

Selected Migration Topics: 1985-1990

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Retirement and Post-Retirement Migration

After he retired at age 62, Herman and his wife, Thelma, fulfilled a longtime dream by moving from Minneapolis to a country home in rural Wisconsin, a place they had frequently vacationed. They both enjoyed gardening, fishing, and other outdoor activities, and Herman kept fit by chopping wood and shoveling snow. After 15 years, however, they began to find this lifestyle a little too rigorous. They bought a condo in an all-Seniors complex in Edina, where they would not have to worry about maintenance. This also allowed them to be closer to their only child, a daughter living in Eden Prairie. A few years later their daughter's husband was transferred to a new job in Phoenix, Arizona. Herman and Thelma decided to stay put in their Edina condo, but after a few years Herman began to develop symptoms of Alzheimer's Disease. The couple decided to move to Phoenix so they could get more help from their daughter. They moved into an apartment in Phoenix, where Thelma cared for Herman with help from their relatives. When Thelma died suddenly of a stroke, Herman had to move into a nursing home. By that time Herman was 92 years old and had been retired for 30 years.

As this example shows, although elderly people do not move as often as younger adults, their migration patterns can be complex. The destinations and characteristics of elderly migrants change with age, and many moves are not directly associated with retirement. Younger elderly people appear to be making moves based on lifestyle preferences. Older migrants appear to be more dependent, and their moves may be related to deteriorating health.

Data Sources

The figures discussed in this report come from the county-to-county migration file from the 1990 census, STP28. This file contains information both for people who moved from one county to another and for people who did not move across county boundaries. Data items in STP28 include county of residence in 1985 and in 1990, age, sex, race, education, and poverty status. For this report, the state's 87 counties were grouped into six regions: Agricultural, College, Retirement, Growing Metro, Miscellaneous Southern, and Miscellaneous Northern. A list of the counties in each group is attached. For the most part, this report will focus on migration to and from other states and on migration among the six Minnesota regions.

The census does not contain data on "snowbirds," people who spend part of the year in Minnesota and part in a warmer climate. Census data are tabulated according to the "usual place of residence," the place where the person lives for the greatest amount of time. Depending on individual circumstances, some snowbirds might be counted in Minnesota while others are counted in their warm-weather home.

Minnesota Loses Younger Elderly, Gains Those Over 75

Overall, Minnesota experienced net out-migration of people ages 55 to 74 and net in-migration of people over age 75. The largest amount of net in-migration occurred among people over age 85, where there was a net migration gain of almost 2,000 people.

There appears to be substantial net in-migration to Minnesota of older people living in nursing homes or other institutions. Although nursing home residence is not tabulated in the STP28 file, the "poverty not computed" category is a good proxy for nursing home residence in the older population. People for whom poverty is not computed are generally those living in group quarters, and among elderly people most of those living in group quarters are in nursing homes. Among those ages 75 and older, about 3,700 people in the "poverty not computed" group moved to Minnesota between 1985 and 1990, compared to 1,400 who left the state. Thus over a 5-year period Minnesota had a net gain of approximately 2,000 very old institutionalized people.

It is not clear why Minnesota experiences net in-migration among the extremely old and among nursing home residents. Many people in this age bracket probably move to be closer to children or other relatives, but it is not clear why more should move into Minnesota than out. Data from the PUMS (Public Use Microdata Sample) may shed more light on this issue; currently, however, there are problems with the group quarters data in the PUMS file.

Retirement Migration

Many Minnesotans aspire to retire to a warm climate. Others view a lakeside cabin in northern Minnesota or Wisconsin as the ideal retirement spot. The great majority, however, do not move at the time of retirement. Migration rates are lower for people between the ages of 55 and 74 than for any other age groups. Many older people cannot afford to move. Others prefer to stay in familiar surroundings, close to friends and family.

The younger elderly people who do move are drawn to areas with warm weather or, if they remain in the north, they prefer locations with lakes, forests, and other natural amenities. Many of these younger movers are part of a couple, and most are living in their own households.

Destinations of Retirement-Age Movers

Among elderly people who left Minnesota, the younger ones gravitated to Sunbelt

destinations. Of the 24,961 people ages 55 to 74 who moved out of Minnesota, almost half (48 percent) headed for Florida, Arizona, California, or Texas. Florida and Arizona were the most popular retirement spots, each accounting for 16 percent of the out-migrants. Wisconsin (11 percent of out-migrants) was also a popular destination. Wisconsin is a common destination for Minnesota migrants of all ages, and has several high-amenity areas popular with retirees.

Older people who moved within Minnesota, like those who left the state, were likely to choose areas known for their natural attractions. In Minnesota, the counties considered to be Retirement counties are generally located in north central Minnesota in the lakes district. Between 1985 and 1990, about 4,900 people ages 55 to 74 moved to a Minnesota Retirement county. The largest proportions came from the Metro area (47 percent) or from outside Minnesota (28 percent).

Comparison of "Sunbelt" and "Lakebelt" Migrants

Older people who leave Minnesota for the Sunbelt appear to be slightly more upscale than elderly people moving into Minnesota's retirement counties. Among Minnesotans over age 55 who moved to California, Florida, Arizona, or Texas, 49 percent had attended college, compared to 32 percent of those moving to the Minnesota "Lakebelt." The poverty rate was slightly higher for the Minnesota Retirement county migrants (12 percent) than for the Sunbelt migrants (6 percent).

Sunbelt retirees were also older on average. Among older Minnesotans moving to the four major Sunbelt destinations, 45 percent were ages 55 to 64, compared to 51 percent of those headed for the Minnesota Retirement areas. People over age 75 continue to move to warm weather states, though in reduced numbers, but the Minnesota Retirement counties are not attractive to those in this age bracket. Weather is probably a factor here. Those over age 75 are probably less willing than younger elderly to cope with the cold and snow in the Minnesota Retirement counties.

Post-Retirement Migration

With advancing age, the probability of moving increases, and the characteristics of the movers change. People in their late seventies or their eighties are more likely to move than people in their late fifties or their sixties. Even at advanced ages, however, migration rates remain much lower than for younger adults.

Though the STP28 file contains only limited data on characteristics of movers, the available information suggests that very old movers are more dependent and in poorer health. Movers over age 75 were much more likely to be women and to be living in group quarters. Poor health is probably a major cause of moves at advanced ages, as people give up their homes to move to an apartment, move in with their children, or move into a nursing home.

Among all interregional movers ages 55 to 74 (including those who moved from one Minnesota region to another, to another state from Minnesota, or to Minnesota from elsewhere) 52 percent were women. Among those 75 and older, 69 percent were women. The excess of women at older ages means more of them are probably moving as individuals rather than as part of a couple.

Few movers in the 55- to 74-year-old age bracket are living in a nursing home, but the proportion of movers over age 75 who are institutionalized is high, as indicated by a high proportion in the category "poverty not computed." Generally, a large share of moves by people over age 75 appear to be related to institutionalization. Among those who did not move across county boundaries between 1985 and 1990, only 7 percent were in the "poverty not computed" classification. The comparable figure for movers was 36 percent.

Some of the migrants who end up in institutions may be people who retired to an amenity setting and returned to their original home after the death of a spouse or after they developed health problems. Many, however, may be people who did not move initially at the time of retirement.

Destinations of Migrants Over Age 75

The choice of destinations among very old movers is more varied than for the younger elderly. Instead of focusing on amenity areas, they go to a wide range of destinations. This is consistent with the notion that many are moving to be close to relatives.

Older migrants, those ages 75 or more, were less likely than the younger elderly to move to the Sunbelt. They had a more diverse migration pattern, with many moving to states bordering Minnesota. About 30 percent of the out-movers in this age group moved to a border state, compared to 20 percent of the 55- to 74-year-olds. The four major Sunbelt destinations remained popular, accounting for 35 percent of out-migrants, but were less dominant than for the younger elderly.

Minnesota Retirement counties were not popular among the older elderly. More people over age 75 left the Retirement counties than moved in.

Regional Patterns

Patterns of migration by region show the strong effect of advancing age. Among the younger elderly population, the Retirement region had the highest rate of net in-migration, and the Metro counties had the highest rate of net out-migration. Among those over age 75, the reverse was true. The Metro counties had the highest rate of net in-migration, while the Retirement counties had the highest net out-migration. This reversal is consistent with the notion that there is a change in the dynamics of migration as people become older.

The Retirement counties experienced net in-migration among 55- to 74-year-olds by attracting

