



CENTER ON URBAN AND METROPOLITAN POLICY

The New Great Migration: Black Americans' Return to the South, 1965–2000

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“Recent years have completed the long-term reversal of blacks’ historic out-migration from the South.”

Findings

An analysis of migration data from the past four decennial censuses at regional, state, and metropolitan-area levels indicates that:

- **The South scored net gains of black migrants from all three of the other regions of the U.S. during the late 1990s, reversing a 35-year trend.** Of the 10 states that suffered the greatest net loss of blacks between 1965 and 1970, five ranked among the top 10 states for attracting blacks between 1995 and 2000.
 - **Southern metropolitan areas, particularly Atlanta, led the way in attracting black migrants in the late 1990s.** In contrast, the major metropolitan areas of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco experienced the greatest out-migration of blacks during the same period.
 - **Among migrants from the Northeast, Midwest, and West regions, blacks were more likely than whites to select destinations in the South.**
- Atlanta and Washington, D.C. were the top destinations for black migrants from all three regions; white migrants moved to a broader set of areas including Miami, Phoenix, and Los Angeles.
- **College-educated individuals lead the new migration into the South.** The “brain gain” states of Georgia, Texas, and Maryland attracted the most black college graduates from 1995 to 2000, while New York suffered the largest net loss.
 - **After several decades as a major black migrant “magnet,” California lost more black migrants than it gained during the late 1990s.** Southern states, along with western “spillover” states like Arizona and Nevada, received the largest numbers of black out-migrants from California.

This full-scale reversal of blacks’ “Great Migration” north during the early part of the 20th century reflects the South’s economic growth and modernization, its improved race relations, and the longstanding cultural and kinship ties it holds for black families. This new pattern has augmented a sizeable and growing black middle class in the South’s major metropolitan areas.



Introduction

During the early part of the 20th century, black Americans left the American South in large numbers.

Several factors precipitated their “Great Migration” to northern cities.¹ First, the mechanization of southern agriculture rendered many farm workers, including blacks, redundant. Second, the industrialization of the Northeast and Midwest created millions of manufacturing jobs for unskilled workers. And not least in importance, the generally oppressive racial climate in the South acted as a “push” factor for many decades as blacks sought out more tolerant communities in other regions. Even as whites migrated to the Sunbelt in large numbers at mid-century, black migration out of the South exceeded black in-migration as late as the period 1965–70.

Now, census migration data confirm that over the past three decades, the South has developed into a regional magnet for blacks, more so than for whites or the population as a whole. This renewed appeal to blacks, especially those with higher education levels and from all other parts of the country, provides additional evidence that the region’s economic, amenity, and cultural “pull” factors now outweigh the “push” factors that predominated in past decades.

This survey begins by examining the South’s exchange of black migrants with other regions over the past four decennial censuses (1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000). It identifies shifts in the states and metropolitan areas over that period that gained and lost the most black residents due to internal (U.S. domestic) migration. Next, the survey compares the rates at which black and white movers selected southern destinations in the late 1990s, and looks at the educational attainment levels of those movers and the places experiencing the largest

“brain gains” and “brain drains” of college graduates. Finally, the study examines California’s reversal from a major recipient of black migrants from the South to a major “donor” state at the end of the century.

Methodology

Geographical Definitions

This study focuses on migration trends for U.S. regions, states, and metropolitan areas in different parts of the analysis. The four regions—Northeast, Midwest, South, and West—follow the definitions employed by the U.S. Census Bureau.² 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

This study differs from some 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, four PMSAs exist 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.

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. Net migration for a state or region 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., for moves that took place over the five-year period. This survey focuses solely on domestic migration, or movement within the 50 states (plus the District of Columbia), and thus does not take into account movement into the U.S. from abroad, or out-migration to other countries.

The migration data used in these analyses draw primarily from the full “long form” sample of responses from the decennial censuses of 1970–2000. 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 black and white sub-populations, and by educational attainment, are based on weighted tabulations of 1995–2000 migration data from Census 2000 5-Percent Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) files.⁴ As discussed here, the term “blacks” refers to both Hispanic and non-Hispanic blacks in all census years. In 2000, blacks include those who identify black race alone, and whites include those who identify white race alone and non-Hispanic ethnicity.

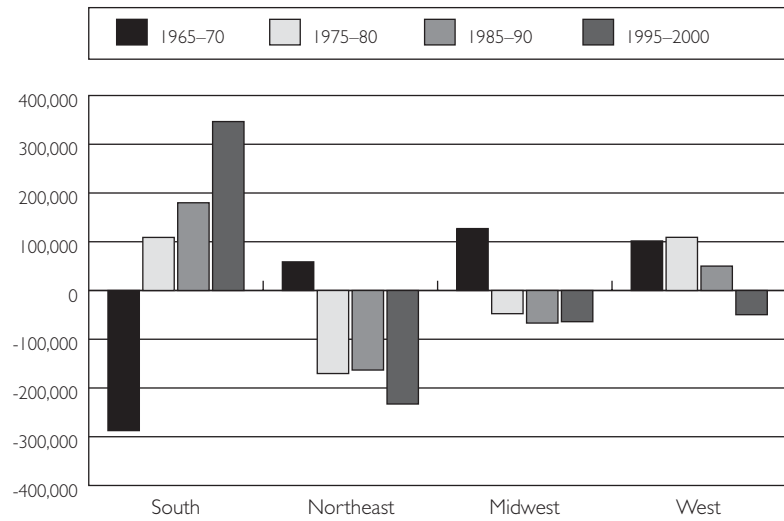
Findings

A. The South scored net gains of black migrants from all three of the other regions of the U.S. during the late 1990s, reversing a 35-year trend.

The 1995–2000 period completed a long-term reversal of the black population's historic out-migration from the South.

Last observed in 1965–70 at the tail end of the “Great Migration,” the historic pattern featured a considerable net exodus of blacks from the South, as each of the three other regions of the U.S. gained black migrants (Figure 1 and Appendix A). In fact, during the late 1960s, the 14 states experiencing the greatest black out-migration were all located in the South, led by the

Figure 1. Black Net Migration, U.S. Regions, 1965–2000



Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses.

