

# MOVING OUT:

New Jersey's Population Growth and Migration Patterns



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Recent Census figures confirm that New Jersey's population growth, until recently a standout in the largely stagnant Northeast, has begun to slow. In fact, without the influx of international immigrants, New Jersey's population growth rate between 2000 and 2005 would have been an anemic 0.3 percent, as opposed to the actual rate of 3.6 percent. The reason is that net domestic out-migration from New Jersey to other states nearly cancels out the natural rate of population increase (births minus deaths).

The absence of population growth by no means implies that a state's land development will come to a halt, however. Plenty of slow-growth states continue to convert new land to urban uses at a brisk pace: consider the 46 percent increase in developed land in metropolitan Chicago, when the population grew only four percent in the decades 1970 – 1990. Or the 33 percent swell in developed land in metropolitan Cleveland where the population fell by 8 percent in the same time.

In New Jersey, you'd never guess from the proliferation of new construction, especially in the central counties, that our population has grown by only about twelve percent in the 15 years since 1990. Here as in other states, land development and the expansion of the urban frontier are primarily due not to the absorption of new residents, but to the spreading out of existing ones.

County-to-county migration patterns from the 2000 Census confirm this phenomenon, revealing a broad pattern of outward migration from more-urbanized areas to less-urbanized areas, starting in the cities and proceeding out through successive rings of suburbs. The dominant move is always away from New York and Philadelphia, with some out-migrants bypassing one or more of the intermediate steps. Each ring of suburbs welcomes new migrants from closer-in places, while losing migrants to less-developed areas.

The ultimate result is large influxes of people into New Jersey's exurban counties, and especially into counties in eastern Pennsylvania (the new suburban frontier) – while the urban-core counties lose people to the suburbs. The overflow of north Jersey suburban migration into the counties of eastern Pennsylvania is so pronounced, in fact, that the Pocono counties of Pike and Monroe were the first- and third-fastest growing counties in the entire northeastern United States in the 1990s, and rank first and second so far in the 2000s. In many exurban New Jersey counties, in-migrants from elsewhere in New Jersey account for a substantial share of overall population growth. Out-migration from the urban-core counties is clearly the source of much of the population growth in counties elsewhere in New Jersey.

Outward urban expansion is not necessarily a problem in and of itself. But new development in recent decades has taken a decidedly less-dense, more land-hungry form, with the result that new growth between 1986 and 1995 consumed land at more than double the per-capita acreage of development already on the ground in 1986. And lower densities produce longer distances between destinations, often forcing out-migrants to commute great distances back into the older urban counties for their jobs, adding to traffic woes. New Jersey may be exporting its housing problem to Pennsylvania, with high home values and property taxes chasing home-buyers across the Delaware, but it is importing a traffic problem in exchange. Those commuters are all using New Jersey's roads to get to work.

Many factors influence the decision to change residences, but usually the primary reason is related to housing – a desire for newer or more affordable housing or for a different type or size of housing unit. The

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**Land development and the expansion of the urban frontier are primarily due not to the absorption of new residents, but to the spreading out of existing ones.**



built-out nature of the older, urban counties means that the supply of housing units of all types is constrained, which pushes up prices and forces many buyers to look farther out into the suburban fringe. This is especially true for buyers or renters seeking new construction. Rising property tax rates in older communities also help chase people to outlying suburbs. The lack of housing variety in much of exurban northern New Jersey pushes many homebuyers on into eastern Pennsylvania.

The location of jobs is also a major factor enabling outward migration. As jobs

decentralize into the suburbs, many workers take this as a cue to move their residence even farther out into the exurbs, especially if they are having a hard time finding or keeping affordable housing near where their job is now located.

In short, it is not just demographics that determine our landscape or the prosperity of our communities, but also our land use policies. Policies that favor re-investment in and strengthening of today's communities over sprawling development can help New Jersey ride population growth – or slowdown – into an era of unprecedented prosperity.

## Recommendations

- Reform the property tax system, to reduce NJ's reliance on property taxes and so reduce the incentive for fiscal zoning that restricts housing choice.
- Reform zoning, to create a wider variety of housing opportunities in suburban and especially exurban counties, so that fewer people are priced out of western NJ entirely.
- Reinvest in infrastructure and service quality in already-developed areas, to reduce the incentive for people to leave.
- Create new housing opportunities in already-built places, by reusing former commercial and industrial properties.
- Encourage higher densities in newly developing areas, to minimize the consumption of open space.
- Encourage infill and a greater variety of housing types in the counties currently being leapfrogged – Hunterdon, Sussex, Warren. This is why it is critical that the regional master plan for the Highlands should designate areas where growth will be encouraged, not just identify areas where growth is disallowed.
- Encourage job recentralization, with the creation of new sub-centers that are transit accessible, to reduce traffic and commuting headaches.

## Growth Without Growth?

The boom of development evident across New Jersey suggests that the population is growing apace with the loss of farmlands and other open lands. The presumption is that this growth is coming one way or another, and it is up to state policy leaders to determine where and how that growth will physically materialize.

But what is not widely recognized is that, in recent years, New Jersey's net population growth is due almost entirely to immigration from other countries. Between 1990 and 1999, New Jersey's natural rate of population increase (i.e., births minus deaths) was almost completely cancelled out by net domestic out-migration. The natural increase was 411,655, while our net domestic migration figure was a loss of 378,495 -- that is, 378,495 more people moved out of New Jersey to other places within the U.S. than moved into New Jersey from other states. Looked at this way, New Jersey would have experienced virtually no population growth between 1990 and 1999 if it weren't for immigration (0.43 percent growth without immigration as compared to 5.1 percent with immigrants included). Hudson and Passaic counties -- both of which are major immigrant magnets -- in particular would have sustained large population losses in the absence of incoming streams of immigrants.

This pattern has persisted into the first half of the 2000s. Between 2000 and 2005, the Census Bureau estimates that New Jersey's population grew by 3.6 percent, an increase of about 300,000 people, but this summary statistic masks a natural increase of 220,000 that was nearly negated by a net domestic out-migration of 195,000 people. Without immigrants, New Jersey's population growth rate from 2000 to 2005 would have been an anemic 0.3 percent, the 5th lowest such growth rate in the country, after New York, North Dakota, Massachusetts, and Illinois. (New York and Massachusetts would actually have lost population if not for immigration; North Dakota did lose population from 2000 to 2005 but would have experienced an even bigger loss without immigrants.)

New Jersey ranks 4th in the US, behind New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois, in terms of the percent of its total 2000-05 population increase accounted for by international immigration (92 percent). Remove immigration from the equation and New Jersey no longer looks like a rare Northeastern success story but rather a partner in stagnation with its slow-growth neighbors New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont [See Table 1]. In New Jersey, there is thus a twist in the "growth is coming" argument -- population growth is not a foregone conclusion, since the Federal government theoretically has the power to turn off the immigration spigot at any time, in which case New Jersey's population would suddenly flatline.

This should not, however, be construed as evidence that New Jersey's growth-related problems (loss of open space, worsening traffic, etc.) are due to immigration. One need only look at other slow-growth states -- e.g., Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, Mississippi, New York, and most of New England -- to see that the absence of population growth by no means implies that a state's land development will come to a halt. On the contrary, data from the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture's National Resources Inventory<sup>1</sup> indicate that these states have continued to convert new land to urban uses at a brisk pace even with population growth rates languishing in the single digits for the entire period 1982 -- 1997. In these slow-growing states, land development and the expansion of the urban frontier are due not to the absorption of new residents but to the spreading out of existing ones.

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When it comes to sprawl in New Jersey (and in most other slow-growth states), we have met the enemy, and it is us. Most of what looks like “new” growth is actually just existing residents rearranging themselves and spreading out. This becomes evident when examining state-to-state and county-to-county migration patterns as documented by the 2000 Census.<sup>2</sup> Broadly, the pattern is one in which New Jersey’s two neighboring major cities – New York and Philadelphia – are losing domestic migrants to the urban-core counties of New Jersey, which in turn are losing migrants to inner-suburban counties, which in turn are losing migrants to second-ring suburban counties. And in northern New Jersey, even the second-ring counties are losing people to counties in eastern Pennsylvania, the new frontier of suburbanization.

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## Suburbanization Across State Lines

At the state level, New Jersey lost a net 183,000 people due to domestic migration (people moving from one state to another within the U.S.) between 1995 and 2000, and has lost almost another 200,000 from 2000 to 2005. Some of this is certainly part of the larger national phenomenon of migration to the Sunbelt, and in fact New Jersey's largest net outflow to any single state between 1995 and 2000 was to Florida, a state to which New Jersey lost a net of 84,000 people (119,000 moving from NJ to Florida and 35,000 moving from Florida to NJ). In particular, the three retirement-destination counties of Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach in southern Florida received combined net inflows of more than 4,000 people each from Bergen and Hudson counties and net inflows of more than 2,000 each from Essex, Middlesex, Union, and Passaic counties.

But much of the state-to-state migration involving New Jersey is more akin to its internal migration patterns, an artifact of the outward spread of the urban frontier, where the growth ring in question happens to cross either the Hudson or the Delaware. Northern New Jersey's urban core counties are experiencing substantial in-migration from New York City, to the point that the flow from New York to New Jersey is the second-largest gross flow for any pair of states in the country, second only to the flow from New York to Florida. [See Table 2] And the NY-to-NJ flow is much larger than the reverse flow, such that the net flow from New York to New Jersey is the 3rd-largest state-to-state net flow between 1995 and 2000 (after NY-to-Florida and California-to-Nevada), totaling 109,395 people. An impressive 94 percent of this net flow is accounted for by people migrating to New Jersey from the five boroughs of New York City, moves that are more accurately characterized as suburbanization rather than regional relocation. (New York is, incidentally, one of only three states from which New Jersey experienced a net inflow of domestic migrants, the others being Alaska and Nebraska. New Jersey lost domestic migrants on a net basis to all 46 other states between 1995 and 2000.)

On the outflow side, the two states to which New Jersey had the largest net outflows of domestic migrants were Florida (net outflow of 84,000) and North Carolina (net outflow of 27,000), reflecting regional relocations. But the third greatest net outflow was to Pennsylvania, a net flow of 22,000 people (and Pennsylvania's second largest net inflow, after the 45,000 net new residents it gained from New York). [See Table 2] New Jersey's exchange of residents with Pennsylvania requires a closer examination than is the case with New York, however, because the direction of flow depends on which part of New Jersey and which part of Pennsylvania are being examined.

In the south, the story is of a flow out of Pennsylvania into New Jersey. After New York, Pennsylvania actually accounts for the second largest state-to-state inflow into New Jersey on a gross (rather than net) basis. The gross flow from Pennsylvania to New Jersey was 88,000 people between 1995 and 2000. Of this total, 34,000 were accounted for by the city of Philadelphia alone. In fact, Philadelphia had a net outflow of 15,000 people to New Jersey, including net flows of 7,100 to Camden County, 4,500 to Burlington County, and 4,200 to Gloucester County. (Interestingly, Philadelphia actually had small net inflows from most of the counties in northern and central New Jersey.)

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In the northern and central parts of New Jersey, the flow is in the opposite direction. The gross flow from New Jersey to Pennsylvania was 110,000 people, the second largest gross outflow destination from New Jersey besides Florida. Some 40 percent of the gross outflow – 44,000 people – was to the four Pennsylvania counties (Bucks, Northampton, Monroe, and Pike) that border the northern half of New Jersey. Each of these four counties was a net receiver of migrants from New Jersey; in fact, together they accounted for a net outflow from New Jersey of 18,500 people, or 83 percent of New Jersey’s total net outflow of 22,000 to Pennsylvania. Bucks County gained a net 2,260 migrants from New Jersey, and Pike County gained 2,864. But the big winners were Monroe County, along I-80 beyond the Delaware Water Gap, which experienced a net inflow of 6,596 New Jersey migrants; and Northampton County, across the Delaware on I-78, which gained a net 6,758. These two Interstate-accessible counties alone accounted for more than half the net outflow from New Jersey to Pennsylvania.

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## County Flows: Interstate and Intrastate Migrants

Much of New Jersey's interstate migration can thus be seen as simply an extension of outward migration patterns away from New York and Philadelphia, patterns that are also clearly visible when looking at county-to-county migration within New Jersey. Migration data from the 2000 Census reveal that, of all people age 5 and over living in New Jersey in 2000, 37.7 percent had moved in the previous 5 years. This is actually the 4th-lowest mobility rate in the country, after Pennsylvania, New York, and West Virginia (the U.S. rate was 44.3 percent), so New Jersey's residents are more rooted than in most other parts of the country. But it still amounts to nearly 3 million people moving between 1995 and 2000.

Not all moves contribute to a net rearranging of New Jersey's population, from the county perspective. Of the 2.8 million New Jersey residents who moved between 1995 and 2000, 57 percent were within-county moves, resulting in no net change in the county's population. Even among out-of-county moves, many do not affect the overall distribution of New Jersey's population because some county pairs have roughly equal flows in both directions. For example, there was substantial movement between Bergen and Passaic counties – 15,372 people moved from Bergen to Passaic, and 14,117 moved from Passaic to Bergen – but because the two streams are roughly equal, the net flow of 1,255 residents from Bergen to Passaic is relatively small, compared to the total number of movers. Similarly, flows between Camden and Atlantic counties nearly canceled each other out: 2,427 people moved from Camden County to Atlantic County, but 2,423 moved from Atlantic to Camden, for a tiny net flow of only 4 from Camden to Atlantic.

To gauge the extent to which New Jersey's population is redistributing itself, we must look at net county-to-county flows of migrants, that is, the difference between the flow in one direction and the flow in the reverse direction. A large net flow for a pair of counties indicates a lopsided exchange of migrants between the counties, resulting in a discernible change in the distribution of residents between the two. Further, we can look at the size of the net flow relative to the size of the smaller county, in order to spot migration trends among pairs of counties that may not be large in absolute terms but that nonetheless are fundamentally altering the character of the donor or the receiver county.

