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

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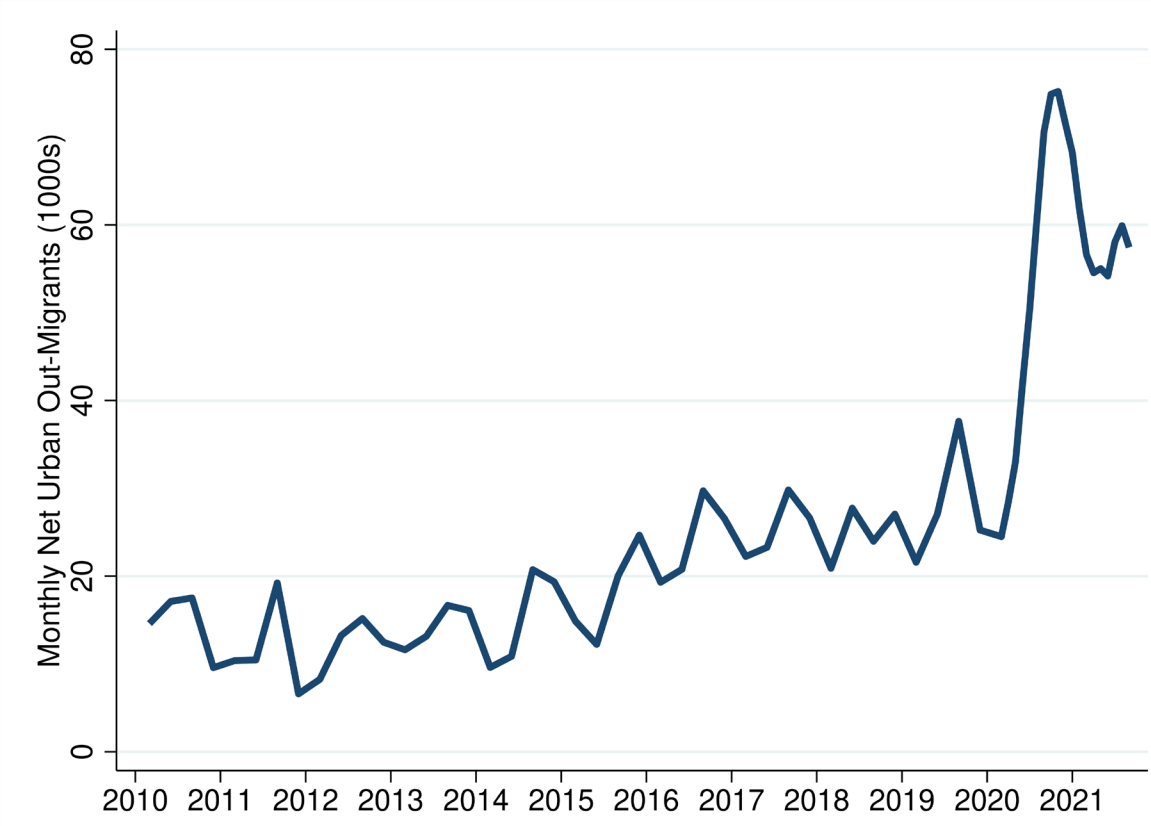
This document contains tables and figures from "Did the COVID-19 Pandemic Cause an Urban Exodus?" and "Did the COVID-19 Pandemic Cause an Urban Exodus? Follow-Up Questions and Answers" that have been updated with data through September 30, 2021.

In the third quarter of 2021, estimated net migration out of urban neighborhoods remained elevated at 57,440 migrants per month. While movement into urban neighborhoods stood at 95.3 percent of pre-pandemic levels (an estimated 241,793 people per month) last quarter, outflow from these neighborhoods was 105.4 percent of its pre-pandemic level (299,233 people per month).[1] This pattern in the national aggregate was reflected in the trends of seven large, highly urbanized metros: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Washington DC, and Seattle. Each displayed little or no acceleration in their inflows in 2021:Q3, while their outflows remained above pre-pandemic levels. We might have expected the pace of inflows into urban neighborhoods to accelerate further in these metros because recent strong outflows have made additional housing units available, as did depressed inflows in these areas earlier in the pandemic.

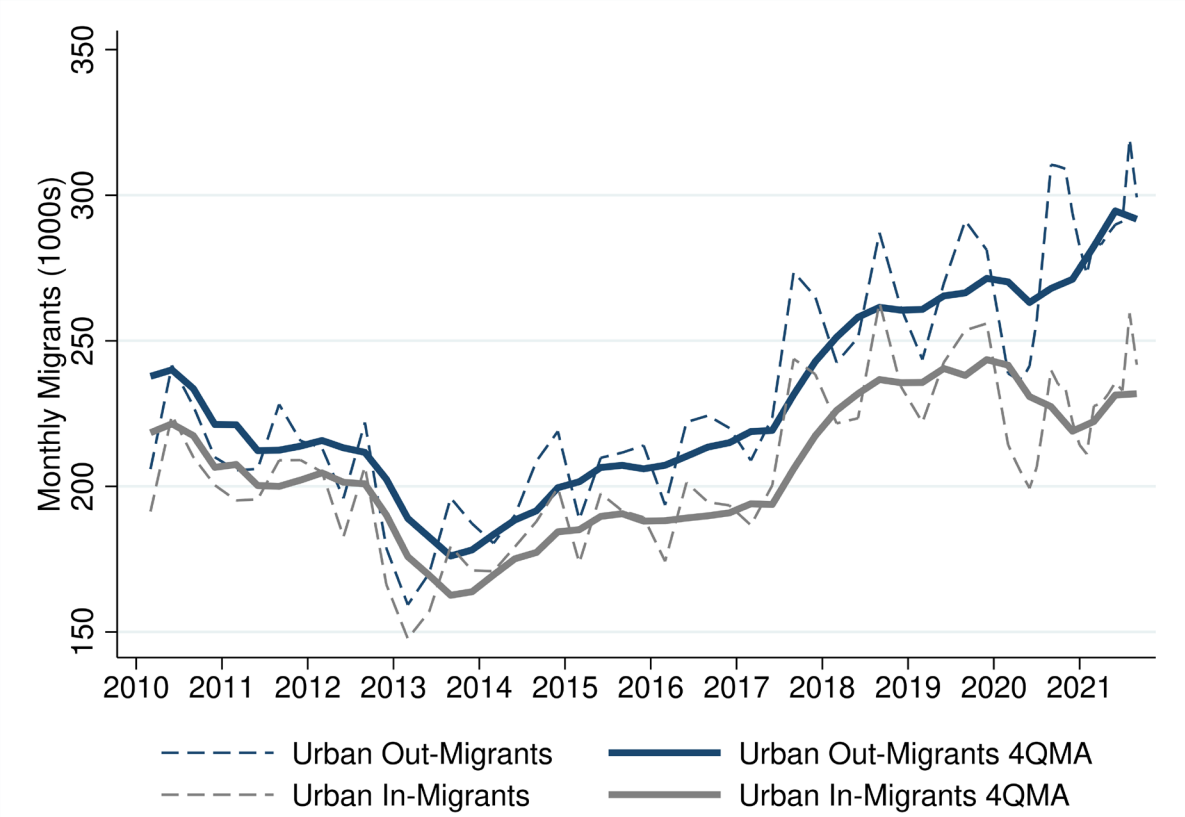
[1] The percentage differences are relative to the average of the estimated migration flow in 2017:Q3, 2018:Q3, and 2019:Q3.

Figure 1. Estimated Net Out-Migration from Urban Neighborhoods



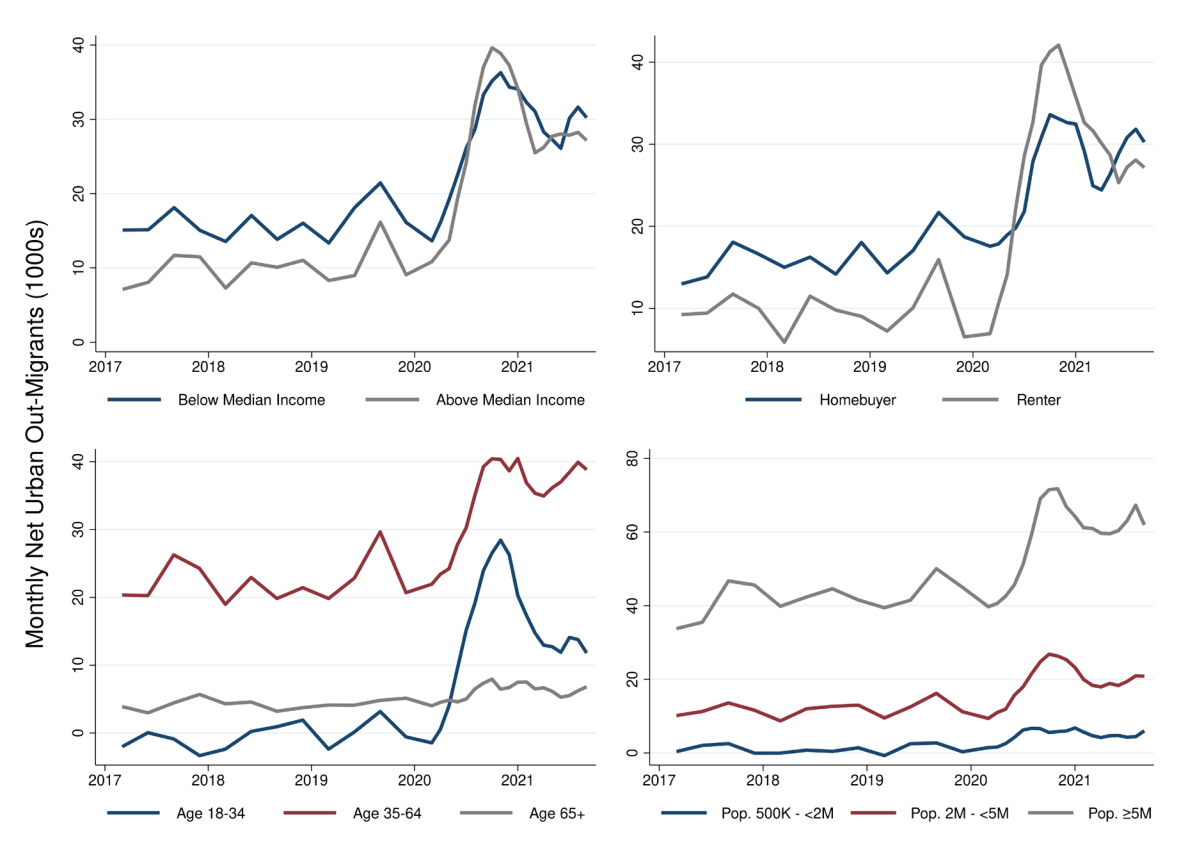
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

Figure 2. Estimated Gross Migration into and from Urban Neighborhoods



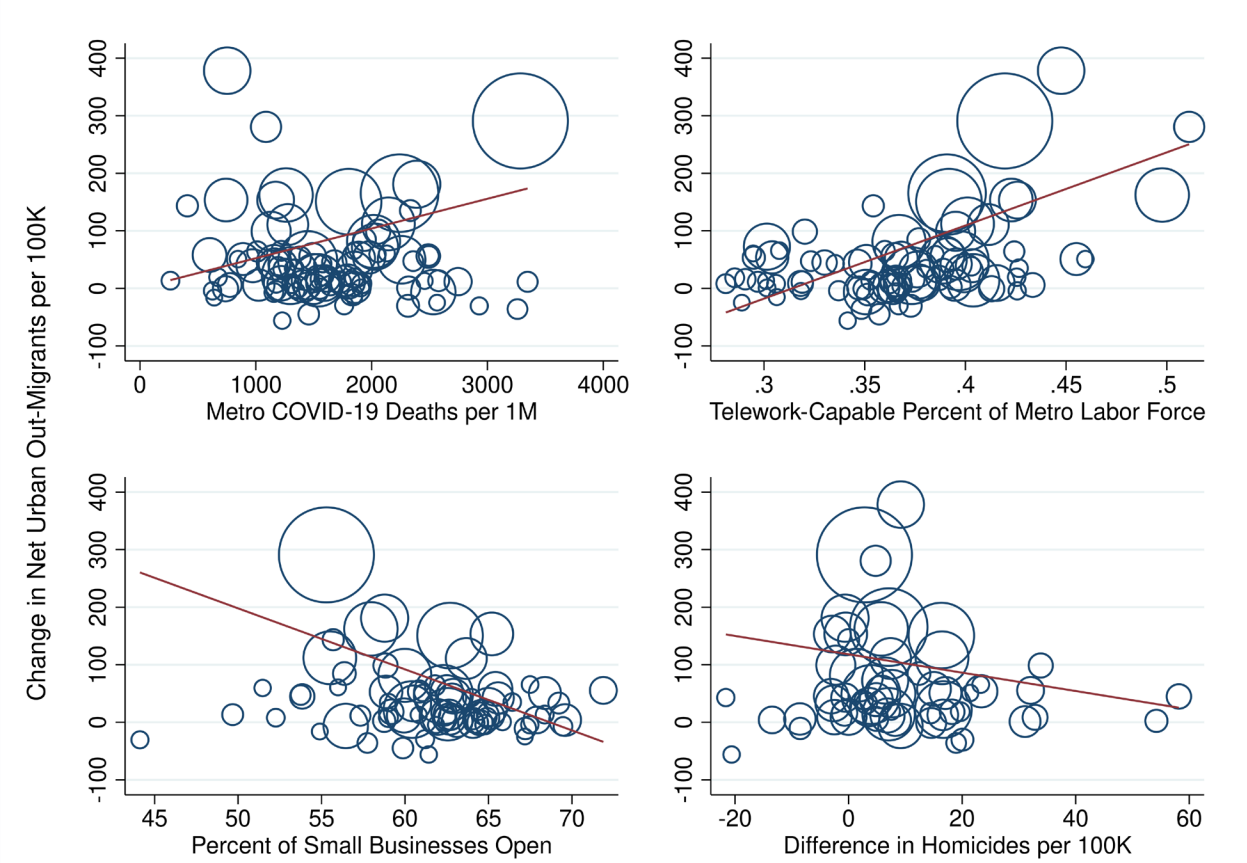
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



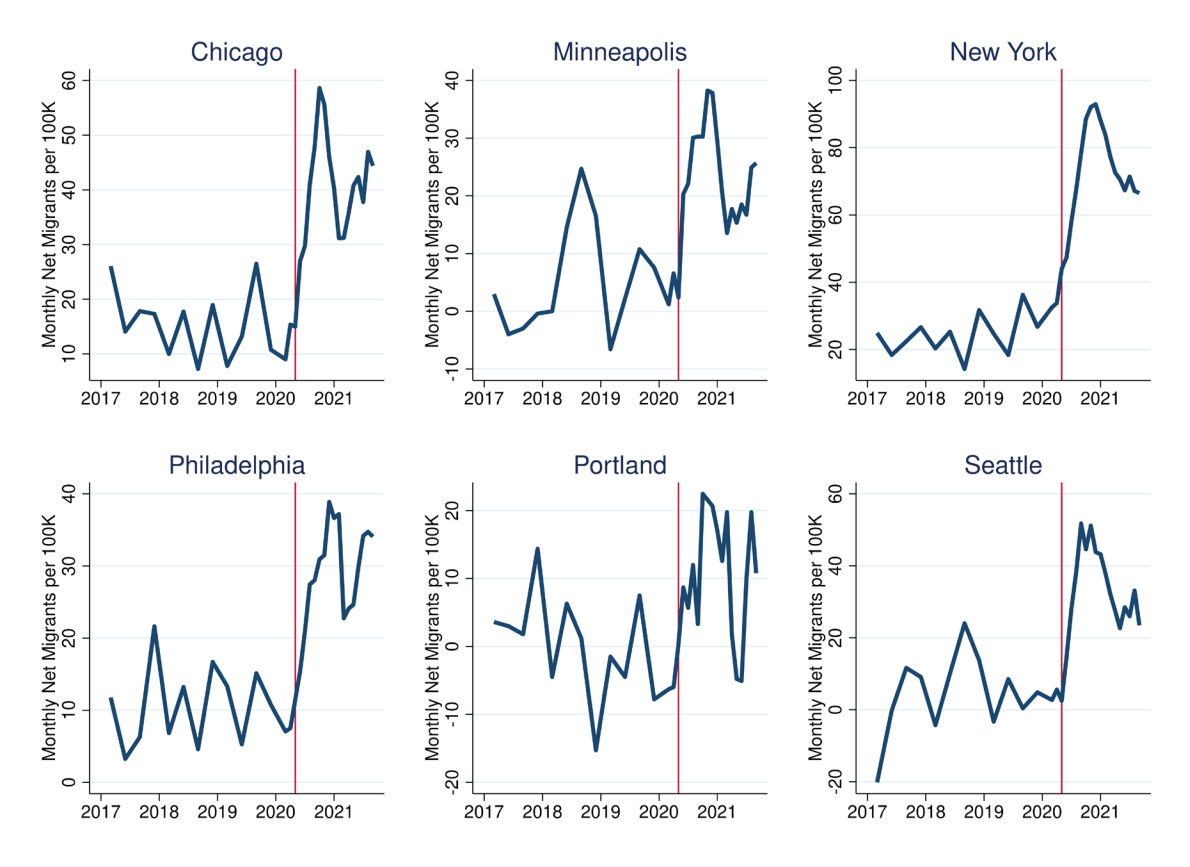
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