Table 1. Black Net Migration, States with Largest Gains and Losses, 1965–2000

Rank	1965–70 Period	1975–80 Period	1985–90 Period	1995–2000 Period
Largest Gains				
1	California 91,425	California 75,746	Georgia 80,827	Georgia 129,749
2	Michigan 63,839	Maryland 54,793	Maryland 59,966	North Carolina 53,371
3	Maryland 44,054	Texas 47,685	Florida 57,009	Florida 51,286
4	New Jersey 28,642	Georgia 29,616	Virginia 53,873	Maryland 43,549
5	Ohio 22,518	Virginia 22,295	North Carolina 39,015	Texas 42,312
6	Illinois 16,857	Florida 15,900	California 21,636	Virginia 29,149
7	Indiana 10,356	North Carolina 14,456	Minnesota 12,525	Nevada 19,446
8	Connecticut 9,845	Washington 10,216	Tennessee 11,297	Tennessee 19,343
9	Wisconsin 8,924	South Carolina 9,238	Nevada 10,143	South Carolina 16,253
10	Massachusetts 8,125	Colorado 8,861	Arizona 9,211	Minnesota 9,118
Largest Losses				
1	Mississippi -66,614	New York -128,143	New York -150,695	New York -165,366
2	Alabama -61,507	District of Columbia -58,454	Illinois -60,120	California -63,180
3	Louisiana -37,067	Illinois -37,220	Louisiana -46,053	Illinois -55,238
4	North Carolina -29,732	Pennsylvania -25,849	District of Columbia -43,727	New Jersey -34,682
5	Arkansas -27,594	Mississippi -20,106	Mississippi -19,522	District of Columbia -34,118
6	South Carolina -26,884	Ohio -16,503	Michigan -14,600	Louisiana -18,074
7	Georgia -23,363	Missouri -10,428	Pennsylvania -11,046	Pennsylvania -18,024
8	Tennessee -17,703	Arkansas -9,236	New Jersey -10,084	Michigan -16,449
9	District of Columbia -15,390	Alabama -7,843	Arkansas -8,931	Hawaii -7,203
10	Virginia -11,586	New Jersey -6,462	Alabama -8,332	Massachusetts -6,538

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses

“Deep South” states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana (Table 1 and Appendix B). Meanwhile, the states with the greatest black migration gains during that period included those in the industrial Midwest and Northeast, as well as California. These states contained urban industrial centers that, at the time, attracted large numbers of less-skilled black laborers in search of employment.

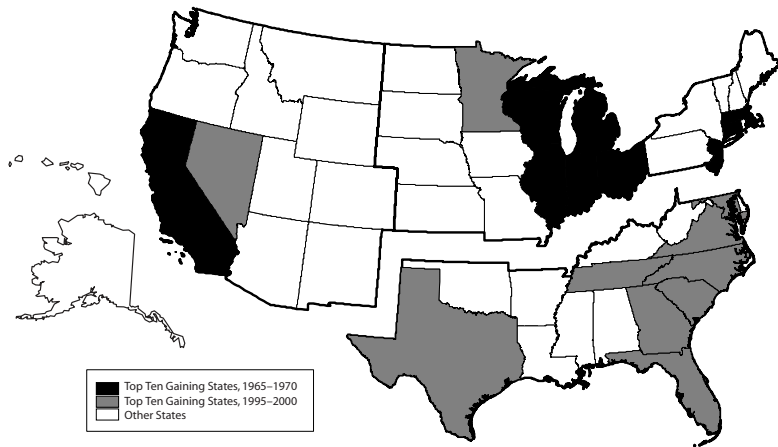
This pattern began to shift in the late 1970s, as industrial states—especially in the Northeast—deindustrialization caused significant employment declines, and southern employment prospects improved.⁵ The South actually showed net gains of black migrants, while the Northeast and Midwest experienced net losses.

Trends at the state level reflected this shift, as now New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Ohio ranked among those with the largest net black out-migration. Meanwhile, new states were gaining blacks. Between 1975 and 1980, for example, no less than seven southern states ranked among the top 10 black migration gainers, whereas the 1965–1970 period saw only one “border” southern state (Maryland) among the top 10 black migration gainers.

Black out-migration from the Northeast and Midwest and into the South continued in the late 1980s. Notably, California dropped from first to sixth among the states with the largest net gains of black migrants, surpassed by the southeastern states of Georgia, Maryland, Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina.

By 1995 to 2000, the dominant black migration pattern was a full-scale reversal of the 1965–70 (and earlier) pattern. For the first time, the West region, as well as the Northeast and Midwest, contributed larger numbers of black migrants to the South than they received in return. Thus, the positive contributions of black gains from the West, coupled with greater gains from

Figure 2. Top 10 States for Black Net Migration Gains, 1965–1970 and 1995–2000*



Source: Author's analysis of 1970 and 2000 decennial census data.

*Maryland was among the top 10 states in both 1965–1970 and 1995–2000.

the Northeast and Midwest, meant that the contribution of migration to the South's black population nearly doubled that from the late 1980s.⁶

Among states in the late 1990s, California not only lost its status as one of the top black net migration gainers, but it became the second-largest loser of black migrants. Georgia, meanwhile, far surpassed all other states in its net gains of black migrants. That and other “New South” states that now receive the most blacks (including North Carolina, Florida, Maryland, Virginia, and Tennessee) overlap only partially with the “Deep South” states that served as major donors of black out-migrants in the late 1960s (Figure 2).⁷ These southeastern states, as well as Texas, are locations for high-tech development, knowledge-based industries, recreation, and new urban and suburban communities. They are increasingly attractive to younger blacks as well as older “empty-nest” and retiree blacks who have longstanding ties to the region.

Clearly, the continued economic dynamism of the South, coupled with its much improved racial climate, represents a far different context for new

generations of black migrants than the region their counterparts vacated in large numbers over 30 years ago.

B. Southern metropolitan areas, particularly Atlanta, led the way in attracting black migrants in the late 1990s.

The 35-year pattern of black movement back to the South also surfaces in an examination of the metropolitan areas that attracted—and lost—the most blacks over the 1965–2000 period.

At the metropolitan level, dramatic changes in both the 1970s and 1980s characterize the reversal of the “Great Migration.” The list of metro areas that experienced the largest net losses of black migrants changed most abruptly between the late 1960s and late 1970s (Table 2 and Appendix C). With the exception of Pittsburgh, the 10 largest net losses at the metropolitan level between 1965 and 1970 occurred in the South, and mostly in Deep South areas, including three each in Alabama (Birmingham, Mobile, and Montgomery) and Louisiana (New Orleans, Lafayette, and Shreveport). But in the late

Table 2. Black Net Migration, Metropolitan Areas with Largest Gains and Losses, 1965–2000*

