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Original Paper

Coronavirus Pandemic Refugees and the Future of American Cities

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Abstract

Paralleling crisis behavior in prior pandemics and continuing a contemporary migration trend already underway, wealthy individuals and families as well as remote workers in a host of other demographic groups are fleeing major, high cost, densely settled urban centers in response to the Covid-19 pandemic. These coronavirus pandemic refugees are relocating to less densely settled suburbs, exurbs, and rural areas—creating, in some instances, new "Zoom Towns." The implications for the future viability of large cities are far ranging if, unlike prior pandemics, the social distance moves of coronavirus pandemic refugees and the aversion to dense urban living continue post-Covid-19.

Keywords

Covid-19, urban density, pandemic refugees, social distance, zoom towns

1. Introduction

History informs us that some people, especially the wealthy, typically flee cities in response to pandemics and other major catastrophes (Edelstein, Heyman, & Koser, 2014; Davidson, 2020) (Note 1). Media accounts and preliminary empirical research suggest that the response to the COVID-19 pandemic is no exception (Haynes, 2020; Patino, 2020; Allam, 2020; AFP Relaxnews, 2020; Stoker, Rumore, Romaniello, & Levine, 2020). Nearly a half million people reportedly fled hard-hit New York City within two months of the World Health Organization declaring the coronavirus disease a global pandemic (Horn, 2020; Hall, 2020; Frank, 2020; Sound Health and Lasting Wealth, n.d). (Note 2)

Some coronavirus pandemic refugees headed to nearby suburbs, others headed to second homes and vacation spots in other states (Note 3), and still others moved back home to live with parents (Hall, 2020; Kristian, 2020). Many of those leaving the state were residents of some of New York City's most wealthy neighborhoods (Quealy, 2020; Helmore, 2020; Cuccinello, 2020) (Note 4). Others were renters in the city who lost their jobs in the economic shutdown and either could no longer afford to pay their rent or tolerate the lockdown in what otherwise was a bustling city with almost limitless opportunities for social interaction (Hall, 2020) (Note 5).

Is the pandemic-induced flight from New York City and other U.S urban centers (McGee, 2020; Kukura, 2020; Rasta, 2020) temporary and destined to reverse itself once the pandemic is contained? Or, alternatively, will the pandemic accelerate an out-migration trend already underway—given mandates on social distancing in daily interactions, shifting preferences for less dense living, and the growing trend toward remote work in both the private and public sectors of the economy? (Zaveri, 2020).

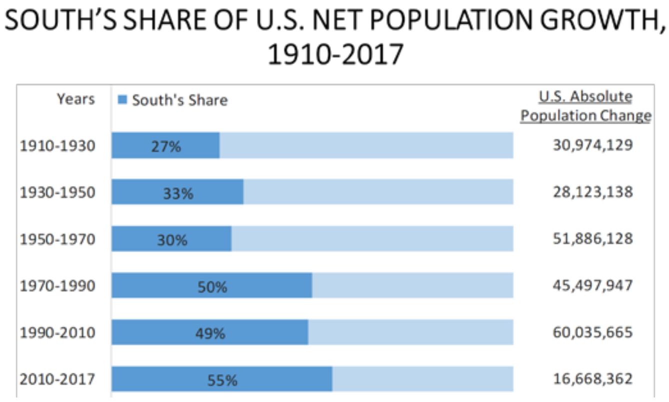
Only time will tell, especially since the coronavirus pandemic is far from over and other overlapping crises, including a nationwide protest over systemic racism, increasing frequency of adverse weather events (floods, fires, and ice storms), and declining faith and trust in democratic institutions and structures, could make matters worse (Johnson & Bonds, 2020a). However, an overview of pre-pandemic migration trends and recent public and private sector efforts to adjust or respond to the coronavirus pandemic should provide insights into what potentially could happen moving forward. These issues have enormous implications for the future form and function of cities of all sizes as well as suburban, exurban, and rural communities (Stoker, Rumore, Romaniello, & Levine, 2020; Potter, 2020; Smith, 2020; Sein, 2020).

2. Pre-Pandemic Migration Trends

A major population redistribution trend was well underway in the U.S. prior to the coronavirus pandemic (Johnson & Parnell, 2019; Calvey, 2020). In every decade since 1970, over half of net U.S. population growth has occurred in the South. Owing to a host of economic and race issues, the South gained no more than one third of net national population growth in the seven decades prior to 1970 (Figure 1A).

Emblematic of the post-1970 redistribution trend, the South captured 55% (9.1 million) of nation's net population gain (16.7 million) between 2010 and 2017. The majority of the net growth was concentrated in five states: Texas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia. The other 13 southern states combined captured only 22% of the region's net growth during this period (Figure 1B).

The South's emergence as the nation's primary growth node was driven in large measure by net migration from the other three U.S. regions—especially the Northeast but also the Midwest and the West (Figure 1C).



