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CENTER ON URBAN AND METROPOLITAN POLICY

Metropolitan Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants

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"...the nation's metropolitan areas can be distinguished by the degree to which they attracted, or lost, international and domestic migrants in the late 1990s."

Findings

An analysis of the flow of domestic and international migrants into and out of the nation's 81 most populous metropolitan areas between 1995 and 2000 indicates that:

- **The nation's largest metropolitan areas gained the greatest number of migrants from abroad in the late 1990s, but lost the most domestic migrants.** These six "immigrant magnet metros"—the New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Washington, and Miami areas—gained 3 million migrants from abroad in the late 1990s, but experienced a net loss of 2.1 million residents to other parts of the U.S.

- **Residents leaving the nation's immigrant magnet metropolitan areas were more racially and ethnically diverse than in previous decades.** In the late 1990s, only 35 percent of net domestic out-migrants from the Los Angeles area were non-Hispanic whites, compared with 78 percent in the late 1980s. As in the 1980s, however, individuals with lower educational attainment left these metro areas at higher rates than individuals with college degrees.

- **"Domestic migrant magnets" in the Southeast and West attracted the largest numbers of migrants from other areas of the U.S.** Rapid in-migration to several of these metro areas, including Phoenix, Atlanta, and Las Vegas, boosted population in each by more than 100,000 residents in the late 1990s alone.

- **While immigrants drove population growth in and around the core urban counties of metropolitan areas, domestic migrants fueled the fast growth occurring in outlying suburban counties.** For example, the urban county containing Dallas, TX, gained enough immigrants between 1995 and 2000 to compensate for its net loss of 90,000 domestic migrants. Meanwhile, farther out in the same metropolitan area, Collin County, TX, grew nearly 20 percent thanks to domestic in-migration.

LivingCities Census Series

I. Introduction

Hundreds of thousands of people move to the U.S. each year seeking a better life. Millions of Americans move to new locations within the U.S. each year for the same reason. The respective destinations of these two groups—immigrants and domestic migrants—shape the physical landscape, public service needs, business patterns, and political culture of our nation's metropolitan areas. For those reasons, international and domestic migration trends in the late 1990s, and how they shaped metropolitan growth dynamics, represent some of the most eagerly anticipated findings from U.S. Census 2000.

In recent decades, immigrants and domestic migrants were found to have headed for different parts of the U.S. After the 1990 census, studies identified that during the 1980s some large metropolitan areas had grown mostly as the result of migrants from abroad settling within their confines. A different set of metro areas had grown primarily due to migration of individuals and families from other parts of the U.S. In light of these divergent metropolitan growth patterns, it was posited that the demographic profiles for these "immigrant magnets" and "domestic migrant magnets" would, over time, become quite different.[1] For example, the former metro areas, with strong immigrant-driven growth and young, culturally diverse populations, might follow global economic and demographic trends more closely. The latter areas, by contrast, could become more "suburban-like" with less diverse, more middle-aged populations. With immigration rising to even higher levels in the 1990s than in past decades, migration data from Census 2000 provide an opportunity to reassess these growth patterns.[2]

This study probes how immigration and domestic migration contributed to population change and residential composition in the nation's largest metro areas in the late 1990s. It first identifies the metropolitan areas that experienced the greatest influx of migrants from abroad, and compares them to the metropolitan areas that exhibited the strongest growth—and largest declines—in domestic migrants from 1995 to 2000. Second, the study examines the racial/ethnic and educational characteristics of individuals who left the metro areas that exported the most residents to other parts of the U.S. during that time. Third, it examines the contributions that domestic migrants made to the rapid growth occurring in metropolitan areas in the "New Sunbelt" states in the nation's South and West. Fourth, it distinguishes between growth sources *within* metropolitan areas, as immigrants drive population growth in core urban counties, and domestic migrants fuel growth in outlying counties. The paper concludes with a brief discussion of the possible implications of these trends for metropolitan America in the coming decade.

II. Methodology

Metropolitan Area Definitions

This study evaluates migration trends within the nation's 81 largest metropolitan areas—those in which Census 2000 recorded populations of at least 500,000. The metropolitan types analyzed include consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSAs), metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs), and New England county metropolitan areas (NECMAs) in the New England states, as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in 1999 and in effect for Census 2000.[3] Together, these 81 areas represent 65 percent of the U.S. population, and include 60 MSAs, 18 CMSAs, and three NECMAs.

This study differs from other analyses in Brookings' *Living Cities Census Series* in its use of CMSAs rather than their component parts, primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). CMSAs are

metropolitan areas of 1 million or more people that are subdivided into two or more PMSAs. For example, there are four PMSAs within the Los Angeles–Riverside–Orange County CMSA: the Los Angeles–Long Beach, CA, PMSA (consisting of Los Angeles County); the Orange County, CA, PMSA (consisting of Orange County); the Riverside–San Bernardino, CA, PMSA (consisting of Riverside and San Bernardino counties); and the Ventura, CA, PMSA (consisting of Ventura County). This study uses CMSAs rather than PMSAs to reflect how migration patterns affect broad metropolitan regions, and to ensure that estimates of domestic migration capture geographically significant changes in residence, rather than moves between two jurisdictions within the same region.

Migration Data

The migration data analyzed in this study draw from the decennial census question, "Where did this person live five years ago?" Using the answers to this question, the study analyzes migration trends over the 1995 to 2000 period from Census 2000, and for the 1985 to 1990, 1975 to 1980, and 1965 to 1970 periods from the last three decennial censuses.

This paper reports findings on two basic migration concepts: *migration from abroad* and *net domestic migration*. Migration from abroad is defined as in-migration to a given metropolitan area or county among persons who resided outside of the U.S. at the beginning of the five-year period, including in Puerto Rico or another U.S. possession. While the terms "migration from abroad" and "immigration" are used interchangeably in this paper for ease of exposition, not all in-migrants from abroad are foreign-born. National figures show that 25 percent of 1995-2000 in-migrants from abroad were U.S.-born, and 75 percent were foreign-born.

Net domestic migration for a metropolitan area or county is defined as the difference between the number of in-migrants to that area from elsewhere in the U.S., *minus* the number of out-migrants from that area to other parts of the U.S., during the five-year period. The bulk of domestic migrants (89 percent in 1995-2000) are U.S.-born. However, secondary migration—domestic migration among the foreign-born—is increasingly common. Indeed, states like Nevada, Georgia, Arizona, and Colorado received large numbers of foreign-born residents from other parts of the nation during the late 1990s.[4] The percentage of domestic migrants in these fast-growing states who are U.S.-born is therefore lower than the national average.

The *migration from abroad* and *net domestic migration* concepts can also be distinguished from one another in that the former describes a flow of people in one direction (into an area from outside the U.S.), while the latter captures the combined effect of two population flows (into an area from elsewhere in the U.S., and out of an area to elsewhere in the U.S.). As such, migration from abroad statistics here do not take into account people who leave a particular area for a destination outside the U.S.—chiefly because they are not recorded in the U.S. decennial census. However, compared to migration from abroad, *emigration* from the U.S. to foreign countries is quite small. Total annual emigration of the foreign-born is estimated at 220,000 per year, while the U.S. received an average of 1.5 million migrants from abroad per year in the late 1990s.[5]

The migration data used in these analyses draw primarily from the full "long form" sample of responses from the decennial censuses of 1970 to 2000. The data are based on an approximate 16 percent sample of all respondents in these censuses, and are statistically weighted to represent 100

percent of the population. This study's analyses of metropolitan migration among racial/ethnic sub-populations, and by educational attainment, are based on tabulations of 1995-2000 migration data from Census 2000 1-Percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) files.[6]

III. Findings

A. The nation's largest metropolitan areas gained the greatest number of migrants from abroad in the late 1990s, but lost the most domestic migrants.

