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METROPOLITAN OPPORTUNITY SERIES

The Re-Emergence of Concentrated Poverty:
Metropolitan Trends in the 2000s

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"After substantial progress against concentrated poverty during the booming economy of the late 1990s, the economically turbulent 2000s saw much of those gains erased."

Findings

An analysis of data on neighborhood poverty from the 2005-09 American Community Surveys and Census 2000 reveals that:

- **After declining in the 1990s, the population in extreme-poverty neighborhoods—where at least 40 percent of individuals live below the poverty line—rose by one-third from 2000 to 2005-09.** By the end of the period, 10.5 percent of poor people nationwide lived in such neighborhoods, up from 9.1 percent in 2000, but still well below the 14.1 percent rate in 1990.

- **Concentrated poverty nearly doubled in Midwestern metro areas from 2000 to 2005-09, and rose by one-third in Southern metro areas.** The Great Lakes metro areas of Toledo, Youngstown, Detroit, and Dayton ranked among those experiencing the largest increases in concentrated poverty rates, while the South was home to metro areas posting both some of the largest increases (El Paso, Baton Rouge, and Jackson) and decreases (McAllen, Virginia Beach, and Charleston). At the same time, concentrated poverty declined in Western metro areas, a trend which may have reversed in the wake of the late 2000s housing crisis.

- **The population in extreme-poverty neighborhoods rose more than twice as fast in suburbs as in cities from 2000 to 2005-09.** The same is true of poor residents in extreme-poverty tracts, who increased by 41 percent in suburbs, compared to 17 percent in cities. However, poor people in cities remain more than four times as likely to live in concentrated poverty as their suburban counterparts.

- **The shift of concentrated poverty to the Midwest and South in the 2000s altered the average demographic profile of extreme-poverty neighborhoods.** Compared to 2000, residents of extreme-poverty neighborhoods in 2005-09 were more likely to be white, native-born, high school or college graduates, homeowners, and not receiving public assistance. However, black residents continued to comprise the largest share of the population in these neighborhoods (45 percent), and over two-thirds of residents had a high school diploma or less.

- **The recession-induced rise in poverty in the late 2000s likely further increased the concentration of poor individuals into neighborhoods of extreme poverty.** While the concentrated poverty rate in large metro areas grew by half a percentage point between 2000 and 2005-09, estimates suggest the concentrated poverty rate rose by 3.5 percentage points in 2010 alone, to reach 15.1 percent. Some of the steepest estimated increases compared to 2005-09 occurred in Sun Belt metro areas like Cape Coral, Fresno, Modesto, and Palm Bay, and in Midwestern places like Indianapolis, Grand Rapids, and Akron.

These trends suggest the strong economy of the late 1990s did not permanently resolve the challenge of concentrated poverty. The slower economic growth of the 2000s, followed by the worst downturn in decades, led to increases in neighborhoods of extreme poverty once again throughout the nation, particularly in suburban and small metropolitan communities and in the Midwest. Policies that foster balanced and sustainable economic growth at the regional level, and that forge connections between growing clusters of low-income neighborhoods and regional economic opportunity, will be key to longer-term progress against concentrated disadvantage.

Introduction

As the first decade of the 2000s drew to a close, the two downturns that bookended the period, combined with slow job growth between, clearly took their toll on the nation's less fortunate residents. Over a ten-year span, the country saw the poor population grow by 12.3 million, driving the total number of Americans in poverty to a historic high of 46.2 million. By the end of the decade, over 15 percent of the nation's population lived below the federal poverty line—$22,314 for a family of four in 2010—though these increases did not occur evenly throughout the country.[1]

The poverty data released each year by the U.S. Census Bureau show us the aggregate level of disadvantage in America, as well as what parts of the country are more or less affected by poverty. Less

Box 1. Why Does Concentrated Poverty Matter?

Being poor in a very poor neighborhood subjects residents to costs and limitations above and beyond the burdens of individual poverty. Summarized in part below, research has shown the wide-ranging social and economic effects that result when the poor are concentrated in economically segregated and disadvantaged neighborhoods.[a] Concentrated poverty can:

Limit educational opportunity. Children in high-poverty communities tend to go to neighborhood schools where nearly all the students are poor and at greater risk of failure, as measured by standardized tests, dropout rates, and grade retention.[b] Low performance owes not only to family background, but also to the negative effects high-poverty neighborhoods have on school processes and quality. Teachers in these schools tend to be less experienced, the student body more mobile, and additional systems must often be put in place to deal with the social welfare needs of the student body, creating further demands on limited resources.[c]

Lead to increased crime rates and poor health outcomes. Crime rates, and particularly violent crime rates, tend to be higher in economically distressed inner-city neighborhoods.[d] Faced with high crime rates, dilapidated housing stock, and the stress and marginalization of poverty, residents of very poor neighborhoods demonstrate a higher incidence of poor physical and mental health outcomes, like asthma, depression, diabetes, and heart ailments.[e]

Hinder wealth building. Many residents in extreme-poverty neighborhoods own their home, yet neighborhood conditions in these areas can lead the market to devalue these assets and deny them the ability to accumulate wealth through the appreciations of house prices.[f] Moreover, the presence of high-poverty neighborhoods can affect residents of the larger metropolitan area generally, depressing values for owner-occupied properties in the region by 13 percent on average.[g]

Reduce private-sector investment and increase prices for goods and services. High concentrations of low-income and low-skilled households in a neighborhood can make the community less attractive to private investors and employers, which may limit local job opportunities and ultimately create a "spatial mismatch" between low-income residents and employment centers.[h] In addition, lack of business competition in poor neighborhoods can drive up prices for basic goods and services—like food, car insurance, utilities, and financial services—compared to what families pay in middle-income neighborhoods.[i]

Raise costs for local government. The concentration of poor individuals and families—which can result in elevated welfare caseloads, high rates of indigent patients at hospitals and clinics, and the need for increased policing—burdens the fiscal capacity of local governments and can divert resources from the provision of other public goods. In turn, these dynamics can lead to higher taxes for local businesses and non-poor residents.[j]

a For a more detailed review of this literature, see "The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S." from the Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution (Washington: 2008); and Alan Berube and Bruce Katz, "Katrina's Window: Confronting Concentrated Poverty Across America" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2005).

b Century Foundation Task Force on the Common School, *Divided We Fall: Coming Together Through Public School Choice* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 2002); Geoffrey T. Wodtke, David J. Harding, and Felix Elwert, "Neighborhood Effects in Temporal Perspective: The Impact of Long-Term Exposure to Concentrated Disadvantage on High School Graduation." American Sociological Review 76 (5) (2011): 713-36.

c Ruth Lupton, "Schools in Disadvantaged Areas: Recognising Context and Raising Quality" (London: Centre for the Analysis of Social Exclusion, 2004).

d Ingrid Gould Ellen and Margery Austin Turner, "Does Neighborhood Matter? Assessing Recent Evidence," Housing Policy Debate 8 (4) (1997): 833-66.

e See, e.g., Deborah Cohen and others, "Neighborhood Physical Conditions and Health," Journal of American Public Health 93 (3) (2003): 467-71.

f David Rusk, "The Segregation Tax: The Cost of Racial Segregation to Black Homeowners" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).

g George Galster, Jackie Cutsinger, and Ron Malega, "The Costs of Concentrated Poverty: Neighborhood Property Markets and the Dynamics of Decline," in N. Retsinas and E. Belsky, eds., *Revisiting Rental Housing: Policies, Programs, and Priorities* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2008).

h Keith Ihlanfeldt and David Sjoquist, "The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: A Review of Recent Studies and Their Implications for Welfare Reform." Housing Policy Debate 9 (4) (1998): 849-92.

i Matthew Fellowes, "From Poverty, Opportunity: Putting the Market to Work for Lower-Income Families" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).

j Janet Rothenberg Pack, "Poverty and Urban Public Expenditures," *Urban Studies* 35 (11) (1998): 1995-2019.

clear, until now, is how these trends changed the location of poor households within urban, suburban, or rural communities.

Why does the geographic distribution of the poor matter? Rather than spread evenly, the poor tend to cluster and concentrate in certain neighborhoods or groups of neighborhoods within a community. Very poor neighborhoods face a whole host of challenges that come from concentrated disadvantage—from higher crime rates and poorer health outcomes to lower-quality educational opportunities and weaker job networks (Box 1).[2] A poor person or family in a very poor neighborhood must then deal not only with the challenges of individual poverty, but also with the added burdens that stem from the place in which they live. This "double burden" affects not only the families and individuals bearing it, but also complicates the jobs of policymakers and service providers working to promote connections to opportunity and to alleviate poverty.[3]

After decades of growth in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods and increasing concentrations of the poor in such areas, the booming economy of the 1990s led to a significant de-concentration of American poverty.[4] Shortly after the onset of the 2000s, however, that progress seemed to erode as the economy slowed, though until recently researchers have lacked the necessary data to fully assess the changes in the spatial organization of the poor over the last decade.[5]

After a brief overview of the methods, this paper uses data from the decennial census and American Community Survey to update previous analyses and assess the extent to which concentrations of poverty have changed within the United States in the 2000s. We first analyze the trends for the nation as whole, as well as metropolitan and non-metropolitan communities, but focus primarily on changes in concentrated poverty within and across the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas, which are home to two-thirds of the nation's residents and over 60 percent of the country's poor population.

Methodology

This paper analyzes recent changes in the spatial organization of poverty across the United States. We draw on a well-established body of research to define geographic units of analysis, data sources, and key measures of these trends over time.[6]

Geographies

Census tracts make up the base units of analysis in this study. The Census Bureau divides the entire United States into tracts, which are meant to delineate relatively homogenous areas that contain roughly 4,000 people on average. They do not always align perfectly with local perceptions of neighborhood boundaries, but they provide a reasonable proxy for our purposes. Tract boundaries change over time to reflect local population dynamics; we use contemporaneous boundaries for each year of data to avoid introducing bias in the neighborhood-level analysis.[7]

Based on the location of its centriod, each tract is assigned to one of three main geography types using GIS mapping software: large metropolitan areas, small metropolitan areas, and non-metropolitan communities. The U.S. Office of Management and Budget identified 366 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) in 2008. *Large metropolitan areas* include the 100 most populous based on 2008 population estimates, while the remaining 266 regions are designated as *small metropolitan areas*. Any tract in a county that falls outside of a metropolitan statistical area is considered *non-metropolitan*.

Within the 100 largest metro areas, we designate primary city and suburban tracts. *Primary city* tracts include those with a centroid that falls within the first city in the official metropolitan statistical area name, or within any other city in the MSA name with a population over 100,000. In the top 100 metro areas, 137 cities meet the primary city criteria. *Suburban tracts* make up the remainder of the metropolitan area. We also assign suburban tracts a type based on the urbanization rate of the county (or portion of the county) in which it is located. *High density* suburbs are those where more than 95 percent of the population lived in an urbanized area in 2000; *mature suburbs* had urbanization rates of 75 to 95 percent; in *emerging* suburbs between 25 and 75 percent of the population lived in an urbanized area; and *exurbs* had urbanization rates below 25 percent in 2000.[8]

Key measures

Throughout this study, we use the federal poverty thresholds to measure poverty. The shortcomings of the official poverty measure have been well documented.[9] However, the measure provides a stable benchmark—and is reported at a level of detail—that allows for tracking changes in the spatial organization of the poor over time.

To do so, we first measure the incidence of tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or more in each year, referred to here as *extreme-poverty neighborhoods*.[10] Though any absolute threshold will have its shortcomings (neighborhoods with poverty rates of 39 percent may not differ significantly from those with poverty rates of 41 percent), previous research and policy practice has established the 40 percent parameter as a standard measure by which to designate areas of very high poverty.[11]

In addition to measuring the total number of residents in extreme-poverty neighborhoods, and the extent to which their characteristics change over time, we also calculate the rate of concentrated poverty, or the share of the poor population located in extreme-poverty tracts. Together these metrics describe not only the prevalence and location of very poor areas within a community, but also the extent to which poor residents in the community are subjected to the "double burden" of being poor in a highly disadvantaged neighborhood.

In addition, we examine trends and characteristics in *high-poverty neighborhoods*, or those with 20 to 40 percent poverty rates. These tracts do not register in the concentrated poverty rate, but may also experience heightened levels of place-based disadvantage and signal increased clustering of low-income residents in lower-opportunity neighborhoods.

Data sources

Census tract data for this analysis come from the decennial censuses in 1990 and 2000, and the American Community Survey (ACS) five-year estimates for 2005–2009.

Key differences exist between the decennial census and the ACS that could affect comparisons. First, the decennial census is a point-in-time survey that asks recipients to report their income for the last year. For example, Census 2000 was administered in April of that year, and its long form asked respondents to report on income in 1999. In contrast, the American Community Survey is a rolling survey that is sent out every month and asks participants to report on their income "in the last 12 months". The 12 months of data are then combined and adjusted for inflation to create a single-year estimate. The 2008 ACS estimates, for example, represent a time period that spans from January of 2007 to December of 2008.

Second, the ACS surveys a significantly smaller population (3 million households per year) than the decennial census long form (roughly 16 million households in 2000). To produce statistically reliable estimates for small geographies—like census tracts—multiple years of data must be pooled. The only ACS data set that contains sufficient sample size to report on census tracts is the five-year estimates. These estimates are based on 60 months' worth of surveys that ask about income in the past 12 months, meaning they span from January of 2004 through December of 2009. They do not represent any given year, but provide an adjusted estimate for the entire five-year period. This period bridges vastly different points in the economic cycle, starting with a period of recovery and modest growth and ending two years after the onset of the worst downturn since the Great Depression. The combination of such different periods likely mutes the trends studied here. For example, according to ACS single-year estimates, in 2005 the nation's poverty rate was 13.3 percent. In 2009 it was 14.3 percent. The five-year estimates place the nation's 2005–09 poverty rate at 13.5 percent, much closer to the 2005 estimate.[12]

To address the margins of error that accompany the 2005–09 data, we test for statistically significant differences and present the results throughout the study. To address the potential muting effect of the pooled estimates, we estimate a regression, described in more detail below.

