



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

By Stephan Whitaker, Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland

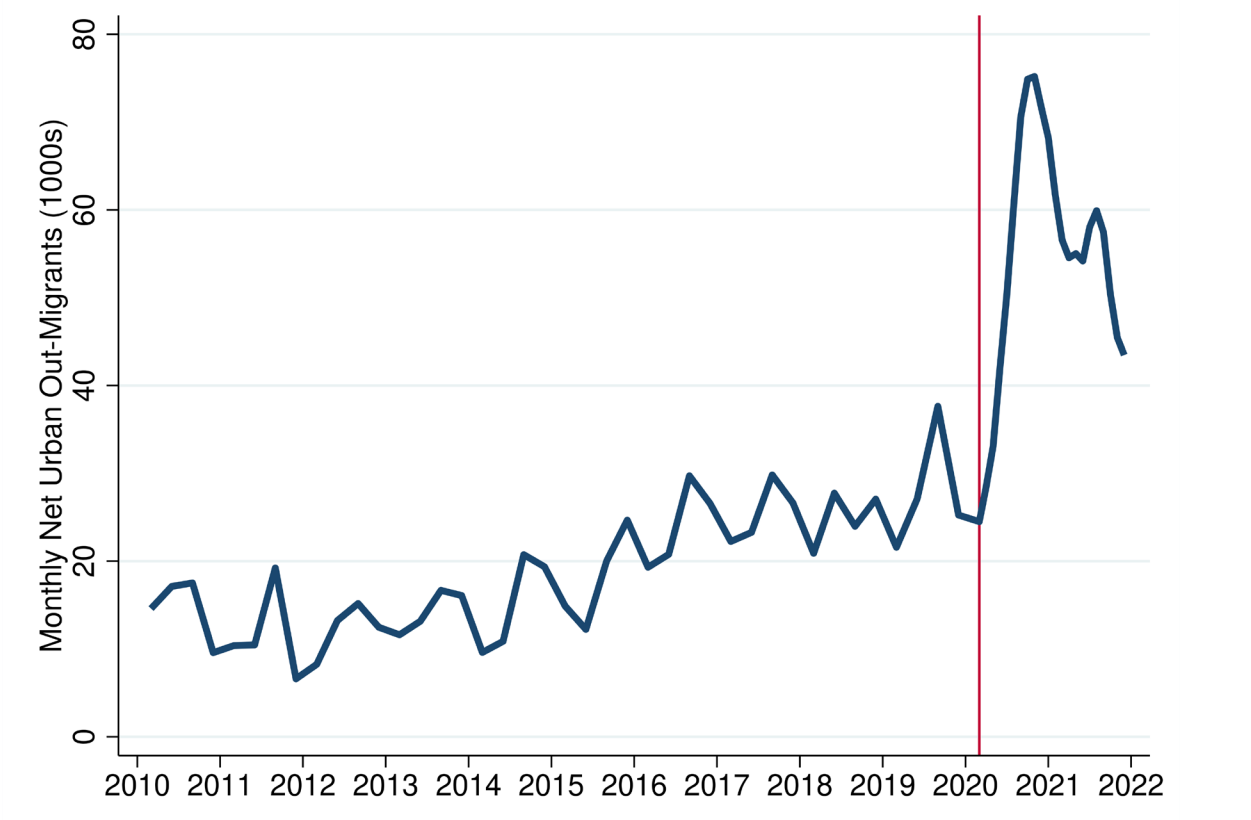
April 11, 2022

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 December 31, 2021.

This update is substantially different from previous updates. The measures in the original data brief were designed to characterize the immediate impact of the pandemic and lockdowns. The duration of the pandemic has grown quite long and has exhibited enough variation that measures aggregating over the whole pandemic period are not as useful. To provide a more accurate sense of recent developments on an ongoing basis, the tables now report migration in the most recent four quarters, rather than the whole pandemic era. Where percentage changes are reported in tables, they are the increase or decrease of the most recent four quarters relative to the comparable averages from the three years just before the pandemic (2017:Q2 through 2020:Q1). This update continues to display the time series figures, so the recent estimates can be compared to the series' history.

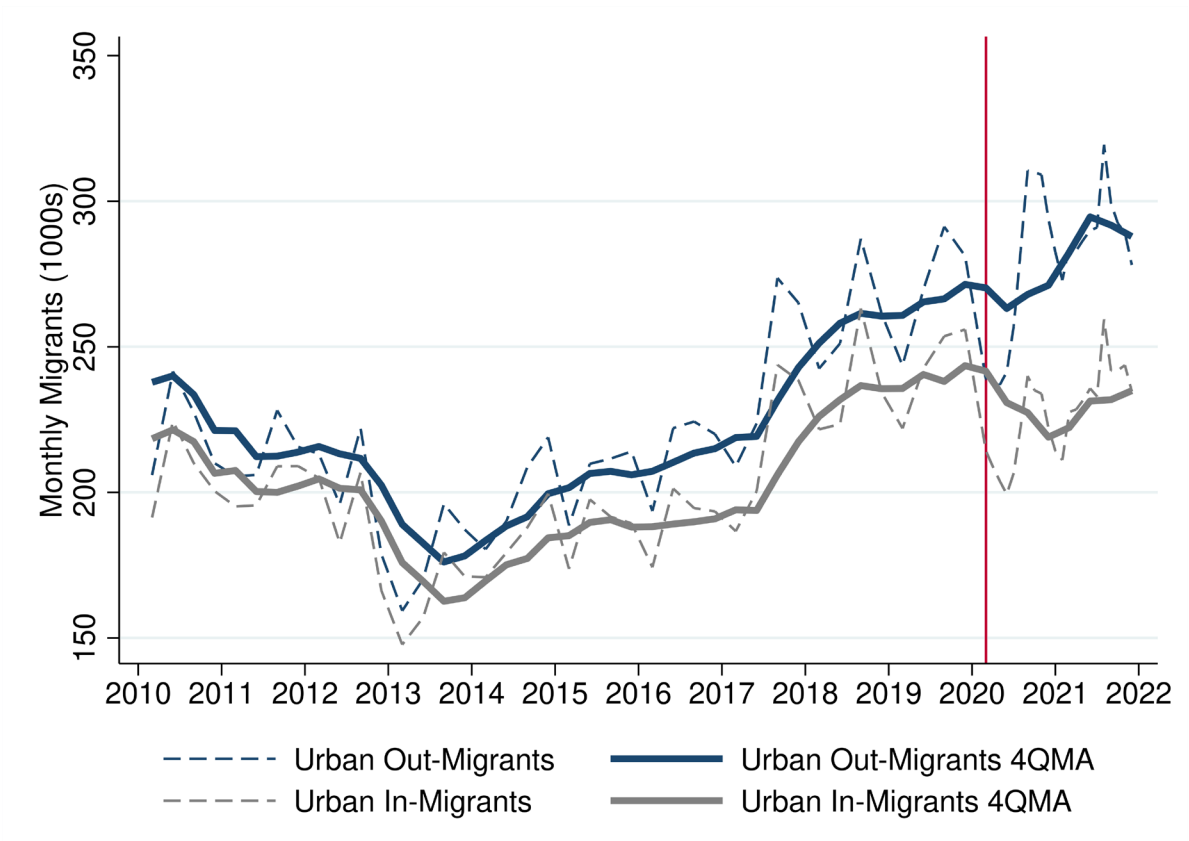
In the fourth quarter of 2021, the estimated net migration out of urban neighborhoods declined to 43,500 people per month (see Figure 1). As shown in Figure 2, the four-quarter moving average of gross outflows decreased by 3,900 people, while the moving average of gross inflows increased by 3,100 people. A majority (32 of 54) of the largest metro areas (Figures A4 to A54), including the high-cost metros of New York (Figure A32), San Francisco (Figure A49), San Jose (Figure A50), and Washington DC (Figure A54), displayed the pattern of both decreasing outflows and increasing inflows during 2021:Q4. Several lower-cost markets, including Cleveland (Figure A13), Columbus (Figure A14), Milwaukee (Figure A28), Pittsburgh (Figure A37), and St. Louis (Figure A45), had continued increases in net out-migration from their 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.

Follow-Up Table 1. Estimated Number of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas by Type of Destination from 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4.

	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, NY	222,760	14.9	88,620	12.4	98,300	31.7	92,400	31.7	67,320	32.2
Los Angeles, CA	176,460	-0.5	124,980	12.4	57,940	33.9	41,060	27.3	36,300	14.9
Chicago, IL	116,260	11.5	24,420	2.4	27,640	19.5	16,460	15.2	22,860	17.5
Miami, FL	123,880	5.4	16,160	-0.2	23,160	13.0	16,800	25.9	17,040	13.5
San Francisco, CA	61,960	9.4	63,420	22.4	16,540	37.5	17,580	25.6	26,880	38.6
Washington, DC	93,340	0.4	19,960	-11.0	26,340	13.5	16,560	10.2	15,400	13.2
Boston, MA	65,620	3.1	23,500	6.6	11,340	6.9	24,800	29.9	14,660	25.0
Philadelphia, PA	65,700	13.5	16,780	8.4	9,800	30.0	10,860	26.1	11,900	14.1
San Diego, CA	57,580	-1.9	23,260	4.0	10,640	13.8	9,580	13.4	11,320	9.6
Houston, TX	73,260	8.3	4,680	-12.8	7,400	-4.8	3,620	-0.2	6,220	0.2
San Jose, CA	31,620	9.1	35,860	9.2	8,260	38.6	9,480	26.7	10,120	12.1
Dallas, TX	69,200	2.8	5,320	-1.5	6,640	0.1	3,860	-4.5	6,740	3.7
Seattle, WA	51,760	2.7	12,640	8.7	7,100	25.7	4,780	5.1	11,980	17.2
Riverside, CA	43,340	0.0	17,940	11.1	5,200	35.2	2,900	21.8	4,460	27.9
Las Vegas, NV	46,160	4.4	10,760	18.4	6,220	51.7	4,760	4.1	8,540	23.8
Denver, CO	45,760	3.2	5,920	10.4	6,540	17.3	6,360	25.9	11,360	17.8
Phoenix, AZ	48,880	14.5	4,220	4.3	3,160	33.1	3,620	37.1	5,120	9.4
Baltimore, MD	32,660	0.6	9,040	-7.9	4,460	6.2	3,760	13.3	5,240	14.6
Minneapolis, MN	34,360	7.5	4,140	-3.9	2,560	5.2	2,440	21.2	5,820	13.2
Sacramento, CA	29,980	2.0	6,300	2.2	2,220	22.4	2,820	1.2	6,400	20.8
Portland, OR	27,940	0.0	5,680	8.5	2,940	31.6	2,640	19.6	7,720	19.0
Cleveland, OH	25,320	8.6	2,560	3.2	3,800	21.8	3,880	14.8	2,180	-7.9
Detroit, MI	28,440	3.4	2,140	36.0	2,580	21.3	2,040	10.1	2,840	-4.1
Pittsburgh, PA	22,320	-0.8	4,580	11.7	3,620	10.4	2,440	6.4	3,960	25.3
Providence, RI	19,060	-6.4	6,940	14.1	2,480	31.0	3,260	5.4	2,980	39.3
Atlanta, GA	22,000	6.7	3,040	7.3	1,820	4.6	1,960	2.4	2,280	12.1
Milwaukee, WI	20,000	13.1	3,060	3.4	2,940	7.0	2,000	2.7	4,380	5.3
Urban Honolulu, HI	14,500	1.4	5,680	-6.8	3,960	16.5	3,460	14.6	5,140	7.8
St. Louis, MO	17,820	1.8	2,340	-4.1	2,320	17.6	1,480	23.3	2,620	16.3
Virginia Beach, VA	16,260	4.3	2,980	9.6	2,160	6.9	2,360	-4.8	2,980	-1.1
Columbus, OH	17,840	5.5	1,760	-2.9	2,120	-10.4	1,860	13.4	2,100	-5.7
Salt Lake City, UT	14,900	7.5	2,320	7.1	1,460	25.9	3,580	-3.1	3,040	19.1
San Antonio, TX	18,220	8.6	680	-17.7	1,800	-2.2	1,140	8.9	1,800	-6.6
Bridgeport, CT	9,880	-2.0	5,160	13.3	1,720	27.1	4,680	20.6	1,420	23.1
Tampa, FL	15,180	5.0	1,620	6.1	1,460	4.3	2,160	39.1	1,680	31.3
New Orleans, LA	12,980	7.1	2,060	-1.3	2,940	25.6	2,180	17.6	2,780	8.3
Cincinnati, OH	14,620	0.3	1,580	7.2	1,980	12.9	1,720	16.2	1,400	2.4
Buffalo, NY	12,800	7.9	2,240	4.7	1,600	-7.0	1,800	8.9	2,520	73.4
Albany, NY	11,280	17.9	2,280	-8.6	1,080	25.6	1,340	9.8	2,220	17.7
Austin, TX	11,380	4.5	1,060	1.3	2,480	9.1	700	26.5	1,380	23.2
Hartford, CT	10,320	8.3	1,200	-28.6	1,020	4.1	2,460	18.6	780	-19.3
Stockton, CA	7,700	-7.3	4,140	17.2	820	23.0	1,900	31.3	1,780	35.5
New Haven, CT	7,760	5.8	1,960	-20.8	1,220	37.6	3,140	21.4	1,180	14.2
Oxnard, CA	8,240	-2.1	3,460	-0.6	1,120	5.7	980	-4.5	1,840	4.2
Worcester, MA	8,360	-2.1	2,600	24.6	640	12.9	1,440	17.4	1,300	51.2

Follow-Up Table 1. Estimated Number of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas by Type of Destination from 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4.

	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
Allentown, PA	8,520	16.0	2,000	22.4	1,360	-5.1	1,040	32.2	1,800	42.1
Fresno, CA	9,540	3.7	1,340	18.9	440	20.0	480	14.3	1,520	-7.3
Kansas City, MO	8,960	2.9	820	-28.5	1,180	17.2	760	17.5	960	-13.3
Indianapolis, IN	9,140	1.9	740	-26.0	1,000	32.7	760	26.7	1,940	20.2
Rochester, NY	8,220	3.5	920	1.5	880	-2.9	1,140	6.2	1,180	5.4
El Paso, TX	8,680	-2.5	500	-18.5	940	-30.9	580	-10.3	1,260	-7.4
Scranton, PA	6,640	6.3	1,400	-5.4	1,300	39.3	1,100	32.0	1,660	27.7
Bakersfield, CA	8,020	7.3	1,100	7.1	440	69.2	360	-20.6	720	-27.0
Louisville, KY	7,840	4.7	520	6.8	720	-3.6	720	35.0	1,160	32.8
Springfield, MA	6,020	-9.7	1,080	-0.6	680	-5.6	1,420	15.1	740	-19.6
Omaha, NE	6,340	-0.8	860	63.3	880	48.3	860	65.4	1,180	16.4
Syracuse, NY	5,060	9.8	1,120	34.4	620	9.4	980	33.6	740	-17.2
Toledo, OH	5,460	6.2	300	-18.2	1,200	30.4	400	-1.6	1,000	-9.6

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 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows from 2017:Q2 through 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.

