Exploring Concentrated Poverty in the Southeast:

A Follow-Up to the Century Foundation's *The Architecture of Segregation*

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Abstract: Past research has shown that concentrated poverty–the proportion of the poor living in high-poverty neighborhoods–is a serious problem that can compound the negative impact of living in poverty. A 2015 study by Paul Jargowsky found that concentrated poverty in the United States increased significantly between the 2000 census and the 2009–13 American Community Survey (ACS). Jargowsky's research also found that a smaller increase in concentrated poverty occurred between the 2000 census and the earlier 2005–09 ACS, suggesting that concentrated poverty was on the rise before the recent Great Recession.

This paper replicates Jargowsky's methodology in six southeastern states to discover whether concentrated poverty in the Southeast has followed the trajectory of the nation as a whole. An analysis of census data for the Southeast found that, unlike the national study, concentrated poverty declined between 2000 and the 2005–09 ACS. Concentrated poverty in the Southeast didn't rise significantly until the postrecession period reflected by the 2009-13 ACS. This finding suggests that the Great Recession has largely driven recent increases in concentrated poverty in the Southeast. The overall increase in concentrated poverty was also more modest in the Southeast. The proportion of the poor living in high-poverty neighborhoods has increased only by 0.8 percent in the Southeast since 2000, compared to an increase of 4.1 percent nationally. However, changes in concentrated poverty differed significantly between racial groups. Hispanics experienced the greatest increase in concentrated poverty in the Southeast as well as in the rest of the country. Black residents of the Southeast, on the other hand, have experienced a small decrease in concentrated poverty since 2000, while black concentrated poverty has risen in the country as a whole. These trends provide a fruitful starting point for future investigation into the nature of concentrated poverty in the Southeast.

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Since the recession of 2008, a great deal of attention has been paid to the growth of poverty and inequality in the United States. Although any increase in poverty is cause for concern, many policymakers and advocates have been especially troubled by the apparent return of *concentrated poverty*: the isolation of the poor in neighborhoods with overwhelming rates of poverty. Concentrated poverty affects children's educational outcomes and prospects for economic mobility and creates a pattern of isolation that also affects residents' health and safety. This paper will examine changes in patterns of concentrated poverty in the Southeast since 1990, with a particular emphasis on changes between the pre- and postrecession periods. The methodology of the paper is designed to closely follow a previous study that examined national data on concentrated poverty.

In August 2015, Paul Jargowsky released a report for the Century Foundation, *The Architecture of Segregation*, documenting the growth of concentrated poverty in the United States since 2000. These findings were based on data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses and the American Community Survey (ACS) five-year summaries from 2005–09 and 2009–13. The study found that between 1990 and 2000, concentrated poverty declined significantly across the country. However, in the subsequent ACS periods, concentrated poverty steadily increased. Since the ACS results from 2005–09 do not fully reflect the impact of the Great Recession, Jargowsky uses the increase in concentrated poverty from 2000 to this period to argue that the increase has not been driven by the recession alone. Instead, the report points to deliberate policy choices, particularly exclusionary zoning and uncontrolled suburban growth, that have created increasingly segregated metropolitan areas. Jargowsky labels the set of policy choices contributing to concentrated poverty as the "architecture of segregation."

Most of the findings in *The Architecture of Segregation* are aggregated at the national level. Given that regional differences are often significant, taking a closer look at a more limited area may reveal additional insights into the nature of concentrated poverty in the United States. In this paper, I investigate the state of concentrated poverty in the Southeast and attempt to determine if changes in concentrated poverty are best explained by an "architecture of segregation" or something else entirely.

Methodology

In *The Architecture of Segregation*, Jargowsky defines a high-poverty neighborhood as a census tract with a poverty rate above 40 percent. The rate of concentrated poverty is measured by calculating the percentage of the poor population that resides in high-poverty neighborhoods. Jargowsky also calculates the total population living in high-poverty neighborhoods (regardless of whether or not they fall under the poverty line) and the change in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods.

The goal of this preliminary study was to imitate closely the methods described by Jargowsky. However, the scope of the study was limited to the states within the Southeast, those that are wholly or partly within the Atlanta Fed's footprint: Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee. This census data was obtained at the tract level, and differing tract geographies across time periods were unified using crosswalk files from Brown University's Longitudinal Tract Data Base.

There are some important differences between the methodology of this study and the original. In Jargowsky's study, changes in concentrated poverty were measured for non-Hispanic whites, blacks,

and Hispanics. In this study, I only include data for whites as a whole, instead of separating out non-Hispanic whites. This was due to the difficulty of inferring the number of non-Hispanic whites in time periods when these data were not specifically collected. Additionally, the original study included concentrated poverty data for various age categories, while this study does not consider age.

Overview of Findings

Figure 1 shows the change in concentrated poverty by metropolitan statistical area (MSA) in the Southeast

