



Two Steps Back: City and Suburban Poverty Trends 1999–2005

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“The enduring social and fiscal challenges for cities stemming from high poverty are increasingly shared by their suburbs.”

Findings

An analysis of poverty in cities and suburbs of the nation’s 100 largest metropolitan areas, based on data from the 2005 American Community Survey and Census 2000, indicates that:

- **In 1999 large cities and their suburbs had nearly equal numbers of poor individuals, but by 2005 the suburban poor outnumbered their city counterparts by at least 1 million.** Still, the percentage of all people in poverty rose in both cities and suburbs between 1999 and 2005, following the national trend. In 2005, the poverty rate in large cities (18.8 percent) was twice as high as in suburbs (9.4 percent).
- **Poverty rates rose significantly in Midwestern and Southern metropolitan areas, but remained steady in the West and Northeast.** In the Midwest, where job losses were concentrated in the first half of the decade, poverty rates rose in 18 of 20 metropolitan areas. In the West, by contrast, only seven of 23 metro areas experienced poverty rate increases, and poverty actually fell in five.
- **Nearly half of large cities nationwide saw a significant rise in their poverty rates, versus about one-third of their suburbs.** Six of the ten cities with the largest poverty-rate increases were located in the Midwest, including Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, and Columbus. New York City and the Greater Los Angeles area actually experienced small poverty-rate declines over this period.
- **In cities and suburbs where overall poverty rates rose from 1999 to 2005, child poverty rates rose faster.** In Midwestern and Southern cities, child poverty rates were up by at least 3 percentage points on average. The cities and suburbs of Houston, Dallas, and Cleveland ranked among those experiencing the greatest increases in child poverty during this period.

Economic conditions during the early 2000s brought a rise in poverty nationwide and in many cities and suburbs. Regional impacts, however, have been uneven. These findings emphasize that federal and state labor market supports like the Earned Income Tax Credit and unemployment insurance can act as powerful tools for helping families suffering the effects of economic downturns. At the local level, the enduring social and fiscal challenges for cities that stem from high poverty are increasingly shared by their suburbs. Public and private efforts that give growing suburban poor populations access to economically integrated neighborhoods and in-work supports could enhance economic security and mobility for a significant number of Americans.

Introduction

The first half of the current decade brought economic uncertainty and hardship for many Americans. In stark contrast to the late 1990s, when employment and wages were growing at historic rates, the 2000s have been marked by an economic recession, stagnant wages for many workers, and job losses followed by what some have termed a “jobless recovery.”¹

These negative labor market conditions took a toll on workers and families near the bottom of the earnings and skills distribution. Each year between 2000 and 2004, the proportion of the U.S. population living below the poverty line—equivalent to an income of \$15,753 for a family of three in 2005—rose. It leveled off in 2005, such that 38 million U.S. residents lived in poverty that year, up from 34 million in 1999.²

This paper demonstrates, however, that the impacts of recent economic sluggishness on poverty were uneven across the country, and coincide closely with regional economic patterns. Population and income dynamics meanwhile continue to shift the geography of poverty within major metropolitan areas of the United States. Cities and suburbs have both experienced rising poverty rates, but faster population growth in suburbs has tipped the balance of poor populations towards suburbs. Children have felt the brunt of the economic downturn and slow recovery, experiencing larger increases in poverty than the population at large, in both cities and suburbs.

After reviewing the methodology for the analysis and the data sources used, we evaluate trends in overall urban and suburban poverty from 1999 to 2005. We then probe the regional patterns underlying these movements, paying particular attention to the cities and suburbs that witnessed the greatest increases (or declines) in their

poverty rates. As part of this, we examine the situation in “first suburbs,” a subset of large metropolitan suburbs that represent older communities close to the urban core. Finally, our analysis sheds light on child poverty trends in large cities and suburbs during the first half of the decade, extending previous analysis on this subject.³

This report aims primarily to describe recent poverty trends, and not to explain their root causes or ultimate consequences. Nonetheless, the patterns revealed indicate a great deal about the geography of economic growth and decline in the current decade, and raise important new questions and issues regarding the shifting locations of low-income families in contemporary metropolitan America.

Methodology

About the Data

This study uses data from the 2000 U.S. Census and the 2005 American Community Survey (ACS) to evaluate poverty trends for the largest metropolitan areas in the United States.⁴ The ACS is a relatively new nationwide survey designed to provide annual information on the demographic, social, economic, and housing characteristics of U.S. communities. It will replace the “long form” in decennial censuses in 2010 and beyond. In 2005, it was the largest household survey in the nation, and samples approximately 3 million addresses on an annual basis.⁵

In August 2006, the Census Bureau published results from the 2005 ACS regarding a range of characteristics for geographies with populations of 65,000 or more. In comparing poverty data from the ACS to poverty data from Census 2000, readers should bear in mind two differences between data from these sources.

First, although both surveys produce income and poverty data for the same universe of people (individuals

in households), the time periods reflected in those data are different. Census 2000 was administered in April of 2000 and collected income data for the 1999 calendar year. The ACS surveys a different sample of people each month throughout the year, and asks recipients for information about their income in “the last 12 months”. ACS results then average the 12 months of income data into one estimate for the year, adjusting for inflation that may have occurred from month to month. The family’s income is then compared to the applicable poverty threshold for that period, and its members are identified as below or above poverty based on that comparison.

Because the two surveys ask respondents somewhat different questions about their income, they generate slightly different results for the same populations. On this point, Census Bureau tests revealed that median income estimates derived from Census 2000 slightly exceeded similar estimates from an ACS test survey conducted that same year. However, poverty estimates from Census 2000 and the ACS test survey were statistically the same. Slight variations emerged when poverty rates were calculated for subgroups of individuals (e.g., poverty rates by age group).⁷ While these conclusions largely facilitate the present analysis, reported changes in child poverty rates should be viewed in the context of these findings regarding subgroup estimates.

Second, unlike the Census 2000 long form, which surveyed roughly 17 million households nationwide, the 2005 ACS surveyed about 3 million households. This means that there is less certainty with the ACS than Census 2000 that the resulting poverty estimates represent the true values for the entire U.S. population, or the population in any given sub-geography. In statistical terms, the smaller sample size in the ACS generates a larger *sampling error*.

To appropriately reflect the magnitude of sampling error, the Census Bureau reports *margins of error* alongside ACS estimates. Cited frequently in public opinion poll results, margins of error suggest that a given value (e.g., the proportion of voters favoring a candidate; the proportion of individuals below the poverty line) falls within a range, rather than at a specific point. Reported margins of error in the ACS, and in this report, reflect a 90-percent confidence interval. Roughly interpreted, the 90-percent confidence interval reflects the range in which we have 90-percent confidence that the true value lies.

In each case where we compare 1999 (Census 2000) to 2005 (ACS) poverty estimates, we use standard statistical tests to determine whether those estimates are different from one another. For instance, the poverty rate estimate for the city of Denver in 2005 was 15.3 percent, with a margin of error of (+/-) 1.6 percentage points. Though the estimate was higher than the city's 1999 poverty rate of 14.3 percent, the 1999 rate fell within the margin of error of the 2005 estimate. Thus, we conclude that no change occurred in the Denver poverty rate from 1999 to 2005.⁸

In a couple of instances, we highlight cities or suburbs in which the largest changes in poverty occurred from 1999 to 2005. Although the sampling errors associated with the 2005 ACS make it impossible to know the true extent of change, we calculate a conservative measure of change to identify these places.⁹

A final note: This report compares poverty in 1999, near the peak of the last economic cycle, to poverty in 2005, whose place in the current economic cycle is still undetermined. Thus, the changes viewed here are at least partly cyclical in nature, and we would probably derive different answers if we compared city and suburban poverty in 2005 to that in 1995 (pinpointing a similar amount of time

post-recession). However, no data source is available to estimate city and suburban poverty in 1995. Moreover, 1999 rates provide a useful benchmark for places that seek to achieve continuous improvement in the economic well-being of their residents.

Geographic Definitions

For the purposes of this survey, we analyze the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the United States based on their population in the 2000 decennial census, and defined as Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in 2003. This new system makes significant updates to the metropolitan areas for which Census 2000 data were reported.¹⁰ In order to make poverty estimates from 1999 and 2005 geographically comparable, this study summarizes 1999 poverty data (reported in Census 2000) to correspond to the updated metropolitan boundaries.¹¹

The definition of *central city* employed in this report differs from, and is more restrictive than, the “principal city” concept employed by OMB. For instance, the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA MSA contains 18 principal cities according to OMB guidelines.¹² However, most people regard only the largest and most culturally important cities in each metro area to be “central cities.”

To identify these more prominent cities within the 100 largest metropolitan areas, we use two main criteria. A city is designated as a “central city” if: (1) it is listed first in the official metropolitan area name; or (2) it is listed after the primary city in the metropolitan name and had a population of at least 100,000 as of Census 2000.¹³ As a result, in the Los Angeles example only the three cities included in the MSA name are designated as central cities. In the Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH MSA, only Cleveland is treated as a central city, because neither Elyria nor Mentor had at least

100,000 residents in 2000. We adjust metropolitan area names to reflect only those cities that meet our central-city criteria.¹⁴

To identify the *suburbs* of each metro area, we subtract central-city totals from MSA totals to produce a “residual” total for metropolitan suburbs. Suburban data thus aggregate data for whole counties, and portions of counties lying outside central cities, within individual metropolitan areas. To track differences in poverty trends across the U.S., this study also assesses metropolitan poverty changes by region, using the four Census regions: Northeast, Midwest, South, and West.¹⁵

A portion of our analysis examines poverty levels and trends in *first suburbs* based on recent Brookings research that defines these areas.¹⁶ These first suburbs lay adjacent to major cities in 1950—as either full counties or the county remainder when the city was excluded—and were part of metropolitan areas defined at that time. We analyze these same first suburbs, with the exception of three geographies that are not part of the 100 largest metro areas in 2000.¹⁷

The Poverty Rate

This study details poverty rates for individuals in the top 100 metropolitan areas as well as the central cities and suburbs located within them. The poverty rate represents the proportion of family members and unrelated individuals in a particular place with incomes below the applicable federal poverty threshold.¹⁸ In addition to evaluating poverty rates for all individuals in the selected geographies, this study also examines child poverty rates. Child poverty rates represent the share of family members and unrelated individuals under 18 in families with incomes below the federal poverty level.¹⁹

Poverty as a statistical concept is outdated, as most researchers and the American public realize.²⁰ It fails to

consider the level and full range of expenses that working families incur today, while ignoring some of the important efforts that government makes to alleviate poverty (such as the Earned Income Tax Credit). Nor does it reflect the relative position of the poor in American society as living standards have grown over the past 40 years.²¹ Yet the stability of this measure over time does provide our nation, and its states and cities, with a useful yardstick that measures the ranks of our most economically disadvantaged.

