



Pandemic Patterns: California is Seeing Fewer Entrances and More Exits

NATALIE HOLMES AND EVAN WHITE

February 28th, 2022 update

The research team has identified an error in how domestic entrances to California were calculated, which led to a substantial underestimate of domestic entrances in this policy brief. Please see the [February 2022 errata](#) for more details. This error affects only entrances, and does not impact the estimates of the number of people leaving California, moving within California, or breaking down destinations among non-entrant movers. This policy brief will be updated as soon as corrected estimates are available.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since the COVID-19 pandemic began, far fewer people have been moving into California from other states and more have been leaving. At the end of September 2021, entrances to California were 38% lower than at the end of March 2020.¹ Exits, following a dip in the first half of 2020, stood 12% higher at the end of September 2021 than at the end of March 2020 — representing a return to a steady pre-pandemic rate of increase of approximately 4% per year since 2016. These two trends have combined to more than double net domestic migration away from California, defined as entrances from other US states minus exits to other US states. This brief updates our spring 2021 analysis that used data through December 2020.

These trends are present throughout the state. Since the end of March 2020, new entrances to the state have dropped in every California county, and when Californians move, they are slightly more likely to leave the state than they were before the pandemic began (true for nearly every county).

But the Bay Area stands out, for several reasons. Since the end of March 2020, new entrances to Bay Area counties have dropped more quickly than in other parts of the state. Before the pandemic, San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties were the only net receivers of population from other US states. Today, all California counties lose population to domestic migration. In addition, whereas in every other economic region the move rate fell since the pandemic began, Bay Area residents moved (to any destination) at higher levels (up 8%, to 4.2%), driving a 21% increase in Bay Area exits.

KEY RESEARCH FINDINGS

- There is still no evidence of a pronounced exodus from the state, but *net* entrances from domestic migration — defined as entrances from other US states minus exits to other US states — have dropped significantly since the start of the pandemic. On net today, California loses more than twice as many people to domestic migration as it did before the pandemic.
- Since the start of the pandemic, entrances have decreased in all California counties (down 38% statewide).
- Exits to other US states are up 12% since the start of the pandemic, in line with pre-pandemic trends.
- In 52 of 58 counties, Californians who move are more likely to leave the state than they were before the pandemic.
- Californians from the Bay Area accounted for a larger share of those leaving the state than before the pandemic, driven by an increase in moves (to any destination) originating from the region.
- San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara counties have lost population due to domestic migration for the first time since at least 2016, the first year for which we report data.

POPULATION MATTERS

Following the 2020 decennial Census, California is slated to **lose a congressional seat** for the first time. Also for the first time on record, in the spring of 2021, the California Department of Finance projected that the state **lost population** in the previous year. Although California remains the most populous state by far, home to one in eight of all Americans, these demographic changes affect federal funding formulas and reduce the state's political power.

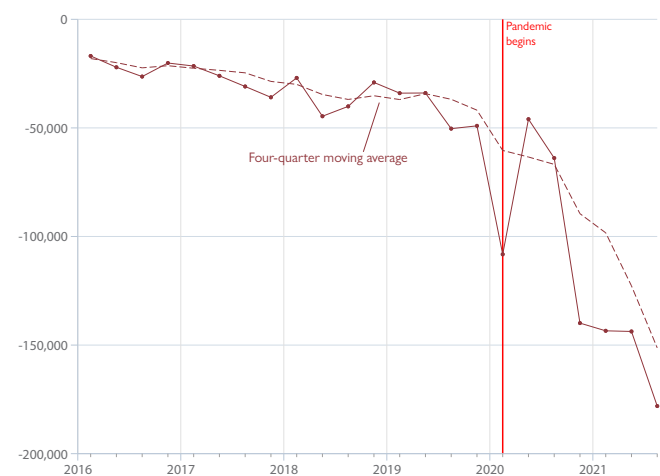
Population change occurs through a combination of “natural” factors (births and deaths) and international and domestic migration. California continues to have a positive rate of natural population increase: in 2019, 446,479 people were born in California and 268,818 people died.² California also continues to attract steady international in-migration, with a net inflow of 1.5 million last decade. In contrast, California has lost population to domestic out-migration for many years. Between 2010 and 2020, 1.3 million more Californians left the state than arrived from other states.³ There has been extensive speculation about the factors driving this trend, ranging from high housing costs and adverse business conditions to the increasing prevalence of wildfires.

This brief examines domestic migration to and from California during the COVID-19 pandemic through September 2021. We measure mobility using anonymized quarterly credit records from one of the three nationwide credit bureaus. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. While this is the best near-real-time data we have seen for measuring mobility, it has some disadvantages. One in ten adults does not have a credit record, and younger adults and lower-income consumers are less represented in the data.⁴ Because children are also not included, our estimates of the volumes of movers are underestimates of the true volumes.⁵

NET ENTRANCES ARE DOWN STATEWIDE

California has lost population due to domestic net out-migration for many years. But that trend has accelerated during the COVID pandemic. On net, California lost over two times as many people to domestic migration. Our data show just over 60,000 net exits in Q1 2020 as compared to just over 150,000 net exits in Q3 2021, though these volumes are likely lower bounds because our sample does not include children or those without a credit history.

FIGURE 1. Net entrances to California



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. Domestic migration only.

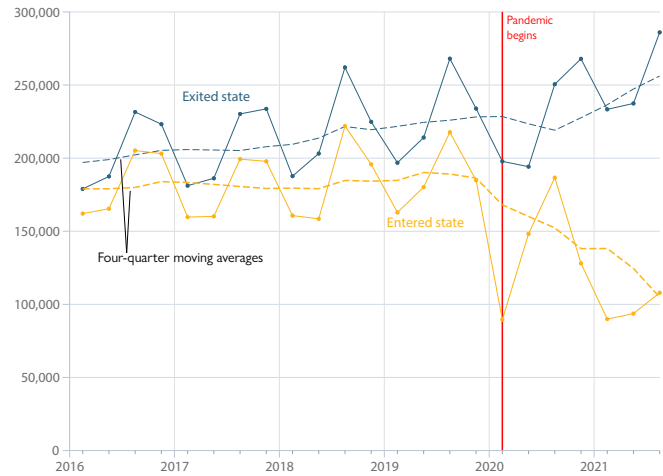
This net decline is a result of both decreased entrances to the state and increased exits from the state (Figure 2). Following a dip early in the pandemic, exits rebounded in the latter half of 2020 and have continued to increase such that they are now 12% higher than pre-COVID levels — on pace with pre-pandemic trends. Entrances likewise dipped early in the pandemic and continued to fall, such that they are down 38% compared to pre-COVID levels. This downward trend in entrances, also seen in many urban centers,⁶ seems to be more significant but is garnering less media attention. We discuss entrances and exits in turn.

ENTRANCES TO CALIFORNIA ARE DOWN STATEWIDE

Before the COVID-19 pandemic began in early 2020, both the total number of new domestic entrants to California and their likelihood of settling in any given region of the state had remained stable since at least 2016 (Figure 3). Southern California, home to the largest US county (Los Angeles), typically receives 45% of all new domestic migrants to the state. Before the pandemic, the less populous 11-county Bay Area economic region typically received just over 22% of new domestic migrants to California. Since then, that share has fallen by 12% to just below 20%.