Follow-Up Table 2. Estimates of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas from 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4, by Distance

	To another region within 150 miles		To another region beyond 150 miles	
	Migrants	Change	Migrants	Change
New York, NY	84,600	39.5	262,040	22.5
Los Angeles, CA	91,080	21.2	169,200	18.2
Chicago, IL	11,920	23.8	79,460	11.7
Miami, FL	10,040	46.6	63,120	8.5
San Francisco, CA	45,720	29.8	78,700	26.9
Washington, DC	19,680	16.1	58,580	2.2
Boston, MA	24,740	29.4	49,560	11.8
Philadelphia, PA	20,320	13.5	29,020	20.1
San Diego, CA	13,680	8.5	41,120	8.6
Houston, TX	3,320	6.2	18,600	-6.3
San Jose, CA	33,260	13.2	30,460	17.4
Dallas, TX	2,260	10.1	20,300	-1.1
Seattle, WA	7,400	18.0	29,100	12.9
Riverside, CA	16,120	13.7	14,380	23.0
Las Vegas, NV	1,140	54.1	29,140	21.8
Denver, CO	6,240	19.4	23,940	17.3
Phoenix, AZ	1,960	30.1	14,160	15.7
Baltimore, MD	8,700	-0.2	13,800	4.7
Minneapolis, MN	2,500	14.3	12,460	6.4
Sacramento, CA	7,600	14.5	10,140	7.6
Portland, OR	4,440	21.3	14,540	16.3
Cleveland, OH	3,560	-6.5	8,860	17.5
Detroit, MI	2,560	14.6	7,040	12.1
Pittsburgh, PA	2,360	27.8	12,240	11.4
Providence, RI	6,700	17.5	8,960	19.4
Atlanta, GA	1,060	13.6	8,040	6.0
Milwaukee, WI	4,340	-5.2	8,040	11.2
Urban Honolulu, HI	660	33.8	17,580	4.7
St. Louis, MO	1,000	13.6	7,760	11.1
Virginia Beach, VA	1,660	-8.8	8,820	4.8
Columbus, OH	3,080	3.8	4,760	-6.3
Salt Lake City, UT	3,500	-0.4	6,900	13.9
San Antonio, TX	880	-19.5	4,540	-0.1
Bridgeport, CT	7,760	23.2	5,220	12.5
Tampa, FL	1,960	56.4	4,960	10.1
New Orleans, LA	2,040	25.9	7,920	9.6
Cincinnati, OH	1,540	1.3	5,140	12.9
Buffalo, NY	1,660	47.3	6,500	11.3
Albany, NY	3,240	0.2	3,680	14.0
Austin, TX	1,620	21.5	4,000	9.3
Hartford, CT	2,680	-7.6	2,780	-0.7
Stockton, CA	5,460	31.9	3,180	12.8
New Haven, CT	4,100	8.3	3,400	6.5
Oxnard, CA	2,920	-4.2	4,480	4.5

Follow-Up Table 2. Estimates of Migrants Leaving Urban Neighborhoods of Metro Areas from 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4, by Distance

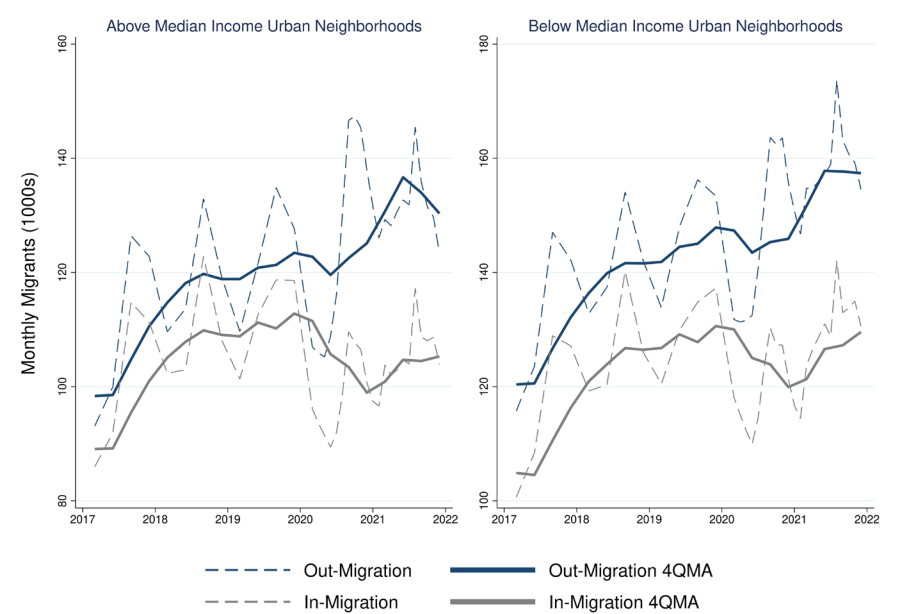
	To another region within 150 miles		To another region beyond 150 miles	
	Migrants	Change	Migrants	Change
Worcester, MA	3,400	27.2	2,580	24.8
Allentown, PA	4,140	34.1	2,060	1.3
Fresno, CA	1,440	-8.1	2,340	17.8
Kansas City, MO	420	-16.0	3,300	-3.1
Indianapolis, IN	1,300	20.4	3,140	8.8
Rochester, NY	1,020	11.7	3,100	0.2
El Paso, TX	260	-2.5	3,020	-18.7
Scranton, PA	3,180	27.5	2,280	11.0
Bakersfield, CA	1,160	4.8	1,460	-9.9
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY	1,080	29.6	2,040	12.9
Springfield, MA	1,980	-2.0	1,940	0.0
Omaha, NE	580	45.0	3,200	42.0
Syracuse, NY	840	13.5	2,620	14.6
Toledo, OH	1,320	-3.9	1,580	10.7

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 2021:Q1 through 2021:Q4 and the average of the equivalent quarterly flows from 2017:Q2 through 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.

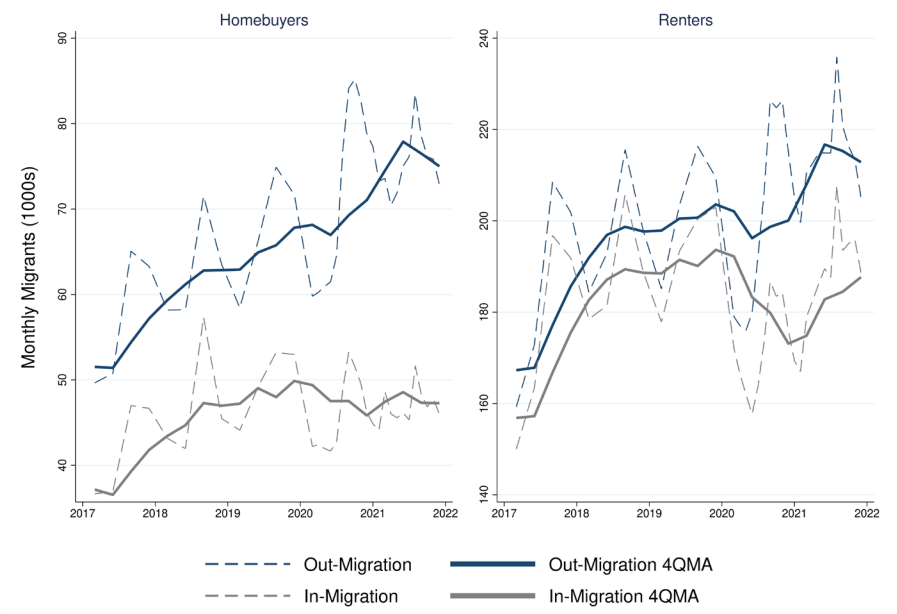
Appendix

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



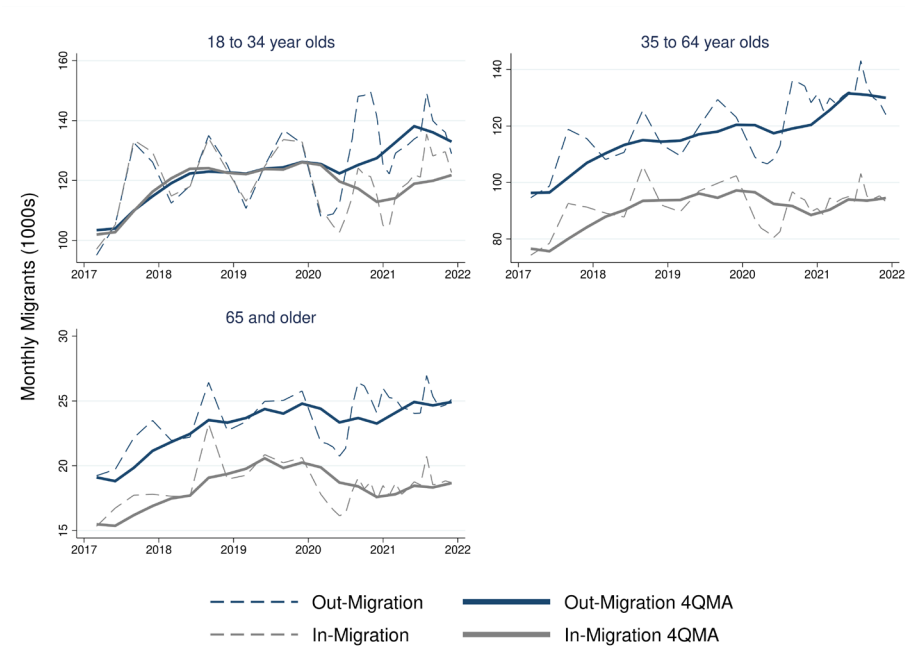
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



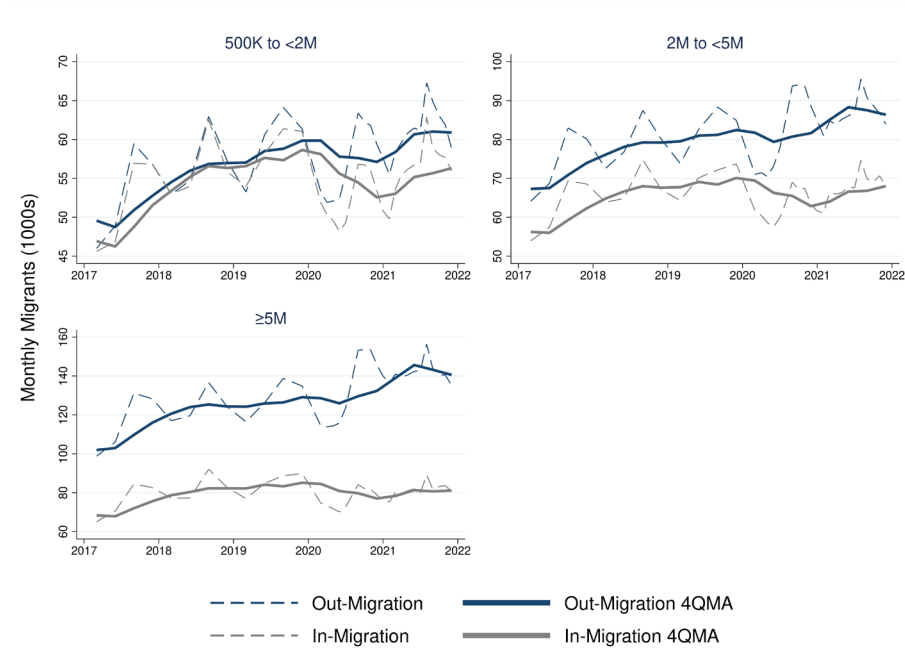
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



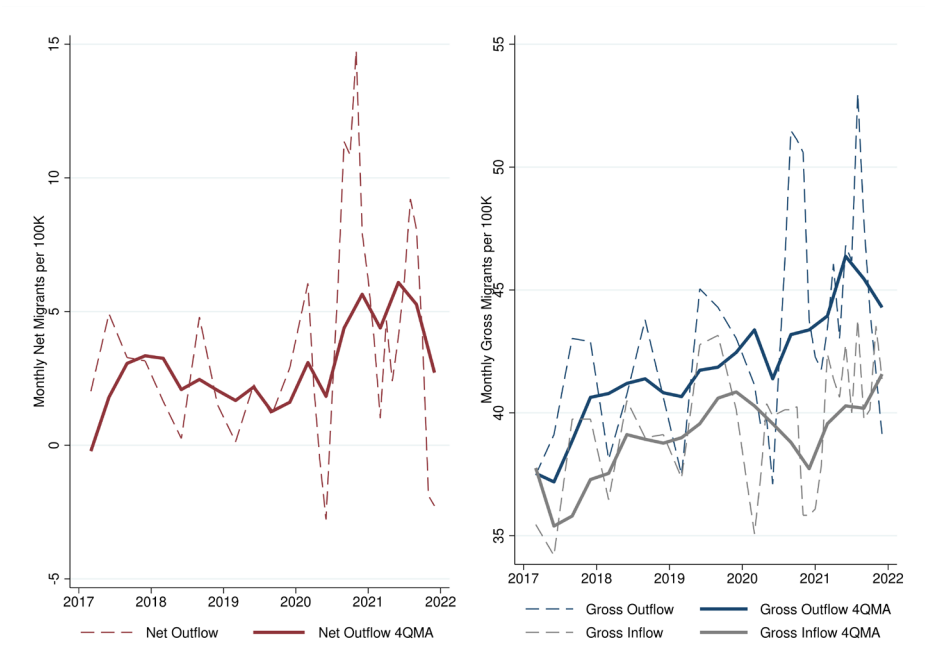
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



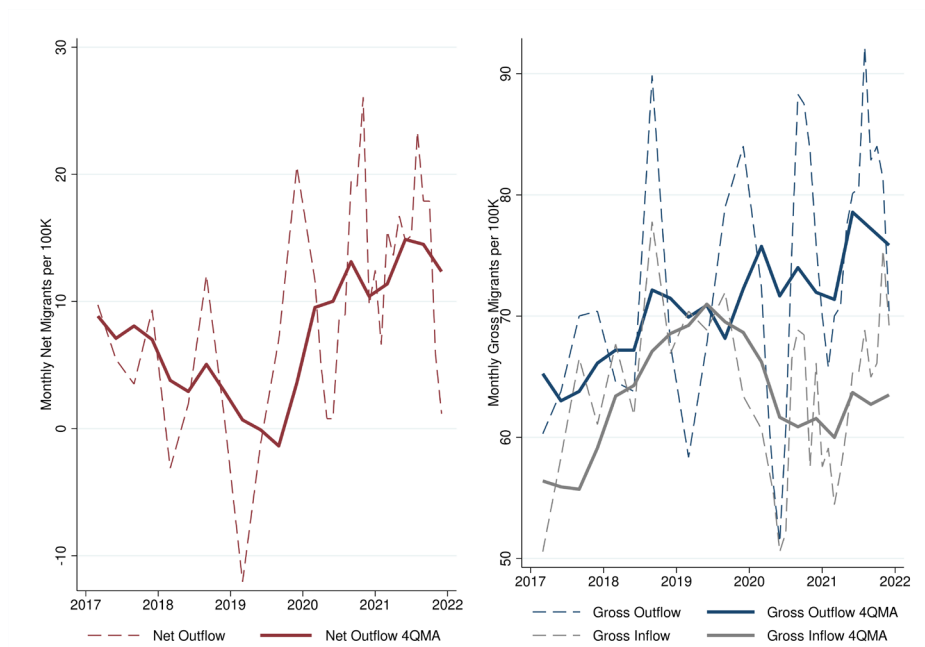
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