Figure 1. Change in Concentrated Poverty by MSA
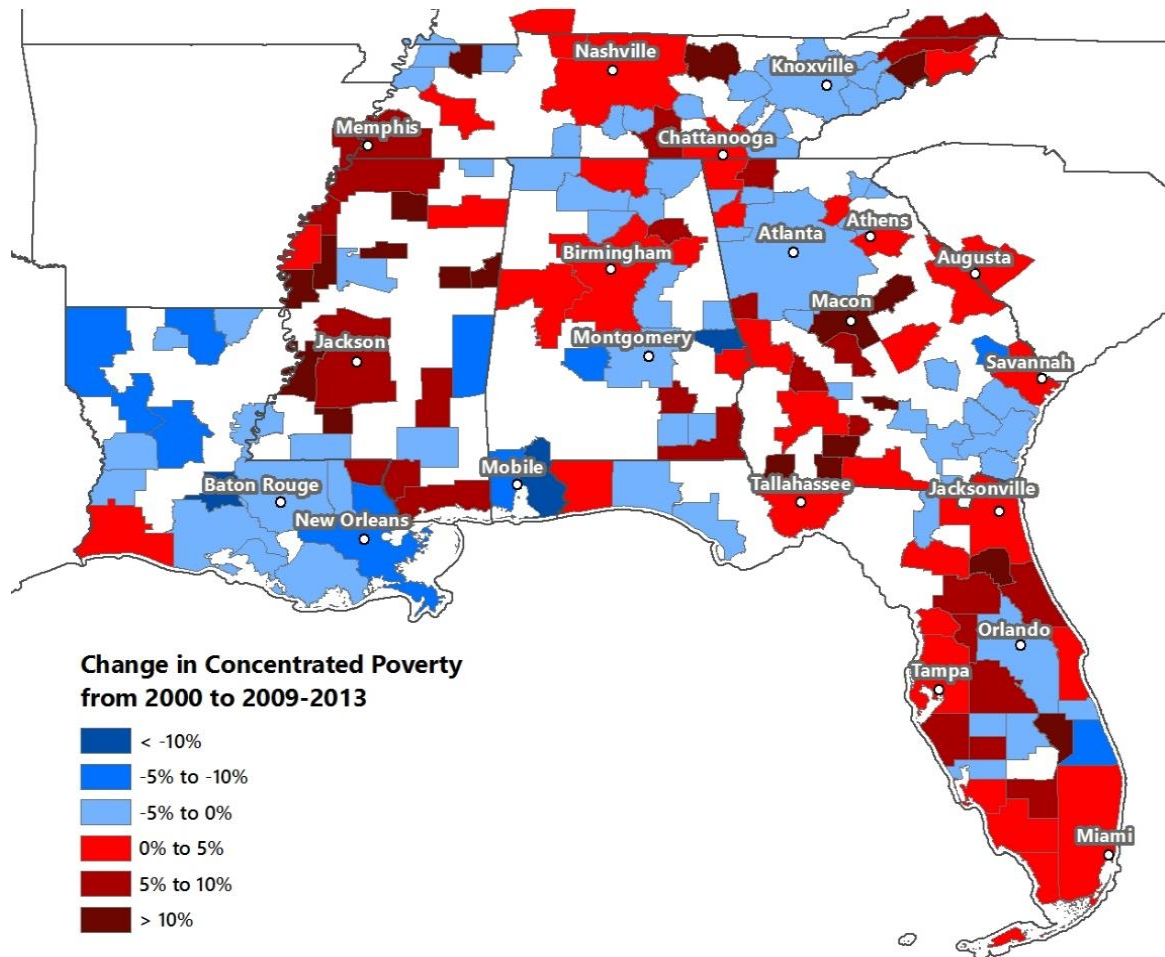
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

The map in figure 1 shows the diversity of changes in the Southeast. Some metros, including New Orleans, show significant decreases in concentrated poverty. Others, like Miami and Nashville, have seen minor increases. A scattering of small to midsized metros display deeper increases in concentrated

poverty. Table 1 shows more detailed statistics on the number and population of high-poverty tracts (those with a poverty rate greater than 40 percent) and the rates of concentrated poverty by race and ethnicity in the Southeast, aggregated at the regional level.

Table 1. High-Poverty Tracts and Concentrated Poverty in the Southeast: 1990 to 2009–13

	1990	2000	2005–09	2009–13
Total Population	34,133,323	40,524,602	45,819,431	47,648,077
Number of High-Poverty Tracts	533	457	484	625
Total Pop. of High-Poverty Tracts	1,789,561 (**5.2%**)	1,295,704 (**3.2%**)	1,417,701 (**3.1%**)	1,988,576 (**4.2%**)
Concentrated Poverty				
Poor in High-Poverty Tracts	899,481 (**16.4%**)	630,251 (**10.8%**)	695,552 (**10.1%**)	957,790 (**11.6%**)
White Poor in High-Poverty Tracts	110,732 (**4.1%**)	91,381 (**3.7%**)	136,258 (**4.6%**)	167,669 (**4.9%**)
Black Poor in High-Poverty Tracts	773,851 (**30.5%**)	551,414 (**21.9%**)	539,919 (**19.9%**)	676,825 (**21.7%**)
Hispanic Poor in High-Poverty Tracts	63,279 (**7.9%**)	33,604 (**5.3%**)	40,602 (**4.2%**)	123,335 (**8.7%**)

Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

Some of the numbers in table 1 mirror the national trends identified in *The Architecture of Segregation*. However, during the initial period of 1990–2000, the number of high-poverty tracts decreased 26.5 percent nationally and only 14.3 percent in the Southeast. The increase in the number of high-poverty tracts was also more modest in the Southeast than in the United States, with a 75.8 percent increase from 2000 to 2009–13 nationally versus only 36.8 percent in the Southeast. The concentrated poverty rate in the last period of 2009–13 was slightly lower in the Southeast (11.6 percent) than nationally (14.4 percent). Nationally and in the Southeast, the number of high-poverty tracts increased in both ACS periods, and so did the total population of these tracts. However, the percentages illustrate the overall improvement in concentrated poverty relative to population between 2000 and the first ACS period, from 10.8 percent to 10.1 percent, despite an increase in the white poor in high-poverty tracts (from 3.7 percent to 4.6 percent).

Even though the rate of concentrated poverty (the proportion of poor residents residing in high-poverty tracts) decreased slightly in the region as a whole, many metropolitan areas still saw increases in concentrated poverty. The 10 metropolitan areas with the largest increases in the Southeast (taken out of the top 50 metros in the Southeast by population) are in table 2.

Table 2. MSAs with the Largest Gains in Concentrated Poverty since 2000

Rank	MSA	Change in Concentrated Poverty
1	Macon, GA	14.21%
2	Jackson, MS	8.34%
3	Gulfport-Biloxi-Pascagoula, MS	8.26%
4	The Villages, FL	8.05%
5	Deltona-Daytona Beach-Ormond Beach, FL	8.03%
6	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	7.28%
7	North Port-Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	7.19%
8	Warner Robins, GA	6.27%
9	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	6.17%
10	Ocala, FL	5.77%

Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

Viewing the tract-level poverty data on a map can help us understand the kinds of tangible shifts these numbers represent. Figures 2 and 3 show the changes in tract-level poverty in Macon, Georgia, and Jackson, Mississippi, between 2000 and the 2009–13 ACS. Similar maps of Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami, Nashville, and New Orleans can be found in Appendix A. While there was an increase in the number of concentrated poverty tracts in each city, certain tract-level declines in concentrated poverty were the result of the demolition of public housing during this period, while others were due to unplanned neighborhood change.

