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- Economic Currents
- Economic Indexes for Massachusetts
- Migrants and the Massachusetts Economy: New Challenges and Questions
- Migration: A Look at *Benchmarks* Regions
- Employment Developments Since the End of the Recession: Conflicting Tales from Two National Surveys

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Interstate migration

Given the state total of 213,000 net out-migration over the twelve years 1990–2002, it comes as no surprise that virtually all of the five *Benchmarks* regions experienced net out-migration to other states over that period (IRS 2002). Only the Cape and Islands Region experienced net in-migration, of nearly eight thousand individuals. Table 1 shows the top ten states for both in- and out-migration to and from this region. Figure 1 focuses on the contiguous states, showing migration between the Cape and Islands Region of Massachusetts and other New England states, plus New York, over the same twelve-year period. Even for the Cape and Islands Region there was an obvious connection of its migration experience to the state’s business cycle. There was net out-migration from the Cape and Islands Region during the early 1990s, and the net in-migration slowed precipitously as the state’s recession worsened most recently. Net in-migration was heaviest during the height of the economic expansion.

The Greater Boston area (which for this analysis includes the *Benchmarks* Northeastern Region, as well as the Metro

Boston Region, due to data constraints) experienced the largest volume of in-, out-, and net migration. For each of the years in the period 1990–2002, there was a net outflow of people from Boston and the state’s Northeast to other states, although the volumes of both out-migration *and* in-migration were quite large. On an annual basis, out-migration from Greater Boston to other states ranged from approximately seventy thousand to eighty-seven thousand individuals. In-migration ranged from fifty thousand to seventy-five thousand individuals annually. It is important to keep in mind both that the Metropolitan Boston area lost net migrants over the past decade, and that there was considerable churning—significant in- and out-migration—during this period. It is also true that the annual magnitudes of net migration changed over the course of the business cycle. These magnitudes were least during the height of the expansion, and larger on either end of the period. Table 2 shows the top ten states for both in- and out-migration to and from this region. Figure 2 shows migration between the Greater Boston area and New England plus New York for the period 1990–2002.

Table 1. Cape and Islands Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Florida	10,824	5,741	-5,083
New Hampshire	2,400	2,604	204
Connecticut	2,101	6,635	4,534
California	1,993	1,998	5
Rhode Island	1,431	2,012	581
New York	1,366	5,214	3,848
Maine	1,171	704	-467
Arizona	784	476	-308
Virginia	456	528	72
Washington	407	294	-113
Total all U.S. States	60,800	68,792	7,992

Table 2. Metro Boston/Northeast Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
New Hampshire	155,287	85,225	-70,062
Florida	93,162	40,550	-52,612
California	78,203	58,279	-19,924
New York	67,254	83,801	16,547
Connecticut	32,617	44,884	12,267
Maine	28,252	17,883	-10,369
New Jersey	25,580	31,295	5,715
Rhode Island	24,816	24,650	-166
Texas	22,192	17,662	-4,530
Virginia	20,154	15,217	-4,937
Total all U.S. States	902,836	762,279	-140,557

Figure 1. Cape and Islands Region

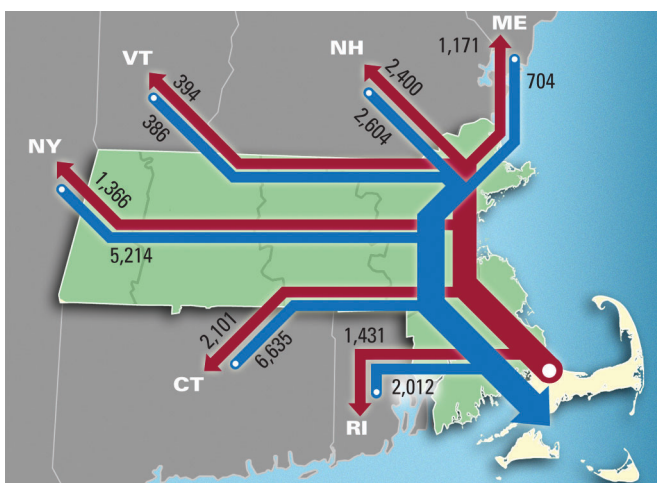
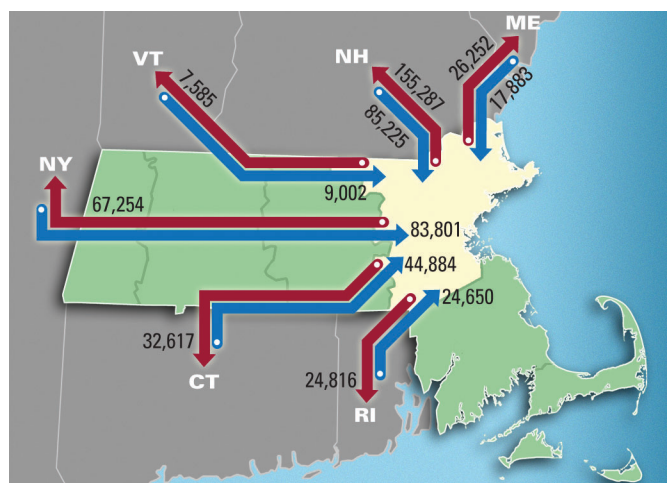