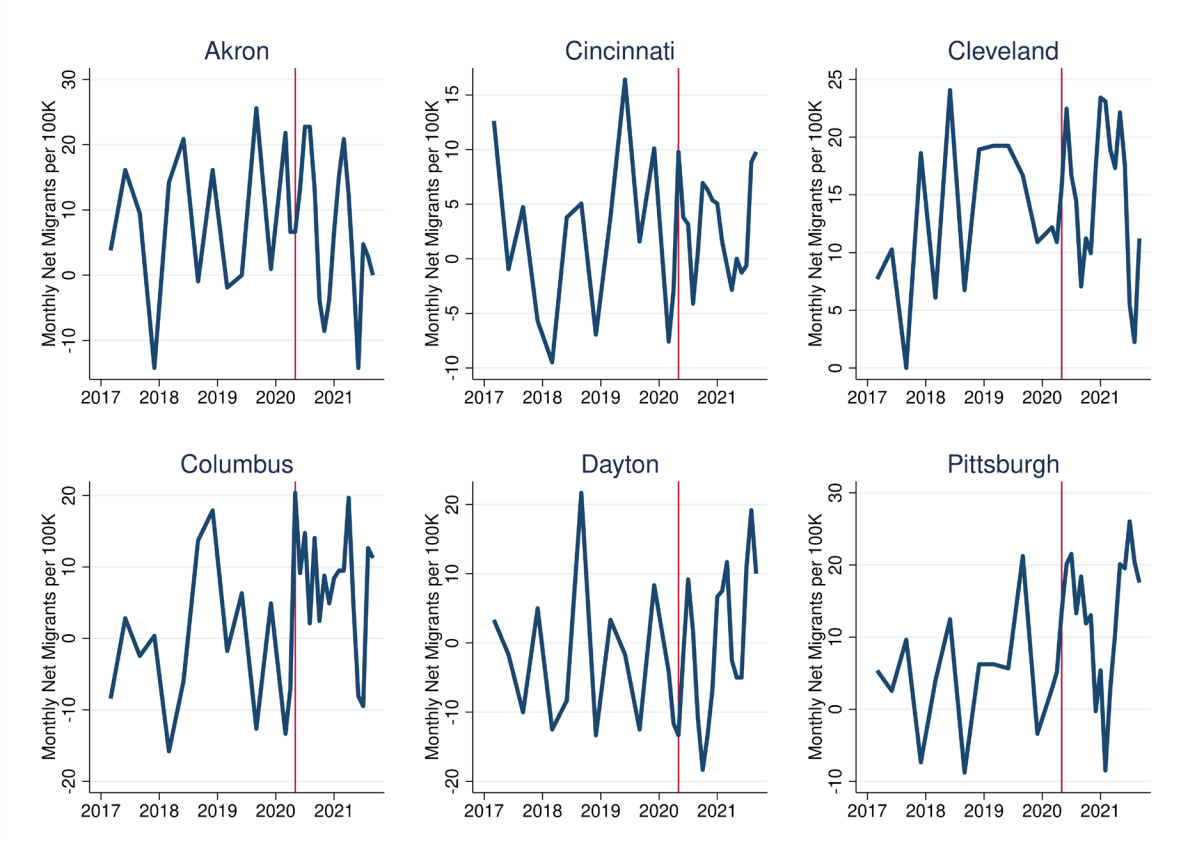
Note: Trend lines are calculated using metro populations as weights. The change is calculated as the sum of the differences between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q3 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Marker sizes represent metro populations.
Sources: 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 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	338,080	16.8	135,000	14.8	143,900	28.4	137,940	31.1	102,360	34.5
Los Angeles	269,300	0.5	179,800	7.8	78,680	20.7	59,420	21.4	54,800	15.5
Chicago	172,540	8.9	35,040	-3.4	40,760	15.0	24,400	12.0	33,500	13.7
Miami	185,800	4.8	23,740	-2.6	32,840	6.0	24,280	19.1	25,020	10.4
San Francisco	94,240	10.2	97,360	24.5	23,440	29.5	26,680	25.8	39,480	34.3
Washington	145,700	3.2	30,920	-10.0	39,460	11.2	25,360	10.4	24,460	18.5
Boston	100,220	4.7	35,880	6.5	17,040	5.6	37,360	29.2	21,880	24.5
San Diego	87,240	-2.0	34,300	2.2	16,120	13.8	14,440	13.2	17,100	9.6
Philadelphia	96,340	11.1	24,600	5.2	13,360	19.3	14,960	14.5	17,200	8.9
Houston	108,020	5.7	7,280	-10.3	11,080	-6.6	5,640	2.9	8,960	-5.4
Dallas	107,500	6.0	7,660	-4.8	9,660	-3.3	6,420	5.8	9,740	-1.5
San Jose	46,780	7.8	53,520	7.7	11,380	28.2	13,700	20.7	15,000	8.7
Seattle	79,040	3.1	18,280	3.5	9,480	9.1	7,620	13.8	18,560	17.5
Riverside	68,500	4.2	25,840	6.0	6,660	14.6	4,360	20.9	6,160	17.4
Las Vegas	67,580	1.7	14,800	7.2	8,500	36.4	6,920	1.2	12,280	21.0
Denver	70,180	4.0	8,420	2.9	9,680	13.1	9,020	18.1	16,760	15.6
Phoenix	72,200	11.4	6,260	2.3	4,180	17.6	4,720	16.8	8,300	17.2
Baltimore	47,880	-2.9	14,420	-3.2	6,840	7.1	5,440	4.9	7,260	4.2
Minneapolis	51,940	6.9	5,360	-18.1	4,380	19.2	3,500	11.2	9,200	20.8
Sacramento	43,460	-1.9	9,020	-2.1	3,300	24.1	4,320	2.5	9,140	14.8
Portland	41,460	-2.7	7,060	-10.2	4,440	28.8	4,020	20.8	11,060	14.3
Detroit	41,300	-0.3	3,080	37.5	3,500	10.3	2,800	1.4	4,260	-2.9
Cleveland	35,880	2.2	3,420	-11.6	5,240	9.9	5,600	10.1	3,220	-9.4
Pittsburgh	34,380	0.5	6,360	0.6	5,020	-2.8	3,340	-2.1	5,640	20.0
Providence	29,300	-5.0	9,900	9.4	3,460	18.8	4,480	-3.4	4,240	35.6
Atlanta	34,000	9.0	4,020	-6.5	2,740	6.8	3,000	5.6	3,120	-0.6
Urban Honolulu	22,040	3.0	8,900	-3.7	5,720	10.4	5,120	9.2	7,640	4.4
Milwaukee	28,200	5.0	4,060	-7.9	4,240	-1.5	2,880	-2.7	5,980	-7.0
St. Louis	27,080	1.6	3,600	-3.7	3,460	15.3	1,940	8.6	4,020	20.6
Columbus	26,820	4.1	2,660	-4.8	3,440	-5.5	2,960	20.3	3,180	-5.0
Virginia Beach	24,000	0.8	3,800	-9.4	3,180	2.8	3,540	-5.5	4,560	-1.2
Bridgeport	16,720	10.2	7,200	5.4	2,500	24.6	6,760	14.6	2,060	16.2
Salt Lake City	21,620	1.6	2,920	-9.9	1,980	11.2	5,460	-1.8	4,320	10.0
San Antonio	25,900	3.7	1,020	-20.3	2,780	-3.7	1,720	11.7	2,740	-4.6
Tampa	23,160	7.2	2,620	13.9	2,180	-0.6	2,680	13.2	2,560	36.2
Cincinnati	22,700	1.8	2,080	-9.8	3,060	14.2	2,720	27.1	2,240	9.8

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 Orleans	20,140	9.3	3,280	1.2	3,620	3.0	2,980	4.9	4,060	1.5
Buffalo	17,920	0.0	3,440	5.1	2,660	0.8	2,860	16.3	3,160	51.0
Albany	16,260	13.2	3,460	-9.6	1,520	18.1	1,760	-2.6	3,120	12.8
Austin	16,920	3.7	1,340	-17.3	3,500	1.2	1,100	26.0	1,940	13.7
Hartford	15,380	8.3	1,820	-26.2	1,440	-3.6	3,340	4.8	1,620	10.0
Stockton	11,820	-5.7	5,840	9.1	1,140	13.2	2,560	19.6	2,300	14.6
New Haven	12,040	12.6	3,240	-15.8	1,940	34.7	4,060	3.9	1,760	15.3
Oxnard	12,580	0.6	4,920	-8.2	1,860	16.7	1,760	13.8	2,700	2.0
Worcester	11,940	-5.6	3,900	26.1	840	5.0	2,200	19.6	1,760	41.2
Allentown	12,520	11.7	2,700	11.6	2,060	-1.6	1,300	12.1	2,320	27.5
Indianapolis	14,560	5.6	1,320	-13.2	1,420	20.3	940	-2.8	2,320	-7.2
Kansas City	13,340	0.9	1,540	-13.5	1,580	-2.5	1,140	17.1	1,400	-15.3
Fresno	14,440	4.4	1,740	3.2	620	6.9	740	7.8	2,180	-10.7
Rochester	12,200	1.0	1,420	6.5	1,240	-11.8	1,480	-7.1	1,560	-9.3
El Paso	12,020	-11.1	680	-30.1	1,700	-19.0	820	-16.3	2,220	4.7
Bakersfield	11,500	3.0	1,760	10.0	540	55.8	620	-14.7	1,280	-15.0
Scranton	9,400	-0.7	1,700	-22.7	1,720	22.3	1,540	29.1	2,360	24.2
Louisville/Jefferson County	11,300	-1.6	620	-17.0	1,020	-12.6	1,160	35.9	1,780	35.5
Springfield	9,100	-8.8	1,660	-3.9	920	-14.8	2,000	6.0	1,140	-18.6
Omaha	10,160	4.8	1,100	37.5	1,380	61.7	1,000	28.2	1,700	11.4
Toledo	8,260	9.1	500	-8.5	1,560	10.4	740	26.1	1,460	-13.1
Syracuse	7,060	1.4	1,460	11.2	920	5.3	1,280	12.9	1,140	-12.8

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:Q3 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 (realtor.com), 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	128,840	41.7	391,560	21.8
Los Angeles	130,700	16.0	243,860	12.3
Chicago	18,060	23.4	115,720	6.7
Miami	14,220	38.9	92,860	3.9
San Francisco	67,300	26.0	119,780	27.9
Washington	30,240	18.1	90,020	2.3
Boston	38,240	32.7	74,040	9.3
San Diego	20,260	7.1	61,860	8.0
Philadelphia	29,520	9.9	40,920	11.5
Houston	4,440	-6.2	28,560	-5.5
Dallas	2,980	-4.1	30,520	-1.4
San Jose	48,640	9.2	45,040	14.7
Seattle	11,160	14.0	42,860	9.7
Riverside	22,720	6.4	20,320	14.4
Las Vegas	1,720	64.3	40,880	13.5
Denver	9,500	21.8	34,640	11.1
Phoenix	2,860	30.0	20,640	10.2
Baltimore	13,480	1.5	20,520	1.5
Minneapolis	3,940	24.4	18,500	3.9
Sacramento	10,940	9.8	14,840	5.3
Portland	6,120	9.3	20,480	9.4
Detroit	3,820	15.1	9,820	6.3
Cleveland	5,920	2.4	11,720	0.6
Pittsburgh	3,220	19.3	17,140	1.2
Providence	10,000	18.4	12,080	6.7
Atlanta	1,440	2.9	11,460	-0.1
Urban Honolulu	920	21.1	26,760	2.7
Milwaukee	6,060	-14.0	11,100	0.0
St. Louis	1,620	27.2	11,400	7.5
Columbus	4,900	9.7	7,340	-5.9
Virginia Beach	2,420	-11.7	12,660	-2.2
Bridgeport	11,360	18.6	7,180	3.4
Salt Lake City	5,380	2.9	9,320	0.0
San Antonio	1,340	-19.0	6,980	-0.4
Tampa	2,620	38.4	7,520	9.4
Cincinnati	2,720	20.7	7,460	7.7
New Orleans	2,980	17.9	11,000	-0.9
Buffalo	2,160	33.9	10,020	13.1
Albany	4,780	-1.8	5,100	5.8
Austin	2,280	13.6	5,600	-1.1
Hartford	4,240	-3.2	3,980	-6.1
Stockton	7,360	18.6	4,480	4.2
New Haven	6,160	7.3	4,840	-2.8
Oxnard	4,340	-5.8	6,900	5.3

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**
Worcester	5,100	27.9	3,600	20.0
Allentown	5,440	22.3	2,960	-3.1
Indianapolis	1,480	-13.3	4,540	1.3
Kansas City	540	-25.0	5,140	-3.5
Fresno	2,020	-13.4	3,260	6.5
Rochester	1,220	-9.0	4,500	-4.5
El Paso	440	3.1	5,000	-13.3
Bakersfield	1,900	5.9	2,300	-3.6
Scranton	4,320	17.2	3,000	-0.9
Louisville/Jefferson County	1,500	17.2	3,080	9.5
Springfield	2,920	-8.2	2,800	-3.9
Omaha	680	15.9	4,520	34.0
Toledo	2,000	-5.4	2,260	6.3
Syracuse	1,120	3.1	3,880	6.8

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:Q3 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 (realtor.com), and author's calculations.

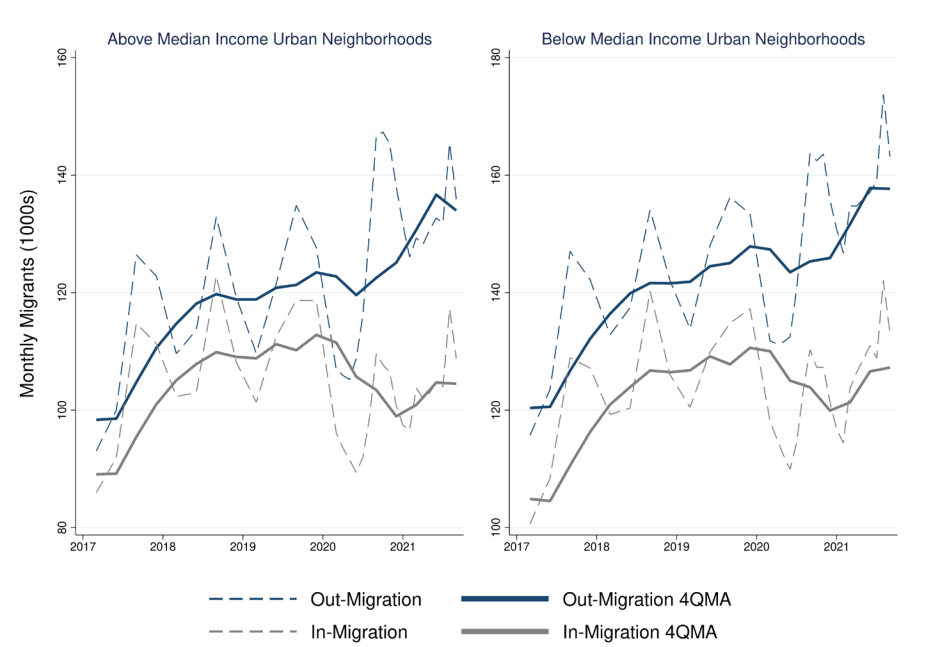
Appendix

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	24.0	-7.8
Below median income	13.2	11.8	-1.4
Above median income	18.6	12.2	-6.4
Homebuyers	11.1	11.5	0.4
Renters	20.7	12.5	-8.2
18–34 years old	16.4	10.8	-5.7
35–64 years old	13.3	12.3	-1.1
65+ years old	2.0	1.0	-1.1
500K to <2M metro population	4.0	2.4	-1.6
2M to <5M metro population	8.3	6.4	-2.0
≥5M metro population	17.9	15.2	-2.7

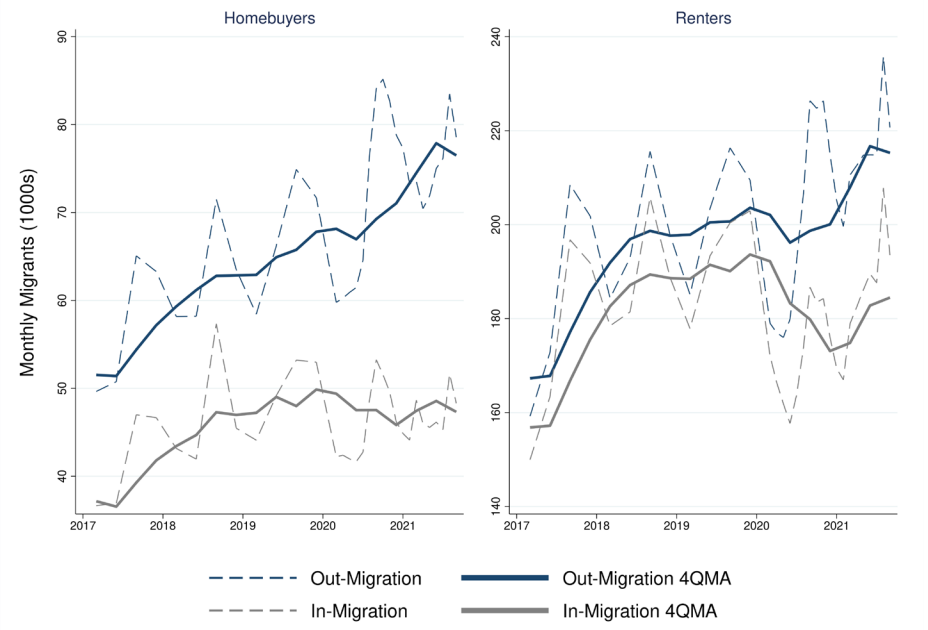
Notes: The units are thousands of migrants per month. The change is calculated as the average difference between the flow from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q3 and the average equivalent flow from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1.
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, 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



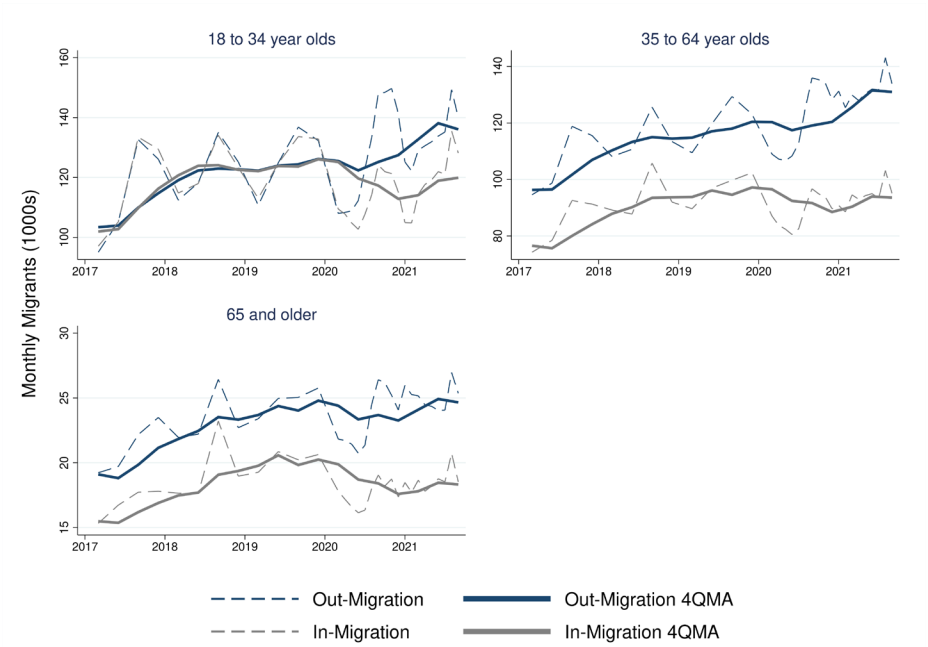
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



