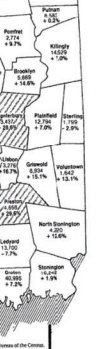


Population Areas



Source: Bureau of the Census

State S In Popu

By EDWARD C. BURKS

WASHINGTON — Already in redwoodlike-over-Congress population, added 2.3 percent in its total population between 1970 and mid-1978, a figure amounting to three-quarters of Connecticut's entire population.

POPULATION PACE IS SET BY JERSEY

Rate of 10% in 4 Years Tops New York and Connecticut

The fastest-growing state of the three in the metropolitan area, since the last census, is New Jersey.

MISS KENNETH RECENTLY moved from my beloved Connecticut to Kansas City, Mo. All for a job.

When Kansas City, Mo. is from Connecticut, they have one of the best jobs in New York's or Connecticut's.

And they tell me about the time they visited him there, and it was in the fall and the leaves were just magnificent.

I have been talking about Connecticut to people who don't appreciate it. It makes me nervous. I'd step back into the 1960s, 1970s.

Midwesterners drive as if they are in an immense danger of receiving their 100 speed limit — the one that gets the license revoked on the highways.

My eating habits have changed drastically since I moved to the Midwest. Motion pictures are also.

even find Midwestern applies in the supermarket. I'll bet they don't have a hamburger there, either.

But I think what bothers me most of all is the grammar. Kansas City is in addition to either misquoting or misquoting the name of their very own state.

Apparently, schools in the four-state area forget to teach the rule that you never end a sentence with a preposition.

It's been hard to adjust. The radio stations play either country and Western or disco. There are poisonous snakes within five miles of the city.

like it's some wonderful coincidence that he and I are from the same state. And they tell me about the time they visited him there, and it was in the fall and the leaves were just magnificent.

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There's nothing else to speak of here. Since there's nothing else to speak of here, I've been living most of my life here.

There's nothing else to speak of here. Since there's nothing else to speak of here, I've been living most of my life here.

Don't worry — I'll take you to a mid-western state park, where there's a nice lake with a beach.

Somewhat relieved, I dumped my car, and putting the hatch state parks or misquoting the name of their very own state.

That one had a damn strange tree, a slimy, disgusting lake and no beach. There wasn't even swimming around.

It's been hard to adjust. The radio stations play either country and Western or disco. There are poisonous snakes within five miles of the city.

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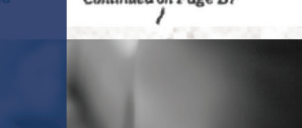
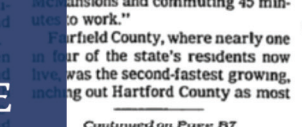
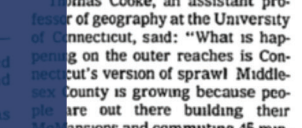
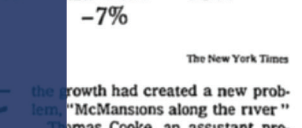
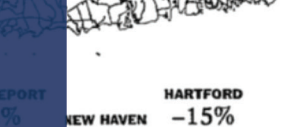
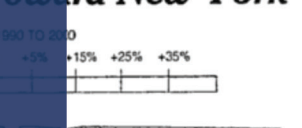
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LOOKING BEHIND CENSUS NUMBERS AS INDIVIDUAL WORKS FOR REURGENT

BY DAVID M. HERZENHORN HARTFORD, March 21 — As a landlord and licensed mortgage broker, Norma Aparicio depends on the city of Hartford for her livelihood.

She owns 13 residential properties in the city and three vacant lots that she hopes to build on.

Mrs. Aparicio believes in the future of Connecticut's cities. She does not want her own family here, at least not now.

In 1970, after 12 years at the city's belonging in the West, she moved to West Hartford, an affluent suburb, where she could send her daughter to better schools.

laughter was in high gear at the school, the best in school," she said. "When we moved to West Hartford, the very crying. She didn't know anything, and you don't know his studies, six hours a day."

Mrs. Aparicio's decision to offer might into results of the census released this week, showed a 15 percent decline in Hartford's population over the last decade, a steep drop that is not to a lesser degree in all of Connecticut's large cities with the exception of Fairfield County.

The declines in Connecticut contrast with a pattern of growth in many cities across the country, including New York and Los Angeles, demographic and other academic experts offer numerous explanations for the usual patterns here, including growth in the suburbs that is the exodus from the cities generally flat statewide population that shows no substantial increase to fill the gaps.

The result is a widening economic and racial segregation in Connecticut, which is the richest state in the country and which, compared with New York and New Jersey, has very little diversity to begin with. Three out of four of the state's residents are white. Connecticut's population mostly by blacks and Hispanics are increasingly staying in the suburbs that is the exodus from the cities generally flat statewide population that shows no substantial increase to fill the gaps.

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REPORT 2

ending these patterns of racial economic segregation through very strong mixed-income housing policies in the suburbs.

Phil Tegeles, the legal director of the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union, said that Hartford's small size — about 18 square miles — and government structure were factors in the city's decline.

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Population Shifts Toward New York

POPULATION IN THE CONNECTICUT, 1980 TO 1990



The data shows that population in Connecticut is shifting towards New York and other nearby states.

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Problem: Population Trends in the Constitution State

By Ken Girardin with E. McMahon

Easier Counties Lead in Population Growth

WATERBURY, Conn. — The population growth during the 1980s in Fairfield County was the lowest in the state, according to a Federal Census Bureau report.

Massachusetts experienced a 1.5 percent increase in population during the April 1980 census and the July 1980 estimate by the bureau, the report said. Fairfield County, which has the lowest population, increased by 0.1 percent.

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New jobs and low living costs seen as major factors.

NEW YORK — Suffolk County, N.Y., has the largest population increase of 2.6 percent since 1980, according to a report by the U.S. Census Bureau.

New Hampshire's population was up 2.4 percent, Vermont's 2.3 percent, Maine's 2.2 percent, Rhode Island 2.0 percent, and Massachusetts 1.9 percent.

Massachusetts experienced a 1.5 percent increase in population during the April 1980 census and the July 1980 estimate by the bureau, the report said. Fairfield County, which has the lowest population, increased by 0.1 percent.

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YANKEE INSTITUTE logo and name.

Advertisement for Yankee Institute featuring a baby and text about population changes.

Table showing population changes in 3 states (New York, Connecticut, New Jersey) with show summary.

Continued on Page B7

About The Authors



Ken Girardin

Ken Girardin is Yankee Institute's director of policy and research. He has written extensively on tax, labor, energy, and economic development issues in Connecticut and other states. Before joining Yankee Institute in 2021, Ken was an analyst at the Empire Center for Public Policy in Albany, New York. He is a graduate of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in Troy, New York where he studied engineering.



E.J. McMahon

E.J. McMahon is a public policy analyst focused on state and regional economic, fiscal, and demographic trends. McMahon is founding senior fellow of the Empire Center for Public Policy in Albany, New York, and an adjunct fellow at the Manhattan Institute for Policy Research. A former journalist, he also served in senior staff positions in New York state government. McMahon is a graduate of Villanova University.

Executive Summary

The 2020 U.S. Census carried a troubling message for Connecticut. In a decade when the nation's population increased by 7.4 percent, the headcount in the Constitution State barely grew at all.

Five of Connecticut's eight counties (Litchfield, Middlesex, New London, Tolland, and Windham) lost population, something virtually unheard of in the preceding century. This was a remarkable turn, considering those five had together been the state's fastest-growing over the prior four decades.

What was behind Connecticut's poor population performance?

This report examines the drivers behind population change in Connecticut—births, deaths, and migration—with a focus on the component where state policy can play the largest role: migration within the United States.

Connecticut's population growth from "natural increase," the extent to which births outnumber deaths, has collapsed over the past three decades. In 1991, there were 21,822 more births than deaths. By 2019, that had fallen to 3,127. Even before the novel coronavirus pandemic, deaths outpaced births in half of Connecticut counties.

Between 1991 and 2020, 548,932 more people left Connecticut for other states than moved here, according to Census Bureau estimates. But Internal Revenue Service migration data, which measure moves between states, challenge the conventional wisdom that Connecticut's weak population growth stems from people leaving.

In fact, IRS data show people have not moved out of Connecticut at an especially high rate, and that no particular age group has been overrepresented among outmigrants, compared to nationwide interstate migration trends.

Instead, Connecticut's problem stems almost entirely

from a failure to attract enough residents, either from other states or abroad, to consistently replace the ones who leave. This imbalance exists not only between Connecticut and retirement destinations such as Florida and South Carolina, but also with nearly every other state for which a significant number of moves in either direction was identified.

Much has been made about the recent uptick in moves from New York to Connecticut. But New York was already losing residents to Connecticut on net in the decade prior to the pandemic—that is to say, Connecticut had no problem attracting residents from the Empire State.

In fact, that constant stream of migrants from New York City and its suburbs has for years partially offset a much larger imbalance in the flow of moves between Connecticut and other states. But only New York and New Jersey sent more residents to Connecticut than they drew.

While Connecticut saw a rare instance of positive domestic migration (more arrivals than departures) during the pandemic, it remains to be seen whether Connecticut has become a more popular destination or simply benefited from an acceleration of planned moves and one-time pandemic-driven relocations.

Immigration from other countries has helped offset the state's failure to attract residents and its declining natural increase. The roughly 340,000 net new residents added from abroad between 1991 and 2020 were responsible for all the state's population growth (about 319,000 people) since 1990.

