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Highlights

- The U.S. population nearly quadrupled over the 20th century. The West and South generated two-thirds of this growth and are projected to generate about 90 percent of national growth to 2030. Much of the recent and projected national population growth has been caused by the current wave of immigration.
- Arizona and Nevada, which have emerged as the new growth engines for the West, were the only western states in the 1990s (and beyond) with significant domestic net in-migration as well as immigration. All other western states, including Utah, had either minimal domestic net in-migration or domestic out-migration, relying on international net in-migration for growth. Meanwhile, growth has been slowing in California and it has become a net exporter of population domestically, while continuing to attract immigrants.
- According to Census 2000 data, California is, by far, the greatest source region for Utah's domestic net in-migration; much of this is Hispanic. Utah exported population in the greatest numbers to Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, and Nevada. Nearly one third of California's domestic net out-migration was foreign born, while nearly one-third of Utah's domestic net in-migration was foreign born.
- The Bureau of the Census began estimating domestic net out-migration from Utah on an annual basis beginning in 1997 and continuing through 2004. By 2005 they estimate that Utah's domestic net migration turned positive. In the absence of immigration, Utah would have had out-migration for this period.
- Hispanics contributed 40 percent of the nation's population growth in the 1990s, 80 percent in California, 60 percent in Texas, and 23 percent in Utah. Over the next 50 years, Hispanics are projected to contribute over half of the national population growth.
- Utah's population in the 18-through-24-year-old age group is sandwiched between age waves and, consequently, is projected to be flat or very slowly growing for at least the next 10 years. The surge in net in-migration estimated by the Utah Population Estimates Committee for 2005 is at least partly explained by the slow internal growth of the labor force in a robust job creation environment.

Utah's Place in the Macro-Demographics of the U.S. in the 20th Century

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Utah has evolved from an isolated rural state of fewer than 300,000 in 1900 to a mostly urban state of 2.5 million today. This paper is an attempt to place this population growth within the context of the broadest outlines of national population dynamics over the past century. The growth and regional redistribution of the population are examined first, emphasizing the steady westward and, since the 1970s, southern movements, as well the emergence of the Intermountain region as the most recent engine of western growth. Next, the sources of population growth and redistribution over the 20th century are reviewed, identifying and contextualizing the most fundamental demographic determinants – natural increase and migration. The heart of the paper, laid out in four sections, is a detailed examination of interstate and international migration patterns among states since 1990, including special consideration of the contribution of Hispanics. One final section returns the focus to Utah, situating its demographic past within the national framework that has been explored in this paper, and drawing implications for the future of the state.

Population Growth and its Shifting Geographic Distribution

Western and Southern Movements

Over the past century the U.S. population has nearly quadrupled, growing from 76 million to 281 million. With the exception of the Great Depression era, the pace of this growth was most rapid in the first six decades of the century, with the first and middle (1950s) decades having the highest growth rates. As was the case with other developed countries, growth subsequently moderated. However, U.S. population growth

began to again accelerate significantly at the end of the century, increasing by 13.2 percent from 1990 to 2000, a much higher growth rate than the 2.5 percent growth of all other developed countries combined (McDevitt and Rowe 2002). As it has expanded, the nation's population also steadily shifted westward and, especially since 1970, southward. The result is that the West (dominated by California) and South (including Texas and Florida) generated two-thirds of the nation's population growth in the last century, leaving the Midwest and Northeast regions with declining shares.¹ The South, which became the most populous region by the 1940 census, has had the greatest absolute increase

in population since 1900. However, it is the West that has grown at the most rapid rate, particularly during the post-World War II economic expansion and Baby Boom. Enormous investments by the federal government in defense, highways, and water infrastructure ignited much of this explosive growth in the West (Nash 1999). The mass proliferation of air conditioning in the 1950s and 1960s accelerated the "rust belt" and "snow belt" to "sun belt" population shift. The nation has steadily become more urbanized and there has been a near abandonment of some areas in the upper plains. People migrated from the former heartland, where industries were unable to survive

intensifying global competition, and were drawn to the South and West where increasing capital investments, particularly in the new service-based industries, created economic opportunity (Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2).

The combined populations of the South and West surpassed half of the national total by 1980, and are projected to approach two-thirds by 2030. From 1950 to 2000 the South and West contributed nearly three-quarters of the national population growth. From 2000 to 2005, these same two regions are estimated to have generated over four-fifths (82 percent) of national population growth, while they are projected to contribute nearly 90 percent from 2000 to 2030. By 2002, the West overtook the Midwest region in population. Long-term growth rates of the West and South are projected to

Table 1
Population Change by Region:

1900 to 2000					
Region	Population		1900 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1900	2000	Absolute	Percent	Share of National Growth
Northeast	21,046,695	53,594,378	32,547,683	154.6%	15.8%
Midwest	26,333,004	64,392,776	38,059,772	144.5%	18.5%
South	24,523,527	100,236,820	75,713,293	308.7%	36.9%
West	4,091,349	63,197,932	59,106,583	1444.7%	28.8%
Total	75,994,575	281,421,906	205,427,331	270.3%	100.0%
1950 to 2000					
Region	Population		1950 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1950	2000	Absolute	Percent	Share of National Growth
Northeast	39,477,986	53,594,378	14,116,392	35.8%	10.8%
Midwest	44,460,762	64,392,776	19,932,014	44.8%	15.2%
South	47,197,088	100,236,820	53,039,732	112.4%	40.6%
West	19,561,525	63,197,932	43,636,407	223.1%	33.4%
Total	150,697,361	281,421,906	130,724,545	86.7%	100.0%
2000 to 2005 (Estimate)					
Region	Population		2000 to 2005 Change in Population		
	2000	2005	Absolute	Percent	Share of National Growth
Northeast	53,594,378	54,641,895	1,047,517	2.0%	7.0%
Midwest	64,392,776	65,971,974	1,579,198	2.5%	10.5%
South	100,236,820	107,505,413	7,268,593	7.3%	48.5%
West	63,197,932	68,291,122	5,093,190	8.1%	34.0%
Total	281,421,906	296,410,404	14,988,498	5.3%	100.0%
2000 to 2030 (Projections)					
Region	Population		2000 to 2030 Change in Population		
	2000	2030	Absolute	Percent	Share of National Growth
Northeast	53,594,378	57,671,068	4,076,690	7.6%	5.0%
Midwest	64,392,776	70,497,298	6,104,522	9.5%	7.4%
South	100,236,820	143,269,337	43,032,517	42.9%	52.4%
West	63,197,932	92,146,732	28,948,800	45.8%	35.2%
Total	281,421,906	363,584,435	82,162,529	29.2%	100.0%

Note: All populations are April 1 (decennial census) of the years indicated except 2005, which is a July 1 estimate and 2030, which is a July 1 projection.

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005a; 2005b.

converge and remain relatively robust, while population growth in the Midwest and Northeast is projected to nearly stagnate (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2005b).

The Big Three Growth Engines

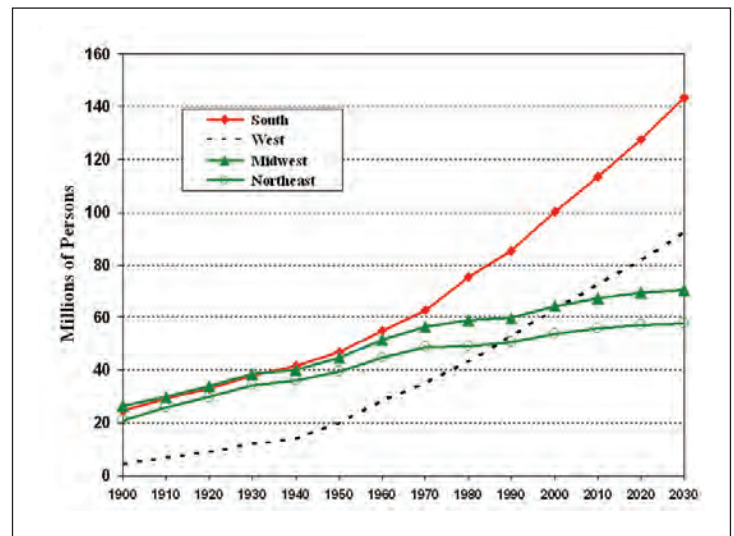
Just three states – California, Florida, and Texas – account for almost one-third of the nation’s population increase in the 20th century. From 1950 to 2000 these “big three” growth states produced 38 percent of the national growth. By 2000, California’s population of 33.9 million was 54 percent of the entire West while Florida (16.0 million) and Texas (20.9 million) combined were 37 percent of the population of the South. Growth rates in California slowed in the 1990s and are projected to remain significantly below those of Texas and Florida over the next 25 years. However, in absolute terms, each of these states is projected to gain approximately 12.5 million residents between 2000 and 2030. By 2010, New York and Illinois, the most populous states in the first half of the century, will have fewer residents than each of these “big three” states (Table 2 and Figure 3).

California’s Dominance of the West

California, which surpassed New York to become the state with the largest population in the early 1960s, economically and demographically dwarfs all other states in the West, and this dominance should continue for the foreseeable future. By 1930, California was home to nearly half of the region’s people. Its share peaked by the 1970 census at 57 percent, declined subsequently to 53 percent in 2000, and is projected remain at about half by 2030. So, while California’s rate of population growth exceeded that of the rest of the West for much of the 20th century, it has not kept pace in the 1970s and, especially, the 1990s. Nor is California expected to grow as rapidly as the rest of the West in the future, although it has and is projected to continue to outpace national growth rates to 2030.

