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Take Different Migration Paths**

No. 94-303

Research Reports



**Population Studies Center
University of Michigan**

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**Research Report
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This paper is part of a larger project on immigration and internal migration in the U.S., based on 1990 census data. It is summarized in *Population Today* (Washington D.C.: Population Reference Bureau), February, 1994.

ABSTRACT

Blacks are still leaving northern states but the typical destinations have changed since the late 1970s. Instead of going to Texas and the West Coast, they are heading for the Southeast. And, among blacks who make interstate moves, college graduates are choosing different state and metropolitan-area destinations than those with incomes below the poverty level. These findings, the result of analysis of newly released data from the 1990 Census, suggest that black migration patterns are neither monolithic nor distinct from those of whites. Like whites in the past, middle-class, college-educated blacks are responding to economic pushes and pulls of more general U.S. migration patterns. In contrast, those with poverty-level incomes--in response to deindustrialization, higher housing costs, or competition from immigrants--are more likely to retrace traditional, historic roots to the South.

The data for this study draw from tabulations of the 1990 U.S. Census based on the "residence 5 years ago" question which was used to identify migrants from abroad and net interstate migration (in-migration from other States minus out-migration to other States) over the 1985-90 period. Maps, tables, and figures in the text and Appendix detail the interstate migration patterns for this period.

Data used: 1990 U.S. Census

COLLEGE GRAD, POVERTY BLACKS TAKE DIFFERENT MIGRATION PATHS*

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Newly released migration data from the 1990 census show overall Black migration has taken a decidedly sharp turn to the southeast as its exodus from the North continues. Yet these overall patterns are not followed, uniformly, by different segments of the Black population. Two important segments--college graduate Blacks and poverty Blacks--are moving to different States and metropolitan area destinations. This "splintering" of Black migration patterns seems to indicate that as the Black population becomes more polarized, economically, rich and poor Blacks will also become more spatially separated.

"HEAD SOUTH, THEN TURN LEFT" Decades of South to North migration were reversed back in the 1970s when manufacturing jobs declined in the big snow belt industrial centers at the same time that new opportunities for Blacks expanded in California, Texas and other growing areas of the sun belt. The new census migration data show that the northern evacuation continues but, now, the top migration magnet state for Blacks is Georgia rather than California--registering a net migration gain of more than 80,000 based on positive 1985-90 migration exchanges with 45 other states (see Appendix Table A). In addition, the four next largest Black gainers--Maryland, Florida, Virginia and North Carolina--are also located in the dynamic South Atlantic region. Each of these states (except Maryland) more than doubled their Black migration gains of 1975-80--while California, now ranked sixth, gained less than one-third as many Blacks as a decade ago (21,636 in 1985-90 versus 75,746 in 1975-80). Texas is no longer among the top 10 Black magnet states

falling behind Nevada and Arizona in the West, Tennessee, in the southeast, and Minnesota-- now, the greatest northern Black magnet state.

Blacks drawn to the South Atlantic region select large "new" Old-South metropolitan destinations such as Atlanta, Norfolk, and Raleigh-Durham as well as a host of smaller areas and non-metropolitan communities. Among twenty-one metropolitan areas, of all sizes, that gained more than 5,000 Black net migrants, fifteen are located in the South Atlantic region. Blacks, like whites, are attracted to the dynamic economies of this region's larger metropolitan areas as well as to its growing manufacturing communities, university towns and coastal retirement areas. Perhaps just as important is the continued lure of friends and family kinship networks for Black "return" migrants from the North. While the South Atlantic metropolitan areas dominate as Black migration magnets, Dallas-Ft. Worth and San Diego also continue to receive large numbers, and significant increases in Black migration occurred in Sacramento, Las Vegas, and Phoenix in the West, as well as Minneapolis-St. Paul and Columbus, Ohio in the North.

The nation's northern (Midwest and Northeast) regions serve as major sources for this movement. Three historic northern destination metropolitan areas for Blacks, New York, Chicago and Detroit, lost the most Blacks via net migration--over a quarter million for the 1985-90 period. (see Figure 1) While several other large snow belt metropolises lost Black migrants in substantial numbers, they are now joined by two historic west coast Black magnets--Los Angeles and San Francisco-Oakland. Also new is a more accentuated out-migration of Blacks from southern "oil patch" areas such as New Orleans and Shreveport.

