# **Research Bulletin**

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# **Empire State Exodus**

The Mass Migration of New Yorkers to Other States

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The Empire State is being drained of an invaluable resource – people. From 2000 to 2008, in both absolute and relative terms, New York experienced the nation's largest loss of residents to other states – a net domestic migration outflow of over 1.5 million, or 8 percent of its population at the start of the decade.

Based on the latest data from the Census Bureau and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), this report examines how many New Yorkers have been leaving the state, where they have been going and how much income they have been taking with them. Focusing on the period since 2000, key findings include the following:

- The annual net loss of New Yorkers to other states has ranged from a high of nearly 250,000 people in 2005 to a low of 126,000 last year, when moves nationwide slowed down sharply along with the economy. California was the only other state to lose more than a million residents to out-migration during the 2000-2008 period.
- Most of the New York State out-migrants tracked by the IRS originated in the metropolitan New York City region. Migration rates are lower upstate, but the net population impact has been larger.
- Nearly 60 percent of the New York out-migrants moved to southern states with Florida alone drawing nearly one-third of the total. Thirty percent moved to the neighboring states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut.
- Households moving out of New York State had average incomes 13 percent higher than those moving into New York during the most recent year for which such data are available. In 2006-07 alone, the migration flow out of New York drained \$4.3 billion in taxpayer income from the state.

New York State's net domestic migration loss during this decade is the continuation of a longer-term trend. During the 1990s, New York lost 1.7 million people to other states.

Even with its large domestic migration losses, New York's total population has grown slightly since 2000, thanks to a large influx of immigrants from foreign countries. But New York's share of U.S. population is still shrinking. A continuation of the domestic migration trends highlighted here will translate into slower economic growth and diminishing political influence in the future.

# Table 1: Net Domestic Migration, 2000-08

	Total	Rank	Rate*	Rank
Alabama	75,285	14	1.7%	22
Alaska	-8,217	29	-1.3%	34
Arizona	700,679	3	13.6%	2
Arkansas	67,805	16	2.5%	16
California	-1,359,270	50	-4.0%	44
Colorado	158,867	10	3.7%	12
Connecticut	-95,887	43	-2.8%	40
Delaware	41,278	18	5.2%	8
District of Columbia	-43,457	37	-7.6%	50
Florida	1,249,709	1	7.8%	4
Georgia	525,071	5	6.4%	7
Hawaii	-22,199	33	-1.8%	37
Idaho	111,513	13	8.6%	3
Illinois	-566,897	49	-4.6%	45
Indiana	-17,524	31	-0.3%	29
lowa	-47,071	39	-1.6%	35
Kansas	-65,769	41	-2.4%	39
Kentucky	73,023	15	1.8%	21
Louisiana	-317,978	45	-7.1%	49
Maine	27,784	23	2.2%	18
Maryland	-85,855	42	-1.6%	36
Massachusetts	-295,288	44	-4.6%	46
Michigan	-469,549	44	-4.0%	40
Minnesota	-409,549 -44,500	38	-4.7%	32
	-44,500	38	-0.9%	32
Mississippi Missouri		54 19	0.7%	27
Montana	37,317	20	4.0%	11
	36,238			
Nebraska	-37,132	35	-2.2%	38
Nevada	364,953	6	18.1%	1
New Hampshire	29,490	21	2.4%	17
New Jersey	-430,250	47	-5.1%	48
New Mexico	28,283	22	1.6%	23
New York	-1,538,274	51	-8.1%	51
North Carolina	580,286	4	7.2%	5
North Dakota	-19,396	32	-3.0%	42
Ohio	-338,667	46	-3.0%	41
Oklahoma	23,182	24	0.7%	26
Oregon	157,631	11	4.6%	9
Pennsylvania	-49,193	40	-0.4%	31
Rhode Island	-41,728	36	-4.0%	43
South Carolina	271,449	7	6.7%	6
South Dakota	5,459	27	0.7%	24
Tennessee	239,847	8	4.2%	10
Texas	701,065	2	3.3%	14
Utah	47,896	17	2.1%	20
Vermont	-1,919	28	-0.3%	30
Virginia	152,897	12	2.2%	19
Washington	199,180	9	3.4%	13
West Virginia	12,787	26	0.7%	25
Wisconsin	-11,403	30	-0.2%	28
Wyoming	15,721	25	3.2%	15
* Net migration as a percentag	e of 2000 population			
Source: US Bureau of the Cen				

# **Migration in Context**

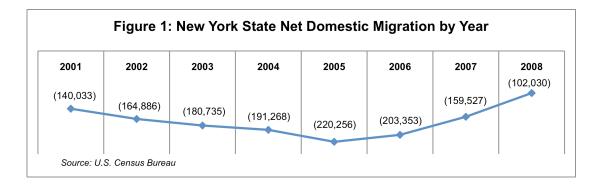
Moving is a way of life in the United States. Americans migrated from the original 13 colonies to the Midwest in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and to the Southwest and the West in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The mid-20<sup>th</sup> century saw an exodus of African-Americans from agricultural areas of the south to industrial areas in the Northeast and Midwest. After World War II, the population tide shifted from the Northeast and Midwest to the Sunbelt states of the South and West, a trend that accelerated in the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More recently, domestic migration has been strongest to the Rocky Mountain states, as well as to the South.

Retirees have accounted for a large share of the migration from the Frost Belt of the Northeast and Midwest to the Sunbelt, with the largest number going to Florida. Since 2000, between 1,000,000 and 2,000,000 Americans -0.5 percent of the population, on average – have moved from one county to another every year, census data show.

#### State Domestic Migration Trends: 2000-2008

New York's share of the nation's population declined sharply in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, from 19 percent of all Americans in 1950 to less than 7 percent in 2000. The state has been a net domestic migration loser for many years, though annual state level data from the Census Bureau is only available since 1990. During the 1990s, New York lost an average of 1.2 percent of its population to other states every year, according to the Census Bureau. The average annual rate of domestic migration loss for this decade is almost unchanged, at 1.1 percent a year.

As shown in Table 1, New York State lost 1,538,000 residents between 2000 and 2008, more than any other state. California, with the second-largest net migration outflow, was the only other state to lose more than a million residents during the period. New York also had the highest percentage loss in domestic migration – equivalent to 8.1 percent of 2000 population. Not even hurricane-ravaged Louisiana lost so much of its base-year population to domestic migration during this decade.



The rise and fall of domestic migration from New York since 2000, as illustrated in Figure 1, has been generally consistent with national trends. Migration throughout the country ebbed during the recessionary period early in the decade and increased in synch with the housing bubble and economic growth after 2004, slowing again after the bubble burst in 2007.

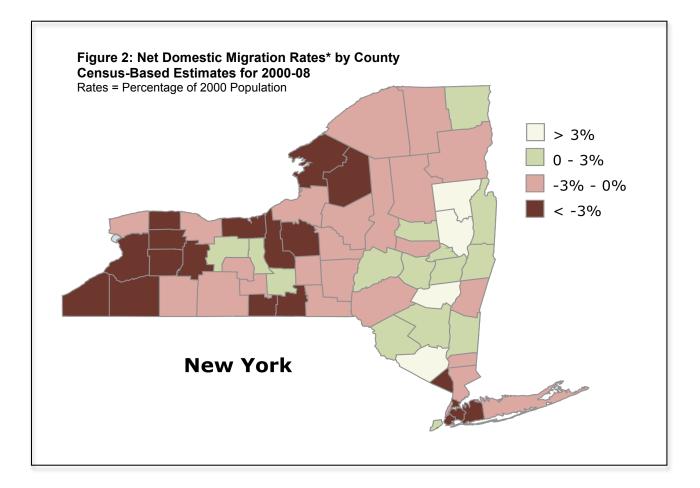
The state's peak losses, both in absolute and relative terms, came between 2004 and 2006, when the state lost 614,877 residents more than it gained from the rest of the country. But relative to other states, New York's highest rate of out-migration came between 2000 and 2004, when the impact of the relatively brief 2000-01 recession was compounded by a sharp Wall Street downturn and the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