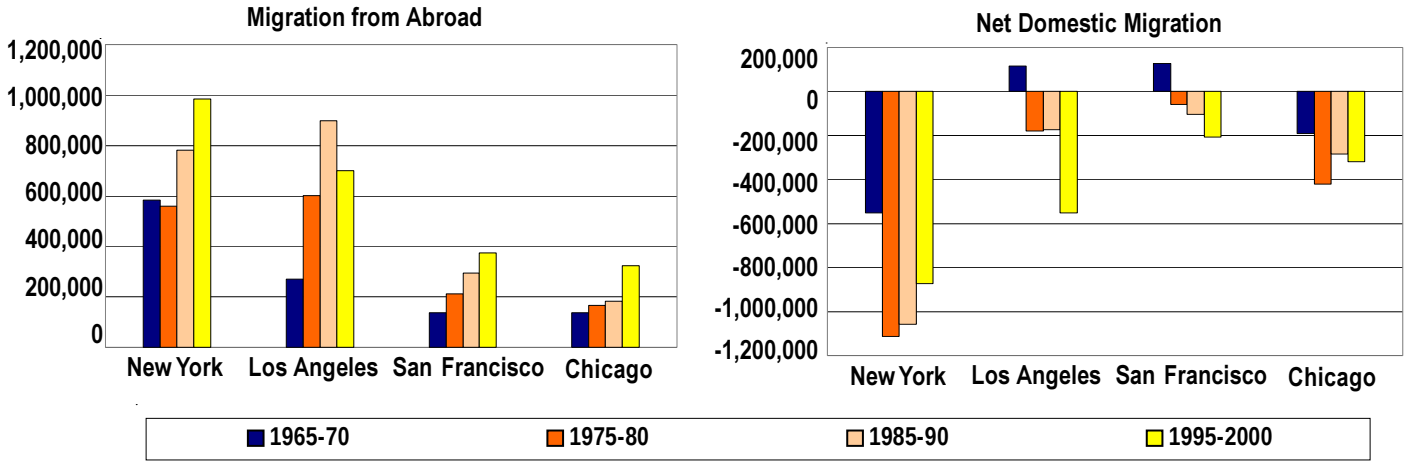
Results from Census 2000 confirm that for a set of the nation's largest metropolitan areas, trends in migration from abroad and domestic migration diverged significantly in the late 1990s.

During the 1995 to 2000 period, four of the nation's five largest metropolitan areas—New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago—led all others in the absolute number of migrants they attracted from abroad. At the same time, however, they led all other metro areas in the absolute number of domestic migrants they lost to other parts of the United States (top and bottom panels, Table 1). New York and Los Angeles had especially large gains and losses in both respects. The New York metropolitan region, which extends from southern Connecticut through central New Jersey, gained almost a million migrants from abroad, but at the same time, lost 874,000 residents to other parts of the U.S. The five-county Los Angeles region gained nearly 700,000 immigrants, but lost 550,000 domestic migrants.

That the nation's largest metropolitan areas appear on both lists is perhaps not surprising, given their sheer size. Yet the rates at which these mega-regions gained migrants from abroad, and lost domestic migrants, are themselves quite striking. In 2000, roughly 5 percent of the population of these four metro areas had arrived from abroad within the last five years.[7] At the same time, they exported a combined 4 percent of their residents to other parts of the U.S. Both of these rates well exceeded the averages across all metropolitan areas that experienced net domestic out-migration during the 1990s (Appendix B).

The loss of domestic migrants was not limited to these four immigrant magnets. In fact, the top six immigrant-

Figure 1. Migration Flows, Selected Immigrant Magnet Metropolitan Areas



Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

gaining metropolitan areas each exported people to other domestic destinations over the late 1990s. However, losses in the Washington, DC and Miami metropolitan regions were smaller than in the other four. As a consequence, the two metro areas each experienced a net gain of at least 200,000 migrants (migration from abroad plus net domestic migration) in the late 1990s, a larger number than in the New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, or San Francisco areas.

The nation's top metropolitan area domestic migrant

Table 1. Migration Magnets: Migration from Abroad and Net Domestic Migration, Large Metropolitan Areas, 1995-2000

	Metropolitan Area	Migration from Abroad	Net Domestic Migration
I. MAGNETS FOR MIGRANTS FROM ABROAD[a]			
1	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	983,659	-874,028
2	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	699,573	-549,951
3	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	373,869	-206,670
4	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	323,019	-318,649
5	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	300,266	-58,849
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	299,905	-93,774
7	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	231,494	148,644
8	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	214,268	-14,377
9	Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT CMSA	196,042	-44,581
10	Atlanta, GA MSA	162,972	233,303
II. MAGNETS FOR DOMESTIC MIGRANTS[b]			
1	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	135,017	245,159
2	Atlanta, GA MSA	162,972	233,303
3	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	62,255	225,266
4	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	231,494	148,644
5	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	51,795	104,340
6	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	67,664	103,375
7	Orlando, FL MSA	78,939	101,226
8	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	93,970	93,586
9	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	41,485	93,505
10	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	47,710	91,272
III. GREATEST DOMESTIC MIGRATION LOSSES[c]			
1	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	983,659	-874,028
2	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	699,573	-549,951
3	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	323,019	-318,649
4	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	373,869	-206,670
5	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	108,975	-123,009
6	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	299,905	-93,774
7	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	127,921	-83,539
8	Honolulu, HI MSA	38,619	-69,866
9	Cleveland-Akron, OH CMSA	36,257	-65,914
10	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	300,266	-58,849

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

[a] Metro areas with largest migration from abroad, 1995-2000

[b] Metro areas with largest net domestic migration and where net domestic migration exceeds migration from abroad

[c] Metro areas with largest net domestic migration loss

"donors" have not always included the immigrant magnets. In the late 1960's, four of the six metro areas posting the largest net domestic migration losses were located in the economically declining Rustbelt (Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, and Buffalo) (See Appendix A). None of these metro areas was among the leaders in migration from abroad. By the late 1990s, however, the degree of overlap between the top immigrant magnet metros and domestic out-migration metros was significant, with five of six appearing on both lists. Of the aggregate net domestic out-migration experienced by the 38 large metropolitan areas that experienced losses from 1995 to 2000, the nation's six largest immigrant magnet metros accounted for 68 percent (versus 54 percent of population generally—Appendix B).

At the same time, not every large "exporter" of domestic migrants in the late 1990s attracted immigrants. While the four largest immigrant magnets top the list of metropolitan areas with the greatest net domestic migration losses (bottom panel, Table 1), other economically stagnating metropolitan areas also appear in the top ten, including Detroit, Philadelphia, Honolulu, and Cleveland. None of these areas received anywhere near the number of migrants from abroad that the "big six" did from 1995 to 2000.

