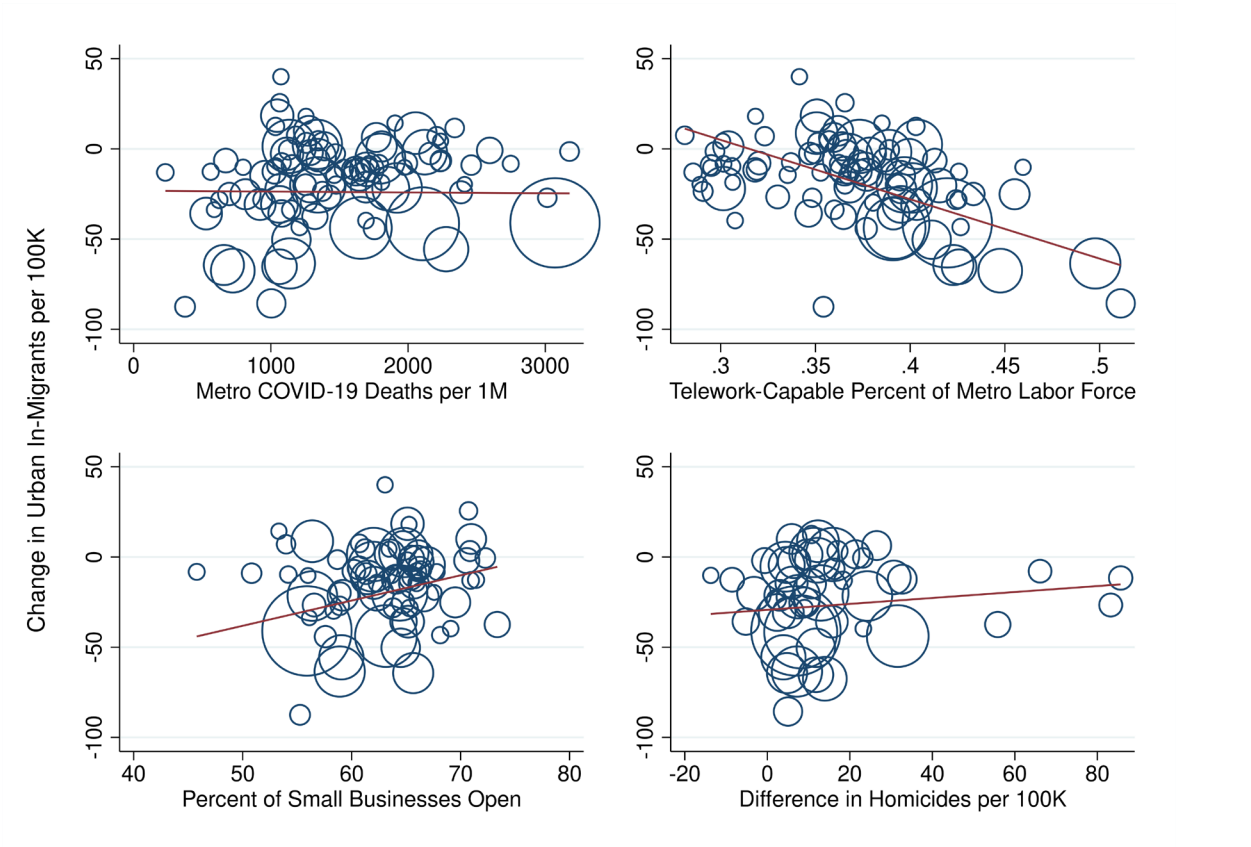
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A2. Change in Gross Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 4



Notes: Trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Marker sizes represent metro populations.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, Center for Systems Science and Engineering, Dingel and Neiman (2020), Homebase, *New York Times*, and author's calculations.

Figure A3. Change in Gross Inflows to Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 4



Notes: The trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Marker sizes represent metro populations.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, Center for Systems Science and Engineering, Dingel and Neiman (2020), Homebase, *New York Times*, and author's calculations.

Table A2. Change in Gross and Net Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods for Metro Areas with Populations Greater Than 500,000

Metro area	Change in net flow	Change in outflow	Change in inflow
San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA	262	194	-67
New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY–NJ–PA	201	160	-41
San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA	171	85	-86
Boston–Cambridge–Newton, MA–NH	136	80	-56
Washington–Arlington–Alexandria, DC–VA–MD–WV	132	69	-63
Denver–Aurora–Lakewood, CO	132	67	-65
Urban Honolulu, HI	129	41	-87
Seattle–Tacoma–Bellevue, WA	118	53	-64
Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA	111	69	-42
Chicago–Naperville–Elgin, IL–IN–WI	96	52	-44
Bridgeport–Stamford–Norwalk, CT	95	88	-7
San Diego–Carlsbad, CA	83	52	-31
Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN–WI	82	32	-50
Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach, FL	66	61	-5
Philadelphia–Camden–Wilmington, PA–NJ–DE–MD	64	42	-22
New Orleans–Metairie, LA	61	54	-8
Albany–Schenectady–Troy, NY	60	32	-28
Buffalo–Cheektowaga–Niagara Falls, NY	56	12	-44
Portland–Vancouver–Hillsboro, OR–WA	56	20	-36
Riverside–San Bernardino–Ontario, CA	55	33	-22
Phoenix–Mesa–Scottsdale, AZ	54	52	-2
Durham–Chapel Hill, NC	49	39	-10
Lancaster, PA	44	34	-10
Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington, TX	42	22	-20
Columbus, OH	41	19	-22
Grand Rapids–Wyoming, MI	40	31	-9
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY–IN	37	10	-27
Syracuse, NY	35	5	-30
Des Moines–West Des Moines, IA	34	-9	-43
New Haven–Milford, CT	34	46	12
Toledo, OH	34	-5	-40
Hartford–West Hartford–East Hartford, CT	34	10	-24
Allentown–Bethlehem–Easton, PA–NJ	32	40	7
Oxnard–Thousand Oaks–Ventura, CA	31	-2	-34
Milwaukee–Waukesha–West Allis, WI	31	-7	-37
Las Vegas–Henderson–Paradise, NV	29	30	1
Sacramento–Roseville–Arden–Arcade, CA	29	-2	-31

Table A2. Change in Gross and Net Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods for Metro Areas with Populations Greater Than 500,000

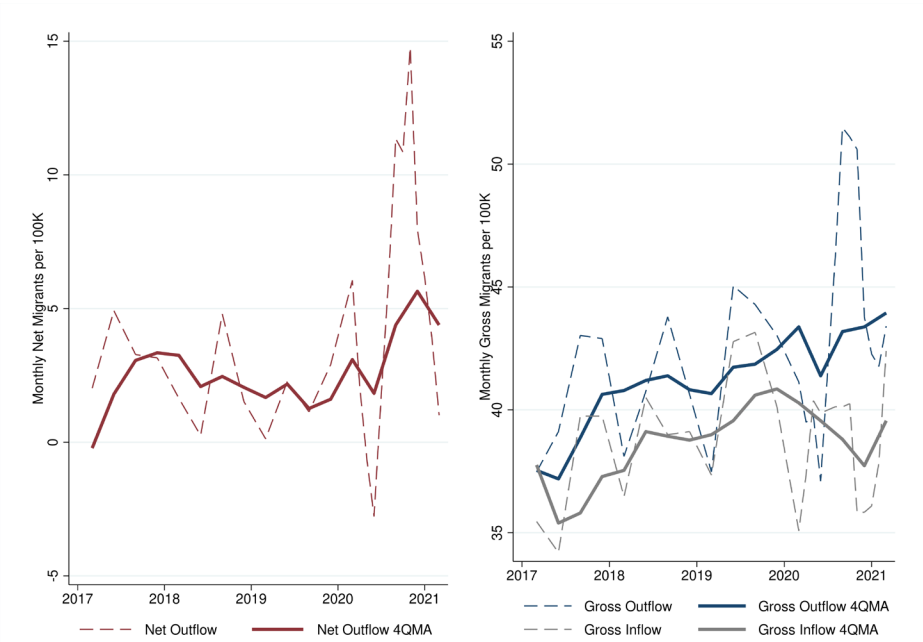
Metro area	Change in net flow	Change in outflow	Change in inflow
Pittsburgh, PA	29	7	-21
Austin–Round Rock, TX	27	2	-25
Virginia Beach–Norfolk–Newport News, VA–NC	26	-10	-36
Tampa–St. Petersburg–Clearwater, FL	24	20	-4
Colorado Springs, CO	23	36	12
Little Rock–North Little Rock–Conway, AR	23	3	-20
St. Louis, MO–IL	22	11	-11
Houston–The Woodlands–Sugar Land, TX	21	23	1
Orlando–Kissimmee–Sanford, FL	21	39	18
Bakersfield, CA	20	-4	-24
Salt Lake City, UT	19	-6	-25
Harrisburg–Carlisle, PA	19	33	14
Omaha–Council Bluffs, NE–IA	18	17	-1
Portland–South Portland, ME	17	-16	-34
Richmond, VA	16	10	-6
Provo–Orem, UT	14	2	-13
Charleston–North Charleston, SC	14	7	-7
Madison, WI	14	-14	-28
Oklahoma City, OK	14	1	-13
Boise City, ID	13	38	26
Wichita, KS	11	-3	-14
Ogden–Clearfield, UT	11	-2	-13
San Antonio–New Braunfels, TX	10	-4	-14
Winston–Salem, NC	10	0	-10
Baltimore–Columbia–Towson, MD	10	-10	-20
Cleveland–Elyria, OH	10	-2	-12
McAllen–Edinburg–Mission, TX	10	8	-1
Kansas City, MO–KS	10	-5	-15
Akron, OH	8	-6	-15
Memphis, TN–MS–AR	8	-4	-12
Providence–Warwick, RI–MA	8	7	-1
Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA	7	10	2
Cape Coral–Fort Myers, FL	7	14	8
Fresno, CA	6	-6	-12
Charlotte–Concord–Gastonia, NC–SC	5	3	-3
Columbia, SC	5	-6	-11
Indianapolis–Carmel–Anderson, IN	5	11	6
Cincinnati, OH–KY–IN	5	15	10

Table A2. Change in Gross and Net Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods for Metro Areas with Populations Greater Than 500,000

Metro area	Change in net flow	Change in outflow	Change in inflow
Jacksonville, FL	5	3	-2
Worcester, MA–CT	4	-5	-9
Rochester, NY	3	-17	-20
Nashville–Davidson—Murfreesboro—Franklin, TN	3	4	1
Chattanooga, TN–GA	2	20	18
Birmingham–Hoover, AL	1	-2	-3
Augusta–Richmond County, GA–SC	0	-9	-8
Dayton, OH	-1	-9	-8
Knoxville, TN	-1	-4	-3
Scranton—Wilkes–Barre—Hazleton, PA	-3	2	4
Stockton–Lodi, CA	-3	-16	-13
Tucson, AZ	-7	-13	-7
Raleigh, NC	-7	-14	-6
Detroit–Warren–Dearborn, MI	-12	-4	9
Youngstown–Warren–Boardman, OH–PA	-13	-33	-20
Tulsa, OK	-18	-14	3
Modesto, CA	-18	-36	-19
Albuquerque, NM	-21	-16	5
Springfield, MA	-30	-38	-8
El Paso, TX	-37	-64	-27
Spokane–Spokane Valley, WA	-59	-19	40

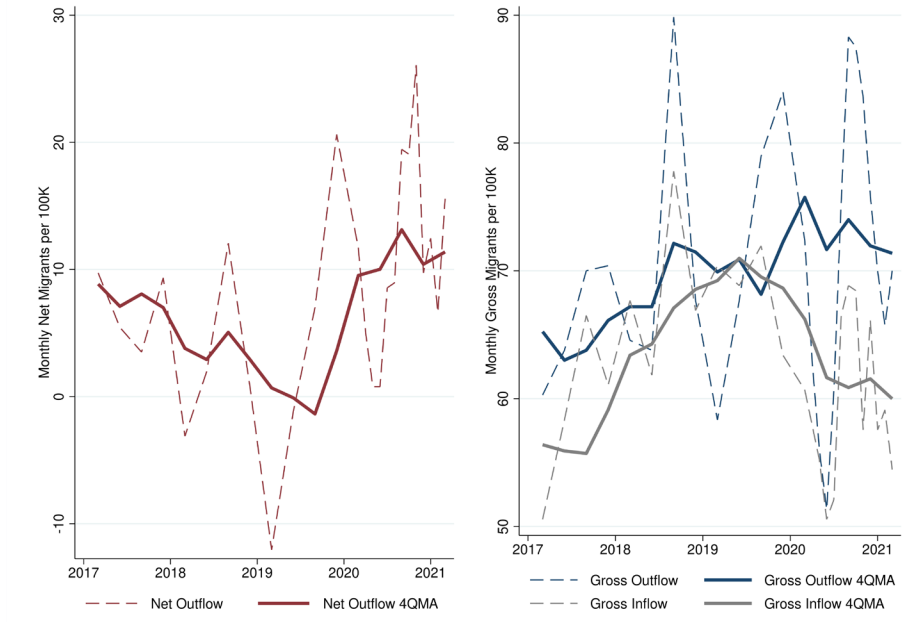
Notes: Units are migrants per 100,000 metro area residents. The change is calculated as the difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q1 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Changes in the outflow and inflow may not sum to the change in the net flow due to rounding.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A4. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Atlanta–Sandy Springs–Roswell, GA