Table 2: Net Dome	stic Migratio	on in Coun	ties and Regions of Nev	v York State, 2	000-08
	Total	Rate		Total	Rate
Albany County	1,348	0.5%	Orange County	17,259	5.0%
Allegany County	-580	-1.2%	Orleans County	-2,554	-5.8%
Bronx County	-101,495	-7.6%	Oswego County	-3,316	-2.7%
Broome County	-4,874	-2.4%	Otsego County	911	1.5%
Cattaraugus County	-5,144	-6.1%	Putnam County	-217	-0.2%
Cayuga County	-2,665	-3.3%	Queens County	-167,439	-7.5%
Chautauqua County	-5,847	-4.2%	Rensselaer County	1,041	0.7%
Chemung County	-3,903	-4.3%	Richmond County	7,349	1.6%
Chenango County	-452	-0.9%	Rockland County	-15,565	-5.4%
Clinton County	1,197	1.5%	Saratoga County	9,892	4.9%
Columbia County	-255	-0.4%	Schenectady County	3,200	2.2%
Cortland County	-1,005	-2.1%	Schoharie County	492	1.6%
Delaware County	-886	-1.8%	Schuyler County	-223	-1.2%
Dutchess County	5,992	2.1%	Seneca County	602	1.8%
Erie County	-40,635	-4.3%	St Lawrence County	-3,284	-2.9%
Essex County	-529	-1.4%	Steuben County	-2,812	-2.8%
Franklin County	-836	-1.6%	Suffolk County	-27,617	-1.9%
Fulton County	233	0.4%	Sullivan County	1,165	1.6%
Genesee County	-3,028	-5.0%	Tioga County	-2,650	-5.1%
Greene County	1,670	3.5%	Tompkins County	2,534	2.6%
Hamilton County	-114	-2.1%	Ulster County	2,446	1.4%
Herkimer County	-1,658	-2.6%	Warren County	2,629	4.1%
Jefferson County	-7,533	-6.8%	Washington County	1,649	2.7%
Kings County	-210,312	-8.5%	Wayne County	-4,421	-4.7%
Lewis County	-1,495	-5.5%	Westchester County	-25,305	-2.7%
Livingston County	-2,057	-3.2%	Wyoming County	-2,126	-4.9%
Madison County	-734	-1.1%	Yates County	-267	-1.1%
Monroe County	-20,783	-2.8%			
Montgomery County	-665	-1.3%	New York City	-1,118,025	-13.9%
Nassau County	-62,506	-4.7%	In-State NYC Region	-1,362,088	-10.7%
New York County	-555	0.0%	Albany MSA	6,382	0.8%
Niagara County	-5,043	-2.3%	Buffalo MSA	-54,165	-4.6%
Oneida County	-3,417	-1.5%	Rochester MSA	-43,302	-4.2%
Onondaga County	-16,638	-3.6%	Syracuse MSA	-26,945	-4.1%
Ontario County	2,936	2.9%	Balance of State	-58,156	-1.8%
Source: Census Bureau	u l				

As shown in Table 2, the five counties of New York City lost more than 1.1 million people – nearly 14 percent of the city's 2000 population – to other states and neighboring communities. The New York State portion of the New York City Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as a whole also was a net loser, although three counties within the region (Dutchess, Orange and Ulster) were net gainers via migration.<sup>1</sup>

The five-county Albany region was the only MSA in the state to gain residents through domestic migration, as measured by the Census Bureau. This was due largely to strong gains in Saratoga County, which was one of four New York counties to experience net migration gains equivalent to more than 3 percent of 2000 population. Fourteen other counties experience net migration rates of between 0.4 and 2.9 percent. All the rest – some 39 counties outside the New York City region – lost people to domestic migration, with the biggest upstate percentage losses concentrated in Western New York and Southern Tier counties (see map in Figure 2, below).

The Census Bureau estimates of domestic migration at the county and regional level are not limited to out-of-state moves, however; they include moves within New York (for example, Saratoga's net gain includes migrants from downstate). To more precisely track where New Yorkers are moving in and out of state — it is necessary to turn to another data source.



#### Table 3: Net Taxpayer\* Migration, New Yorkers From (To) Other States

Total Individuals Claimed as Exemptions on Federal Income Tax Forms, 2000-07

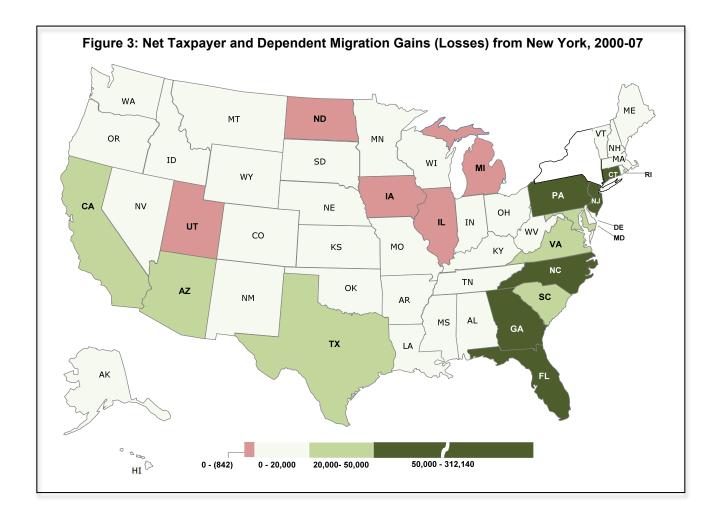
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total	Rank	Share
Alabama	(471)	(477)	(445)	(981)	(631)	(730)	(627)	(4,362)	19	0.4%
Alaska	48	(36)	(97)	(96)	(2)	(44)	(45)	(272)	44	0.0%
Arizona	(2,358)	(2,459)	(2,261)	(3,067)	(3,532)	(3,992)	(3,221)	(20,890)	12	2.0%
Arkansas	(49)	(51)	(126)	(333)	(169)	(337)	(206)	(1,271)	30	0.1%
California	(5,873)	(3,437)	(2,171)	(2,641)	(3,842)	(3,779)	(3,467)	(25,210)	11	2.5%
Colorado	(1,081)	(731)	(418)	(595)	(750)	(936)	(1,083)	(5,594)	18	0.5%
Connecticut	(5,625)	(7,275)	(8,564)	(7,986)	(8,757)	(7,802)	(5,446)	(51,455)	6	5.0%
Delaware	(684)	(785)	(998)	(1,304)	(1,468)	(1,446)	(992)	(7,677)	15	0.7%
DC	154	(111)	(193)	(172)	(222)	1	53	(490)	39	0.0%
Florida	(34,656)	(39,096)	(37,770)	(53,145)	(62,600)	(52,073)	(32,800)	(312,140)	1	30.4%
Georgia	(6,525)	(6,871)	(6,086)	(8,692)	(10,648)	(12,681)	(12,742)	(64,245)	5	6.3%
Hawaii	(288)	(199)	(102)	(116)	(275)	(197)	(251)	(1,428)	29	0.1%
Idaho	(10)	(64)	(141)	(135)	(86)	(152)	(27)	(615)	36	0.1%
Illinois	279	351	202	(267)	(126)	175	(409)	205	50	0.0%
Indiana	(318)	(306)	(325)	(379)	(578)	(419)	(584)	(2,909)	23	0.3%
lowa	174	(300)	(323)	(65)	(370) 74	(126)		(2,303)	47	0.0%
Kansas				(05)			(75)		33	0.0%
	(9)	(145)	(11)		(120)	(332)	(292)	(865)		0.1%
Kentucky	(168)	(189)	(248)	(727)	(524)	(385)	(480)	(2,721)	24	
Louisiana	(68)	(78)	(245)	(174)	(372)	885	(472)	(524)	38	0.1%
Maine	(481)	(609)	(544)	(496)	(466)	(330)	(323)	(3,249)	22	0.3%
Maryland	(3,733)	(3,935)	(3,683)	(4,047)	(3,918)	(3,506)	(2,995)	(25,817)	9	2.5%
Massachusetts	(4,011)	(1,533)	(488)	693	71	12	(446)	(5,702)	17	0.6%
Michigan	(895)	208	(244)	13	68	648	1,044	842	51	-0.1%
Minnesota	(431)	(323)	(353)	(249)	(29)	(117)	(148)	(1,650)	28	0.2%
Mississippi	3	(176)	(49)	(200)	(107)	(27)	(207)	(763)	35	0.1%
Missouri	172	(449)	(283)	(281)	(24)	(302)	(96)	(1,263)	31	0.1%
Montana	(41)	(71)	(76)	(120)	(92)	(57)	(138)	(595)	37	0.1%
Nebraska	(14)	93	(143)	(99)	(80)	(92)	(27)	(362)	42	0.0%
Nevada	(1,713)	(1,698)	(1,547)	(2,330)	(2,624)	(2,344)	(1,738)	(13,994)	13	1.4%
New Hampshire	(897)	(384)	(86)	(140)	(299)	(289)	(189)	(2,284)	26	0.2%
New Jersey	(24,163)	(23,430)	(23,390)	(26,488)	(26,923)	(24,144)	(18,529)	(167,067)	2	16.3%
New Mexico	(36)	(376)	(362)	(328)	(528)	(425)	(384)	(2,439)	25	0.2%
North Carolina	(7,395)	(8,199)	(7,074)	(10,273)	(14,418)	(16,968)	(17,862)	(82,189)	4	8.0%
North Dakota	23	(18)	25	2	53	34	(31)	88	49	0.0%
Ohio	(1,114)	(846)	(1,072)	(1,661)	(783)	(428)	(451)	(6,355)	16	0.6%
Oklahoma	(78)	(162)	11	(161)	90	(131)	(35)	(466)	40	0.0%
Oregon	(336)	(465)	(82)	(41)	(306)	(516)	(507)	(2,253)	27	0.2%
Pennsylvania	(7,555)	(10,142)	(13,005)	(15,115)	(15,437)	(15,613)	(12,094)	(88,961)	3	8.7%
Rhode Island	(1,004)	(1,068)	(995)	(808)	(217)	(128)	(12,001)	(4,155)	20	0.4%
South Carolina	(2,630)	(2,872)	(3,109)	(3,733)	(4,912)	(5,321)	(5,699)	(28,276)	8	2.8%
South Dakota	(14)	(2,072)	(0,100)	(0,700)	(48)	(3)	(0,000)	(164)	45	0.0%
Tennessee	(520)	+ (1,041)	(859)	(1,494)	(1,991)	(1,945)	(1,622)	(9,472)	14	0.0%
									10	
Texas Utah	(2,418) 104	(2,970)	(2,620) 109	(3,015)	(3,782) 124	(5,179)	(5,799)	(25,783)		2.5%
		(29)		39		(60)	(221)	66 (825)	48	0.0%
Vermont	(297)	(176)	(7)	31	(78)	(139)	(159)	(825)	34	0.1%
Virginia	(5,836)	(6,163)	(6,337)	(8,090)	(8,073)	(6,505)	(5,337)	(46,341)	7	4.5%
Washington	(560)	(354)	(428)	(248)	(162)	(1,092)	(734)	(3,578)	21	0.3%
West Virginia	(26)	(161)	(212)	(254)	(159)	(183)	(81)	(1,076)	32	0.1%
Wisconsin	6	(71)	(2)	(114)	(176)	(58)	28	(387)	41	0.0%
Wyoming	(11)	(42)	12	(41)	(62)	(54)	(76)	(274)	43	0.0%
Total	(123,429)	(129,428)	(126,860)	(159,868)	(179,916)	(169,632)	(138,049)	(1,027,182)		