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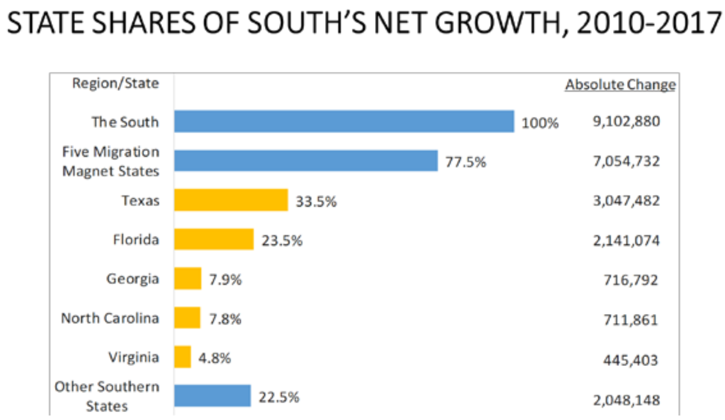

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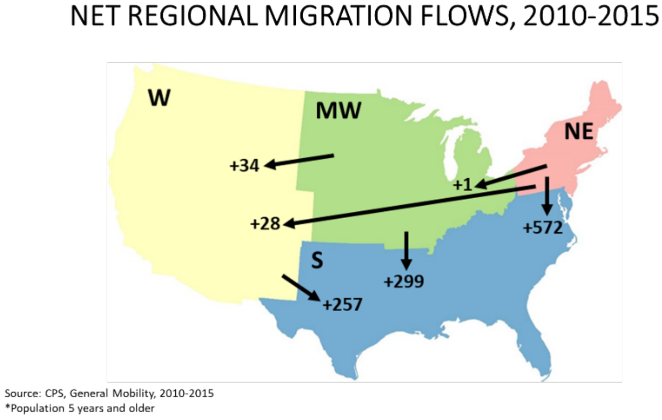

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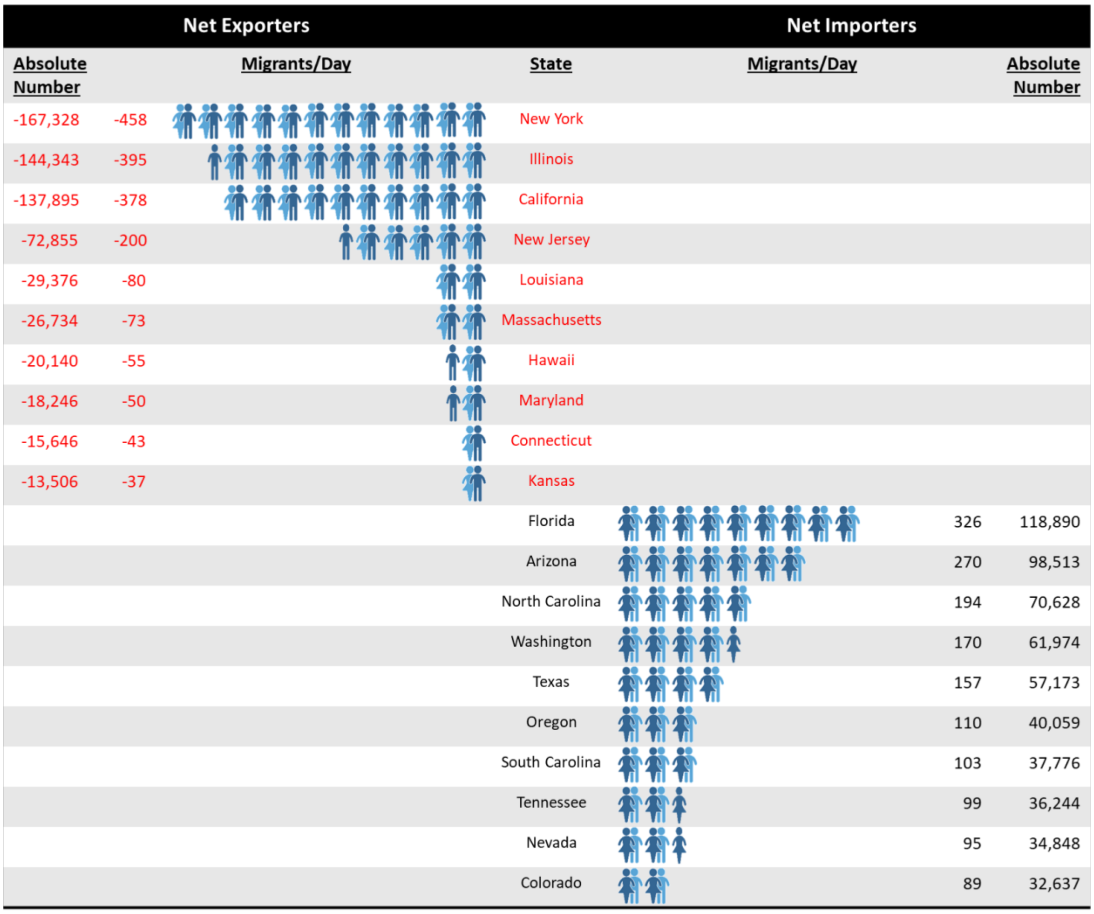
Figure 1. The Emergence of the South as a Migration Magnet

Ten states were the top *net exporters* of population in 2017. Four were in the Northeast (New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut), two were in the Midwest (Illinois and Kansas), and two were in the West (California and Hawaii). Only two were in the South (Maryland and Louisiana). New York was, by far, the number one exporter of population, losing an average of 458 people every day in 2017. New Jersey, California, and Illinois lost between 200 and 395 people daily. The six remaining top net exporters of population lost between 37 and 80 people each day in 2017 (Figure 2).