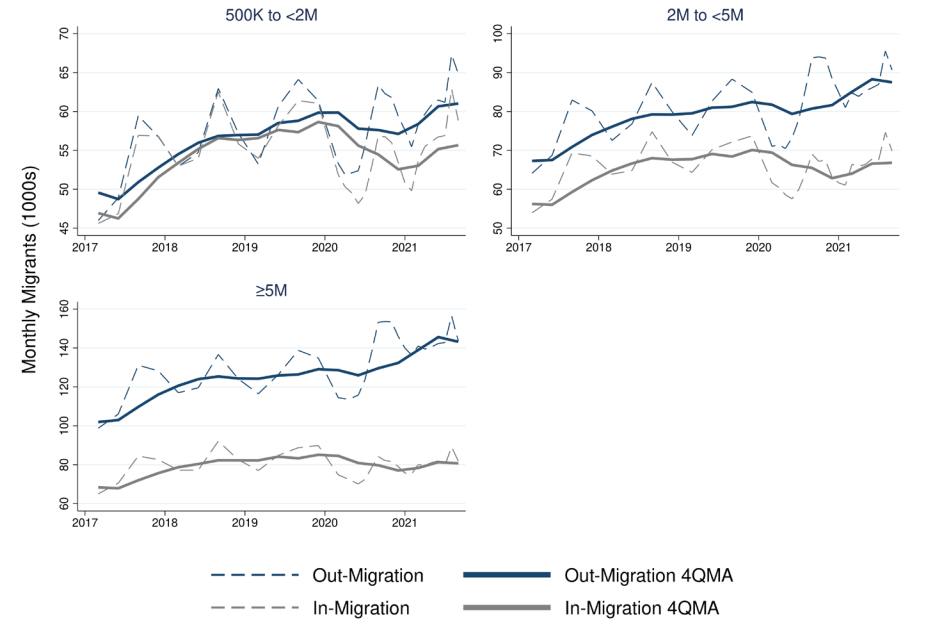
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



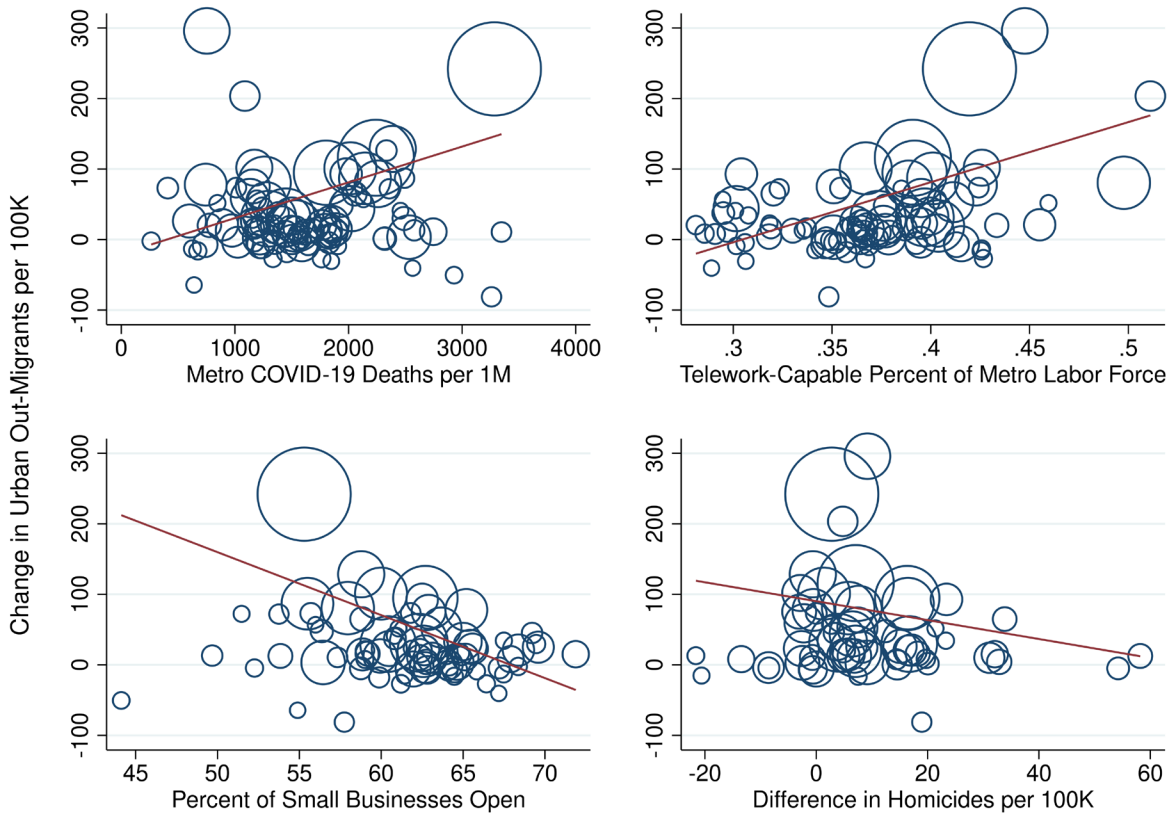
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



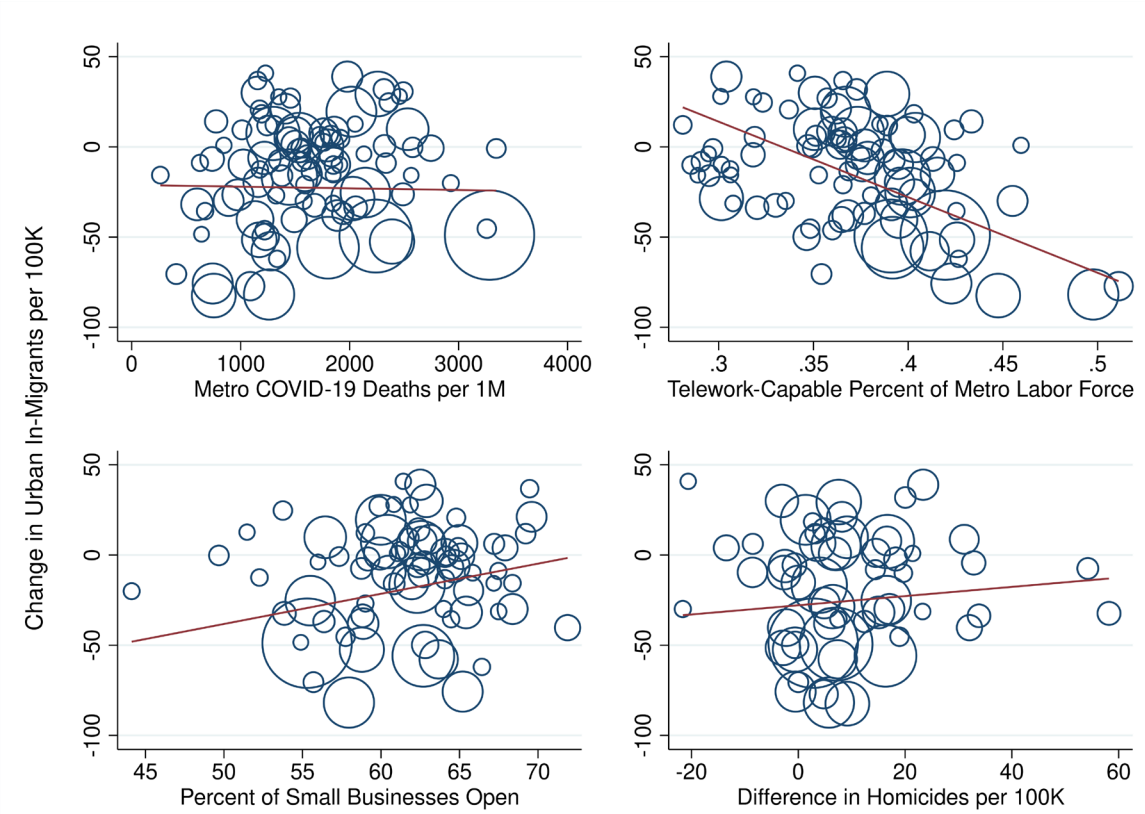
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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:Q3 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:Q3 and the average equivalent flows from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Marker sizes represent metro populations.
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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	378	296	-82
New York	291	242	-49
San Jose	281	203	-77
Boston	181	129	-52
Los Angeles	165	116	-49
Washington	162	81	-82
Seattle	154	78	-76
Denver	153	102	-51
Chicago	151	95	-56
Honolulu	143	73	-70
Bridgeport	135	126	-9
Philadelphia	112	87	-25
Minneapolis	111	53	-58
San Diego	99	59	-40
New Orleans	99	65	-34
Buffalo	85	48	-37
Miami	82	101	20
Riverside	73	44	-29
Toledo	66	34	-31
Oxnard	65	19	-46
Albany	64	74	9
Lancaster	61	57	-4
Harrisburg	60	72	13
Portland	58	26	-32
New Haven	56	87	31
Hartford	56	30	-26
Milwaukee	55	15	-40
Las Vegas	54	93	39
Grand Rapids	53	38	-16
Pittsburgh	53	15	-38
Austin	51	21	-30
Durham	51	52	1
Phoenix	50	79	29
Dallas	48	31	-17
Allentown	47	72	25
Orlando	45	75	30
Louisville	45	13	-32

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

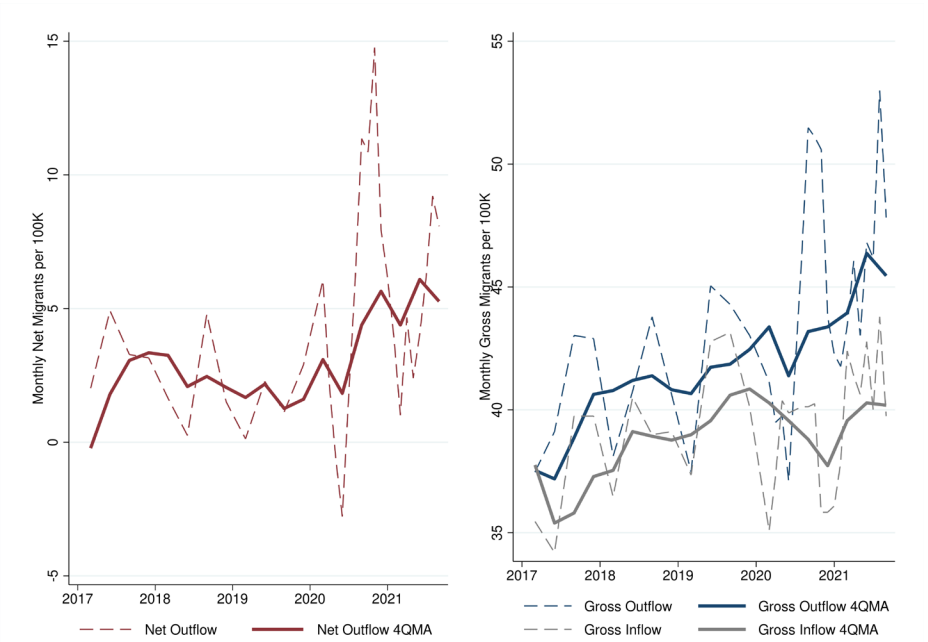
Metro area	Change in net flow	Change in outflow	Change in inflow
Wichita	43	13	-30
Virginia Beach	43	-7	-50
Columbus	42	23	-20
Sacramento	39	13	-27
Colorado Springs	38	57	18
Des Moines	35	-27	-62
Syracuse	34	8	-27
Omaha	33	45	12
St. Louis	33	23	-10
Tampa	26	33	7
Houston	22	30	7
Little Rock	21	0	-21
Madison	19	-16	-36
Stockton	18	8	-10
Richmond	18	16	-2
Oklahoma City	16	10	-6
Bakersfield	16	8	-8
Atlanta	14	19	5
Ogden	13	-2	-16
Worcester	13	13	0
Scranton	13	41	28
Cleveland	13	21	8
San Antonio	12	13	1
Providence	12	11	-1
McAllen	11	11	-1
Fresno	11	17	6
Baltimore	9	-6	-15
Charlotte	9	3	-6
Memphis	9	4	-4
Dayton	8	13	4
Cape Coral	8	20	12
Winston	8	-5	-12
Salt Lake City	6	20	14
Kansas City	6	-4	-10
Columbia	5	-8	-13
Jacksonville	4	8	4
Cincinnati	4	25	21
Rochester	2	-5	-7

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
Indianapolis	1	10	9
Birmingham	1	1	1
Augusta	1	-9	-10
Knoxville	-1	-1	-1
Raleigh	-1	-7	-7
Nashville	-1	0	1
Charleston	-4	17	21
Provo	-4	-13	-9
Chattanooga	-5	23	28
Detroit	-6	3	10
Boise City	-7	30	37
Tulsa	-11	-5	6
Modesto	-15	-31	-16
Portland	-16	-64	-48
Youngstown	-25	-40	-16
Akron	-29	-27	3
Tucson	-30	2	32
Springfield	-30	-51	-20
El Paso	-36	-81	-45
Albuquerque	-45	-18	27
Spokane	-56	-15	41

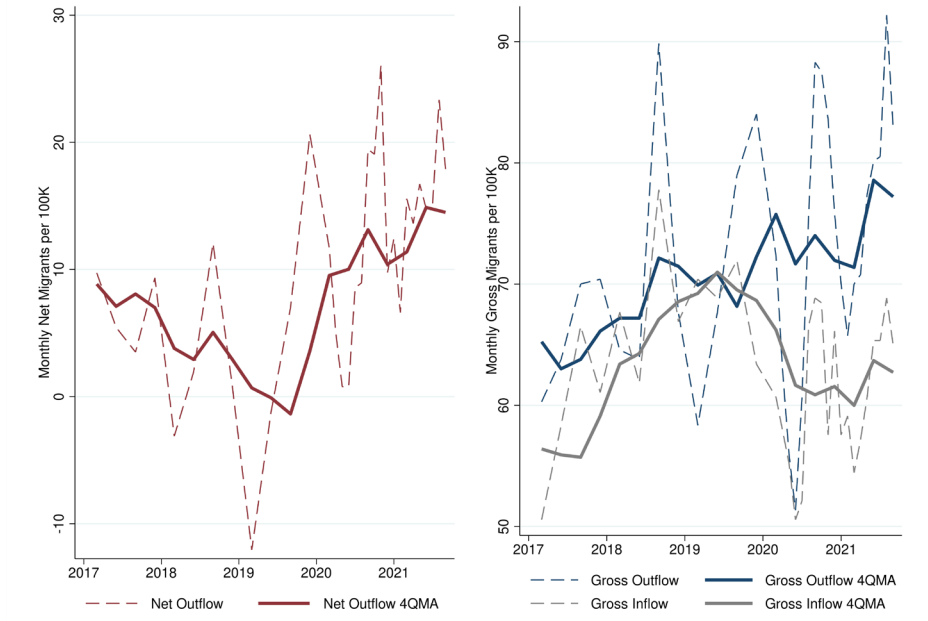
Notes: Units are migrants per 100,000 metro area residents. The change is calculated as the sum of the difference between the quarterly flows from 2020:Q2 to 2021:Q3 and the average equivalent flows from 2017:Q2 to 2020:Q1. Changes in the outflow and inflow may not sum to the change in the net flow due 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



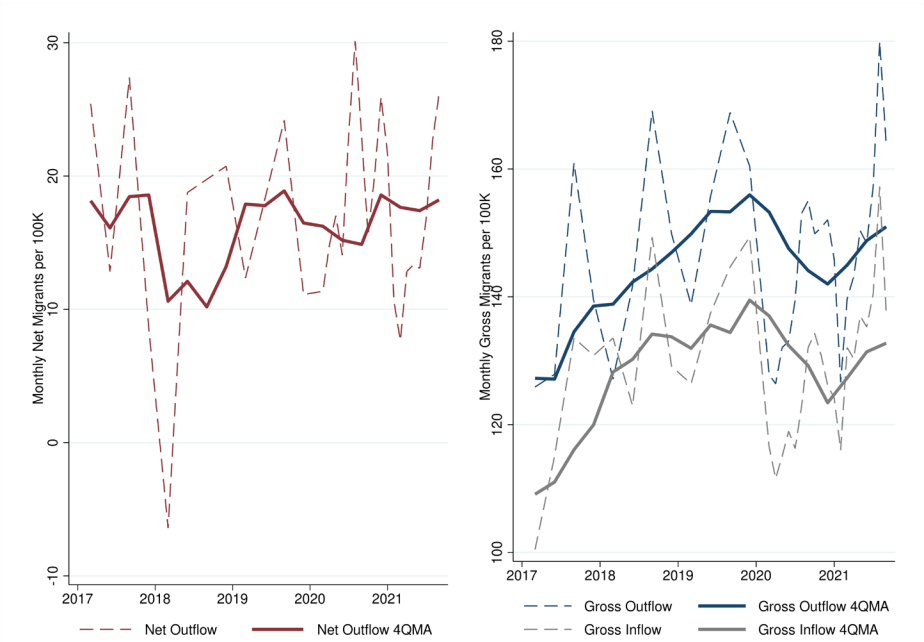
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