\* Includes primary income tax filer and all exemptions claimed for dependents. Source: Internal Revenue Service

# **Taxpayer Migration**

The Internal Revenue Services (IRS) records the movement of taxpayers and their dependents across county lines, based on year-to-year changes in the addresses shown on individual income tax returns. This does not capture all migration; for example, it excludes tax return non-filers, who could make up as much as 8 percent of the workforce, according to some estimates.<sup>2</sup> How-ever, the IRS data remain the single best source of data on county-to-county moves within the United States, and (in gross term) on the incomes of migrating American households.<sup>3</sup>

As shown in Table 3, just over 1 million taxpayers and their dependents moved from New York to other states between 2000 and 2007. Florida was the most common destination, favored by over 30 percent of New York migrants, followed by New Jersey, Pennsylvania and North Carolina in that order. A total of 45 states, plus the District of Columbia, gained taxpayers at New York's expense during the period, as illustrated in Figure 3. Two of the five states from which New York gained migrants – Illinois and Michigan – sustained net migration losses almost as severe as New York's, as measured by the Census Bureau (see Table 1 on page 2.)



#### Table 4: Net Taxpayer\* Migration, New York Regions From (To) Other States

Total Individuals Claimed as Exemptions on Federal Income Tax Forms, 2000-07 Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs)

			Metropoli	tan Statistical Al	leas (INSAS)	Rest of	
	Albany	Buffalo	NYC Region	Rochester	Syracuse	NYS	Total*
Alaska	0	-49	-120	-24	0	(21)	(214
Alabama	0	-161	-1,172	-31	0	582	(782
Arizona	-679	-1,838	-12,714	-1,279	-553	(1,700)	(18,763
Arkansas	0	0	16	0	0	-	1
California	-586	-1,258	-20,086	-1,664	-726	(1,080)	(25,400
Colorado	-73	-537	-3,210	-494	-151	(200)	(4,665
Connecticut	-240	-134	-51,732	-184	-328	(97)	(52,715
Delaware	0	-108	-6,720	-157	-70	(66)	(7,121
D.C.	-189	-173	269	-206	-137	(79)	(515
Florida	-6,634	-11,497	-255,850	-9,560	-5,962	(10,946)	(300,449
Georgia	-1,232	-1,768	-46,343	-1,789	-863	(850)	(52,845
Hawaii	-141	-14	-923	-31	-102	82	(1,129
Idaho	0	0	20	0	0	-	2
Illinois	45	-499	2,213	-221	-493	(169)	87
Indiana	-22	-208	-402	-123	-48	20	(783
lowa	0	-16	214	15	-23	20	19
Kansas	0	-73	-1,132	-26	-23	412	(819
	0	-161	-1,132	-20	1	238	(592
Kentucky							
Louisiana	-10	-8	357	-71	38	7	31
Maine	-30	-11	-919	-35	54	(18)	(959
Maryland	-366	-1,264	-19,542	-1,113	-677	(1,045)	(24,007
Massachusetts	439	-446	-4,940	-813	-383	(1,170)	(7,313
Michigan	-24	-277	1,384	9	20	(167)	94
Minnesota	30	-113	-606	-175	-124	(11)	(999
Mississippi	0	18	52	0	0	-	7
Missouri	0	-93	302	-119	-53	(18)	1
Montana	0	0	38	0	0	-	3
Nebraska	0	-9	-41	6	16	(33)	(61
Nevada	-469	-1,187	-10,505	-614	-312	(791)	(13,878
New Hampshire	157	-63	-1,414	-149	-7	41	(1,43
New Jersey	772	-342	-172,072	-571	13	328	(171,872
New Mexico	-29	-71	-809	-45	-7	(22)	(983
North Carolina	-1,626	-4,496	-47,300	-3,936	-2,088	(2,902)	(62,348
North Dakota	0	0	0	0	0	-	
Ohio	-79	-955	-1,784	-266	-234	(122)	(3,440
Oklahoma	0	-70	73	-56	0	40	(13
Oregon	-38	-75	-335	-228	-36	(27)	(739
Pennsylvania	-395	-1,102	-84,078	-811	-854	(946)	(88,186
Rhode Island	-22	-97	-3,690	-75	-19	151	(3,752
South Carolina	949	-1,540	-15,384	-1,105	-640	(1,186)	(18,906
South Dakota	0	0	0	0	0	-	(10,000
Tennessee	0	-426	-1,883	-262	-190	(209)	(2,970
Texas	-317	-1,395	-16,396	-1,296	-518	(1,065)	(20,987
Utah	-12	-81	175	0	9	11	10
Vermont	556	-92	-945	-30	-23	851	31
Virginia		-2,079	-26,325			(1,324)	
0	-1,453 -419	-2,079 -364		-2,072 -195	-1,143		(34,39)
Washington			-1,006		-182	(549)	(2,71
West Virginia	0	0	53	0	0	-	5
Wisconsin	0	-100	72	-178	-20	35	(19)
Wyoming Total	0	0 -35,232	-58	0	0	- (24,015)	(58
	-12,137	25 222	-805,763	-30,079	-16,815	(04 045)	(924,04

\*\* Does not include non-allocated residual counted as part of total New York out-migration in Table 3 totals

Source: Internal Revenue Service

As shown in Table 4a, the migration pattern to other states was not uniform among different New York regions. While just over half the net migration flow from New York metropolitan region was headed South, nearly 40 percent of the taxpayers lost by that region moved to other states in the northeast, mainly neighboring New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

The net migration flow from upstate regions overwhelmingly favored the South and West, with fewer headed to the New York's neighbors. This tendency was most pronounced in the Albany MSA, whose entire net taxpayer migration loss was to the South (82 percent) and West (19 percent). Albany, alone among New York regions, *gained* taxpayer-migrants from the rest of the Northeast, according to the IRS data.

#### Taxpayer migration within New York

As detailed in Table 5, the migration of taxpayers and their dependents within New York City reflects long-standing population flows from Manhattan to outer boroughs, from Brooklyn to Staten Island, and from all five boroughs – especially Queens – to suburban counties. Roughly 62 percent of the intrastate New York taxpayer-migrants from New York City ended up in the inner-ring suburbs of Westchester and Nassau County.