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey

Figure 2. Top 10 Net Exporters and Net Importers of Population, U.S. States, 2017

A radically different set of states were the nation's top ten *net importers* of population in 2017. As Figure 2 shows, five were in the South (Florida, North Carolina, Texas, South Carolina, and Tennessee) and the other five were in the West (Arizona, Washington, Oregon, Nevada, and Colorado). Florida and Arizona were the top migrant destinations, receiving on average 326 and 270 migrants each day in 2017, respectively. Each of the next five net importer states (North Carolina, Washington, Texas, Georgia, and South Carolina) received between 100 and 200 migrants daily. The remaining three states (Tennessee, Nevada, and Colorado) gained an average of between 89 and 99 migrants each day in 2017.

North Carolina followed Florida and Arizona as the third most popular migration destination, gaining 194 transplants every day in 2017. New York was the leading next exporter of population to North Carolina, with an average 41 transplants arriving each day. Between 10 and 28 migrants arrived each day from eight other states (Florida, California, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Georgia, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Ohio). Between one and six migrants arrived every day from another 20 states plus Washington DC (Figure 3).

State of Origin	Migrants/Day	Absolute Number
New York	41	15,031
Florida	28	10,324
California	25	8,964
New Jersey	23	8,408
Massachusetts	12	4,389
Georgia	12	4,208
Connecticut	11	3,870
Pennsylvania	10	3,592
Ohio	10	3,512
Illinois	6	2,090
Michigan	5	1,790
Missouri	4	1,588
Louisiana	4	1,560
Virginia	4	1,556
Maryland	4	1,462
Texas	4	1,367
Arizona	3	1,195
Indiana	3	1,099
Alaska	3	1,056
Minnesota	3	1,032
Mississippi	3	994
Delaware	2	859
Oregon	2	823
New Mexico	2	786
North Dakota	2	571
West Virginia	1	479
Kansas	1	425
District of Columbia	1	316
Alabama	1	281
Vermont	1	233

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey

Figure 3. Net Number of Interstate Migrants Arriving in NC Each Day by State of Origin, 2017

These single year statistics reflect longer-term gross migration trends. Between 2010 and 2018, for example, the state of New York lost 1.4 million people through net out-migration, an average of 417 people each day over this nine-year period (Table 1). The share of out-migrants was greater than the share of in-migrants across all age groups (Table 2). Compared to non-migrants, two noteworthy age groups—25<35 and 35<45—were *over-represented* in the out flow and *under-represented* in the in-flow, which indicates New York was losing prime working age talent (Horn, 2019) (Note 6).

Table 1. Gross Migration, New York State, 2010-2018

Year	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net Migration	Migrants/Day
2018	254,447	458,014	-203,567	-558
2017	285,252	452,580	-167,328	-458
2016	260,723	450,136	-189,413	-519
2015	257,611	448,855	-191,244	-524
2014	258,571	424,074	-165,503	-453
2013	272,066	401,440	-129,374	-354
2012	270,053	405,864	-135,811	-372
2011	282,209	377,800	-95,591	-261
2010	269,427	363,139	-93,712	-257
2010-2018	2,410,359	3,781902	-1,371,543	-417

Source: American Community Survey, State to State Migration Flows, 2010-2018

Table 2. Shares of Non-Migrant, In-Migrant, and Out-Migrant Tax Returns by Age, State of New York, 2016-2017

Type of Return	<26	26<35	35<45	45<55	55<65	65+	Total Returns
Non-Migrant	8%	19%	17%	19%	18%	18%	7,421,285
In-Flow	13%	26%	9%	5%	4%	5%	287,324
Out-Flow	15%	37%	18%	10%	9%	11%	290,076

Source: IRS Migration File, 2016-2017

North Carolina's attractiveness as a migration destination also started well before 2017. Between 2010 and 2018, the state's population increased by close a half million (495,379) through net in-migration. During this nine-year period, the state gained on average 151 migrants each day (Table 3).

As Figure 4 shows, North Carolina experienced net in-migration flows from large-, medium-, and small-sized metropolitan areas as well as micropolitan and rural communities throughout the nation. Moreover, the newcomers to North Carolina between 2017 and 2018 brought substantial value to the state. One indicator of their value: across the age spectrum, *in-migrants* had higher per-capita adjusted gross incomes than both *non-migrants* and *out-migrants*—a major boost to the state's economy and tax base (Tables 4 & 5).

Table 3. Gross Migration, State of North Carolina, 2010-2018

Year	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net Migration	Migrants/Day
2018	318,681	238,947	79,731	+218
2017	313,834	243,206	70,628	+194
2016	330,896	256,563	74,333	+204
2015	310,612	237,206	73,406	+201
2014	286,523	248,938	37,585	+103
2013	275,922	247,090	28,832	+79
2012	273,149	238,663	34,486	+94
2011	265,291	225,147	40,144	+110
2010	263,256	207,025	56,231	+154
2010-2018	2,638,164	2,142,785	495,379	+151

Source: American Community Survey, State to State Migration Flows, 2010-2018

Table 4. Differences in Adjusted Gross Income (AGI) of North Carolina In-Migrants & Out-Migrants by Age, 2017-18