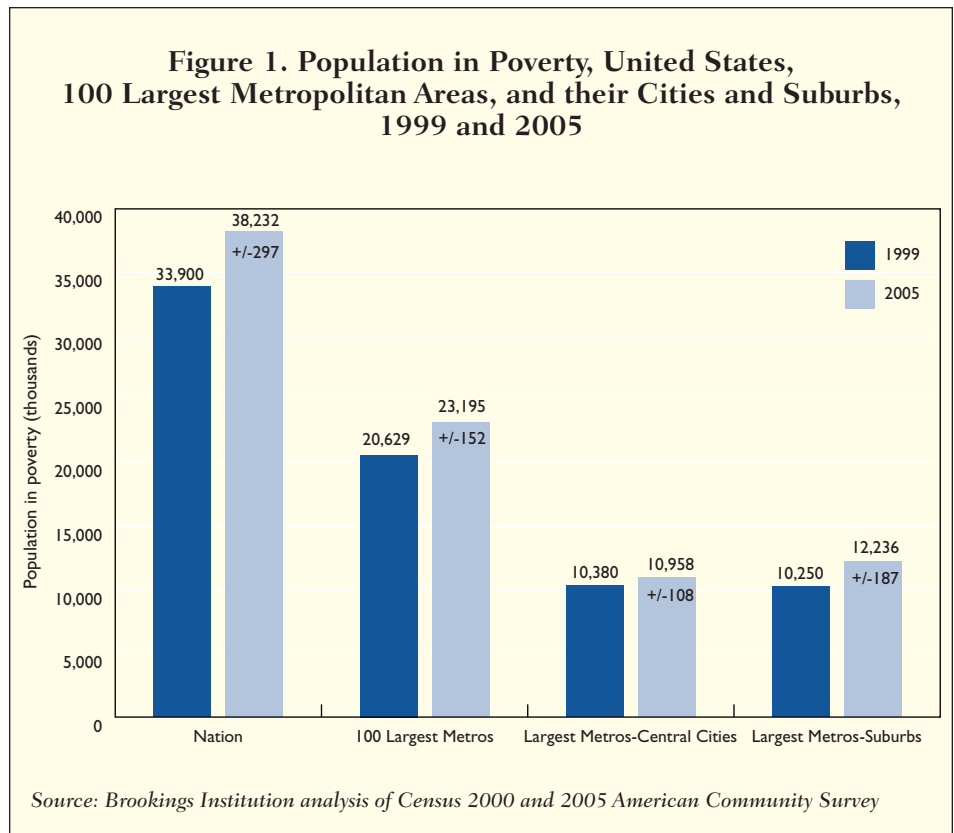
Findings

A. In 1999 large cities and their suburbs had nearly equal numbers of poor individuals, but by 2005 the suburban poor outnumbered their city counterparts by at least 1 million. Traditionally, cities have been viewed as home to poor populations, surrounded by middle- and upper-income suburbs.

This characterization continues to hold true in certain corners of the United States. Increasingly, however, it fails to take account of the rapid growth and diversification occurring in American suburbs. It also overlooks the rise of “Sunbelt” metropolitan areas where the socioeconomic distinctions between cities and suburbs have never loomed as large as they still do in older areas of the Northeast and Midwest.

The 1999-to-2005 period, which brought economic recession and a slow recovery for workers near the bottom, saw a rise in poverty nationwide. At least 4 million more people lived below the poverty line in the United States in 2005 than in 1999 (Figure 1). This growth in the poor population pushed the nation’s poverty rate up by about 1 percentage point, to 13.3 percent in 2005 (Figure 2).

Neither cities nor suburbs were immune to the national trend of growing poor populations over the first half



of the 2000s. As Figure 1 shows, the 100 largest metropolitan areas together accounted for about 60 percent of the nationwide uptick in this measure over the 6-year period, and were home to roughly 23 million poor in 2005.

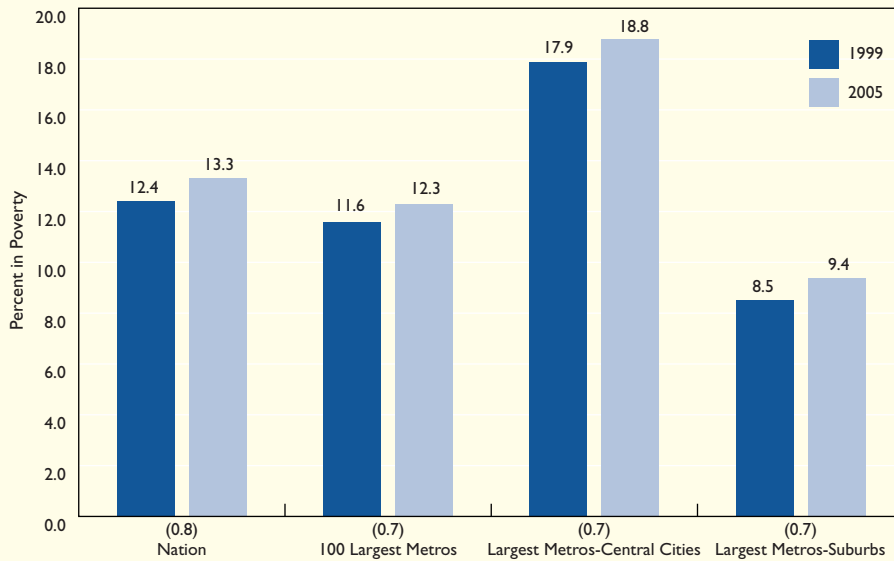
Especially notable, though, is the shifting location of the poor within large metropolitan areas. In 1999, these individuals split almost evenly between central cities (10.4 million) and their suburbs (10.3 million). The total poor population rose in each geographic category from 1999 to 2005, but at a much faster clip in suburbs. Thus, by 2005, the suburban poor outnumbered their central-city counterparts by at least 1 million. Together, the poor in suburbs accounted for about 53 percent of large-metropolitan poor that year.²²

This “tipping” of poor populations to the suburbs represents a signal development that upends historical notions about who lives in cities and

suburbs. As previous research has suggested, the poor—and especially the working poor—figure prominently among suburban populations today (Berube and Frey, 2002; Berube, 2004).²³ Subsequent sections of this paper explore the complicated regional and intra-metropolitan dynamics that underlie this macro-level shift.

Considerably faster growth in the size of the suburban poor, however, has not altered the fact that city residents on average are much more likely to be poor than suburban residents. In fact, the overall poverty-rate change in cities from 1999 to 2005 mirrored that in their suburbs, and further mimicked the national change during that time (Figure 2). Today, the combined poverty rate for all large central cities (18.8 percent) doubles that for their suburbs (9.4 percent). Thus, while poverty is now more suburban than urban in one important respect, cities still claim a disproportionate share of the metropolitan poor.

Figure 2. Poverty Rates for United States, 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, and their Cities and Suburbs, 1999 and 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey
 Figures in parentheses represent the difference between 1999 rate and 2005 lower-bound estimate

B. Poverty rates rose significantly in Midwestern and Southern metropolitan areas, but remained steady in the West and actually fell slightly in Northeastern cities.

The parallel increases in national, metropolitan, city, and suburban poverty rates in recent years mask considerable variation across different regions of the United States. This section examines recent metropolitan poverty changes that have occurred within these geographies in each of the country's major regions.

Why might region matter? For starters, the recent downturn and ongoing restructuring of the national economy have affected some industries more than others, with attendant consequences for areas that depend on those industries. For instance, from 2000 to 2005, the national economy shed roughly 3 million jobs in manufacturing and 400,000 in telecommunications and internet data processing. Meanwhile, employment in finance/

real estate and government continued to expand. Differing regional specializations (e.g., manufacturing in the Rust Belt, internet in the Bay Area, finance in New York) thus shape local labor market conditions. Lower-skilled workers at risk of poverty need not have worked, or sought work, in these particular industries to have experienced the downstream effects of these declines or increases in sectors like retail or hospitality.

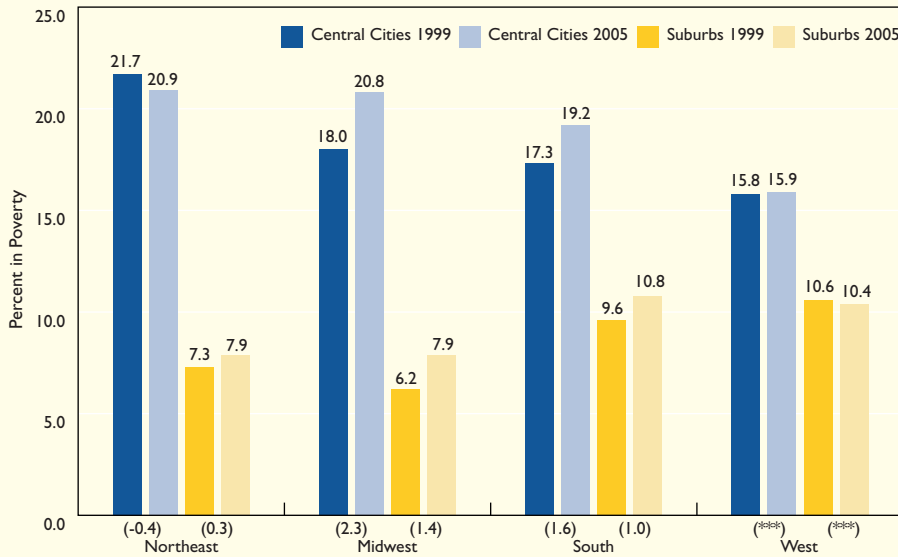
Migration flows between and within regions can also affect poverty rates, if the incomes of those moving in (or out) differ from the incomes of those moving out (or in). Several observers have documented a continuing movement of middle-class families to Southern metropolitan areas like Atlanta, Charlotte, and Orlando, particularly from the North.²⁴ High housing prices on the West Coast, meanwhile, have spurred an inward migration of middle-income homebuyers in that region.²⁵ These movements

could affect poverty rates in both origin and destination areas. At the same time, immigration is spreading to a wider set of metropolitan areas than in decades past, especially the Southeast, which could alter poverty levels in those receiving areas.²⁶ Thus, a rising or falling poverty rate in a particular place may indicate not only changes in the economic status of existing residents, but changes in the underlying resident population over time.

Figure 3 depicts the regional poverty trends that coincided with these economic and demographic shifts. The picture in the Midwest and South looks quite different from that in the Northeast and West. In the former regions, poverty rates rose in both cities and suburbs from 1999 to 2005, and by a somewhat greater degree in their cities. Poverty rates meanwhile held steady in the West. Northeastern cities actually witnessed a small decline in the proportion of their residents in poverty—though this largely reflected the outsized influence of New York City—while suburbs in that region saw a marginal increase.²⁷ Interestingly, whereas poverty rates in Northeastern cities and suburbs were historically higher than in the Midwest, by 2005 the measures were statistically equivalent between the regions.

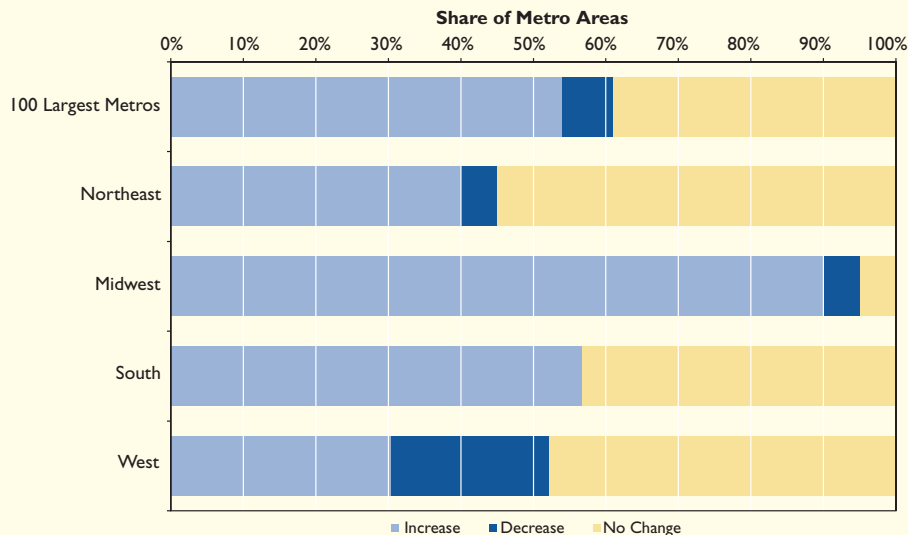
One further regional distinction is clear: poverty-rate differences between cities and suburbs in the West (and to a lesser degree, the South) remain quite muted compared to those in the Northeast and Midwest. Even with the small narrowing of the city-suburban poverty gap in the Northeast from 1999 to 2005, within-metropolitan disparities in these regions clearly outstrip those in the Sunbelt. Among other factors, this owes to the more “hemmed in” geography of northern cities that inhibits their ability to annex higher-income suburbs; the deeper legacy of racial and economic discrimination in their housing markets; and the heavier out-migration of middle-class families that most

Figure 3. Central-City and Suburban Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas by Region, 1999 and 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey
 Figures in parentheses represent the difference between 1999 rate and 2005 lower-bound estimate