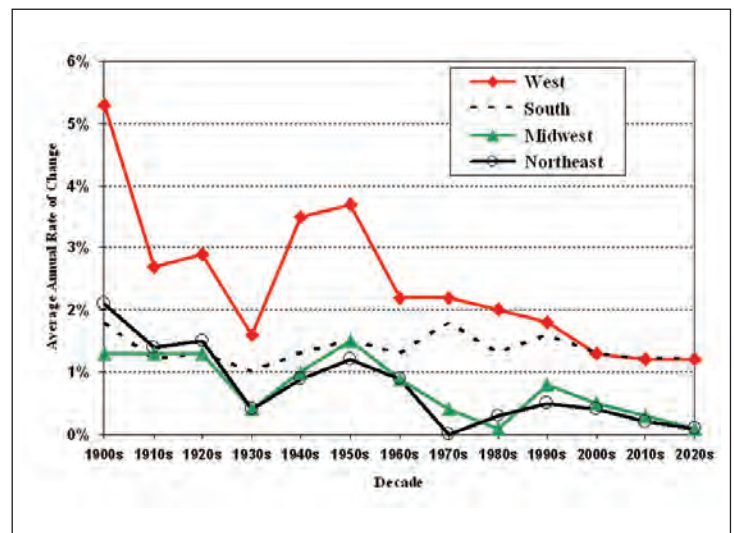
There is a wide divergence in the population sizes and growth rates of western states. Figure 4 presents a size-

Figure 1
U.S. Population by Region: 1900-2030



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005b.

Figure 2
Regional Population Change:
Average Annual Rate of Change by Decade



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005b.

The geographic areas referenced in this document are the regions and divisions defined by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The West includes Alaska, California, Hawaii, Oregon, and Washington in the Pacific division, and Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming in the Mountain division. The South is defined as the Washington, D.C. and these 16 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. The Midwest includes Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin. The Northeast is the remaining nine states.

growth rate typology for states in the West. States with a year 2000 population of less than 1.5 million are classified as small, at least 1.5 million up to 4 million are medium, and at least 4 million are large. The graph presents the logarithm of population to accommodate the vast size difference between California and Wyoming. Slow growth states are defined as those with slower projected growth rates than the 0.9 percent average annual growth rate projected for the nation from 2000 to 2030 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2005b). Moderate growth states have projected average annual growth rates exceeding that of the nation up to one full percentage point, which translates into a projected average annual growth rate ranging from 0.9 percent through 1.9 percent. Rapid growth states are those that have a projected average

annual growth rate at least one percentage point greater than that projected for the nation for 2000 to 2030, which is a rate that exceeds 1.9 percent.

According to this metric, Nevada (categorized as medium sized) and Arizona (a large state) are the only states in the West projected to have very rapid growth. Oregon, Colorado, Washington, and California, all large states, are projected to have moderate growth rates, slightly exceeding those of the nation. All of the smaller states have either slow or moderate growth. Utah, along with New Mexico and Nevada, is classified as medium in size. The projected growth rate for Utah does exceed that of the nation, but only moderately. Frank Hachman examined population growth for states in the Mountain division for 1948 through 1998 and

concluded that, during that period, population growth in Utah was moderate when compared to the region as a whole (Hachman 1998).

Intermountain West: Exponential Growth of Arizona and Nevada

Arizona and Nevada have, by a wide margin, had the highest growth rates in the Mountain division over the past century, especially since 1970 (Table 3, Figures 5 and 6). In terms of absolute numbers of persons, over half (53 percent) of total Mountain division population growth in the last century occurred in Arizona and Colorado. All states in the Mountain division, with the exception of Colorado, had populations less than a million in 1950. The populations of Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico were within 68,000 of each other,

Table 2
Population Change: California, Florida, and Texas

1900 to 2000					
State	Population		1900 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1900	2000	Absolute	Percent Growth	Share of National
California	1,485,053	33,871,648	32,386,595	2180.8%	15.8%
Florida	528,542	15,982,378	15,453,836	2923.9%	7.5%
Texas	3,048,710	20,851,820	17,803,110	584.0%	8.7%
Three State Total	5,062,305	70,705,846	65,643,541	1296.7%	32.0%
1950 to 2000					
State	Population		1950 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1950	2000	Absolute	Percent	Share of National Growth
California	10,586,223	33,871,648	23,285,425	220.0%	17.8%
Florida	2,771,305	15,982,378	13,211,073	476.7%	10.1%
Texas	7,711,194	20,851,820	13,140,626	170.4%	10.1%
Three State Total	21,068,722	70,705,846	49,637,124	235.6%	38.0%
2000 to 2005 (Estimate)					
State	Population		2000 to 2005 Change in Population		
	2000	2005	Absolute	Percent Growth	Share of National
California	33,871,648	36,132,147	2,260,499	6.7%	15.1%
Florida	15,982,378	17,789,864	1,807,486	11.3%	12.1%
Texas	20,851,820	22,859,968	2,008,148	9.6%	13.4%
Three State Total	70,705,846	76,781,979	6,076,133	8.6%	40.5%
2000 to 2030 (Projections)					
State	Population		2000 to 2030 Change in Population		
	2000	2030	Absolute	Percent Growth	Share of National
California	33,871,648	46,444,861	12,573,213	37.1%	15.3%
Florida	15,982,378	28,685,769	12,703,391	79.5%	15.5%
Texas	20,851,820	33,317,744	12,465,924	59.8%	15.2%
Three State Total	70,705,846	108,448,374	37,742,528	53.4%	45.9%

Note: All populations are April 1 (decennial census) of the years indicated except 2005, which is a July 1 estimate and 2030, which is a July 1 projection.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005a; 2005b.

a difference of less than 10 percent. By the 1960s Arizona took off on an exponential growth path, overtaking Colorado by the early 1980s. Population in Nevada grew at an even more rapid rate, increasing by over tenfold from 1950 to 2000. While population growth for every state in the Mountain division significantly outpaced that of the nation from 1900 to 2000, in the last half of the century, growth rates for Wyoming and Montana did not.

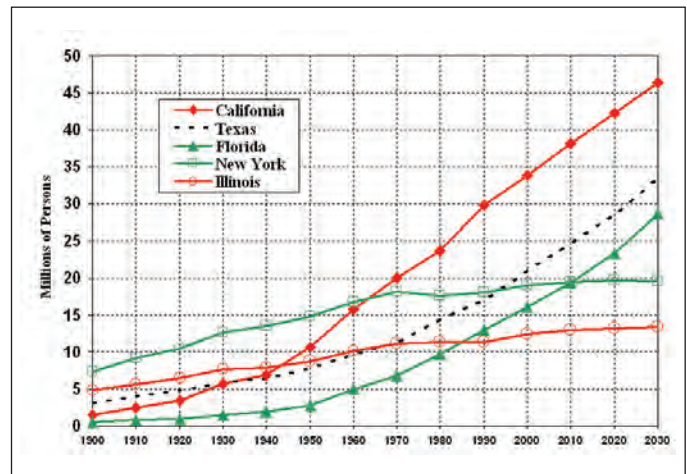
Between 2000 and 2030, the populations of Arizona and Nevada are both projected to double, with Nevada soon overtaking Utah to become the third-largest state in the region. In fact, by the year 2030 Arizona is projected to be the 10th most populous state in the nation. Meanwhile, all states have lost shares in the regional population to Arizona and Nevada over the past century. Utah's share of the Mountain division declined from 16.5 percent in 1900 to 13.6 percent in 1950 and 12.3 percent in 2000. These general trends are expected to continue into the future, resulting in a further decline of Utah's share to 11.7 percent by 2030.

20th Century Population Change – Growth and Distribution

The 20th century ended just as it had begun, with mass immigration significantly accelerating national population growth. Immigrants have always tended to be young and often have had fertility rates exceeding those of the native born population, compounding their overall contribution to national population growth. In the intervening period, immigration to the U.S. was severely restricted and, as a result, it was natural increase (births in excess of deaths) alone that determined the pace of population growth. The rate of natural increase fell precipitously during the world wars and especially during the Great Depression. This trend was dramatically reversed by the post-World War II Baby Boom, which produced a generation that remains the largest ever born.

To summarize, it is the combined result of the size and characteristics of the initial population as well as fluctuations in births, deaths, and migration (both internal and international) that, over time, explain the

Figure 3
The Five Most Populous States in 2000:
Historical and Projected Population



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005b.

growth as well as changes in the age, sex, racial/ethnic, and geographic distribution of the national population. Causes of the internal redistribution of the national population are complex, but differential economic conditions remain a fundamental explanation. While urbanization is an essential part of the story, is not the focus of this paper. The steady westward and, more recent southern, movement of the U.S. population has occurred primarily, although not solely, because of structural economic changes and the associated emergence or disappearance of economic (dis)incentives (Meinig 2004; Hall and Ruggles 2004).

