POPULATION Notes
MINNESOTA STATE DEMOGRAPHER

May, 1987

OSD 87-44

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SUNBELT ATTRACTIVE TO MINNESOTANS: MINNESOTA ATTRACTIVE TO MIDWESTERNERS

Since 1980 Minnesota has returned to its traditional role as a net outmigration state, reversing the slight inmigration trend of the 1970s. Over a five-year period the state has experienced net outmigration of more than 50,000 persons. Sunbelt and western states remain attractive to Minnesotans, while Minnesota draws migrants from the Midwest. Most of the Midwesterners who move to Minnesota head for the Twin Cities, the lakes area in north central Minnesota, or to counties along the Wisconsin border. Migration from one part of Minnesota to another remains a prime determinant of population growth or loss in different regions of the state. Farm areas and the Iron Range have experienced considerable outmigration since 1980, while Twin Cities suburbs and north central Minnesota have generally continued their inmigration patterns of the 1970s.

More people have left Minnesota than have moved in every year since 1980. Both sets of migration data used in this report (see "Note on Data Sources") agree on the outmigration trend, though the specific annual figures differ. Net outmigration (the excess of outmigrants over inmigrants) peaked in 1982-83 during the recession (Table 1). This reflected a decline in the overall number of people moving rather than an increase in the number of people leaving the state. Both inmigration and outmigration declined during the 1982-83 period, but inmigration declined substantially more. It is likely that many people canceled or postponed moves because of economic uncertainty.

Minnesota Has Low Migration Rates

Compared with other states, Minnesota has a stable population. More people move out of the state than in, but relatively few move in either direction. Minnesota has low rates of inmigration, outmigration and gross migration (the sum of inmigration and outmigration) (Figure 1). Other midwestern and northeastern states share this pattern of low gross migration rates. There is no necessary relationship between the different types of migration rates. High inmigration rates do not guarantee net inmigration and low inmigration rates do not always mean net outmigration. Wyoming, for example, has a very high inmigration rate, but has an even higher outmigration rate and recorded a net migration loss in 1984-85. Other states, such as California, have net inmigration combined with low rates of both in- and outmigration.

TABLE 1. MINNESOTA NET MIGRATION BY YEAR: 1980-85

	Persons	
Year	IRS Data	Residual Method
1980-81	-6,414	-11,972
1981-82	-14,904	-1,946
1982-83	-21,115	-21,967
1983-84	-14,505	-16,249
1984-85	-9,068	-963
Total, 1980-85	-66,006	-53,097

Minnesota Gains Midwestern Migrants

Minnesota loses net migrants to western and Sunbelt states but has substantial net migration from Midwestern states (Tables 2,3). The midwestern gains come principally from states to the south and east--Iowa, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Indiana. Counties in the Twin Cities area are the major gainers of migrants from other midwestern states. In 1984-85 Hennepin County alone had a net migration of over 5,300 people from other states in the Midwest. A few of the lake area counties and Olmsted County also are magnets for midwestern migrants, though the number of migrants involved is much smaller. Clearly, without the Twin Cities' attraction for midwestern migrants, Minnesota would have a much higher net outmigration rate.

FIGURE 1.

GROSS MIGRATION PER 1000 POPULATION

(IRS Migration Data, 1984-85)