Since the start of the pandemic, entrances have declined in every economic region — but most significantly in the Bay Area. Figure 4 shows trends in out-of-state entrances to all nine economic regions, normalizing each to 0 at Q1 2020, the quarter closest to the start of the pandemic. By the end of September 2021, 45% fewer people were moving into the Bay Area from other US states than at the end of March 2020.

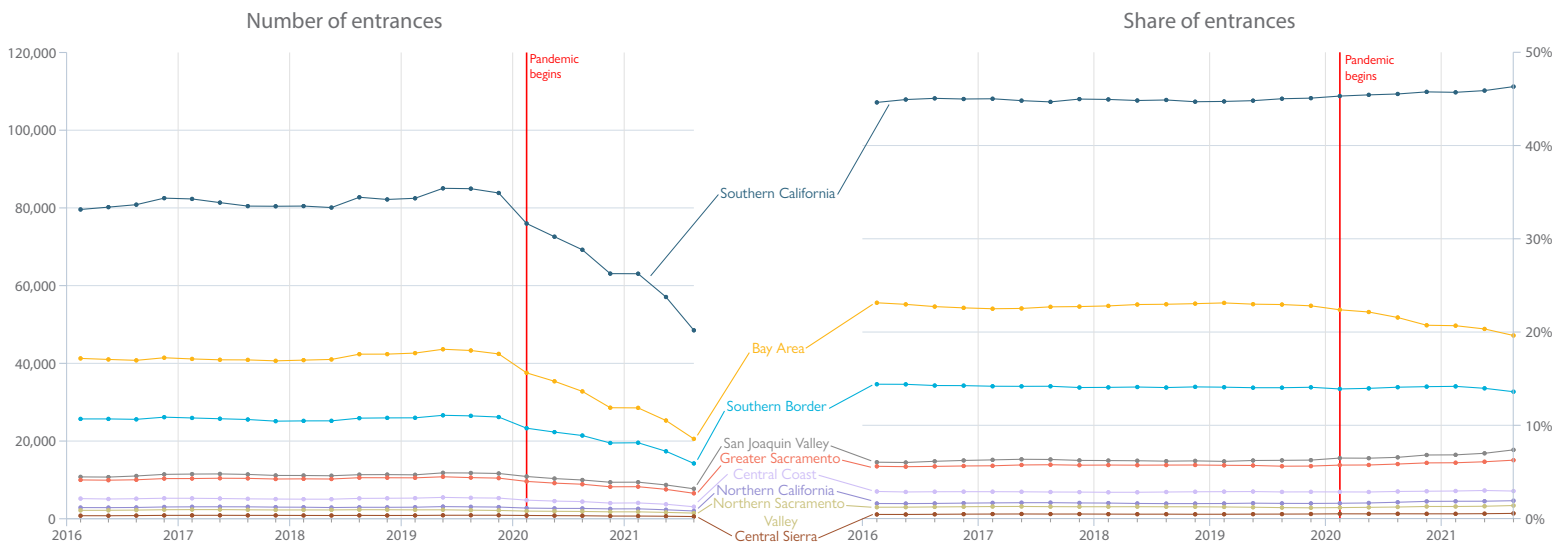
FIGURE 2. Entrances to and exits from California



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. Domestic migration only.

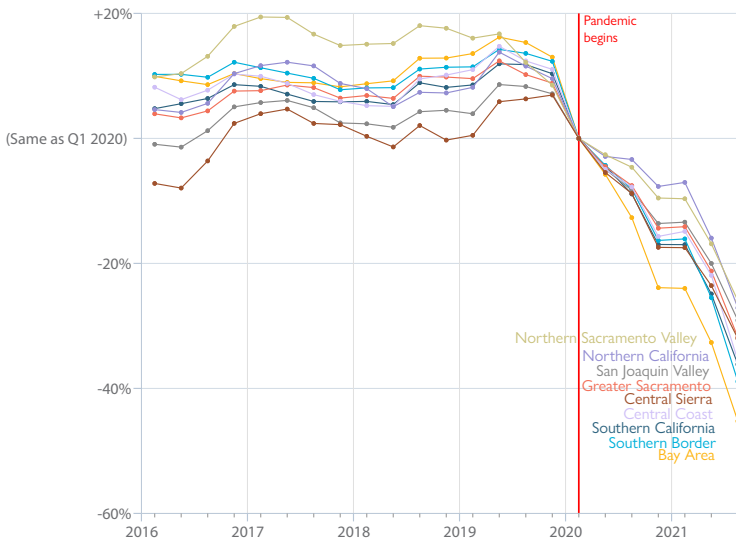
FIGURE 3. Number and percentage of entrances to California, by economic region



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: All figures reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. Domestic migration only.

FIGURE 4. Percent change in entrances to California relative to Q1 2020, by economic region



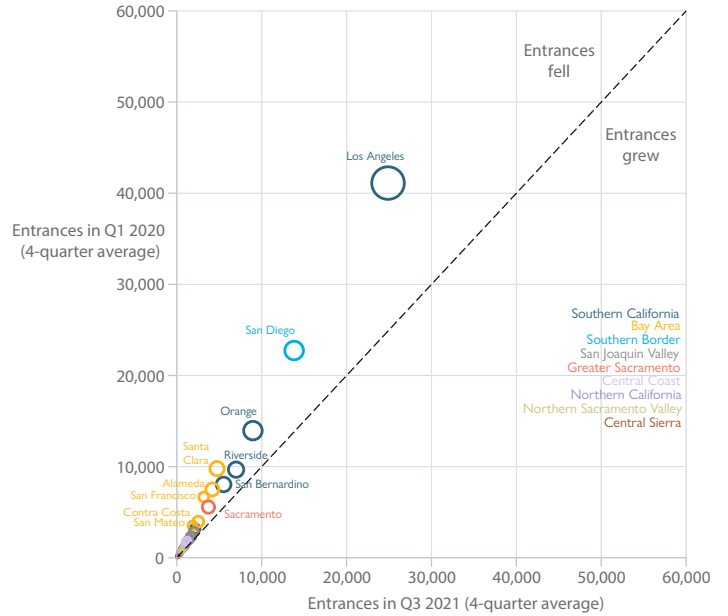
Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: All figures reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

Zooming in to the county level, we see that all 58 counties have experienced a drop in out-of-state entrances since the pandemic began. The vertical axis of **Figure 5** shows the four-quarter average number of entrances immediately prior to the pandemic (through Q1 2020). The horizontal axis shows the same measure six quarters after the start of the pandemic (Q3 2021). Counties with the same average number of entrances in both periods would appear on the dotted line. Those where entrances fell since the pandemic started appear above the line, while those where entrances increased since the pandemic started (there were none) would appear below it. All counties saw steep declines since COVID arrived, but declines were especially steep in San Francisco County (-53%), Santa Clara County (-52%), and San Mateo County (-48%).

The statewide drop in entrances to California accounts for the bulk of the decline in *net* entrances. Though as the next section explains, exits have ticked up to pre-pandemic trends.