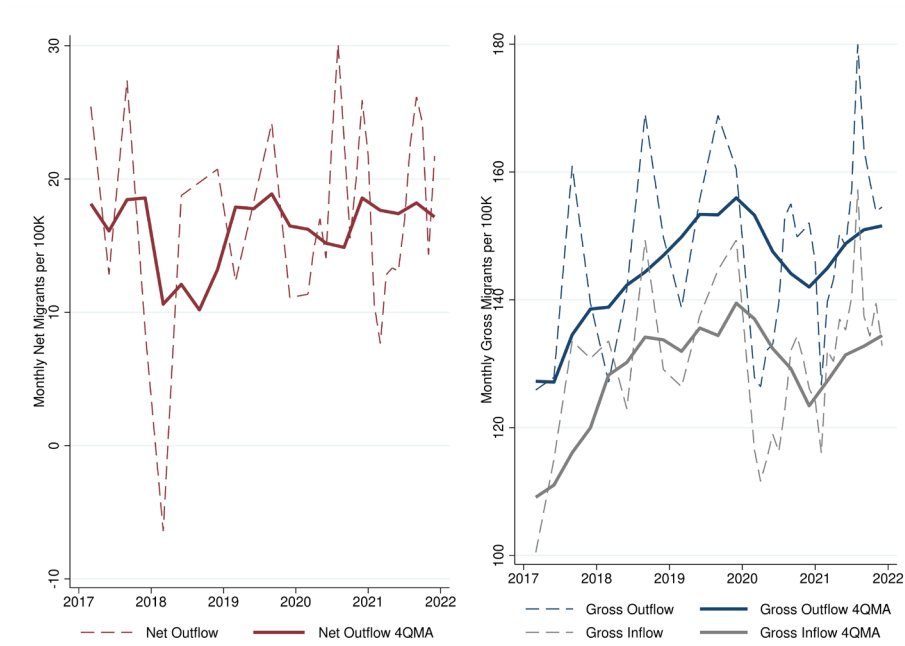
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



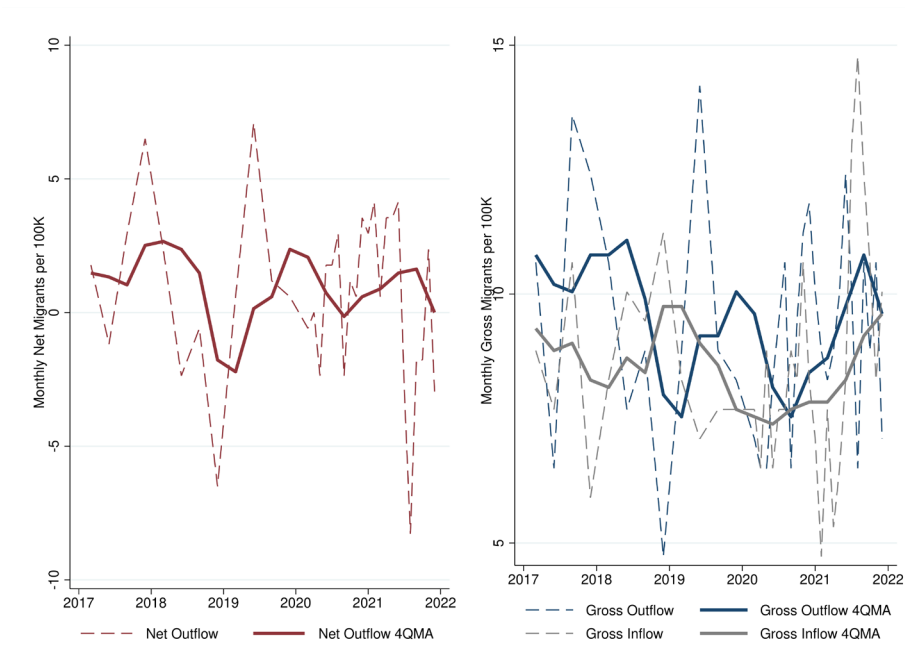
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



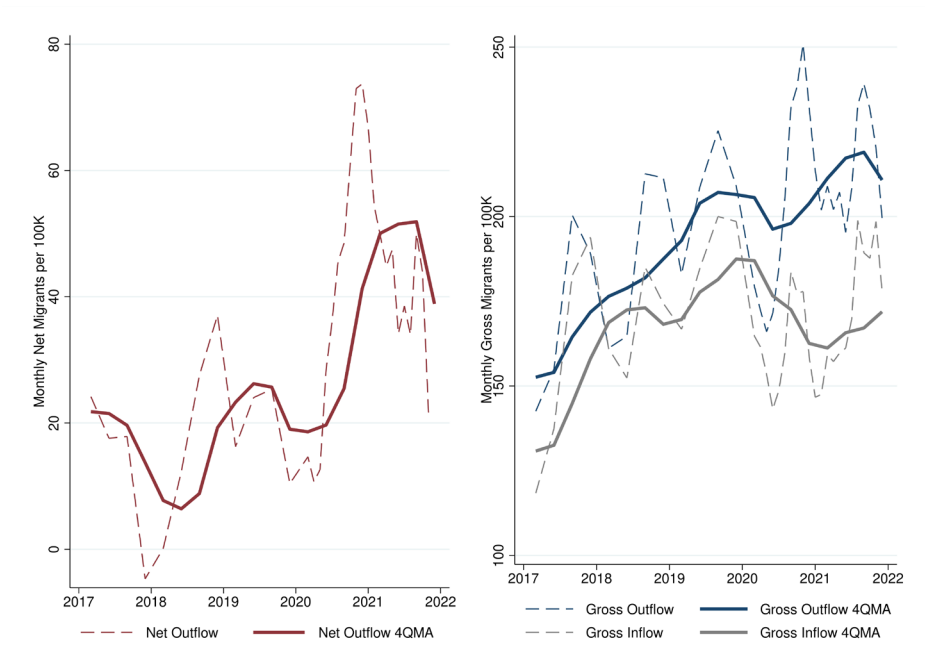
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



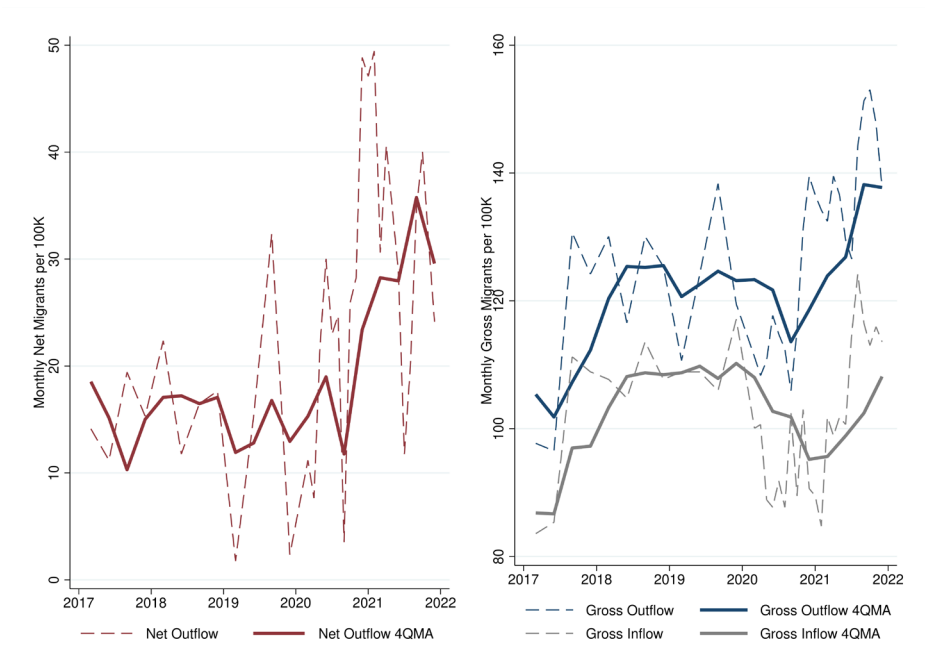
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



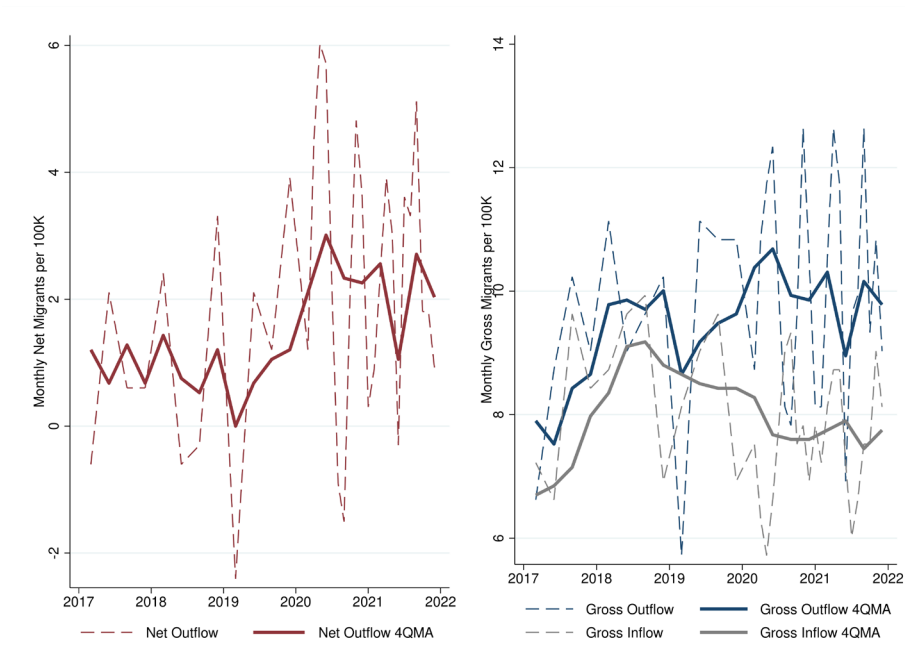
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



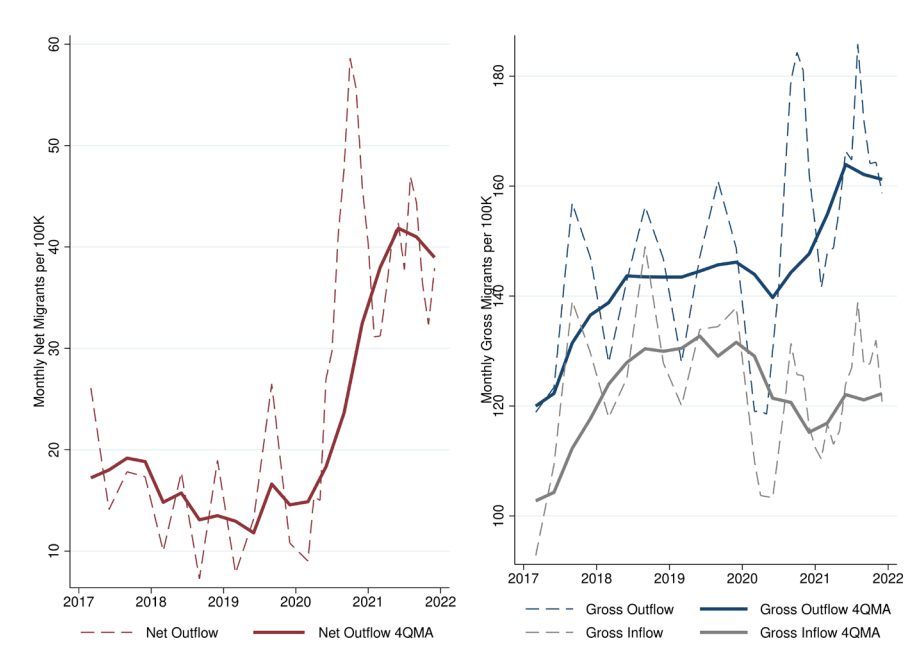
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



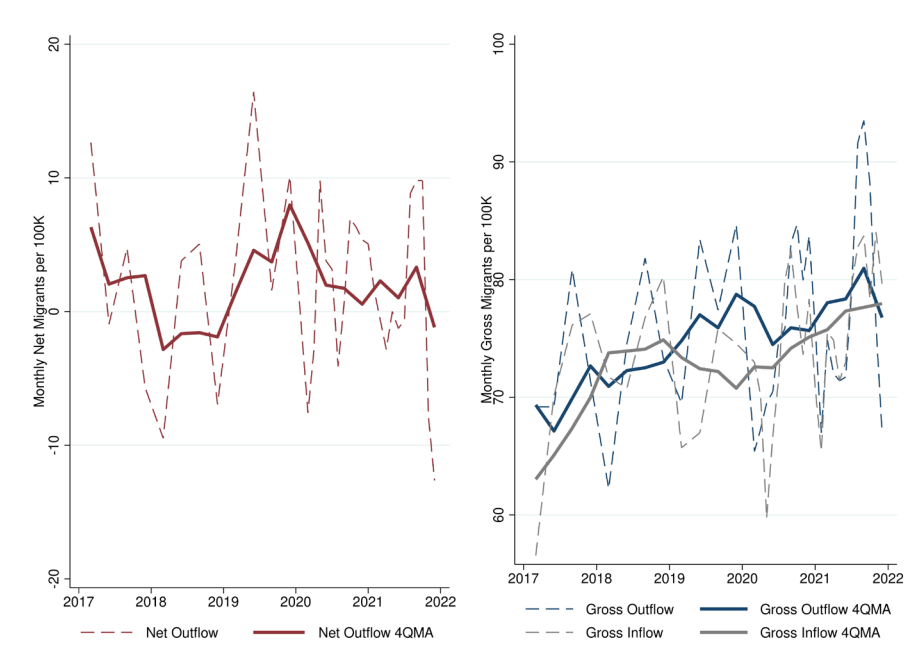
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



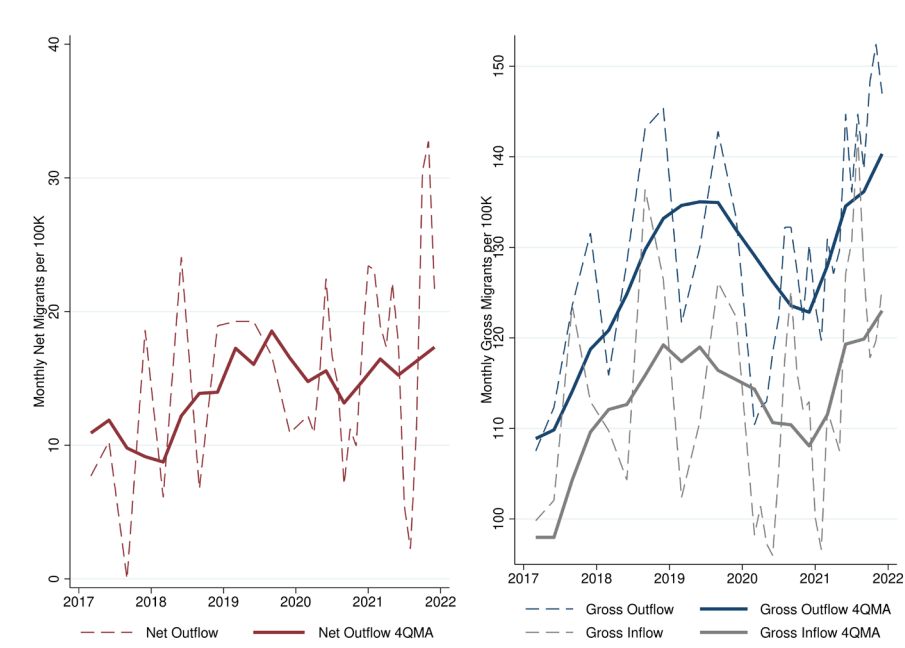
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



