"This report documents a dramatic decline in the 1990s in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods, their population, and the concentration of the poor in these neighborhoods."

Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy

Stunning Progress, Hidden Problems:
The Dramatic Decline of Concentrated Poverty in the 1990s

Paul A. Jargowsky[1]

Findings

A national analysis of high-poverty neighborhoods, and the concentration of poor individuals in those neighborhoods, in 1990 and 2000 indicates that:

- **The number of people living in high-poverty neighborhoods—where the poverty rate is 40 percent or higher—declined by a dramatic 24 percent, or 2.5 million people, in the 1990s.** This improvement marked a significant turnaround from the 1970–1990 period, during which the population in high-poverty neighborhoods doubled.
- **The steepest declines in high-poverty neighborhoods occurred in metropolitan areas in the Midwest and South.** In Detroit, for instance, the number of people living in high-poverty neighborhoods dropped nearly 75 percent over the decade.
- **Concentrated poverty—the share of the poor living in high-poverty neighborhoods—declined among all racial and ethnic groups, especially African Americans.** The share of poor black individuals living in high-poverty neighborhoods declined from 30 percent in 1990 to 19 percent in 2000.
- **The number of high-poverty neighborhoods declined in rural areas and central cities, but suburbs experienced almost no change.** A number of older, inner-ring suburbs around major metropolitan areas actually experienced increases in poverty over the decade, though poverty rates there generally remain well below 40 percent.

While the 1990s brought a landmark reversal of decades of increasingly concentrated poverty, the recent economic downturn and the weakening state of many older suburbs underscore that the trend may reverse once again without continued efforts to promote economic and residential opportunity for low-income families.

I. Introduction

For many years, the conditions of life in the poorest of poor neighborhoods have attracted the attention of filmmakers, journalists, and academic researchers. Each in their own way, these witnesses provide stark evidence about the devastating effects impoverished environments can have on those unfortunate enough to dwell within them, and about how these effects spill over into society at large.

Poverty, in government statistics, is defined on the basis of a family's income relative to a fixed poverty line, a standard meant to reflect the cost of basic necessities. This narrow,

bookkeeper's conception of poverty, however, fails to capture the multiple ways in which poverty acts to degrade the quality of life and limit the opportunities of those in its grip. One of the most important aspects of poverty not captured in the official statistics is its spatial dimension. In theory, poor families and their children could be widely dispersed throughout the population. In fact, they often tend to live near other poor people in neighborhoods with high poverty rates. The problem is particularly acute for the minority poor, who are segregated by both race and income.

Why should we be concerned with the spatial organization of poverty? The concentration of poor families and children in high-poverty ghettos, barrios, and slums magnifies the problems faced by the poor. Concentrations of poor people lead to a concentration of the social ills that cause or are caused by poverty. Poor children in these neighborhoods not only lack basic necessities in their own homes, but also they must contend with a hostile environment that holds many temptations and few positive role models. Equally important, school districts and attendance zones are generally organized geographically, so that the residential concentration of the poor frequently results in low-performing schools. The concentration of poverty in central cities also may exacerbate the flight of middle-income and higher-income families to the suburbs, driving a wedge between social needs and the fiscal base required to address them.

Between 1970 and 1990, the spatial concentration of the poor rose dramatically in many U.S. metropolitan areas.[2] The number of people living in high-poverty areas doubled; the chance that a poor black child resided in a high-poverty neighborhood increased from roughly one-in-four to one-in-three; and the physical size of the blighted sections of many central cities increased even more dramatically. By contrast, poverty—measured at the family level—did not increase during this period. Thus, there was a not a change in poverty per se, but a fundamental change in the spatial organization of poverty. The poor became more physically isolated from the social and economic mainstream of society.

Two key factors contributed to the increasing concentration of poverty during the 1970s and 1980s. First, weaknesses in local or regional economies tended to disproportionately impact central cities. And secondly, exclusionary suburban development patterns contributed to increasing economic segregation.

Policymakers have been anxious to know how the spatial organization of poverty may have changed in the 1990s. For most metropolitan areas and the country as a whole, the decade was a period of unparalleled economic growth. However, rapid suburban development continued and perhaps even accelerated during this period. The net effect of these trends on the concentration of poverty in the 1990s is therefore ambiguous.

Only the decennial Census provides sufficient detail at the neighborhood level to examine the concentration of poverty. With the release of Census 2000, we are now able to assess the net impact of the economy, suburban development, and other forces on the spatial dimension of poverty over the last decade.

Based on the trend of prior decades, one might have reasonably assumed that high-poverty neighborhoods were an unavoidable aspect of urban life and would continue to grow inexorably in size and population. The latest evidence contradicts this gloomy assessment. This report documents a dramatic decline in the 1990s in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods, their population, and the concentration of the poor in these neighborhoods. It also finds, however, several indications that poverty rose in the older suburbs of many metropolitan areas, even during a decade of economic expansion. The paper concludes with a discussion of the meaning of these trends, and the more recent decline in economic conditions, for poor families and communities in the current decade.

II. Methodology

This report examines the changes in the concentration of poverty in the 1990s using sample data (the "long form") from the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses.

For the purpose of this study, poverty is defined using official U.S. poverty guidelines. An individual is considered poor if he lives in a family whose income is less than a specific threshold that varies by family size and composition. While the official definition suffers from a number of known flaws and limitations, it is nevertheless widely accepted.[3] More importantly, the Census Bureau provides data on poverty status based on the long form of the census.

In everyday usage, one can talk about a neighborhood in general terms without specifying exact boundaries. For tabulation purposes, however, every household in the nation must reside in one and only one geographically specific neighborhood. In this study, we use census tracts as proxies for neighborhoods. Census tracts are small, relatively homogeneous areas devised by the Census Bureau and local planning agencies, making use of bounding features such as major roads, railroad tracks, and rivers whenever possible. On average, they contain 4,000 persons, but in practice they vary widely in population. They also vary widely in geographic size due to differences in population density. When initially delineated, census tracts are meant to be relatively homogeneous with respect to social and economic characteristics and housing

The Federal Poverty Standard

Developed by Molly Orshansky of the Social Security Administration in the 1960s for use in the War on Poverty, the federal poverty standard has been criticized from every conceivable angle. Despite its imperfections, it has endured as both an administrative tool to determine program eligibility and as a research tool. Persons are considered poor if they live in families whose total family income is less than a threshold meant to represent the cost of basic necessities. The thresholds vary by family size, and are adjusted each year for inflation. For example, in 2002, the poverty level was $15,260 for a typical family of three and $18,400 for a typical family of four. For more information, see Orshansky (1965), Fisher (1992), and the HHS poverty web site: **aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/poverty.shtml**.

stock considerations. While they may not always capture the mental map of neighborhoods that city residents have, they do divide the nation along geographic lines. In less dense rural areas, one census tract may represent all or a substantial portion of a county.

As populations grow and change, census tracts may be split, merged, or modified in other ways. In this research, contemporaneous tracts are used. That is, 1990 census tract boundaries are used to interpret 1990 data, and 2000 census tract boundaries are used for the 2000 figures. Using contemporaneous boundaries is important, because to do otherwise would invite a systematic bias into the analysis. For example, if the 2000 census tract grid were superimposed on 1970 data, average neighborhood population would be far smaller in 1970 than in 2000. Defining neighborhoods differently over time would systematically bias the results of any analysis that is sensitive to the size of the neighborhood units.[4]

Combining the poverty dimension and the spatial dimension, a census tract is considered a *high-poverty neighborhood* if 40 percent or more of its residents are classified as poor using the federal poverty standard. While any specific threshold is inherently arbitrary, the 40 percent level has become the standard in the literature and has even been incorporated into federal data analysis and program rules.[5] In addition to tabulating the number of high-poverty neighborhoods and the number and characteristics of their residents, this paper examines the *concentration of poverty*—defined as the percentage of the poor in some city or region that resides in high-poverty neighborhoods.

These two concepts—the incidence of high-poverty neighborhoods, and the concentration of poverty—are not unrelated. In general, the greater the number of high-poverty neighborhoods in a city or metropolitan area is, the more likely poor residents of that place will be "concentrated" in those neighborhoods. However, each measure answers a different question. The former relates to the geographic footprint of very-low-income districts within a city or metropolitan area, which has important implications for economic development efforts and city planning. The latter captures the percentage of poor individuals who not only must cope with their own low incomes, but also with the economic and social effects of the poverty that surrounds them.

The figures presented below include all census tracts in the United States, including both metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, except as noted. A metropolitan area usually consists of one or more population centers, or central cities, and the nearby counties that have close economic and commuting ties to the central cities.[6] The Census Bureau defines several types of metropolitan areas. There are stand-alone Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs). PMSAs are part of larger constructions called Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs). In this analysis, metropolitan areas are defined to include MSAs and PMSAs, not CMSAs. CMSAs are so large that they do not represent unified housing and labor markets, and so they are not considered in this analysis.[7]

Like census tracts, the boundaries of metropolitan areas are adjusted over time. New counties are added, and existing counties are deleted or moved to different metropolitan areas if there are changes in their demographics, in the commuting patterns of their residents, or if the Census Bureau changes the rules for allocating counties to metropolitan areas. In this analysis, the definitions of metropolitan areas (including MSAs and PMSAs) in effect for Census 2000 are applied to both 1990 and 2000 data. In keeping with this, any changes in the figures for metropolitan areas shown below reflect actual changes in population demographics and not changes in boundaries or definitions.

To examine variation among racial and ethnic groups, population is divided first by Hispanic origin, and then non-Hispanics are further divided by racial group—black, white, American Indian, Asian, and people who indicated more than one race (in 2000) or "other race." Thus, a reference to whites refers to non-Hispanic persons who indicated "White or Caucasian" as their sole racial group on the census form, a reference to blacks indicates non-Hispanic persons who chose "Black or African-American" as their sole race, and so on.

A final methodological note: A por-

tion of this study analyzes levels and changes in high-poverty neighborhoods based on their location in central cities, suburbs, or rural areas. In practice, census tracts are subdivisions of counties, and thus often do not respect the municipal borders that define central cities.[8] In such cases, the tract's poverty status is classified by the poverty rate for the entire tract. That is, there is only one poverty rate for each whole census tract, no matter how many ways the tract is split over city or metropolitan boundaries. In this way, the count of persons residing in high-poverty areas is consistent, and systematic biases that would arise from the splitting of census tracts are avoided.

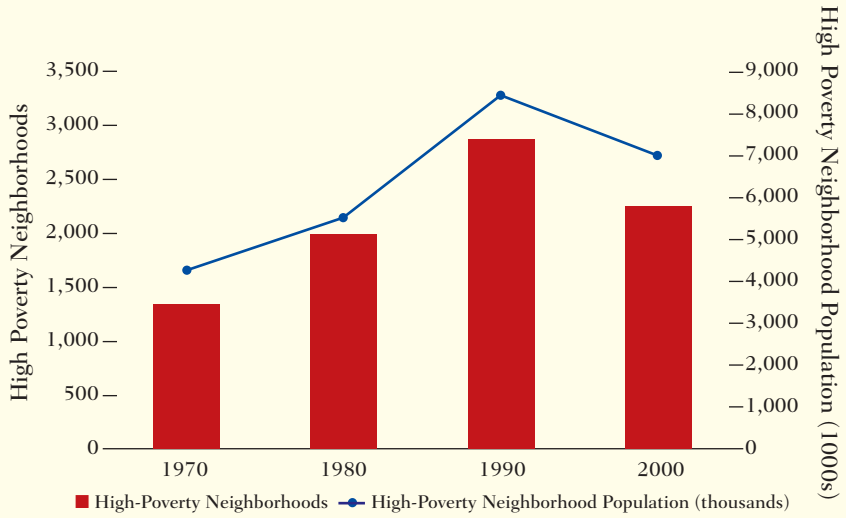
III. Findings

A. The number of people living in high-poverty neighborhoods—where the poverty rate is 40 percent or higher—declined by a dramatic 24 percent, or 2.5 million people, in the 1990s.

The strong economic conditions that prevailed throughout most of the 1990s appear to have dramatically altered long-term trends in the spatial organization of poverty. The number of high-poverty neighborhoods—census tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or more—declined by more than one-fourth, from 3,417 in 1990 to 2,510 in 2000 nationwide. This is a stunning reversal of the trend between 1970 and 1990, as shown in Figure 1.[9]

More importantly, the total number of residents of high-poverty areas declined by 24 percent, from 10.4 million in 1990 to 7.9 million in 2000. The sharp decline does not merely reflect declines in overall poverty. In fact, despite the strong economy, the number of persons classified as poor in the United States actually rose between 1990 and 2000, from 31.7 million to 33.9 million. The overall poverty rate did decline over the decade (from 13.1 percent to 12.4 percent), but by a much smaller degree than did the number of high-poverty neighborhoods. The implication is that there was a substantial change in the spatial organization of poverty during the 1990s. Poor neighborhoods, or at least the residents of high-poverty neighborhoods in 1990, benefited disproportionately from the boom.

Figure 1. High-Poverty Neighborhoods and High-Poverty Neighborhood Population, U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970–2000



Based on metropolitan areas as defined in year of census.

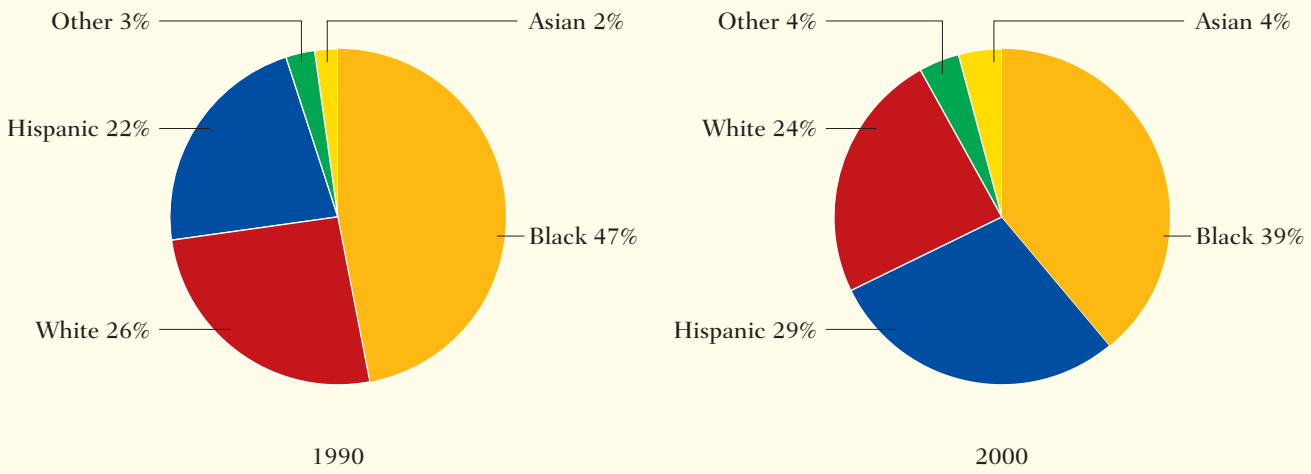
Virtually the whole spectrum of racial and ethnic groups benefited from the decline in the number of persons residing in high-poverty neighborhoods. The number of white residents of these areas declined by 29 percent (from 2.7 to 1.9 million), and the number of black residents declined by an even faster 36 percent (from 4.8 million to 3.1 million). Despite this decline, however, blacks remained the single largest racial/ethnic group living in high-poverty neighborhoods.