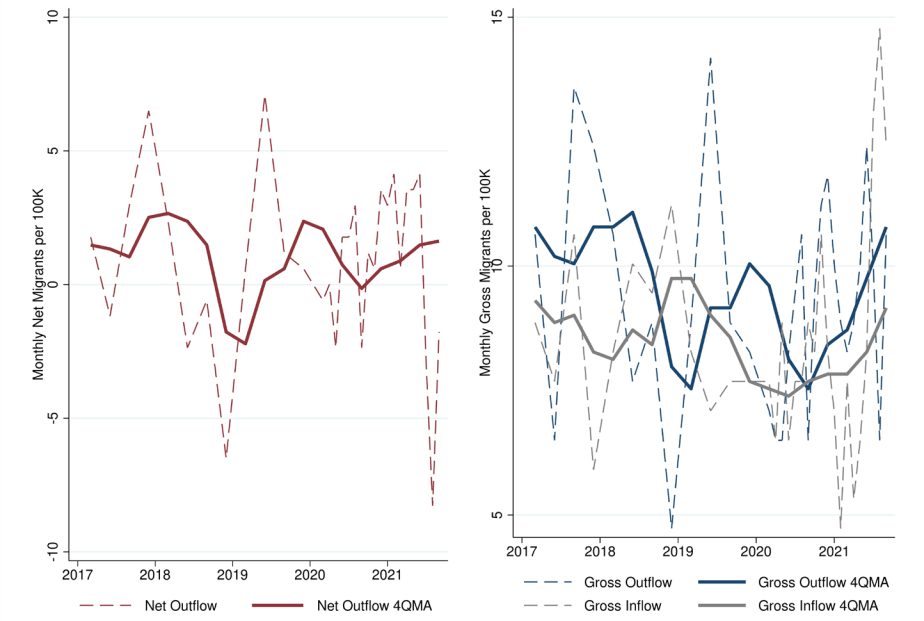
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



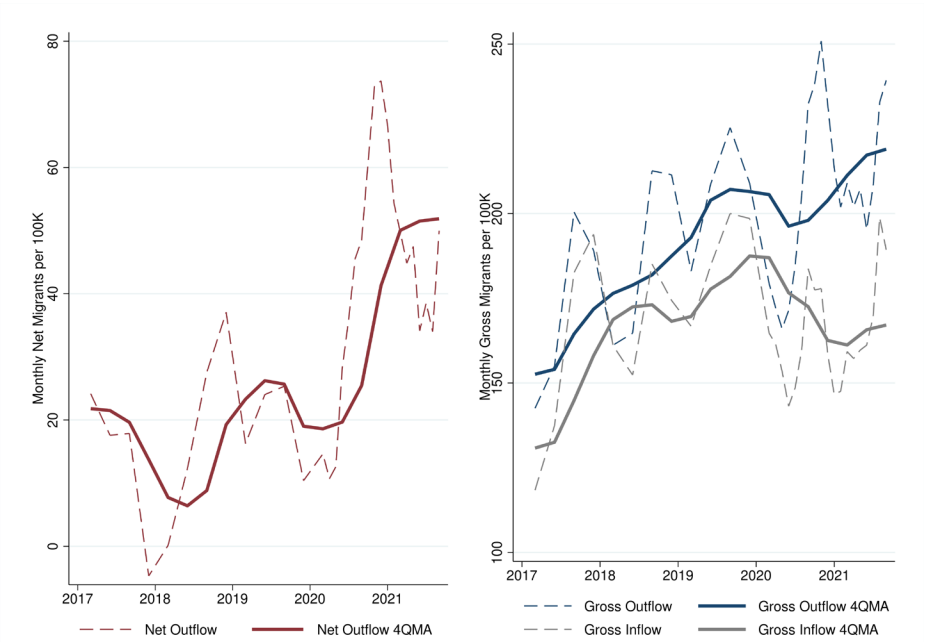
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



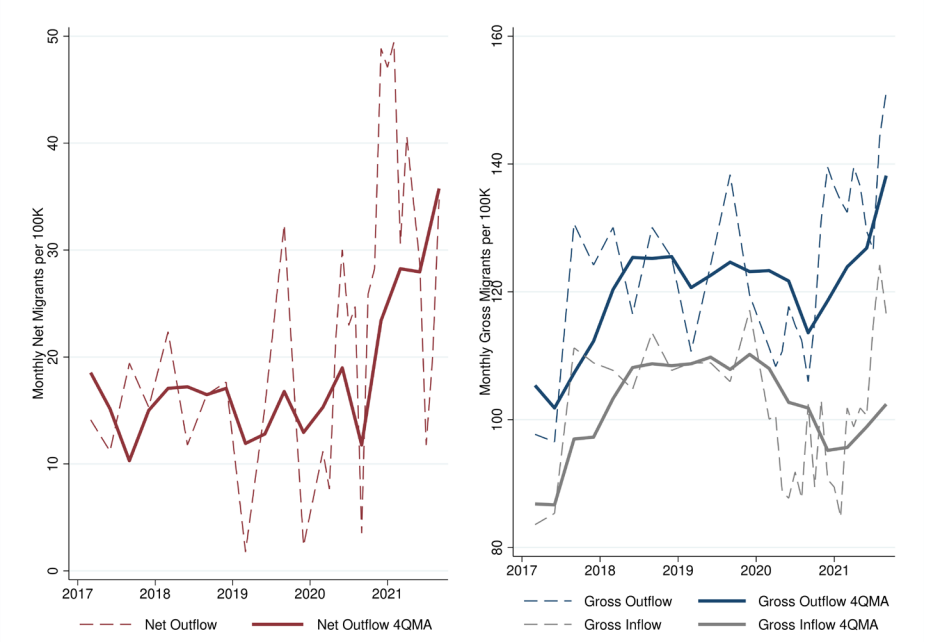
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



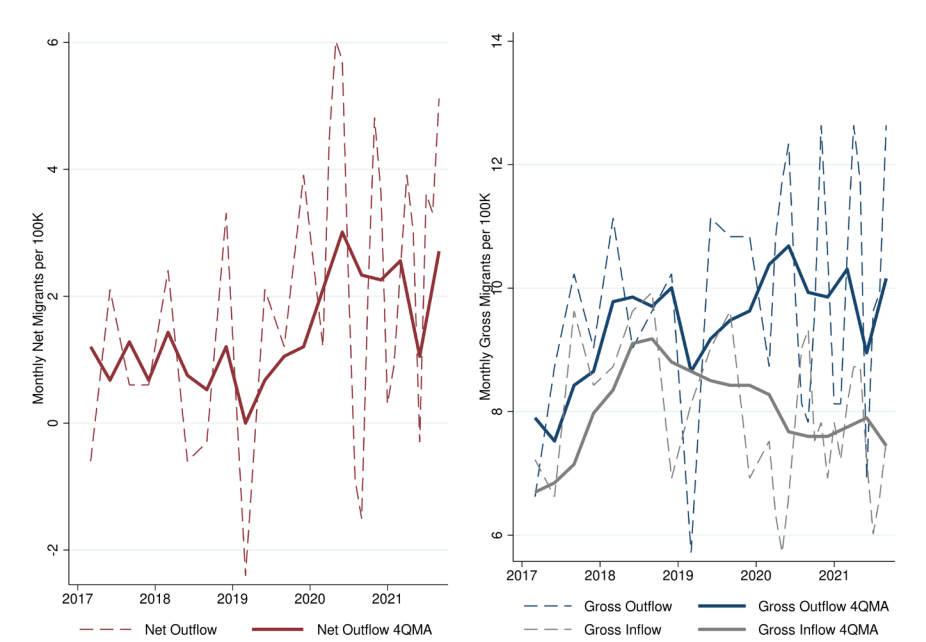
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



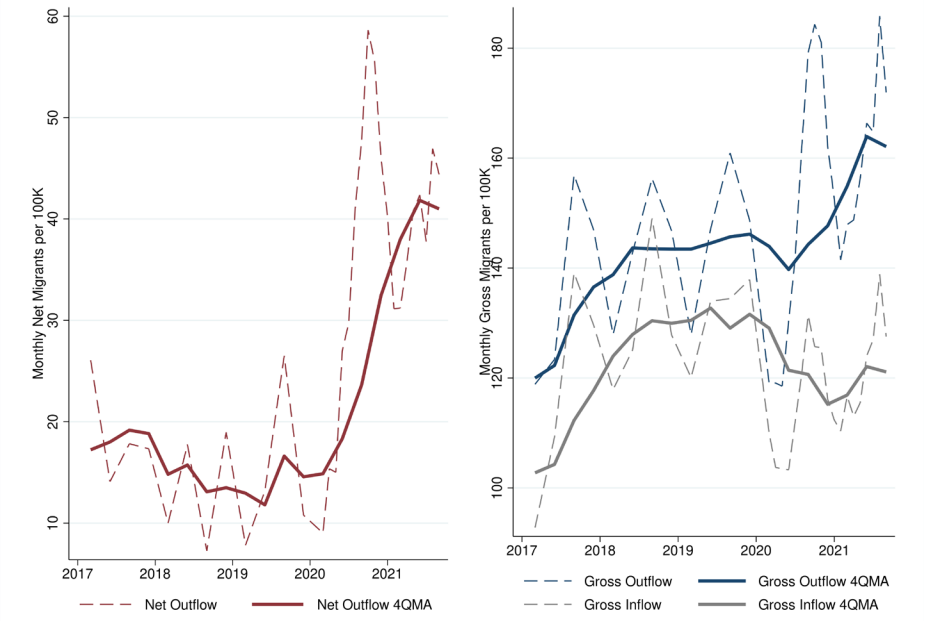
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



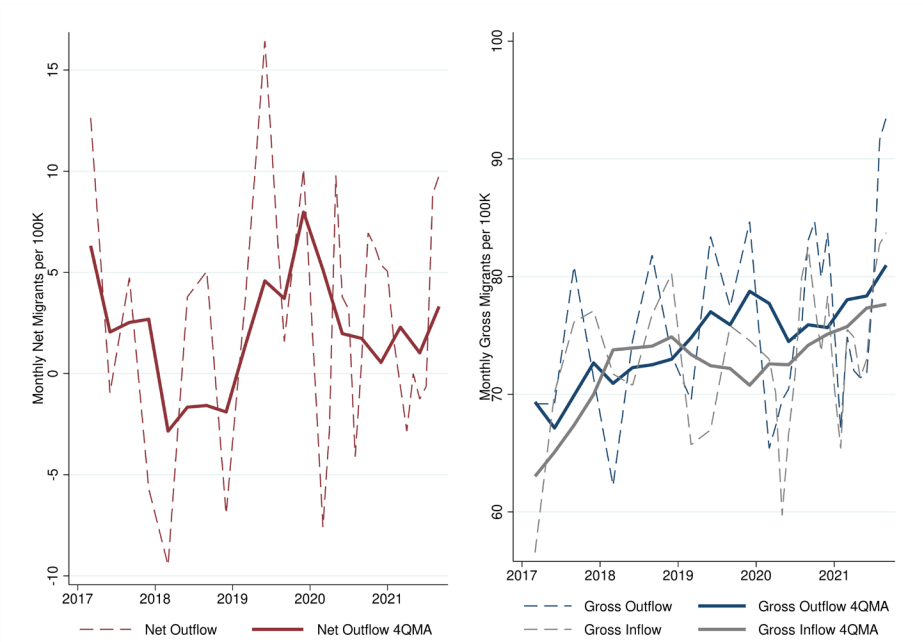
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



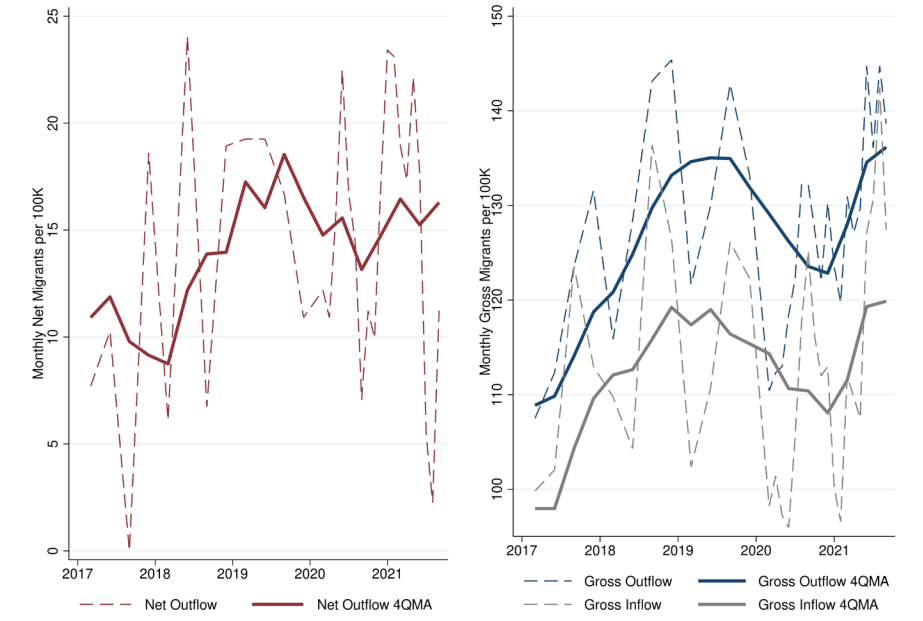
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



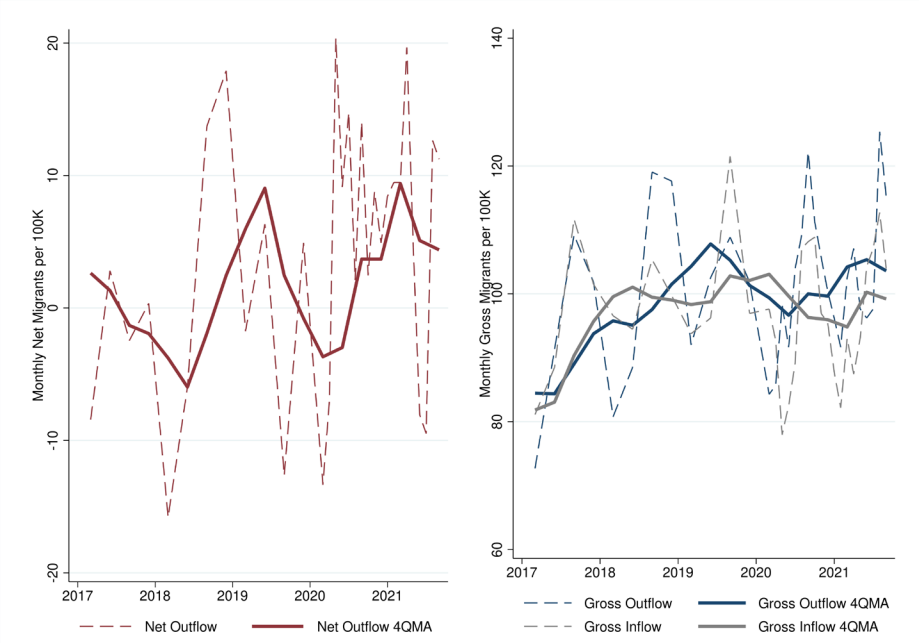
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



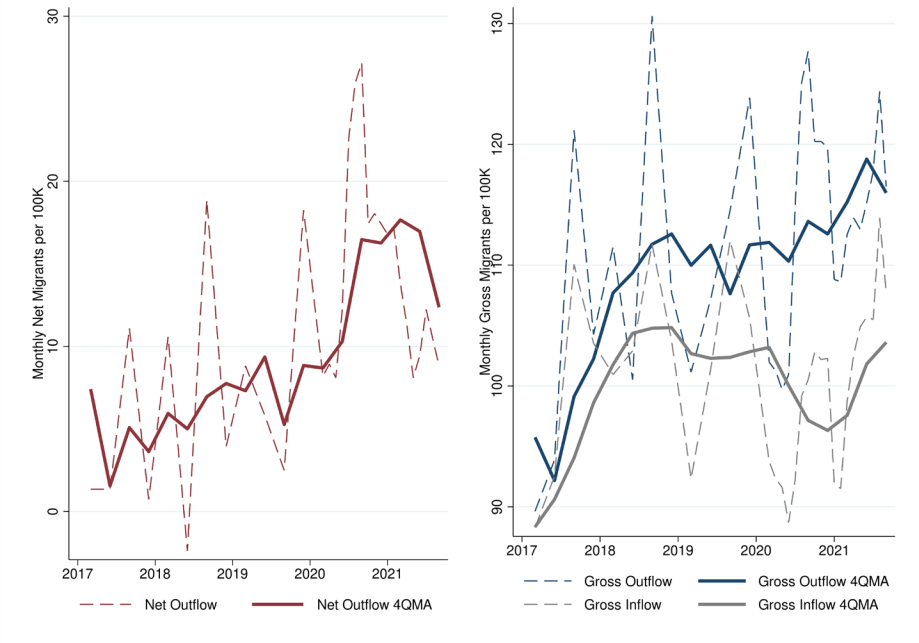
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



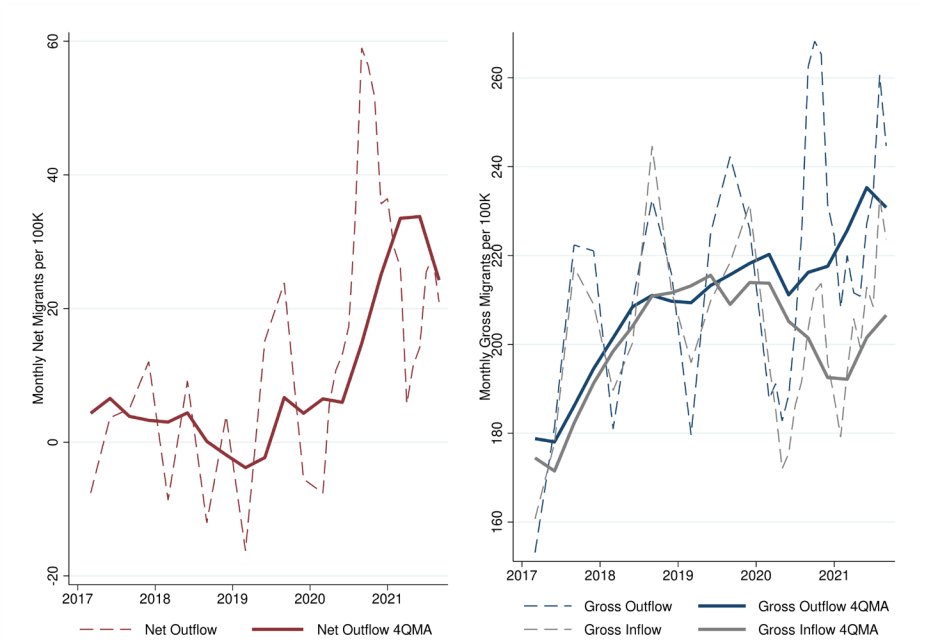
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