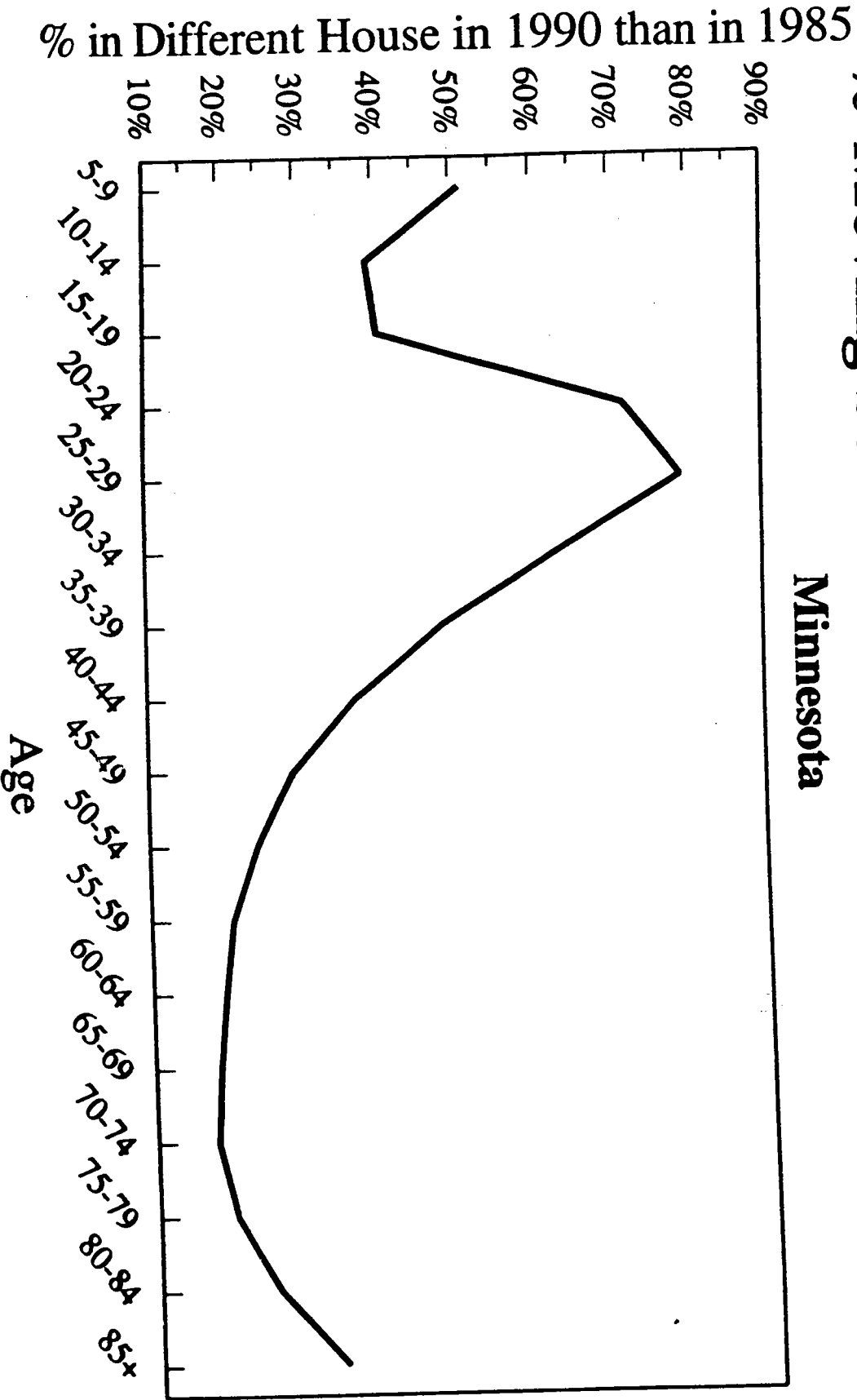
new residents both from Minnesota and from other states. The Metro region had net out-migration mainly because it attracted few new residents from elsewhere in Minnesota and exported large numbers to other states. Out-migrants from the Metro region were unlikely to choose a Minnesota destination. The number moving to the Minnesota Retirement counties was large, but was a only small proportion of those leaving the Metro region. The out-migration from the Metro region suggests that urban living is unappealing to many retirees. Another factor may be that Metro elderly are more affluent and more likely to be able to afford a retirement move than are elderly living in other regions.

The Metro region gains migrants over age 75 principally by attracting them from other states. This could indicate either return migration or movement to join children living in Minnesota. Out-migration from the Minnesota Retirement region stems both from losses to other states and to other regions of Minnesota.

Retirement-age migration patterns in the four other regions did not follow any clear pattern. Net migration rates were in most cases near zero.

% Moving between 1985 and 1990, by Age

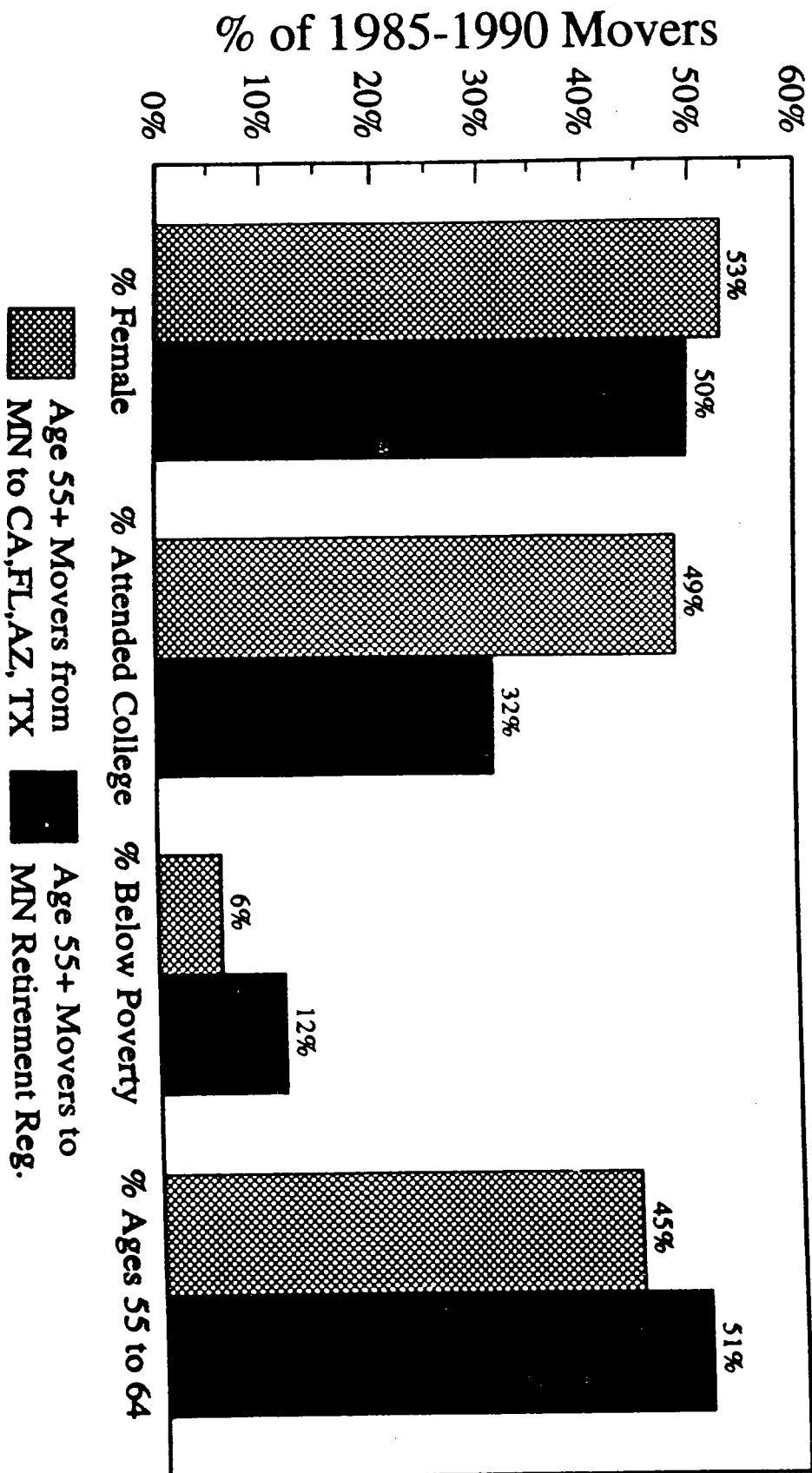
Minnesota



1990 Census Data
Demographer's Office Graphic

ELDERLY MIGRANTS TO SUNBELT AND LAKEBELT

Comparison of 55+ Movers to MN Retirement Region
vs. Those Moving from MN to AZ, FL, CA, and TX



Source: 1990 Census, STP28 file
Demographer's Office Graphic

County Typology for 1985-1990 County to County Migration File

<u>I. Agricultural</u>	1990 Population	<u>II. Misc. South</u>	1990 Population	<u>V. Growing Metro</u>	1990 Population
Big Stone	6,285	Brown	26,984	Anoka	243,641
Chippewa	13,228	Goodhue	40,690	Benton	30,185
Cottonwood	12,694	Freeborn	33,060	Carver	47,915
Dodge	15,731	Le Sueur	23,239	Chisago	30,521
Faribault	16,937	McLeod	32,030	Dakota	275,227
Fillmore	20,777	Mower	37,385	Hennepin	1,032,431
Grant	6,246	Kandiyohi	38,761	Isanti	25,921
Houston	18,497	Steele	30,729	Olmsted	106,470
Jackson	11,677	Waseca	18,079	Ramsey	485,765
Kittson	5,767		280,957	Scott	57,846
Lac Qui Parle	8,924			Sherburne	41,945
Lincoln	6,890	<u>III. College</u>		Washington	145,896
Marshall	10,993	Beltrami	34,384	Wright	68,710
Martin	22,914	Blue Earth	54,044		2,592,473
Meeker	20,846	Clay	50,422	<u>VI. Misc. North</u>	
Murray	9,660	Lyon	24,789	Becker	27,881
Nobles	20,098	Nicollet	28,076	Carlton	29,259
Norman	7,975	Rice	49,183	Clearwater	8,309
Pipestone	10,491	Stearns	118,791	Cook	3,868
Polk	32,498	Stevens	10,634	Itasca	40,863
Pope	10,745	Winona	47,828	Kanabec	12,802
Red Lake	4,525		418,151	Koochiching	16,299
Redwood	17,254	<u>IV. Retirement</u>		Lake	10,415
Renville	17,673	Aitkin	12,425	Lake of the Wood	4,076
Rock	9,806	Cass	21,791	Mahnomen	5,044
Sibley	14,366	Crow Wing	44,249	Morrison	29,604
Swift	10,724	Douglas	28,674	Pennington	13,306
Traverse	4,463	Hubbard	14,939	Pine	21,264
Wabasha	19,744	Mille Lacs	18,670	Roseau	15,026
Watonwan	11,682	Otter Tail	50,714	St. Louis	198,213
Wilkin	7,516		191,462	Todd	23,363
Yellow Medicine	11,684			Wadena	13,154
	419,310				472,746

MIGRATION OF PEOPLE 55+ IN MINNESOTA REGIONS

Ages 55-64

Migration per 100 Average Population

	Moved In:		Moved out:		Other States		Minnesota		Total		Net	
	Total	Other States	Total	Minnesota	Other States	Minnesota	Minnesota Total	MN Counties	Other Minnesota	Total	Minnesota	Total
Agricultural	2.4	1.1	2.9	1.4	1.3	1.6	0.2	1.4	1.4	1.6	0.2	-0.4
Misc. Southern	3.0	0.9	3.0	2.0	1.4	1.6	0.1	1.5	1.5	1.6	0.1	-0.0
College	3.3	1.3	4.0	2.0	1.7	2.3	0.4	1.9	1.9	2.3	0.4	-0.7
Retirement	8.3	2.1	3.7	6.2	1.7	1.9	na	1.9	1.9	1.9	na	4.6
Growing Metro	2.4	1.7	3.7	0.6	2.5	1.1	0.4	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.4	-1.3
Misc. Northern	3.5	1.7	3.2	1.9	1.8	1.4	0.3	1.1	1.1	1.4	0.3	0.3