Figure 4. Change in Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas by Region, 1999 to 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey

endured in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁸

The differences by region look even starker through the lens of poverty trends in individual metropolitan areas (Figure 4). A little over half—54—of the 100 largest metro areas saw their poverty rates increase from 1999 to 2005, while just seven experienced a decline (changes in the remaining 39 areas were statistically insignificant). The Midwest, especially, stands out for its widespread poverty-rate increases during that time; the indicator rose in fully 18 of its 20 large metropolitan areas. Poverty rates also rose in the majority of large Southern metro areas (21 of 37). By contrast, only seven of 23 Western metro areas analyzed saw poverty increases. Moreover, that region contained five of the seven metro areas in which overall poverty rates declined. Notably, the 1999-to-2005 regional trend inverts the pattern from the prior 10 years. In that decade, Midwestern and Southern cities and suburbs saw significant declines in poverty, while those in the Northeast and California experienced increases.²⁹

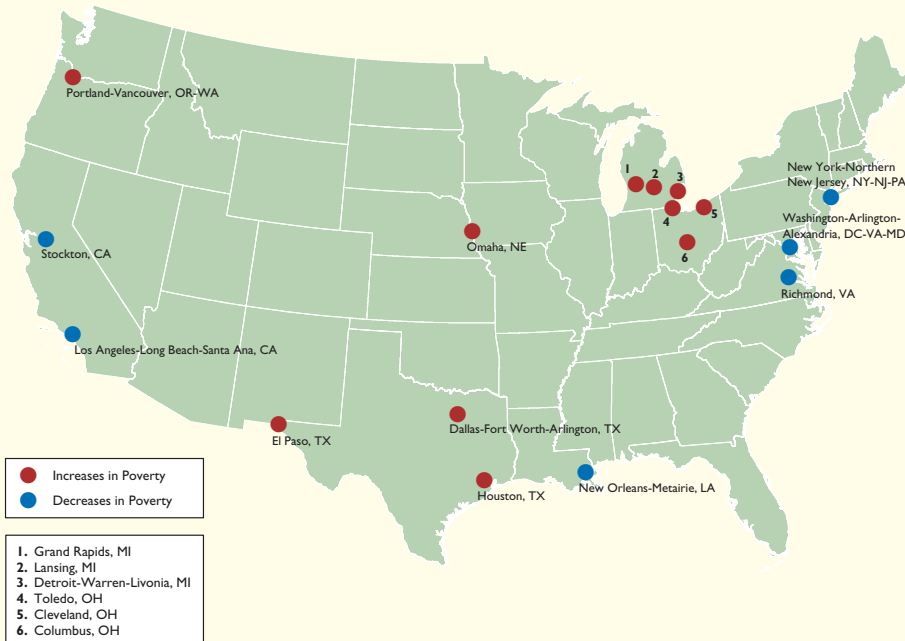
C. Nearly half of large cities nationwide saw a significant rise in their poverty rates, versus about one-third of their suburbs.

Big cities experienced mixed results on poverty across the 1990s. One study found that a bare majority of large cities saw poverty rates decline over the decade, while a little more than one-third experienced poverty-rate increases. Results varied for their suburbs as well; in about 80 percent of metro areas, poverty rates between cities and suburbs moved in tandem.³⁰

Using results from the ACS introduces somewhat greater uncertainty about the magnitude and direction of change in poverty during the current decade, especially for smaller geographies where ACS samples are smaller, and sampling errors are larger.

Nonetheless, we find that poverty rates increased between 1999 and

Map 1. Central Cities with the Greatest Increases and Decreases in Poverty Rates, 1999 to 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey

Map 2. Suburbs with the Greatest Increases and Decreases in Poverty Rates, 1999 to 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey

2005 by a statistically significant margin in 45 of 94 central cities analyzed. In a nearly equal number of cities (43), poverty rates in 2005 were no different statistically than in 1999.³¹ Only six central cities exhibited a significant decline in poverty during this period. (Poverty rate trends for all 100 metropolitan areas, and their central cities and suburbs, are displayed in Appendix A.)

As the regional analysis in the previous section suggests, cities experiencing poverty-rate increases clustered in certain areas of the country. Map 1 shows that among the eleven cities experiencing the greatest increases in poverty rates during this period, six are located in the Midwest, including three in Ohio and two in Michigan.³² This probably reflects the disproportionate impact of the recent economic downturn on the manufacturing sector, which figures prominently in both these states. Between 2000 and 2005, Michigan and Ohio each lost over 200,000 manufacturing jobs, equivalent to more than 20 percent of all jobs in that sector in each state. In addition, three Texas cities rank among the top ten; all experienced increases in unemployment from 2000 to 2003, though migration dynamics in these rapidly growing areas may also have contributed to their poverty-rate climbs.

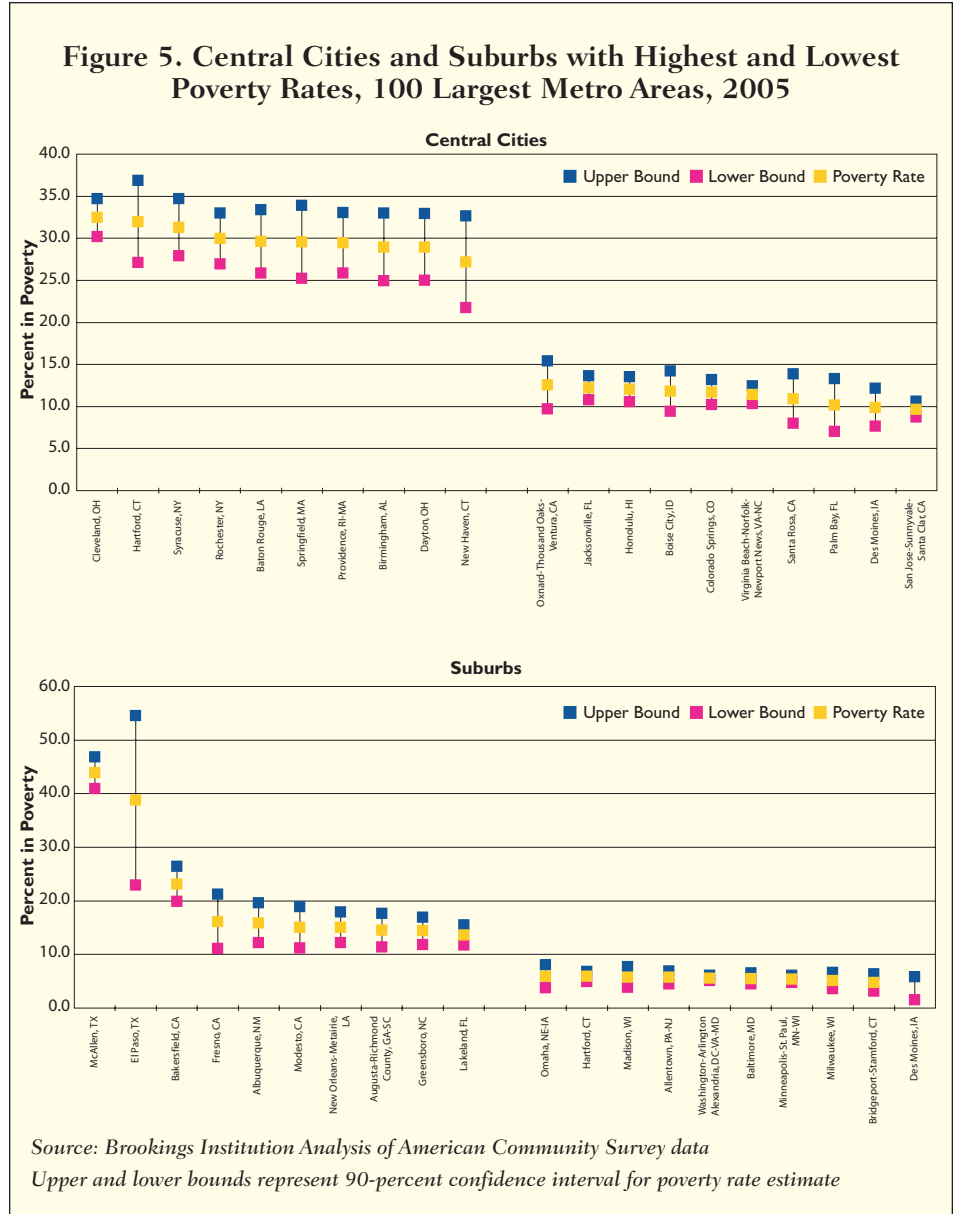
On the suburban side, poverty-rate changes tended to be smaller, and 1999 poverty rates fell within the margin of error for the 2005 estimate in 67 of the 100 suburbs analyzed, indicating no statistically significant change. Among the 33 suburbs where poverty rates did change, fully 31 experienced an increase, while only two saw their poverty rates decline. Those suburbs experiencing the greatest increases in poverty rates, shown in Map 2, overlap to a great degree with the central cities that saw increases. Cleveland, Dallas, Detroit, and Portland (OR) appear on both the city and suburban “top ten” lists. One

difference is the appearance of two Southeastern metro areas—Atlanta and Greensboro—on the suburban roster. In-migration to Atlanta’s suburbs from abroad, particularly by Latin Americans working in construction or seasonal industries, may have contributed to increases in working poverty in that region’s suburbs.³³

As indicated above, only six cities and two suburbs experienced statistically significant declines in poverty rates from 1999 to 2005 (Maps 1 and 2). Their locations indicate that Southern California and the Middle Atlantic seem to have weathered the early part of the decade well economically. Continued growth in financial services and government employment has benefited New York and Washington, while expanding construction and professional/business services employment seems to have buoyed Los Angeles and its environs throughout the early 2000s (PPIC 2004).³⁴

The 1999-to-2005 trends provide further evidence that metropolitan economic health is a key determinant of poverty dynamics. Poverty rates tended to move in the same direction between cities and suburbs in the same metropolitan areas. Among the 31 suburbs in which poverty rates increased by a statistically significant margin, 20 had central cities that also underwent increases (changes were statistically insignificant in the other 11).³⁵

Where did the general rise in poverty in both cities and suburbs leave these places in 2005? Figure 5 shows the top and bottom cities and suburbs by their estimated 2005 poverty rate, along with the margin of error associated with those estimates. A clear Northeast/West divide separates cities at the top of the poverty list from those at the bottom. Many of the high-poverty cities are mid-sized former industrial centers of the Northeast still dealing with the aftermath of significant job loss, high degrees of racial and economic segregation, and



middle-class out-migration. Low-poverty Western cities tend to be more geographically expansive, economically buoyant, and in some cases (e.g., San Jose, Santa Rosa, Honolulu) much too expensive for poor families to live within their borders.

Suburban poverty rankings reflect a regional mirror image of the central city rankings. Here, Western and Southern metro areas that still depend on agriculture—and in many cases, migrant-worker populations—contain significant poverty in their suburbs.³⁶

Meanwhile, Northeastern and Midwestern suburbs rank among those with the lowest poverty rates. Some of these are located in economically prosperous metro areas (e.g., Omaha, Washington, Minneapolis), but those in other metropolitan areas (e.g., Hartford, Allentown, Milwaukee, Bridgeport) have grown and developed primarily to accommodate middle- and higher-income homeowners, while their central cities continue to house disproportionate shares of poor, often minority households.³⁷

Table 1. First Suburbs Experiencing Greatest Poverty-Rate Increases, 1999 to 2005

First Suburbs*	Metropolitan Area	Poverty Rate 1999	Poverty Rate 2005	Margin of Error 2005	Change 1999–2005
Lake, IN	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	12.2	16.4	1.6	2.6
Macomb, MI	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	5.6	8.6	0.8	2.1
Cuyahoga, OH	Cleveland, OH	6.3	9.7	1.8	1.6
Montgomery, OH	Dayton, OH	6.6	10.0	2.4	1.0
Camden, NJ	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	10.4	12.4	1.3	0.7
Dallas, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	8.4	11.6	2.6	0.6
St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO-IL	6.9	8.2	0.8	0.5
Hennepin, MN	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	3.9	6.0	1.6	0.5
Harris, TX	Houston, TX	9.3	12.2	2.4	0.5
Delaware, PA	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	8.0	9.7	1.2	0.4

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey data

* First suburbs represent counties and county remainders

** Change from 1999 to 2005 represents difference between 1999 rate and 2005 lower-bound estimate

To be sure, suburbs themselves represent a diverse lot. In particular, recent research has drawn attention to the distinct profile of older, inner-ring “first” suburbs that have a more urban feel than their newer suburban counterparts. Puentes and Warren define these first suburbs as counties, or portions of counties, that surround major central cities and were part of metropolitan areas in 1950. Of the 100 metropolitan areas in this analysis, 40 contained first suburbs—a total of 61 counties (or county remainders net of central cities).