Policymakers should closely examine the factors behind Connecticut's population struggle and address the factors putting Connecticut at such a competitive disadvantage for its most crucial resource. After years of leaning on gimmicks designed to "retain" residents, they need to

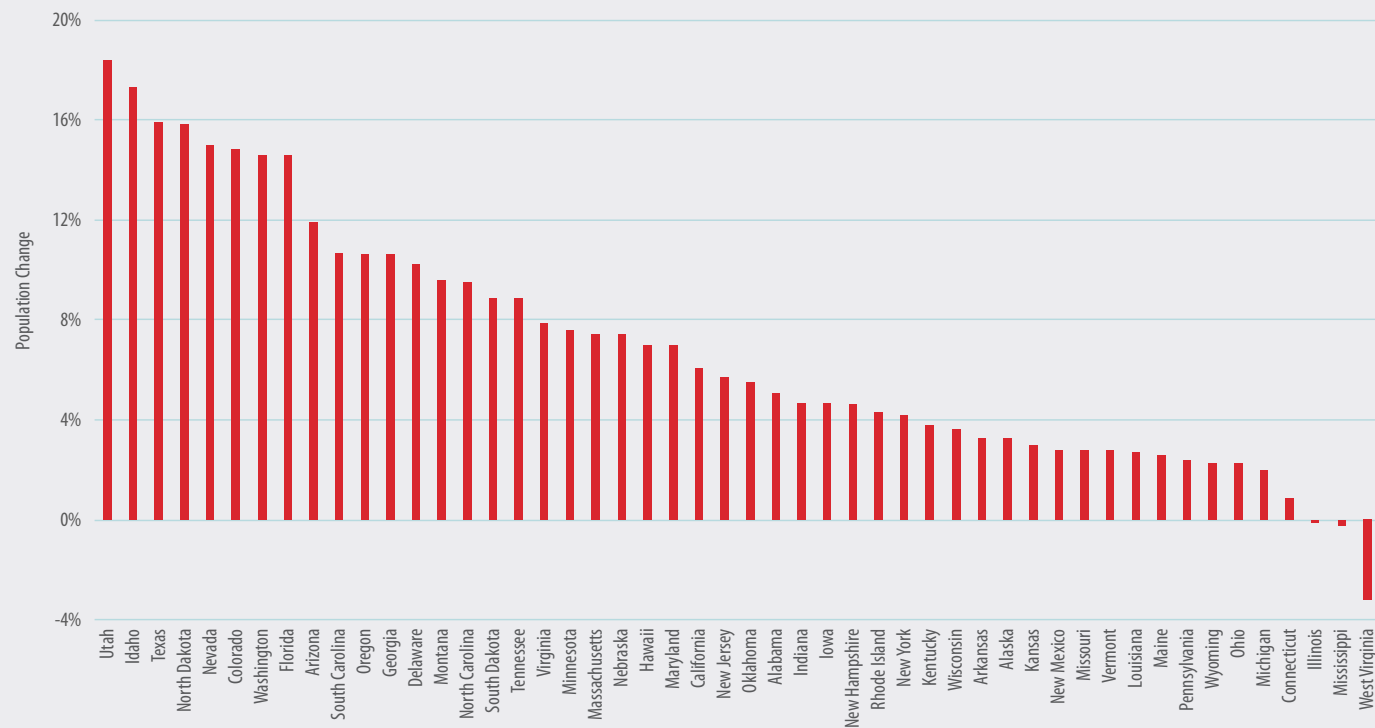
take account of both sides of the migration ledger. Given its many strengths—its scenic beauty, well-educated and productive workforce, continuing leadership in some key industry sectors, and strategic location, to name a few—why doesn't Connecticut attract more new resi-

dents to replace those it loses? Policymakers should focus on answering that question and addressing what the answers uncover.

When the results of the 2020 U.S. Census were tallied, Connecticut was among the negative outliers. In a decade when the nation's population grew by 7.4 percent, Connecticut's population barely grew at all—less than one percentage point. It was by far the lowest rate in all of New England and the Northeast. Only three states ranked below Connecticut: West Virginia, Illinois, and Mississippi, all of which lost population. (Figure 1)

Introduction: Losing Count

Figure 1
State Population Change (2010 to 2020)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Five of Connecticut's eight counties ended the decade with fewer residents than they had started with (Figure 2). This was a major departure from a century of nearly uninterrupted growth in each corner of the state. Only once since the 1910 census had a Connecticut county—Hartford County in the 1970s—lost population between censuses.

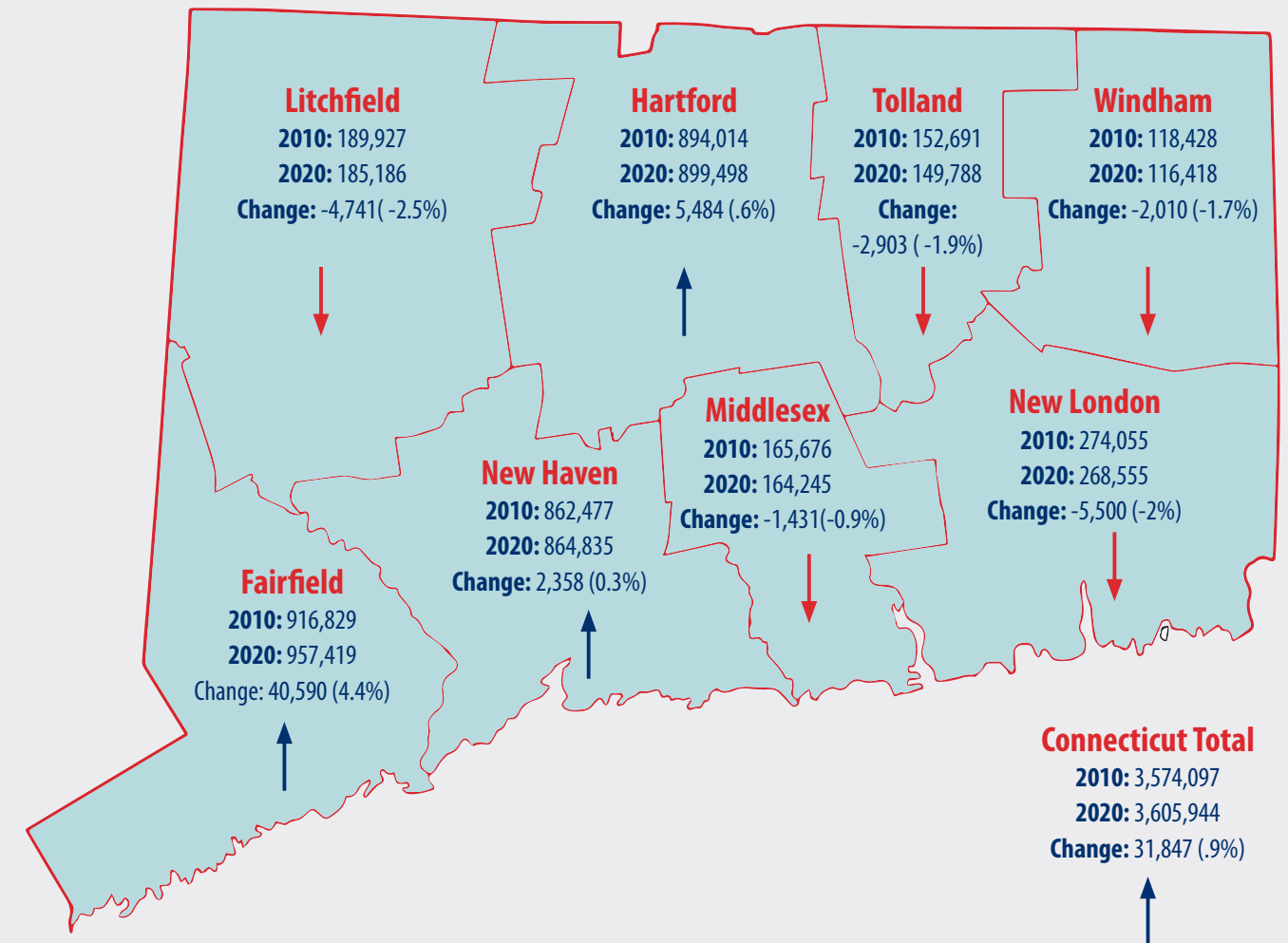
Connecticut's growth in the last decade was concentrated in Fairfield County, which added 40,590 residents. If Hartford County and New Haven County combined were a separately ranked state, they would have been the slowest-growing. And if Connecticut's four easternmost counties—Tolland, Middlesex, Windham, and New London—had been similarly

counted together, they would have shrunk at a faster rate than either Illinois or Mississippi and posted the worst population decline outside West Virginia.

During the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, Connecticut's population growth outpaced the nation. The state grew faster than the Northeast as a whole in every census from 1920 to 1990, benefiting in the 1980s from an exodus from New York City and an economic boom, among other things.

Since 1970, Connecticut has fallen among the slowest-growing third of states in all five federal censuses. It has been near the bottom in two of the last three censuses. (Figure 3)

Figure 2
County Population Change (2010 to 2020)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Figure 3
Connecticut Population Growth Rank Among States



Source: U.S. Census Bureau; 46 states were ranked in 1910; 48 states were ranked in 1920, 1930, 1940, and 1950.