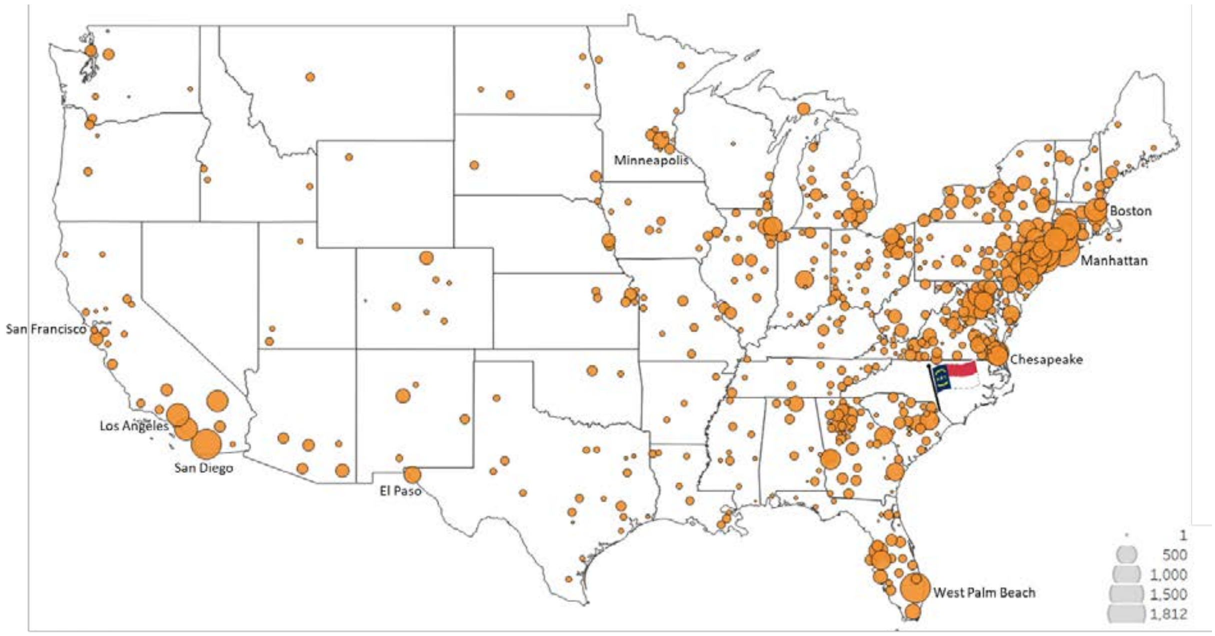
Age	In-Flow AGI	Out-Flow AGI	Difference
All Ages	$36,385	$32,338	$4,047
Under 26	$20,228	$19,778	$ 450
26 under 35	$27,595	$26,504	$1,091
35 under 45	$30,242	$27,002	$3,240
45 under 55	$46,436	$44,771	$1,665
55 under 65	$67,644	$62,166	$5,478
65 and over	$59,233	$51,719	$7,514

Source: IRS Migration File

Table 5. Differences in Adjusted Gross Incomes of North Carolina In-Migrants & Non-Migrants by Age, 2017-18

Age	In-Flow AGI	Non-Migrant AGI	Difference
All Ages	$36,385	$34,072	$ 2,313
Under 26	$20,228	$17,061	$ 3,167
26 under 35	$27,595	$21,819	$ 5,776
35 under 45	$30,242	$25,842	$ 4,400
45 under 55	$46,436	$37,745	$ 8,691
55 under 65	$67,644	$48,991	$18,653
65 and over	$59,233	$47,483	$11,750

Source: IRS Migration File

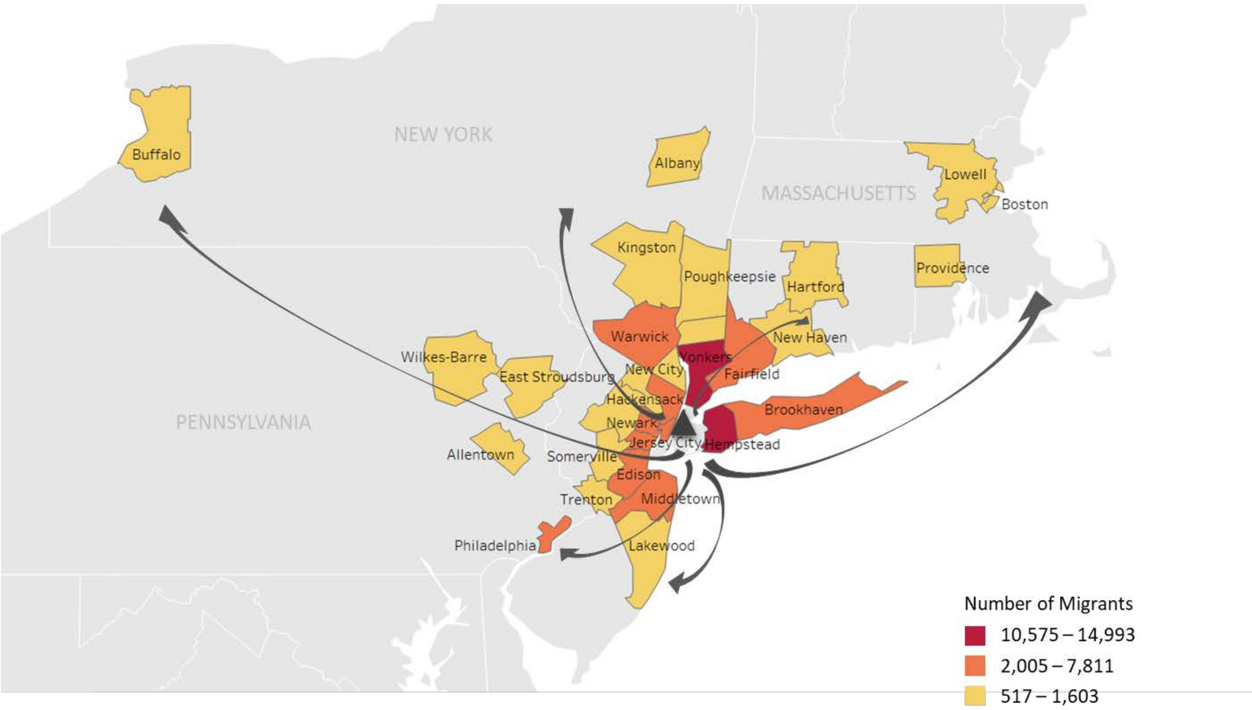


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2013-2017 American Community Survey