FIGURE 5. Number of out-of-state entrances to California counties, before and during COVID-19 pandemic



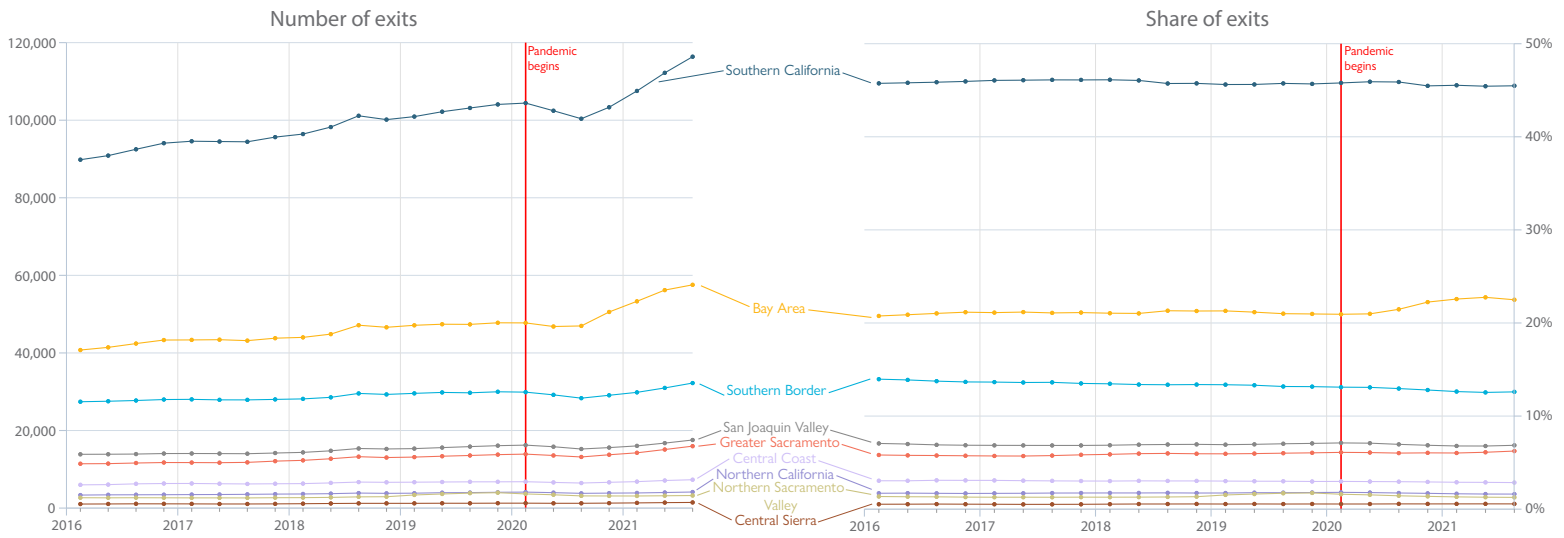
Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. Domestic migration only.

EXITS FROM CALIFORNIA HAVE RETURNED TO PRE-PANDEMIC TRENDS

Exits to other states increased in most California regions since the pandemic began. There was a brief dip in mid-2020, as overall mobility stalled, but since then out-of-state exits have increased in almost every region. As with entrances, the Bay Area has experienced some of the largest movement in exits, such that by the end of September 2021 it accounted for a larger share of total exits from the state than in the pre-pandemic period (**Figure 6**).

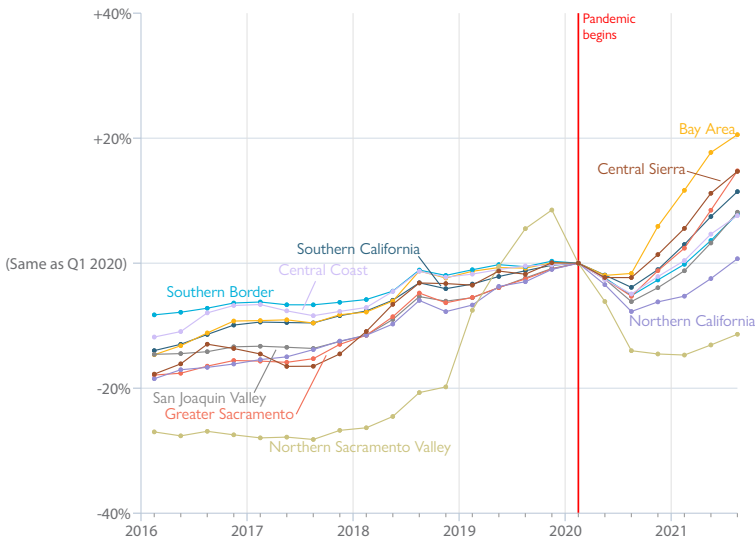
FIGURE 6. Number and percentage of exits from California by economic region



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: All figures reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. Domestic migration only.

FIGURE 7. Percent change in exits from California relative to Q1 2020, by economic region



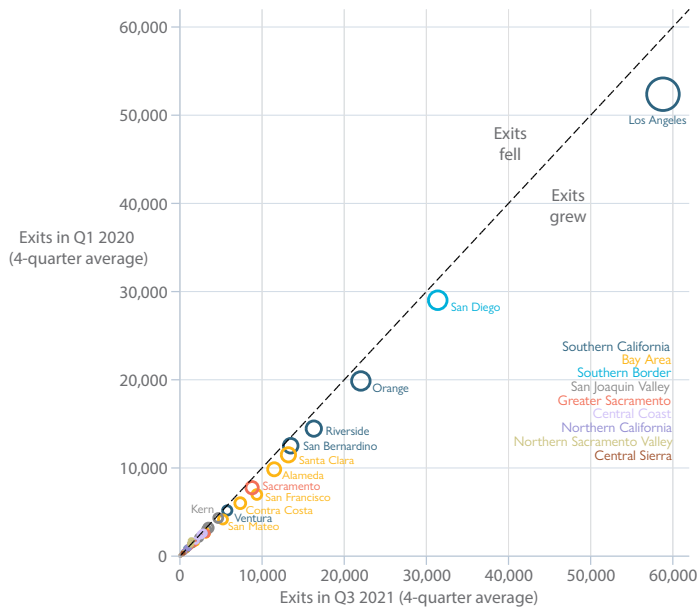
Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: All figures reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only. The dramatic changes in Northern Sacramento Valley derive mostly from Butte County, and may be linked to wildfire-related moves.

Out-of-state exits have increased relative to their pre-pandemic levels in every economic region except the Northern Sacramento Valley (comprising Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, and Tehama Counties), which experienced unusual fluctuations in mobility in 2019, perhaps linked to wildfires. Exits increased by a low of 1% in the Northern California region to a high of 21% in the 11-county Bay Area region.

If we look more closely at each of California's 58 counties, we see that 45 of them experienced modest increases in the number leaving the state since the start of the pandemic (Figure 8). Counties that fall below the dotted line indicate that exits were higher during the pandemic. In most counties, this had less to do with increases in move rates and more to do with increases in the share of movers that left the state, as we discuss below.

FIGURE 8. Number of exits from California counties, before and during COVID-19 pandemic



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

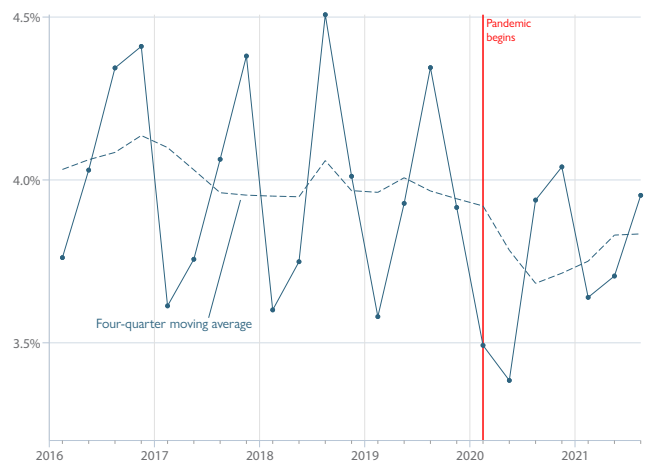
Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state’s population. Domestic migration only.