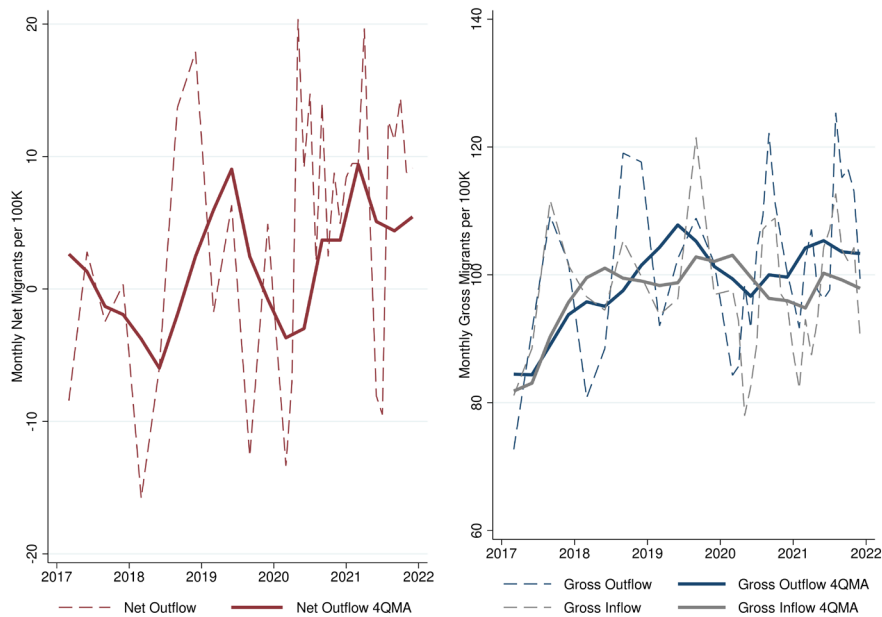
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



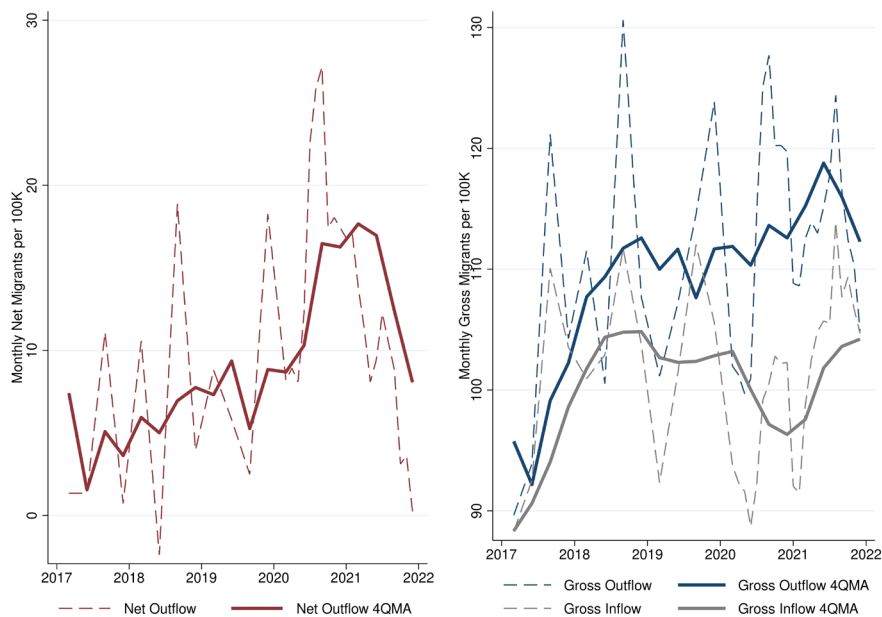
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



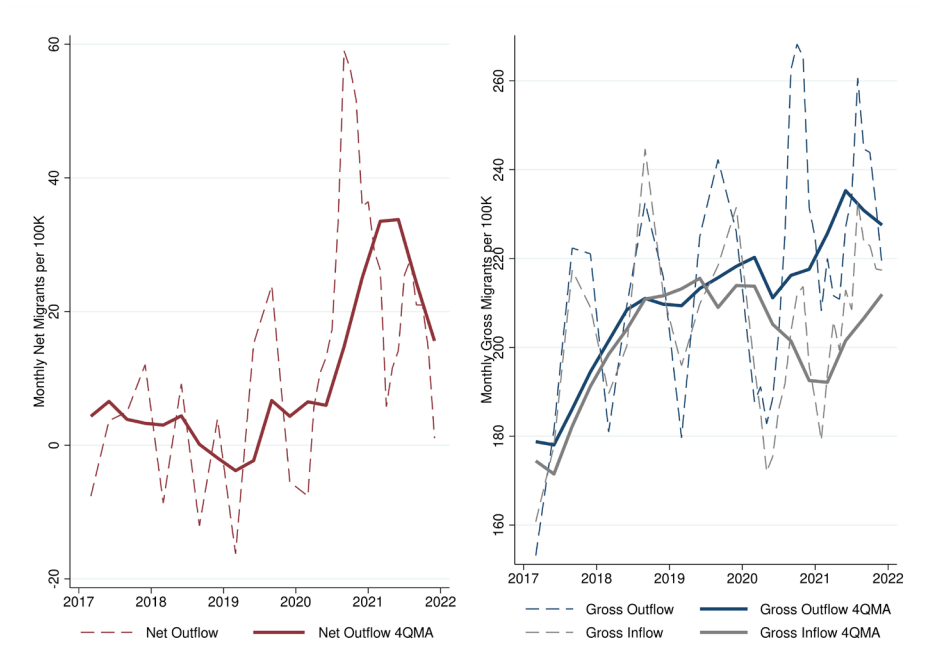
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



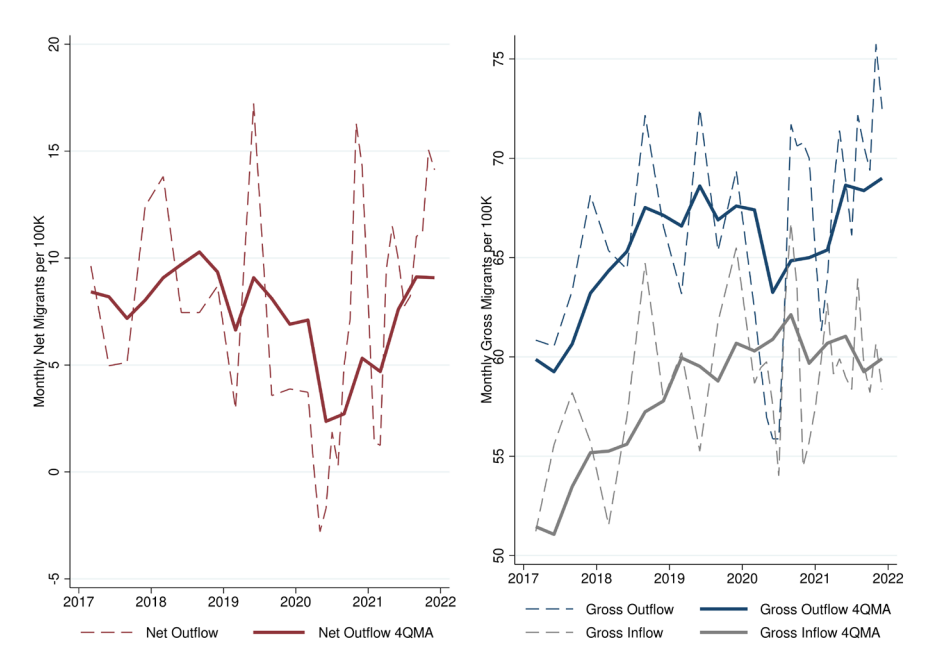
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



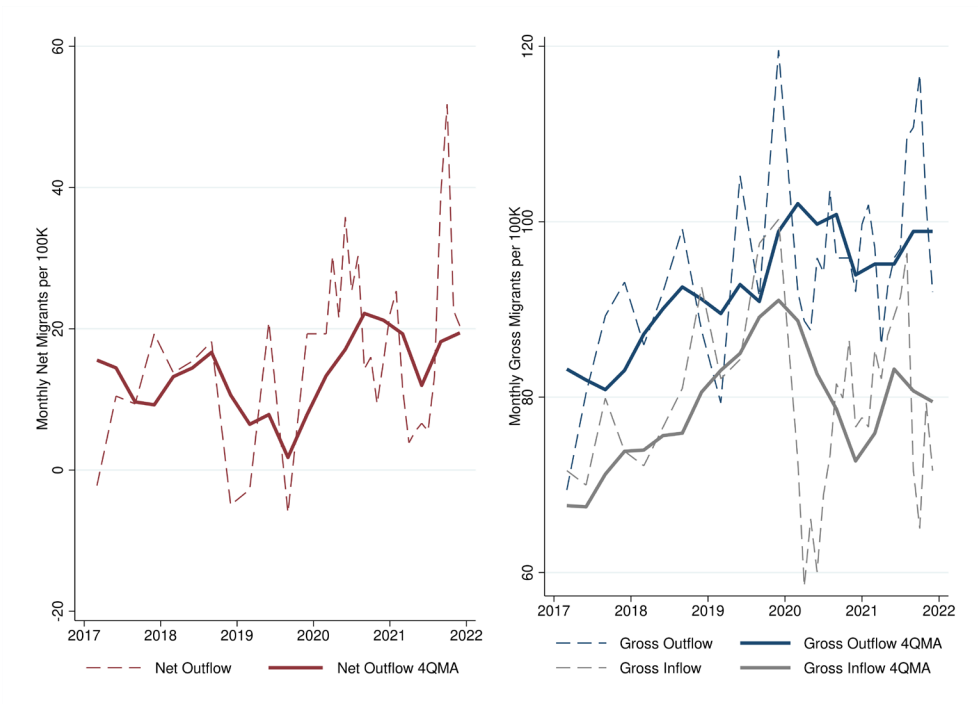
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



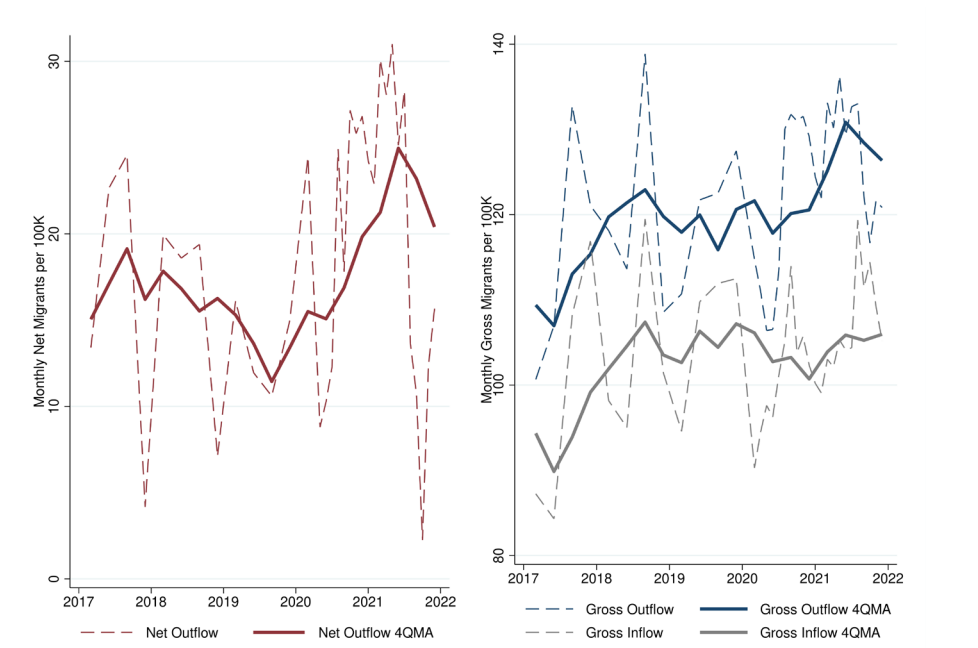
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



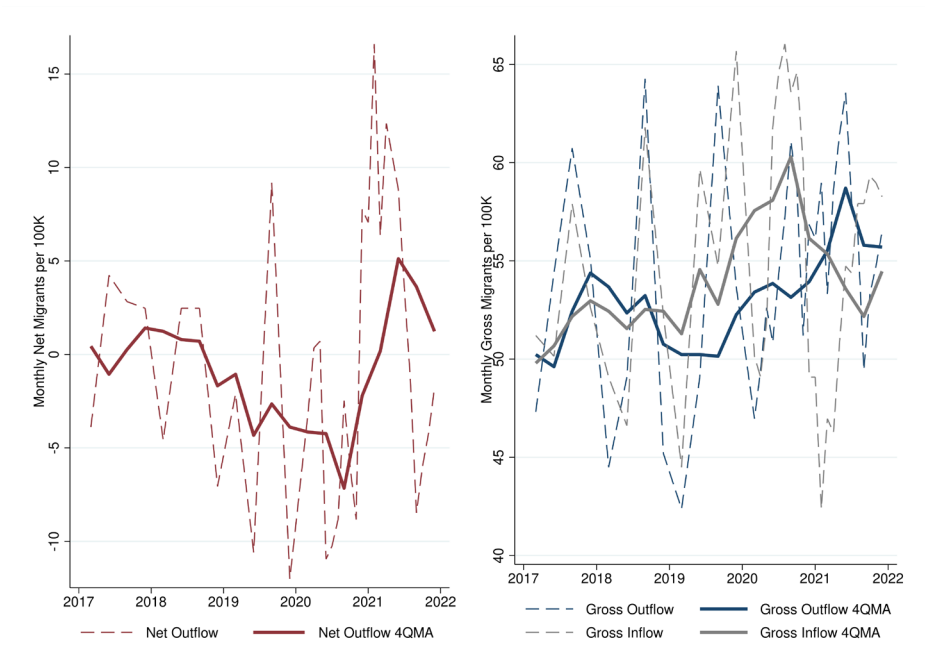
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



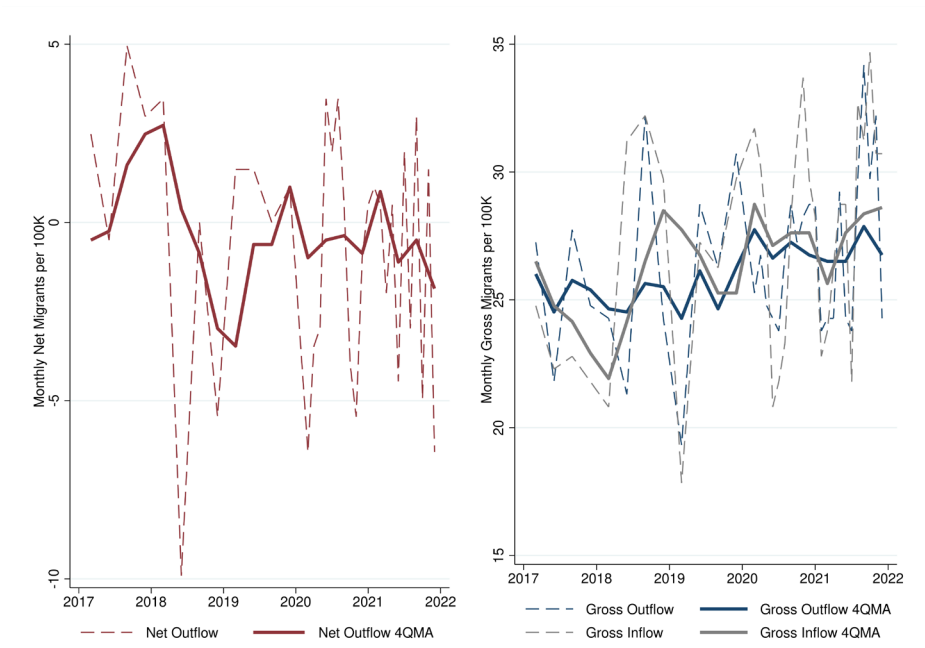
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