Ages 65-74

Migration per 100 Average Population

	Moved In:		Moved out:		Other States		Minnesota		Total		Net	
	Total	Other States	Total	Minnesota	Other States	Minnesota	Minnesota Total	MN Counties	Other Minnesota	Total	Minnesota	Total
Agricultural	2.0	0.8	2.3	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.1	1.1	1.1	1.2	0.1	-0.3
Misc. Southern	2.7	0.8	2.6	1.8	1.1	1.5	0.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.1	0.0
College	3.3	1.3	3.3	2.0	1.3	2.1	0.2	1.8	1.8	2.1	0.2	-0.1
Retirement	5.0	1.5	4.2	3.4	2.2	2.0	na	2.0	2.0	2.0	na	0.8
Growing Metro	2.1	1.4	3.4	0.7	2.4	1.0	0.3	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.3	-1.2
Misc. Northern	2.5	1.0	2.6	1.5	1.4	1.2	0.3	0.9	0.9	1.2	0.3	-0.1

Ages 75+

Migration per 100 Average Population

	Moved In:		Moved out:		Other States		Minnesota		Total		Net	
	Total	Other States	Total	Minnesota	Other States	Minnesota	Minnesota Total	MN Counties	Other Minnesota	Total	Minnesota	Total
Agricultural	2.1	0.9	2.9	1.2	1.1	1.8	0.2	1.6	1.6	1.8	0.2	-0.8
Misc. Southern	3.0	0.8	3.0	2.2	0.7	2.3	0.1	2.2	2.2	2.3	0.1	0.0
College	4.6	1.4	3.7	3.1	0.9	2.8	0.2	2.6	2.6	2.8	0.2	0.8
Retirement	3.4	0.9	5.3	2.5	1.6	3.7	na	3.7	3.7	3.7	na	-2.0
Growing Metro	4.1	2.9	2.1	1.2	1.3	0.9	0.1	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.1	2.0
Misc. Northern	2.6	1.0	2.9	1.6	1.4	1.5	0.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	0.3	-0.4

Destinations of Minnesota Out-Migrants Ages 55+

	55-64	Age: 65-74	75+
Total Out-Migrants	14,219	10,742	5,835
% Going to Sunbelt	44.7%	53.7%	35.0%
Number Going to Sunbelt:	6,352	5,772	2,043
Arizona	1,894	2,021	690
California	1,478	1,060	537
Florida	2,083	2,005	538
Texas	897	686	278
% Going to Bordering States	21.3%	17.7%	30.0%
Number Going to Bordering State	3,027	1,903	1,751
Iowa	568	350	381
North Dakota	415	334	383
South Dakota	367	181	250
Wisconsin	1,677	1,038	737
% Going to All Other States	34.0%	28.6%	35.0%
Number Going to All Other States	4,840	3,067	2,041

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Characteristics of Minnesota Movers by Race and Hispanic Origin

Between 1985 and 1990, there was substantial net in-migration of nonwhite and Hispanic origin people to Minnesota. This in-migration was a major reason for the rapid growth in the state's minority populations. The origins and destinations of migrants, as well as their social and economic characteristics, are different in each racial and ethnic group. For example, many Asians and Latinos came to Minnesota from foreign countries, while white, African-American, and American Indian migrants usually came from other states in the U.S.

On average, the people moving into Minnesota were poorer, younger, and less educated than those who moved out of the state. This was true for both the white and minority populations, but socioeconomic differences between in-migrants and out-migrants were greater for minorities than for the white population.

The numbers that appear in this paper come from the STP28 file, a 1990 census product often called the county-to-county migration file. The information included in this file are county of residence in 1985 and 1990, race, Hispanic origin, gender, age, nativity, poverty status, and education.

White Migration

Whites, who make up the vast majority of Minnesota's population, accounted for 84 percent of all people who moved to the state and 93 percent of those who moved out. Slightly more white people moved into Minnesota (301,105) than out (293,630) between 1985 and 1990. The in-migrants included about 17,000 people, 6 percent of all white in-movers, who lived in a foreign country in 1985. These 1985 foreign residents include members of the armed forces and overseas U.S. employees as well as foreign-born immigrants. Considering only migration to and from other states, slightly more white people left Minnesota than moved in.

White in-migrants were poorer than white out-migrants, though the difference was not large. About 12.3 percent of white in-migrants were below poverty, compared to 10.8 percent of out-migrants. Educational attainment levels were similar between in-movers and out-movers. About 42 percent of out-migrants over age 25 were college graduates, compared to 41 percent of in-migrants.

White in-migrants were concentrated in the 25- to 34-year-old age group. There was a large net in-migration of white people in this age group, offsetting out-migration among 15- to 24-year-olds and people between 55 and 64. There was also substantial net in-migration of white

children ages 5 to 14 and of people over age 75.

In-migrating white people were likely to come from the Midwest; those who left went to the Midwest or the Sunbelt. Minnesota gained white migrants from the Midwest but lost substantial numbers to states such as Arizona, California, and Florida. Not surprisingly, the list of origins and destinations of white migrants reflects the figures for the state as a whole.

African American Migration

African Americans had the largest net in-migration of any racial group in Minnesota. The number of African Americans moving to Minnesota from 1985 to 1990 (22,632) was more than twice as large as the number leaving (8,205). About a quarter of the arriving black population came from Illinois. The other most common origins were foreign countries (8 percent), Indiana (7 percent), and Wisconsin (5 percent). African-Americans who left Minnesota were most likely to head for California (9 percent), Missouri (7 percent), and Illinois (7 percent).

The large number of in-migrants from Illinois and Indiana played a major role in the growth of Minnesota's African American population. Black in-migrants from these two states outnumbered those moving in the opposite direction by a ratio of eight to one.

African Americans moving into Minnesota were younger on average than those leaving, though both in- and out-migrants were drawn heavily from younger age groups. About 79 percent of those who moved in were under age 35, compared to 71 percent of those who moved out.

In-migrating black people were poorer than those who left, though poverty among out-migrants was also very high. African Americans who moved to Minnesota had a poverty rate of 46.8 percent. Those who left the state had a poverty rate of 28.2 percent.

African American in-migrants were also less educated than out-migrants. Among black movers age 25 or older, 24 percent of in-migrants had not completed high school, compared to 16 percent of out-migrants. In-migrants were considerably less likely to have graduated from college (19 percent) than were out-migrants (33 percent).

Most black people moving to Minnesota were born in the U.S., but a considerable minority, 11 percent, were foreign-born. Foreign-born in-movers outnumbered foreign-born out-movers by a large margin, 1,855. Immigration from Africa and the Caribbean has probably contributed to growth in the foreign-born black population..

Males predominate (55 percent) among blacks moving to Minnesota; the sex ratio for those leaving the state is more equal, 51 percent male to 49 percent female.

Asian and Pacific Islander Migration

Asians and Pacific Islanders also had a large net in-migration into Minnesota. Between 1985 and 1990, 22,612 Asians and Pacific Islanders moved to Minnesota, while 9,913 moved to other states.

Minnesota's attractiveness to Asian people is attributable to migration from abroad. Of the 22,612 Asians and Pacific Islanders who moved to Minnesota, more than two-thirds came from foreign countries. A very high proportion of Asian migrants were foreign-born. About 90 percent of in-movers to Minnesota and 78 percent of those leaving the state were born in a foreign country.

Minnesota was less successful in attracting Asian residents from elsewhere in the U.S. More Asians moved from Minnesota to other states than from other states to Minnesota.

Besides foreign countries, California (6 percent) and Wisconsin (5 percent) were the leading origins for Asians coming to Minnesota. By far the leading destination for Asians who moved out of Minnesota was California, which accounted for 41 percent of out-migrants.

Asians who moved to Minnesota were younger than those moving to other states. Only 23 percent of in-movers were age 35 or older, compared to 32 percent of Asians leaving Minnesota.

In-migrant Asians were also poorer and less educated than those who left. Among Asians who moved to Minnesota, 46.9 percent were below the official poverty line. For Asians leaving Minnesota, the poverty rate was 26.8 percent. Among Asians 25 years old or older, 34 percent of in-migrants had not completed high school and 38 percent were college graduates. In the out-migrant group, the proportion who had not finished high school (24 percent) was smaller, and the proportion of college graduates (47 percent) was higher.

The sex ratio of Asians moving to Minnesota was about equal; males were slightly overrepresented (52 percent) among the out-migrants.

Latino Migration

Like Asians and African-Americans, people of Hispanic origin experienced considerable net in-migration to Minnesota during the last half of the 1980s. The census figures show that 11,637 Latinos moved to Minnesota between 1985 to 1990, while 4,538 moved out of Minnesota to another state.

Both foreign and domestic migration contributed to the influx of Hispanics to Minnesota. Texas was the leading origin of in-migrants, accounting for 31 percent of the total, and Hispanic in-migrants from Texas outnumbered those going in the opposite direction by more

than 5 to 1. About 25 percent of the in-migrating Hispanics came from foreign countries. Destinations of out-migrants were more varied; the leading ones were California (15 percent) and Texas (14 percent).

A large proportion of Hispanic movers were foreign-born. Among those moving to Minnesota, 37 percent were foreign born. For those leaving the state, the figure was 26 percent.

Males were overrepresented among Latino migrants. About 54 percent of both in- and out-migrants were males.

As in other minority groups, in-migrants were younger on average than out-migrants. About 23 percent of in-migrant Hispanics were over age 35, compared to 27 percent of those leaving Minnesota.

Poverty rates were much higher for Latinos moving to Minnesota than for those who left. The poverty rate for in-migrants was 39.8 percent, versus 14.3 percent for out-migrants.

Among movers age 25 or older, educational levels were substantially lower for in-migrants. Among Hispanic origin people moving to Minnesota, 35 percent had not finished high school and 22 percent were college graduates. For Latinos leaving Minnesota, comparable figures were 22 percent who had not finished high school and 33 percent who had a college degree.