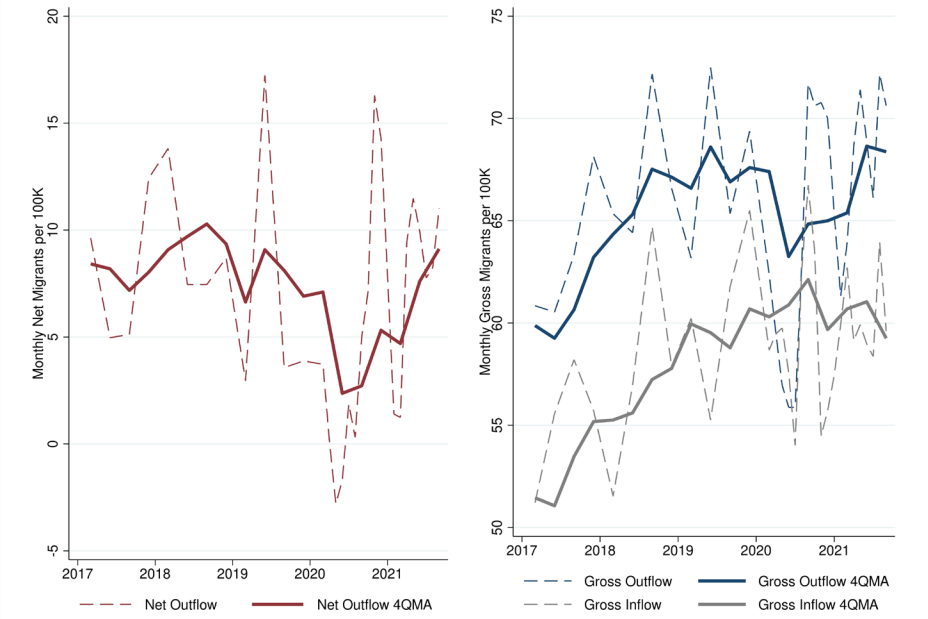
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



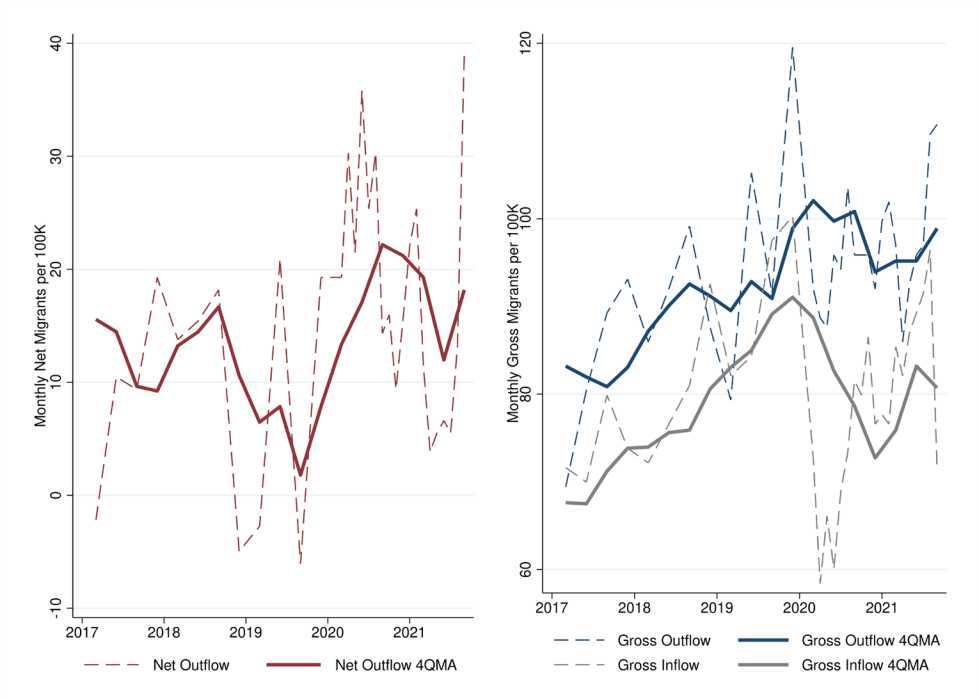
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



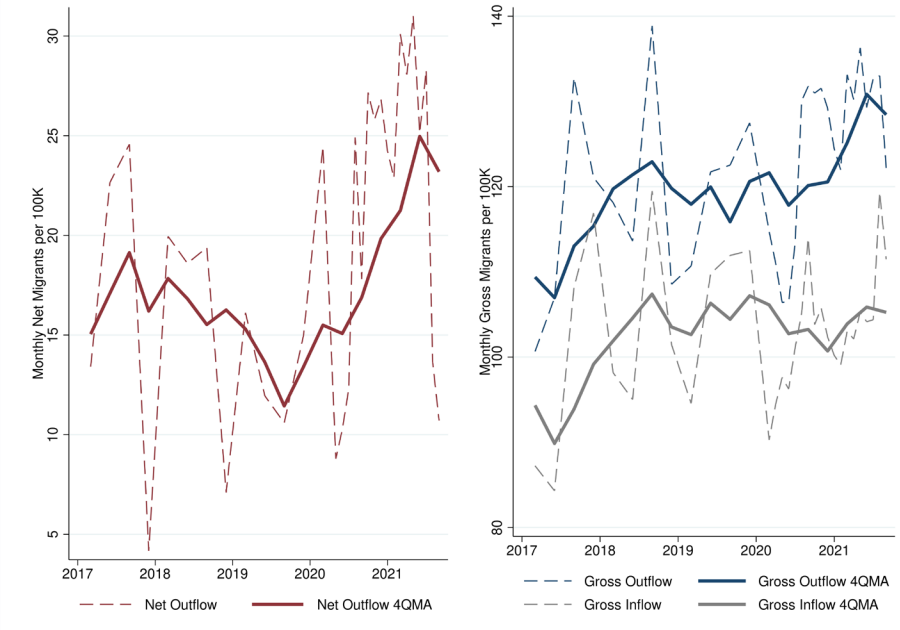
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



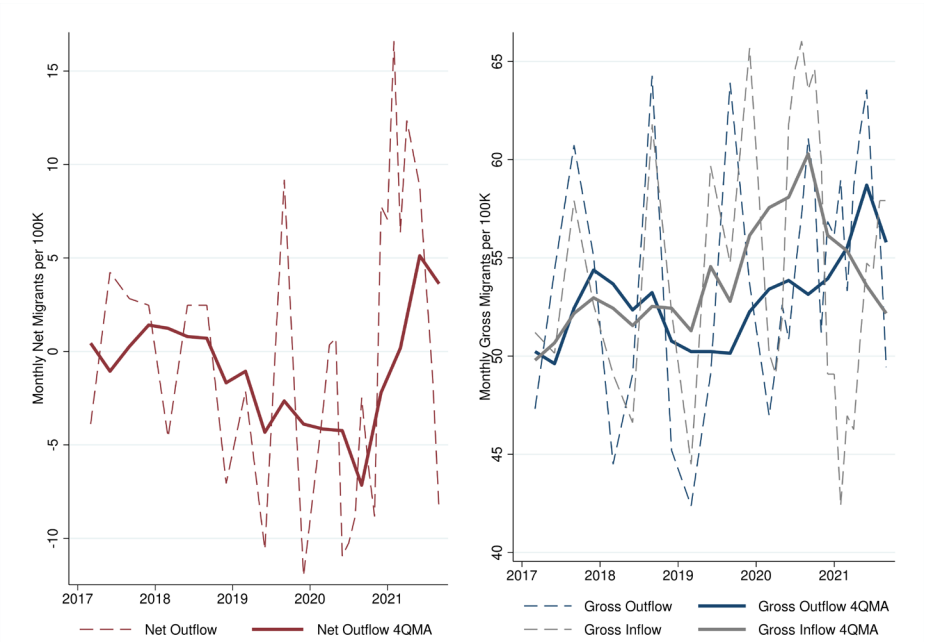
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



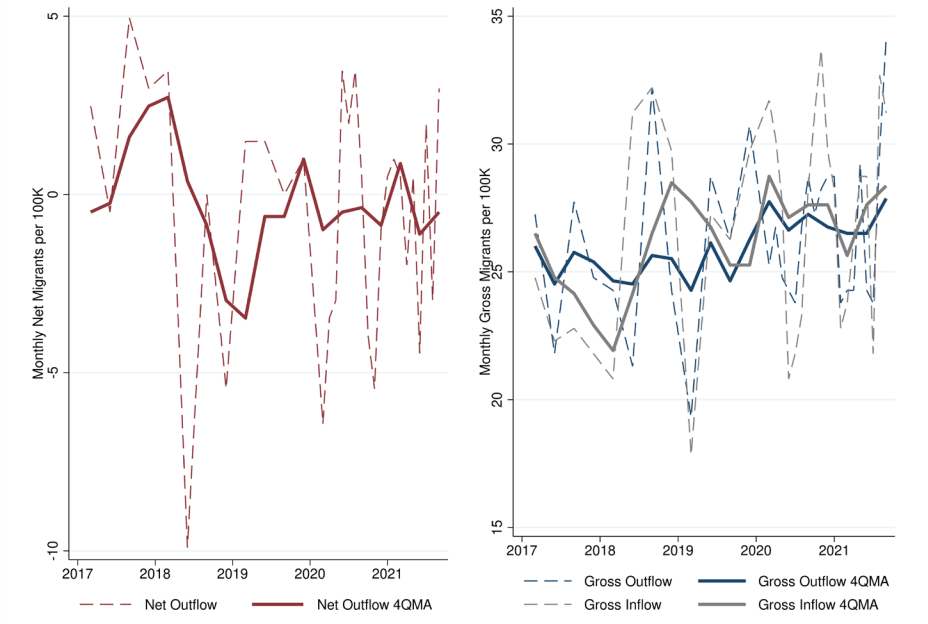
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations

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



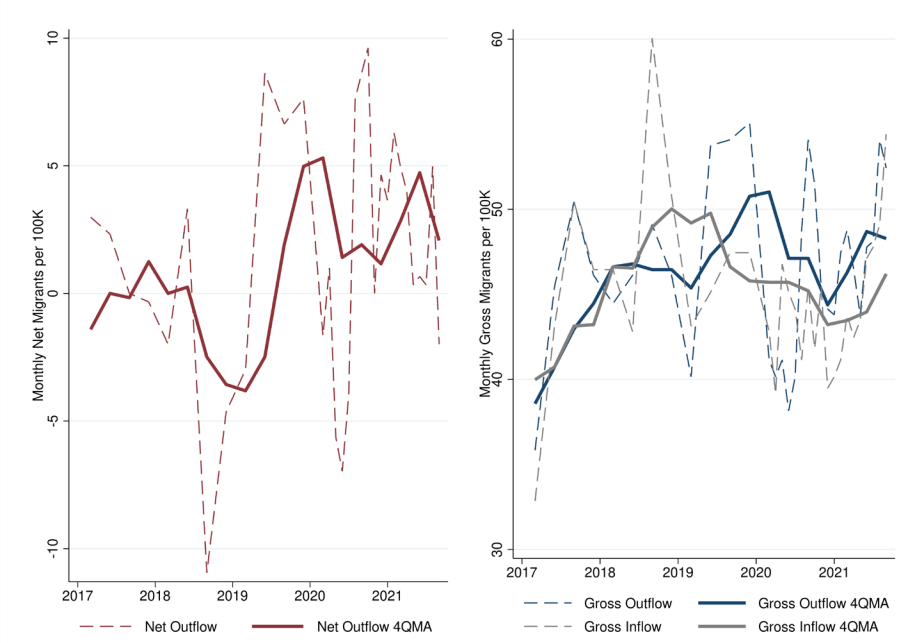
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



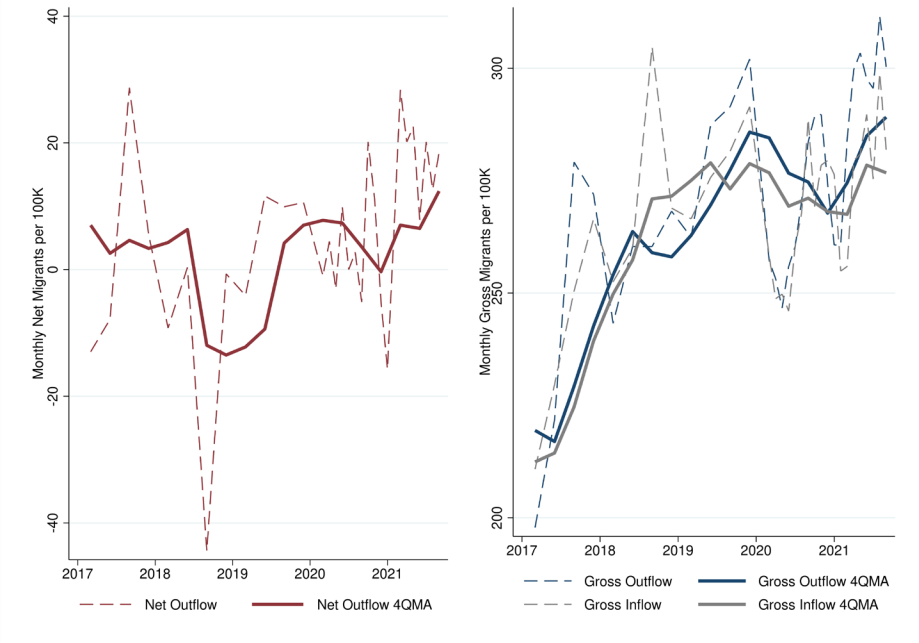
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



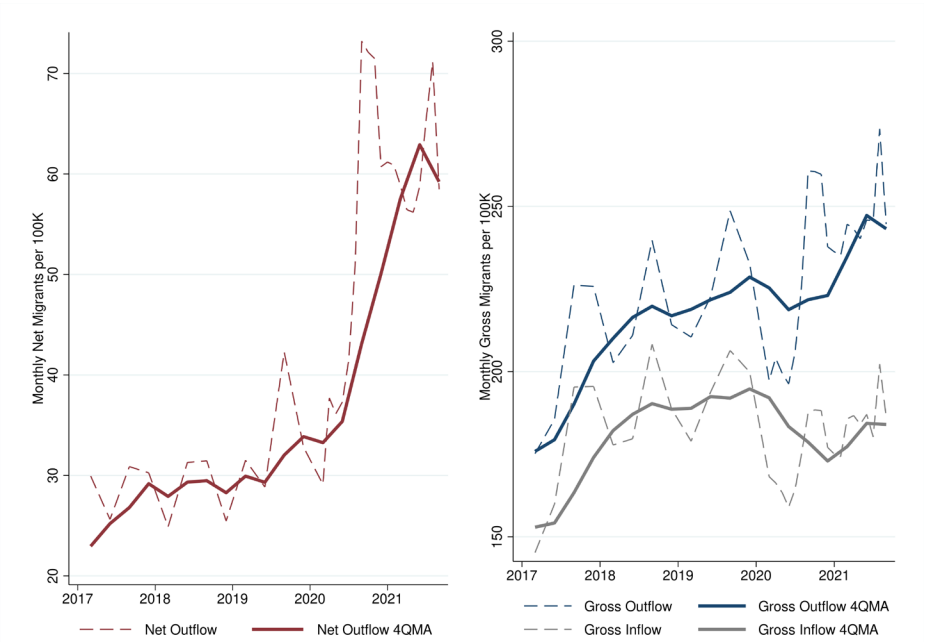
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



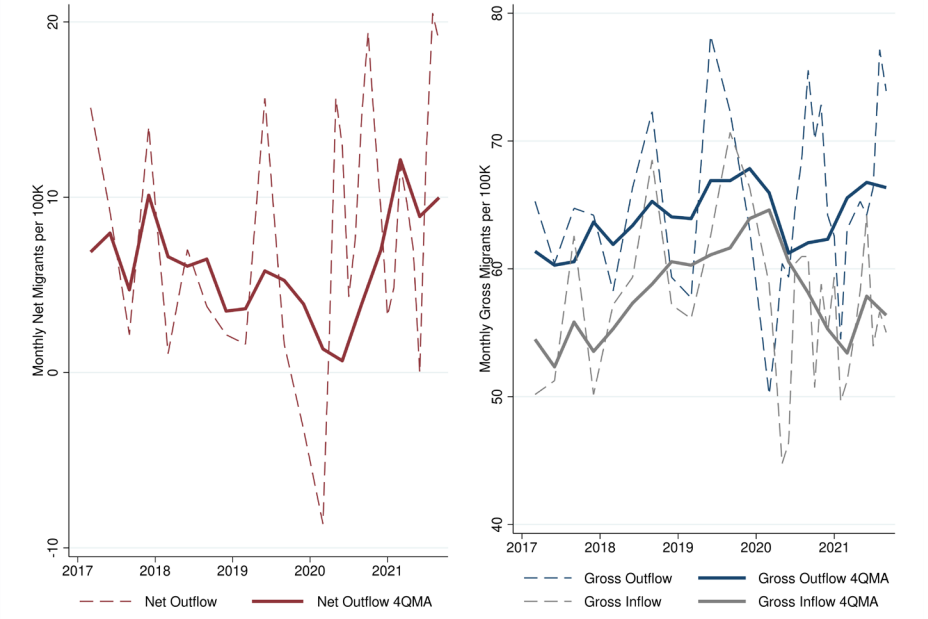
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



