

District Data Brief

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

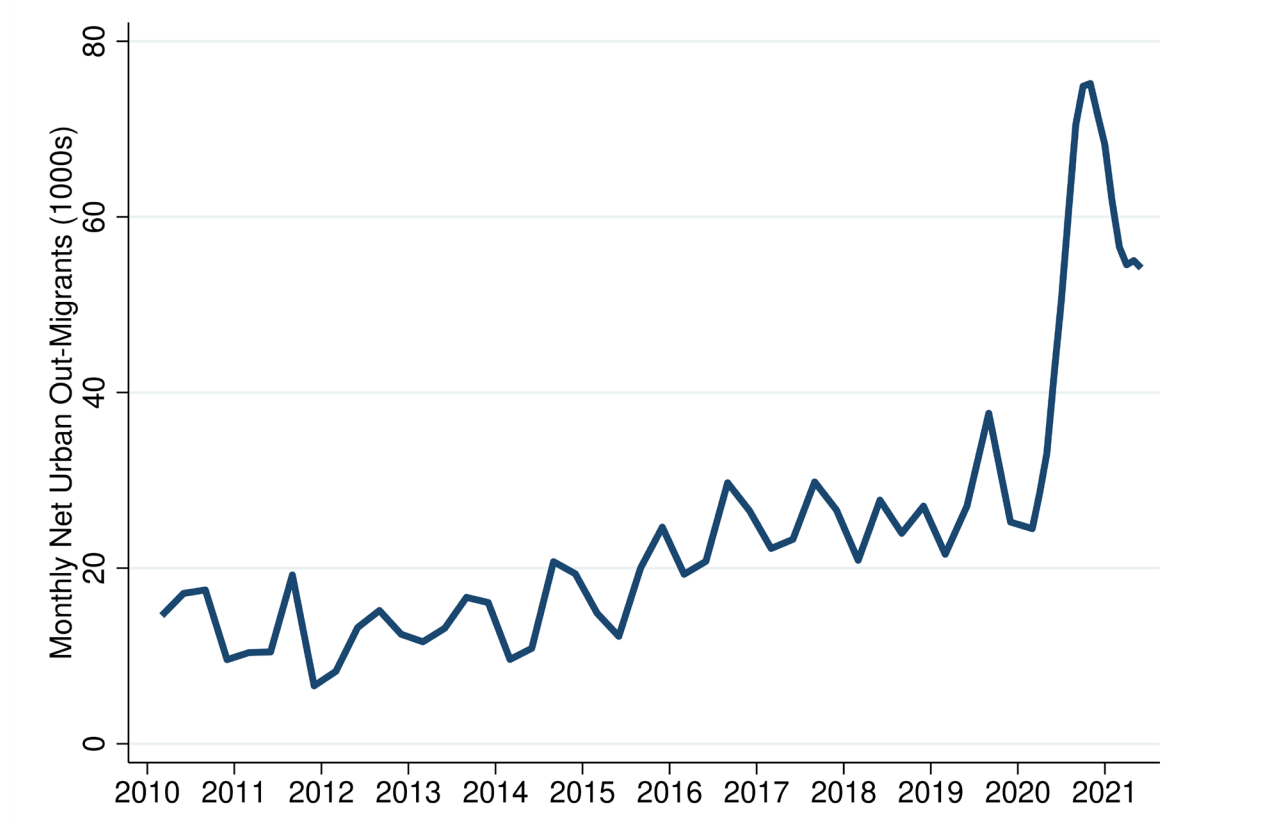
By Stephan Whitaker, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland

August 26, 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 June 30, 2021.

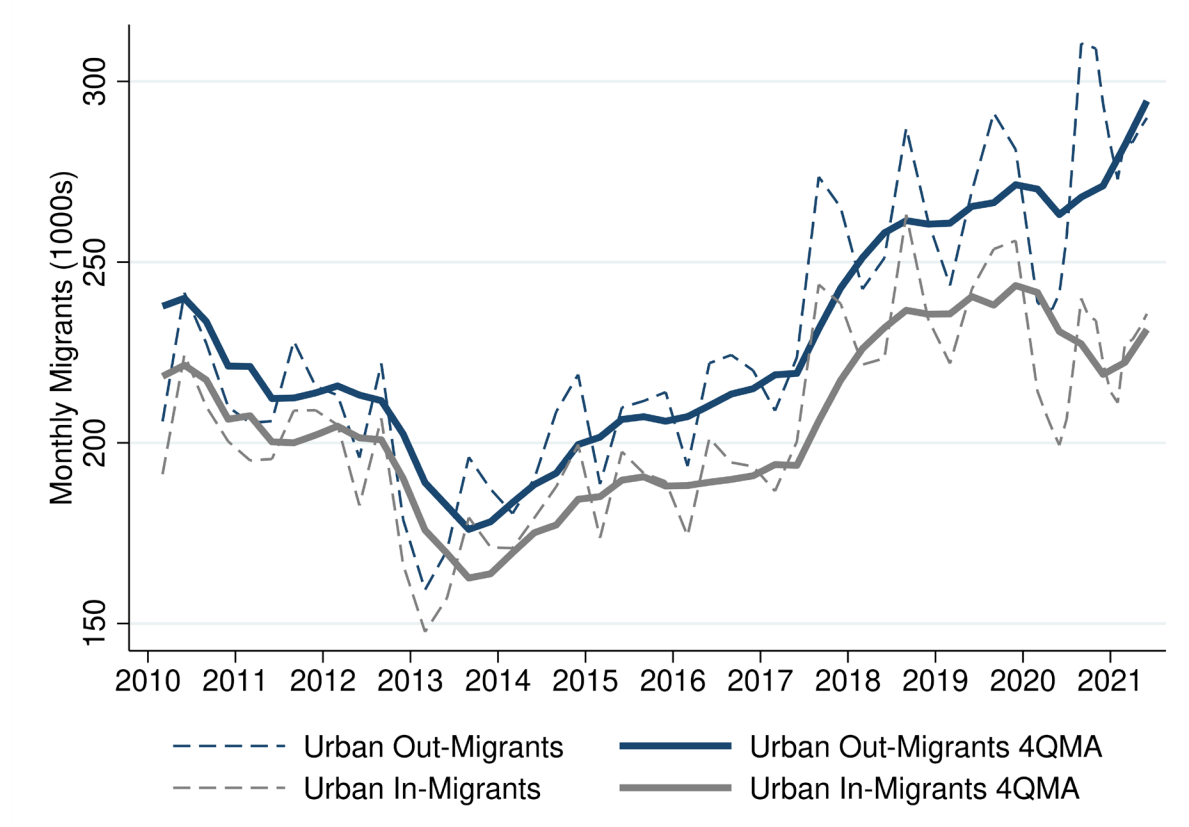
In the second quarter of 2021, net out-migration from urban neighborhoods continued to be more than 54,000 migrants per month. This is more than double the pace observed before the pandemic. Gross outflow from urban neighborhoods rose from 284,000 in 2021:Q1 to 290,000 in 2021:Q2. Gross inflow increased by slightly more, rising from 228,000 to 236,000 migrants per month. In 2020:Q4 and 2021:Q1, the net migration trends for all demographic groups were declining back toward prepandemic levels. In 2021:Q2, moves out of urban neighborhoods by people aged 35 to 64, residents of upper-income neighborhoods, and homebuyers have reversed course to resume increasing. This flow of middle-aged people moving out to purchase homes in the suburbs is balancing a swelling return of young renters to urban neighborhoods.

Figure 1. Estimated Net Out-Migration from Urban Neighborhoods



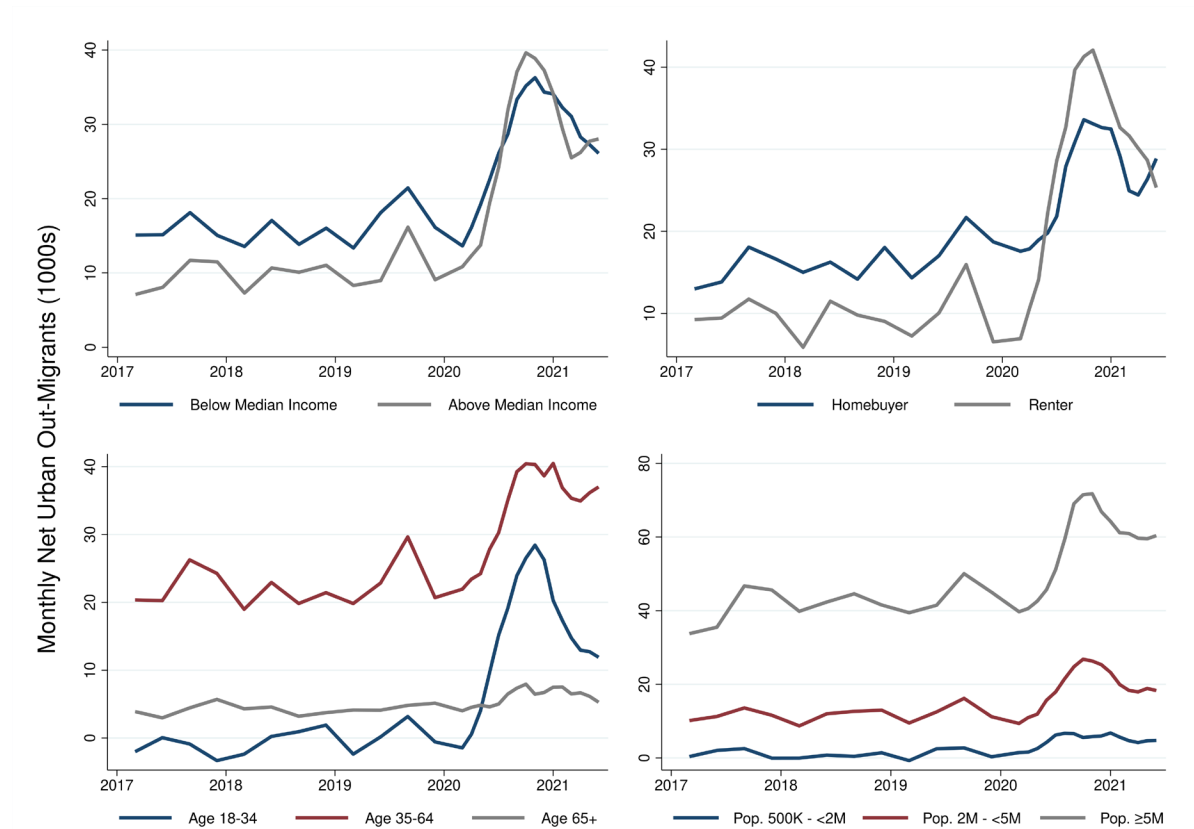
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 2. Estimated Gross Migration into and from Urban Neighborhoods



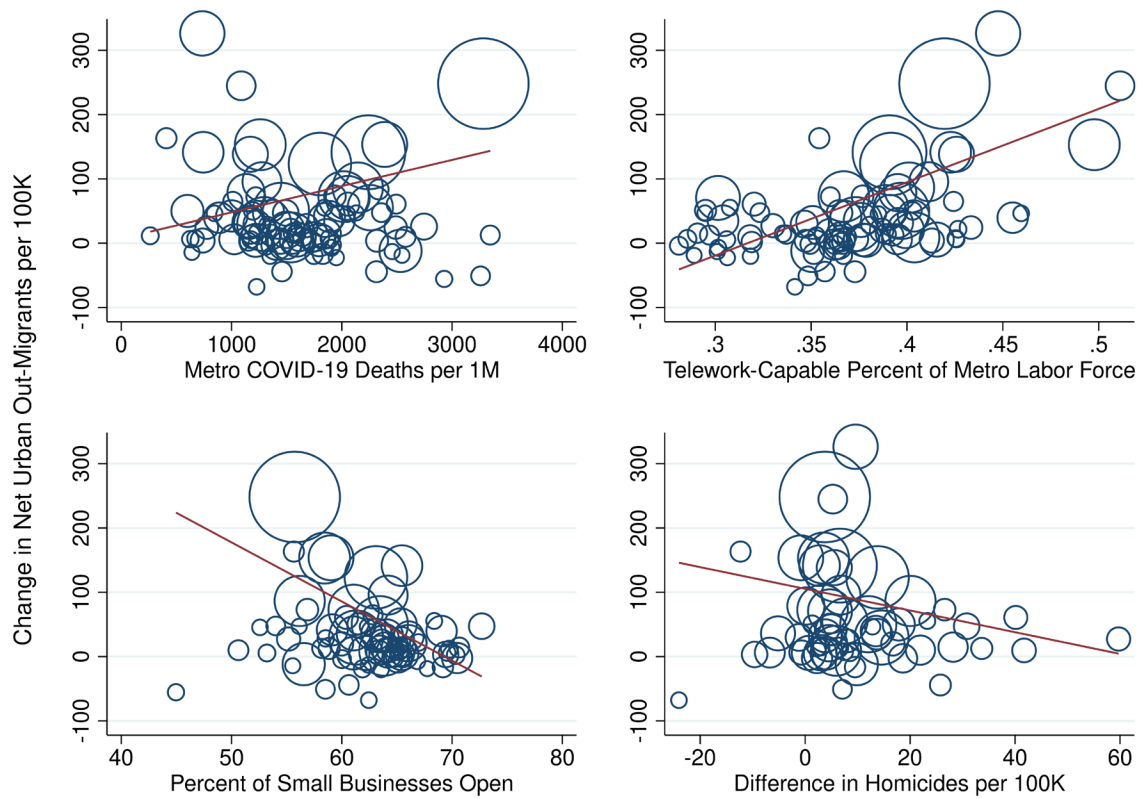
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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.

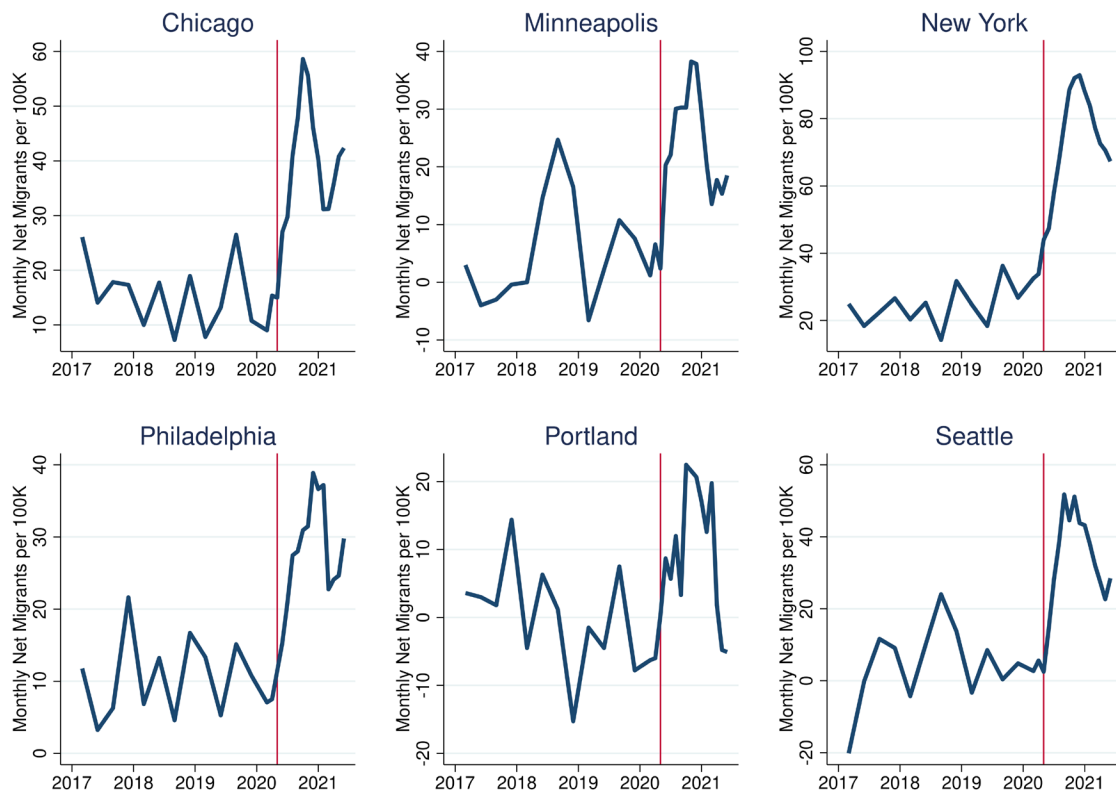
Figure 4. Change in the Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods for Four Measures That Influence Out-Migration



Note: Trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the sum of the differences between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows 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.