We can first identify which counties are growing with respect to domestic migration by looking at total net flows by county. Amazingly, every one of New Jersey's 21 counties experienced a net outflow of domestic migrants to other states in the U.S. That is, for every New Jersey county, more people left that county to move to another state than moved into that county from elsewhere in the U.S. outside New Jersey. The largest net losses to the rest of the U.S. happened in Essex (more than 22,000 net loss), Morris (20,000), Passaic (19,000), and Bergen and Union (16,000 each) counties.

On the other hand, more than half of New Jersey's counties (13 out of 21) actually experienced net intrastate in-migration. That is, for 13 counties it was true that more people moved into the county from elsewhere in New Jersey than moved from the county to another New Jersey county. The largest intrastate net inflow by far was to Ocean County (more than 35,000), but Somerset, Morris, and Burlington also received more than 10,000 net migrants from the rest of New Jersey. The largest intrastate net outflows were from Hudson (33,000) and Essex (28,000) counties, and Bergen, Passaic, Union, and Camden counties each also lost at least 10,000 net migrants to the rest of the state.

**In many fast-growing counties, net in-migration from elsewhere in New Jersey accounted for 90 percent or more of the county's total population increase between 1995 and 2000.**

Salem County is an interesting case, in that it was one of only two counties in the state (along with Camden County) to lose population between 1995 and 2000, yet it experienced a net gain of migrants from the rest of New Jersey. Out-migration from Salem County to other states was thus significant enough to negate not only Salem's natural population increase but also in-migration of about 1,200 from other New Jersey counties. Sussex and Warren counties are also interesting in that their net inflows from elsewhere in New Jersey between 1995 and 2000 actually represented more than 100 percent of their total population growth over the same time period. This means that these counties would have actually lost population if not for people moving in from other New Jersey counties, on account of their out-migration flows to other states being larger than the combination of natural increase and international immigration. [See Table 3] In fact, in many fast-growing counties, net in-migration from elsewhere in New Jersey accounted for 90 percent or more of the county's total population increase between 1995 and 2000; this was true not only in Sussex and Warren counties but also in Burlington, Hunterdon, and Ocean.



When interstate and intrastate net flows of domestic migrants are combined, only seven of New Jersey's 21 counties experienced positive net flows of domestic migrants between 1995 and 2000; that is, in only seven counties was it true that more people moved into the county from other counties than moved out to other counties. (In all seven of these, the net inflow was due entirely to people moving into the county from elsewhere in New Jersey, since all 21 counties experienced net losses from interstate flows.) In descending order of net inflow, those seven are Ocean (+28,608), Somerset (+7,371), Burlington (+6,019), Gloucester (+3,366), Hunterdon (+1,688), Warren (+1,333), and Monmouth (+463). (The list of counties gaining net domestic migrants shifted somewhat for the 2000-05 time period, though the pattern of outward migration remains the same – see sidebar on page 9.) Burlington and Gloucester counties are where the leading edge of Philadelphia suburbanization is currently located, and the others are on the outer edge of the development wave emanating from New York City and the adjacent urban core of northeastern New Jersey. (Note that Monmouth's slim net gain reflects its status as a maturing suburban county, while Ocean is now the primary destination of domestic migrants heading south.) Net gains in Somerset, Hunterdon, and Warren counties are consistent with growth figures discussed earlier for the counties in eastern Pennsylvania, indicative of the westward flow of domestic migration along I-78 and I-80 into western New Jersey and on across the Delaware River.

## County Migration Patterns Since the 2000 Census

As this report was being prepared, the Census Bureau released estimates of the components of population change – including domestic and international migration – between 2000 and 2005 at the county level. This data is produced from administrative records and is not as detailed as the migration data from the 2000 Census, which was compiled from information actually collected on the Census questionnaire. It does not indicate migration flows between individual pairs of counties, so while it is possible to identify whether a county gained or lost domestic migrants in the 2000-05 time period, it is not possible to determine where the in-migrants came from or where the out-migrants went.

Nonetheless, the 2005 data offer confirmation that the patterns identified in this report have continued into the first half of the new decade. From 2000 to 2005, a total of nine New Jersey counties gained domestic migrants on a net basis, largely in exurban areas. Five of them were among the seven counties that gained net migrants in the second half of the 1990s – Ocean (with a net domestic inflow of 43,472, up substantially from its inflow for the 1995-2000 period), Gloucester (+16,586, five times its 1995-2000 inflow), Burlington, Warren, and Hunterdon. In all five, net inflows were substantially larger than in the 1995-2000 period [see table]. The other four were counties that lost net migrants in the preceding five years but reversed direction in the first half of the 2000s – Sussex County (another northwestern exurban county), and Atlantic, Salem, and Cumberland in the rural south. The reversal of flow direction in the three southern counties may be a sign that the Philadelphia-centered growth wave is beginning to creep beyond the edges of Gloucester and Camden counties, but without the specific county-to-county flows it is impossible to say with confidence.

On the other hand, all of the urban-core and mature suburban counties that lost domestic migrants from 1995 to 2000 continued to lose migrants from 2000 to 2005, as did Cape May and Mercer counties. And they were joined in the last five years by Monmouth and Somerset counties, which had gained net domestic migrants in the preceding five years. This switch perhaps marks the unofficial transition of Monmouth and Somerset into “mature suburban” status, with more people moving out than moving in, a transition prefigured by Monmouth’s very small net gain in 1995-2000 and Somerset’s already large outflows to Hunterdon and Warren counties.

Net domestic in-migration also ramped up in the counties of eastern Pennsylvania compared to the previous five-year period, further evidence that the exodus of New Jersey residents across the Delaware River continues apace.



### Net Domestic Migration for New Jersey Counties, 2000-2005 vs. 1995-2000

	net domestic migration	
	1995-2000	2000-2005
Atlantic County	(1,293)	7,745
Bergen County	(30,009)	(34,423)
Burlington County	6,019	15,947
Camden County	(19,035)	(7,681)
Cape May County	(2,069)	(1,595)
Cumberland County	(1,606)	1,273
Essex County	(50,639)	(61,223)
Gloucester County	3,366	16,586
Hudson County	(37,850)	(76,172)
Hunterdon County	1,688	4,258
Mercer County	(7,872)	(5,065)
Middlesex County	(11,663)	(29,817)
Monmouth County	463	(2,665)
Morris County	(6,226)	(8,825)
Ocean County	28,608	43,472
Passaic County	(30,365)	(35,795)
Salem County	(2,166)	1,347
Somerset County	7,371	(918)
Sussex County	(3,614)	4,664
Union County	(27,270)	(30,692)
Warren County	1,333	4,678
<b>eastern Pennsylvania:</b>		
Bucks County	6,530	8,542
Monroe County	12,107	21,901
Northampton County	6,631	15,322
Philadelphia County	(94,158)	(113,844)
Pike County	6,826	9,735

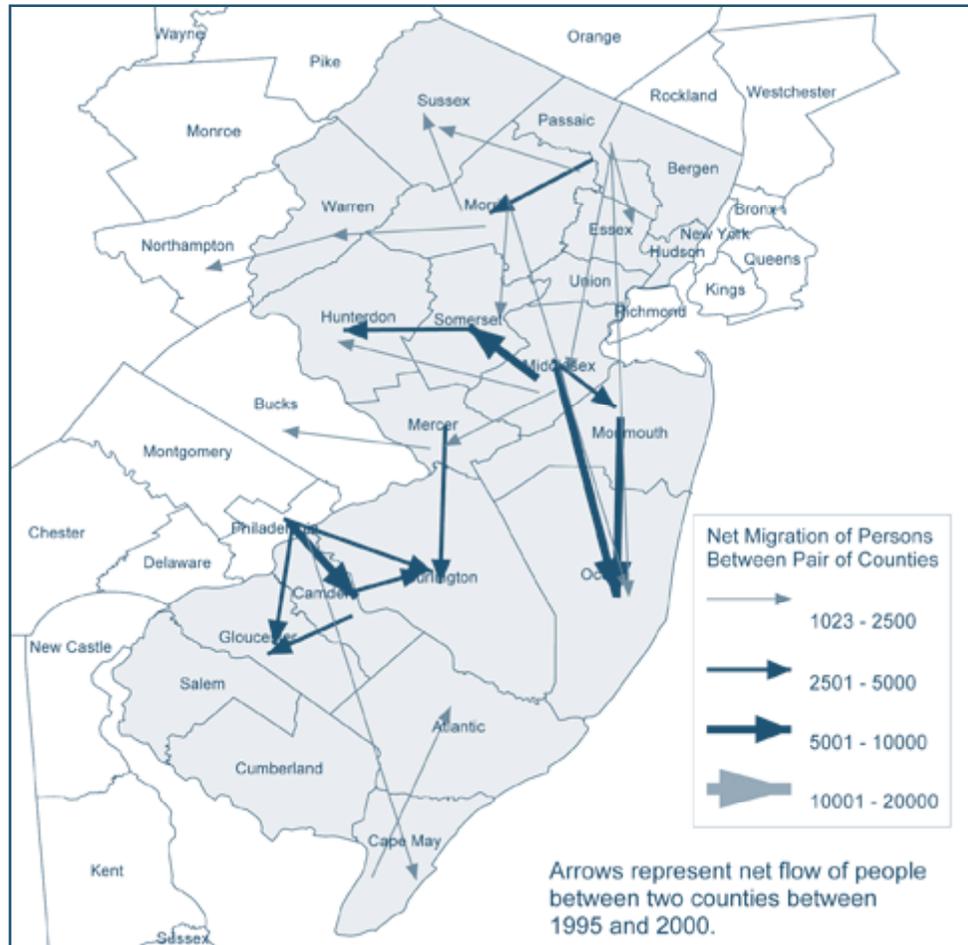
## Regions in Closeup

### Philadelphia Suburbs in southern New Jersey

The outward migration to suburbia becomes even more visible – and is very nearly omnipresent – when looking at migration flows for specific origin and destination counties. [See Table 4] In southern New Jersey, the chain begins with Philadelphia, from which the primary net flow is to Camden County, with other significant flows to Burlington and Gloucester counties and somewhat smaller flows to Atlantic and Cape May counties. [See Figure 1] In total, Philadelphia lost a net of 18,000 domestic migrants to these five southern New Jersey counties between 1995 and 2000. In turn, Camden County (which can be thought of as a smaller south Jersey counterpart to the urban-core counties of north Jersey) experienced net outflows of almost 4,000 people each to Burlington and Gloucester counties, with smaller (fewer than 1,000) but still appreciable outflows to Cape May, Cumberland, and Salem counties. And Gloucester County's only net outflow of any significance was to Salem County, perhaps hinting that the wave that brought double- and sometimes triple-digit growth rates to the townships of southern Gloucester in the 1990s is now poised to advance into northern Salem.

Figure 1  
**Net County to County Migration (1995-2000)**

Excluding Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Union Counties



Burlington County, geographically much larger than Gloucester and hence with more room to absorb further outward waves without approaching its outer county lines, did not evidence any significant net outflows to any other counties other than Cape May, which is likely retirement moves rather than suburbanization. Burlington was, however, a net receiver of significant migrant flows not only from Philadelphia and Camden County but also from Mercer County (more than 3,000) to the north, and smaller flows from Middlesex, Essex, and New York City. Northern Burlington County is more suburban Trenton than suburban Philadelphia and is easily accessible to employment along the Route 1 corridor in Mercer and Middlesex counties. (Burlington County sends more commuters to Mercer County than any other county except Bucks.) It will be interesting to see if the next round of migration statistics shows an increasing role for northern Burlington as a migrant destination from central New Jersey, thanks to the opening of NJ Transit's River Line, which runs along the Delaware River from Camden to Trenton, where it connects with the Northeast Corridor for points north.

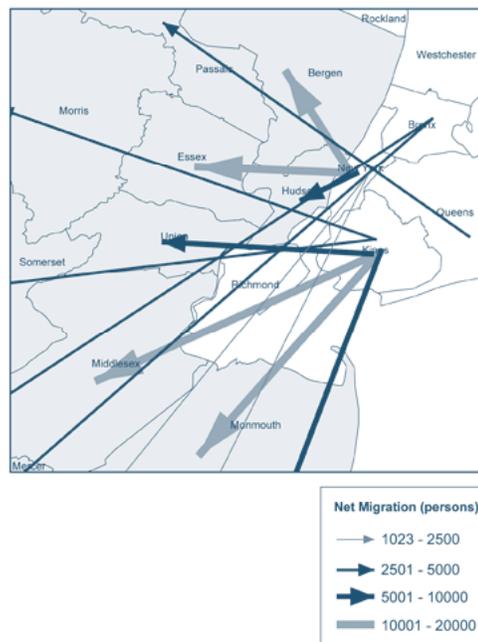
Philadelphia and its suburban counties in southern New Jersey actually demonstrate in microcosm a pattern that can be seen in greater detail in the northern half of New Jersey – migration out of a large city into the adjacent urban core in New Jersey, and from there to progressively more suburban and exurban areas, with some out-migrants bypassing one or more of the intermediate steps.

## New York City and the North Jersey Urban Core

Outward migration follows a similarly logical progression in the northern half of the state, beginning with the five boroughs of New York City. Bergen, Essex, Middlesex, and Monmouth counties all experienced net inflows of 10,000 people or more from New York City between 1995 and 2000, with other large flows going to Hudson (8,800), Ocean (7,200), and Union (6,800) counties. [See Figure 2] (Some of the Ocean County flow is likely retirement moves, since Ocean County is a popular retirement destination.) New York City also lost at least 2,000 net migrants each to the farther-out counties of Somerset, Mercer, Morris, and Passaic. These smaller streams of migrants are bypassing the urban core of New Jersey altogether and heading straight for the suburbs.