Figure 2. Poverty in Macon, Georgia
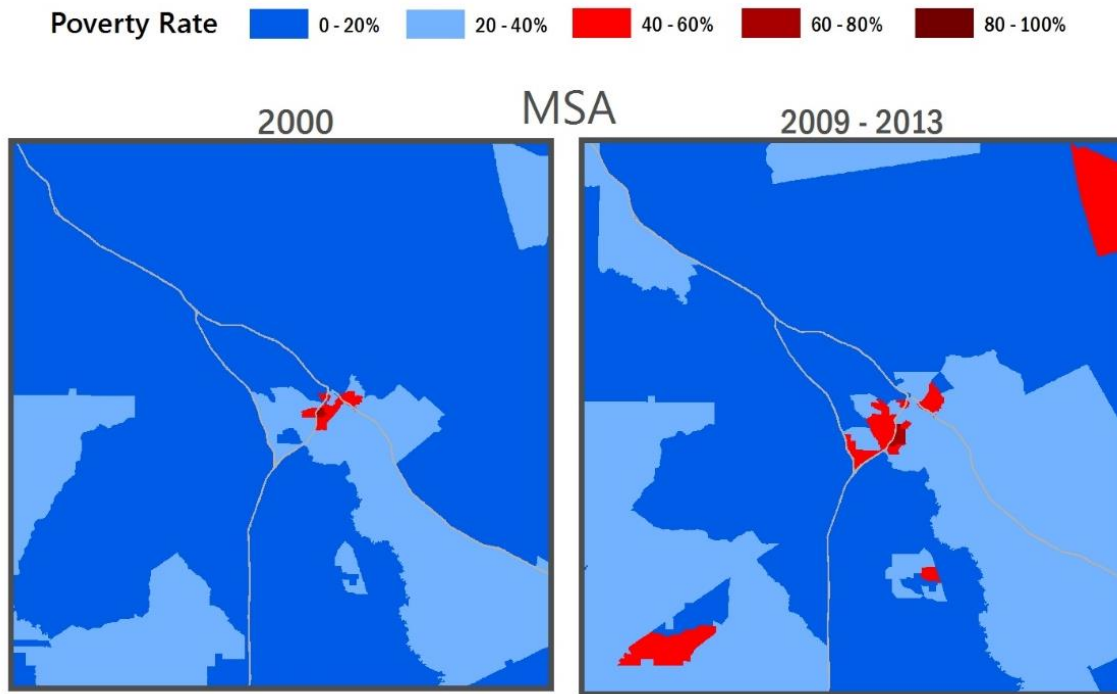
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

Figure 3. Poverty in Jackson, Mississippi
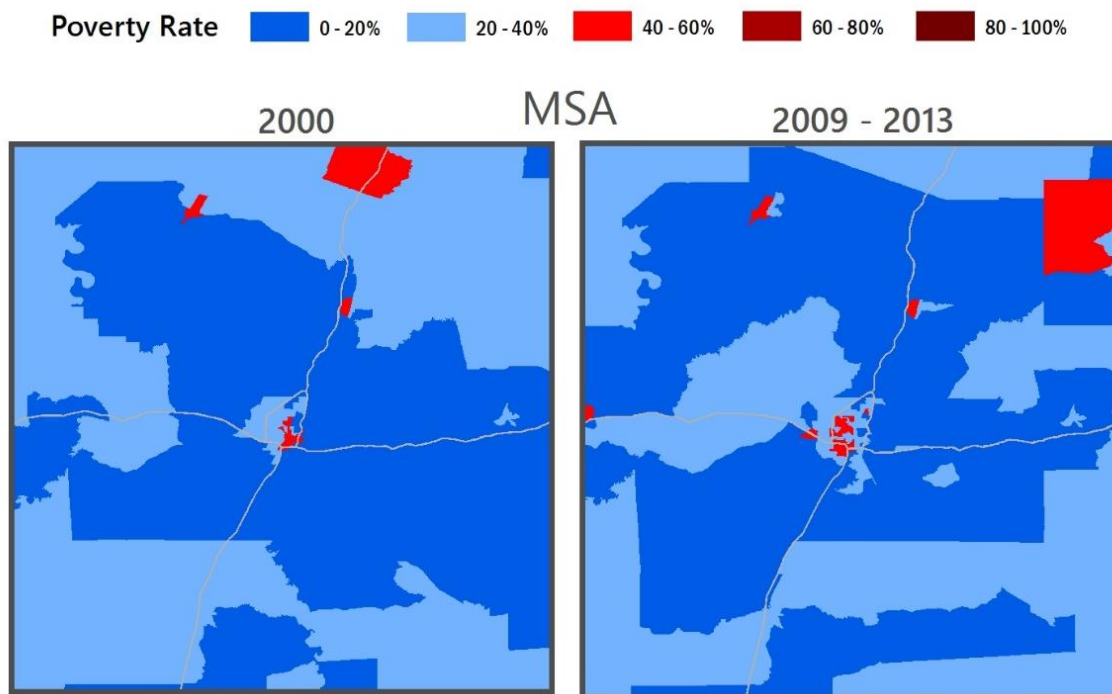
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

In both Jackson and Macon, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods expanded in the metropolitan core (although Macon gained a few high-poverty tracts in its outlying areas). This is consistent with Jargowsky's idea that continuing disinvestment in inner-city areas could be contributing to the phenomenon of concentrated poverty. However, the fact that most high-poverty neighborhoods are located in the central city does not mean that the *same* inner-city neighborhoods have remained poor since 2000. There is evidence that investment and growth have occurred in some core tracts, often in or around downtown areas. The result has been decreased poverty in the center of many cities, combined with increased poverty in the areas just beyond the center. A closer look at downtown Macon, shown in figure 4, provides a strong example of this trend in action.