Figure 2. Boston & Northeast Regions (Combined)



The regions in the center of the state and to the west (the Central, Pioneer Valley, and Berkshire regions) experienced net out-migration that diminished following the substantial economic downturn early in the 1990s and that did not seem to be affected by the onset of the recent recession. The Central Region, in fact, bucked the state's trend, experiencing net in-migration for the three most recent years of

data, even as the state's recession worsened. Similarly, both the Pioneer Valley and Berkshire regions exhibited diminishing volumes of net out-migration even as the state and national economies worsened. Tables 3–5 show the top ten states for in- and out-migration in these three regions, while figures 3–5 show migration between these three regions and the rest of New England, plus New York.

Table 3. Central Region Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Florida	18,664	7,842	-10,822
Connecticut	12,986	11,301	-1,685
New Hampshire	12,013	9,188	-2,825
Rhode Island	8,915	9,223	308
California	7,276	6,297	-979
New York	6,471	10,460	3,989
Maine	4,495	2,826	-1,669
Texas	3,139	2,190	-949
Arizona	2,897	1,372	-1,525
North Carolina	2,862	1,703	-1,159
Total all U.S. States	136,253	125,214	-11,039

Figure 3. Central Region

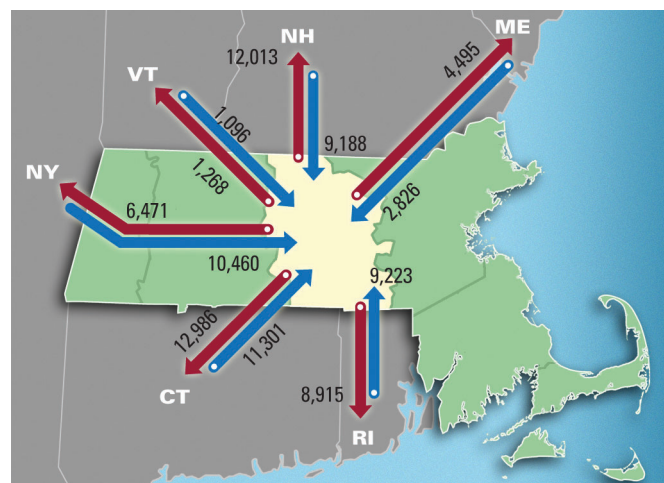


Table 4. Pioneer Valley Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Connecticut	22,037	21,088	-949
Florida	15,678	4,940	-10,738
New York	6,389	7,950	1,561
California	4,560	2,908	-1,652
New Hampshire	4,326	3,066	-1,260
Vermont	2,773	2,164	-609
Maine	1,599	695	-904
Rhode Island	1,527	1,176	-351
North Carolina	1,465	502	-963
Arizona	1,463	578	-885
Total all U.S. States	142,731	112,177	-30,554

Figure 4. Pioneer Valley Region

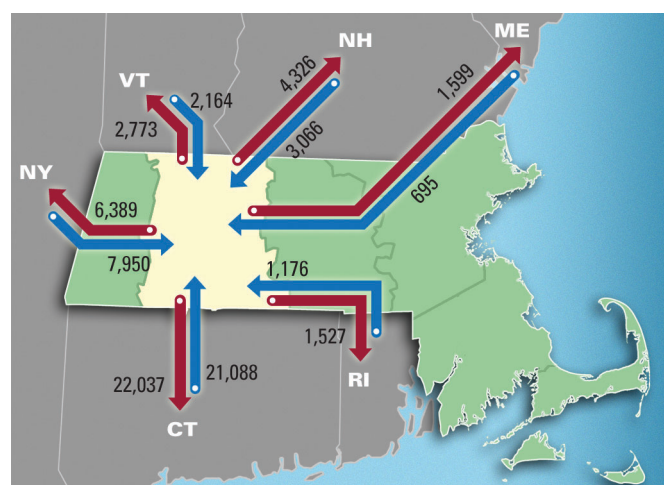
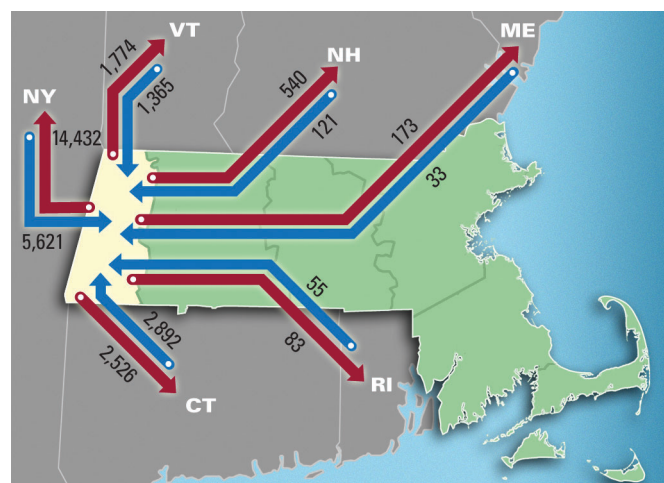