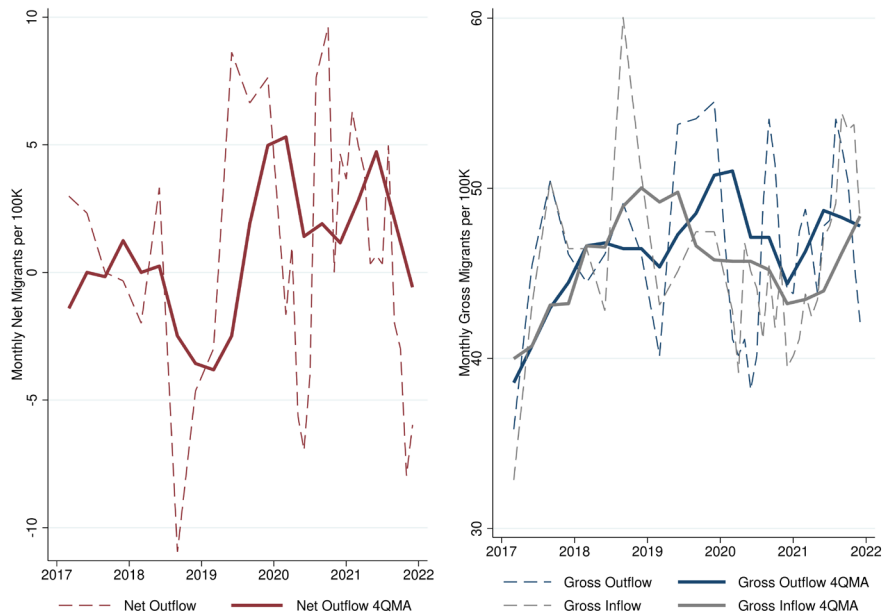
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



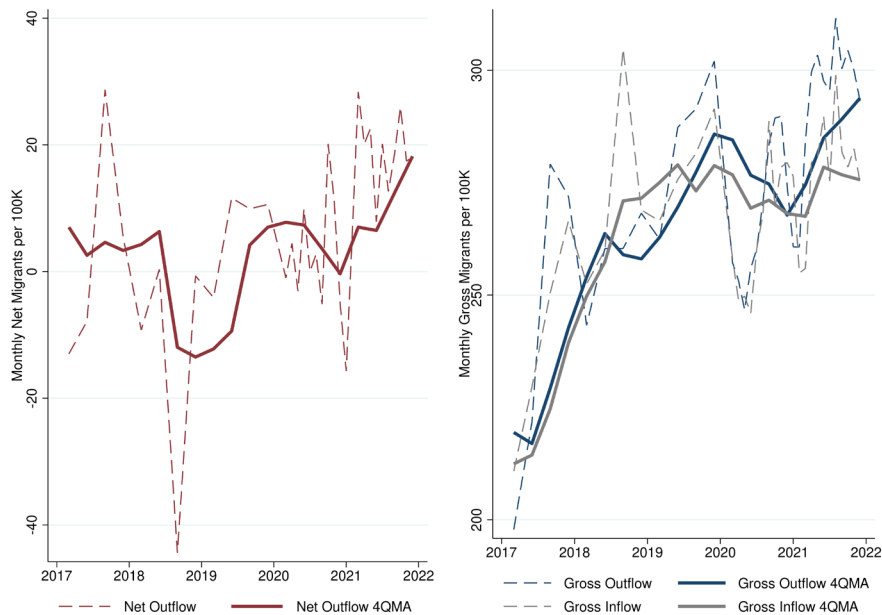
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



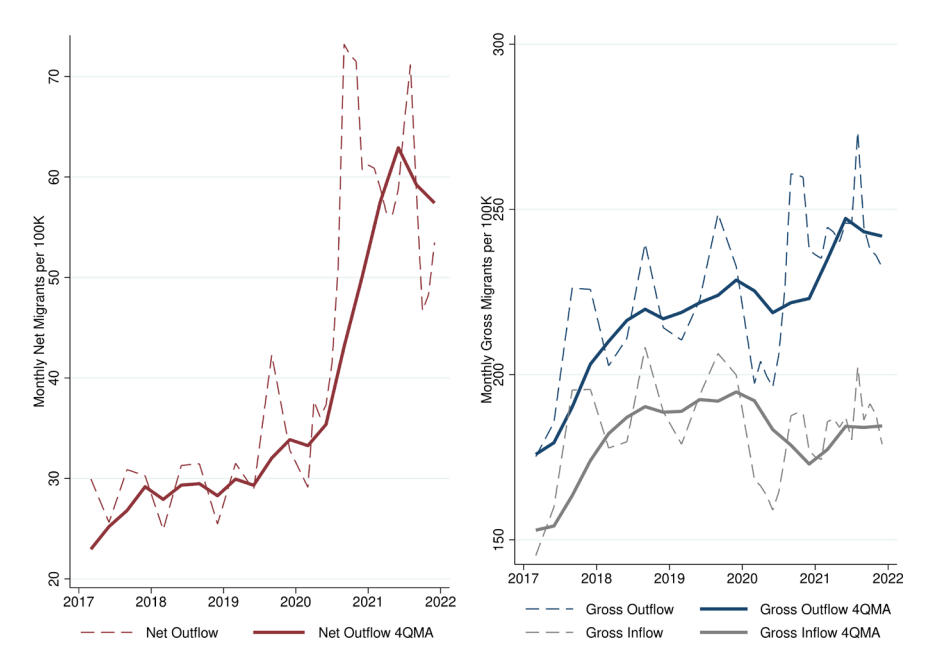
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



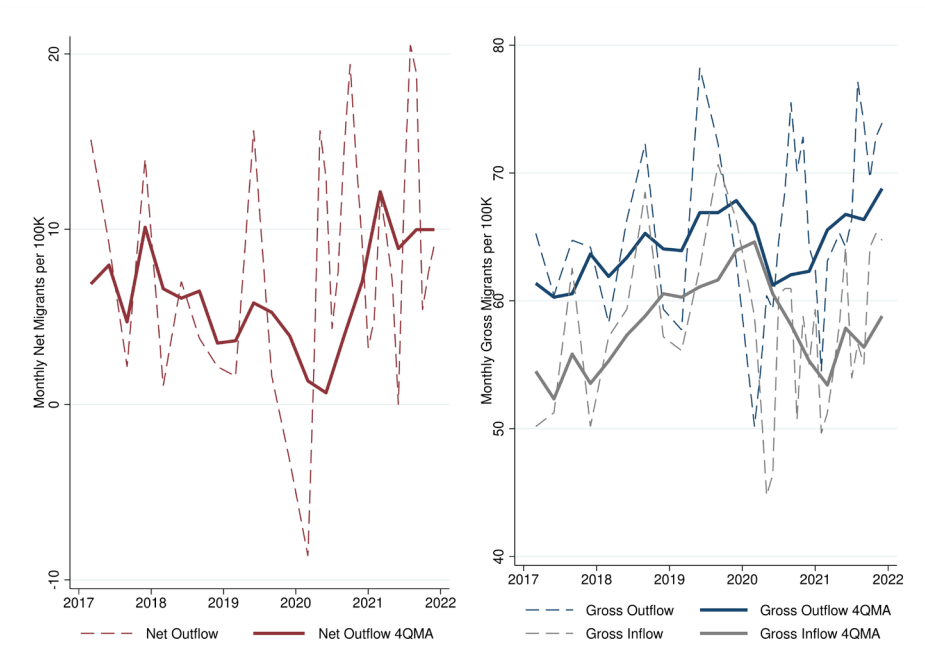
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



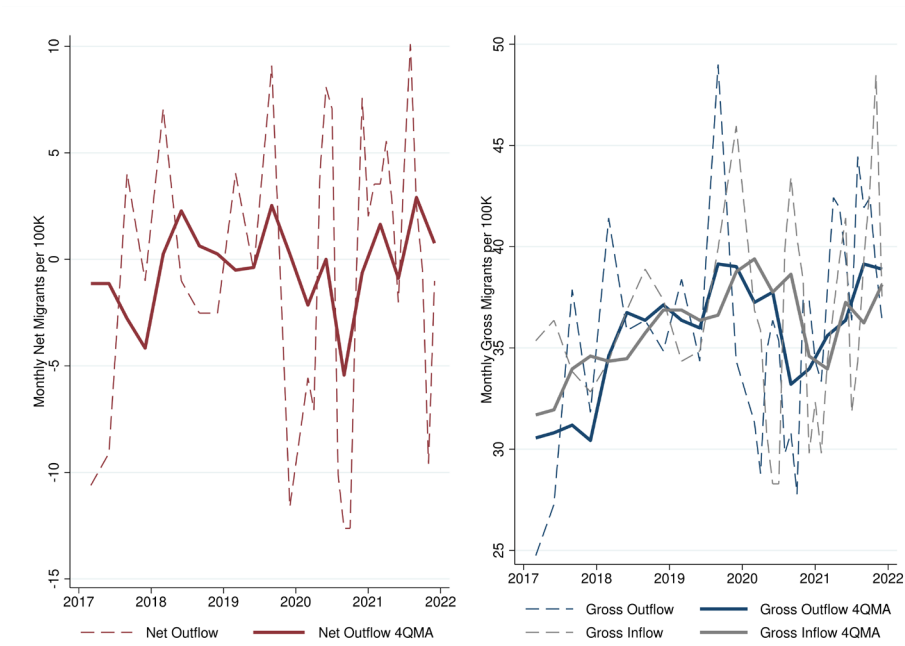
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



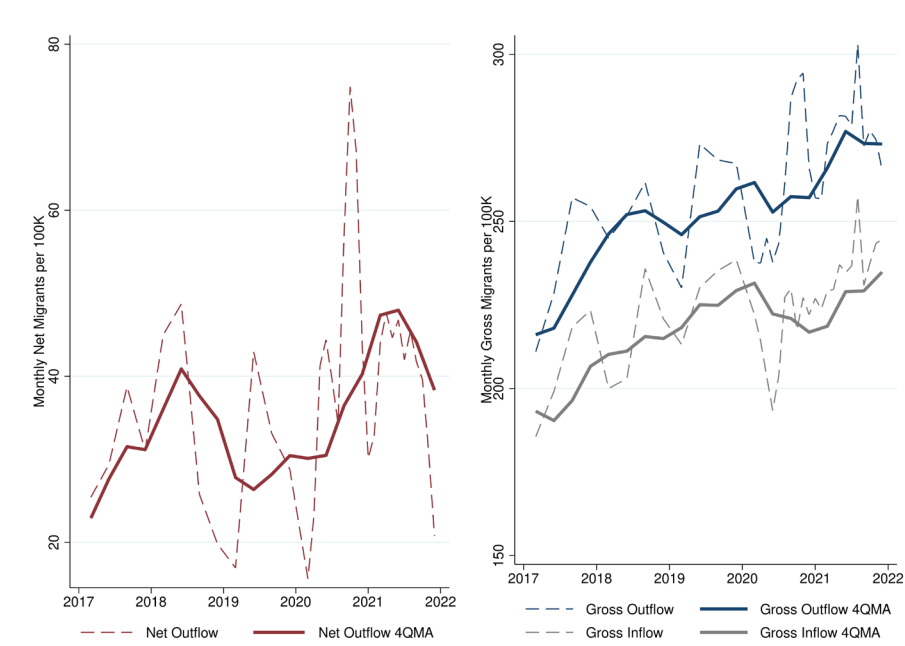
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



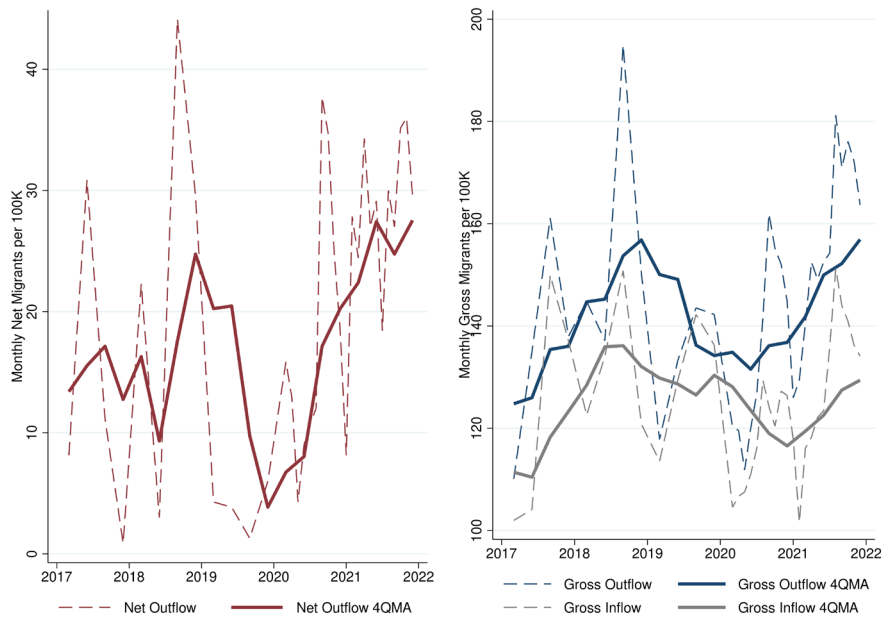
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



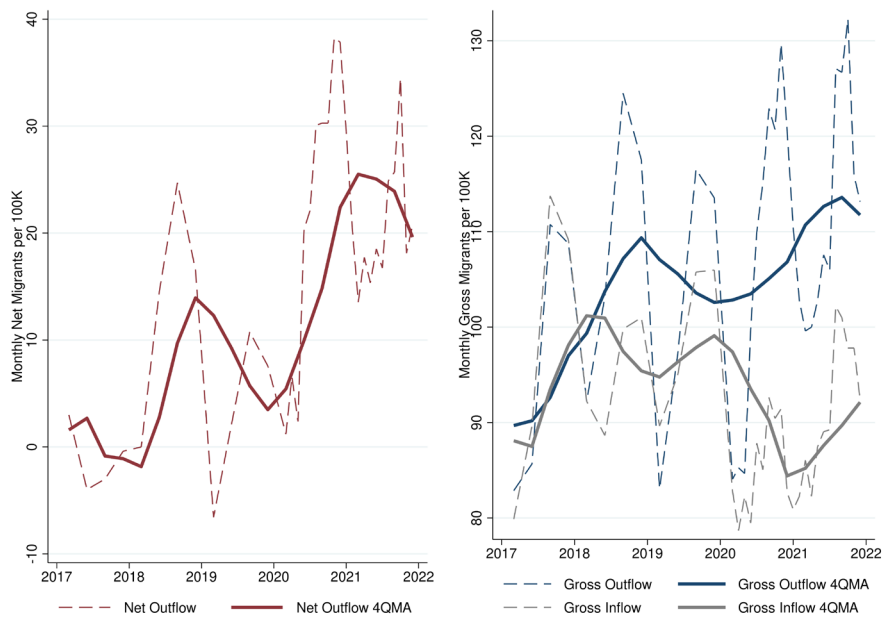
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