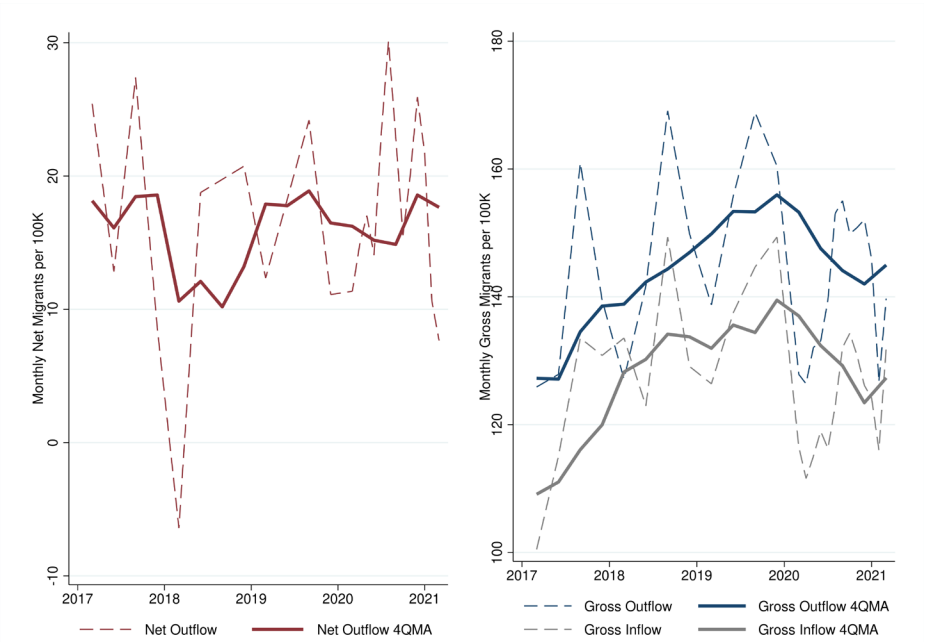
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A5. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Austin–Round Rock, TX



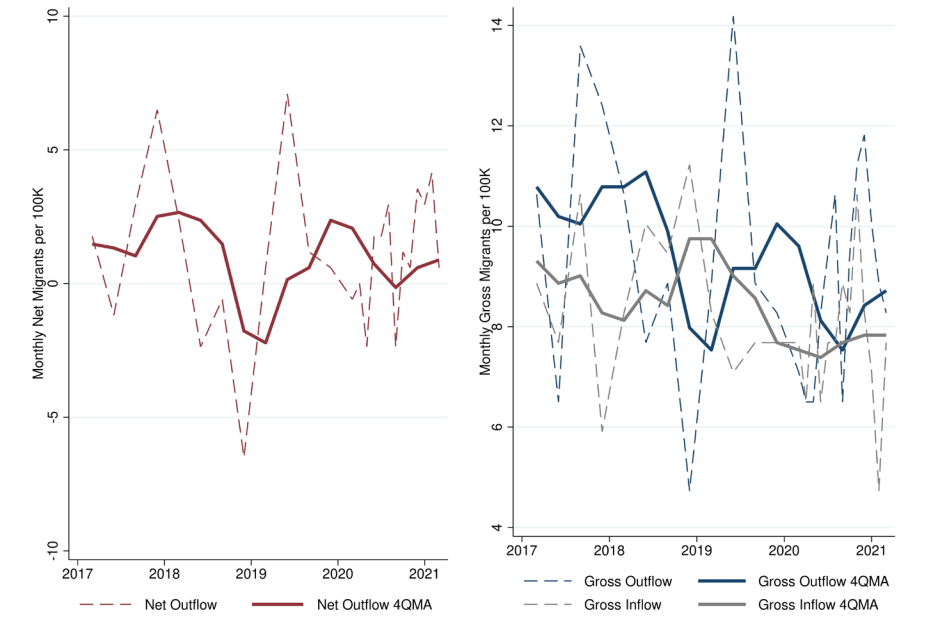
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A6. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Baltimore–Columbia–Towson, MD



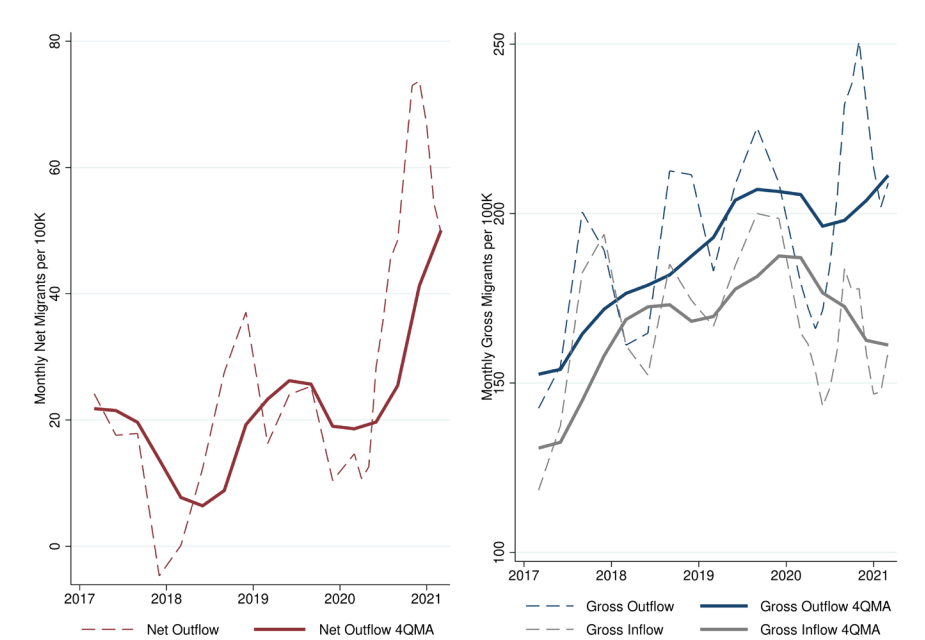
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A7. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Birmingham–Hoover, AL



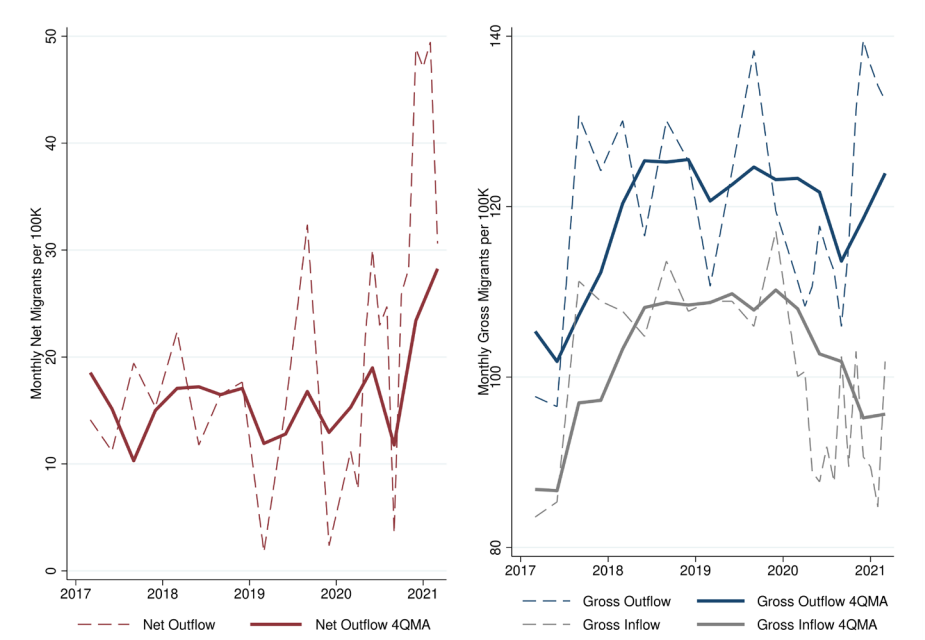
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A8. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Boston–Cambridge–Newton, MA–NH



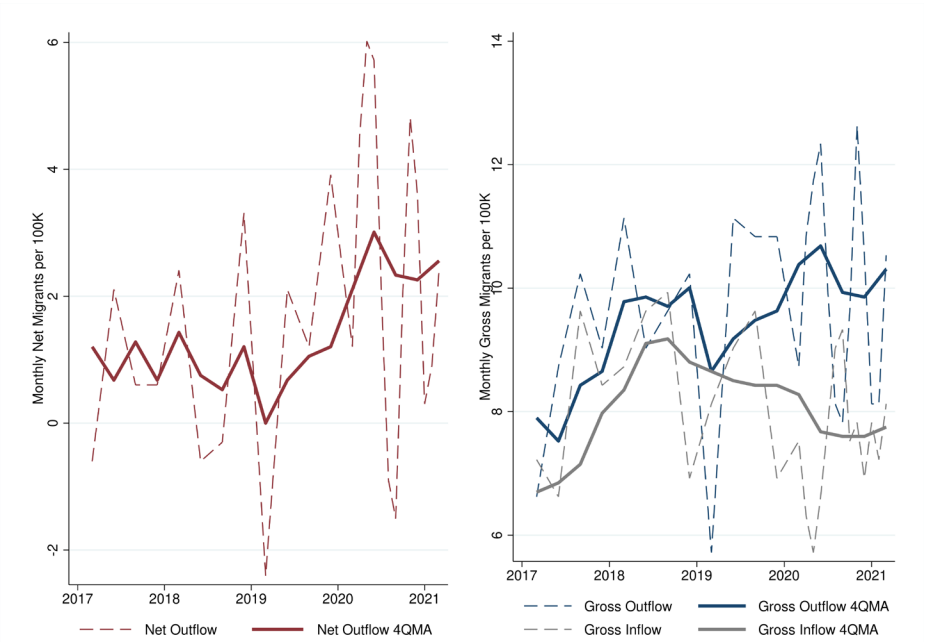
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A9. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Buffalo–Cheektowaga–Niagara Falls, NY



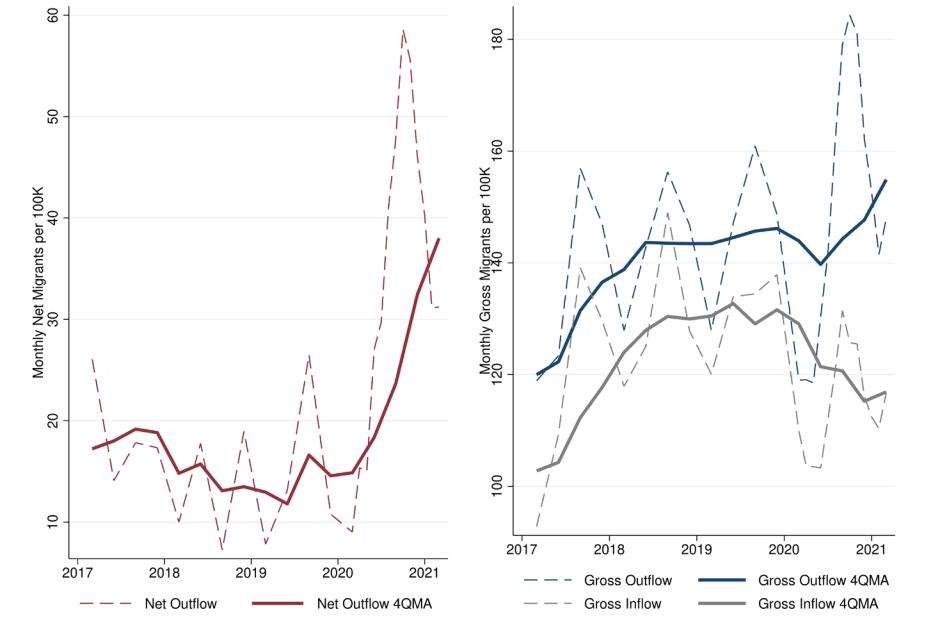
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A10. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Charlotte–Concord–Gastonia, NC–SC



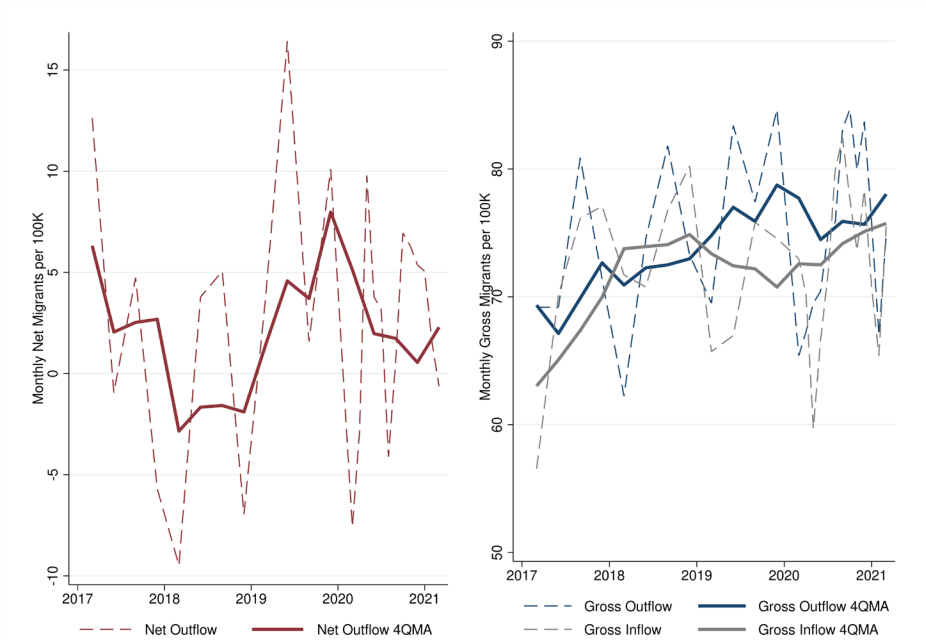
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A11. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Chicago–Naperville–Elgin, IL–IN–WI