Table 5. Berkshire Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
New York	4,432	5,621	1,189
Florida	2,651	550	-2,101
Connecticut	2,526	2,892	366
Vermont	1,774	1,365	-409
California	734	548	-186
Arizona	567	124	-443
New Hampshire	540	121	-419
North Carolina	256	0	-256
Maine	173	33	-140
Illinois	111	118	7
Total all U.S. States	35,438	29,356	-6,082

Figure 5. Berkshire Region



The Southeast region has carried on a vigorous exchange of migrants with Rhode Island, with heavy in- and out-migration virtually matching in magnitude. The greatest loss of migrants from the Southeast was to Florida. New Hampshire, California, and Connecticut provided the next most active origins and destinations for the Southeastern region (see fig. 6 and table 6).

The term “distance decay” is used by regional economists to describe the greater likelihood of short-distance moves than long-distance moves. The list of “favorite states” for the state’s regions is consistent with that concept, with some notable exceptions. For all regions, and for both in-migration and out-migration, the New England and

Northeastern states dominated the list of the top ten origins and destinations (see tables 1–6). The consistent long-distance exceptions, for all regions, were California and Florida. Both of these states were among the top ten receivers of migrants from all of the state’s regions, and, perhaps surprisingly, also among the top ten senders of migrants to all of the state’s regions. Of these most prominent sending and receiving states, only with New York and New Jersey did Massachusetts regions gain net migrants.

Migration within the state

During the period 1990–2002, over 650,000 of the state’s residents migrated from one *Benchmarks* region to another.

Figure 6. Southeast Region

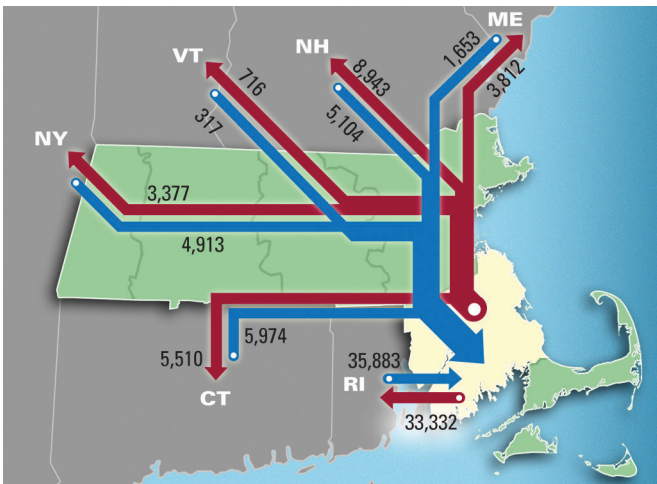


Table 6. Southeast Region Top-10 Migration Partners 1990–2002

Top 10 States	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Rhode Island	33,332	35,883	2,551
Florida	26,826	9,100	-17,726
New Hampshire	8,943	5,104	-3,839
California	5,864	4,622	-1,242
Connecticut	5,510	5,974	464
Maine	3,812	1,653	-2,159
New York	3,377	4,913	1,536
Arizona	2,356	1,033	-1,323
North Carolina	1,891	617	-1,274
Virginia	1,806	1,128	-678
Total all U.S. States	164,401	131,450	-32,951