Figure 4. Net Migration Flows in North Carolina, 2013-2017

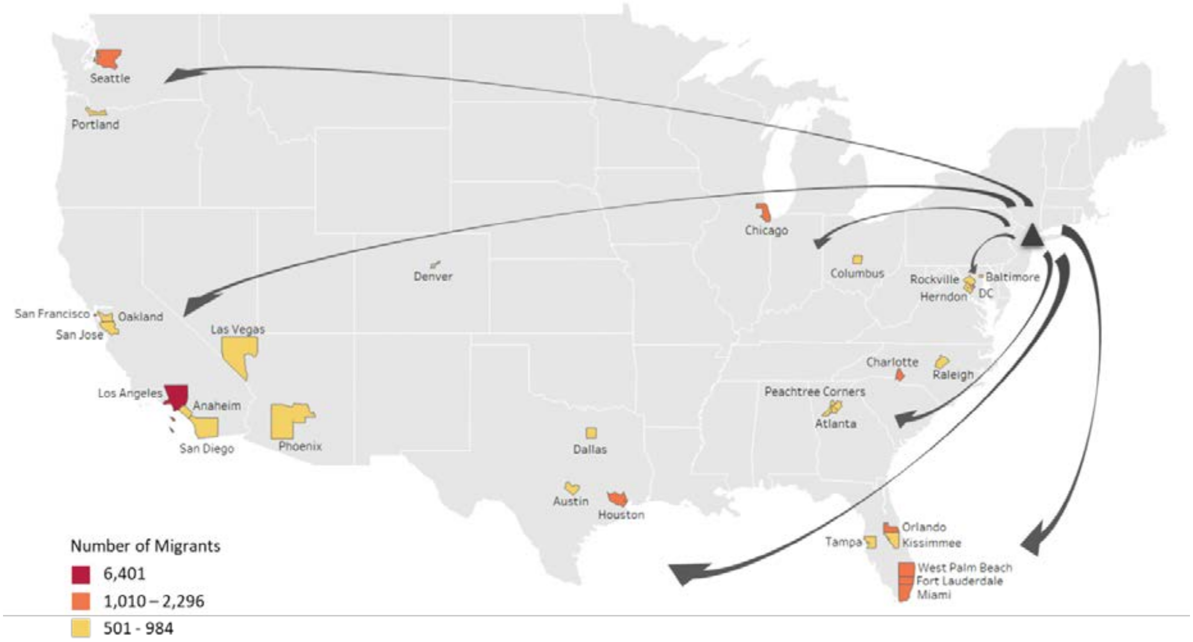
Transplants from New York City played a major role in the redistribution of population to the South. Prior to the pandemic, New York City lost 227 residents per day through net out-migration in 2018 (Lu & Tanzi, 2019). Continuing a pre-pandemic trend and paralleling the exodus during the pandemic, a significant share of those leaving relocated to nearby dormitory suburbs and other more affordable communities in the Northeast (Figure 5). However, some made long distance moves to small, medium, and large-sized cities and towns in other regions of the U.S. (Figure 6).

Notably, as Figure 7 shows, there were salient flows into North Carolina's two largest cities (Charlotte and Raleigh); centers of governance (Raleigh) and finance (Charlotte); higher education, health care, and innovation hubs (Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, Greensboro, Greenville, Fayetteville, Wilmington and Winston-Salem); military towns (Fayetteville and Jacksonville); and amenity rich retirement communities (Asheville and Wilmington). Relocation to these communities constituted a form of life style migration that also characterized the redistribution of population from New York City and other northeastern cities into select cities in, among other southern states, Tennessee (Nashville and Chattanooga) and Texas (Austin).