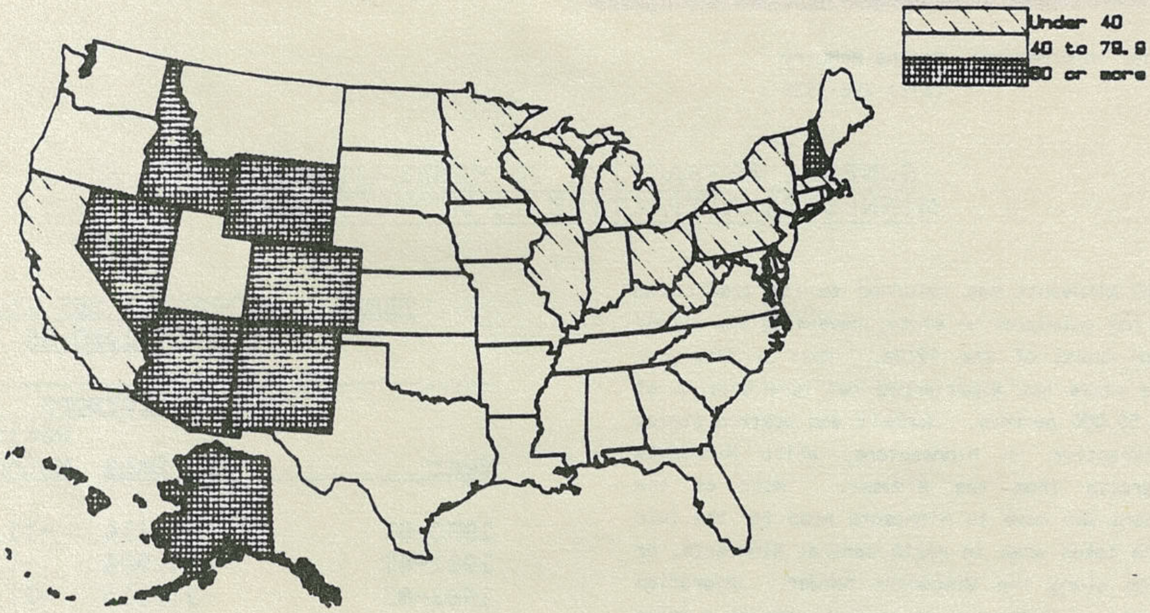


TABLE 2. MINNESOTA MIGRATION BY REGION: 1980-85
(IRS Data)

Region	In Migrants	Out Migrants	Gross Migrants	Net Migrants
New England (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut)	8,242	10,128	18,370	-1,886
Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania)	14,678	15,361	30,039	-683
East North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin)	101,656	82,777	184,433	18,879
West North Central (Iowa, Missouri, N. Dakota, S. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas)	94,795	90,035	184,830	4,760
South Atlantic (Delaware, Maryland, D.C., Virginia, W. Virginia, N. Carolina, S. Carolina, Georgia, Florida)	26,386	43,873	70,259	-17,487
East South Central (Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi)	7,262	8,615	15,877	-1,353
West South Central (Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas)	22,993	44,175	67,168	-21,182
Mountain (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada)	34,604	61,734	96,338	-27,130
Pacific (Washington, Oregon, California, Alaska, Hawaii)	41,943	61,867	103,810	-19,924
Totals	352,559	418,565	771,124	-66,006

TABLE 3. MINNESOTA NET MIGRATION: GREATEST GAINS AND LOSSES, 1980-85 AND 1984-85 (IRS Data)

Greatest Net Gains 1980-85		Greatest Net Gains 1984-85		Greatest Net Losses 1980-85		Greatest Net Losses 1984-85	
Iowa	9,837	Iowa	2,859	Texas	-17,345	Texas	-3,749
Illinois	6,520	Wisconsin	2,396	California	-12,301	California	-3,343
Wisconsin	5,541	N. Dakota	1,160	Florida	-11,537	Arizona	-3,049
Michigan	4,243	Illinois	1,149	Arizona	-11,522	Florida	-2,680
Indiana	1,375	Michigan	1,021	Colorado	-7,898	Colorado	-1,118

Within the Midwest, Minnesota is especially important as a source of migrants and a migration destination for states along its borders. The relationship between Minnesota and its bordering states is somewhat obscured in the overall net migration figures partly because immigration and outmigration often cancel each other out and partly because these states have rather small populations. The number of Minnesotans moving to Texas is roughly the same as the number moving to North Dakota, but the Minnesota migration stream is not very important to Texas, a large state which attracts migrants from all over the country. Less than one percent of the people moving into Texas are from Minnesota. At the other extreme a very high percentage of North Dakota migrants are moving to or from Minnesota. In the 1984-85 period, 27 percent of immigrants to North Dakota came from Minnesota and 23 percent of North Dakota outmigrants moved to Minnesota (Table 4). These figures are much higher than those for any other state and suggest a high degree of social and economic interdependence between North Dakota and Minnesota. The other bordering states, along with Montana, were also overrepresented in migration streams to and from Minnesota.