New York City also lost a net 15,317 taxpayer-migrants to upstate New York regions, and 346,777 taxpayer-migrants to other states. The New York City region as a whole, including the suburban counties, lost 24,363 taxpayers and their dependents to upstate New York, which in turn lost 159,995 taxpayer-migrants to the rest of the country. The region-by-region breakdown is shown in Table 5a.

Table 4a: S	Share of Ne	w York 1	Faxpayer Ou	t-Migrants	by Regio	n, <b>2000-07</b>				
	From (Metropolitan Statistical Areas):									
To (Census Regions):	Albany	Buffalo	NYC Region	Rochester	Syracuse	Rest of NYS	Total			
<b>Northeast</b> CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, PA, RI, VT	-10.2%	6.5%	39.7%	8.9%	9.2%	3.6%	35.3%			
<b>South</b> AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MI, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV	88.1%	70.8%	54.2%	71.7%	72.0%	78.0%	56.8%			
<b>Midwest</b> IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI	0.4%	6.7%	0.0%	3.6%	5.7%	0.2%	0.5%			
West AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY	19.0%	15.4%	6.0%	15.0%	11.6%	18.1%	7.3%			
Source: Internal Revenue Ser	vice									

Table 5: Net Dome	estic Migration	n of Taxpay	ers* To and	From New Y	ork City, 20	00-07
	To:					
From:	Manhattan	The Bronx	Brooklyn	Queens	Staten Island	City: Total
Manhattan	-	34,383	21,119	8,547	431	64,480
The Bronx	(34,383)	-	(4,955)	(2,127)	907	(40,558)
Brooklyn	(21,119)	4,955	-	41,686	43,429	68,951
Queens	(8,547)	2,127	(41,686)	-	4,418	(43,688)
Staten Island	(431)	(907)	(43,429)	(4,418)	-	(49,185)
City: Total	(64,480)	40,558	(68,951)	43,688	49,185	-
Westchester-Nassau	(32,710)	(40,553)	(49,240)	(105,689)	(9,807)	(237,999)
Putnam-Rockland-Suffolk	(2,243)	(10,769)	(26,169)	(37,003)	(16,144)	(92,328)
Dutchess-Orange-Ulster	(7,921)	(20,253)	(10,356)	(13,107)	(2,239)	(53,876)
Suburbs: Total	(42,874)	(71,575)	(85,765)	(155,799)	(28,190)	(384,203)
New York MSA Region Total	(107,354)	(31,017)	(154,716)	(112,111)	20,995	(384,203)
Other NYS	306	(4,030)	(4,875)	(5,547)	(1,171)	(15,317)
Other US	2,180	(81,080)	(104,334)	(139,551)	(23,992)	(346,777)
Total (104,868)	(116,127)	(263,925)	(257,209)	(4,168)	(746,297)	-746,297

#### Table 5a: Net Domestic Migration of Taxpayers\*, All New York Regions, 2000-07

	To (MSAs):							
From (MSAs):	Albany	Buffalo	Rochester	Syracuse	NYC Region	Other NYS	Rest of US	Total
Albany	-	(310)	(312)	(913)	(13,317)	(3,264)	14,270	(3,846)
Buffalo	310	-	135	(61)	(681)	(276)	39,175	38,602
Rochester	312	(135)	-	(696)	(854)	(3,192)	38,725	34,160
Syracuse	913	61	696	-	(1,190)	(3,608)	21,493	18,365
Other NYS	3,264	276	3,192	3,608	(24,363)	-	46,332	32,309
Other US	(14,270)	(39,175)	(38,725)	(21,493)	(867,187)	(46,332)	-	(1,027,182)
Total	(9,471)	(39,283)	(35,014)	(19,555)	(907,592)	(56,672)	1,027,182	-
* Includos prima	nu incomo tov	filor and all	overntione	laimad far dar	andanta			

\* Includes primary income tax filer and all exemptions claimed for dependents

Source: Calculations based on Internal Revenue Service data

# **Migrating Incomes**

The IRS data also provide adjusted gross incomes for migrating households in the year immediately following a move. Measured on this basis, New York's annual income loss to migration has ranged from \$3.9 billion in 2003, just after the end of the last recession, to \$5.6 billion as the economy and real estate bubble were expanding in 2005. This trend is consistent with migration trends as estimated by both Census Bureau and the IRS.

As shown in Table 6 on page 11, New York's net income loss from taxpayer migration was nearly \$4.3 billion in 2007, and the annual net income losses from 2001 through 2007 totaled nearly \$30 billion. Household incomes change from year to year, so this does not necessarily mean New York was \$30 billion worse off at the end of the period. A more precise estimate of the income losses associated with out-migration would require additional information and calculations beyond the scope of this paper. However, both the annual and cumulative income data from IRS returns surely reflects to some extent the magnitude of income flows to other states.

From 2001 to 2007, New York State's greatest net income losses, like its greatest population losses, were to Florida and New Jersey, in that order. But Connecticut, the sixth most popular destination state for net migration of individual New Yorkers, ranks third in its net income gain from New York. Conversely, Pennsylvania ranks third in the number of people gained at New York's expense, but fifth in its net income gain from migrating New Yorkers.