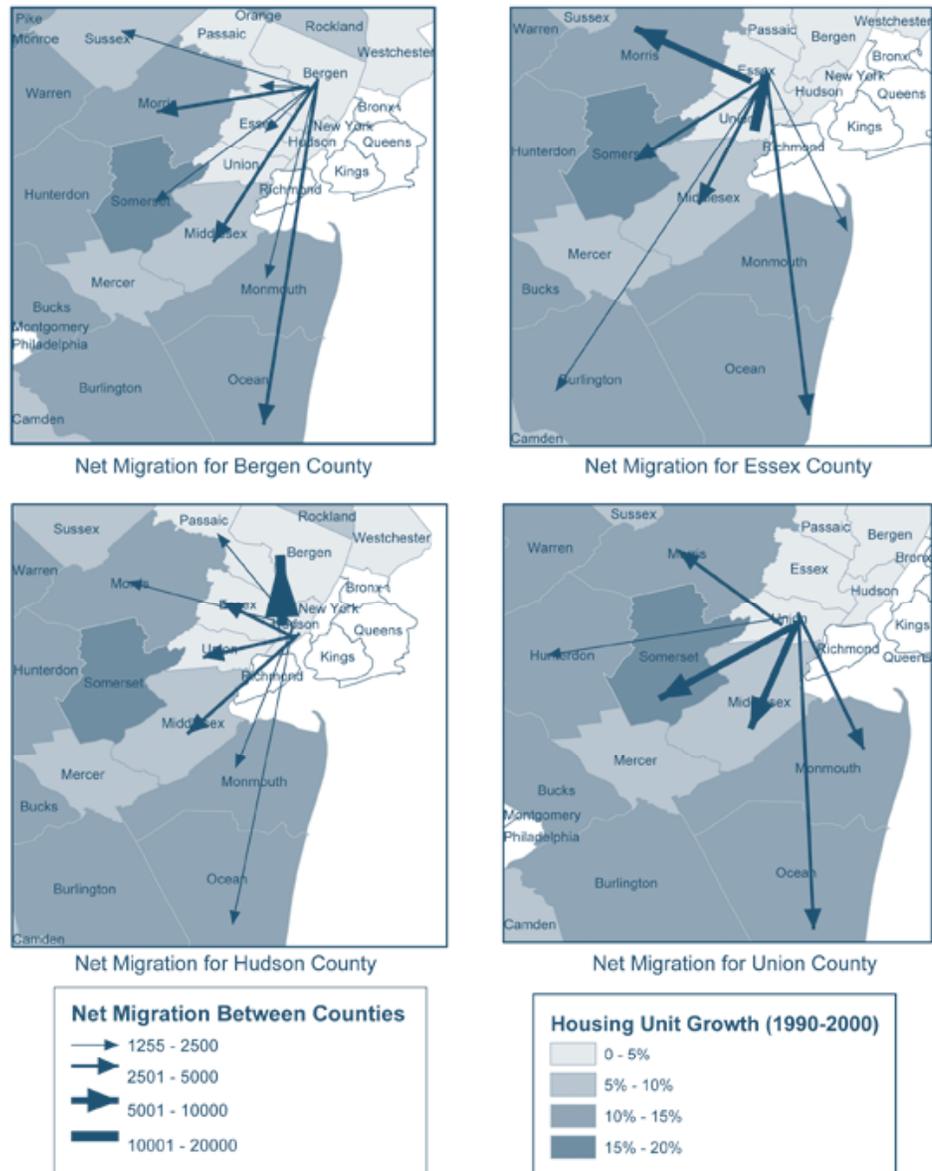
The older, urban New Jersey counties with the biggest net inflows from New York City are in turn losing migrants to suburban counties, and generally the dominant moves are to the next ring out. [See Figure 3] Hudson County, the most urbanized of New Jersey's counties,

Figure 2  
**Net County to County Migration NY-NJ Area**  
 NY Counties Aggregate



experienced net losses of migrants to every other New Jersey county with which it had a sizable exchange of migrants. Its largest net outflow was to Bergen County (more than 10,000), with other significant flows to Essex and Middlesex (more than 4,000 each) and smaller but important flows to Monmouth, Morris, Ocean, Passaic, Somerset, and Union counties (all more than 1,000). Essex County's largest net losses were to neighboring Union (11,200) and Morris (7,900) counties, with other large (3,000 or more) flows going to Middlesex, Ocean, and Somerset. Interestingly, Essex County gained net flows of 1,000 or more from not only Hudson County but also Bergen and Passaic.

Figure 3  
**Net County to County Migration (1995-2000)**  
 for Berger, Essex, Hudson, Union Counties



Bergen County's largest net outflows were to Ocean (4,800), Morris (4,300), and Middlesex (3,600) counties (again, the flow to Ocean probably contains a contingent of retirees), with other significant flows going to Monmouth, Sussex, Somerset, and Orange County NY, as well as net flows of 1,000 or more to its urban-core neighbors Essex and Passaic, both of which can constitute an outward move from some parts of Bergen. Union County, while gaining people from Essex and Hudson and from New York City, experienced significant net outflows to Middlesex (6,000), Somerset (5,600), Ocean (4,400), Monmouth (3,200), Morris (2,600), and Hunterdon (1,500) counties. Passaic County, which straddles the line between urban core (the southeastern neck, east of I-287) and exurbia (the northwestern block), exhibited some characteristics of each: its exchanges with urban neighbors were a mixed bag, gaining about 1,300 people each from Bergen and Hudson while losing about 1,500 to Essex, but outward migration was clearly happening as well, with net outflows of 1,000 or more going to Morris (4,700), Ocean, Sussex, and Middlesex.

Overall, the migration picture in the north Jersey "urban core" (consisting of Hudson, Essex, Union, Bergen, and Passaic counties) consists of 1) in-migration from New York City; 2) outflow from Hudson to the rest of the urban counties; 3) a large flow from Essex to slightly less urban Union County; 4) roughly even exchanges among the rest of the core counties; and 5) significant outflows from all five core counties to the surrounding ring of "maturing suburban" counties, particularly Middlesex and Morris. Another important piece of the picture in the urban core is the influx of international immigrants – see sidebar on page 21.

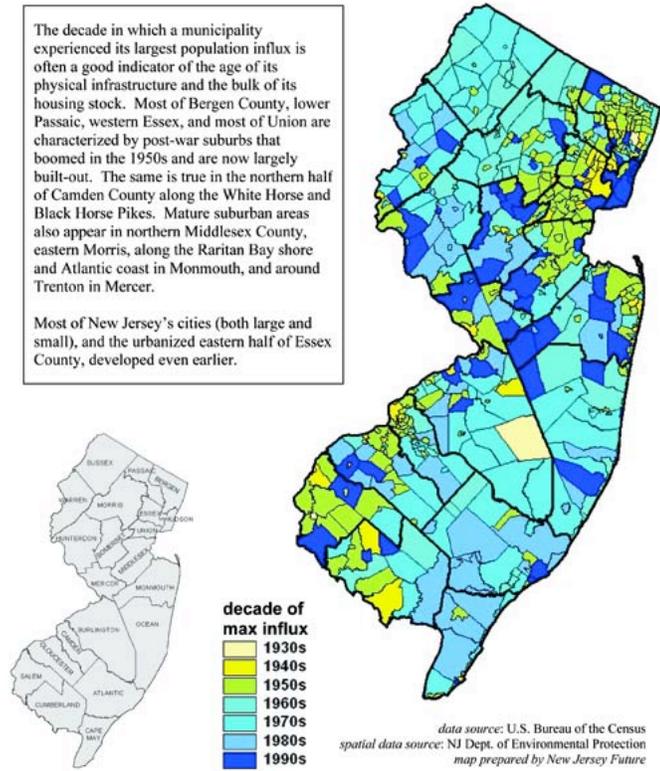
Each of the five urban-core counties experienced a net loss of more than 10,000 domestic migrants to the rest of New Jersey, as did Camden County, the southern counterpart to the north Jersey urban core. [See Table 3] The only other county to sustain a large net loss of intrastate migrants was Middlesex, whose net outflow to the rest of the state was a much-smaller 1,500. Clearly, the urban core counties are the source of much of the population growth in counties elsewhere in New Jersey.

### **North Jersey's Mature Suburbs (Middlesex, Monmouth and Morris Counties)**

What is happening in the maturing suburban counties? This next ring includes Morris, Middlesex, and Monmouth counties, each of which contains some sizable built-out areas that experienced their growth spurts in the 1950s and other areas that are still undeveloped or are currently developing. [See Figure 4] In Morris County, mature suburbs characterize the eastern section along the borders with Passaic, Essex, and Union counties, and also along the I-80 corridor through Denville and Dover, while the rest of the county remains sparsely developed. In Middlesex, the section north of the Raritan River strongly resembles neighboring Union County, while the southern half looks more low-density suburban. In Monmouth, the mature areas are along the Raritan Bay shore and Atlantic coast, while the inland part of the county is only recently coming under development pressure. As such, these counties are likely to be both attractors of in-migrants from the more urbanized counties closer to New York and generators of out-migrants away from their mature areas.

In fact, both Middlesex and Morris counties experienced net outflows of migrants, despite significant inflows from all five of the urban-core counties and from New York City. Middlesex lost a net 11,700 people to domestic migration, and Morris lost 6,200

**Figure 4**  
**Municipalities by Decade of Maximum Absolute Population Increase**



[See Table 3]. And Monmouth County's net flow was an increase of a mere 463 residents, the smallest change of any of New Jersey's 21 counties and evidence that Monmouth's inflows and outflows essentially cancel each other out. Monmouth's main inflows were from four of the five urban-core counties (all except Passaic) and from New York City (though a smaller flow than those to Middlesex and Morris), plus an inflow of 4,700 from Middlesex. Monmouth's maturing status is in evidence from the fact that its net inflow of 9,900 from the five urban-core counties was little more than half the net flow of 17,100 from the urban core to Ocean County, farther to the south. Many out-migrants from the urban core are now bypassing Monmouth and moving directly to Ocean.

So where are migrants from the mature suburban counties moving to? Farther south or west. All three counties lost large numbers of migrants to Ocean County on a net basis, though in Monmouth (7,800) and Middlesex (6,700) it is more clearly due to outward migration than is the case with more-distant Morris (a much smaller 1,600), where the movement could consist substantially of retirees. Monmouth's outflow to Ocean was its only outflow of any significance, probably because south is the only way to move out of Monmouth that gets one farther from the urban core. Middlesex and Morris counties, however, also share appreciable outflows to Somerset, Hunterdon, and Warren counties, from which jobs in

Middlesex or Morris are directly accessible along Interstates 80, 78, and 287. Morris also lost a net of 1,600 migrants to Sussex County, to the northwest. In addition, southward migration remains an option from Middlesex, which, in addition to the net outflow of 4,700 to Monmouth, also lost a net of 2,000 people to Mercer County and almost 900 to Burlington.

Middlesex's large outflow to Monmouth County serves as one indication that it is slightly more "mature" than Monmouth or Morris. Another indication is that Middlesex is the only one of the maturing suburban counties, and the only county outside of the urban cores (the five-county north Jersey core plus Camden County in the south), to experience a net loss due to intrastate migration. About 1,500 more people moved out of Middlesex County to other counties in New Jersey than moved into Middlesex from elsewhere in New Jersey, while the other two mature suburban counties continued to attract residents from other New Jersey counties – for net intrastate gains of 13,400 in Morris County and 6,300 in Monmouth. Net out-of-state migration was more than enough to negate these gains in Morris County, however, and enough to nearly cancel them out in Monmouth.

### Mercer County

Mercer County represents a special case, in that it constitutes a labor market in its own right (thanks to Trenton and the Route 1 corridor near Princeton) and is not nearly as dependent on New York and the north Jersey urban core for employment as are its neighboring counties

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to the north and east. Trenton merits its own metropolitan area (consisting solely of Mercer County) by Census Bureau standards, yet it is also within easy commuting distance of parts of both the New York and Philadelphia metro areas, and in fact both of the larger cities' rail transit systems extend to Trenton and interchange there. It is thus both simultaneously generating its own small suburbanization wave and being affected by the waves coming out of New York and, to a lesser extent, Philadelphia.

Mercer County's position relative to the New York /north Jersey market can be seen in the fact that its largest net inflow of domestic migrants was from Middlesex County (2,000), aside from nearly 3,000 net from New York City. But Mercer County is not really within reasonable commute distance of the bulk of the north Jersey urban core, other than employment centers right on the Northeast Corridor that are accessible by rail. As a result it received no substantial net inflows from any of those counties, other than a modest 800 from Union County. Moving to Mercer County means running into commuting impedance generated by Mercer's own employment agglomeration and hence only makes sense to migrants from the north if their jobs are rail-accessible or are located somewhere to the south of I-287.

As the growth wave proceeds south away from New York, with some people escaping from Middlesex to Mercer in search of newer or cheaper homes, this means that the smaller wave of growth centered around Mercer County population and employment centers is essentially shunted southward, since heading to the north out of Mercer County offers little relief in terms of housing prices, available land, or traffic. Thus, Mercer County's only significant net outflows were to Burlington County (3,000) and Bucks County PA (1,800), and a modest 840 to Ocean, east along I-195. Burlington and Bucks are both in the Philadelphia suburbs, but growth pressure from Philadelphia is much less intense than that from northern New Jersey, and it also tends to follow an axis perpendicular to the Northeast Corridor, spreading southeast into southern New Jersey and west and northwest into the interior of Pennsylvania, due to those areas having substantially lower home prices and lower property tax rates than the New Jersey counties to the northeast. So for the time being, Mercer County's suburban wave has room to expand into northern Burlington County and can also repopulate (and has been doing so) parts of lower Bucks County whose original residents have moved farther out in the Philadelphia suburban rings but whose housing stock is suddenly valuable again, thanks to its proximity to Mercer County employment centers. (Bucks County's only other notable exchange of migrants with a New Jersey county was a net inflow of about 400 from Hunterdon County – an insignificant number relative to Bucks's total population but significant relative to Hunterdon's – adding further evidence that the differential in the cost of living between New Jersey and Pennsylvania is actually making it feasible for some New Jersey residents to move against the grain, into what is essentially suburban Philadelphia.)