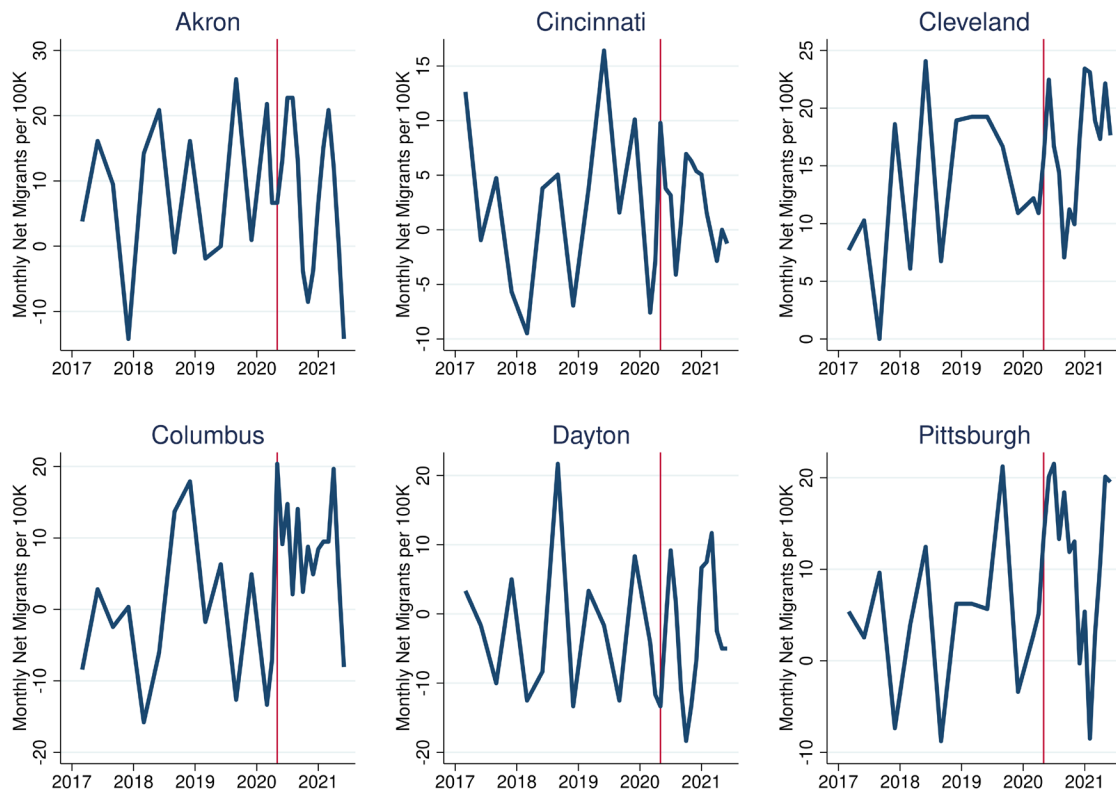
Figure 5. Estimated Net Migration from Urban Neighborhoods for Six Metro Areas, by Central City



Note: The vertical red 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 vertical red 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 mid-sized 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	282,500	18.5	112,960	17.0	117,540	29.1	113,580	31.5	85,480	36.2
Los Angeles	225,560	2.7	148,100	7.7	63,400	19.3	48,540	22.0	45,440	17.0
Chicago	142,260	9.7	28,560	-2.0	33,300	16.4	19,300	8.7	27,540	14.0
Miami	155,500	5.7	19,020	-5.4	26,900	5.7	19,800	18.4	20,700	10.8
San Francisco	78,740	12.5	79,940	25.9	19,200	28.7	22,360	28.6	32,380	35.6
Washington	121,000	4.9	25,220	-8.8	32,400	13.4	21,060	14.6	20,420	24.0
Boston	81,740	3.8	29,360	9.9	13,780	6.3	30,200	28.5	17,600	23.5
San Diego	72,680	-0.4	28,060	1.7	13,620	17.4	11,600	10.3	14,400	12.5
Philadelphia	79,460	11.5	19,880	4.2	10,540	15.7	12,040	14.7	14,080	9.2
Houston	90,240	7.4	5,980	-8.9	9,120	-4.3	4,860	10.8	7,560	-1.1
Dallas	89,600	8.0	6,020	-8.1	7,680	-6.0	5,520	13.7	8,180	3.1
San Jose	38,380	7.4	43,980	8.4	9,060	25.7	11,300	22.6	12,540	10.4
Seattle	66,180	5.7	14,860	5.8	7,840	15.1	6,380	18.0	15,220	20.4
Riverside	58,220	6.9	21,360	5.5	5,160	8.6	3,420	16.9	5,000	16.5
Las Vegas	55,800	1.5	12,060	7.3	6,560	26.8	5,960	6.0	10,160	20.5
Denver	58,300	5.2	6,580	-0.8	7,980	14.5	6,840	10.8	13,740	15.7
Phoenix	60,280	12.7	5,060	-0.3	3,580	20.7	3,780	16.0	6,940	18.6
Baltimore	39,220	-3.0	12,180	0.1	5,320	2.7	4,220	2.4	5,660	0.0
Minneapolis	42,340	7.1	4,080	-21.6	3,460	16.4	2,720	6.8	7,540	18.9
Sacramento	36,040	-1.6	7,080	-6.3	2,860	31.6	3,680	7.8	7,480	14.6
Portland	34,620	-1.1	5,420	-15.3	3,600	27.7	3,180	19.0	8,860	11.4
Detroit	34,180	-0.9	2,540	33.7	2,960	13.8	2,160	-8.5	3,480	-4.2
Cleveland	29,580	2.0	2,780	-9.3	4,260	11.3	4,640	10.7	2,720	-4.9
Providence	24,800	-4.0	8,380	12.1	2,820	19.5	3,700	-4.0	3,540	36.5
Pittsburgh	28,540	1.1	4,700	-5.6	3,820	-7.6	2,560	-6.6	4,660	21.6
Atlanta	27,960	8.5	3,100	-10.9	2,300	7.8	2,320	-2.2	2,660	3.1
Urban Honolulu	18,660	6.2	7,340	-3.3	4,680	12.3	4,140	10.9	6,200	5.2
Milwaukee	22,740	3.6	3,220	-9.0	3,420	1.8	2,240	-5.9	4,780	-6.6
St. Louis	22,420	3.9	2,820	-7.2	2,740	13.9	1,520	2.7	3,380	20.7
Columbus	21,820	4.4	2,160	-5.3	2,700	-6.2	2,440	20.0	2,700	-2.4
Virginia Beach	19,760	0.7	2,820	-16.6	2,500	-0.3	2,940	-1.6	3,700	1.8
Bridgeport	13,780	10.4	5,880	3.4	1,980	18.8	5,580	18.9	1,640	15.0
Salt Lake City	17,740	1.1	2,120	-17.4	1,600	13.2	4,700	4.8	3,520	10.0
San Antonio	21,340	3.4	780	-25.0	2,120	-8.1	1,360	9.1	2,260	-2.9
Tampa	19,160	6.8	2,200	21.3	1,740	-3.7	2,120	9.3	2,040	31.9
Cincinnati	18,320	-1.0	1,600	-16.7	2,440	15.8	2,100	20.7	1,840	12.2

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 mid-sized 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 Orleans	16,680	8.9	2,740	1.7	2,800	-4.3	2,240	-2.3	3,320	3.1
Buffalo	14,460	-1.6	2,880	6.9	2,140	1.3	2,420	18.6	2,400	41.2
Albany	13,480	13.9	2,900	-7.2	1,160	15.2	1,480	0.0	2,540	11.4
Austin	13,840	4.2	1,120	-13.4	2,880	4.3	820	15.0	1,520	7.5
New Haven	10,180	12.5	2,600	-13.9	1,580	38.6	3,420	5.8	1,500	17.8
Hartford	12,420	4.8	1,400	-30.2	1,120	-9.7	2,800	8.0	1,340	8.6
Oxnard	10,660	3.4	4,120	-7.1	1,460	11.7	1,440	10.8	2,200	0.9
Stockton	9,980	-3.3	4,560	3.6	900	8.9	2,100	18.0	1,900	14.5
Allentown	10,500	13.7	2,300	15.8	1,780	3.9	1,100	13.8	1,900	26.1
Indianapolis	12,340	10.5	1,160	-4.4	1,200	33.3	800	4.3	1,960	-1.7
Worcester	9,900	-5.0	3,180	23.9	780	15.8	1,640	5.1	1,580	51.0
Fresno	11,880	5.3	1,440	3.3	520	14.7	620	10.7	1,760	-13.2
Kansas City	10,960	0.7	1,320	-8.8	1,200	-10.0	880	6.5	1,160	-13.4
Rochester	10,000	0.9	1,100	-1.2	860	-23.7	1,100	-14.9	1,200	-14.7
El Paso	9,480	-14.5	560	-24.3	1,420	-12.0	700	-13.2	1,940	15.0
Scranton	7,880	0.6	1,460	-20.7	1,360	19.3	1,180	21.2	1,760	12.8
Bakersfield	9,300	1.4	1,400	8.8	480	53.2	520	-8.2	1,160	-3.3
Louisville	9,180	-3.7	480	-23.4	780	-15.2	980	34.9	1,400	39.1
Omaha	8,500	7.0	920	42.3	1,120	58.5	760	20.0	1,340	6.3
Springfield	7,140	-13.2	1,340	-3.8	800	-9.8	1,540	-0.9	900	-19.2
Toledo	6,680	7.2	460	1.5	1,220	10.9	640	35.2	1,100	-19.1
Syracuse	6,040	4.4	1,240	17.0	700	-2.8	980	7.3	960	-12.2

Notes: Metro areas included in this table have at least 100,000 urban residents. The changes are calculated as the sum of the differences between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1 divided by the sum of the same pre-pandemic average quarterly flows.

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	107,140	43.2	323,400	23.0
Los Angeles	108,560	17.0	198,500	11.7
Chicago	14,900	24.2	93,840	6.9
Miami	11,480	34.5	75,920	3.4
San Francisco	54,720	25.9	99,240	30.0
Washington	25,000	20.8	74,160	5.3
Boston	31,120	32.8	59,940	10.6
San Diego	16,760	8.7	51,060	8.2
Philadelphia	23,900	9.4	32,920	10.3
Houston	3,620	-4.9	23,920	-1.8
Dallas	2,460	1.1	24,960	-0.6
San Jose	40,120	10.0	36,820	15.4
Seattle	9,060	16.6	35,320	13.4
Riverside	18,600	4.0	16,360	13.6
Las Vegas	1,440	67.4	33,360	12.5
Denver	7,600	18.9	27,740	9.4
Phoenix	2,460	31.3	16,940	10.0
Baltimore	11,080	2.0	16,320	0.0
Minneapolis	3,360	23.8	14,440	0.6
Sacramento	8,840	7.4	12,260	7.0
Portland	4,680	1.7	16,400	7.5
Detroit	3,260	15.6	7,880	2.7
Cleveland	5,260	11.0	9,280	-0.6
Providence	8,640	23.1	9,800	5.5
Pittsburgh	2,560	16.0	13,180	-2.5
Atlanta	1,240	6.3	9,160	-2.7
Urban Honolulu	780	28.6	21,860	3.6
Milwaukee	4,940	-12.1	8,720	-1.1
St. Louis	1,360	24.4	9,100	5.2
Columbus	4,140	12.9	5,860	-7.3
Virginia Beach	2,000	-9.4	9,960	-3.6
Bridgeport	9,320	20.6	5,780	0.5
Salt Lake City	4,460	4.5	7,500	1.0
San Antonio	1,040	-22.0	5,500	-2.6
Tampa	2,000	29.3	6,180	10.8
Cincinnati	2,200	23.6	5,840	3.5
New Orleans	2,420	17.9	8,720	-4.3
Buffalo	1,660	20.3	8,240	14.9
Albany	3,960	0.3	4,120	4.4
Austin	1,960	21.0	4,380	-4.1
New Haven	5,180	10.4	3,920	-1.3
Hartford	3,360	-6.0	3,300	-5.7
Oxnard	3,680	-4.5	5,540	3.0
Stockton	5,880	15.4	3,580	0.2
Allentown	4,780	30.4	2,320	-7.7
Indianapolis	1,220	-8.0	3,920	9.9
Worcester	4,100	23.5	3,080	21.6
Fresno	1,700	-13.6	2,640	7.0

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
Kansas City	440	-26.7	4,140	-5.2
Rochester	860	-20.4	3,420	-11.4
El Paso	420	28.6	4,220	-6.9
Scranton	3,320	10.4	2,440	-2.9
Bakersfield	1,620	12.5	1,940	0.7
Louisville/Jefferson County	1,200	15.4	2,440	8.6
Omaha	520	5.4	3,640	32.2
Springfield	2,260	-11.3	2,320	-3.3
Toledo	1,600	-7.0	1,820	8.8
Syracuse	940	4.4	3,100	4.5

Notes: Metro areas included in this table have at least 100,000 urban residents. The changes are calculated as the sum of the differences between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1 divided by the sum of the same prepandemic average quarterly flows.

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

Appendix

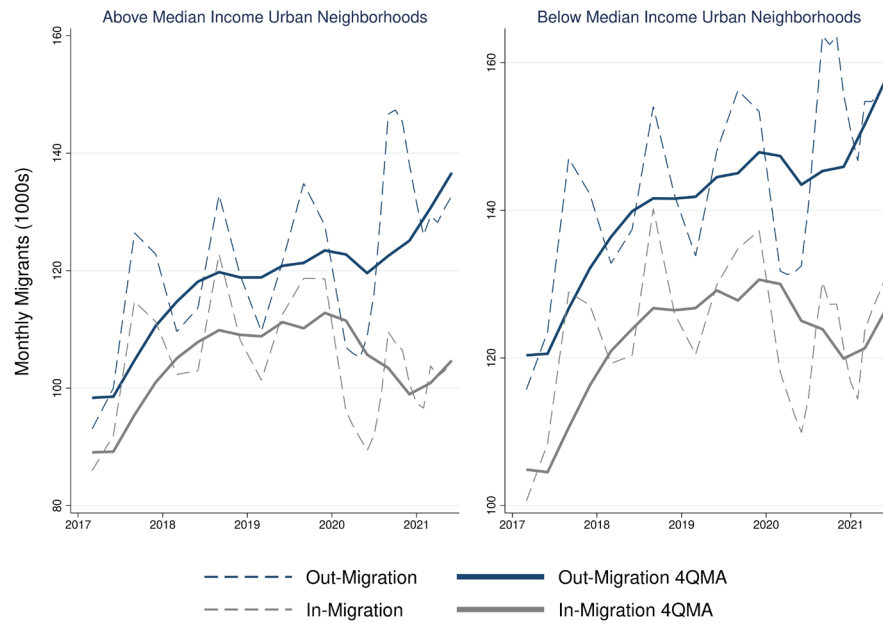
Table A1. Change in Net and Gross Flows into and out of Urban Neighborhoods

	Change in net flow	Change in gross outflow	Change in gross inflow
National	32.7	25.7	-7.0
Below median income	13.4	12.0	-1.4
Above median income	19.4	13.7	-5.6
Homebuyers	10.9	12.2	1.3
Renters	21.9	13.6	-8.3
18–34 years old	17.6	11.9	-5.7
35–64 years old	13.3	12.8	-0.4
65+ years old	1.9	1.0	-0.9
500K to <2M metro population	4.0	2.3	-1.7
2M to <5M metro population	8.7	6.8	-1.9
≥5M metro population	18.5	16.6	-1.9

Notes: The units are thousands of migrants per month. The change is calculated as the average difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1.