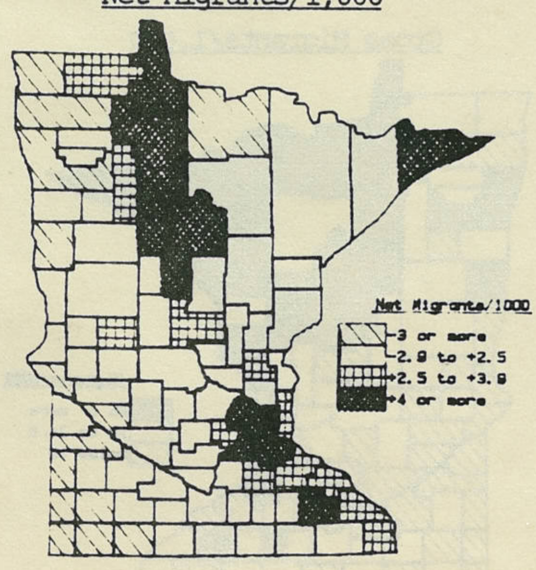
TABLE 4. STATES WITH HIGHEST PERCENT OF MIGRANTS GOING TO OR COMING FROM MINNESOTA, 1984-85

Immigrants from Minnesota as % of All Immigrants: State	%	Outmigrants to Minnesota as % of All Outmigrants: State	%
North Dakota	27%	North Dakota	23%
South Dakota	15	South Dakota	13
Wisconsin	13	Wisconsin	12
Iowa	8	Iowa	8
Montana	4	Montana	3

Most counties along Minnesota's borders have considerable migration exchange with the adjoining states. The map in Figure 2 is based on net migration flows with all other midwestern states, not just those along the border, because the level of detail in the data does not allow a finer distinction in most cases. The available evidence suggests that a large share of this migration involves moves to or from an adjacent state, especially in border areas. Counties along the western border generally lose net migrants to North and South Dakota. One prominent example is Clay County, which contains the city of Moorhead. Between 1980 and 1985 Clay County lost over 1500 net migrants to neighboring Cass County (Fargo), N.D. Other exchanges with the Dakotas are smaller in scale, but the available data suggest net losses. Several cities along the eastern border of the Dakotas may be

FIG. 2. MIGRATION TO AND FROM MIDWESTERN STATES: 1984-85 (IRS Migration Data)

Net Migrants/1,000



attractive to residents of rural western Minnesota. There is a mixed picture along the southern and western borders. Minnesota appears to be a net gainer along the Wisconsin border, at least along the southern edge. Along the Iowa border Minnesota gains net migrants in most counties where comparisons are available, but most do not have high rates of net inmigration.

Minnesota Loses Migrants to Regions Outside Midwest

Relatively few Minnesotans move to or from states outside the Midwest, but those who move out to non-midwestern destinations greatly outnumber those who move in. Minnesotans who leave the Midwest generally head south or west, especially to Texas, California, Florida, and Arizona. Texas remains a popular destination despite the slump in the oil industry. Few movers go to the Northeast. Between 1980 and 1985, for example, more of those leaving Minnesota moved to Alaska than to New Jersey. Among specific locations, Phoenix, Arizona (Maricopa County) exhibits a special lure for Minnesotans. In almost every Minnesota County, Maricopa County tops the list of non-Midwestern migration destinations. San Diego and Los Angeles are also popular. Anchorage, Alaska, makes the list of leading destinations for people leaving northern Minnesota, but appears to attract relatively few people from southern Minnesota.

Virtually every Minnesota county loses migrants to states outside the Midwest, but in most counties the migration exchange is minimal (Figure 3). The map shows gross rather than net migration and is designed to show which parts of Minnesota are most involved with moves to and from more distant states. Counties in western and southern Minnesota have especially low rates of migration to or from destinations outside the Midwest. Few people move to or from these parts of the state, and when they do they generally move within Minnesota or neighboring states. The highest rates to and from distant states are in the Twin Cities, north central and northeastern Minnesota, and Olmsted County. Olmsted County has an unusually diverse migration pattern, with large numbers of outmigrants heading for such relatively exotic destinations as Palm Beach County, Florida (West Palm Beach, Boca Raton), Wake County (Raleigh), North Carolina, and Fairfield County, Connecticut. IBM, a major employer in Olmsted County, has facilities in or near these locations and most of the migrants are transferred IBM employees and their families.