The 20th century opened with the highest rates of overall population growth of the century, high but steadily declining fertility rates, high but rapidly declining mortality rates (especially infant and childhood rates), and mass immigration, particularly from southern and eastern Europe. These immigrants were most often laborers, many of whom located in the industrializing upper Midwest, as well as the traditional eastern seacoast states. Meanwhile, the native born white population continued following economic opportunities farther west. (Klein 2004; Kritz and Gurak 2005)

Factories in the Northeast and Midwest came to depend upon this flow of immigrant labor. So, when immigration was severely restricted during World War

Table 3
Population Change: Mountain Division States

1900 to 2000					
State	Population		1900 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1900	2000	Absolute	Percent	Share of Mountain Division Growth
Arizona	122,931	5,130,632	5,007,701	4073.6%	30.4%
Colorado	539,700	4,301,261	3,761,561	697.0%	22.8%
Idaho	161,772	1,293,953	1,132,181	699.9%	6.9%
Montana	243,329	902,195	658,866	270.8%	4.0%
Nevada	42,335	1,998,257	1,955,922	4620.1%	11.9%
New Mexico	195,310	1,819,046	1,623,736	831.4%	9.8%
Utah	276,749	2,233,169	1,956,420	706.9%	11.9%
Wyoming	92,531	493,782	401,251	433.6%	2.4%
Mountain Region	1,674,657	18,172,295	16,497,638	985.1%	100.0%
1950 to 2000					
State	Population		1950 to 2000 Change in Population		
	1950	2000	Absolute	Percent	Share of Mountain Division Growth
Arizona	749,587	5,130,632	4,381,045	584.5%	33.4%
Colorado	1,325,089	4,301,261	2,976,172	224.6%	22.7%
Idaho	588,637	1,293,953	705,316	119.8%	5.4%
Montana	591,024	902,195	311,171	52.6%	2.4%
Nevada	160,083	1,998,257	1,838,174	1148.3%	14.0%
New Mexico	681,187	1,819,046	1,137,859	167.0%	8.7%
Utah	688,862	2,233,169	1,544,307	224.2%	11.8%
Wyoming	290,529	493,782	203,253	70.0%	1.6%
Mountain Region	5,074,998	18,172,295	13,097,297	258.1%	100.0%
2000 to 2030					
State	Population		2000 to 2030 Change in Population		
	2000	2030	Absolute	Percent	Share of Mountain Division Growth
Arizona	5,130,632	10,712,397	5,581,765	108.8%	47.6%
Colorado	4,301,261	5,792,357	1,491,096	34.7%	12.7%
Idaho	1,293,953	1,969,624	675,671	52.2%	5.8%
Montana	902,195	1,044,898	142,703	15.8%	1.2%
Nevada	1,998,257	4,282,102	2,283,845	114.3%	19.5%
New Mexico	1,819,046	2,099,708	280,662	15.4%	2.4%
Utah	2,233,169	3,485,367	1,252,198	56.1%	10.7%
Wyoming	493,782	522,979	29,197	5.9%	0.2%
Mountain Region	18,172,295	29,909,432	11,737,137	64.6%	100.0%

Note: All populations are April 1 (decennial census) of the years indicated except 2005, which is a July 1 estimate and 2030, which is a July 1 projection.
Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005a; 2005b.

I, labor shortages began to develop, which only intensified when conscription took increasing numbers of native born males to the war effort. Over time this labor shortage was resolved by the migration of unskilled and semiskilled from the South, including native born African Americans. These were the beginnings of “The Great Migration,” the sustained northern migration of African Americans from the South that did not fully run its course until the 1960s. By the 1940s, agricultural mechanization displaced

more agricultural workers, including African Americans in the South, and greatly accelerated the northern migration (Frey 2005).

As the nation plunged into the Great Depression, creating massive unemployment, and then entered World War II, immigration to the U.S. was practically nonexistent. This closing of “the golden door” was the combined result of labor market conditions, international political considerations, and a series of very restrictive immigration laws. Internal growth of the population slowed dramatically during times of war and economic depression, as fertility rates declined and mortality increased. But still the westward drift of the population continued, albeit at reduced rates. (Klein 2004; Caplow, Hicks, and Wattenburg 2001)

The post-World War II era ushered in the Baby Boom as fertility rates increased dramatically, reversing a 150-year trend of decline. The total fertility rate (TFR) increased from 2.1 in 1936 to 3.6 in 1957, a rate not attained since 1898. The total fertility rate continued to peak well into the 1960s, when it finally resumed its downward trend.² Rapid population growth during this 18-year period was internally generated, as immigration quotas continued. Internal migration rates also increased significantly in the 1945 to 1980 period. Westward migration accelerated and, by the 1970s, migration to the South did as well. All regions had net out-migration to the

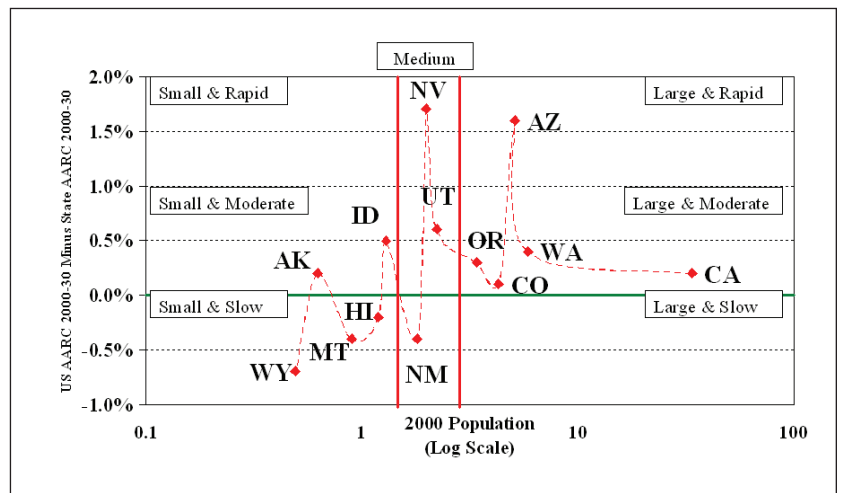
West from 1950 to 1970. From 1970 on there has been net out-migration from the Midwest and Northeast to the South, a significant portion of which has been the reverse migration of African Americans returning to the South. This return migration was nearly complete by 2000. (Klein 2004; and Frey 2005).

In the last two decades of the 20th century, internal growth rates of the native born population continued to decline, a trend that is common among highly developed countries in general. These declining internal growth rates have been increasingly offset by the current wave of immigration, which was caused by a series of immigration reforms (especially the Immigration Act of 1965), as well as poor economic and/or political conditions in the sending countries and high labor demand in the U.S. The share of foreign born in the U.S. population, which reached its lowest point in the 1970s, has increased in each subsequent decennial count to reach 31.1 million or 11.0 percent of the population in the 2000 census. While these are unprecedented numbers of foreign born, the share is well below the peak of 14.7 percent recorded in the 1910 census count (Perlich 2006a).

These most recent immigrants have come from many countries and backgrounds and are much more diverse than the immigrant populations at the beginning of the century. They are primarily from Latin America, to a lesser extent from Asia, but also from many other regions; this is in contrast to the mostly European immigrants early in the century. Although these new arrivals initially concentrated in the traditional gateway states, toward the end of the century they dispersed throughout the nation, creating immigrant communities in emerging gateway areas (Singer 2005, Durrand, Massey and Capoferro 2005). Immigrants

²The total fertility rate is the sum of the age-specific birth rates for a given population of women for a specific year. The age specific birth rate for 24-year-olds is calculated by taking the total number of births to 24-year-old women for a given year divided by the number of 24-year-old women in the population.

Figure 4
Size - Growth Typology of Western States
 Utah: Current Size=Small Projected Growth=Moderate



Sources: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Bureau Research, U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000; 2005b.

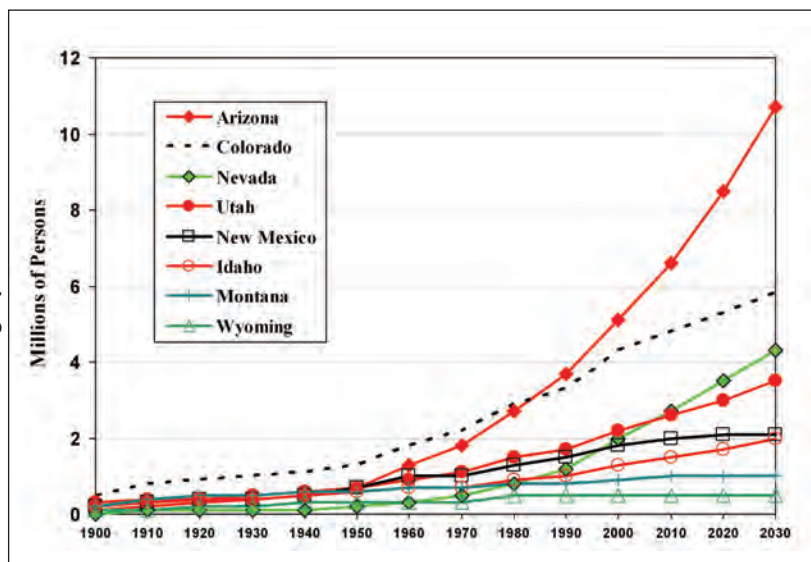
have replaced out-migrating native born population in the traditional gateway states of New York, New Jersey, and Illinois. They have also been contributing growth to those traditional gateway states that are also domestic net in-migration receiving areas such as Florida, Texas, and, at least well into the 1980s, California. Beginning in the late 1980s, California became a net exporter of population to other states. Its population growth rate has subsequently decelerated, and is now mostly dependent upon continued immigration and the high rates of natural increase of this immigrant population (Passel and Zimmermann 2001). In the next section, these patterns of internal and international migration as well as internal growth rates are explored.