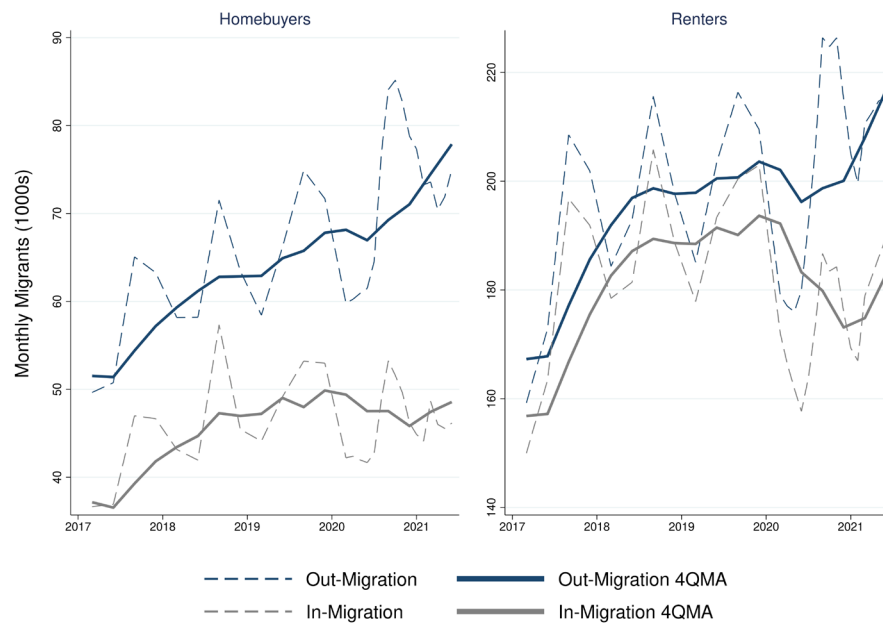
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



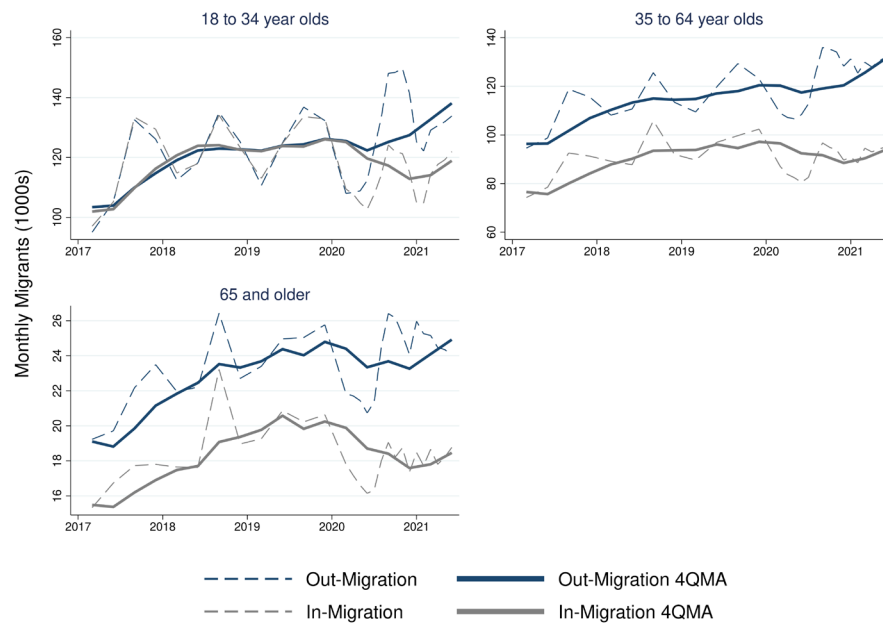
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



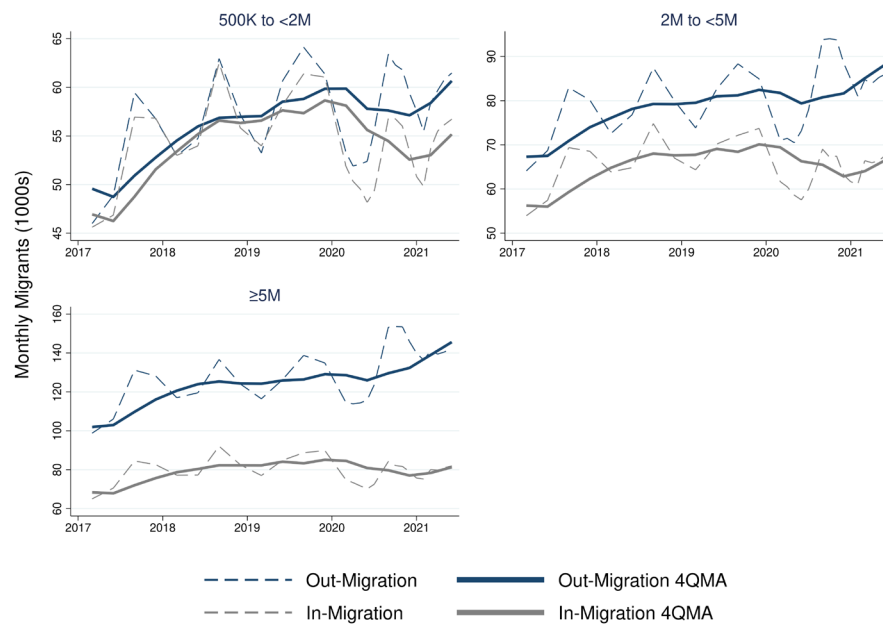
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



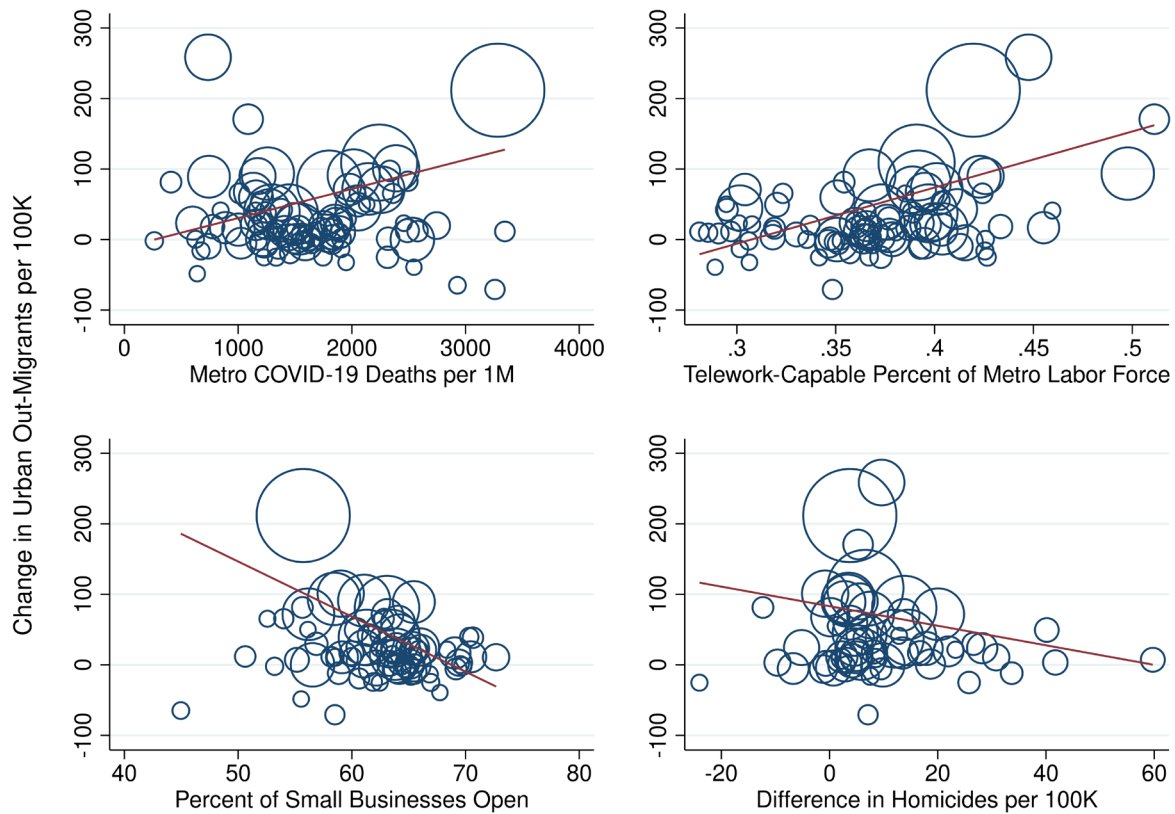
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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.

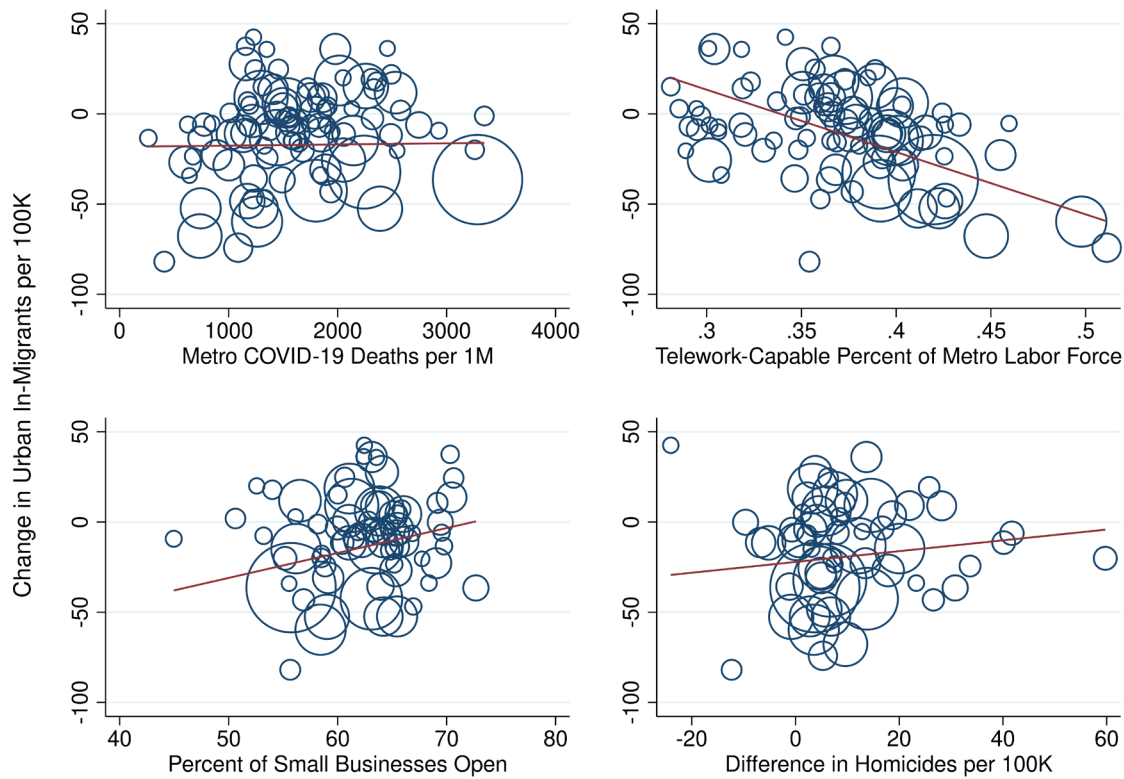
Figure A2. Change in Gross Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods That Contribute to Net Flows Presented in Figure 4



Notes: Trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the sum of the difference between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average equivalent flows 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 sum of the difference between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average equivalent flows 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	326	259	-68
New York	248	212	-36
San Jose	245	171	-74
Honolulu	163	81	-82
Boston	154	101	-53
Washington	153	94	-60
Seattle	141	89	-52
Los Angeles	141	109	-32
Denver	138	90	-48
Chicago	123	81	-43
Minneapolis	96	43	-52
Philadelphia	87	72	-15
Bridgeport	84	97	14
San Diego	79	68	-11
Buffalo	73	30	-43
Miami	73	91	19
Oxnard	72	25	-47
Riverside	70	45	-26
Albany	65	65	1
New Orleans	61	49	-11
New Haven	61	83	22
Toledo	55	21	-34
Phoenix	55	71	15
Grand Rapids	51	42	-9
Dallas	50	37	-13
Colorado Springs	50	55	5
Portland	50	23	-27
Allentown	48	65	18
Milwaukee	47	11	-37
Lancaster	47	50	3
Durham	46	41	-5
Harrisburg	45	65	20
Sacramento	42	14	-28
Pittsburgh	42	11	-31
Austin	40	17	-23
St. Louis	36	25	-12
Las Vegas	35	71	36

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
Orlando	32	60	28
Columbus	32	21	-11
Virginia Beach	30	-6	-36
Houston	30	39	9
Syracuse	28	11	-18
Louisville/Jefferson County	27	7	-20
Providence	26	20	-6
Hartford	24	13	-12
Salt Lake City	24	18	-6
Des Moines	22	-25	-47
Tampa	21	25	4
Richmond	20	17	-3
Bakersfield	16	9	-7
Wichita	15	0	-15
Indianapolis	15	24	9
Little Rock	14	-1	-15
Omaha	14	39	24
Charleston	13	20	7
McAllen	13	11	-1
Rochester	13	-12	-24
Ogden	12	-2	-13
Cleveland	10	19	9
Worcester	10	12	2
Columbia	10	-6	-16
Memphis	10	3	-6
Atlanta	9	15	6
Madison	7	-16	-23
Stockton	7	10	3
Oklahoma City	6	2	-4
Provo	6	0	-6
Kansas City	6	-5	-11
Baltimore	6	-5	-10
Winston	6	-2	-8
San Antonio	5	6	1
Charlotte	4	1	-4
Raleigh	4	-9	-14
Birmingham	4	1	-3
Jacksonville	3	3	0

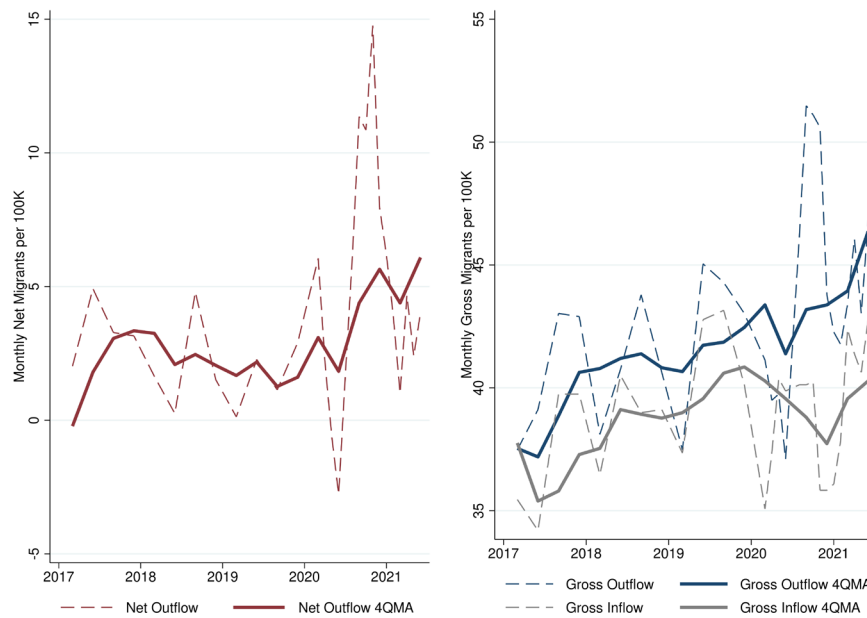
Table A2. Change in Gross and Net Outflows from Urban Neighborhoods for Metro Areas with Populations Greater Than 500,000

Metro area	Change in net flow	Change in outflow	Change in inflow
Boise City	2	40	37
Fresno	2	16	14
Knoxville	-2	-3	-2
Cincinnati	-2	11	14
Dayton	-3	2	4
Nashville	-3	1	4
Cape Coral	-4	11	15
Augusta	-7	-13	-6
Detroit	-12	0	12
Scranton	-13	23	36
Portland	-14	-48	-34
Tulsa	-16	-6	11
Youngstown	-19	-39	-20
Akron	-19	-24	-5
Chattanooga	-20	16	36
Modesto	-22	-32	-10
Albuquerque	-44	-19	25
Tucson	-44	-25	19
El Paso	-51	-71	-20
Springfield	-56	-65	-9
Spokane	-68	-25	43

Notes: Units are migrants per 100,000 metro area residents. The change is calculated as the sum of the difference between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q2 and the average equivalent flows 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.