The major exception to the pattern was Hispanics, whose numbers in high-poverty neighborhoods actually increased slightly, by 1.6 percent. At the same time, the number of Hispanics in the U.S. overall increased dramatically in the 1990s—by 57.9 percent, compared to only 3.4 percent growth for whites and 16.2 percent for blacks. In the context of this rapid population growth, fueled by the immigration of many low-income persons from Central and South America, as well as births to immigrant families, a growth rate of only 1.6 percent in the number of Hispanics in high-poverty neighborhoods could be viewed as a positive outcome.

Given that different racial and ethnic groups were growing at different rates, the composition of high-poverty zones changed over the period. Figure 2 shows how the population in high-poverty neighborhoods changed between 1990 and 2000 by race and ethnicity. Hispanic and Asian shares increased, while those for whites and blacks declined. Most notably, Hispanics now comprise a larger share of high-poverty neighborhood residents than whites.

B. The steepest declines in high-poverty neighborhoods occurred in metropolitan areas in the Midwest and South.

Figure 2. Racial/Ethnic Composition of High-Poverty U.S. Neighborhoods, 1990–2000

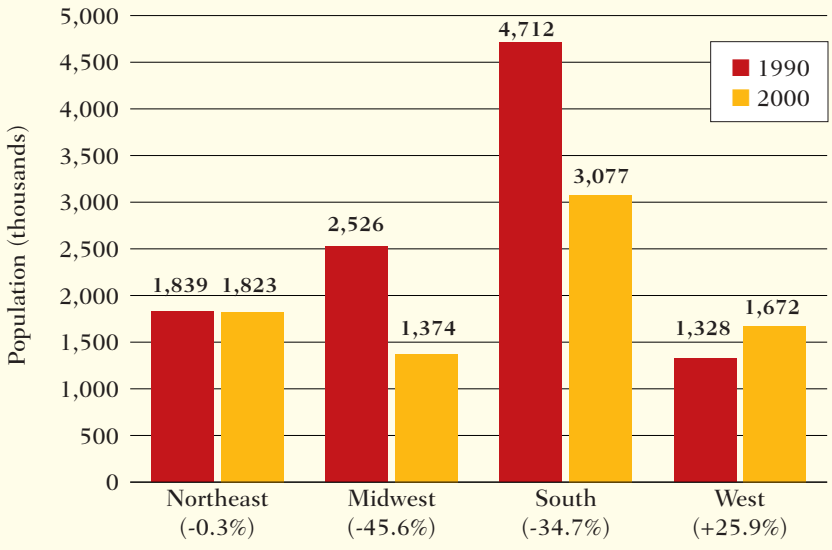


Earlier research indicated that the expansion of high-poverty ghettos and barrios was particularly acute in the Midwest, especially in central city neighborhoods. Now, the Midwest has exhibited the most rapid turnaround during the boom of the 1990s.

As shown in Figure 3, population changes in high-poverty areas varied dramatically across regions of the country. In general, places with the largest declines in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods also experienced the steepest drops in the number of people living in such areas.[10] The decline was largest in the Midwest, where the population of high-poverty neighborhoods was nearly halved over the decade. There was also a substantial decline in the South, which nonetheless remained home to the largest number of high-poverty neighborhoods in 2000.

At the same time, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods in the Northeast remained virtually the same in 2000 as in 1990, and the West actually saw a substantial 26 percent *increase* in the population of these neighborhoods, albeit from a small base. In 1990, the population of high-poverty neighborhoods in the West was half that in the Midwest; by 2000, nearly 300,000 more people lived in high-poverty neighborhoods in the West than in the Midwest. This increase is explained almost entirely by an increase in the size and population of Hispanic barrios; the number of

Figure 3. Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods by Region, 1990–2000



non-Hispanic persons in high-poverty areas in the West declined slightly.

While only two out of four regions showed significant declines in the aggregate, the view at the state level is more positive. Figure 4 maps the percentage change in high-poverty neighborhood population by state. Fully 40 states had declines, with an average decline of 78,000 persons residing in high-poverty neighborhoods. Ten states, as well as the District of Columbia, had increases averaging 61,000 persons. Trends in the West as a whole are clearly driven by California, which had an 87 percent increase in the population of high-poverty neighborhoods.

Table 1 shows the 15 metro areas with the largest decreases in high-poverty-area population. The regional flavor is readily apparent. Without exception, the metropolitan areas listed are located in the Midwest or in the South. Detroit's decline in the population of high-poverty neighborhoods was substantially larger than in any other metropolitan area. Chicago, however, experienced a comparable decrease in the number of high-poverty census tracts. All told, 200 out of 331 metropolitan areas (MSAs and PMSAs) saw declines in the number of people living in high-poverty neighborhoods (Appendix A shows relevant data for all U.S. metropolitan areas, and non-metropolitan areas by state).

In most metropolitan areas, high-poverty neighborhoods tend to be clustered in one or two main agglomerations located in the central city. In this way, the United States differs markedly from most other nations of the world, in which poor neighborhoods are typically located on the periphery of urban areas. As these zones of concentrated poverty increased in size between 1970 and 1990, they contributed to a general process of population deconcentration that generated "donut cities"—depopulating and impoverished urban cores surrounded by prosperous and growing suburbs. But then came the 1990s and a boon for central cities. Just as central cities bore the brunt of the fiscal, social, and economic burden of concentrating poverty in prior decades, they became prime beneficiaries of its reduction in the 1990s.

A case in point is the Detroit, MI metro area. Figure 5 shows the high-poverty zones in Detroit over three decades. From 1970 to 1990, there is a rapid growth in the number of neigh-

Figure 4. Percentage Change in Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods by State, 1990–2000

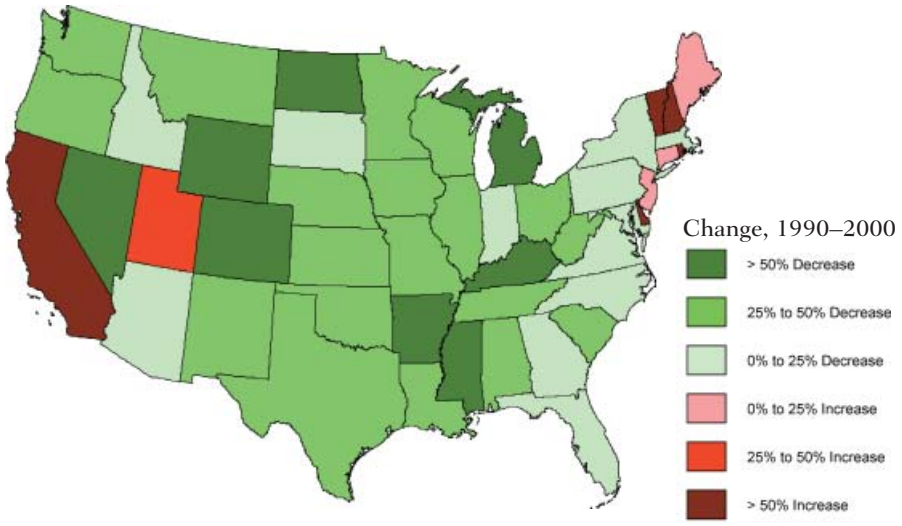


Table 1. Top 15 Metropolitan Areas by Decline in Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods, 1990–2000

Metropolitan Area	Decline in Population	% Decline in Population	Decline in Census Tracts
Detroit, MI	313,217	74.4	97
Chicago, IL	177,908	43.1	73
San Antonio, TX	107,272	70.1	18
Houston, TX	77,662	47.8	27
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	63,357	45.0	16
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	61,924	43.6	11
New Orleans, LA	57,332	34.6	18
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	50,559	37.1	4
Columbus, OH	48,020	55.4	11
El Paso, TX	44,489	40.2	4
Dallas, TX	41,805	45.3	19
St. Louis, MO-IL	38,866	35.5	13
Lafayette, LA	33,978	54.8	10
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	32,005	40.5	18
Flint, MI	31,631	61.2	6