Figure 4: Downtown Macon Detail
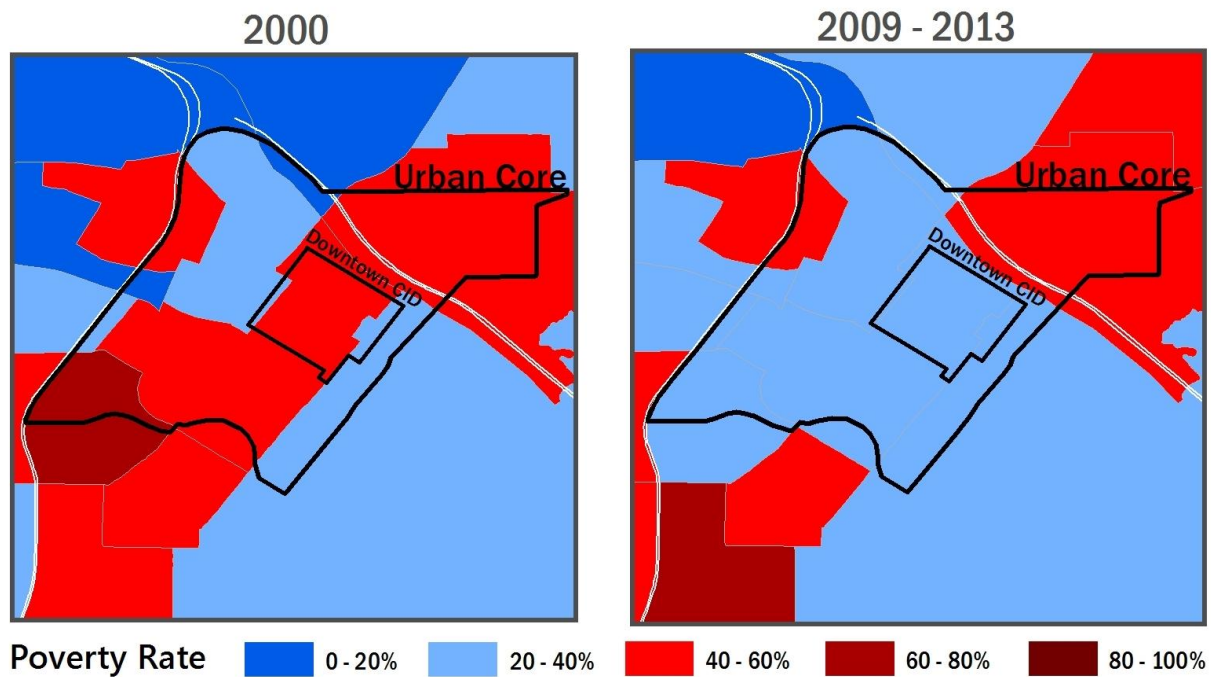
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

The urban core boundary in the map above is taken from the Macon Action Plan, a recent strategic plan for Macon's downtown and downtown-adjacent areas (Macon-Bibb County Urban Development Authority 2015). The area marked Downtown CID is the area included in the NewTown Macon Community Improvement District—the heart of downtown Macon. Both the area covered by the downtown CID and the broader urban core have seen noticable decreases in poverty. However, some adjacent tracts that were once low poverty (between 0 and 20 percent) have become moderate-poverty tracts (between 20 and 40 percent), and some moderate-poverty tracts nearby have jumped to high-poverty status. This helps to illustrate how two seemingly contradictory trends—the increased affluence of many downtown areas and persistent inner-city poverty—can coincide. Improvements in specific neighborhoods may not mark a positive overall trend in any given city.

As shown in figure 1, several metropolitan areas have also experienced decreases in concentrated poverty. Table 3 lists the 10 metropolitan areas with the largest decreases out of the 50 largest MSAs in the Southeast.

Table 3. MSAs with the Largest Decreases in Concentrated Poverty since 2000

Rank	MSA	Change in Concentrated Poverty
1	Daphne-Fairhope-Foley, AL	-12.50%
2	Port St. Lucie, FL	-7.60%
3	Shreveport-Bossier City, LA	-6.99%
4	New Orleans-Metairie, LA	-6.66%
5	Mobile, AL	-5.58%
6	Montgomery, AL	-3.76%
7	Lafayette, LA	-3.09%
8	Houma-Thibodaux, LA	-2.57%
9	Panama City, FL	-2.56%
10	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	-1.71%

Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

One noteworthy feature of table 3 is the strong presence of Gulf Coast cities (including New Orleans and Mobile). These changes could be related to the impact of Hurrican Katrina—a possibility that will be discussed further in the final section of this paper.

Table 4 shows the MSAs with the highest concentrations of poverty in the latest ACS period, regardless of the change in concentrated poverty they experienced.

Table 4. MSAs with the Highest Concentration of Poverty

Rank	MSA	Rate of Concentrated Poverty
1	Gainesville, FL*	34.2%
2	Tallahassee, FL*	32.2%
3	Athens-Clarke County, GA*	32.1%
4	Macon, GA	29.6%
5	Albany, GA	26.2%
6	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	23.4%
7	Jackson, MS	21.5%
8	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	17.5%
9	Mobile, AL	17.2%
10	Columbus, GA-AL	15.1%

*City with a large proportion of college students.

Source: 2009–13 ACS

Some of the metropolitan areas with the largest increases in concentrated poverty since 2000 also had the highest rates of concentrated poverty overall, including Macon and Jackson. Other cities with unusually high rates of concentrated poverty, such as Athens, have not seen significant increases in concentrated poverty (and some have even experienced decreases). An important fact to keep in mind is that the top three cities on this list have large populations of college students, which can inflate poverty statistics. In fact, a recent Census Bureau study specifically found that Gainesville, Tallahassee, and Athens had large increases in poverty due to their student populations (Bishaw 2013). Although this study only looked at the overall rate of poverty, and not the level of concentration, it's likely that the concentration of poverty is linked to the student population as well.