Projections

In light of the much higher poverty rates observed in the 2010 ACS than in the 2005–09 five-year estimates, it is likely that concentrated poverty was also higher that year than across the previous five years. To understand how more recent increases in poverty may have affected concentrated poverty in metro areas, we estimate the relationship between the change in the metropolitan poverty rate and

the change in concentrated poverty rate based on data from 2000 and 2005–09 using the following regression:

$$CP_{it} - CP_{it-1} = \beta_1(P_{it} - P_{it-1}) + \beta_2(SP_{it} - SP_{it-1}) + \epsilon$$

where CP is the share of poor residents in extreme-poverty neighborhoods, and "$_t$" and "$_i$" index the year and metro area, respectively; P is the metropolitan poverty rate; SP is the share of the metropolitan poor population in suburbs; and ϵ is an error term.

To estimate the likely change in metropolitan concentrated poverty rates between 2005–09 and 2010, we take the coefficients derived from this regression and apply them to metropolitan poverty rates and share of the poor in suburbs reported in the ACS estimates for each year.[13]

While caution must be used with any projection method, we find this model provides a reasonable estimate of the direction in which concentrated poverty likely moved based on changes in metropolitan poverty levels.

Findings

A. After declining in the 1990s, the population in extreme-poverty neighborhoods—where at least 40 percent of individuals live below the poverty line—rose by one-third from 2000 to 2005–09.

The 1970s and 1980s saw high-poverty neighborhoods proliferate—the number and population in such areas roughly doubled—due to a combination of economic forces and policy decisions.[14] In contrast, Census 2000 recorded a significant reversal in the spatial location of the poor population.[15] Between 1990 and 2000, the number of extreme-poverty tracts declined by 29 percent, from 2,921 to 2,075 (Table 1). As pockets of poverty diminished, the number of Americans living in these neighborhoods also fell, and the poor population in extreme-poverty tracts fell faster still.

These changes did not simply result from a decline in poverty.[16] Over the same time period, the nation's poverty rate dropped from 13.1 to 12.4 percent—a smaller decline than the decrease in pockets of extreme poverty—but the actual number of poor individuals increased from 31.7 to 33.9 million. Thus the changes signaled a real shift in the types of neighborhoods occupied by poor individuals over that decade.

Very different poverty dynamics marked the 2000s, however. The poor population climbed to 39.5 million in 2005–09, pushing the nation's poverty rate up to 13.5 percent, and the number of neighborhoods with at least 40 percent of residents in poverty climbed by 747. By 2005–09, these neighborhoods housed 8.7 million Americans—2.2 million more than at the start of the decade, a one-third increase. Almost half of those residents—4.1 million—were poor. In 2005–09, 10.5 percent of the poor

Table 1. Total Population and Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts, 1990 to 2005-09

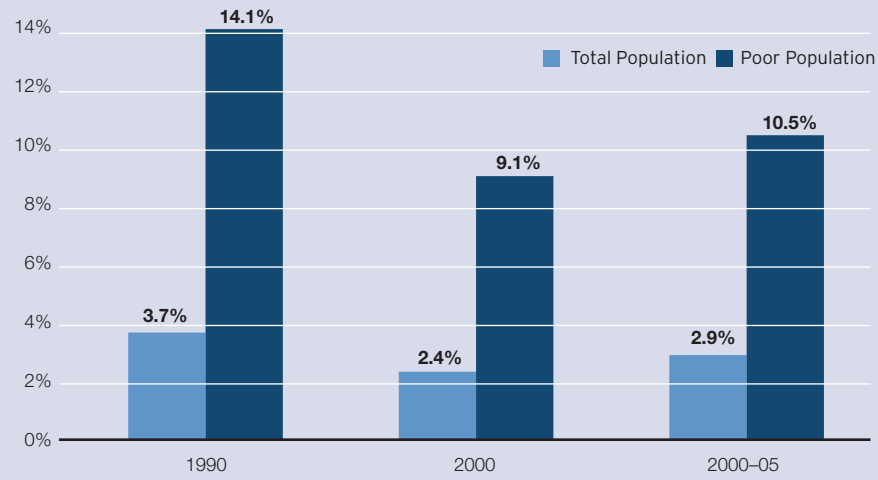
				Percent Change**		
Extreme-Poverty Tracts*	1990	2000	2005-09	1990 to 2000	2000 to 2005-09	1990 to 2005-09
Total Population	9,101,622	6,574,815	8,735,395	-27.8%	32.9%	-4.0%
Poor Population	4,392,749	3,011,893	4,050,538	-31.4%	34.5%	-7.8%
Number of Tracts	2,921	2,075	2,822	-29.0%	36.0%	-3.4%

**Extreme-poverty tracts have poverty rates of 40 percent or higher.*

***All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

Figure 1. Share of Total Population and Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts, 1990 to 2005-09



*All differences significant at the 90 percent confidence level.

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

Table 2. Total Population and Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts, by Community Type, 2000 to 2005-09

	Number of Extreme-Poverty Tracts			Total Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts			Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		
Type of Geography	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**
100 Metro Areas	1,536	1,898	23.6	4,935,506	5,903,264	19.6	2,277,193	2,764,587	21.4
Small-metro	351	616	75.5	969,828	1,746,883	80.1	432,643	802,089	85.4
Non-metro	188	308	63.8	669,481	1,085,248	62.1	302,057	483,862	60.2
Distribution Across Geography Types	**2000**	**2005-09**	**Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**Change**
100 Metro Areas	74.0%	67.3%	-6.8%	75.1%	67.6%	-7.5%	75.6%	68.3%	-7.4%
Small-metro	16.9%	21.8%	4.9%	14.8%	20.0%	5.2%	14.4%	19.8%	5.4%
Non-metro	9.1%	10.9%	1.9%	10.2%	12.4%	2.2%	10.0%	11.9%	1.9%

*All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

population lived in extreme-poverty tracts (Figure 1). While the 2005–09 concentrated poverty rate did not reach its 1990 level (14.1 percent), it represents a significant increase over 2000 (9.1 percent) and signals an emerging re-concentration of the poor.

Moreover, increasing concentrations of poverty over the decade were not confined to urban areas (Table 2). Over 60 percent of nation's poor lived in the 100 most populous metropolitan areas in 2005–09, with the remaining 40 percent roughly split between smaller metropolitan areas and non-metro communities. While large metro areas experienced the largest absolute increases in extreme-poverty neighborhoods and concentrated poverty, small metropolitan areas were home to the fastest growth in extreme-poverty tracts and the number of residents living in them, followed by non-metropolitan communities. However, the nation's most populous metro areas continued to house a disproportionate

share of the nation's extreme-poverty neighborhoods in 2005–09, and retained the highest concentrated poverty rate (11.7 percent, compared to 10.9 percent in small metro areas and 6.3 percent in non-metropolitan communities). The remainder of the analysis focuses on changes in the spatial location of poverty within and across these large regions.

B. Concentrated poverty nearly doubled in Midwestern metro areas from 2000 to 2005–09, and rose by one-third in Southern metro areas.

During the 2000s, roughly three-quarters of the nation's largest metro areas saw their number of extreme-poverty neighborhoods grow, along with the number of poor living in them, compared to just 16 that experienced decreases. The largest increases and decreases tended to cluster in different parts of the country, illuminating larger regional patterns in these trends and tracking with broader changes in poverty across different regions.

The Midwest experienced the most rapid decline in the incidence of extreme-poverty neighborhoods in the 1990s.[17] Much of that progress was erased in the 2000s as the Midwest led other regions for growth in pockets of extreme poverty (Table 3). Taken together, Midwestern metro areas registered a 79 percent increase in extreme-poverty neighborhoods in the 2000s. The number of poor living in these tracts almost doubled over the decade, pushing the concentrated poverty rate in the region's metro areas up by a staggering 5 percentage points, to a level that surpassed that in Northeastern metro areas. While large metro areas like Detroit (30 percent) and Chicago (13 percent) drove some of the growth in the number of poor in extreme-poverty tracts, other major metro areas in the Midwest accounted for the majority of the trend.

Southern metro areas recorded a substantial 33 percent growth in the number of poor individuals in extreme-poverty neighborhoods, though this figure masks the steep declines in places like New Orleans and Baltimore that somewhat offset large gains in places like the Texas metro areas of El Paso, Dallas, and Houston. Given the region's fast growth in overall population and poor residents in the 2000s, and the mixed trajectories of metro areas in different parts of the South, the region's concentrated poverty rate rose by a modest 0.8 percentage points.

Northeastern metro areas held steady on these indicators over the decade, while the West actually experienced a drop in concentrated poverty. The Northeast's trend resulted almost entirely from New York's significant decrease in the number of poor in extreme-poverty tracts. From 2000 to 2005–09, the number of extreme-poverty tracts in the New York City metropolitan area alone dropped by 64, and poor residents of its extreme-poverty neighborhoods declined by 108,000 poor, effectively cancelling out increases in almost every other Northeastern metro area. Similarly, steep declines in the number of poor in extreme-poverty tracts in Los Angeles, and to some extent, places like San Diego and Riverside, outweighed increases in metro areas like Phoenix, Tucson, Las Vegas, and Denver.

Over the course of the decade, 67 metro areas experienced statistically significant increases in their concentrated poverty rate, compared to decreases in 21 others. Among individual metro areas, the largest increases in the rate of concentrated poverty occurred in the Great Lakes metro areas

Table 3. Total Population and Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts by Census Region, 100 Metro Areas, 2000 to 2005-09

	Number of Extreme-Poverty Tracts				Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts				Concentrated Poverty Rate			
Region	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**		**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**		**2000**	**2005-09**	**Change**	
Top 100 Metro Areas	**1,536**	**1,898**	**23.6%**	*	**2,277,193**	**2,764,587**	**21.4%**	*	**11.2%**	**11.7%**	**0.5%**	*
Midwest	344	617	79.4%	*	344,958	672,262	94.9%	*	10.3%	15.5%	5.2%	*
Northeast	452	475	5.1%	*	738,579	752,393	1.9%		15.4%	15.2%	-0.2%	
South	465	576	23.9%	*	697,649	930,420	33.4%	*	10.6%	11.4%	0.8%	*
West	275	230	-16.4%	*	496,007	409,512	-17.4%	*	8.8%	6.6%	-2.2%	*

**Change is significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

Table 4. Top and Bottom Metro Areas for Change in Concentrated Poverty Rate, 2000 to 2005-09

Metro Areas	2000 to 2005-09		
With Greatest Increases in Concentrated Poverty	**Concentrated Poverty Rate Change**	**Change in Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts**	**Change in Number of Extreme-Poverty Tracts**
Toledo, OH	15.3%	16,918	15
El Paso, TX	14.5%	33,953	16
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	14.3%	12,390	11
Baton Rouge, LA	13.5%	16,150	7
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	13.2%	98,940	73
Jackson, MS	12.2%	12,383	11
New Haven-Milford, CT	11.3%	10,834	9
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	10.5%	8,334	0
Dayton, OH	9.9%	11,959	8
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	9.5%	11,023	11
With Greatest Decreases in Concentrated Poverty			
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	-9.3%	-29,524	-14
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	-7.3%	11,229	-3
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	-6.7%	-10,234	-7
Fresno, CA	-6.6%	-11,064	-5
Provo-Orem, UT	-6.0%	-1,725	1
Bakersfield, CA	-5.8%	-4,291	-3
Baltimore-Towson, MD	-5.5%	-13,051	-14
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	-4.9%	-2,552	-1
Stockton, CA	-4.8%	-4,373	0
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	-4.6%	-15,641	-8

**All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

of Toledo, Youngstown, Detroit, and Dayton, and the Northeastern metro areas of New Haven and Hartford (Table 4). Many of these areas saw poverty rise throughout the decade amid the continuing loss of manufacturing jobs.

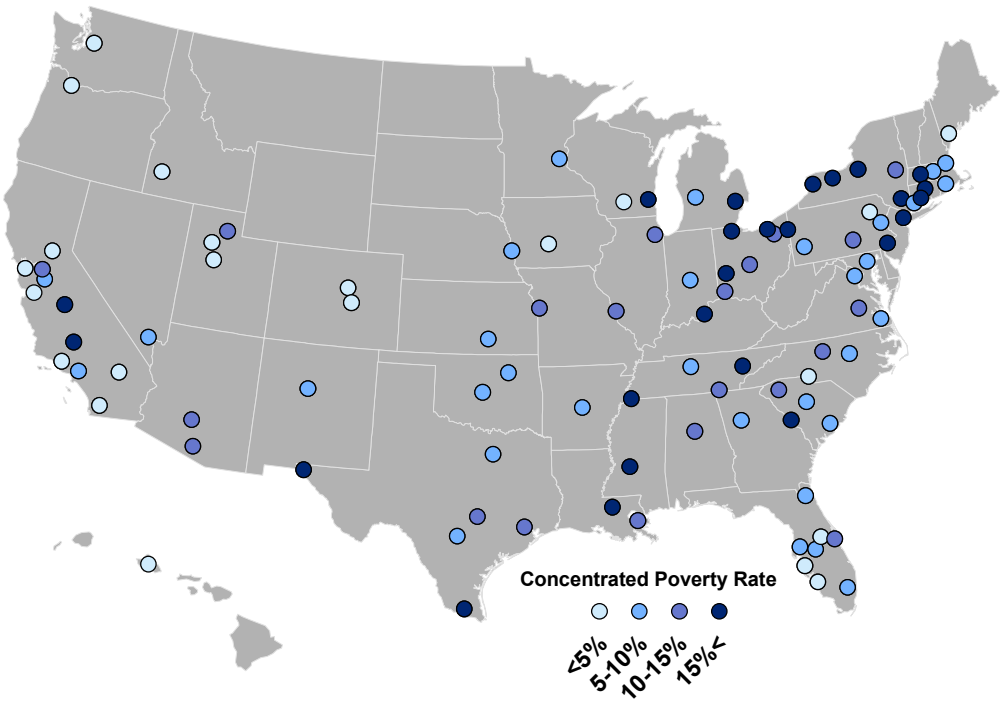
On the other end of the spectrum, some metro areas in the West and South, like Virginia Beach, Bakersfield, Baltimore, and Stockton, exhibited among the largest declines in concentrated poverty rates over the decade.[18] However, many of these regions were on the front lines of the housing market collapse and downturn that followed, and recent poverty trends suggest these gains may have been short lived.[19] McAllen and Fresno also led for decreases in their concentrated poverty rate in the 2000s, but even with that progress, they rank first and fifth, respectively, for metropolitan concentrated poverty rates in 2005–09 (Map 1). They are joined in this regard by other Southern metro areas like El Paso, Memphis, and Jackson, as well as Midwestern metro areas like Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, and Milwaukee.