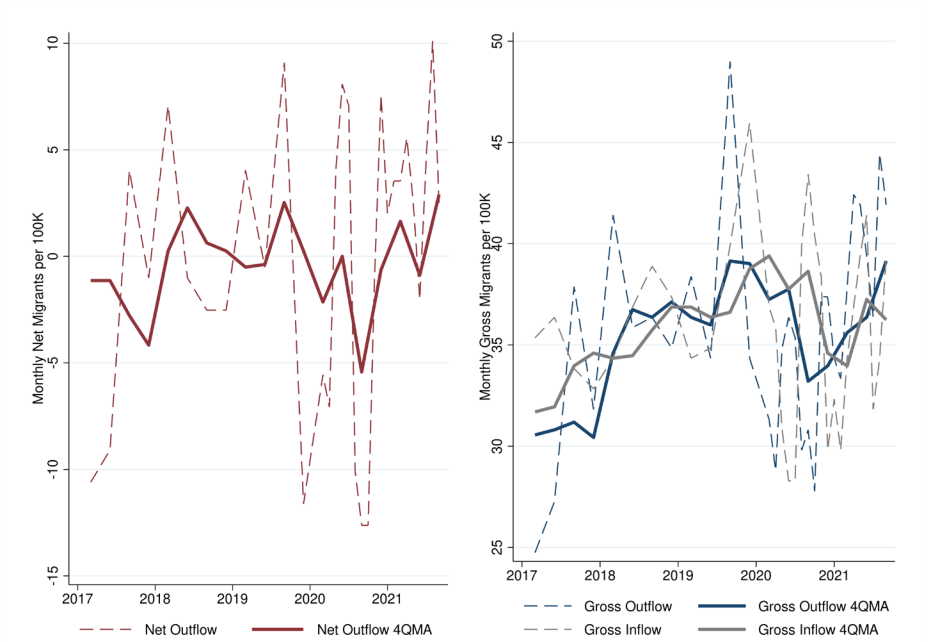
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



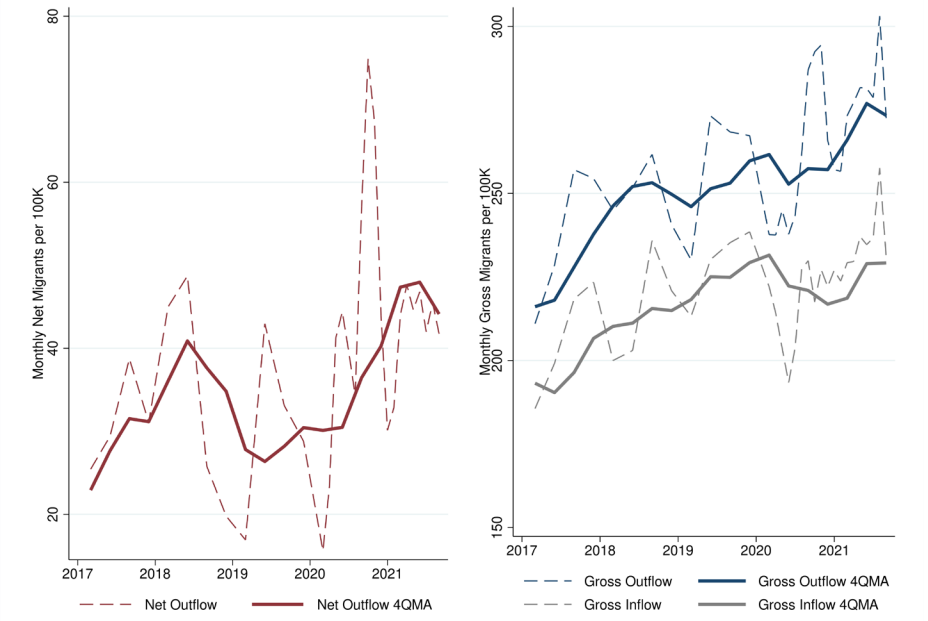
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



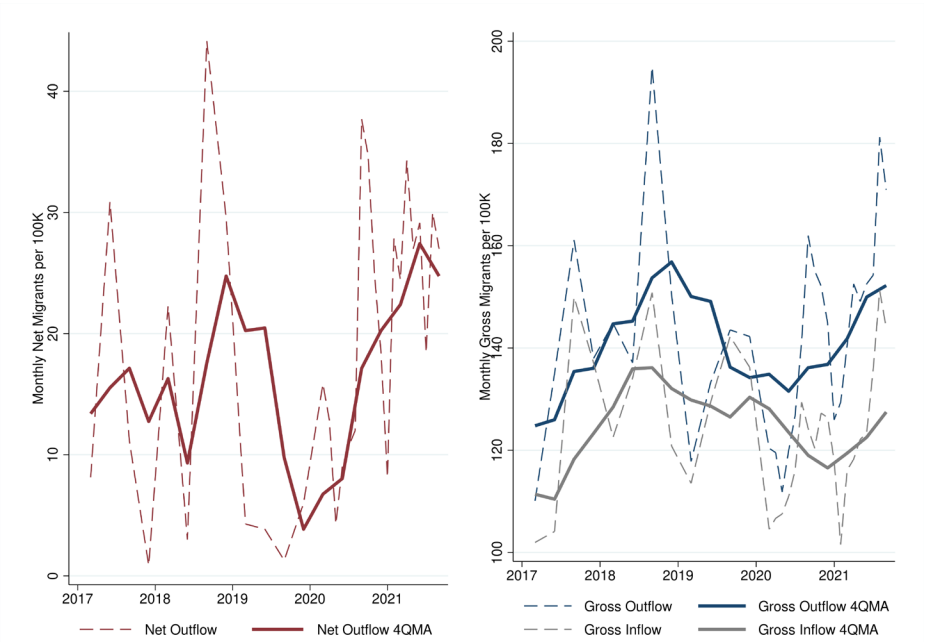
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



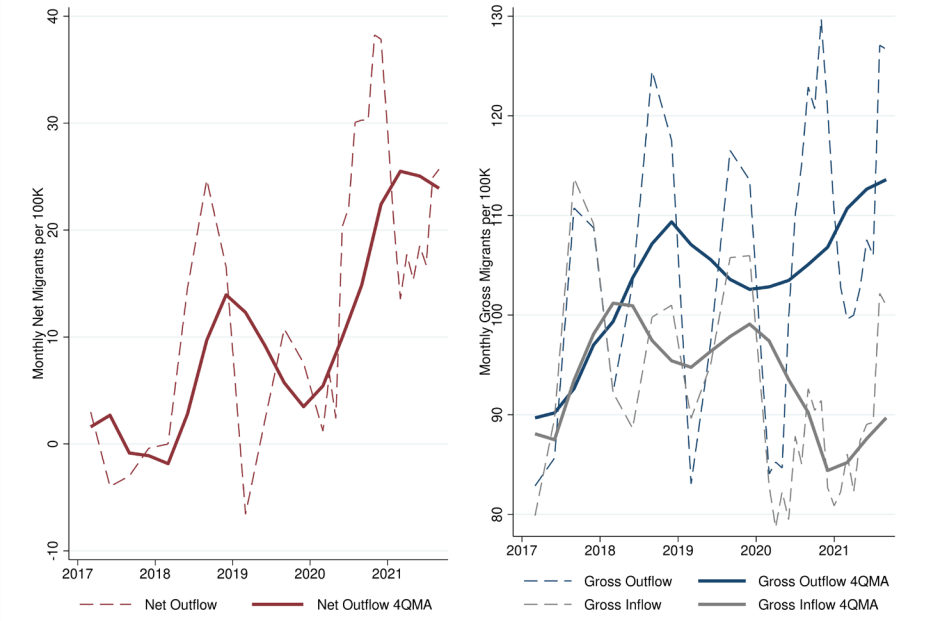
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



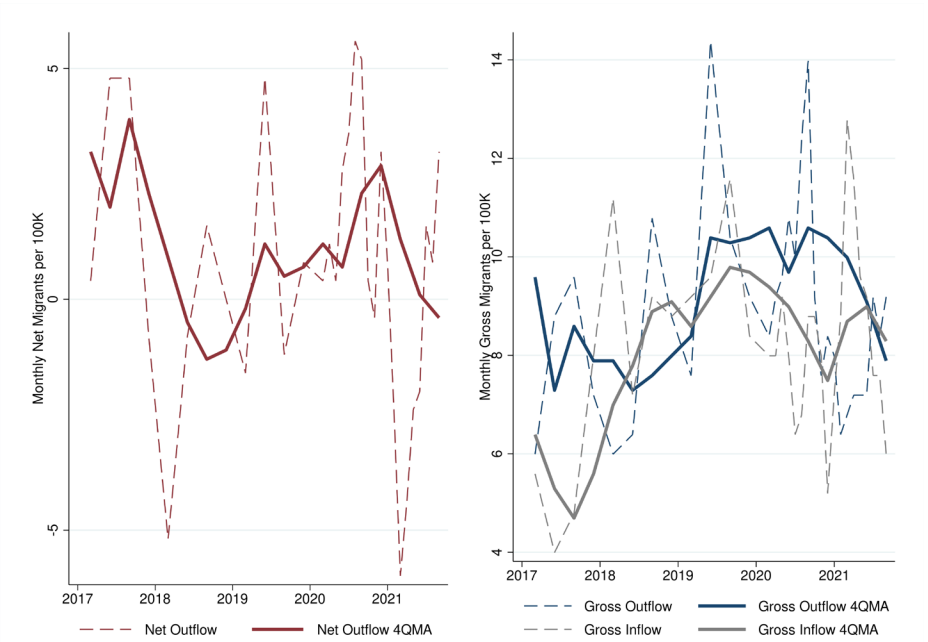
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



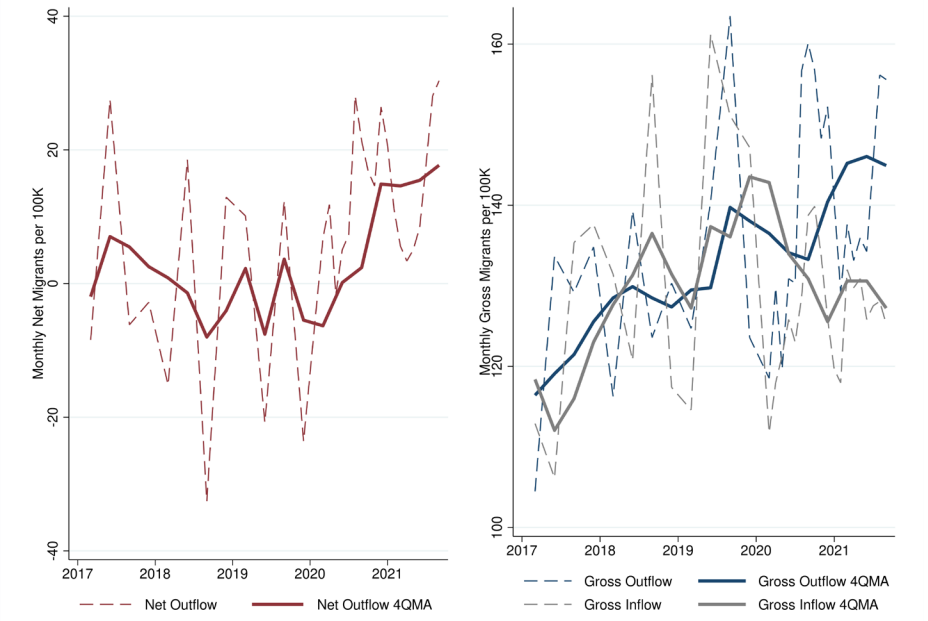
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



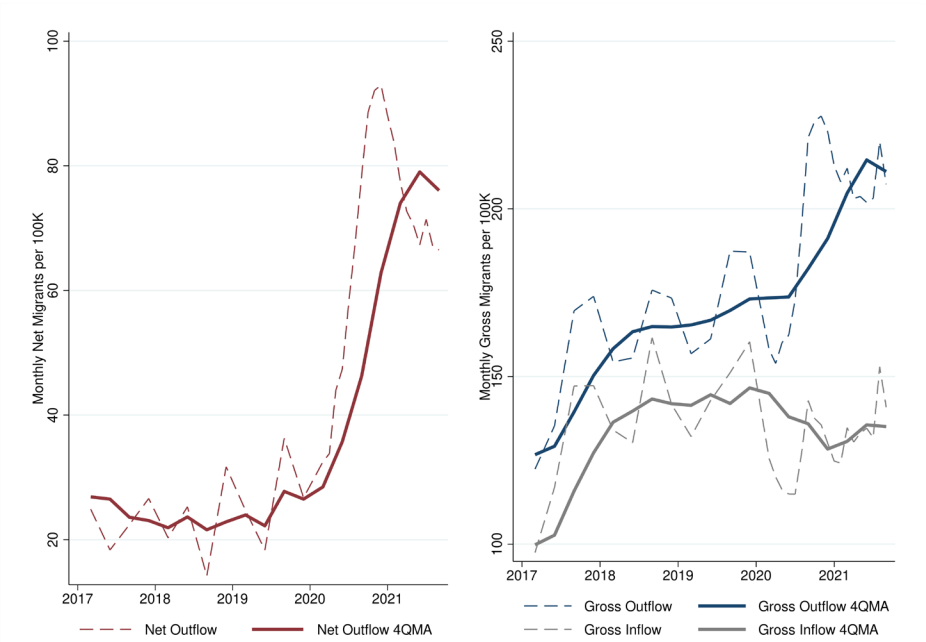
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



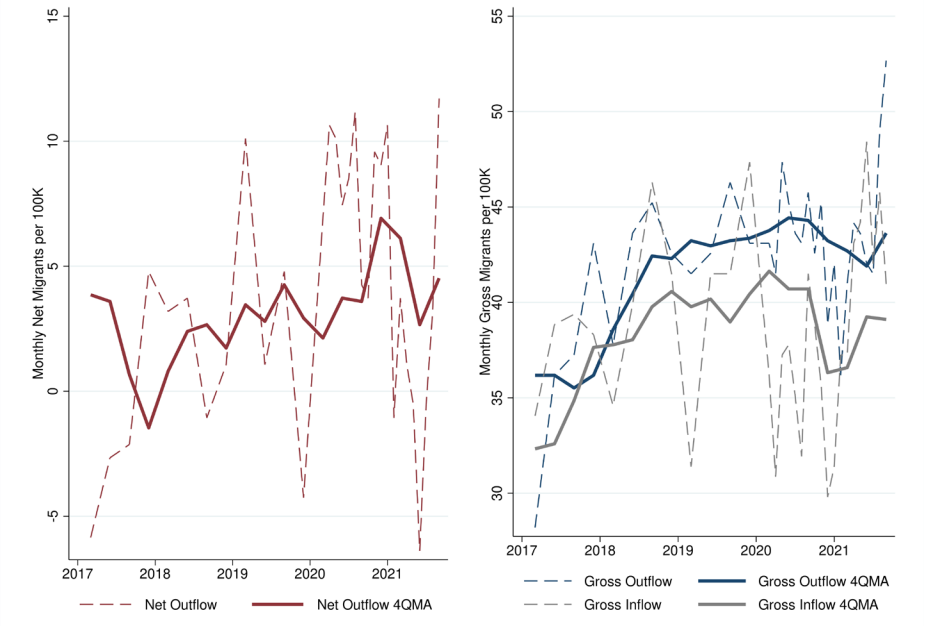
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



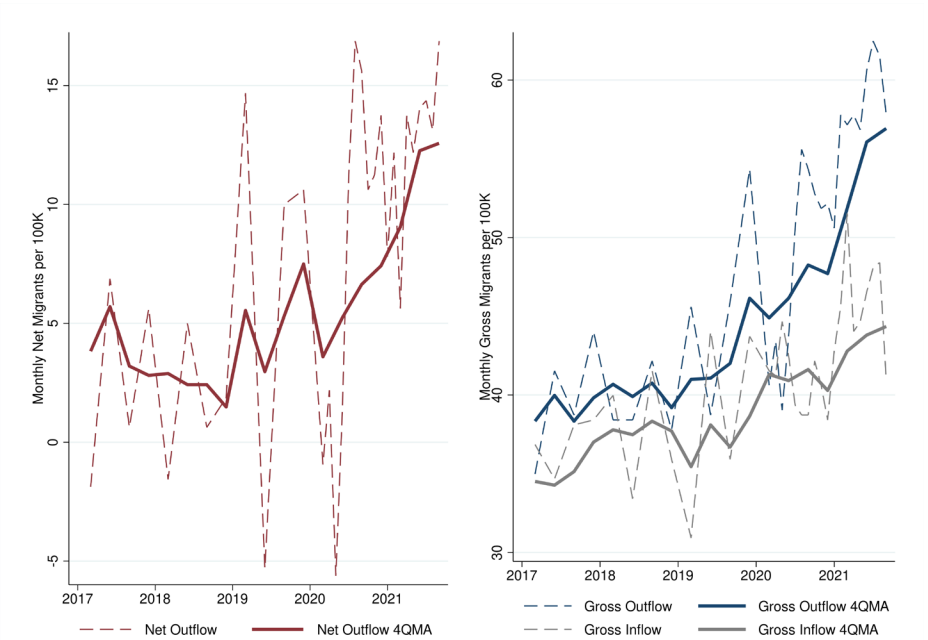
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



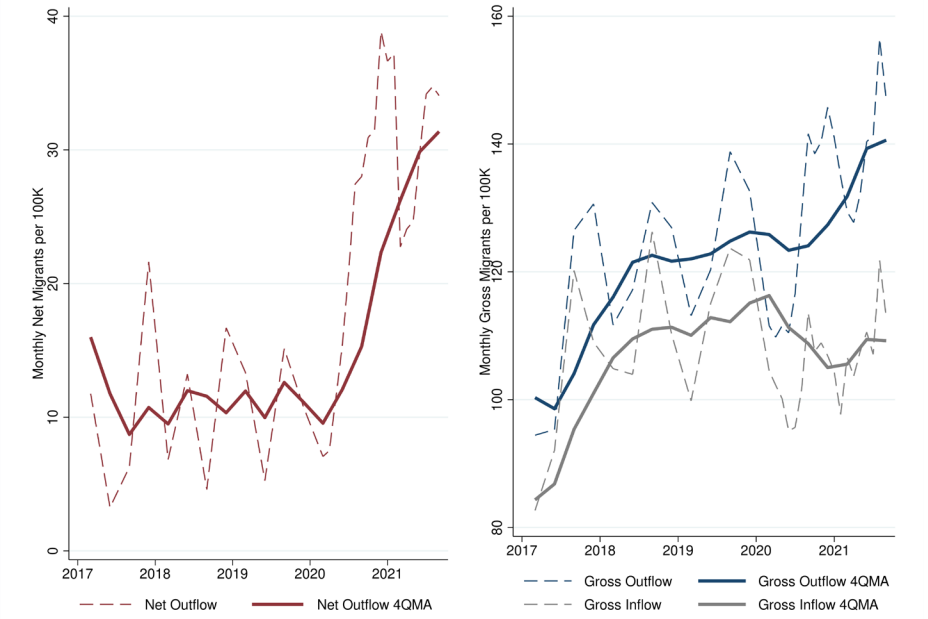
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