This pattern of large immigrant gains and significant domestic migration losses is not a new one for some areas. Census data from 1970 onward indicate that for several decades, New York and Chicago—two longstanding immigrant ports of entry—have gained migrants from abroad even as they have lost significant numbers of residents to other parts of the U.S. (See Appendix A). The domestic migration losses that New York sustained from 1995 to 2000, in fact, were not as severe as those it experienced in the late 1970s or late 1980s.

Net domestic out-migration accelerated, however, in the Los Angeles and San Francisco regions in the 1990s. San Francisco's net loss of residents to other parts of the U.S. in the late 1990s was double that of the late 1980s, and Los Angeles tripled its earlier losses. While pronounced in these two regions, this trend reflects a broad domestic out-migration across the state of California.[8] The state of California did experience sharp economic shocks during the past decade, but most of that down-turn and associated net out-migration occurred in the early part of the 1990's.[9] The next section analyzes the demographic characteristics of that coastal out-migration as a first step toward assessing its causes.

B. Residents leaving the nation's immigrant magnet metropolitan areas were more racially and ethnically diverse than their counterparts in previous decades.

Past evidence of strong domestic out-migration from the largest immigration magnet metro areas engendered much discussion. A similar but less striking pattern identified subsequent to the 1990 census fueled speculation regarding a "linkage" between immigration and subsequent domestic out-migration from these areas.[10] Clearly, the long-term domestic out-migration from immigrant magnets in the Northeast and West can be viewed as a product of general movement to the Sunbelt, driven in part by the broader regional economic restructuring occurring during this period. Yet the new pattern prevailing in California regions like Los Angeles and San Francisco suggested that in addition to the "pull" of favorable economic circumstances in other regions of the country, rising immigration to these areas might also help explain their domestic migration losses.

One perspective viewed the domestic patterns as an emerging nationwide version of the "white flight" phenomenon

that characterized local city-to-suburb movements in the 1950s and 1960s.[11] This explanation alluded to the almost "suburbanlike" out-migration from these increasingly urbanized metropolitan areas and the rising costs of their public services and housing, rather than an underlying motivation of racial or ethnic prejudice. Census data from the late 1980s indicated that families with children and middle-income families were more likely than other groups to leave the state of California for surrounding states, and that whites comprised a plurality of these movers.

A related hypothesis, advanced by economists, suggested that lower-skilled workers in these metropolitan areas were displaced from jobs, and their wages reduced, by new immigrant workers who tend to disproportionately occupy the lower-skilled segment of the labor market. Because of this labor market competition, some posited that longer-term residents left the immigrant magnet areas for employment opportunities elsewhere.[12] Evidence consistent with this explanation included a unique and fairly consistent pattern of higher domestic out-migration from major immigrant gateways among less-educated adults between 1985 and 1990.[13] However, other research did not find evidence of a link between immigration and out-migration of native-born workers.[14]

This section begins to update these inquiries by analyzing the demographic characteristics of domestic out-migrants from the immigrant magnet metro areas. As noted above, this study employs 1-Percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) files from Census 2000 to identify out-migrants from the New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco regions, and to examine their dominant racial/ethnic characteristics. It also considers the educational attainment of domestic out-migrants, as a proxy for their labor market skills.[15]

Most notably, the new 1995–2000 data show that domestic net out-migration from California metros, especially Los Angeles, was no longer dominated by whites (Figure 2). Indeed, the racial and ethnic profile of net out-migration from each area was similar to that area's overall population characteristics. In the Los Angeles metro area, whites made up a minority, and Hispanics a bare majority (51 percent), of net out-migration. This contrasted sharply with the makeup of the 1985–1990 net out-migrant pool, which was 78 percent white.[16] In fact, whites were slightly under-represented in 1995–2000 net out-migration (35 percent) compared to their proportion of the metro area population in 1995 (41 percent).

The profile of out-migrants in San Francisco changed as well. Whites still comprised a majority of that area's net domestic out-migration, but 35 percent of out-migrants were racial and ethnic minorities, up from 23 percent in the late 1980s. Blacks constituted a substantial share (14 percent) of the metro area's net population loss to other parts of the country.[17] While the changing profile of out-migrants from Los Angeles and San Francisco reflects in part these areas' changing overall racial/ethnic makeup over the decade, the large shift suggests that a very different migration pattern prevailed in the late 1990s than in previous decades. In fact, the trend in these large metro areas contributed substantially to California's statewide domestic migration loss in the late 1990s, during which non-whites represented three-fifths of the state's domestic out-migrants.[18]

The move toward a more diverse set of domestic out-migrants was not confined to California metros. Consistent with their overall racial/ethnic profiles, out-migrants from the New York and Chicago metropolitan areas in the late 1990s were more likely to be white than people leaving the

Los Angeles and San Francisco areas (Figure 2). In the New York region, whites made up a smaller share of out-migrants from 1995 to 2000 (57 percent) than they did from 1985 to 1990 (66 percent), roughly equivalent to their proportion of the metro area population. Whites did make up a slightly larger share of out-migrants from Chicago in the late 1990s than in the late 1980s, but so too did Hispanics (not shown). Overall, the increased diversity of domestic out-migrants from the four immigrant magnet metro areas counters the "white flight" characterization that prevailed in previous decades.

The profiles of domestic out-migrants in the other large immigrant magnet metros, Washington, DC and Miami, were quite different. As noted previously, each experienced lower levels of out-migration than the other four areas. Miami mirrored the other metro areas in sustaining domestic migration losses of whites, Hispanics, blacks and Asians. The Washington, DC region, however, showed substantial out-migration only among whites in the late 1990s. Minorities, led by Hispanics and blacks, actually registered domestic migration gains over the five-year period.

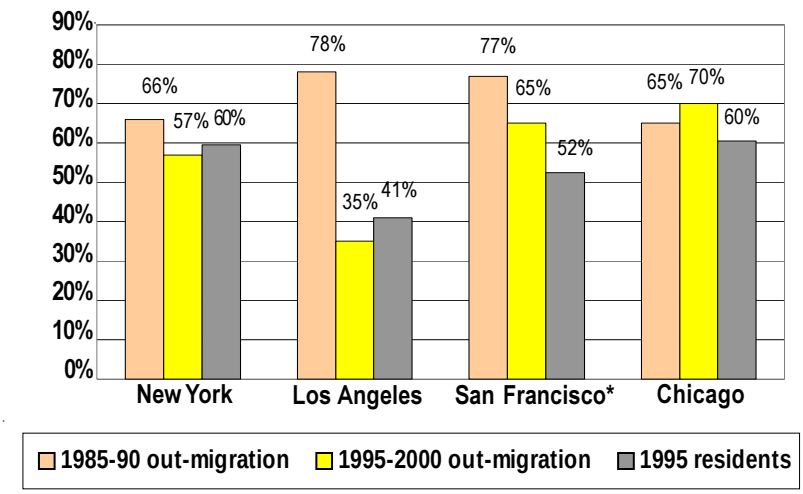
The combination of high diversity among international migrants, smaller overall out-flows, and somewhat smaller minority population shares among out-migrants, created more racially diverse populations in the immigrant magnet metros by 2000. More specifically, all six metro areas gained Hispanics and Asians due to the two migration flows.