Comparison of Selected Findings

In figures 5 and 6, the population of high-poverty neighborhoods in the Southeast can be compared to the national numbers taken from Jargowsky's study.

Figure 5. Original Study: Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods (in Millions)
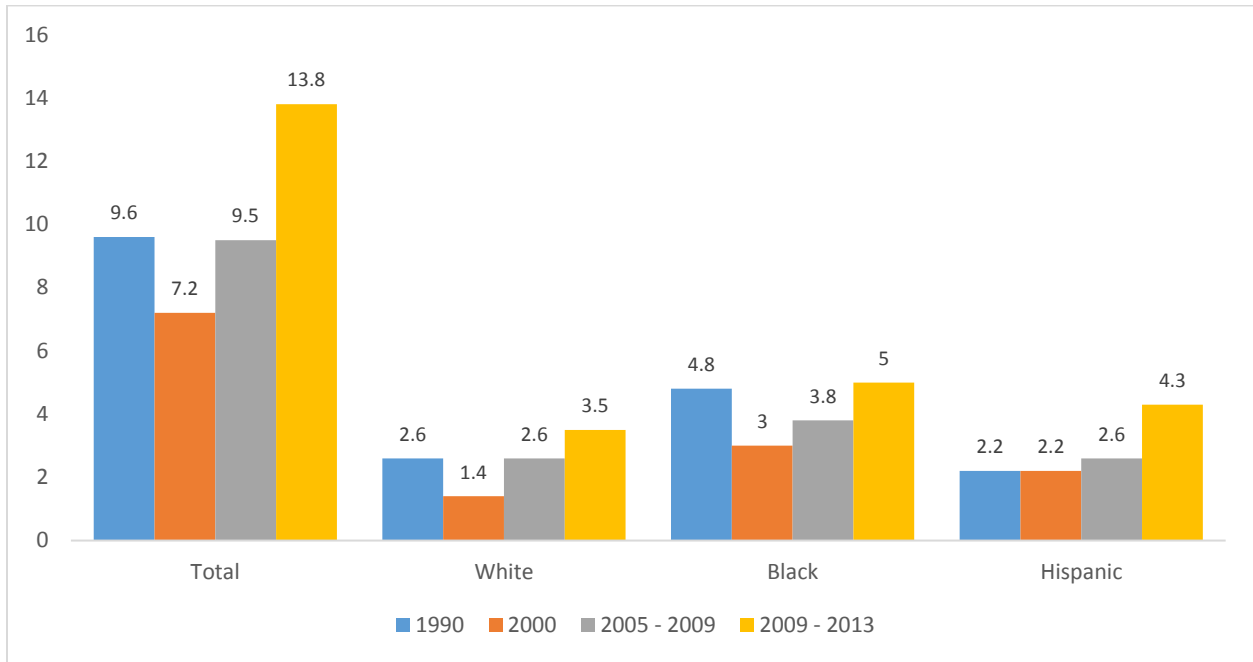
Sources: Paul Jargowsky, 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

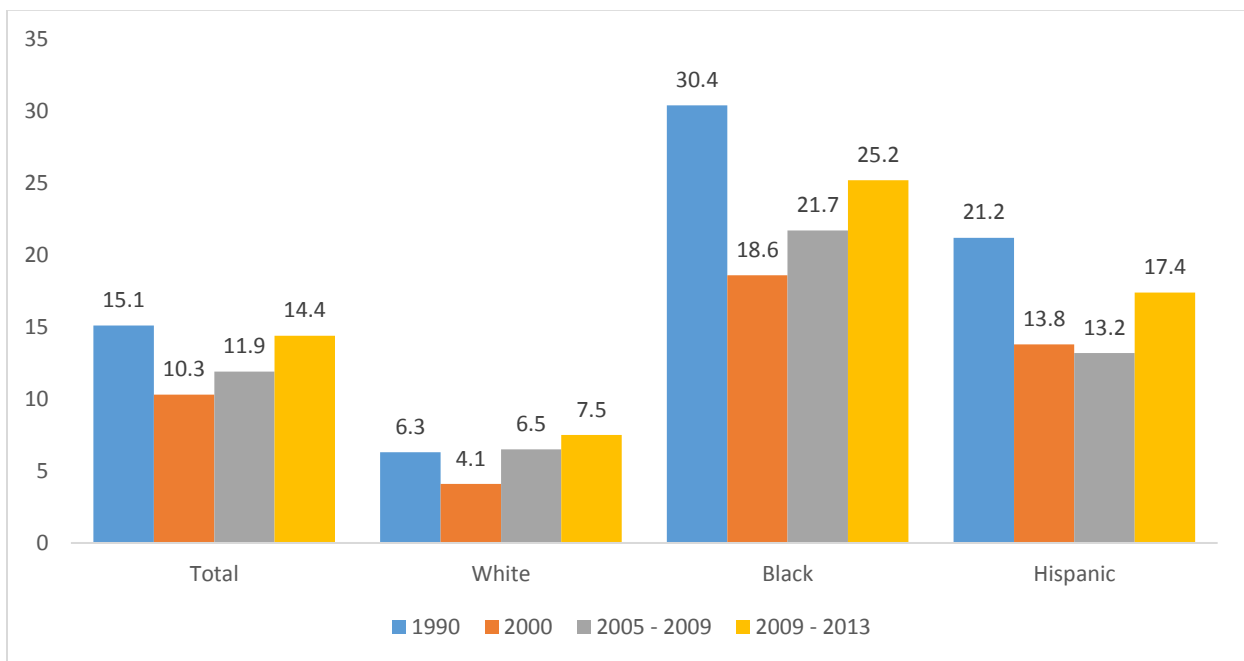## Figure 6. Southeast: Population of High-Poverty Neighborhoods (in Millions)
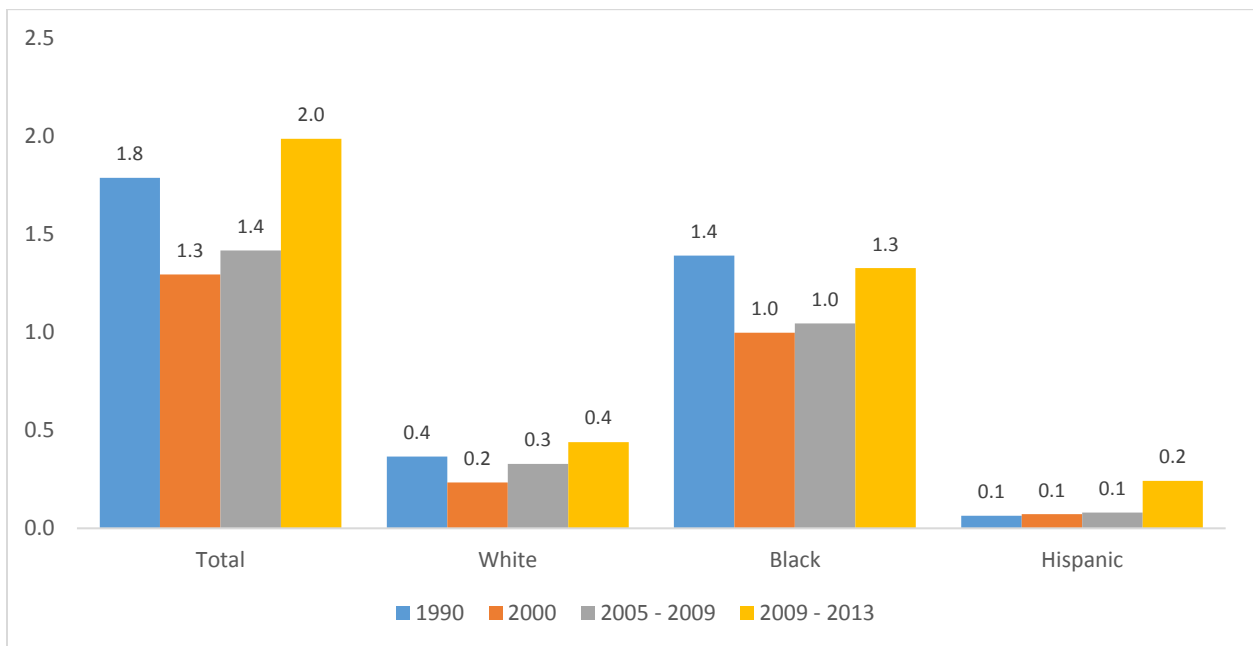
Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