Rank	1965–70 Period		1975–80 Period		1985–90 Period		1995–2000 Period	
Largest Gains								
1	Los Angeles	55,943	Los Angeles	32,764	Atlanta	74,705	Atlanta	114,478
2	Detroit	54,766	Atlanta	27,111	Washington-Baltimore	29,904	Dallas	39,360
3	Washington-Baltimore	34,365	Houston	24,267	Norfolk-Virginia Beach	27,645	Charlotte	23,313
4	San Francisco	24,699	San Francisco	16,034	Raleigh-Durham	17,611	Orlando	20,222
5	Philadelphia	24,601	San Diego	15,621	Dallas	16,097	Las Vegas	18,912
6	New York	18,792	Dallas	12,460	Orlando	13,368	Norfolk-Virginia Beach	16,660
7	Dallas	16,384	Norfolk-Virginia Beach	10,141	Richmond	12,508	Raleigh-Durham	16,144
8	Houston	16,301	Washington-Baltimore	9,998	San Diego	12,482	Washington-Baltimore	16,139
9	Chicago	14,061	Kileen-Temple	9,959	Minneapolis-St. Paul	11,765	Memphis	12,507
10	Cleveland	10,914	Columbia	9,082	Sacramento	10,848	Columbia	10,899
Largest Losses								
1	Birmingham	-12,177	New York	-139,789	New York	-190,108	New York	-193,061
2	Memphis	-8,498	Chicago	-44,884	Chicago	-69,068	Chicago	-59,282
3	Mobile	-8,017	Philadelphia	-16,678	Detroit	-22,432	Los Angeles	-38,833
4	Pittsburgh	-5,003	Cleveland	-13,483	New Orleans	-17,395	San Francisco	-30,613
5	New Orleans	-4,886	St. Louis	-12,030	Los Angeles	-11,731	Detroit	-15,095
6	Montgomery	-4,635	Buffalo	-5,371	Cleveland	-11,553	New Orleans	-13,860
7	Charleston	-4,595	New Orleans	-4,889	St. Louis	-10,374	San Diego	-9,970
8	Jackson	-4,096	Boston	-4,576	San Francisco	-7,078	Miami	-7,772
9	Lafayette	-4,061	Pittsburgh	-3,022	Shreveport	-5,503	Pittsburgh	-7,425
10	Shreveport	-4,047	Kansas City	-2,795	Pittsburgh	-4,987	Boston	-7,018

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses

* Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined in Census 2000. Names are abbreviated.

1970s, industrial shake-outs in the Northeast and Midwest fueled a new migration of blacks out of several metropolitan areas that were their major destinations in earlier decades. New York and Chicago led the new decliners, beginning a pattern of losses that continues to the present. In fact, only New Orleans—a metro that continues to lose black migrants today—represents the South on the “bottom 10” list in the late 1970s.

Among the metropolitan areas that made the largest net gains from black migration, the pattern altered most radically in the late 1980s. In the late 1970s, the top destinations for blacks included three areas each in California and Texas. By the late 1980s, however, the top four gains accrued to metro areas in the southeastern U.S., and

the large California metropolises of Los Angeles and San Francisco experienced black migration losses. Indeed, the presence of the three non-southern metropolitan areas among the top 10 (San Diego, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Sacramento) is explained in part by large migration flows out of their larger nearby areas (Los Angeles, Chicago, and San Francisco).

The 1995–2000 period solidified southern metropolitan areas’ dominance as magnets for black migrants, at the same time that the nation’s largest northern and western metropolises assumed the lead in the net out-migration of the black population. Atlanta was far and away the largest migration magnet for blacks, with net migration nearly triple that of the second ranking area (Dallas). Charlotte,

Memphis, and Columbia join other southeastern metro areas on the list in the late 1990s. Only Las Vegas, catching some “spillover” from California, represents the non-South.

Meanwhile, those areas witnessing the largest black net out-migration in the late 1990s reflect a familiar mix of non-southern areas (New Orleans excepted), led by New York and Chicago. The fact that Los Angeles and San Francisco now rank third and fourth, with San Diego following close behind (seventh), underscores the changing role of California from a major black migration destination to a major migration origin.

Of the 40 metropolitan areas gaining the largest number of black migrants (on net) in each of four periods, only 10 were located in the South

in 1965–70, compared to 22 in 1975–80, 26 in 1985–90, and fully 33 in 1995–2000. A strong economic “push” from northern metro areas, associated with the 1970s deindustrialization, marked the beginning of the black population’s return to the South. In more recent years, the increasing “pull” of economically vibrant and culturally familiar New South metropolitan areas—especially those in the Southeast—accentuated the prevailing pattern.

C. Among migrants from the Northeast, Midwest, and West regions, blacks were more likely than whites to select destinations in the South.

The strong historical ties between blacks and the South, along with critical mass of black professionals that reside in and around many southern cities, are among several factors that may make black migrants from elsewhere in the U.S. more likely than their white counterparts to select southern locations.

The destinations of whites and blacks who relocated across regions in the late 1990s reveal a stronger preference among black migrants for southern destinations. This pattern is evident for migrants leaving each region, especially the Northeast. Among black and white migrants residing in the Northeast in 1995, 85 percent of blacks headed South (as opposed to the Midwest or West), compared to only 64 percent of whites (Figure 3). In the West and Midwest, too, the share of black out-migrants moving to the South exceeded the comparable white out-migrant share by about 20 percentage points.

The top metropolitan destinations for migrants from outside the South from 1995–2000 also reflect this difference between whites and blacks (Table 3). From the Northeast, both blacks and whites preferred southern destinations, though white destinations tilted a little more heavily toward south Florida retirement locations. In

Figure 3. Regional Destinations for Out-Migrants, Blacks versus Whites, 1995–2000