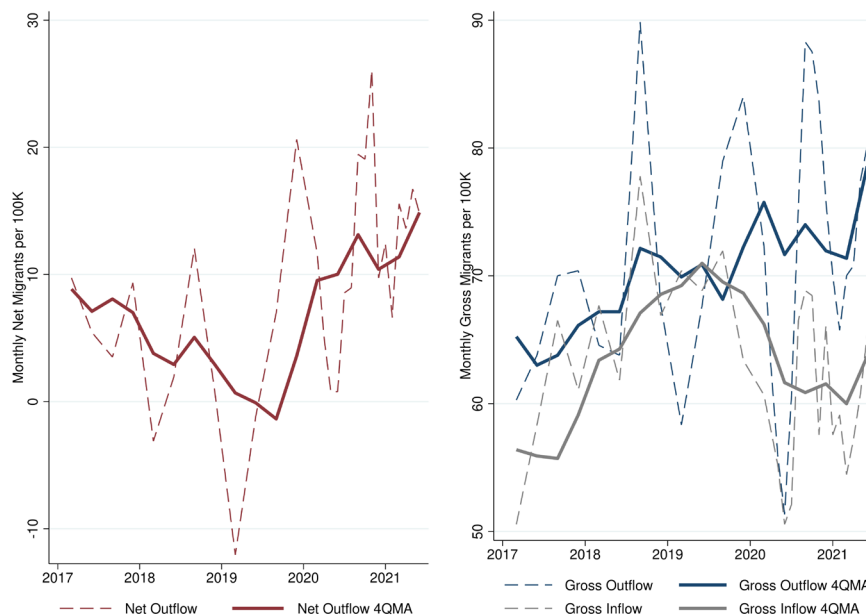
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



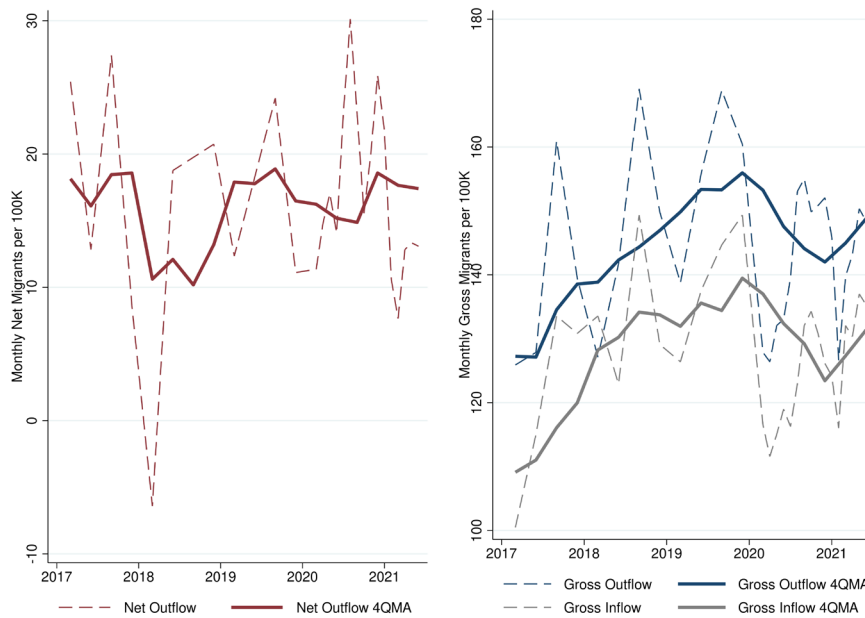
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



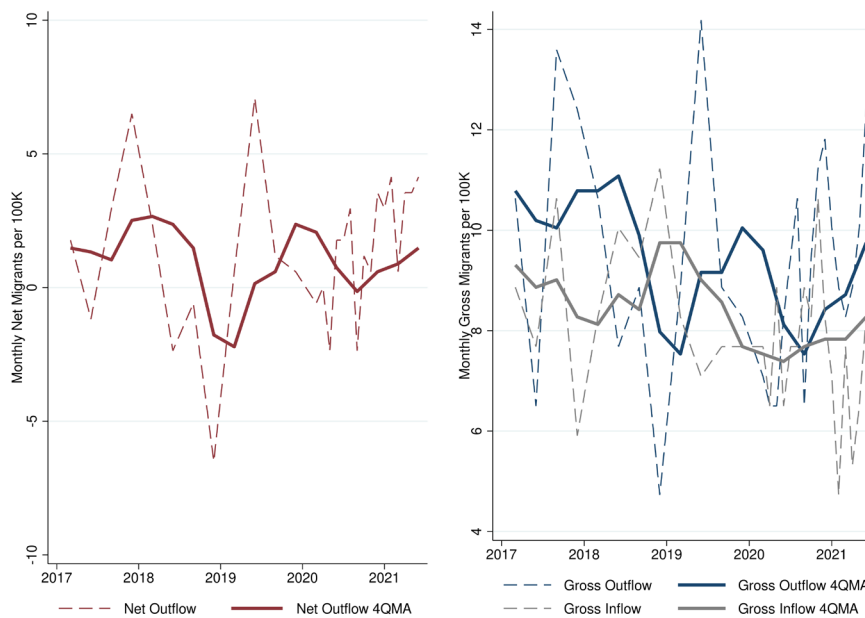
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



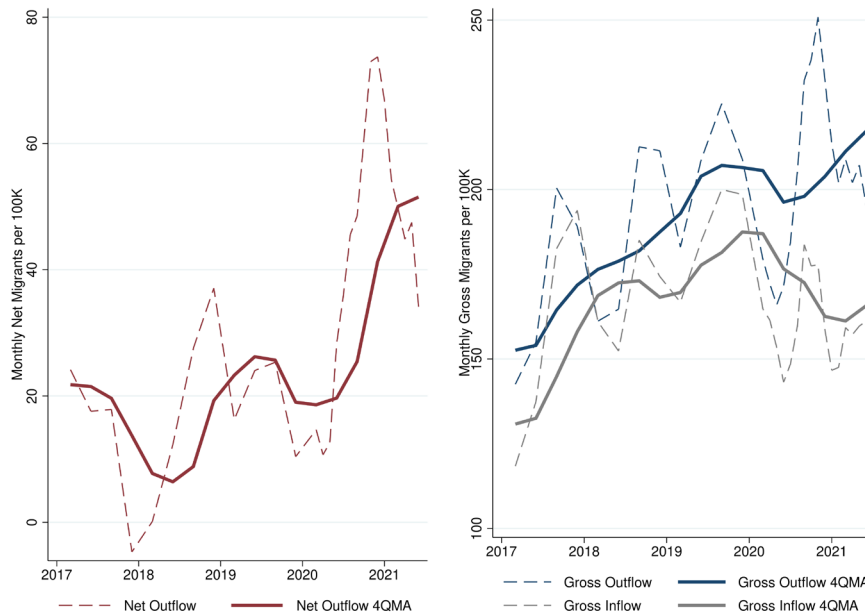
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



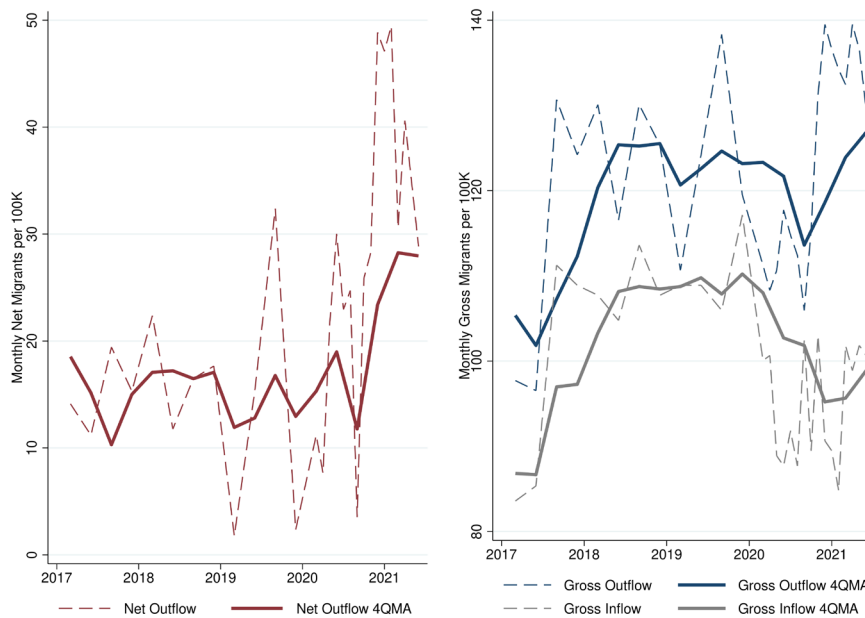
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



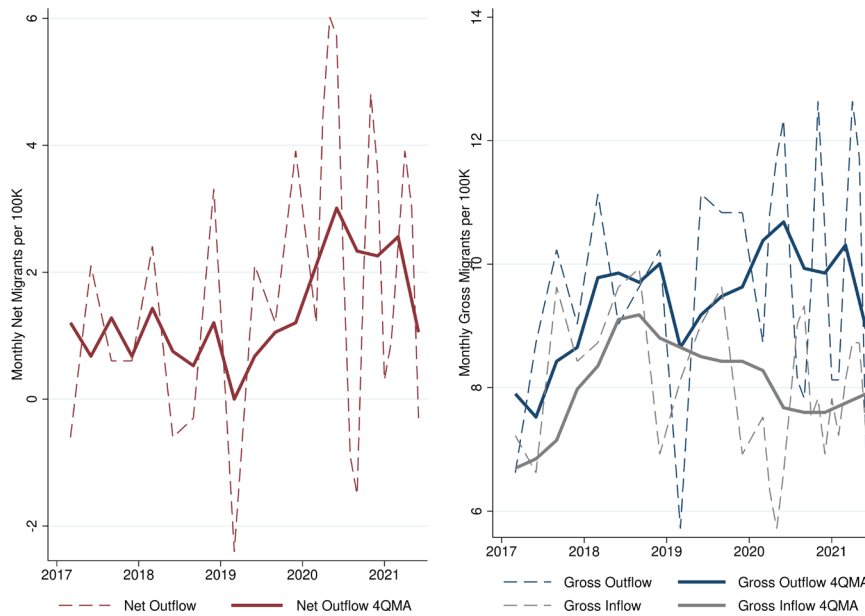
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



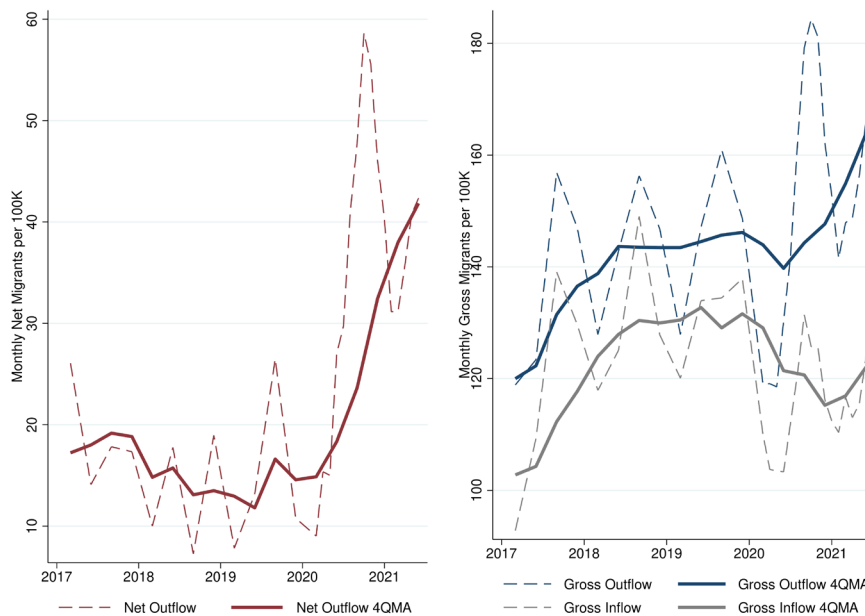
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



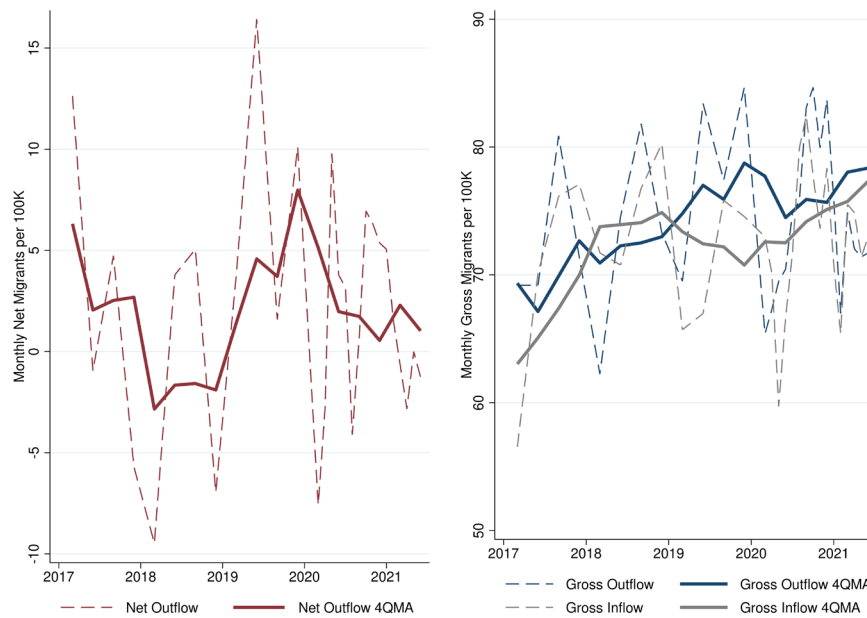
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



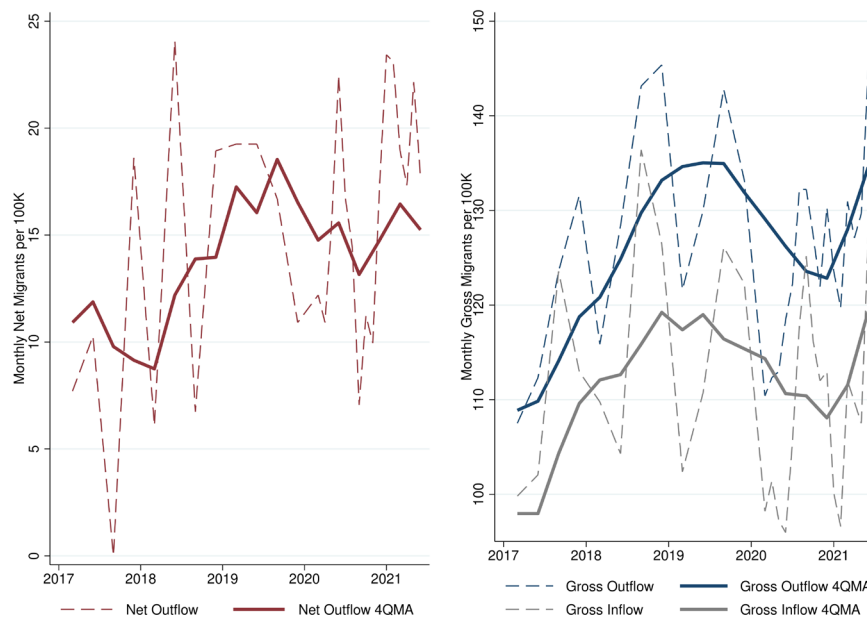
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



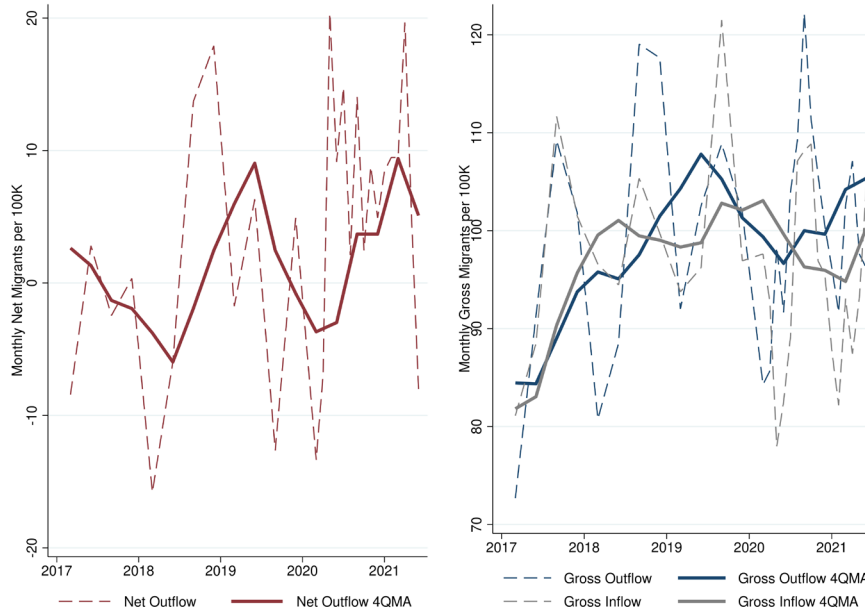
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



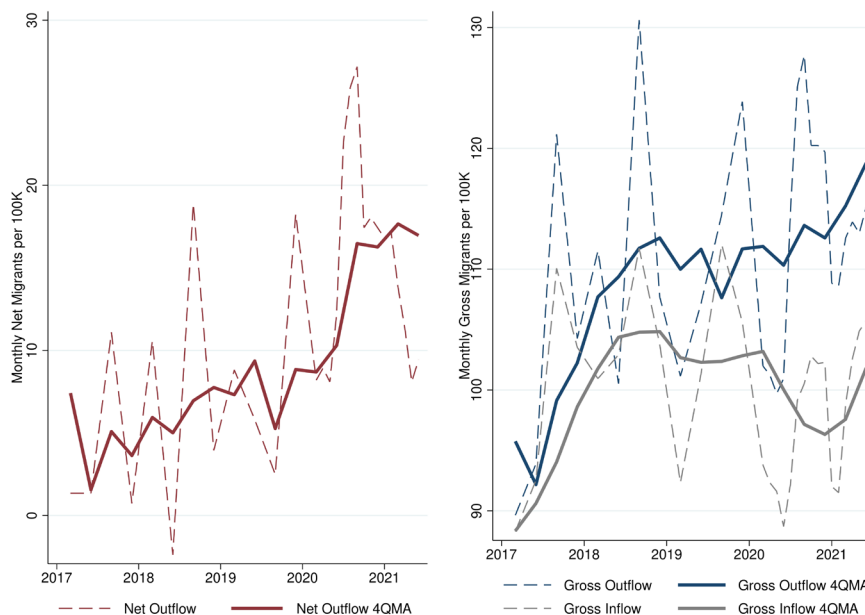
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