### **The Exurbs: Ocean, Somerset, Hunterdon, Warren, and Sussex Counties**

If not only the urban-core counties but also maturing suburban counties are losing domestic migrants to counties at the urban fringe, it is not surprising that this is where we find the handful of counties in New Jersey that experienced net population gains from total domestic migration. In these counties, net in-migration from elsewhere in New Jersey was large

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enough to make up for net losses to the rest of the country. Recall that there were seven New Jersey counties – Ocean, Somerset, Burlington, Gloucester, Hunterdon, Warren, and Monmouth – that experienced net inflows of domestic migrants between 1995 and 2000, and that Monmouth’s net change was so small relative to its population as to be negligible. The other six counties, along with Sussex County in the northwestern corner of the state, are where we find the “urban fringe”, where farmland and forests are currently being converted to urban uses, albeit usually at low densities. Looking at migration patterns to and from these rapidly-growing outer counties may provide a distant early warning as to where future growth is likely to go.

We have already seen that Burlington and Gloucester counties are receiving substantial net inflows from largely urbanized Camden County, and also smaller flows directly from Philadelphia, wherein people are skipping the intermediate step of moving to Camden County and are heading straight to the suburban frontier. Burlington County is also serving as a suburban destination for migrants from Mercer County (from which it received a net of 3,000 migrants) and even directly from New York City, from which a net of 1,700 people relocated and to which more than 1,000 Burlington County residents commuted daily as of the 2000 Census. The 2004 inauguration of NJ Transit’s River Line light rail service between Camden and Trenton, which connects Burlington County with the Northeast Corridor, has the potential to spur further southward relocation into, and northbound commuting out of, Burlington County.

Ocean County is isolated from the rest of New York’s urban fringe, representing the destination for those who decide to move south rather than west, usually because their jobs are in places that are more easily accessible via the Garden State Parkway, US 9, or NJ Transit’s North Jersey Coast Line than by I-78 or I-80. (Ocean County’s commuters are bound primarily for Monmouth, Middlesex, and Mercer counties.) Ocean had no significant net outflows other than a small loss of about 760 to Gloucester County. On the other hand, it experienced large (3,000 or more) net inflows from Monmouth, Middlesex, Bergen, Union, and Essex counties, and flows of between 1,000 and 3,000 from Hudson, Passaic, and Morris, plus a net of 7,200 from the five boroughs of New York City. While some of this migration is retirement, some of it is indisputably suburbanization, since Ocean County’s 2000 commute patterns reflect substantial commuting back to most of the urban core counties, including 3,000 commuters to Manhattan. Ocean County may represent basically a dead end for southward New York-oriented suburbanization, however, because the Pinelands effectively confines further growth in lower Ocean County to a narrow strip along the Garden State Parkway and US 9, which is already rapidly filling up.

In the westward direction, Somerset County drew large net inflows of migrants from most of the urban core and the mature suburban counties – Essex, Morris, Bergen, Hudson (more than 1,000 from each), and especially Union and Middlesex (more than 5,000 from each). It also received a net of more than 3,000 migrants from New York City. At the same time, however, Somerset is not at the leading edge of the growth wave. It lost net domestic migrants to Monmouth (about 800) and Ocean (about 900) counties to the east and, more notably, Warren (about 950) and especially Hunterdon (almost 3,000) to the west. Hunterdon County’s largest net inflows were from Somerset (3,000), Middlesex (1,800), and Union (1,500) counties, with much smaller flows (in the hundreds rather than the thousands) from

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Morris, Bergen, Hudson, and Essex, and only 970 from New York City. Hunterdon does not appear to be a direct exurban destination for people from the urban core the same way that Ocean or Burlington are, for example. Instead, Hunterdon appears to be drawing people mostly from the mature suburbs, just as people are moving into those counties from the urban core. At the same time, Hunterdon lost a net outflow of more than 2,000 people to the counties to its west – almost 1,000 to Warren County, 700 to Northampton County PA, and 400 to Bucks County PA. Hunterdon County's home values are nearly as high as those in closer-in Somerset and Morris and are higher than those in Union or Middlesex, and its median household income is the highest of any county in New Jersey (as of the 2000 Census), so perhaps for those looking to trade a longer commute for a cheaper or larger house, Hunterdon does not represent a particularly good bargain. They have been priced out of Hunterdon and must look farther west on I-78 or US 202.

Unlike Hunterdon, Sussex County appears to attract most of its migrants among people who are making their first move away from the urbanized hub of north Jersey. Whereas Hunterdon's largest net inflows were from other suburban counties, Sussex's largest flows were directly from the core: 1,900 from Bergen, 1,700 from Passaic, 1,000 from Essex, and more than 600 from Hudson, compared to a relatively small 1,600 from neighboring Morris and a net outflow of 500 or so to Warren County. (Sussex was, however, the number-one destination for people moving out of Morris County, in gross terms.) Sussex also lost a combined net outflow of almost 1,000 people to neighboring Monroe and Pike counties in Pennsylvania. And unlike the rest of the counties in northern New Jersey, Sussex did not receive any appreciable inflow of migrants from New York City; New Yorkers tend to bypass Sussex entirely in their outward moves. As a result, Sussex County actually experienced an overall net outflow of about 3,600 migrants, the only exurban county to lose people through domestic migration. It gained a net 5,600 people from other New Jersey counties but lost a net 9,200 to other states.

Warren County, like Ocean, did not have a significant net outflow of migrants to any other county in New Jersey. It gained a net total of 2,800 people from the five urban-core counties, another 2,000 from Morris, nearly 1,000 each from Somerset and Hunterdon, and more than 500 each from Middlesex and Sussex. People are migrating to Warren County from all over northern New Jersey, including from other counties on the exurban fringe. Warren appears to offer the best combination of lower cost of living and access to job markets, at least on the New Jersey side of the Delaware. But Warren County, in turn, is losing net migrants to counties in eastern Pennsylvania – a net outflow of 400 to Monroe County and a remarkable (given Warren's small overall size) 2,000 to Northampton County, just to the west on I-78.

## **The Next Frontier – Eastern Pennsylvania**

Outward suburban migration in the northern half of New Jersey has now burst the state's boundaries and is overflowing into the counties of eastern Pennsylvania. Between 1995 and 2000, Monroe County PA gained at least 500 net residents from each of Essex (over 1,000), Middlesex, Bergen, Hudson, Passaic, Morris, and Sussex counties, and between 300 and 500 each from Warren, Union, and Monmouth. And Pike County, which sits across the river from Sussex County on US 206 and along I-84 west of Port Jervis NY, gained several

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hundred net migrants each from Bergen, Sussex, Morris, Passaic, Hudson, Union, Monmouth, Middlesex, and Somerset counties. In total, Monroe County gained a net flow of 6,600 people from New Jersey, and Pike County gained a net 2,900. What's more, Monroe County received a massive net inflow of 7,300 people from the five boroughs of New York City, and Pike received a net 1,800.

Such flows may not seem significant compared to the flows among New Jersey counties, but they are taking place against a backdrop of much lower initial populations. Monroe County's 1995 population was an estimated 119,000, smaller than all but four counties in New Jersey, and Pike's 1995 population was only 38,500, smaller by far than any of New Jersey's counties. Thus Monroe's receipt of 13,900 net new residents through domestic migration from New Jersey and New York City by itself constitutes a 12 percent increase in the county's population over the 5-year period, and Pike's net inflow from New Jersey and New York City constitutes a 14 percent increase in its population over the same 5 years. These are growth rates unmatched anywhere in New Jersey, and they do not even factor in any natural increase.

Looking at the entire decade 1990-2000 and including all components of population change, Monroe County's population grew by 45 percent and Pike County's by an astounding 65 percent, enough to rank them as the #1 and #3 fastest-growing counties in the entire northeastern United States for the decade. (Both counties' populations doubled between 1980 and 2000.) And the growth has continued unabated into the new century, with Monroe and Pike now ranking as the two fastest growing counties in the Northeast between 2000 and 2005. In contrast, the fastest-growing county in New Jersey in the 1990s was Somerset, which grew by 24 percent. Clearly, the influx of migrants from New York City and northern New Jersey into Monroe and Pike counties is fundamentally transforming the nature of life in these counties. No longer just rural seasonal-home locations for people from Philadelphia and New York, they now host increasing year-round populations of north Jersey commuters.

Though not as pronounced as the influxes to Monroe and Pike, there is also a steady flow of New Jersey out-migrants to Northampton County, in Pennsylvania's Lehigh Valley along I-78. Northampton County gained a net 6,800 residents from New Jersey, although only the flow of 2,000 from Warren County and the flow of 700 from Hunterdon appear significant relative to the total populations of the donor counties. Nor do these flows have the same effect on the character of Northampton as is the case in Monroe and Pike, since Northampton is already substantially urbanized (its largest city, Bethlehem, had a 2000 population of 71,000, and the county had a 2000 population density more than triple those of the Pocono counties). Nonetheless, the total outflow from New Jersey to Northampton County far exceeds that to Pike and even slightly bests the flow to Monroe, and it is broad-based, attracting a few hundred people each from both the urban-core counties of Essex, Union, and Bergen and from suburban Somerset, Middlesex, Morris, Monmouth, Ocean, and Sussex, in addition to the more notable flows from Warren and Hunterdon. And although Northampton County's overall population growth rate between 1995 and 2000 was only 3 percent (smaller than New Jersey's statewide growth rate), almost all of its growth (86 percent of the numerical increase) was accounted for by net in-migration from New Jersey. The inflow from New Jersey is essentially the only thing keeping Northampton County's

population from stagnating like that of Pennsylvania's other aging industrial counties. Given that further westward expansion must compete with the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton urbanized area, however, it is not clear how many additional New Jersey out-migrants Northampton County can absorb, although the need to redevelop the enormous and now-defunct Bethlehem Steel property may provide some space to welcome them.

It is interesting to note that Pennsylvania is the preferred out-of-state destination for movers from the north Jersey urban core, because housing prices and tax rates in southern New York, even in the west-of-Hudson counties, are little better than those in northern New Jersey. Even Bergen County, which borders Rockland and Orange counties in southern New York but is several counties away from Pennsylvania, sent more net out-migrants to Monroe and Pike counties combined than it did to Orange County, and Bergen actually gained a net 600-plus residents from Rockland County. The net movement of 1,200 migrants from Bergen to Orange was the only significant outflow from any northern New Jersey county to any of the three suburban counties of southern New York that are closest to New Jersey (Westchester, Rockland, and Orange).

It is also interesting that people moving out of New York City seem disinclined to move to Sussex, Warren, or Hunterdon counties, preferring closer-in counties in NJ or else leapfrogging entirely over New Jersey's exurban belt. Actually, more New Yorkers move to south Jersey (Mercer, Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Atlantic counties) than to western New Jersey. In a very pronounced trend, many people in the boroughs of New York City are now opting to skip New Jersey altogether and move straight to eastern Pennsylvania. From the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens, Monroe County is a more popular migrant destination (in net terms) than Morris, Passaic, Somerset, Hunterdon, Sussex, or Warren counties in New Jersey. Monroe actually even outranks much-larger and much-closer Essex County as a migrant destination from the Bronx and Staten Island.

Unlike in the Lehigh Valley, there are no large urban areas in northeastern Pennsylvania that will be competing with the north Jersey suburban expansion for space in Monroe or Pike counties any time soon. For the time being, the expansion of north Jersey into the Poconos would appear to be limited only by natural features and by people's willingness to endure long commutes.

## The Rural South

A different sort of out-migration is discernible from the rural counties of southern New Jersey – Cumberland, Salem, and Cape May, and also from more-urbanized Atlantic County. Largely beyond the farthest reaches of Philadelphia suburbanization, these counties are more economically dependent on Atlantic City or on Wilmington, Delaware, much smaller urban centers with much smaller growth rings. They are thus not the recipients of any systematic net inflows of migrants, other than a modest stream into Cape May County, which is a popular retirement destination for people from the Philadelphia area. (Cape May's median age of 42.3 years, as of the 2000 Census, is the highest of any New Jersey county, higher even than Ocean's.) Cape May County gained net inflows of about 1,000 from Camden County and 200 from Burlington, plus 1,400 from Philadelphia, but sent net outflows to its southern neighbors Atlantic County (1,200) and Cumberland (400+). Cumberland County sent about 350 net migrants to Atlantic County and about 300 to

**In a very pronounced trend, many people in the boroughs of New York City are now opting to skip New Jersey altogether and move straight to eastern Pennsylvania.**



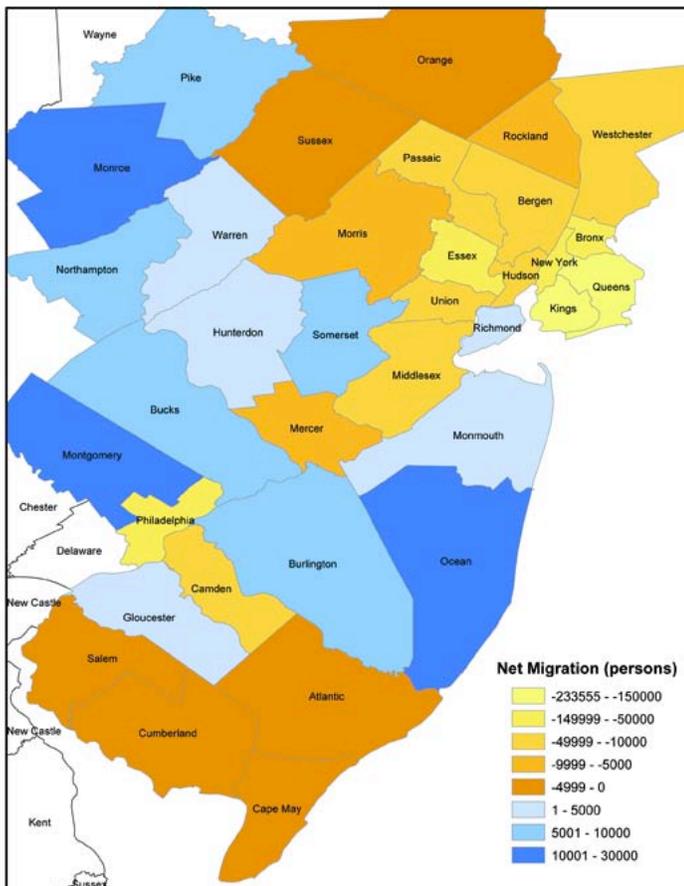
Salem, while receiving 500+ from Camden County and 400+ from Cape May. Salem County gained about 300 from Cumberland, 400 from Camden, and 500 from Gloucester, the last flow possibly reflecting the encroachment of Philadelphia suburbanization into the northern part of Salem. These are all relatively small flows and do not seem to reflect any systematic redistribution of population that conforms to the urban/suburban/rural model.