“ All five counties that shrank in the 2010s had, in each decade between 1960 and 1990, grown faster than the state as a whole. ”

Table 1
Population Change (1910 to 2020)

	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2020
Fairfield County	33.2%	30.8%	20.5%	8.2%	20.5%	29.6%	21.3%	1.8%	2.5%	6.6%	3.9%	4.4%
Hartford County	28.0%	34.3%	25.3%	6.9%	19.9%	27.8%	18.4%	-1.1%	5.4%	0.6%	4.3%	0.6%
Litchfield County	10.3%	8.5%	8.3%	5.4%	13.6%	21.2%	20.2%	8.8%	11.1%	4.7%	4.2%	-2.5%
Middlesex County	9.3%	4.2%	8.1%	9.0%	20.2%	32.0%	29.2%	12.4%	11.0%	8.3%	6.8%	-0.9%
New Haven County	25.3%	23.1%	11.6%	4.5%	12.7%	21.0%	12.8%	2.2%	5.6%	2.5%	4.7%	0.3%
New London County	10.3%	14.6%	13.7%	5.3%	15.6%	28.3%	24.0%	3.5%	6.9%	1.6%	5.8%	-2.0%
Tolland County	7.9%	2.9%	5.3%	11.2%	40.3%	53.7%	50.5%	11.0%	12.1%	6.0%	12.0%	-1.9%
Windham County	3.2%	9.2%	2.4%	4.0%	9.8%	11.0%	23.3%	9.2%	11.1%	6.4%	8.6%	-1.7%
Connecticut	22.7%	23.9%	16.4%	6.4%	17.4%	26.3%	19.6%	2.5%	5.8%	3.6%	4.9%	0.9%
Northeast States	22.9%	14.7%	16.1%	4.5%	9.7%	13.2%	9.8%	0.2%	3.4%	5.5%	3.2%	4.1%
United States	21.0%	15.0%	16.2%	7.3%	14.5%	18.5%	13.3%	11.5%	9.8%	13.2%	9.7%	7.4%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

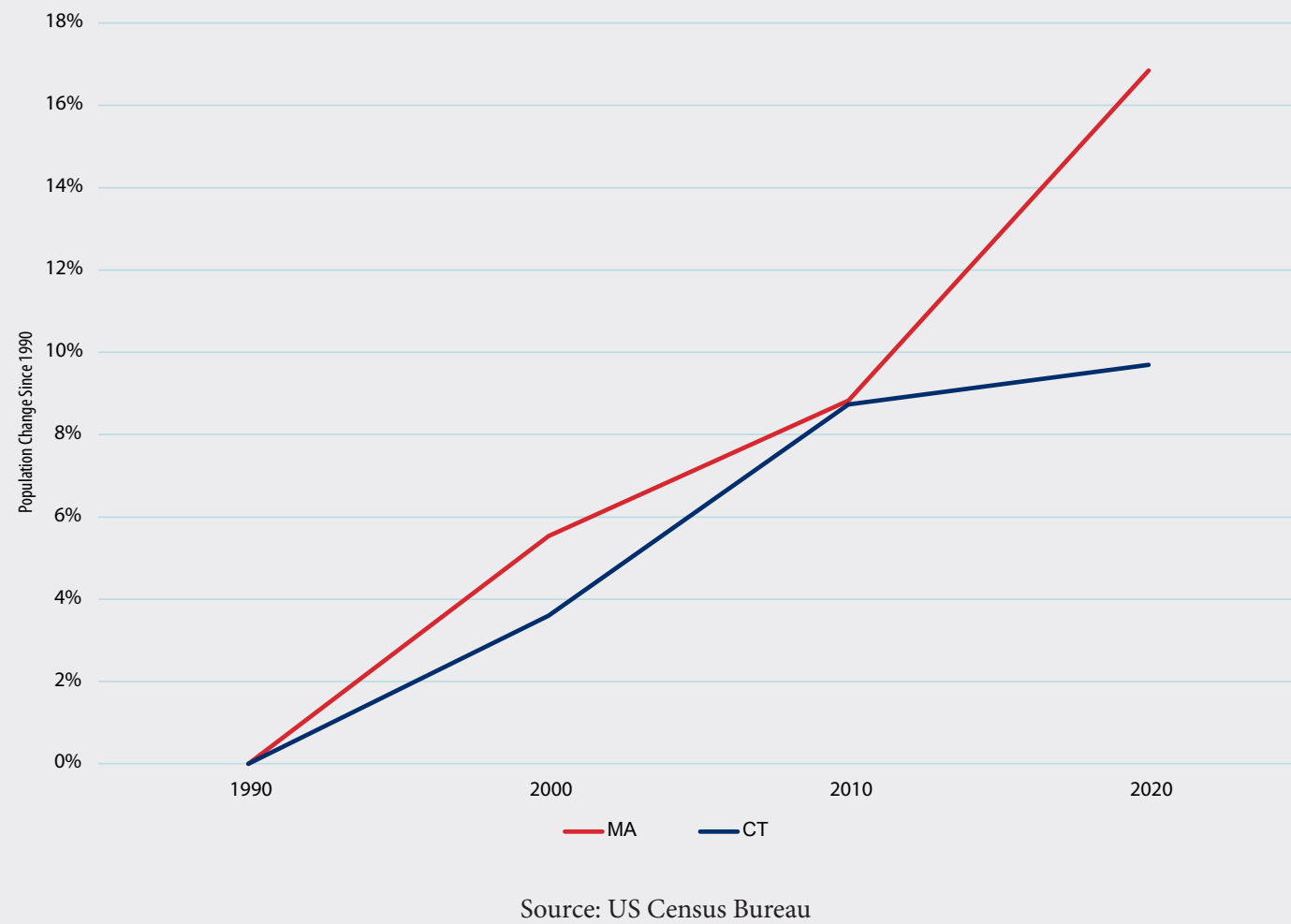
All five counties that shrank in the 2010s had, in each decade between 1960 and 1990, grown faster than the state as a whole. (Table 1)

Between 1990 and 2020, the Northeast states grew more slowly than the other three regions (the South, the West and the Mid-West). But Connecticut's weak performance was anomalous even on a regional basis. Connecticut's population between 1990 and 2010 generally tracked that of Massachusetts, which in many ways is similarly situated. Connecticut grew slightly slower in the 1990s but faster in the 2000s. In the most recent decade, however, Massachusetts added population at more than eight times Connecticut's rate. (Figure 4)

“ ...Massachusetts added population at more than eight times Connecticut's rate. ”

Figure 4

MA and CT — Population Growth Since 1990



What Drives Population Change?

The state population changes when someone is born, dies, or enters or leaves the state. These activities are grouped by demographers in three categories: natural increase (births compared to deaths), domestic migration between states and foreign migration.

The U.S. Census Bureau (see Appendix) each year issues interstitial estimates of each of these three “components of population change” during the 12-month period ending July 1. Together they help explain Connecticut’s weak population growth in recent decades.

BIRTHS & DEATHS

Connecticut’s population growth from “natural increase,” the extent to which births outnumber deaths, has collapsed over the past three decades (Figure 5). In 1991, there were 21,822 more births than deaths. By 2019, that had fallen to 3,127 (Table 2). Even before the virus that causes COVID-19 arrived in Connecticut in early 2020, deaths were outpacing births in half its counties. Hospitals in Tolland, Litchfield, and Windham County last year took steps to close their

labor and delivery operations, citing the decline in local births.¹ The population in many parts of the state shows signs of aging: K-12 public school enrollment dropped 8 percent between the 2011-12 school year and 2020-21. About one-third of school districts experienced enrollment declines of at least 20 percent during that period, with the drop exceeding 40 percent in five of them.

Figure 5

Natural Population Increase

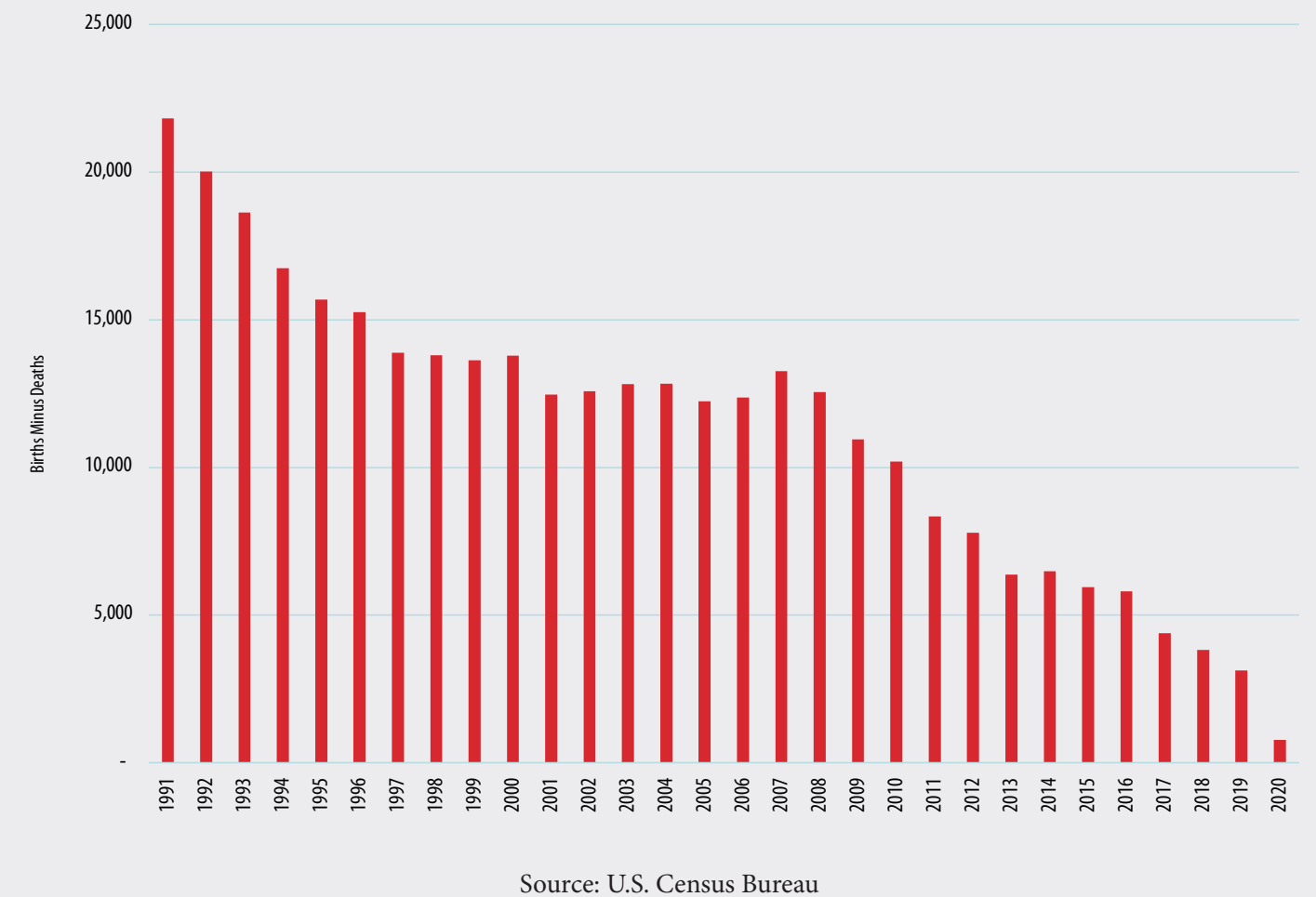


Table 2 Natural Population Increase (Decrease) (2011 to 2020)