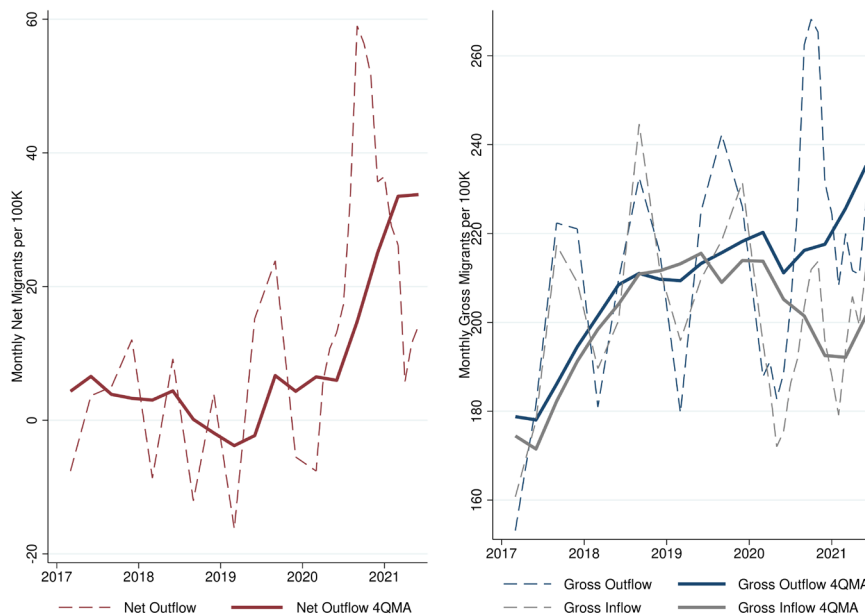
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



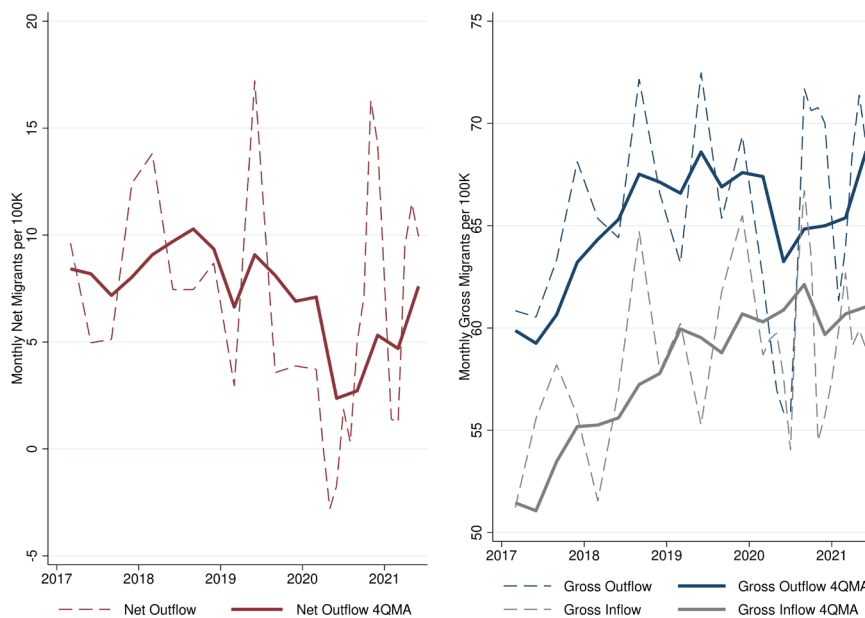
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



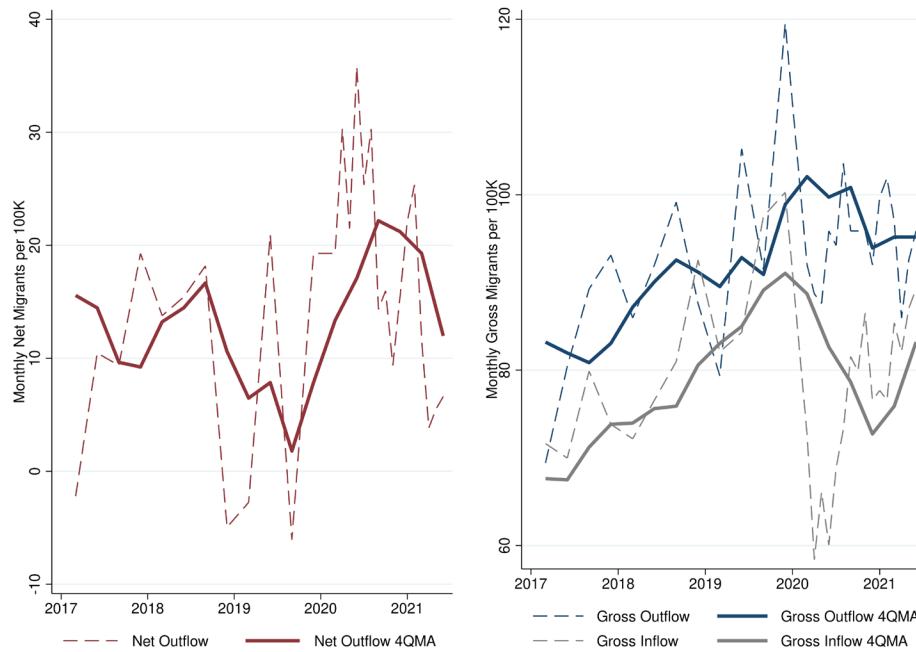
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



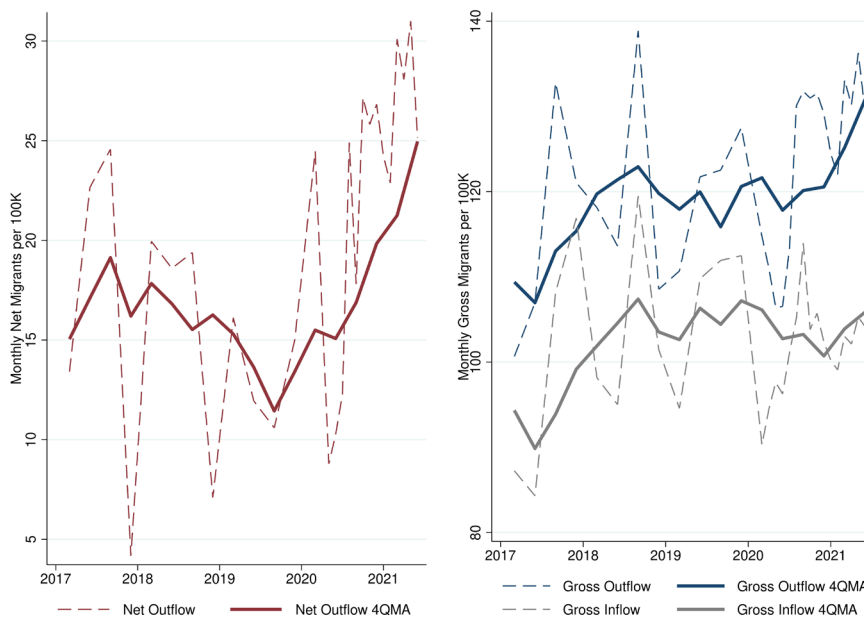
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



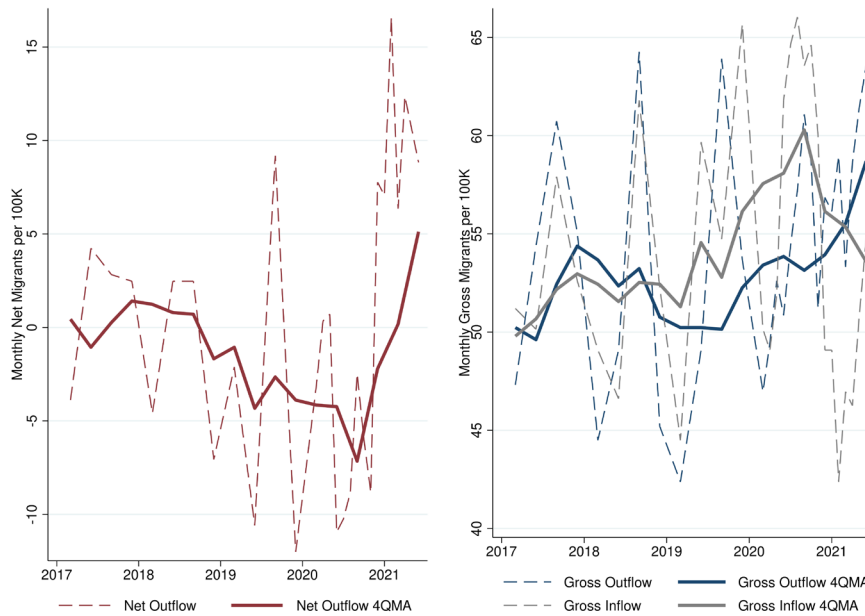
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



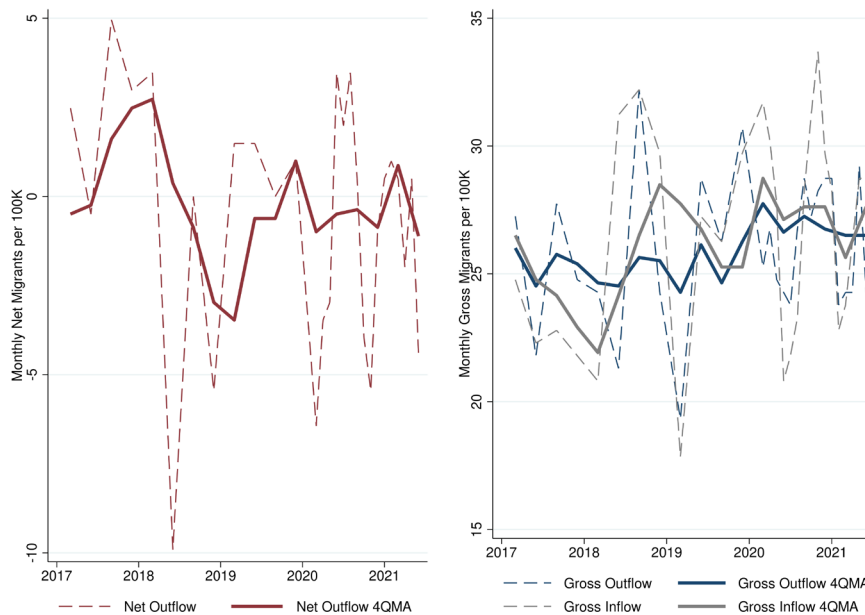
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



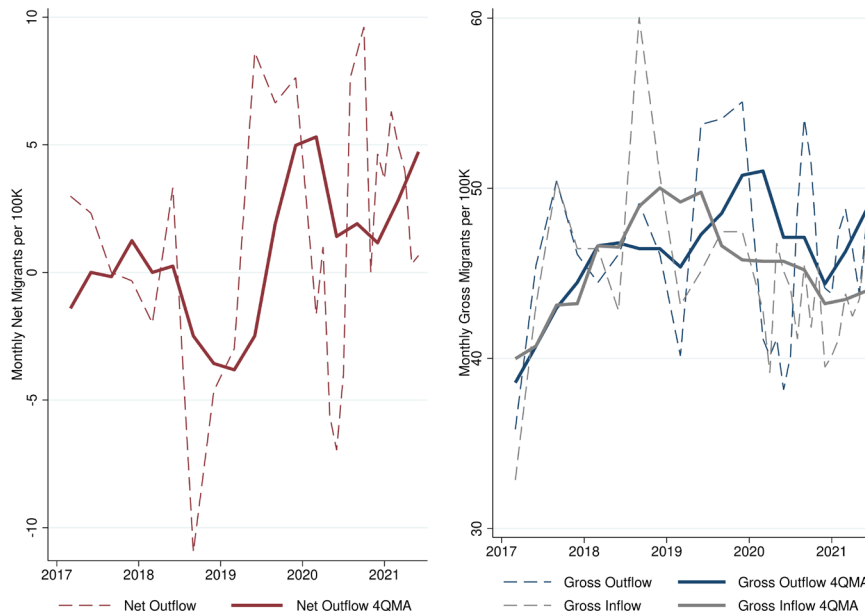
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



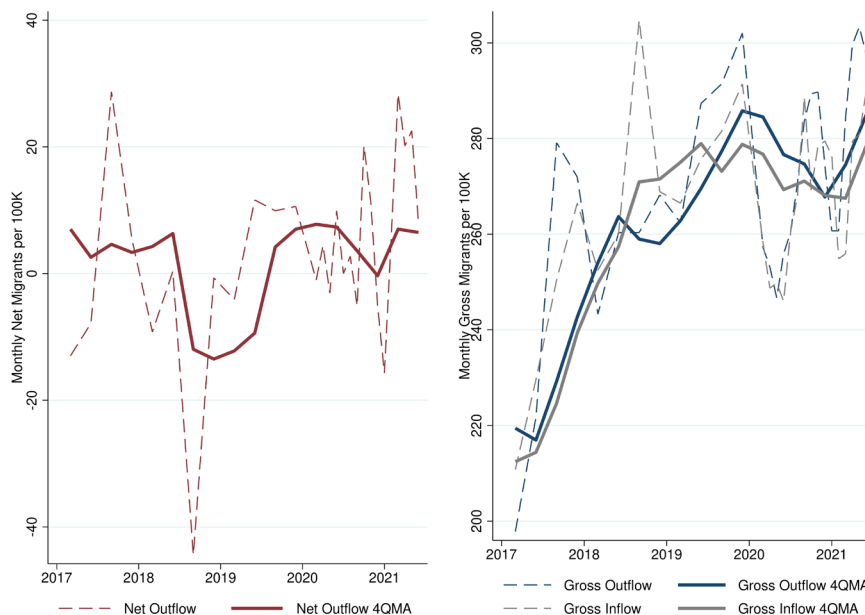
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



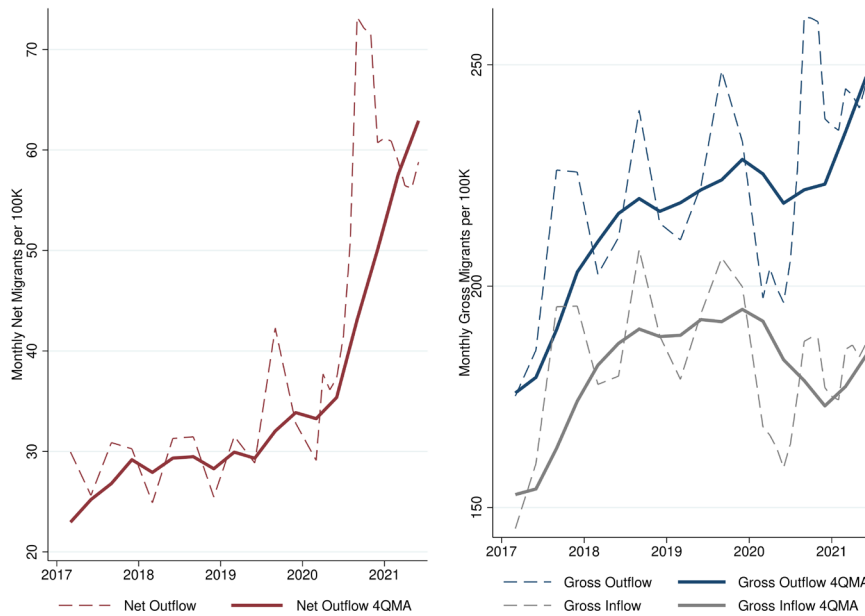
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



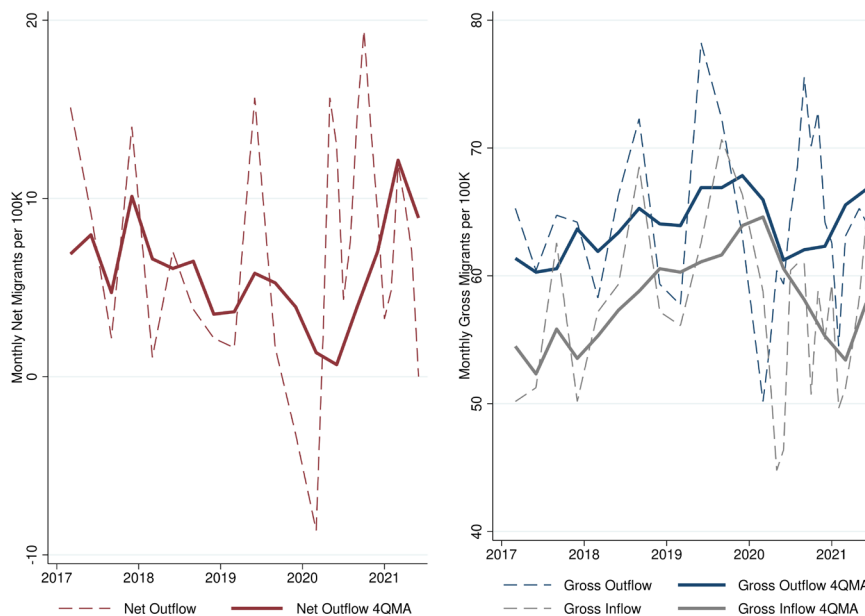
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