While the racial and ethnic profile of domestic out-migrants from these metropolitan areas signals a change in course from previous decades, migration trends by educational attainment accentuate patterns identified in the 1990 census.[19] Figure 3 shows the percentage gain or loss in population by educational attainment that resulted from domestic migration and migration from abroad in the four immigrant magnet metro areas. The highest rates of domestic out-migration occurred among adults who have not obtained a college degree. In each metro area, net domestic out-migration reduced the population of adults who have not obtained a college degree by 4 to 5 percent. By contrast, out-migration served to reduce the pool of college graduates in New York and Chicago by smaller amounts, and college graduates actually migrated *into* the Los Angeles and San Francisco metropolitan areas from elsewhere in the U.S. This pattern of less-educated out-migrants, and more-educated in-migrants, held for most race and ethnic groups.

The out-migration of less-educated workers differs from long-established migration patterns between labor markets. That migration typically draws on the "best and the brightest"—that is, the educated and professional workers who respond to changes in a nationwide labor market.[20] The educational profile of domestic migrants observed in Los Angeles and San Francisco, and to a lesser extent in the other immigrant magnet metros, may be attributable to those areas' unique economic and demographic dynamics. The high costs of residing in these urbanized metropolitan regions, reflected in the prices of housing, public services, and commuting, may exert their greatest impacts on residents at the middle and lower ends of the socioeconomic ladder, and induce these individuals to move to lower-cost areas of the U.S.

The rates for migration from abroad in the four largest immigrant magnets, shown in Figure 3, show that immigration served to increase their numbers of both low- and high-skilled residents in the late 1990s. Migrants from abroad without a high school education made the largest impact on their destination metro areas, raising the number of residents with that level of attainment by 5 to 7 percent. Yet immigrants with college degrees were not

Figure 2. White Share of Net Domestic Out-Migration, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000, and White Share of Population, 1995, Selected Immigrant Magnet Metropolitan Areas



Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

far behind, increasing the ranks of that education group by 4 to 5 percent (even higher in San Francisco).

The pattern of in-migration from abroad of less-educated groups, combined with continued domestic out-migration of similar groups, suggests that competition at the lower-skill end of the labor market may have contributed to domestic out-migration in the late 1990s. Further research will be needed to determine whether these patterns are directly linked, or whether other factors played a more important role. The racial and ethnic profile of out-migrants indicates that regardless of the factors, both native-born and foreign-born workers contributed to the "flight" from these metros. At the same time, it is notable that both Los Angeles and San Francisco experienced significant in-migration of college graduates from elsewhere in the U.S. and from abroad. It may be that these labor markets were able to absorb higher-skilled domestic migrants and migrants from abroad, or that both of these more-educated groups were better able to afford the higher cost of living that prevails in these coastal regions.

C. "Domestic migrant magnets" in the Southeast and West attracted the largest numbers of migrants from other areas of the U.S.

Having established that large numbers of people left the nation's most populous metropolitan areas during the late 1990s, this survey now turns to an analysis of where these migrants and others headed over the five-year period.

The metropolitan areas that gained the most domestic migrants in the late 1990s—the "domestic migrant magnets"—are a very different set than those that gained the most migrants from abroad (Table 1, middle panel). Led by Phoenix, Atlanta, and Las Vegas, these metro areas are located in either the traditional Sunbelt states of Texas and Florida, or the band of "New Sunbelt" states that stretch across the Southeast and non-California West (Frey, 2000a). Some of these metropolitan areas, such as Atlanta, Austin, Denver and Raleigh-Durham, benefited from the 1990s growth in new economy, high-tech sectors. Others like Phoenix and Tampa-St. Petersburg are attracting particular segments of the population like retirees. Seven of these top ten metro areas netted more than 100,000 residents from domestic migration over the five-year period. All are characterized by a lower-density style of urban and suburban development than most of the immigrant magnet metros.

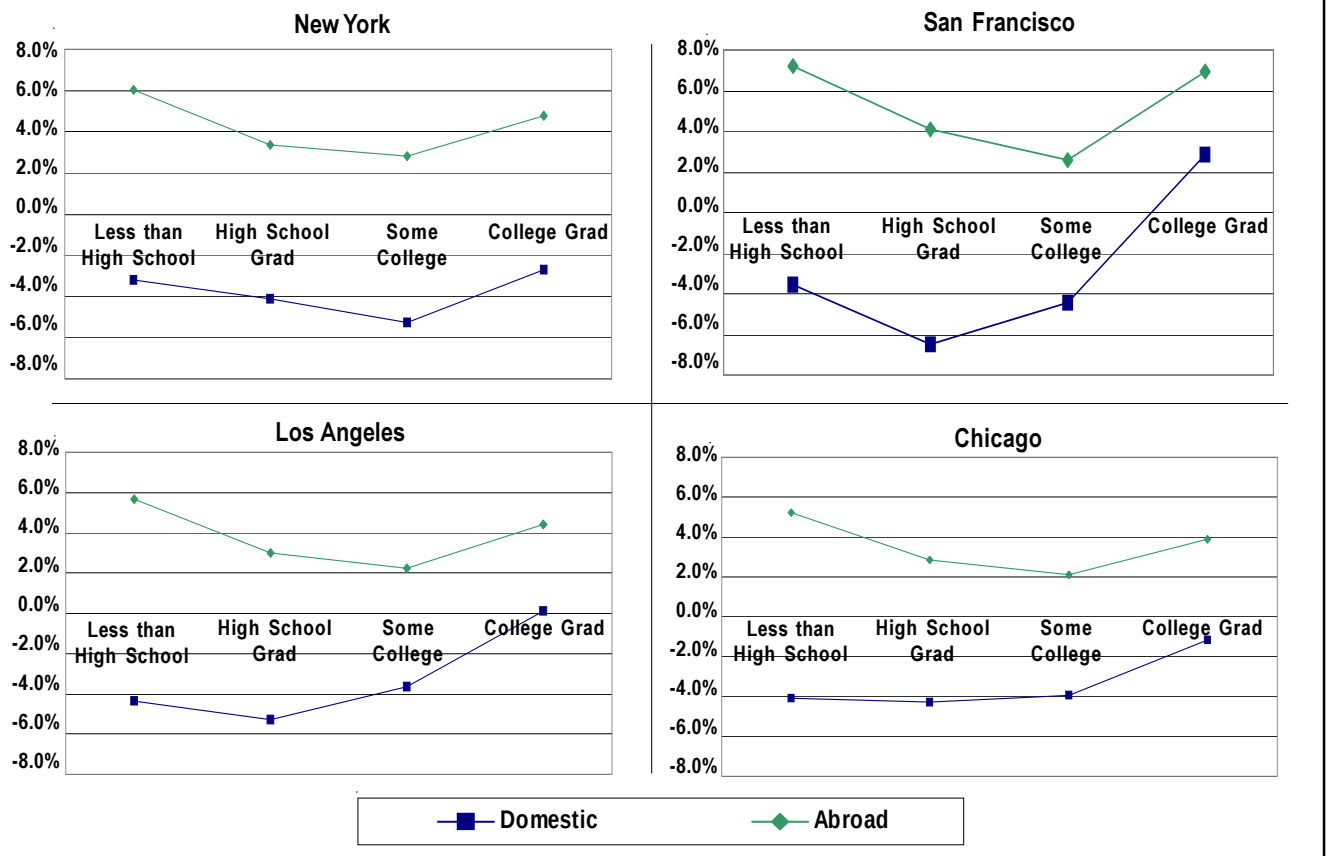
In contrast to the immigrant magnet metros, which have included the same six metros over the past four decades, the top domestic migrant magnet metros have varied considerably from

decade to decade (Appendix A). For example, in the 1965 to 1970 period, none of the top three domestic magnets from the late 1990s (Phoenix, Atlanta, Las Vegas) were among the top six metros for domestic migration gains. Phoenix emerged in the third spot in the late 1970s, and Atlanta and Las Vegas advanced into the top six in the late 1980s. The Miami region further highlights this variability; in the late 1960s it ranked second in domestic migration growth, but it now occupies one of the top positions among the nation's largest losers of domestic migrants.