Across all these first suburbs, we find that the poverty rate rose only slightly from 1999 to 2005. Their combined estimated rate in 2005 was 9.3 percent, compared to 8.6 percent in 1999.³⁸ Forty (40) of the 61 first suburbs did not experience a statistically significant change in their poverty rates during this time, while 18 experienced an increase. The largest significant increases appeared to occur in Midwestern industrial suburbs such as Lake County, IN (outside Chicago); Macomb County, MI (outside Detroit); Cuyahoga County, OH (outside Cleveland); and Montgomery County, OH (outside Dayton) (Table

1). Not coincidentally, their associated cities saw poverty increases as well. (Poverty rate trends for all 61 first suburbs are displayed in Appendix C.)

Overall, though, first suburbs did not bear the brunt of increasing suburban poverty in the early 2000s. Indeed, their share of the suburban poor fell modestly, from 42 percent to 40 percent.³⁹ This trend emphasizes that though the poor remain more likely to live in and around the urban core of metropolitan areas, the continued decentralization of metropolitan populations to second-tier suburbs and “exurbs” has included low-income workers and their children as well.

D. In cities and suburbs where overall poverty rates rose from 1999 to 2005, child poverty rates rose faster. Children are more likely to live in poverty than adults. Since the Census Bureau began reporting poverty rates in the 1960s, the child poverty rate has typically exceeded that for the U.S. population as a whole by anywhere from 3 to 7 percentage points.

Likewise, when economic conditions take a turn for the worse, children tend to feel the effects disproportionately. Many live in single-

earner households where job or income losses can plunge a family into poverty. Large and growing numbers are the children of immigrants, many of whom have limited formal education and may be particularly susceptible to income losses during lean economic times.⁴⁰

In 2005, as in 1999, a little over one-third of all poor Americans were under age 18. The estimated U.S. child poverty rate during that period rose from 16.6 percent to 18.5 percent.⁴¹ As with overall poverty, however, the changes varied substantially by region (Figure 6). Child poverty rates rose considerably in Midwestern cities and suburbs, and by smaller though still-significant amounts in the South. In other parts of the nation, child poverty held fairly steady (though again, New York heavily influenced aggregate figures for the Northeast). Where child poverty-rate increases did occur, they were on average larger than those occurring for the total population. The child poverty rate in Southern cities, for instance, rose by at least 3.4 percentage points, compared to 1.6 percentage points for their overall populations. As a result, the already-wide gap between overall

and child poverty rates (Figures 3 and 6), especially in cities, grew even larger by 2005.

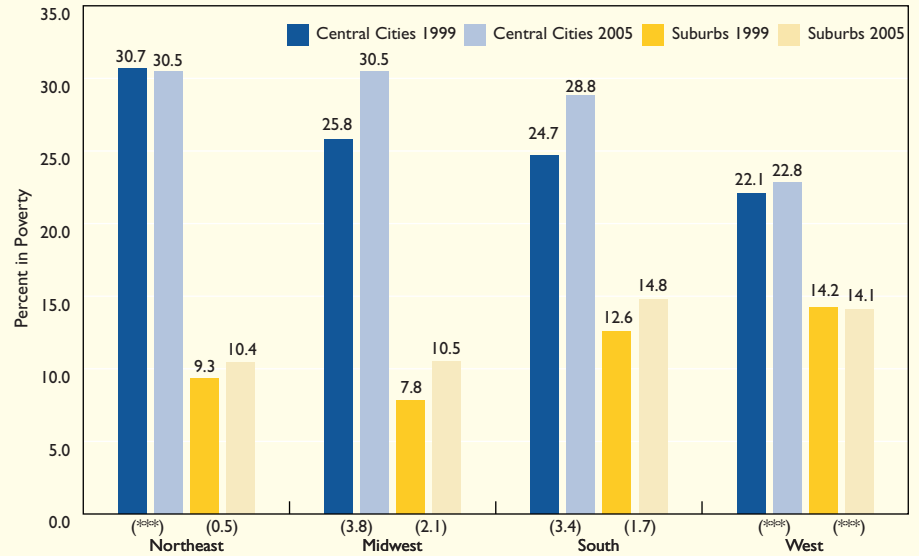
The child disadvantage on urban and suburban poverty trends is further evident from a comparison of changes in specific cities and suburbs. Table 2 shows the 10 cities and 10 suburbs experiencing the largest statistically significant increases in child poverty rates from 1999 to 2005. With few exceptions, rises in their proportion of children living below the poverty line exceed similar rises in their overall poverty rates. In Houston, for example, the proportion of children in poverty escalated to an estimated 35 percent in 2005, up at least 6 percentage points from its 1999 rate, and far outpacing the city's coincident rise in overall poverty.⁴ (Child poverty rate trends for all 100 metropolitan areas, and their central cities and suburbs, are displayed in Appendix B.)

How “child-centric” the poor population is in different cities, on the other hand, depends both on the propensity of children to live in poor families, and on overall population characteristics. Though estimates on this indicator are less statistically precise, many cities do have high proportions of children among their poor (Figure 7), including those with large Hispanic and black populations—groups that are more likely than whites to have young children. The cities near the bottom of the list are more likely to have students and young people who may be temporarily poor (e.g., Boston, Knoxville, Madison) or aging populations experiencing poverty (e.g., Palm Bay, Pittsburgh).

Conclusion

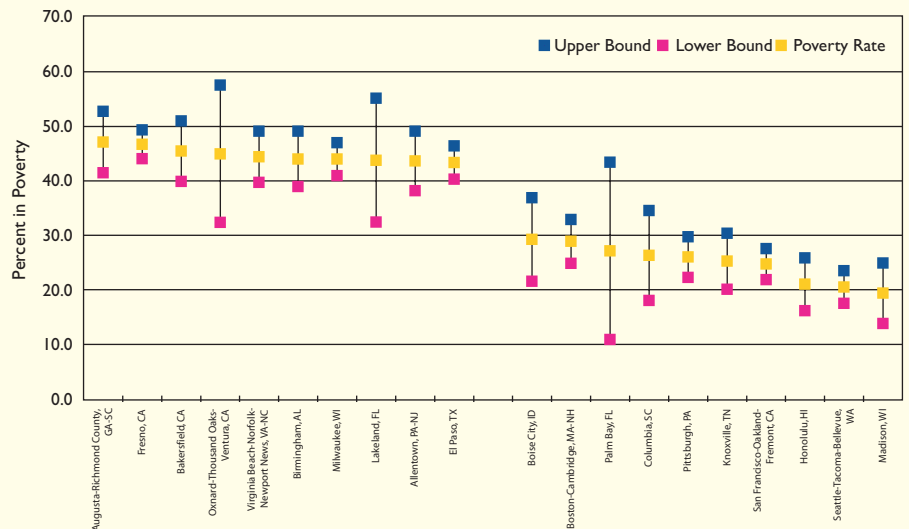
Poverty has increased nationally and in most communities since 1999, as results from the 2005 American Community Survey make clear. The proportion

Figure 6. Central-City and Suburban Child Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas by Region, 1999 to 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey
 Figures in parentheses represent the difference between 1999 rate and 2005 lower-bound estimate

Figure 7. Central Cities with Highest and Lowest Proportions of Poor Population Under Age 18, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 2005



Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey
 Upper and lower bounds represent 90-percent confidence intervals for 2005 estimates

Table 2. Central Cities and Suburbs with Greatest Increases in Child Poverty Rate, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005

Central Cities	Child Poverty Rate			Overall Poverty Rate		
	2005	Margin of Error	Change from 1999*	2005	Margin of Error	Change from 1999*
Baton Rouge, LA	47.1	8.1	7.3	29.6	3.8	1.9
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	26.2	3.1	6.5	17.6	1.3	3.4
Houston, TX	35.0	2.5	6.2	22.9	1.3	2.5
Lansing, MI	37.2	8.0	5.6	24.4	3.8	3.7
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	38.8	3.0	5.4	26.1	1.6	2.6
Cleveland, OH	47.6	4.3	5.4	32.4	2.3	3.9
Birmingham, AL	49.5	8.6	5.3	28.9	4.0	0.2
Austin, TX	25.7	3.6	5.1	18.1	1.6	2.1
Columbus, OH	27.2	3.0	5.1	18.5	1.3	2.4
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	29.1	2.1	4.7	19.7	1.1	2.6
Suburbs	2005	Margin of Error	Change from 1999*	2005	Margin of Error	Change from 1999*
Dayton, OH	15.3	3.7	2.8	9.6	1.5	1.1
Greensboro, NC	21.1	5.5	2.5	14.4	2.6	2.1
Houston, TX	17.3	2.5	2.4	12.1	1.4	0.9
Atlanta, GA	13.6	1.4	2.4	10.0	0.6	1.4
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	13.2	2.0	2.3	9.4	0.9	1.4
Cleveland, OH	13.1	2.4	2.2	9.2	1.0	1.9
McAllen, TX	55.0	4.2	2.2	43.9	3.0	2.2
Greenville, SC	18.4	2.6	1.5	13.3	1.3	0.4
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	11.6	1.9	1.3	8.4	0.9	1.1
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	12.1	1.8	1.2	9.3	1.0	1.0

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey

* Change from 1999 to 2005 represents difference between 1999 rate and 2005 lower-bound estimate

of children in poverty has risen, too, eroding much of the progress made in the 1990s. Many cities witnessed increases in poverty over this period, but the most striking developments have affected suburbs, which for the first time contain a majority of the nation's poor population. These trends are in large part the function of the 2001-02 recession and slow wage growth thereafter for lower-skilled workers.

Labor Market Conditions and Poverty

The regional variation in poverty trends from 1999 to 2005 highlight the important role of regional economic performance in lifting, and keeping, families and children out of

poverty. Just as the recession differentially affected certain industries and areas of the country, so too were lower-income Americans made worse off in some places than others. Throughout the Midwest and in most parts of the South, poverty rates rose in the early part of this decade. Elsewhere they were mostly stable, though variation existed even within regions (e.g., Los Angeles versus San Francisco; New York vs. Boston.)

Families with children, especially those with a single earner, are among the groups most likely to live in poverty in the United States.⁴³ With an unprecedented number of female family heads in the labor force today, the rise in poverty within many U.S. regions in response to weak employ-

ment conditions suggests a need for enhanced labor market insurance policies to help dislocated workers and their families weather difficult times. The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) is one such policy, as its value increases to compensate many lower-income workers who lose hours or are forced to take lower-paying work.⁴⁴ The number of families claiming the EITC rose quite significantly in the early 2000s, especially in economically hard-hit areas of the country like Detroit, Cleveland, Memphis, and Baton Rouge. An expanded credit for workers who maintain at least a modest level of earnings could bolster the EITC's effectiveness in this regard.

Other labor-market policies could help working families from falling into

poverty. For instance, only about one-third of the unemployed received Unemployment Insurance in 2004, and rates of receipt among low-income working parents are even lower. Certain state policy decisions, such as determining eligibility based on more recent work history, and offering benefits to workers who separated from an employer due to a good personal reason (such as caring for a sick relative), could improve UI coverage.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, workers in locations experiencing manufacturing employment declines would benefit from a combination of targeted economic, human services, and workforce development interventions that lower employers' costs, raise productivity, and provide workers with needed skills and supports.⁴⁶

The Changing Location of the Poor

The other major highlight of this analysis concerns the continued intrametropolitan shift in the location of poor families. The fact that a majority of poor individuals in metropolitan areas now live in suburbs signals the latest stage in the long-run decentralization of people and jobs in the United States, as well as the growth of low-wage workers in areas of the South and West where city/suburban income divides are not as stark. To the extent that this development reflects an "opening up" of housing and employment opportunities for low-income families in suburbia, and a lessening of overall economic segregation, that is a welcome change.