Overall, three of the four counties of far southern New Jersey experienced net in-migration from the rest of New Jersey (the exception being Cape May County, which lost a net 276 intrastate migrants), though all of their net inflows were of modest size, between 1,000 and 2,000 people. [See Table 3] Yet the final result is that all four counties experienced net losses from total domestic migration, when intrastate and interstate flows are combined. Part of the answer is notable out-migration from Salem (almost 1,000) and Cumberland (300+) to New Castle County, Delaware, across the river to the west. But a big part is simply relocations to states in other parts of the country. Counties outside of New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, or Delaware tend to appear much higher in the rankings of migrant destinations (especially Florida) for these southern New Jersey counties than is the case

elsewhere. Even Atlantic County, which received net inflows from most other individual New Jersey counties and a total net inflow of about 1,800 from all other New Jersey counties combined, nonetheless still lost a net 1,300 domestic migrants. Part of this loss was a net outflow of about 800 people to Clark County, Nevada, home of the other, larger gambling mecca of Las Vegas. But Atlantic County lost a total net of 3,100 migrants to other states, so Las Vegas alone does not explain it. On the whole, in the absence of any growth engine other than Atlantic City, the still rural parts of southern New Jersey appear to be slowly losing domestic migrants to the rest of the country in general and not to any specific location, in spite of attracting net in-migration from the rest of New Jersey.

Across the state, a clear overall pattern emerges of outward migration from more-urbanized areas to less-urbanized areas, starting in the cities and proceeding out through successive rings of suburbs, with the dominant moves always being away from New York and Philadelphia. Each ring of suburbs welcomes new migrants from closer-in places, while losing migrants to less-developed areas. The ultimate result is large influxes of migrants into New Jersey's exurban counties, and especially into counties in eastern Pennsylvania, while the urban core counties lose people to the suburbs and the rural far-southern counties lose people to the rest of the country. [See Figure 5]

Figure 5  
**Net Migration by County (1995-2000)**  
 for the New Jersey Area



## Immigrants: Replenishing the Urban Core

Data from the 2000 Census indicate that about 60 percent of the 5.6 million foreign-born population who moved to the United States between 1995 and 2000 entered the country through just six gateway states – California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois and New Jersey. In New Jersey, there were 311,765 residents in 2000 who had moved to the U.S. since 1995. Relative to New Jersey's overall population increase of 331,108 over the same time period, these immigrants represented a full 94 percent of the increase. Instead of a 3.9 percent population increase between 1995 and 2000, without immigrants New Jersey's population would have remained virtually unchanged, inching up a scant 0.2 percent. New Jersey is a magnet for immigrants into the United States, and this is the only thing that is keeping the state's population growing.

Some counties are more popular than others as immigrant destinations. Statewide, people who had immigrated in the past 5 years made up 4.0 percent of all New Jersey residents age 5 and older, but individual county percentages ranged from less than 1 percent in Gloucester, Sussex, Cape May, and Salem counties to 8.2 percent in Hudson. The counties in which immigrant populations made up the highest percentages of the total 1995-2000 increase were Hudson, Middlesex, Passaic, Union, Essex, and Bergen – in other words, the five urban-core counties, plus mature-suburban Middlesex, parts of which resemble the urban core in their position in the growth cycle. These same six counties were also the ones in which the highest percentages of the county's total 2000 population had entered the United States between 1990 and 2000 – more than 9 percent in each (and almost 17 percent in Hudson).

All six of these counties would have lost population between 1995 and 2000 if not for immigration, due to domestic out-migration to other states and to other counties in New Jersey exceeding the natural population increase (births minus deaths). Instead, immigrant streams into these older urban counties are helping to replenish the outflow of domestic migrants, such that all six counties saw modest population increases over the five-year period. In Hudson, Middlesex, and Bergen counties, immigrant populations actually exceed the total number of domestic out-migrants who left these counties over the same time period, so that these counties would have experienced population gains even in the absence of any natural increase.

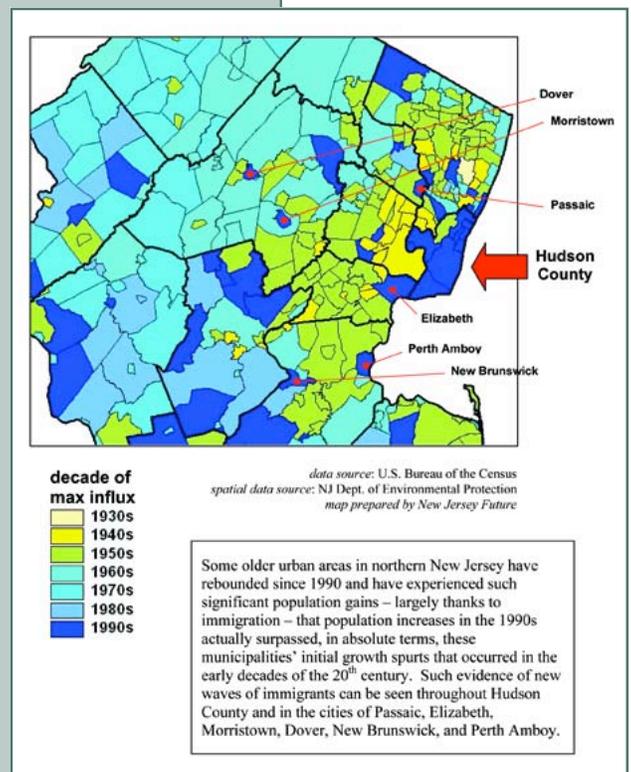
Immigrant flows are thus helping to reverse earlier patterns of population loss in the urban core. Bergen, Essex, Union, and Hudson counties all lost population in both the 1970s and 1980s but grew in the 1990s (Bergen by 7.1 percent, Essex by 2.0, Union by 5.8, and Hudson by 10.1). Prior to 1990, Hudson County had been losing population since the 1930s.

Figure 6 hints at the extent to which immigrants are repopulating New Jersey's urban and older suburban areas. In municipalities like Elizabeth, Passaic, Perth Amboy, Morristown, Dover, New Brunswick, and throughout Hudson County, immigration was largely responsible for the 1990s producing the largest influx of people into these places in any decade in the 20th century, after decades of stagnation and loss.

Counties differ in terms of where their immigrants are coming from. In Hudson, Passaic, Union, and Essex counties, people born in Latin America make up more than half of all foreign-born residents, whereas in Middlesex and Bergen counties, a plurality of the foreign-born are immigrants from Asia.

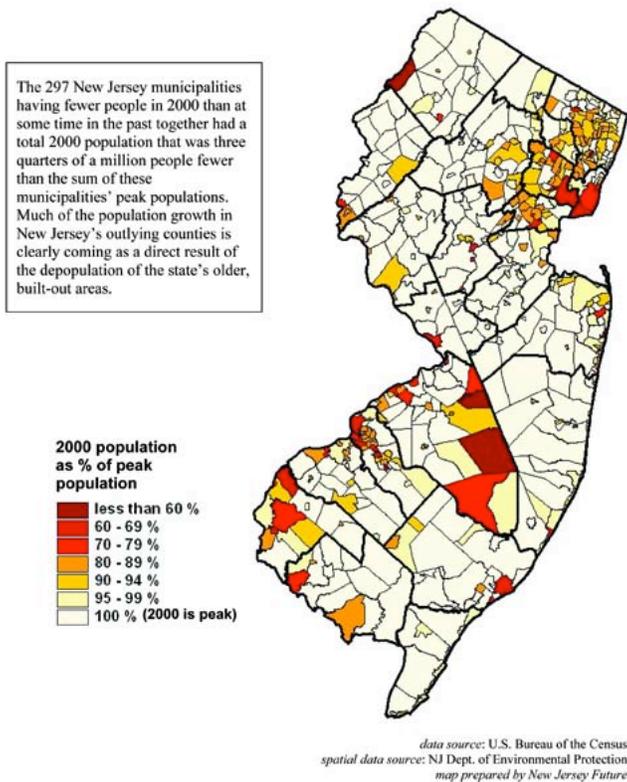
### Figure 6 Decade of Maximum Absolute Population Increase

Sign of Life in  
Urban Core



# Impacts of outward migration

Figure 7  
**2000 Census Population as a Percent of Peak Population, by Municipality**



The outward growth of suburbia is hardly news. New Jersey's current domestic migration patterns are simply a continuation of the state's decades-long trend of suburbanization. As urban areas add more people, they will obviously need to expand geographically to accommodate new residents. Metropolitan areas continually add new counties to their territory. So why is New Jersey's urban growth a cause for concern?

Part of the issue is that the growth at the fringes is being fueled to such a great extent by people moving out from older, more densely-populated parts of New Jersey's urban areas. There may or may not be new residents who want to move into these migrants' old houses, but the moves are happening regardless, creating new housing stock at the edges and consuming more land for the non-residential development that accompanies residential growth. If each out-migrant from an older county were to be replaced one-for-one by net new residents to the state – whether through natural increase, in-migration from other states, or international immigration – then the net effect is the same, all other things being equal, as it would have been if the out-migrants from the older county had stayed put and the new residents had proceeded directly to the suburban fringe. This would be the natural expansion of New Jersey's urbanized areas necessary to accommodate natural population growth, in which case arguments against "sprawl" essentially equate to arguments against growth, period. But if the out-migrants are not fully replaced, then the net effect is an increase in developed land per capita, since there is now unused capacity in the older county. This is, indeed, what is happening.

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**Three quarters of a million people's worth of land development has occurred purely as a result of the existing population rearranging itself and spreading out.**

There are 297 municipalities in New Jersey – more than half of the 566 municipalities in the state – that had more residents at some point in the past than they do today. [See Figure 7] This includes not only six of the eight State Plan urban centers (all except New Brunswick and Elizabeth) and 20 of the 22 municipalities in Essex County but also, for example, 49 of the 70 municipalities in Bergen County, 10 of the 25 municipalities in Middlesex County, and 27 of the 53 municipalities in Monmouth County. It isn't just residents from the urban core who are spreading out. Summing these municipalities' peak populations yields a total that exceeds the sum of their 2000 Census populations by 746,553. In other words, three quarters of a million additional residents could theoretically be accommodated in New Jersey simply by repopulating these 297 municipalities back to their peak populations, without consuming any additional land. Or, looked at another way, a minimum of three quarters of a million people's worth of land development has occurred purely as a result of the existing population rearranging itself and spreading out. And this is assuming a constant per-capita rate of land consumption for new construction, which is far from actually the case.

Compounding the spreading-out problem is the fact that new development in recent decades has taken a decidedly less dense, more land-hungry form. The fast-growing municipalities of today will reach full build-out at far lower overall densities than did the first- and second-

generation suburbs of Bergen, Camden, and northern Middlesex counties. Older suburbs like Fair Lawn, Edison, or Cherry Hill will look downright “urban” compared to the likes of Readington or Marlboro or Mount Laurel. [See NJ Future’s “Race to the Middle” for an in-depth analysis of the “de-densification” of New Jersey and its consequences, including infrastructure costs and environmental degradation. [www.njfuture.org](http://www.njfuture.org)] The results of today’s more land-consumptive development patterns can be seen in land-use statistics from 1986 and 1995. Statewide, the rate of newly-developed acres per new resident between 1986 and 1995 was 0.362 acres per person, which was more than double the 0.155 developed acres per capita that characterized existing development already on the ground in 1986. Of the six counties that experienced substantial inflows of domestic migrants, all except Ocean have been accommodating their new growth in a more land-consumptive fashion than was the case in the past. A more recent (2000) study of land-use patterns indicates that the rate of land development between 1995 and 2000 remained at about the same level as between 1986 and 1995 – 50 acres a day, or 18,000 acres a year. If present rates of land consumption – and land preservation – persist in the future, New Jersey will have developed all of its buildable land within the next 25 years.

Another direct consequence of spreading out in a low-density pattern is traffic. Lower densities produce greater distances between destinations. This means longer and longer commutes for those who want to move out to the fringe but whose jobs are still located in the urban core or in mature suburban areas. New Jersey’s average commute time has risen from 25.3 minutes in 1990 to 30.0 minutes in 2000, the third-highest time in the nation after New York and Maryland. And New Jersey’s increase of 4.7 minutes was also the third-largest increase in the country, after West Virginia and Georgia. What’s more, the average commute times are longest in the exurban fringe – Sussex County’s average commute time was the longest in the state at 38.3 minutes, followed by Monmouth (34.8), Hunterdon (33.5), and Warren (33.3). The percent of New Jersey commuters having one-way commutes of at least 90 minutes more than doubled over the 1990s, from 2.0 percent in 1990 to 4.6 percent in 2000, or 175,000 people, and the second-highest percentage in the country after New York. The situation is even more dire in the Pennsylvania frontier, where the influx of migrants from New York and New Jersey was enough to catapult Monroe County’s average commute time from 24.0 minutes in 1990 to 36.7 minutes in 2000, and Pike’s average from 27.5 minutes to an onerous 46.0 minutes over the same period. (Three townships along the Delaware River in Pike County – Lehman, Dingman, and Delaware – had average one-way commute times of more than 50 minutes in 2000; Lehman Township’s average commute was 60.4 minutes.)