MOVING ON DIFFERENT TRACKS These overall Black migration patterns, revealed with the new census data, represent a "lumping together" of different sub-groups within the Black population. As with the white population, the new migration data show that college educated Black migrants select different state and metropolitan area destinations than those who stand lower on the socioeconomic ladder. These migrants are most strongly drawn to areas with large and growing professional job bases, with rising incomes and with a wide range of urban

amenities. Poverty migrants go where lower-paying service or blue-collar jobs dominate, where the cost of living is low, and where friends and relatives may be available to provide social and economic support. Both kinds of areas and communities are available inside and out of the fast-growing South Atlantic region.

This is apparent from the distinct destination priorities shown for college graduate- and poverty-Black migrants (see attached maps). Black college graduate migrants are more focused in their destinations than are poverty migrants (only 19 states show in-migration of the former compared with 31 for the latter) and only three states--Georgia, Florida, and Virginia--appear among the top 10 destinations for both (see Appendix Table A). Metropolitan suburbs in Maryland, New Jersey and Connecticut hold a high priority for college graduate Black migrants as do California, Texas and the mountain states of Arizona and Nevada. In fact, magnet states for Black college graduates are aligned more closely with those for white college graduates than with the largest Black poverty-gaining states. Higher on the latter list are North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee in the south, along with Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio and Michigan in the Midwest. Social ties and kinship networks for "return" migrants certainly explain the attraction to the Carolinas and Tennessee as well as perhaps "repeat" Black migration to the industrial Great Lakes metropolises. Movement to Wisconsin and Minnesota is unprecedented and may be related to better social services or welfare payments. It is clear that the destination states and "pulls" of poverty Blacks differ from those for college graduates both inside and outside the South Atlantic region.

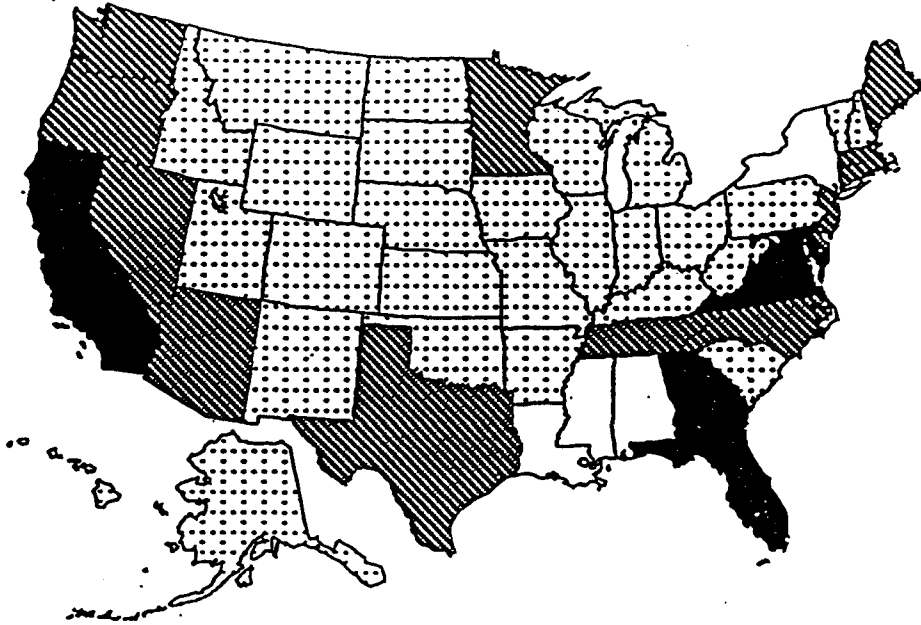
These differences are even more apparent when contrasting the 10 greatest metro area magnets for two groups of Black migrants (see Table 1). Only Atlanta and Raleigh-Durham appear on both lists of magnets. College graduates are more likely drawn to larger cosmopolitan areas both inside the south (Washington, D.C., Dallas-Ft. Worth, Miami, Baltimore) and out (Los Angeles, San Francisco-Oakland and Philadelphia) as well as the growing recreation center of Orlando, Florida. Black poverty migrants, in contrast, are attracted to smaller southern metros,

Norfolk, Tallahassee, Richmond, and Greensboro. Because of the strong kinship networks located in its small and non-metropolitan communities, North Carolina holds the potential to attract back larger numbers of "return" poverty migrants than other South Atlantic states.