Yet not all suburbs are created equally. In many major metropolitan areas of the United States, growth—of incomes, jobs, and housing wealth—concentrates on one side of the region, while economic stagnation prevails on the other side. In the Memphis, St. Louis, and Washington, DC regions, this split occurs along an east/west axis. In Atlanta, Chicago, and Dallas, growth occurs to the north and west, while southern and eastern suburbs

struggle with rising poverty.⁴⁷ The spread of poor households from central cities into the suburbs of these divided regions does not necessarily enhance their access to quality housing, education, or employment opportunities.

To shrink these regional divides, forward-looking state and local leaders are using inclusionary zoning, affordable housing trust funds, comprehensive housing plans, and other policy tools that secure residential opportunities for lower-income working families in areas of new growth and development.⁴⁸ Meanwhile, a growing number of workforce intermediaries play a critical role in connecting lower-wage workers and employers to meet metropolitan-wide labor demands.⁴⁹

The suburbanization of poverty also presents new challenges for efforts to link low-income households to work supports—especially as the poor move beyond urbanized "first suburbs" to more far-flung mature and emerging suburbs, as this report suggests. Some research finds that, for immigrant groups, take-up of the EITC is lower in low-density suburban jurisdictions than in high-density city neighborhoods.⁵⁰ For the most part, social services providers remain disproportionately located in central-city neighborhoods, and lag the movement of important parts of their client base to the suburbs.⁵¹ These shifts make it even more critical that municipal campaigns to connect low-income workers to key public benefits like tax credits, nutritional supports, health insurance, and child care adopt a region-wide approach that reaches suburban as well as city families. Similarly, local and regional non-profits should seek opportunities to re-align their service delivery to accommodate the changing location of families in need.

Tracking Urban and Suburban Poverty

Finally, this study demonstrates the utility of the new American Community Survey in tracking the well-being

of smaller areas over time. Before its advent, researchers were able to examine demographic, social, and economic data for cities and suburbs only once per decade, via results from the decennial census. With the full-scale ACS, these statistics can be tracked annually, and can inform decision making in the public, private, and non-profit spheres.

At the same time, our analysis exposes some of the limitations of annual ACS data for smaller geographies. The survey's one-year sample in a mid-sized major-metro city like New Haven, CT, for instance, yields a significant margin of error (+/- 4.5 percentage points) in the poverty estimate that complicates trend analysis. Beginning in 2008, the Census Bureau will publish three-year averages of ACS data for geographies of 20,000 or more people. The combination of data from across years will add precision to the published ACS estimates, and offer communities a clearer picture of their socioeconomic trajectory. While most local leaders will not be able to rely on point-in-time estimates of poverty and other economic indicators, even annual three-year averages will afford a dramatic improvement over once-a-decade statistics from the decennial census for planning and policy.

How lower-income families and communities fare in the latter half of the 2000s remains to be seen. The 2005-to-2009 trend is not predetermined, of course, and this decade might yet see strong economic gains in regions that suffered the greatest losses in the first half. Whether future gains might reach down to the bottom of the labor market and lift workers out of poverty, as in the late 1990s, is an open question as well. With assistance from the ACS, however, researchers can now closely monitor the condition of people and places over time, and assess our collective progress in addressing the challenges faced by our nation's most economically disadvantaged.

Appendix A. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005

	MSA			Central City			Suburbs					
	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE			
	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change					
NATION	12.4	13.3	0.1	0.8								
100 LARGEST METRO AREAS	11.6	12.3	0.1	0.7	17.9	18.8	0.2	0.7	8.5	9.4	0.1	0.7
MIDWEST (20 Metros)	9.8	11.6	0.2	1.6	18.0	20.8	0.4	2.3	6.2	7.9	0.3	1.4
Akron, OH	9.8	11.3	1.2	0.3	17.5	20.1	2.4	0.3	6.3	7.6	2.0	
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	10.5	11.8	0.4	0.9	18.6	19.9	1.0	0.3	6.2	7.9	0.8	0.9
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	9.5	11.6	0.7	1.4	21.9	25.0	2.8	0.3	7.1	9.4	0.9	1.4
Cleveland, OH	10.8	13.8	0.6	2.5	26.3	32.4	2.3	3.9	6.3	9.2	1.0	1.9
Columbus, OH	9.9	12.1	0.7	1.5	14.8	18.5	1.3	2.4	6.0	7.6	1.5	
Dayton, OH	10.0	12.7	1.1	1.6	23.0	28.9	4.0	2.0	7.0	9.6	1.5	1.1
Des Moines, IA	7.5	6.1	1.0	-0.4	11.4	9.9	2.3	2.3	4.8	3.7	2.2	
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	10.6	12.7	0.5	1.6	21.9	26.1	1.6	2.6	6.5	8.4	0.9	1.1
Grand Rapids, MI	8.8	11.9	1.0	2.1	15.7	20.8	2.7	2.4	6.3	8.8	1.6	0.9
Indianapolis, IN	8.5	10.5	0.8	1.2	11.9	15.1	1.4	1.9	5.0	6.2	2.0	
Kansas City, MO-KS	8.5	10.4	0.6	1.3	15.0	17.5	1.6	0.8	5.5	7.4	1.2	0.7
Lansing, MI	11.0	15.4	1.2	3.2	16.9	24.4	3.8	3.7	8.8	12.0	2.2	0.9
Madison, WI	8.9	10.4	0.9	0.6	15.0	17.7	1.9	0.8	4.8	5.8	1.9	
Milwaukee, WI	10.6	12.5	0.7	1.2	21.3	24.9	1.7	1.9	3.6	5.1	1.5	
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	6.7	8.3	0.5	1.1	16.4	19.9	1.7	1.8	4.0	5.4	0.7	0.7
Omaha, NE-IA	8.4	10.3	0.9	1.1	11.3	15.3	1.5	2.5	5.3	5.9	2.1	
St. Louis, MO-IL	10.0	10.9	0.6	0.2	24.6	25.4	2.5	2.5	7.9	8.8	0.7	0.2
Toledo, OH	12.1	15.2	1.3	1.8	17.9	23.4	2.3	3.2	6.8	8.6	3.0	
Wichita, KS	9.1	12.4	1.2	2.1	11.2	14.8	1.5	2.2	6.0	8.5	4.0	
Youngstown, OH-PA	11.5	11.9	1.0		24.8	24.3	6.0		9.5	10.3	1.4	
NORTHEAST (20 Metros)	11.5	11.6	0.2		21.7	20.9	0.4	-0.4	7.3	7.9	0.3	0.3
Albany, NY	9.3	10.5	1.0	0.3	21.7	26.5	4.6	0.1	7.8	8.9	1.2	
Allentown, PA-NJ	8.3	8.1	0.8		18.5	23.0	4.7		6.6	5.7	1.2	
Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	8.5	9.5	0.4	0.6	18.6	21.4	1.8	1.0	6.7	7.6	0.6	0.3
Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	6.9	7.3	0.9		13.6	13.6	2.4		4.2	4.8	1.6	
Buffalo, NY	11.9	12.7	0.9		26.6	26.9	2.8		7.0	8.5	1.5	
Harrisburg, PA	8.2	9.0	1.0						8.2	9.0	1.0	
Hartford, CT	8.3	8.4	0.7		30.6	32.0	4.9		5.6	5.9	0.9	

**Appendix A. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Poverty Rates,
100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)**

	MSA						Central City						Suburbs					
	1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	
	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate
Lancaster, PA	7.8	9.1	1.8				7.8	9.1	1.8				7.8	9.1	1.8			
New Haven, CT	9.5	11.2	1.3	0.4	24.4	27.2	5.4	7.0	8.7	1.8			7.0	8.7	1.8			
New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA ¹	13.6	12.6	0.2	-0.8	21.5	19.2	0.4	-1.8	7.2	7.2	0.6			7.2	7.2	0.6		
Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	10.8	11.7	0.4	0.5	22.9	24.5	1.3	0.3	6.5	7.5	0.7	0.3						
Pittsburgh, PA	10.8	11.4	0.5		20.4	23.2	2.3	0.5	9.4	9.7	0.7							
Portland, ME	8.0	10.4	1.1	1.2				8.0	10.4	1.1	1.3							
Poughkeepsie, NY	9.2	8.7	1.2					9.2	8.7	1.2								
Providence, RI-MA	11.3	11.6	0.8		29.1	29.4	3.6		9.2	9.6	1.0							
Rochester, NY	10.5	11.4	0.9		25.9	30.0	3.0	1.1	6.4	7.1	1.3							
Scranton, PA	10.8	13.3	1.6	0.9	15.0	22.9	6.4	1.5	10.2	11.9	2.0							
Springfield, MA	13.1	15.3	1.2	1.0	23.1	29.6	4.3	2.1	10.1	11.1	2.0							
Syracuse, NY	12.3	14.2	1.3	0.6	27.3	31.3	3.4	0.6	8.1	9.6	1.9							
Worcester, MA	9.2	9.8	1.1		17.9	18.7	3.7		6.7	7.5	1.7							
SOUTH (37 Metros)																		
Atlanta, GA	12.0	13.3	0.1	1.1	17.3	19.2	0.3	1.6	9.6	10.8	0.3	1.0						
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	9.5	11.4	0.5	1.4	24.4	26.9	2.5		8.0	10.0	0.6	1.4						
Austin, TX	15.4	17.5	1.6	0.4	19.6	22.9	3.5		12.8	14.5	3.2							
Baltimore, MD	11.1	13.2	0.9	1.2	14.4	18.1	1.6	2.1	7.4	8.7	2.3							
Baton Rouge, LA	9.8	9.5	0.6		22.9	22.6	2.2		5.4	5.5	1.1							
Birmingham, AL	17.1	18.2	1.6		24.0	29.6	3.8	1.9	13.9	13.6	2.8							
Charleston, SC	13.6	13.3	1.2		24.7	28.9	4.0	0.2	10.3	9.2	1.9							
Charlotte, NC-SC	14.0	14.2	1.3		19.1	19.0	2.9		13.0	13.0	1.7							
Chattanooga, TN-GA	9.4	11.9	0.8	1.7	10.6	13.0	1.5	0.9	8.5	11.1	1.7	0.8						
Columbia, SC	12.0	13.0	1.5		17.9	19.3	3.2		9.2	10.4	2.5							
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	12.4	13.6	1.2		22.1	19.5	3.2		10.6	12.7	1.5	0.6						
El Paso, TX	10.8	13.1	0.5	1.8	16.0	19.7	1.1	2.6	7.3	9.3	1.0	1.0						
Greensboro, NC	23.8	29.2	2.0	3.4	22.2	27.2	2.3	2.6	32.0	38.7	15.8							
Greenville, SC	10.6	15.3	1.5	3.2	12.3	17.3	2.8	2.3	9.8	14.4	2.6	2.1						
Houston, TX	11.6	13.3	1.3	0.4					11.6	13.3	1.3	0.4						
Jackson, MS	13.7	16.1	0.7	1.8	19.2	22.9	1.3	2.5	9.8	12.1	1.4	0.9						
Jacksonville, FL	17.0	16.2	1.6		23.5	26.0	3.4		13.2	11.3	2.9							
Knoxville, TN	10.7	10.8	1.0		12.2	12.2	1.4		8.0	8.4	3.6							
Lakeland, FL	12.2	15.3	1.2	1.9	20.8	25.0	2.6	1.6	9.0	11.8	1.9	0.9						
	12.9	13.7	1.5		15.0	14.3	3.1		12.5	13.6	1.9							

Appendix A. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)