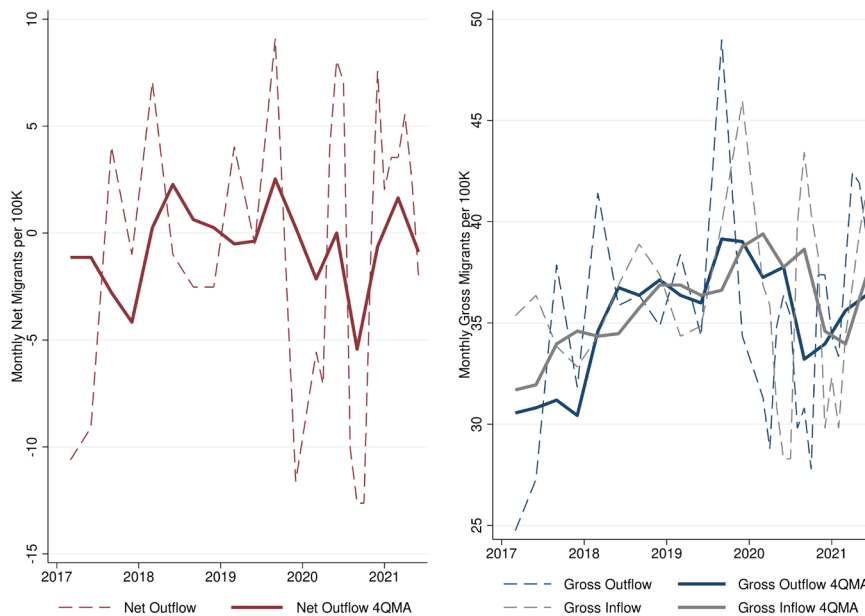
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



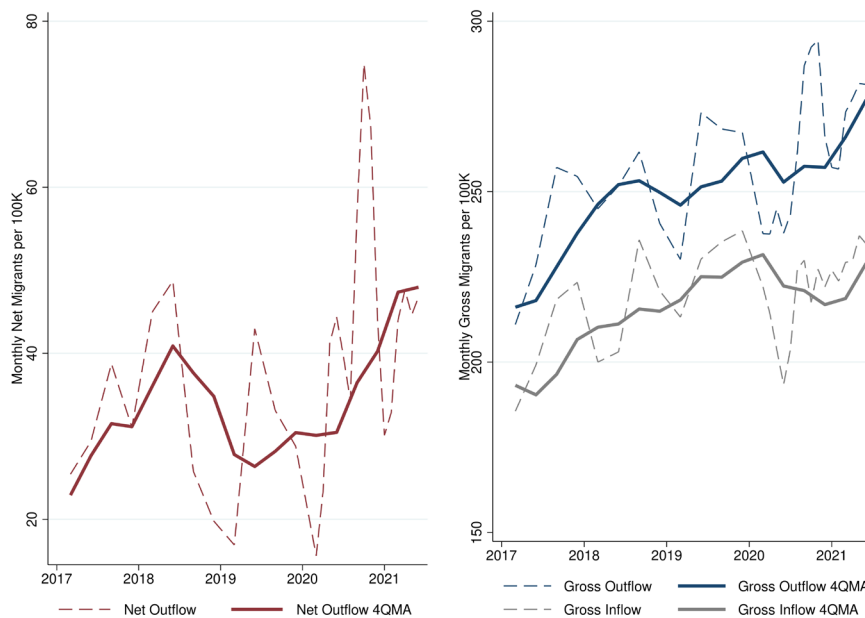
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



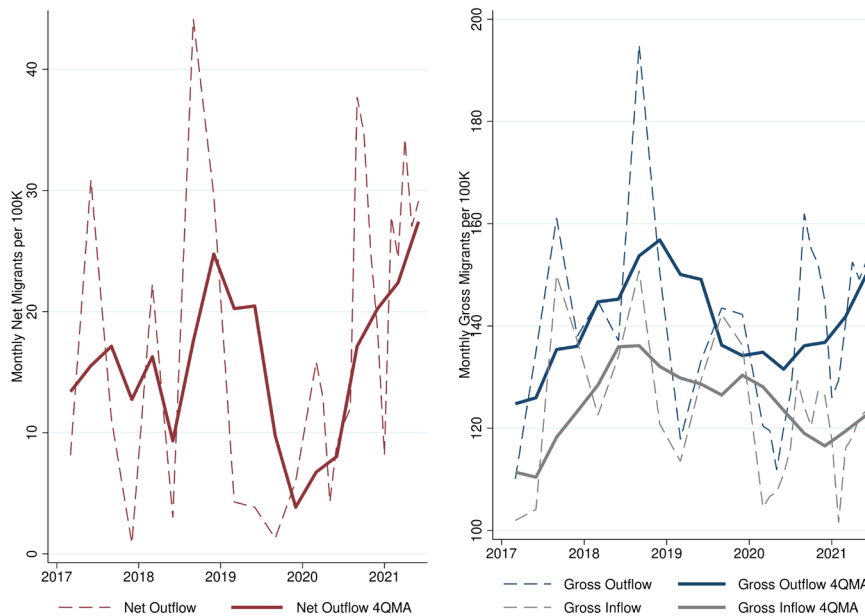
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



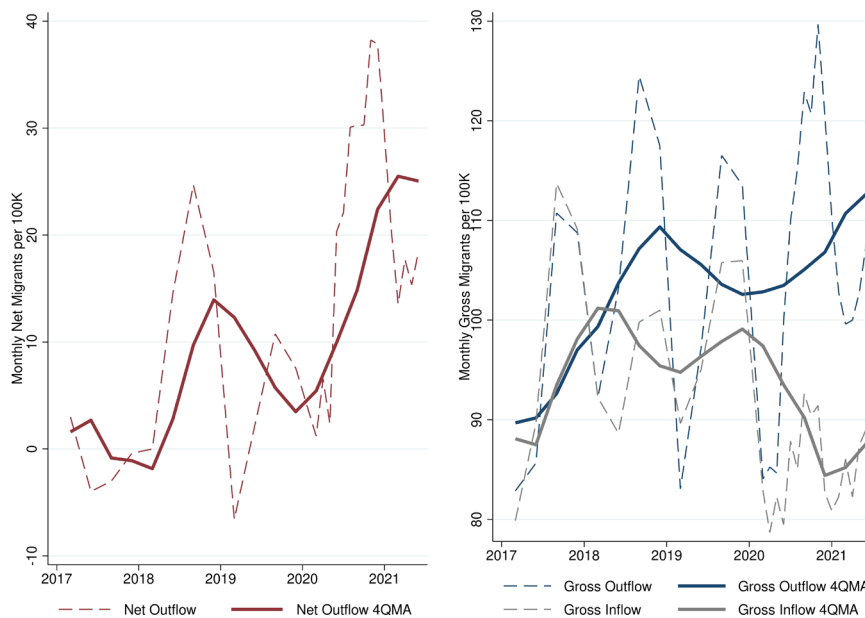
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



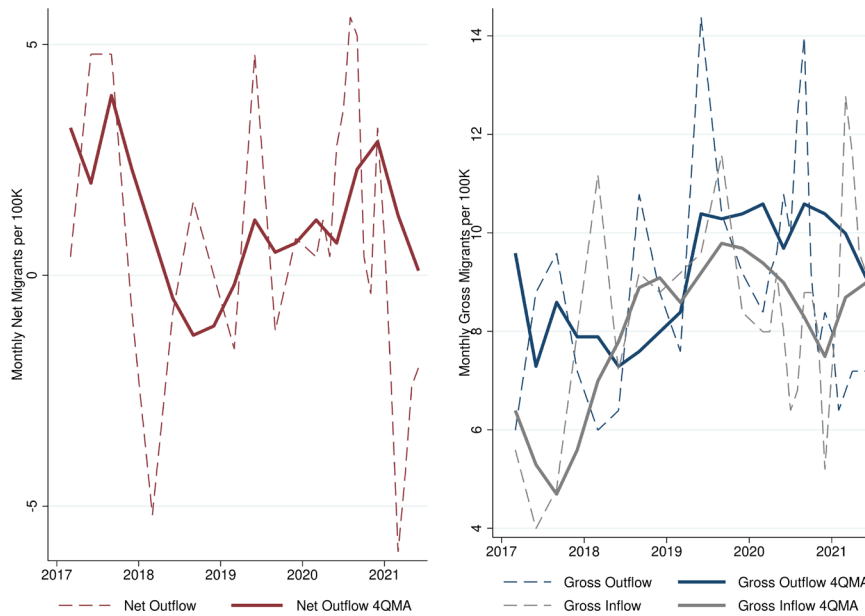
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



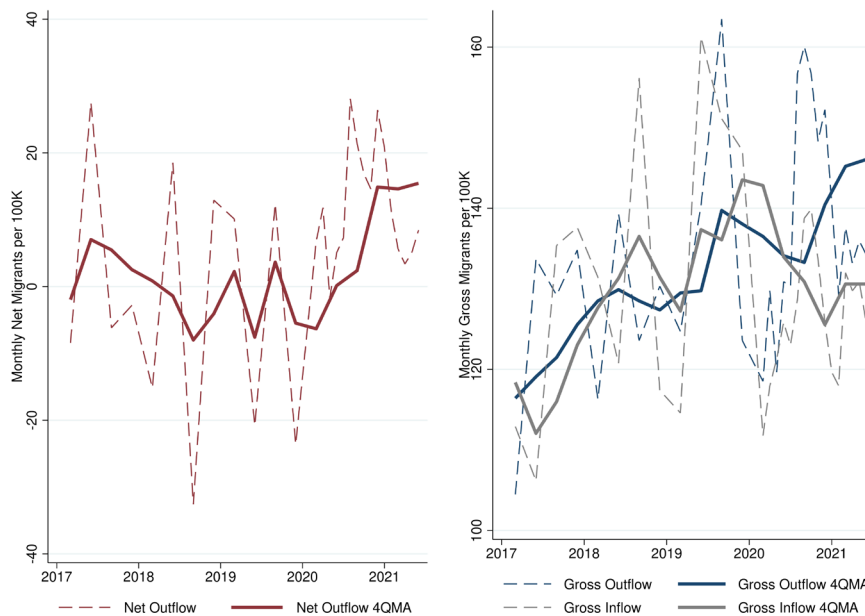
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



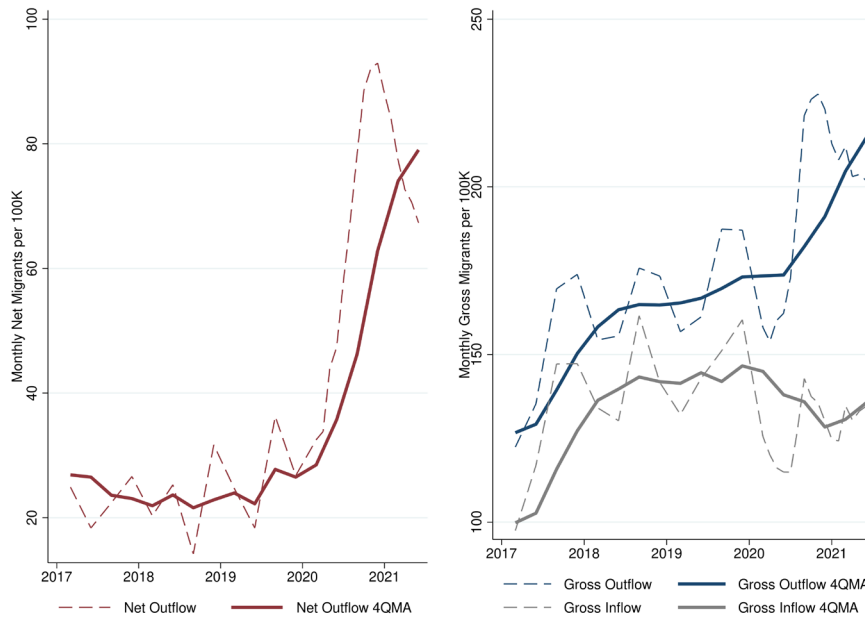
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



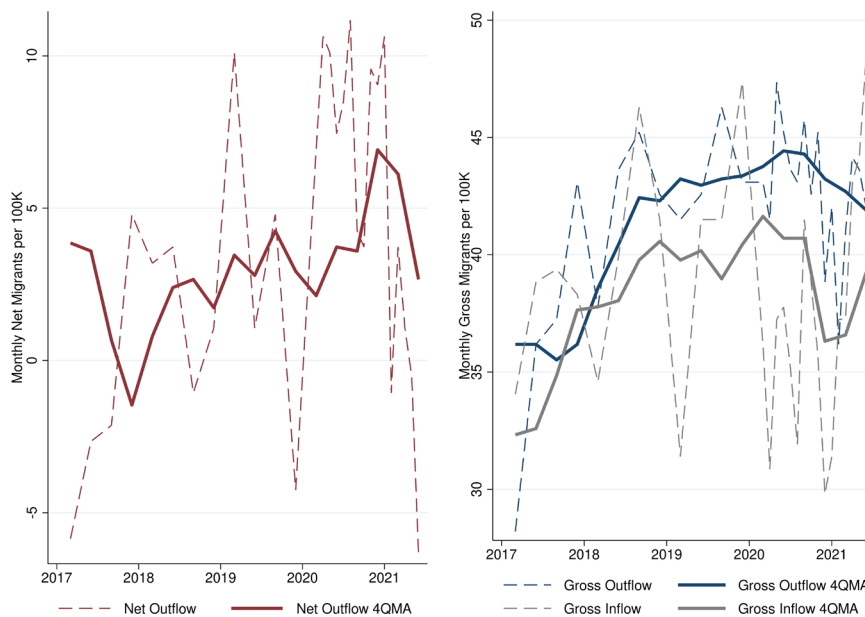
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



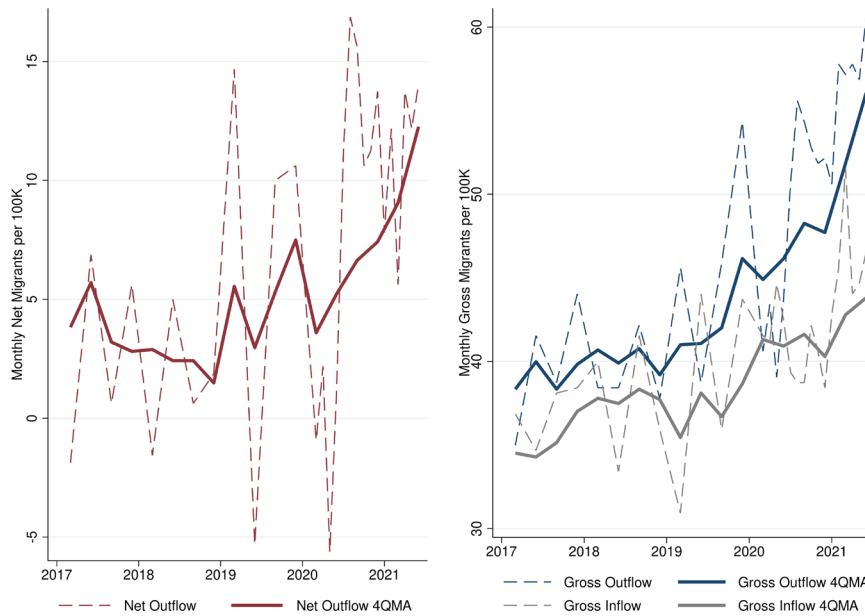
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



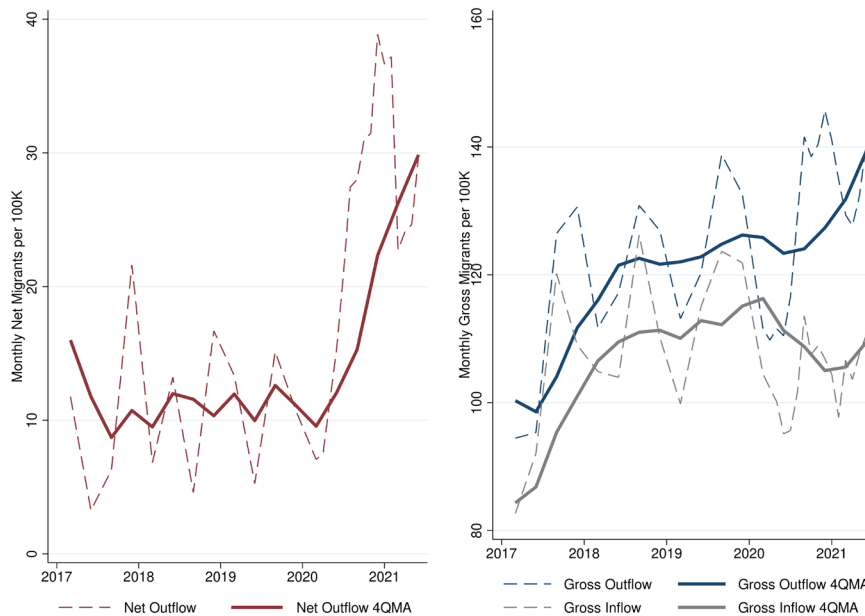
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