American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut Migration

Migration in and out of Minnesota was much lower for American Indians than for other racial groups. The number of American Indians moving to Minnesota between 1985 and 1990, 5,010, was moderately higher than the number leaving, 2,918. Migration from other states accounted for most of the American Indian migrants to Minnesota. The leading states of origin were bordering states: South Dakota (19 percent of in-migrants), Wisconsin (13 percent), and North Dakota (11 percent). These states were also the major destinations for Indians leaving Minnesota.

About 23 percent of American Indians moving to Minnesota were 35 or older, compared to 30 percent of those who left the state. In-migrants were also more likely to be poor, though poverty was very high in both groups. The poverty rate for Indians moving to Minnesota was 53.2 percent, versus 36.0 percent for leavers.

Levels of educational attainment were also lower for in-migrants, though differences were not as dramatic as in other minority groups. Among Indians over age 25 who moved to Minnesota, only 10 percent were college graduates. Among those who moved out of Minnesota, 18 percent had graduated from college.

Summary

Though Minnesota's minority groups all experienced substantial net in-migration in the last half of the 1980s, the sources and characteristics of migrants differed. These differences could affect future migration trends. For example, Asian migration to Minnesota depended heavily on foreign immigration. If immigration from Asia, particularly Southeast Asia, tapers off, Asian movement to Minnesota could go down substantially. African American migrants, on the other hand, come largely from other Midwestern states, so the potential for continued migration in the future appears strong.

In-migrants in all racial and ethnic groups are more likely to be poor than are out-migrants. The reasons for this are not clear, although deteriorating economic conditions in the major locations of origin may have played a role. For example, conditions in southern Texas and inner-city Chicago may have encouraged many African Americans and Latinos to seek a better life in Minnesota.

Whites

	In-migrants to Minnesota	Percent of In-migrants	Out-migrants from Minnesota	Percent of Out-migrants	Net Migrants
Sex:					
Male	150,641	50.0%	147,294	50.2%	3,347
Female	150,464	50.0%	146,336	49.8%	4,128
Total	301,105		293,630		7,475
Nativity:					
Born in U.S.	285,553	94.8%	286,218	97.5%	(665)
Puerto Rico	239	0.1%	75	0.0%	164
Foreign Born	15,313	5.1%	7,337	2.5%	7,976
Total	301,105		293,630		7,475
Poverty:					
In Poverty	34,368	11.4%	28,722	9.8%	5,646
Above Poverty	244,178	81.1%	238,285	81.2%	5,893
Not Computed	22,559	7.5%	26,623	9.1%	(4,064)
Total	301,105		293,630		7,475
Age Group:					
5 to 14	45,624	15.2%	38,508	13.1%	7,116
15 to 24	62,979	20.9%	75,891	25.8%	(12,912)
25 to 34	102,300	34.0%	84,254	28.7%	18,046
35 to 54	65,709	21.8%	65,367	22.3%	342
55 to 64	9,302	3.1%	13,510	4.6%	(4,208)
65 to 74	6,507	2.2%	10,419	3.5%	(3,912)
75+	8,684	2.9%	5,681	1.9%	3,003
Total	301,105		293,630		7,475
Education, Persons 25+:					
Not H.S. Graduate	15,878	8.2%	13,847	7.7%	2,031
H.S. Graduate	39,382	20.5%	36,425	20.3%	2,957
Some College	58,711	30.5%	53,701	30.0%	5,010
College Graduate	78,531	40.8%	75,258	42.0%	3,273
Total	192,502		179,231		13,271
State of Origin/ Destination:					
Alaska	2,399	0.8%	2,245	0.8%	154
Arizona	6,994	2.3%	17,032	5.8%	(10,038)
California	19,333	6.4%	28,587	9.7%	(9,254)
Colorado	10,362	3.4%	9,937	3.4%	425
Florida	7,740	2.6%	16,818	5.7%	(9,078)
Georgia	2,192	0.7%	4,569	1.6%	(2,377)
Illinois	18,365	6.1%	14,873	5.1%	3,492
Indiana	4,203	1.4%	3,877	1.3%	326
Iowa	23,381	7.8%	14,523	4.9%	8,858
Kansas	7,632	2.5%	3,402	1.2%	4,230
Louisiana	2,037	0.7%	928	0.3%	1,109
Maryland	1,618	0.5%	3,007	1.0%	(1,389)
Massachusetts	3,023	1.0%	4,250	1.4%	(1,227)
Michigan	8,734	2.9%	8,064	2.7%	670
Missouri	4,983	1.7%	6,526	2.2%	(1,543)
Montana	4,730	1.6%	2,666	0.9%	2,064
Nebraska	5,588	1.9%	3,783	1.3%	1,805
Nevada	1,282	0.4%	3,217	1.1%	(1,935)
New Jersey	2,578	0.9%	2,672	0.9%	(94)
New York	5,668	1.9%	5,451	1.9%	217
North Carolina	2,561	0.9%	4,207	1.4%	(1,646)
North Dakota	2,581	0.9%	17,068	5.8%	8,749
Ohio	4,874	1.6%	4,799	1.6%	75
Oklahoma	2,785	0.9%	2,287	0.8%	498
Oregon	2,495	0.8%	4,143	1.4%	(1,648)
Pennsylvania	4,064	1.3%	3,671	1.3%	393
South Dakota	12,782	4.2%	10,022	3.4%	2,760
Tennessee	1,407	0.5%	2,929	1.0%	(1,522)
Texas	14,709	4.9%	14,441	4.9%	268
Virginia	2,942	1.0%	4,600	1.6%	(1,658)
Washington	5,246	1.7%	10,606	3.6%	(5,360)
Wisconsin	43,763	14.5%	39,171	13.3%	4,592
Other states	17,454	5.8%	19,259	6.6%	(1,805)
Foreign	17,384	5.8%	0	0.0%	17,384

African-Americans

	In-migrants to Minnesota	Percent of In-migrants	Out-migrants from Minnesota	Percent of Out-migrants	Net Migrants
Sex:					
Male	12,425	54.9%	4,152	50.6%	8,273
Female	10,207	45.1%	4,053	49.4%	6,154
Total	22,632		8,205		14,427
Nativity:					
Born in U.S.	20,214	89.3%	7,654	93.3%	12,560
Puerto Rico	12	0.1%	0	0.0%	12
Foreign Born	2,406	10.6%	551	6.7%	1,855
Total	22,632		8,205		14,427
Poverty:					
In Poverty	9,524	42.1%	2,038	24.8%	7,486
Above Poverty	10,830	47.9%	5,193	63.3%	5,637
Not Computed	2,278	10.1%	974	11.9%	1,304
Total	22,632		8,205		14,427
Age Group:					
5 to 14	5,240	23.2%	1,741	21.2%	3,499
15 to 24	5,205	23.0%	1,782	21.7%	3,423
25 to 34	7,371	32.6%	2,333	28.4%	5,038
35 to 54	4,060	17.9%	1,913	23.3%	2,147
55 to 64	445	2.0%	293	3.6%	152
65 to 74	210	0.9%	107	1.3%	103
75+	101	0.4%	36	0.4%	65
Total	22,632		8,205		14,427
Education, Persons 25+:					
Not H.S. Graduate	2,956	24.3%	755	16.1%	2,201
H.S. Graduate	3,156	25.9%	810	17.3%	2,346
Some College	3,814	31.3%	1,585	33.9%	2,229
College Graduate	2,261	18.6%	1,532	32.7%	729
Total	12,187		4,682		7,505
State of Origin/ Destination:					
Alabama	241	1.1%	82	1.0%	159
Arkansas	472	2.1%	149	1.8%	323
California	1,027	4.5%	746	9.1%	281
Colorado	357	1.6%	166	2.0%	191
Florida	565	2.5%	206	2.5%	359
Georgia	280	1.2%	454	5.5%	(174)
Illinois	5,444	24.1%	585	7.1%	4,859
Indiana	1,566	6.9%	289	3.5%	1,277
Iowa	730	3.2%	292	3.6%	438
Kansas	896	4.0%	205	2.5%	691
Louisiana	654	2.9%	105	1.3%	549
Maryland	127	0.6%	244	3.0%	(117)
Michigan	744	3.3%	338	4.1%	406
Mississippi	582	2.6%	115	1.4%	467
Missouri	1,026	4.5%	607	7.4%	419
Nebraska	460	2.0%	92	1.1%	368
New Jersey	320	1.4%	121	1.5%	199
New York	546	2.4%	293	3.6%	253
Ohio	526	2.3%	432	5.3%	94
Pennsylvania	279	1.2%	81	1.0%	198
Tennessee	365	1.6%	184	2.2%	181
Texas	844	3.7%	464	5.7%	380
Virginia	95	0.4%	228	2.8%	(133)
Washington	225	1.0%	170	2.1%	55
Wisconsin	1,151	5.1%	435	5.3%	716
Other states	1,208	5.3%	1,122	13.7%	86
Foreign	1,902	8.4%	0	0.0%	1,902
Total	22,632		8,205		14,427