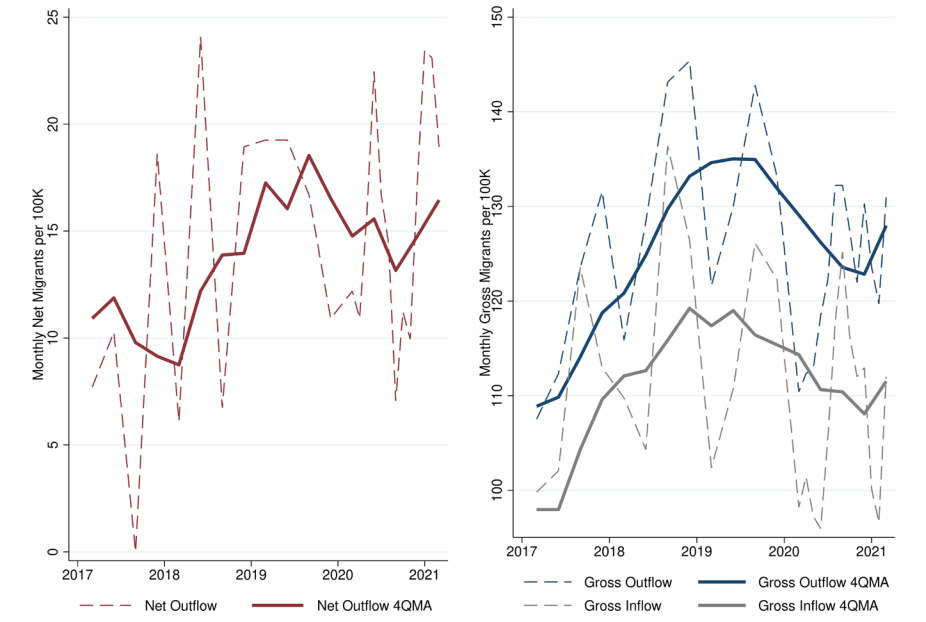
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A12. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Cincinnati, OH–KY–IN



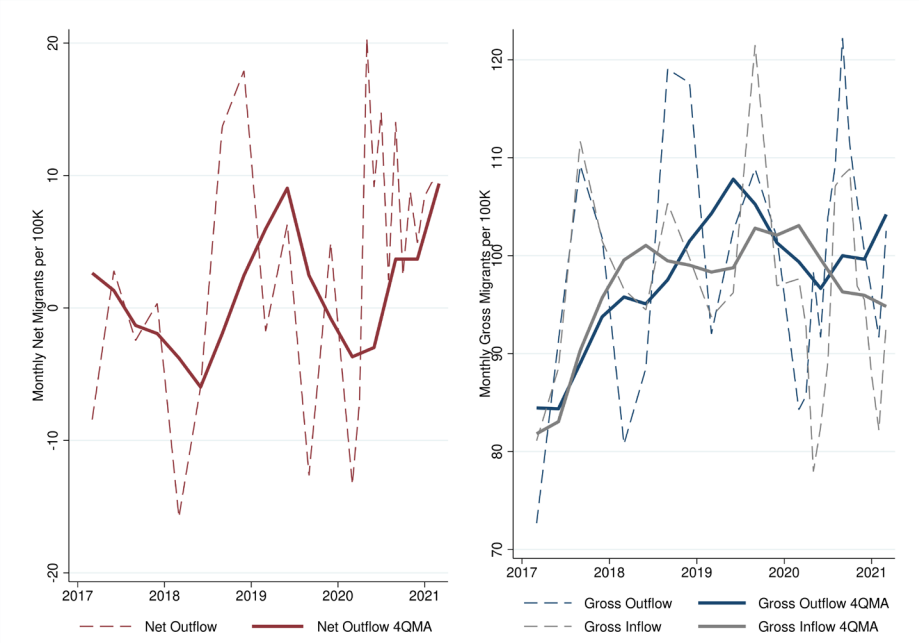
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A13. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Cleveland–Elyria, OH



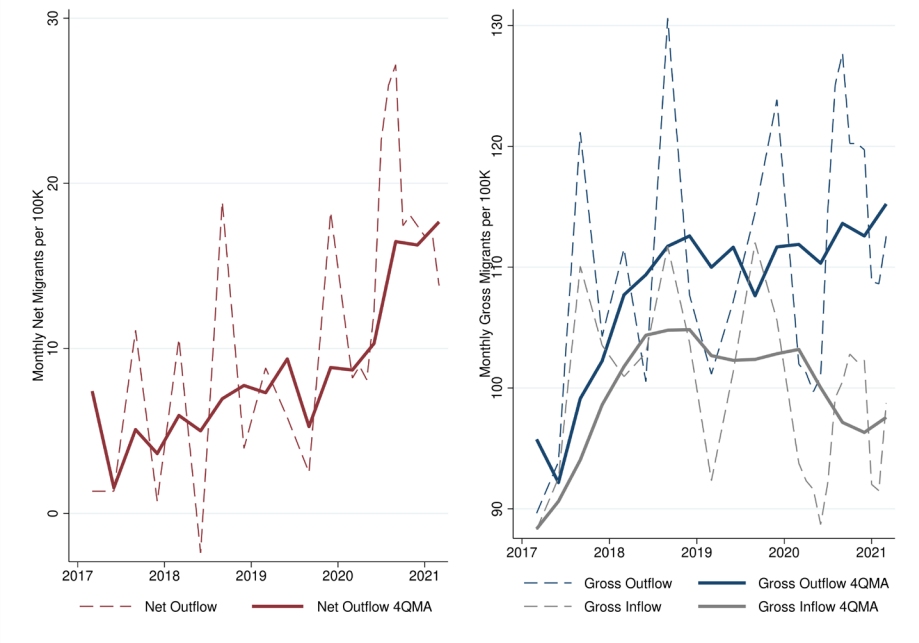
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A14. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Columbus, OH



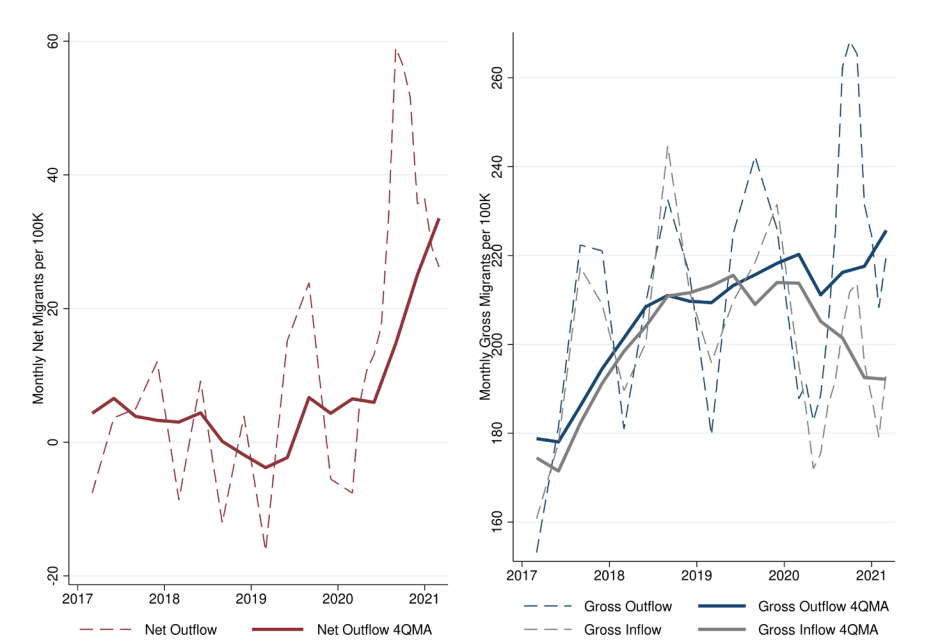
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A15. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Dallas–Fort Worth–Arlington, TX



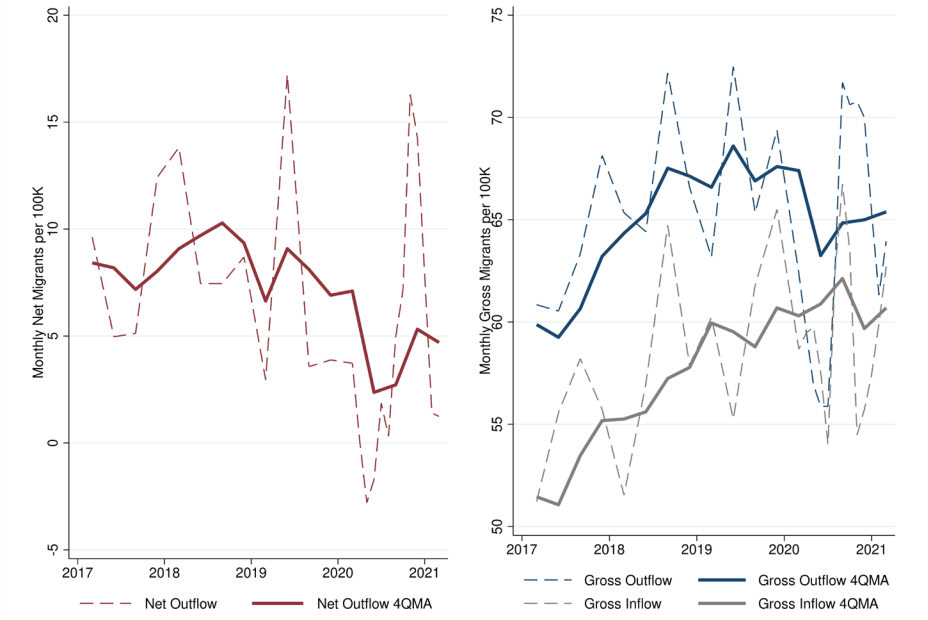
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A16. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Denver–Aurora–Lakewood, CO



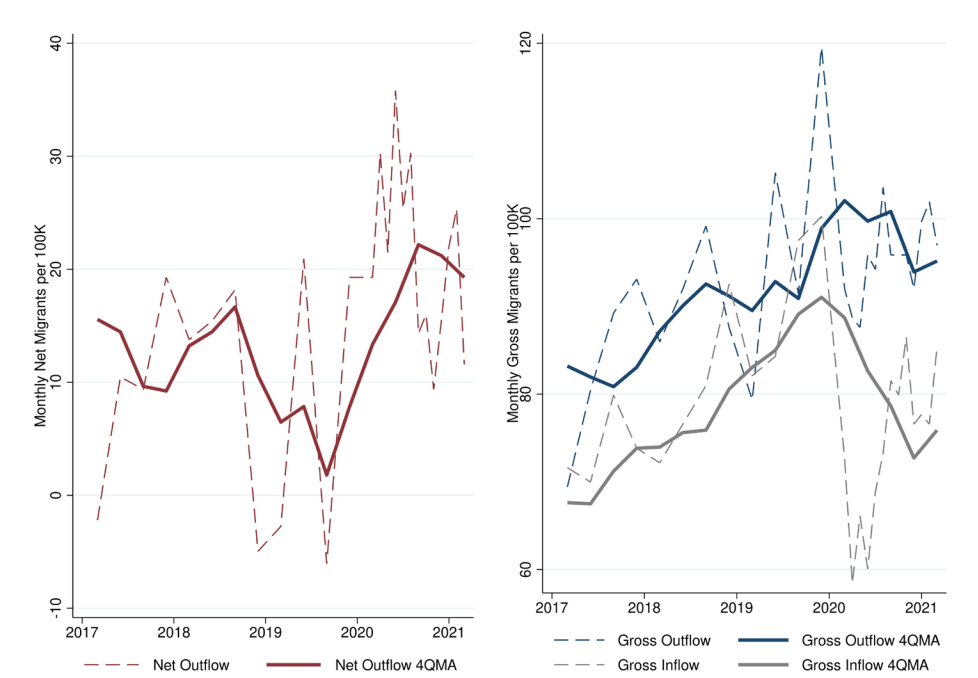
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A17. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Detroit–Warren–Dearborn, MI



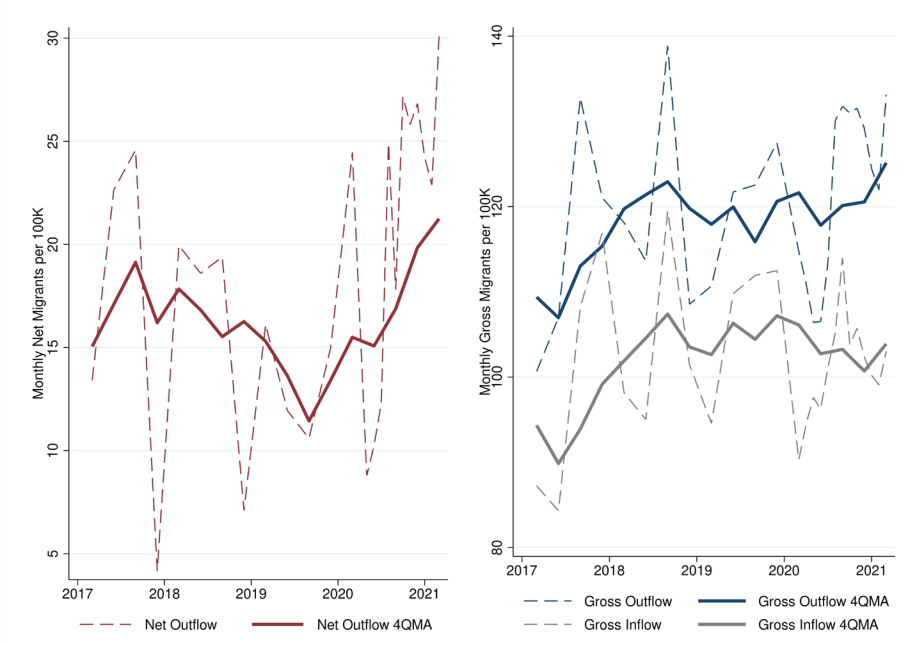
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A18. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Hartford–West Hartford–East Hartford, CT