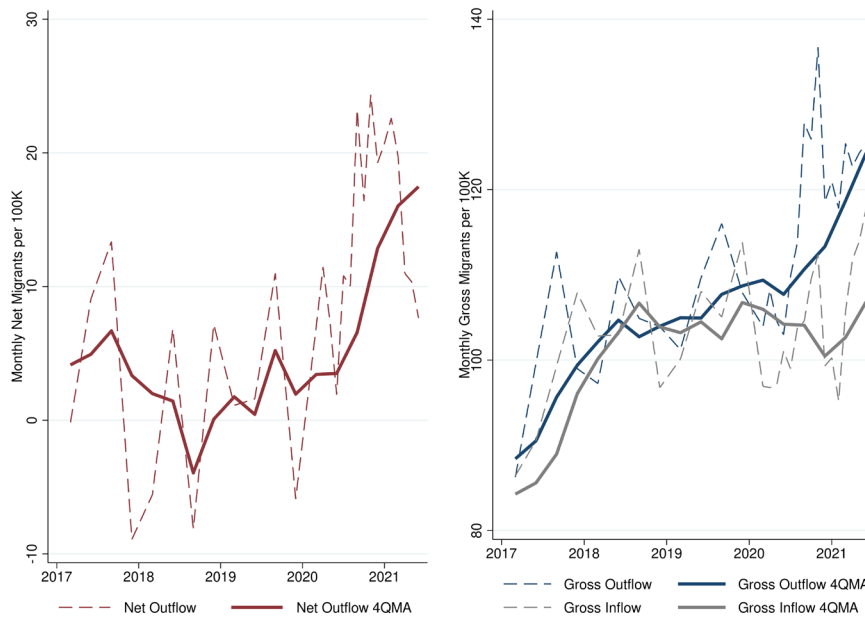
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



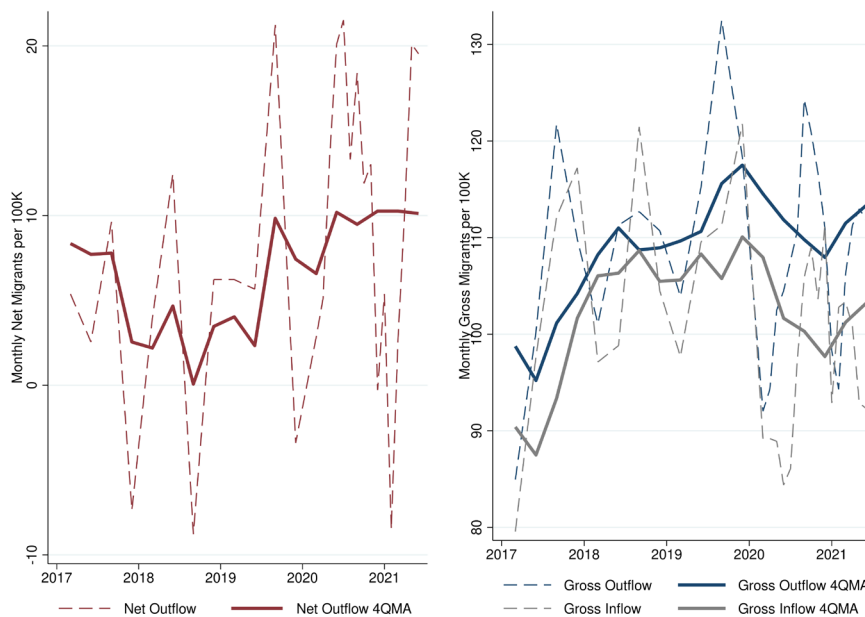
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



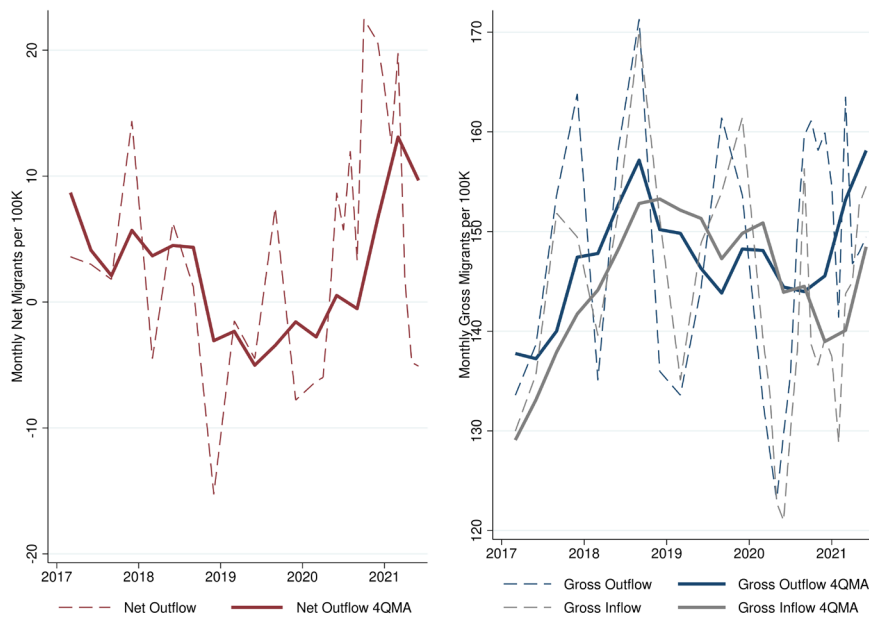
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



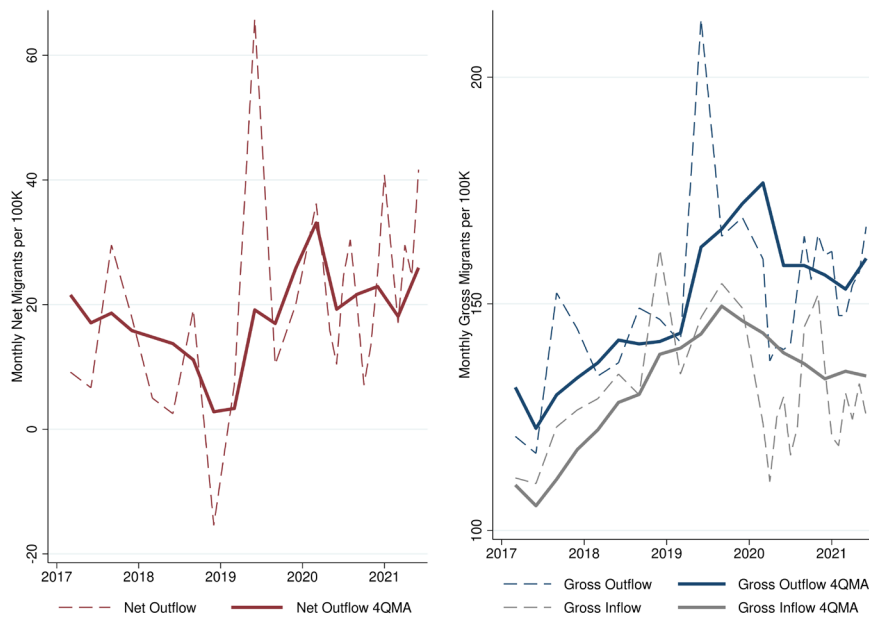
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



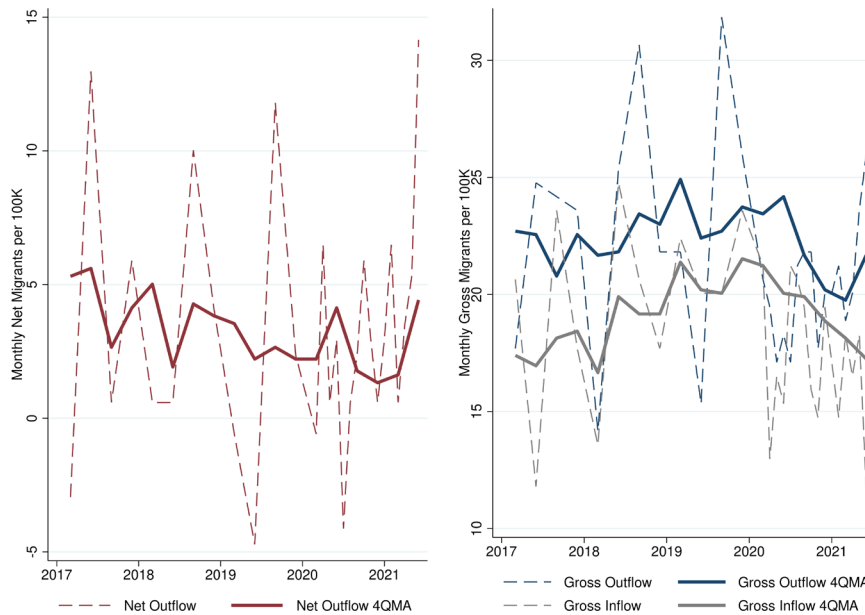
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



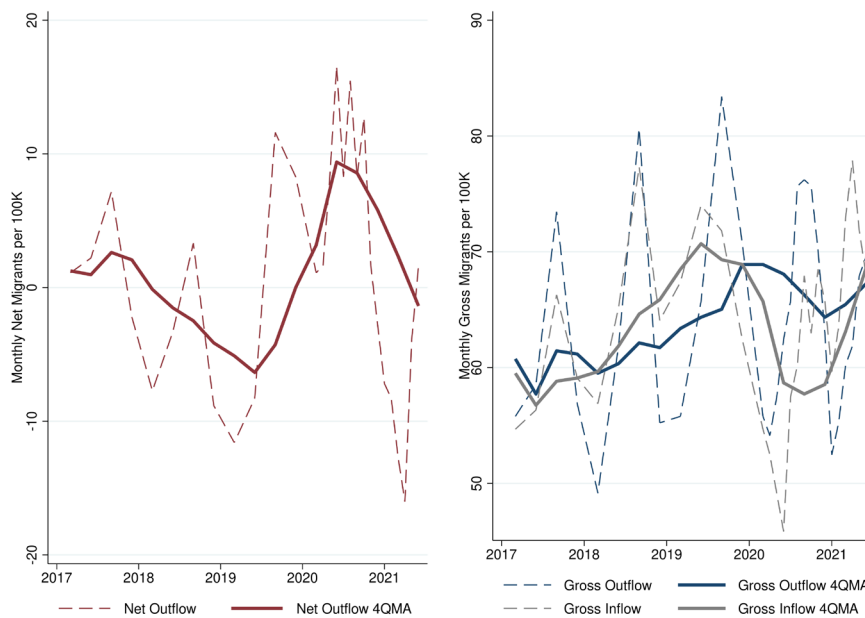
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



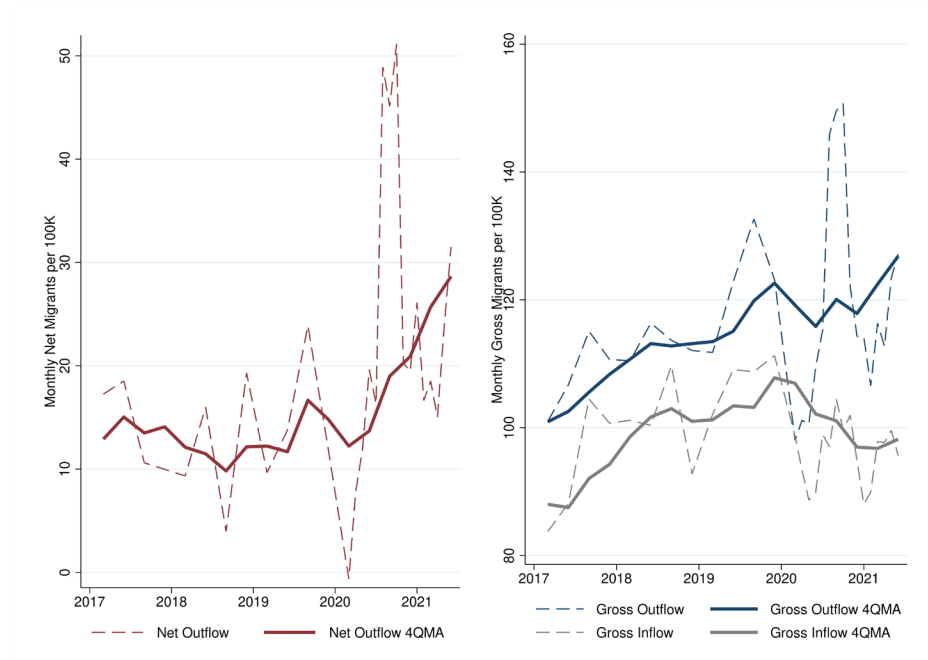
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



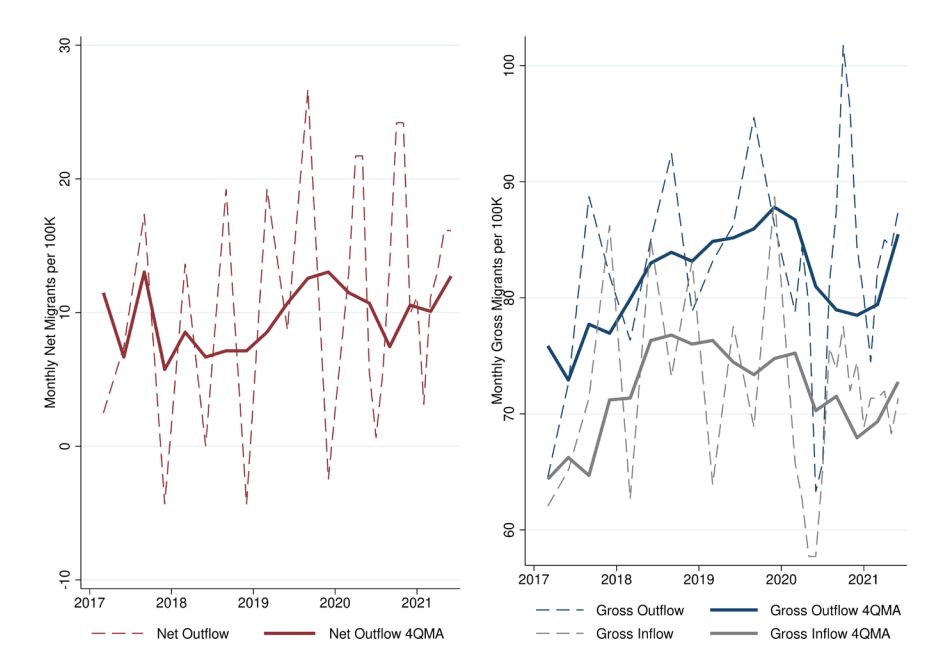
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



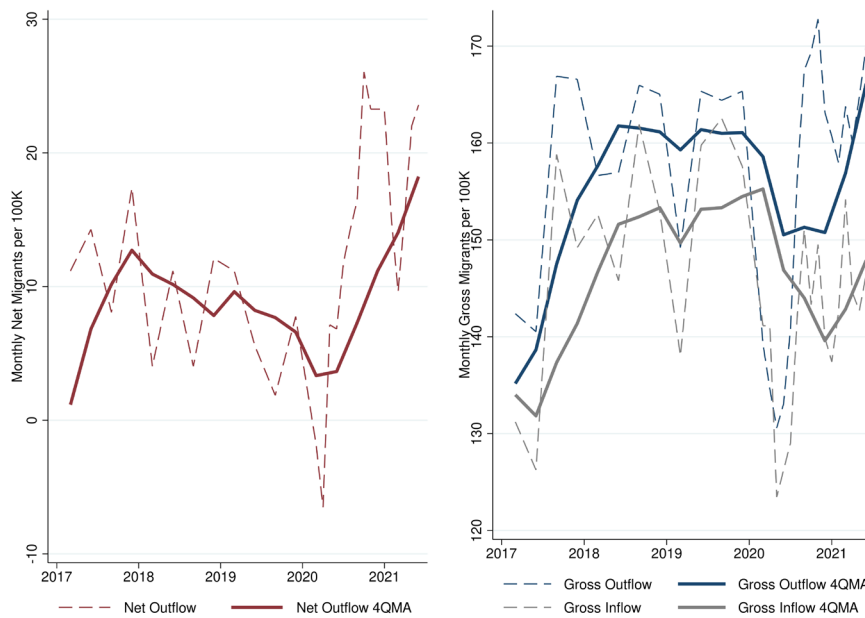
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