The pattern of change in the Southeast is consistent with the national numbers. The population of white and black residents in concentrated poverty declined between 1990 and 2000, and it increased steadily in the two ACS periods. Meanwhile, the Hispanic population of high-poverty tracts remained largely flat until taking a significant leap forward in the second ACS period. The primary difference between the findings of figures 5 and 6 is the raw numbers of each racial group. In the Southeast, a much larger proportion of the population of high-poverty neighborhoods is black, and there are also proportionally fewer Hispanics in high-poverty neighborhoods. This difference is likely explained by simple differences in demographics: the states in the Southeast had more than twice the percentage of black residents in 1990 than the nation as a whole.

While these numbers appear to support Jargowsky's thesis, merely measuring the absolute change in the residents of high-poverty areas can be misleading. This is especially true in the Southeast, which has seen robust population growth for the past several decades. Percentages give us a more valid comparison. Figures 7 and 8 show the percentage of the poor population living in high-poverty neighborhoods nationally and in the Southeast.

Figure 7. Original Study (National): Percentage of the Poor Population in High-Poverty Neighborhoods

Sources: Paul Jargowsky, 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

Figure 8. Southeast: Percentage of the Poor Population in High-Poverty Neighborhoods
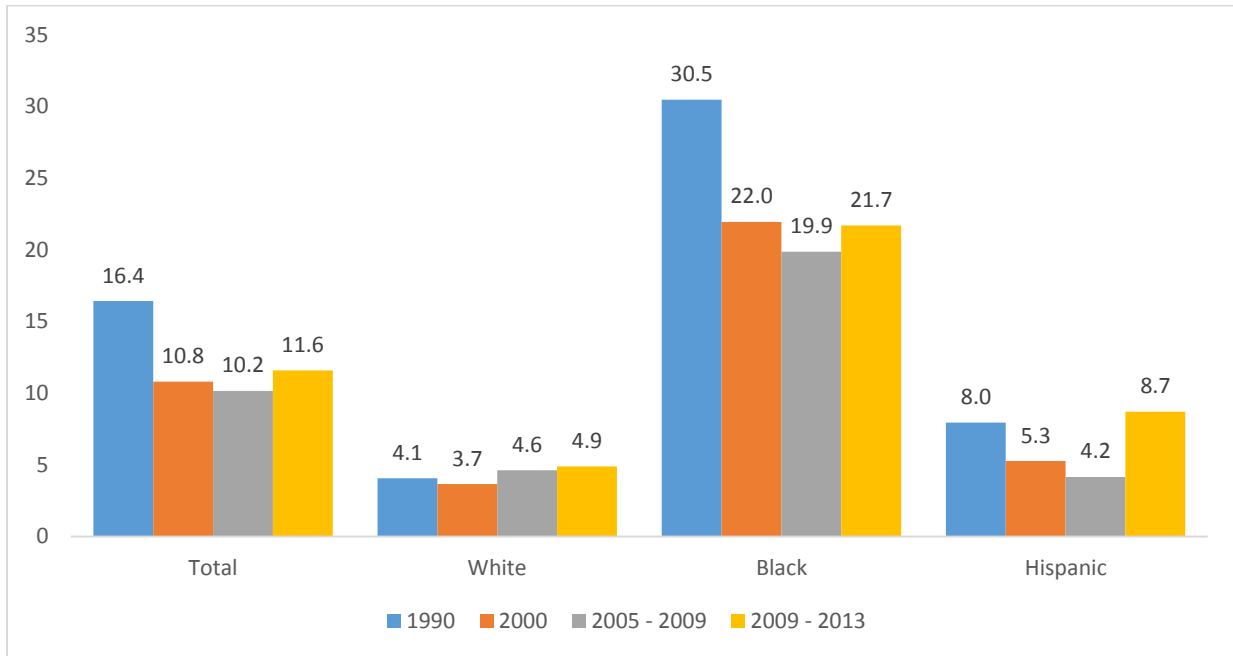
Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