State and Regional Population Dynamics: 1990 and Beyond

Components of State Population Change in the 1990s

As has been the case over the 20th century, the states and regions with the most rapid population growth rates in the 1990s were also those that attracted migrants at the highest rates. Utah, with its highest-in-the-nation fertility rate, is a notable exception to this generalization. Figure 7 displays the contribution of net

Figure 5
Population in the Intermountain West: 1900-2030



Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995, 2000, 2005b.

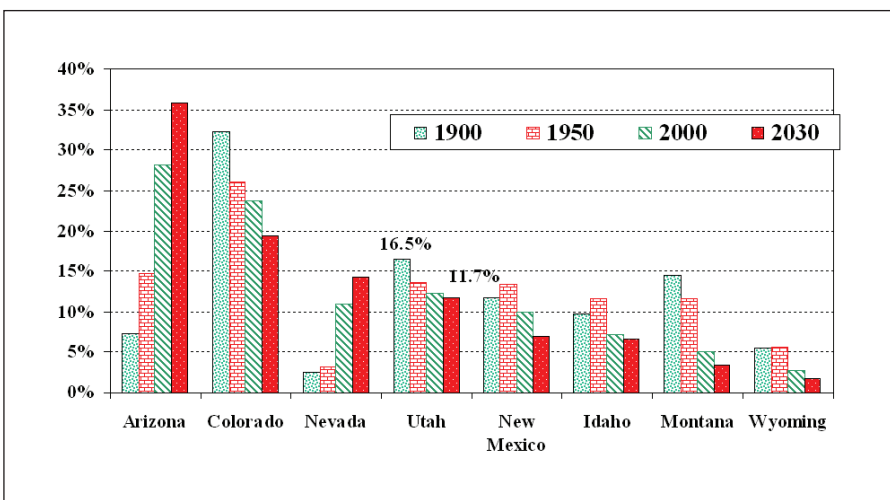
migration to state population growth in the 1990s, while Figure 8 shows the natural increase contribution. Each measure has been adjusted for population size so that the results are comparable among states. In order to calculate these components, a birth and death series was generated for each state from April 1, 1990 to April 1, 2000. These were differenced to calculate natural increase over the same period. The implied net migration is simply the population change between the April 1 decennial counts minus the corresponding natural increase amount for each state. Implied net migration includes domestic and international net migration as well as any computational or measurement residuals. Finally, the average population for each state, calculated by adding the 1990 and 2000 populations and dividing by two, was also divided by 1,000 to create a normalized denominator for the rate calculations. Figure 7 is the total implied net migration for the April 1, 1990 to April 1, 2000 period divided by the

average population in thousands. Similarly, Figure 8 is the cumulative natural increase for the period per 1,000 average population.

Nevada, ranked first among states in growth in the 1990s, had net in-migration at an extraordinary rate of 418 per 1,000 average population, while the second-fastest growing state, Arizona, had a net in-migration rate of 246 per 1,000 average population. Among the top 10 growth states, the net in-migration contribution per 1,000 average population was at least 120, with the exceptions of Utah (fourth-fastest growing) and Texas (ranked eighth in growth rate). High growth states in the 1990s generally had the highest rates of net in-migration and are located in the West and Southeast. The slower-growing Midwest, the Gulf Coast states, and the Northeast had either modest net in-migration or net out-

migration in the 1990s. Utah, with an average population of 1.98 million and implied net in-migration of just over 214,500 had a net in-migration rate of 108 per 1,000 average population in the 1990s. Delaware (ranked 13th in the rate of population growth in the 1990s) is unique among states in the Northeast with a net in-migration rate that slightly exceeded that of

Figure 6
State Shares of the Mountain Division Population: 1900-2030



Sources: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Business Research; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005b.

Texas, Alaska and Hawaii are the only states in the West with net out-migration for the 1990s. California had the lowest rate of net in-migration in the West; this is the combined result of net international in-migration (immigration) to California just offsetting the net out-migration from California to other states.

The natural increase contribution to population growth in the 1990s was positive for all states, although just slightly for West Virginia. States with older populations will, by definition, have higher crude death rates and lower crude birth rates. So, even though Florida has high rates of population growth (ranked seventh in the 1990s) and net in-migration (ranked fourth), its high share of retirement-age population results in natural increase only contributing 14.5 percent of its total population growth in the 1990s. In contrast, Alaska, which experienced net out-migration in the 1990s, has a very young population and a high rate of natural increase. In the slow-growth regions that are experiencing net out-migration, natural increase rates may be low, but this is the only source of population increase. Besides age structure, differences in fertility rates and, to a much lesser extent, mortality rates also determine rates of natural increase. Utah, with the highest fertility rate in the nation, stands out in this regard. Utah's natural increase was just over 295,800 from April 1, 1990 to April 1, 2000. This amounts to a rate of natural increase of 150 per 1,000 average population in the 1990s, the highest in the nation. The high internal growth rates of California, Texas, and Arizona are indicative of the high fertility rates of Hispanics who have in-migrated in large numbers to these states.

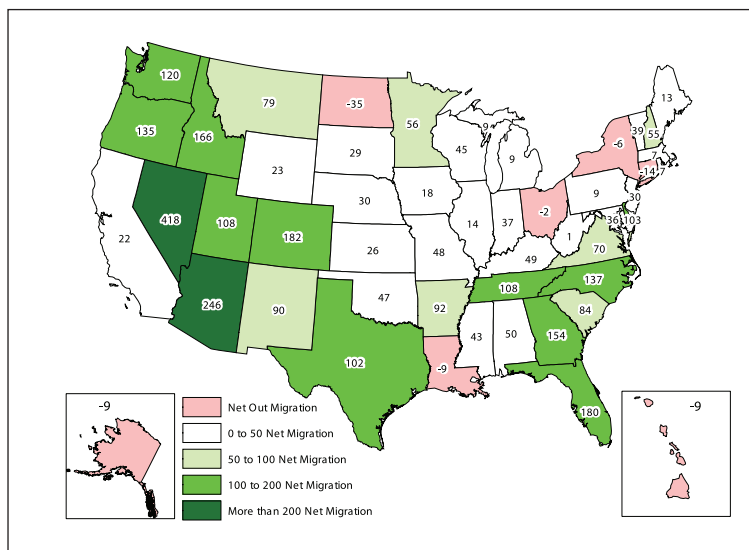
Figure 9 is a plot of these same component contribution rates for all states in the West as well as the Mountain division, the West, the West minus California, and the U.S. The West as a whole has higher natural increase and net in-migration rates than the nation over the 1990s,

³Implied net migration rates for the U.S. and multi-state regions are calculated just as they have been for the individual states. For the nation, implied net migration includes net international migration plus computational and measurement residuals.

although there is considerable variation among states. Western states with natural increase rates lower than the nation include Montana, Oregon, and Wyoming. States with lower net in-migration rates than the nation include Alaska, California, Hawaii, and Wyoming.³ California has considerably higher natural increase and lower net in-migration rates as compared to the rest of the West. Idaho's component contributions are nearly identical to the West excluding California. High outliers on the natural increase rate are Alaska and Utah while Nevada is the higher outlier on the net in-migration rate.

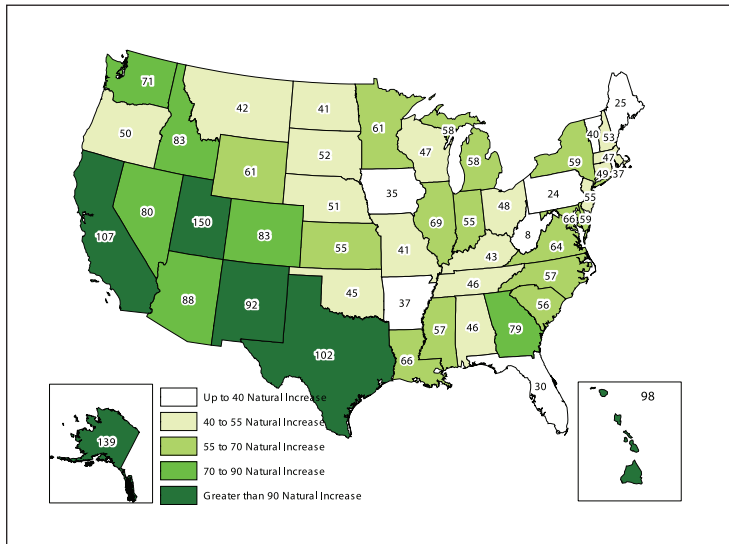
Figure 10 presents the average annual rates of growth of the population and the contribution of natural increase to the growth in the 1990s for all western states, the Mountain division as a whole, and the U.S. As expected, there is a general inverse relationship between rate of population growth and reliance on natural increase as the source of growth. Nevada's rapid population growth rate has been fueled overwhelmingly (84 percent) by net in-migration. At the other extreme, both Alaska and Hawaii, slow growth / net out-migration states, were entirely dependent on natural increase for their modest growth. Again, California is notable for its high natural increase growth share. Two outliers can be identified: 1)

Figure 7
Net Migration per 1,000 Average Population
1990 to 2000



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census data.