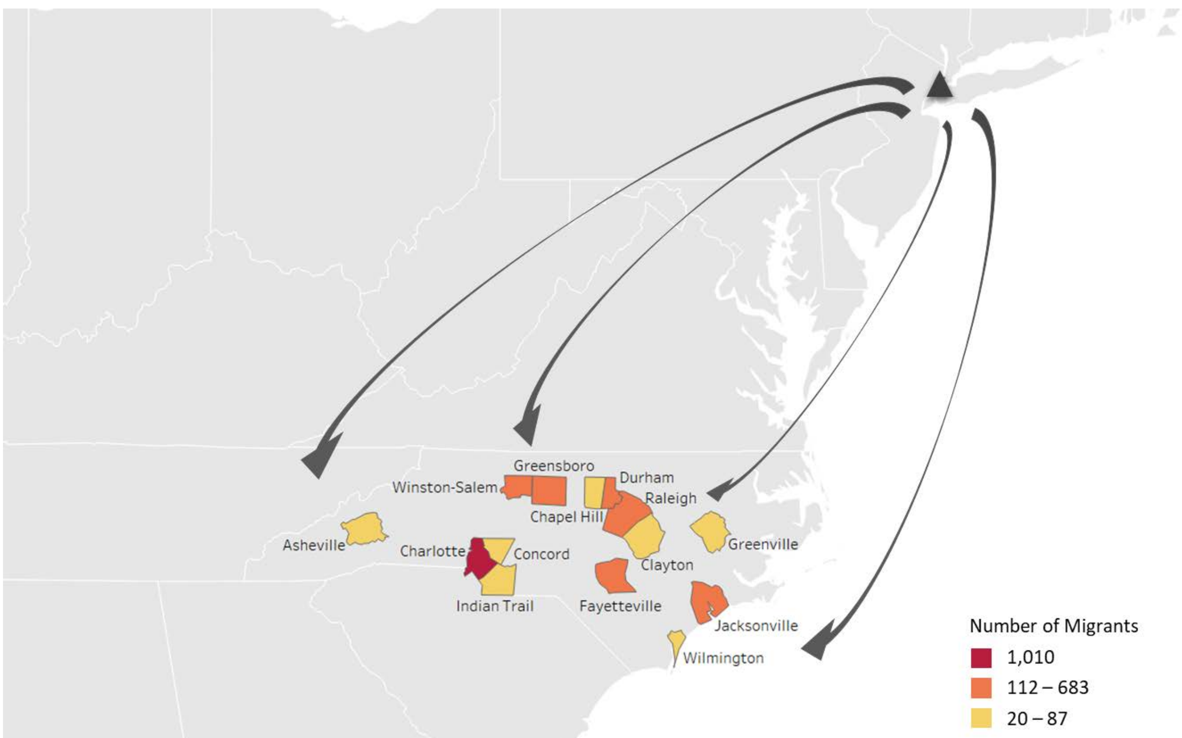
Source: IRS Migration File

Figure 5. New York City, NY-Out Migration Fields in the Northeast, 2017-2018



Source: IRS Migration File

Figure 6. New York City, NY-Out Migration Fields in Other Regions, 2017-2018



Source: IRS Migration File

Figure 7. New York City, NY-Out Migration Fields in North Carolina, 2017-2018

3. Discussion and Implications for U.S. Cities

Studies of earlier pandemics and other major crises suggest that the exodus from New York City observed during the coronavirus pandemic may be temporary. In past pandemics, refugees reportedly have typically returned remaining attracted to the social and cultural dynamism cities like New York offer (Davidson, 2020). This was certainly the case following the 9/11 terrorist attacks when a strong sense of patriotism supplanted fears of subsequent attack (Kadet, 2020). However, the circumstances surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic raise questions about the future attractiveness of large cities like New York as places to live and do business.

First, a major exodus of both people and jobs was underway prior to the pandemic. Corporations were relocating headquarters and transferring jobs from large cities like New York to smaller and more affordable cities in the South (Cowen, 2020; Hill, 2019) (Note 7). And crumbling infrastructure, the high cost of living, wintry weather, and dwindling job prospects were forcing some New York residents to follow--and in some instances to lead--the exodus of businesses and jobs (Kelly, 2019; Hill, 2019).

Second, large U.S. cities, especially the immigrant gateways, were already, prior to the pandemic, beginning to experience a slow-down in the influx of international migrants as a function of the Trump Administration’s anti-immigration rhetoric and anti-immigrant policymaking (Chishti & Pierce, 2020; Nowrasteh & Forrester, 2020; Somin, 2020; Drabhhamulla, 2020; NAFSA, 2020). The situation has worsen during the coronavirus pandemic, with travel bans imposed on entry from a host of countries, including China, Brazil, and the United Kingdom. In addition, the Trump Administration has imposed restrictions on just about everyone seeking entry into the U.S. on immigrant and non-immigrant visas, including temporary workers (agricultural and high tech), family members of legal permanent residents, asylum seekers, and international students (Johnson & Bonds, 2020b).

The economic impact of these draconian policies on the tax base of large U.S. cities could be devastating. It is conceivable that both international tourists and aspiring international migrants offended by the Trump Administration’s scapegoating of immigrants in the pandemic might choose cities in other countries as places to visit, study, and take up residence in the future (McGeehan, 2020) (Note 8).

Third, closer to home, it is difficult to predict future migration behavior given the evolving spatio-temporal pattern of coronavirus infections and deaths. Some New York City coronavirus refugees fled to destinations perceived to be safe havens from the pandemic, such as Florida, which subsequently turned out to be hotspots for community spread of the virus (Tavernise & Mervosh, 2020) (Note 9). Given that the flashpoint of the coronavirus pandemic shifted from the Northeast and is now widespread throughout the South--the nation’s most rapidly growing region for the past several decades—and the rest of the country raise serious questions about future regional population shifts. Will Florida and the South’s other migration magnet states, including North Carolina, remain highly desirable destinations for migrants (Allam, 2020)?

Fourth, aside from regional preference in migration decisions, it remains to-be-seen what impact the pattern of community spread of the coronavirus will have on desires for dense urban living and how that will vary across the life course in the near future. Some urban experts forecast a major move away from dense urban living and a renewed preference for suburban, exurban, and rural living where it is easier to practice social distancing (Potter, 2020; Sen, 2020; Smith, 2020; Levine, 2020).

Assessing the likely impact of the pandemic, Kotkin asserts, "…cities were already in trouble. And in the age of social distancing…dense cities particularly have a lot going against them." He continues by stating, "People will continue to move more into the periphery and into smaller cities, where basically you can get around without getting on (public) transit" (quoted in Shoichet & Jones, 2020).