In every group except the white population, the percentage of the poor living in high-poverty areas in the Southeast decreased until the 2009–13 ACS period. Contrary to Jargowsky's nationwide findings, this pattern seems to be consistent with the idea that recent gains in concentrated poverty are largely the result of the Great Recession. Additional differences between the Southeast and the national numbers can be seen if we look at the change in concentrated poverty between different metropolitan area size classes (see figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. Original Study (National): Percent Change in Concentration of Poverty by MSA Size (2000 to 2009–13 ACS)
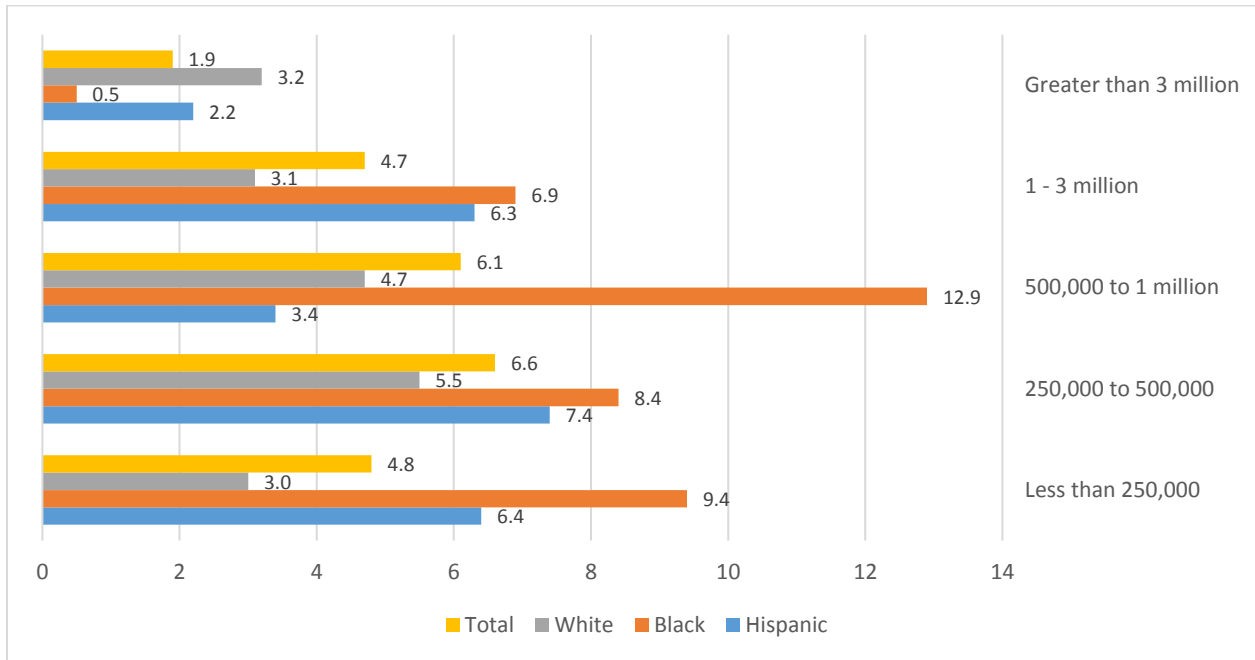
Sources: Paul Jargowsky, 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

Figure 10. Southeast: Percent Change in Concentration of Poverty by MSA Size (2000 to 2009–13 ACS)
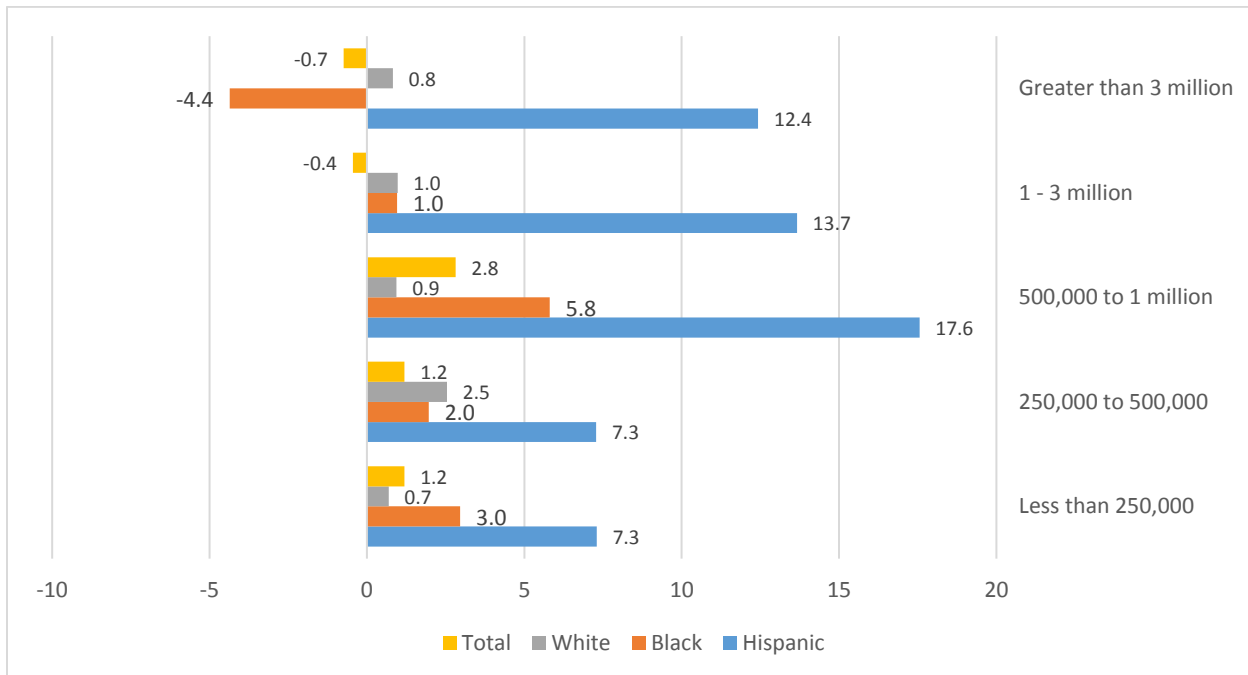
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