Asians and Pacific Islanders

	In-migrants to Minnesota	Percent of In-migrants	Out-migrants from Minnesota	Percent of Out-migrants	Net Migrants
Sex:					
Male	11,311	50.0%	5,161	52.1%	6,150
Female	11,301	50.0%	4,752	47.9%	6,549
Total	22,612		9,913		12,699
Nativity:					
Born in U.S.	2,312	10.2%	2,206	22.3%	106
Puerto Rico	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
Foreign Born	20,300	89.8%	7,707	77.7%	12,593
Total	22,612		9,913		12,699
Poverty:					
In Poverty	10,212	45.2%	2,532	25.5%	7,680
Above Poverty	11,568	51.2%	6,925	69.9%	4,643
Not Computed	832	3.7%	456	4.6%	376
Total	22,612		9,913		12,699
Age Group:					
5 to 14	5,422	24.0%	2,361	23.8%	3,061
15 to 24	5,773	25.5%	2,053	20.7%	3,720
25 to 34	6,267	27.7%	2,358	23.8%	3,909
35 to 54	3,880	17.2%	2,575	26.0%	1,305
55 to 64	715	3.2%	300	3.0%	415
65 to 74	406	1.8%	172	1.7%	234
75+	149	0.7%	94	0.9%	55
Total	22,612		9,913		12,699
Education, Persons 25+:					
Not H.S. Grad	3,823	33.5%	1,321	24.0%	2,502
H.S. Grad	1,426	12.5%	732	13.3%	694
Some College	1,859	16.3%	843	15.3%	1,016
College Grad	4,309	37.7%	2,603	47.3%	1,706
Total	11,417		5,499		5,918
State of Origin/ Destination:					
California	1,236	5.5%	4,080	41.2%	(2,844)
Florida	128	0.6%	231	2.3%	(103)
Illinois	657	2.9%	280	2.8%	377
Iowa	352	1.6%	173	1.7%	179
Massachusetts	92	0.4%	559	5.6%	(467)
Michigan	179	0.8%	258	2.6%	(79)
New York	266	1.2%	416	4.2%	(150)
Oklahoma	205	0.9%	41	0.4%	164
Pennsylvania	310	1.4%	220	2.2%	90
Texas	421	1.9%	667	6.7%	(246)
Washington	209	0.9%	347	3.5%	(138)
Wisconsin	1,037	4.6%	640	6.5%	397
Other States	2,018	8.9%	2,001	20.2%	17
Foreign	15,502	68.6%	0	0.0%	15,502
Total	22,612		9,913		12,699

American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts

	In-migrants to Minnesota	Percent of In-migrants	Out-migrants from Minnesota	Percent of Out-migrants	Net Migrants
Sex:					
Male	2,593	51.8%	1,470	50.4%	1,123
Female	2,417	48.2%	1,448	49.6%	969
Total	5,010		2,918		2,092
Nativity:					
Born in U.S.	4,708	94.0%	2,814	96.4%	1,894
Puerto Rico	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0
Foreign Born	302	6.0%	104	3.6%	198
Total	5,010		2,918		2,092
Poverty:					
In Poverty	2,394	47.8%	963	33.0%	1,431
Above Poverty	2,103	42.0%	1,713	58.7%	390
Not Computed	513	10.2%	242	8.3%	271
Total	5,010		2,918		2,092
Age Group:					
5 to 14	1,286	25.7%	603	20.7%	683
15 to 24	1,173	23.4%	752	25.8%	421
25 to 34	1,380	27.5%	695	23.8%	685
35 to 54	998	19.9%	728	24.9%	270
55 to 64	110	2.2%	91	3.1%	19
65 to 74	34	0.7%	25	0.9%	9
75+	29	0.6%	24	0.8%	5
Total	5,010		2,918		2,092
Education, Persons 25+:					
Not H.S. Grad	642	25.2%	369	23.6%	273
H.S. Grad	855	33.5%	471	30.1%	384
Some College	794	31.1%	448	28.7%	346
College Grad	260	10.2%	275	17.6%	(15)
Total	2,551		1,563		988
State of Origin/ Destination:					
Alaska	143	2.9%	61	2.1%	82
Arizona	186	3.7%	31	1.1%	155
California	303	6.0%	252	8.6%	51
Colorado	115	2.3%	81	2.8%	34
Illinois	212	4.2%	66	2.3%	146
Kansas	168	3.4%	54	1.9%	114
Michigan	136	2.7%	85	2.9%	51
Montana	141	2.8%	116	4.0%	25
New Mexico	20	0.4%	128	4.4%	(108)
North Dakota	521	10.4%	276	9.5%	245
Oklahoma	164	3.3%	108	3.7%	56
South Dakota	938	18.7%	341	11.7%	597
Texas	185	3.7%	92	3.2%	93
Washington	46	0.9%	139	4.8%	(93)
Wisconsin	643	12.8%	437	15.0%	206
Other States	813	16.2%	651	22.3%	162
Foreign	276	5.5%	0	0.0%	276
Total	5,010		2,918		2,092

Latinos

	In-migrants to Minnesota	Percent of In-migrants	Out-migrants from Minnesota	Percent of Out-migrants	Net Migrants
Sex:					
Male	6,261	53.8%	2,428	53.5%	3,833
Female	5,376	46.2%	2,110	46.5%	3,266
Total	11,637		4,538		7,099
Nativity:					
Born in U.S.	6,856	58.9%	3,264	71.9%	3,592
Puerto Rico	428	3.7%	108	2.4%	320
Foreign Born	4,353	37.4%	1,166	25.7%	3,187
Total	11,637		4,538		7,099
Poverty:					
In Poverty	4,257	36.6%	578	12.7%	3,679
Above Poverty	6,433	55.3%	3,478	76.6%	2,955
Not Computed	947	8.1%	482	10.6%	465
Total	11,637		4,538		7,099
Age Group:					
5 to 14	2,674	23.0%	940	20.7%	1,734
15 to 24	3,159	27.1%	1,088	24.0%	2,071
25 to 34	3,400	29.2%	1,349	29.7%	2,051
35 to 54	2,018	17.3%	932	20.5%	1,086
55 to 64	234	2.0%	85	1.9%	149
65 to 74	102	0.9%	87	1.9%	15
75+	50	0.4%	57	1.3%	(7)
Total	11,637		4,538		7,099
Education, Persons 25+:					
Not H.S. Grad	2,036	35.1%	553	22.0%	1,483
H.S. Grad	1,094	18.8%	337	13.4%	757
Some College	1,415	24.4%	792	31.6%	623
College Grad	1,259	21.7%	828	33.0%	431
Total	5,804		2,510		3,294
State of Origin/ Destination:					
California	833	7.2%	662	14.6%	171
Florida	291	2.5%	337	7.4%	(46)
Illinois	469	4.0%	284	6.3%	185
Iowa	215	1.8%	68	1.5%	147
New York	323	2.8%	67	1.5%	256
North Dakota	211	1.8%	180	4.0%	31
Texas	3,571	30.7%	643	14.2%	2,928
Wisconsin	586	5.0%	262	5.8%	324
Other States	2,276	19.6%	2,035	44.8%	241
Foreign	2,862	24.6%	0	0.0%	2,862
Total	11,637		4,538		7,099

Migration along the Minnesota Border

Do Minnesotans living near the state border move across the state line to avoid high taxes? Do residents living in areas adjacent to Minnesota flock into the state in quest of higher welfare benefits? Many Minnesotans believe the answer to both these questions is "yes," but a look at the numbers from the 1990 census shows a more complex picture.

Migration back and forth across the state line is high in some places, especially the Fargo-Moorhead area, but in other border regions the number of people moving back and forth is negligible. And the figures on the characteristics of the movers, while incomplete, generally do not support the popular impression that large numbers of people avoid taxes or increase their welfare checks by packing up and moving a few miles across the state border.

Data Sources

The migration data used in this report come from the 1990 census county-to-county migration file, commonly referred to as the STP28 file. This file includes data on county of residence in 1985 and in 1990. In addition to showing the number of movers, the county-to-county file contains information on some of the characteristics of the movers, including age, gender, poverty status, and education. For analysis of migration between Clay County, Minnesota, and Cass County, North Dakota, data from another census product, SP312, the County-to-County Migration Flow Files, was also used. This file has more detailed data about the characteristics of movers.

Total Border Migration

In Minnesota there are seven counties bordering North Dakota, seven on the South Dakota border, nine along the Iowa border, and ten bordering Wisconsin. A few of these counties border more than one other state.

Overall, 10,354 people moved to a Minnesota border county from an adjacent county in another state between 1985 and 1990. A slightly higher number, 11,074, moved in the opposite direction. Thus the number of border in-migrants and out-migrants was similar, with slightly more people leaving Minnesota than moving in.

Border Migration Involving North Dakota

Border county movement is probably most significant in exchanges between Minnesota and North Dakota. About 8,450 people moved from a Minnesota border county to a North Dakota border county or from a North Dakota border county to a Minnesota border county between 1985 and 1990. This was smaller than the number of moves to and from Wisconsin border counties (9,535), but is a large number relative to North Dakota's small population.

Fargo, the largest city in North Dakota, is a major regional center for eastern North Dakota and northwestern Minnesota, and is a major focus of border migration. Fargo is located just across the Red River from Moorhead, Minnesota. Together, Cass County, North Dakota (Fargo) and Clay County, Minnesota (Moorhead) make up the Fargo-Moorhead Metropolitan Area.

The 1990 census county-to-county migration file shows there is a large volume of migration back and forth between the Fargo area and Minnesota. In fact, Cass County ranks second among all U.S. counties both as a source of in-migrants to Minnesota and as a destination of out-migrants leaving Minnesota. Movement within the Fargo-Moorhead area loomed particularly large in Minnesota's border county exchanges, with the exchange favoring Cass County by a small margin. The census figures showed 2,454 people moving from Cass County to Clay County between 1985 and 1990. Meanwhile, 2,801 moved from Clay County to Cass County. Moves between Cass County and Clay County accounted for more than half of the Minnesota-North Dakota border moves and a quarter of all border-county to border-county moves.

Overall, Minnesota experienced a net loss of about 170 people to North Dakota border counties from border counties in Minnesota, due largely to the losses in the Fargo-Moorhead exchange. Minnesota had modest net gains in the other two major migration exchanges. These involved Grand Forks and East Grand Forks and Wahpeton and Breckenridge.

Outside border areas with cities, there was little exchange across the Minnesota and North Dakota borders. For example, only 17 people moved from Pembina County (North Dakota) to Kittson County (Minnesota), and only 26 from Kittson County to Pembina County.

Border Migration involving South Dakota

In contrast to North Dakota, there was very little border migration between Minnesota and South Dakota, except for exchanges with the Sioux Falls area. The net gain went to the South Dakota side. The census figures showed 337 people moving into Minnesota border counties from South Dakota border counties, while 597 moved in the opposite direction. The largest volume of exchanges took place between Minnehaha County (South Dakota) and Rock County (Minnesota). The growing Sioux Falls area appears attractive to border residents, accounting for a net gain of 126 border residents.

Why is there so much more migration along the Minnesota-North Dakota border than along the Minnesota-South Dakota border? Probably the major reason is that there are more major cities

along the North Dakota border, with Fargo playing an especially large role. Another factor may be the general high level of migration exchange between North Dakota and Minnesota. North Dakotans have a definite Minnesota bias in their migration decisions; this is less true for South Dakotans.