Commenting on pandemic-induced migration, Bendix (2020) quotes a real estate developer who said,

…rural demand is much stronger right now than urban demand, and that's a flip from where it's been for the longest time, where everybody want to live in the city. There seems to be a profound, psychological change among consumers who are looking for houses…

Bendix (2020) goes on to contend,

The pandemic has fundamentally changed the way we live, work, and socialize: We conduct business on laptops in makeshift home offices and attend classes on Zoom. The amenities that urbanites prize—concerts, museums, and cafes—are shuttered. At a time when physical proximity to others is a danger, many city dwellers are beginning to fundamentally question the appeal of density—and how much they're willing to pay for urban apartments."

He further surmises that

The coronavirus…seems to be catalyzing a trend that had already started: slow-moving migration toward suburbs, exurbs, and smaller, less-dense cities. The era of the big city has, yet again, run its course.

Citing a Harris Poll, Menton (2020) reports, "nearly a third of Americans are considering moving to less densely populated areas in the wake of the pandemic." She goes on to note that "[p]eople want to stay away from public elevators and sharing of common laundry areas…People are expressing concern about living in high rises with common amenities." She concludes by citing an economist from the National Association of Realtors who states "people will be much more cautious about living in high density areas with so many people."

And, because of the pandemic, Frank (2020) notes,

…sprawling homes with multiple rooms and living quarters, large land parcels and remote locations have become an asset rather than a liability. Reversing the back to the city movement, pools, large home offices, strong internet and cell services are major assets in suburbs.

Fifth, while only time will tell if the foregoing prognoses will fully materialize, the extent to which remote work will become the new norm in the aftermath of the Covid-19 pandemic also will likely strongly influence future migration decisions and residential settlement patterns. Several major corporations, including Twitter, Facebook, and Spotify, have already decided to allow certain segments of their workforce to work remotely on a permanent basis. Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg reportedly "estimates about half of his 50,000 staffers will work remotely with 5-10 years" (Sound Health and Lasting Wealth, n.d.). Other corporations as well as some government and nonprofit organizations may do the same. Such decisions will have enormous implications for whether coronavirus pandemic refugees will return to expensive urban markets like New York City or whether they will seek out less dense suburban, exurban, and rural destinations with broadband access in the South and West regions of the country, creating, in the process, Zoom towns (Potter, 2020; Levine, 2020; Sen, 2020; Smith, 2020; Stoker, Rumore, Romaniello, & Levine, 2020).

A recent survey of 4000 employees in major tech companies reportedly found that "… 69 percent of New Yorkers in the tech and finance fields would consider relocating if they knew they could work from home permanently. 18% would leave the metro area, 36 percent would move out of state, and 15% would leave the country" (Ruiz, 2020; also see Zillow, 2020; Crum, 2020). This shift to virtual work has led one group to forecast that 25-30% of the U.S. workforce will work from home multiple days a week by the end of 2021, up from 3.6% prior to the pandemic (Lister, 2020).

Reflecting on the implications, one writer says, "That means employees may not need to live in the city where their company is headquartered." Another posed the question: Is this the end of the Tech Hub? (Sound Health and Lasting Wealth, n.d.) Does it also mean the demand for co-working spaces in cities will decline sharply or perhaps end? (Roepe, 2020; Novogradac, Baskerville, & Clarke, 2020).

Sixth, efforts by communities with slowly growing or declining populations offering incentives for remote workers and others to leave high cost urban centers and relocate to their communities could potentially influence such migration decisions (Adamczyk, 2019; Pesce, 2019; Glass Door Team, 2019; The Penny Hoarder Staff, 2019; Shrikant, 2019; Garfield & Brandt, 2020; Ocampo, 2020; Hoagland, 2020). A list of communities currently offering a variety of migration incentives, including relocation expenses, tax credits, forgivable mortgages, student loan repayment, cash, and land, appears in Table 6.

Table 6. Migration Incentive Programs

City	Incentive Program	Description
Hamilton, OH	The Talent Attraction Program Scholarships. https://hamiltonfoundation.academicworks.com/donors/talent-attraction-program-tap-scholarship	$5,000 toward student loan repayment
North Platte, NE	WorkNP.com http://www.nparea.com/worknp	$5,000 to those who move for a job
Detroit, MI	Challenge Detroit https://www.challengedetroit.org/	Paid Fellowship for out-of-state college

		graduates to work with local company
Osborne, KS	Industrial Park & High Plains Addition (commercial) Sunset Addition (residential) http://www.discoverosborne.com/ECONOMICDEVELOPMENT/BusinessIncentives.aspx	Free commercial and residential lots
Cottonwood Falls, KS	Rural Opportunity Zones https://www.kansascommerce.gov/programs-services/community-development/rural-opportunity-zones/	State Income Tax Waived for up to 5 years & $15,000 in Student Loan Repayments
Lincoln, Kansas	"Free Lot Plan" http://www.lincolnks.org/Housing_Development_Full_Packet_2017.pdf	Free lots ranging from 12,000 square feet to 36,000 square feet. Contingent upon a contract with a building contractor. Lots qualify for City's 10-year tax rebate program.
Manilla, IA	Sunrise Addition Phase II https://www.manillaia.com/business.asp?key=3#Article	Free land—single family lots
Tulsa, OK	Tulsa Remote Program https://tulsaremote.com/#hero	Pay remote workers up to 10,000 & spot in a co-working community in city. Must have a full time remote job to qualify.
St. Clair County, MI	Come Home Award Fund https://www.stclairfoundation.org/funds/more/reverse_scholarship_fund	Provide college graduates with student debt up to $15,000 to move there. Must have a degree in science, technology, arts, or math and must secure a job within 120 days of award.
Topeka, KS	Choose Topeka	City teams up with