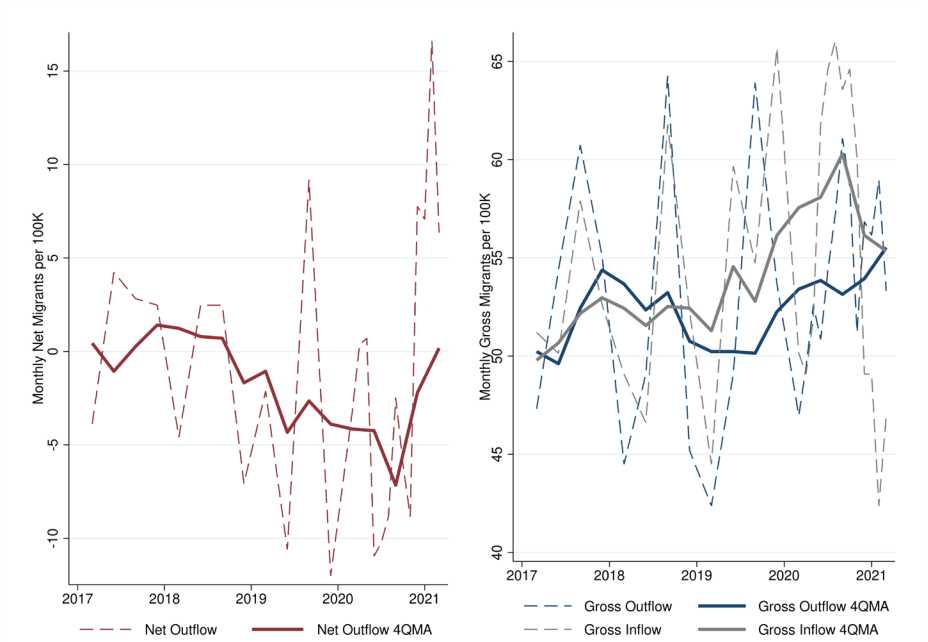
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A19. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Houston–The Woodlands–Sugar Land, TX



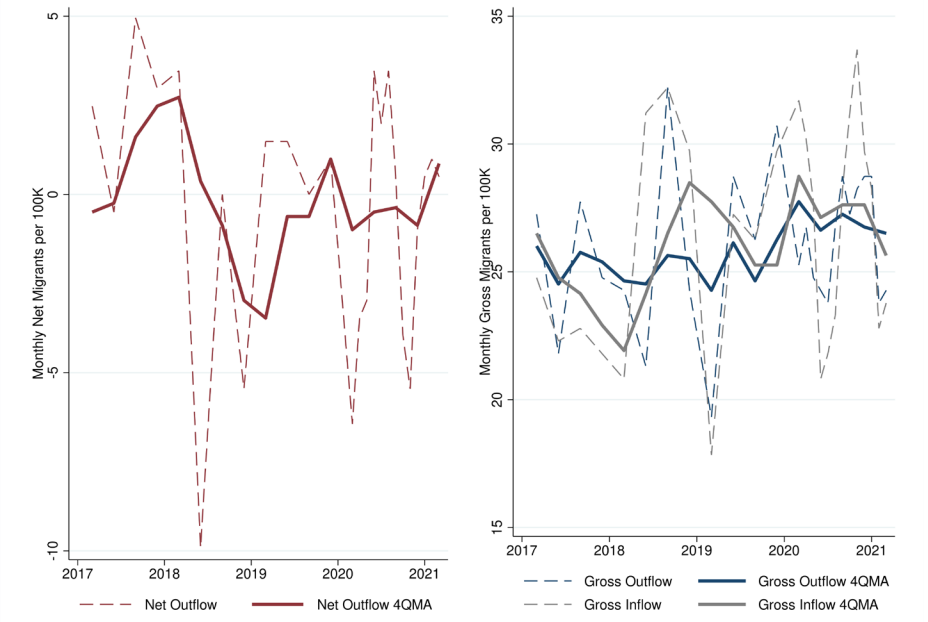
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations

Figure A20. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Indianapolis–Carmel–Anderson, IN



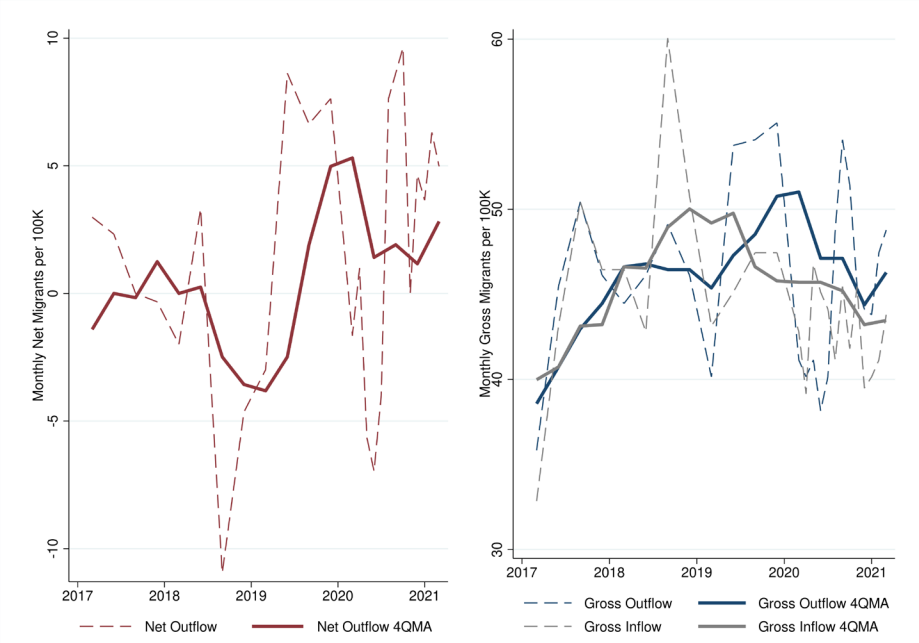
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A21. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Jacksonville, FL



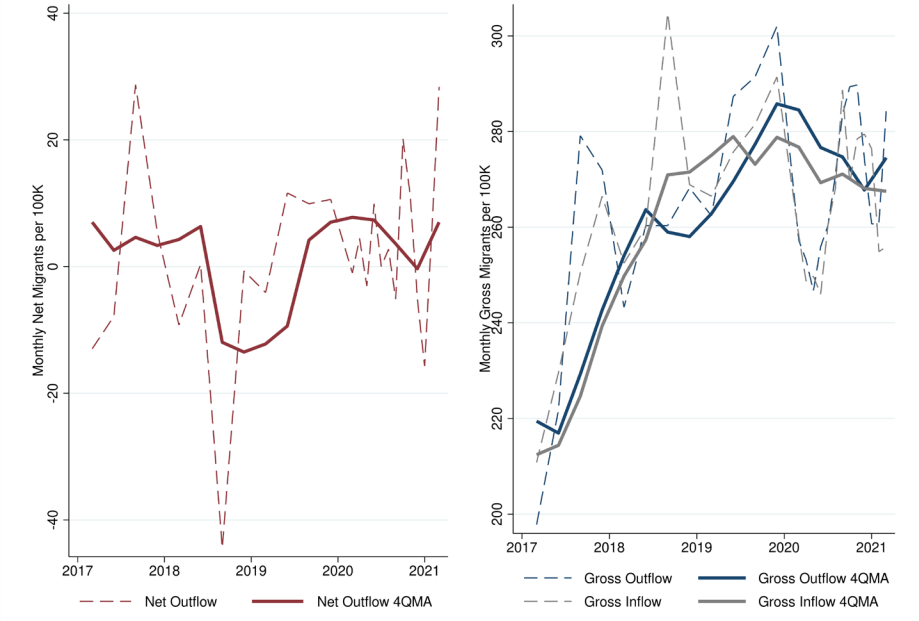
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A22. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Kansas City, MO–KS



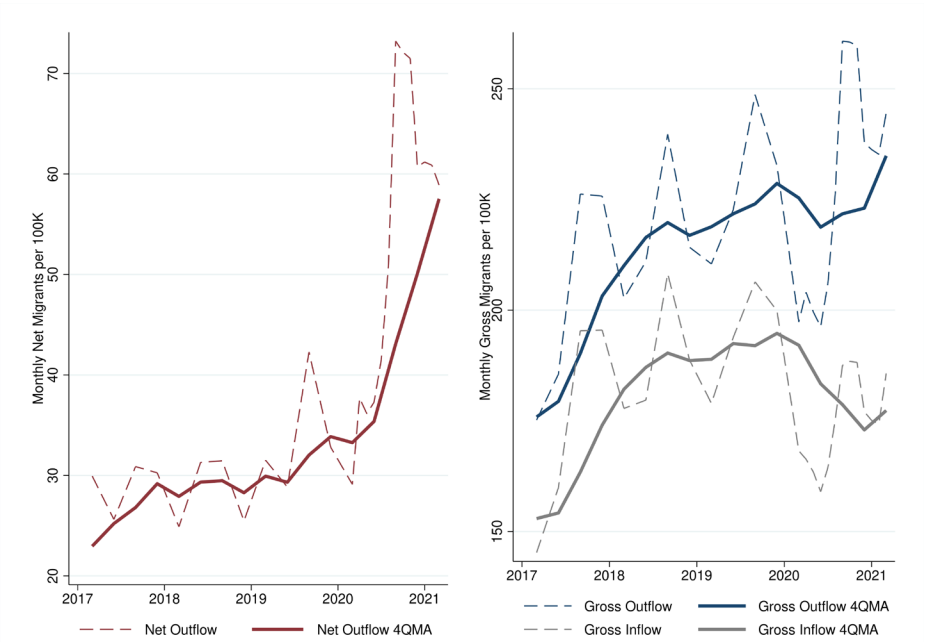
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A23. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Las Vegas–Henderson–Paradise, NV



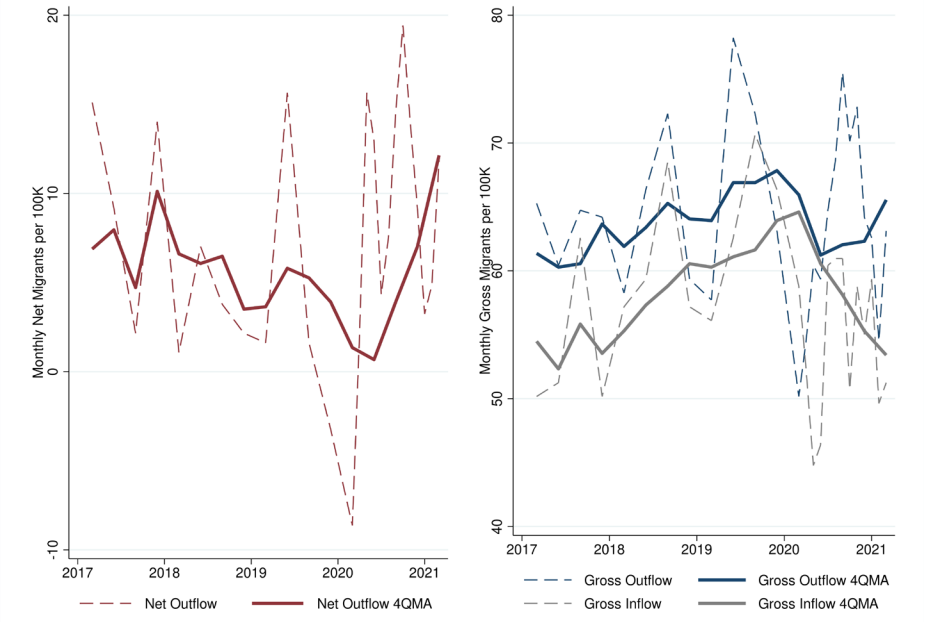
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A24. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Los Angeles–Long Beach–Anaheim, CA



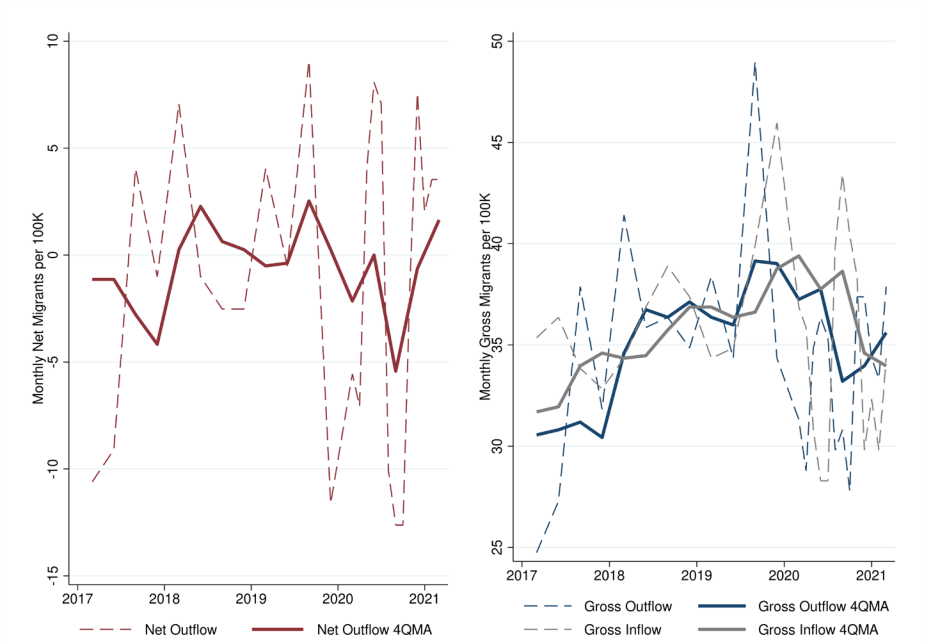
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A25. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Louisville/Jefferson County, KY–IN