	MSA						Central City						Suburbs						
	1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		1999		2005		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		
	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	MOE	Rate	
Little Rock, AR	12.1	13.1	1.3	14.3	15.0	2.6	11.1	12.4	1.4	11.1	12.4	1.3	14.3	15.0	2.6	11.1	12.4	1.3	14.3
Louisville, KY-IN	10.9	11.9	0.8	12.4	15.3	1.5	8.8	9.1	0.3	8.8	9.1	0.3	12.4	15.3	1.5	8.8	9.1	0.3	12.4
McAllen, TX	35.9	41.0	2.3	23.8	27.0	5.6	38.7	43.9	5.2	38.7	43.9	5.2	23.8	27.0	5.6	38.7	43.9	5.2	23.8
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	15.6	17.7	1.2	20.6	23.6	1.9	9.9	11.2	1.3	9.9	11.2	1.3	20.6	23.6	1.9	9.9	11.2	1.3	20.6
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL	14.0	14.0	0.5	25.3	25.0	1.8	12.8	12.9	0.1	12.8	12.9	0.1	25.3	25.0	1.8	12.8	12.9	0.1	25.3
Nashville, TN	10.3	11.8	0.7	13.3	14.6	1.5	8.3	10.1	1.8	8.3	10.1	1.8	13.3	14.6	1.5	8.3	10.1	1.8	13.3
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	18.3	17.8	1.4	23.4	21.2	1.8	13.7	15.0	1.3	13.7	15.0	1.3	23.4	21.2	1.8	13.7	15.0	1.3	23.4
Oklahoma City, OK	13.5	15.6	1.0	16.0	18.7	1.8	11.3	13.0	1.7	11.3	13.0	1.7	16.0	18.7	1.8	11.3	13.0	1.7	16.0
Orlando, FL	10.7	11.9	0.8	15.9	15.1	2.4	10.0	11.5	1.5	10.0	11.5	1.5	15.9	15.1	2.4	10.0	11.5	1.5	15.9
Palm Bay, FL	9.5	10.1	1.1	9.5	10.2	3.1	9.5	10.1	0.6	9.5	10.1	0.6	9.5	10.2	3.1	9.5	10.1	0.6	9.5
Raleigh, NC	8.9	10.8	0.8	11.5	15.5	1.7	7.6	8.4	0.8	7.6	8.4	0.8	11.5	15.5	1.7	7.6	8.4	0.8	11.5
Richmond, VA	9.4	10.4	0.9	21.4	18.5	2.6	6.8	8.9	2.1	6.8	8.9	2.1	21.4	18.5	2.6	6.8	8.9	2.1	21.4
San Antonio, TX	15.1	16.2	0.9	17.3	18.7	1.4	10.7	11.6	0.9	10.7	11.6	0.9	17.3	18.7	1.4	10.7	11.6	0.9	17.3
Sarasota, FL	8.8	9.6	1.1	15.3	15.7	1.5	8.8	9.6	0.8	8.8	9.6	0.8	15.3	15.7	1.5	8.8	9.6	0.8	15.3
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	11.2	12.0	0.6	14.1	17.6	1.8	9.6	10.8	1.2	9.6	10.8	1.2	14.1	17.6	1.8	9.6	10.8	1.2	14.1
Tulsa, OK	11.8	14.0	1.0	11.5	11.4	1.0	9.8	11.3	1.5	9.8	11.3	1.5	11.5	11.4	1.0	9.8	11.3	1.5	11.5
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	10.6	10.4	0.6	11.5	11.4	1.0	9.7	9.4	0.3	9.7	9.4	0.3	11.5	11.4	1.0	9.7	9.4	0.3	11.5
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	7.4	7.0	0.4	15.8	14.4	1.0	5.5	5.6	0.1	5.5	5.6	0.1	15.8	14.4	1.0	5.5	5.6	0.1	15.8
<i>WEST (23 Metros)</i>	<i>12.6</i>	<i>12.5</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>15.9</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>15.8</i>	<i>15.9</i>	<i>0.3</i>	<i>10.6</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<i>0.2</i>	<i>15.8</i>
Albuquerque, NM	13.9	14.5	1.1	13.5	13.7	1.4	14.5	15.9	1.4	14.5	15.9	1.4	13.5	13.7	1.4	14.5	15.9	1.4	13.5
Bakersfield, CA	20.8	21.2	1.6	18.0	18.1	2.9	22.5	23.1	0.6	22.5	23.1	0.6	18.0	18.1	2.9	22.5	23.1	0.6	18.0
Boise City, ID	9.4	11.9	1.3	8.4	11.8	2.4	10.0	12.0	2.0	10.0	12.0	2.0	8.4	11.8	2.4	10.0	12.0	2.0	8.4
Colorado Springs, CO	7.9	10.7	1.3	8.7	11.7	1.5	6.3	8.9	2.6	6.3	8.9	2.6	8.7	11.7	1.5	6.3	8.9	2.6	8.7
Denver-Aurora, CO	7.9	9.9	0.6	12.5	14.5	1.2	5.2	7.3	2.1	5.2	7.3	2.1	12.5	14.5	1.2	5.2	7.3	2.1	12.5
Fresno, CA	22.9	20.7	1.8	26.2	24.3	2.5	19.1	16.2	2.9	19.1	16.2	2.9	26.2	24.3	2.5	19.1	16.2	2.9	26.2
Honolulu, HI	9.9	9.4	0.9	11.8	12.0	1.5	8.5	7.6	0.9	8.5	7.6	0.9	11.8	12.0	1.5	8.5	7.6	0.9	11.8
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	10.8	11.2	1.0	11.9	12.6	1.6	9.7	10.0	0.3	9.7	10.0	0.3	11.9	12.6	1.6	9.7	10.0	0.3	11.9
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	16.2	14.5	0.4	22.0	19.8	0.8	12.8	11.6	1.2	12.8	11.6	1.2	22.0	19.8	0.8	12.8	11.6	1.2	22.0
Modesto, CA	16.0	14.4	1.9	15.7	13.4	2.9	16.2	15.1	1.1	16.2	15.1	1.1	15.7	13.4	2.9	16.2	15.1	1.1	15.7
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	9.2	9.9	1.7	10.5	12.5	2.9	7.9	7.0	0.9	7.9	7.0	0.9	10.5	12.5	2.9	7.9	7.0	0.9	10.5
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	12.0	12.7	0.6	13.3	14.4	0.8	10.1	10.7	0.6	10.1	10.7	0.6	13.3	14.4	0.8	10.1	10.7	0.6	13.3
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	9.5	12.8	0.7	12.9	17.6	1.3	7.7	10.4	2.7	7.7	10.4	2.7	12.9	17.6	1.3	7.7	10.4	2.7	12.9
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.0	13.2	0.8	19.3	18.7	1.9	14.1	12.1	2.0	14.1	12.1	2.0	19.3	18.7	1.9	14.1	12.1	2.0	19.3
Sacramento, CA	12.7	12.0	0.8	20.0	19.2	2.2	10.6	9.9	0.7	10.6	9.9	0.7	20.0	19.2	2.2	10.6	9.9	0.7	20.0

**Appendix A. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Poverty Rates,
100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)**

	MSA			Central City			Suburbs			
	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE	
	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			
Salt Lake City, UT	7.9	9.4	1.0	15.3	16.9	2.8	6.1	7.8	1.3	0.3
San Diego, CA	12.4	11.0	0.8	14.6	13.5	1.3	10.8	9.2	1.7	
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	9.1	9.9	0.4	12.8	13.1	0.9	7.3	8.4	0.8	0.3
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	7.6	8.4	0.7	8.3	9.7	0.9	6.2	5.9	2.7	
Santa Rosa, CA	8.1	9.1	1.6	8.5	10.9	3.0	7.8	8.2	2.7	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	8.5	9.6	0.5	11.9	12.9	1.0	7.2	8.4	0.8	0.4
Stockton, CA	17.7	14.6	1.4	23.9	20.1	2.4	13.0	10.4	3.1	
Tucson, AZ	14.7	14.7	1.1	18.4	20.0	1.8	9.7	8.0	3.4	

Newark is treated as a central city in the New York-Northern New Jersey MSA

Official OMB metro areas names modified to reflect only those cities identified as "central cities" in this analysis

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey data

Appendix B. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Child Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005

	MSA			Central City			Suburbs		
	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE
NATION	16.6	18.5	0.1	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	1.9		1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	1.3	
100 LARGEST METRO AREAS	15.7	17.3	0.2	1.5	25.3	0.4	1.8	11.2	0.3
MIDWEST (20 Metros)	13.3	16.3	0.4	2.7	25.8	0.9	3.8	7.8	0.7
Akron, OH	13.5	14.9	2.9	26.0	27.1	5.4	7.7	9.5	4.9
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	14.3	16.3	0.9	1.1	26.7	2.1	8.0	10.6	1.7
Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	12.4	16.3	1.4	2.5	32.5	6.0	8.8	13.2	2.0
Cleveland, OH	15.8	20.9	1.5	3.5	38.0	4.3	5.4	8.5	2.4
Columbus, OH	12.4	16.6	1.5	2.7	19.0	3.0	5.1	7.6	3.3
Dayton, OH	13.5	20.0	2.5	4.1	32.3	9.2	1.6	8.8	3.7
Des Moines, IA	9.5	8.0	2.1	15.7	13.5	4.9	5.6	4.6	4.6
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	14.9	19.0	1.0	3.1	30.3	3.0	5.4	8.4	1.9
Grand Rapids, MI	10.7	16.1	1.9	3.5	20.2	29.7	3.8	7.5	3.3
Indianapolis, IN	10.9	14.8	1.7	2.2	16.7	3.2	2.4	5.4	4.3
Kansas City, MO-KS	11.4	15.0	1.6	2.0	21.6	27.9	2.4	6.8	2.9
Lansing, MI	11.5	18.6	2.9	4.2	23.6	37.2	8.0	6.7	5.6
Madison, WI	7.4	10.6	2.1	1.1	11.7	18.3	5.4	5.4	4.2
Milwaukee, WI	16.0	19.1	1.7	1.3	32.0	38.1	3.6	4.1	4.0
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	8.6	10.8	0.8	1.5	24.4	28.8	3.5	4.6	1.3
Omaha, NE-IA	11.2	14.2	1.7	1.3	16.0	23.3	3.2	6.8	4.1
St. Louis, MO-IL	14.1	16.1	1.2	0.8	36.9	37.7	5.4	10.9	1.5
Toledo, OH	16.3	21.5	2.2	3.0	26.1	34.7	4.0	9.9	5.7
Wichita, KS	11.8	15.5	2.6	1.2	14.9	18.2	3.0	7.5	8.4
Youngstown, OH-PA	17.7	18.4	2.6	37.7	39.1	15.2	14.3	15.4	3.8
NORTHEAST (20 Metros)	15.5	16.1	0.3	0.3	30.7	30.5	0.8	9.3	0.6
Albany, NY	12.0	15.0	2.5	0.5	29.2	43.7	13.7	10.2	3.1
Allentown, PA-NJ	11.5	12.9	2.0	29.9	40.7	9.1	1.8	8.3	2.9
Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	10.3	12.0	0.9	0.7	24.8	31.2	5.0	8.2	1.2
Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	8.5	8.8	2.0	18.7	20.9	6.3	4.4	4.3	3.6
Buffalo, NY	17.2	17.6	2.1	38.7	37.5	6.2	9.3	10.5	3.7
Harrisburg, PA	11.3	12.3	2.3	41.3	42.5	7.8	11.3	12.3	2.3
Hartford, CT	11.1	11.7	1.4	41.3	42.5	7.8	6.6	7.5	2.1
Lancaster, PA	11.2	14.1	4.8				11.2	14.1	4.8
New Haven, CT	13.3	17.7	3.0	1.4	32.6	39.8	12.0	14.5	4.0
New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA ¹	18.6	17.5	0.6	-0.5	30.5	27.8	0.9	9.1	1.2
Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	14.3	16.6	0.9	1.4	31.6	35.4	2.8	8.1	1.6

Appendix B. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Child Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)