County Name	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	Total, 2011-2020
Fairfield	3,958	3,896	3,431	3,563	3,424	3,445	2,957	2,614	2,782	2,038	32,108
Hartford	1,814	1,738	1,531	1,599	1,562	1,503	1,069	1,122	822	277	13,037
Litchfield	-113	-276	-399	-395	-345	-374	-408	-466	-497	-598	-3,871
Middlesex	74	52	-129	-113	-147	-193	-339	-332	-295	-388	-1,810
New Haven	1,700	1,468	1,328	1,306	972	1,073	927	769	415	-115	9,843
New London	530	530	305	316	214	193	103	68	-52	-313	1,894
Tolland	169	178	137	120	168	98	106	40	28	5	1,049
Windham	210	204	175	97	98	61	-26	2	-76	-125	620

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Natural increase in most years has not been the biggest driver behind the state's population change. But it helped conceal the extent to which Connecticut was losing population, on net, from migration to other states.

MIGRATION

Connecticut in the 2010s had 219,328 more people leave the state than move in from other states, the country's fifth-highest rate of domestic outmigration. Since 1990, 548,932 more people left Connecticut for other states than moved here.

Connecticut has experienced two significant surges in net domestic outmigration that peaked in 1992 and 2015, respectively (Figure 6). Both occurred following the end of national economic recessions in which Connecticut's recovery lagged the nation.

It bears noting that the one-year period with the highest net outmigration, July 1, 1991 to June 30, 1992, saw the single furthest-reaching change in state policy in the past half-century: the August 1991 enactment of the state's personal income tax.

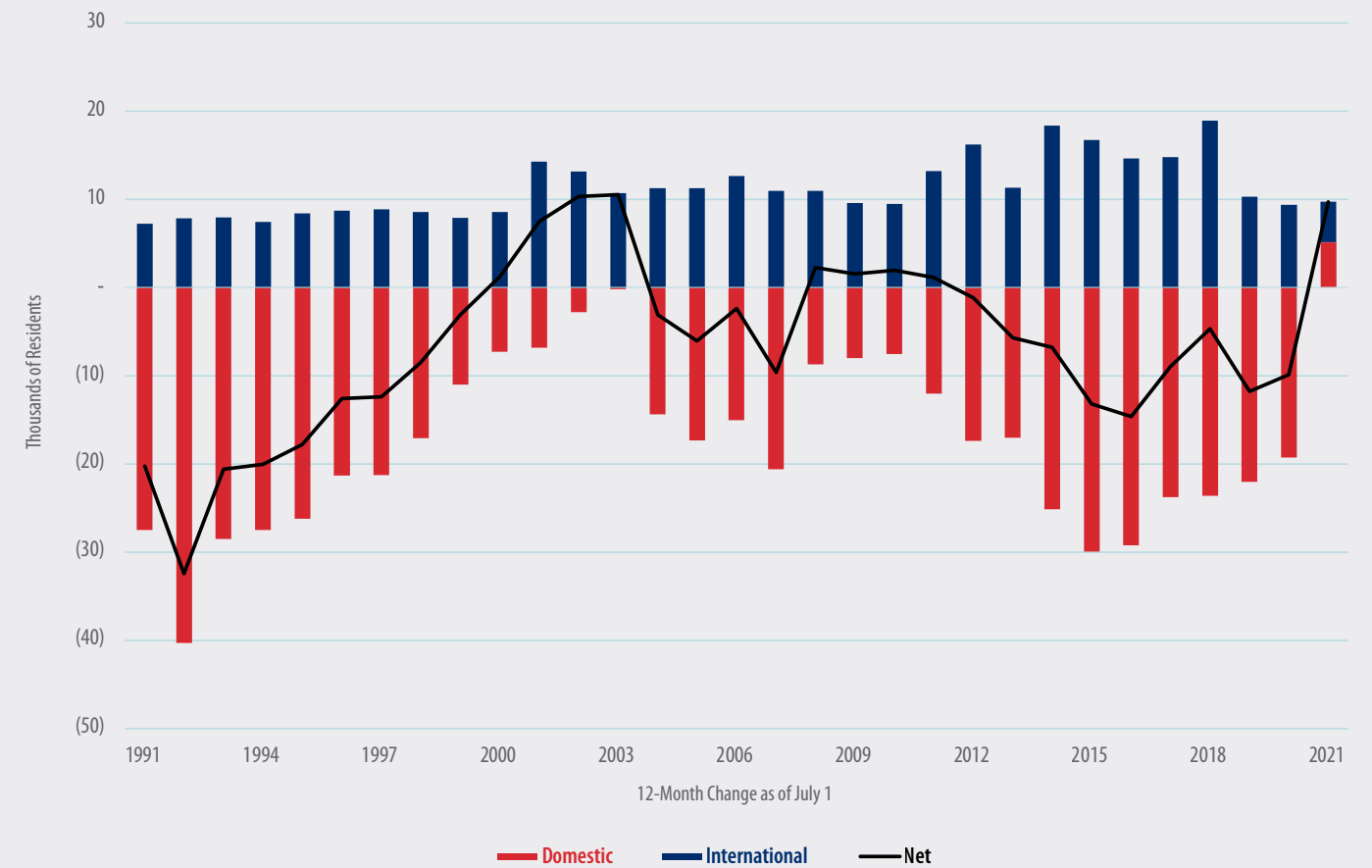
From mid-2020 to mid-2021, the novel coronavirus pandemic interrupted Connecticut's long-term demographic trends by producing a small net domestic migration gain of 5,134 residents—a pronounced turnaround from the average loss of more than 20,000 people a year over the previous decade, and the first time in at least 31 years that more people moved into Connecticut than moved to other states. It remains to be seen whether this trend will persist; Connecticut is likely to have benefited chiefly from the pandemic's impact in New York, which had a record net outflow of residents during the same period.²

Connecticut's losses to other states were offset in part by foreign immigration. The Census Bureau estimates the state netted 146,353 residents from abroad during the 2010s, an uptick from prior decades—though not enough to make up for the net loss of 219,328 residents to other states. Massachusetts, meanwhile, added 391,402 residents thanks to foreign immigration, which more than offset its net loss of 190,343 to other states.

The benefit from foreign immigration is even more pronounced when earlier decades are considered. During much

of the 2000s, these moves from abroad more than compensated for the state's negative net domestic migration. In fact, the roughly 340,000 net new residents added from abroad between 1991 and 2020 were responsible for all the state's population growth (about 319,000 people) since 1990. Without these new residents, Connecticut's representation in the United States House of Representatives would have shrunk from five to four seats in the last round of reapportionment.

Figure 6 Connecticut Population Migration, 1991-2021



Internet Release dates: 11/1/05 (for 1991-2000); 4/2/12 (for 2001-10); 5/4/21 (for 2011-20) and 12/23/21 (for 2021)

Source: U.S. Census Bureau Population Estimates

Who Is Moving?

Discussions about Connecticut's population often center on the intensity of migration out of Connecticut.

- Governor Ned Lamont has framed Connecticut's population challenge as a need to "turn the moving vans around."
- Reports from moving companies show more customers leaving than entering Connecticut. One of the most recent reports, by United Van Lines, said the state had the fourth-highest outbound rate.³
- Public opinion polls routinely ask voters if they are considering leaving Connecticut.⁴

State officials have pointed to this perceived outbound deluge and sought to mitigate it with proposals ranging from advertising campaigns⁵ to savings programs for first-time homebuyers⁶ to tax credits to job training. The General Assembly in 2017 amended the tax law to reduce and ultimately eliminate the state income tax on pensions and annuities for most retirees. Senate Republican Leader Len Fasano, one of the plan's proponents, said the policy was meant "to entice those who work here to retire here."⁷

But as shown by annual tax filers migration data compiled by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Connecticut's problem isn't so much a matter of too many outbound moving vans as too few inbound movers.

The IRS migration data categorizes moves based on the age and income of the primary taxpayer. This analysis begins with tax year 2011, when the agency adopted a more accurate and more detailed methodology for counting interstate moves (see Appendix).