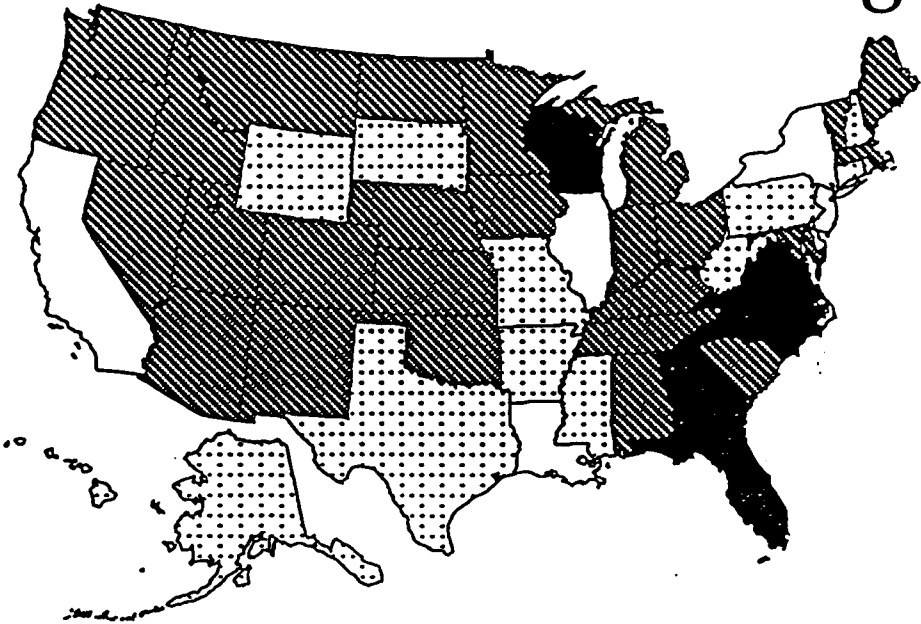
Although New York and Illinois serve as major "origin" states for both Black poverty and college graduate migrants, four additional states with large poverty out-migration are among the largest magnets for college graduate in-migration. These states--New Jersey, California, Connecticut and Texas--are each associated with metropolitan areas that received substantial immigration from abroad. The numbers of low-skilled immigrant workers flowing into these states pose stiff competition for the employment prospects of poverty Blacks. They add a push for poverty-level Blacks (and whites), but are less threatening to college graduates. In fact, many of these same metropolitan areas (e.g., Los Angeles, Dallas-Ft. Worth, San Francisco-Oakland) have large and growing professional employment bases as a consequence of their roles as corporate headquarters and financial centers. Hence, these "dual economy" metros will continue to attract educated Blacks (and whites) at the same time that lower-skilled poverty migrants are moving out. Other metro areas exhibiting this pattern are Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia (see Table 1).

What the new immigration data make plain is that Black migration patterns are no longer monolithic or distinct from those of whites. Like whites in the past, middle class, college educated Blacks are responding to rational economic "pushes and pulls" while many less-skilled, older and poverty blacks are more likely to retrace traditional, historic roots to their southern origins as they flee away from non-southern locations--in response to deindustrialization, competition from immigrants, or higher housing costs during retirement. Different parts of the "new" Old South appear to be attracting both types of Blacks as well as large flows of young, educated, and retiree whites. In contrast to earlier decades, Black migration has become part of the mainstream.

Black College Grads - Net Interstate Migration



Poverty Blacks - Net Interstate Migration



Net In-Migration		Net Out-Migration	
■	Top 5 States	□	Top 5 States
▨	Other States	▤	Other States