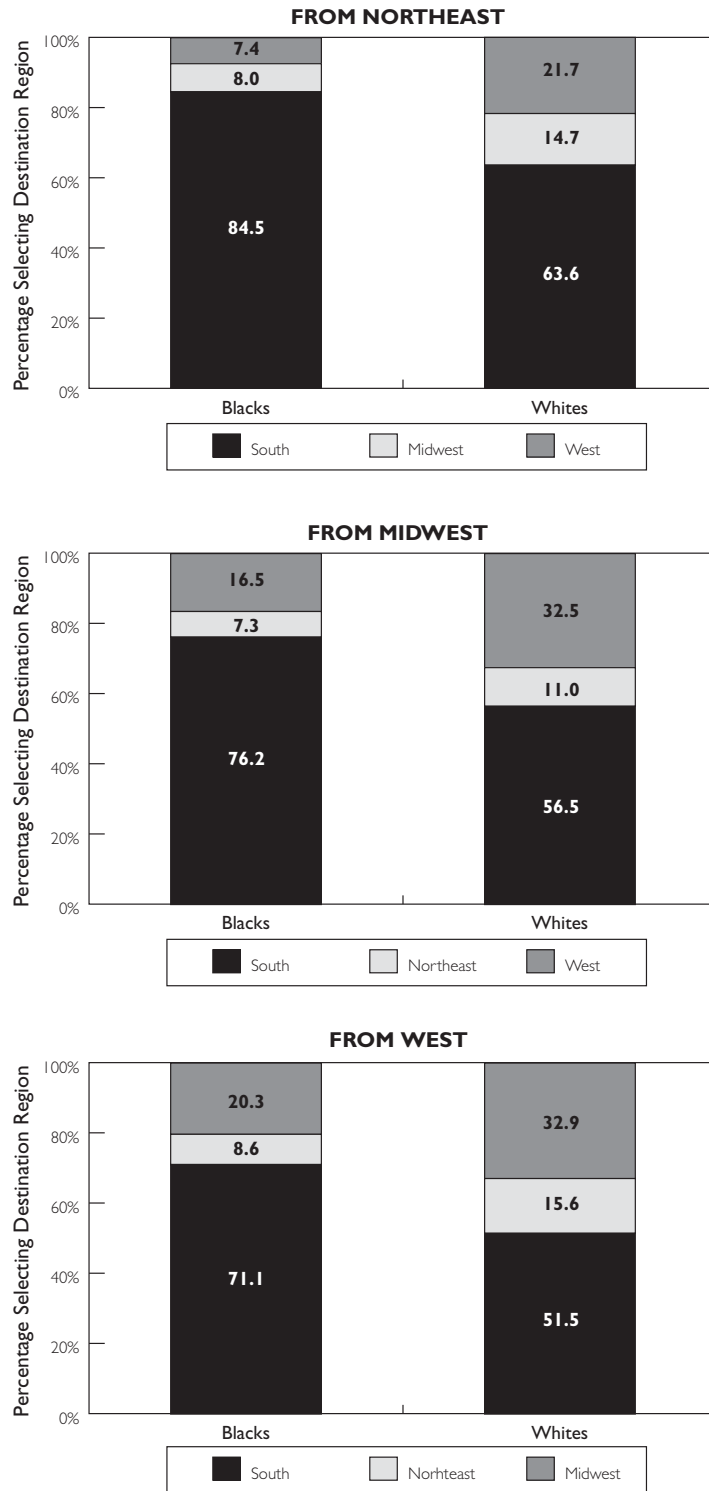


Table 3. Top Metropolitan Destinations, Black and White Migrants from Non-South Regions, 1995–2000*

Rank	Blacks	In-Migrants	Whites	In-Migrants
From Northeast Region				
1	Washington-Baltimore	40,654	Washington-Baltimore	157,987
2	Atlanta	39,146	Miami	93,087
3	Miami	21,651	Tampa-St. Petersburg	89,385
4	Norfolk-Virginia Beach	19,188	Los Angeles	74,645
5	Orlando	11,402	West Palm Beach	71,066
From Midwest Region				
1	Atlanta	30,853	Phoenix	124,203
2	Washington-Baltimore	12,444	Los Angeles	82,261
3	Dallas	9,891	Denver	76,846
4	Los Angeles	9,279	Dallas	74,240
5	Memphis	8,799	New York	70,025
From West Region				
1	Atlanta	16,832	New York	89,323
2	Washington-Baltimore	13,663	Washington-Baltimore	88,570
3	Dallas	9,600	Dallas	83,882
4	Chicago	8,280	Chicago	68,387
5	New York	8,037	Boston	48,493

Source: Author's analysis of Census 2000 data

* Metro areas are CMSAs, MSAs, and (in New England) NECMAs, as defined in Census 2000.

Names are abbreviated.

addition, Los Angeles ranked among the top destinations for whites. Black and white migration patterns were even more distinct for migrants from the Midwest. The top three destinations for blacks were all in the South (Atlanta, Washington, and Dallas), while the top three destinations for whites were all western (Phoenix, Los Angeles, and Denver).

Among those leaving the West in the late 1990s, differences among blacks and whites were somewhat more muted, as the groups shared four of the top five metropolitan destinations. Still, there remained one constant across regions for black migrants: Atlanta and Washington, D.C. ranked as the top magnets. By contrast, Atlanta was not among the top five destinations for whites from

the Northeast, Midwest, or West. This underscores the importance of these two metropolitan areas, especially Atlanta, as premier destinations for blacks migrants from across the nation.

D. College-educated individuals lead the new migration into the South.

The northward migration of blacks over much of the 20th century did not skew high on socioeconomic attributes. Generally, South-to-North black migrants were less educated than their northern counterparts.⁸ This largely reflected the “push” of eroding agricultural job prospects in the oppressive southern racial climate, as well as heavy demand for manual labor in northern industrial states.

The new migration of blacks into

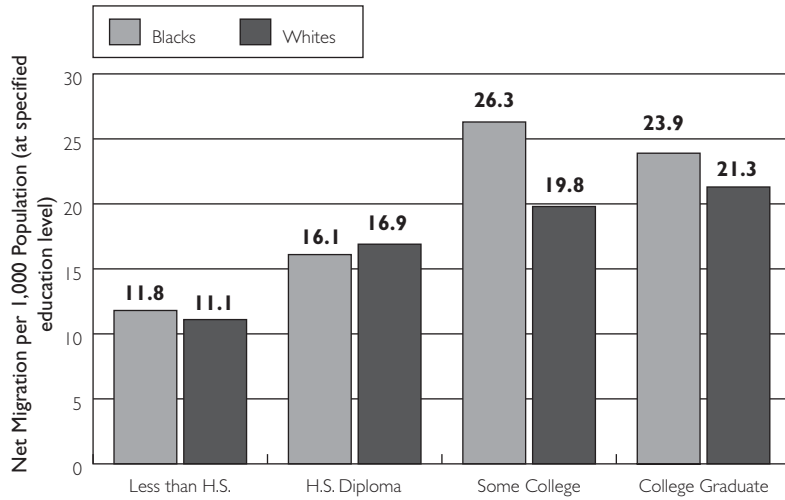
the South turns this historical trend on its head. Now, more educated blacks are migrating to Southern destinations at higher rates than those with lower education levels. Figure 4 reflects this pattern, showing net rates of black migration per 1,000 black adult residents at each education level.⁹ The rates are positive for every level of education, indicating that the South gained both less-educated and more-educated blacks through migration in the late 1990s. Notably, though, the net rates are highest for those with college degrees and those with at least some college. Thus, black migration to the South over this period tended to raise the overall educational attainment level of southern blacks.

This selective migration of “the best and the brightest” is consistent with conventional wisdom on inter-regional and interstate migrant flow across a national job market.¹⁰ The pattern is mirrored in white migration to the South during the same period. As with the black population, the South gained whites at all education levels, though net gains were larger for higher-educated whites.

State-level analysis provides a broader picture of “brain gain” and “brain drain” patterns for college graduate blacks. Table 4 shows net migration gains and losses for adult college graduates by state over the 1995–2000 period. Only 16 states show net gains for black college graduates. Georgia, Texas, and Maryland lead all others, and four other southeastern states rank among the top 10 recipients. Arizona and Nevada, drawing some gains from California’s out-flow, stand out as two migrant gainers in the West. Beyond these, the remaining states experiencing in-migration of blacks with college degrees attracted relatively small numbers of these individuals

The major black “brain gain” states are distinct from those gaining the most white college graduates. Although Southern states such as

Figure 4. Net Migration Rates by Educational Attainment, Black and Whites, South Region, 1995–2000



Source: Author's analysis of Census 2000 data.