Figure 5. High-Poverty Neighborhoods in Detroit, 1970–2000

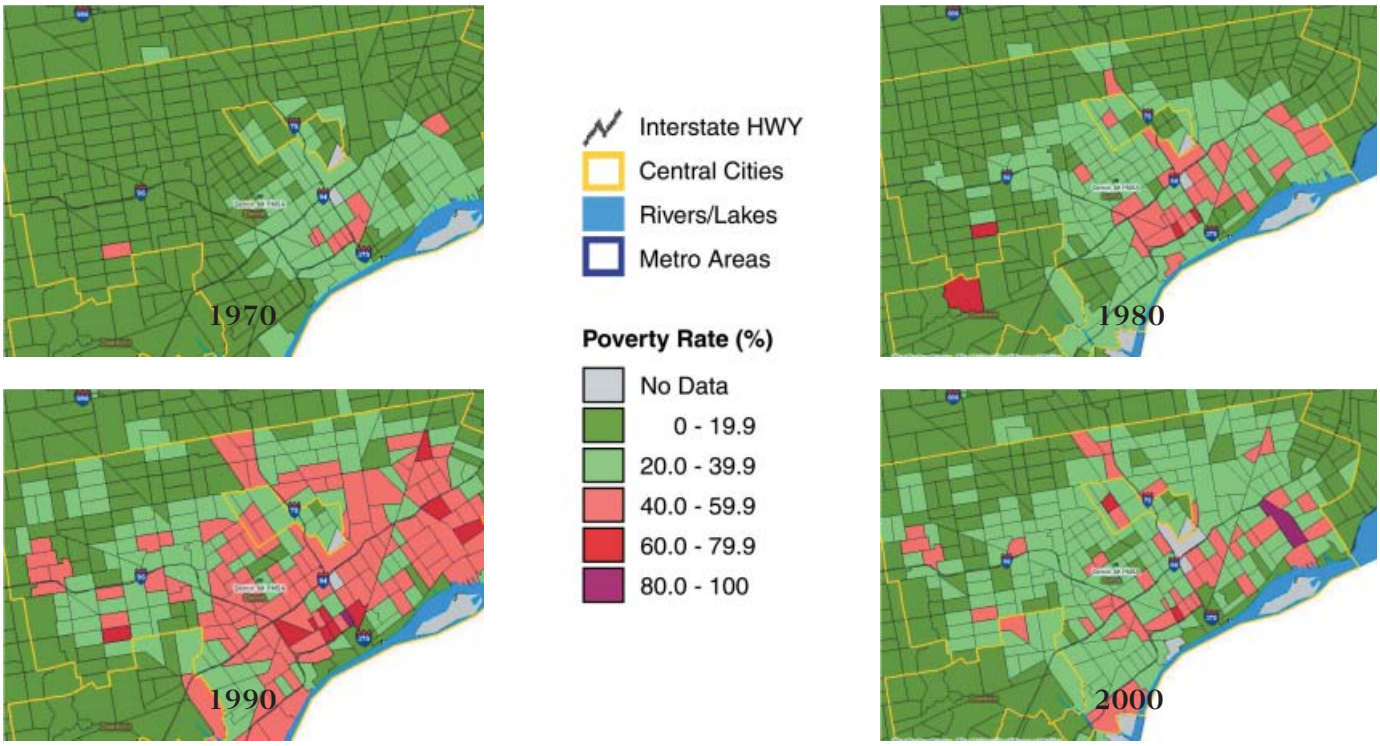


Figure 6. High-Poverty Neighborhoods in Dallas, 1970–2000

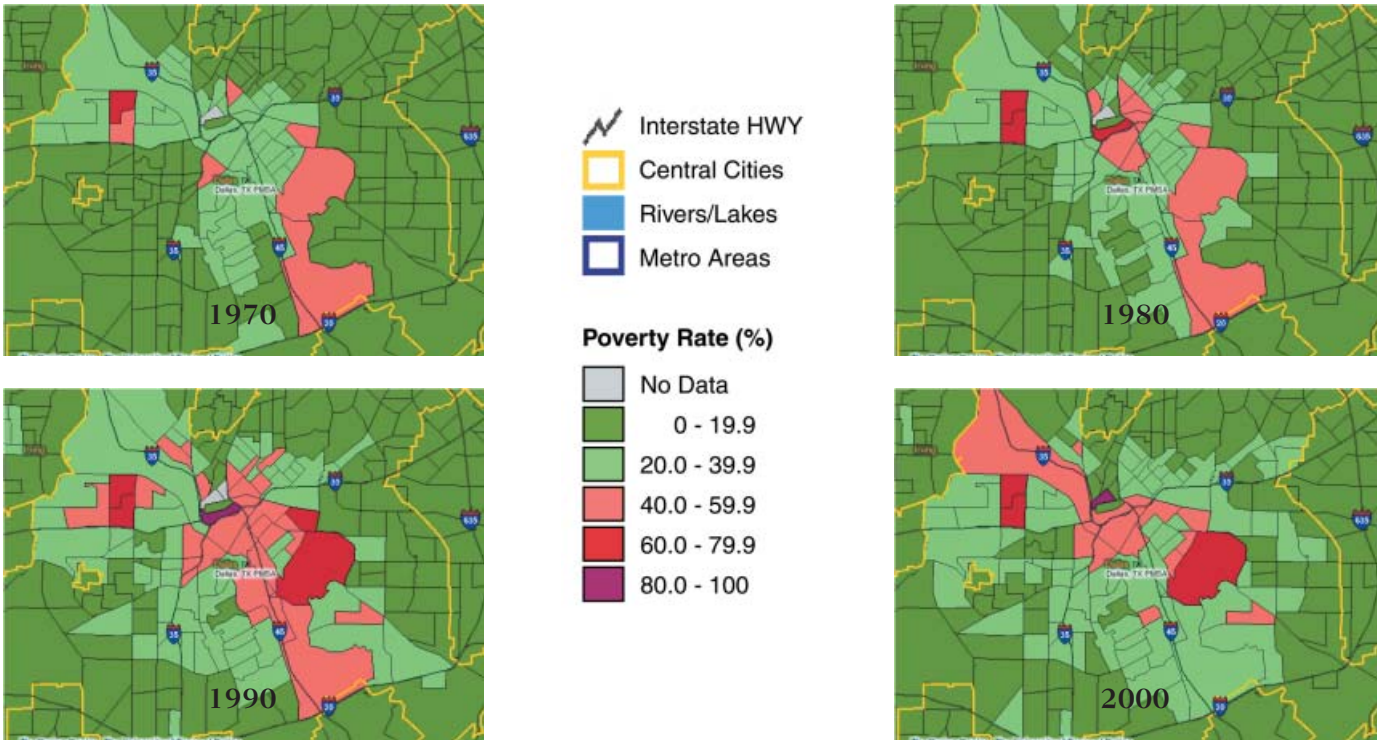
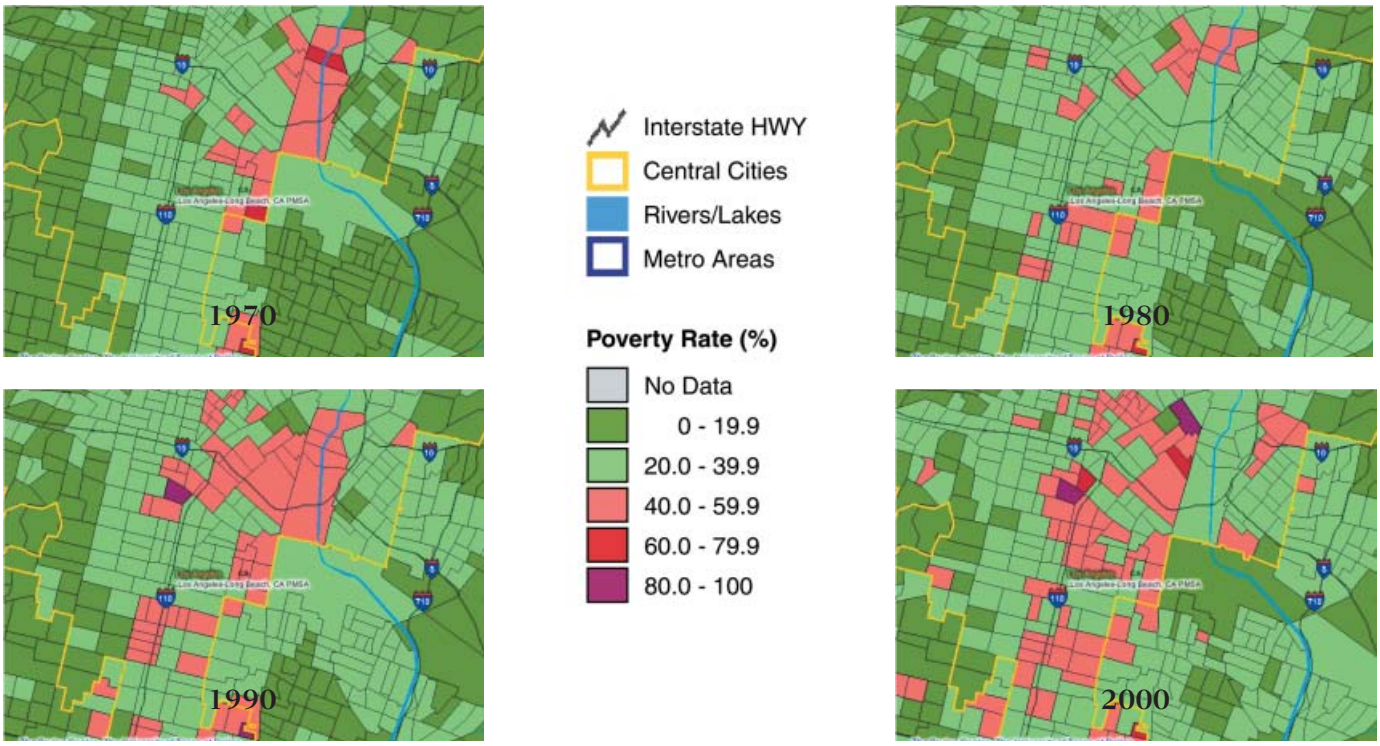


Figure 7. High-Poverty Neighborhoods in Los Angeles, 1970–2000



borhoods with poverty rates of 40 percent or more. By 1990, nearly half the land area of the City of Detroit, the boundary of which is shown in yellow, had become a high-poverty zone. This trend is reversed between 1990 and 2000. The change is so dramatic, it strains credulity. To some extent, the vivid map colors may overstate the change, since many of Detroit's census tracts had all but emptied out by 1990. Thus, a movement or change in poverty status of just a few families could serve to change the color of an entire census tract on the map. Even so, the Detroit metro area underwent an astonishing 74.4 percent reduction in the number of people residing in high-poverty zones between 1990 and 2000.

The growth of high-poverty zones between 1970 and 1990 and their subsequent declines were by no means limited to the Midwest. Figure 6 shows the trend in the Dallas metropolitan area over the last three decades. The poverty areas of Dallas experienced their greatest expansion between 1980 and 1990, after the collapse of the OPEC oil cartel led to sharply lower oil prices. At the same time, Dallas was also experiencing rapid suburban development. Plano, TX, a "Boomburb" just north of Dallas, was for years the fastest growing city in the nation.[12] After 1990, however, there was substantial redevelopment of the downtown area, including condominium and apartment developments just north of downtown and along Interstate 45. The overall decline in the population of Dallas's high-poverty areas was 45 percent between 1990 and 2000.

The regional picture is quite different when we examine the metropolitan areas with the largest *increases* in high-poverty area population. Seven of the 15 metropolitan areas in Table 2

Mapping Poor Neighborhoods

The maps shown in these figures were produced using an interactive website. By visiting the web site, users can easily produce maps such as these for any metropolitan area in the United States. The address for the web site is **www.urbanpoverty.net**. Construction of the web site was funded by the Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy and the Bruton Center for Development Studies at the University of Texas at Dallas. Comments and suggestions about the web site are welcome.[11]

Table 2. Top 15 Metropolitan Areas by Increase in Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods, 1990–2000

Metropolitan Area	Increase in Population	% Increase in Population	Increase in Census Tracts
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	292,359	109.2	81
Fresno, CA	60,005	68.7	12
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	58,669	260.5	12
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	56,954	276.4	14
Bakersfield, CA	42,622	190.8	9
San Diego, CA	33,274	86.1	10
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	28,117	12.0	(1)
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	22,186	235.4	3
Chico-Paradise, CA	16,675	103.3	4
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	14,020	n/a*	3
Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD	12,349	276.3	2
Bryan-College Station, TX	11,746	29.4	4
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	11,176	60.1	2
Rochester, NY	9,989	29.8	0
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ	9,114	318.3	(1)

**Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ, had no census tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher in 1990.*

are located in one state—California—and six of those lie in either southern California or the state's agricultural hub, the San Joaquin Valley. Other metro areas include a handful in the Northeast (Providence, Wilmington, Rochester, and two suburban New Jersey metros) and two smaller metros in Texas. Altogether, a total of 91 out of 331 metropolitan areas had at least a nominal increase in persons living in high-poverty neighborhoods.

It is worth noting that the size of the population increase in high-poverty zones falls off rapidly as we read down the list. The fifteenth metropolitan area, Monmouth-Ocean, NJ, had a 9,000-person increase in its high-poverty neighborhood population, whereas the fifteenth metropolitan area in Table 1 (Flint, MI) had a 32,000-person decline in its poverty-area population.

Figure 7 illustrates the process in Los Angeles. The expansion of high-poverty neighborhoods, indicated in red, is quite apparent. Also apparent is a considerable increase in the number of neighborhoods with moderate poverty rates (between 20 and 40 percent).

Los Angeles is notable for three factors that may explain its divergence from the national trend. First, the city experienced a deadly and destructive riot after the Rodney King verdict in 1992, and further heightening of racial tension due to the trial of O.J. Simpson in 1995. The riot and its aftermath almost certainly accelerated middle-class flight from the central city area, and the trial emphasized racial divisions in the region. Second, the Los Angeles region experienced tremendous immigration from Mexico and other Central and South American countries.[13] Riverside/San Bernadino, Fresno, and (to a lesser extent) San Diego also experienced a significant increase in low-income Hispanic population; the population of high-poverty neighborhoods increased in these areas as well. Third, the recession of the early 1990s was particularly severe in Southern California, and the economic recovery there was not as rapid as in other parts of California (such as the San Francisco/Silicon Valley area) that benefited from the Internet boom.

The other major exception to the trend was the Washington, D.C. metro area. The number of high-poverty neighborhoods in the nation's capital more than doubled over the decade. The major factor at work here was likely the devastating fiscal crisis that plagued the District during the early and mid-1990s. The crisis undermined public confidence in the governance of the District and led to serious cutbacks in public services, including public safety. For this and other reasons, there was a rapid out-migration of moderate- and middle-income black families, particularly into suburban Maryland counties to the east of the central city. The poor were left behind in economically isolated neighborhoods with increasing poverty rates. The late 1990s real estate boom in Washington seems not to have improved conditions in these neighborhoods.

Of course, these metros and others in Table 2 represent the exceptions to an overall decline in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods, and population of high-poverty neighborhoods, in the 1990s. Most areas of the U.S. saw improvements over the decade that were much greater in magnitude than the deterioration that occurred in a minority of metro areas.

C. Concentrated poverty—the share of the poor living in high-poverty neighborhoods—declined among all racial and ethnic groups, especially African Americans.

In the 1990s, consonant with the decline in high-poverty neighborhoods, the concentration of poverty—defined as the *proportion of the poor* in a given area that resides in high-poverty zones—dropped across most of the nation. The number of *poor* persons living in high-poverty areas declined 27 percent, from 4.8 million to 3.5 million. In 1990, the share of poor individuals nationwide who lived

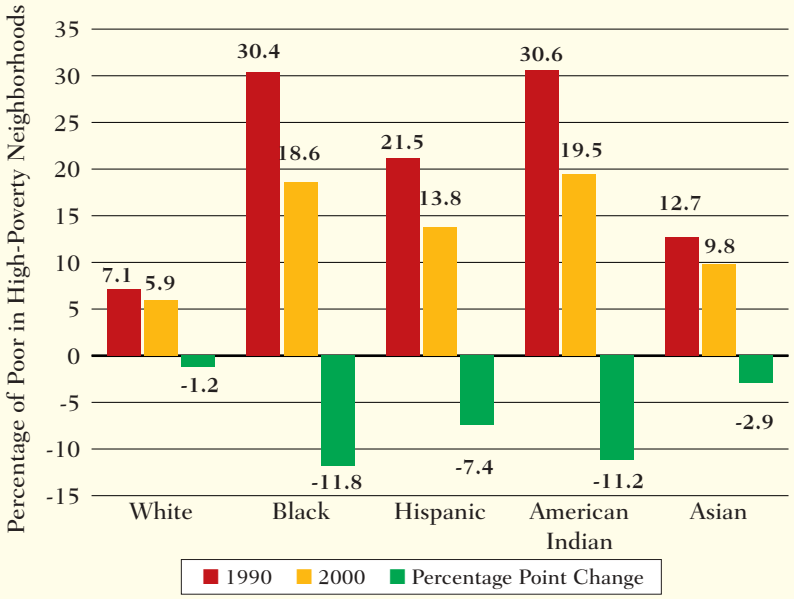
in high-poverty areas (the *concentrated poverty rate*) was 15 percent. By 2000, that figure had declined to 10 percent.

These declines are both striking and gratifying. Between 1970 and 1990, the concentration of poverty grew steadily worse, especially for blacks. About one-fourth of the black poor lived in high-poverty areas in 1970; by 1990, the proportion had increased to one-third. The rate was even higher for black children, especially those in single-parent families. The economic and social isolation of these families and children prompted great concern among researchers investigating the opportunities and constraints facing low-income families in economically impoverished neighborhoods.[14]

Some have argued that poor persons may benefit from having poor neighbors. For example, they may share coping strategies and draw on geographically-based support networks. Yet most researchers, and most of the general public, assume that the benefits of poor persons living in high-poverty neighborhoods are outweighed by the extra hardships that such neighborhoods impose, including their deleterious effects on child development and the ability of poor adults to achieve self-sufficiency.

For those reasons, it is good news indeed that all racial and ethnic groups shared in the deconcentration of poverty of the 1990s, as shown in Figure 8. The decline was most significant for poor blacks; the percentage living in high-poverty neighborhoods declined from 30.4 percent in 1990 to 18.6 percent in 2000. American Indians experienced a similarly large decrease. Yet despite these substantial declines, blacks and American Indians still suffer the highest concentrated poverty rates, the former in highly segregated urban ghettos and the latter in remote rural reservations. The concentration of poverty among non-Hispanic whites, low to start with, dropped by roughly one-sixth. The chances that a poor Hispanic lives in a high-poverty neighborhood dropped from more than one in five (21.2 percent) in 1990 to less than one in seven (13.8 percent) in 2000.[15]

Figure 8. Concentration of U.S. Poor by Race/Ethnicity, 1990–2000



The declines in concentrated poverty were not driven by a few large or unrepresentative metropolitan areas. Indeed, substantial declines were the national norm. Of the 331 metropolitan areas in the United States in 2000, 227 (69 percent) saw the concentration of poor blacks decrease between 1990 and 2000; another 49 (15 percent) had no change; and only 55 (17 percent) had increases (Appendix A). The story was similar for non-metropolitan areas: The concentration of poor blacks in rural areas declined in 29 of 49 states, and remained the same in another 11 states.[16]

The numbers were similar, if not quite as positive, for Hispanics. More than half of all metropolitan areas had decreases in concentrated Hispanic poverty, 87 (26 percent) had increases, and the remainder experienced no change.

The deconcentration of poverty for racial and ethnic minorities spread widely across the nation's largest metropolitan areas. Table 3 reports concentrated poverty rates among blacks and Hispanics in the 20 largest metros, sorted by change in the concentrated black poverty rate between 1990 and 2000. Most of these areas experienced declines in the concentration of poverty for both groups. The largest declines for blacks were in Detroit (37.5 percentage points), Minneapolis-St. Paul (20.3) and Chicago (18.8). Four metropolitan areas had double-digit percentage point declines in the concentrated poverty rate for Hispanics: Detroit (29.1 percentage points), Minneapolis-St. Paul (12.3), Philadelphia (12.1), and Houston (10.3).

To be sure, the percentage-point declines were generally largest in areas that had high rates of concentrated poverty to begin with; while the share of blacks living in high-poverty neighborhoods in the Seattle metro area was halved in the 1990s, this represented a decline of only 3.3 percentage points. Still, the extent of the

decline in places like Detroit and Minneapolis-St. Paul is remarkable compared to an area like New York, which despite modest declines still has very high concentrated poverty rates for both groups.

Consistent with the data on the population of high-poverty areas, two areas of the country cut against the national trend. In Los Angeles-Long Beach and Riverside-San Bernardino, concentrated poverty increased among both the black and Hispanic poor; in San Diego, Hispanic concentrated poverty rose. In Washington, D.C., poor blacks became more spatially concentrated, but poor Hispanics did not.

One additional note on Western high-poverty neighborhoods: In that region, the increase in high-poverty neighborhoods owed almost entirely to an increase in the number of *barrios*—predominantly Hispanic high-poverty communities. While increasing concentrated poverty among Hispanics in southern California is certainly cause for concern, researchers have expended considerably greater effort studying the deleterious effects that high-poverty neighborhoods in the Midwest and Northeast have on the life chances of their residents, who are predominantly black. With their substantial immigrant populations, Western inner-city barrios could represent more of a "gateway" to residential and economic mobility than inner-city ghettos in other areas of the country. Regardless, the rise in concentrated Hispanic poverty in California during the 1990s highlights a need to better understand how the opportunity structure in these communities may differ from that in other types of high-poverty neighborhoods. [17]

D. The number of high-poverty neighborhoods declined in rural areas and central cities, but suburbs experienced almost no change.