Numbers for Figure 1

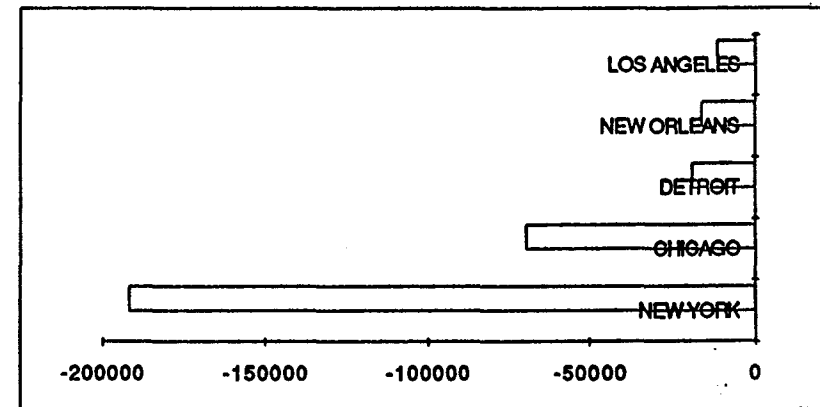
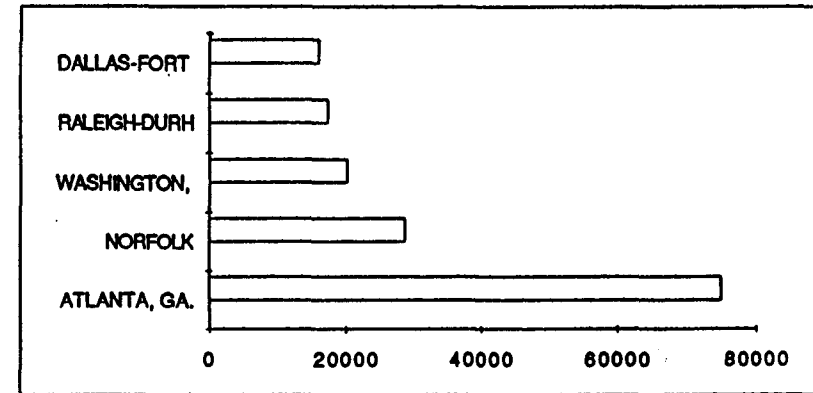
RANK GREATEST BLACK GAINS DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION

	Total Area	Size
1.	ATLANTA, GA.	74,949
2.	NORFOLK	28,909
3.	WASHINGTON,	20,205
4.	RALEIGH-DURH	17,428
5.	DALLAS-FORT	16,075
6.	ORLANDO, FLA	13,836
7.	RICHMOND, VA	12,508
8.	SAN DIEGO, C	12,482
9.	MINNEAPOLIS-	11,506
10.	SACRAMENTO,	10,848

RANK GREATEST BLACK LOSSES DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION

	Total Area	Size
1.	NEW YORK	-191,700
2.	CHICAGO	-69,593
3.	DETROIT	-19,114
4.	NEW ORLEANS	-16,271
5.	LOS ANGELES	-11,731
6.	CLEVELAND	-11,576
7.	ST. LOUIS	-10,444
8.	SAN FRANCISCO	-7,078
9.	SHREVEPORT	-5,075
10.	PITTSBURGH	-4,899

Figure 1: Metros with Greatest Black net in-migration and out-migration



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TABLE 1: List of Metropolitan Areas with Greatest Migration Gains and Losses for Poverty and College Graduate Populations

RANK	GREATEST BLACK GAINS DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION			
	Poverty		College Graduates	
	Area	Size	Area	Size
1.	ATLANTA, GA.	7,953	ATLANTA	15,090
2.	MILWAUKEE	6,834	WASHINGTON DC	10,818
3.	MINN-ST.PAUL	6,638	DALLAS	5,031
4.	NORFOLK	4,922	LOS ANGELES	4,445
5.	SACRAMENTO	3,124	MIAMI	2,421
6.	TALLAHASSEE	2,769	ORLANDO	1,618
7.	RICHMOND	2,582	SAN FRANCISCO	1,541
8.	RALEIGH-DURHAM	2,503	PHILADELPHIA	1,511
9.	GREENSBORO	2,041	BALTIMORE	1,327
10.	SAN DIEGO	1,943	RALEIGH-DURHAM	1,296

RANK	GREATEST BLACK LOSSES DUE TO INTERNAL MIGRATION			
	Poverty		College Graduates	
	Area	Size	Area	Size
1.	NEW YORK	-43,451	NEW YORK	-11,951
2.	CHICAGO	-26,912	NEW ORLEANS	-2,521
3.	LOS ANGELES	-9,466	CHICAGO	-2,087
4.	SAN FRANCISCO	-4,010	BATON ROUGE	-1,766
5.	PHILADELPHIA	-3,936	PITTSBURGH	-1,330
6.	WASHINGTON	-3,432	CLEVELAND	-905
7.	ST. LOUIS	-3,044	OKLAHOMA CITY	-776
8.	NEW ORLEANS	-2,927	JACKSON, MS	-615
9.	DETROIT	-827	TALLAHASSEE	-507
10.	HOUSTON	-801	ROCHESTER, NY	-497

**APPENDIX TABLE A: BLACK MIGRATION GAINS OR LOSSES DUE TO INTERSTATE MIGRATION
 FOR SELECTED PERIODS AND DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS***