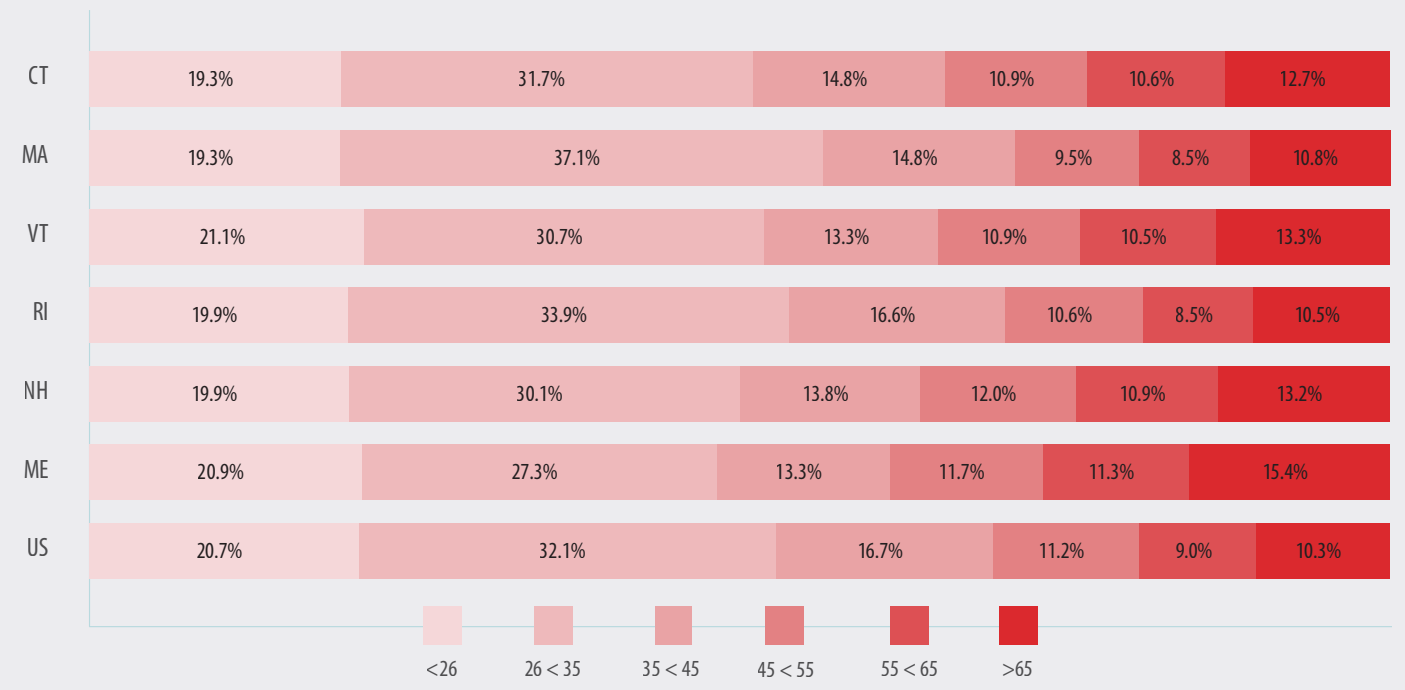
The age profile of Connecticut outmigrants between 2011 and 2019 is not unlike that of other New England states. For example, while tax filers under age 35 make up a slight (51 percent) majority of those leaving Connecticut between 2011 and 2019, they were a slightly larger percentage of all interstate migrants throughout the U.S. (52 percent) — and an even larger percentage leaving neighboring Massachusetts (56 percent) and Rhode Island (54 percent). (Figure 7)

Connecticut did not have an unusually high number of outmigrants measured as a proportion of all tax filers. Looking at the number of moves out of all 50 states and the District of Columbia between 2011 and 2019, Connecticut ranked near the middle (21st) with an average of 3.4 percent of tax filers moving out of state each year (Table 3), or 48,044 individuals or households per year. This is an even less remarkable outmigration rate given Connecticut's small geographic size, making moves more likely to cross state lines than in geographically larger states such as California and Texas. Even within New England, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island all had higher outmigration rates.

Connecticut also does not appear to be losing any particular age group more than others. Breaking down movers into six age ranges, the IRS data show Connecticut did not have the highest or lowest rate among New England states in any of the six (Table 4). New Hampshire and Vermont had higher rates of outmigration for all six, and that Rhode Island had a higher rate among movers under age 55.

Figure 7

Age Breakdown, Outbound Domestic Migrants (2011 to 2019)



Source: IRS, Yankee Institute calculations

“

Connecticut's problem isn't so much a matter of too many outbound moving vans as too few inbound movers.

”

Table 3
Outbound, Inbound, and Net Migration Rates (2011 to 2019)

State	Outbound		Inbound		Net	
	Rank	Average Rate	Rank	Average Rate	Rank	Average Rate
DC	1	10.7%	1	10.3%	42	-0.4%
AK	2	6.6%	4	5.5%	51	-1.1%
WY	3	6.0%	3	5.6%	40	-0.4%
ND	4	5.2%	5	5.3%	19	0.1%
HI	5	5.1%	8	4.7%	36	-0.3%
NV	6	4.5%	2	5.8%	1	1.3%
NM	7	4.1%	20	3.8%	38	-0.3%
DE	8	4.1%	9	4.7%	10	0.6%
VA	9	4.1%	18	3.9%	27	-0.2%
CO	10	4.1%	6	5.0%	4	0.9%
KS	11	4.0%	25	3.5%	46	-0.5%
NH	12	3.9%	13	4.1%	16	0.2%
ID	13	3.9%	7	4.9%	2	1%
SD	14	3.8%	15	3.9%	18	0.1%
MD	15	3.8%	24	3.5%	37	-0.3%
VT	16	3.8%	23	3.5%	34	-0.3%
MT	17	3.8%	12	4.3%	13	0.5%
RI	18	3.7%	27	3.3%	44	-0.4%
AZ	19	3.6%	10	4.6%	5	0.9%
GA	20	3.5%	21	3.8%	14	0.3%
CT	21	3.4%	38	2.7%	48	-0.7%
SC	22	3.4%	11	4.3%	3	1%
OR	23	3.3%	14	4.1%	6	0.8%
UT	24	3.3%	26	3.4%	17	0.2%
NC	25	3.3%	19	3.9%	9	0.6%
WA	26	3.2%	16	3.9%	8	0.7%
FL	27	3.2%	17	3.9%	7	0.7%
MS	28	3.2%	32	2.8%	41	-0.4%
NJ	29	3.1%	39	2.5%	47	-0.6%
TN	30	3.1%	22	3.6%	12	0.5%
WV	31	3.1%	37	2.7%	43	-0.4%
AR	32	3.1%	29	3.0%	22	0.0%
OK	33	3.1%	28	3.0%	21	0.0%
NE	34	3.0%	34	2.8%	32	-0.3%
MA	35	2.9%	40	2.5%	45	-0.4%
MO	36	2.9%	33	2.8%	25	-0.1%

State	Outbound		Inbound		Net	
	Rank	Average Rate	Rank	Average Rate	Rank	Average Rate
KY	37	2.9%	35	2.8%	24	-0.1%
NY	38	2.8%	47	2.0%	50	-0.9%
LA	39	2.8%	42	2.4%	39	-0.4%
IL	40	2.8%	48	2.0%	49	-0.8%
AL	41	2.8%	36	2.8%	20	0.0%
IA	42	2.7%	41	2.5%	29	-0.2%
ME	43	2.7%	30	3.0%	15	0.3%
IN	44	2.5%	43	2.4%	26	-0.1%
PA	45	2.3%	45	2.0%	33	-0.3%
TX	46	2.3%	31	2.8%	11	0.5%
MN	47	2.3%	44	2.2%	23	-0.1%
WI	48	2.2%	46	2.0%	28	-0.2%
OH	49	2.1%	49	1.8%	31	-0.3%
CA	50	2.0%	50	1.8%	30	-0.2%
MI	51	2.0%	51	1.7%	35	-0.3%

Source: IRS, Yankee Institute calculations

Table 4
Outmigration Rate by Age Group (2011 to 2019)

	<26	26 < 35	35 < 45	45 < 55	55 < 65	65+
CT	7.45%	6.29%	3.05%	1.85%	1.95%	2.13%
MA	6.40%	5.70%	2.60%	1.50%	1.40%	1.60%
ME	6.67%	4.60%	2.29%	1.65%	1.54%	1.98%
NH	9.11%	7.14%	3.44%	2.33%	2.19%	2.61%
RI	7.70%	6.90%	3.80%	2.10%	1.80%	2.10%
VT	9.51%	7.07%	3.28%	2.24%	2.03%	2.34%
US	5.64%	5.00%	2.76%	1.76%	1.55%	1.65%

Source: IRS, Yankee Institute calculations

How does this reconcile with census data showing a large negative net migration out of Connecticut?

The problem is on the other side of the ledger: compared to migration patterns across the country, *people are not leaving Connecticut at an exceptionally high rate, but the state is not attracting enough new residents to offset the loss.*

With respect to moves into the state, Connecticut ranked 38th with inbound movers averaging 2.7 percent of total filers annually.

Comparing the outbound migration rate directly to the inbound rate, Connecticut had the third-highest ratio, with 126 moves out for every 100 moves in. Only Illinois and New York had more lopsided domestic migration.

A state's population is affected by the difference between inbound and outbound migration, not the absolute value of either. Colorado, for instance, experienced an annual migration outflow averaging 4.1 percent of tax filers between 2011 and 2019—a considerably bigger loss than Connecticut's. But Colorado attracted new taxpayers at roughly twice Con-

necticut's population-adjusted rate, yielding a net additional 155,000 filers from domestic migration as Connecticut was losing 79,000.

In **Figure 8** on the previous page, the further a state is from the dividing line, the more its inbound migration exceeded its outmigration. Connecticut is hardly the only state below the line, but it is one of the most distant. Even within New England, two states—New Hampshire and Maine—managed to attract more movers from other states than they gave up.

In fact, three of the five fastest-growing states in the last census (Idaho, North Dakota and Nevada) all had higher rates of tax filer outmigration than Connecticut—but still managed to post population gains of at least 15 percent.