Suburban, Lake Area Counties Have Most Inmigration

Overall migration trends in Minnesota counties (Figure 4, Table 5) are closely tied to population trends. Counties with net inmigration have experienced increases in population. Counties with net outmigration have either lost population or grown more slowly. Between 1980 and 1985 Lake and Pennington Counties had the highest outmigration rates in the state. The Lake County figures reflect the decline in

FIG. 3. GROSS MIGRATION TO AND FROM NON-MIDWESTERN STATES: 1984-85
(IRS Migration Data)

Gross Migrants/1,000

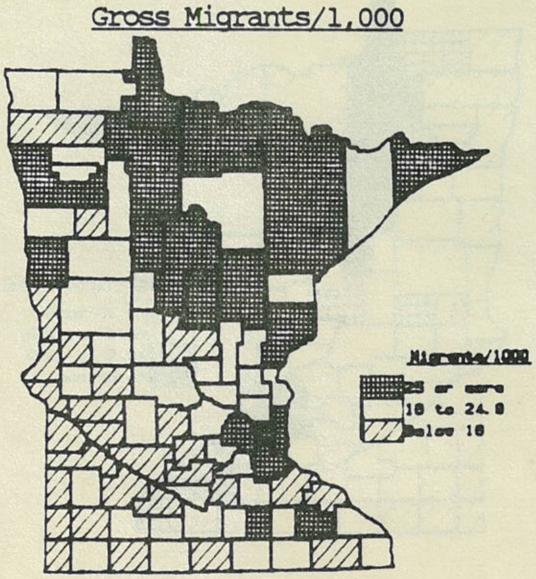
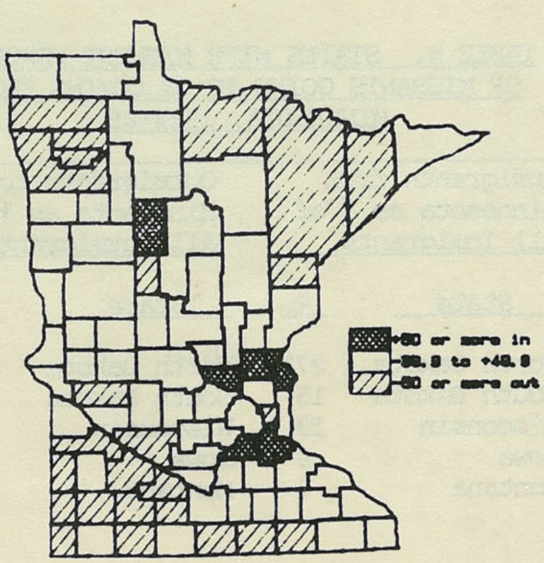


FIG. 4. TOTAL NET MIGRATION: 1980-85
(Residual Method)

Net Migrants/1,000



the taconite industry, while the closing of a snowmobile plant in Thief River Falls affected migration trends in Pennington County. Lake County's 1983-84 outmigration rate of -68 migrants per 1000 population was the highest single year migration rate recorded in any county. The highest overall net inmigration rates were in Scott and Sherburne Counties, both fast growing suburban counties.

Generally the counties with high inmigration rates are those which are successful in attracting migrants from elsewhere in Minnesota (Figure 5). Intrastate migration patterns are key factors in determining population trends because there is far more migration among Minnesota counties than there is between Minnesota and other states. Of all county-to-county moves in 1984-85, 63 percent were moves within Minnesota. Unfortunately there is not much detail on specific within-state migration streams to and from smaller counties, but the available data suggest that:

1. Most counties lose more intrastate movers than they gain. The gainers are principally Twin Cities suburbs and parts of north central Minnesota.

2. A large proportion of instrastate moves are to or from adjacent or nearby counties rather than farther away places. Even in depressed Lake County, for example, many outmigrants go to depressed but neighboring St. Louis County instead of the Twin Cities, St. Cloud, or some other more distant destination.