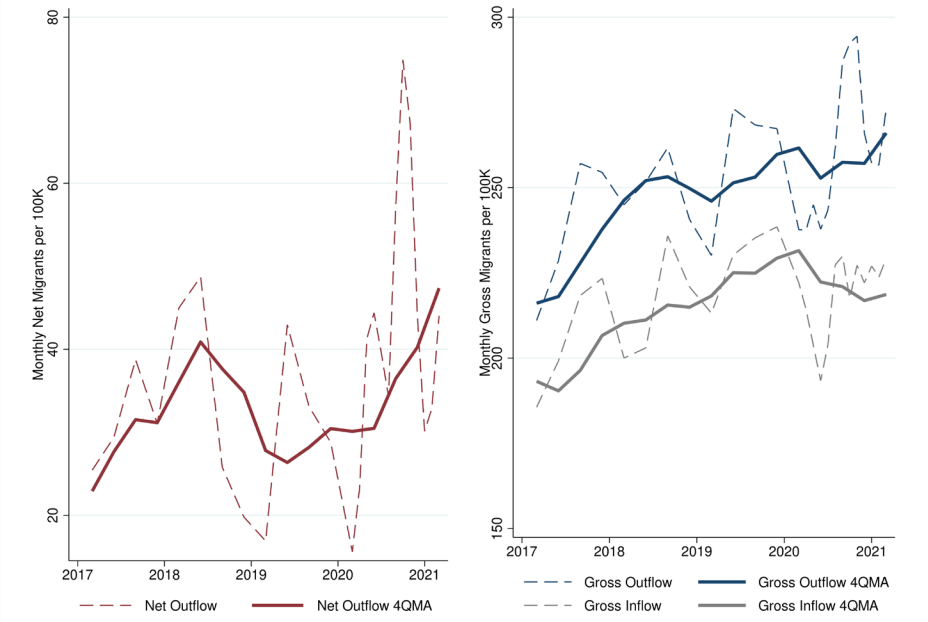
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A26. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Memphis, TN–MS–AR



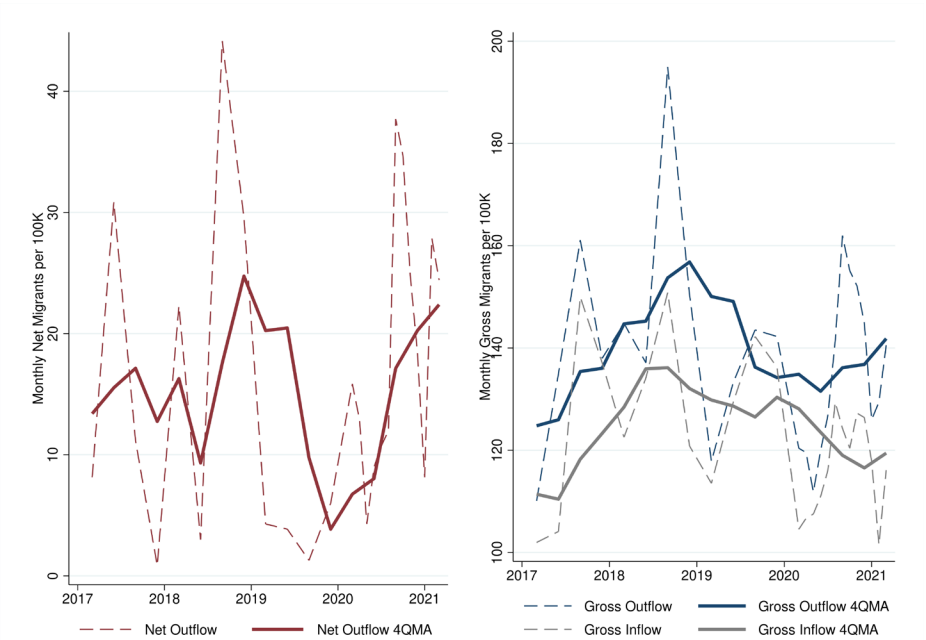
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A27. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Miami–Fort Lauderdale–West Palm Beach, FL



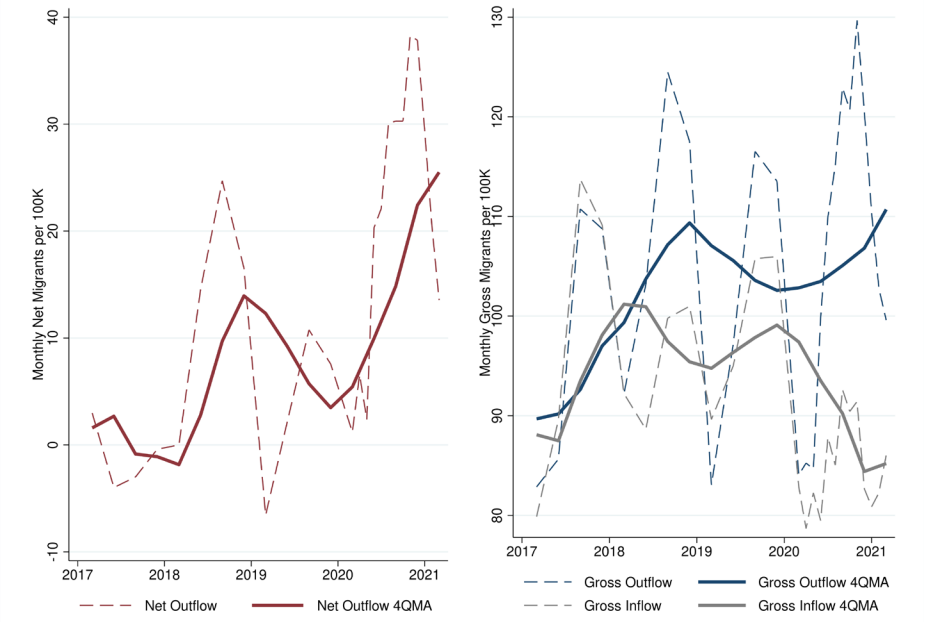
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A28. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Milwaukee–Waukesha–West Allis, WI



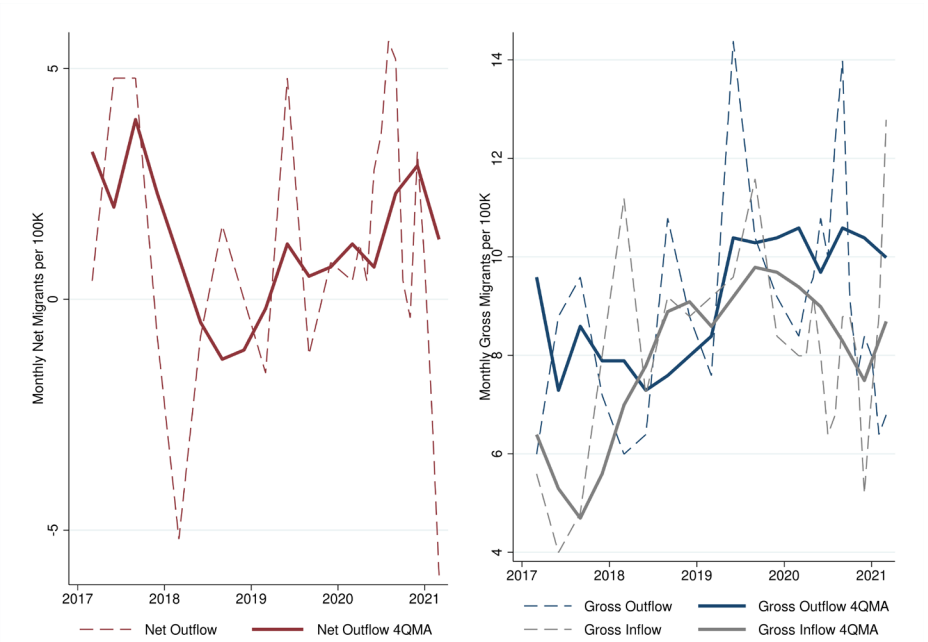
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A29. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Minneapolis–St. Paul–Bloomington, MN–WI



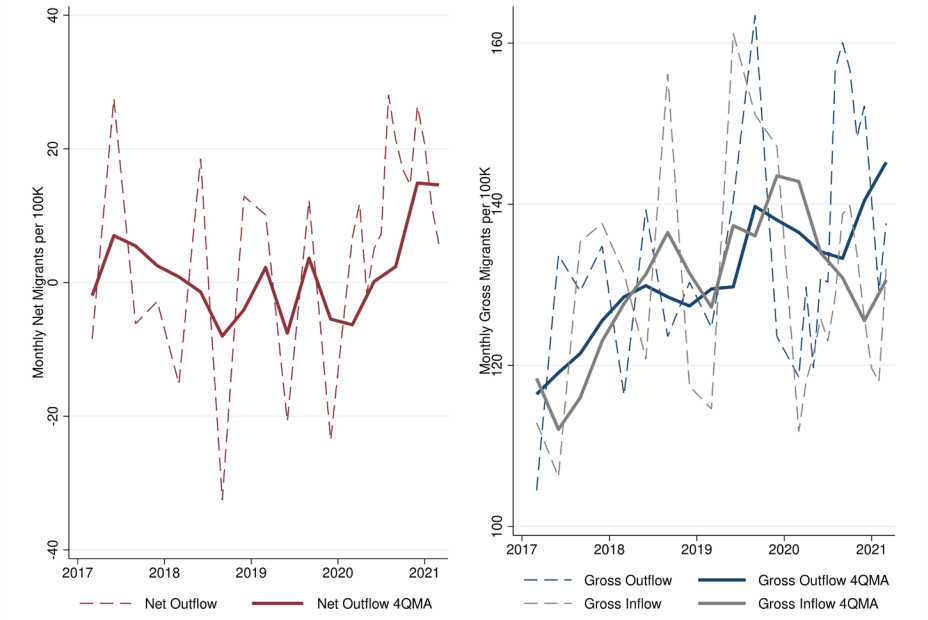
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A30. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Nashville–Davidson–Murfreesboro–Franklin, TN



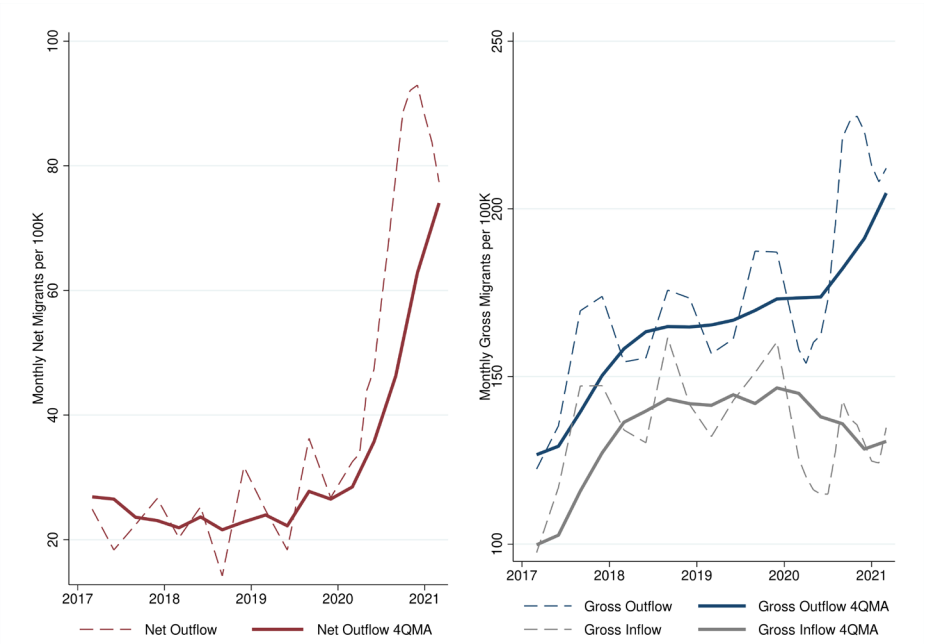
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A31. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: New Orleans–Metairie, LA



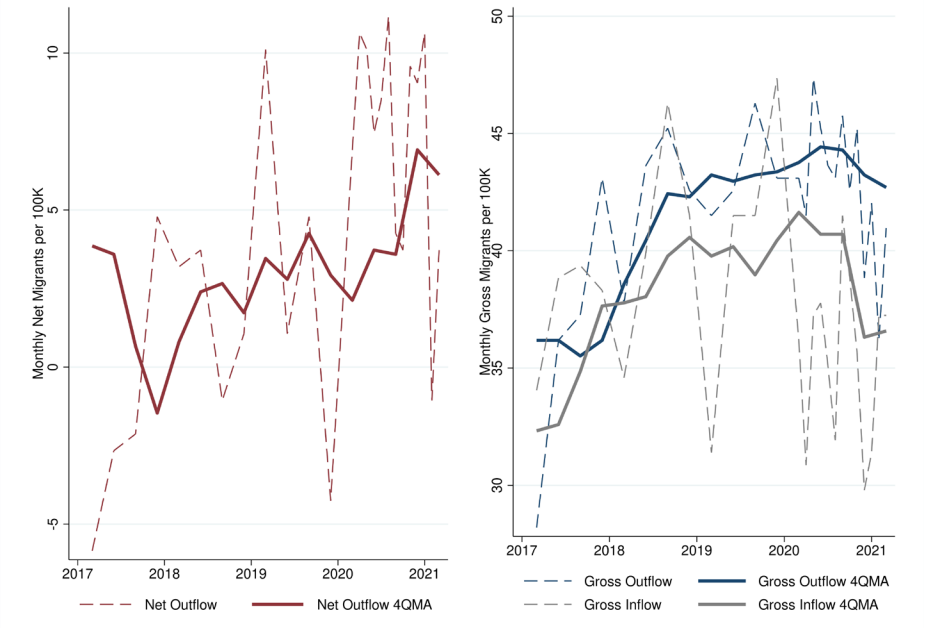
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A32. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: New York–Newark–Jersey City, NY–NJ–PA