Border Migration with Wisconsin

Many people move from Minnesota border counties to Wisconsin border counties or vice versa. The number moving from a Minnesota border county to a Wisconsin border county (4,951) was moderately larger than the number moving from the Wisconsin border to the Minnesota border (4,584). The total volume of migration was actually larger than that involving North Dakota border counties, but occurred in areas with much larger populations.

In the exchange across borders, Minnesota lost population to counties near the Twin Cities (St. Croix, Polk, and Pierce counties) and Duluth (Douglas County). Minnesota gained in exchanges between southern Minnesota and southern Wisconsin, for example those involving LaCrosse, Winona, and Red Wing. Overall, the border migration pattern may reflect residential dispersion more than a basic preference for Wisconsin or Minnesota. For example, as the Twin Cities has grown, suburban expansion has sprawled over into bordering areas of Wisconsin. Similarly, growth in the LaCrosse area has promoted growth in neighboring Houston County (Minnesota), which was added to the LaCrosse Metropolitan Area after the 1990 census.

Border Migration with Iowa

The number of people who moved from an Iowa border county to a Minnesota border county (1,292) between 1985 and 1990 was almost the same as the number moving in the opposite direction (1,217). Exchanges between most border counties were small to moderate. There were eight counties where border exchanges involved between 170 and 210 people. No exchange between adjacent counties resulted in a net gain of more than 55 people or a net loss of more than 45 people. On the whole, then, migration along the border between Minnesota and Iowa was basically a wash in terms of the number of movers.

Characteristics of Border Movers: Poor Children and Women

Interest in the alleged border effect usually focuses on two groups: welfare recipients, who presumably flock into Minnesota, and the wealthy, who presumably flee in the opposite direction. The STP28 file does not have direct data on welfare reciprocity or income, so I had to use proxies.

As an indicator of welfare reciprocity, I looked at the poverty rate for children and for women ages 15 to 54. Not all poor people receive public assistance, but if the prospect of receiving higher welfare benefits actually affects border migration in a major way, this should be reflected

in the poverty figures.

The poverty data do not support the welfare border migration hypothesis. In the border-to-border migration streams, the poverty rate was actually slightly higher for children who left Minnesota (14.3 percent) than for those who moved in (13.4 percent). Women ages 15 to 54 moving from the Minnesota border to an adjacent border county also were more likely to be poor (18.4 percent) than those moving in the reverse direction (15.5 percent).

It was possible to examine the Clay County-Cass County exchange in a little more detail using data from the full County-to-County Migration Flow Files. The results are ambiguous.. The number of poor children moving from Cass to Clay (71) was many times higher than the number who moved from Clay to Cass (10), supporting the welfare migration hypothesis, but the total number of children involved was small. To complicate matters, the figures on single-mother families are inconsistent with the welfare migration notion. The number of people living in families headed by a single woman who moved from Clay County to Cass County (323) was considerably higher than the number moving from Cass County to Clay County (182).

Characteristics of Border Movers: College Graduates

The number of college graduates over age 25 was used as a proxy for high-income people. Obviously this is a crude indicator. Many college graduates have low incomes, while people with less education may be very wealthy. On average, though, there is a strong correlation between income and educational attainment. If higher incomes are driving people to move across the border, this should be reflected at least to some extent in the figures for migration by educational attainment.

The figures show no relationship. The number of college graduates age 25 or older moving from border to border is virtually identical for in-migrants and out-migrants, and the proportion of adults who are college graduates was 23 percent for both in-migrants and out-migrants.

The more detailed Cass-Clay data again give equivocal results. The figures on college graduate migration streams support the selective migration theory, but other data do not. Among people moving from Clay County to Cass County, 36 percent of those over age 25 were college graduates, compared to 27 percent of those moving from Cass to Clay. The number of college graduate out-migrants exceeded the number of college graduate in-migrants by almost 200.

Figures on income obtained from the full County-to-County Migration Flow files do not support the notion that wealthy people move to Fargo. It is true that more people making over \$25,000 moved from Clay County to Cass County (408) than in the reverse direction (343). The Minnesota-bound, however, were slightly more likely to be in the higher income bracket (18 percent compared to 16 percent). The same pattern was true for occupation. More people in professional and managerial occupations (592) moved from Clay to Cass County than from Cass

to Clay (441), but those going to Minnesota were more likely to be managers and professionals (32 percent compared to 29 percent).

Also going against the hypothesis were the figures on home ownership. Cass to Clay movers were far more likely to be living in owner-occupied homes (73 percent) than were Clay to Cass movers (33 percent). The striking differences in the home ownership figures suggest that availability of rental housing in the Fargo area may be an important determinant of migration. Rental housing may be part of the reason college students were more heavily represented in the Clay to Cass migration stream (442) than in the Cass to Clay stream (317).

Border Movers: General Characteristics

The biggest difference between border in-migrants and out-migrants was in the age distribution. Among children ages 5 to 14, there were substantially more border in-migrants than out-migrants. Among young adults ages 15 to 24, there were substantially more out-migrants than in-migrants. College attendance is probably a major factor in the migration patterns of the 15- to 24-year-olds. Major college campuses located in border counties include North Dakota State University in Fargo, Concordia College and Moorhead State University in Moorhead, Winona State University in Winona, UW-LaCrosse in LaCrosse, UW-River Falls in River Falls, UW-Superior in Superior, and UM-Duluth in Duluth. People in the main college age group, ages 15 to 24, comprise 17 percent of border in-migrants and 29 percent of border out-migrants.

Summary

By and large, this analysis does not support the notion of selective migration streams of rich people or welfare recipients moving across the Minnesota border in order to improve their economic status. Instead, border moves appear to resemble the usual migration patterns related to life-cycle events such as attending college or buying a suburban home.

Because those who believe there is a selective border migration pattern frequently cite anecdotes about the Fargo-Moorhead area, the Cass-Clay migration streams warranted more detailed examination. While some of the Cass County to Clay County data are consistent with a border effect hypothesis, other data do not support the hypothesis or even suggest the reverse.

The most striking aspects of the Cass-Clay exchange are not income or poverty differences but the marked differences in age distribution and home ownership. Young college-age adults were much more strongly represented among those going from Moorhead to Fargo than among those moving from Fargo to Moorhead. Twenty-eight percent of migrants from Clay County to Cass County were 15 to 24 years old, compared to 14 percent of those going in the opposite direction. Children, on the other hand, made up a larger share of those going from Cass to Clay County. Children ages 5 to 14 made up a larger proportion of movers from Cass to Clay County (20 percent) than from Clay to Cass County (9 percent). Clearly Cass County is more attractive to

college-age adults, while Clay County attracts families with children. Since both counties have large college campuses that attract students from outside the area, the reasons for the differences are not clear. Perhaps off-campus rental housing is more available or affordable in the Fargo area.

**MINNESOTA BORDER MIGRANTS FITTING
DESCRIPTION OF POTENTIAL ECONOMIC MIGRANTS**

II. Potential High-Income Tax Escapers (Age 25+ with College Degree)			
	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net Migrants
South Dakota	15	41	-26
North Dakota	654	750	-96
Wisconsin	734	617	117
Iowa	68	66	2
BORDER TOTALS	1471	1474	-3

I. Potential Welfare Migrants A. Poor Women Ages 15 to 54			
	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net Migrants
South Dakota	26	58	-32
North Dakota	254	329	-75
Wisconsin	247	368	-121
Iowa	63	107	-44
BORDER TOTAL	590	862	-272

B. Poor Children Ages 5 to 14			
	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net Migrants
South Dakota	23	13	10
North Dakota	163	28	135
Wisconsin	57	108	-51
Iowa	39	57	-18
BORDER TOTAL	282	206	76

III. Cass-Clay Migration			
	Cass to Clay Migrants	Clay to Cass Migrants	Net Migrants
TOTAL	2,454	2,801	(347)
Poor Children Ages 5 to 14	71	10	61
Poor Women Ages 15 to 54	147	183	(36)
College Graduates Age 25+	442	634	(192)
Managers/Professionals	441	592	(151)
Made \$25,000+ in 1989	343	408	(65)
In Owner-Occupied House	1,800	910	890
In Renter-Occupied House	478	1,802	(1,324)
In Married Couple Family	1,663	1,246	417
In Single Mother Family	182	323	(141)
Ages 5 to 14	493	254	239
Ages 15 to 24	347	793	(446)
Enrolled College Student	317	442	(125)

Comparison of Minnesota Border In- and Out-migrants

Age	Total			Iowa			North Dakota			South Dakota			Wisconsin		
	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migrants	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migrants	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migrants	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migrants	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net migrants
5 to 14	2,101	1,443	658	296	183	113	907	453	454	77	77	(7)	828	730	98
15 to 24	1,724	3,157	(1,433)	187	334	(147)	554	1,314	(760)	55	200	(145)	928	1,308	(381)
25 to 34	3,372	3,422	(50)	313	313	0	1,574	1,435	139	83	151	(68)	1,320	1,523	(203)
35 to 44	2,094	1,981	113	222	196	24	801	879	70	103	(33)	1,001	1,001	0	
45 to 54	408	418	(10)	58	46	12	100	165	(65)	4	20	(16)	59	187	128
55 to 64	291	285	6	51	51	0	82	120	(38)	28	17	12	118	97	21
65 to 74	364	368	(4)	82	92	(10)	113	143	(30)	26	29	(3)	143	104	39
75 and over	10,354	11,074	(720)	1,292	1,217	75	4,141	4,309	(168)	337	597	(260)	4,584	4,951	(367)
Education of Persons Age 25+															
High School Graduate	803	882	(89)	134	172	(38)	301	284	17	56	40	16	312	388	(84)
Some College	1,994	1,837	157	337	253	84	642	481	161	86	123	(37)	929	860	(69)
College Graduate	2,281	2,271	10	270	209	61	1,083	1,027	56	55	116	(61)	853	919	(66)
	1,471	1,474	(3)	68	66	2	654	750	(96)	15	41	(26)	734	617	117
	6,529	6,474	55	809	700	109	2,680	2,542	138	212	320	(108)	2,828	2,912	(84)
Poverty Status															
Not in poverty	1,387	1,737	(350)	171	228	(57)	599	649	(50)	85	118	(53)	552	742	(190)
In poverty	8,476	6,616	1,860	1,075	878	196	3,286	3,423	(127)	247	448	(201)	3,858	3,866	(8)
	491	721	(230)	46	110	(64)	248	237	9	25	31	(6)	174	343	(169)
	10,354	11,074	(720)	1,292	1,217	75	4,141	4,309	(168)	337	597	(260)	4,584	4,951	(367)
Sex															
Male	4,885	5,104	(219)	800	474	326	2,015	2,036	(23)	182	298	(136)	2,108	2,294	(186)
Female	5,469	5,970	(501)	892	743	(149)	2,126	2,271	(145)	175	288	(124)	2,476	2,657	(181)
	10,354	11,074	(720)	1,292	1,217	75	4,141	4,309	(168)	337	597	(260)	4,584	4,951	(367)

"I'll Take Manhattan"

versus

"North to Alaska"

"If you can make it there, you can make it anywhere," says the song about New York City. From *Breakfast at Tiffany's* to *The Muppets Take Manhattan*, New York City, specifically Manhattan, has always been seen as a magnet for young people seeking excitement, culture, and high-profile careers in show business, the arts, and finance.