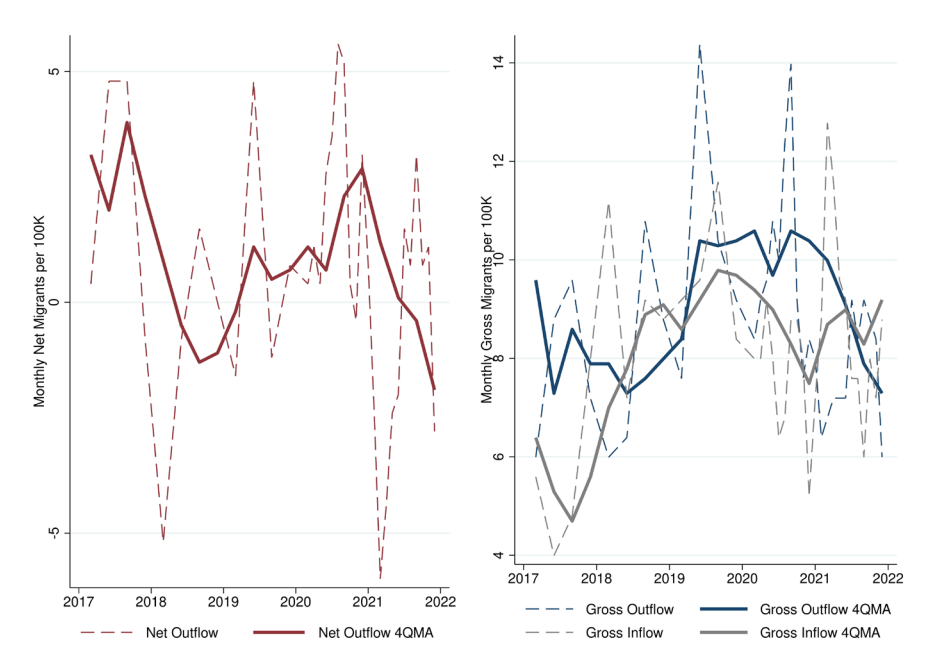
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



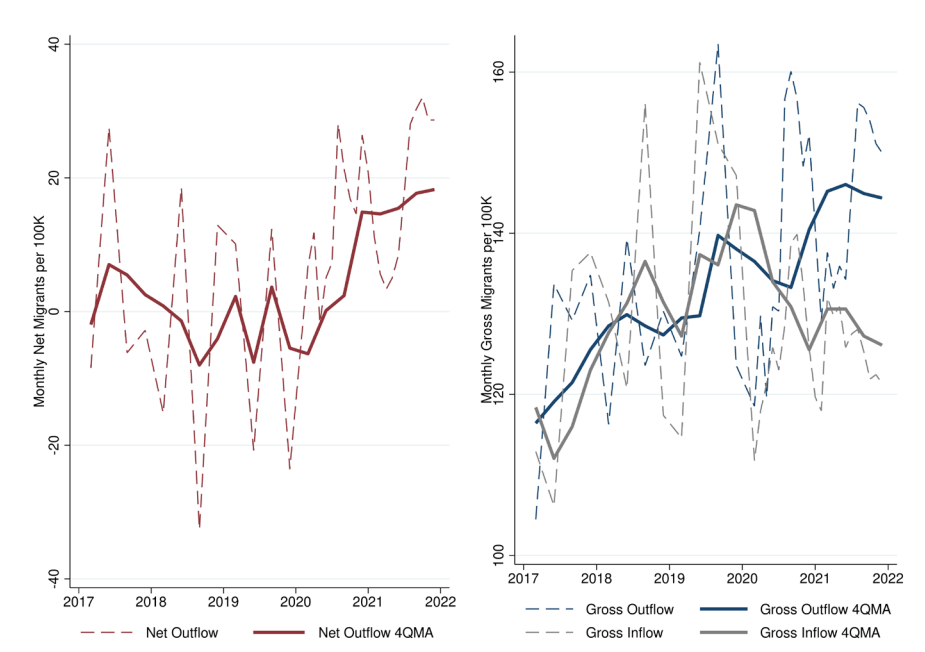
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



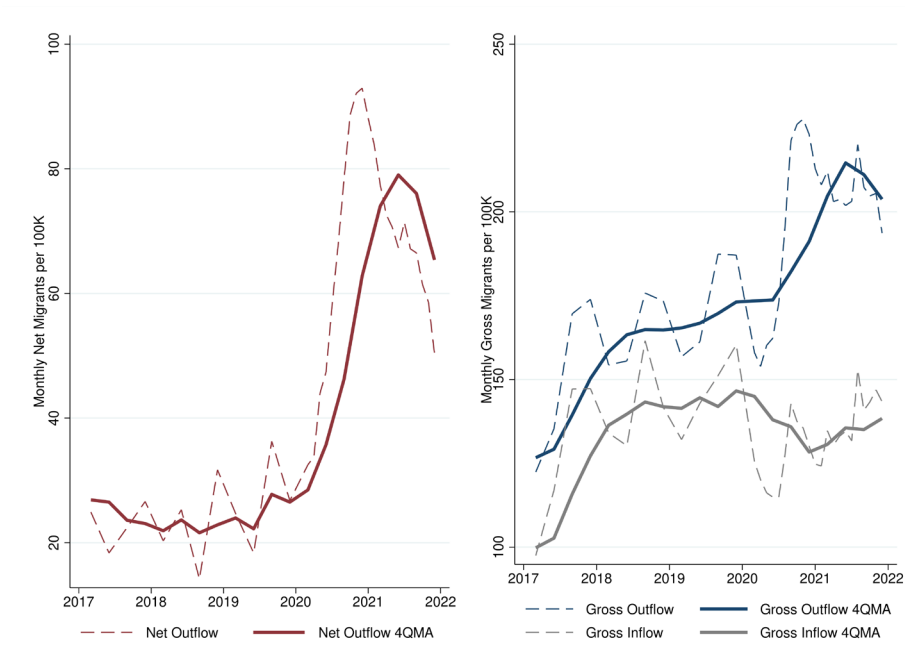
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



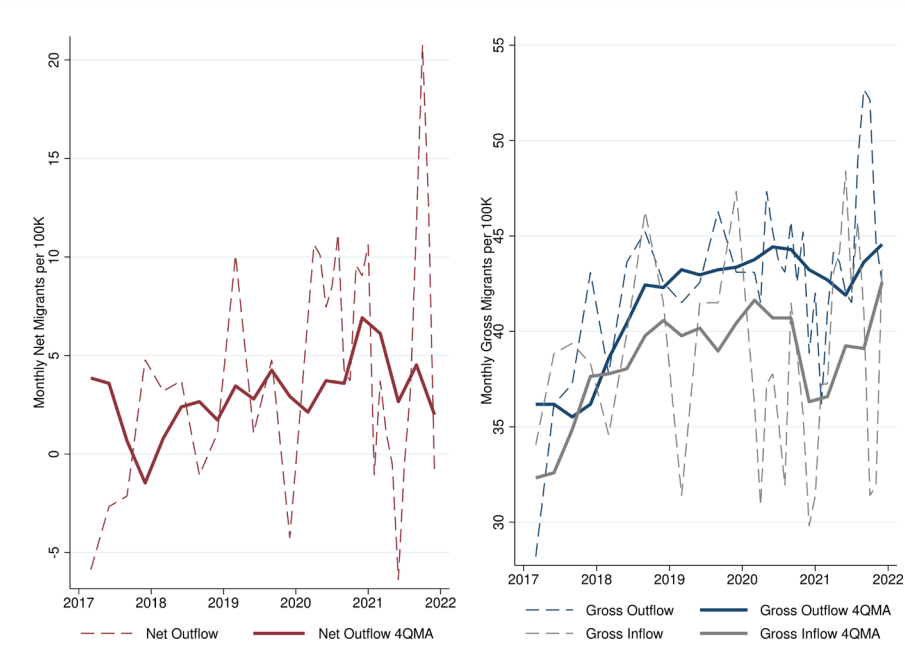
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



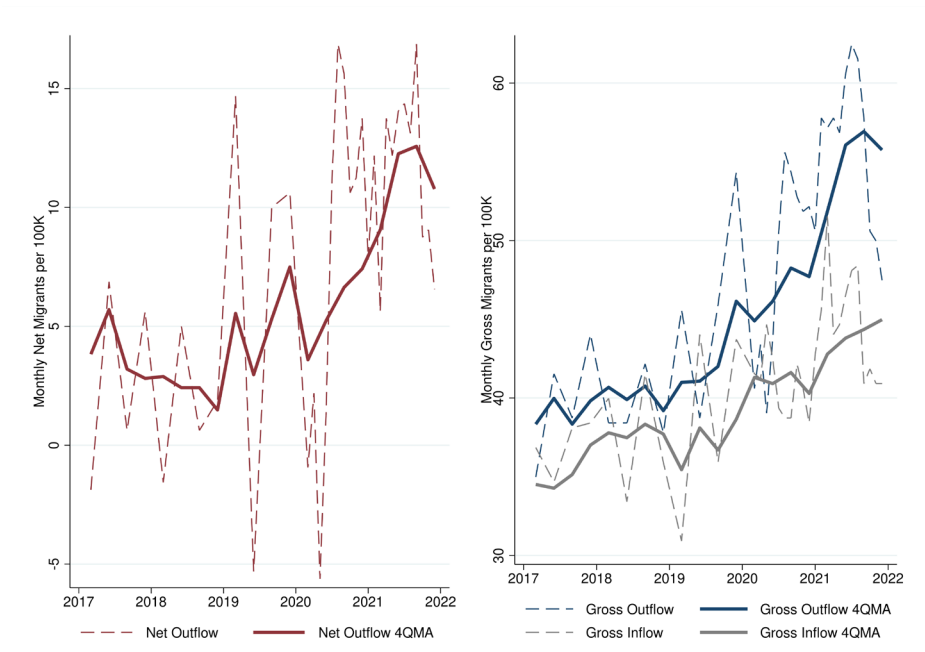
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



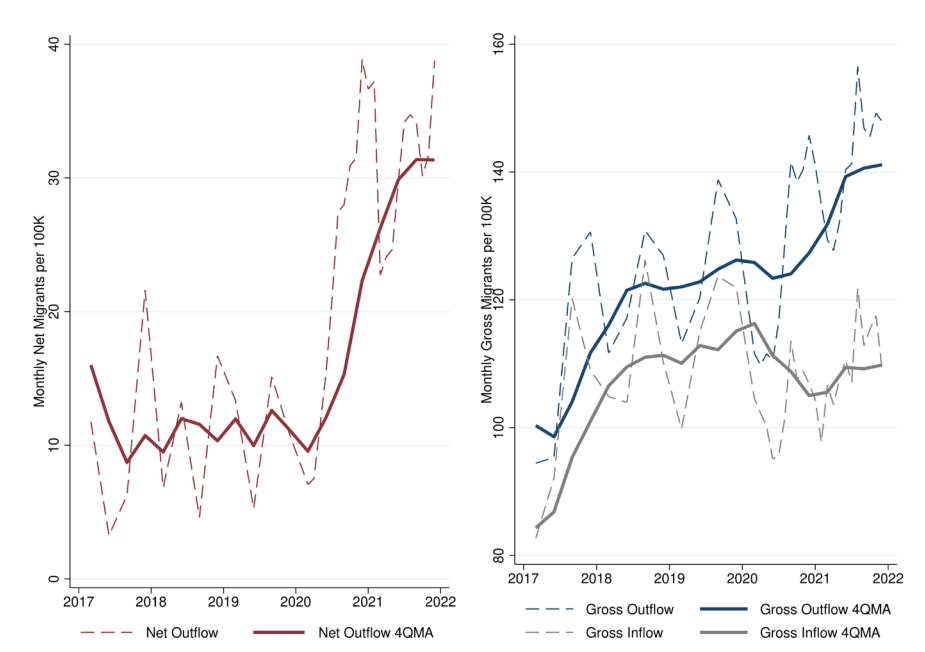
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



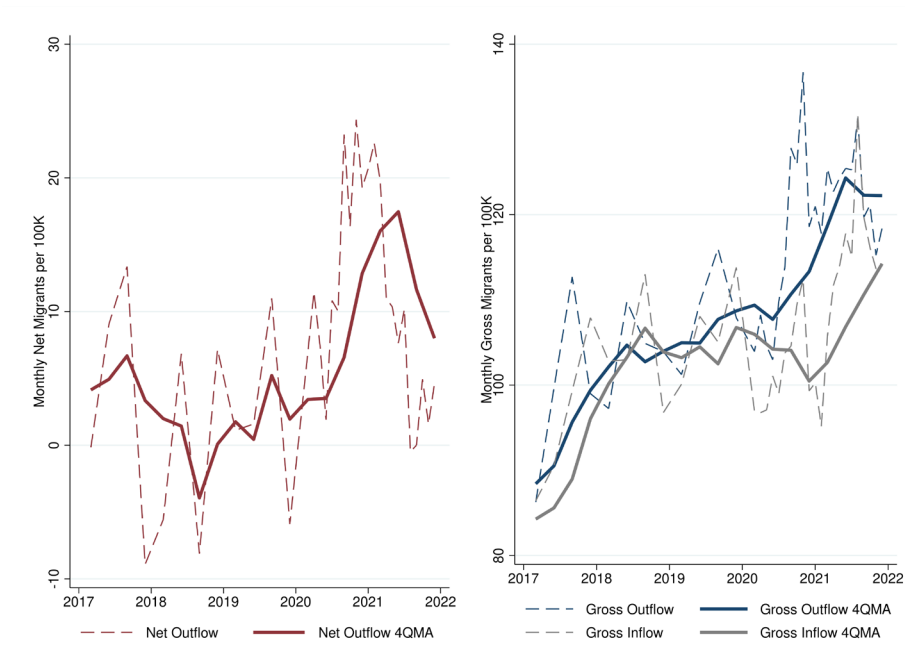
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



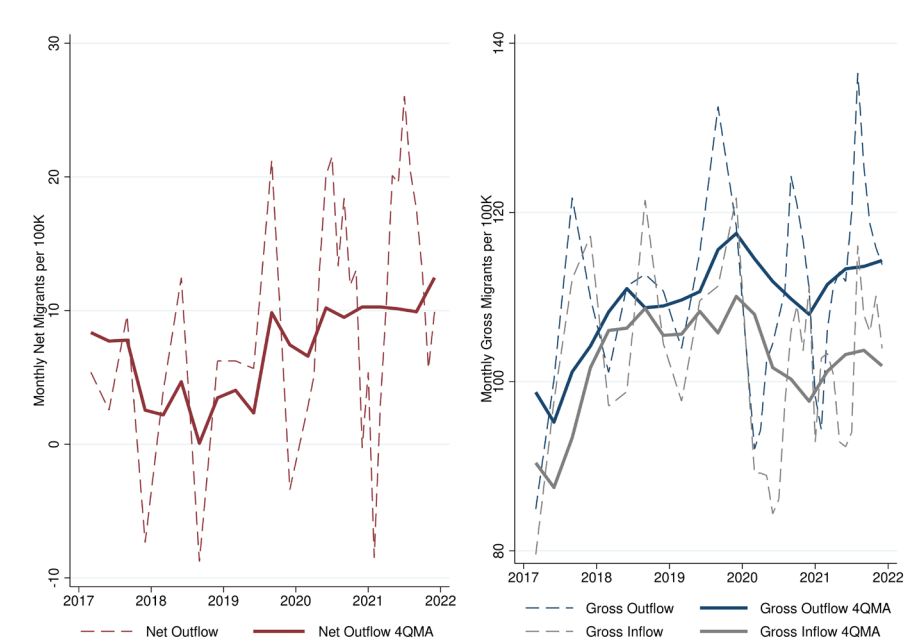
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