Why are the immigrant magnets so stable over time, while the domestic migrant magnets change from decade to decade? In general, the former areas continue to attract new immigrants to the United States who depend on established racial and ethnic enclaves and family connections to provide them with social and economic support. This relates in no small part to our nation's immigration laws, which give strong emphasis to family reunification in the preference system.[21] In contrast, domestic migrants are decidedly more "footloose" in their migration patterns and more responsive to geographic shifts in employment location and amenities. For example, Houston ranked first among major metro areas in domestic migration gains (215,000) during the late 1970s. But as the "oil bust" hit in the following decade, Houston experienced the nation's fifth-largest domestic outmigration (-142,000) from 1985 to 1990.

Recent domestic migration to these traditional and

Figure 3. Migration Rates by Educational Attainment, Selected Immigrant Magnet Metropolitan Areas, 1995-2000*



Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.
*Rate= (Net Subgroup Domestic Migration 1995-2000) / (2000 Subgroup Population)

New Sunbelt destinations has contributed to rapid growth in their overall populations. In several of these metro areas, net domestic migration between 1995 and 2000 boosted population by at least 5 percent overall (Table 2). In Las Vegas, in-migration from other parts of the nation alone contributed nearly 16 percent to the area's population in 2000, far more than in the other domestic migrant magnets.

Increasingly, some metropolitan areas are attracting both migrants from abroad and domestic migrants. Dallas fits into this category, as it registered significant gains in each migrant population during the late 1990s. In fact, the top domestic migrant magnets—Phoenix, Atlanta, and Las Vegas—drew substantial numbers of migrants from abroad during this time. As Figure 4 shows, this is a relatively new phenomenon in these metro areas, each of which witnessed comparatively little immigration in previous decades. Other places that previously attracted smaller numbers of immigrants, like Orlando, Charlotte, and Raleigh-Durham, are now attracting many more, contributing to growth in their minority populations—particularly Hispanics.[22]

While domestic migration to these areas still outpaces international migration, recent immigrants contributed a considerable 4 to 5 percent to overall metro area population in most of the fastest-growing metro areas in the late 1990s (Table 2). It is likely that new migrants from abroad, as well as foreign-born individuals who moved to these areas from elsewhere in the U.S., were attracted by the lower-skill service, construction, and retail jobs that rapid domestic in-migration created in the late 1990s.[23]

D. While immigrants drove population growth in and around the core urban counties of metropolitan areas, domestic migrants fueled the fast growth occurring in outlying suburban counties.

Thus far, this survey has considered how migrants from abroad and domestic migrants distributed themselves *among* major metropolitan areas in the late 1990s. This section examines where these two types of migrants tended to move *within* metropolitan areas, as well as the places within those areas from which domestic migrants moved.

Overall, about half of the nation's 3,141 counties experienced net out-migration over the 1990s. Yet only 95 of these counties had declines of at least 10,000 people, and

Table 2. Large Metropolitan Areas with Highest Domestic Migration Growth Rates, 1995-2000

		Growth Rate*	
Rank	Metopolitan Area	Net Domestic Migration	Migration from Abroad
1	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	15.54	4.30
2	Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	9.14	2.53
3	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	9.01	4.47
4	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	8.25	4.31
5	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	8.17	4.50
6	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	6.71	2.98
7	Orlando, FL MSA	6.58	5.13
8	Atlanta, GA MSA	6.13	4.28
9	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	5.70	4.37
10	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	4.57	2.99
11	Columbia, SC MSA	4.38	2.06
12	Tucson, AZ MSA	4.05	3.12
13	Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	3.98	1.69
14	Nashville, TN MSA	3.98	2.20
15	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	3.90	3.92

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.
*Rate = (Net Domestic Migration 1995-2000) / (2000 Population, ages 5 and over) × 100

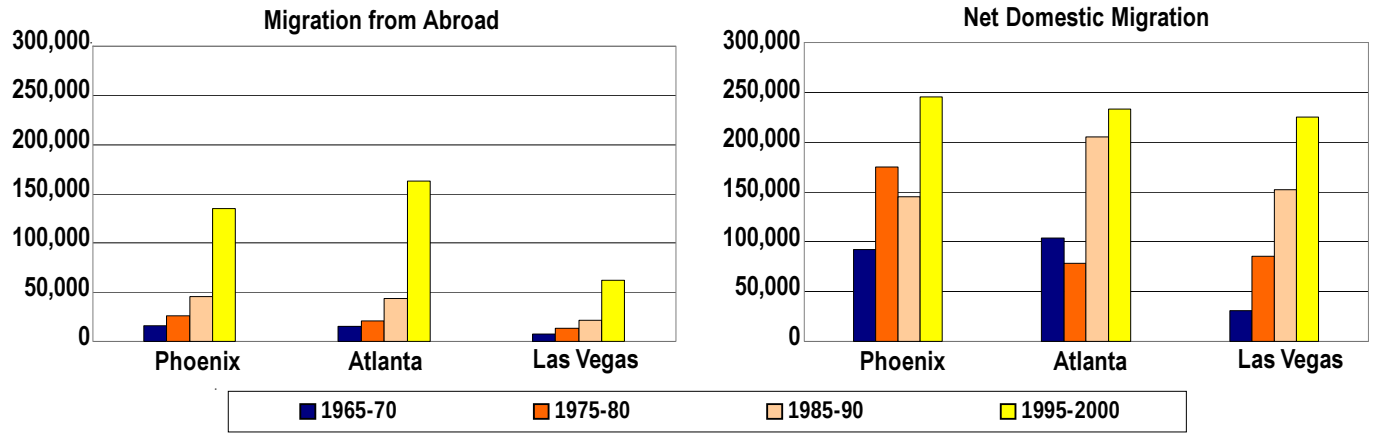
they are heavily represented by the kinds of areas shown in Table 3. It is immediately clear that the most urbanized counties in large metropolitan areas—those containing the central cities—sustained the greatest domestic migration losses in the late 1990s (Table 3). Nine of these counties lost more than 100,000 net domestic migrants over this period, including the core counties of the Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Miami metropolitan areas. For the most part, these counties lie within high-immigration coastal metropolitan areas (including Chicago), or within stagnating Midwest/Rustbelt areas such as St. Louis, Cleveland, and Cincinnati. Some inner-suburban counties make the list as well, including Nassau County in the New York region, and Orange County in the Los Angeles area. The District of Columbia and the inner-suburban county of Fairfax, VA in the Washington, DC region, while not among the top 20, had net losses of roughly 40,000 domestic migrants in the late 1990s.

In light of these large domestic migration losses in core and inner counties of metropolitan areas, migration from abroad is clearly an increasingly important source of their population gains. Miami-Dade County's gain of 206,000 migrants from abroad in the late 1990s more than compensated for its net loss of 160,000 domestic migrants. Similar migration-driven gains characterize Harris and Dallas counties in Texas, and Manhattan in New York.