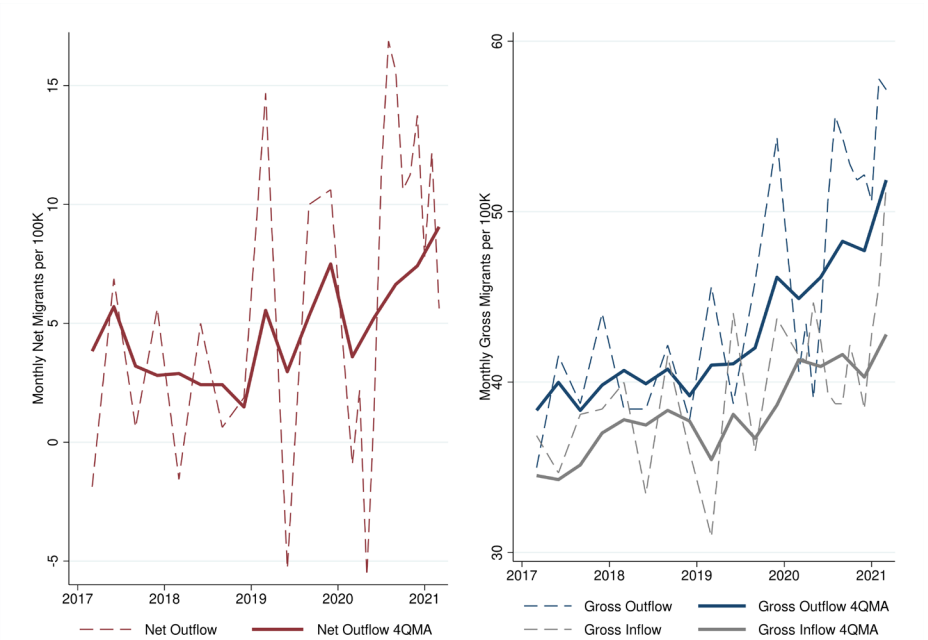
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A33. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Oklahoma City, OK



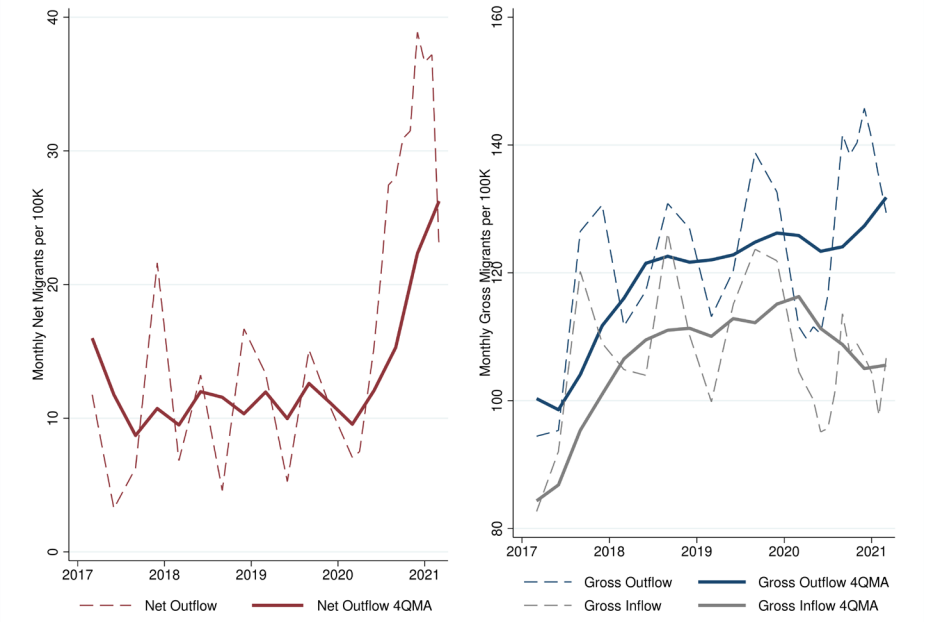
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A34. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Orlando–Kissimmee–Sanford, FL



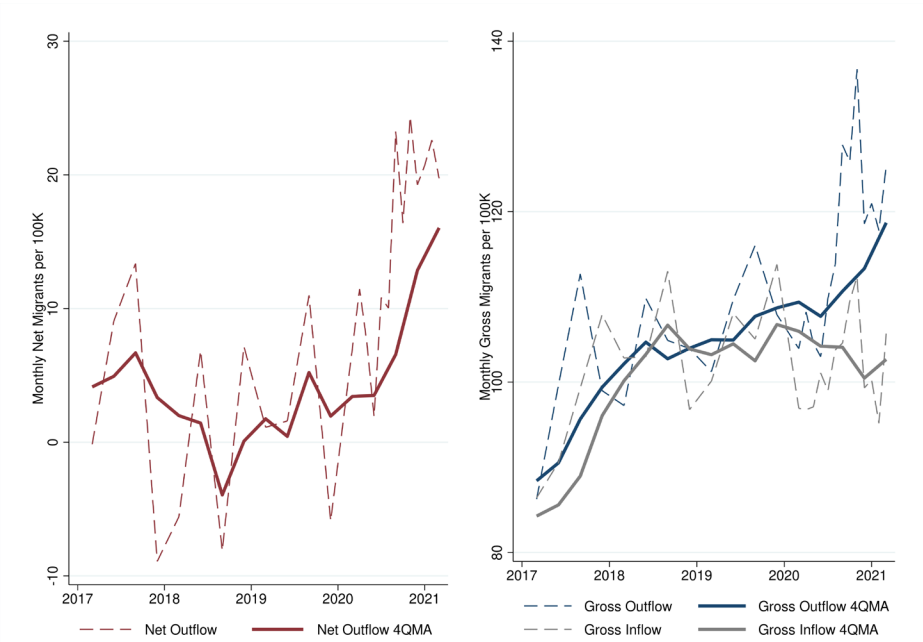
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A35. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Philadelphia–Camden–Wilmington, PA–NJ–DE–MD



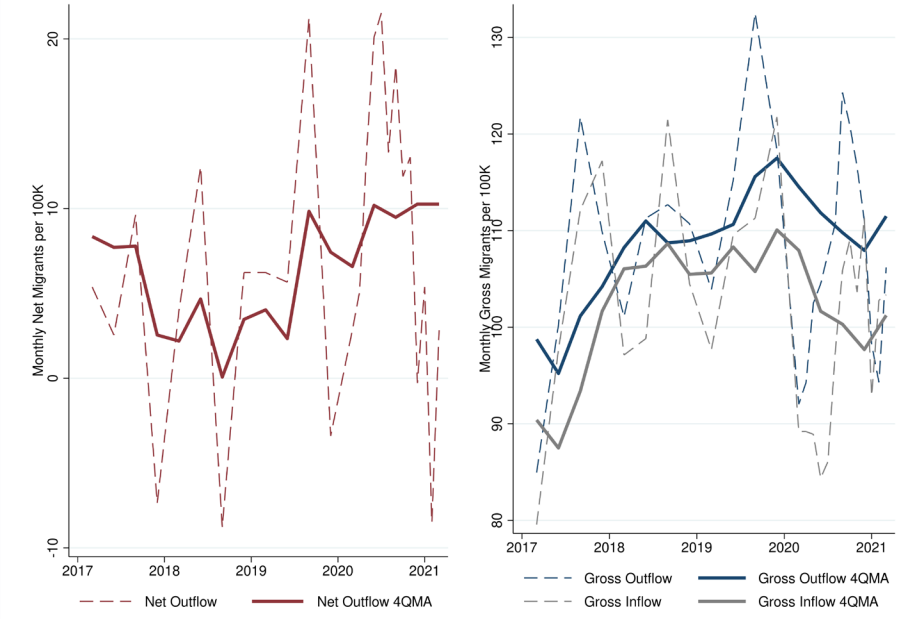
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A36. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Phoenix–Mesa–Scottsdale, AZ



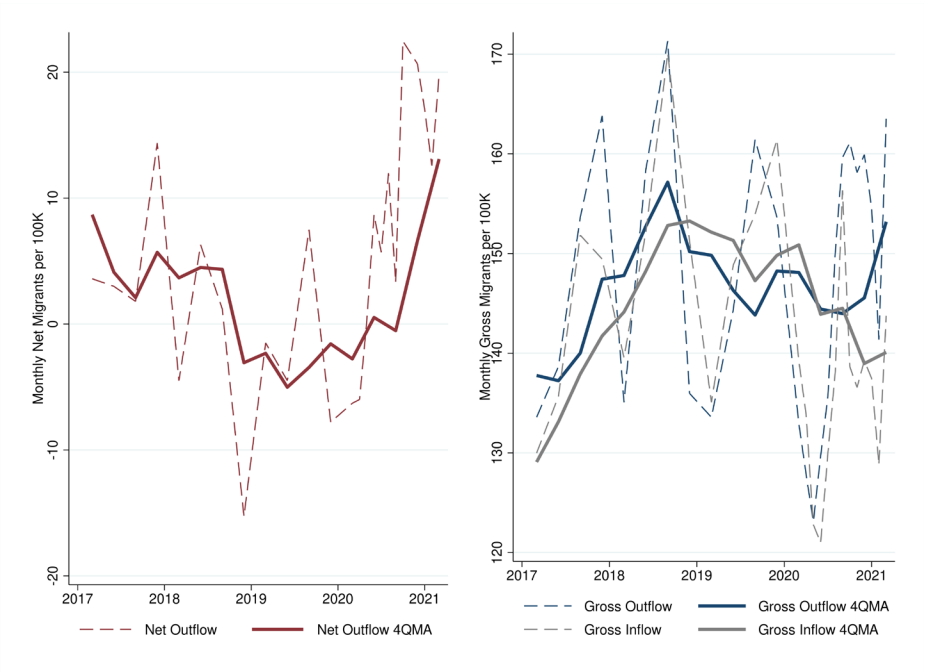
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A37. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Pittsburgh, PA



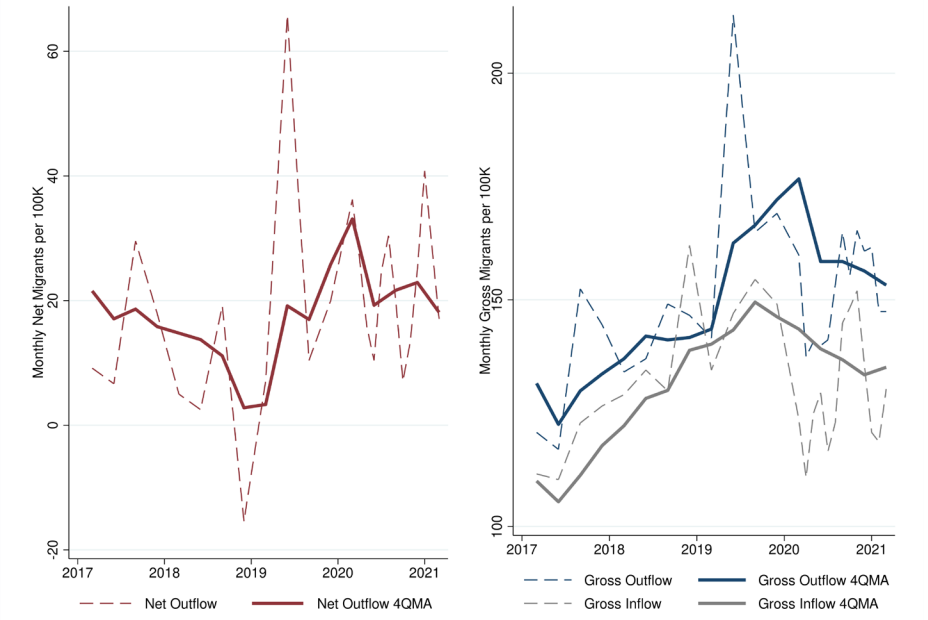
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A38. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Portland–Vancouver–Hillsboro, OR–WA



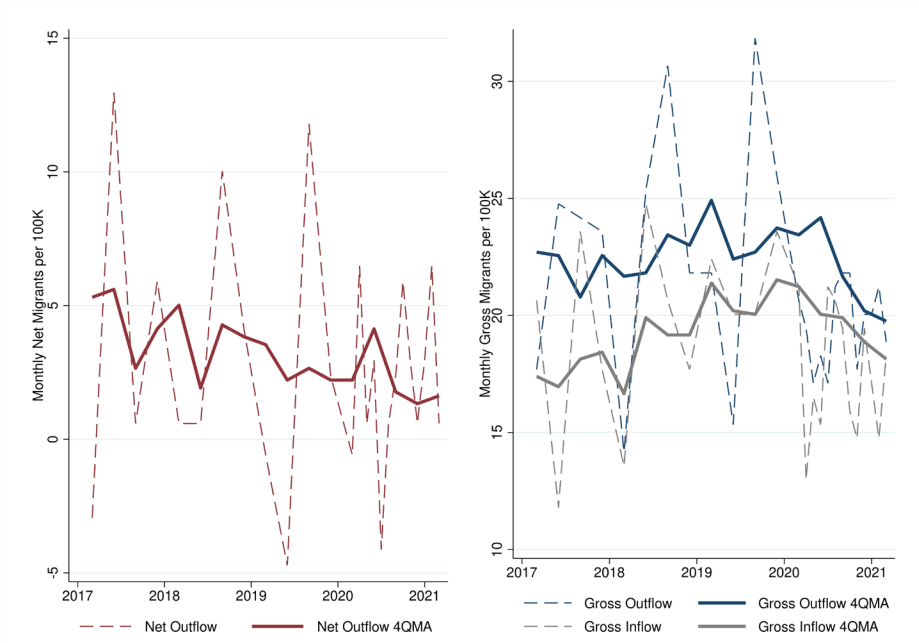
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A39. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Providence–Warwick, RI–MA