	2001	2002	2003	2004	millions of doll 2005	2006	2007	Total	Rank*
Alabama	(\$6.4)	(\$5.9)	(\$9.1)	(\$15.3)	(\$14.2)	(\$13.9)	(\$8.0)	(\$72.9)	26
Alaska	(\$0. <del>4</del> ) \$1.5	(\$2.3)	(\$0.9)	(\$1.1)	(\$0.9)	(\$0.1)	(\$0.3)	(\$4.0)	42
Arizona	(\$75.9)	(\$84.8)	(\$70.4)	(\$85.6)	(\$114.5)	(\$123.8)	(\$119.5)	(\$4.0)	10
Arkansas	(\$2.4)	(\$3.0)	(\$2.9)	(\$6.6)	(\$3.7)	(\$8.3)	(\$4.9)	(\$31.7)	32
California	(\$439.0)	(\$129.1)	(\$33.6)	(\$103.5)	(\$201.6)	(\$212.5)	(\$209.8)	(\$1,329.0)	6
Colorado	(\$439.0) (\$42.5)	(\$129.1) (\$32.7)	(\$33.0) (\$29.1)	(\$103.5)	(\$201.0)	(\$212.5) (\$47.1)	(\$209.8)	(\$1,329.0) (\$271.5)	15
Connecticut	(\$245.0)	(\$408.1)	(\$418.3)	(\$439.5)	(\$517.1)	(\$431.7)	(\$310.4)	(\$2,770.1)	3
Delaware	. ,	,	,	,	,	. ,	(\$22.9)	(, , ,	48
DC	(\$11.9) \$22.0	(\$18.0) (\$19.4)	(\$21.1) \$1.9	(\$29.3) (\$7.4)	(\$41.1) \$17.2	(\$31.5) \$2.7	(\$22.9) \$19.0	(\$175.8) \$36.0	40 20
Florida	(\$973.9)							(\$9,188.2)	20
		(\$1,141.5)	(\$1,017.9)	(\$1,331.1)	(\$1,840.8)	(\$1,614.4)	(\$1,268.6) (\$230.0)		
Georgia	(\$79.0)	(\$146.1)	(\$109.1)	(\$139.1)	(\$171.1)	(\$214.0)	( )	(\$1,088.4)	7
Hawaii	(\$15.4)	(\$10.8)	(\$6.9)	(\$8.2)	(\$11.5)	(\$15.7)	(\$11.1)	(\$79.6)	25
Idaho	(\$2.7)	(\$3.2)	(\$4.4)	(\$6.0)	(\$1.9)	(\$3.5)	\$2.2	(\$19.6)	36
Illinois	\$24.5	\$8.9	\$31.8	\$5.3	\$32.3	\$24.1	(\$16.9)	\$110.0	50
Indiana	\$2.4	(\$13.4)	(\$7.9)	(\$4.1)	(\$5.0)	(\$12.8)	(\$2.8)	(\$43.6)	28
lowa	\$9.3	(\$3.5)	\$3.6	(\$1.1)	\$2.0	(\$3.1)	(\$3.0)	\$4.2	46
Kansas	\$1.5	(\$1.3)	(\$2.8)	\$0.3	(\$3.3)	(\$8.9)	(\$6.6)	(\$21.2)	37
Kentucky	(\$3.0)	(\$7.0)	(\$7.1)	(\$25.8)	(\$13.5)	(\$0.1)	(\$2.4)	(\$58.8)	27
Louisiana	\$2.5	\$1.6	(\$3.5)	(\$1.0)	(\$15.5)	\$16.4	(\$6.8)	(\$6.2)	41
Maine	(\$27.5)	(\$17.6)	(\$38.4)	(\$35.1)	(\$30.2)	(\$17.1)	(\$21.1)	(\$187.1)	18
Maryland	(\$58.9)	(\$77.6)	(\$69.0)	(\$64.8)	(\$72.5)	(\$81.0)	(\$64.9)	(\$488.7)	12
Massachusetts	(\$184.7)	(\$62.4)	(\$14.8)	\$58.2	(\$17.4)	\$2.5	(\$46.3)	(\$264.9)	14
Michigan	(\$8.6)	\$19.5	\$0.9	(\$1.3)	\$1.8	\$24.4	\$43.0	\$79.7	49
Minnesota	(\$0.3)	(\$12.6)	(\$12.9)	(\$11.5)	\$16.0	(\$0.5)	(\$8.6)	(\$30.3)	33
Mississippi	\$0.7	(\$4.2)	(\$1.2)	(\$7.5)	(\$3.5)	\$1.9	(\$2.1)	(\$15.8)	39
Missouri	\$16.7	(\$7.3)	\$11.8	\$1.6	\$4.2	(\$23.2)	\$4.2	\$8.0	47
Montana	(\$1.5)	(\$3.5)	(\$4.0)	(\$8.4)	(\$1.7)	(\$3.7)	(\$4.4)	(\$27.2)	34
Nebraska	\$2.1	\$4.7	(\$3.6)	(\$1.4)	(\$2.1)	(\$1.5)	\$0.9	(\$0.8)	44
Nevada	(\$85.2)	(\$50.2)	(\$47.3)	(\$71.9)	(\$77.4)	(\$74.3)	(\$59.0)	(\$465.4)	13
New Hampshire	(\$37.0)	(\$21.1)	(\$13.2)	(\$14.4)	(\$23.2)	(\$47.1)	(\$19.3)	(\$175.3)	19
New Jersey	(\$655.9)	(\$837.7)	(\$786.7)	(\$966.7)	(\$899.1)	(\$952.6)	(\$634.5)	(\$5,733.2)	2
New Mexico	(\$9.0)	(\$18.4)	(\$18.6)	(\$10.5)	(\$18.1)	(\$19.8)	(\$16.5)	(\$110.9)	23
North Carolina	(\$168.5)	(\$197.3)	(\$144.0)	(\$228.1)	(\$317.7)	(\$373.4)	(\$420.2)	(\$1,849.2)	4
North Dakota	(\$0.2)	(\$1.0)	\$0.4	(\$0.7)	\$0.9	\$0.7	(\$1.2)	(\$1.0)	43
Ohio	(\$7.3)	(\$2.9)	(\$22.5)	\$7.9	(\$28.1)	(\$2.7)	\$15.9	(\$39.7)	29
Oklahoma	\$0.3	(\$1.6)	\$2.0	\$7.7	\$1.0	(\$2.8)	(\$1.9)	\$4.8	45
Oregon	(\$15.6)	(\$19.5)	(\$3.0)	(\$3.4)	(\$13.1)	(\$19.6)	(\$23.1)	(\$97.4)	24
Pennsylvania	(\$88.0)	(\$170.0)	(\$242.7)	(\$278.5)	(\$297.7)	(\$276.2)	(\$171.0)	(\$1,524.1)	5
Rhode Island	(\$19.6)	(\$27.3)	(\$26.3)	(\$20.6)	(\$5.9)	(\$3.7)	(\$8.0)	(\$111.4)	22
South Carolina	(\$92.6)	(\$79.2)	(\$80.9)	(\$120.8)	(\$143.0)	(\$145.1)	(\$151.6)	(\$813.2)	9
South Dakota	(\$0.5)	(\$0.2)	(\$0.3)	(\$0.6)	(\$0.7)	(\$1.5)	(\$4.6)	(\$8.3)	40
Tennessee	(\$13.4)	(\$7.4)	(\$21.9)	(\$30.7)	(\$42.0)	(\$50.3)	(\$36.7)	(\$202.4)	17
Texas	(\$40.5)	(\$36.7)	(\$49.6)	(\$74.1)	(\$88.3)	(\$118.4)	(\$199.6)	(\$607.1)	11
Utah	(\$11.2)	(\$4.4)	(\$4.9)	(\$5.0)	(\$0.4)	(\$6.0)	(\$8.4)	(\$40.3)	30
Vermont	(\$37.4)	(\$13.1)	(\$21.1)	(\$14.7)	(\$16.9)	(\$43.3)	(\$12.2)	(\$158.7)	21
Virginia	(\$104.0)	(\$121.1)	(\$127.5)	(\$165.4)	(\$201.6)	(\$142.1)	(\$108.8)	(\$970.5)	8
Washington	(\$31.7)	(\$13.3)	(\$22.1)	(\$12.8)	(\$37.7)	(\$41.1)	(\$43.4)	(\$202.1)	16
West Virginia	\$1.3	(\$1.9)	(\$3.9)	(\$4.1)	(\$3.9)	(\$4.9)	(\$0.5)	(\$17.9)	38
Wisconsin	(\$0.5)	(\$10.2)	(\$5.4)	(\$ <del>4</del> .1) \$2.2	(\$3.9)	(\$4.9)	(\$4.5)	(\$17.9)	35
Wyoming		(\$10.2) \$6.2	(\$5.4) \$0.0	ع. <i>ح</i> و (\$1.6)	(\$4.9) (\$14.6)	\$3.4 \$0.2	(\$4.5) (\$2.8)	(\$19.9) (\$32.2)	31
Total	(\$19.5)	φ0.Z	φ0.0	(0.10)	(φ14.0)	φ <b>0.</b> Ζ	(φ∠.0)	(432.2)	51

According to the IRS data, 196,544 federal tax returns were filed in 2007 by former New Yorkers who had moved to other states in the previous year, and 137,761 returns were filed by households that moved into New York from other states in the same period. Taxpayer households leaving the state were larger, averaging 1.81 people compared to 1.58 for those entering the state.<sup>4</sup>

That seemingly small difference of just .22 people per household translated into an added 45,000 people leaving the Empire State in 2006-07 – including an untold number of children and young adults. Migrant households in both directions were smaller than those who stay put in New York, which averaged 2.08 persons.

# **Incomes In, Incomes Out**

The average adjusted gross income of taxpaying households leaving New York between 2006 and 2007 was \$57,144, while the average income of households moving into New York was \$50,533 – a difference of 13 percent. Non-migrating New York households as of 2007 had an average income of \$63,277.

A county-by-county breakdown of average incomes for interstate migrants to and from New York is presented in Table 7a on page 13. As shown, in 26 of New York's 62 counties, the average income differential was the reverse of the statewide average; i.e., in these counties, the average incomes of in-migrants from other states were roughly equivalent to or exceeded the average incomes of out-migrants to other states. With few exceptions (most notably, Cattaraugus County in western New York State), higher or roughly equivalent inmigrant incomes were concentrated in less populous, rural upstate counties.

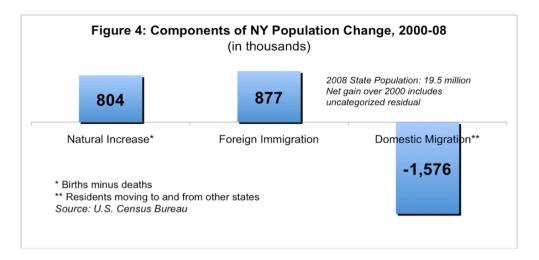
The average income differentials for out-migrants matched or exceeded the statewide average in New York City, Long Island and the lower Hudson Valley suburbs, as well as in all of the most urbanized and populous upstate counties (except for Onondaga County, which includes Syracuse). The largest differential in absolute terms was in New York County (the borough of Manhattan), where the average out-migrant income of \$93,264 was 28 percent higher than the in-migrant average of \$72,726. The percentage differentials between out-migrants and in-migrants were even higher in the rest of the city.

Turning to a state-level comparison, as detailed in Table 7b on page 14, migrants from New York had higher average incomes than migrants to New York in 38 out of 50 states between 2006 and 2007. New Yorkers migrating to Florida, the most common destination state, had incomes nearly \$20,000 higher than the smaller number making the reverse move. The differential was also striking among New York migrants to and from Connecticut.