Table 4. Top “Brain Gain” and “Brain Drain” States, Blacks and Whites, 1995–2000

Rank	Blacks	Whites
Largest Net In-Migration of College Graduates		
1	Georgia 20,297	Florida 133,721
2	Texas 11,609	Arizona 69,159
3	Maryland 11,468	North Carolina 59,224
4	Florida 5,976	Colorado 51,847
5	North Carolina 4,016	Georgia 44,755
6	Tennessee 2,466	California 36,145
7	Arizona 2,420	Texas 36,102
8	Nevada 1,848	Washington 32,251
9	Virginia 1,018	Nevada 28,636
10	Delaware 888	Oregon 23,099
Largest Net Out-Migration of College Graduates		
1	New York -18,573	New York -134,103
2	Louisiana -6,608	Illinois -60,847
3	District of Columbia -5,601	Pennsylvania -55,093
4	Pennsylvania -4,040	Ohio -36,575
5	Alabama -3,019	Michigan -29,510
6	Mississippi -2,947	Indiana -28,496
7	Ohio -2,875	Iowa -25,094
8	Massachusetts -2,389	New Jersey -20,763
9	California -2,173	Louisiana -20,255
10	Oklahoma -1,669	Utah -15,143

Source: Author's analysis of Census 2000 data

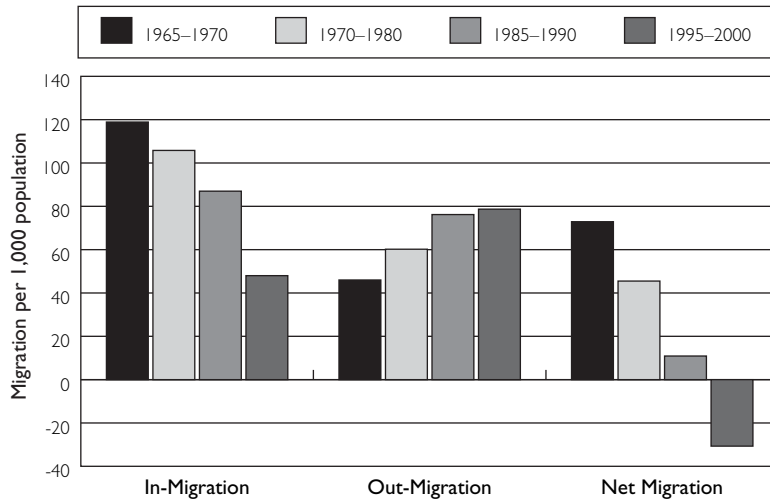
Florida, North Carolina, Georgia, and Texas are among the largest white gainers, the top 10 list also includes six western states. Comparatively, then, the South appears to exert a stronger “pull” on highly educated blacks than it does on their white counterparts.

Among the states that sustained the largest net losses of college graduate migrants, three ranked among the top 10 for both blacks and whites: New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. What distinguished black “brain drain” states was the presence of economically stagnant southern states (Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi) that still contain large black populations. White “brain drain” states, by contrast, are located primarily in the Northeast and Midwest. Without these significant outflows of educated blacks from “Deep South” states, migration patterns would have increased black education levels in the region by an even greater degree. Still, the recent trend represents a dramatic departure from that prevailing a few decades ago, and contributed to the rise of a growing middle-class black population in Southern metropolitan areas.

E. After several decades as a major black migrant “magnet,” California lost more black migrants than it gained during the late 1990s.

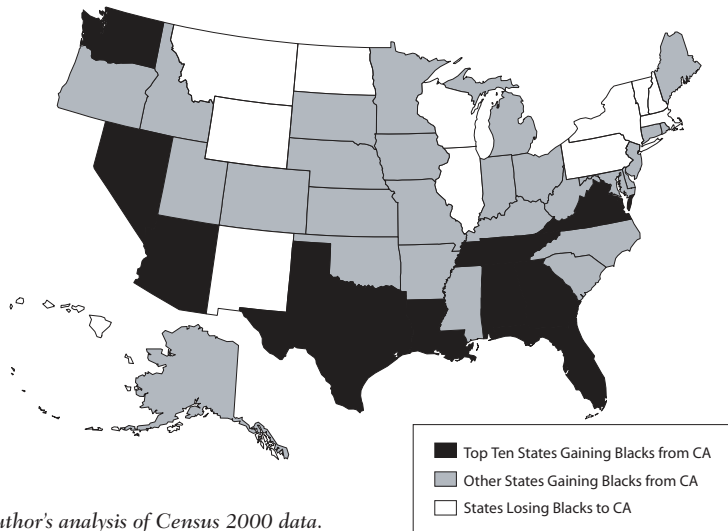
The reversal of the “Great Migration” did not occur solely across the Mason-Dixon line. As shown earlier, California led all states in its net gains of black migrants in the late 1960s and late 1970s. Even in the late 1980s, the state ranked sixth on this measure. In the 1995–2000 period, however, California ranked second in the nation for black domestic migration losses. In part, this can be attributed to California’s declining economy over the course of the 1990s. At the same time, however, the state’s most severe economic decline occurred during the early part of the decade, rather than the later period for which the census

Figure 5. Black Migration Rates, California, 1965–2000



Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses.

Figure 6. California's Black Migration Exchange with Other States, 1995–2000



Source: Author's analysis of Census 2000 data.

records migration data.¹¹

California's in- and out-migration patterns for blacks over the last 35 years reflect a near mirror-image pattern of those in the South. That is, fewer blacks migrated to California from other states with each successive decade, especially in the late 1990's, as the number of blacks leaving Cali-

formia increased (Figure 5). As a result, the small black net in-migration occurring in the late 1980s gave way to a noticeable black migration loss in the late 1990s.

Reviewing the particular origins and destinations of black migrants into and out of California helps illuminate how the state became a net exporter of

blacks over time. In each of the last four census periods, Texas ranked either first or second as an origin of in-migrants to California, though it was also the most popular destination of blacks migrating out of California (Table 5). Although not quite as consistent, Louisiana shares a similar relationship with California. Thus, whether California gained or lost blacks in its exchanges with Texas and Louisiana bore heavily on its overall migration exchange with the rest of the U.S. After three periods in which it experienced a net gain of black migrants from these two states, California lost more blacks to both states through migration in the late 1990s than it gained.

The destination states for blacks migrating out of California have changed more markedly over time than have the origin states for blacks moving to California. Northern states—especially New York and Illinois—have long served as major feeders, with thousands of black residents of New York City and Chicago moving westward in each of the past four decades. Indeed, in the 1995–2000 period, Texas, Illinois and New York were still among the top origin states for black migrants to California. In the late 1960s and 1970s, migrants from California—like in-migrants—were prone to select Texas and Louisiana, as well as Illinois, as part of the back-and-forth exchanges between these states. In the late 1980s, however, Georgia and Florida rapidly climbed the list to become the second- and third-most prominent destinations. By the late 1990s, three of the top five destinations were Southeastern states, which were joined by California's next-door neighbor, Nevada.