Figure 8
Natural Increase per 1,000 Average Population
1990 to 2000



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census data.

Montana, a slower growth rate state, gained most of this population increase (65 percent) through net in-migration; and 2) Utah, that had a higher natural increase contribution than the two states with comparable overall growth rates: Idaho and Colorado.

Internal and International Migration to States: 1995 to 2000

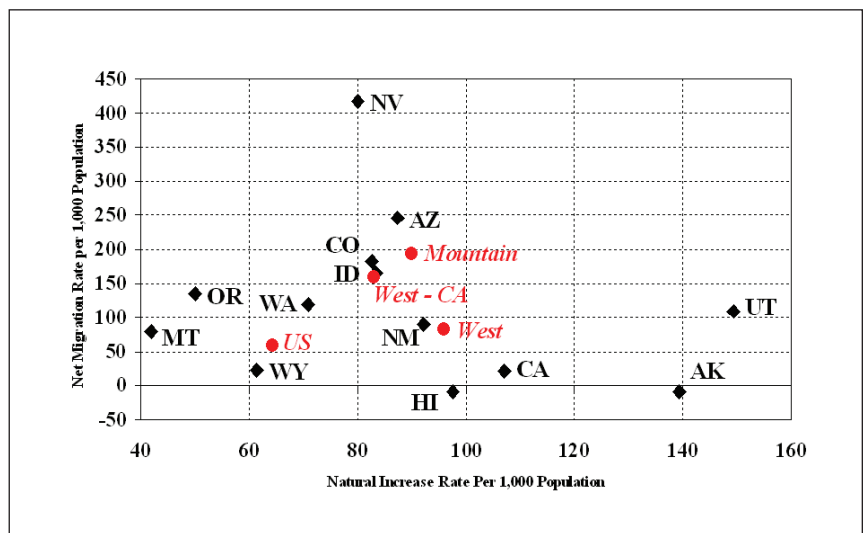
Measures of net migration conflate gross inflows and outflows as well as places of origin and destination into a single measure. Results of the migration question on the long form of the 2000 census questionnaire are a source of much of this more detailed information. The respondent is asked where s/he lived five years ago. This provides the respondent's place of residence in 1995 and 2000. Only data on the resident population over the age of five is reported, and multiple moves between 1995 and 2000 are not reported. Further, because the survey is only administered to U.S. residents, it should capture people moving here from other countries (immigrants), but not

those leaving to reside in other countries (emigrants). Although immigration surely exceeded emigration by a large measure in the 1995 to 2000 period, not considering it overstates the size of the net immigration flow.

Figure 11 presents regional results for 1995 to 2000. The South experienced domestic in-migration mostly from the Northeast, but also from the Midwest and West. The West experienced net in-migration from both the Northeast and Midwest, but these inflows were very nearly negated by the western net out-migration to the South (Berkner and Farber 2003). All regions of the country had significant numbers of movers from abroad. The greatest share of these movers from abroad located in the South and West. Movers from abroad came in large enough numbers to more than compensate for the domestic net out-migration from the Northeast and Midwest. The West as a whole, which had minimal net in-migration, had very large numbers of movers from abroad.

Table 4 presents gross in, gross out, and net domestic migration as well as movers from abroad for the West, the West excluding California, and each state in the West. Within the West, California had the largest

Figure 9
Population Growth of Western States: 1900-2000
Natural Increase and Net Migration per 1,000 Average Population



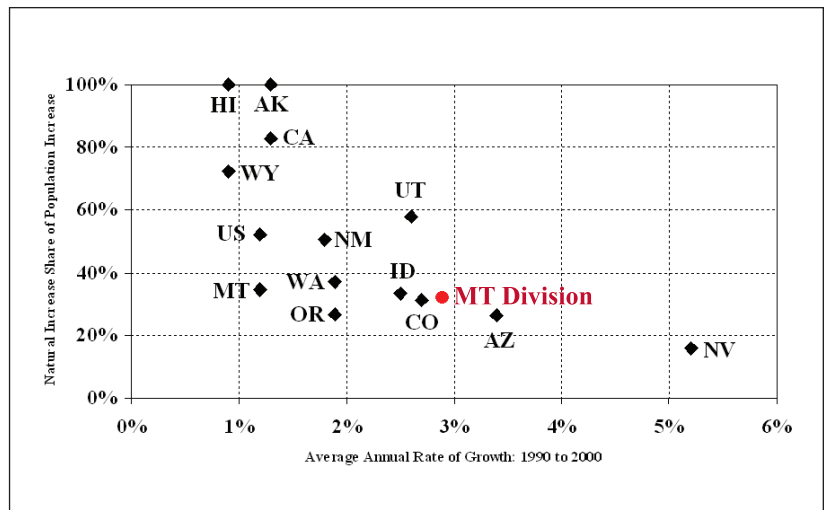
Sources: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Bureau Research; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1995; 2000; 2005b.

domestic net out-migration, followed by Hawaii, Alaska, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Montana. When movers from abroad are added to domestic net migration, all states become positive except Alaska, Hawaii, and Wyoming. When California is removed from the computation, domestic net migration turns strongly positive for the remainder of the West. However, nearly three-quarters of this domestic net in-migration is generated by just two states: Arizona and Nevada. Among states with positive net migration, movers from abroad were greater than domestic net migration in only three: Oregon and, especially, Utah and Washington. In contrast, domestic net migration was greater than movers from abroad for Nevada, Arizona, Idaho, and Colorado.

The 25,296 domestic net in-migration of persons five years and older to Utah in the 1995 to 2000 period is shown on a state-by-state basis, Figure 12. When migration from Utah to California is subtracted from the migration to Utah from California, Utah gained (and California lost) an estimated 28,546 people over the age of five from 1995 to 2000. Of this, an estimated 15,659 (55 percent) of the net migration was Hispanic. Utah also had significant net in-migration from Idaho and Wyoming. Of the foreign born moving to Utah, about one-third are coming from other states (especially California) and two-thirds from outside the U.S. Meanwhile, Utah exported population, on net, in the greatest numbers to Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, and Nevada.

Table 5 divides domestic net migration and movers from abroad according to nativity. The data are shown for the

Figure 10
Population Growth of Western States: 1990-2000
Annual Growth Rate and Natural Increase Contribution



Sources: University of Utah, Bureau of Economic and Bureau Research; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1999; 1995; 2000; 2005b.

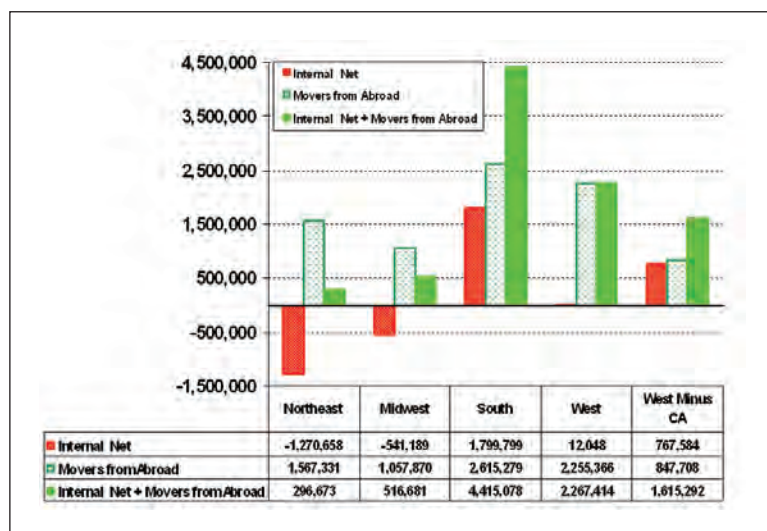
nation, all regions, the West without California, and all western states. Domestic net migration does differ according to nativity and region. The Northeast exported both native and foreign born population to the rest of the country on net, although the foreign

Table 4
Domestic Migration and Movers from Abroad, 1995 to 2000:
Population 5 Years and Older

	Domestic Migration			Movers From Abroad	Net Domestic Migrants Plus Movers from Abroad
	In-migrants	Out-migrants	Net Migrants		
West	2,666,049	2,654,001	12,048	2,255,366	2,267,414
West Minus California	1,217,085	449,501	767,584	847,708	1,615,292
Alaska	95,562	126,060	(30,498)	12,564	(17,934)
Arizona	796,420	480,272	316,148	182,982	499,130
California	1,448,964	2,204,500	(755,536)	1,407,658	652,122
Colorado	643,820	481,187	162,633	134,715	297,348
Hawaii	125,160	201,293	(76,133)	46,751	(29,382)
Idaho	182,929	149,082	33,847	20,966	54,813
Montana	111,530	116,696	(5,166)	6,884	1,718
Nevada	466,123	232,189	233,934	75,212	309,146
New Mexico	205,267	235,212	(29,945)	38,706	8,761
Oregon	399,328	324,663	74,665	83,361	158,026
Utah	242,189	216,893	25,296	64,663	89,959
Washington	618,395	543,065	75,330	175,667	250,997
Wyoming	72,834	85,361	(12,527)	5,237	(7,290)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census 2003.