State	TOTAL BLACKS		TOTAL BLACKS		COLL GRAD BLACKS		POVERTY BLACKS		State
	1985-90**	RANK	1975-80**	RANK	1985-90***	RANK	1985-90**	RANK	
Georgia	80827	1	29616	4	12869	2	12356	1	Georgia
Maryland	59966	2	54793	2	12899	1	2195	11	Maryland
Florida	57009	3	15900	6	6910	4	9843	3	Florida
Virginia	53873	4	22295	5	5051	5	7524	5	Virginia
North Carolina	39015	5	14456	7	406	13	12173	2	North Carolina
California	21636	6	75746	1	7696	3	-6552	47	California
Minnesota	12525	7	1988	22	570	12	6950	6	Minnesota
Tennessee	11297	8	4436	15	64	18	2683	9	Tennessee
Nevada	10143	9	5211	14	745	10	1518	13	Nevada
Arizona	9211	10	2239	20	1219	8	1695	12	Arizona
Texas	8921	11	47685	3	2693	7	-866	43	Texas
Wisconsin	7456	12	6964	12	-824	37	8197	4	Wisconsin
Washington	6780	13	10216	8	292	15	1184	16	Washington
South Carolina	5342	14	9238	9	-2445	45	3789	7	South Carolina
Delaware	4107	15	1769	23	587	11	-21	32	Delaware
Massachusetts	2435	16	-5766	41	327	14	989	17	Massachusetts
Colorado	2084	17	8861	10	-325	32	520	24	Colorado
Oregon	1643	18	2058	21	249	16	925	20	Oregon
Kansas	1093	19	4215	16	-330	33	1371	15	Kansas
Rhode Island	970	20	-411	33	39	19	-126	36	Rhode Island
NH	596	21	127	27	-105	29	-135	37	New Hampshire
Utah	514	22	1667	24	-103	28	666	23	Utah
Idaho	405	23	355	26	-33	21	184	27	Idaho
Alaska	405	24	653	25	-58	23	-530	39	Alaska
Vermont	363	25	-41	30	-50	22	135	28	Vermont
Maine	315	26	-809	36	84	17	16	31	Maine
South Dakota	-223	27	46	29	-94	27	-32	34	South Dakota
Iowa	-264	28	2530	19	-502	34	827	21	Iowa
Hawaii	-314	29	2874	18	-86	26	-814	42	Hawaii
Connecticut	-329	30	-3012	38	877	9	-1403	45	Connecticut
Montana	-505	31	-572	35	-66	24	32	29	Montana
Nebraska	-557	32	-221	31	-546	36	515	25	Nebraska
Wyoming	-661	33	99	28	-121	30	-103	35	Wyoming
North Dakota	-779	34	-493	34	-30	20	27	30	North Dakota
Indiana	-1007	35	-2040	37	-853	38	989	18	Indiana
New Mexico	-1287	36	-349	32	-311	31	423	26	New Mexico
Oklahoma	-2693	37	7192	11	-1693	43	939	19	Oklahoma
West Virginia	-3152	38	-3098	39	-534	35	-21	33	West Virginia
Missouri	-3362	39	-10428	45	-72	25	-1084	44	Missouri
Kentucky	-3648	40	5550	13	-887	39	802	22	Kentucky
Ohio	-7040	41	-16503	46	-2144	44	3166	8	Ohio
Alabama	-8332	42	-7843	43	-3066	47	1506	14	Alabama
Arkansas	-8931	43	-9236	44	-1485	42	-535	40	Arkansas
New Jersey	-10084	44	-6462	42	3271	6	-8918	49	New Jersey
Pennsylvania	-11046	45	-25849	48	-1445	41	-622	41	Pennsylvania
Michigan	-14600	46	3592	17	-1255	40	2287	10	Michigan
Mississippi	-19522	47	-20106	47	-4114	48	-137	38	Mississippi
DC	-43727	48	-58454	50	-5793	49	-2892	46	District of Columbia
Louisiana	-46053	49	-5315	40	-8638	50	-7812	48	Louisiana
Illinois	-60120	50	-37220	49	-2677	46	-24159	50	Illinois
New York	-150695	51	-128143	51	-16163	51	-29664	51	New York

* Sorted by Total Black Migration Gains for 1985-90 (Ranks on other measures shown in columns)

** Pertains to population aged 5 and above at end of 5-year migration period

*** Pertains to population aged 25 and above at end of 5-year migration period