C. The population in extreme-poverty neighborhoods rose more than twice as fast in suburbs as in cities from 2000 to 2005–09.

Historically, pockets of extreme poverty have been a largely urban phenomenon, though the geography may be slowly changing for large metro areas. Cities reaped the benefits of de-concentrating poverty in the 1990s to a much greater extent than their surrounding suburbs (Table 5).

Extreme-poverty neighborhoods grew in cities and suburbs alike during the 2000s, though the phenomenon remained a majority-urban one. In 2005–09, cities contained over 80 percent of extreme-poverty tracts within the nation's 100 largest metro areas, and had a concentrated poverty rate more

Map 1. Concentrated Poverty Rate, 100 Metro Areas, 2005-09



Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

Table 5. Change in Extreme-Poverty Neighborhoods in Cities and Suburbs, 100 Metro Areas, 1990 to 2005-09

	City					Suburb				
			Change					Change		
Extreme-Poverty Tracts	1990	2000	2005-2009	1990 to 05-09	2000 to 05-09	1990	2000	2005-2009	1990 to 05-09	2000 to 05-09
Total Population	5,174,783	4,027,578	4,662,473	-9.9%	15.8%	900,842	907,928	1,240,791	37.7%	36.7%
Poor Population	2,529,484	1,871,337	2,193,858	-13.3%	17.2%	429,081	405,856	570,729	33.0%	40.6%
Tracts	1,701.00	1,313.00	1,554.00	-8.6%	18.4%	262	223	344	31.3%	54.3%
Share of Total Population	9.5%	6.9%	7.7%	-1.8%	0.8%	0.9%	0.8%	0.9%	0.0%	0.2%
Share of Poor Population	26.6%	18.3%	20.0%	-6.6%	1.7%	5.1%	4.0%	4.5%	-0.6%	0.5%

**All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

Table 6. Change in Extreme Poverty Neighborhoods by Suburban Type, 2000 to 2005-09

	Number of Extreme-Poverty Tracts			Total Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts			Poor Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		
Type of Suburb	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**	**2000**	**2005-09**	**% Change**
Suburban Total	**223**	**344**	**54.3%**	**907,928**	**1,240,791**	**36.7%**	**405,856**	**570,729**	**40.6%**
High Density	79	114	44.3%	304,745	342,375	12.3%	132,628	158,883	19.8%
Mature	100	156	56.0%	450,095	629,557	39.9%	204,842	288,460	40.8%
Emerging	36	58	61.1%	121,603	193,436	59.1%	56,089	93,353	66.4%
Exurb	8	16	100.0%	31,485	75,423	139.6%	12,297	30,033	144.2%

**All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

than four times higher (20 percent) than suburbs (4.5 percent).

However, just as suburbs outpaced cities for growth in the poor population as a whole over the decade, they also saw the number of poor living in extreme-poverty neighborhoods grow faster than in cities.[20] The number of extreme-poverty neighborhoods in suburban communities grew by 54 percent, compared to 18 percent in cities, and the poor population living in these suburban neighborhoods rose by 41 percent—more than twice as fast as the 17 percent growth in cities. As a result, though cities still remained better off on these measures in 2005-09 than in 1990, suburbs had surpassed 1990 levels on almost every count.

Growth rates differed across suburbs as well. Higher-density, older suburbs were home to a larger number of extreme-poverty neighborhoods and poor residents living in concentrated poverty than newer, lower-density communities (Table 6). Interestingly, mature suburbs—those that largely developed in the middle decades of the 20th century, in contrast to older "streetcar suburbs" bordering central cities—are home to more extreme-poverty tracts and poor population in those tracts than their more urbanized neighbors. But newer emerging and exurban suburbs experienced the fastest pace of growth among suburbs in concentrated poverty over the decade, albeit from a low base. The trends underscore that just as no category of suburb was immune to broader growth in poverty over the decade, the challenges of concentrated poverty became more regional in scope as well.[21]

Increases in concentrated poverty were widespread among both cities and suburbs in the 100 largest metro areas during the 2000s. Altogether, 61 experienced significant increases in city concentrated poverty rates, compared to 20 with significant decreases. Suburban concentrated poverty rates rose in 54 metro areas and declined in 16 (Table 7). By and large, city and suburban rates moved together over time, but Poughkeepsie and Fresno experienced among the steepest drops in cities concentrated poverty rates even as they topped the list for increases in suburban concentrated poverty rates.

Different factors can cause concentrated poverty to rise or fall in a region: a change in the number of extreme-poverty neighborhoods, growth or decline in the poor population living in these neighborhoods, or a combination of the two. Fifty-eight (58) percent of extreme-poverty tracts in cities in 2000 remained extreme-poverty tracts in 2005-09. However, these tracts shed total population and poor residents over the 2000s. The increase in concentrated poverty in cities was thus driven by growth of new pockets of poverty in these urban centers. Just as in cities, 58 percent of suburban extreme-poverty tracts in 2000 remained above the 40 percent threshold in 2005-09. Unlike in cities, those neighborhoods added total residents and poor population over the decade. The rise in suburban concentrated poverty thus reflected growth in both existing pockets of poverty and the development of new extreme-poverty neighborhoods.

New pockets of poverty that developed in these communities may have been tracts hovering just below the 40 percent threshold in 2000, or others that experienced more significant increases in their poverty rates over the course of the decade. Not reflected in these numbers are the neighborhoods that saw significant increases in poverty, but did not top the 40 percent threshold in 2005-09. Overall,

Table 7. Top and Bottom Metro Areas for Change in Concentrated Poverty Rate, by City and Suburb, 2000 to 2005-09

Metro Areas	Change in Concentrated Poverty Rate	Metro Areas	Change in Concentrated Poverty Rate
With Greatest Primary City Increases		**With Greatest Suburban Increases**	
Bradenton-Sarasota-Venice, FL	36.7%	New Haven-Milford, CT	13.8%
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	36.3%	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	13.1%
Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME	25.4%	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	10.2%
Dayton, OH	25.2%	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	8.0%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	24.3%	Baton Rouge, LA	7.0%
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	23.0%	Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	6.9%
Jackson, MS	22.4%	El Paso, TX	6.7%
Baton Rouge, LA	22.0%	Toledo, OH	6.6%
Greenville-Mauldin-Easley, SC	19.6%	Fresno, CA	6.5%
Toledo, OH	19.4%	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	6.4%
With Greatest Primary City Decreases		**With Greatest Suburban Decreases**	
Provo-Orem, UT	-15.4%	Tucson, AZ	-9.3%
Fresno, CA	-13.9%	McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	-9.0%
Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	-12.2%	Bakersfield, CA	-6.4%
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	-11.6%	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	-5.1%
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	-9.6%	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	-4.4%
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	-9.4%	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	-3.8%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	-9.3%	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	-3.6%
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	-8.4%	Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	-3.2%
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	-8.1%	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	-2.5%
Baltimore-Towson, MD	-7.2%	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	-2.1%

**All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

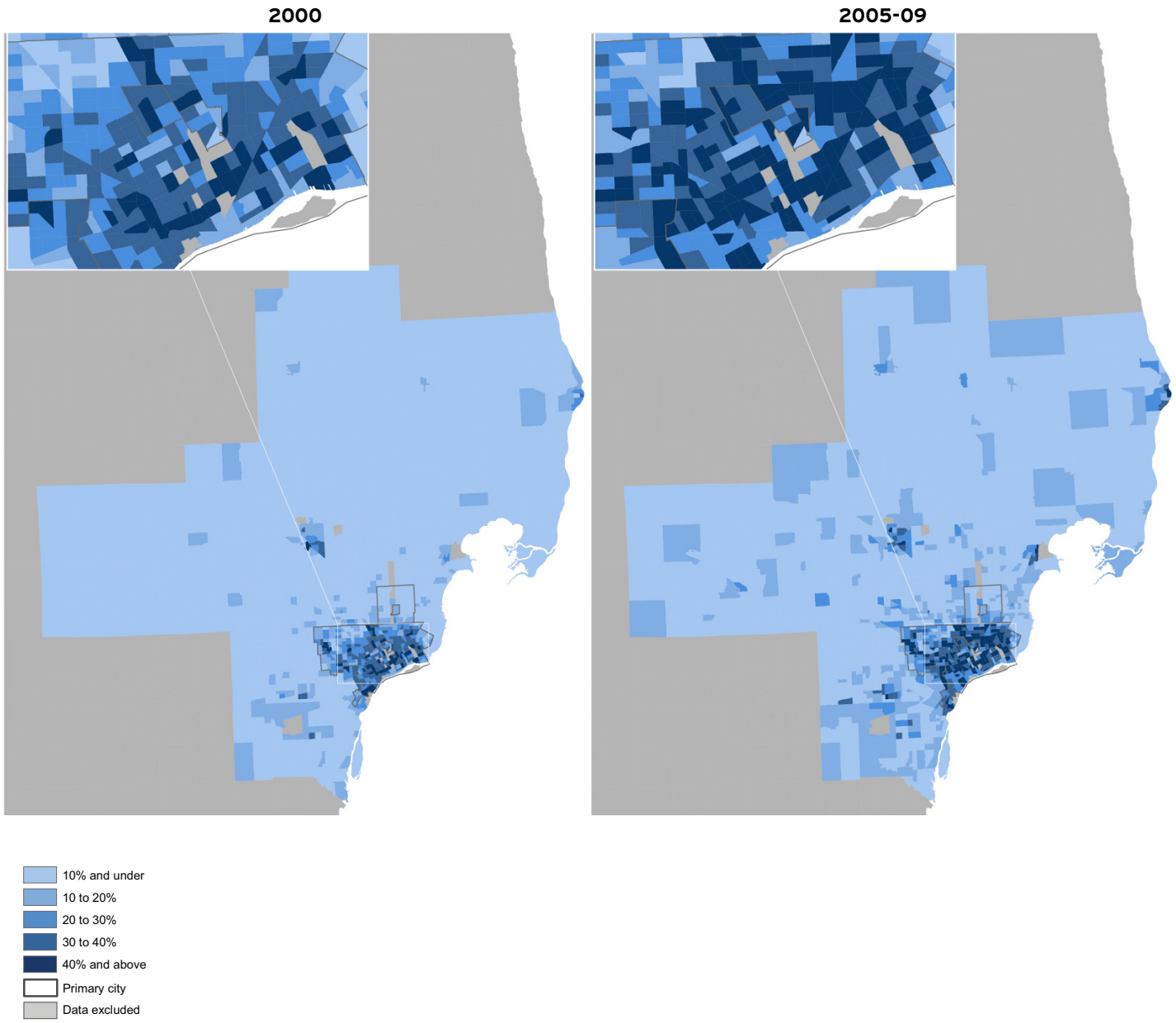
Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

cities saw the ranks of the poor in neighborhoods with 20 to 40 percent poverty rates grow by 8 percent over the decade, while suburban poor populations in neighborhoods at those poverty levels grew by 41. Research indicates that residents of these neighborhoods experience disadvantages that, while not of the same severity as those afflicting extreme-poverty neighborhoods, may nonetheless limit opportunities and negatively affect their quality of life.[22]

Developing clusters of moderate and higher poverty are evident in places that registered increases in concentrated poverty, like Detroit, Dallas, and Chicago, as well as those that experienced declines. In the Detroit region, as extreme-poverty neighborhoods spread in the cities of Detroit and Warren, and in Oakland County (Pontiac) and St. Clair Counties (Port Huron), scores of other neighborhoods saw poverty rates climb markedly—crossing the 10, 20, and even 30 percent poverty level—in both the inner-ring suburbs and along the metropolitan fringe (Map 2). Jargowsky noted the "bull's-eye" pattern forming in this region as inner-ring suburbs experienced growing neighborhood poverty even in the strong economy of the 1990s, forecasting the worsening of these patterns in bleaker economic times, along with the potential for these areas to develop similar fiscal and social challenges facing cities with longer histories of concentrated disadvantage.[23]

Similar patterns played out in the Dallas and Chicago regions. The Dallas region experienced a "filling in" in the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth as well as a deepening of suburban pockets of poverty to the northwest around Denton, and northeast along highway 30 (Map 3). At the same time, an increasing number of tracts along the metropolitan outskirts crossed the 10 percent threshold. The Chicago region experienced an uptick in extreme-poverty neighborhoods in both the city and suburbs, and saw growing clusters of neighborhoods register moderate to high poverty rates. This was particularly