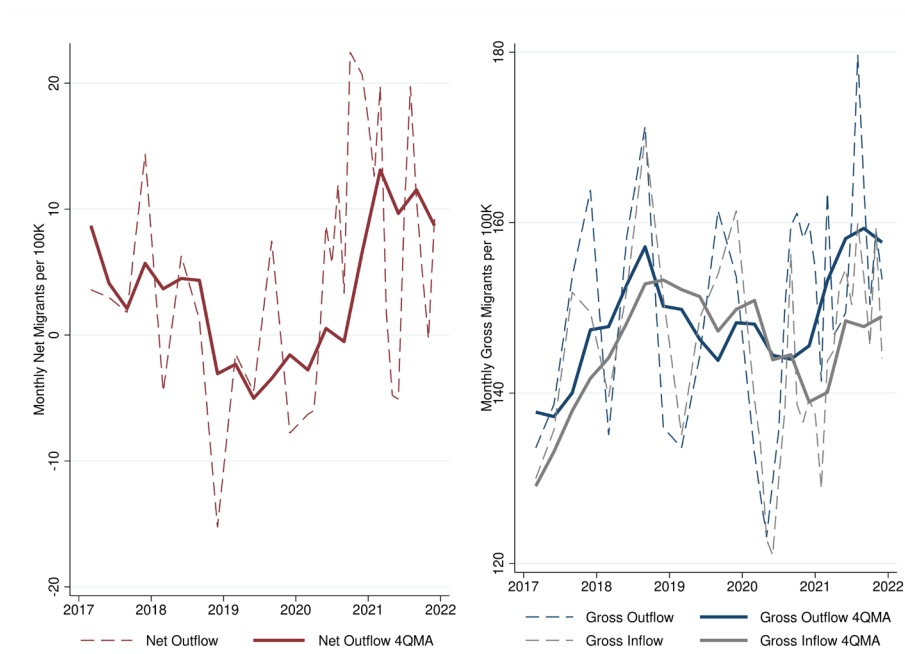
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



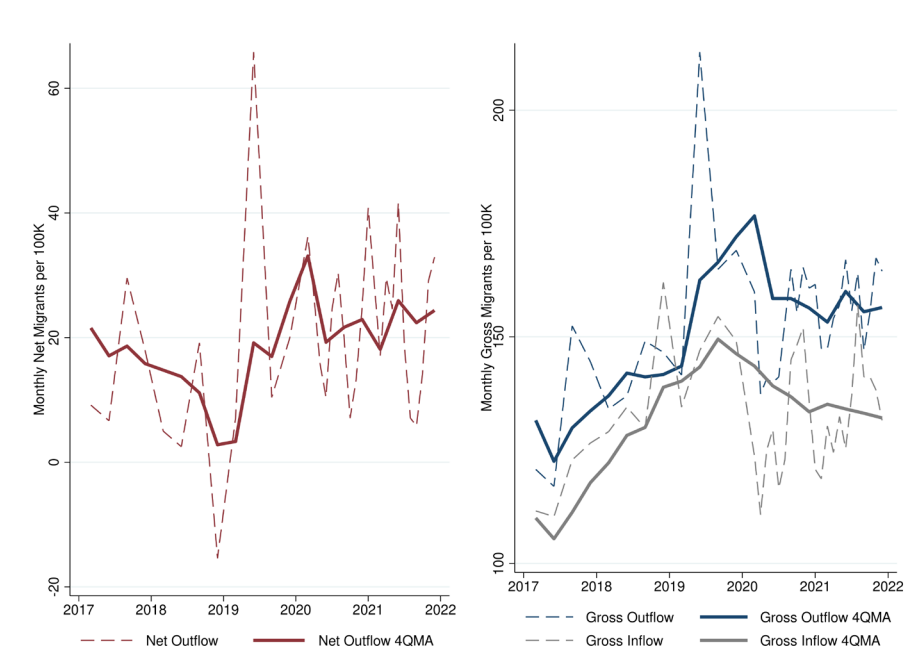
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



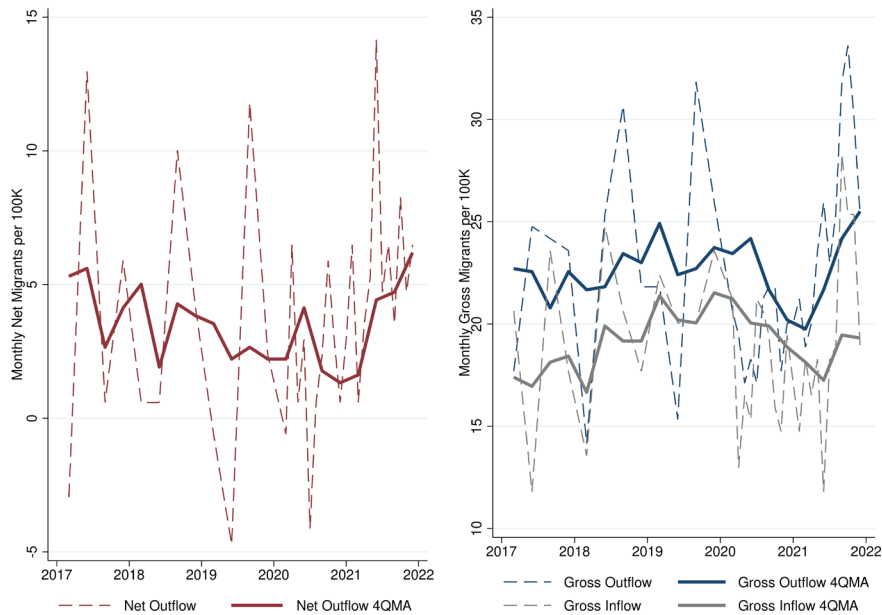
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



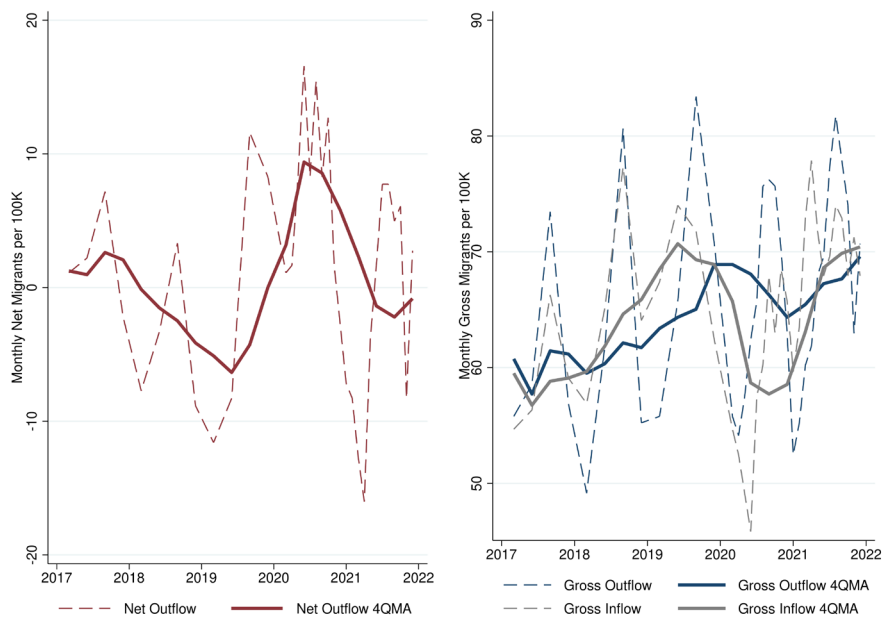
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



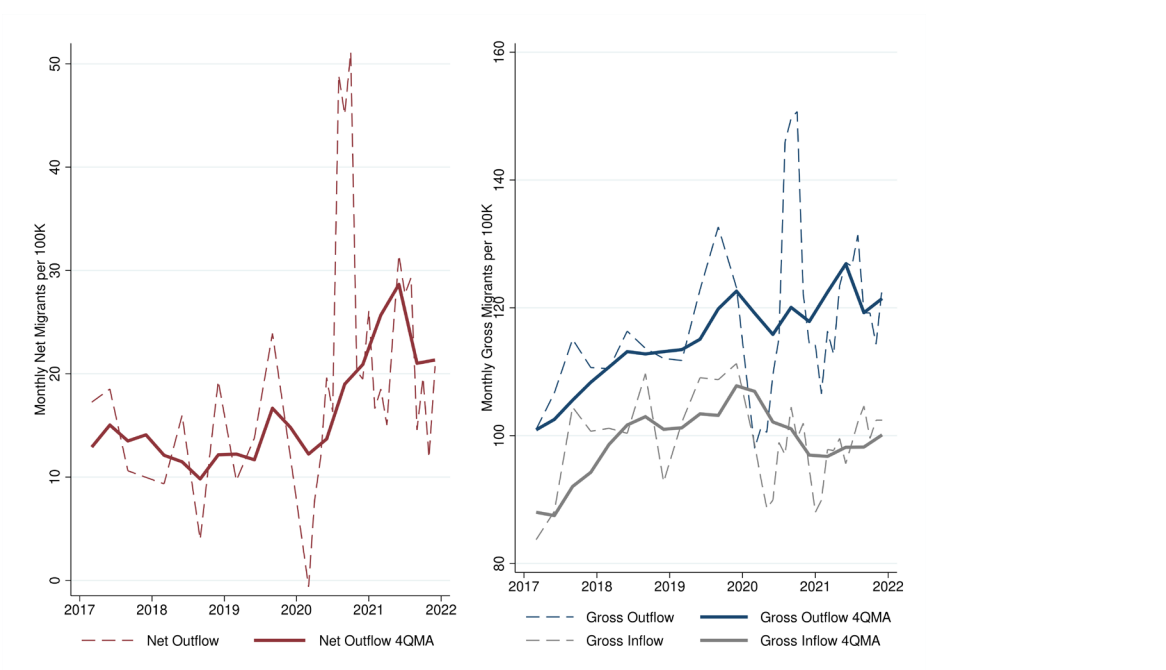
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



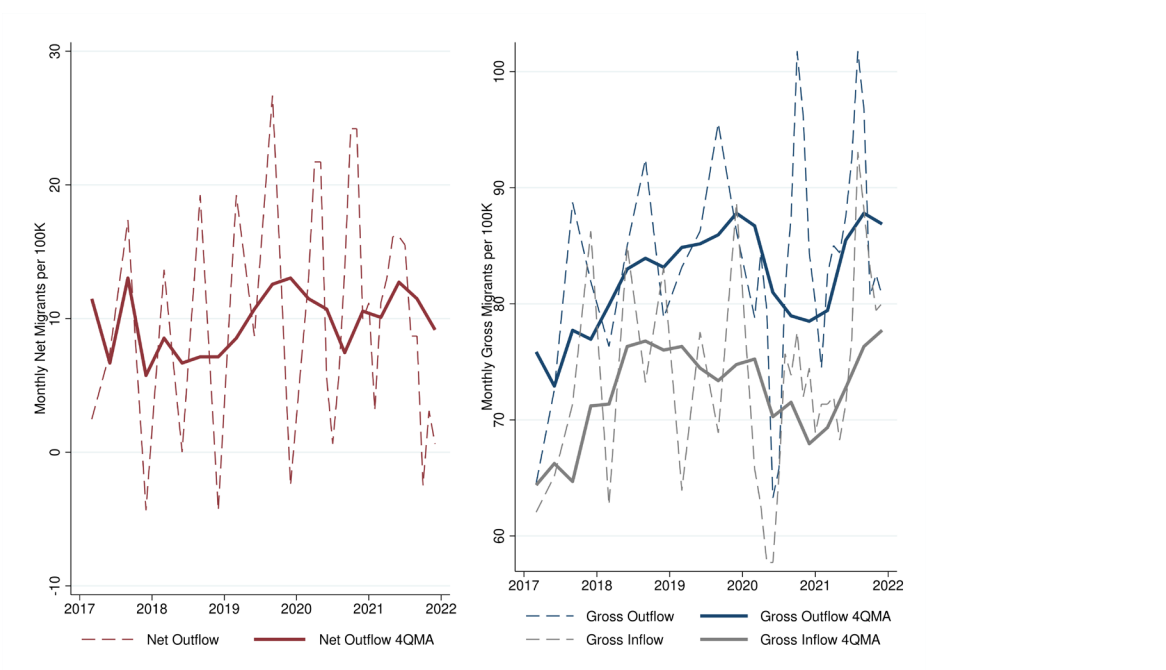
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



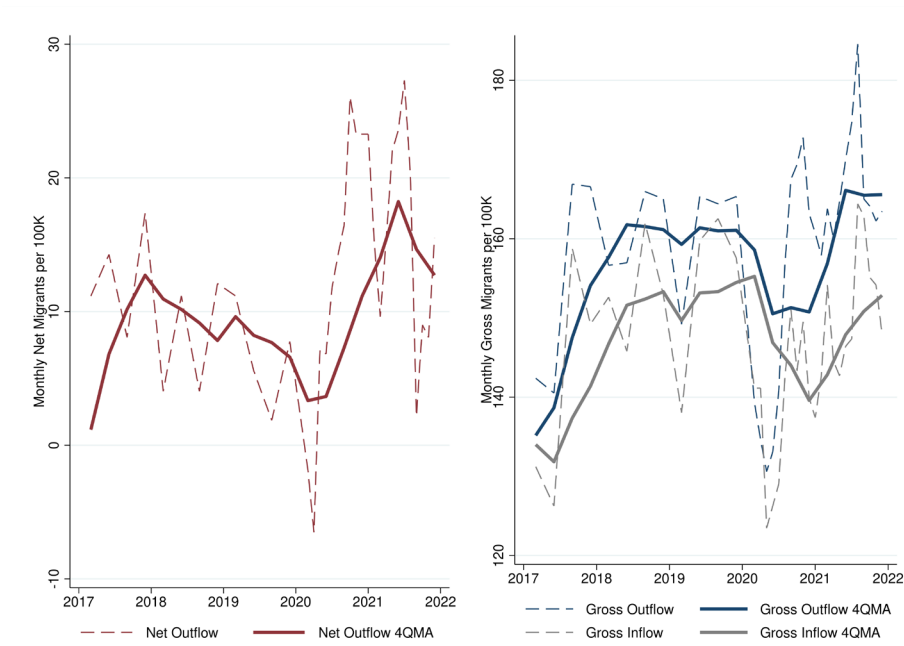
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



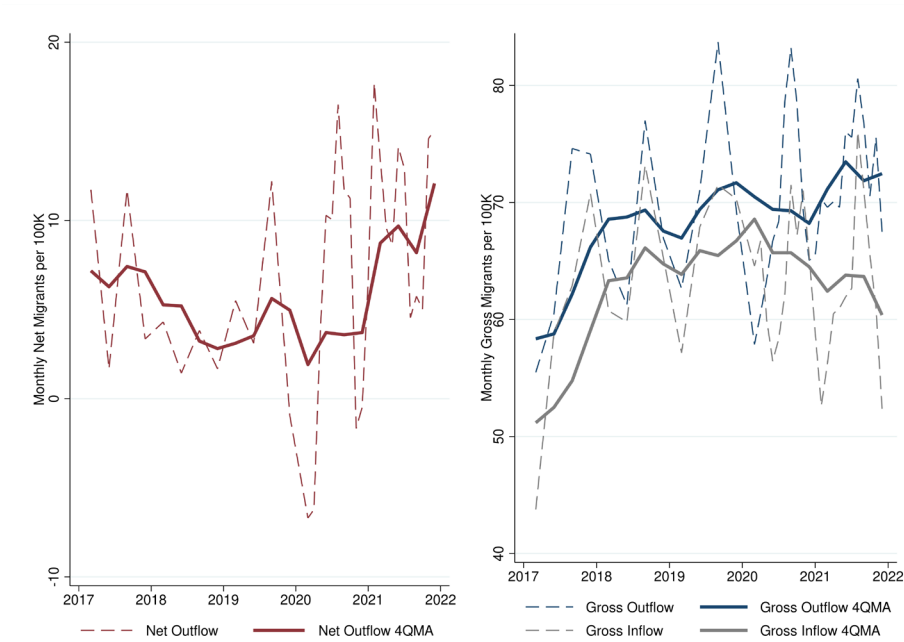
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