The average income data for migrants to and from New York reflect the same pattern as the aggregate income and population data: southeastern states, and neighboring Connecticut and New Jersey, have been the biggest net beneficiaries of the Empire State's losses – which can be traced largely to the New York City metropolitan region.

		er states…	Out to oth	er states	Difference
County	Filers	Average AGI	Filers	Average AGI	(Out - In
Albany	1,946	\$45,590	2.873	\$52,331	\$6,741
Allegany	326	\$33,141	388	\$34,951	\$1,810
Bronx	7,320	\$25,688	13,109	\$35,954	\$10,266
Broome	1,500	\$39,364	2,048	\$40,045	\$681
Cattaraugus	439	\$35,371	709	\$51,790	\$16,419
Cayuga	346	\$33,066	500	\$33,046	(\$20
Chautauqua	942	\$31,814	1,175	\$32,237	\$423
Chemung	670	\$41,687	774	\$41,658	(\$29
Chenango	293	\$33,997	350	\$34,523	\$526
Clinton	468	\$52,825	700	\$44,343	(\$8,482
Columbia	335	\$36,009	545	\$43,582	\$7,573
Cortland	242	\$36,401	368	\$37,663	\$1,262
Delaware	247	\$44,668	307	\$33,033	(\$11,635
Dutchess	1,680	\$53,529	2,982	\$54,817	\$1,288
Erie	4,371	\$46,518	7,361	\$49,606	\$3,089
Essex	298	\$44,460	326	\$39,316	(\$5,144
Franklin	276	\$34,185	301	\$30,824	(\$3,361
Fulton	246	\$37,911	345	\$33,997	(\$3,913
Genesee	223	\$31,090	375	\$35,237	\$4,148
Greene	207	\$36,097	329	\$33,368	(\$2,729
Hamilton	38	\$33,579	42	\$39,000	\$5,42
Herkimer	272	\$43,827	367	\$38,706	(\$5,121
Jefferson	2,670	\$24,460	2,983	\$25,482	\$1,02
Kings	18,194	\$32,623	23,242	\$45,199	\$12,57
_ewis	178	\$29,787	176	\$32,205	\$2,41
_ivingston	283	\$41,276	390	\$34,108	(\$7,168
Madison	393	\$46,204	512	\$41,201	(\$5,002
Monroe	4,270	\$48,478	6,955	\$55,209	\$6,73
Montgomery	240	\$30,479	363	\$31,105	\$62
Nassau	4,641	\$54,261	11,793	\$65,138	\$10,87
New York	35,897	\$72,726	29,325	\$93,264	\$20,538
Niagara	938	\$36,588	1,622	\$42,160	\$5,57
Oneida	1,124	\$38,136	1,618	\$37,547	(\$589
Onondaga	2,904	\$53,170	4,692	\$48,781	(\$4,389
Ontario	588	\$64,391	852	\$51,097	(\$13,294
Orange	2,893	\$51,090	4,913	\$48,643	(\$2,447
Orleans	181	\$32,177	282	\$30,043	(\$2,134
Oswego	560	\$34,632	919	\$38,614	\$3,98
Otsego	377	\$48,432	541	\$38,048	(\$10,384
Putnam	481	\$56,260	933	\$63,003	\$6,74
Queens	12,864 970	\$32,055	21,941	\$44,188	\$12,13
Rensselaer		\$46,376	1,340 4,581	\$43,890	(\$2,486
Richmond Rockland	2,033 1,751	\$41,883 \$52,740	3,110	\$61,950	\$20,06 \$15,08
		\$53,749	,	\$68,836	
St Lawrence	699 1,837	\$38,266 \$59,249	847 2,355	\$39,481 \$56,803	\$1,21 (\$2,355
Saratoga Schenectady	774		2,355	\$56,893 \$51,234	(\$2,355 \$8,14
Schenectady Schobarie	129	\$43,088 \$37,093	1,213	\$51,234 \$31,466	
Schoharie Schuyler	129	\$37,093	178	\$31,400	(\$5,627) \$52
Seneca	200	\$32,645	261	\$33,350 \$30,467	عود \$2,178(\$2
Steuben	673	\$42,418	856	\$54,590	(\$2,176
Suffolk	5,902	\$42,418	14,984	\$58,836	\$12,17
Sullivan	5,902	\$35,254	763	\$38,862	\$1,30
Tioga	420	\$42,080	467	\$30,802	(\$1,733
Tompkins	1,498	\$43,242	1,815	\$40,243	(\$1,733)
Ulster	944	\$39,444	1,815	\$38,598	(\$2,998 (\$846
Warren	440	\$61,734	531	\$50,598	(\$040)
Washington	440	\$34,027	440	\$32,609	(\$11,207) (\$1,417)
Wayne	394	\$42,609	650	\$32,609 \$41,734	(\$1,41) (\$875
Westchester	5,576		9,846	\$91,942	
Nyoming	5,576 145	\$83,136 \$32,097	9,846	\$91,942 \$31,165	\$8,80 (\$93 <i>1</i>