It is helpful to think of total exits from the state as comprising two factors: the overall move rate, and the likelihood that movers leave the state. The overall share of Californians who move has slowly and steadily declined over time, although move rates continue to vary substantially by region and county. Historically, over 80% of Californians who move remain in the state — again, with substantial variation regionally. Since the onset of the pandemic, the overall move rate declined while the share of movers leaving the state increased. We discuss each factor in turn.

CALIFORNIANS HAVE BEEN LESS LIKELY TO MOVE DURING THE PANDEMIC

By the end of September 2021, Californians were less likely to move than they were before the pandemic started (Figure 9). Following a substantial dip early in the pandemic, the statewide move rate has recovered somewhat, though not to pre-pandemic levels.

FIGURE 9. Move rate of California residents



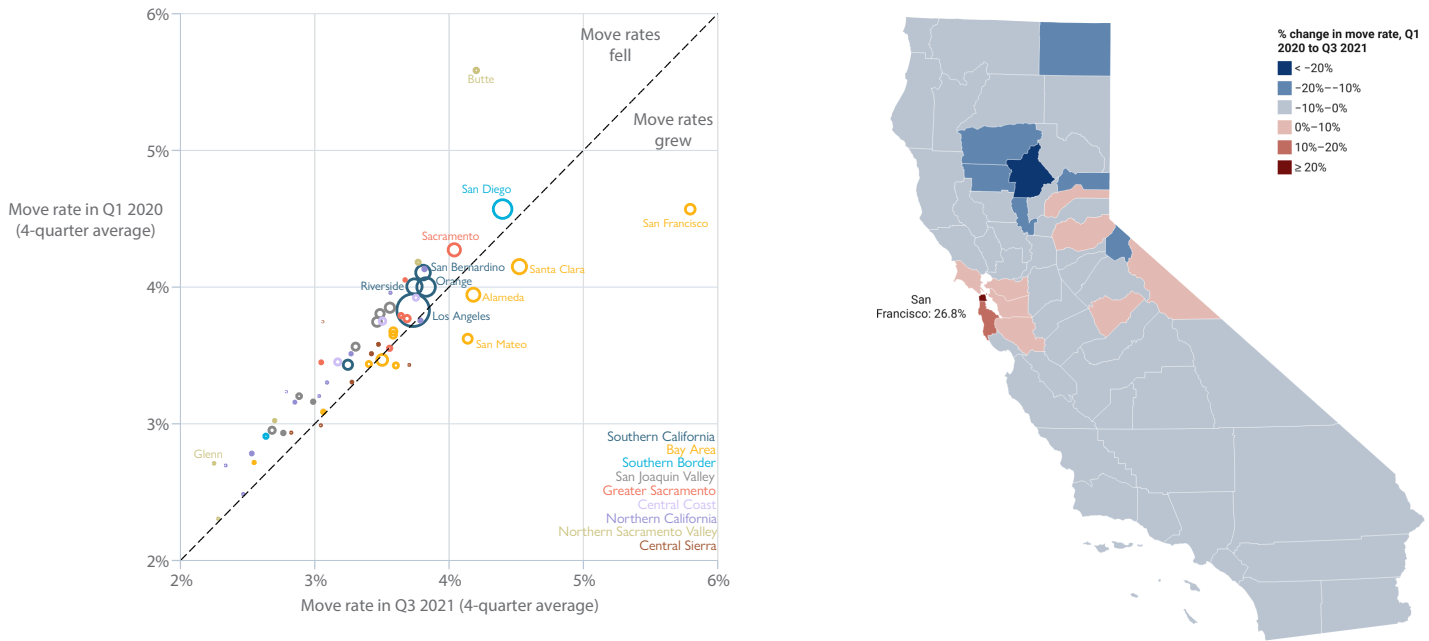
Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

This trend holds in most counties, with the notable exceptions of six Bay Area counties, particularly San Francisco and San Mateo counties, which saw 27% and 14% increases in move rates, respectively (Figure 10).

This drop in overall move rates in most counties has acted as a countervailing force against elevated exit rates. The net result is that exits are back up in 2021 to roughly pre-pandemic trends.

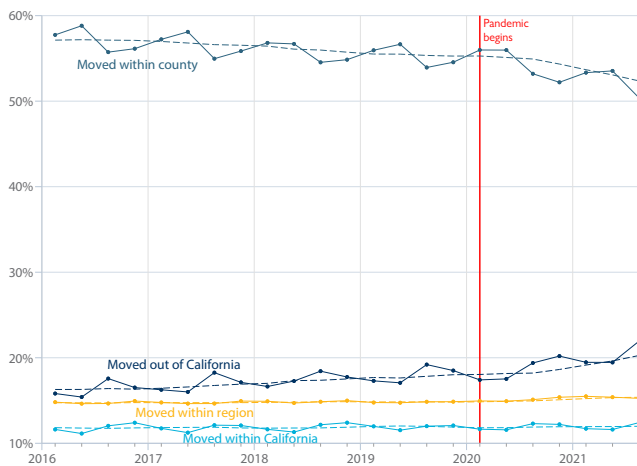
FIGURE 10. Move rates of Californians by county, before and during COVID pandemic



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

FIGURE 11. Destinations of California residents that move



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

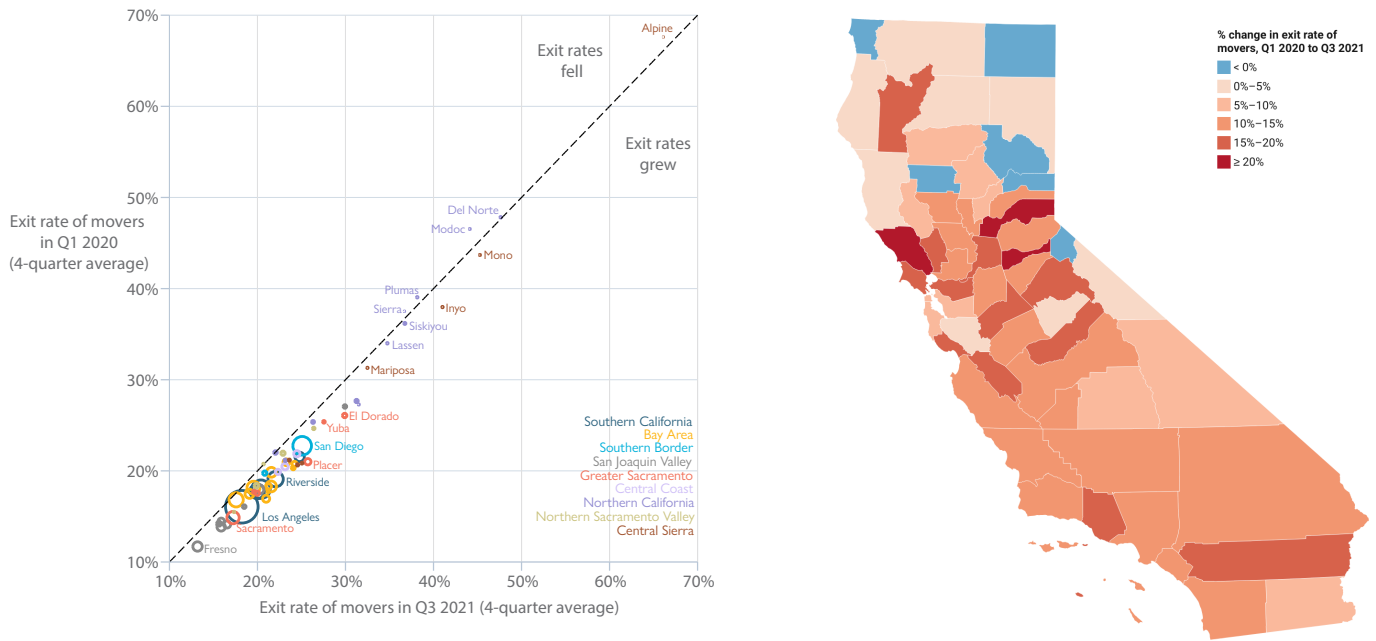
Notes: Dashed lines reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