Looking at the ages of people moving into Connecticut, the breakdown generally matches regional and national trends

(**Figure 9**) (though Massachusetts' inbound migrants are visibly younger, and a large portion of people moving to Maine are at or near retirement-age).

The lopsided migration pattern in and out of Connecticut is also evident from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) data, which tracks individuals (rather than tax filers and entire households) but is based on voluntary responses. Between 2011 and 2019, the ACS showed moves from other parts of the United States into Connecticut equal to 2.30 percent of state population, compared to 2.82 percent moving outbound.

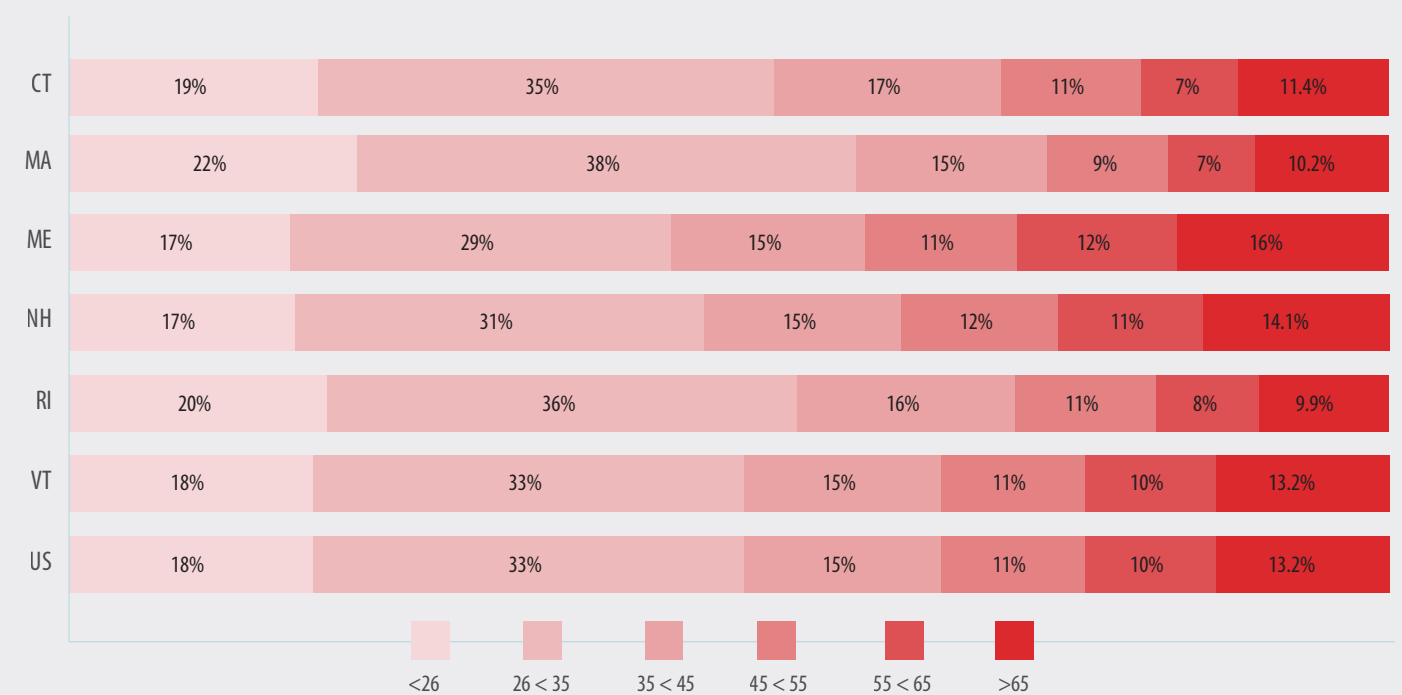
As with the IRS data, Connecticut had a middling average rate of outmigration, ranking 20th out of 51. But the state's inbound migration rate was 38th.

Figure 8
Outbound vs. Inbound Domestic Migration Rates (2011 to 2019)



Source: IRS, Yankee Institute calculations

Figure 9
Inbound Domestic Migrants – Breakdown by Age (2011 to 2019)



Source: IRS, Yankee Institute calculations

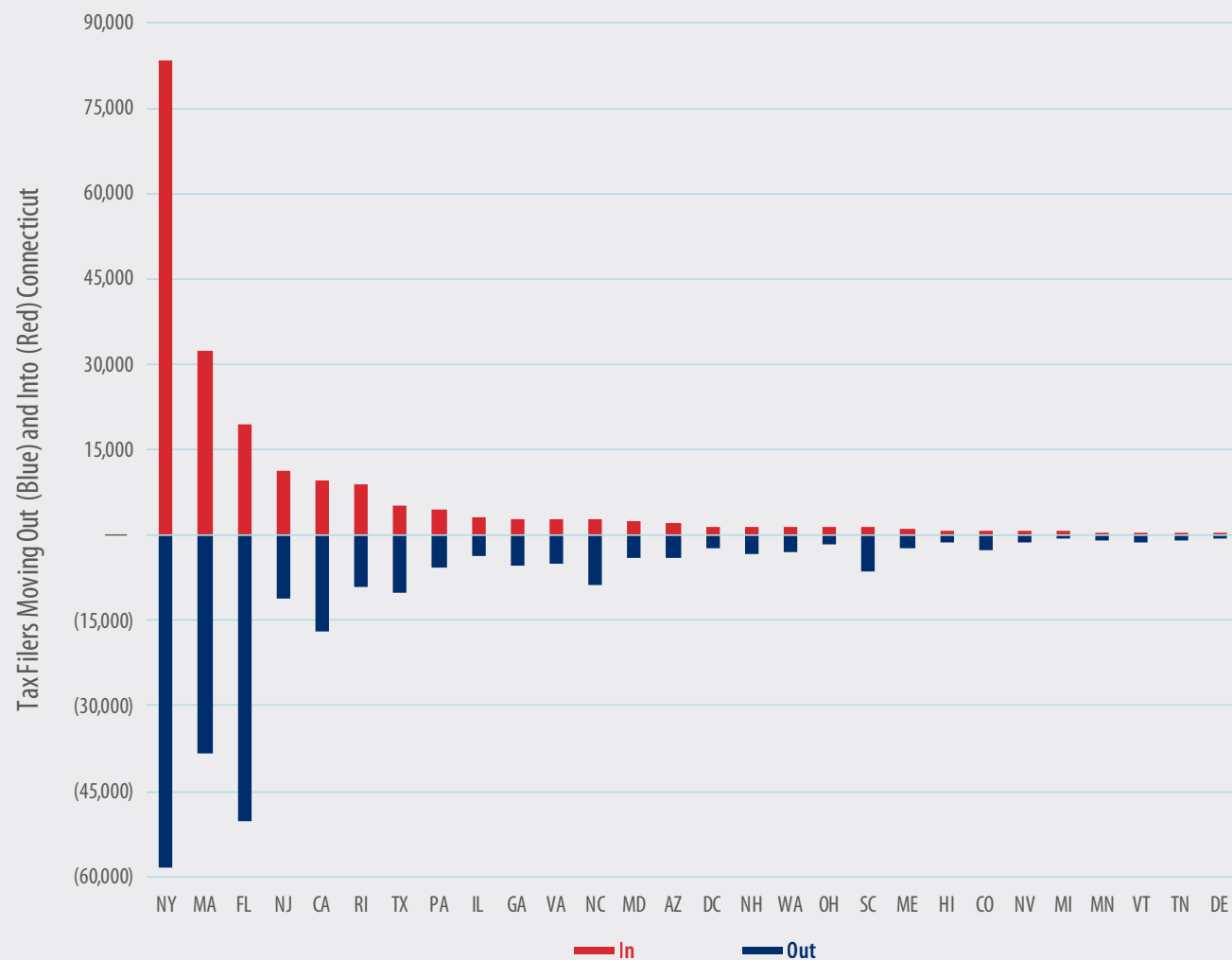
Where Are People Moving?

The IRS migration data identify the original and destination county for about three-quarters of the moves in and out of Connecticut between 2011 and 2019. (Counties that had only a handful of residents move to or from them are not itemized for privacy reasons).

Looking at those states for which at least 1,000 moves were identified to or from Connecticut (Figure 10), only New York and New Jersey sent more tax filers to Connecticut than they drew (Figure 11).