Like New York City, Alaska has a high profile. Famous as "the last frontier," Alaska appeals to those attracted by wide open spaces and the promise of personal independence. Like New York, Alaska can be a challenging place to live, though for different reasons. Outsiders view New York City as plagued by congestion, dirt, and crime. In Alaska, long winters and isolation are the potential drawbacks.

Minnesotans apparently prefer to avoid the challenge of making it in the Big Apple. They would rather move to Alaska. Between 1985 and 1990, according to Census data from the county-to-county migration file, 1,277 people moved from Minnesota to Manhattan. During the same time span, 2,331 Minnesotans moved to Alaska. (More information about the county-to-county migration file appears at the end of this report.)

Besides Manhattan, New York City includes four other boroughs--Queens, the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Staten Island. These boroughs had even less appeal to Minnesotans than did Manhattan. Only 933 Minnesotans moved to the four boroughs combined.

Taking into account differences in population size (about 550,000 in Alaska compared to 1,488,000 in Manhattan and almost 6 million in the other boroughs), the in-migration rate to Alaska from Minnesota was 424 per 100,000 population, almost 5 times as high as the 86 per 100,000 in Manhattan. In the other four New York City boroughs, the in-migration rate from Minnesota was only 16 per 100,000. In other words, on a per capita basis, Alaska attracted 5 times as many people from Minnesota as did Manhattan and 27 times as many as the non-Manhattan boroughs.

Minnesota-Manhattan Movers Are Usually College-Educated Young Adults

The few Minnesotans who are adventurous enough to move to Manhattan are very different from the people who move to Alaska. The Manhattan-bound contingent consists almost exclusively of young adults, mostly college graduates or college students from the Twin Cities and other metropolitan areas. Those who move to Alaska are from a broader age range, are less likely to be college graduates, and come from all over Minnesota, especially northern Minnesota.

New York City does not attract Minnesota families with children, nor does it appeal to older people. The county-to-county migration file shows that not a single child under age 15 moved from Minnesota to Manhattan between 1985 and 1990, and only 18 people over age 55 ventured the move. Almost half of those moving to New York City were between the ages of 25 and 34; most of the rest were between 15 and 24.

Movers to Alaska, like those going to Manhattan, were usually young adults, but the age concentration among migrants to Alaska was not as extreme. The migration stream to Alaska included fairly large proportions of children under 15 (15 percent) and adults over 35 (25 percent). About 60 percent of those moving to Alaska were in the dominant 15- to 34 year-old group, compared to 87 percent of the people who went to New York City.

A college education is a prerequisite for the hardy Minnesotans who accept the New York challenge. In fact, it appears that a major reason Minnesotans move to New York is to pursue a college or professional education. Almost a third (32 percent) of those moving from Minnesota to Manhattan were currently enrolled in college. Almost all adult movers from Minnesota to Manhattan had attended college, and a high proportion had professional or graduate degrees. About 86 percent of those over age 25 had at least a Bachelor's degree, another 7 percent had some college education, and only 3 percent had not completed high school. Among those over age 18, 16 percent had graduate or professional degrees.

Those who moved to Alaska from Minnesota actually had above-average educational attainment by most standards, but when they are compared to people headed for Manhattan their educational levels look almost meager. Among those over age 25, 41 percent had completed college. This was considerably higher than the state college completion rate, 22 percent, but was still less than half the rate of the Minnesota-to-Manhattan movers.

Despite their elevated educational levels, movers from Minnesota to Manhattan were less likely to be above the poverty line (64 percent) than were those who moved to Alaska (84 percent). About 14 percent of those moving to Manhattan were below poverty; another 22 percent fell into the "poverty not computed" category. This is consistent with the large student population; poverty is not calculated for residents in college dorms.

Regional Differences: Northern Minnesotans Show Preference for Alaska

The vast majority (82 percent) of movers from Minnesota to Manhattan came from Metro counties, principally in the Minneapolis-St. Paul and Rochester areas. Most of the remainder

(14 percent) came from counties with college campuses. (Minnesota counties were classified into groups for this part of the analysis. A description of the county groups may be found at the end of the report.)

The geographic origins of movers to Alaska were very different. Less than half (44 percent) of those who moved to Alaska came from the Twin Cities or Rochester areas. Migrants to Alaska were drawn from all regions of the state, but counties classified as Retirement or Miscellaneous Northern were highly overrepresented. One-third of those moving to Alaska came from these two regions, which account for only 15 percent of Minnesota's population.

A look at migration rates underscores these striking regional differences. Residents in Miscellaneous Northern and Retirement counties were far more likely to move to Alaska than were people living in other regions. At the same time, northerners were extremely unlikely to move to Manhattan. Residents of Northern and Retirement counties were 16 times as likely to head to Alaska as to Manhattan. People living in the Southern and Agricultural regions were also far more likely to move to Alaska than to Manhattan, though not many went either place. By contrast, in the Metro counties people were about equally likely to move to Manhattan or Alaska.

Migration from Manhattan and Alaska to Minnesota

What about those who move in the opposite direction, from Alaska or Manhattan to Minnesota? Generally these in-migrants resemble those moving in the opposite direction, but there are some intriguing differences. Those who move to Minnesota tend to be older, less educated, and poorer.

The numbers of in-migrants and out-migrants in the two streams are quite similar. Slightly more people moved from Minnesota to Manhattan (1,277) than from Manhattan to Minnesota (1,168). Slightly more people moved from Alaska to Minnesota (2,595) than from Minnesota to Alaska (2,331).

Comparison of Migrants to and from Manhattan

Movers from Manhattan to Minnesota were highly educated, but they did not have quite as much education as those moving from Minnesota to Manhattan. The proportion of people with a college degree was lower among those coming from Manhattan (66 percent of those over age 25) than among those going in the other direction (86 percent).

The Twin Cities-Rochester area dominated the in-migration stream from Manhattan, just as it dominated the out-migration stream. About 93 percent of in-movers from Manhattan headed for the Twin Cities or Rochester.

The migration stream from Manhattan to Minnesota included more people over 35 and more children, though younger adults remained the largest age group. About 59 percent of in-movers from Manhattan were ages 15 to 34, compared to 87 percent of out-movers.

Migration exchanges with New York City helped to produce a more diverse population in Minnesota. Foreign-born people (14 percent) and non-white people (19 percent) loomed larger among in-migrants from Manhattan than among out-migrants (2 percent foreign-born, 6 percent non-white).

Movers from Manhattan were much less likely to be in the "poverty not computed" category, suggesting fewer college students. This is consistent with the findings on the age distribution among in-migrants and out-migrants. Movers from Manhattan were less likely to be in the main student age group, 15 to 24.

Comparison of Migrants to and from Alaska

In-movers from Alaska were less educated. Only 21 percent of those over age 25 had a college degree, compared to 41 percent of those who went from Minnesota to Alaska. Movers from Alaska to Minnesota were slightly more likely to head for the Twin Cities or college counties than out-migrants were to come from these areas. Poverty was marginally higher among movers from Alaska to Minnesota (12 percent) than among those going in the opposite direction (9 percent).

The age distribution of people moving to and from Alaska was fairly similar, although those moving from Alaska to Minnesota were slightly older (30 percent over age 35) than those who moved to Alaska (25 percent over 35).

Summary

The Alaska-Minnesota and Manhattan-Minnesota migration streams illustrate how cultural factors can affect people's decisions about where to move. Demographers trying to explain migration usually focus on objective factors such as distance and population size. Although these are powerful predictors, they do not give the whole story. Alaska is far away and sparsely populated, but it is an attractive destination for Minnesotans. Manhattan, though larger and closer, does not have the same allure. Why?

For many Minnesotans, moving to Alaska may seem less of a stretch than moving to New York or another large eastern city. Minnesotans are used to long winters, so Alaska's weather would not be a major deterrent. Minnesota and Alaska lifestyles are similar in many respects. For example, Alaskans, like Minnesotans, are well above the U.S. average in participation in outdoor activities such as fishing and hunting. The landscape and settlement patterns of Alaska may seem especially familiar to people from northern Minnesota, who are most likely to move to the 49th state.

The preference for Alaska over New York City fits with the general westward bias in Minnesota's migration patterns. Minnesota has very low rates of migration exchange with most eastern and southeastern states, with the exception of Florida. This is not a new trend, but one that has persisted for many years.

Although two-thirds of Minnesota's population now lives in metropolitan areas, many of the state's residents idealize rural or small town living and place a strong value on nature and the outdoors. "To Minnesotans, quality of life means elbow room." (*Minnesota Milestones: A Report Card for the Future*, December, 1992, page 8.) Many Minnesotans probably perceive eastern states, especially northeastern states, as overly congested and therefore not a suitable home.

Clearly, Minnesotans who move to Manhattan are a special breed. Few undertake the trip unless they are equipped with a college education. In addition, Minnesotans usually do not move to New York unless they first have become assimilated to metropolitan living by doing a stint in the Twin Cities area.