Many Midwest and Rustbelt metro areas, on the other hand, offer a contrast to the immigration "cushion" that sustained population gains in larger metropolitan areas. For example, the city of St. Louis lost 105,000 domestic migrants over the 1995-2000 period, but received fewer than 12,000 migrants from abroad. Wayne County, containing the city of Detroit, gained over 40,000 immigrants, not enough to make up for its loss of 115,000 domestic migrants. Immigrants contributed little population to core counties in the Baltimore, Cleveland, and Cincinnati regions, and to other smaller urban counties experiencing out-migration (e.g., Buffalo, Milwaukee, New Orleans, and Pittsburgh). It is not surprising, then, that many mayors of struggling cities in the Northeast and Midwest are looking to immigrants as a source of potential demographic gains.[24]

In some metropolitan areas, migrants from abroad do not head primarily for the core urban counties. In the Washington-Baltimore area, for

Figure 4. Migration Flows, Selected Domestic Migrant Magnet Metropolitan Areas



Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

example, the core counties of Baltimore City and the District of Columbia lost more domestic out-migrants than they gained migrants from abroad in the late 1990s. However, the inner-suburban county of Fairfax, VA, gained roughly twice as many immigrants as it lost domestic migrants during that time. This owes in part to Washington's unique settlement pattern, where immigrants have for some time chosen suburban over city residences.[25]

While inner counties of major metropolitan areas increasingly depended on migration from abroad to fuel population growth in the late 1990s, the opposite occurred on the periphery of these areas. Suburban counties, often those at the exurban edges of their metro areas, dominate the list of counties with the highest rates of growth from domestic migration (Table 4). At the same time, most experienced little migration from abroad. Not surprisingly, the list includes counties within domestic magnet metros like Atlanta, Phoenix, Las Vegas, Austin, Dallas, and Charlotte. For instance, domestic migration contributed 30 percent to the population of Forsyth County, GA, on the periphery of the Atlanta metropolitan area, between 1995 and 2000 alone. In contrast, migration abroad contributed to only 2.5 percent to Forsyth's population. This decidedly smaller immigration contribution to population characterized other fast-growing counties in the Atlanta region and in other large metropolitan areas.

The disparity between growing suburban and exurban counties, where domestic migration dominates, and inner counties dependent on migration from abroad to forestall population decline, is not limited to the domestic migrant magnet metros. It is also evident in some of the nation's largest regions, including New York and Washington, D.C. In the New York region, fully 22

Table 3. Counties with Largest Net Domestic Migration Losses, Large Metropolitan Areas, 1995-2000

Rank	County and State	Inside Metropolitan Area	Net Domestic Migration	Migration From Abroad
1	Los Angeles, CA	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	-567,271	466,605
2	Cook, IL	Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	-377,902	230,922
3	Kings, NY	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	-233,555	160,306
4	Queens, NY	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	-168,505	169,784
5	Miami-Dade, FL	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	-159,714	206,689
6	Wayne, MI	Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	-115,437	42,730
7	Harris, TX	Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	-114,892	181,509
8	St. Louis city, MO	St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	-105,224	11,944
9	Santa Clara, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	-105,088	124,793
10	Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	-94,158	46,177
11	Baltimore city, MD	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	-92,223	12,656
12	Dallas, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	-89,724	137,081
13	Bronx, NY	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	-87,430	76,736
14	Nassau, NY	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	-72,284	26,840
15	Honolulu, HI	Honolulu, HI MSA	-69,866	38,619
16	Cuyahoga, OH	Cleveland-Akron, OH CMSA	-68,198	23,096
17	Orange, CA	Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	-59,686	128,204
18	San Francisco, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	-58,197	49,743
19	New York, NY	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	-57,249	104,054
20	Hamilton, OH	Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN CMSA	-50,750	12,567

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

of 29 counties registered net losses of domestic migrants between 1995 and 2000. Yet Pike County, PA, on the periphery of the region, had one of the highest growth rates from domestic migration in the country. In like manner, Loudoun County, VA, located within the Washington metro area, remains one of the fastest-growing suburban counties in the country due largely to rapid domestic in-migration.

This general pattern is pervasive nationally. Of the nation's 3,141 counties, just 239 grew from domestic migration at rates higher than 10 percent over the 1995 to 2000 period. Of these, only five counties grew at a rate of more than 5 percent due to migration from abroad; and fully 183 did not register even 2 percent growth from immigration. In general, domestic migrants are increasingly choosing residences in the periphery of metropolitan America, while immigrants continue to fuel growth in urban and inner-suburban jurisdictions.

IV. Conclusion

This study finds that the nation's metropolitan areas can be distinguished by the degree to which they attracted, or lost, international and domestic migrants over the late 1990s. During that five-year period, the nation's largest metropolitan areas acquired the most migrants from abroad, but lost the most domestic migrants to other parts of the country. In particular, Los Angeles and San Francisco lost more domestic migrants than in decades past, fueling overall domestic migrant losses for the state. The recent trend establishes these two West Coast immigrant ports of entry as "redistributors" of population to fast-growing metropolitan areas in the

Table 4. Counties with Highest Domestic Migration Growth Rates, Large Metropolitan Areas, 1995-2000

Rank	County and State	Inside Metropolitan Area	Growth Rate* Net Domestic Migration	Growth Rate* Migration from Abroad
1	Douglas, CO	Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	33.3	2.4
2	Forsyth, GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	30.5	2.5
3	Henry, GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	23.3	1.2
4	Paulding, GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	22.0	0.8
5	Delaware, OH	Columbus, OH MSA	21.4	0.7
6	Loudoun, VA	Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	21.4	4.2
7	Williamson, TX	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	20.8	2.0
8	Nye, NV	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	19.9	1.2
9	Collin, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	18.9	4.5
10	DeSoto, MS	Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	17.1	1.0
11	Hays, TX	Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	17.0	1.6
12	Pinal, AZ	Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	16.9	2.3
13	Cherokee, GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	16.3	2.4
14	Williamson, TN	Nashville, TN MSA	16.2	1.5
15	Union, NC	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	16.1	2.5
16	Clark, NV	Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	16.0	4.7
17	Denton, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	15.7	3.1
18	Pike, PA	New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	15.6	0.4
19	Barrow, GA	Atlanta, GA MSA	15.2	1.1
20	Shelby, AL	Birmingham, AL MSA	15.1	1.2

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.
*Rate = (1995-2000 Migration Component) / (2000 Population, ages 5 and over) × 100

interior U.S., a role that New York and Chicago played in earlier decades.

Moreover, the domestic out-migrants from these "immigrant magnets" are more diverse than residents who left in previous decades. Many out-migrants from these regions are Hispanics, blacks and Asians, so that "white flight" no longer characterizes the nature of that out-migration. At the same time, these areas are losing population disproportionately among residents without college degrees, who may have difficulty affording the high cost of living in these metropolitan areas, and may see greater economic opportunity in the Sunbelt states. Nevertheless, these dynamic "world city" regions continue to attract highly skilled migrants from abroad and, in some cases, from inside the U.S. The challenge for these regions over the next decade will be to grow physically and economically in ways that make them more attractive to moderate-income and middle-income families of all races and ethnicities.