Figure 10

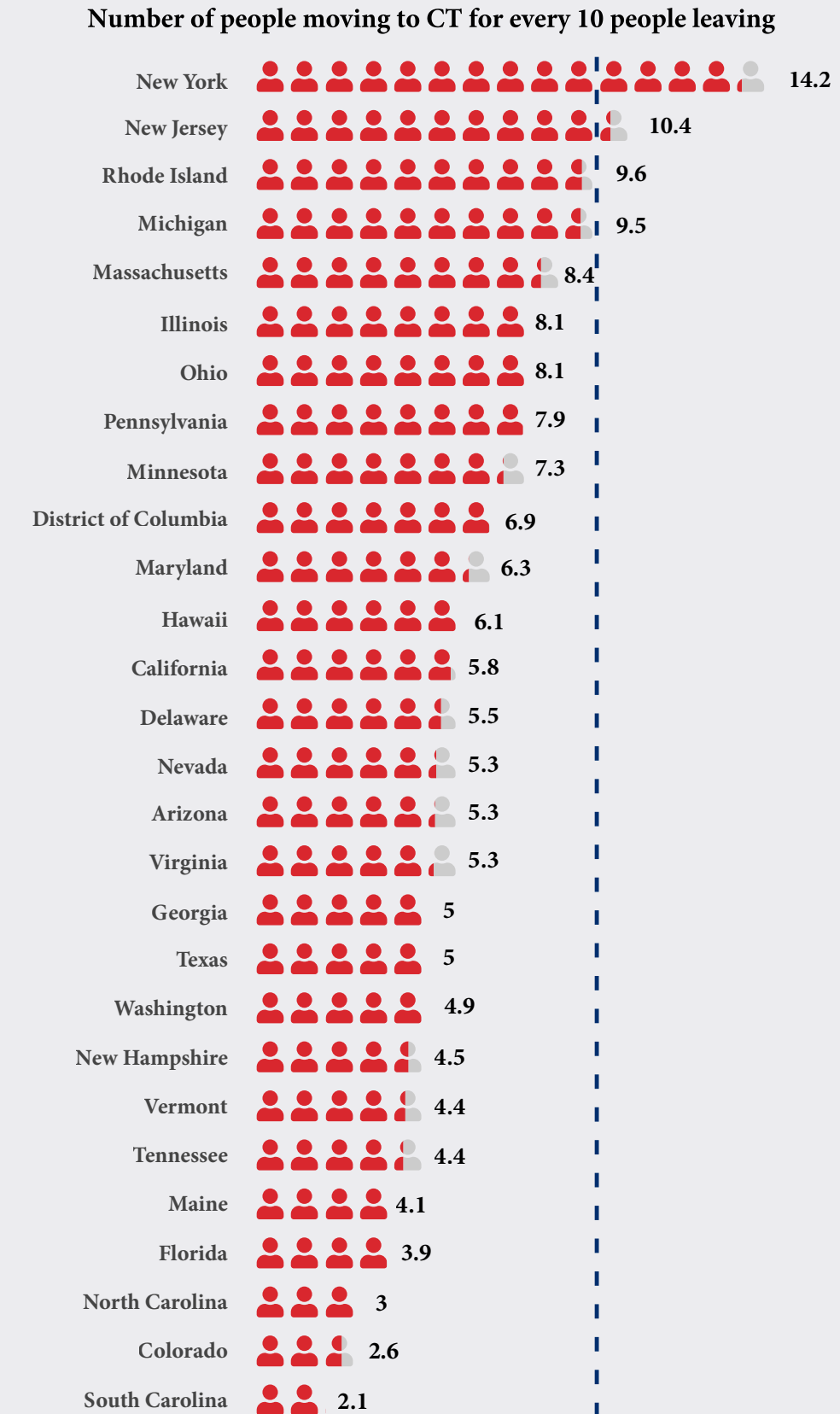
Migration In and Out of Connecticut (2011 to 2019)



Source: IRS Migration Data, 2011-2019

Figure 11

Migration In and Out of Connecticut (2011-2019)



Source: IRS Migration Data, 2011-2019

THE NEW YORK CONNECTION

Much has been made since the beginning of the novel coronavirus pandemic about moves from New York to Connecticut, which were seen as the primary driver behind Connecticut's breaking its decades-long losing streak and posting positive net domestic migration.

Governor Ned Lamont in 2020 described the dynamic:

*"Remember, two years ago, I was running for office and moving vans were all leaving the state... Last one out, turn out the lights. All that sort of negativity. ... Well, that's no more. The moving vans are turning around and more people are coming to Connecticut than ever before. Tens of thousands of people have moved or changed their address to the state of Connecticut in the last few months. They're buying. They're renting, and they're building."*⁸

Connecticut, however, was already experiencing positive net migration from New York in the decade prior to the pandemic.

New York City, in particular, is in a constant state of demographic churn, drawing foreign immigrants as a natural

first stop and routinely seeing a net outflow of residents (including recent immigrants) seeking lower living costs and taxes elsewhere. The pipeline between Manhattan and the city's commuter suburbs began to fill in the years after World War II. Connecticut, linked to the city by mass transit, has long benefited from that flow.

Between 2011 and 2019, the IRS identified 83,379 moves from New York to Connecticut, compared to 58,521 the other way. Most of these moves (45,861) came from New York City, compared to 37,444 moves from Connecticut into the city. Connecticut also had net positive migration from Long Island, the lower Hudson Valley, and to a lesser extent from New Jersey.

The uptick in moves during 2020 and 2021 likely represented a combination of one-time behavior changes, an acceleration of planned moves, and residence shifts to second homes. Future IRS and Census Bureau data will provide more clarity about the extent to which Connecticut has increased its draw from New York on a sustained basis.

What Can Connecticut Do About It?

Conversations about population and migration trends risk being eclipsed by arguments over the perceived causes. But the stakes around the subject are high, and the 2020 census should be a wake-up call for Connecticut policymakers.

Population matters can have serious ramifications for the entire state. Local population decline, especially in rural areas, risks destabilizing things ranging from regional labor markets to healthcare infrastructure. In the aggregate, it jeopardizes the state's level of representation in Washington D.C.

State lawmakers and other elected officials should look skeptically at proposals for new programs or other funding framed as necessary to retain residents. Connecticut does not show signs of a problematic level of outmigration by national standards.

Instead, officials should broadly examine the factors within state policy that cause Connecticut to fall short when individuals and families decide where to live. To avoid stagnation, or decrease, Connecticut must make itself more attractive in the competition with 49 other states.

Appendix

CENSUS DATA

In addition to its constitutionally mandated "enumeration" of the U.S. population every 10 years, the Census Bureau compiles annual estimates of population (and housing units) for states, counties, cities, and towns. While the decennial census is pegged to April 1, the annual estimates reflect populations as of July 1, or mid-year.

Updates to the annual population estimates are derived from three "demographic components of change" categories.

Natural increase is calculated as births minus deaths on a state and county level. These numbers are based on statistics compiled from official state and local government vital statistics, which in turn are based on the residence of mothers and decedents, respectively.

Net domestic migration represents the number of people moving from one U.S. county to another in the previous year. The sum of each state's intercounty numbers reflects the flow of all persons moving into the state minus all individuals moving out of the state; thus, a negative number represents a net outflow. Net domestic migration is derived from four data sources:

- Internal Revenue Service (IRS) income tax return data for filers below age 65
- Medicare enrollment data for those aged 65 and over
- The full federal database of all Social Security numbers, as updated annually with new entries and any changes to a person's record
- Change in the population of unrelated people living in group quarters including college residence halls, residential treatment centers, skilled nursing facilities, group homes, military barracks, prisons, and worker dormitories.

Net international immigration is the difference between migration to a state or locality from outside the U.S. (immigration) and migration from U.S. areas to other countries and

Puerto Rico (emigration) during the period. It includes legal immigration as reported by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, estimates of net undocumented immigration from abroad based on the Census Bureau's American Community Survey, and net movement between Puerto Rico and the states.

The decennial census count of population serves as the base count of population from which annual estimates are derived at the state, county and municipal level. Annual changes to estimates reflect the sum of the demographic components of change, plus a small statistical residual not accounted for in the components categories.

In all years except those coinciding with the decennial census, the annual population estimates cited in this study were issued by the Census Bureau at the end of the "vintage" year—e.g., estimates of populations as of July 1, 2019, and components of change for the previous 12 months were released in December 2019. Updated estimates for July 1 of decennial census years and for each of the preceding nine years were released early in the year following the decennial census, but several months in advance of the decennial data, which reflects populations as of April 1 in census year.

Census estimates differ from census apportionment and resident population counts in decennial years. Those differences can be significant; for example, the decennial census pegged Connecticut's resident population at 3,405,565 as of April 1, 2020, while the previously released census estimate put the number at 3,297,615 for July 1 of the same year. In this and other cases, the difference may have stemmed largely from an undercount of net international migration, including undocumented immigrants difficult to count accurately in the multi-year American Community Survey, which targets a relatively small statistical sample designed to be representative of all households. In all cases, the decennial census is considered the authoritative number—a re-set basis for

subsequent annual estimates and for apportionment of congressional seats through the following decade.

For further information on the decennial census, see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade.html>

For further information on annual census estimates, see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest.html>

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TAXPAYER MIGRATION DATA

Excerpt from “SOI Migration Data: A New Approach,” from the IRS Statistics of Income Bulletin, Summer 2015 (irs.gov/pub/irs-soi/soi-a-inmig-id1509.pdf):

The IRS Statistics of Income Division (SOI), in collaboration with the U.S. Census Bureau, has released migration data for the United States for several decades. These data are an important source of information detailing the movement of individuals from one location to another. SOI bases these data on the year-to-year address changes reported on individual income tax returns filed with the IRS during two consecutive calendar years.

From the migration data’s inception through Calendar Years 2009–2010, the Census Bureau produced the data for SOI. This process all changed beginning with data for 2011–2012 when SOI assumed the responsibility for the migration tabulations and introduced a number of enhancements intended to improve the data’s overall quality. Furthermore, the new approach provided an additional series of information...

To date, SOI has made the following three major improvements:

- Migration data are now based on a full year of data, as opposed to a partial year of data.
- Overall, the improved year-to-year return matching has increased the number of matched records by 5 percent and the number of high-income returns by approximately 25 percent.
- New tabulations show migration flows at the State level, by size of adjusted gross income (AGI) and age of primary taxpayer.

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Americans Reported Migrating To South and Out of Northeast

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 24—Americans have been moving into the South and out of the Northeast during the nineteen-seventies, altering the historic patterns of migration north and westward, new Census Bureau figures show.

"Many Southern states, which historically have had net out-migration, are attracting net-immigration, and most Northern industrial states are having moderately heavy out-migration," said a bureau summary of a report covering the period between April 1, 1970, and July 1, 1973.

Americans are still moving west, but both the rate and the total numbers are smaller than for the South, according to the Census Bureau figures.

During the three years, the bureau estimates, there was a net migration of 1,428,000 persons into the South and 751,000 into the West. The Northeast lost 150,000 to migration and the North-Central area had a net out-migration of 298,000.