	https://choosetopeka.com/	employers to pay up to $15,000 if recruit purchases home in the city. $10,000 if recruit rents.
Claremont, MN	Claremont House Lot Program https://www.claremontmn.com/	Free residential lots to individuals willing to build on them.
Chattanooga, TN	Geek Move Program https://www.thegigcity.com/geekmove/	Offers computer developers $1,250 in relocation expenses and a $10,000 forgivable mortgage
Newton, IA	"Get to Know Newton" https://newtongov.org/806/Housing-Initiative	Offers up to $10,000 cash to new homebuyers and a welcome package of over $3,000
Maine	Educational Opportunity Tax Credit https://www.maine.gov/revenue/faq/eotc_faq.html#eotc1	Tax credit depending on graduation year and type of degree earned that saves big on student loans.
Vermont	The Remote Worker Grant https://www.thinkvermont.com/remote-worker-grant-program-2019/	Offers up to $10,000 in relocation expenses.

Source: compiled by author

Finally, a critical question: Will the way states and cities respond to the Black Lives Matter Protest Movement influence future migration tends? The protest over systemic racism has encapsulated nearly every city in America, including violent confrontations in some instances, at the same time we are battling the coronavirus pandemic. The impact of these twin crises on the human psyche and future migration intentions remains unknown and difficult to predict.

4. Postscript

One thing is clear: our lives and mobility behaviors as well as the way we sort ourselves out residentially probably will be radically different in the future. The emphasis on social distancing is likely to be with us for quite some time—even after one or more of the vaccines currently in development become widely available. It is therefore reasonable to surmise that urban sprawl—the expansion of growth and development beyond the city limits once viewed as responsible for a number of urban ills (Ewing & Hamidi, 2015) --may very well become in vogue again. This is especially likely for older adults and millennials with young children who view “social distance moves” to be one way of slowing the spread of the virus (Williams, 2020).

Further, the rebound of New York City and other large urban centers, including Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego, will hinge on our nation’s willingness to reverse the current anti-immigration policy orientation. It will further depend on whether such a policy shift will renew aspiring immigrants’ perceptions and beliefs that the U.S. remains the land of opportunity—a great place to visit, live, work, and launch business enterprises.

Living here in the U.S., our response(s) to the coronavirus pandemic will be rooted in our stage in the life cycle, family composition, living arrangements, economic circumstance, and ability to work remotely as well as our residential zip code, which largely determines our personal and community experiences with the virus. Efforts to develop predictive models of post-pandemic migration behavior must take all of these factors into consideration.

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Notes

Note 1. Edelstein, Heymann, and Koser (2014) note that "Large scale population movement as a direct result of a health crisis is rare. When it does occur, migration tends to be internal (to regions directly outside the immediate crisis zone), temporary, and early on in the health crisis when information is often scarce, contradictory or inaccurate."

Note 2. According to Sound Health and Lasting Wealth (n.d.), Manhattan's population fell by almost 20 percent between March 1 and May 1, 2020. SOHO, West Village, Morningside Heights, the Upper East Side, the Financial District, Midtown, Gramercy and Brooklyn Heights reportedly "emptied by at least 40 percent."

Note 3. Several accounts suggest that we are witnessing the emergence of so-called "Zoom Towns," especially in rural, amenity rich areas in the West, where remote workers can "leave the city behind."

(AFP Relaxnews, 2020; also see Levine, 2020; Smith, 2020; Potter, 2020; Sen, 2020; Stoker, Rumore, Romaniello, and Levine, 2020).

Note 4. As Quealy (2020) put it,

> "The neighborhoods driving the exodus do not resemble the city as a whole. The residents from these places are mostly white in a city that's mostly not. Residents from these places are more than twice as likely to have a college degree. These places have higher rents and lower poverty rates. People who live there are more likely to be able to walk or bike to work, or to work from home…. More than half of these neighborhood residents have household incomes of more than $100,000; nearly one in three earn more than $200,000."

Note 5. The median rent in Manhattan reportedly was $3500 a month in 2019 (Hall, 2020).

Note 6. Horn (2019) reports large cities of more than a half million lost an average of 27,000 residents between the ages of 25 and 39 in 2018. They loss an average of 54,000 in 2017. He asserts that this is evidence of a slowing the urban revival that began at the beginning of the decade.

Note 7. Cowan (2020) notes that, in aftermath of the pandemic, the age of senior managers in corporate America is likely to be a deterrent to locating headquarters in large cities. And Hill (2019) points out that, prior to the pandemic, Google, Apple, Dropbox, and Oracle all had set up expanded offices in Austin, TX.

Note 8. McGeehan (2020) reports that New York City's tourism "industry...brought in $45 million annually and supported 300,000 jobs."

Note 9. Prior to the pandemic, according to Tavernise and Mervosh (2020), a real estate developer in South Florida reportedly averaged one or two calls per day from wealthy suburbs of New Jersey, Manhattan and Long Island, as well as other parts of the Northeast. Further, they note, when the pandemic struck, the number of calls increased to an average of 8 to 10 per day.

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