So far, this paper has considered statistics on changes in high-poverty neighborhoods and the concentration of poverty at the national and metropolitan levels. These statistics obscure an important aspect of the trend in the 1990s that the maps help illuminate: Central cities, rather than suburbs, reaped the benefits of the decline. Not even the maps, however, reveal what transpired in rural America. This section examines changes within metropolitan areas, and outside them, in

Table 3. Concentration of Black and Hispanic Poverty in the 20 Largest Metro Areas, 1990–2000

	Black			Hispanic		
Metro Area	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Detroit, MI	53.9	16.4	-37.5	36.1	6.9	-26.1
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	33.3	13.0	-20.4	18.2	5.9	-12.3
Chicago, IL	45.3	26.4	-18.8	12.4	4.7	-7.7
St. Louis, MO-IL	39.1	23.8	-15.3	12.8	5.2	-7.6
Baltimore, MD	34.7	21.5	-13.2	9.7	3.5	-6.2
Dallas, TX	25.4	13.8	-11.6	12.8	3.5	-9.3
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	29.1	17.8	-11.4	7.3	4.7	-2.6
Houston, TX	28.0	17.1	-10.9	13.1	2.8	-10.3
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	25.7	15.4	-10.3	21.3	12.2	-9.1
New York, NY	40.1	32.5	-7.6	40.9	32.2	-8.7
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	31.0	23.6	-7.5	61.6	49.5	-12.1
Boston, MA-NH	12.5	6.2	-6.3	10.7	8.1	-2.6
Atlanta, GA	26.6	20.5	-6.1	6.8	2.5	-4.2
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	6.8	3.4	-3.3	8.1	1.3	-6.8
San Diego, CA	15.4	13.0	-2.4	10.2	12.5	**2.3**
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	0.5	0.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Orange County, CA	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	**0.1**
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	17.3	21.3	**4.1**	9.1	16.9	**7.8**
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	5.7	12.3	**6.6**	4.4	8.9	**4.5**
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	6.3	15.0	**8.7**	1.0	0.4	-0.6

Figures represent percentage of metro-wide poor individuals in each racial/ethnic group living in census tracts with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher. Increases shown in bold.

neighborhood poverty over the decade.

All neighborhoods—census tracts—nationwide can be classified as lying within the central cities of metropolitan areas, the suburbs—defined as the balance of metropolitan areas—or non-metropolitan areas, which consist of rural areas and cities and towns too small or detached to be considered part of a metropolitan area. As shown in Figure 9, the decline in high-poverty area population was actually largest in non-metropolitan areas, where the decline was nearly 50 percent. Central city areas, as indicated by the maps, also experienced a large decline of 21 percent.

It was the suburbs that had the slowest overall decline in poverty area residents—only 4.4 percent. As a result of these differing declines, by 2000 suburban America was actually home to more neighborhoods of concentrated poverty than rural America. While the suburbs have more than twice the number of residents as non-metropolitan areas, this finding is nonetheless striking given that the overall poverty rate outside metropolitan areas (14.6 percent) was considerably higher in 2000 than the poverty rate in suburbs (8.4 percent).

Moreover, a careful inspection of trends in the geography of suburban poverty over the 1990s reveals some disturbing trends. Not only did the number of neighborhoods of high poverty decline slowly in the suburbs. Also, poverty rates actually increased along the outer edges of central cities and in the inner-ring suburbs of many metropolitan areas, including those that saw dramatic declines in poverty concentration. In short, poverty trends in these areas moved in the opposite direction from those in inner-city neighborhoods and booming suburbs at the metropolitan fringe.

Several metropolitan areas illustrate the case. Figure 10 shows the change in the poverty rate by census tract between 1990 and 2000 for four—Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland, and Dallas. Neighborhoods shaded in green had decreases in their poverty rates, while red indicates census tracts with increases in their poverty rates. In Detroit, central city tracts experienced dramatic decreases in their poverty rates in the 1990s, dropping many of them below the 40-percent threshold. However, a ring of neighborhoods just beyond the border of the central city—located in the area's older suburbs—saw increases in their poverty rates. Many of these neighborhoods still have poverty rates of below 20 percent, and so cannot be considered high-poverty. Yet it is notable that in a decade of widespread economic growth, the poverty rates in these older suburban neighborhoods were rising. The maps of Chicago, Cleveland, and Dallas also exhibit the distinctive "bull's-eye" pattern of improvements in the central city and increasing poverty in the inner ring of suburbs. This pattern is repeated in metro areas across the nation.

The economic decline of inner-ring suburbs, already evident in earlier decades, continued in the 1990s even as conditions were improving dramatically in most central cities.[18] The fact that inner-ring suburbs declined during this period is really quite astonishing. Census 2000 was conducted in April of 2000, coinciding with the peak of a long economic boom. Unemployment rates nationwide were 4 percent, and lower in some of these metropolitan areas. The economy, in all likelihood, will never be stronger than it was during this period, at least not for any extended period of time.

A vigorous debate is underway concerning the role of suburban development in central city and older suburban decline and the concentration of poverty. There is, as yet, no consensus that rapid suburban development, characterized as "sprawl" by its opponents, exacerbates economic decline in the core. In fact, some argue the contrary, and contend that these development patterns are a consequence of the economic and social disorder of the inner cities. These questions will continue to engender

Figure 9. Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods by Location, 1990–2000

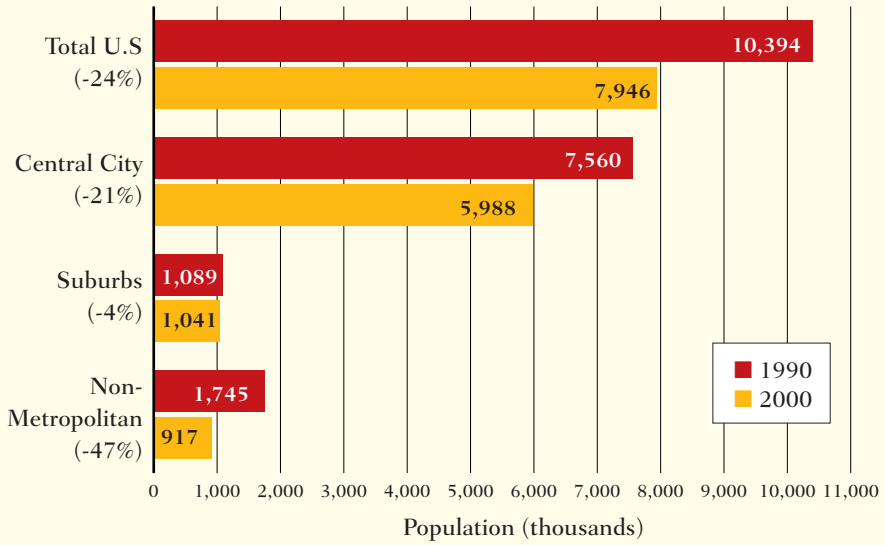
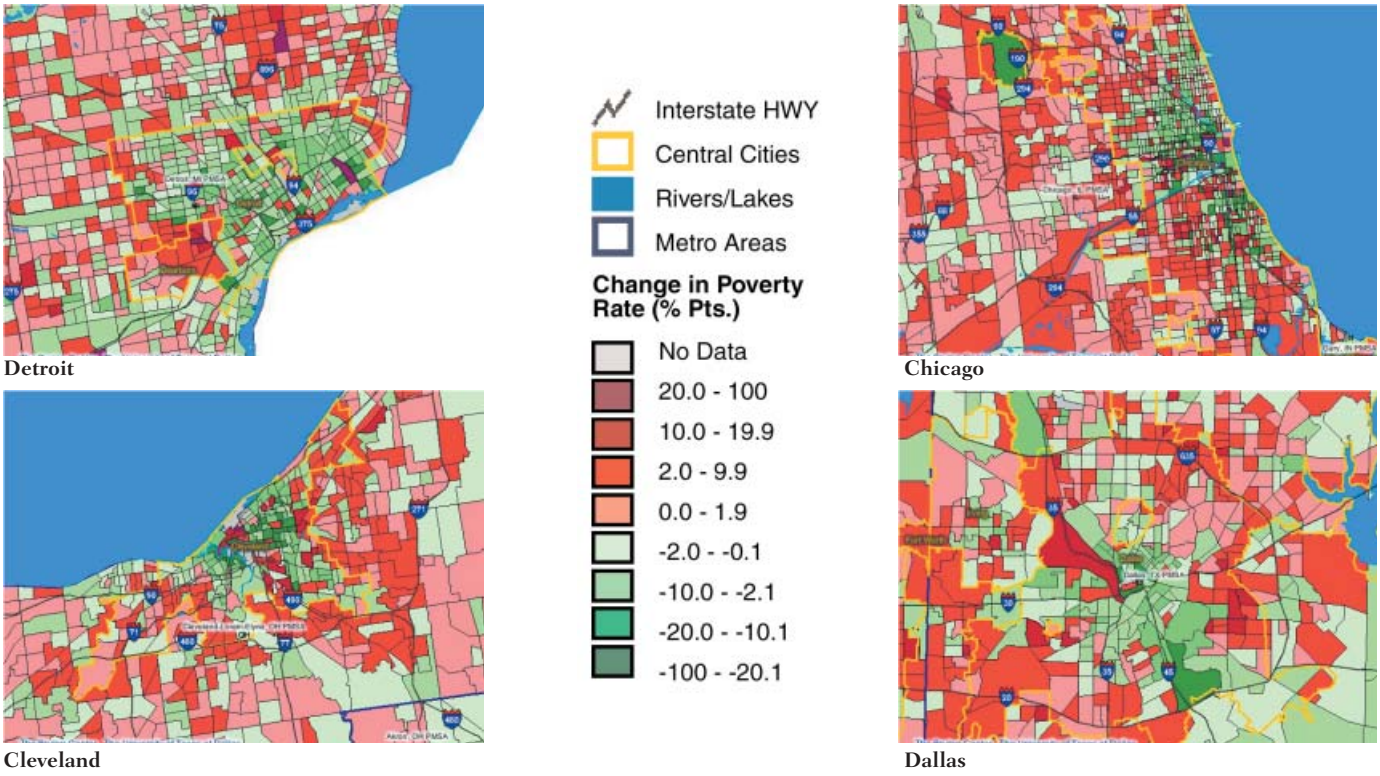


Figure 10. Poverty Rate Changes in Selected Metro Areas, 1990–2000



vigorous debate in the years ahead. However, it is clear from the data and maps presented here that there is reason to be concerned about the prospects for inner-ring suburbs. If poverty in these areas rose during the strongest economy we can reasonably expect to enjoy, then they may well have a bleak future and develop many of the same fiscal and social concerns that plagued central cities in earlier periods.

IV. Conclusion

The concentration of poverty is an important public policy concern because it has dynamic effects on income distribution, because it undermines the political and social fabric of the nation's major metropolitan areas, and—most importantly—because it restricts opportunity for some. Fortunately, the excellent economy of the 1990s reversed several decades of increasing concentration of poverty and central city decline. With few exceptions, metropolitan and rural areas across the U.S. saw a drop in concentrated poverty for all racial and ethnic groups.

The extent to which some of these gains have already been erased by the downturn since the date of the Census is not known. However, even at the height of the boom, troubling signs could be found that the pattern of metropolitan development, with rapid growth at the periphery, might be undermining other parts of metropolitan areas, particularly the inner ring of suburbs. This quiet erosion, largely unnoticed during the good times of the 1990s, leaves metropolitan areas in a weaker state and reduces their ability to cope with the less robust economic conditions that prevail today.

While the reductions in concentration of poverty in the 1990s are certainly welcome news, the long-run picture is far from sanguine. The snapshot of progress as of April 2000 may be as misleading as the level of the NASDAQ on that date. If the inner-ring suburbs provide any indication, then the underlying development pattern that leads to greater neighborhood stratification was still at work in the 1990s, and is likely to have continued in the considerably weaker economic climate of the last three years. If so, greater concentration of poverty and more geographically stratified metropolitan areas could exacerbate social problems in a host of areas, from public safety to education to transportation. We should celebrate the gains made during the 1990s, to the extent that they haven't already erased, but we should not ignore the warning signs that our society is still vulnerable to increasing concentration of poverty.

Appendix A. Population and Number of Neighborhoods of High Poverty, and Concentrated Poverty Rates, U.S. Metropolitan and Non-Metropolitan Areas, 1990–2000