Population Increases

All of the states, including those of the Northeast, have had net increases in population so far in the nineteen-seventies because of the excess of births over deaths. The per cent change from 1970 to 1973 was only 1.3 in the Northeast, with a national average of 3.3, an average of 5.1 for the South and 5.0 for the West.

Another major change noted in the report was a sharp decline in the number of births in the 1970-73 period, causing a marked decrease in the rate of population growth. This trend

was most noticeable in the two most populous states, California and New York.

The report shows that the population of Florida has grown faster than California's since 1970. On July 1 of last year, Florida's population was estimated at 7,678,000—a gain of 888,000, or 13 per cent, over the 1970 figure.

California added an estimated 648,000 persons to its population in the first three years of the nineteen seventies but this represented an increase of only 3.2 per cent over the 20 million population in the 1970 census. In contrast, California's population rose by 27 per cent from 1960 to 1970, twice the national average for that decade.

Texas was the only state, other than Florida and California, to add more than 300,000 persons to its population since 1970. The increase for Texas was 300,000, a change of 5.3 per cent.

The report said that many of the smaller rural states outside the South gained population more rapidly in the first three years of the 1970s than in the preceding decade, largely as a result of net in-migration. North and South Dakota and West Virginia, all of which lost population between 1960 and 1970, had gains from 1970 to 1973.

In Maine, the estimated gain from 1970 to 1973 was 3.5 per cent as against a total gain of 2.5 per cent for the 1960s. Nebraska's gain since 1970 has been 4.0 per cent. Its total growth in the previous decade was 5.1 per cent.

BRIDGEPORT GETS GROWTH PREVIEW

Youth Expected to Dominate Population in 40 Years

Special to The New York Times

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., July 22—Within the next 40 years the Greater Bridgeport area is expected to change from a region of predominantly middle-aged persons to one in which half of its residents are less than 25 years old, chiefly because of an increase in the birth rate.

A prediction to that effect was made today by the Greater Bridgeport Regional Planning Agency in a study that also suggested that the area's population would nearly double in the period.

The survey also covers the communities of Easton, Fairfield, Monroe, Stratford, Trumbull. The population for the area in the year 2000 was put at 545,000, compared with 273,000 listed in the 1960 census. How to increase industrial employment will become the area's biggest problem, the report said.

"A housing-related problem," it added, he kind of housing the population will require, heavy increase in the proportion of young people should in a similar increase in proportion of young people should in need of homes of their own, and most of these will have to be within means of the lower income.

The report estimated that half of the region's full-employment needs would be met by factoring jobs. The report listed three reasons—a lower mortality rate, infant and fertility—as essential in the population

CONNECTICUT WEEKLY

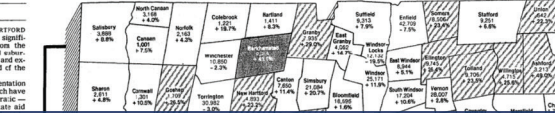
The New York Times

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1980

Population Shifts Toward More Rural

MICHAEL L. MADDEN

HARTFORD
RICTY's population shifted significantly last decade, away from the cities and toward the rural and suburban areas. The western end of the state has been a major source of population for the major cities, which have had to be heavily dependent on amounts of Federal and state aid



Population Changes by County of Origin, 1960-1970



YANKEE INSTITUTE

Surpass New York by 1995.

A densely packed region

The Northeastern states, relatively smaller in area than other parts of the country, remain the most densely packed, however, New Jersey leads the nation with more than 1,500 people per square mile.

Last year the population of the West increased 0.7 million from 55.1 million, the report said, while the population of the northeast increased to 50.3 million from 50.1 million, slipping into last place among the nation's major regions.

The report estimated the population of the South at 83.1 million and the Middle West at 59.6 million.

State projections showed California remaining unchanged as the most populous state, growing from 28 million people today to 29.1 million by 1990 and 31.5 million by the year 2000.

New York is the second most populous state, leading Texas by about 300,000 people, 17.2 million to 17.2 million, but by 1990 Texas is expected to have about 19 million people, while New York will have 17.8 million.

Florida is expected to remain the fourth-largest state, although by the year 2010 it may be closing in on New York for third place, the Census Bureau projections of the United States

pected to grow to 207.7 million by the year 2000. In that period, California is expected to add 6 million residents, Florida 3.5 million and Texas 3 million. That means those states would have growth of 12.5 million people, 52 percent of the national increase of 24.4 million.

Pennsylvania, Ohio, Iowa, West Virginia and the District of Columbia were projected to lose population by the end of this decade.

Population losses in the 1960's were predicted for nine other states: Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Nebraska, Kentucky, Montana and Wyoming. But growth is expected to resume in the District of Columbia.

9-Year-Old Pilot Sets Cross-Country Mark

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., April 15 (AP)—A 9-year-old kid set a new record today in a cross-country plane as he flew from Bridgeport, Conn., to Los Angeles, Calif., in 19 hours, 43 minutes and 30 seconds.

The flight was a record for a 9-year-old pilot, setting a new mark for the cross-country flight. The pilot, who is a member of the National Airfield Census Association, flew from Bridgeport, Conn., to Los Angeles, Calif., in 19 hours, 43 minutes and 30 seconds.

AIRFIELD CENSUS SHOWS 27.9% GAIN

Support is Only Town to Lose Population, but its Drop is Slight

COUNTY LISTS 645,177

increase Places Norwich at 65,765—Greenwich Grows to 53,189

Bridgeport, the second largest city in the state, was the only one of the county's twenty-three communities to show a drop. The 1980 figure for Bridgeport is 156,162, compared with 158,709 in 1970.

City	1970	1980
Bridgeport	158,709	156,162
Meriden	141,831	141,831
Hamden	101,248	101,248
Stamford	85,335	85,335
Hartford	74,293	74,293
Greenwich	53,189	53,189
Norwich	65,765	65,765
Waterbury	64,577	64,577

CONNECTICUT GAIN SEEN

Population Rise of 900,000 by 1975 Is Predicted

Special to The New York Times
HARTFORD, Feb. 18—The Connecticut Development Commission estimated this week that the population of the state would increase by 900,000 in the next eighteen years.

In a booklet carrying market data it put the population in 1975 at about 3,200,000, compared with about 2,313,000 now.

The booklet said that the state had an average of 472.1 persons to the square mile, making it fourth in the nation in population density.

Connecticut Population Rising
HARTFORD, Conn., Feb. 28 (AP)—The State Department of Health's bureau of vital statistics yesterday estimated Connecticut's population at 1,916,000. This represents a gain of 26,000 over 1947 estimates. Its method of estimating, the bureau reports, uses two sources of information, the school census enumerations by towns to reflect the migration of population, and births and deaths allocated to the place of residence.

BRIDGEPORT INCREASES TO 147,000 POPULATION

Connecticut City Shows a 2 1/2 Per Cent Gain—Dayton Near 200,000 Mark.

Among the census figures given out by The Associated Press yesterday were:

- BRIDGEPORT, Conn.—147,206; Increase 2,601 or 2.54 per cent.
- WARWICK, R. I.—23,011; Increase 8,530 or 70.6 per cent.
- CUMBERLAND, Md.—37,713; Increase 3,778 or 26.3 per cent.
- HANNIBAL, Mo.—23,111; Increase 3,805 or 19.5 per cent.
- EAST CLEVELAND, Ohio—40,279; Increase 12,081 or 41 per cent.
- SHAKER HEIGHTS, Ohio—17,892; Gain 13,670 or 705 per cent.
- DAYTON, Ohio—199,683; gain 47,682 or 25 per cent.
- MANSFIELD, Ohio—33,434; Increase 8,810 or 29 per cent.
- ROYAL OAK, Mich.—22,122; Increase 18,113 or 268 per cent.
- MUNCIE Ind.—46,817; Increase 9,950 or 21.3 per cent.
- BLOOMINGTON, Ill.—30,183; Increase 2,758 or 7.51 per cent.
- SHEBOYGAN, Wis.—39,236; Increase 2,281 or 26 per cent.
- OSKALOOSA, Iowa—10,120; Increase 863 or 7 per cent.
- NEWTON, Mass.—65,295; Increase 2,241 or 46.1 per cent.
- SANTA ANA, Cal.—30,332; Increase 18,887 or 62 per cent.
- FULLERTON, Cal.—10,880; Increase 4,455 or 146.53 per cent.
- ASHEVILLE, Cal.—10,907; Increase 9,770 or 99 per cent.
- PARSONS, Kan. (revised)—14,905; decrease 1,122, or 7 per cent.

State Still Lagging In Population Race

By EDWARD C. BURKS

WASHINGTON

51,000 to 11.750 million; Illinois, with a 1.2 percent growth, or 132,000, to 11.243 million, and Ohio, with a growth of less than 1 percent (91,000) to 10 750 million.

see, 431,000 to 4.357 million, and Washington, 360,000 to 3.774 million. The Census Bureau also has new projections on county populations within Connecticut, but because of the complexities of estimates below the state population, the country figures run a year behind. The latest, just released, are for mid-1977, and they show Fairfield County closing rapidly on Hartford, which had been No. 1 since the 1950 census. Although counties are no longer political units in Connecticut, they are still

State Still Lagging In Population Race

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Both are in Business Today

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, APRIL 29, 1979

the Census Bureau estimated, from 745,000 to 758,900. The bureau's estimates are based on such figures as birth and death statistics, migration estimates and school enrollment. The next actual head count will take place next April 1. In the 1920 census, Fairfield County, with a count of 321,000, trailed Hartford County by 15,000. Over the intervening decades, and until the last few years, Hartford widened its lead over Fairfield, being ahead by as much as 35,000

increase Places Norwich at 65,765—Greenwich Grows to 53,189