The metro areas that gained the most in-migrants from other parts of the U.S. in the late 1990s are located throughout the Southeast and non-California West. The movement of new residents into these metro areas followed—and fueled—the growth of new industries and expanding urban and suburban developments in metropolitan areas like Phoenix, Atlanta, and Las Vegas. These domestic magnets also attracted new immigrant populations, perhaps in response to the lower-skilled labor demands created by rapid new growth.[26] The integration of immigrants into these heretofore largely white or (in the case of the South) white and black metropolitan areas will be the subject of much research and policy focus.[27] As well, it remains to be seen whether the low-density physical development patterns that characterize most of their cities and suburbs can sustain rapid population and job growth, as well as demands for affordable housing and other public services, over the longer term.

Within metropolitan areas, immigrants have invigorated city and neighborhood population in core urban counties in large metropolitan areas like New York, San Francisco, Washington, DC, and Boston, offsetting their losses of domestic migrants to the suburbs and other parts of the country. At the same time, core counties in the Midwest and Rustbelt are sustaining some of the nation's greatest domestic out-migration losses while attracting few immigrants. Some local officials have thus concluded that attracting immigrants could help to rekindle economic and residential life in declining urban neighborhoods, and are beginning to market their cities nationally and internationally in hopes of reversing population declines and increasing ethnic diversity.[28] At the same time, population gains in fast-growing peripheral counties accrue almost entirely from domestic migration, with little migration from abroad. These divergent patterns suggest that the demographic profiles and associated public service needs, tax bases, and political orientations of inner and outer jurisdictions in the nation's major metropolitan areas may diverge. Such distinctions appear not only in domestic migrant magnet metros like Atlanta and Denver, but also in immigrant magnet metros such as New York and Washington, D.C.

Future surveys in this series will go deeper in describing the demographic and socioeconomic profiles of international and domestic migrants in metropolitan areas. However, this analysis makes plain that new migrants from abroad and ongoing domestic migration continue to impact metropolitan America in sharply different ways.

Appendix A. Top Migration Metropolitan Areas, Selected Historical Periods, 1965-2000*

Rank	1965-1970		1975-1980		1985-1990		1995-2000	
I. Greatest Migration from Abroad								
1	New York	583,388	Los Angeles	601,613	Los Angeles	899,007	New York	983,659
2	Los Angeles	271,029	New York	558,051	New York	781,474	Los Angeles	699,573
3	Washington-Baltimore	136,827	San Francisco	210,566	San Francisco	293,306	San Francisco	373,869
4	San Francisco	136,191	Chicago	165,482	Washington-Baltimore	228,278	Chicago	323,019
5	Chicago	135,636	Washington-Baltimore	153,961	Miami	210,609	Washington-Baltimore	300,266
6	Miami	123,244	Miami	131,153	Chicago	180,875	Miami	299,905
II. Greatest Net Domestic Migration Gains								
1	Dallas	191,329	Houston	215,343	Atlanta	205,010	Phoenix	245,159
2	Miami	185,965	Tampa-St. Petersburg	185,182	Seattle	183,820	Atlanta	233,303
3	Seattle	177,609	Phoenix	175,075	Tampa-St. Petersburg	159,112	Las Vegas	225,266
4	Tampa-St. Petersburg	146,770	Dallas	164,951	Orlando	154,520	Dallas	148,644
5	Houston	145,156	Seattle	154,412	Las Vegas	152,197	Austin	104,340
6	San Diego	135,838	San Diego	114,734	Phoenix	145,226	Tampa-St. Petersburg	103,375
III. Greatest Net Domestic Migration Losses								
1	New York	-552,020	New York	-1,112,404	New York	-1,058,078	New York	-874,028
2	Chicago	-192,876	Chicago	-420,926	Chicago	-285,204	Los Angeles	-549,951
3	Pittsburgh	-82,706	Detroit	-236,920	Los Angeles	-174,673	Chicago	-318,649
4	Cleveland	-48,835	Los Angeles	-179,032	Detroit	-161,042	San Francisco	-206,670
5	Detroit	-39,743	Cleveland	-166,263	Houston	-142,562	Detroit	-123,009
6	Buffalo	-39,265	Philadelphia	-153,481	San Francisco	-103,498	Miami	-93,774

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.
*Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined in Census 2000
Names are abbreviated (full names appear in Appendix B)

Appendix B. Migration from Abroad and Net Domestic Migration, Metropolitan Areas with 2000 Population Over 500,000, 1995-2000

Metropolitan Area	2000 Population	Totals, 1995-2000 Migration from Abroad	Totals, 1995-2000 Net Domestic Migration	Rates, 1995-2000* Migration from Abroad	Rates, 1995-2000* Net Domestic Migration
New York-Northern NJ-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	21,199,865	983,659	-874,028	4.97	-4.42
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	16,373,645	699,573	-549,951	4.63	-3.64
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	9,157,540	323,019	-318,649	3.81	-3.76
Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	7,608,070	300,266	-58,849	4.23	-0.83
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	7,039,362	373,869	-206,670	5.67	-3.14
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	6,188,463	127,921	-83,539	2.21	-1.44
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT CMSA	6,057,826	196,042	-44,581	3.60	-0.82
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	5,456,428	108,975	-123,009	2.15	-2.42
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	5,221,801	231,494	148,644	4.82	3.09
Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	4,669,571	214,268	-14,377	4.99	-0.33
Atlanta, GA MSA	4,112,198	162,972	233,303	4.28	6.13
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	3,876,380	299,905	-93,774	8.26	-2.58
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA CMSA	3,554,760	122,766	39,945	3.69	1.20
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	3,251,876	135,017	245,159	4.50	8.17
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	2,968,806	66,120	34,207	2.40	1.24
Cleveland-Akron, OH CMSA	2,945,831	36,257	-65,914	1.32	-2.39
San Diego, CA MSA	2,813,833	108,822	-6,108	4.16	-0.23
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	2,603,607	35,347	-43,614	1.45	-1.79
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	2,581,506	93,970	93,586	3.92	3.90
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	2,395,997	67,664	103,375	2.99	4.57
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	2,358,695	21,788	-57,997	0.98	-2.60
Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	2,265,223	73,078	59,177	3.47	2.81
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN CMSA	1,979,202	21,881	3,701	1.19	0.20
Sacramento-Yolo, CA CMSA	1,796,857	55,741	51,424	3.33	3.07
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	1,776,062	31,490	16,079	1.91	0.98
Milwaukee-Racine, WI CMSA	1,689,572	27,525	-40,350	1.75	-2.56
Orlando, FL MSA	1,644,561	78,939	101,226	5.13	6.58
Indianapolis, IN MSA	1,607,486	23,675	20,954	1.59	1.41
San Antonio, TX MSA	1,592,383	39,952	5,674	2.72	0.39
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	1,569,541	34,990	-8,681	2.40	-0.59
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	1,563,282	62,255	225,266	4.30	15.54
Columbus, OH MSA	1,540,157	31,434	33,774	2.20	2.36
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	1,499,293	41,485	93,505	2.98	6.71
New Orleans, LA MSA	1,337,726	15,283	-57,129	1.23	-4.58
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT MSA	1,333,914	42,858	-18,135	3.53	-1.50
Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point, NC MSA	1,251,509	31,093	36,592	2.66	3.13
Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	1,249,763	51,795	104,340	4.47	9.01
Nashville, TN MSA	1,231,311	25,173	45,606	2.20	3.98
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	1,187,941	47,710	91,272	4.31	8.25
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	1,170,111	15,487	-49,239	1.41	-4.48
Hartford, CT NECMA	1,148,618	31,740	-13,853	2.95	-1.29
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	1,135,614	17,845	3,748	1.70	0.36
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	1,131,184	46,706	61,001	4.37	5.70
Jacksonville, FL MSA	1,100,491	23,464	29,260	2.29	2.85
Rochester, NY MSA	1,098,201	17,471	-36,959	1.70	-3.59
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	1,088,514	18,029	12,609	1.79	1.25
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	1,083,346	23,081	6,289	2.29	0.62
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	1,025,598	13,373	-4,806	1.40	-0.50
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	996,512	17,363	12,912	1.86	1.39