	Total Area Population	High-Poverty Census Tracts			Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics		
MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Abilene, TX	126,555	2	1	-1	1,536	581	-955	4.2	2.2	-2.0	8.0	4.3	-3.7	7.3	1.2	-6.0
Akron, OH	694,960	19	7	-12	48,632	22,268	-26,364	23.4	10.1	-13.3	29.8	14.8	-15.1	32.1	14.4	-17.7
Albany, GA	120,822	9	7	-2	23,725	18,700	-5,025	49.9	34.5	-15.4	57.9	42.2	-15.7	56.3	22.7	-33.6
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	875,583	2	6	4	8,654	13,033	4,379	4.9	7.0	2.1	24.2	17.0	-7.2	4.9	13.3	8.5
Albuquerque, NM	712,738	5	3	-2	12,523	10,999	-1,524	7.1	5.3	-1.8	1.7	6.4	4.7	5.5	4.3	-1.2
Alexandria, LA	126,337	6	5	-1	15,204	11,854	-3,350	26.2	22.6	-3.6	43.5	35.4	-8.1	13.1	9.2	-3.9
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA	637,958	2	5	3	9,641	14,645	5,004	8.1	10.2	2.1	9.3	12.1	2.8	19.5	21.2	1.7
Altoona, PA	129,144	1	1	0	1,702	1,739	37	3.8	4.3	0.5	12.8	16.3	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Amarillo, TX	217,858	7	2	-5	8,093	3,168	-4,925	12.7	4.3	-8.5	27.7	13.4	-14.3	17.3	3.9	-13.4
Anchorage, AK	260,283	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Ann Arbor, MI	578,736	8	8	0	36,182	28,937	-7,245	24.4	25.2	0.8	10.0	25.8	15.8	11.1	14.8	3.7
Anniston, AL	112,249	3	2	-1	6,498	5,076	-1,422	17.9	10.5	-7.4	40.1	18.4	-21.7	62.8	3.7	-59.1
Appleton-Oshkosh-Neenah, WI	358,365	2	1	-1	7,348	5,614	-1,734	7.6	5.3	-2.3	8.9	3.8	-5.1	6.6	0.5	-6.1
Asheville, NC	225,965	3	2	-1	3,127	4,507	1,380	5.6	7.2	1.6	14.6	33.9	19.2	0.0	8.6	8.6
Athens, GA	153,444	7	8	1	23,651	31,425	7,774	33.2	40.5	7.3	54.5	42.1	-12.5	17.4	13.8	-3.7
Atlanta, GA	4,112,198	36	31	-5	92,053	92,039	-14	15.3	11.1	-4.2	26.6	20.5	-6.1	6.8	2.5	-4.2
Atlantic-Cape May, NJ	354,878	4	4	0	9,282	9,907	625	13.7	9.4	-4.3	33.3	26.8	-6.5	14.5	8.0	-6.5
Auburn-Opelika, AL	115,092	7	6	-1	22,357	23,876	1,519	50.6	44.4	-6.2	39.2	37.3	-2.0	34.2	50.6	16.4
Augusta-Aiken, GA-SC	477,441	7	7	0	22,132	18,246	-3,886	17.6	12.3	-5.3	25.2	18.8	-6.4	12.6	6.5	-6.0
Austin-San Marcos, TX	1,249,763	12	7	-5	45,423	45,057	-366	14.4	12.3	-2.1	17.9	11.0	-6.9	15.5	8.1	-7.4
Bakersfield, CA	661,645	4	13	9	22,333	64,955	42,622	11.5	22.0	10.5	29.7	36.3	6.6	15.1	28.5	13.4
Baltimore, MD	2,552,994	38	33	-5	106,648	75,643	-31,005	22.5	13.5	-9.0	34.7	21.5	-13.2	9.7	3.5	-6.2
Bangor, ME	90,864	1	1	0	1,132	4,241	3,109	3.0	5.3	2.3	0.0	7.0	7.0	14.6	0.0	-14.6
Barnstable-Yarmouth, MA	162,582	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Baton Rouge, LA	602,894	16	9	-7	60,375	42,401	-17,974	28.3	17.6	-10.7	34.8	17.5	-17.3	34.2	29.7	-4.5
Beaumont-Port Arthur, TX	385,090	15	4	-11	23,311	7,858	-15,453	17.9	6.1	-11.8	33.0	11.7	-21.3	12.2	1.4	-10.8
Bellingham, WA	166,814	1	1	0	5,941	6,918	977	9.8	8.2	-1.5	9.5	6.3	-3.3	1.0	1.9	1.0
Benton Harbor, MI	162,453	7	4	-3	15,716	9,690	-6,026	37.3	23.5	-13.8	75.0	50.4	-24.6	5.3	0.0	-5.3
Bergen-Passaic, NJ	1,373,167	3	5	2	5,483	11,755	6,272	3.0	4.9	1.9	12.2	18.1	5.9	1.1	3.6	2.5
Billings, MT	129,352	2	1	-1	4,088	3,592	-496	12.1	9.9	-2.2	56.5	8.5	-48.0	27.0	31.5	4.5
Biloxi-Gulfport-Pascagoula, MS	363,988	4	2	-2	9,305	881	-8,424	8.4	0.1	-8.3	12.3	0.0	-12.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Binghamton, NY	252,320	2	3	1	4,366	5,446	1,080	7.0	7.3	0.3	17.6	13.4	-4.2	5.6	12.7	7.0
Birmingham, AL	921,106	14	10	-4	54,871	33,631	-21,240	21.5	12.8	-8.7	34.6	19.9	-14.7	13.5	7.1	-6.4
Bismarck, ND	94,719	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bloomington, IN	120,563	4	6	2	23,622	32,689	9,067	32.0	50.1	18.1	31.3	33.4	2.1	37.9	41.1	3.2
Bloomington-Normal, IL	150,433	3	2	-1	11,689	10,706	-983	14.2	13.2	-1.0	6.1	2.4	-3.7	17.9	6.1	-11.8
Boise City, ID	432,345	2	0	-2	608	0	-608	1.3	0.0	-1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.8	0.0	-4.8
Boston, MA-NH	3,406,829	15	13	-2	31,757	32,643	886	5.0	4.2	-0.7	12.5	6.2	-6.3	10.7	8.1	-2.6
Boulder-Longmont, CO	291,288	1	2	1	5,530	6,806	1,276	10.3	11.7	1.4	12.5	8.3	-4.2	2.2	2.3	0.0
Brazoria, TX	241,767	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bremerton, WA	231,969	1	0	-1	536	0	-536	1.3	0.0	-1.3	1.8	0.0	-1.8	2.6	0.0	-2.6
Bridgeport, CT	459,479	4	3	-1	6,086	6,317	231	10.9	7.8	-3.1	19.9	9.7	-10.2	14.9	14.4	-0.6
Brockton, MA	255,459	0	1	1	0	2,385	2,385	0.0	4.6	4.6	0.0	7.8	7.8	0.0	7.7	7.7
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	335,227	30	26	-4	136,312	85,753	-50,559	67.2	38.3	-28.9	59.8	29.6	-30.2	68.7	39.3	-29.4
Bryan-College Station, TX	152,415	6	10	4	39,934	51,680	11,746	44.3	51.6	7.3	28.1	23.8	-4.3	34.6	31.1	-3.5
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	1,170,111	26	19	-7	72,230	51,303	-20,927	23.3	16.9	-6.4	54.0	30.8	-23.2	38.4	39.4	1.0
Burlington, VT	169,391	0	1	1	0	3,935	3,935	0.0	10.9	10.9	0.0	5.5	5.5	0.0	8.3	8.3
Canton-Massillon, OH	406,934	5	2	-3	9,873	4,285	-5,588	11.0	6.2	-4.8	29.9	19.2	-10.7	2.4	1.1	-1.3
Casper, WY	66,533	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cedar Rapids, IA	191,701	1	0	-1	2,067	0	-2,067	5.5	0.0	-5.5	11.2	0.0	-11.2	8.9	0.0	-8.9
Champaign-Urbana, IL	179,669	4	4	0	24,536	22,482	-2,054	37.1	40.7	3.6	29.0	11.4	-17.5	40.1	48.2	8.1

MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	Total Area Population	High-Poverty Census Tracts			Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics		
	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Charleston, WV	251,662	2	1	-1	3,847	1,426	-2,421	5.0	2.2	-2.8	16.8	5.6	-11.2	14.0	9.5	-4.5
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	549,033	13	11	-2	27,609	27,194	-415	17.8	15.5	-2.3	23.8	17.9	-5.9	3.2	10.7	7.5
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	1,499,293	10	4	-6	27,102	7,424	-19,678	10.7	2.1	-8.6	21.3	5.0	-16.3	5.9	0.0	-5.9
Charlottesville, VA	159,576	3	3	0	10,560	8,861	-1,699	29.2	25.8	-3.4	19.6	11.4	-8.3	25.1	18.4	-6.7
Chattanooga, TN-GA	465,161	7	4	-3	13,963	11,389	-2,574	14.4	11.7	-2.7	41.8	32.8	-8.9	5.0	9.6	4.6
Cheyenne, WY	81,607	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Chicago, IL	8,272,768	187	114	-73	412,853	234,945	-177,908	26.4	13.7	-12.8	45.3	26.4	-18.8	12.4	4.7	-7.7
Chico-Paradise, CA	203,171	3	7	4	16,140	32,815	16,675	18.7	35.0	16.3	11.8	46.8	35.0	16.1	28.3	12.2
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	1,646,395	31	23	-8	74,387	51,120	-23,267	24.4	16.1	-8.2	52.1	33.1	-19.0	18.1	17.2	-0.9
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY	207,033	1	0	-1	3,050	0	-3,050	4.1	0.0	-4.1	6.5	0.0	-6.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	2,250,871	71	52	-19	102,494	76,146	-26,348	21.7	15.3	-6.4	38.2	26.5	-11.7	23.7	15.7	-8.0
Colorado Springs, CO	516,929	2	1	-1	1,640	1,739	99	1.7	1.6	-0.1	3.0	1.2	-1.8	1.7	2.0	0.4
Columbia, MO	135,454	6	5	-1	21,049	17,149	-3,900	37.1	34.4	-2.7	48.3	28.0	-20.2	47.2	23.8	-23.4
Columbia, SC	536,691	11	8	-3	24,702	18,288	-6,414	18.2	9.8	-8.5	26.4	13.2	-13.1	18.8	2.7	-16.0
Columbus, GA-AL	274,624	13	10	-3	28,294	18,986	-9,308	33.7	24.0	-9.7	43.4	30.3	-13.1	9.0	13.3	4.3
Columbus, OH	1,540,157	24	13	-11	86,657	38,637	-48,020	25.3	13.0	-12.3	42.7	16.3	-26.4	22.1	10.8	-11.3
Corpus Christi, TX	380,783	10	7	-3	41,066	22,462	-18,604	27.1	14.9	-12.2	43.1	31.7	-11.3	31.6	16.4	-15.1
Corvallis, OR	78,153	2	2	0	16,358	7,149	-9,209	43.8	21.3	-22.6	86.3	48.0	-38.4	38.6	15.4	-23.2
Cumberland, MD-WV	102,008	1	0	-1	534	0	-534	1.4	0.0	-1.4	0.7	0.0	-0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dallas, TX	3,519,176	36	17	-19	92,275	50,470	-41,805	13.8	5.4	-8.4	25.4	13.8	-11.6	12.8	3.5	-9.3
Danbury, CT	217,980	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Danville, VA	110,156	1	0	-1	2,383	0	-2,383	5.7	0.0	-5.7	10.0	0.0	-10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Davenport-Moline-Rock Island, IA-IL	359,062	7	2	-5	10,790	4,202	-6,588	11.7	5.4	-6.3	32.3	15.1	-17.2	9.8	3.3	-6.5
Dayton-Springfield, OH	950,558	18	8	-10	51,835	23,335	-28,500	21.5	7.2	-14.3	46.3	13.7	-32.6	17.9	2.2	-15.6
Daytona Beach, FL	493,175	3	2	-1	11,643	5,873	-5,770	10.2	3.7	-6.4	40.2	14.9	-25.3	1.2	0.5	-0.7
Decatur, AL	145,867	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Decatur, IL	114,706	2	4	2	2,324	4,938	2,614	8.3	15.7	7.3	18.9	28.0	9.1	0.0	25.4	25.4
Denver, CO	2,109,282	11	2	-9	24,102	4,518	-19,584	7.6	1.5	-6.1	17.8	2.1	-15.7	12.4	2.4	-10.0
Des Moines, IA	456,022	2	0	-2	7,773	0	-7,773	9.2	0.0	-9.2	22.9	0.0	-22.9	8.8	0.0	-8.8
Detroit, MI	4,441,551	150	53	-97	420,739	107,522	-313,217	36.0	10.4	-25.6	53.9	16.4	-37.5	36.1	6.9	-29.1
Dothan, AL	137,916	3	0	-3	8,546	0	-8,546	18.0	0.0	-18.0	29.5	0.0	-29.5	3.1	0.0	-3.1
Dover, DE	126,697	1	0	-1	1,556	0	-1,556	2.0	0.0	-2.0	2.5	0.0	-2.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dubuque, IA	89,143	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Duluth-Superior, MN-WI	243,815	6	5	-1	9,090	6,948	-2,142	11.9	10.9	-1.0	32.5	42.0	9.4	8.6	15.3	6.8
Dutchess County, NY	280,150	0	1	1	0	1,963	1,963	0.0	4.1	4.1	0.0	6.7	6.7	0.0	9.4	9.4
Eau Claire, WI	148,337	2	1	-1	7,021	5,322	-1,699	18.9	16.3	-2.5	2.9	22.1	19.2	7.6	6.4	-1.2
El Paso, TX	679,622	20	16	-4	110,735	66,246	-44,489	35.9	20.4	-15.5	16.6	9.2	-7.3	38.6	21.4	-17.2
Elkhart-Goshen, IN	182,791	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Elmira, NY	91,070	1	2	1	2,445	2,713	268	11.8	8.8	-2.9	44.9	17.4	-27.5	12.0	12.4	0.5
Enid, OK	57,813	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Erie, PA	280,843	5	2	-3	13,082	4,311	-8,771	17.8	4.5	-13.3	50.1	10.5	-39.6	35.0	9.2	-25.8
Eugene-Springfield, OR	322,959	3	2	-1	11,900	9,509	-2,391	13.2	10.0	-3.1	16.6	12.0	-4.6	19.3	5.1	-14.3
Evansville-Henderson, IN-KY	296,195	1	0	-1	1,318	0	-1,318	2.0	0.0	-2.0	9.1	0.0	-9.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fargo-Moorhead, ND-MN	174,367	2	1	-1	9,237	5,210	-4,027	9.0	5.2	-3.8	6.3	1.1	-5.1	12.1	15.1	2.9
Fayetteville, NC	302,963	5	4	-1	8,952	7,196	-1,756	12.8	8.8	-4.0	20.5	13.4	-7.1	4.8	4.7	0.0
Fayetteville-Springdale-Rogers, AR	311,121	1	1	0	5,254	3,214	-2,040	7.8	0.9	-7.0	13.4	1.5	-11.8	12.0	0.7	-11.3
Fitchburg-Leominster, MA	142,284	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Flagstaff, AZ-UT	122,366	6	2	-4	22,622	3,085	-19,537	42.2	6.8	-35.4	53.9	40.5	-13.4	13.2	11.1	-2.1
Flint, MI	436,141	15	9	-6	51,714	20,083	-31,631	33.9	15.8	-18.1	56.2	26.0	-30.1	36.2	10.1	-26.1
Florence, AL	142,950	2	2	0	4,487	3,695	-792	11.7	9.5	-2.2	28.9	22.2	-6.7	12.0	9.0	-3.1
Florence, SC	125,761	2	1	-1	10,567	3,686	-6,881	20.0	7.9	-12.1	25.8	11.2	-14.7	16.5	0.0	-16.5
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	251,494	1	1	0	5,297	7,819	2,522	3.9	14.8	10.9	6.1	17.0	10.9	1.7	10.7	9.0
Fort Lauderdale, FL	1,623,018	4	4	0	13,473	17,347	3,874	4.8	4.2	-0.5	11.5	10.4	-1.1	0.4	0.8	0.5
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL	440,888	1	1	0	4,307	4,843	536	6.9	6.6	-0.3	26.1	27.8	1.7	2.5	3.8	1.3
Fort Pierce-Port St. Lucie, FL	319,426	3	3	0	13,459	11,423	-2,036	25.5	16.7	-8.7	57.9	47.5	-10.5	9.6	7.6	-2.0

MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	Total Area Population	High-Poverty Census Tracts			Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics		
	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Fort Smith, AR-OK	207,290	2	0	-2	1,853	0	-1,853	2.6	0.0	-2.6	11.5	0.0	-11.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fort Walton Beach, FL	170,498	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fort Wayne, IN	502,141	4	2	-2	5,080	2,371	-2,709	7.1	3.2	-3.9	25.9	10.5	-15.5	2.4	1.8	-0.6
Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	1,702,625	13	8	-5	34,385	17,997	-16,388	10.3	4.2	-6.0	25.3	13.2	-12.1	8.4	2.3	-6.1
Fresno, CA	922,516	15	27	12	87,293	147,298	60,005	25.1	33.6	8.4	36.5	43.3	6.8	23.1	35.7	12.6
Gadsden, AL	103,459	1	2	1	1,482	4,271	2,789	4.2	11.4	7.2	5.6	26.0	20.4	0.0	2.0	2.0
Gainesville, FL	217,955	7	7	0	45,583	44,894	-689	44.0	43.0	-1.0	32.8	26.2	-6.5	58.5	52.4	-6.1
Galveston-Texas City, TX	250,158	4	2	-2	6,890	4,466	-2,424	11.7	7.4	-4.3	25.3	17.3	-8.0	6.5	5.3	-1.2
Gary, IN	631,362	11	9	-2	21,408	18,631	-2,777	16.2	12.2	-4.0	25.5	22.2	-3.3	16.5	7.9	-8.6
Glens Falls, NY	124,345	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Goldsboro, NC	113,329	1	1	0	495	560	65	1.1	1.2	0.1	1.3	1.1	-0.3	7.7	0.0	-7.7
Grand Forks, ND-MN	97,478	0	1	1	0	5,004	5,004	0.0	8.3	8.3	0.0	3.8	3.8	0.0	6.8	6.8
Grand Junction, CO	116,255	2	0	-2	1,423	0	-1,423	4.0	0.0	-4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.7	0.0	-13.7
Grand Rapids-Muskegon-Holland, MI	1,088,514	9	3	-6	19,281	5,826	-13,455	10.4	2.8	-7.6	32.5	7.2	-25.3	3.2	3.3	0.1
Great Falls, MT	80,357	2	1	-1	2,540	721	-1,819	10.0	3.1	-6.9	15.0	6.0	-9.0	11.1	6.1	-5.0
Greeley, CO	180,936	3	1	-2	8,031	3,462	-4,569	12.4	6.1	-6.3	11.0	6.9	-4.0	10.7	1.9	-8.8
Green Bay, WI	226,778	0	1	1	0	1,949	1,949	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Greensboro-Winston-Salem-High Point, NC	1,251,509	6	6	0	18,026	18,314	288	7.4	5.7	-1.7	17.2	11.8	-5.4	2.3	5.2	2.9
Greenville, NC	133,798	1	3	2	8,564	17,290	8,726	15.9	28.7	12.7	26.0	23.0	-3.0	0.0	8.9	8.9
Greenville-Spartanburg-Anderson, SC	962,441	9	8	-1	18,520	19,883	1,363	8.8	7.5	-1.2	13.7	12.2	-1.5	2.0	1.2	-0.8
Hagerstown, MD	131,923	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hamilton-Middletown, OH	332,807	4	2	-2	20,704	12,681	-8,023	24.9	15.9	-9.0	44.2	1.4	-42.8	28.7	13.2	-15.5
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA	629,401	1	2	1	5,658	6,519	861	6.4	5.9	-0.4	19.9	16.9	-3.0	15.5	15.8	0.3
Hartford, CT	1,183,110	11	8	-3	27,515	19,766	-7,749	18.2	10.0	-8.2	31.3	16.5	-14.8	36.0	18.7	-17.4
Hattiesburg, MS	111,674	5	4	-1	17,205	14,434	-2,771	33.5	23.1	-10.5	57.1	38.4	-18.7	36.1	23.6	-12.5
Hickory-Morganton-Lenoir, NC	341,851	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Honolulu, HI	876,156	5	6	1	6,911	7,715	804	6.3	4.8	-1.5	2.2	7.1	4.9	5.7	2.0	-3.7
Houma, LA	194,477	2	1	-1	9,521	2,493	-7,028	9.4	3.2	-6.3	21.6	7.8	-13.8	4.0	0.0	-4.0
Houston, TX	4,177,646	51	24	-27	162,487	84,825	-77,662	15.1	6.2	-8.9	28.0	17.1	-10.9	13.1	2.8	-10.3
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH	315,538	5	3	-2	12,063	5,437	-6,626	7.7	3.7	-4.0	4.6	2.3	-2.3	13.3	4.3	-9.0
Huntsville, AL	342,376	4	4	0	10,572	8,490	-2,082	16.8	11.8	-5.0	30.1	21.5	-8.6	14.1	7.9	-6.1
Indianapolis, IN	1,607,486	10	3	-7	24,384	5,341	-19,043	7.3	1.6	-5.7	18.6	4.2	-14.5	0.4	0.3	-0.2
Iowa City, IA	111,006	4	3	-1	14,638	14,124	-514	36.6	39.4	2.8	27.4	8.8	-18.6	30.0	26.3	-3.7
Jackson, MI	158,422	4	2	-2	8,438	3,850	-4,588	24.2	12.1	-12.2	59.4	33.9	-25.5	22.0	16.0	-6.0
Jackson, MS	440,801	17	8	-9	51,965	21,368	-30,597	33.4	12.9	-20.5	40.9	16.1	-24.8	24.9	4.6	-20.2
Jackson, TN	107,377	4	3	-1	9,829	7,721	-2,108	28.8	20.1	-8.7	43.6	31.6	-12.0	50.7	0.0	-50.7
Jacksonville, FL	1,100,491	12	7	-5	27,005	18,603	-8,402	11.8	6.8	-4.9	21.1	13.2	-7.8	6.8	1.0	-5.7
Jacksonville, NC	150,355	0	1	1	0	1,255	1,255	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	8.0	8.0	0.0	1.4	1.4
Jamestown, NY	139,750	3	0	-3	9,086	0	-9,086	14.7	0.0	-14.7	26.2	0.0	-26.2	7.7	0.0	-7.7
Janesville-Beloit, WI	152,307	1	0	-1	557	0	-557	1.7	0.0	-1.7	3.0	0.0	-3.0	4.1	0.0	-4.1
Jersey City, NJ	608,975	2	2	0	8,445	6,496	-1,949	4.8	3.3	-1.5	16.5	13.1	-3.3	2.0	0.8	-1.2
Johnson City-Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA	480,091	1	1	0	53	2,042	1,989	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Johnstown, PA	232,621	2	0	-2	3,948	0	-3,948	5.7	0.0	-5.7	31.1	0.0	-31.1	19.3	0.0	-19.3
Jonesboro, AR	82,148	0	1	1	0	5,629	5,629	0.0	16.1	16.1	0.0	36.1	36.1	0.0	44.7	44.7
Joplin, MO	157,322	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI	452,851	9	4	-5	31,175	19,317	-11,858	21.4	11.2	-10.2	37.5	8.1	-29.4	17.5	11.6	-5.9
Kankakee, IL	103,833	2	0	-2	5,979	0	-5,979	24.6	0.0	-24.6	49.6	0.0	-49.6	9.4	0.0	-9.4
Kansas City, MO-KS	1,776,062	24	13	-11	31,896	16,576	-15,320	9.9	4.7	-5.2	19.3	10.7	-8.6	19.9	3.1	-16.8
Kenosha, WI	149,577	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Killeen-Temple, TX	312,952	2	1	-1	5,396	1,730	-3,666	6.4	2.2	-4.2	15.9	2.2	-13.7	6.2	2.5	-3.7
Knoxville, TN	687,249	8	10	2	24,959	26,573	1,614	11.5	12.0	0.5	37.0	26.2	-10.9	8.2	16.8	8.6
Kokomo, IN	101,541	1	0	-1	309	0	-309	1.4	0.0	-1.4	0.8	0.0	-0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
La Crosse, WI-MN	126,838	2	2	0	10,305	10,057	-248	26.5	23.8	-2.7	15.9	10.9	-5.0	12.0	28.2	16.3
Lafayette, IN	182,821	6	4	-2	26,354	18,128	-8,226	38.2	33.4	-4.8	32.2	10.9	-21.3	43.1	11.8	-31.3
Lafayette, LA	385,647	16	6	-10	62,027	28,049	-33,978	30.2	15.4	-14.8	45.5	24.5	-21.0	11.9	6.0	-5.9

MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	Total Area Population	High-Poverty Census Tracts			Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics		
	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Lake Charles, LA	183,577	5	1	-4	11,988	1,820	-10,168	19.1	3.2	-15.9	38.2	6.7	-31.5	16.7	0.0	-16.7
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	483,924	1	2	1	2,650	2,833	183	2.5	2.5	-0.1	7.9	5.1	-2.7	0.5	1.9	1.5
Lancaster, PA	470,658	2	1	-1	5,424	3,555	-1,869	7.4	4.0	-3.3	31.0	14.3	-16.7	23.6	10.4	-13.2
Lansing-East Lansing, MI	447,728	8	5	-3	19,368	18,676	-692	19.2	12.9	-6.4	22.1	5.2	-16.9	16.4	5.0	-11.3
Laredo, TX	193,117	13	9	-4	66,005	41,978	-24,027	64.8	34.1	-30.7	43.9	58.7	14.8	65.2	34.5	-30.7
Las Cruces, NM	174,682	4	3	-1	24,945	18,551	-6,394	28.1	16.9	-11.2	11.5	20.2	8.7	32.6	16.4	-16.3
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	1,563,282	5	2	-3	12,851	3,536	-9,315	7.0	0.8	-6.2	20.3	3.6	-16.7	0.9	0.5	-0.4
Lawrence, KS	99,962	2	2	0	11,941	12,698	757	25.0	23.4	-1.6	13.8	29.8	16.0	23.0	29.3	6.3
Lawrence, MA-NH	396,230	5	1	-4	12,656	1,818	-10,838	18.2	2.4	-15.8	25.4	5.9	-19.5	32.3	3.7	-28.6
Lawton, OK	114,996	1	2	1	2,410	2,510	100	8.7	5.8	-3.0	24.2	9.1	-15.0	3.8	5.1	1.2
Lewiston-Auburn, ME	90,830	1	1	0	1,613	1,321	-292	7.3	6.1	-1.2	16.9	0.0	-16.9	25.0	0.0	-25.0
Lexington, KY	479,198	5	7	2	18,214	17,749	-465	10.3	12.3	2.1	21.2	17.8	-3.4	3.4	6.1	2.7
Lima, OH	155,084	4	1	-3	6,771	1,648	-5,123	18.7	4.5	-14.3	44.8	8.1	-36.6	0.0	6.4	6.4
Lincoln, NE	250,291	3	2	-1	3,674	5,257	1,583	8.8	0.2	-8.5	13.1	0.0	-13.1	7.3	0.0	-7.3
Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	583,845	4	3	-1	13,167	4,808	-8,359	8.8	3.3	-5.4	18.3	6.4	-11.9	3.6	1.9	-1.6
Longview-Marshall, TX	208,780	3	0	-3	3,480	0	-3,480	4.3	0.0	-4.3	6.7	0.0	-6.7	2.0	0.0	-2.0
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	9,519,338	56	137	81	267,666	560,025	292,359	9.0	14.9	5.9	17.3	21.3	4.1	9.1	16.9	7.8
Louisville, KY-IN	1,025,598	11	12	1	35,277	38,160	2,883	17.4	17.9	0.6	35.8	40.0	4.2	7.4	10.4	3.1
Lowell, MA-NH	301,686	5	1	-4	12,768	2,754	-10,014	22.4	5.8	-16.5	21.8	10.8	-11.0	29.0	13.2	-15.8
Lubbock, TX	242,628	8	2	-6	19,428	5,625	-13,803	21.6	5.6	-16.1	40.4	5.9	-34.5	26.1	6.0	-20.1
Lynchburg, VA	214,911	3	2	-1	5,133	1,282	-3,851	7.9	0.8	-7.1	17.6	0.8	-16.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Macon, GA	322,549	11	9	-2	22,380	16,447	-5,933	20.7	14.9	-5.8	25.3	19.1	-6.2	3.7	7.2	3.5
Madison, WI	426,526	4	3	-1	27,744	23,022	-4,722	29.7	25.1	-4.6	8.6	5.5	-3.1	20.4	10.6	-9.8
Manchester, NH	198,378	0	1	1	0	2,385	2,385	0.0	7.1	7.1	0.0	5.7	5.7	0.0	13.6	13.6
Mansfield, OH	175,818	3	0	-3	3,474	0	-3,474	7.1	0.0	-7.1	22.6	0.0	-22.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	569,463	37	36	-1	234,467	262,584	28,117	74.5	60.6	-13.9	70.9	47.5	-23.4	75.8	61.4	-14.4
Medford-Ashland, OR	181,269	1	0	-1	1,904	0	-1,904	4.0	0.0	-4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	-5.9
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL	476,230	1	1	0	4,268	3,530	-738	5.8	3.4	-2.4	20.3	12.6	-7.7	6.0	1.6	-4.5
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	1,135,614	51	40	-11	142,060	80,136	-61,924	39.3	21.5	-17.8	48.9	28.0	-20.9	22.0	2.4	-19.6
Merced, CA	210,554	3	4	1	17,255	15,578	-1,677	21.1	16.6	-4.5	27.4	23.5	-3.9	19.0	15.1	-3.9
Miami, FL	2,253,362	33	31	-2	148,083	122,274	-25,809	20.7	14.2	-6.6	40.7	30.6	-10.0	11.4	7.0	-4.4
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	1,169,641	0	3	3	0	14,020	14,020	0.0	6.9	6.9	0.0	2.3	2.3	0.0	2.4	2.4
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	1,500,741	59	43	-16	140,825	77,468	-63,357	43.3	21.9	-21.4	64.6	38.7	-25.9	54.9	5.3	-49.6
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	2,968,806	33	15	-18	79,048	47,043	-32,005	17.3	8.6	-8.7	33.3	13.0	-20.3	18.2	5.9	-12.3
Missoula, MT	95,802	1	1	0	2,268	2,083	-185	6.2	6.5	0.3	40.3	0.0	-40.3	7.9	4.2	-3.7
Mobile, AL	540,258	26	16	-10	59,438	35,798	-23,640	33.9	21.1	-12.8	54.7	36.4	-18.3	6.1	10.0	3.9
Modesto, CA	446,997	3	2	-1	3,327	9,370	6,043	3.2	5.8	2.6	4.8	9.4	4.6	3.4	7.1	3.7
Monmouth-Ocean, NJ	1,126,217	4	3	-1	2,863	11,977	9,114	1.4	7.5	6.1	3.1	7.4	4.3	3.2	6.7	3.5
Monroe, LA	147,250	12	11	-1	34,782	26,612	-8,170	54.5	42.7	-11.9	76.6	62.0	-14.6	16.8	19.6	2.8
Montgomery, AL	333,055	10	6	-4	33,347	17,779	-15,568	34.1	19.7	-14.4	43.2	24.8	-18.4	18.5	11.9	-6.6
Muncie, IN	118,769	4	4	0	11,175	13,893	2,718	27.8	26.7	-1.2	13.7	10.5	-3.2	21.5	39.1	17.6
Myrtle Beach, SC	196,629	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Naples, FL	251,377	2	2	0	7,956	8,087	131	27.8	14.2	-13.6	84.7	41.8	-42.9	37.5	18.2	-19.3
Nashua, NH	190,949	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nashville, TN	1,231,311	11	7	-4	32,834	22,064	-10,770	14.9	7.8	-7.1	34.7	19.8	-14.9	17.1	1.2	-15.9
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	2,753,913	2	1	-1	8,814	184	-8,630	0.5	0.0	-0.5	0.5	0.0	-0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
New Bedford, MA	175,198	0	2	2	0	4,344	4,344	0.0	8.5	8.5	0.0	15.4	15.4	0.0	15.7	15.7
New Haven-Meriden, CT	542,149	3	3	0	5,050	11,796	6,746	5.5	8.7	3.2	8.5	11.7	3.2	11.2	14.9	3.7
New London-Norwich, CT-RI	293,566	2	0	-2	328	0	-328	0.7	0.0	-0.7	2.2	0.0	-2.2	3.4	0.0	-3.4
New Orleans, LA	1,337,726	67	49	-18	165,751	108,419	-57,332	33.7	22.1	-11.6	47.1	31.2	-15.9	10.8	6.7	-4.0
New York, NY	9,314,235	279	253	-26	960,292	945,255	-15,037	31.3	24.9	-6.4	40.1	32.5	-7.6	40.9	32.2	-8.7
Newark, NJ	2,032,989	21	24	3	49,189	55,984	6,795	13.2	12.4	-0.8	21.2	20.3	-0.8	12.3	11.5	-0.8
Newburgh, NY-PA	387,669	3	2	-1	13,853	14,367	514	24.6	21.6	-3.0	33.9	0.1	-33.7	18.3	0.0	-18.3
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	1,569,541	24	18	-6	61,274	45,544	-15,730	20.1	14.1	-6.1	29.9	22.3	-7.6	6.2	5.0	-1.2
Oakland, CA	2,392,557	9	12	3	29,610	33,725	4,115	6.0	6.4	0.3	10.2	9.1	-1.1	6.4	2.6	-3.8

MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	Total Area Population	High-Poverty Census Tracts			Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks			Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics		
	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Ocala, FL	258,916	2	1	-1	6,522	2,079	-4,443	11.0	2.6	-8.3	32.7	9.2	-23.5	2.9	5.0	2.1
Odessa-Midland, TX	237,132	7	0	-7	22,320	0	-22,320	25.8	0.0	-25.8	44.6	0.0	-44.6	33.2	0.0	-33.2
Oklahoma City, OK	1,083,346	24	21	-3	39,420	35,085	-4,335	13.1	9.5	-3.7	22.3	9.6	-12.7	19.4	18.5	-1.0
Olympia, WA	207,355	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Omaha, NE-IA	716,998	8	3	-5	16,825	7,400	-9,425	12.2	4.2	-7.9	34.6	12.7	-21.8	10.9	0.7	-10.3
Orange County, CA	2,846,289	1	2	1	95	2,974	2,879	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Orlando, FL	1,644,561	5	5	0	16,773	19,740	2,967	6.5	5.3	-1.2	18.4	11.3	-7.0	1.0	1.6	0.6
Owensboro, KY	91,545	1	0	-1	3,282	0	-3,282	10.6	0.0	-10.6	43.8	0.0	-43.8	10.0	0.0	-10.0
Panama City, FL	148,217	2	1	-1	4,600	1,680	-2,920	9.5	3.7	-5.8	28.6	5.1	-23.4	1.9	3.2	1.3
Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH	151,237	0	1	1	0	724	724	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	7.8	7.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pensacola, FL	412,153	7	2	-5	14,132	6,525	-7,607	12.2	5.2	-7.0	26.9	11.8	-15.1	1.9	3.8	1.9
Peoria-Pekin, IL	347,387	6	7	1	10,779	13,658	2,879	15.9	19.0	3.0	43.8	41.7	-2.1	26.5	32.4	5.9
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	5,100,931	70	67	-3	241,863	240,926	-937	23.0	19.6	-3.4	31.0	23.6	-7.5	61.6	49.5	-12.1
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	3,251,876	27	30	3	92,673	91,844	-829	15.2	10.5	-4.7	25.7	15.4	-10.3	21.3	12.2	-9.1
Pine Bluff, AR	84,278	5	2	-3	13,513	6,421	-7,092	30.0	14.4	-15.6	38.0	18.3	-19.7	45.7	2.1	-43.7
Pittsburgh, PA	2,358,695	42	26	-16	74,898	48,076	-26,822	13.3	8.5	-4.7	45.3	24.6	-20.7	12.0	9.3	-2.7
Pittsfield, MA	84,699	1	0	-1	32	0	-32	0.4	0.0	-0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Pocatello, ID	75,565	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Portland, ME	243,537	2	0	-2	2,366	0	-2,366	5.9	0.0	-5.9	2.7	0.0	-2.7	3.2	0.0	-3.2
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	1,918,009	10	4	-6	15,304	8,189	-7,115	4.4	1.7	-2.7	23.4	1.9	-21.5	4.6	0.6	-4.0
Portsmouth-Rochester, NH-ME	240,698	0	1	1	0	7,564	7,564	0.0	8.2	8.2	0.0	5.3	5.3	0.0	6.6	6.6
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	1,188,613	5	8	3	9,425	31,611	22,186	3.5	9.6	6.1	19.7	22.1	2.4	7.5	21.0	13.5
Provo-Orem, UT	368,536	3	5	2	28,148	26,301	-1,847	30.0	28.9	-1.2	38.2	28.5	-9.8	27.9	13.3	-14.7
Pueblo, CO	141,472	5	1	-4	8,051	1,419	-6,632	14.1	0.5	-13.6	17.1	2.6	-14.5	15.8	0.1	-15.7
Punta Gorda, FL	141,627	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Racine, WI	188,831	2	1	-1	4,602	623	-3,979	13.0	1.9	-11.1	22.0	1.5	-20.5	12.9	0.0	-12.9
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	1,187,941	8	6	-2	23,369	20,621	-2,748	7.3	5.3	-2.0	12.3	8.4	-3.9	3.2	0.5	-2.8
Rapid City, SD	88,565	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Reading, PA	373,638	2	4	2	7,076	14,023	6,947	12.4	18.8	6.4	20.2	25.1	4.9	34.1	34.5	0.4
Redding, CA	163,256	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Reno, NV	339,486	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA	191,822	1	0	-1	3,877	0	-3,877	8.1	0.0	-8.1	21.8	0.0	-21.8	17.5	0.0	-17.5
Richmond-Petersburg, VA	996,512	10	6	-4	24,415	19,308	-5,107	15.5	10.4	-5.1	22.7	14.6	-8.2	3.0	3.9	0.8
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	3,254,821	6	18	12	22,523	81,192	58,669	3.2	7.7	4.5	5.7	12.3	6.6	4.4	8.9	4.5
Roanoke, VA	235,932	2	3	1	4,929	4,053	-876	8.9	6.0	-2.8	23.8	9.7	-14.1	22.0	16.8	-5.2
Rochester, MN	124,277	1	0	-1	850	0	-850	0.1	0.0	-0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rochester, NY	1,098,201	20	20	0	33,510	43,499	9,989	15.4	16.6	1.2	33.3	33.8	0.5	38.7	31.9	-6.8
Rockford, IL	371,236	3	2	-1	9,676	6,463	-3,213	16.2	8.6	-7.6	41.3	20.2	-21.1	7.1	8.4	1.3
Rocky Mount, NC	143,026	1	2	1	331	743	412	0.6	1.5	0.9	0.8	2.0	1.2	0.0	0.3	0.3
Sacramento, CA	1,628,197	5	6	1	18,294	26,602	8,308	5.3	5.4	0.1	8.6	8.0	-0.6	6.9	7.8	1.0
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI	403,070	10	6	-4	25,492	16,345	-9,147	22.6	16.1	-6.6	63.9	44.2	-19.7	30.0	17.0	-13.0
Salem, OR	347,214	0	1	1	0	3,388	3,388	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4
Salinas, CA	401,762	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	1,333,914	6	4	-2	7,456	5,864	-1,592	3.8	2.7	-1.2	22.9	11.7	-11.2	9.4	4.2	-5.1
San Angelo, TX	104,010	2	1	-1	2,778	1,579	-1,199	8.7	4.9	-3.7	42.7	8.2	-34.6	7.7	6.8	-0.8
San Antonio, TX	1,592,383	31	13	-18	152,936	45,664	-107,272	28.9	8.0	-20.9	28.4	14.4	-14.0	35.3	8.9	-26.4
San Diego, CA	2,813,833	8	18	10	38,644	71,918	33,274	6.3	9.1	2.7	15.4	13.0	-2.4	10.2	12.5	2.3
San Francisco, CA	1,731,183	4	1	-3	12,127	4,649	-7,478	3.7	1.7	-2.0	17.1	10.2	-6.9	0.6	0.1	-0.5
San Jose, CA	1,682,585	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
San Luis Obispo-Atascadero-Paso Robles, CA	246,681	1	3	2	9,292	9,598	306	13.0	12.1	-0.8	10.2	8.0	-2.3	7.3	5.4	-2.0
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA	399,347	4	4	0	19,857	20,671	814	18.7	17.2	-1.5	11.8	10.7	-1.0	5.1	5.6	0.5
Santa Cruz-Watsonville, CA	255,602	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Santa Fe, NM	147,635	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Santa Rosa, CA	458,614	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	589,959	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Savannah, GA	293,000	11	8	-3	15,060	10,121	-4,939	20.9	13.0	-7.9	28.8	18.3	-10.5	3.5	5.1	1.6

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	2000	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change	1990	2000	Change
Scranton—Wilkes-Barre—Hazleton, PA	624,776	2	2	0	3,483	8,568	5,085	2.2	3.7	1.5	13.1	6.6	-6.5	0.0	5.9	5.9
Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	2,414,616	9	4	-5	24,775	14,646	-10,129	5.0	2.4	-2.6	6.8	3.4	-3.3	8.1	1.3	-6.8
Sharon, PA	120,293	3	2	-1	4,363	2,407	-1,956	13.5	8.7	-4.7	61.8	31.6	-30.2	21.3	47.1	25.8
Sheboygan, WI	112,646	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Sherman-Denison, TX	110,595	1	0	-1	325	0	-325	1.2	0.0	-1.2	2.8	0.0	-2.8	4.0	0.0	-4.0
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA	392,302	18	18	0	59,130	40,741	-18,389	35.4	25.2	-10.2	47.0	32.0	-15.0	15.2	17.1	1.9
Sioux City, IA-NE	124,130	2	1	-1	4,517	51	-4,466	13.6	0.2	-13.3	27.6	0.0	-27.6	25.0	0.6	-24.4
Sioux Falls, SD	172,412	1	0	-1	1,252	0	-1,252	5.2	0.0	-5.2	4.7	0.0	-4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
South Bend, IN	265,559	1	0	-1	1,525	0	-1,525	3.0	0.0	-3.0	7.1	0.0	-7.1	3.1	0.0	-3.1
Spokane, WA	417,939	6	1	-5	6,766	2,203	-4,563	5.9	2.0	-3.8	5.9	4.3	-1.5	4.9	1.7	-3.1
Springfield, IL	201,437	2	1	-1	4,000	1,818	-2,182	10.8	5.9	-5.0	28.4	13.9	-14.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Springfield, MA	591,932	11	11	0	43,814	34,957	-8,857	28.7	21.7	-7.0	39.9	21.6	-18.3	59.1	43.2	-15.9
Springfield, MO	325,721	4	2	-2	13,163	6,046	-7,117	11.2	3.6	-7.6	31.5	4.6	-26.9	10.9	7.1	-3.8
St. Cloud, MN	167,392	3	1	-2	12,172	1,102	-11,070	22.9	1.1	-21.8	6.5	3.2	-3.2	19.8	1.0	-18.8
St. Joseph, MO	102,490	2	0	-2	4,132	0	-4,132	12.7	0.0	-12.7	39.5	0.0	-39.5	3.5	0.0	-3.5
St. Louis, MO-IL	2,603,607	39	26	-13	109,516	70,650	-38,866	20.5	13.0	-7.5	39.1	23.8	-15.3	12.8	5.2	-7.6
Stamford-Norwalk, CT	353,556	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
State College, PA	135,758	5	6	1	23,679	28,955	5,276	52.1	49.5	-2.6	54.5	36.6	-17.9	28.6	55.1	26.5
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV	132,008	4	2	-2	5,756	3,330	-2,426	12.5	8.2	-4.4	57.6	33.9	-23.7	7.8	13.9	6.1
Stockton-Lodi, CA	563,598	5	7	2	25,858	34,504	8,646	15.2	15.5	0.3	22.3	24.4	2.1	18.1	15.7	-2.4
Sumter, SC	104,646	3	0	-3	10,545	0	-10,545	22.1	0.0	-22.1	27.3	0.0	-27.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Syracuse, NY	732,117	14	12	-2	38,150	34,670	-3,480	20.4	16.9	-3.5	56.5	42.0	-14.5	48.1	46.5	-1.5
Tacoma, WA	700,820	5	3	-2	12,688	8,180	-4,508	10.0	4.7	-5.4	16.5	7.3	-9.2	6.8	1.9	-4.8
Tallahassee, FL	284,539	10	9	-1	36,036	43,439	7,403	34.2	39.8	5.6	33.3	34.2	0.9	38.2	41.8	3.7
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2,395,997	16	11	-5	40,956	29,465	-11,491	9.1	5.5	-3.5	29.1	17.8	-11.4	7.3	4.7	-2.6
Terre Haute, IN	149,192	2	2	0	3,006	5,501	2,495	6.5	5.9	-0.5	9.7	19.9	10.2	10.0	3.9	-6.1
Texarkana, TX-Texarkana, AR	129,749	2	3	1	4,587	8,327	3,740	12.2	16.2	4.0	23.8	28.6	4.8	0.0	11.6	11.6
Toledo, OH	618,203	20	9	-11	53,392	23,381	-30,011	25.1	10.6	-14.5	37.2	18.8	-18.4	28.2	9.0	-19.1
Topeka, KS	169,871	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Trenton, NJ	350,761	1	2	1	5,110	4,829	-281	7.9	7.6	-0.3	8.4	10.4	2.0	25.1	12.1	-13.0
Tucson, AZ	843,746	13	8	-5	52,879	28,962	-23,917	21.1	8.5	-12.6	22.0	3.5	-18.6	22.6	5.9	-16.7
Tulsa, OK	803,235	11	6	-5	29,066	14,328	-14,738	13.3	6.7	-6.5	35.2	18.8	-16.3	12.1	4.2	-7.9
Tuscaloosa, AL	164,875	6	3	-3	26,988	10,712	-16,276	34.6	16.1	-18.5	37.0	6.1	-30.9	49.5	16.9	-32.6
Tyler, TX	174,706	4	0	-4	10,105	0	-10,105	18.1	0.0	-18.1	29.3	0.0	-29.3	30.0	0.0	-30.0
Utica-Rome, NY	299,896	4	6	2	3,094	9,165	6,071	4.6	10.7	6.2	20.4	37.1	16.7	6.2	14.4	8.3
Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA	518,821	1	1	0	96	1,096	1,000	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.1	-0.7
Ventura, CA	753,197	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Victoria, TX	84,088	2	0	-2	4,373	0	-4,373	15.6	0.0	-15.6	29.8	0.0	-29.8	17.8	0.0	-17.8
Vineland-Millville-Bridgeton, NJ	146,438	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	368,021	4	6	2	18,606	29,782	11,176	11.6	14.4	2.8	7.5	12.3	4.8	11.7	15.7	4.0
Waco, TX	213,517	9	7	-2	33,038	24,695	-8,343	40.8	30.8	-10.0	57.0	23.9	-33.2	28.4	23.5	-4.9
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	4,923,153	10	24	14	20,609	77,563	56,954	3.3	7.6	4.3	6.3	15.0	8.7	1.0	0.4	-0.6
Waterbury, CT	228,984	1	1	0	253	4,788	4,535	0.7	9.1	8.4	0.7	9.5	8.8	1.0	12.9	11.9
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA	128,012	2	1	-1	3,461	8,170	4,709	9.3	11.1	1.8	25.4	0.1	-25.3	18.3	2.5	-15.8
Wausau, WI	125,834	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	1,131,184	6	7	1	16,018	19,762	3,744	9.0	7.8	-1.2	21.8	19.2	-2.5	3.3	3.1	-0.2
Wheeling, WV-OH	153,172	0	3	3	0	3,066	3,066	0.0	6.3	6.3	0.0	33.5	33.5	0.0	14.0	14.0
Wichita Falls, TX	140,518	6	0	-6	8,398	0	-8,398	20.5	0.0	-20.5	59.1	0.0	-59.1	27.5	0.0	-27.5
Wichita, KS	545,220	6	2	-4	15,104	5,598	-9,506	13.3	4.9	-8.4	36.3	10.6	-25.8	10.5	3.0	-7.5
Williamsport, PA	120,044	1	1	0	2,326	2,140	-186	8.7	6.1	-2.7	17.0	8.6	-8.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wilmington, NC	233,450	5	2	-3	9,120	4,317	-4,803	17.5	6.2	-11.3	36.8	16.5	-20.3	7.5	6.3	-1.2
Wilmington-Newark, DE-MD	586,216	3	5	2	4,470	16,819	12,349	5.3	13.4	8.1	13.2	18.0	4.8	1.3	12.6	11.3
Worcester, MA-CT	511,389	4	5	1	8,413	8,585	172	10.2	7.9	-2.3	21.8	9.2	-12.6	28.4	19.6	-8.8
Yakima, WA	222,581	4	2	-2	21,179	12,439	-8,740	23.5	11.5	-12.0	32.5	17.7	-14.8	24.5	13.6	-10.9
Yolo, CA	168,660	1	1	0	6,330	6,619	289	8.6	6.1	-2.5	2.8	4.8	2.0	3.6	2.2	-1.3
York, PA	381,751	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