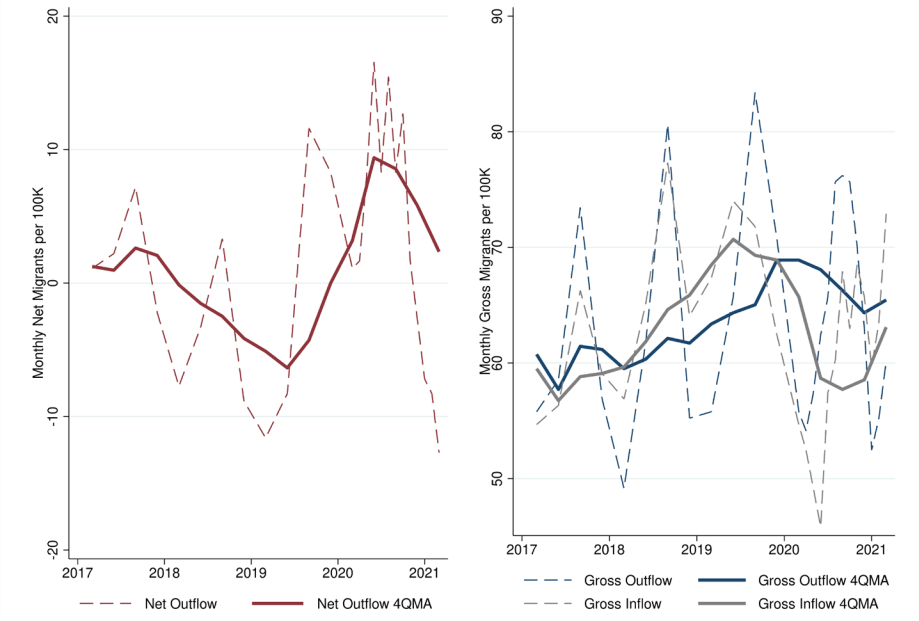
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A40. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Raleigh, NC



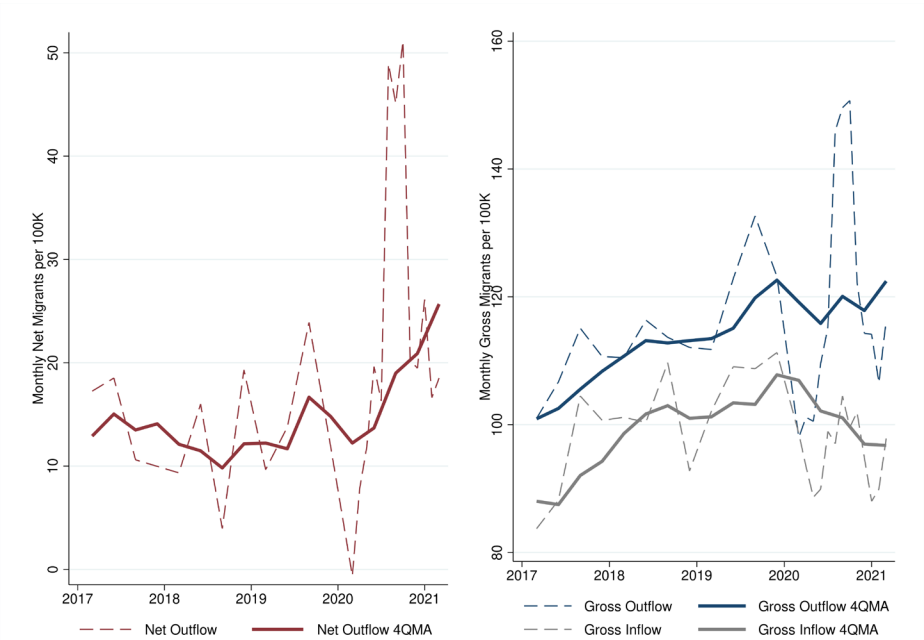
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A41. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Richmond, VA



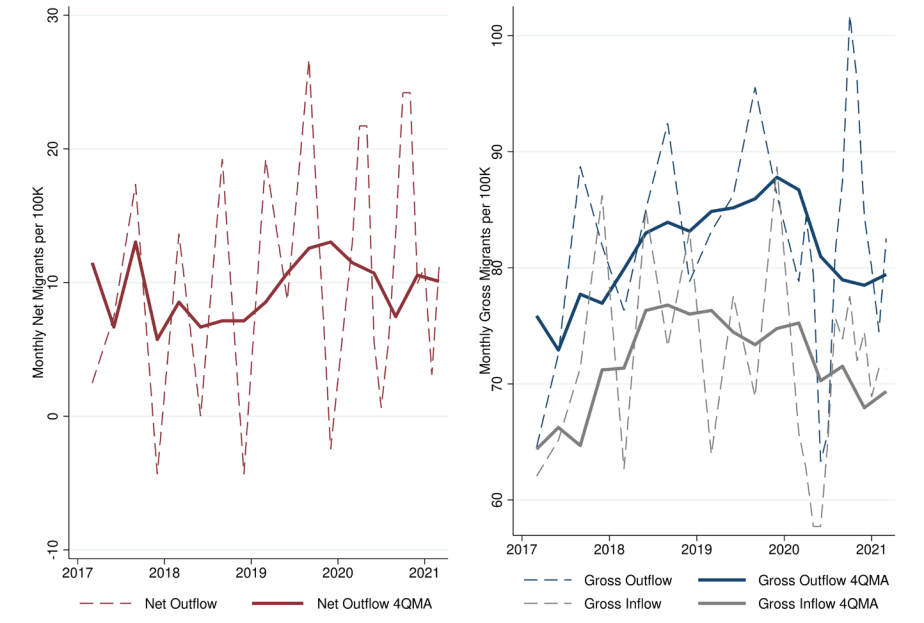
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A42. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Riverside–San Bernardino–Ontario, CA



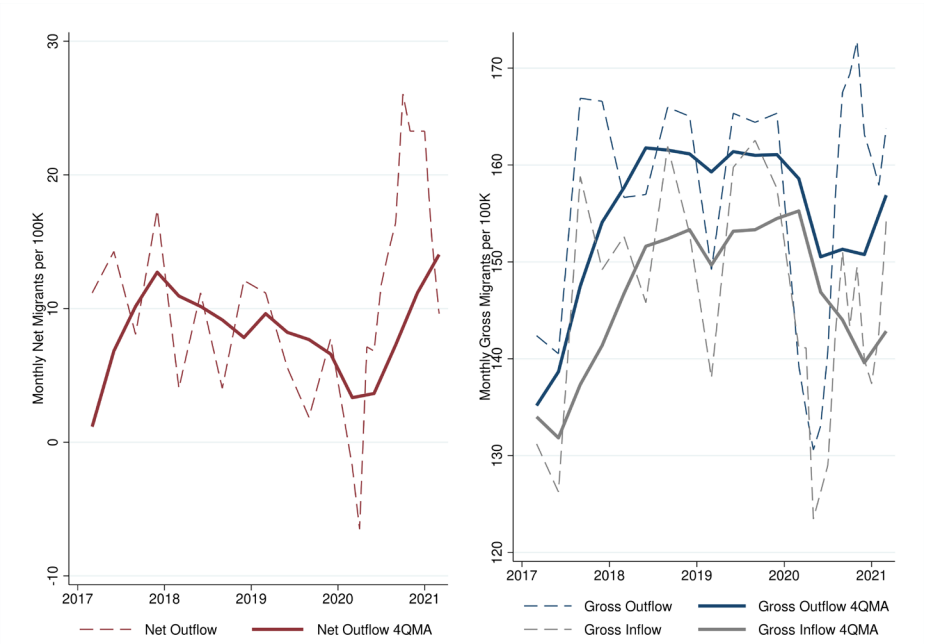
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A43. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Rochester, NY



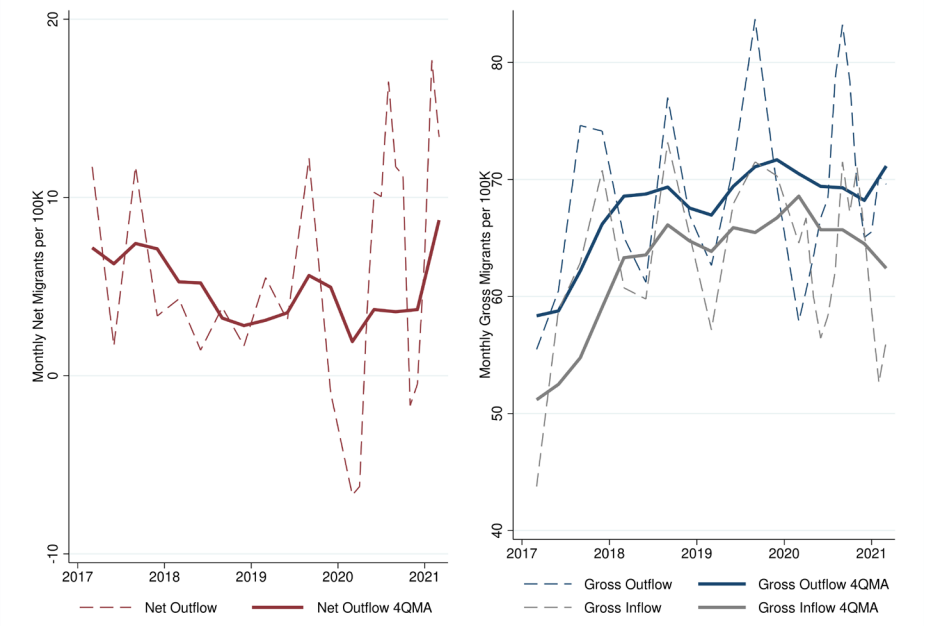
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A44. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Sacramento–Roseville–Arden–Arcade, CA



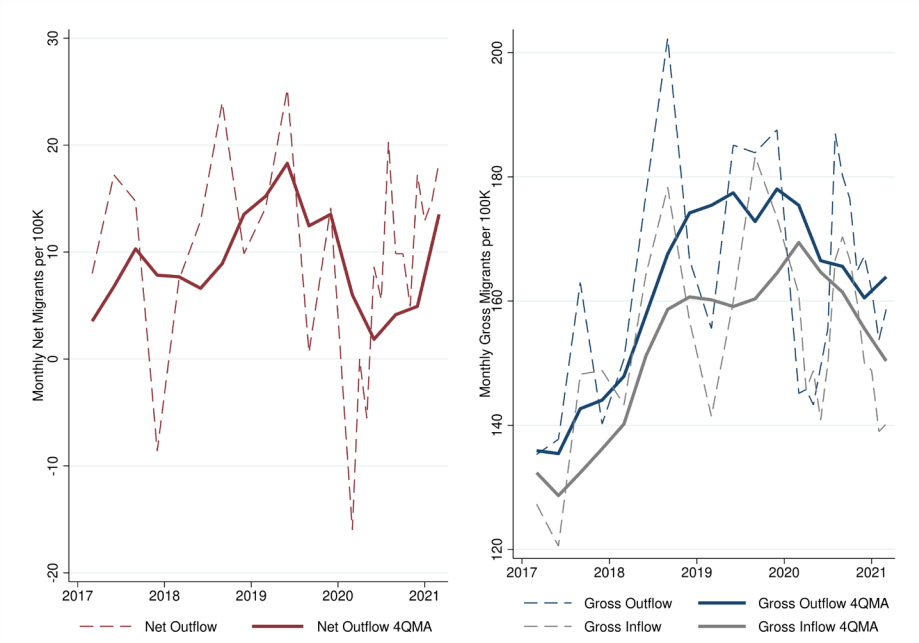
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A45. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: St. Louis, MO–IL



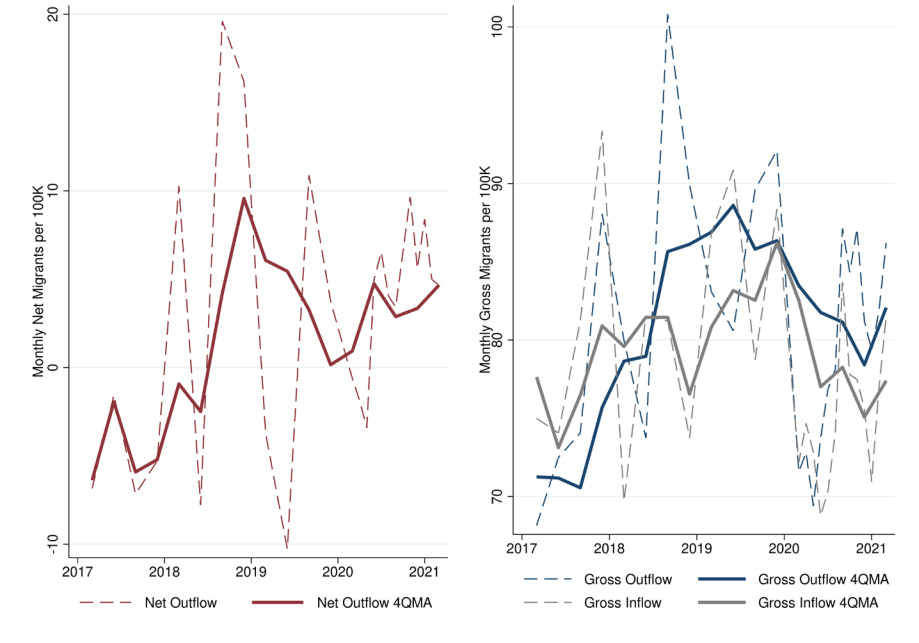
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A46. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Salt Lake City, UT