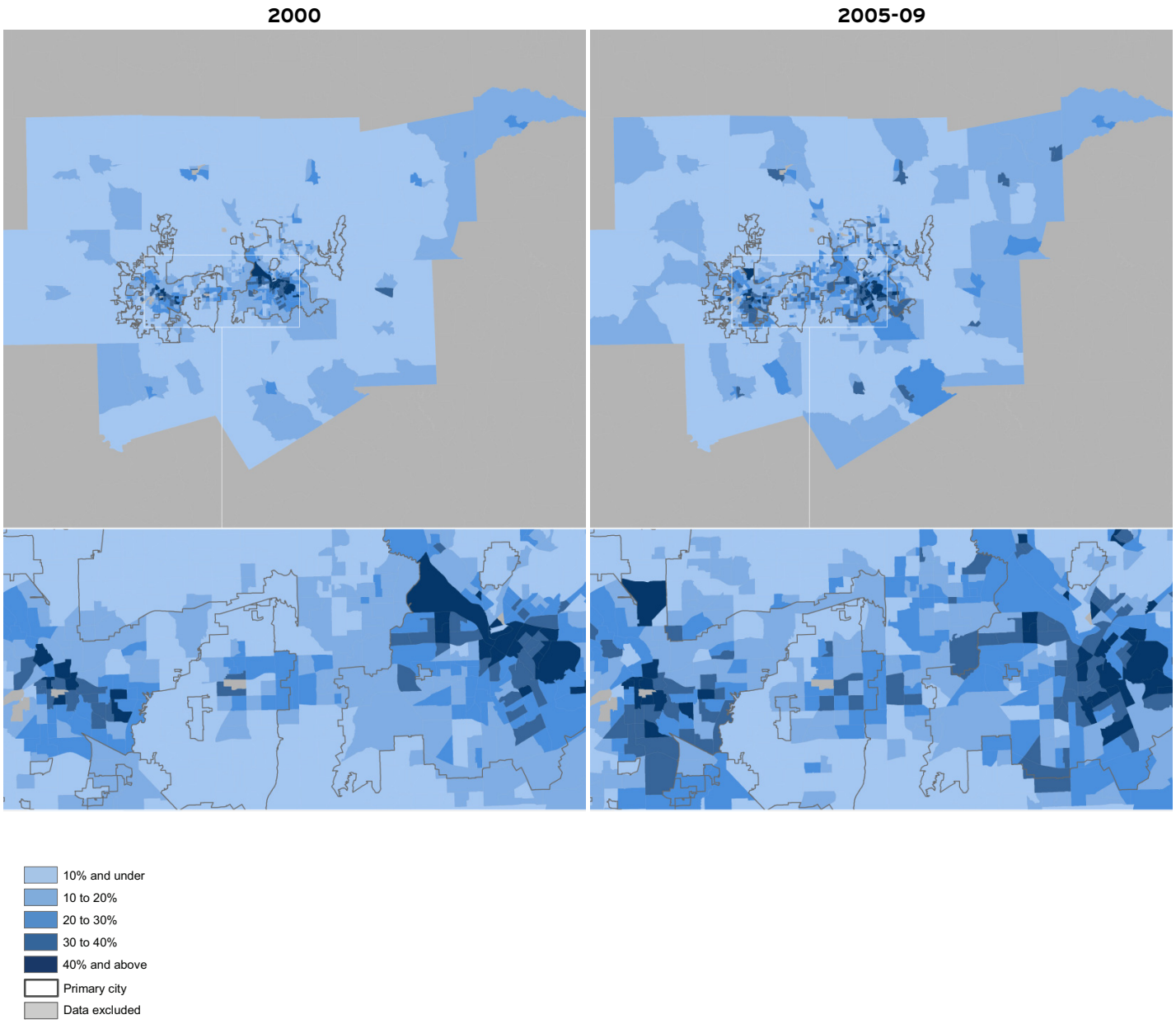
Map 2. Neighborhood Poverty Rates in Metropolitan Detroit



true on the west and south sides of the city, as well as in suburban areas to the north and west—like Waukegan, North Chicago, Elgin, and Aurora—and to the south around Gary and Chicago Heights (Map 4).

Atlanta—a region that actually experienced a slight decline in concentrated poverty from 2000 to 2005-09—nevertheless also experienced a proliferation of neighborhoods at higher levels of poverty (Map 5). The region added three extreme-poverty neighborhoods over the decade. Though almost all its extreme-poverty tracts were in the city in 2005-09, the largest increases in the region's poor population occurred in the suburbs, where their numbers grew by more than two-thirds over the decade.

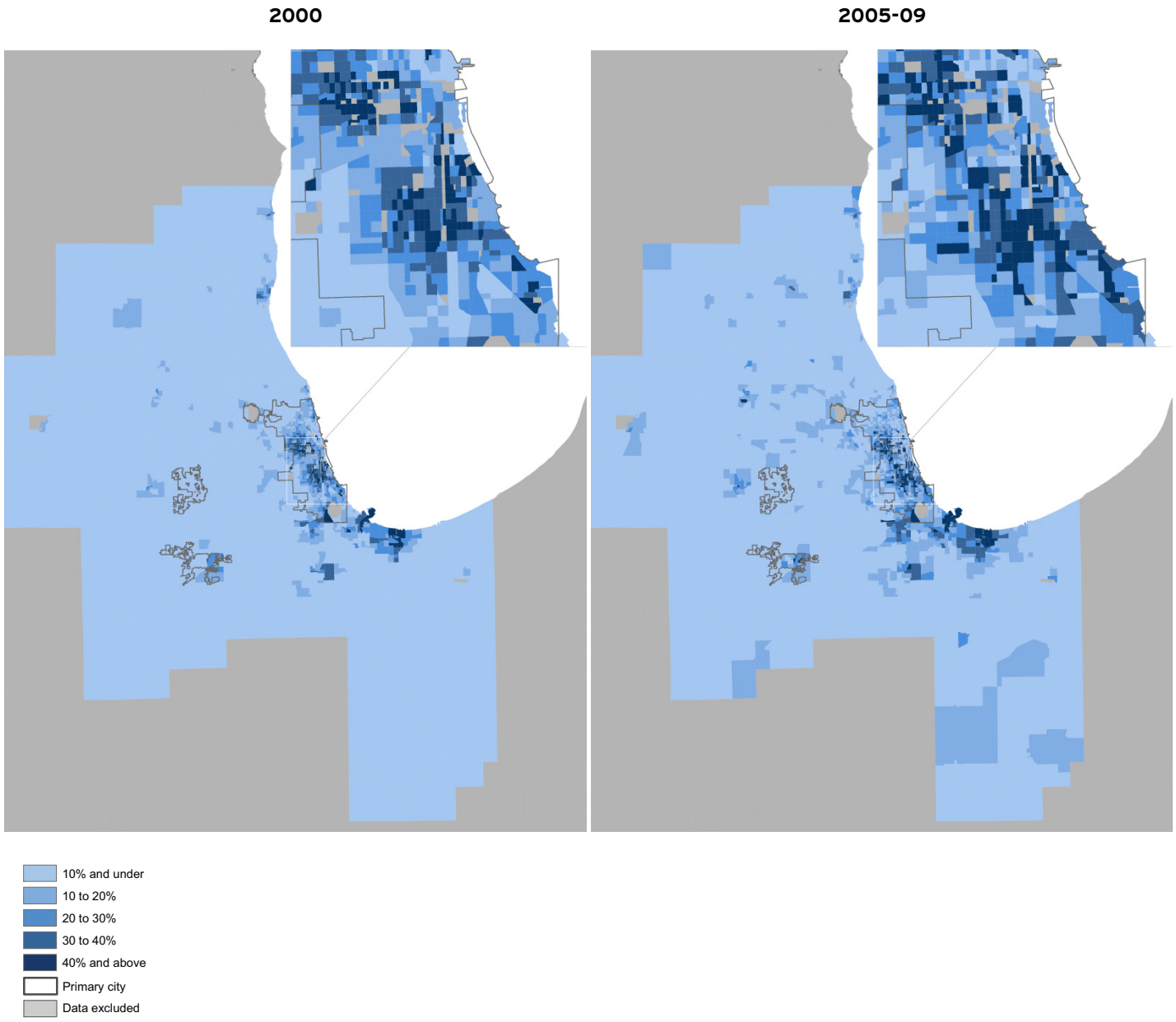
Map 3. Neighborhood Poverty Rates in Metropolitan Dallas



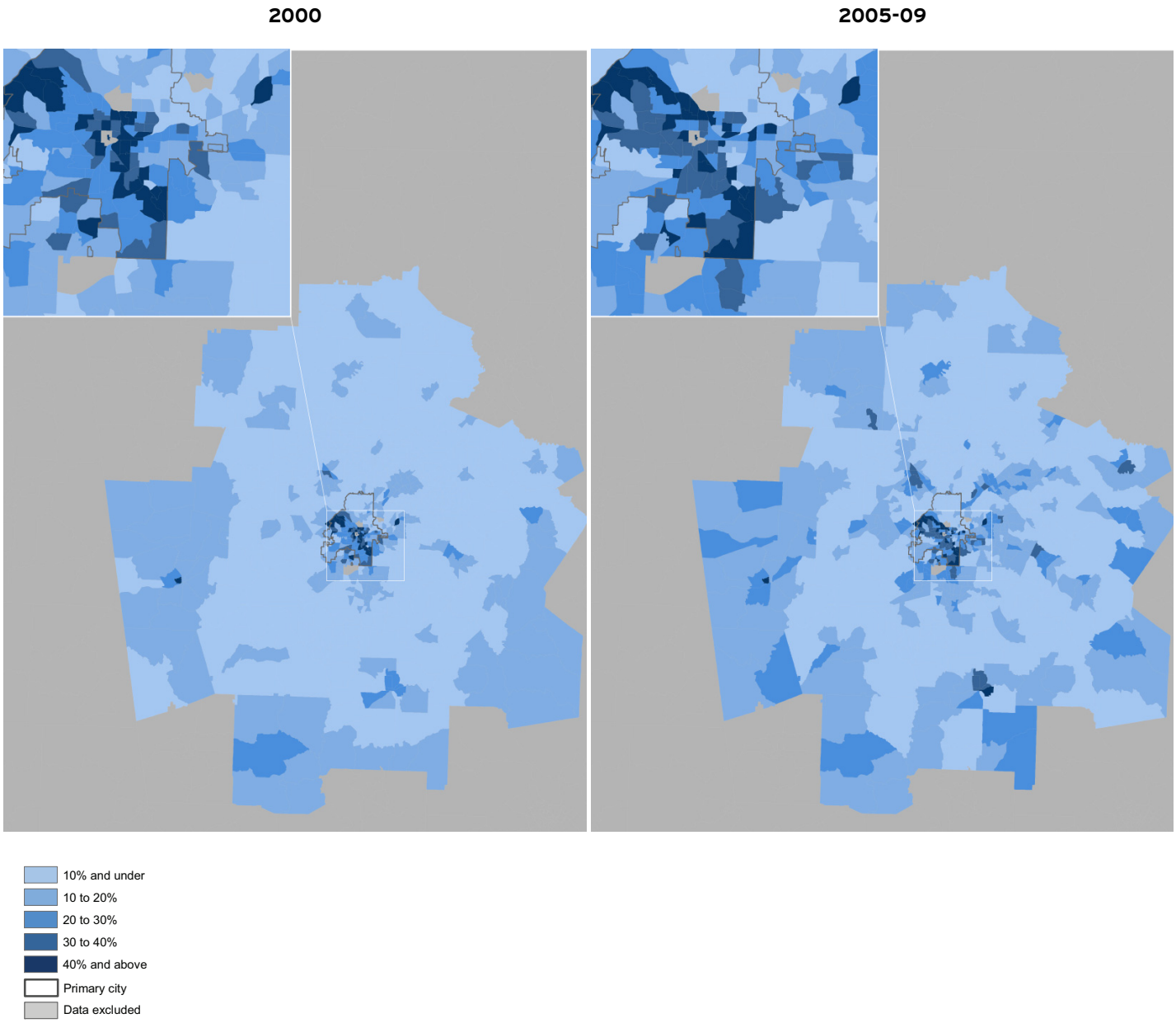
As this growth took place, an increasing number of neighborhoods crossed not just the 10 percent poverty mark, but many reached poverty rates of more than 20 or 30 percent by 2005-09 in places to south like Macon, to the northwest towards Marietta, and to the east in areas like Lawrenceville and Gainesville.

In short, concentrated poverty trends in the 2000s appear to have erased some of the progress made in central cities during the 1990s, while accelerating and spreading the growth of higher-poverty suburban communities witnessed that decade.

Map 4. Neighborhood Poverty Rates in Metropolitan Chicago



Map 5. Neighborhood Poverty Rates in Metropolitan Atlanta



D. The shift of concentrated poverty to the Midwest and South in the 2000s coincided with changes in the demographic profile of extreme-poverty neighborhoods.

As concentrations of poverty increased and spread in the 2000s, the makeup of extreme-poverty neighborhoods shifted across a number of characteristics (Table 8). In particular, the traditional picture of extreme-poverty neighborhoods has been colored by research and public discussion of the urban "underclass", a term which has fallen out of favor in recent years but, according to Ricketts and Sawhill, is meant to describe a subset of the population that "suffers from multiple social ills that are concentrated in depressed inner-city areas."[24]

Past research has identified four factors to proxy "underclass" characteristics at the neighborhood level: the share of teenagers dropping out of high school, the proportion of households headed by single-mothers, the share of able-bodied men not in the labor force, and the proportion of households on public assistance. During the 2000s, the share of working-age men not in the labor force in extreme-poverty neighborhoods fell by 7 percentage points, as did the share of teenagers in these neighborhoods not in school and without a diploma. The share of households receiving public assistance dropped by more than 8 percentage points, and a smaller share were headed by single mothers than at the start of the decade. These shifts underscore an observation made by Ricketts and Sawhill that, while "extreme poverty areas can reasonably be used as a proxy for concentrations of social problems…they are not the same thing."[25]

In addition, by 2005–09, residents of extreme-poverty neighborhoods were more likely to be white and less likely to be Latino than in 2000, though African Americans remained the single largest group in these areas (44.6 percent).[26] The population in extreme-poverty tracts was also less likely to be foreign born, and residents were more likely to own their homes than at the start of the decade. Compared to 2000, by the last half of the decade residents of these neighborhoods were also better

Table 8. Change in Neighborhood Characteristics in Extreme-Poverty Tracts, 100 Metro Areas, 2000 to 2005-09

Share of individuals:	**2000**	**2005-09**
Who are:		
White	11.2%	16.5%
Black	45.6%	44.6%
Latino	37.4%	33.9%
Other	5.9%	5.1%
Who are foreign born	20.0%	17.9%
25 and over who have completed:		
Less than High School	50.0%	37.9%
High School	25.9%	31.9%
Some College or Associates Degree	17.4%	20.5%
BA or Higher	6.7%	9.7%
Who are 22 to 64 year-old males not in the labor force	39.8%	32.4%
16 to 19 year olds not in school and without a diploma	20.6%	13.6%
Share of households:		
That are owner occupied	24.4%	29.3%
That receive public assistance	18.0%	9.6%
Headed by women with children	26.8%	22.5%%

**All changes significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

educated—more had finished high school (31.9 percent) and a higher share held bachelor's degrees (9.7 percent).