In fact, the increased flow of blacks from California to the South largely accounts for the West's transition from an "importer" to an "exporter" of blacks to the South region over the 1995–2000 period. California alone contributed nearly three-fourths (73

Table 5. Black Migration Exchange between California and Other States, 1965–2000

Rank	1965–70 Period		1975–80 Period		1985–90 Period		1995–2000 Period	
In-Migration from Other States								
1	Texas	19,193	New York	16,804	Texas	19,146	Texas	9,181
2	Louisiana	18,213	Texas	15,323	Louisiana	13,644	New York	6,743
3	Illinois	9,562	Illinois	14,344	New York	13,524	Illinois	5,913
4	Alabama	8,019	Louisiana	11,508	Illinois	13,376	Louisiana	5,529
5	Mississippi	7,804	Ohio	10,619	Michigan	7,529	Georgia	5,254
6	New York	7,536	Michigan	8,434	Ohio	7,301	Florida	4,259
7	Arkansas	6,034	Missouri	6,329	Florida	6,624	Washington	4,167
8	Ohio	5,593	Pennsylvania	6,217	Georgia	5,982	Arizona	3,850
9	Missouri	4,738	Alabama	5,831	Mississippi	5,192	Virginia	3,752
10	Michigan	4,658	New Jersey	5,447	Virginia	4,567	Nevada	3,446
Out-Migration to Other States								
1	Texas	8,153	Texas	14,804	Texas	15,874	Texas	17,590
2	Michigan	3,791	Louisiana	8,607	Georgia	7,974	Georgia	14,060
3	Louisiana	3,327	Washington	5,437	Florida	7,354	Nevada	13,704
4	Washington	2,746	Illinois	3,826	Illinois	6,915	Florida	8,371
5	Illinois	2,744	Georgia	3,746	Louisiana	6,719	Virginia	8,051
6	New York	2,617	Michigan	3,639	Nevada	6,646	Louisiana	7,882
7	Ohio	2,354	Florida	3,612	Virginia	6,626	Washington	6,816
8	Missouri	1,769	New York	3,363	New York	6,473	Arizona	6,135
9	Virginia	1,752	Virginia	3,302	Washington	6,451	North Carolina	5,123
10	Florida	1,749	Oklahoma	2,977	Ohio	5,674	Illinois	5,026

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses

percent) of the South's net migration gain of blacks from the West in the late 1990s.

Other states in the West have also begun to gain black population from California. In recent decades, substantial shares of California's white out-migrants located in surrounding states such as Nevada, Arizona, Oregon, and Washington. In fact, some analysts have proposed that California's migration streams are part of two "migration systems": a nationwide exchange of high-skilled labor between all states; and a "spillover" migration to neighboring Western states with more middle- and lower-level socioeconomic attributes.¹² The spillover migration reflects in part a movement away from the high cost of living in California metropolitan areas toward more affordable, less congested communi-

ties in nearby states. This out-migration pattern largely accounted for California's state-wide loss of domestic migrants in the late 1990's.¹³

On a somewhat smaller scale, California's blacks have joined in this "spillover" migration to surrounding states. The state has lost black migrants on net in its exchange with Washington and Oregon since the late 1960s. The pattern expanded to include Nevada in the late 1970s, and Arizona in the late 1980s, even as California gained blacks on net from other parts of the country. As with California's out-migrants in general, blacks moving to nearby states in the late 1990s tended to have lower education levels than the black population at large.¹⁴

Overall, California lost blacks in its migration exchange with 38 other

states between 1995 and 2000 (Figure 6). The states receiving the greatest numbers of California's blacks included fast-growing Southeastern states (Georgia, Virginia, Florida), as well as traditional Southern destinations like Texas and Louisiana. The data also confirm a "spillover" of black out-migrants to nearby states in the West (Nevada, Washington, Arizona). The geographic breadth of this out-migration, and the long-term trend it culminates, suggest that California's net loss of blacks in the late 1990s reflects more than a symptom of the state's contemporary economic woes. It remains to be seen whether California will re-emerge as a major migration magnet for blacks in the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

This analysis of Census 2000 migration data documents the full-scale reversal of black Americans' migration out of the South—a movement that dominated the better part of the 20th century. Moreover, the latest census is the first to show that the South experienced a net migration gain of blacks from the other three regions of the country. Overall, the South's gains over the 1995–2000 period roughly doubled those recorded in the 1990 census, and tripled those recorded in the 1980 census.

Both economic and cultural factors help account for this long-term reversal of the “Great Migration.” The economic ascendancy of Southeastern states such as Georgia, Florida, Virginia, and the Carolinas made them primary destinations for black migrants to the region in recent decades. Texas, too, stands out for its continued appeal to black migrants. Improvements in the racial climate in these states over the past three decades helped create momentum for the return south, as many black Americans sought to strengthen ties to kin and to communities from which they and their forebears departed long ago. Yet on their return south, blacks by and large are not settling in the “Deep South” states that registered the greatest out-migration of blacks in the late 1960s. Atlanta, for instance, was far and away the premier nationwide destination for blacks in the late 1990s.

The survey also finds that when they relocate from the Northeast, Midwest, and West, blacks—particularly those with higher levels of education—are more likely than whites to head to the South. The black population's participation in an increasingly nationwide labor market, and its preference for Southern destinations, have fueled rising incomes and a growing black middle class and upper-middle class in several of the region's fast-

growing metropolitan areas.¹⁵ In turn, these communities may be helping to attract other educated black migrants who seek to draw on their emerging professional networks.

This cycle of black migration to the South has, however, drawn strength from the places blacks left in the greatest numbers. The Northeast and Midwest—particularly the New York and Chicago metropolises—lost increasing numbers of blacks to the South over the past three decades. By the late 1990s, the West had been transformed from a receiver to a sender of black migrants to the South. As with large Northeast and Midwest states like New York and Illinois, California represented the West region's major destination for blacks leaving the South during the mid-20th century. Even as Northern states started to lose black migrants in the 1970s and 1980s, California remained, on net, a destination for blacks. In the most recent census, however, a plural-

ity of blacks leaving California located in southern states, at the same time that many black out-migrants followed other populations that “spilled out” into neighboring Western states. These trends confirm that a broad-based set of states and metropolitan areas have seen their more mobile, often more educated black populations leave for the growing South.

With its demographic and geographic breadth, combined with the strong cultural and economic ties that the South holds for blacks, the “New Great Migration” has all the signs of a continuing trend. While we have yet to fully appreciate its implications on economic, political, and race relations fronts, future research should examine the importance of this development not only for the South but also for the places that black Americans are leaving behind in increasing numbers.

Appendix A. Black Migration by Region, 1965–2000

	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
I. In-Migration Flows				
1965–1970	195,860	263,388	205,661	183,281
1975–1980	117,224	190,038	439,367	236,560
1985–1990	163,372	199,687	560,775	243,069
1995–2000	136,780	212,076	680,131	171,309
II. Out-Migration Flows				
1965–1970	137,086	136,373	493,101	81,630
1975–1980	287,590	237,608	330,489	127,502
1985–1990	326,586	266,502	380,800	193,015
1995–2000	369,665	276,090	333,585	220,956
III. Net Migration Flows				
1965–1970	58,774	127,015	-287,440	101,651
1975–1980	-170,366	-47,570	108,878	109,058
1985–1990	-163,214	-66,815	179,975	50,054
1995–2000	-232,885	-64,014	346,546	-49,647