Figure 11
Net Domestic Migration and Movers from Abroad: 1995 to 2000



Source: Berker and Faber 2003.

born share is less than one-fifth (18.1 percent) of the net out-migration. The Midwest lost native born population also but gained foreign born population from other states, although the later was not sufficiently large to offset native born domestic net losses. The South had positive internal net migration for both the native and foreign born, but the foreign born share was only 14.2 percent of the total domestic net in-migration. The West gained population through native born internal net migration but lost population through foreign born internal net out-migration. However, this result for the West as a whole is driven by California, which had both foreign and native born net out-migration to other states. When the rest of the West (not including California) is considered, both native and foreign born internal net migrations are positive. All states in the West that had positive net internal migration gained both foreign and native born population from other states. Among these, the foreign born share (almost a third) was highest for Utah. With the exception of Alaska, which had a small positive foreign born domestic net in-migration, all western states with domestic net out-migration experienced this for both the foreign and native born populations. Of these, California exported population to every state in the West, and to all but Washington, D.C. and ten

states in the entire nation.⁴ The top 10 net out-migration states relative to California were, in order, Nevada, Arizona, Texas, Oregon, Washington, Colorado, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Utah, and Oklahoma.

Segregating the “movers from abroad” data into native and foreign born categories is important because 1) those residents who move abroad (emigrants) are not tracked by the census and 2) Americans living abroad are not included in the resident population count but are counted in “movers from abroad” when they return. Americans citizens residing outside the country for an extended period (e.g., military personnel and their households stationed overseas, persons studying abroad, persons serving religious missions in other nations, workers and their households on extended overseas assignments,

etc.) are not counted in the U.S. resident population or assigned to any state. When they originally leave, they are not counted as emigrants, but when they return to the U.S. they are counted in “movers from abroad.” Considering only foreign born movers from abroad (rather than foreign and native born) yields a much better estimate of gross in-migration from abroad (immigration). Table 5 shows this data for the U.S., regions, and states in the West. Nationally 75 percent of movers from abroad were foreign born. The foreign born share is lower in the South and higher in the West. Within the West, the foreign born share is higher for California, Nevada, Oregon, and Arizona while it is significantly lower for Montana, Wyoming and Alaska.

Internal and International Migration to States: 2000-2005

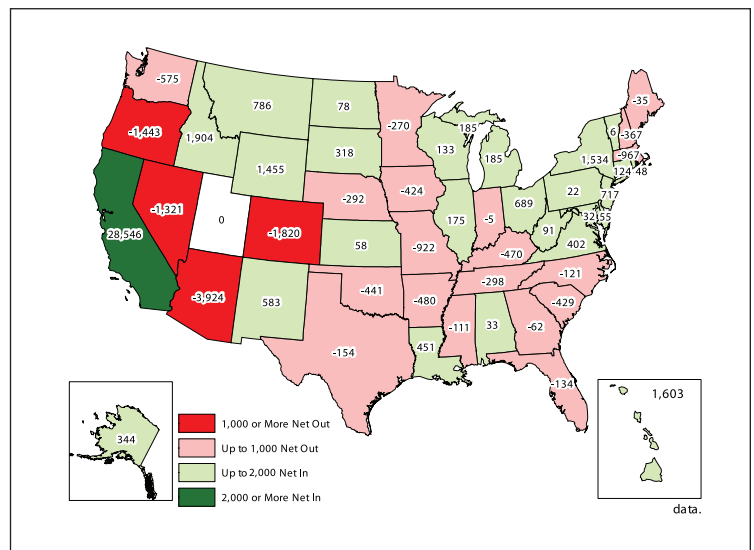
The Population Estimates Division of the Bureau of the Census produces separate postcensal estimates of net domestic and net international migration for states. Estimates of these net migration flows for 2000 through 2005 are shown in Figure 13, which displays

⁴California had net in-migration from the Washington, D.C. and following states (in descending order): New York, Hawaii, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Connecticut, Vermont, North Dakota, and Delaware.

domestic net migration by state, and Figure 14, which presents net domestic plus net international migration by state. What is striking is the number of states (including California, Utah, Alaska, and Hawaii in the West) which would have had net out-migration in the absence of positive net international migration (immigration). According to these estimates, all other states (except California, Utah, Alaska, and Hawaii) in the West had both domestic and international net in-migration, as did states in the South, with the exception of the Mississippi, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. Even with positive net international migration, domestic net out-migration was so great that total net migration remained negative for the Northeast and Midwest regions as a whole. Yet the losses would have been much greater in the absence of the immigrants. The Bureau of the Census began estimating domestic net out-migration from Utah on an annual basis beginning in 1997 and continuing through 2004. The most recent estimates show the domestic net migration has turned positive for Utah in 2005, although the cumulative domestic out-migration is estimated to be negative for the entire 2000 through 2005 period.

The Utah Population Estimates Committee (UPEC) produces estimates of total net migration, not partitioned into internal and international. For the 1990s, both UPEC and the Bureau of the Census underestimated the Utah population, although UPEC was closer. Because births and deaths are given (vital records), this means that net in-migration was underestimated. In the case of UPEC, over a third (38 percent) of the net in-migration to the state was missed in the 1990s (Perlich 2001). In the 2000s, the UPEC population estimates again exceed those produced by the Bureau of the Census. UPEC estimated a record net in-migration to the state of 40,647 for July 1, 2004 through July 1, 2005, with a July 1, 2005 population of 2,547,389. The corresponding estimate of 2,469,585 produced by the Bureau of the Census is 77,804 or 3.1 percent less than that of UPEC. While it is likely that the Bureau of the Census continues to significantly underestimate the Utah population, it could still be the case that domestic net

Figure 12
Utah Domestic Net Migration of Population 5 Years and Older
1995 to 2000



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census data.

migration to Utah was negative in the late 1990s and early 2000s, while simultaneously net international migration to the state was strongly positive. If this is indeed the case, the Bureau of the Census has underestimated net international migration to the state (Utah Governor's Office of Planning and Budget 2006).

Hispanic Contribution to Population Growth: 1990s and Beyond

Because people are most likely to migrate when they are young, they generally reduce the median age in the receiving areas and continue to contribute to population through natural increase after having relocated. During the 1990s, high rates of net international in-migration brought populations heavily concentrated in the working age group to the U.S. Accounting only for the first generation of immigrants greatly underestimates their influence on population growth. Considering the foreign born, the native born living in immigrant households, and the second generation in non-immigrant households, this group is estimated by Theodore Hirschman to be 20 to 25 percent of the U.S. population in the year 2000. Further, he estimates the non-South share to be one-third in 2000 and nearly half early in the 20th century (Hirschman 2005).

Table 5
Domestic Net Migration and Movers from Abroad by Nativity, 1995 to 2000:
Population 5 Years and Older

	Domestic Net Migration				Movers from Abroad			
	Total	Native	Foreign	Foreign Share	Total	Native	Foreign	Foreign Share
U.S.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	7,495,846	1,870,523	5,625,323	75.0%
Northeast	(1,270,658)	(1,075,547)	(195,111)	18.1%	1,567,331	367,733	1,199,598	76.5%
Midwest	(541,189)	(564,474)	23,285	N/A	1,057,870	282,699	775,171	73.3%
South	1,799,799	1,544,372	255,427	15.4%	2,615,279	769,361	1,845,918	70.6%
West	12,048	95,649	(83,601)	N/A	2,255,366	450,730	1,804,636	80.0%
West Minus California	767,584	613,836	153,748	20.0%	847,708	232,684	615,024	72.6%
Alaska	(30,498)	(31,040)	542	N/A	12,564	6,835	5,729	45.6%
Arizona	316,148	275,814	40,334	12.8%	182,982	41,380	141,602	77.4%
California	(755,536)	(518,187)	(237,349)	31.4%	1,407,658	218,046	1,189,612	84.5%
Colorado	162,633	131,528	31,105	19.1%	134,715	35,731	98,984	73.5%
Hawaii	(76,133)	(65,505)	(10,628)	14.0%	46,751	17,163	29,588	63.3%
Idaho	33,847	33,830	17	0.1%	20,966	7,757	13,209	63.0%
Montana	(5,166)	(4,681)	(485)	9.4%	6,884	4,441	2,443	35.5%
Nevada	233,934	178,965	54,969	23.5%	75,212	16,587	58,625	77.9%
New Mexico	(29,945)	(29,159)	(786)	2.6%	38,706	14,599	24,107	62.3%
Oregon	74,665	63,538	11,127	14.9%	83,361	17,822	65,539	78.6%
Utah	25,296	17,270	8,026	31.7%	64,663	18,333	46,330	71.6%
Washington	75,330	55,300	20,030	26.6%	175,667	48,924	126,743	72.1%
Wyoming	(12,527)	(12,024)	(503)	4.0%	5,237	3,112	2,125	40.6%

Source: Perry and Schachter 2003.

Latin America is currently the largest source region for immigration to the U.S. and also Utah (Figure 15).