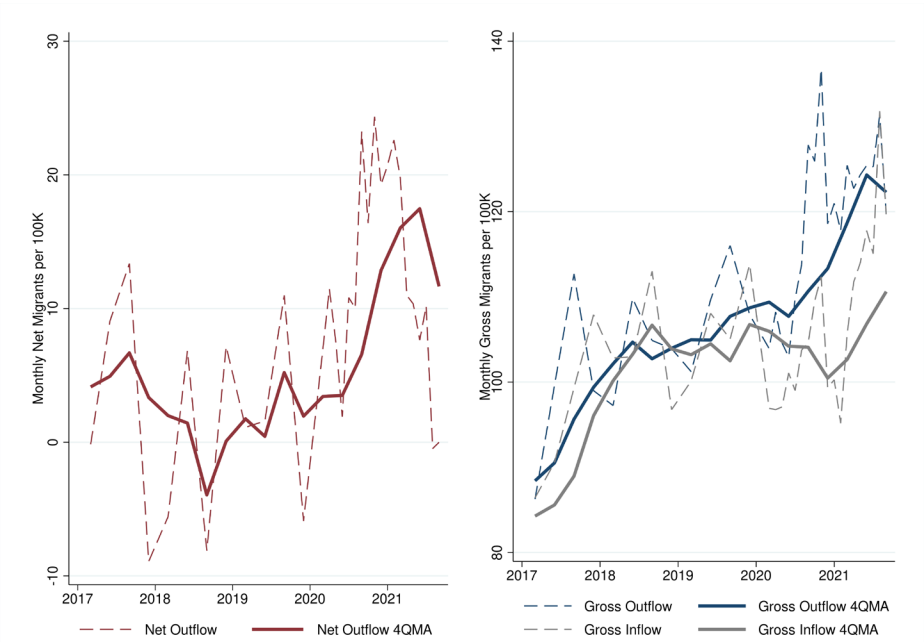
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



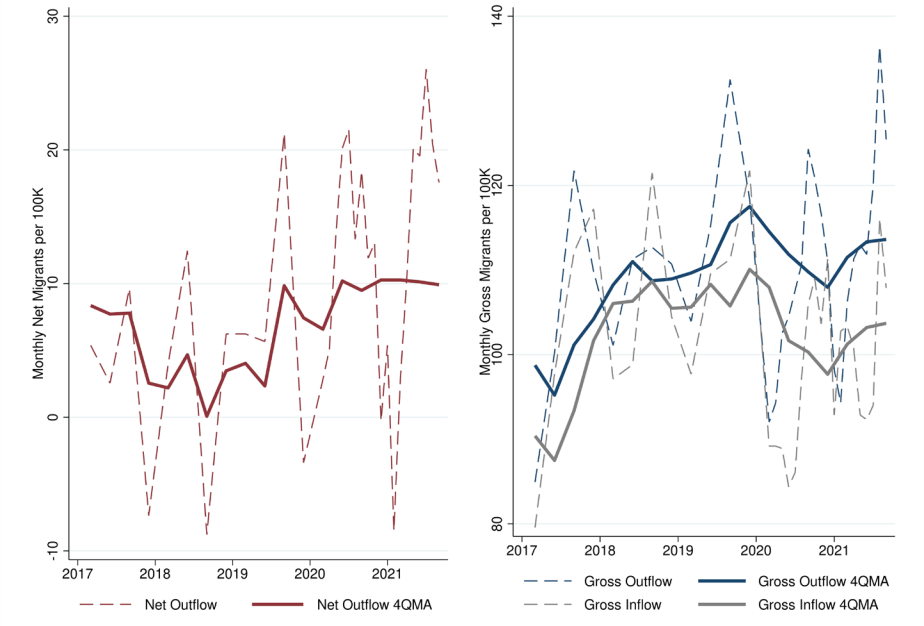
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



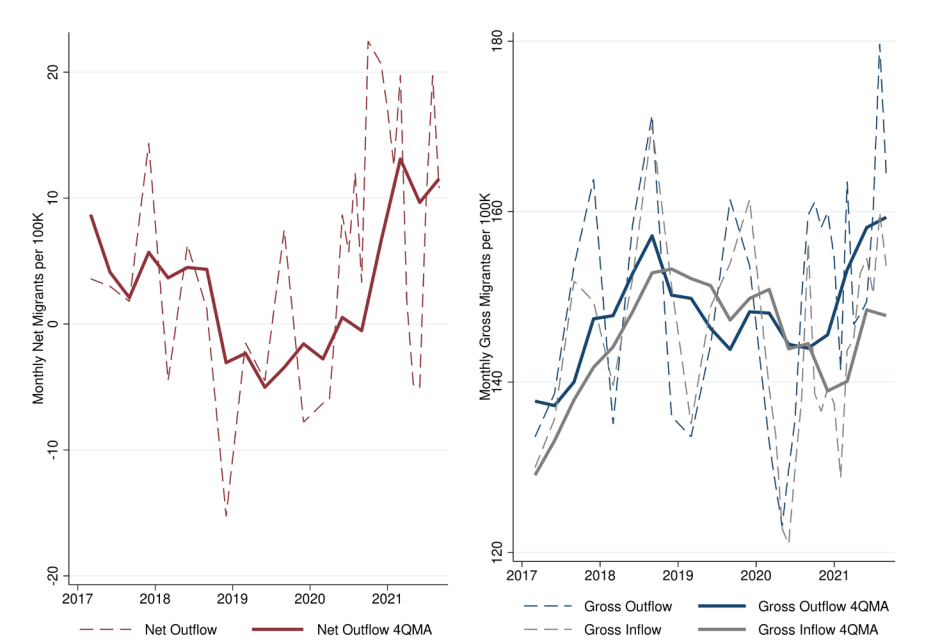
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



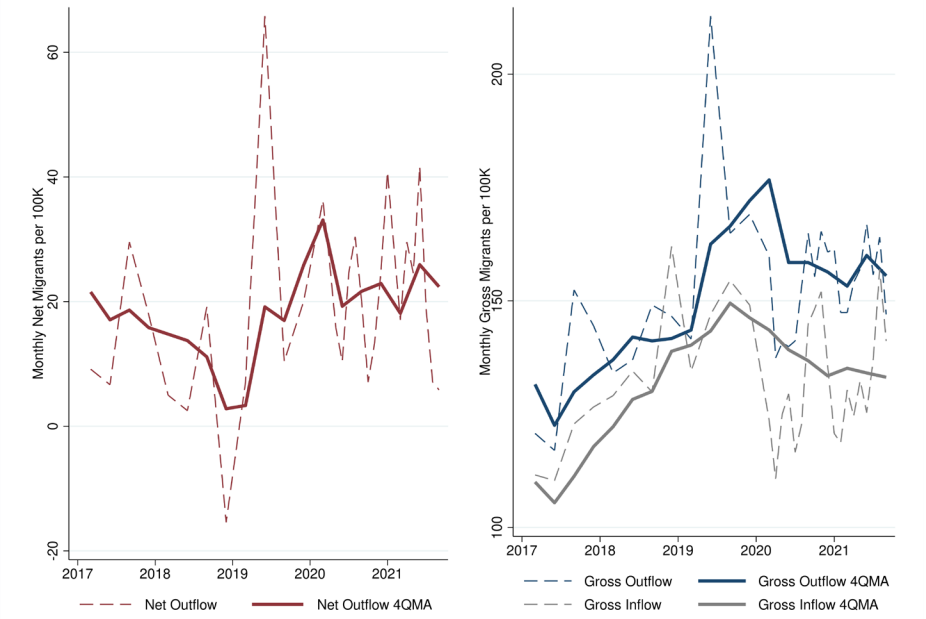
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



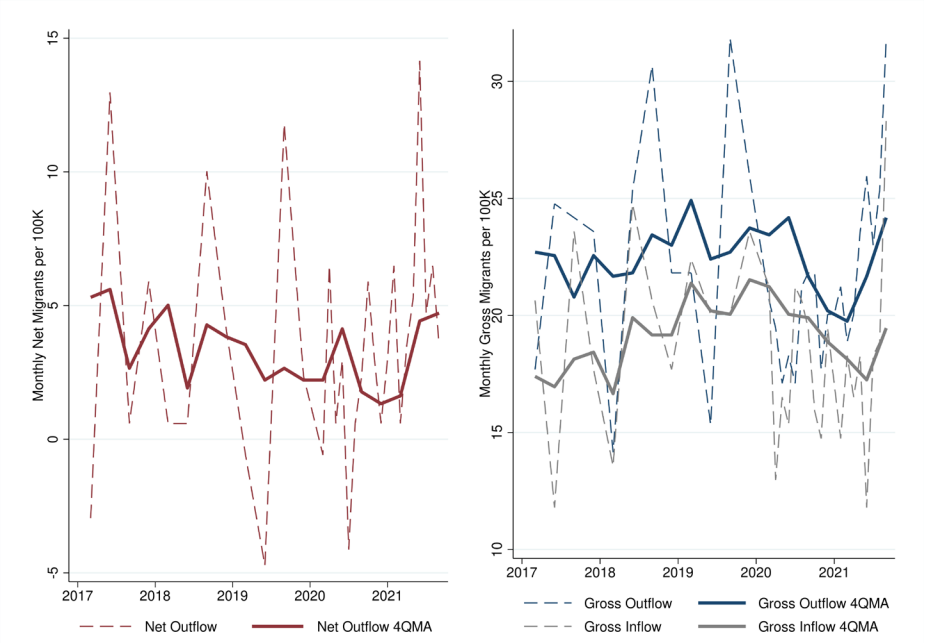
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



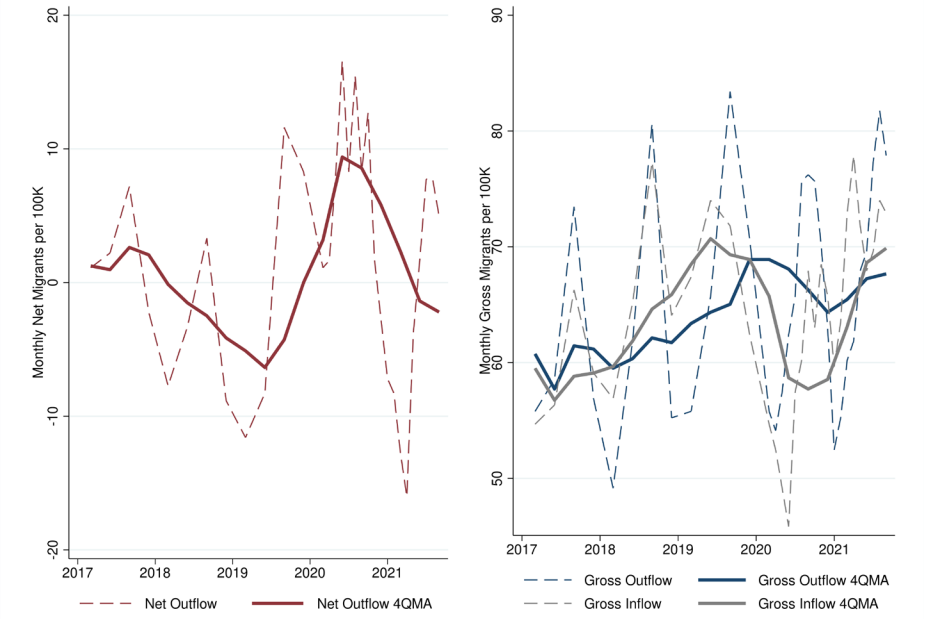
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



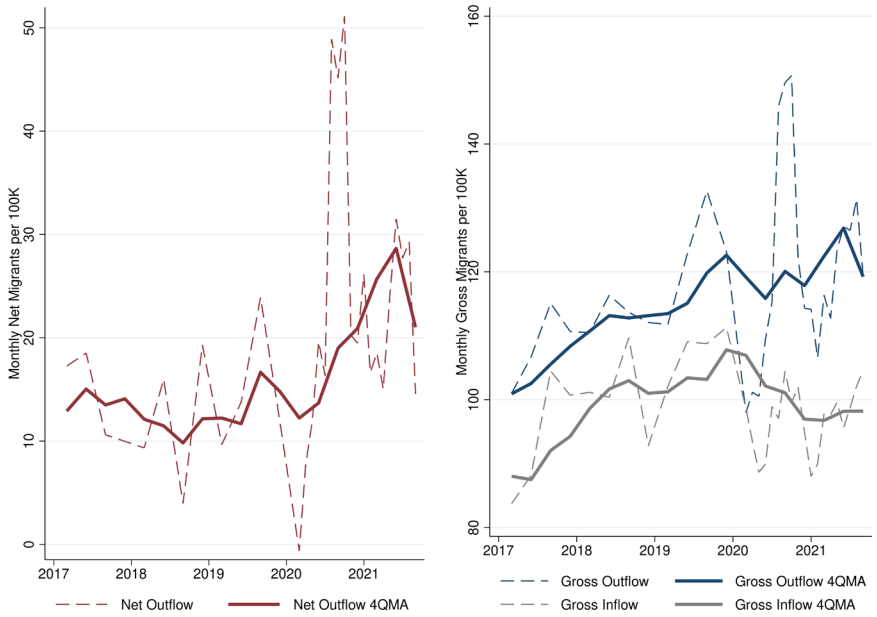
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



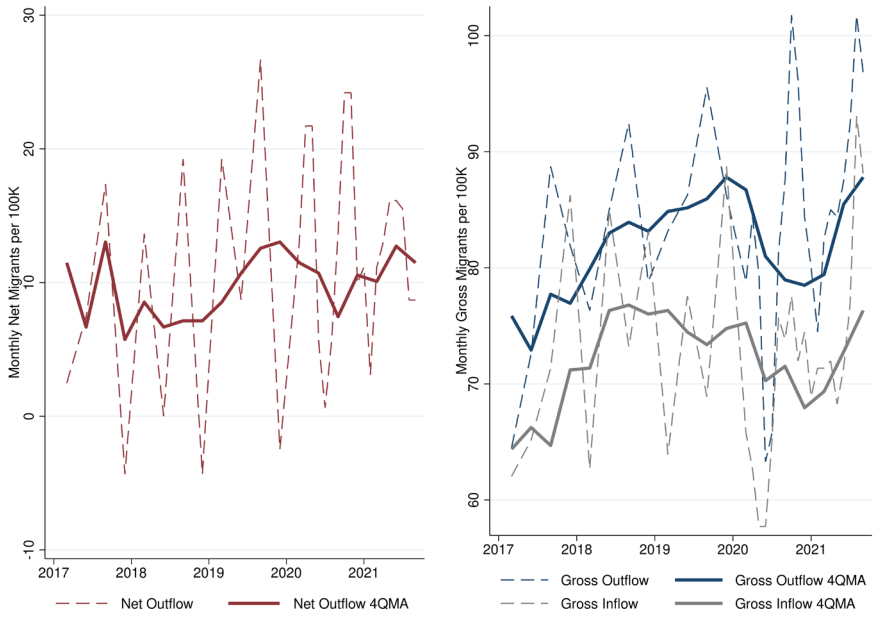
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



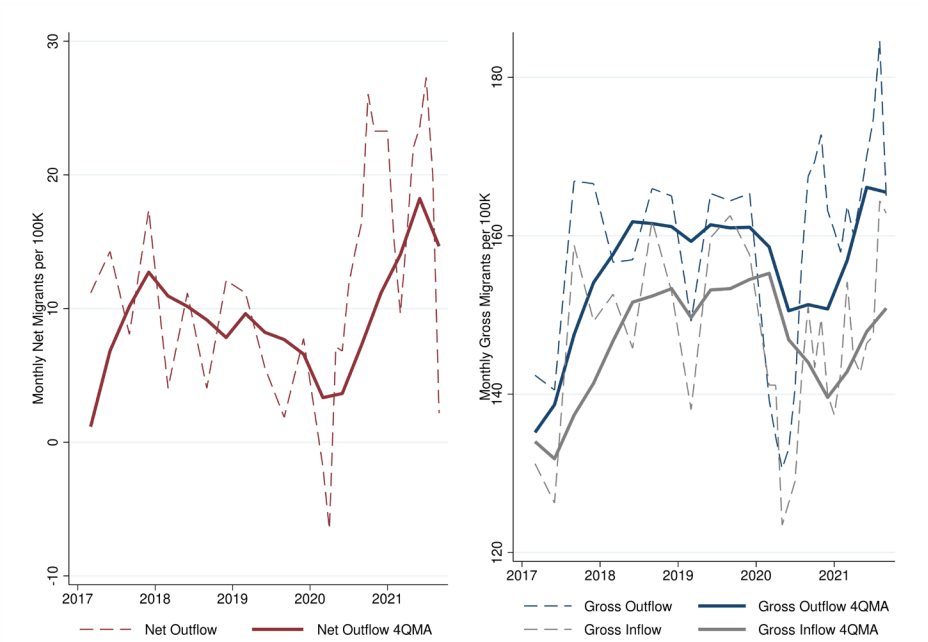
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