Average Adjusted Gross Income (AGI) of Tax-Filer Migrants To and From New York   To NY From NY Difference   State Filers Average AGI Filers Average AGI (From -To)   Alabama 754 \$38,472 1,042 \$35,475 \$22,971 (\$5,053)   Arkansas 335 \$32,293 366 \$42,863 \$10,571   California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$56,581 \$5,782   Colorado 1,731 \$44,347 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,017 \$12,578   Colorado 1,655 \$37,085 2,664 \$57,861 \$19,970   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idahon 206 \$449,209 2,14 \$37,084 \$58,82   Ildiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,433 \$7,653	Table 7b: Mi	gratory Flov	v of Adjuste	ed Gross In	come (AGI), S	tate Basis
State Filers Average AGI Filers Average AGI (From - To)   Alaska 264 \$33,8472 1,042 \$35,475 (\$2,997)   Alaska 264 \$33,8358 3,426 \$\$42,863 \$\$10,571   California 1,708 \$\$38,958 3,426 \$\$42,863 \$\$10,571   California 1,474 \$\$60,999 1,362 \$\$66,651 \$\$57,861   Colorado 1,711 \$\$43,437 2,338 \$\$50,015 \$\$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$\$71,608 9,271 \$\$91,067 \$\$19,459   Delaware 633 \$\$47,316 1,053 \$\$50,204 \$\$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$\$37,885 32,654 \$\$77,861 \$\$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$\$40,931 9,461 \$\$41,901 \$\$970   Hawaii 605 \$\$33,286 7,73 \$\$40,367 \$\$7,881   Iodiaa 1,199 \$\$43,850 1,242 \$\$44,633 \$\$7,853   Indi	Average Adjust	ed Gross Inco	ome (AGI) of	Fax-Filer Mig	rants To and Fro	m New York
Alabama 754 \$38,472 1,042 \$35,475 (\$2,97)   Alaska 264 \$31,833 301 \$28,781 (\$3,053)   Arkanasa 335 \$32,293 366 \$42,863 \$10,571   California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$66,581 \$5,782   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$571,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 7,73 \$40,367 \$7,081   Ildaho 206 \$49,209 214 \$37,084 \$51,2578   Ildinaa 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,334 \$7,543   Ildinia 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,433 \$7,853   Kentucky 808 \$46,78		То	NY	Fro	m NY	Difference
Alaska 264 \$31,833 301 \$28,781 (\$3,053)   Arkansas 335 \$32,293 366 \$42,863 \$10,571   California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$66,881 \$57,782   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$71,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$977   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idaho 206 \$49,209 214 \$37,084 \$51,215   Illinois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$55   Kansas 536 \$34,737 \$55 \$44,633 \$78,53   Kansas 536 \$34,737	State	Filers	Average AGI	Filers	Average AGI	(From - To)
Arizona 1,708 \$38,958 3,426 \$54,307 \$15,349   Arkansas 335 \$32,293 366 \$42,863 \$10,571   California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$266,581 \$5,782   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$71,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,736 \$1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Iliniois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,862   Indiana 1,199 \$43,680 1,242 \$44,363 \$7,853   Kansas 536 \$34,737 575 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$5,976   Lousiana 726 <td< td=""><td>Alabama</td><td>754</td><td>\$38,472</td><td>1,042</td><td>\$35,475</td><td>(\$2,997)</td></td<>	Alabama	754	\$38,472	1,042	\$35,475	(\$2,997)
Arizona 1,708 \$38,858 3.426 \$54,307 \$15,349   Arkansas 335 \$32,293 366 \$42,863 \$11,071   California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$266,581 \$5,782   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$77,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Iliniois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,862   Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 \$44,833 \$7,853 \$8,9113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$5,973   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 959 \$36,664 \$52,433   Maryland 3,999	Alaska	264	\$31,833	301	\$28,781	(\$3,053)
California 11,478 \$60,799 13,632 \$66,581 \$5,782   Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticu 7,455 \$71,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,661 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$977   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idaho 206 \$44,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Illinois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$558   Kanasa 536 \$34,737 \$75 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$53,973   Juousiana 726 \$39,123 959 \$36,664 \$52,248   Maryland 3,999 \$50,09	Arizona	1,708		3,426	\$54,307	\$15,349
Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$71,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$57,081   Idaho 206 \$44,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Illinois 3,788 \$62,310 3,720 \$86,173 \$5,862   Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,334 \$7,853   Kanzas 536 \$34,737 575 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$63,973   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 \$959 \$36,664 \$62,2459   Masachusetts 8,253 \$52,986 7,916 \$61,090 \$8,104   Michigan 2,677 <td< td=""><td>Arkansas</td><td>335</td><td>\$32,293</td><td>366</td><td>\$42,863</td><td>\$10,571</td></td<>	Arkansas	335	\$32,293	366	\$42,863	\$10,571
Colorado 1,731 \$43,437 2,338 \$56,015 \$12,578   Connecticut 7,455 \$71,608 9,271 \$91,067 \$19,459   Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$33,286 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$5708   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idaho 206 \$44,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Illinois 3,788 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,862   Iowa 473 \$36,780 \$458 \$44,633 \$7,853   Kansas 536 \$34,737 575 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentcky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$63,939   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 \$559 \$58,198 \$18,165   Massachusetts 8,253 \$52,986	California	11,478	\$60,799	13,632	\$66,581	\$5,782
Delaware 633 \$47,316 1,053 \$50,204 \$2,888   Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$970   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idaho 206 \$49,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Illinois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,862   Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,334 \$754   Iowa 473 \$36,780 458 \$44,633 \$7,853   Kansas 536 \$34,737 \$75 \$43,850 \$8,913   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 959 \$36,664 \$2,243   Maine 817 \$40,033 925 \$88,198 \$18,165   Maryland 3,999 \$50,094 \$5,543 \$47,851 \$52,243   Missouri 1,091 \$49,477 \$10,90	Colorado	1,731	\$43,437	2,338	\$56,015	
Florida 16,385 \$37,885 32,654 \$57,861 \$19,976   Georgia 4,065 \$40,931 9,461 \$41,901 \$970   Hawaii 605 \$33,286 773 \$40,367 \$7,081   Idaho 206 \$49,209 214 \$37,084 (\$12,125)   Illinois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,662   Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,334 \$7,681   Iowa 473 \$36,780 458 \$44,633 \$7,853   Kanzas 536 \$34,737 575 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 (\$3,973)   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 \$959 \$6,664 \$(\$2,459)   Maryland 3,999 \$50,094 5,543 \$47,851 \$(\$2,243)   Massachusetts 8,253 \$52,986 7,916 \$61,090 \$8,104   Michigan 2,677 \$43,347	Connecticut	7,455	\$71,608	9,271	\$91,067	\$19,459
Georgia4,065\$40,9319,461\$41,901\$970Hawaii605\$33,286773\$40,367\$7,081Idaho206\$49,209214\$37,084(\$12,125)Illinois3,798\$62,3103,720\$68,173\$5,862Indiana1,199\$43,5801,242\$44,334\$754Iowa473\$36,780458\$44,633\$7,853Kansas536\$34,737757\$43,850\$9,113Kentucky808\$46,785938\$42,811(\$3,973)Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Minepsota1,186\$43,4971,090\$55,193\$11,695Mississippi324\$33,346422\$30,687(\$2,658)Missouri1,091\$49,7781,012\$49,483(\$295)Montana190\$30,842250\$41,024\$10,182Nebraska302\$41,212254\$45,500\$4,288Nevada940\$35,8822,000\$46,382\$10,500New Jersey20,243\$66,22727,583\$71,605\$5,378New Marpshire1,062\$44,6391,131\$59,003\$14,369North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,118North Dakota97 <td>Delaware</td> <td>633</td> <td>\$47,316</td> <td>1,053</td> <td>\$50,204</td> <td>\$2,888</td>	Delaware	633	\$47,316	1,053	\$50,204	\$2,888
Georgia4,065\$40,9319,461\$41,901\$970Hawaii605\$33,286773\$40,367\$7,081Idaho206\$49,209214\$37,084(\$12,125)Illinois3,798\$62,3103,720\$68,173\$5,862Indiana1,199\$43,5801,242\$44,334\$754Iowa473\$36,780458\$44,633\$7,853Kansas536\$34,737575\$43,850\$9,113Kentucky808\$46,785938\$42,811(\$3,973)Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Michigan2,677\$47,5781,794\$47,005(\$572)Minnesota1,186\$43,4971,090\$55,193\$11,695Mississippi324\$33,346422\$30,687(\$2,658)Missouri1,091\$49,7781,012\$44,832\$10,500New Jarsey20,243\$36,8222,000\$46,382\$10,500New Jarsey20,243\$66,22727,583\$71,605\$5,378New Hampshire1,062\$44,6391,131\$59,003\$14,369North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,118North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,843\$10,759Or	Florida	16,385	\$37,885	32,654	\$57,861	\$19,976
Hawaii605\$33,286773\$40,367\$7,081Idaho206\$49,209214\$37,084(\$12,125)Ilinois3,798\$62,3103,720\$68,173\$5,862Indiana1,199\$43,5801,242\$44,334\$754Iowa473\$36,780458\$44,633\$7,853Kansas536\$34,737575\$43,850\$9,113Kentucky808\$46,785938\$42,811(\$3,973)Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maine817\$40,033925\$58,198\$18,165Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Michigan2,677\$47,5781,794\$47,005(\$572)Minnesota1,186\$43,4971,090\$55,193\$11,695Missouri1,091\$49,7781,012\$49,483(\$295)Montana190\$30,842250\$41,024\$10,182Nebraska302\$41,212254\$45,500\$4,288Nevada940\$35,8822,000\$46,882\$10,500New Harcico419\$35,847638\$49,447\$13,599North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,118North Dakota97\$27,680105\$36,705\$9,024Ohio3,516\$44,391 <td< td=""><td>Georgia</td><td>4,065</td><td>\$40,931</td><td>9,461</td><td>\$41,901</td><td></td></td<>	Georgia	4,065	\$40,931	9,461	\$41,901	
Idaho206\$49,209214\$37,084(\$12,125)Illinois3,798\$82,3103,720\$68,173\$5,862Indiana1,199\$43,5801,242\$44,334\$754Iowa473\$36,780458\$44,633\$7,853Kansas536\$34,737575\$43,850\$9,113Kentucky808\$46,785938\$42,811(\$3,973)Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maine817\$40,033925\$58,198\$18,165Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Michigan2,677\$47,5781,794\$47,005(\$572)Minnesota1,186\$43,4971,000\$55,193\$11,695Mississippi324\$33,346422\$30,687(\$2,658)Montana190\$30,842250\$41,024\$10,182Nevada940\$35,8822,000\$46,382\$10,500New Hampshire1,062\$44,6391,131\$59,003\$14,363New Hampshire1,062\$44,6393,711\$48,048\$343North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,118North Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,179Pennsylvania11,240\$47,91115,349\$46,224\$16,1677Rhod	-					
Illinois 3,798 \$62,310 3,720 \$68,173 \$5,862   Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,333 \$7,543   Iowa 473 \$36,780 458 \$44,633 \$7,853   Kansas 536 \$34,737 575 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 \$(\$3,973)   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 959 \$36,664 \$(\$2,458)   Maine 817 \$40,033 925 \$58,198 \$18,165   Maryland 3,999 \$50,094 5,543 \$47,851 \$(\$2,248)   Mississipi 324 \$33,346 422 \$30,687 \$(\$2,658)   Missouri 1,091 \$49,778 1,012 \$49,483 \$(\$2,658)   Missouri 1,091 \$49,778 1,012 \$49,483 \$(\$2,658)   Missouri 1,091 \$49,778 1,012 \$49,483 \$(\$2,658)   Nevada 940 \$35,842	Idaho	206	\$49,209	214	\$37,084	(\$12,125)
Indiana 1,199 \$43,580 1,242 \$44,334 \$754   Iowa 473 \$36,780 458 \$44,633 \$7,853   Kansas 536 \$34,737 \$75 \$43,850 \$9,113   Kentucky 808 \$46,785 938 \$42,811 (\$3,973)   Louisiana 726 \$39,123 959 \$36,664 (\$2,458)   Maine 817 \$40,033 925 \$\$8,198 \$18,165   Maryland 3,999 \$50,094 \$5,543 \$47,851 (\$2,243)   Michigan 2,677 \$47,575 1,794 \$47,005 (\$572)   Minnesota 1,186 \$43,497 1,090 \$55,193 \$11,695   Missouri 1,091 \$49,778 1,012 \$49,483 (\$295)   Montana 190 \$30,842 250 \$41,024 \$10,182   Nebraska 302 \$41,212 254 \$45,500 \$4,288   New Jersey 20,243 \$66,227	Illinois	3,798	\$62,310	3,720	\$68,173	
Iowa473\$36,780458\$44,633\$7,853Kansas536\$34,737575\$43,850\$9,113Kentucky808\$46,785938\$42,811(\$3,973)Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maine817\$40,033925\$58,198\$18,165Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Michigan2,677\$47,5781,794\$47,005(\$2,658)Mississippi324\$33,346422\$30,687(\$2,658)Missouri1,091\$49,7781,012\$49,483(\$295)Montana190\$30,842250\$41,024\$10,182Nevada940\$35,8822,000\$46,382\$10,500New Hampshire1,062\$44,6391,131\$59,003\$14,363New Jersey20,243\$66,22727,583\$71,605\$5,378New Mexico419\$35,847638\$49,447\$13,599Orth Carolina5,225\$36,76813,060\$46,886\$10,118North Dakota97\$27,680105\$36,705\$9,024Ohio3,516\$41,0761,068\$51,866\$10,790Pennsylvania11,240\$47,91115,349\$46,224\$16,871Rhode Island1,182\$6,0791,072\$47,252\$11,173South C				1,242		
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Louisiana726\$39,123959\$36,664(\$2,458)Maine817\$40,033925\$58,198\$18,165Maryland3,999\$50,0945,543\$47,851(\$2,243)Massachusetts8,253\$52,9867,916\$61,090\$8,104Michigan2,677\$47,5781,794\$47,005(\$572)Minnesota1,186\$43,4971,090\$55,193\$11,695Mississippi324\$33,346422\$30,687(\$2,658)Missouri1,091\$49,7781,012\$49,483(\$295)Montana190\$30,842250\$41,024\$10,182Nebraska302\$41,212254\$45,500\$4,288Nevada940\$35,8822,000\$46,382\$10,500New Hampshire1,062\$44,6391,131\$59,003\$14,363New Jersey20,243\$66,22727,583\$71,605\$5,378New Mexico419\$35,847638\$49,447\$13,599Orico3,516\$48,3913,211\$48,048\$343)Okiahoma613\$31,608\$577\$36,804\$5,196Oregon786\$41,0761,068\$51,866\$10,790Pennsylvania11,240\$47,91115,349\$46,224\$16,687)Rhode Island1,182\$36,0791,072\$47,252\$11,173South Carolina1,836\$30,9994,509\$46,252\$15,252 <td< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></td<>						
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As shown in Table 8 on page 16, New York's total population increased by 2.7 percent between 2000 and 2008, despite the massive continuing migration of New Yorkers to other states in the meantime. The primary reason, as illustrated above in Figure 4: during those eight years, the Empire State has become home to an additional 876,969 foreign immigrants, who made up a growing share of the total state population. Twenty-two percent of New Yorkers were foreign-born as of 2008, up from 17 percent in 1995. The influx of immigrants – who also tend to have higher fertility rates than native-born Americans – has offset large domestic migration losses in and around New York City. Since foreign immigration is a much less significant factor upstate, fewer of those who leave that region for other states are ultimately replaced. New York's population growth rate was one-third the national average and ranked 41st out of 50 states from 2000 to 2008.