These changes may capture in part the rapid growth of concentrated poverty in the Midwest, which accompanied the economic struggles of regions like Detroit, Toledo, Chicago, and Dayton across the decade. Concentrated poverty in these metro areas spread beyond the urban core to what might previously have been considered working-class areas. Poor local labor market conditions may have pushed up poverty rates across a more demographically and economically diverse set of neighborhoods than traditional "underclass" areas. The same may apply to the South, where the rapid spread of high-poverty neighborhoods to suburban areas amid the housing market downturn further alters long-held notions of concentrated poverty. At the same time, "underclass" characteristics may themselves have become less concentrated as broader swaths of metropolitan areas diversified economically and demographically.

Within major metro areas, extreme-poverty neighborhoods in cities and suburbs share a similar overall demographic and economic profile. An exception is their racial and ethnic makeup—reflecting larger differences in the racial and ethnic profile of cities and suburbs, in that suburban residents of extreme-poverty neighborhoods are more likely to be white and Latino than their counterparts in cities—and a higher homeownership rate in the suburbs.

Greater demographic and economic differences emerge between neighborhoods with poverty rates of at least 40 percent on the one hand, and those with poverty rates between 20 to 40 percent on the other. The latter group housed more than one-third of the metropolitan poor population in 2005–09, compared to about one-tenth of metropolitan poor in the former group.

Residents of high-poverty neighborhoods in 2005–09 were more likely to be white and Latino, and less likely to be African American than the population in extreme-poverty tracts (Table 9). They were

Table 9. Neighborhood Characteristics by Poverty Rate Category, 100 Metro Areas, 2005-09

Share of individuals:	In Extreme-Poverty Tracts	In High-Poverty Tracts	Total Population
Who are:			
White	16.5%	29.9%	59.7%
Black	44.6%	27.5%	13.7%
Latino	33.9%	35.6%	18.4%
Other	5.1%	6.9%	8.2%
Who are foreign born	17.9%	23.4%	16.2%
25 and over who have completed:			
Less than High School	37.9%	29.2%	14.8%
High School	31.9%	30.8%	26.8%
Some College or Associates Degree	20.5%	23.9%	27.3%
BA or Higher	9.7%	16.1%	31.1%
Who are 22 to 64 year-old males not in the labor force	32.4%	20.1%	14.4%
16 to 19 year olds not in school and without a diploma	13.6%	11.5%	6.5%
Share of households:			
That are owner occupied	29.3%	42.8%	65.1%
That receive public assistance	9.6%	5.2%	2.4%
Headed by women with children	22.5%	13.7%	8.1%

**All differences significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*

Source: Brookings analysis of ACS data

also more likely to be foreign born. Residents of high-poverty neighborhoods exhibited higher levels of education than those in extreme-poverty tracts, with a much higher share of college graduates as well as those who attended some college or hold an associate's degree. And high-poverty tract residents are much less likely to exhibit the four "underclass" characteristics than their counterparts in extreme-poverty neighborhoods. However, when the benchmark is the metropolitan population as a whole, high-poverty neighborhoods continue to exhibit higher use of public assistance and trail behind the general population on educational attainment, dropout rates, single-mother households, and male attachment to the labor force.

E. The recession-induced rise in poverty in the late 2000s likely further increased the concentration of poor individuals into neighborhoods of extreme poverty.

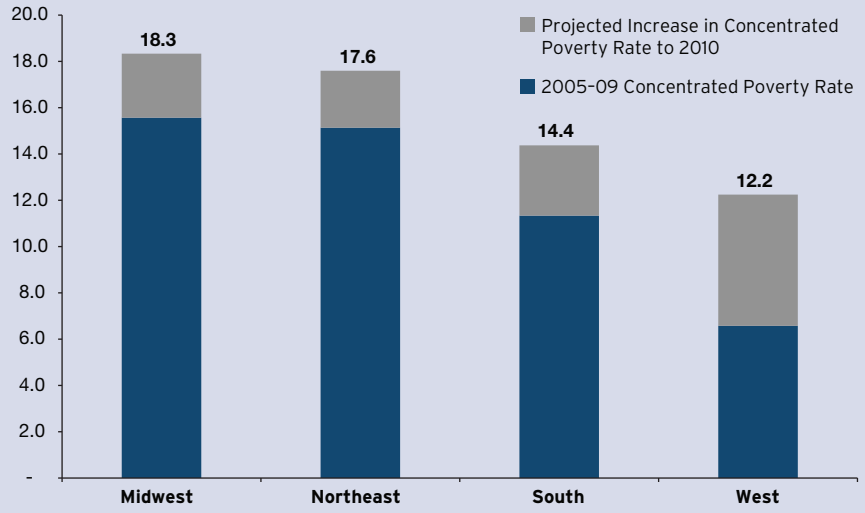
Recently released data from the ACS reveal that in 2010, the poverty rate in the nation's largest metro areas continued its upward trajectory to reach 14.4 percent. That represents an increase of almost 3 percentage points over the start of the decade, with the bulk of that increase—2.5 percentage points—occurring just since the onset of the Great Recession in late 2007. The 2010 poverty rate for large metro areas also exceeds the 2005–09 estimate of 12.4 percent by 2 percentage points.

Because poverty continued to rise significantly through the end of the 2000s, and the five-year estimates likely mute the impacts of these trends over the last few years of the decade, we estimate a regression, as detailed in the methods section, to assess projected changes in concentrated poverty. Based on the relationship between changes in metro-level poverty rates and concentrations of poverty, we project the likely magnitude and direction of changes in concentrated poverty in 2010.

Based on the pace of poverty increases, results suggest the concentrated poverty rate reached 15.1 percent in 2010. That would represent an increase of 3.5 percentage points compared to the 2005–09 concentrated poverty rate, suggesting that poverty has re-concentrated in metropolitan America to a level approaching that in 1990.

Importantly, what little good news there was through 2005–09 appears to have evaporated, and then some, by 2010. Applying regression results to individual metro areas reveals that nine of the 10 metro areas experiencing the largest decreases in concentrated poverty from 2000 to 2005–09 (Table 4) showed growing concentrations of poverty in 2010. At the end of the decade, some of the greatest increases in the concentrated poverty rate are estimated to have occurred in Sun Belt places that saw

Figure 2. Estimated Concentrated Poverty Rate in 2010, by Region



Source: Brookings analysis of decennial census and ACS data

poverty rates climb after the collapse of the housing market and subsequent downturn (Cape Coral, Fresno, Modesto, Palm Bay, Riverside, and Las Vegas), but also in Midwestern metro areas like Grand Rapids, Akron, and Indianapolis.

Taken together, Western metro areas experienced the largest growth in their rate of concentrated poverty from 2005–09 to 2010, followed by the South (Figure 2). Although Midwestern and Northeastern metro areas saw smaller increases, metro areas in those regions remained home to the highest concentrations of poverty. Ultimately, all but nine metro areas (Baton Rouge, El Paso, Honolulu, Jackson, Kansas City, Knoxville, Madison, McAllen, and San Antonio) are estimated to have experienced an uptick in concentrated poverty in 2010, with 50 metro areas registering increases greater than the average of 3.5 percentage points.

Conclusion

The findings here confirm what earlier studies this decade suggested: After substantial progress against concentrated poverty during the booming economy of the late 1990s, the economically turbulent 2000s saw much of those gains erased. Success stories from the 1990s like Chicago and Detroit were on the front lines of re-concentrating poverty in the 2000s, and they and other areas such as Atlanta and Dallas also saw concentrated poverty spread to new communities. In cities, concentrated poverty had not yet returned to 1990 levels by 2005–09. However, suburbs—home to the steepest increases in the poor population over the decade—cannot say the same.

What is more, the five-year estimates likely downplay the severity of the upturn in these trends because they pool such different time periods together. Estimates of concentrated poverty trends to 2010 indicate that the positive shifts seen in many Sun Belt metro areas through 2005–09 may have evaporated in the wake of the Great Recession and the severe economic dislocation it caused.

There is also evidence that, as poverty has increasingly suburbanized this decade, new clusters of low-income neighborhoods have emerged beyond the urban core in many of the nation's largest metro areas. The proposition of being poor in a suburb may bring benefits to residents if it means they are located in neighborhoods that offer greater access to opportunities—be it better schools, affordable housing, or more jobs—than they would otherwise find in an urban neighborhood. But research has shown that, instead, the suburban poor often end up in lower-income communities with less access to jobs and economic opportunity, compared to higher-income suburbanites.[27] Thus, rather than increased opportunities and connections, being poor in poor suburban neighborhoods may mean residents face challenges similar to those that accompany concentrated disadvantage in urban areas, but with the added complication that even fewer resources are likely to exist than one might find in an urban neighborhood with access to a more robust and developed safety net. Yet, as poverty continues to suburbanize and to concentrate, absent policy intervention the suburbs are poised to become home to the next wave of concentrating disadvantage.

Given that a strong economic recovery has failed to materialize, and threats of a double-dip recession loom, it is unlikely the nation has seen the end of poverty's upward trend. Trends from the past decade strongly indicate that it is difficult to make progress against concentrated poverty while poverty itself is on the rise. It is also unlikely that without fundamental changes in how regions plan for things like land use, zoning, housing, and workforce and economic development that the growth of extreme-poverty neighborhoods and concentrated poverty will abate. With cities and suburbs increasingly sharing in the challenges of concentrated poverty, regional economic development strategies must do more to encourage balanced growth with opportunities for workers up and down the economic ladder. Metropolitan leaders must also actively foster economic integration throughout their regions, and forge stronger connections between poor neighborhoods and areas with better education and job opportunities, so that low-income residents are not left out or left behind in the effort to grow the regional economy.

Appendix A. Concentrated Poverty, 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09

	2005-09							Change from 2000							
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Rate	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Concentrated Poverty Rate		Rank for Change in C.P. Rate
100 Largest Metro Areas	**195,859,881**	**23,664,093**	**1,898**	**5,903,264**	**2,764,587**	**11.7%**		**362**	**967,758**	*	**487,394**	*	**0.5%**	*	
Akron, OH	686,568	85,090	13	23,547	11,466	13.5%	32	9	14,681	*	7,727	*	7.6%	*	17
Albany, NY	836,001	83,913	8	24,334	11,418	13.6%	31	3	11,662	*	5,953	*	6.1%	*	22
Albuquerque, NM	825,680	121,396	7	21,832	9,114	7.5%	66	4	10,833	*	3,966	*	2.3%	*	55
Allentown, PA-NJ	799,168	70,597	5	14,966	6,941	9.8%	49	1	5,905	*	2,782	*	2.7%	*	48
Atlanta, GA	5,213,776	614,121	31	82,064	39,519	6.4%	73	3	-2,456		-959		-3.8%	*	76
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	528,174	86,740	11	36,514	16,025	18.5%	19	3	13,865	*	5,428	*	4.3%	*	32
Austin, TX	1,551,763	192,924	8	45,435	21,166	11.0%	40	5	23,957	*	11,244	*	3.1%	*	43
Bakersfield, CA	780,875	151,223	10	53,254	24,514	16.2%	21	-3	-11,583	*	-4,291	*	-5.8%	*	83
Baltimore, MD	2,648,347	241,499	16	39,691	19,512	8.1%	61	-14	-29,350	*	-13,051	*	-5.5%	*	82
Baton Rouge, LA	740,111	115,641	15	56,285	26,254	22.7%	11	8	33,036	*	16,151	*	13.5%	*	4
Birmingham, AL	1,130,960	147,058	11	34,414	16,016	10.9%	42	1	893		916		0.1%		
Boise City, ID	574,086	66,947	2	4,731	1,687	2.5%	92	2	4,731	*	1,687	*	2.5%	*	52
Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	4,419,484	390,554	18	51,816	23,802	6.1%	76	6	24,773	*	11,597	*	2.6%	*	50
Bradenton, FL	680,457	71,456	1	5,269	1,952	2.7%	91	1	5,269	*	1,952	*	2.7%	*	47
Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	883,254	65,434	6	12,312	5,732	8.8%	54	3	6,044	*	2,854	*	3.9%	*	34
Buffalo, NY	1,119,517	148,737	19	47,443	23,322	15.7%	24	3	-3,430	*	723		-1.1%	*	69
Cape Coral, FL	573,537	59,147	1	4,579	2,572	4.3%	82	0	-264		-241		-2.3%	*	73
Charleston, SC	623,459	84,334	8	14,954	6,934	8.2%	58	-1	-6,325	*	-2,552	*	-4.9%	*	81
Charlotte, NC-SC	1,629,566	189,714	8	20,149	10,309	5.4%	80	5	13,259	*	7,631	*	3.2%	*	42
Chattanooga, TN-GA	511,934	70,700	9	20,484	10,535	14.9%	26	5	9,051	*	4,205	*	3.5%	*	39
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	9,401,769	1,101,942	144	341,086	158,746	14.4%	28	39	112,278	*	41,544	*	1.7%	*	62
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	2,115,000	238,277	35	68,091	33,996	14.3%	29	13	21,078	*	9,571	*	0.8%		
Cleveland, OH	2,083,812	276,762	66	128,724	64,919	23.5%	7	24	58,227	*	30,376	*	8.0%	*	15
Colorado Springs, CO	597,471	60,825	2	5,337	2,204	3.6%	86	1	3,486	*	1,573	*	2.1%	*	57
Columbia, SC	709,352	88,293	6	18,622	5,985	6.8%	69	2	7,895	*	1,914	*	1.3%	*	65
Columbus, OH	1,728,212	212,111	25	57,225	29,009	13.7%	30	17	35,680	*	19,010	*	6.7%	*	20
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	6,113,988	790,228	39	135,123	64,445	8.2%	59	16	66,636	*	36,498	*	3.0%	*	44