	MSA			Central City			Suburbs		
	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE	1999	2005	MOE
	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change			1999 to 2005 Minimum Change		
Pittsburgh, PA	14.8	14.5	1.1	27.8	31.4	4.9	12.9	12.5	1.5
Portland, ME	10.1	13.9	2.6	1.2			10.1	13.9	2.6
Poughkeepsie, NY	12.7	13.0	2.4				12.7	13.0	2.4
Providence, RI-MA	15.7	18.0	1.9	0.4	40.5	7.2	12.3	14.6	2.4
Rochester, NY	14.5	15.5	1.9	37.9	41.8	6.1	7.5	8.5	3.0
Scranton, PA	14.6	20.9	4.0	2.3	39.7	16.9	13.9	18.1	5.4
Springfield, MA	19.3	22.1	2.3	0.5	34.3	8.3	13.9	13.5	4.5
Syracuse, NY	15.7	20.4	3.3	1.4	35.4	7.0	2.6	13.6	4.8
Worcester, MA	11.8	13.1	2.8	25.1	26.8	10.2	8.3	9.9	4.2
SOUTH (37 Metros)									
Atlanta, GA	16.3	18.9	0.3	2.3	24.7	28.8	0.7	14.8	0.5
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	12.3	16.1	1.2	2.6	39.3	49.1	4.5	13.6	1.4
Austin, TX	21.3	27.6	3.4	2.9	27.7	38.2	7.5	21.2	7.2
Baltimore, MD	12.2	17.1	2.0	2.9	17.0	25.7	3.6	10.1	4.6
Baton Rouge, LA	12.6	13.4	1.5	31.0	33.3	4.9	6.4	7.1	2.5
Birmingham, AL	21.7	25.7	3.3	0.7	31.7	47.1	8.1	17.6	5.6
Charleston, SC	18.1	20.3	2.3	35.6	49.5	8.6	12.9	12.0	3.9
Charlotte, NC-SC	19.0	20.5	2.7	24.8	25.7	7.0	18.1	19.3	3.8
Chattanooga, TN-GA	12.2	16.0	1.8	14.1	18.8	3.5	10.9	14.1	3.9
Columbia, SC	16.6	19.9	3.4	27.4	33.5	7.9	11.9	14.4	5.9
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	16.0	18.7	2.6	0.1	30.2	25.6	13.7	17.9	3.1
El Paso, TX	14.2	18.3	0.9	3.1	22.4	29.1	2.1	12.1	1.8
Greensboro, NC	31.7	39.9	3.3	4.8	30.1	38.1	4.2	38.6	23.4
Greenville, SC	14.1	22.1	3.2	4.8	16.3	24.4	6.8	21.1	5.5
Houston, TX	14.3	18.4	2.6	1.5	14.1	18.8	1.2	14.3	2.6
Jackson, MS	17.9	23.7	1.3	4.5	26.4	35.0	2.5	17.3	2.5
Jacksonville, FL	24.3	24.1	3.5	34.0	36.4	6.9	18.2	17.2	6.7
Knoxville, TN	15.0	13.9	2.2	17.0	15.7	3.0	10.8	10.5	8.8
Lakeland, FL	15.2	20.8	3.1	2.5	26.5	31.7	6.5	17.3	4.6
Little Rock, AR	19.6	22.6	2.9	24.4	27.7	8.3	18.9	21.6	3.8
Louisville, KY-IN	16.8	19.4	3.0	21.5	20.8	6.3	14.9	18.9	4.7
McAllen, TX	15.6	16.4	1.8	18.5	22.1	3.2	11.6	11.3	4.4
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	45.7	51.8	3.5	2.6	30.6	34.0	7.9	48.6	4.2
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL	22.3	25.8	2.4	1.2	30.4	34.8	4.0	16.2	6.9
Nashville, TN	19.0	19.0	1.2	36.1	36.9	4.4	17.3	17.3	1.4
New Orleans-Metairie, LA	13.4	16.0	1.9	0.6	19.8	23.5	4.5	9.7	3.9
Oklahoma City, OK	26.2	26.9	2.9	35.1	33.1	3.8	18.8	22.4	5.8
	18.3	21.7	2.0	1.4	23.5	28.2	3.9	13.9	5.1

Appendix B. Metropolitan, Central-City, and Suburban Child Poverty Rates, 100 Largest Metro Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)

	MSA			Central City			Suburbs			
	1999	2005	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	1999	2005	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	1999	2005	1999 to 2005 Minimum Change	
	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	MOE	
Orlando, FL	14.8	16.7	2.0	27.5	22.3	5.4	13.4	15.9	2.4	0.2
Palm Bay, FL	13.5	12.8	3.0	11.7	10.5	6.9	14.0	13.4	4.2	
Raleigh, NC	10.5	13.7	1.5	14.3	21.2	4.0	2.9	10.8	2.7	
Richmond, VA	12.8	14.7	1.9	33.4	26.8	6.2	-0.4	9.0	2.5	1.0
San Antonio, TX	21.4	22.7	1.9	24.6	26.7	2.8	14.9	14.9	7.8	
Sarasota, FL	14.5	13.2	3.0				14.5	13.2	3.0	
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	16.2	16.9	1.5	23.4	22.5	4.0	13.4	15.0	2.5	
Tulsa, OK	16.0	21.0	2.1	20.9	29.2	4.2	4.1	15.2	4.7	
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	15.2	16.7	1.5	16.5	18.4	2.6	13.6	14.8	4.4	
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	9.1	8.7	0.7	25.3	23.2	2.7	6.6	6.5	0.9	
<i>WEST (23 Metros)</i>	<i>17.1</i>	<i>17.3</i>	<i>0.4</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>22.8</i>	<i>0.7</i>	<i>14.2</i>	<i>14.1</i>	<i>0.7</i>	
Albuquerque, NM	18.7	20.6	2.3	17.9	19.8	3.6	19.6	21.9	7.9	
Bakersfield, CA	28.2	29.4	3.0	24.8	26.0	5.0	30.2	31.7	5.9	
Boise City, ID	11.9	15.0	2.3	0.8	15.4	5.0	0.4	13.0	4.0	
Colorado Springs, CO	10.3	14.7	2.7	11.3	16.0	3.1	1.7	8.5	8.7	
Denver-Aurora, CO	10.1	13.3	1.2	2.0	20.9	2.8	0.5	6.1	2.4	0.6
Fresno, CA	32.1	30.1	2.8	36.8	34.8	3.8	26.4	23.5	8.9	
Honolulu, HI	12.9	11.3	2.2	15.1	13.9	3.5	11.7	10.1	3.7	
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	14.6	15.2	2.1	15.9	17.5	3.7	13.4	13.5	4.7	
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	22.1	20.6	0.8	-0.7	28.5	1.4	-0.5	17.5	1.4	
Modesto, CA	21.0	18.9	3.6	22.3	18.6	6.4	20.1	19.2	7.3	
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	12.1	14.6	3.6	13.8	19.8	7.0	10.4	8.6	11.3	
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	16.4	18.3	1.2	0.7	21.7	1.8	1.7	13.7	3.4	
Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	11.8	17.3	1.7	3.8	26.2	3.1	6.5	9.7	2.7	1.2
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	20.1	17.7	1.5	-0.9	25.1	3.4	19.0	16.2	2.0	-0.8
Sacramento, CA	17.3	16.7	1.8	29.9	29.1	4.6	13.6	13.1	2.7	
Salt Lake City, UT	9.3	11.1	1.7	0.2	22.9	6.8	7.6	9.2	2.3	
San Diego, CA	16.9	15.9	1.8	20.3	19.8	3.2	14.7	13.3	3.7	
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	11.3	12.3	1.0	17.9	16.5	2.1	8.7	10.7	1.6	0.5
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	9.1	10.8	1.4	0.3	12.5	1.7	0.7	7.2	5.3	
Santa Rosa, CA	9.0	11.4	3.5	10.0	15.6	6.3	8.5	9.4	5.9	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	10.5	11.3	1.1	15.3	13.9	2.2	9.1	10.5	1.5	
Stockton, CA	24.2	19.7	2.5	-1.9	28.1	3.7	-1.4	16.8	5.3	
Tucson, AZ	20.0	21.2	2.2	24.3	27.9	3.5	14.2	12.1	7.1	

Newark is treated as a central city in the New York-Northern New Jersey MSA
Official OMB metro areas names modified to reflect only those cities identified as "central cities" in this analysis
Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey data



Appendix C. Poverty Rates in First Suburbs, 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1999 to 2005

First Suburb Counties	Metropolitan Area	1999	2005	MOE	Minimum Change
ALL FIRST SUBURBS		8.6	9.3	0.2	0.5
<i>MIDWEST (17 First Suburban Counties)</i>					
Summit, OH	Akron, OH	5.0	6.0	2.3	
Cook, IL	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	6.4	8.1	1.9	
Lake, IN	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	12.2	16.4	1.6	2.6
Hamilton, OH	Cincinnati, OH-KY-IN	5.5	7.4	2.5	
Cuyahoga, OH	Cleveland, OH	6.3	9.7	1.8	1.6
Franklin, OH	Columbus, OH	5.4	7.1	3.5	
Montgomery, OH	Dayton, OH	6.6	10.0	2.4	1.0
Macomb, MI	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	5.6	8.6	0.8	2.1
Oakland, MI	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	5.5	6.6	0.6	0.4
Wayne, MI	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	8.7	11.6	2.6	0.3
Marion, IN	Indianapolis, IN	6.8	11.2	19.8	
Milwaukee, WI	Milwaukee, WI	4.8	7.2	4.0	
Hennepin, MN	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	3.9	6.0	1.6	0.5
Madison, IL	St. Louis, MO-IL	9.8	10.5	1.9	
St. Clair, IL	St. Louis, MO-IL	14.5	11.8	1.7	-1.0
St. Louis, MO	St. Louis, MO-IL	6.9	8.2	0.8	0.5
Trumbull, OH	Youngstown, OH-PA	10.3	10.7	1.7	
<i>NORTHEAST (26 First Suburban Counties)</i>					
Northampton/Lehigh, PA	Allentown, PA-NJ	6.5	5.7	1.6	
Middlesex, MA	Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	6.1	7.1	0.8	0.2
Norfolk, MA	Boston-Cambridge, MA-NH	4.6	5.2	0.9	
Fairfield, CT	Bridgeport-Stamford, CT	4.2	4.8	1.6	
Erie, NY	Buffalo, NY	5.8	7.8	1.8	0.1
Hartford, CT	Hartford, CT	5.8	6.0	1.3	
New Haven, CT	New Haven, CT	7.0	8.7	1.8	
Bergen, NJ	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	5.0	5.5	0.8	
Hudson, NJ	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	15.5	16.5	1.9	
Middlesex, NJ	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	6.6	7.8	1.2	
Nassau, NY	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	5.2	5.2	0.7	
Union, NJ	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	8.4	8.9	1.4	
Westchester, NY	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	8.8	7.9	0.9	
Essex, NJ	New York-Northern New Jersey, NY-NJ-PA	9.0	9.7	2.5	
Bucks, PA	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	4.5	5.8	0.8	0.4
Burlington, NJ	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	4.7	4.6	0.8	
Camden, NJ	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	10.4	12.4	1.3	0.7
Delaware, PA	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	8.0	9.7	1.2	0.4
Montgomery, PA	Philadelphia, PA-NJ-DE	4.4	4.9	0.6	
Allegheny, PA	Pittsburgh, PA	8.1	9.1	1.4	
Providence, RI	Providence, RI-MA	10.4	11.5	2.4	
Monroe, NY	Rochester, NY	4.9	6.3	1.9	
Lackawanna, PA	Scranton, PA	8.2	10.3	5.7	
Hampden, MA	Springfield, MA	10.6	10.5	3.1	
Onondaga, NY	Syracuse, NY	12.2	13.7	1.2	0.3
Worcester, MA	Worcester, MA	6.7	7.5	1.7	

Appendix C. Poverty Rates in First Suburbs, 100 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1999 to 2005 (continued)

First Suburb Counties	Metropolitan Area	1999	2005	MOE	Minimum Change
<i>SOUTH (9 First Suburban Counties)</i>					
Fulton, GA	Atlanta, GA	7.2	6.1	3.2	
Baltimore, MD	Baltimore, MD	6.5	6.8	0.8	
Jefferson, AL	Birmingham, AL	9.1	8.7	3.4	
Dallas, TX	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	8.4	11.6	2.6	0.6
Harris, TX	Houston, TX	9.3	12.2	2.4	0.5
Miami-Dade, FL	Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL	16.0	15.9	1.3	
Hillsborough, FL	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	10.1	10.9	1.8	
Montgomery, MD	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	5.4	4.5	0.6	-0.3
Prince George's, MD	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD	7.7	8.5	1.3	
<i>WEST (9 First Suburban Counties)</i>					
Los Angeles, CA	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	14.6	13.4	1.0	-0.1
Orange, CA	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	9.1	7.9	0.7	-0.5
Maricopa, AZ	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	9.2	10.1	1.7	
Sacramento, CA	Sacramento, CA	11.2	10.8	2.0	
San Diego, CA	San Diego, CA	10.8	9.2	1.7	
Alameda, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	8.4	10.3	1.9	
San Mateo, CA	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	5.8	7.4	1.4	0.2
King, WA	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	6.9	8.1	1.2	
Pierce, WA	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	8.4	8.9	1.7	