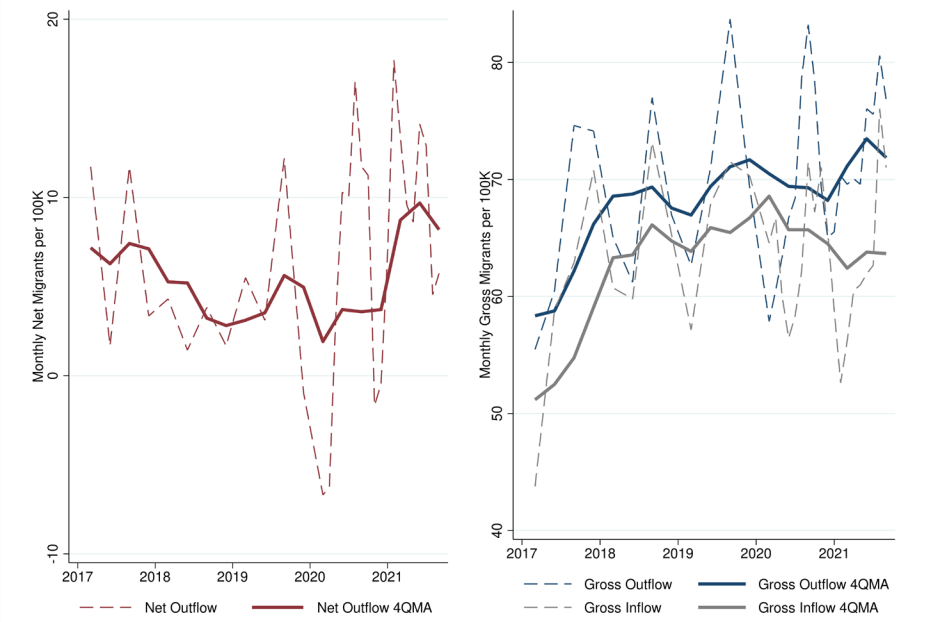
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



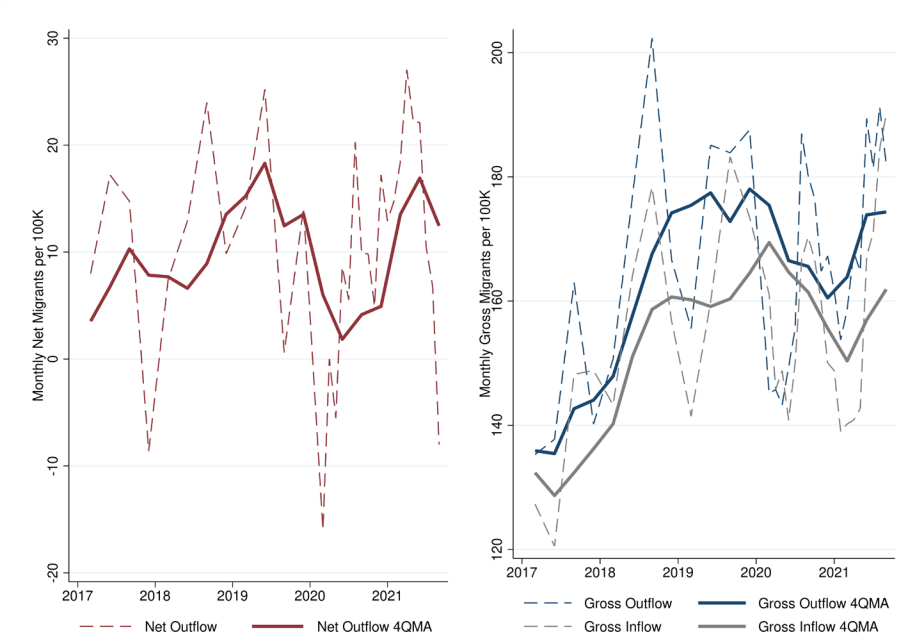
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



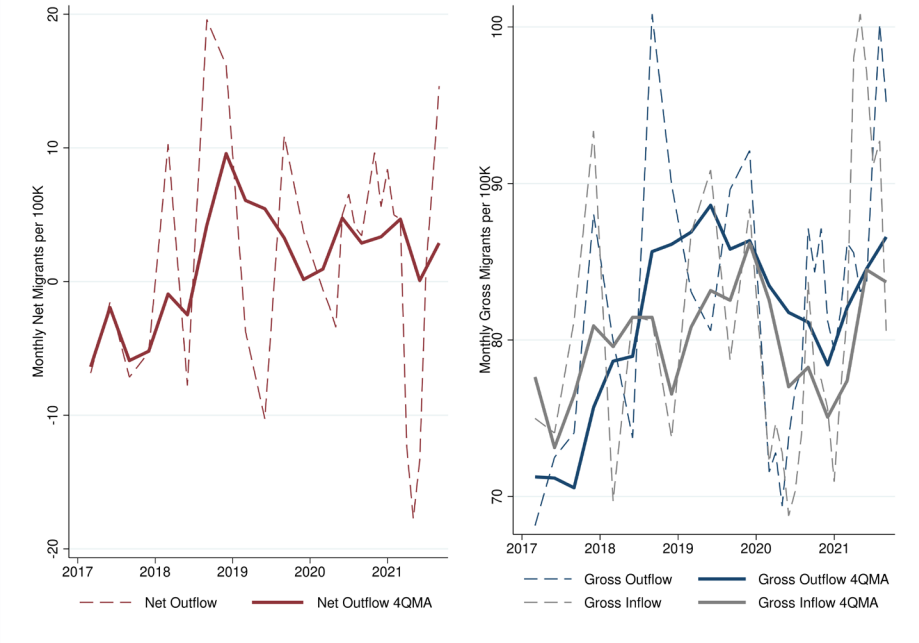
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



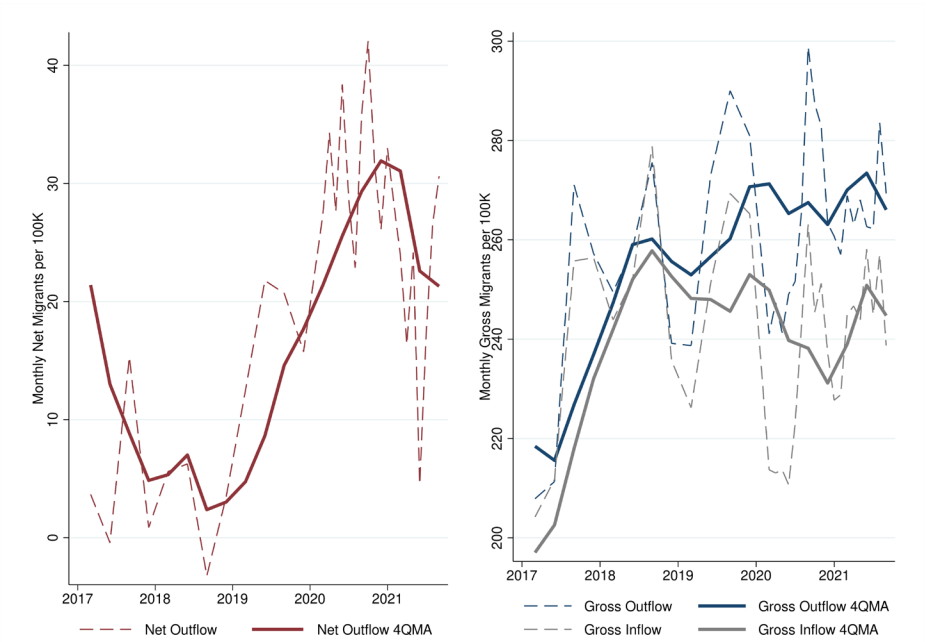
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



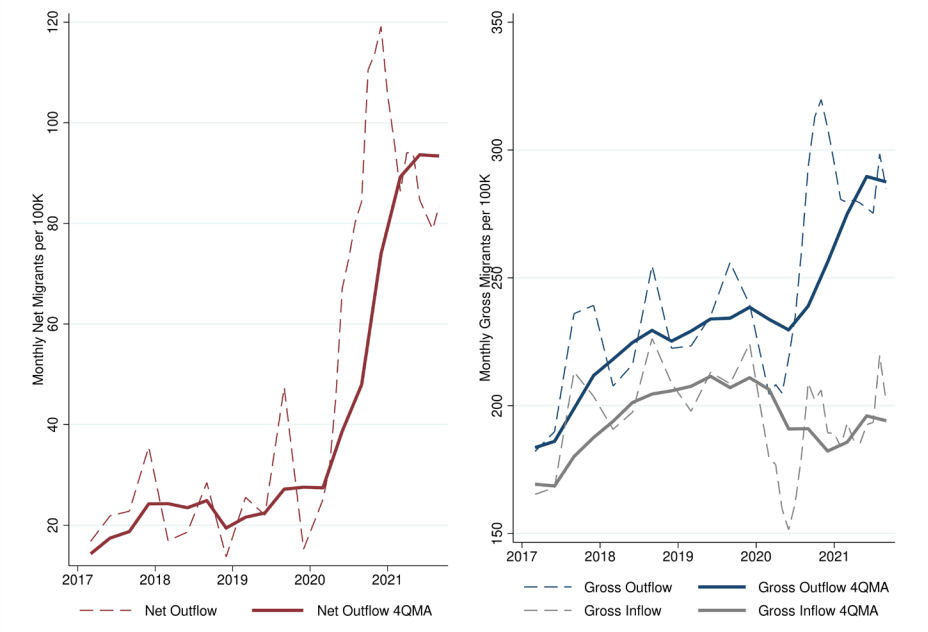
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



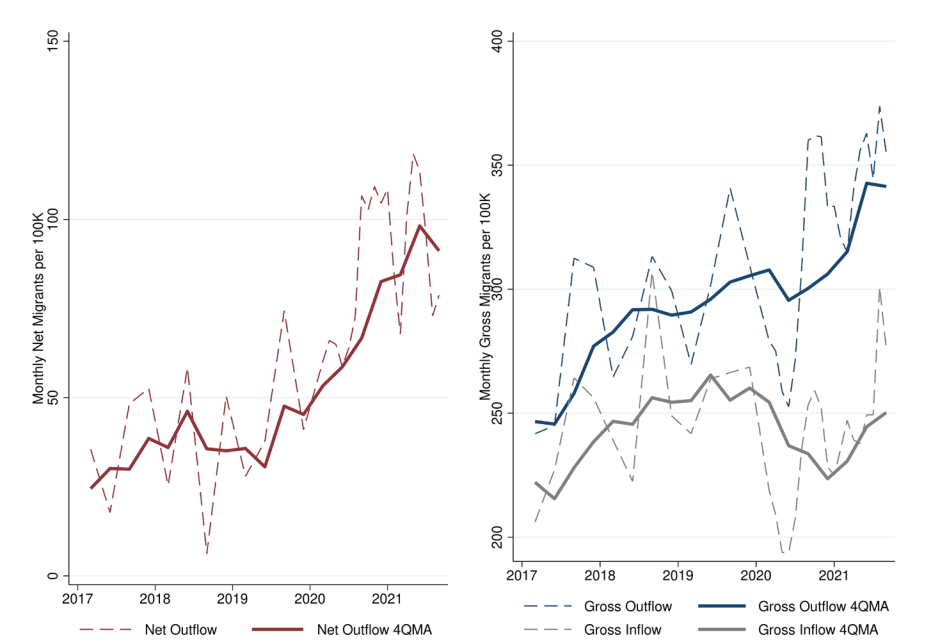
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



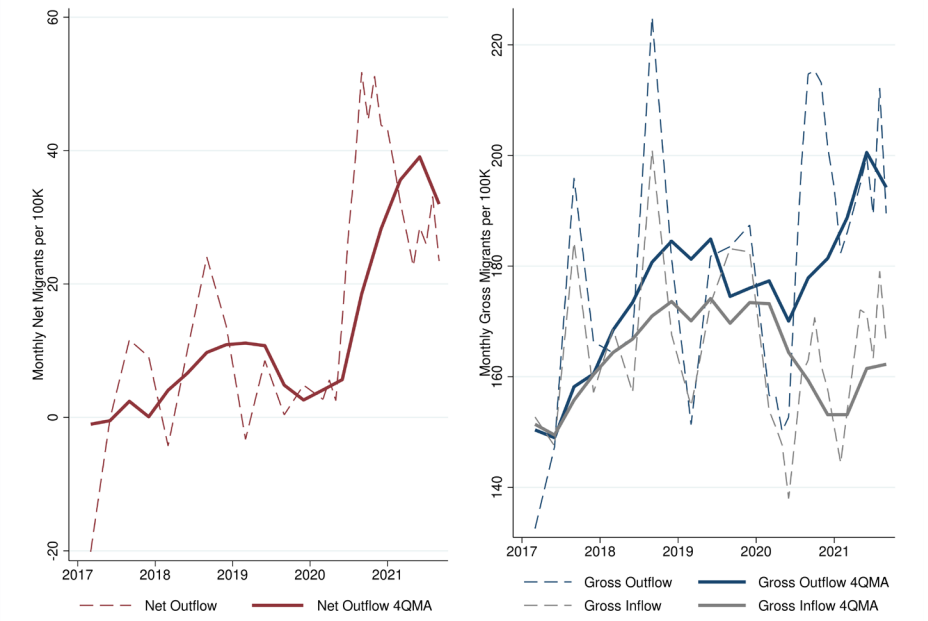
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



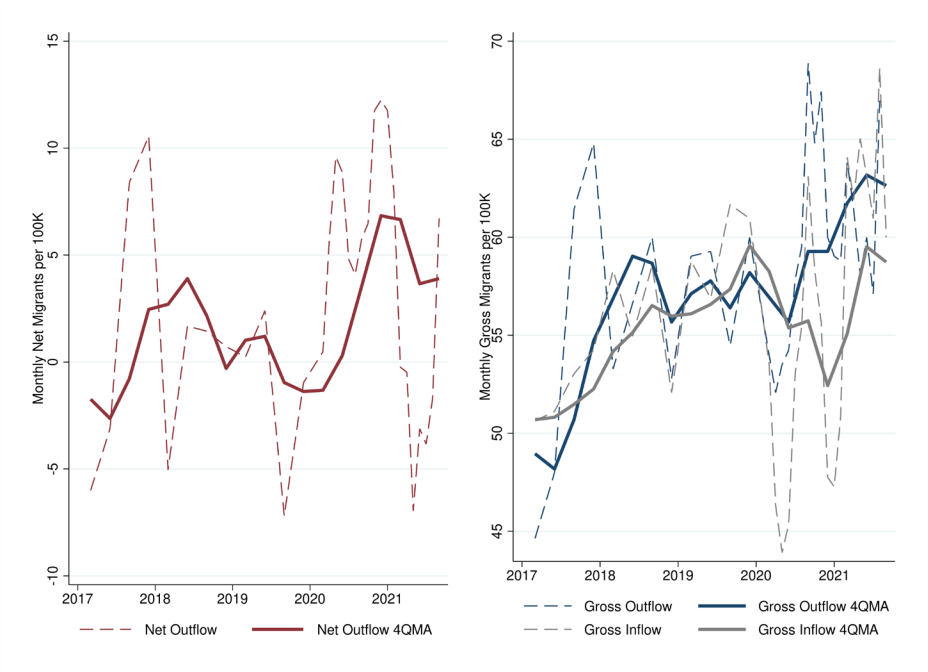
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



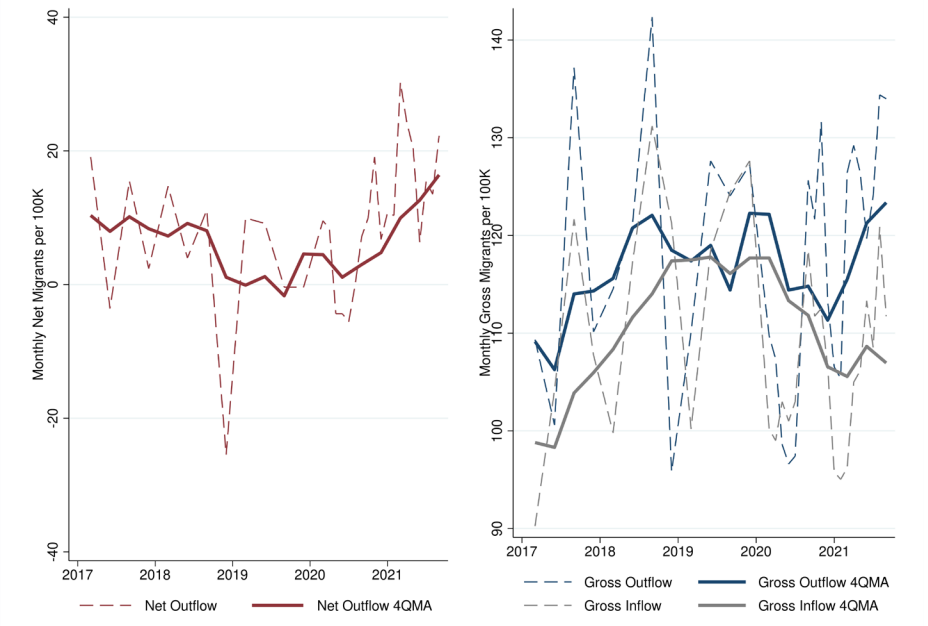
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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



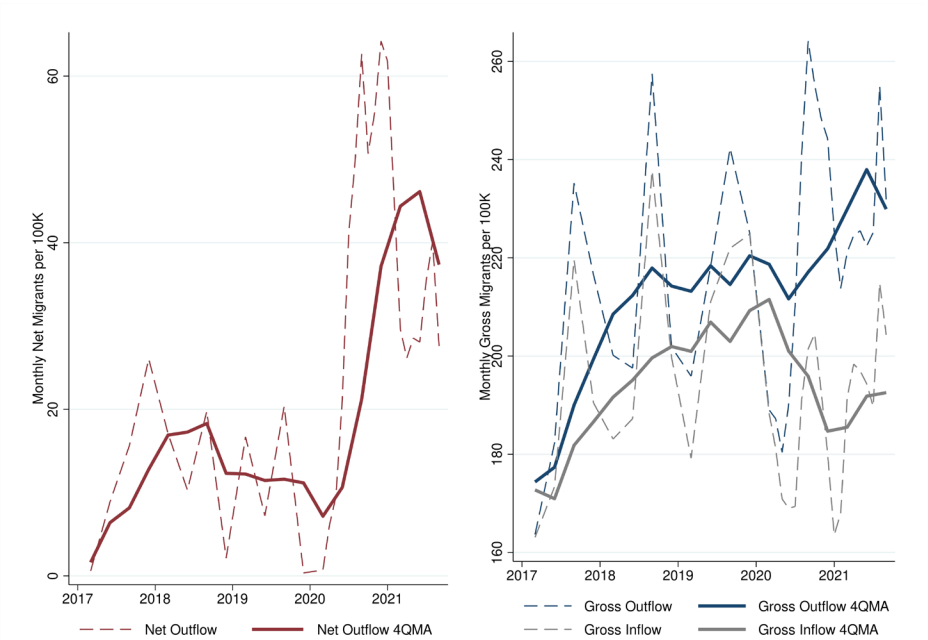
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author's calculations.

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.