CALIFORNIANS WHO MOVED IN 2021 WERE MORE LIKELY TO EXIT THE STATE

Statewide, the share of movers that left California increased from 16.3% in 2016 to 20.3% at the end of September 2021, primarily displacing within-county moves (Figure 11). This change has been especially pronounced since the onset of the pandemic, with the exit rate of movers increasing in 52 of 58 California counties (Figure 12).

Holding all else equal, an increase in the share of movers who leave the state should increase the total number of exits from the state. However, over the same period, the rate at which Californians moved declined in most places. The net result is that exits appear to be on pace with their pre-pandemic trend. Although we do not discuss it in this brief, it is plausible that the composition of movers changed during the pandemic, such that the population of movers in March 2020 is not comparable to the population of movers in September 2021. Figure 13 compares the shares of each county's total population that left the state, and the map shows how those shares have changed over the pandemic.

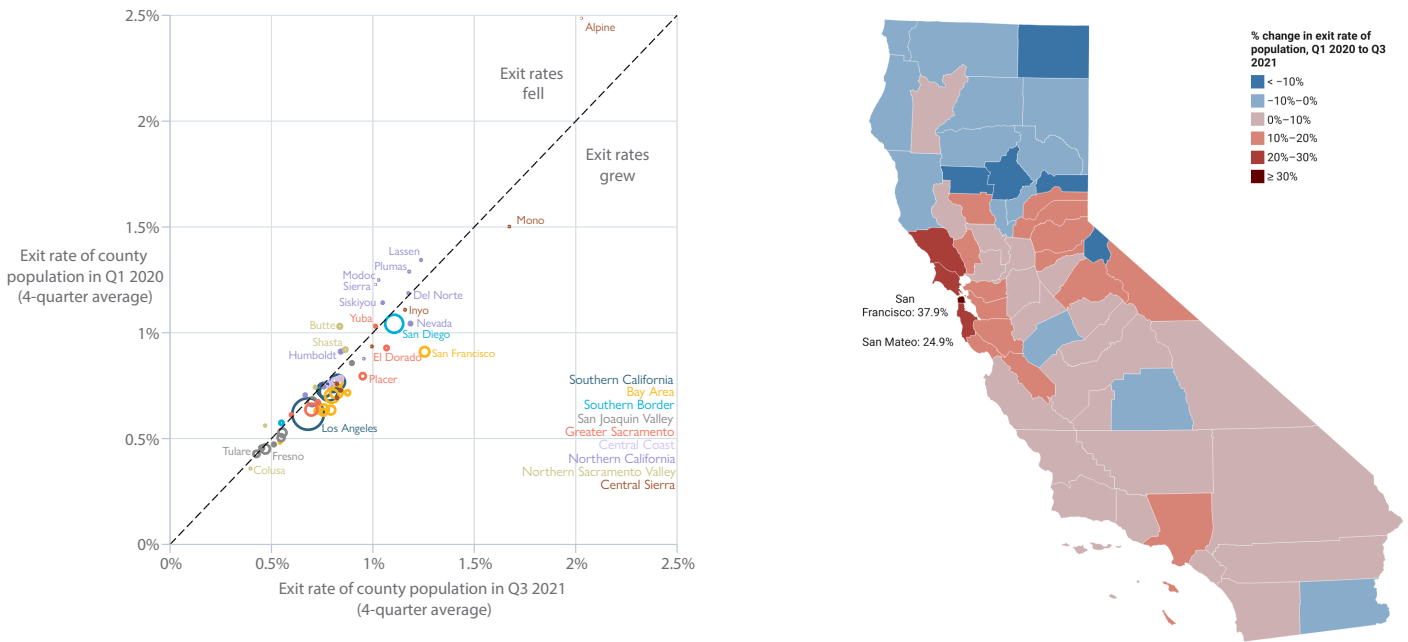
FIGURE 12. Exit rate of movers by county, before and during COVID pandemic



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter: Domestic migration only.

FIGURE 13. Exit rate of county population, before and during COVID pandemic



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

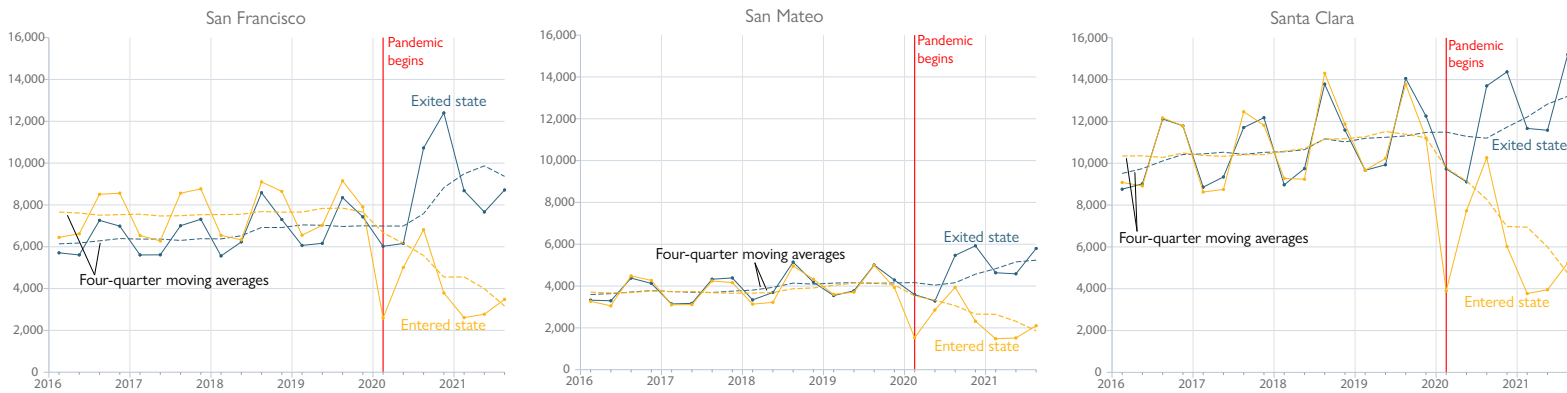
Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter: Domestic migration only.