Why are long commutes for Pennsylvania residents necessarily New Jersey’s problem? About 10 percent of employed residents in each of the Pocono counties work either in Morris County or in Manhattan, which amounts to more than 6,000 people from Monroe County and 2,200 from Pike. In fact, a total of 18,000 people from Monroe and Pike counties commute into or all the way across New Jersey every day to jobs in New York City (6,000), the five north Jersey urban core counties (4,000), or Morris, Sussex, and Warren counties (8,000). New Jersey may be exporting its housing problem, with high home values and property taxes chasing home-buyers across the Delaware, but it is importing a traffic problem in exchange. Those commuters are all using New Jersey’s roads to get to work.

**New Jersey may be exporting its housing problem, with high home values and property taxes chasing home-buyers across the Delaware, but it is importing a traffic problem in exchange.**



**Movement of people  
(and businesses)  
out of built-out  
areas can set off  
a downward spiral  
of disinvestment.**

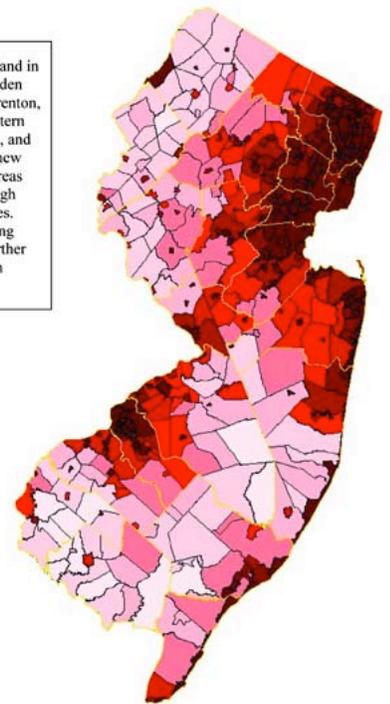


The effects of outward migration are not limited to the new places being developed. Movement of people (and businesses) out of built-out areas can set off a downward spiral of disinvestment, wherein a declining tax base causes tax rates to rise, which then chases away the more prosperous of the remaining residents and businesses, further depleting the tax base and leaving behind the neediest residents most in need of government services, necessitating another round of tax rate increases. The end result is geographic stratification by income, wherein the oldest and most physically deteriorated places are inhabited solely by the state's poorest residents, those who are least able to marshal the resources required to address a wide range of fiscal and socioeconomic distresses. In the absence of meaningful policy intervention by the state, such places harden into self-perpetuating centers of concentrated poverty, stripped of the physical and social infrastructure that would ordinarily provide opportunities for advancement. Distress eventually spreads into the next ring of suburbs, too, as those places' housing stocks and infrastructure age in turn and are afflicted with the same pattern of disinvestment. In its current fiscal straits, New Jersey cannot afford to simply walk away from past investments it has made in already-built places.

The limited supply of developable land in the north Jersey urban core, in Camden County, in the urban area around Trenton, and in mature suburban areas in eastern Morris County, northern Middlesex, and coastal Monmouth means that any new construction taking place in these areas must largely be accomplished through redeveloping already-developed sites. Most homebuyers and renters seeking new construction must thus look farther out into newly-developing suburban counties.

**Figure 8**  
**Percent Built-Out,**  
**as of 1995, by Municipality**

Percent "Built-Out" = developed acres as a percent of total developable acres, where "developable" excludes land that is permanently preserved or environmentally constrained



data source: NJ Office of Smart Growth, derived from analysis of 1995 aerial photography conducted by NJ Dept. of Environmental Protection  
spatial data source: NJ Dept. of Environmental Protection  
map prepared by New Jersey Future

## Drivers of outward migration

An understanding of the social and economic factors driving these patterns of migration should help shape New Jersey's land use and development policies. By contributing to de-densification, the development of rural areas, and disinvestment in cities and older suburbs, current domestic migration patterns run counter to good development principles such as re-building and strengthening older city centers and suburbs, preserving farmlands and open spaces, and utilizing existing roads, transit, and infrastructure. If we are to change the way New Jersey grows, we need to address the forces that are causing our outward spread.

Domestic migration is driven by both push and pull factors. Push factors such as high housing costs, declining property tax bases (and the resulting decline in the quality of municipal services), aging housing stock, job loss, and high tax rates in the origin location incite the search for new homes in new places outside of poor urban centers and older suburbs. Pull factors such as the availability of new housing construction, lower property tax rates, access to highway transportation, and job relocation to the suburbs are among the forces which attract residents to new developments in outlying counties.

One frequent motivation for moving farther away from the urban core is the search for more affordable housing. Housing costs are a concern both for people looking to buy or rent a new house or apartment and for people trying to remain in a house they already own. For potential home-buyers and renters, the primary issue is the availability of a housing type that meets the household's needs, and at an affordable cost (monthly mortgage or rent payment). For existing homeowners, whose basic mortgage payment is already fixed, the primary issue is the increase in their property tax bill, which is caused by rising property tax rates. An increase in the property tax rate can in turn be caused by either an increased demand for local government services or by a decline in the property tax base, forcing the municipality to increase the rate in order to raise the same absolute dollar amount.

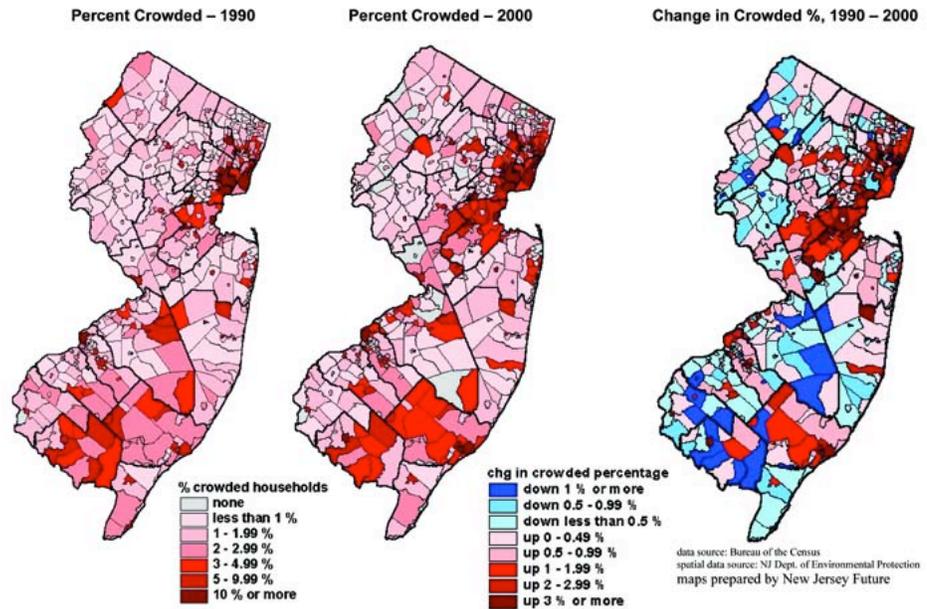
Looking first at the availability issue, the urban core counties are largely built-out and have little to no buildable land remaining. [See Figure 8] The same is also true in large swaths of the maturing suburban counties. Any new housing in these places must be built on land that is being recycled from some other, prior use. Thus, many people for whom new construction is a principal wish are forced to look away from the urban core and the maturing suburban areas for new supply. The five urban-core counties rank numbers one through five in terms of the median age of housing units as of the 2000 Census, with median ages of 45 years or higher in all five. In all five counties, more than 60 percent of the housing stock was built before 1960, while less than 7 percent was built since 1990. Camden County, the south Jersey counterpart to the urban core, also has a high median age (38 years); the only other counties ranking higher than Camden were Mercer and two of the still-rural counties in the south, Cumberland and Salem.

As for differences in desired housing type, the good news is that these already-built places are generally well-supplied with a wide variety of housing, including row/townhouses, multi-family structures, and modestly sized single-family homes. The bad news is that, because these supplies are mostly static, prices for the existing supply get bid up. In the face of rising rents and home prices and a very limited supply of new construction, people choose to do a variety of things, including continuing to live with parents, doubling up with another family – or looking for housing outside their desired county of residence, i.e. migrating.

**Current domestic migration patterns run counter to good development principles such as re-building and strengthening older city centers and suburbs, preserving farmlands and open spaces, and utilizing existing roads, transit, and infrastructure.**



Figure 9  
**Crowded Households – More Than 1 Person Per Room**



The increase in crowded conditions (more than one person per room) is evidence that doubling-up is indeed taking place and that housing supply is not meeting the demand in much of the urban core and mature suburbs. [See Figure 9] Statewide, 5.0 percent of households were experiencing crowding in 2000, up from 3.9 percent in 1990. But crowding is a much more pronounced problem in the urban core – in Hudson County, one in nine households (11.5 percent) were crowded, and the crowded percentage ran between 6 percent and 10 percent in Passaic, Essex, Union, and Middlesex counties.

Out-migration from these same places is evidence that other homebuyers and renters simply elect to live elsewhere. But “elsewhere” may end up being farther away than anticipated, due to a lack of housing variety in the exurban counties of New Jersey. Throughout most of New Jersey’s outer suburban counties, single-family detached housing is very nearly the only housing type available, exceeding 90 percent of the supply in many municipalities [See Figure 10]. And these are not just any old single-family homes. The rise in the number of housing units with nine or more rooms (the largest category tabulated by the Census) has been dramatic in New Jersey between 1990 and 2000, with the number of such homes increasing by more than triple the overall statewide housing unit growth rate throughout Sussex, Warren, Hunterdon, southern Somerset, southern Middlesex, inland Monmouth, and Ocean counties in the north and in much of the growing parts of Gloucester and Burlington counties in the south. In many municipalities the number of large houses increased by 50 percent or more. [See Figure 11] Statewide, the increase in the number of housing units with nine or more rooms amounted to 29 percent of the total increase in the number of housing units, despite the fact that these large houses made up only 9.5 percent of the housing supply in 1990. Houses with nine or more rooms are disproportionately represented in the supply of new construction. The inability of many people to find affordable new

**The need for housing is clearly a force behind outward migration.**



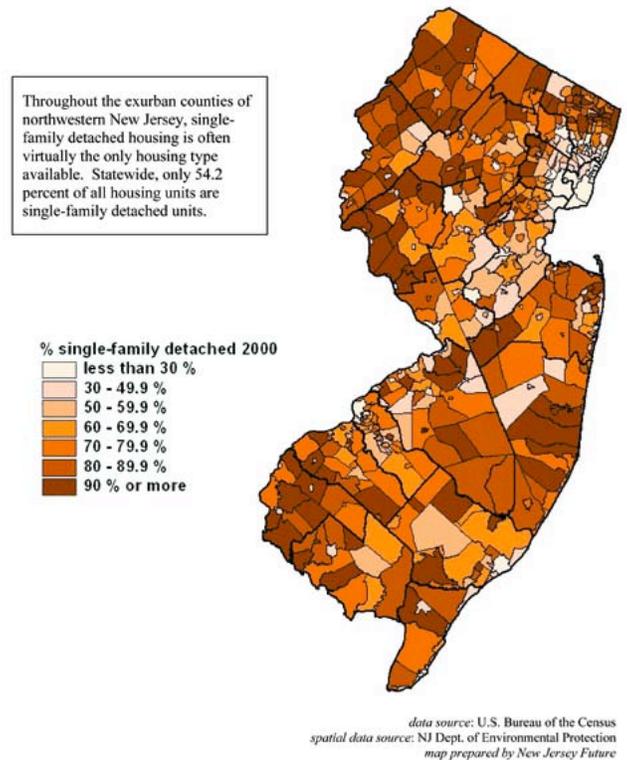
construction, or multi-family or rental housing of any type (half of all the multi-family housing in the state, as of the 2000 Census, is concentrated in just 32 municipalities), may be fueling the rush to eastern Pennsylvania.

Housing costs are also a concern for existing homeowners, in the form of rising property tax bills. The highest property tax rates in the state are found in urban and older suburban areas, particularly in Essex, Hudson, Union, and Camden counties and in northern Middlesex and southern Bergen. Not coincidentally, it is in most of these same places where the state's highest rates of housing burden can be found; that is, the percent of households spending at least 35 percent of their gross income on housing costs [See Figure 12]. This can translate into a powerful incentive to seek housing farther away from the urban core, where tax rates are lower.

On average, counties with negative rates of domestic migration have a higher percentage of households with high housing burdens, and they tend to have a higher percentage of households living in crowded conditions. In counties with a negative net migration rate, 27 percent of households have a housing burden in excess of 35 percent of household income, while in counties with a positive migration rate, only 19.4 percent of households have a similar housing burden. With respect to crowding, on average 5.6 percent of households in counties with negative migration rates live in crowded conditions, while in counties with positive net migration rates, only 1.8 percent of households live in crowded units. The need for housing is clearly a force behind outward migration.

The location of jobs is also a major factor pushing outward migration – or perhaps more accurately, enabling outward migration. Employers in New Jersey themselves are moving out to the suburbs, and in the process they are encouraging their employees to move even farther out. Major investment in state and national highway systems in past decades and recent advances in information technology have enabled many companies to conduct their business from almost anywhere, so the competitive advantage of a downtown location has diminished substantially, while strategic location near an Interstate highway has become more key. As jobs decentralize, many workers take this as a cue to move their residence even farther out into the exurbs, especially if they are having a hard time finding affordable housing near where their job is now located. (New Jersey Future will be releasing an in-depth look at the decentralization of employment and its consequences later in 2006.)