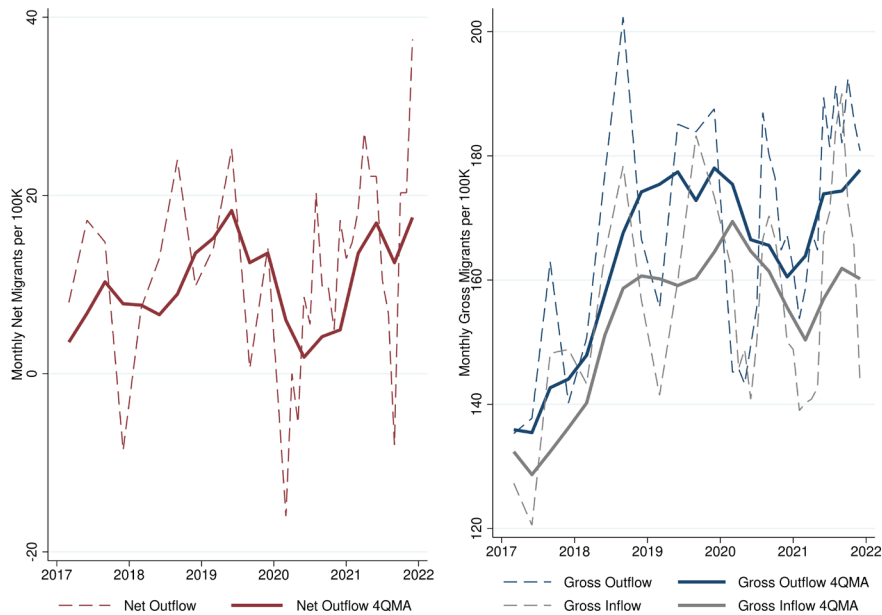
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



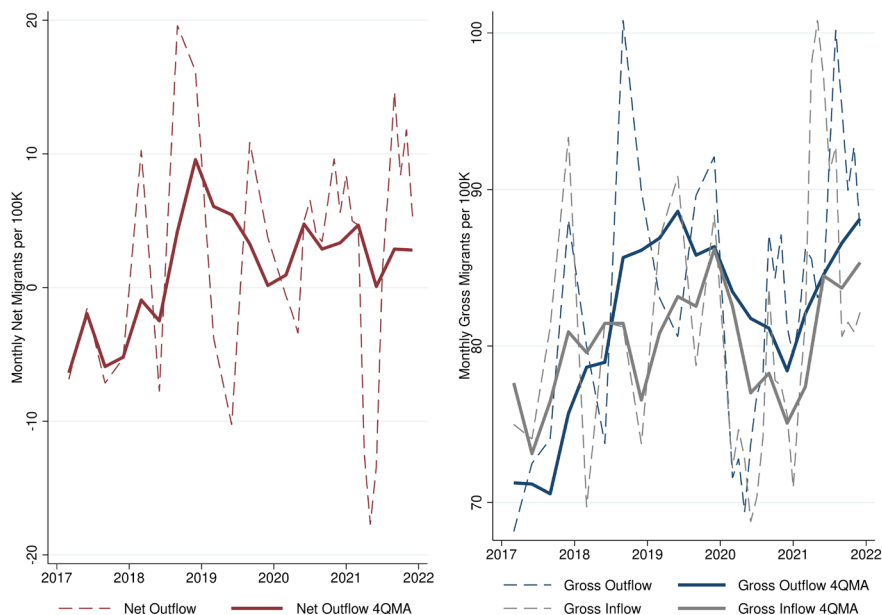
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



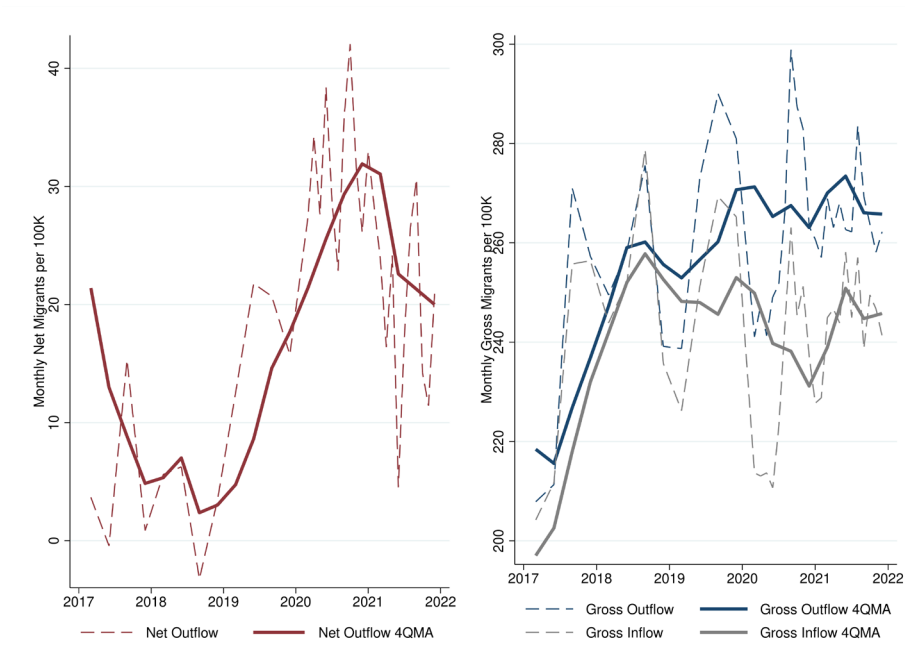
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



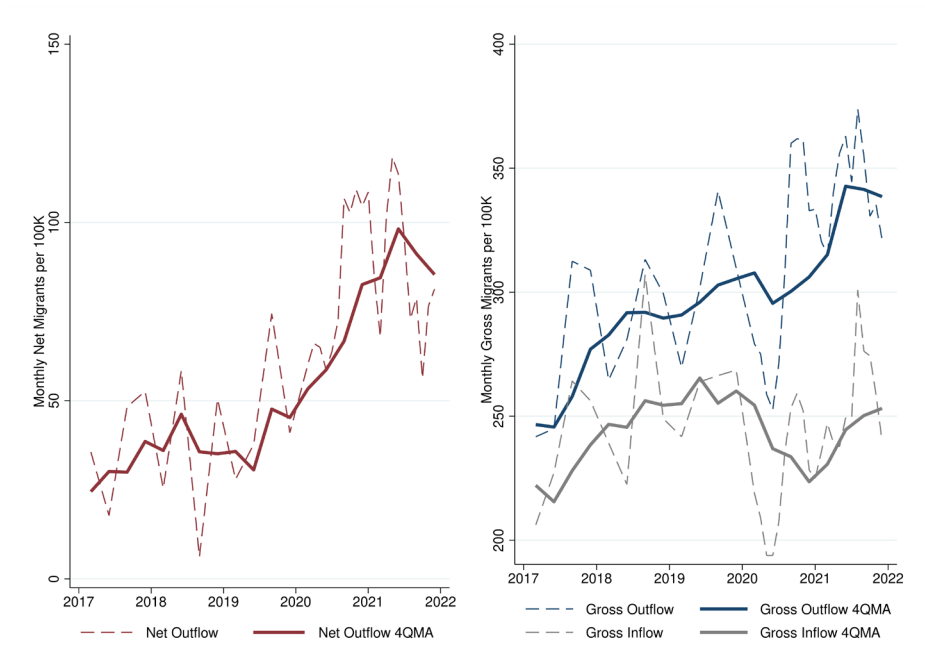
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



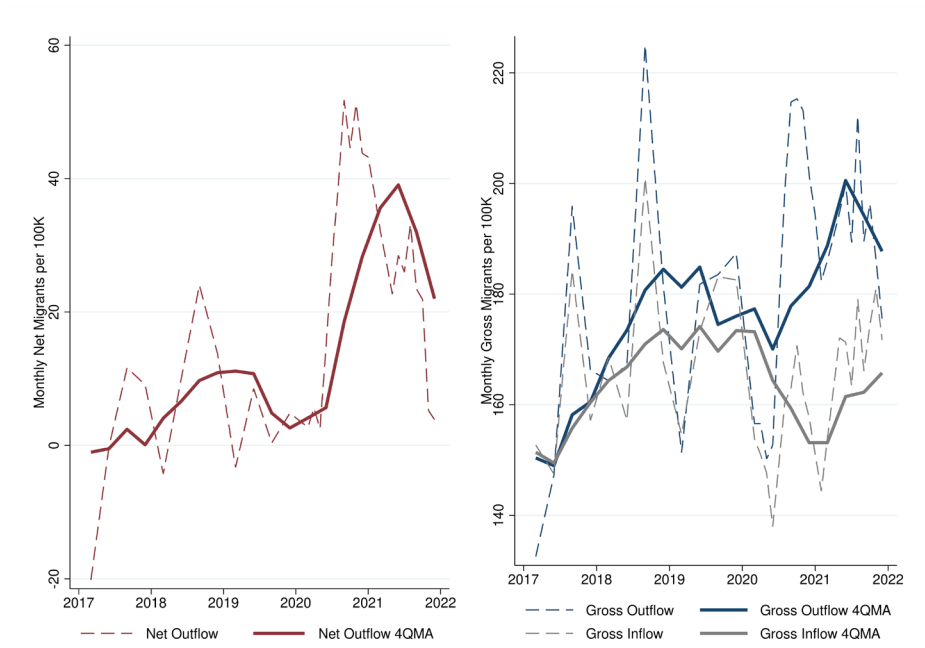
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



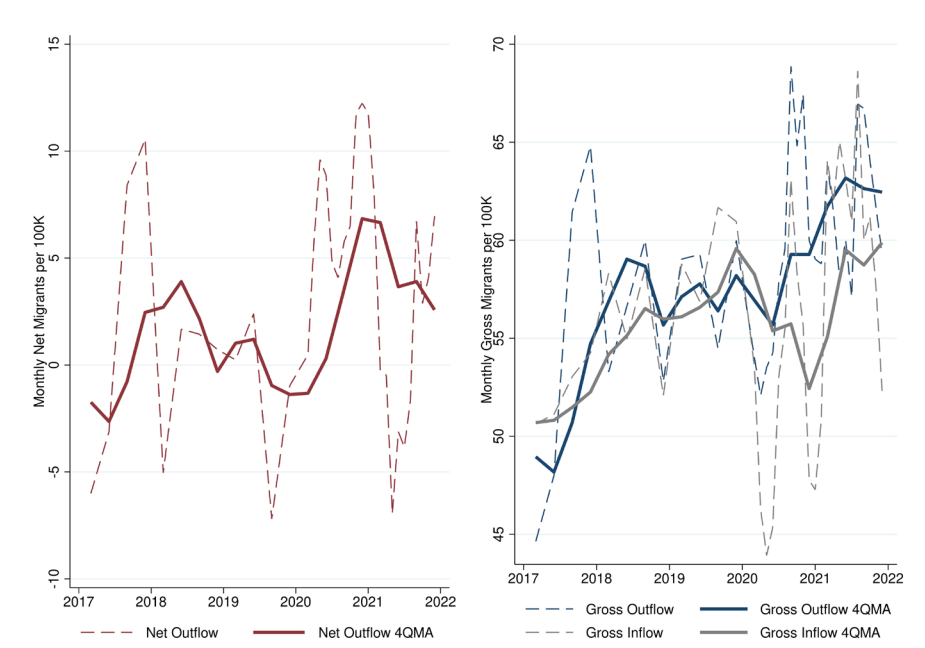
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



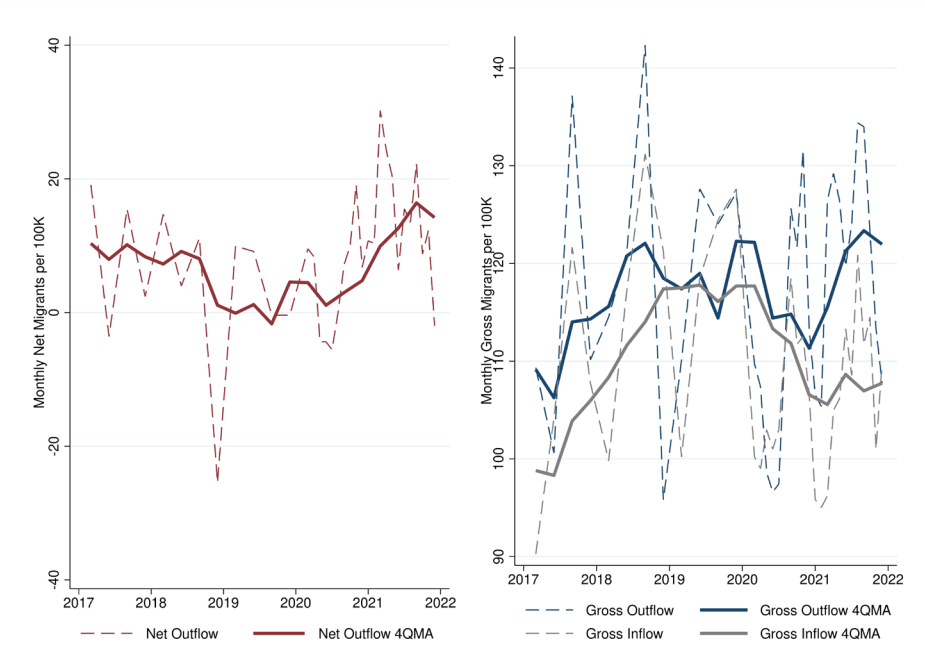
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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



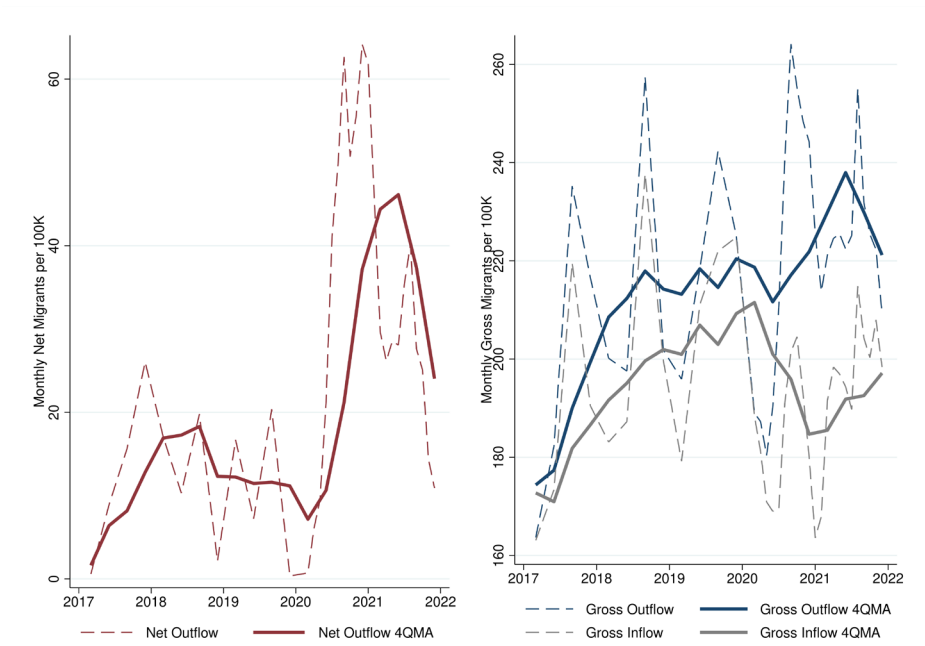
Sources: Federal Reserve Bank of New York/Equifax Consumer Credit Panel, American Community Survey, and author’s calculations.

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.