Data Source

Most of the data summarized in this report come from a census product called STP28, commonly referred to as the county-to-county migration file. This file contains information on county of residence in 1985 and 1990, age, sex, race and Hispanic origin, poverty status, nativity, and education. The file includes data on non-movers as well as movers. The migration question appeared on the census long form and was asked of approximately one in six households. The sample results were extrapolated to the entire population, and are an estimate. These estimates are affected by both sampling and nonsampling error.

Some of the information cited comes from a related file called SP312, County-to-County Migration Flow Files. This file contains more detailed data on some of the characteristics of migrants, including college enrollment and occupational status.

County Typology

In order to simplify the analysis, Minnesota counties were grouped into six types. The assignment of the counties was based partly on the U.S. Department of Agriculture classification of nonmetropolitan counties, partly on knowledge of county migration patterns by age, and partly on the judgment of staff members in the Demographer's Office. The typology is functional rather than strictly geographic. For example, college counties are grouped together even though they are located in different areas.

The six county types are as follows:

1. Agricultural counties (N=32). This is the largest group of counties. These counties are

mostly in western and southern Minnesota and are the most economically dependent on agriculture. Most have a history of population declines and out-migration of young adults.

2. Miscellaneous Southern counties (N=9). These counties are located in southern Minnesota and do not fit into any other category. They are less reliant on agriculture and in many cases have had stable populations or lower rates of population loss than agricultural counties.

3. College counties (N=9). These are counties with large college campuses and distinctive age-related migration profiles. They have high in-migration among 15- to 24-year-olds, but high out-migration for 25- to 34-year-olds.

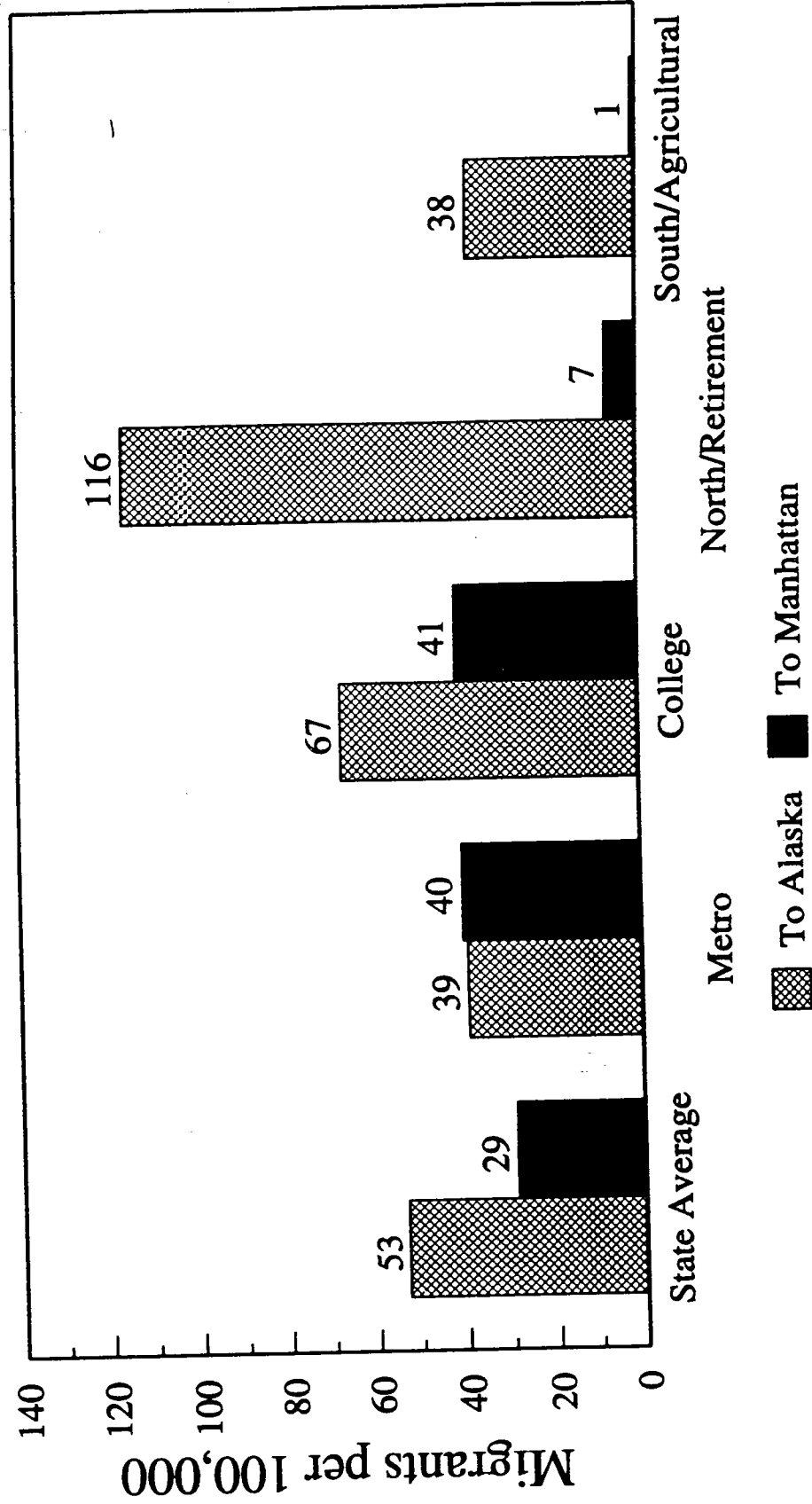
4. Retirement counties (N=7). These counties are popular with retirees and experience substantial net in-migration of people in the 55- to 74 year-old age groups. Most are located in north central Minnesota and have many lakes and other recreational attractions. Often retirement counties are low-income areas which experience out-migration among younger age groups. The total population in most of these counties has been increasing.

5. Growing Metro (N=13). More than half the state's population lives in one of these counties. These are the counties where most of Minnesota's population growth has been occurring. This category includes counties in the Twin Cities metropolitan area as well as Olmsted and Benton counties. Stearns County (St. Cloud) was included in the college county group because of its college-type migration pattern.

6. Miscellaneous North (N=17). Northern Minnesota counties that did not fit elsewhere went in this group. Many, but not all, of these counties lost population in the 1980s.

Migration to Alaska and Manhattan from Minnesota

Per 100,000 Population in Region of Origin
1985 to 1990 Migration

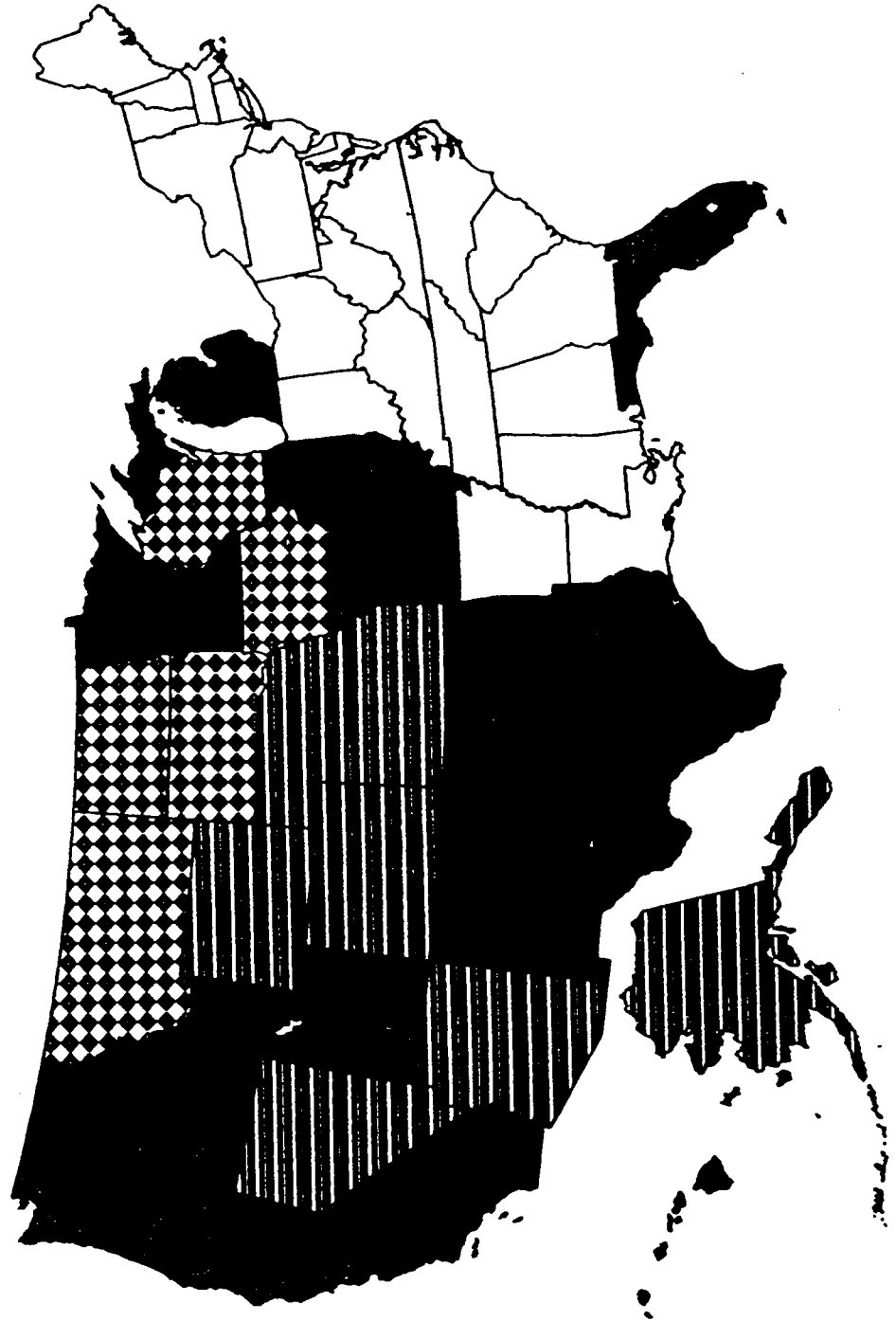


Source: County-to-county migration file
Demographer's Office Graphic

MANIC BAWL

IMPACT OF MINNESOTA MIGRATION ON OTHER STATES

Migrants to or from Minnesota per 100,000 Population



MN Gross Migrants/100,000