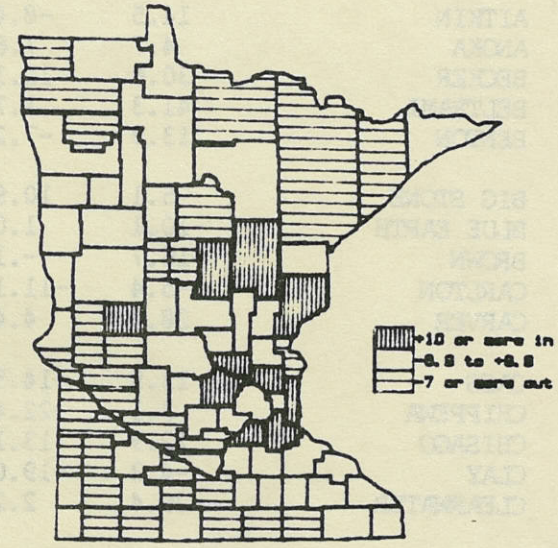
3. Hennepin and Ramsey Counties attract migrants from greater Minnesota, but lose them to the suburbs. The suburban counties are attractive to people both from the central cities and from elsewhere in Minnesota.

Outmigration Remains High in Northeast

Net outmigration remains high in Lake and St. Louis Counties. Although the number of people leaving St. Louis County in 1984-85 declined from the previous year, net losses were still large because the number of people moving in declined even more. The destinations of people leaving northeastern Minnesota have shifted during the 1980s. More outmigrants are going to the Twin Cities, while fewer are going to western and Sunbelt states. In the recession years of 1982-83, 36 percent of those leaving St. Louis County moved to the West and South while 18 percent moved to the Twin Cities. By the 1984-85 period, 28 percent moved to the Twin Cities and 28 percent went to the West or the South. The economic recovery in the Twin Cities, combined with the slump in the oil industry, may account for some of this shift.

FIG. 5. NET MIGRATION TO AND FROM OTHER COUNTIES IN MINNESOTA: 1984-85
(IRS Migration Data)

Net Migrants/1,000



Migrant Families Are Smaller

Most migration research shows that a high proportion of the people who move are young single people or couples without children. This is consistent with the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) data, which show that families of movers are smaller than nonmover families. The family size figures are estimates based on the ratios of tax exemptions to returns. Nonmovers had an average family size of 2.33 in 1984-85 compared with 1.92 for nonmovers. In most counties the family sizes of inmigrants and outmigrants are similar, but in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties the inmigrant families are smaller. These large urban counties tend to attract young single people but lose families to the suburbs.

The smallest migrant family sizes are found in college counties. Not all college students file tax returns from their on-campus address, but enough do to have an impact on migration patterns in counties with colleges. The data suggest that many students eventually move to the Twin Cities area to find jobs or continue their educations. Hennepin County, for example, receives substantial numbers of inmigrants from Blue Earth, Stearns, and Rice Counties and from Dane County (Madison) and Eau Claire County in Wisconsin. These counties all have large numbers of college and university students.

TABLE 5. ANNUAL NET MIGRATION RATES BY MINNESOTA COUNTY: 1980-85
(Vital Statistics Method, Rates Per 1,000 Population)