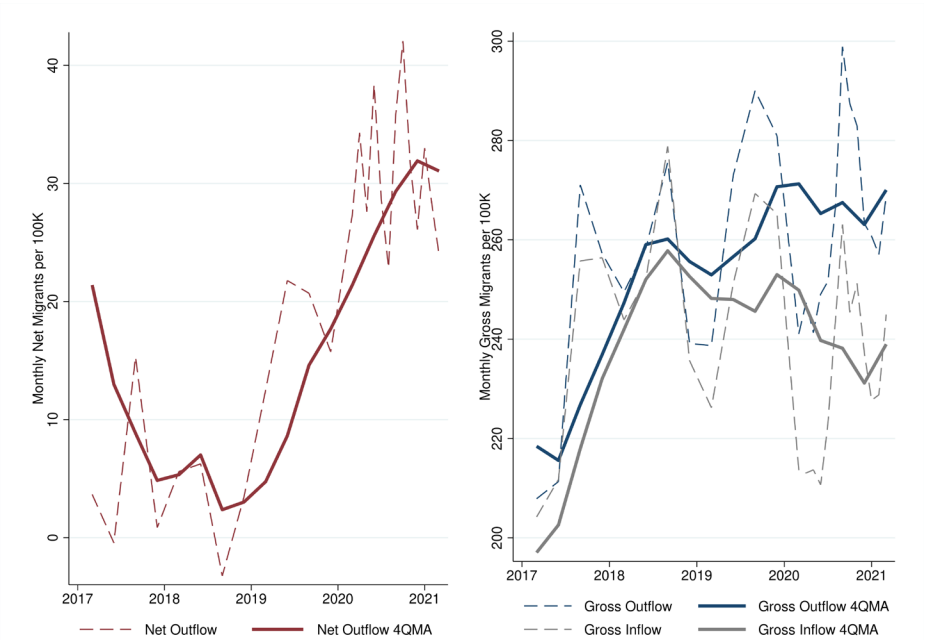
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A47. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: San Antonio–New Braunfels, TX



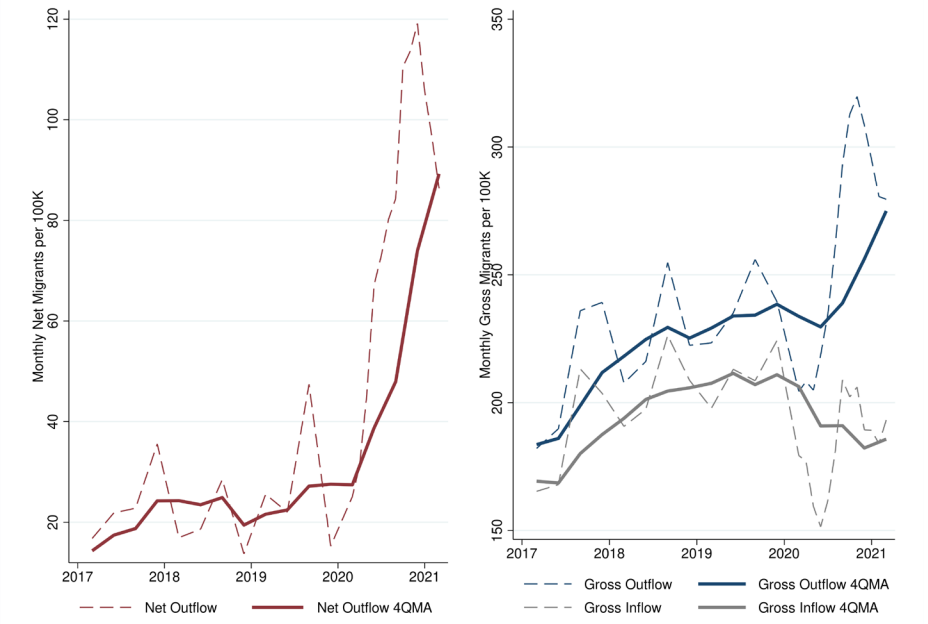
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A48. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: San Diego–Carlsbad, CA



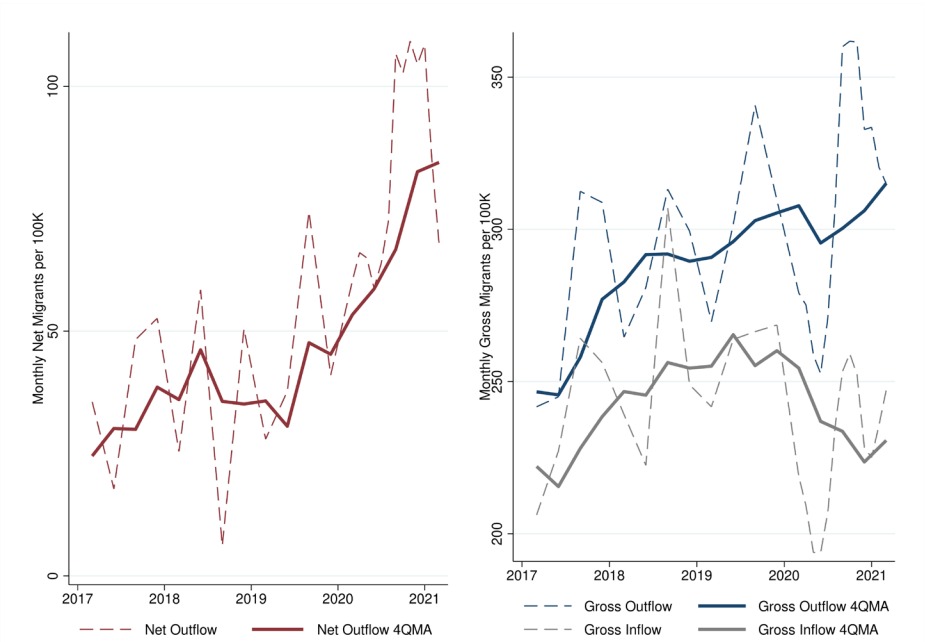
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A49. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: San Francisco–Oakland–Hayward, CA



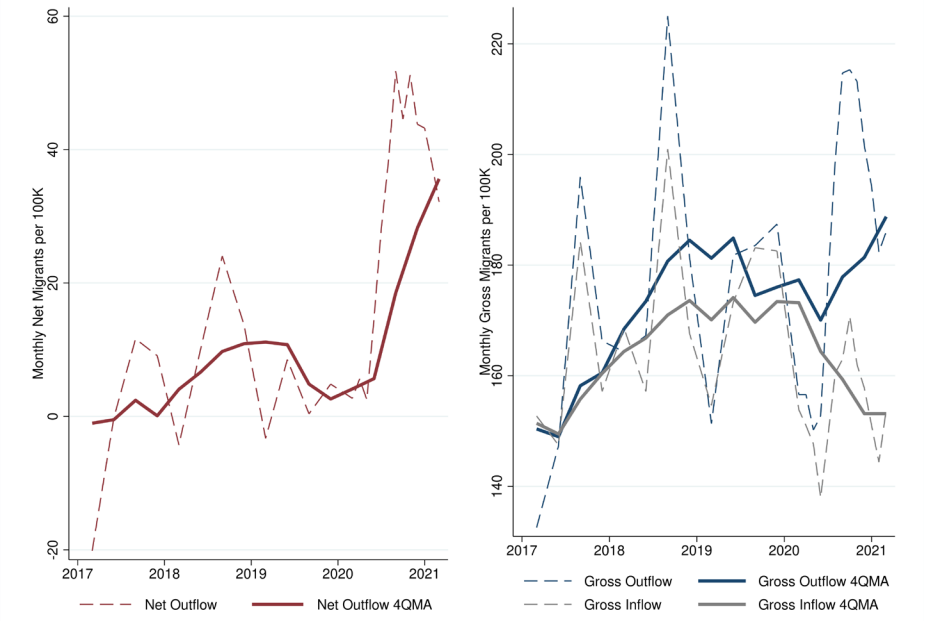
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A50. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: San Jose–Sunnyvale–Santa Clara, CA



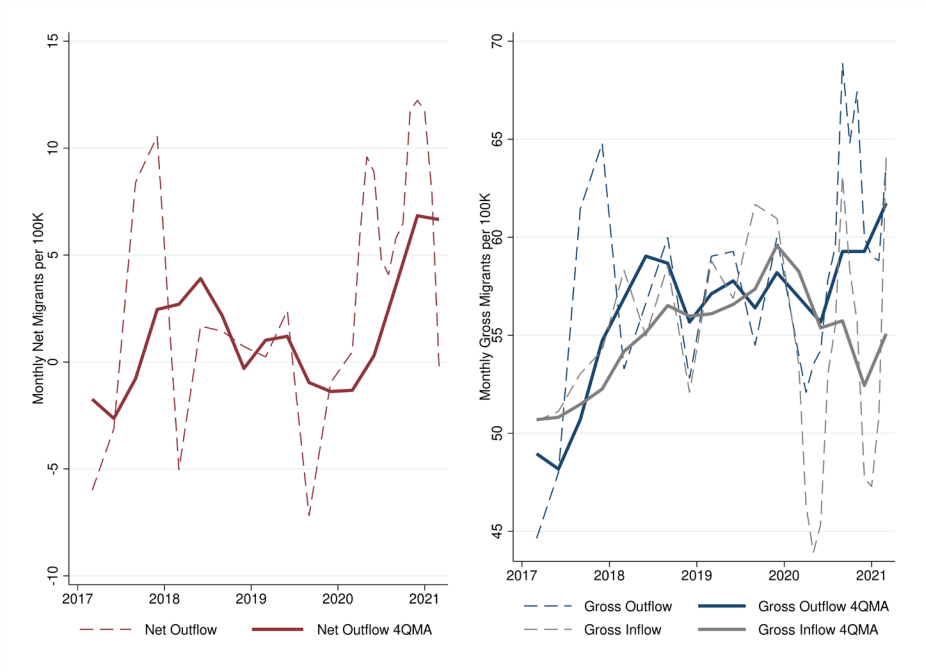
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A51. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Seattle–Tacoma–Bellevue, WA



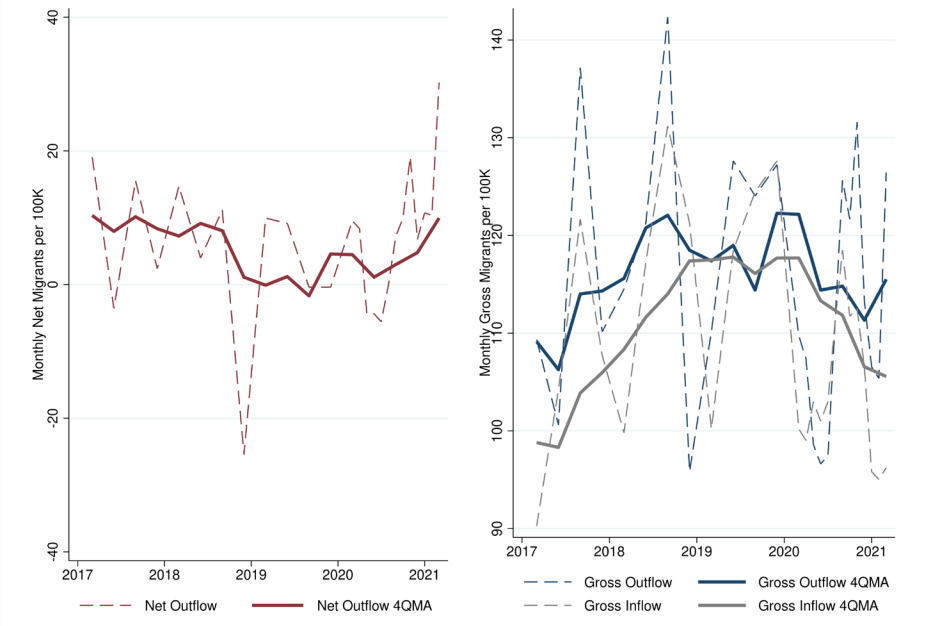
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A52. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Tampa–St. Petersburg–Clearwater, FL



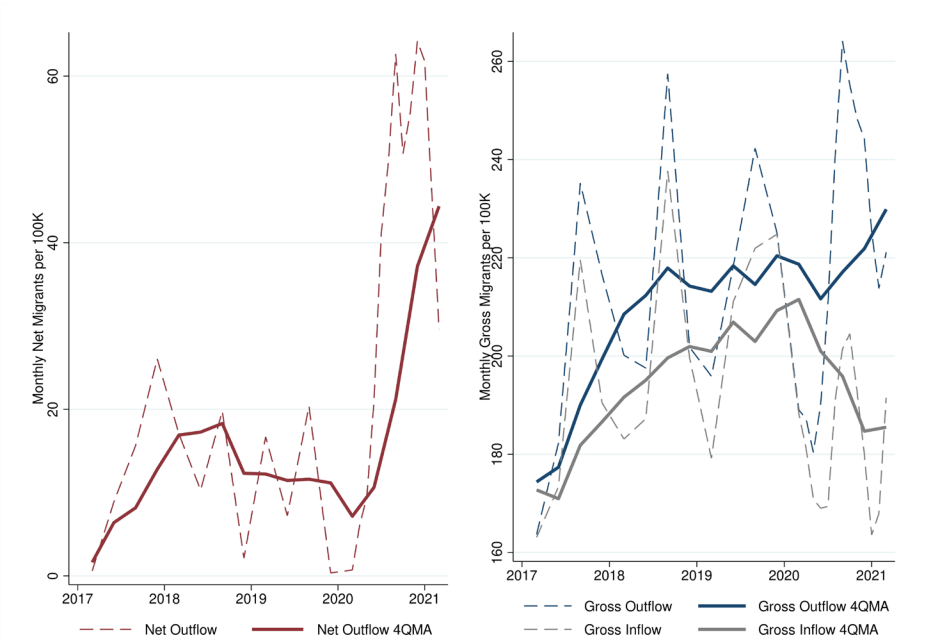
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A53. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Virginia Beach–Norfolk–Newport News, VA–NC



Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure A54. Estimated Gross and Net Migration into and out of Urban Neighborhoods: Washington–Arlington–Alexandria, DC–VA–MD–WV



Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.