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses



Appendix B. Black Net Migration by State, 1965–2000

Black Net Migration

States	2000 Black Population	% of Total Population	Black Net Migration			
			1965–1970	1975–1980	1985–1990	1995–2000
Alabama	1,155,930	26.0	-61,507	-7,843	-8,332	6,846
Alaska	21,787	3.5	60	653	405	-3,072
Arizona	158,873	3.1	246	2,239	9,211	8,909
Arkansas	418,950	15.7	-27,594	-9,236	-8,931	-2,192
California	2,263,882	6.7	91,425	75,746	21,636	-63,180
Colorado	165,063	3.8	5,593	8,861	2,084	-1,217
Connecticut	309,843	9.1	9,845	-3,012	-329	-5,810
Delaware	150,666	19.2	2,354	1,769	4,107	9,074
District of Columbia	343,312	60.0	-15,390	-58,454	-43,727	-34,118
Florida	2,335,505	14.6	-6,404	15,900	57,009	51,286
Georgia	2,349,542	28.7	-23,363	29,616	80,827	129,749
Hawaii	22,003	1.8	-724	2,874	-314	-7,203
Idaho	5,456	0.4	-87	355	405	-651
Illinois	1,876,875	15.1	16,857	-37,220	-60,120	-55,238
Indiana	510,034	8.4	10,356	-2,040	-1,007	6,192
Iowa	61,853	2.1	352	2,530	-264	-599
Kansas	154,198	5.7	454	4,215	1,093	-5,056
Kentucky	295,994	7.3	-5,556	5,550	-3,648	2,614
Louisiana	1,451,944	32.5	-37,067	-5,315	-46,053	-18,074
Maine	6,760	0.5	-516	-809	315	-861
Maryland	1,477,411	27.9	44,054	54,793	59,966	43,549
Massachusetts	343,454	5.4	8,125	-5,766	2,435	-6,538
Michigan	1,412,742	14.2	63,839	3,592	-14,600	-16,449
Minnesota	171,731	3.5	2,755	1,988	12,525	9,118
Mississippi	1,033,809	36.3	-66,614	-20,106	-19,522	-2,691
Missouri	629,391	11.2	1,572	-10,428	-3,362	2,334
Montana	2,692	0.3	-500	-572	-505	-435
Nebraska	68,541	4.0	-108	-221	-557	-414
Nevada	135,477	6.8	430	5,211	10,143	19,446
New Hampshire	9,035	0.7	-162	127	596	-696
New Jersey	1,141,821	13.6	28,642	-6,462	-10,084	-34,682
New Mexico	34,343	1.9	-1,256	-349	-1,287	-2,724
New York	3,014,385	15.9	5,250	-128,143	-150,695	-165,366
North Carolina	1,737,545	21.6	-29,732	14,456	39,015	53,371
North Dakota	3,916	0.6	-312	-493	-779	-726
Ohio	1,301,307	11.5	22,518	-16,503	-7,040	-2,313
Oklahoma	260,968	7.6	-1,497	7,192	-2,693	-317
Oregon	55,662	1.6	1,950	2,058	1,643	146
Pennsylvania	1,224,612	10.0	6,412	-25,849	-11,046	-18,024
Rhode Island	46,908	4.5	1,331	-411	970	111
South Carolina	1,185,216	29.5	-26,884	9,238	5,342	16,253
South Dakota	4,685	0.6	-192	46	-223	-554
Tennessee	932,809	16.4	-17,703	4,436	11,297	19,343
Texas	2,404,566	11.5	4,663	47,685	8,921	42,312
Utah	17,657	0.8	1,041	1,667	514	497
Vermont	3,063	0.5	-153	-41	363	-1,019
Virginia	1,390,293	19.6	-11,586	22,295	53,873	29,149
Washington	190,267	3.2	3,930	10,216	6,780	862
West Virginia	57,232	3.2	-7,614	-3,098	-3,152	392
Wisconsin	304,460	5.7	8,924	6,964	7,456	-309
Wyoming	3,722	0.8	-457	99	-661	-1,025

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.



Appendix C. Black Net Migration for Metropolitan Areas with Black Population Over 50,000 in 2000, 1965–2000

Metropolitan Areas	2000 Black Population	% of Total Population	Black Net Migration			
			1965–1970	1975–1980	1985–1990	1995–2000
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT-PA CMSA	3,637,778	17.2	18,792	-139,789	-190,108	-193,061
Washington-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV CMSA	1,992,266	26.2	34,365	9,998	29,904	16,139
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI CMSA	1,707,618	18.6	14,061	-44,884	-69,068	-59,282
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA CMSA	1,245,039	7.6	55,943	32,764	-11,731	-38,833
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	1,210,846	19.6	24,601	-16,678	-617	-5,479
Atlanta, GA MSA	1,189,179	28.9	10,135	27,111	74,705	114,478
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI CMSA	1,149,331	21.1	54,766	-989	-22,432	-15,095
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	790,518	20.4	4,984	6,106	10,401	-7,772
Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	789,489	16.9	16,301	24,267	-4,661	9,633
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	720,133	13.8	16,384	12,460	16,097	39,360
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	513,561	7.3	24,699	16,034	-7,078	-30,613
New Orleans, LA MSA	502,251	37.5	-4,886	-4,889	-17,395	-13,860
Cleveland-Akron, OH CMSA	493,492	16.8	10,914	-13,483	-11,553	-6,948
Memphis, TN-AR-MS MSA	492,531	43.4	-8,498	-785	2,931	12,507
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC MSA	485,368	30.9	-1,333	10,141	27,645	16,660
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	476,716	18.3	3,222	-12,030	-10,374	-2,481
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC MSA	307,886	20.5	121	2,725	7,497	23,313
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence-Lowell-Brockton, MA-NH NECMA	302,331	5.0	5,419	-4,576	2,235	-7,018
Richmond-Petersburg, VA MSA	300,457	30.2	3,643	8,110	12,508	8,355
Birmingham, AL MSA	277,083	30.1	-12,177	-1,158	-763	3,198
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC MSA	269,932	22.7	-1,100	5,774	17,611	16,144
Milwaukee-Racine, WI CMSA	254,810	15.1	8,389	5,528	4,305	-1,021
Greensboro—Winston-Salem—High Point, NC MSA	252,688	20.2	1,392	5,120	8,820	9,120
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	244,457	10.2	2,350	1,788	1,807	6,965
Jacksonville, FL MSA	238,428	21.7	-2,647	-50	5,573	8,744
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN CMSA	231,006	11.7	599	546	771	178
Orlando, FL MSA	227,868	13.9	-67	4,491	13,368	20,222
Kansas City, MO-KS MSA	226,503	12.8	3,529	-2,795	-963	-760
Indianapolis, IN MSA	223,974	13.9	5,072	2,373	3,538	7,889
Columbus, OH MSA	206,136	13.4	4,234	2,003	8,343	10,159
Jackson, MS MSA	201,027	45.6	-4,096	3,000	1,923	3,659
Baton Rouge, LA MSA	192,605	31.9	-1,871	3,960	-937	4,640
Nashville, TN MSA	191,876	15.6	965	2,954	6,476	6,048
Pittsburgh, PA MSA	190,511	8.1	-5,003	-3,022	-4,987	-7,425
Columbia, SC MSA	172,083	32.1	2,622	9,082	9,149	10,899
Charleston-North Charleston, SC MSA	169,079	30.8	-4,595	2,764	841	-674
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC MSA	168,081	17.5	-3,032	203	1,394	2,409
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA CMSA	165,938	4.7	4,131	8,925	6,411	821
Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC MSA	164,019	34.4	-467	6,250	4,123	1,732
San Diego, CA MSA	161,480	5.7	5,717	15,621	12,482	-9,970
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	157,963	5.3	2,861	2,807	11,765	7,585
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL MSA	156,055	13.8	171	167	2,507	2,785