Appendix B. Migration from Abroad and Net Domestic Migration, Metropolitan Areas with 2000 Population Over 500,000, 1995-2000 (continued)

Metropolitan Area	2000 Population	Totals, 1995-2000: Migration from Abroad	Totals, 1995-2000: Net Domestic Migration	Rates, 1995-2000*: Migration from Abroad	Rates, 1995-2000*: Net Domestic Migration
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA NECMA	962,886	23,743	4,159	2.72	0.48
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	962,441	15,219	35,786	1.69	3.98
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	950,558	9,310	-26,664	1.05	-3.00
Fresno, CA MSA	922,516	26,590	-31,734	3.14	-3.75
Birmingham, AL MSA	921,106	10,671	6,057	1.24	0.70
Honolulu, HI MSA	876,156	38,619	-69,866	4.71	-8.52
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	875,583	11,155	-19,426	1.36	-2.36
Tucson, AZ MSA	843,746	24,626	31,984	3.12	4.05
Tulsa, OK MSA	803,235	13,707	12,029	1.84	1.61
Syracuse, NY MSA	732,117	9,118	-31,851	1.33	-4.64
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	716,998	14,275	-3,172	2.15	-0.48
Albuquerque, NM MSA	712,738	14,837	-161	2.24	-0.02
Knoxville, TN MSA	687,249	6,873	21,894	1.06	3.39
El Paso, TX MSA	679,622	31,468	-47,790	5.06	-7.69
Bakersfield, CA MSA	661,645	21,867	-18,348	3.60	-3.02
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA MSA	637,958	10,648	-176	1.77	-0.03
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA MSA	629,401	7,541	334	1.27	0.06
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton, PA MSA	624,776	3,430	-9,121	0.58	-1.54
Toledo, OH MSA	618,203	6,370	-12,924	1.10	-2.24
Springfield, MA NECMA	608,479	16,089	-963	2.81	-0.17
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	602,894	7,831	7,316	1.40	1.31
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	594,746	3,124	-14,645	0.56	-2.62
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL MSA	589,959	14,245	51,386	2.53	9.14
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	583,845	8,223	9,625	1.51	1.77
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX MSA	569,463	22,862	-13,249	4.47	-2.59
Stockton-Lodi, CA MSA	563,598	15,828	8,739	3.05	1.68
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	549,033	9,130	14,029	1.78	2.74
Wichita, KS MSA	545,220	10,999	1,856	2.18	0.37
Mobile, AL MSA	540,258	6,487	2,419	1.29	0.48
Columbia, SC MSA	536,691	10,340	21,972	2.06	4.38
Colorado Springs, CO MSA	516,929	18,910	4,332	3.96	0.91
Fort Wayne, IN MSA	502,141	5,546	-5,267	1.19	-1.13
Metro Areas with Net Domestic In-Migration	**63,646,126**	**1,846,565**	**2,146,545**	**3.12**	**3.63**
Metro Areas with Net Domestic Out-Migration	**120,006,096**	**4,273,746**	**-3,075,569**	**3.83**	**-2.76**

Source: Author's calculations of U.S. Census Bureau data.

*Rate= (1995-2000 Migration Component) / (2000 Population age 5 and over) x 100

Endnotes

1 William H. Frey, "Immigrant and Native Migrant Magnets." *American Demographics*, November 1996; William H. Frey and Kao-Lee Liaw, "The Impact of Recent Immigration on Population Redistribution Within the United States." In James P. Smith and Barry Edmonston, eds., *The Immigration Debate: Studies on the Economic, Demographic and Fiscal Effects of Immigration.* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences Press, 1998).

2 Philip Martin and Elizabeth Midgley, "Immigration to the United States: Shaping and Reshaping America." *Population Bulletin 58*(2) (2003).

3 This survey uses data from metropolitan areas defined by OMB as of June 30, 1999, and in effect for Census 2000. New metropolitan area definitions were announced by OMB in June 2003. Jason P. Schachter, Rachel S. Franklin, and Marc J. Perry, "Migration and Geographic Mobility in Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan America: 1995 to 2000 (Census 2000 Special Reports CENSR-9, 2003).

4 Marc J. Perry and Jason P. Schachter, "Migration of Natives and the Foreign Born: 1995–2000" (Census 2000 Special Reports CENSR-11, 2003).

5 Ibid; Martin and Midgley, "Immigration to the United States: Shaping and Reshaping America."

6 U.S. Census Bureau, "2000 Census of Population and Housing, Public Use Microdata Sample, United States: Technical Documentation" (Department of Commerce, 2003). Throughout the paper, the term "white" refers to non-Hispanic individuals who identified "white" as their sole race.

7 These growth rates are calculated as a percentage of metropolitan population in 2000 age five and over.

8 Genaro Armas, "Californians Leaving Faster than Other Americans Arrive." *Chicago Tribune*, August 6, 2003, p. 12.

9 Joel Kotkin, "California: A Twenty First Century Prospectus." (Denver: Center for the New West, 1997); State of California, "Updated Revised Historical County Population Estimates and Components of Change, July 1, 1990–1999" (Sacramento: State of California Department of Finance, 2003).

10 Frey and Liaw, "The Impact of Recent Immigration on Population Redistribution Within the United States."

11 William H. Frey, "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight' from U.S. Metro Areas: 1990 Census Findings by Race, Poverty and Education." Research Report No. 94-304 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center, 1994); William H. Frey, "Immigration and Internal Migration: 1990 Census Findings for California." Research Report No. 94-306 (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Population Studies Center, 1994).

12 George J. Borjas, *Heaven's Door: Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

13 Ibid.

14 Mary M. Kritz and Douglas T. Gurak, "The Impact of Immigration on the Internal Migration of Natives and Immigrants." *Demography* 38 (1) (2001): 133–145; Richard A. Wright, Mark Ellis, and Michael Reibel, "The Linkage between Immigration and Internal Migration in Large Metropolitan Areas in the United States." *Economic Geography* 73 (1997): 234–254.

15 The PUMS data used in this section, including in Figures 1 and 2, permit detailed analyses for close approximations of the actual boundaries of these metropolitan areas, which are constructed using areas called "Migration Super-Pumas." These approximations increase the populations of the New York and Los Angeles CMSAs, respectively, by 3.9 percent and 0.8 percent. The approximations reduce the populations of the Chicago and San Francisco CMSAs, respectively, by 5.1 percent and 3.7 percent.

16 William H. Frey, "Immigration and Internal Migration 'Flight' from US Metro Areas: 1990 Census Findings by Race, Poverty and Education."

17 The higher share of blacks among out-migrants in San Francisco derives in part from the fact that the area actually experienced net domestic *in-migration* of

Asians, thus increasing other racial/ethnic groups' shares of total net domestic out-migration.

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