THE PANDEMIC CONTINUES TO AFFECT THE BAY AREA DIFFERENTLY

Bay Area mobility patterns during the pandemic are more extreme than the rest of the state. The magnitude of these changes is evident in the fact that today the Bay Area accounts for both a lower share of total entrances to the state and a higher share of exits from the state than before the pandemic, when these ratios had largely remained stable since at least 2016 (Figures 3 and 6).

We highlight three counties — San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara — with especially pronounced changes. Figure 14 shows out-of-state entrances and exits for San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara Counties. Those three Bay Area counties were often net-receiving counties, but after the pandemic have become large net senders to other states. Because of those changes, all California counties are net senders to other states since the pandemic started.

FIGURE 14. Number of out-of-state entrances and exits, selected counties



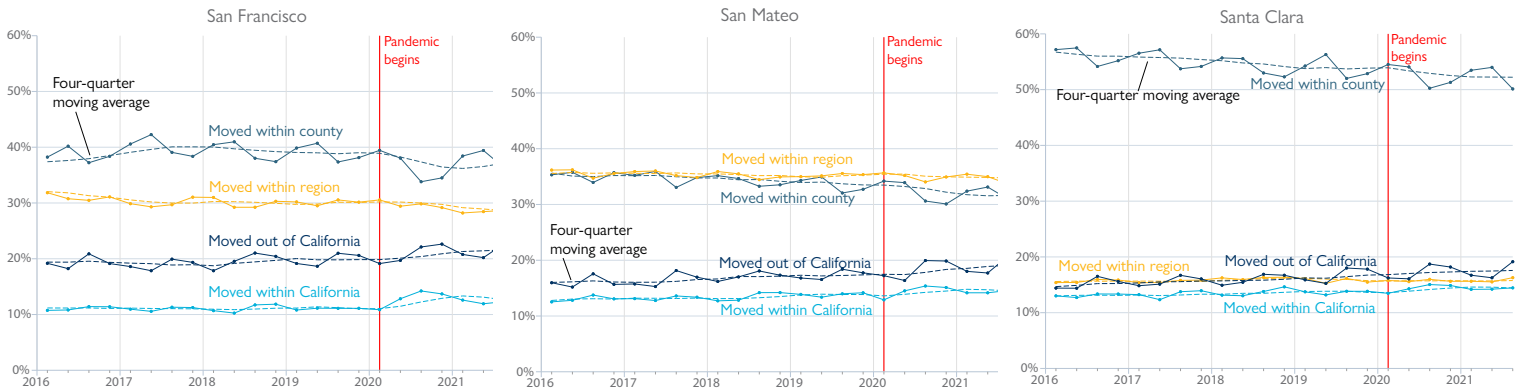
Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

Though the share of Bay Area movers leaving the state (versus moving elsewhere in the state) increased slightly (Figure 15), the real driver of out-of-state exits from these counties was the overall increase in movers.

In San Francisco County, for example, the number of people moving increased 27% as compared to the end of Q1 2020. In San Mateo and Santa Clara Counties, the move rate increased by 14% and 9% (Figure 16).

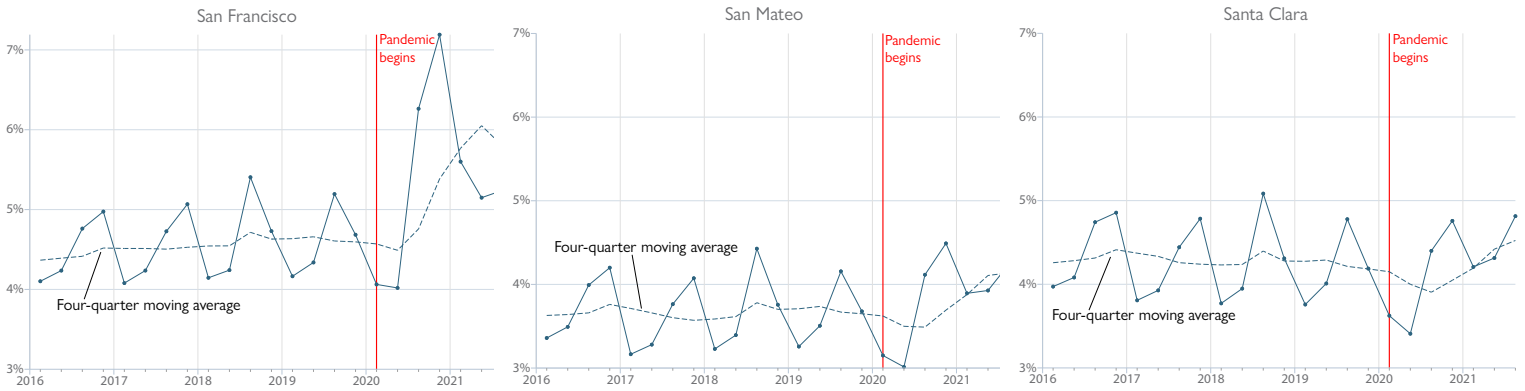
FIGURE 15. Destinations of California residents that move, selected counties



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

FIGURE 16. Move rates of California residents, selected counties



Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. Domestic migration only.

In subsequent reports we will explore what factors are driving these trends, both statewide and in the Bay Area. Media reports suggest that Bay Area trends could be due to steep housing prices or more flexible remote-work policies in the technology sector.

CONCLUSION

We continue to find no evidence of an “exodus” from California — caused or accelerated by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, as we enter the second winter of the pandemic, it has become evident that *net* entrances to the state have dropped substantially, driven by a significant drop in new entrances to the state. Although every county in the state has seen fewer new entrants arrive, this trend is especially present in the Bay Area.

The number of people leaving the state for other US states has been on a steady upward climb since at least 2016 (the first year we examine in this report). Following a drop early in the pandemic, as overall moves plummeted, we now appear to be back on the pre-pandemic, upward trajectory. This return to “normalcy” belies noticeable changes in both overall mobility rates and the destinations that movers choose. In particular, although the likelihood of a mover leaving the state has increased slightly almost everywhere, this change has been offset by lower mobility rates almost everywhere. Again, the Bay Area, and particularly San Francisco County, is a notable exception to the latter point — where move rates have increased substantially.

Media outlets and other commentators have speculated about the reasons for California’s net-outmigration, mostly focusing on exits rather than entrances. We find, however, that it is the substantial drop in new entrances to the state that is responsible for much of this net out-migration.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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APPENDIX

This analysis uses the [University of California Consumer Credit Panel \(UC-CCP\)](#), a dataset created through a partnership between the California Policy Lab, the Student Borrower Protection Center, and the Student Loan Law Initiative. The UC-CCP consists of data from Experian and contains longitudinal information about adults with a credit history who have lived in California at any point since 2004. Data includes each person’s ZIP code of residence, as reported by creditors, and credit information at a quarterly frequency. We define moves as changes in ZIP codes from one quarter to the next. Data are extracted on the last Wednesday or Saturday of each quarter — e.g., from March 28, 2020. For this report we used a larger sample of Californians than in our spring 2021 report; consequently, quarterly figures may differ slightly.