Dayton, OH	820,054	104,125	14	36,522	16,837	16.2%	22	8	24,644	*	11,959	*	9.9%	*	9
Denver-Aurora, CO	2,449,725	270,499	7	21,936	10,906	4.0%	84	5	17,383	*	8,374	*	2.5%	*	51
Des Moines, IA	543,541	46,733	1	3,065	1,333	2.9%	90	1	3,065	*	1,333	*	2.9%	*	45
Detroit-Warren, MI	4,446,539	624,278	123	303,931	147,478	23.6%	6	73	195,690	*	98,940	*	13.2%	*	5
El Paso, TX	729,396	190,232	32	140,754	66,319	34.9%	2	16	74,328	*	33,953	*	14.5%	*	2
Fresno, CA	888,955	182,150	18	101,827	45,635	25.1%	5	-5	-18,658	*	-11,064	*	-6.6%	*	85
Grand Rapids, MI	773,427	98,401	6	16,596	7,736	7.9%	62	3	10,928	*	5,232	*	3.9%	*	36
Greensboro-High Point, NC	686,343	105,164	8	26,999	12,726	12.1%	36	7	21,816	*	10,499	*	8.7%	*	11
Greenville, SC	596,526	84,642	8	20,750	9,088	10.7%	45	6	16,838	*	7,602	*	8.2%	*	13
Harrisburg, PA	524,399	45,543	3	11,864	5,576	12.2%	35	1	5,338	*	2,679	*	4.9%	*	28
Hartford, CT	1,168,038	103,104	19	46,557	20,550	19.9%	17	11	26,799	*	11,023	*	9.5%	*	10
Honolulu, HI	899,231	77,479	4	8,118	3,864	5.0%	81	0	258		-151		0.2%		
Houston, TX	5,584,454	824,410	47	204,666	90,237	10.9%	41	22	117,817	*	52,229	*	5.0%	*	27
Indianapolis, IN	1,688,592	192,275	12	30,562	14,860	7.7%	64	9	25,565	*	12,711	*	6.0%	*	23
Jackson, MS	530,104	91,945	18	44,548	20,892	22.7%	10	11	25,437	*	12,383	*	12.2%	*	6
Jacksonville, FL	1,294,684	147,889	11	34,928	14,712	9.9%	47	4	16,416	*	6,843	*	3.3%	*	41
Kansas City, MO-KS	2,009,042	210,314	29	52,030	23,677	11.3%	38	18	35,490	*	16,758	*	6.8%	*	19
Knoxville, TN	662,701	88,829	10	27,539	13,348	15.0%	25	3	12,965	*	6,453	*	5.2%	*	26
Lakeland, FL	566,333	79,368	4	11,762	4,781	6.0%	77	3	9,127	*	3,439	*	3.8%	*	37
Las Vegas, NV	1,820,422	195,601	8	36,095	14,059	7.2%	67	7	32,594	*	12,639	*	6.2%	*	21
Little Rock, AR	657,446	91,669	6	16,929	7,074	7.7%	65	3	12,197	*	4,770	*	4.5%	*	31
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	12,682,006	1,752,790	72	291,775	136,038	7.8%	63	-54	-234,599	*	-100,460	*	-4.4%	*	78
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	1,233,293	157,964	19	54,721	26,661	16.9%	20	7	16,771	*	6,998	*	1.0%		
Madison, WI	522,465	45,025													
McAllen, TX	702,697	250,766	33	281,520	133,471	53.2%	1	-3	19,051	*	11,229	*	-7.3%	*	87
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	1,280,979	230,274	48	133,330	63,818	27.7%	3	13	55,004	*	28,004	*	8.2%	*	14
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	5,478,057	751,149	24	96,341	47,431	6.3%	75	-16	-61,180	*	-24,344	*	-4.1%	*	77
Milwaukee, WI	1,527,440	186,079	45	90,044	43,610	23.4%	9	8	21,277	*	12,437	*	2.8%	*	46
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	3,164,314	266,654	19	53,095	24,997	9.4%	52	8	19,966	*	12,248	*	2.7%	*	49
Modesto, CA	505,165	75,144	4	15,775	7,083	9.4%	51	2	6,405	*	2,978	*	3.6%	*	38
Nashville-Davidson, TN	1,509,360	182,820	12	32,164	14,779	8.1%	60	6	15,576	*	5,608	*	1.1%	*	67
New Haven, CT	836,604	87,063	13	40,231	17,216	19.8%	18	9	23,694	*	10,834	*	11.3%	*	7
New Orleans, LA	1,140,551	177,178	34	48,960	23,270	13.1%	33	-14	-57,943	*	-29,524	*	-9.3%	*	88

Appendix A. Concentrated Poverty, 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09 (continued)

	2005-09							Change from 2000								
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Rate	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Concentrated Poverty Rate		Rank for Change in C.P. Rate	
New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	18,830,016	2,308,909	200	792,497	368,806	16.0%	23	-64	-232,886	*	-108,340	*	-3.6%	*	75	
Ogden, UT	515,625	41,371	3	9,135	4,337	10.5%	46	0	3,827	*	1,890	*	2.4%	*	53	
Oklahoma City, OK	1,169,261	166,988	13	25,523	11,450	6.9%	68	2	3,076	*	1,503		-0.3%			
Omaha, NE-IA	828,060	88,406	7	16,411	8,084	9.1%	53	5	11,700	*	5,933	*	5.7%	*	24	
Orlando, FL	2,013,778	231,124	4	14,522	7,691	3.3%	87	0	2,528	*	1,595		-0.3%			
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	792,313	70,801	1	3,193	1,417	2.0%	94	1	3,193	*	1,417	*	2.0%	*	58	
Palm Bay, FL	532,697	51,679	4	13,739	5,859	11.3%	37	3	10,209	*	4,340	*	7.9%	*	16	
Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE-MD	5,853,518	663,329	82	292,352	142,110	21.4%	15	21	62,074	*	35,672	*	3.3%	*	40	
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	4,136,492	543,885	34	128,503	59,095	10.9%	43	10	53,283	*	25,110	*	1.8%	*	60	
Pittsburgh, PA	2,322,911	264,543	22	38,144	17,324	6.5%	71	5	7,083	*	1,934	*	0.4%			
Portland, ME	514,044	47,818	2	4,830	2,645	5.5%	79	2	4,830	*	2,645	*	5.5%	*	25	
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	2,163,097	249,490	3	7,652	2,697	1.1%	97	-1	-561		-348		-0.6%	*	68	
Poughkeepsie, NY	655,154	64,060	3	26,569	17,326	27.0%	4	0	10,347	*	8,334	*	10.5%	*	8	
Providence, RI-MA	1,581,522	173,714	11	32,753	14,811	8.5%	56	1	-3,305	*	-130		-0.2%			
Provo, UT	460,973	39,163	2	1,090	374	1.0%	98	1	-3,326	*	-1,725	*	-6.0%	*	84	
Raleigh-Cary, NC	1,034,593	105,334	3	15,367	6,801	6.5%	72	2	11,659	*	5,216	*	4.1%	*	33	
Richmond, VA	1,196,232	121,511	10	32,112	13,619	11.2%	39	4	12,724	*	4,349	*	1.8%	*	61	
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	4,017,408	522,591	10	42,932	20,028	3.8%	85	-7	-34,555	*	-14,500	*	-3.4%	*	74	
Rochester, NY	1,011,733	121,243	27	55,350	26,705	22.0%	13	8	14,478	*	8,523	*	4.6%	*	30	
Sacramento-Roseville, CA	2,061,140	240,301	4	15,780	6,878	2.9%	89	-2	-10,318	*	-3,641	*	-1.9%	*	72	
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,783,678	313,651	31	89,917	39,867	12.7%	34	8	24,489	*	8,431	*	0.7%			
Salt Lake City, UT	1,089,476	97,402	2	4,209	1,880	1.9%	95	1	3,613	*	1,636	*	1.6%	*	63	
San Antonio, TX	2,013,350	310,397	17	63,800	30,075	9.7%	50	4	17,672	*	11,244	*	2.2%	*	56	
San Diego, CA	2,960,154	330,625	8	34,460	13,858	4.2%	83	-8	-33,227	*	-15,641	*	-4.6%	*	79	
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	4,189,200	392,067	5	11,766	4,740	1.2%	96	-3	-9,223	*	-4,964	*	-1.5%	*	71	
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,763,698	149,158														
Scranton, PA	541,421	66,697	2	4,941	2,037	3.1%	88	1	2,486	*	1,100	*	1.4%	*	64	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	3,282,666	312,401	7	17,164	6,594	2.1%	93	1	2,824	*	484		-0.3%			

Springfield, MA	673,971	98,864	12	41,453	21,553	21.8%	14	1	6,525	*	4,851	*	1.9%	*	59
Stockton, CA	664,641	99,396	7	24,404	10,681	10.7%	44	0	-10,013	*	-4,373	*	-4.8%	*	80
Syracuse, NY	621,813	78,742	17	38,566	17,676	22.4%	12	8	16,288	*	7,409	*	8.3%	*	12
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,696,893	328,692	13	49,058	22,049	6.7%	70	2	19,435	*	7,527	*	1.2%	*	66
Toledo, OH	659,014	98,315	22	46,083	23,061	23.5%	8	15	33,248	*	16,918	*	15.3%	*	1
Tucson, AZ	982,821	151,383	10	47,553	21,829	14.4%	27	3	28,510	*	12,909	*	6.9%	*	18
Tulsa, OK	898,149	125,172	9	22,146	10,586	8.5%	57	3	7,779	*	4,532	*	2.3%	*	54
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1,654,141	160,915	8	20,965	10,295	6.4%	74	-7	-19,634	*	-10,234	*	-6.7%	*	86
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	5,320,014	368,299	17	50,632	22,164	6.0%	78	-3	-6,256	*	-2,578	*	-1.2%	*	70
Wichita, KS	596,215	71,979	6	14,494	6,173	8.6%	55	4	9,002	*	3,786	*	3.9%	*	35
Worcester, MA	783,736	69,402	6	13,295	6,843	9.9%	48	3	5,439	*	3,371	*	4.7%	*	29
Youngstown, OH-PA	565,059	81,057	19	35,689	16,413	20.2%	16	11	25,824	*	12,390	*	14.3%	*	3

**Change is significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*
Source: Brookings Institution anlaysis of decennial census and ACS data

Appendix B. Concentrated Poverty, Primary Cities of 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09

	2005-09						Change from 2000							
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Tracts	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Rate	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Concentrated Poverty Rate		Rank for Change in C.P. Rate
100 Largest Metro Areas	**60,205,729**	**10,967,484**	**1,554**	**4,662,473**	**2,193,858**	**20.0%**		**241**	**634,895**	*	**322,521**	*	**1.7%**	*	
Akron, OH	206,763	43,940	12	19,639	9,683	22.0%	41	8	10,773	*	5,944	*	11.3%	*	24
Albany, NY	90,986	21,764	4	14,922	6,967	32.0%	20	2	8,646	*	4,280	*	17.6%	*	11
Albuquerque, NM	488,818	73,047	4	14,513	5,997	8.2%	79	2	6,472	*	2,764	*	2.7%	*	60
Allentown, PA-NJ	105,599	24,305	3	7,616	4,097	16.9%	55	0	2,983	*	1,915	*	5.2%	*	44
Atlanta, GA	482,425	97,832	26	67,789	33,037	33.8%	16	2	-572		-581		-3.9%		
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	197,612	41,440	9	26,638	12,031	29.0%	26	2	8,541	*	3,593	*	6.4%	*	37
Austin, TX	623,189	110,228	6	29,841	13,592	12.3%	71	4	18,511	*	7,650	*	4.9%	*	46
Bakersfield, CA	265,119	50,033	6	34,921	15,846	31.7%	22	-1	620		72		-4.4%	*	66
Baltimore, MD	627,207	122,085	16	39,691	19,512	16.0%	57	-14	-29,350	*	-13,051	*	-7.2%	*	72
Baton Rouge, LA	196,850	47,827	13	45,515	21,490	44.9%	5	6	22,266	*	11,387	*	22.0%	*	8
Birmingham, AL	225,632	56,983	10	30,059	14,038	24.6%	36	1	1,620		1,573		3.2%	*	55
Boise City, ID	156,685	20,066													
Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	676,676	118,584	11	33,926	15,688	13.2%	69	3	14,018	*	7,003	*	5.4%	*	43
Bradenton, FL	37,738	5,316	1	5,269	1,952	36.7%	11	1	5,269	*	1,952	*	36.7%	*	1
Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	255,502	38,563	5	9,209	4,381	11.4%	76	2	2,941	*	1,503	*	2.9%	*	58
Buffalo, NY	269,242	75,138	15	40,098	19,695	26.2%	29	1	-6,957	*	-1,035		-1.4%		
Cape Coral, FL	148,141	12,292													
Charleston, SC	109,123	17,072	4	5,784	2,913	17.1%	54	-1	-2,893	*	-1,492	*	-8.4%	*	74
Charlotte, NC-SC	508,057	70,410	7	18,008	9,420	13.4%	68	4	11,118	*	6,742	*	8.3%	*	31
Chattanooga, TN-GA	172,054	32,689	9	20,484	10,535	32.2%	18	5	9,051	*	4,205	*	8.0%	*	32
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	3,071,382	593,000	124	304,139	140,574	23.7%	38	28	94,146	*	31,534	*	4.4%	*	50
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	326,054	76,179	25	45,360	24,068	31.6%	23	6	3,849	*	2,090	*	-0.3%		
Cleveland, OH	429,113	125,894	54	104,427	52,784	41.9%	6	12	33,930	*	18,241	*	13.1%	*	21
Colorado Springs, CO	377,286	44,185	2	5,337	2,204	5.0%	85	1	3,486	*	1,573	*	2.9%	*	59
Columbia, SC	88,058	13,968	4	13,034	3,575	25.6%	33	1	5,220	*	685		5.1%	*	45
Columbus, OH	646,742	125,209	24	56,314	28,478	22.7%	39	16	34,769	*	18,479	*	11.3%	*	25
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2,251,546	429,675	38	134,344	64,137	14.9%	60	15	65,857	*	36,190	*	6.3%	*	38