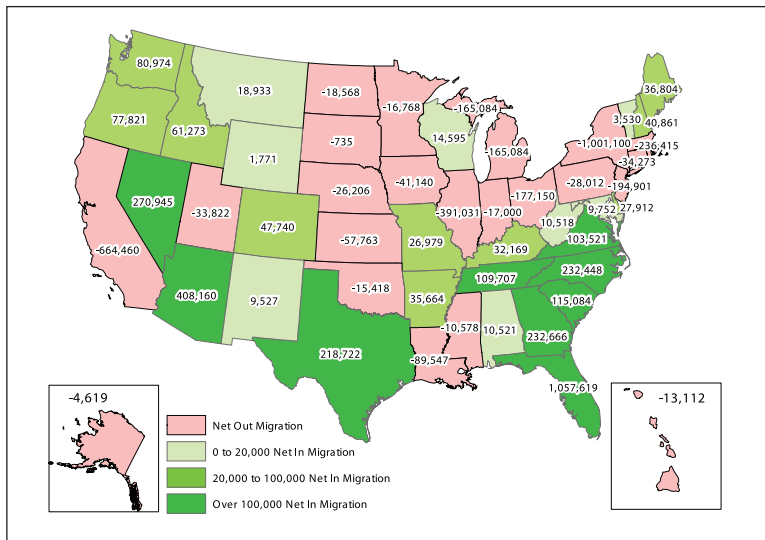
The vast majority of Latin American immigrants classify their ethnicity to be Hispanic. An estimated 42 percent (84,561) of the Utah Hispanic population in 2000 was foreign born. An even higher percentage (46 percent) of the Utah Mexican (a subset of Hispanic ethnicity) population in 2000 was foreign born. The total Utah foreign born and Hispanic foreign born populations increased most rapidly in the late 1990s (Figure 16). According to estimates developed by the Pew Hispanic Center, total annual immigration to the U.S. increased rapidly to peak in the 2000 at 1.5 million and has since declined to 1.2 million in 2004. They attribute this pattern mostly to demand side (fluctuations in the U.S. business cycle) as well as supply side labor market issues (changes in the size of the Mexican labor force) (Passel and Suro 2005).

The Hispanic population, currently the largest minority group in the nation, is growing rapidly because of the

combined effect of high immigration and fertility rates. Hispanic fertility rates exceed those of non-Hispanic whites, even in Utah. While second-generation immigrants have historically seen reductions in fertility rates, the exception to this may be Hispanics (Klein 2004). The concentration of Hispanics in Texas, California, and Arizona provides an explanation of the high rates of natural increase seen in the 1990s (Figure 8) (Sutton and Mathews 2004). In the most recent Bureau of the Census national population estimates release for July 1, 2005, the natural increase of Hispanics contributed more to the annual national population growth than did net international migration, a significant break from the past (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2006).

Hispanics contributed 40 percent of the nation's population growth in the 1990s, 80 percent in California, 60 percent in Texas, and 23 percent in Utah. Regional growth contributions of Hispanics in the 1990s were half in the West, a third in the South,

Figure 13
Net Domestic Migration
2000 - 2005



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census data.

30 percent in the Midwest, and 54 percent in the Northeast. The Hispanic growth contribution was positive in all states (Figures 17 and 18). Over the next 50 years, the Hispanic contribution to national population growth is projected to increase for every decade, beginning at 45 percent for 2000 to 2010 and increasing to 54 percent for the 2040s (Figure 19).

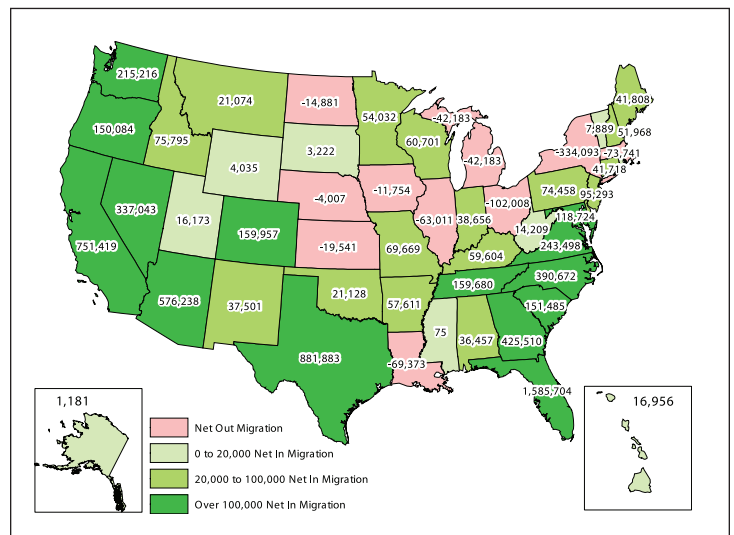
Situating Utah in the Nation's 20th Century Macro-Demographics

Over the course of the past century and continuing to the present, the demographic dynamics of Utah have been, if not determined, strongly influenced by those of the nation. National population growth in the 20th century can be roughly segmented into three periods that follow basic demographic accounting principles. The first two and final two decades of the century were periods when high rates of immigration accelerated national population growth. In the intervening decades, fluctuations in natural increase determined the patterns of population growth. Early in the century immigrants played an even larger role in the growth of Utah's population than of the U.S. as a whole. The foreign

born share of the population of the nation peaked in the 1910 census at 15 percent, while it peaked much earlier in Utah at 35 percent in the 1870 census. By 1910, the foreign born were 18 percent of the Utah population. Again, at the close of the century and to the present, immigrants are contributing to the growth of the state. However, the present wave of immigration is influencing Utah to a lesser extent than it is the nation as a whole. In the 1990s, roughly one-fifth of Utah's population growth resulted from increases in the foreign born population, while a third (35 percent) was contributed by the minority population, and about a quarter (23 percent) by the Hispanic population. For the nation as a whole, increases in the foreign born accounted for over a third (35 percent) of the population growth of the 1990s, while the minority contribution was 80 percent, and the Hispanic share of growth was 40 percent (Perlich 2006a).

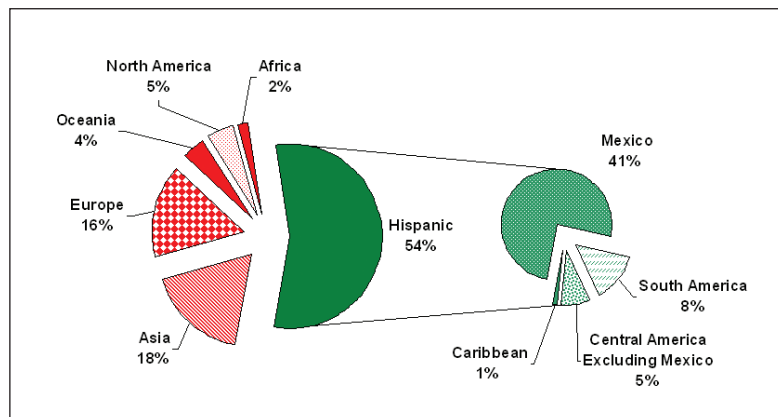
The differential in the demographic influence of immigrants on present day Utah as compared to the nation exists mainly because there is a smaller share of foreign born in Utah (7 percent in 2000) than the

Figure 14
Net Migration - Domestic and International
2000 - 2005



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census data.

Figure 15
Source Regions of Utah's Foreign Born Population: 2000



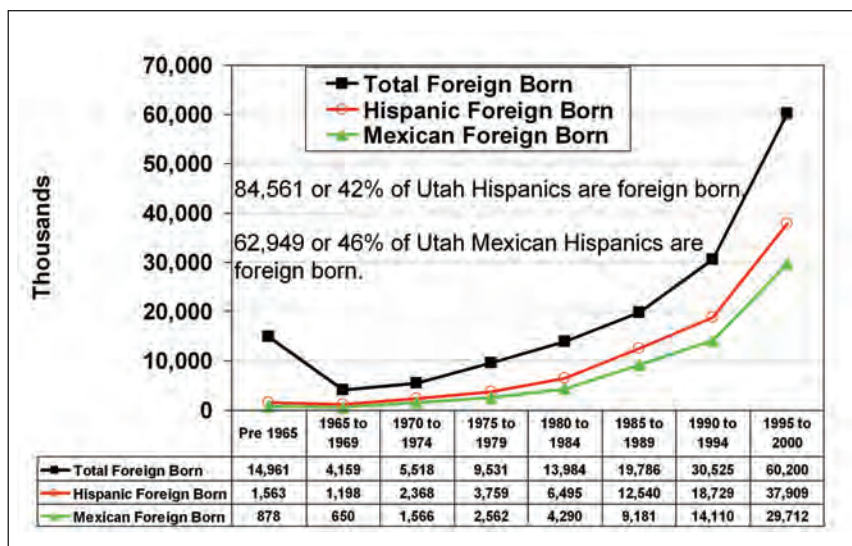
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, Summary File 1.

nation as a whole (11 percent in 2000). The second reason that immigrants and minorities have contributed less to Utah's population growth than the nation's is that Utah has the highest rate of internal growth in the nation. While the national total fertility rate (TFR) is 2.013, the Utah TFR is 2.544. The national TFR for white non-Hispanics is well below replacement at 1.829 compared to 2.447 in Utah. For Hispanics, the TFR for the nation is 2.718 compared to 3.525 in Utah (Sutton and Mathews 2004). Nationally, the gap between the Hispanic and non-Hispanic fertility rates is so great, and the Hispanic share of the population so large, that these combine such that Hispanics generate a larger share of total population growth. A fertility rate less than 2.1 will not replace a population; rather, each generation will be smaller than the previous. In Utah, although Hispanic TFRs exceed those of non-Hispanic whites, fertility rates of non-Hispanic whites exceed replacement level. The exceptionally high TFR of Utah Hispanics is the result of very high rates at the youngest ages: 15 to 24. It is not likely that these rates will be sustained, especially in the second generation of immigrants.