**Figure 10**  
**Single-Family Detached Housing Units as Percent of Total Housing Supply, by Municipality**



■ ■ ■ ■ ■

**The location of jobs is also a major factor pushing outward migration.**

Figure 11  
**Percent Change in the Number of Housing Units Having 9 or More Rooms, 1990 – 2000**

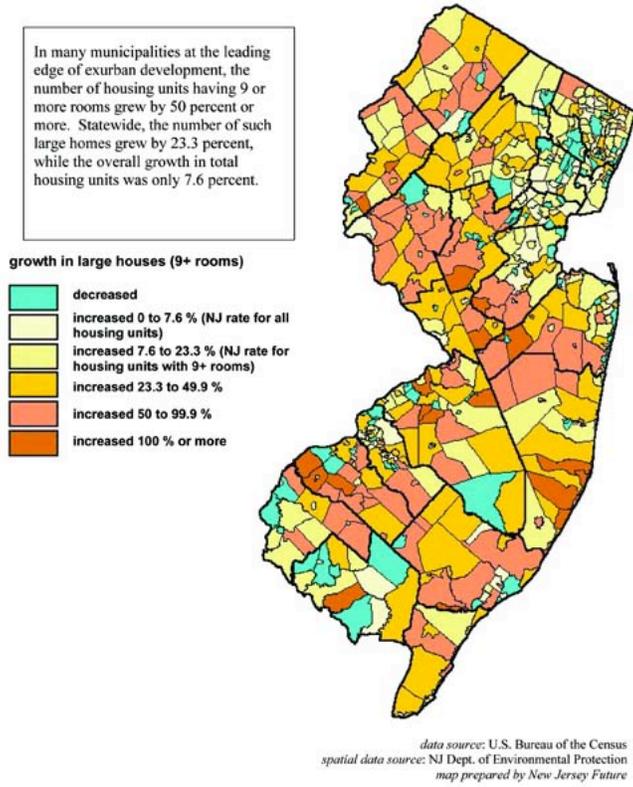
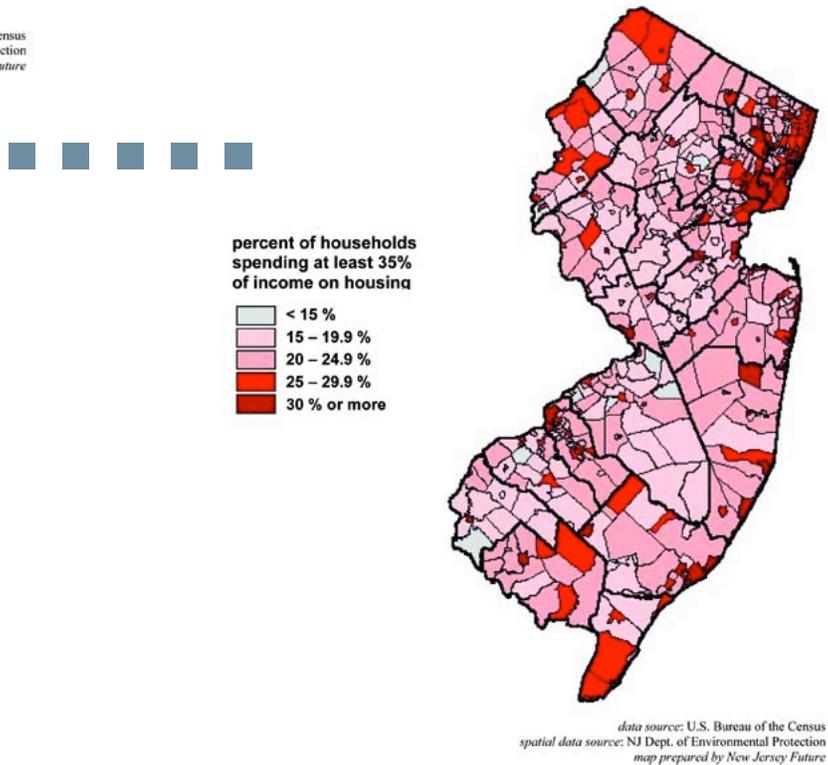


Figure 12  
**Housing Burden**  
 Percent of all households spending at least 35 percent of income on housing costs, 2000 Census



## Recommendations

The continued expansion of New Jersey's urbanized areas is probably a given, at least as long as the state's population continues to increase. But the pace of expansion can be slowed by a number of factors that are within the state's ability to control. And expansion does not have to be a zero-sum game, wherein gains in outer counties have to come at the expense of disinvestment and population losses in older, built-out counties.

Since migration is fueled by concerns about housing, job location, and urban distress, the policy solutions for addressing New Jersey's present pattern of outward migration are essentially the same as the policies for addressing the root causes of our growth patterns in general. New Jersey Future has recently released an extensive policy document, *Four Ways to Genuine Prosperity* (*available online at <http://www.fourwaysnj.org>*). This guide discusses how to revitalize New Jersey's already-built areas, to reduce the incentives for people to leave, and how to create new growth that makes more economical use of land, reduces the need to travel by car, and provides housing opportunities for the full spectrum of household configurations and incomes.

Specific steps for ensuring New Jersey's future expansion enhances, rather than undermines, our future prosperity:

- Reform the property tax system, to reduce New Jersey's reliance on property taxes and so reduce the incentive for fiscal zoning that restricts housing choice
- Reform zoning, to create a wider variety of housing opportunities in suburban and especially exurban counties, so that fewer people are priced out of western New Jersey entirely
- Reinvest in infrastructure and service quality in already-developed areas, to reduce the incentive for people to leave
- Create new housing opportunities in already-built places, by reusing former commercial and industrial properties
- Encourage higher densities in newly developing areas, to minimize the consumption of open space
- Encourage infill and a greater variety of housing types in the counties currently being leapfrogged – Hunterdon, Sussex, Warren. This is why it is critical that the regional master plan for the Highlands should designate areas where growth will be encouraged, not just identify areas where growth is disallowed.
- Encourage job recentralization, with the creation of new sub-centers that are transit accessible, to reduce traffic and commuting headaches

For details on these recommendations, see New Jersey Future's "Four Ways to Genuine Prosperity" guide at [www.njfuture.org](http://www.njfuture.org)

**Expansion does not have to be a zero-sum game, wherein gains in outer counties have to come at the expense of disinvestment and population losses in older, built-out counties.**



Table 1

## Population Growth Rates, 2000-05, by State, with and without Immigration

sorted in ascending order by growth rate with immigration removed

state	Census 2000 population	2005 population estimate	population growth 2000-05	estimated 2005 population without immigration	estimated population growth without immigration	international migration as % of total increase
<b>United States</b>	<b>281,421,906</b>	<b>296,410,404</b>	<b>5.3%</b>	<b>290,076,463</b>	<b>3.1%</b>	<b>42.3%</b>
District of Columbia	572,059	550,521	-3.8%	528,900	-7.5%	-100.4%
New York	18,976,457	19,254,630	1.5%	18,298,403	-3.6%	344.2%
North Dakota	642,200	636,677	-0.9%	632,245	-1.6%	-80.2%
Massachusetts	6,349,097	6,398,743	0.8%	6,258,526	-1.4%	282.5%
Illinois	12,419,293	12,763,371	2.8%	12,435,055	0.1%	95.5%
<b>New Jersey</b>	<b>8,414,350</b>	<b>8,717,925</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>8,438,708</b>	<b>0.3%</b>	<b>92.0%</b>
West Virginia	1,808,344	1,816,856	0.5%	1,813,979	0.3%	33.8%
Ohio	11,353,140	11,464,042	1.0%	11,392,124	0.3%	64.9%
Iowa	2,926,324	2,966,334	1.4%	2,938,349	0.4%	70.0%
Pennsylvania	12,281,054	12,429,616	1.2%	12,335,680	0.4%	63.2%
Michigan	9,938,444	10,120,860	1.8%	10,005,068	0.7%	63.5%
Kansas	2,688,418	2,744,687	2.1%	2,706,961	0.7%	67.5%
Louisiana	4,468,976	4,523,628	1.2%	4,505,403	0.8%	33.3%
Rhode Island	1,048,319	1,076,189	2.7%	1,058,101	0.9%	64.9%
Connecticut	3,405,565	3,510,297	3.1%	3,437,404	0.9%	69.6%
Nebraska	1,711,263	1,758,787	2.8%	1,736,853	1.5%	46.2%
Vermont	608,827	623,050	2.3%	618,927	1.7%	29.0%
Oklahoma	3,450,654	3,547,884	2.8%	3,513,006	1.8%	35.9%
Alabama	4,447,100	4,557,808	2.5%	4,532,650	1.9%	22.8%
Indiana	6,080,485	6,271,973	3.1%	6,218,196	2.3%	28.1%
South Dakota	754,844	775,933	2.8%	772,210	2.3%	17.6%
Mississippi	2,844,658	2,921,088	2.7%	2,911,012	2.3%	13.2%
Wisconsin	5,363,675	5,536,201	3.2%	5,492,031	2.4%	25.6%
California	33,871,648	36,132,147	6.7%	34,745,730	2.6%	61.3%
Kentucky	4,041,769	4,173,405	3.2%	4,147,101	2.6%	20.1%
Wyoming	493,782	509,294	3.1%	507,126	2.7%	14.0%
Missouri	5,595,211	5,800,310	3.6%	5,753,340	2.8%	23.1%
Hawaii	1,211,537	1,275,194	5.3%	1,245,778	2.8%	46.2%
Minnesota	4,919,479	5,132,799	4.3%	5,062,649	2.9%	32.9%
Arkansas	2,673,400	2,779,154	4.0%	2,758,020	3.2%	20.0%
Maine	1,274,923	1,321,505	3.7%	1,316,671	3.3%	10.4%
Montana	902,195	935,670	3.7%	933,607	3.5%	6.2%
Maryland	5,296,486	5,600,388	5.7%	5,483,964	3.5%	38.3%
Tennessee	5,689,283	5,962,959	4.8%	5,913,561	3.9%	18.0%
Oregon	3,421,399	3,641,056	6.4%	3,570,609	4.4%	32.1%
Washington	5,894,121	6,287,759	6.7%	6,154,114	4.4%	34.0%
New Mexico	1,819,046	1,928,384	6.0%	1,901,050	4.5%	25.0%
Virginia	7,078,515	7,567,465	6.9%	7,423,393	4.9%	29.5%
Alaska	626,932	663,661	5.9%	658,021	5.0%	15.4%
New Hampshire	1,235,786	1,309,940	6.0%	1,299,080	5.1%	14.6%
South Carolina	4,012,012	4,255,083	6.1%	4,219,549	5.2%	14.6%
Colorado	4,301,261	4,665,177	8.4%	4,553,610	5.8%	30.7%
North Carolina	8,049,313	8,683,242	7.9%	8,525,518	6.0%	24.8%
Delaware	783,600	843,524	7.6%	832,517	6.2%	18.4%
Texas	20,851,820	22,859,968	9.6%	22,206,212	6.5%	32.6%
Utah	2,233,169	2,469,585	10.6%	2,411,248	8.0%	24.7%
Florida	15,982,378	17,789,864	11.3%	17,268,906	8.0%	28.8%
Georgia	8,186,453	9,072,576	10.8%	8,859,489	8.2%	24.1%
Idaho	1,293,953	1,429,096	10.4%	1,414,524	9.3%	10.8%
Arizona	5,130,632	5,939,292	15.8%	5,773,127	12.5%	20.5%
Nevada	1,998,257	2,414,807	20.8%	2,349,049	17.6%	15.8%

Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau; additional analysis by New Jersey Future

Table 2

## The 20 Largest State-to-State Migration Flows: 1995-2000

State of origin	State of destination	Migration flow	Reverse flow	Gross migration <sup>1</sup>	Net migration <sup>2</sup>
New York	Florida	308,230	70,218	378,448	238,012
New York	New Jersey	206,979	97,584	304,563	109,395
California	Nevada	199,125	60,488	259,613	138,637
California	Arizona	186,151	92,452	278,603	93,699
California	Texas	182,789	115,929	298,718	66,860
Florida	Georgia	157,423	99,225	256,648	58,198
California	Washington	155,577	95,469	251,046	60,108
California	Oregon	131,836	67,642	199,478	64,194
New Jersey	Florida	118,905	34,896	153,801	84,009
Texas	California	115,929	182,789	298,718	-66,860
New York	Pennsylvania	112,214	67,213	179,427	45,001
California	Colorado	111,322	56,050	167,372	55,272
New Jersey	Pennsylvania	110,436	88,202	198,638	22,234
New York	North Carolina	100,727	20,262	120,989	80,465
Georgia	Florida	99,225	157,423	256,648	-58,198
New Jersey	New York	97,584	206,979	304,563	-109,395
Florida	North Carolina	96,255	57,564	153,819	38,691
New York	California	95,952	65,160	161,112	30,792
Washington	California	95,469	155,577	251,046	-60,108
California	Florida	94,265	65,211	159,476	29,054

<sup>1</sup>Sum of migration flow and reverse flow.

<sup>2</sup>Migration flow minus reverse flow.