MSA/PMSA/Balance of State Name	Total Area Population 2000	High-Poverty Census Tracts 1990	High-Poverty Census Tracts 2000	High-Poverty Census Tracts Change	Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts 1990	Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts 2000	Population in High-Poverty Census Tracts Change	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total 1990	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total 2000	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Total Change	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks 1990	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks 2000	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Blacks Change	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics 1990	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics 2000	Concentrated Poverty Rate: Hispanics Change
Youngstown-Warren, OH	594,746	19	6	-13	35,651	7,582	-28,069	20.2	4.3	-15.8	51.7	11.2	-40.5	49.2	3.6	-45.6
Yuba City, CA	139,149	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Yuma, AZ	160,026	3	1	-2	9,574	4,713	-4,861	19.6	7.3	-12.3	15.5	14.4	-1.1	24.0	8.9	-15.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Alabama	1,338,141	33	14	-19	102,111	43,746	-58,365	17.1	6.9	-10.2	31.6	13.2	-18.4	20.3	2.7	-17.7
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Alaska	366,649	1	0	-1	1,522	0	-1,522	1.9	0.0	-1.9	0.4	0.0	-0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Arizona	603,632	22	19	-3	91,119	81,934	-9,185	45.1	32.1	-12.9	10.0	7.8	-2.2	18.6	9.2	-9.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Arkansas	1,352,381	22	6	-16	94,024	25,490	-68,534	15.6	4.2	-11.3	37.4	11.4	-26.0	14.3	0.6	-13.7
Non-Metropolitan Areas in California	1,121,254	3	3	0	9,207	15,553	6,346	2.7	3.6	0.9	12.2	10.3	-1.9	3.4	5.7	2.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Colorado	693,605	4	0	-4	5,043	0	-5,043	2.9	0.0	-2.9	4.1	0.0	-4.1	6.2	0.0	-6.2
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Connecticut	148,665	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Delaware	156,638	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Florida	1,144,881	2	1	-1	4,831	3,908	-923	1.5	0.9	-0.6	4.7	3.4	-1.2	0.4	0.2	-0.2
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Georgia	2,519,789	13	13	0	52,027	48,303	-3,724	5.4	5.2	-0.3	8.2	8.4	0.2	2.9	2.6	-0.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Hawaii	335,381	2	1	-1	370	147	-223	0.6	0.1	-0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	-0.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Idaho	786,043	2	2	0	11,443	10,977	-466	5.6	5.7	0.1	6.1	1.8	-4.3	1.2	1.2	-0.1
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Illinois	1,877,585	9	7	-2	41,191	23,361	-17,830	5.3	5.0	-0.4	18.6	11.7	-6.8	7.0	4.9	-2.1
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Indiana	1,690,582	1	0	-1	1,028	0	-1,028	0.3	0.0	-0.3	5.3	0.0	-5.3	0.4	0.0	-0.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Iowa	1,600,191	3	1	-2	12,678	3,307	-9,371	2.5	1.0	-1.4	7.3	0.9	-6.3	4.6	0.3	-4.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Kansas	1,167,355	2	3	1	9,027	12,203	3,176	1.9	3.2	1.3	3.2	2.0	-1.2	1.1	1.1	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Kentucky	2,068,667	52	15	-37	136,283	36,732	-99,551	13.6	4.1	-9.5	9.5	0.5	-9.1	7.0	1.5	-5.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Louisiana	1,098,766	43	20	-23	175,906	76,485	-99,421	27.3	13.2	-14.1	40.0	20.9	-19.1	13.8	7.4	-6.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Maine	808,317	1	0	-1	15	0	-15	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Maryland	385,446	1	0	-1	1,595	0	-1,595	1.7	0.0	-1.7	4.0	0.0	-4.0	5.5	0.0	-5.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Massachusetts	247,672	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Michigan	1,768,978	10	4	-6	34,562	20,761	-13,801	4.7	3.1	-1.6	11.7	10.0	-1.8	2.8	1.7	-1.1
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Minnesota	1,456,119	2	2	0	11,363	11,072	-291	2.3	2.5	0.3	4.3	6.3	2.0	0.6	0.4	-0.2
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Mississippi	1,820,996	77	30	-47	315,974	120,899	-195,075	31.2	13.4	-17.8	41.9	19.2	-22.7	28.3	7.8	-20.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Missouri	1,800,410	8	4	-4	21,546	14,898	-6,648	3.1	1.7	-1.3	16.6	8.2	-8.4	1.8	1.3	-0.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Montana	596,684	7	8	1	19,500	12,161	-7,339	10.0	6.0	-4.0	2.9	0.0	-2.9	8.7	4.0	-4.6
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Nebraska	811,425	0	1	1	0	47	47	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Nevada	250,521	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in New Hampshire	496,087	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in New Mexico	783,991	29	15	-14	90,945	52,403	-38,542	27.9	14.2	-13.7	21.7	6.7	-15.0	9.6	3.1	-6.5
Non-Metropolitan Areas in New York	1,503,399	9	4	-5	20,900	10,692	-10,208	2.8	2.7	-0.1	1.8	2.0	0.1	4.4	2.1	-2.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in North Carolina	2,612,257	10	6	-4	35,012	18,136	-16,876	4.0	2.1	-2.0	7.3	4.2	-3.1	1.9	1.6	-0.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in North Dakota	358,234	6	3	-3	18,100	1,059	-17,041	14.3	1.1	-13.1	0.0	1.6	1.6	8.2	0.6	-7.6
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Ohio	2,139,364	3	4	1	19,186	15,620	-3,566	2.4	2.4	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.1	3.4	1.0	-2.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Oklahoma	1,352,292	15	3	-12	34,710	9,124	-25,586	5.5	1.2	-4.3	21.8	3.7	-18.1	10.0	0.2	-9.8
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Oregon	919,033	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Pennsylvania	1,889,525	2	4	2	12,497	18,576	6,079	1.8	3.2	1.4	17.8	13.8	-4.0	0.4	2.1	1.7
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Rhode Island	61,968	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in South Carolina	1,205,050	4	1	-3	10,445	2,570	-7,875	2.2	0.6	-1.6	2.5	0.9	-1.6	0.7	0.0	-0.7
Non-Metropolitan Areas in South Dakota	493,867	11	19	8	38,227	30,257	-7,970	22.6	21.4	-1.2	11.5	11.5	-0.1	24.1	11.8	-12.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Tennessee	1,827,139	5	2	-3	5,931	5,260	-671	0.9	0.8	-0.1	0.0	0.9	0.9	1.9	2.6	0.6
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Texas	3,159,940	51	26	-25	210,746	109,885	-100,861	16.0	9.0	-7.0	7.0	6.5	-0.5	32.6	16.5	-16.1
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Utah	524,673	1	4	3	3,495	17,709	14,214	4.1	11.9	7.7	0.0	12.5	12.5	0.8	2.1	1.3
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Vermont	439,436	1	0	-1	7	0	-7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Virginia	1,550,447	4	3	-1	22,258	22,778	520	2.9	6.2	3.3	0.2	1.0	0.8	11.0	4.3	-6.7
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Washington	994,967	5	4	-1	17,111	18,051	940	4.7	5.2	0.5	23.4	15.3	-8.1	4.5	1.6	-2.9
Non-Metropolitan Areas in West Virginia	1,042,776	10	6	-4	33,300	19,636	-13,664	5.5	4.0	-1.4	10.3	3.6	-6.7	7.2	5.0	-2.2
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Wisconsin	1,723,367	4	0	-4	12,676	0	-12,676	2.9	0.0	-2.9	1.0	0.0	-1.0	1.4	0.0	-1.4
Non-Metropolitan Areas in Wyoming	345,642	2	1	-1	7,412	3,345	-4,067	8.1	1.5	-6.6	0.0	16.6	16.6	2.0	0.3	-1.6
U.S. Total	**281,421,906**	**3,417**	**2,510**	**-907**	**10,393,954**	**7,946,291**	**-2,447,663**	**15.1**	**10.3**	**-4.8**	**30.4**	**18.6**	**-11.8**	**21.2**	**13.8**	**-7.4**

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Endnotes

1. Paul Jargowsky directs the Bruton Center for Development Studies at the University of Texas at Dallas, and is associate professor of political economy there. He is also a Senior Research Affiliate at the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan. He is the author of *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1997).
2. For a thorough discussion of the trends in concentrated poverty between 1970 and 1990, see Jargowsky (1997), especially chapter 2.
3. Patricia Ruggles, *Drawing the Line: Alternative Poverty Measures and Their Implications for Public Policy* (Washington: Urban Institute Press, 1990).
4. This is known as the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem, and has been studied extensively by geographers. See S. Openshaw and P.J. Taylor, "The Modifiable Areal Unit Problem." In N. Wrigley and R.J. Bennett, eds., *Quantitative Geography: A British View* (London: Routledge, 1981).
5. Sheldon H. Danziger and Peter Gottschalk, "Earnings Inequality, the Spatial Concentration of Poverty, and the Underclass," *American Economic Review* 77 (1987): 211–15; Paul A. 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).
6. In New England, metropolitan areas are built up from subdivisions of counties rather than whole counties. The Census Bureau also defines New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs), which are composed of whole counties.
7. New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMAs) are not considered for the same reasons. Non-metropolitan areas were first completely divided into census tracts in 1990, so Census 2000 provides the first opportunity to conduct a truly nationwide study of the trends in concentrated poverty. For presentation purposes, non-metropolitan neighborhoods are grouped by state, but it should be noted that these areas are residuals and may or may not be contiguous.
8. In New England, census tracts can even cross metropolitan area boundaries.
9. The data in Figure 1 are for metropolitan areas only, as they existed at the time of each census. Nationwide data on neighborhood poverty are not available prior to 1990, because census tracts in non-metropolitan areas were defined for the first time with the release of the 1990 census.
10. Exceptions included metro areas such as Akron, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Youngstown, which despite double-digit decreases in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods had declines of less than 30,000 people living in such neighborhoods.
11. A technical note regarding the maps: For mapping purposes, a consistent set of census tract boundaries is employed. That way, it is possible to show how different areas changed over time. However, for calculating statistics, it is important to have a consistent neighborhood size over time. This is best achieved by using contemporaneous tracts. In view of that, there is not an exact correspondence between the data used for the maps and the data used for the tables and figures presented in the text. For 1990 and earlier years, these maps use data interpolated to the 2000 census tract grid by the Urban Institute and Geolytics, Inc.
12. Robert E. Lang and Patrick A. Simmons, "Boomburbs: The Emergence of Large, Fast-Growing Suburban Cities." In Bruce Katz and Robert E. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2003).
13. During the 1990s, Los Angeles County lost significant white population, at the same time that its Hispanic population grew by nearly 900,000.
14. William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner-City, the Underclass and Public Policy* (University of Chicago Press, 1987); Ronald B. Mincy and Susan J. Weiner, *The Under Class in the 1980s: Changing Concepts, Constant Reality* (Washington: The Urban Institute Press); Danziger and Gottschalk 1987.
15. Unfortunately, due to limitations in the collection of detailed ethnicity for Hispanic subgroups in Census 2000, it is not possible to examine the concentration of poverty among people of Cuban, Puerto Rican, Mexican, etc., ancestry.
16. The 50th state is New Jersey, which does not have any non-metropolitan areas, according to the official census definitions.
17. For recent evidence exploring differences in job seeking in predominantly Hispanic versus predominantly black high-poverty communities, see James R. Elliott and Mario Sims, "Ghettos and Barrios: The Impact of Neighborhood Poverty and Race on Job Matching Among Blacks and Latinos," *Social Problems* 48(3)(2001): 341–361.
18. See Myron Orfield, *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 1996), and Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2002).

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For More Information:

Paul Jargowsky
School of Social Sciences GR 31
University of Texas at Dallas
2601 N. Floyd Rd
Richardson, TX 75080
paul.jargowsky@utdallas.edu

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330 West 108th Street • New York, New York 10025
Tel: 212-663-2078 • Fax: 212-662-1369
www.livingcities.org

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW • Washington D.C. 20036-2188
Tel: 202-797-6000 • Fax: 202-797-6004
www.brookings.edu

CENTER ON URBAN AND METROPOLITAN POLICY
DIRECT: 202-797-6139 • FAX/DIRECT: 202-797-2965
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