The national Baby Boom (1946 – 1964) generated tremendous internal population growth at a time when there were very low immigration rates. Although this resulted in the largest generation ever born at the national level, this is not the case for Utah. While, national births peaked in 1957, Utah's next baby boom, peaking in 1982 when state births topped out at 41,773, far eclipsed the 25,443 births in the state in 1957. Children of Utah's early 1980s baby boom are creating the next age wave which, once again, exceeds the earlier boom with record births in eight of the last nine years. In Utah, each of the two echoes originating from the post-WWII Baby Boom is amplified while the national age waves are diminished.

Immigrants, particularly Hispanics, contribute to the current Utah baby boom. At least in Utah, the post-WWII Baby Boom cohort is far from the largest generation. Even though Utah's age distribution differs substantially from that of the nation, the retirement of the WWII Baby Boom will be felt in Utah. The state's 65 and older population is projected to grow rapidly and to increase as a share of the total beginning in about 10 years.

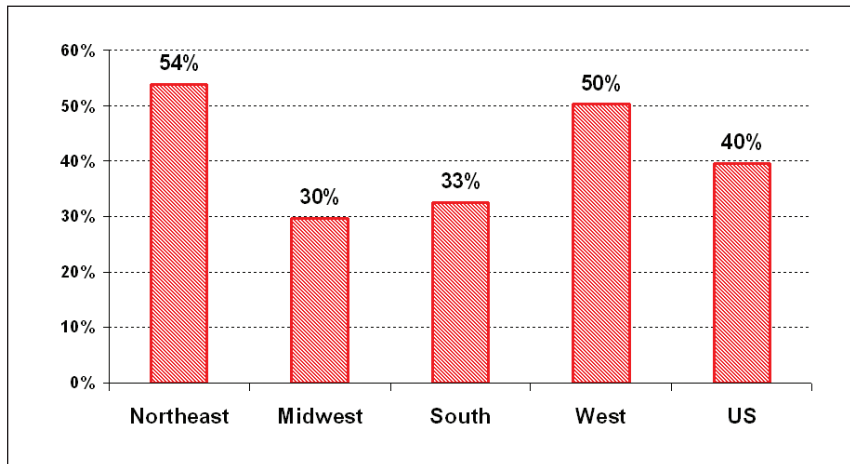
Figure 16
Utah Foreign Born in 2000 by Year of Entry: Total and Hispanic



Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, SF4, PCT45.

Note: Total Hispanic and Mexican Hispanic populations are from SF1 while the foreign born estimates are from SF4.

Figure 17
Hispanic Share of Population Change: 1990 to 2000



Source: BEBR, University of Utah analysis of Bureau of the Census SFI data.

Utah has benefited from the growth of the West in general, and the Mountain division in particular. While the population of the state has generally grown at a more rapid rate than the nation, its growth is moderate as compared to the West in general over the 20th century. Within the Mountain division, Utah is a medium-sized state with moderate growth. Utah's share of the population of the Mountain division has fallen from 16.5 percent in 1900 to 12.3 percent in 2000. Growth rates of Nevada and Arizona greatly exceed that of Utah, and this should continue.

Over the 20th century, the nation's population has been steadily drifting westward, and since 1970, southward as well. The West as a whole is the most rapidly growing region of the country, with positive net migration and internal growth. Within the growing West, Utah's net in-migration rate is lower and natural increase rate is higher. Beginning in the 1980s but especially from the 1990s on, net migration to the West is increasingly international and Hispanic. California has become a domestic net out-migration state, exporting population to other states, while continuing to be a net in-migration state internationally. Immigrants enter and become established in California and later may become domestic migrants when they move from California. Utah receives its largest domestic migration flows from California, and many of these migrants are Hispanic and/or foreign born. According

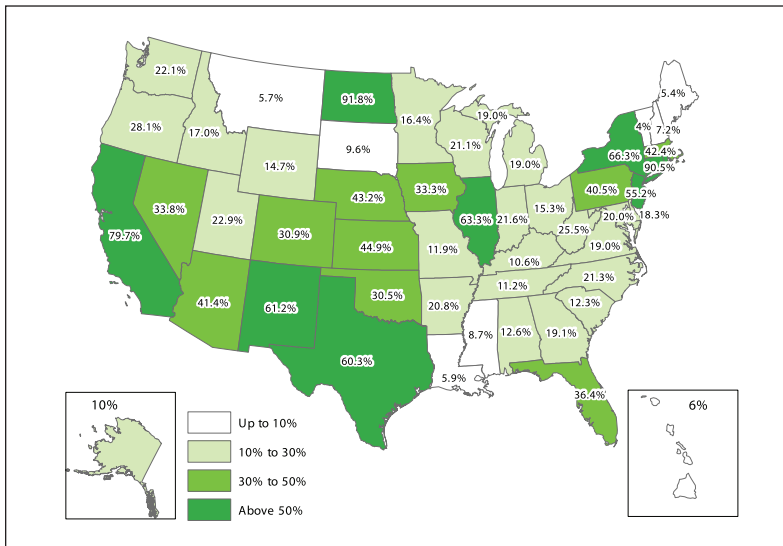
to Census 2000, about 8 percent of gross in-migration to Utah from 1995 to 2000 was foreign born from other states while 15 percent was foreign born from outside the country.

From at least 1990 to the present, Utah has increasingly depended upon immigration to sustain its positive net in-migration. According to estimates produced by the Bureau of the Census, from 1997 through 2004, Utah had domestic net out-migration, sending more population to other states than it received. However, international net migration has been sufficient to more than compensate for these domestic

losses. During the most recent recession when the state lost jobs, immigrants continued to come to the state. As the economy began to recover, construction (a sector that is heavily dependent on immigrant laborers) led the way. In an analysis of Utah's most recent business cycle, James Wood has found that job losses occurred disproportionately in higher wage industries and that Utah's economy recovered by creating a greater share of jobs in lower wage industries, concluding that "Utah's high wage recession may be followed by a low wage recovery" (Wood 2004). Subsequently Utah's economy has further improved, creating jobs across all industries. This may provide a partial explanation of why the state would simultaneously export population to other states and import population from outside the country. The Bureau of the Census estimates that beginning in 2005 domestic migration has again turned positive for Utah. This again is consistent with the industry-specific pattern of job losses and gains.

Finally, Utah's early 1980s baby boom is now out of college, in the labor force, forming households, and generating Utah's next baby boom. This next age wave is beginning to impact public education and will create the school-age population boom for the next 10 years or more. In the meantime, the population from 18-through-24 years old is sandwiched between age waves. Consequently, this age group is projected to be flat or

Figure 18
Hispanic Contribution to Population Growth:
1990 to 2000



Source: BEBR computations using Bureau of the Census SFI data.

very slowly growing for at least the next 10 years. This means that, in the absence of increasing labor force participation rates, Utah's internally generated labor force growth will be relatively slow over the next decade (Perlich and Reeve 2002, Perlich 2006b). The net in-migration spike estimated by the Utah Population Estimates Committee for the year ending July 1, 2005 is at least partly explained by the slow internal growth of the labor force in a robust job creation environment. With sustained economic growth and increasing demand for labor, Utah will certainly continue to attract more migrants to the state. Given recent and projected patterns of economic and population growth, many of these migrants to the state will be Hispanic, foreign born, and moving here from California.

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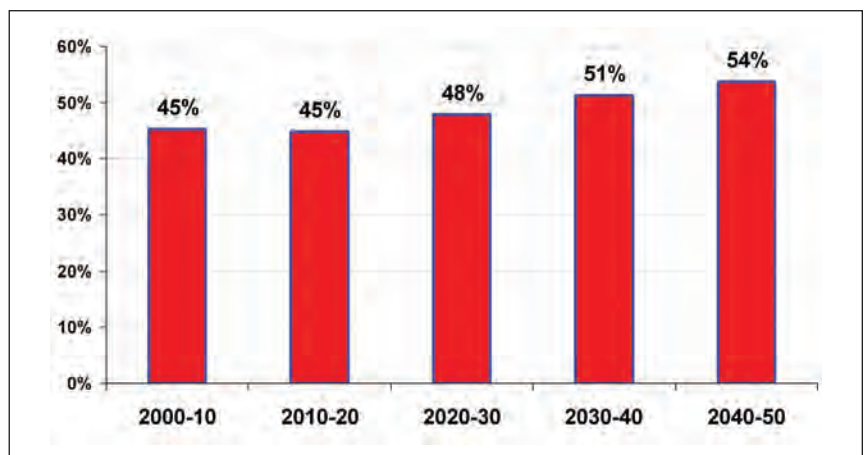
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Figure 19
Hispanic Share of U.S. Population Change: 2000 to 2050



Source: BEBR, University of Utah analysis of the Census (2005b) data.

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