Figure 7. Net Migration between *Benchmarks* Regions 1990–2002

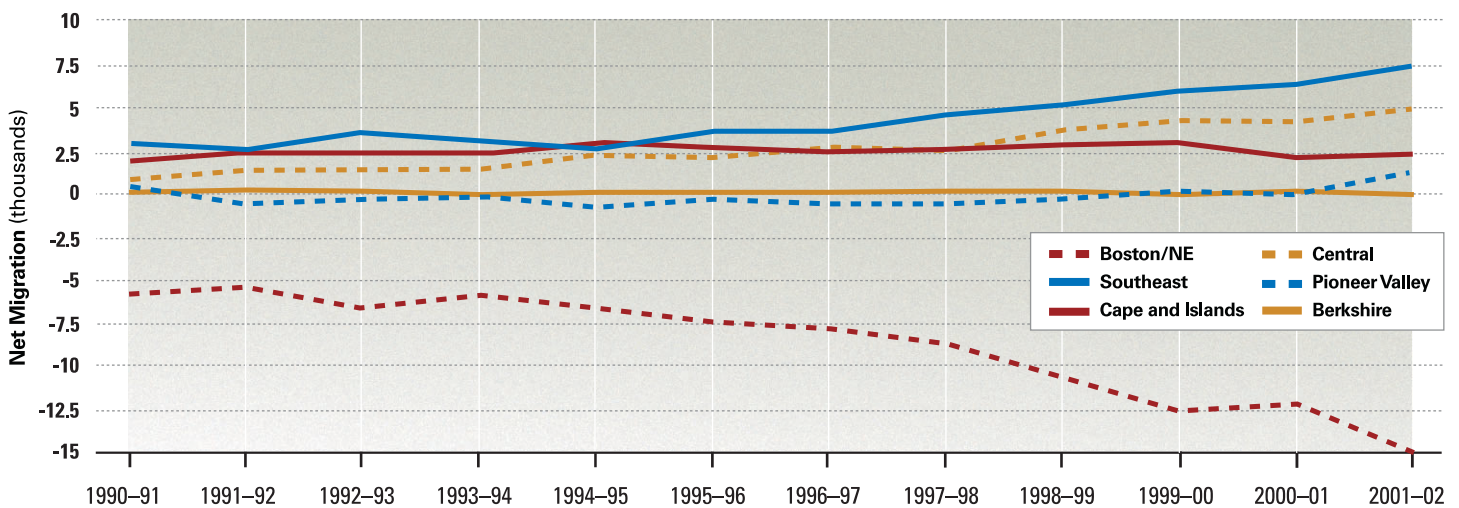


Figure 7 shows this intrastate migration. Greater Boston both gained and lost the largest number of migrants from and to other parts of the state, a total of 218,502 in-migrants, and 323,799 out-migrants (see table 7). The regions gaining the largest number of migrants from Greater Boston were the Southeast and Central regions, in that order. The Southeast Region gained 167,812 migrants from Greater Boston, and the Central Region gained 102,418.

Of the *Benchmarks* regions, only the Pioneer Valley and Berkshire regions experienced a net loss of migrants to Greater Boston (see tables 8 and 9). The Pioneer Valley received 15,969 migrants from Greater Boston, while losing 18,257 migrants in the opposite direction. The Berkshire Region

lost 3,741 migrants to Greater Boston, while gaining 3,003. All of the state's other regions, including Cape and Islands, gained migrants at Greater Boston's expense (see table 10 for Cape and Islands statistics).

After the Greater Boston area, the Southeast and Central regions experienced the largest volumes of migration within the state, both in- and out-migration (see tables 11 and 12). By far the least migration activity occurred in the Berkshire Region (see table 9).

References

IRS. 2002. Special studies in Federal tax statistics. Publication 1299. Washington, D.C.: Internal Revenue Service.

Table 7. Metro Boston/Northeast's Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Boston/NE	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Southeast	167,812	109,306	-58,506
Cape&Islands	34,597	17,714	-16,883
Central	102,418	69,484	-32,934
Pioneer Valley	15,969	18,257	2,288
Berkshire	3,003	3,741	738
Total	323,799	218,502	-105,297

Table 8. Pioneer Valley's Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Pioneer Valley	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Boston/NE	18,257	15,969	-2,288
Southeast	2,679	2,339	-340
Cape&Islands	2,910	1,898	-1,012
Central	15,712	15,609	-103
Berkshire	4,327	4,600	273
Total	43,885	40,415	-3,470

Table 9. Berkshire's Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Berkshire	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Boston/NE	3,741	3,003	-738
Southeast	274	294	20
Cape&Islands	334	223	-111
Central	734	785	51
Pioneer Valley	4,600	4,327	-273
Total	9,683	8,632	-1,051

Table 10. Cape and Islands' Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Cape and Islands	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Boston/NE	17,714	34,597	16,883
Southeast	13,431	20,631	7,200
Central	2,657	5,669	3,012
Pioneer Valley	1,898	2,910	1,012
Berkshire	223	334	111
Total	35,923	64,141	28,218

Table 11. Southeast Region's Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Southeast	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Boston/NE	109,306	167,812	58,506
Cape&Islands	20,631	13,431	-7,200
Central	7,155	6,169	-986
Pioneer Valley	2,339	2,679	340
Berkshire	294	274	-20
Total	139,725	190,365	50,640

Table 12. Central Region's Intrastate Migration 1990–2002

Central	Number of out-migrants	Number of in-migrants	Difference
Boston/NE	69,484	102,418	32,934
Southeast	6,169	7,155	986
Cape&Islands	5,669	2,657	-3,012
Pioneer Valley	15,609	15,712	103
Berkshire	785	734	-51
Total	97,716	128,676	30,960