Official OMB metro areas names modified to reflect only those cities identified as "central cities" in this analysis

Source: Brookings Institution analysis of Census 2000 and 2005 American Community Survey data

Endnotes

1. See, e.g., Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and Sylvia Allegretto, *The State of Working America 2004/2005* (Cornell University Press, 2005).
2. Carmen DeNavas-Walt, Bernadette D. Proctor, and Cheryl Hill Lee, "Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2005" (Census Bureau, 2006).
3. Brookings Institution and Population Reference Bureau, "Kids in the City: Indicators of Child Well-Being in Large Cities from the 2004 American Community Survey" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
4. Income and poverty data reported by Census 2000 were collected for the 1999 calendar year. Therefore, this study uses "1999" to refer to estimates from the 2000 decennial census.
5. U.S. Census Bureau, "Using Data from the 2005 American Community Survey" (2006) (www.census.gov/acs/www/UseData/advance_copy_user_guide.pdf [accessed October 2006]).
6. The Census Bureau arrives at the poverty threshold via a somewhat complicated formula that adjusts for inflation on a monthly basis. See www.census.gov/acs/www/Downloads/2005/usedata/Subject_Definitions.pdf [accessed October 2006].
7. In these cases, the ACS estimates showed a slightly higher percentage of people in poverty compared to Census 2000. For more detail on the comparability of ACS and census data, see www.census.gov/acs/www/Downloads/Report05.pdf [accessed October 2006].
8. We use "z-tests" to compare estimates from Census 2000 and the 2005 ACS, and conclude that the estimates are different if the absolute value of the z-score is greater than 1.65. We assume a margin of error of +/- 0.1 percentage points for all Census 2000 poverty rate estimates.
9. We use the difference between the 1999 poverty rate and the 2005 90-percent confidence interval lower-bound (in the case of poverty increases) or upper-bound (in the case of poverty decreases) to identify places undergoing the largest changes.
10. William H. Frey and others, "Tracking American Trends into the Twenty-First Century: A Field Guide to the New Metropolitan and Micropolitan Definitions." In A. Berube, B. Katz, and R. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000*, vol. 3 (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
11. Because of this adjustment, 1999 metropolitan poverty figures reported here differ from metropolitan area data reported by Census 2000.
12. OMB designates the city with the largest population in the metropolitan area as the principal city and lists it first in the metropolitan name. Other principal cities are determined based on criteria including, population size, employment, and the level of their local social and economic importance. OMB guidelines can be viewed in their entirety at www.census.gov/population/www/estimates/about-metro.html [accessed October 2006].
13. There are certain exceptions to these criteria. Newark is not named in the New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ MSA under the 2003 guidelines, but for this assessment it is designated as the central city for Northern New Jersey based on its population size and role as an economic center in the area. In addition, the 2005 ACS did not

release estimates for geographies with populations under 65,000. The largest principal city in six of the 100 largest metropolitan areas does not meet the ACS population threshold. Because 2005 poverty data are not currently available in those cases, these six metropolitan areas do not include a central city and are entirely included in the suburban assessment: Greenville, SC; Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA; Lancaster, PA; Portland-South Portland-Biddeford, ME; Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY; Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL.

14. For the six metropolitan areas that do not have central cities, their names have been shortened to the first city listed in the MSA name. For 1999 central-city figures in the Louisville, KY-IN MSA, we report those for Jefferson County, KY, which roughly equates with the new Louisville-Jefferson County, KY consolidated city in 2005.
15. States in the Northeast include: CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT. States in the Midwest include: IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI. States in the South include: AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV. States in the West include: AK, AR, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, NM, OR, UT, WA, WY.
16. Robert Puentes and David Warren, "One-Fifth of America: A Comprehensive Guide to America's First Suburbs" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
17. Within counties that contain first suburbs, we also treat as cities (and thus exclude from first suburban totals) those defined as central cities in our analysis. Thus, although Puentes and Warren (*ibid*) recognize Orange County, CA as a fully first-suburban county, we exclude from its poverty calculations Santa Ana, CA, a central city in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA metropolitan area. Likewise, we do not recognize Gary, IN as a city in Lake County, IN, because it does not meet our criteria to be treated as a central city in the Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI metropolitan area.
18. In 2005, a family of one adult and two children with an income of \$15,735 or less was considered to be poor. The threshold for a family of two adults and two children was \$19,806.
19. Both Census 2000 and the 2005 ACS collected income information only for the population living in households. This means that individuals living in group quarters and institutions are not included in poverty measures. Therefore, this study uses the term "population" to refer to all individuals for whom poverty status is determined.
20. Among its limitations, the federal poverty line does not account for regional differences in the cost of living, nor does it factor in the value of tax credits and cash/in-kind government transfers, such as Food Stamps and the Earned Income Tax Credit. A panel from the National Academy of Sciences issued a report in 1995 that recommend changing the way in which the poverty threshold is calculated in order to reflect the following: differences in need by family size and geography; changes in consumption patterns and household composition; and changes in labor force patterns. To date, these changes have not been implemented. See National Academy of Sciences, *Measuring Poverty: A New Approach* (Washington: National Academy Press, 1995).
21. John Cassidy, "Relatively Deprived." *The New Yorker*, April 3, 2006.
22. This trend does not owe to the patterns in a few large metropolitan areas, but instead reflects that more metropolitan areas have a majority of their poor in suburbs than have a majority of their poor in central cities. Of the 94 metropolitan areas for which we define central cities, 33 have more poor in their suburbs than their cities, while 22 have more poor in their cities than suburbs. In the other 39, the number of poor in central cities and suburbs were not statistically different.
23. This finding hinges in no small part on how we have chosen to define "central cities" and "suburbs" in our analysis—identifying only the large and well-known city or cities within each metro area as central cities, and focusing on only the 100 largest metro areas in the United States. Nonetheless, it is notable that per this definition a majority of poor Americans within these metro areas lived in central cities in 1999, and that the statistic had "flipped" by 2005.
24. William Frey, "The New Great Migration: Black Americans' Return to the South, 1965–2000" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).
25. Hans P. Johnson and Joseph M. Hayes, "The Central Valley at a Crossroads: Migration and Its Implications" (San Francisco: Public Policy Institute of California, 2004).
26. Rick Lyman, "New Data Shows Immigrants' Growth and Reach." *The New York Times*, August 10, 2006, p. A1.
27. Despite the aggregate pattern in that region, there was little indication from the 1995-to-2005 trends that poverty had been "pushed out" to the suburbs by increasing housing costs; poverty rates rose by significant margins in only two Northeastern suburban areas (and across the whole of the Portland, ME metro area). However, it is difficult to capture these underlying dynamics absent more detailed migration and income data.
28. See, e.g., David Rusk, "Annexation and the Fiscal Fate of Cities" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006); Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Harvard University Press, 1993); William H. Frey and Elaine Fielding, "Changing Urban Populations: Regional Restructuring, Racial Polarization, and Poverty Concentration." *Cityscape* 1(2)(1995): 1–66.
29. Alan Berube and William H. Frey, "A Decade of Mixed Blessings: Urban and Suburban Poverty in Census 2000." In A. Berube, B. Katz, and R. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence from Census 2000*, vol. 2 (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2005).
30. Berube and Frey, "A Decade of Mixed Blessings."
31. This does not mean that poverty rates in these cities did not change over this period, but rather that the 1999 rate lies within the statistical margin of error associated with the 2005 estimate. See Methodology. In 25 of the 43 central cities, and 46 of the 67 suburbs, where the 2005 rate was statistically no different than the 1999 rate, the 2005 estimate was at least 0.2 percentage points higher than the 1999 rate, suggesting that a larger sample might have detected more widespread poverty increases.
32. The top cities and suburbs for poverty-rate changes are determined based on the minimum amount by which their 2005 estimates exceed (or trail) their 1999 rates. This minimum amount is based on the difference between the 1999 rate and the lower bound of the 90-percent confidence interval for the 2005 rate in the case of poverty increases, and the upper bound of that interval in the case of poverty decreases. We cannot be certain that these represent the true cities and suburbs experiencing the greatest poverty-rate changes from 1999 to 2005, but the survey results suggest these to be among the likeliest locations. Eleven cities with poverty-rate increases are shown in Map 1 because Columbus and Grand Rapids tied for the tenth spot.
33. See, e.g., Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South* (Hampshire, UK: Aldershot, 2006).
34. New Orleans-Metairie may appear among the central cities experiencing poverty-rate declines from 1999 to 2005 due to the disproportionate out-migration of poor households from the region subsequent to Hurricane Katrina's impact in August 2005; William H.

Frey and Audrey Singer, "Katrina and Rita Impacts on Gulf Coast Populations: First Census Findings" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006)

35. If central city and suburban poverty were truly unrelated, we would have expected only $(0.31) \times (0.43) \times 100 = 13$ of the central cities in metropolitan areas with increasing suburban poverty rates to have experienced increases in poverty rates as well. In only one metropolitan area—Richmond, VA—did the central-city poverty rate decrease while the suburban poverty rate increased. No metropolitan areas saw suburban poverty increase as city poverty decreased.
36. McAllen's and El Paso's suburbs feature underdeveloped border communities that are predominantly Hispanic and low-income. The 90-percent confidence interval for El Paso's suburbs is so large because the city of El Paso comprises the bulk of El Paso County, which coincides with the El Paso metropolitan area.
37. Rolf Pendall, Robert Puentes, and Jonathan Martin, "From Traditional to Reformed: A Review of Land Use Regulations in the Nation's 50 Largest Metropolitan Areas" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
38. The margin of error for the 2005 estimate was +/- 0.2 percentage points, indicating that the poverty rate rose from 1999.
39. The margin of error for the 2005 estimate was +/- 0.9 percentage points, indicating that the proportion declined from 1999.
40. Brookings Institution and Population Reference Bureau, "Kids in the City."
41. The margin of error for the 2005 estimate was +/- 0.1 percentage points, indicating that the U.S. child poverty rate rose from 1999.
42. It is possible that some portion of this poverty-rate increase in Houston is attributable to the influx of lower-income evacuees from the New Orleans area post-Hurricane Katrina in 2005. However, it is not clear that many of these households would have received and responded to an ACS survey during the September-to-December 2005 period, as many lived in temporary accommodations (such as shelters and motels) that probably were not captured by the ACS.
43. The poverty rate for families with related children in 2005 was 14.5 percent, compared to 5.1 percent for families without children. For families with children headed by a female, the poverty rate was 36.2 percent. U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2006 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (available at http://pubdb3.census.gov/macro/032006/pov/new04_100_01.htm [accessed October 2006]).

44. Alan Berube, "The New Safety Net: How the Tax Code Helped Low-Income Working Families During the Early 2000s" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
45. Wayne Vroman, "An Introduction to Unemployment and Unemployment Insurance" (Washington: Urban Institute, 2005).
46. For more on these approaches, see Howard Wial and Alec Friedhoff, "Bearing the Brunt: Manufacturing Job Loss in the Great Lakes Region, 1995–2005" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).
47. Several indicators of these regional divides can be viewed at the American Research and Geographic Information Systems website, www.ameregis.com [accessed October 2006].
48. See, e.g., David Rusk, "Nine Lessons for Inclusionary Zoning." Keynote remarks to the National Inclusionary Housing Conference (Washington: October 5, 2005); Mary E. Brooks, *Housing Trust Fund Progress Report 2002* (Washington: Center for Community Change); State of Illinois, *Building for Success: Illinois' Comprehensive Housing Plan* (Chicago: Illinois Housing Development Authority, 2005).

49. See, e.g., David Jason Fischer, "Workforce Intermediaries: Powering Regional Economies in the New Century" (Baltimore: Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2005); Robert P. Giloth, ed., *Workforce Intermediaries for the Twenty-First Century* (Temple University Press, 2004).
50. Alan Berube, "¿Tienes EITC? A Study of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Immigrant Communities" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2005).
51. Scott Allard, "Access to Social Services: The Changing Urban Geography of Poverty and Service Provision" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2004).
52. U.S. Census Bureau, "American Community Survey: A Handbook for State and Local Officials" (2004).

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