Dayton, OH	156,077	42,932	14	36,522	16,837	39.2%	9	8	24,644	*	11,959	*	25.2%	*	4
Denver-Aurora, CO	883,772	149,721	6	20,840	10,446	7.0%	82	4	16,287	*	7,914	*	4.5%	*	49
Des Moines, IA	186,026	27,700	1	3,065	1,333	4.8%	86	1	3,065	*	1,333	*	4.8%	*	48
Detroit-Warren, MI	1,046,315	313,222	108	265,173	128,456	41.0%	7	63	171,573	*	86,247	*	24.3%	*	5
El Paso, TX	609,872	156,289	28	114,806	55,263	35.4%	14	14	67,181	*	30,695	*	16.3%	*	13
Fresno, CA	438,129	102,982	15	75,796	33,184	32.2%	19	-5	-29,882	*	-17,032	*	-13.9%	*	80
Grand Rapids, MI	188,531	39,301	6	16,596	7,736	19.7%	47	3	10,928	*	5,232	*	11.0%	*	26
Greensboro-High Point, NC	304,858	56,601	7	23,690	11,551	20.4%	45	6	18,507	*	9,324	*	14.1%	*	18
Greenville, SC	54,974	9,504	3	5,367	2,614	27.5%	27	2	3,752	*	1,985	*	19.6%	*	9
Harrisburg, PA	47,368	13,641	3	11,864	5,576	40.9%	8	1	5,338	*	2,679	*	16.4%	*	12
Hartford, CT	119,769	36,137	15	40,352	17,938	49.6%	2	7	20,594	*	8,411	*	23.0%	*	6
Honolulu, HI	369,162	37,360	3	6,152	3,000	8.0%	81	0	-157		-372		0.0%		
Houston, TX	2,076,784	425,831	41	185,533	82,249	19.3%	48	18	103,267	*	46,641	*	9.4%	*	29
Indianapolis, IN	796,073	132,523	12	30,562	14,860	11.2%	77	9	25,565	*	12,711	*	8.9%	*	30
Jackson, MS	170,625	45,251	16	33,813	15,938	35.2%	15	10	21,459	*	10,641	*	22.4%	*	7
Jacksonville, FL	804,252	106,745	11	34,928	14,712	13.8%	67	4	16,416	*	6,843	*	4.8%	*	47
Kansas City, MO-KS	595,191	107,938	28	48,698	22,132	20.5%	44	17	32,158	*	15,213	*	12.5%	*	22
Knoxville, TN	154,882	34,748	10	27,539	13,348	38.4%	10	3	12,965	*	6,453	*	15.5%	*	15
Lakeland, FL	91,435	13,771	1	1,718	751	5.5%	84	0	-917	*	-591	*	-4.4%	*	65
Las Vegas, NV	498,981	62,970	7	30,426	11,559	18.4%	52	6	26,925	*	10,139	*	15.8%	*	14
Little Rock, AR	165,098	27,962	3	3,790	1,219	4.4%	88	1	1,980	*	356		0.9%		
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	4,553,401	844,712	65	264,888	123,847	14.7%	62	-44	-181,201	*	-78,374	*	-6.5%	*	71
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	709,134	101,150	18	51,341	25,169	24.9%	35	7	16,908	*	6,926	*	3.1%	*	56
Madison, WI	174,457	24,214													
McAllen, TX	127,035	33,942	5	24,888	12,415	36.6%	12	2	9,520	*	4,781	*	6.0%	*	39
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	589,935	149,959	41	110,041	53,206	35.5%	13	12	42,414	*	22,088	*	10.9%	*	27
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	656,526	147,404	15	70,149	33,432	22.7%	40	-7	-13,449	*	-4,659	*	-5.2%	*	67
Milwaukee, WI	590,267	136,529	44	89,387	43,359	31.8%	21	7	20,620	*	12,186	*	5.6%	*	40
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	629,856	121,666	19	53,095	24,997	20.5%	43	8	19,966	*	12,248	*	7.9%	*	33
Modesto, CA	177,359	27,970	3	9,720	4,664	16.7%	56	2	6,902	*	3,502	*	12.4%	*	23
Nashville-Davidson, TN	576,313	91,253	11	28,451	13,287	14.6%	63	5	11,863	*	4,116	*	1.1%		
New Haven, CT	116,819	27,528	4	16,902	6,558	23.8%	37	1	5,153	*	2,139	*	7.7%	*	34
New Orleans, LA	315,533	72,066	29	38,249	18,837	26.1%	30	-17	-59,014	*	-30,022	*	-11.6%	*	78
New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	8,534,891	1,575,039	174	697,375	325,879	20.7%	42	-74	-272,012	*	-126,362	*	-5.3%	*	68

Appendix B. Concentrated Poverty, Primary Cities of 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09 (continued)

	2005-09						Change from 2000						
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Tracts	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Rate	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Rate	Rank for Change in C.P. Rate
Ogden, UT	82,226	16,644	3	9,135	4,337	26.1%	31	1	5,168 *	2,836 *	13.5% *	19
Oklahoma City, OK	560,554	94,768	13	25,523	11,450	12.1%	73	4	5,186 *	2,399 *	0.6%	
Omaha, NE-IA	390,623	58,344	6	14,712	7,404	12.7%	70	4	10,001 *	5,253 *	7.6% *	35
Orlando, FL	198,616	30,539	2	5,738	3,325	10.9%	78	-1	-1,609	-427	-3.5%	
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	346,604	38,783	1	3,193	1,417	3.7%	90	1	3,193 *	1,417 *	3.7% *	52
Palm Bay, FL	97,879	10,902										
Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1,499,285	352,268	59	222,434	109,093	31.0%	24	13	37,441 *	20,868 *	4.2% *	51
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	2,124,381	338,576	28	102,531	48,276	14.3%	65	8	39,275 *	20,239 *	3.1% *	57
Pittsburgh, PA	285,348	57,256	14	23,400	10,982	19.2%	49	4	7,253 *	1,747 *	3.4% *	53
Portland, ME	61,931	10,419	2	4,830	2,645	25.4%	34	2	4,830 *	2,645 *	25.4% *	3
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	702,319	107,447	2	3,166	1,449	1.3%	93	-2	-5,047 *	-1,596 *	-2.3% *	63
Poughkeepsie, NY	29,536	6,687						-1	-1,855 *	-807 *	-12.2% *	79
Providence, RI-MA	164,133	39,661	5	17,742	7,605	19.2%	50	-3	-13,907 *	-5,415 *	-9.6% *	77
Provo, UT	54,110	9,190	1	589	172	1.9%	92	0	-3,827 *	-1,927 *	-15.4% *	81
Raleigh-Cary, NC	323,542	43,777	3	15,367	6,801	15.5%	59	2	11,659 *	5,216 *	9.7% *	28
Richmond, VA	191,688	41,710	7	21,430	10,829	26.0%	32	1	2,042 *	1,559 *	2.6%	
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	639,106	107,177	7	31,972	14,838	13.8%	66	-4	-17,577 *	-7,821 *	-6.2% *	70
Rochester, NY	202,644	56,813	27	55,350	26,705	47.0%	3	8	14,478 *	8,523 *	13.3% *	20
Sacramento-Roseville, CA	521,213	78,221	3	8,041	3,730	4.8%	87	1	1,907 *	895	1.3%	
St. Louis, MO-IL	349,357	82,765	19	51,445	22,016	26.6%	28	2	6,150 *	489	0.3%	
Salt Lake City, UT	178,111	29,070	2	4,209	1,880	6.5%	83	1	3,613 *	1,636 *	5.6% *	42
San Antonio, TX	1,242,922	232,557	16	59,985	28,451	12.2%	72	4	14,572 *	9,847 *	2.6% *	61
San Diego, CA	1,252,137	158,713	6	29,146	12,780	8.1%	80	-9	-36,902 *	-16,082 *	-9.3% *	75
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1,380,327	169,044	3	7,988	3,209	1.9%	91	-5	-13,001 *	-6,495 *	-3.7% *	64
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1,116,757	106,719										
Scranton, PA	64,767	11,344						-1	-2,455 *	-937 *	-9.4% *	76
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	880,512	104,900	5	11,369	4,391	4.2%	89	-1	-2,971 *	-1,719 *	-2.1% *	62
Springfield, MA	153,170	40,299	7	25,142	13,123	32.6%	17	0	787	1,555	-1.7%	
Stockton, CA	265,602	53,736	7	24,404	10,681	19.9%	46	0	-10,013 *	-4,373 *	-6.1% *	69

Syracuse, NY	127,701	35,919	16	35,413	16,419	45.7%	4	7	13,135	*	6,152	*	14.8%	*	16
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	621,714	103,855	11	31,897	15,121	14.6%	64	0	2,274		599		-0.9%		
Toledo, OH	313,643	69,034	21	41,608	21,119	30.6%	25	14	28,773	*	14,976	*	19.4%	*	10
Tucson, AZ	502,149	100,240	6	35,143	15,697	15.7%	58	4	32,397	*	14,479	*	14.2%	*	17
Tulsa, OK	374,609	68,219	8	20,892	10,111	14.8%	61	2	6,525	*	4,057	*	3.3%	*	54
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	857,977	89,572	8	20,965	10,295	11.5%	75	-4	-13,246	*	-7,264	*	-8.1%	*	73
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	932,350	126,322	17	50,632	22,164	17.5%	53	-3	-6,256	*	-2,578	*	-0.9%		
Wichita, KS	333,494	51,993	6	14,494	6,173	11.9%	74	4	9,002	*	3,786	*	5.6%	*	41
Worcester, MA	166,513	27,922	3	10,769	5,299	19.0%	51	1	3,552	*	1,959	*	7.5%	*	36
Youngstown, OH-PA	72,880	21,794	12	23,226	10,825	49.7%	1	7	16,716	*	8,264	*	36.3%	*	2

**Change is significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*
Source: Brookings Institution anlaysis of decennial census and ACS data

Appendix C. Concentrated Poverty, Suburbs of 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09

	2005-09						Change from 2000							
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Tracts	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Rate	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Concentrated Poverty Rate		Rank for Change in C.P. Rate
100 Largest Metro Areas	**135,654,152**	**12,696,609**	**344**	**1,240,791**	**570,729**	**4.5%**		**122**	**335,836**	*	**164,874**	*	**0.5%**	*	
Akron, OH	479,805	41,150	1	3,908	1,783	4.3%	36	1	3,908	*	1,783	*	4.3%	*	15
Albany, NY	745,015	62,149	4	9,412	4,451	7.2%	20	1	3,016	*	1,673	*	2.0%	*	34
Albuquerque, NM	336,862	48,349	3	7,319	3,117	6.4%	23	2	4,361	*	1,202	*	1.7%	*	37
Allentown, PA-NJ	693,569	46,292	2	7,350	2,844	6.1%	24	1	2,922	*	867	*	1.1%		
Atlanta, GA	4,731,351	516,289	5	14,275	6,482	1.3%	63	1	-1,884	*	-378		-1.0%	*	56
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	330,562	45,300	2	9,876	3,994	8.8%	15	1	5,324	*	1,835	*	3.1%	*	27
Austin, TX	928,574	82,696	2	15,594	7,574	9.2%	14	1	5,446	*	3,594	*	0.7%		
Bakersfield, CA	515,756	101,190	4	18,333	8,668	8.6%	17	-2	-12,203	*	-4,363	*	-6.4%	*	68
Baltimore, MD	2,021,140	119,414													
Baton Rouge, LA	543,261	67,814	2	10,770	4,764	7.0%	21	2	10,770	*	4,764	*	7.0%	*	5
Birmingham, AL	905,328	90,075	1	4,355	1,978	2.2%	53	0	-727	*	-657	*	-1.0%	*	57
Boise City, ID	417,401	46,881	2	4,731	1,687	3.6%	41	2	4,731	*	1,687	*	3.6%	*	21
Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	3,742,808	271,970	7	17,890	8,114	3.0%	47	3	10,755	*	4,594	*	1.5%	*	40
Bradenton, FL	642,719	66,140													
Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	627,752	26,871	1	3,103	1,351	5.0%	34	1	3,103	*	1,351	*	5.0%	*	13
Buffalo, NY	850,275	73,599	4	7,345	3,627	4.9%	35	2	3,527	*	1,758	*	1.8%	*	36
Cape Coral, FL	425,396	46,855	1	4,579	2,572	5.5%	30	0	-264		-241		-2.5%	*	62
Charleston, SC	514,336	67,262	4	9,170	4,021	6.0%	28	0	-3,432	*	-1,060	*	-3.2%	*	63
Charlotte, NC-SC	1,121,509	119,304	1	2,141	889	0.7%	68	1	2,141	*	889	*	0.7%	*	48
Chattanooga, TN-GA	339,880	38,011													
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	6,330,387	508,942	20	36,947	18,172	3.6%	42	11	18,132	*	10,010	*	1.3%	*	42
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1,788,946	162,098	10	22,731	9,928	6.1%	26	7	17,229	*	7,481	*	3.9%	*	17
Cleveland, OH	1,654,699	150,868	12	24,297	12,135	8.0%	18	12	24,297	*	12,135	*	8.0%	*	4
Colorado Springs, CO	220,185	16,640													
Columbia, SC	621,294	74,325	2	5,588	2,410	3.2%	44	1	2,675	*	1,229	*	1.3%	*	43
Columbus, OH	1,081,470	86,902	1	911	531	0.6%	72	1	911	*	531	*	0.6%	*	50

Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	3,862,442	360,553	1	779	308	0.1%	75	1	779	*	308	*	0.1%	*	54
Dayton, OH	663,977	61,193													
Denver-Aurora, CO	1,565,953	120,778	1	1,096	460	0.4%	74	1	1,096	*	460	*	0.4%	*	53
Des Moines, IA	357,515	19,033													
Detroit-Warren, MI	3,400,224	311,056	15	38,758	19,022	6.1%	27	10	24,117	*	12,693	*	3.1%	*	25
El Paso, TX	119,524	33,943	4	25,948	11,056	32.6%	2	2	7,147	*	3,258	*	6.7%	*	7
Fresno, CA	450,826	79,168	3	26,031	12,451	15.7%	5	0	11,224	*	5,968	*	6.5%	*	9
Grand Rapids, MI	584,896	59,100													
Greensboro-High Point, NC	381,485	48,563	1	3,309	1,175	2.4%	50	1	3,309	*	1,175	*	2.4%	*	30
Greenville, SC	541,552	75,138	5	15,383	6,474	8.6%	16	4	13,086	*	5,617	*	6.9%	*	6
Harrisburg, PA	477,031	31,902													
Hartford, CT	1,048,269	66,967	4	6,205	2,612	3.9%	38	4	6,205	*	2,612	*	3.9%	*	18
Honolulu, HI	530,069	40,119	1	1,966	864	2.2%	55	0	415		221		0.6%		
Houston, TX	3,507,670	398,579	6	19,133	7,988	2.0%	57	4	14,550	*	5,588	*	1.1%	*	44
Indianapolis, IN	892,519	59,752													
Jackson, MS	359,479	46,694	2	10,735	4,954	10.6%	11	1	3,978	*	1,742	*	2.5%	*	29
Jacksonville, FL	490,432	41,144													
Kansas City, MO-KS	1,413,851	102,376	1	3,332	1,545	1.5%	61	1	3,332	*	1,545	*	1.5%	*	41
Knoxville, TN	507,819	54,081													
Lakeland, FL	474,898	65,597	3	10,044	4,030	6.1%	25	3	10,044	*	4,030	*	6.1%	*	11
Las Vegas, NV	1,321,441	132,631	1	5,669	2,500	1.9%	59	1	5,669	*	2,500	*	1.9%	*	35
Little Rock, AR	492,348	63,707	3	13,139	5,855	9.2%	13	2	10,217	*	4,414	*	6.1%	*	12
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	8,128,605	908,078	7	26,887	12,191	1.3%	62	-10	-53,398	*	-22,086	*	-2.1%	*	61
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	524,159	56,814	1	3,380	1,492	2.6%	49	0	-137		72		-0.9%	*	55
Madison, WI	348,008	20,811													
McAllen, TX	575,662	216,824	28	256,632	121,056	55.8%	1	-5	9,531	*	6,448	*	-9.0%	*	69
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	691,044	80,315	7	23,289	10,612	13.2%	8	1	12,590	*	5,916	*	4.9%	*	14
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	4,821,531	603,745	9	26,192	13,999	2.3%	51	-9	-47,731	*	-19,685	*	-3.8%	*	65
Milwaukee, WI	937,173	49,550	1	657	251	0.5%	73	1	657	*	251	*	0.5%	*	52
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	2,534,458	144,988													
Modesto, CA	327,806	47,174	1	6,055	2,419	5.1%	33	0	-497		-524		-1.7%	*	59
Nashville-Davidson, TN	933,047	91,567	1	3,713	1,492	1.6%	60	1	3,713	*	1,492	*	1.6%	*	39
New Haven, CT	719,785	59,535	9	23,329	10,658	17.9%	4	8	18,541	*	8,695	*	13.8%	*	1
New Orleans, LA	825,018	105,112	5	10,711	4,433	4.2%	37	3	1,071	*	498		0.5%		

Appendix C. Concentrated Poverty, Suburbs of 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 2000 to 2005-09 (continued)

	2005-09						Change from 2000							
Metro Area	Total Population	Poor Population	Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts	Concentrated Poverty Tracts	Rank for Concentrated Poverty Rate	Extreme-Poverty Rate		Population in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Poor in Extreme-Poverty Tracts		Concentrated Poverty Rate		Rank for Change in C.P. Rate
New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	10,295,125	733,870	26	95,122	42,927	5.8%	29	10		39,126	*	18,022	*	2.3%	*	31
Ogden, UT	433,399	24,727						-1		-1,341	*	-946	*	-5.1%	*	67
Oklahoma City, OK	608,707	72,220						-2		-2,110	*	-896	*	-1.5%	*	58
Omaha, NE-IA	437,437	30,062	1	1,699	680	2.3%	52	1		1,699	*	680	*	2.3%	*	32
Orlando, FL	1,815,162	200,585	2	8,784	4,366	2.2%	54	1		4,137	*	2,022	*	0.5%	*	51
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	445,709	32,018														
Palm Bay, FL	434,818	40,777	4	13,739	5,859	14.4%	7	3		10,209	*	4,340	*	10.2%	*	3
Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE-MD	4,354,233	311,061	23	69,918	33,017	10.6%	10	8		24,633	*	14,804	*	3.6%	*	22
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	2,012,111	205,309	6	25,972	10,819	5.3%	32	2		14,008	*	4,871	*	0.5%		
Pittsburgh, PA	2,037,563	207,287	8	14,744	6,342	3.1%	46	1		-170		187		-0.2%		
Portland, ME	452,113	37,399														
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	1,460,778	142,043	1	4,486	1,248	0.9%	66	1		4,486	*	1,248	*	0.9%	*	46
Poughkeepsie, NY	625,618	57,373	3	26,569	17,326	30.2%	3	1		12,202	*	9,141	*	13.1%	*	2
Providence, RI-MA	1,417,389	134,053	6	15,011	7,206	5.4%	31	4		10,602	*	5,285	*	3.8%	*	19
Provo, UT	406,863	29,973	1	501	202	0.7%	70	1		501	*	202		0.7%		
Raleigh-Cary, NC	711,051	61,557														
Richmond, VA	1,004,544	79,801	3	10,682	2,790	3.5%	43	3		10,682	*	2,790	*	3.5%	*	23
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	3,378,302	415,414	3	10,960	5,190	1.2%	64	-3		-16,978	*	-6,679	*	-2.0%	*	60
Rochester, NY	809,089	64,430														
Sacramento-Roseville, CA	1,539,927	162,080	1	7,739	3,148	1.9%	58	-3		-12,225	*	-4,536	*	-3.6%	*	64
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,434,321	230,886	12	38,472	17,851	7.7%	19	6		18,339	*	7,942	*	2.3%	*	33
Salt Lake City, UT	911,365	68,332														
San Antonio, TX	770,428	77,840	1	3,815	1,624	2.1%	56	0		3,100	*	1,397	*	1.7%	*	38
San Diego, CA	1,708,017	171,912	2	5,314	1,078	0.6%	71	1		3,675	*	441		0.2%		
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2,808,873	223,023	2	3,778	1,531	0.7%	69	2		3,778	*	1,531	*	0.7%	*	49
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	646,941	42,439														
Scranton, PA	476,654	55,353	2	4,941	2,037	3.7%	40	2		4,941	*	2,037	*	3.7%	*	20
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	2,402,154	207,501	2	5,795	2,203	1.1%	65	2		5,795	*	2,203	*	1.1%	*	45

Springfield, MA	520,801	58,565	5	16,311	8,430	14.4%	6	1	5,738	*	3,296	*	4.2%	*	16
Stockton, CA	399,039	45,660													
Syracuse, NY	494,112	42,823	1	3,153	1,257	2.9%	48	1	3,153	*	1,257	*	2.9%	*	28
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,075,179	224,837	2	17,161	6,928	3.1%	45	2	17,161	*	6,928	*	3.1%	*	26
Toledo, OH	345,371	29,281	1	4,475	1,942	6.6%	22	1	4,475	*	1,942	*	6.6%	*	8
Tucson, AZ	480,672	51,143	4	12,410	6,132	12.0%	9	-1	-3,887	*	-1,570	*	-9.3%	*	70
Tulsa, OK	523,540	56,953	1	1,254	475	0.8%	67	1	1,254	*	475	*	0.8%	*	47
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	796,164	71,343						-3	-6,388	*	-2,970	*	-4.4%	*	66
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	4,387,664	241,977													
Wichita, KS	262,721	19,986													
Worcester, MA	617,223	41,480	3	2,526	1,544	3.7%	39	2	1,887	*	1,412	*	3.4%	*	24
Youngstown, OH-PA	492,179	59,263	7	12,463	5,588	9.4%	12	4	9,108	*	4,126	*	6.4%	*	10

**Change is significant at the 90 percent confidence level.*
Source: Brookings Institution anlaysis of decennial census and ACS data

Endnotes

1. Alan Berube and Elizabeth Kneebone, "Parsing U.S. Poverty at the Metropolitan Level" Brookings Up Front Blog, http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0922_metro_poverty_berube_kneebone.aspx, posted 9/22/2011.

2. Elizabeth Kneebone and Alan Berube, "Reversal of Fortune: A New Look at Concentrated Poverty in the 2000s" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2008).

3. Paul Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems" (Washington: Brookings institution, 2003); Community Affairs Offices of the Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution, "The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S." (Washington: 2008).

4. Paul Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997); Paul Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

5. Kneebone and Berube, "Reversal of Fortune". See also, Rolf Pendall and others, "A Lost Decade: Neighborhood Poverty and the Urban Crisis of the 2000s" (Washington: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2011).

6. See, e.g., Paul Jargowsky and Mary Jo Bane, "Ghetto Poverty in the United States" in C. Jenks and P. Peterson, eds., *The Urban Underclass*. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1991); Sheldon H. Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, "Earnings Inequality, the Spatial Concentration of Poverty, and the Underclass," *American Economic Review* 77 (1987); Jargowsky and Mary Jo Bane, "Ghetto Poverty: Basic Questions" in L. E. Lynn and M. G. H. McGeary, eds., Inner-City Poverty in the United States (Washington: National Academy Press, 1991); John D. Kasarda, "Inner-City Poverty and Economic Access" in J. Sommer and D. A. Hicks, eds., *Rediscovering Urban America: Perspectives on the 1980s* (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1993); G. Thomas Kingsley and Kathryn Pettit, "Severe Distress and Concentrated Poverty: Trends for Neighborhoods in Casey Cities and the Nation" (Washington: Urban Institute, 2003).

7. For a more detailed discussion of potential bias that can result for using standardized tract boundaries across years, see Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

8. For a more detailed discussion of geography types, see Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program, "State of Metropolitan America: On the Front Lines of Demographic Transformation" (Washington: 2010).

9. See e.g., National Academy of Sciences, *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1995). The Census Bureau plans to begin releasing a supplemental poverty measure in 2012 that takes into account recommendations from the 1995 NAS study; however, because the estimates will be based on the Current Population Survey data, the sample size will not be sufficient to report estimates for sub-state geographies.

10. We exclude tracts where at least 50 percent of residents are enrolled in college or graduate school, as these individuals likely have only temporarily low incomes. We also exclude tracts with small populations (i.e., 500 people or less).

11. Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

12. In addition, as Paul Jargowsky recently pointed out in a presentation at Johns Hopkins University (9/19/2011), a region could have the same number of extreme-poverty tracts in each month for 60 months, but the exact tracts that are high poverty could change over time, due to factors like gentrification or the demolition of housing units. It would then be possible, after pooling 60 months of data, that zero tracts show up as extreme poverty in the 2005–09 estimates, thereby understating concentrated poverty in the region.

13. The model produces an R-squared of .541.

14. Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place*.

15. For an analysis of concentrated poverty trends since 1970, see Paul Jargowsky, *Poverty and Place*; Berube and Katz, "Katrina's Window".

16. Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

17. Jargowsky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

18. New Orleans' significant decline in concentrated poverty was largely the result of natural disasters, with the evacuations and destruction following Hurricanes Katrina and Rita driving this region's trend.

19. Berube and Kneebone, "Parsing U.S. Poverty at the Metropolitan Level."

20. Elizabeth Kneebone and Alan Berube, "The Rapid Growth of the Suburban Poor" The Atlantic Cities, http://www.theatlanticcities.com/jobs-and-economy/2011/09/rapid-growth-suburban-poor/190/, posted 9/23/2011.

21. Kneebone and Garr, "The Suburbanization of Poverty".

22. George C. Galster, "The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications" Presentation at the ESRC Seminar, St. Andrews University, Scotland, UK, 4–5 February 2010.

23. Jargwosky, "Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems".

24. Erol Ricketts and Isabel Sawhill, "Defining and Measuring the Underclass" *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* Vol. 7 (2) (1988: 316-325) pp.321; See also, Isabel Sawhill and Paul Jargowsky, "The Decline of the Underclass" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).

25. Ricketts and Sawhill, "Defining and Measuring the Underclass" pp. 322-323.

26. Recent research has also found that the share of all whites, of all blacks, and of all Latinos living in high-poverty tracts largely stayed the same over the decade, meaning the shifts in the racial and ethnic composition of these neighborhoods was driven by changes in the composition of the larger population. See Pendall and others, "The Lost Decade."

27. Steven Raphael and Michael Stoll, "Job Sprawl and the Suburbanization of Poverty" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2010); Kenya Covington, Lance Freeman, and Michael Stoll, "The Suburbanization of Housing Choice Voucher Recipients" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2011).

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