# Conclusion

What accounts for New York's chronic inability to attract and retain more Americans than it loses every year? Any attempt to answer that question must begin with New York's state and local tax burden, perennially ranked among the heaviest in the country.<sup>5</sup> Taxes aside, likely explanations differ regionally. Downstate residents face high taxes and housing costs rated among the most "severely unaffordable" in the world.<sup>6</sup> Land-use regulations in downstate New York also tend to inhibit growth.<sup>7</sup> In upstate New York, housing is relatively inexpensive but even more heavily taxed, and new economic opportunities have been scarce.

Weather, on the other hand, seems less compelling as an explanation. After all, while the Sunbelt's climate has long attracted northerners, cold winters haven't stopped New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Minnesota from adding population while upstate New York has been shrinking.

This much is clear: with New York now facing the most serious fiscal and economic crisis in its modern history, government policies should be aimed at slowing down and ultimately reversing the state's population drain.

	Table	8: Popula	ation E	stimates for US	and States		
	Population	Change sind	ce 2000		Population	Change sinc	e 2000
	as of 7/1/08	Total	Rate		as of 7/1/08	Total	Rate
Alabama	4,661,900	214,800	4.8%	Montana	967,440	65,245	7.2%
Alaska	686,293	59,361	9.5%	Nebraska	1,783,432	72,169	4.2%
Arizona	6,500,180	1,369,548	26.7%	Nevada	2,600,167	601,910	30.1%
Arkansas	2,855,390	181,990	6.8%	New Hampshire	1,315,809	80,023	6.5%
California	36,756,666	2,885,018	8.5%	New Jersey	8,682,661	268,311	3.2%
Colorado	4,939,456	638,195	14.8%	New Mexico	1,984,356	165,310	9.1%
Connecticut	3,501,252	95,687	2.8%	New York	19,490,297	513,840	2.7%
Delaware	591,833	19,774	3.5%	North Carolina	9,222,414	1,173,101	14.6%
D.C.	873,092	89,492	11.4%	North Dakota	641,481	(719)	-0.1%
Florida	18,328,340	2,345,962	14.7%	Ohio	11,485,910	132,770	1.2%
Georgia	9,685,744	1,499,291	18.3%	Oklahoma	3,642,361	191,707	5.6%
Hawaii	1,288,198	76,661	6.3%	Oregon	3,790,060	368,661	10.8%
Idaho	1,523,816	229,863	17.8%	Pennsylvania	12,448,279	167,225	1.4%
Illinois	12,901,563	482,270	3.9%	Rhode Island	1,050,788	2,469	0.2%
Indiana	6,376,792	296,307	4.9%	South Carolina	4,479,800	467,788	11.7%
lowa	3,002,555	76,231	2.6%	South Dakota	804,194	49,350	6.5%
Kansas	2,802,134	113,716	4.2%	Tennessee	6,214,888	525,605	9.2%
Kentucky	4,269,245	227,476	5.6%	Texas	24,326,974	3,475,154	16.7%
Louisiana	4,410,796	(58,180)	-1.3%	Utah	2,736,424	503,255	22.5%
Maine	1,316,456	41,533	3.3%	Vermont	621,270	12,443	2.0%
Maryland	5,633,597	337,111	6.4%	Virginia	7,769,089	690,574	9.8%
Massachusetts	6,497,967	148,870	2.3%	Washington	6,549,224	655,103	11.1%
Michigan	10,003,422	64,978	0.7%	West Virginia	1,814,468	6,124	0.3%
Minnesota	5,220,393	300,914	6.1%	Wisconsin	5,627,967	264,292	4.9%
Mississippi	2,938,618	93,960	3.3%	Wyoming	532,668	38,886	7.9%
Missouri	5,911,605	316,394	5.7%	United States	304,059,724	22,637,818	8.0%
Source: U.S. Censi	us Bureau			1			

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# Endnotes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The New York City MSA also includes 12 counties in northern and central New Jersey and one county and northeastern Pennsylvania, which are not included in the New York-focused analysis in this paper.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See, for example, Huang, E. T., Kim, J. (2000). "One-Percent Sample Study Report," U.S. Census Bureau, Statistical Research Division.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For further background on how the Census Bureau computes migration for its American Community Survey, see Thibaudeau, Yves (2001), "Can We Ignore the Migration of Income Tax Non-Filers When Benchmarking the American Community Survey's County Estimates?" U.S. Census Bureau, at www.fcsm.gov/01papers/Thibaudeau.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> On average, exemptions per return increase with income, according to the IRS Statistics of Income data, which are separate from migration data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> New York's state and local taxes per capita are the nation's highest, according to the Census Bureau. An alternative, income-adjusted measure developed by the Tax Foundation ranks New York's 2008 combined tax burden as second heaviest, 21 percent above average. See data at http://taxfoundation.org/taxdata/show/471.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Demographia's 5<sup>th</sup> Annual International Housing Affordability Survey: 2009.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Demographia's extensive research on the link between land-use regulations and housing costs at www.demographia.com.