We omit from the analysis individuals who do not live in a US state or the District of Columbia, who are deceased, or for whom the credit agency does not have a birthdate on file. Note that because we omit individuals residing outside the US in a given period, we are limited to describing domestic migration. Because California experiences significant in-migration from abroad, we will understate the total number of entrances. Finally, moves in a given quarter are not evaluated unless an individual is present at both the beginning and end of that period. In this way, we do not mistakenly characterize people entering the data for the first time or dropping out of the data as having moved.

Several factors may cause our estimates of residential mobility to be not fully accurate. We do not capture moves within the same ZIP code, which will cause us to understate the frequency of moves. We are not able to capture moves not reported to financial institutions, which will cause us to understate the frequency of moves. Credit data may also lag in its ability to measure mobility because it relies on people changing their addresses with creditors. Finally, because our sample consists of adults with credit histories (nearly 90 percent of adults, according to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau), it is slightly older, more financially advantaged, and less racially and ethnically diverse than the overall adult population. As such, these results are less able to capture patterns of residential mobility among lower-income Californians and among racial and ethnic minorities.

Appendix Table A1 and A2 source and notes:

Source: California Policy Lab analysis of University of California Consumer Credit Panel (UC-CCP) data.

Notes: All figures reflect 4-quarter averages (ending with the indicated quarter) to smooth seasonal fluctuations. A move is defined as having a different ZIP code in the next quarter. These volumes are underestimated because the data universe for this analysis comprises adults in California with credit history, which we estimate is approximately 70% of the state's population. We do not report people moving into or out of the state from outside the US.

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This research publication reflects the views of the authors and not necessarily the views of our funders, our staff, our advisory board, Experian, or the Regents of the University of California.

Endnotes

- 1 We use 4-quarter moving averages throughout this brief to smooth out seasonal fluctuations.
- 2 US CDC WONDER database: <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/fastats/state-and-territorial-data.htm>.
- 3 Hans Johnson, Eric McGhee, and Marisol Cuellar Mejia, PPIC, California's Population: March 2021 Fact Sheet. <https://www.ppic.org/publication/californias-population>.
- 4 Brevoort, Kenneth P, Philipp Grimm, and Michelle Kambara. 2016. "Credit Invisibles and the Unscored." Cityscape 18(2): 9–34.
- 5 Individuals under age 18 represent 22.5% of the state's population, and approximately 11% of adults (8.5% of the total) do not have sufficient credit information to appear in our data.
- 6 A February 2021 data brief from Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland economist Stephan Whitaker also found that a decline in in-migration drove most of the net migration loss in urban centers during the pandemic: <https://www.clevelandfed.org/newsroom-and-events/publications/cfed-district-data-briefs/cfddb-20210205-did-the-covid-19-pandemic-cause-an-urban-exodus>

APPENDIX TABLE A1. Entrances to and exits from California by county, before and during COVID pandemic

COUNTY	ECONOMIC REGION	NUMBER OF EXITS, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	NUMBER OF ENTRANCES, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	# OF NET ENTRANCES, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020
Statewide	Whole state	255,869	12.2	104,722	-37.6	-151,147	150.5
Alameda	Bay Area	11,473	16.5	4,187	-44.2	-7,287	210.1
Alpine	Central Sierra	15	-14.1	8	-25.0	-7	3.7
Amador	Central Sierra	266	23.9	116	-18.7	-151	106.9
Butte	Northern Sacramento Valley	1,393	-19.4	550	-24.2	-844	-16.0
Calaveras	Central Sierra	321	11.9	117	-27.4	-204	62.1
Colusa	Northern Sacramento Valley	64	15.1	26	-34.9	-38	145.9
Contra Costa	Bay Area	7,345	22.2	2,528	-36.2	-4,818	135.1
Del Norte	Northern California	235	2.3	137	-21.4	-98	76.6
El Dorado	Greater Sacramento	1,748	18.5	686	-24.9	-1,062	89.0
Fresno	San Joaquin Valley	3,472	8.0	1,658	-28.0	-1,815	98.7
Glenn	Northern Sacramento Valley	107	-15.6	56	-21.7	-51	-7.7
Humboldt	Northern California	900	-6.3	453	-35.5	-447	73.3
Imperial	Southern Border	857	-1.7	426	-25.1	-431	42.0
Inyo	Central Sierra	179	7.2	78	-38.8	-102	152.2
Kern	San Joaquin Valley	4,663	7.8	2,001	-29.9	-2,663	80.6
Kings	San Joaquin Valley	914	7.4	407	-41.1	-508	215.2
Lake	Northern California	400	4.6	179	-21.0	-222	41.8
Lassen	Northern California	230	-7.5	113	-22.9	-117	14.6
Los Angeles	Southern California	58,803	12.3	24,882	-39.5	-33,921	201.2
Madera	San Joaquin Valley	568	13.3	249	-16.5	-319	56.9
Marin	Bay Area	1,945	24.1	742	-30.7	-1,203	142.4
Mariposa	Central Sierra	140	8.7	53	-45.0	-87	170.9
Mendocino	Northern California	491	-3.5	233	-33.2	-258	60.9
Merced	San Joaquin Valley	905	3.6	415	-26.7	-491	59.3
Modoc	Northern California	76	-19.3	47	-27.2	-28	-1.2
Mono	Central Sierra	154	18.4	64	-41.4	-91	320.9
Monterey	Central Coast	2,569	5.7	1,004	-42.2	-1,565	125.4
Napa	Bay Area	852	19.1	325	-27.8	-527	98.8
Nevada	Northern California	1,091	17.1	440	-25.9	-652	92.6

APPENDIX TABLE A1. Entrances to and exits from California by county, before and during COVID pandemic (continued)

COUNTY	ECONOMIC REGION	# OF EXITS, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	# OF ENTRANCES, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	# OF NET ENTRANCES, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020
Orange	Southern California	22,025	10.9	8,963	-35.8	-13,062	120.9
Placer	Greater Sacramento	3,184	24.2	1,215	-28.1	-1,969	125.6
Plumas	Northern California	218	-7.5	119	-21.5	-99	17.7
Riverside	Southern California	16,296	12.7	6,982	-27.8	-9,315	94.3
Sacramento	Greater Sacramento	8,784	13.2	3,724	-33.0	-5,060	129.9
San Benito	Bay Area	271	18.9	98	-22.6	-173	71.2
San Bernardino	Southern California	13,487	7.7	5,510	-31.5	-7,977	78.2
San Diego	Southern Border	31,384	8.1	13,819	-39.2	-17,565	179.7
San Francisco	Bay Area	9,365	34.0	3,165	-52.5	-6,200	1819.5
San Joaquin	San Joaquin Valley	3,262	9.2	1,362	-29.3	-1,900	79.0
San Luis Obispo	Central Coast	1,925	9.7	832	-27.6	-1,093	80.6
San Mateo	Bay Area	5,236	25.7	1,855	-47.6	-3,381	438.5
Santa Barbara	Central Coast	2,820	8.0	1,253	-34.3	-1,567	122.5
Santa Clara	Bay Area	13,205	14.9	4,739	-51.5	-8,466	393.8
Santa Cruz	Bay Area	1,634	16.4	615	-33.6	-1,019	113.5
Shasta	Northern Sacramento Valley	1,299	-4.6	649	-27.3	-650	38.8
Sierra	Northern California	27	-15.6	18	-18.4	-9	-9.2
Siskiyou	Northern California	389	-6.0	219	-17.6	-170	14.7
Solano	Bay Area	3,097	11.4	1,173	-36.9	-1,923	108.7
Sonoma	Bay Area	3,140	23.4	1,133	-32.2	-2,008	129.7
Stanislaus	San Joaquin Valley	2,334	11.6	938	-26.4	-1,396	70.9
Sutter	Greater Sacramento	462	0.2	195	-28.9	-266	43.4
Tehama	Northern Sacramento Valley	379	-1.6	183	-25.7	-197	41.1
Trinity	Northern California	93	10.7	50	-14.6	-43	69.7
Tulare	San Joaquin Valley	1,440	3.7	688	-29.6	-753	82.3
Tuolumne	Central Sierra	382	17.4	144	-30.0	-238	99.2
Ventura	Southern California	5,759	11.1	2,169	-32.2	-3,590	80.7
Yolo	Greater Sacramento	1,190	11.3	503	-33.9	-687	122.7
Yuba	Greater Sacramento	605	3.1	233	-43.9	-372	116.5