COUNTY	Migration Rates 1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1980-85	Net Migrants 1980-85
STATE TOTAL	-2.9	-.5	-5.3	-3.9	-.2	-13.0	-53097
AITKIN	14.5	-8.4	3.5	-12.2	-1.6	-4.5	-60
ANOKA	4.7	7.6	1.1	3.8	8.8	27.2	5326
BECKER	30.6	12.1	-11.2	6.5	-13.9	23.3	684
BELTRAMI	41.3	1.7	-18.4	7.0	3.4	34.6	1071
BENTON	13.9	-7.2	-2.6	-2.4	1.4	2.9	72
BIG STONE	-5.1	10.9	31.0	-.5	-18.4	17.4	134
BLUE EARTH	-10.1	1.0	-6.8	-4.5	-2.2	-22.7	-1189
BROWN	-16.7	-.1	-5.4	-12.2	-14.1	-48.4	-1386
CARLTON	-5.4	-11.1	-23.9	-32.6	-5.5	-77.5	-2320
CARVER	28.0	4.4	-.2	-2.9	8.4	38.4	1421
CASS	13.5	-14.5	4.8	-2.5	-4.5	-3.5	-74
CHIPPEWA	3.1	-22.4	-3.9	6.9	-16.1	-32.6	-487
CHISAGO	12.9	13.1	17.1	5.6	8.0	58.8	1512
CLAY	-4.3	-19.0	-4.3	7.1	-8.1	-28.8	-1419
CLEARWATER	26.4	2.2	-12.3	6.7	-7.5	15.0	131
COOK	10.8	7.9	13.1	4.9	2.8	40.3	165
COTTONWOOD	-37.8	-6.5	-11.8	-16.4	-11.8	-82.1	-1219
CROW WING	-10.5	-2.6	8.5	.9	2.7	-.9	-37
DAKOTA	2.9	16.1	11.9	4.7	29.1	68.5	13315
DODGE	4.6	-6.5	-9.4	-7.0	-5.5	-24.5	-362
DOUGLAS	12.9	7.5	16.7	5.9	-2.0	42.0	1169
FARIBAULT	-8.9	-13.4	-13.2	-19.3	-10.3	-63.9	-1260
FILLMORE	-2.3	-6.8	-3.6	-12.7	-7.6	-33.0	-724
FREEBORN	-22.8	-13.2	-5.1	-6.1	-11.3	-57.7	-2097
GOODHUE	-.8	2.4	-5.3	2.1	3.1	1.6	63
GRANT	18.4	-5.7	-13.8	7.2	-13.9	-8.4	-60
HENNEPIN	-13.6	3.5	-8.3	-5.9	5.8	-18.6	-17513
HOUSTON	-9.1	4.5	8.5	8.8	-9.2	3.4	62
HUBBARD	20.0	36.8	9.6	4.9	-9.3	63.1	890
ISANTI	49.1	-2.1	-6.6	7.7	9.3	58.1	1372
ITASCA	40.8	2.4	-21.6	-16.5	-16.4	-13.8	-596
JACKSON	-23.0	2.1	-9.3	-3.3	-10.8	-44.1	-604
KANABEC	-1.9	7.6	-13.5	-6.9	10.9	-3.9	-48
KANDIYOHI	42.4	10.7	-4.7	-2.3	-2.1	43.9	1615
KITTSON	-10.9	1.7	9.6	9.2	-10.5	-1.2	-8
KOOCHICHING	17.3	-25.6	-53.6	3.2	-18.1	-77.1	-1355
LAC QUI PARLE	-16.2	-4.3	-8.3	-.5	-10.5	-39.5	-418
LAKE	16.8	-20.1	-37.8	-68.4	-30.1	-136.2	-1777
LAKE OF THE WOODS	34.0	-15.4	7.7	-10.2	-6.9	8.2	31
LE SUEUR	-11.4	-3.7	-1.6	-14.2	5.7	-25.3	-592
LINCOLN	-8.7	-9.7	-20.7	-5.4	-20.0	-63.4	-520
LYON	1.3	-18.2	10.4	3.4	-13.8	-17.4	-439
MCLEOD	-14.0	15.1	-12.7	2.0	-4.5	-14.5	-429

TABLE 5. ANNUAL NET MIGRATION RATES BY MINNESOTA COUNTY: 1980-85 (cont'd.)
(Vital Statistics Method, Rates Per 1,000 Population)