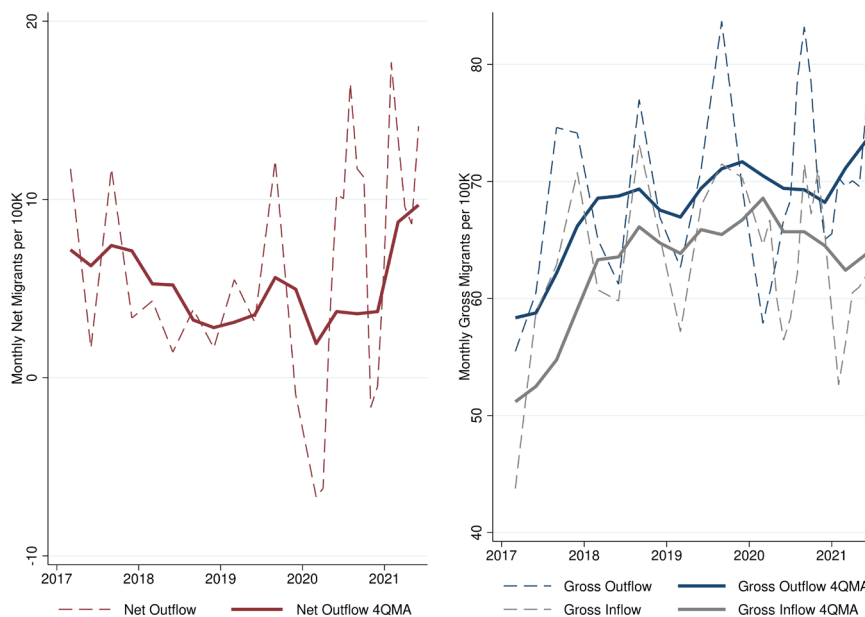
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



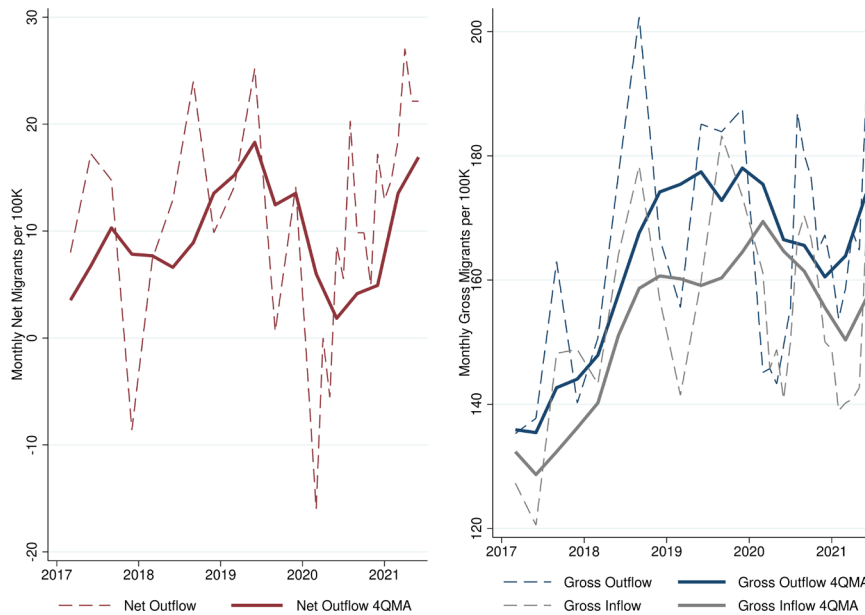
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



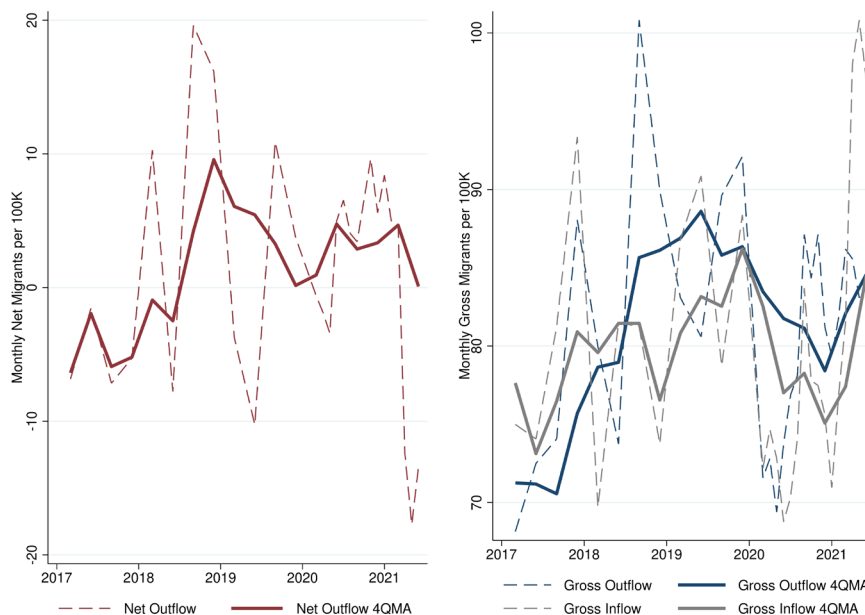
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



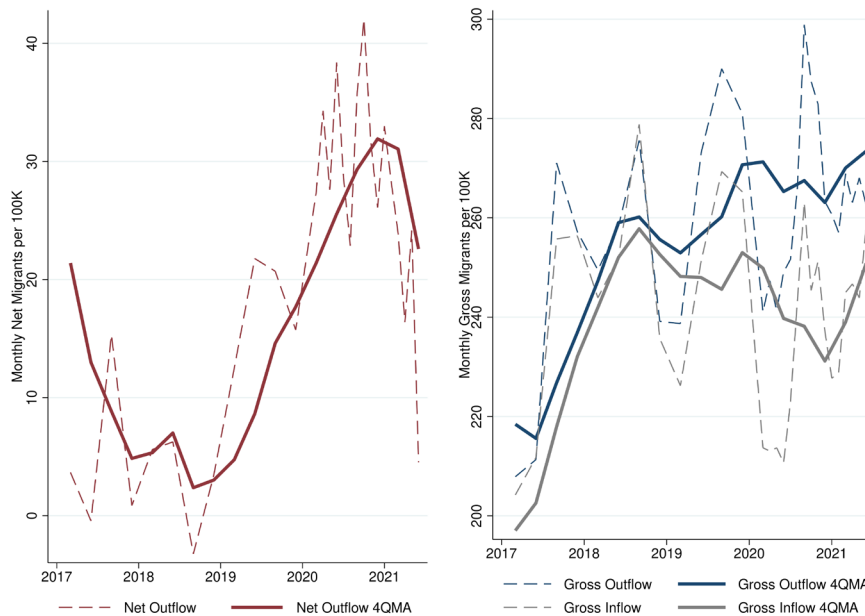
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



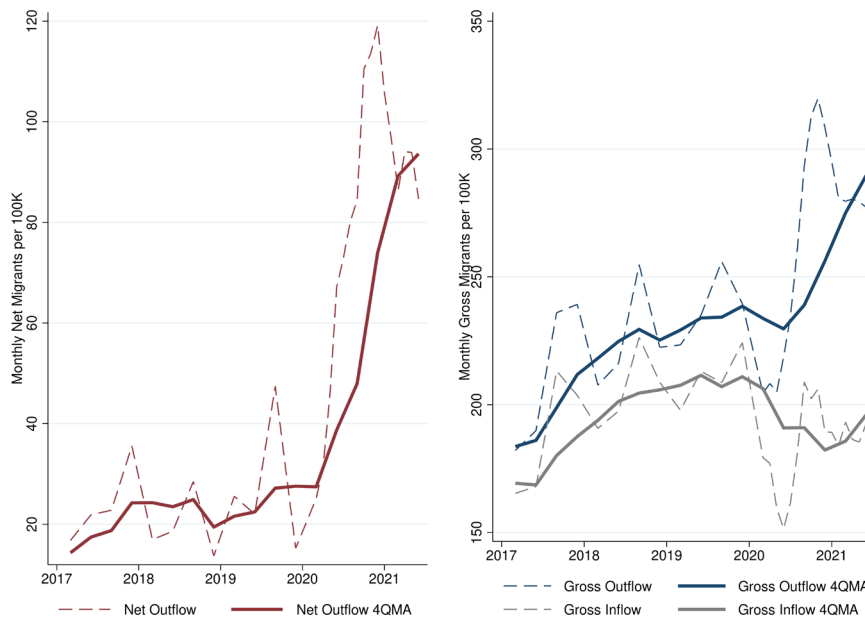
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



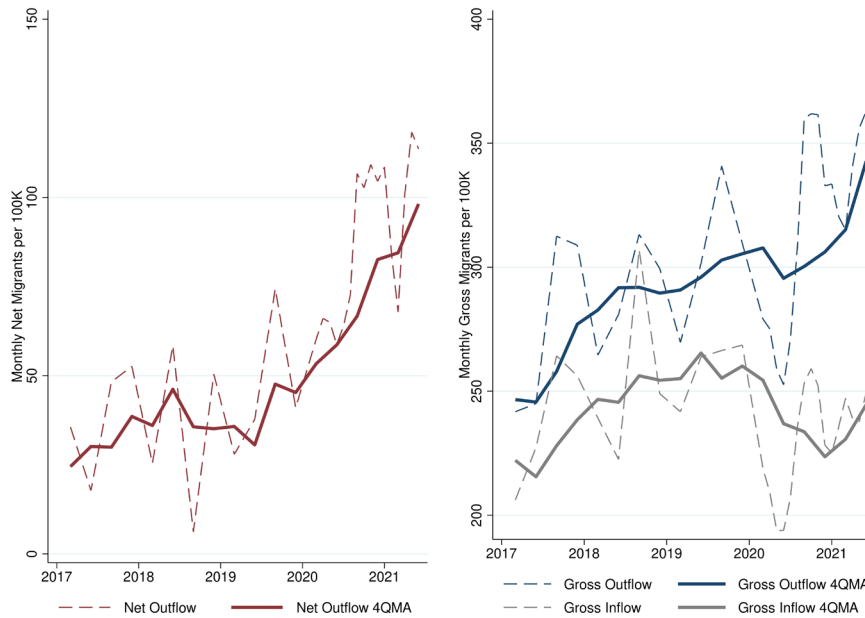
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



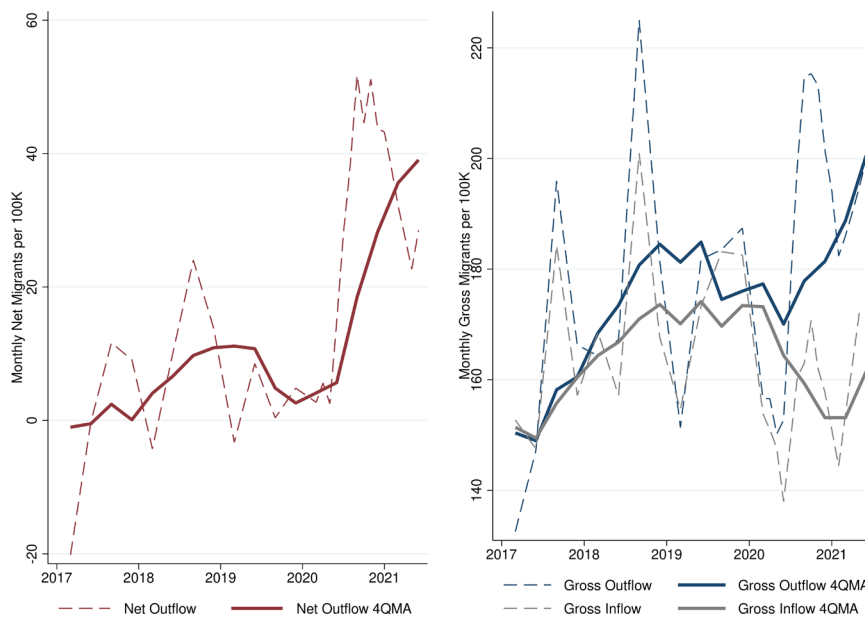
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



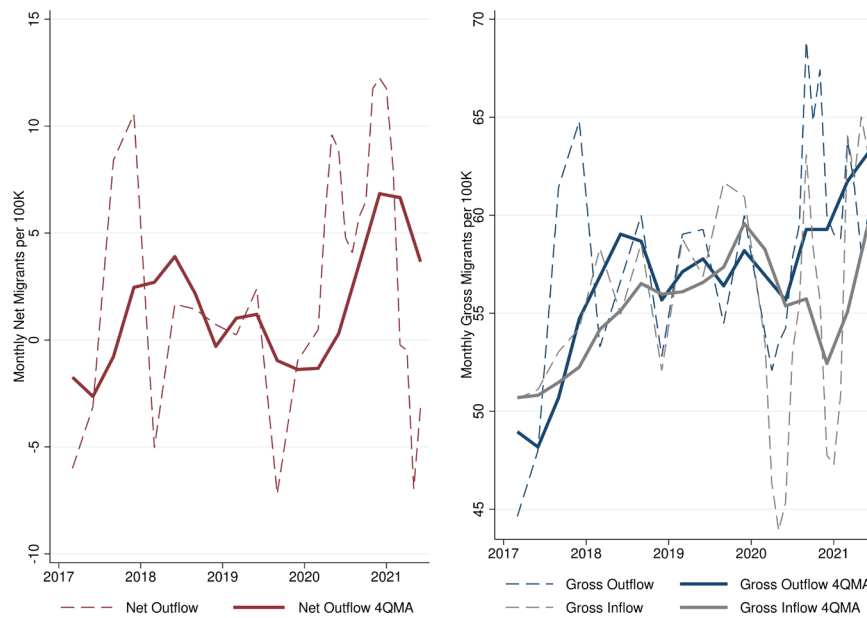
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



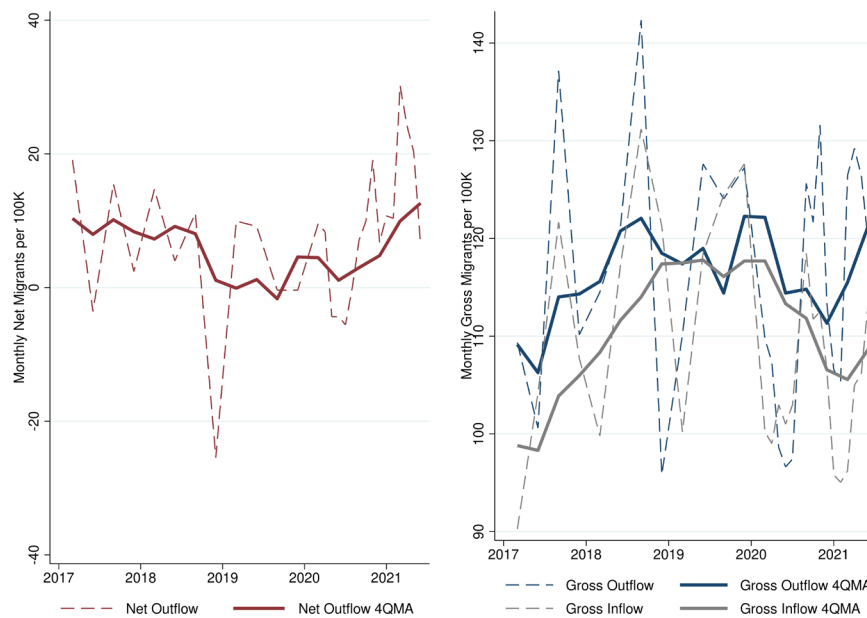
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



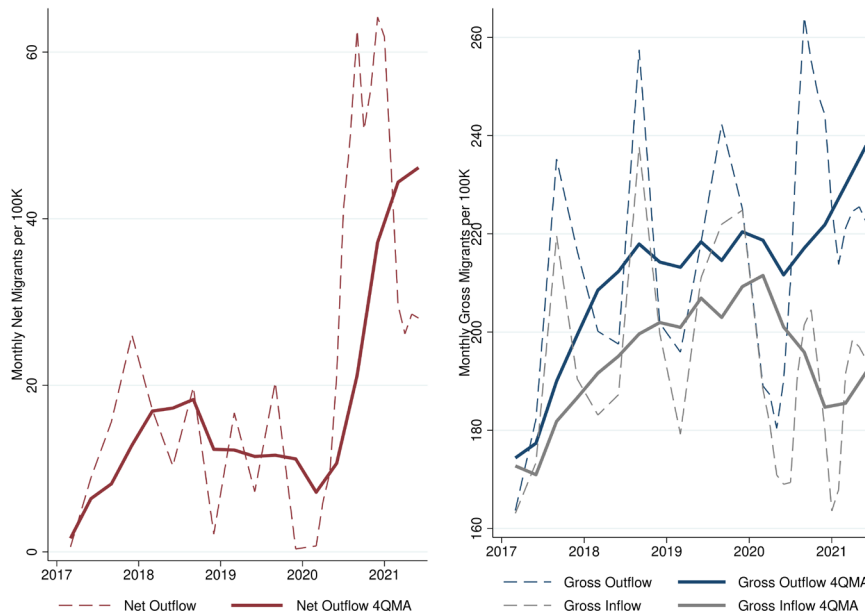
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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.