APPENDIX TABLE A2. Move rates and move destinations of Californians, before and during COVID pandemic

COUNTY	ECONOMIC REGION	% OF PEOPLE THAT MOVED ANYWHERE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	% OF MOVERS THAT LEAVE THE STATE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	% OF COUNTY THAT LEAVES THE STATE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020
Statewide	Whole state	3.8	-2.2	20.3	12.3	0.8	9.7
Alameda	Bay Area	4.2	6.0	19.5	7.7	0.8	14.0
Alpine	Central Sierra	3.1	-18.3	66.1	-2.2	2.0	-18.4
Amador	Central Sierra	3.3	-0.9	25.1	20.2	0.8	19.0
Butte	Northern Sacramento Valley	4.2	-24.8	19.9	8.2	0.8	-18.8
Calaveras	Central Sierra	3.5	-3.0	23.6	11.5	0.8	8.5
Colusa	Northern Sacramento Valley	2.3	-1.1	17.3	11.8	0.4	10.5
Contra Costa	Bay Area	3.5	1.0	21.5	17.8	0.8	18.8
Del Norte	Northern California	2.5	-0.7	47.6	-0.4	1.2	-1.0
El Dorado	Greater Sacramento	3.6	0.1	29.9	14.7	1.1	15.0
Fresno	San Joaquin Valley	3.6	-7.5	13.2	12.7	0.5	4.2
Glenn	Northern Sacramento Valley	2.3	-17.0	20.7	-0.3	0.5	-16.6
Humboldt	Northern California	3.8	-7.6	22.0	0.2	0.8	-7.7
Imperial	Southern Border	2.6	-9.4	20.8	5.5	0.5	-4.4
Inyo	Central Sierra	2.8	-3.8	41.0	8.0	1.2	4.5
Kern	San Joaquin Valley	3.5	-7.5	20.2	12.6	0.7	4.0
Kings	San Joaquin Valley	3.0	-5.5	29.9	10.6	0.9	4.6
Lake	Northern California	3.3	-6.9	23.2	9.5	0.8	1.9
Lassen	Northern California	3.6	-10.0	34.8	2.2	1.2	-8.0
Los Angeles	Southern California	3.7	-2.6	18.2	13.4	0.7	10.4
Madera	San Joaquin Valley	2.8	-5.7	18.5	15.1	0.5	8.4
Marin	Bay Area	3.6	5.2	24.2	16.6	0.9	22.2
Mariposa	Central Sierra	3.0	1.9	32.5	3.8	1.0	6.3
Mendocino	Northern California	2.5	-9.1	26.3	3.7	0.7	-5.6
Merced	San Joaquin Valley	2.9	-10.0	15.6	10.0	0.5	-0.9
Modoc	Northern California	2.3	-13.3	44.1	-5.2	1.0	-17.7
Mono	Central Sierra	3.7	7.9	45.3	3.6	1.7	11.3
Monterey	Central Coast	3.2	-8.1	24.5	11.8	0.8	2.6
Napa	Bay Area	3.1	-0.7	24.1	18.4	0.7	16.9
Nevada	Northern California	3.8	0.8	31.3	13.0	1.2	13.6

APPENDIX TABLE A2. Move rates and move destinations of Californians, before and during COVID pandemic (continued)

COUNTY	ECONOMIC REGION	% OF PEOPLE THAT MOVED ANYWHERE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	% OF MOVERS THAT LEAVE THE STATE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020	% OF COUNTY THAT LEAVES THE STATE, Q3 2021	% CHANGE SINCE Q1 2020
Orange	Southern California	3.8	-4.3	20.4	13.4	0.8	8.4
Placer	Greater Sacramento	3.7	-2.2	25.7	22.5	1.0	19.5
Plumas	Northern California	3.1	-6.4	38.2	-2.3	1.2	-8.5
Riverside	Southern California	3.7	-6.5	22.1	15.5	0.8	7.8
Sacramento	Greater Sacramento	4.0	-5.5	17.2	15.8	0.7	9.4
San Benito	Bay Area	2.5	-6.2	21.2	19.6	0.5	12.2
San Bernardino	Southern California	3.8	-7.3	20.0	12.5	0.8	4.1
San Diego	Southern Border	4.4	-3.8	25.1	10.2	1.1	6.0
San Francisco	Bay Area	5.8	26.8	21.6	8.7	1.3	37.9
San Joaquin	San Joaquin Valley	3.5	-8.4	15.9	14.6	0.6	4.9
San Luis Obispo	Central Coast	3.8	-4.3	22.3	12.3	0.8	7.1
San Mateo	Bay Area	4.1	14.3	19.1	9.3	0.8	24.9
Santa Barbara	Central Coast	3.5	-6.6	23.1	13.0	0.8	5.4
Santa Clara	Bay Area	4.5	9.0	17.6	4.5	0.8	13.7
Santa Cruz	Bay Area	3.4	-1.0	21.3	16.4	0.7	14.9
Shasta	Northern Sacramento Valley	3.8	-9.9	22.9	4.4	0.9	-6.1
Sierra	Northern California	2.8	-13.8	36.7	-2.2	1.0	-17.4
Siskiyou	Northern California	2.9	-9.7	36.7	1.6	1.0	-8.2
Solano	Bay Area	3.6	-1.8	23.3	11.2	0.8	8.9
Sonoma	Bay Area	3.6	-2.5	21.0	23.8	0.8	20.9
Stanislaus	San Joaquin Valley	3.3	-7.3	16.5	17.2	0.5	8.5
Sutter	Greater Sacramento	3.0	-11.6	19.6	10.7	0.6	-2.3
Tehama	Northern Sacramento Valley	2.7	-10.6	26.4	7.0	0.7	-3.6
Trinity	Northern California	3.0	-5.3	31.5	15.5	1.0	8.9
Tulare	San Joaquin Valley	2.7	-9.2	15.9	9.8	0.4	-0.4
Tuolumne	Central Sierra	3.4	-2.6	24.6	18.9	0.8	15.5
Ventura	Southern California	3.2	-5.4	24.8	15.2	0.8	8.8
Yolo	Greater Sacramento	3.6	-3.9	20.0	13.8	0.7	8.5
Yuba	Greater Sacramento	3.7	-9.4	27.5	8.5	1.0	-1.7