	Migration Rates						Net Migrants
COUNTY	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1980-85	1980-85
MAHNOMEN	32.0	-23.3	-3.7	-16.0	-4.8	-17.3	-96
MARSHALL	-4.7	-12.2	-17.3	-5.2	-2.6	-41.7	-543
MARTIN	-13.4	.7	-7.1	-8.1	-11.3	-39.3	-969
MEEKER	8.4	5.0	-16.3	-.2	-2.9	-6.4	-132
MILLE LACS	-6.0	1.1	-17.8	3.3	2.9	-16.6	-306
MORRISON	-8.9	-7.6	13.0	-8.5	-5.6	-17.8	-523
MOWER	-11.9	-13.0	-1.9	-8.7	-5.5	-40.8	-1646
MURRAY	-5.6	-10.4	-10.6	-8.0	-19.3	-53.8	-619
NICOLLET	-4.5	7.4	4.4	-6.6	-3.9	-3.5	-93
NOBLES	11.8	-18.6	-8.3	-5.8	-13.0	-34.4	-751
NORMAN	.5	5.4	5.1	-3.6	-24.7	-17.5	-164
OLMSTED	-.9	.5	4.9	-1.6	.3	3.3	306
OTTER TAIL	30.2	9.8	3.5	.5	-3.8	40.6	2109
PENNINGTON	-36.8	-33.5	-30.4	-4.0	-17.2	-117.5	-1793
PINE	4.0	-10.4	21.9	-.4	3.8	19.1	379
PIPESTONE	9.7	-23.3	-22.7	-1.8	-9.5	-47.6	-556
POLK	-6.1	-14.6	-9.4	-5.1	-15.2	-50.2	-1748
POPE	10.7	-5.8	1.2	6.9	-16.4	-3.7	-43
RAMSEY	-13.4	-7.5	-11.8	-10.8	.7	-42.6	-19605
RED LAKE	-15.7	-2.0	-29.7	-27.3	-22.3	-95.4	-522
REDWOOD	-6.2	-15.3	-19.2	-3.1	-10.4	-53.6	-1036
RENVILLE	-13.9	-19.4	-18.5	-9.2	-13.2	-72.8	-1485
RICE	.3	1.9	-5.8	-1.7	-2.5	-8.1	-374
ROCK	14.3	-19.0	-13.7	-5.8	-19.1	-43.9	-470
ROSEAU	20.4	-21.3	2.0	29.8	17.0	48.9	615
ST LOUIS	-11.0	-14.7	-28.5	-9.4	-31.2	-92.5	-20562
SCOTT	32.2	14.8	26.7	4.8	17.9	102.1	4472
SHERBURNE	35.6	15.0	19.5	.0	21.3	96.3	2879
SIBLEY	-16.8	14.9	-5.8	-4.7	-.2	-12.9	-199
STEARNS	8.2	6.6	.3	-4.4	-7.5	2.6	284
STEELE	8.5	-9.1	-20.8	-7.3	-4.9	-34.1	-1034
STEVENS	-9.7	6.6	-27.2	5.9	-9.5	-34.3	-388
SWIFT	-6.2	-13.3	-6.5	-3.8	-11.9	-41.5	-536
TODD	28.1	-7.7	-6.1	-8.7	-20.0	-16.1	-402
TRAVERSE	-14.1	-7.9	-14.3	-15.0	-31.4	-80.8	-448
WABASHA	-15.6	-13.5	-.6	1.7	-10.0	-37.9	-732
WADENA	-3.5	-10.7	-14.2	-5.6	-9.5	-43.2	-613
WASECA	-3.2	3.6	-13.1	-10.0	-2.1	-25.3	-466
WASHINGTON	-1.9	8.8	15.6	10.5	9.4	44.5	5057
WATONWAN	-35.7	-9.9	.2	-8.1	-20.5	-73.0	-902
WILKIN	8.6	-14.6	-24.5	-6.9	-1.4	-39.0	-330
WINONA	-11.9	-6.8	1.0	2.9	-3.7	-18.5	-855
WRIGHT	.4	7.6	11.7	-7.0	1.2	14.1	826
YELLOW MEDICINE	-12.9	-19.1	-19.1	-15.7	-17.6	-82.3	-1123

Note on Data Sources

Data used in this report include birth and death data, population estimates, and Internal Revenue Service (IRS) data. The county net migration rates and numbers (Table 4) were calculated using what is called the residual method. In this method, the change in total estimated population is compared with the change that would be expected on the basis of births and deaths. The difference between the actual and expected change is attributed to migration. This residual method gives the number of net migrants and the net migration rates, but provides no information about where people are moving.

The information on state-to-state and county-to-county migration streams comes from IRS data. The IRS data also make it possible to obtain separate figures for inmigration and outmigration. The IRS obtains its migration figures by matching tax returns by Social Security number and comparing addresses of matched returns in successive years. Addresses are coded to the state and county levels. Based on this comparison the IRS separates movers from nonmovers. Net migration in the IRS data is calculated by taking the difference between the number of inmigrants and the number of outmigrants. The IRS data are limited because not everyone files tax returns. Another limitation occurs because small county-to-county flows are not listed separately but are recorded as residual categories. This means that the amount of geographic detail varies from year to year and county to county depending on the size of the migration flows. It is often difficult to compare figures for successive years or between different counties. Despite these limitations, the IRS data are a valuable source of information on migration at the interstate and county level.

Note To Readers:

A Trend Report on "Crime and Criminal Justice" is now available from the State Planning Agency.

Minnesota
STATE PLANNING AGENCY

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