Source: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau

Table 3

### Net Domestic Migration Flows by County for New Jersey (1995-2000)

\*negative means net outflow (more people left the county than entered)

State/County	total domestic inflow	total domestic outflow	net domestic migration	net domestic migrants to/from NJ counties	net domestic migrants to/from other states (non-NJ)	population change, 1995-2000	% of population change due to net domestic in-migration	% of population change due to net in-migrants from NJ
<b>New Jersey</b>	1,218,641	1,401,470	(182,829)		(182,829)	331,108		
Atlantic County	28,511	29,804	(1,293)	1,808	(3,101)	13,340		13.6%
Bergen County	109,250	139,259	(30,009)	(13,663)	(16,346)	28,876		
Burlington County	75,805	69,786	6,019	10,765	(4,746)	11,504	52.3%	93.6%
Camden County	61,858	80,893	(19,035)	(10,894)	(8,141)	-650		
Cape May County	17,304	19,373	(2,069)	(276)	(1,793)	1,921		
Cumberland County	14,162	15,768	(1,606)	1,517	(3,123)	1,609		94.3%
Essex County	87,576	138,215	(50,639)	(28,288)	(22,351)	10,325		
Gloucester County	39,385	36,019	3,366	4,867	(1,501)	10,921	30.8%	44.6%
Hudson County	74,744	112,594	(37,850)	(32,975)	(4,875)	30,086		
Hunterdon County	27,020	25,332	1,688	7,346	(5,658)	7,940	21.3%	92.5%
Mercer County	54,598	62,470	(7,872)	891	(8,763)	13,285		6.7%
Middlesex County	120,397	132,060	(11,663)	(1,494)	(10,169)	40,939		
Monmouth County	94,778	94,315	463	6,277	(5,814)	31,402	1.5%	20.0%
Morris County	81,671	87,897	(6,226)	13,429	(19,655)	24,904		53.9%
Ocean County	89,794	61,186	28,608	35,565	(6,957)	39,673	72.1%	89.6%
Passaic County	49,547	79,912	(30,365)	(11,750)	(18,615)	9,332		
Salem County	7,403	9,569	(2,166)	1,178	(3,344)	-810		
Somerset County	68,006	60,635	7,371	13,487	(6,116)	30,327	24.3%	44.5%
Sussex County	25,982	29,596	(3,614)	5,608	(9,222)	5,592		100.3%
Union County	69,952	97,222	(27,270)	(11,245)	(16,025)	15,111		
Warren County	20,898	19,565	1,333	7,847	(6,514)	5,481	24.3%	143.2%
<b>Pennsylvania</b>	668,753	800,049	(131,296)					
Bucks Co. PA	92,341	85,811	6,530	2,260	(9,502)	23,784	27.5%	9.5%
Monroe Co. PA	34,070	21,963	12,107	6,596	6,666	19,617	61.7%	33.6%
Northampton Co. PA	44,939	38,308	6,631	6,758	658	7,823	84.8%	86.4%
Philadelphia Co. PA	135,266	229,424	(94,158)	(15,209)	(24,665)	21,216		
Pike Co. PA	13,083	6,257	6,826	2,864	3,361	7,792	87.6%	36.8%
<b>New York</b>	726,477	1,600,725	(874,248)					
Bronx Co. NY	127,367	214,797	(87,430)	(10,370)	(66,093)			
Kings Co. NY	165,511	399,066	(233,555)	(38,426)	(98,239)			
New York Co. NY	277,865	335,114	(57,249)	(11,527)	(18,286)			
Orange Co. NY	54,548	56,092	(1,544)	1,677	(16,599)	17,916		9.4%
Queens Co. NY	195,858	364,363	(168,505)	(25,919)	(103,762)			
Richmond Co. NY	58,304	56,834	1,470	(16,578)	(15,370)			
Rockland Co. NY	33,935	42,917	(8,982)	(1,740)	(12,610)	10,104		
NYC Boroughs				(102,820)	(301,750)			

Table 4

## Significant Net Flows of Domestic Migrants, 1995-2000, for Counties of New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania, and Southern New York

significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:		significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:	
<b>Atlantic County</b>							
no significant outflows		New York City	1,349				
		Cape May	1,160				
		Philadelphia	820				
		Cumberland	349				
<b>Bergen County</b>							
Ocean	4,790	New York City	18,643				
Morris	4,342	Hudson	10,129				
Middlesex	3,577	Rockland NY	624				
Monmouth	2,316						
Sussex	1,944						
Somerset	1,459						
Essex	1,308						
Passaic	1,255						
Orange NY	1,184						
Monroe PA	795						
Pike PA	580						
Warren	487						
Hunterdon	392						
<b>Burlington County</b>							
Cape May	230	Philadelphia	4,540				
		Camden	3,796				
		Mercer	3,043				
		New York City	1,696				
		Essex	1,546				
		Middlesex	891				
<b>Camden County</b>							
Gloucester	3,907	Philadelphia	7,106				
Burlington	3,796						
Cape May	958						
Cumberland	560						
Salem	428						
<b>Cape May County</b>							
Atlantic	1,160	Philadelphia	1,405				
Cumberland	461	Camden	958				
New York City	370	Bucks PA	355				
		Burlington	230				
<b>Cumberland County</b>							
New Castle DE	361	Camden	560				
Atlantic	349	Cape May	461				
Salem	303	New York City	399				
Essex	369						
Union	315						
<b>Essex County</b>							
Union	11,212	New York City	11,015				
Morris	7,948	Hudson	4,519				
Middlesex	3,891	Passaic	1,466				
Ocean	3,720	Bergen	1,308				
Somerset	3,036						
Monmouth	1,703						
Burlington	1,546						
Monroe PA	1,063						
Sussex	1,023						
Warren	752						
Cumberland	369						
Hunterdon	322						
Pike PA	199						
<b>Gloucester County</b>							
Salem	523	Philadelphia	4,202				
		Camden	3,907				
		New York City	3,328				
		Ocean	762				
<b>Hudson County</b>							
Bergen	10,129	New York City	8,807				
Middlesex	4,680						
Essex	4,519						
Union	2,729						
Ocean	2,433						
Monmouth	2,099						
Morris	2,006						
Passaic	1,313						
Somerset	1,213						
Monroe PA	738						
Sussex	666						
Hunterdon	377						
Pike PA	273						
Warren	258						
<b>Hunterdon County</b>							
Warren	972	Somerset	2,946				
Northampton PA	715	Middlesex	1,759				
Bucks PA	397	Union	1,542				
		New York City	970				
		Morris	816				
		Bergen	392				
		Hudson	377				
		Essex	322				
<b>Mercer County</b>							
Burlington	3,043	New York City	2,964				
Bucks PA	1,763	Middlesex	1,999				
Ocean	840	Union	832				

Table 4

significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:		significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:	
<b>Middlesex County</b>							
Ocean	6,747	New York City	14,697				
Somerset	5,134	Union	6,018				
Monmouth	4,701	Hudson	4,680				
Mercer	1,999	Essex	3,891				
Hunterdon	1,759	Bergen	3,577				
Burlington	891	Passaic	1,290				
Monroe PA	801						
Warren	582						
Pike PA	107						
<b>Monmouth County</b>							
Ocean	7,809	New York City	15,844				
Monroe PA	328	Middlesex	4,701				
Pike PA	144	Union	3,163				
		Bergen	2,316				
		Hudson	2,099				
		Essex	1,703				
		Somerset	780				
<b>Morris County</b>							
Warren	1,955	Essex	7,948				
Ocean	1,611	Passaic	4,751				
Sussex	1,601	Bergen	4,342				
Somerset	1,511	New York City	2,933				
Hunterdon	816	Union	2,618				
Monroe PA	549	Hudson	2,006				
Pike PA	328						
<b>Ocean County</b>							
Gloucester	762	Monmouth	7,809				
Orange NY	698	New York City	7,192				
		Middlesex	6,747				
		Bergen	4,790				
		Union	4,426				
		Essex	3,720				
		Hudson	2,433				
		Passaic	1,770				
		Morris	1,611				
		Somerset	887				
		Mercer	840				
		Rockland NY	685				
<b>Passaic County</b>							
Morris	4,751	New York City	2,505				
Ocean	1,770	Hudson	1,313				
Sussex	1,697	Bergen	1,255				
Essex	1,466						
Middlesex	1,290						
Monroe PA	646						
Warren	389						
Pike PA	290						
<b>Salem County</b>							
New Castle DE	978	Gloucester	523				
New York City	222	Camden	428				
		Cumberland	303				
<b>Somerset County</b>							
Hunterdon	2,946	Union	5,611				
Warren	958	Middlesex	5,134				
Ocean	887	New York City	3,073				
Monmouth	780	Essex	3,036				
Pike PA	106	Morris	1,511				
		Bergen	1,459				
		Hudson	1,213				
<b>Sussex County</b>							
Union	594	Bergen	1,944				
Monroe PA	519	Passaic	1,697				
Warren	512	Morris	1,601				
Pike PA	442	Essex	1,023				
		Hudson	666				
<b>Union County</b>							
Middlesex	6,018	Essex	11,212				
Somerset	5,611	New York City	6,801				
Ocean	4,426	Hudson	2,729				
Monmouth	3,163	Sussex	594				
Morris	2,618						
Hunterdon	1,542						
Warren	942						
Mercer	832						
Monroe PA	339						
Cumberland	315						
Pike PA	240						
<b>Warren County</b>							
Northampton PA	2,049	Morris	1,955				
Monroe PA	421	Hunterdon	972				
		Somerset	958				
		Union	942				
		Essex	752				
		Middlesex	582				
		New York City	519				
		Sussex	512				
		Bergen	487				
		Passaic	389				
		Hudson	258				
<b>Bucks Co. PA</b>							
Northampton PA	786	Philadelphia	18,729				
Cape May	355	Mercer	1,763				
		Hunterdon	397				
<b>Monroe Co. PA</b>							
Pike PA	162	New York City	7,330				
		Essex	1,063				
		Middlesex	801				
		Bergen	795				
		Hudson	738				
		Passaic	646				
		Philadelphia	600				
		Morris	549				
		Sussex	519				
		Warren	421				
		Union	339				
		Monmouth	328				

Table 4

significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:		significant net outflows to:		significant net inflows from:	
<b>Northampton Co. PA</b>				<b>Rockland Co. NY</b>			
no significant outflows		Warren	2,049	Orange NY	3,321	New York City	8,757
		New York City	1,391	Ocean	685		
		Bucks PA	786	Bergen	624		
		Hunterdon	715	Pike PA	122		
<b>Philadelphia Co. PA</b>				<b>Orange Co. NY</b>			
Camden	7,106	no significant inflows		Pike PA	789	New York City	9,685
Burlington	4,540					Rockland NY	3,321
Gloucester	4,202					Bergen	1,184
Cape May	1,405					Ocean	698
Atlantic	820			<b>net outflows to:</b>			
Monroe PA	600			<b>net inflows from:</b>			
<b>Pike Co. PA</b>				<b>NJ urban core</b> (Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Passaic, and Union counties combined -- all net flows of 500 or more)			
no significant outflows		New York City	1,787	Morris	21,665	New York City	47,771
		Orange NY	789	Middlesex	19,456	Rockland NY	562
		Bergen	580	Ocean	17,139		
		Sussex	442	Somerset	11,552		
		Morris	328	Monmouth	9,875		
		Passaic	290	Sussex	4,736		
		Hudson	273	Burlington	3,703		
		Union	240	Monroe PA	3,581		
		Essex	199	Hunterdon	2,866		
		Monroe PA	162	Warren	2,828		
		Monmouth	144	Mercer	1,773		
		Rockland NY	122	Pike PA	1,582		
		Middlesex	107	Northampton PA	1,237		
		Somerset	106	Orange NY	1,046		
<b>New York City</b> (5 boroughs combined)				Cumberland	897		
Bergen	18,643	Cape May	370	Philadelphia	809		
Monmouth	15,844	Salem	222	Bucks PA	692		
Middlesex	14,697			Gloucester	560		
Essex	11,015			Camden	556		
Orange NY	9,685						
Hudson	8,807						
Rockland NY	8,757						
Monroe PA	7,330						
Ocean	7,192						
Union	6,801						
Gloucester	3,328						
Somerset	3,073						
Mercer	2,964						
Morris	2,933						
Passaic	2,505						
Pike PA	1,787						
Burlington	1,696						
Northampton PA	1,391						
Atlantic	1,349						
Hunterdon	970						
Warren	519						
Cumberland	399						

“Significant” net flows are those that either represent a net flow of at least 1,000 people or make up at least 0.2 percent of the 2000 population of the smaller county, whether that county is the source or the destination of the net change.

## About the Author



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Tim directs New Jersey Future's research program, with responsibility for the collection and analysis of data used in policy development and planning. He also serves as New Jersey Future's transportation policy specialist. Tim holds a master's degree in city and regional planning from the Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University, and also holds a master's degree in statistics from the University of Virginia. His career experience includes five years as a mathematical statistician for the Bureau of the Census in Washington D.C. You can contact him at [timevans@njfuture.org](mailto:timevans@njfuture.org) or at 609/393-0008 ext. 103.

*The author would like to acknowledge the assistance of Pallavi Nuka in compiling statistics on county-to-county flows.*

## Endnotes

- [1] [www.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/NRI/1997/summary\\_report/table1.html](http://www.nrcs.usda.gov/technical/NRI/1997/summary_report/table1.html)
- [2] The Census provides data on the current and former counties of residence for all people who lived at a different residence in 2000 than in 1995.
- [3] Net international migration statistics are not available from the 2000 Census, because the Census does not (cannot, in fact) measure out-migrants to other countries. (People must actually be living in the U.S. to be included in the Census.) International migration statistics are estimated from sources other than the decennial Census and are thus not directly comparable to the domestic migration statistics used elsewhere in this report. The Census does, however, measure gross immigration – statistics are provided on the number of people in each geographic area in the U.S. who lived in another country in 1995. Because the number of immigrants into the U.S. vastly exceeds the number of out-migrants, using gross immigration in place of net immigration produces only slight overestimates. In fact, New Jersey's net international immigration between 2000 and 2005 was 290,000, only slightly smaller than its total of 312,000 residents in 2000 who lived in another country in 1995 (gross immigration). That is, net international migration appears to be only marginally less than gross immigration, so it is not unreasonable to use total immigration in place of net immigration for purposes of determining immigration's effects on population growth.

New Jersey Future is a non-profit organization founded in 1987 by concerned civic, environmental and corporate leaders in New Jersey to address the need to manage the state's rapid growth. Today, New Jersey Future continues to advocate for planning, conservation and economic development policies that will help create a sustainable future.

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