Appendix C. (continued)

Metropolitan Areas	2000 Black Population	% of Total Population	Black Net Migration			
			1965–1970	1975–1980	1985–1990	1995–2000
Mobile, AL MSA	147,909	27.4	-8,017	-809	-4,335	-823
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA MSA	146,686	37.4	-4,047	-818	-5,503	-1,921
Louisville, KY-IN MSA	142,760	13.9	1,303	-130	-2,425	1,358
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY MSA	137,049	11.7	1,692	-5,371	-844	-3,242
Dayton-Springfield, OH MSA	135,330	14.2	4,065	-752	-1,291	-1,834
Montgomery, AL MSA	129,653	38.9	-4,635	2,240	2,973	7,179
Sacramento-Yolo, CA CMSA	128,073	7.1	3,894	5,567	10,848	7,601
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR MSA	127,737	21.9	-1,468	2,153	-453	3,937
Las Vegas, NV-AZ MSA	126,101	8.1	872	4,714	8,372	18,912
Macon, GA MSA	121,107	37.5	-1,826	196	367	2,833
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO CMSA	119,829	4.6	2,681	5,940	157	-170
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ MSA	119,509	3.7	996	2,197	7,414	10,895
Oklahoma City, OK MSA	114,351	10.6	-222	3,022	-984	1,367
Rochester, NY MSA	112,642	10.3	5,305	-107	-813	-3,440
Columbus, GA-AL MSA	110,874	40.4	-1,768	4,668	107	1,273
Hartford, CT NECMA	110,500	9.6	3,455	56	1,412	-1,245
Lafayette, LA MSA	108,573	28.2	-4,061	-368	-4,012	-1,258
Fayetteville, NC MSA	105,731	34.9	3,883	7,053	3,574	-1,342
San Antonio, TX MSA	105,618	6.6	1,288	1,285	-391	-2,237
Savannah, GA MSA	102,158	34.9	-1,357	1,545	1,618	-1,480
Austin-San Marcos, TX MSA	99,432	8.0	1,493	4,361	4,067	3,777
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX MSA	95,494	24.8	-2,515	252	-2,601	1,009
Tallahassee, FL MSA	95,467	33.6	-1,432	3,904	4,423	6,519
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI MSA	79,335	7.3	1,886	719	2,345	1,507
Toledo, OH MSA	78,911	12.8	1,862	-786	-1,479	0
Huntsville, AL MSA	71,777	21.0	71	1,918	2,876	3,925
Tulsa, OK MSA	70,867	8.8	286	2,102	121	649
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula, MS MSA	70,350	19.3	-771	1,478	-1,338	51
Pensacola, FL MSA	68,010	16.5	-1,460	-1,636	1,380	1,141
Chattanooga, TN-GA MSA	66,229	14.2	-2,190	-1,280	-338	-526
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL MSA	65,545	13.5	-939	231	1,182	1,206
Killeen-Temple, TX MSA	64,968	20.8	2,481	9,959	5,913	-791
Rocky Mount, NC MSA	61,613	43.1	-3,145	-1,368	-680	-876
Albany, GA MSA	61,600	51.0	-611	1,526	1,076	1,568
Youngstown-Warren, OH MSA	61,130	10.3	649	-2,151	-3,132	-846
Omaha, NE-IA MSA	59,447	8.3	642	-557	-1,333	-575
Portland-Salem, OR-WA CMSA	54,227	2.4	2,062	1,872	1,938	1,365
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY MSA	53,424	6.1	-256	-138	1,696	-458

Source: Author's analysis of 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.

Endnotes

1. Horace C. Hamilton, "The Negro Leaves the South." *Demography* 1 (1964): 273–95; Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land: The Great Migration and How it Changed America* (New York: Knopf, 1991).
2. The regions are defined as follows: Northeast includes the states of CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT. Midwest includes IL, IN, IO, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI. South includes AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV. West includes AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY.
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.
4. 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.
5. William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Jr., *Regional and Metropolitan Growth and Decline in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988); Larry Long, *Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988).
6. While not specifically pictured in Figure 1, net black migration from the Northeast to the South was 65,000 persons higher in 1995–2000 than in 1985–1990; the comparable increase from the Midwest was 30,000.
7. It is noteworthy, however, that Alabama actually had a net gain of black migrants in the late 1990s, after experiencing the second-largest net loss of blacks among the 50 states in the late 1960s (Appendix B).
8. Stewart E. Tolnay, "Educational Selection in the Migration of Southern Blacks, 1880–1990." *Social Forces* 77 (2) (1998): 489–514.
9. For example, about 1.5 million black adult (age 25 and over) college graduates lived in the South in 2000. Between 1995 and 2000, a little over 90,000 black college graduates migrated into the South (61.4 for every 1,000), while about 55,000 black college graduates migrated out of the South (37.5 for every 1,000). Therefore, net migration for black college graduates into the South was roughly 35,000 out of 1.5 million, or 23.9 per 1,000 (61.4 minus 37.5).
10. Long, *Migration and Residential Mobility in the United States*.
11. Joel Kotkin, *California: A Twenty-First Century Prospectus* (Denver: Center for the New West, 1997).
12. William H. Frey, "Immigration and Internal Migration: 1990 Census Findings for California." *Research Report No. 94-306* (University of Michigan Population Studies Center, 1994).
13. Associated Press, "Census Finds More Americans Flee Than Find California Dream." *The New York Times*. August 6, 2003, p. A12; Jonathan Tilove, "Migration Patterns Point to a Nation of Three Americas." *Newhouse News Service*, 2003.
14. William H. Frey, "Metro Magnets for International and Domestic Migrants" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2003).
15. William H. Frey, "Revival." *American Demographics*, October 2003, pp. 27–31.



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Census 2000 provides a unique opportunity to define the shape of urban and metropolitan policy for the coming decade. With support from *Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative*, the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy has launched the *Living Cities Census Series*, a major three-year effort to illustrate how urban and suburban America has changed in the last two decades. As a part of this effort, Brookings is conducting comparative analyses of the major social, economic, and demographic trends for U.S. metropolitan areas, as well as a special effort to provide census information and analysis in a manner that is tailored to the cities involved in the Living Cities initiative.

Living Cities: The National Community Development Initiative is a partnership of leading foundations, financial institutions, nonprofit organizations, and the federal government that is committed to improving the vitality of cities and urban communities. Living Cities funds the work of community development corporations in 23 cities and uses the lessons of that work to engage in national research and policy development. Visit Living Cities on the web at www.livingcities.org



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