Nationally, Jargowsky found that cities with a population of over 3 million had the smallest increase in concentrated poverty. In the Southeast, cities in this size category actually saw a decline in concentrated poverty, apparently driven by a significant decrease in concentrated poverty among black residents. It should be noted that in the Southeast, this category is made up of only two cities: Atlanta and Miami. Due to the extremely low number of cities in this category, it makes sense to show our findings for each city, as shown in figure 11.
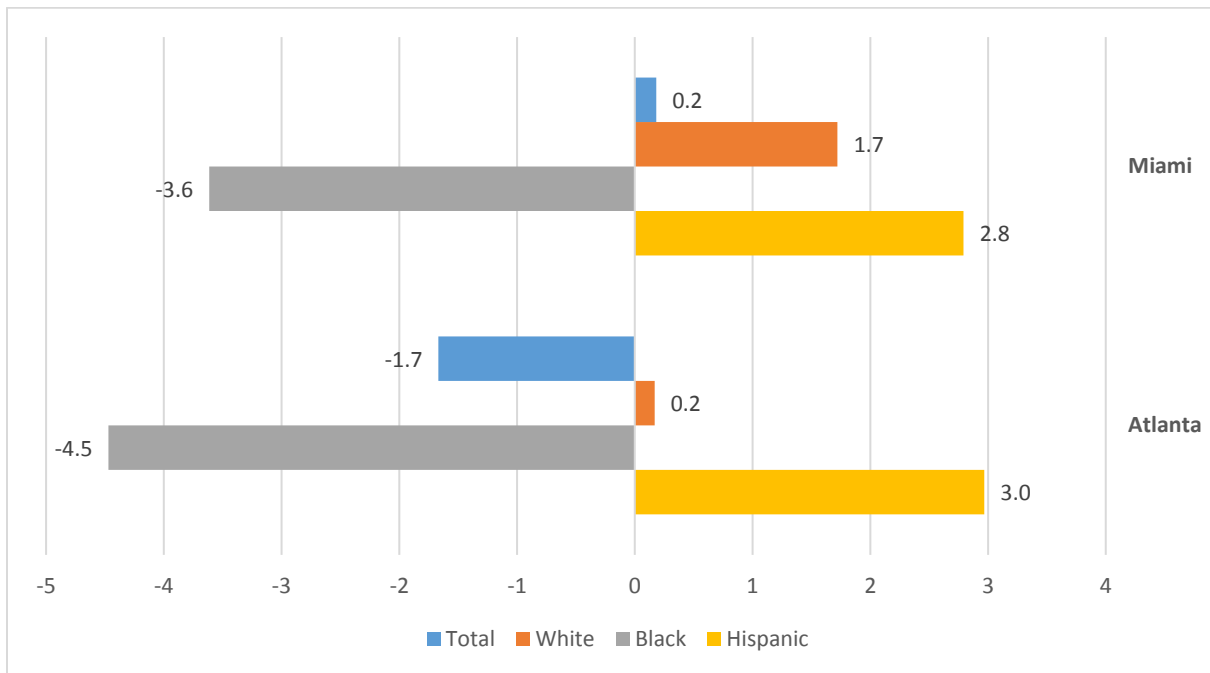
Figure 11. Southeast: Concentrated Poverty in Miami and Atlanta (2000 to 2009–13 ACS)

Sources: 2000 Census, 2009–13 ACS

Both Miami and Atlanta experienced declines in black concentrated poverty, but Miami still experienced a very small total increase in overall concentrated poverty. Thus, Atlanta turns out to be responsible for the 0.7 percent decline in overall concentrated poverty in this size category, shown in figure 10.

The 1 million to 3 million category also saw a small decline in overall concentrated poverty, which is slightly puzzling, since all three demographic groups in figure 10 show increases in concentrated poverty. There are two factors that could explain this. First, the Asian population, which isn't shown, experienced a small (1 percent) decline in concentrated poverty. Second, the fact that the white category does not exclude Hispanic whites means that some Hispanics were counted in both categories. It's likely that the small increase in white poverty is at least partially due to the inclusion of white Hispanics.

Similar to the national numbers, midsized cities saw the greatest increase in concentrated poverty. Cities with between 500,000 and 1 million residents experienced the greatest overall increase

in concentrated poverty as well as the largest increase in concentrated black poverty. Meanwhile, cities of between 250,000 to 500,000 saw the greatest increase in white poverty. In every size category, however, the increase in overall concentrated poverty was much lower in the Southeast than in the nation as a whole. Hispanic concentrated poverty, on the other hand, increased by a much larger percentage.

It's possible that the disproportionate increase in Hispanic concentrated poverty could be related to the effects of immigration. Although this study does not include information that indicates the exact proportion of the Hispanic population increase due to foreign immigration, there are strong clues that immigration played a major role. From 1990 to the latest ACS period of 2009–13, the Hispanic population of the Southeast more than tripled—and a Pew Research study from 2013 ranked Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Louisiana among the top 10 states with the highest proportion of foreign-born Hispanics (Brown and Lopez 2013). A previous study from Paul Jargowsky found that immigrants, who are typically lower-income, tend to cluster in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty (Jargowsky 2006). Taken together, these pieces of information strongly point to the fact that immigration may be a key factor behind the dramatic increase in Hispanic concentrated poverty in the Southeast.

Remaining Questions

Jargowsky's findings have sparked a lot of conversation over structural inequality and segregation in the United States. Perhaps the most compelling thing about *The Architecture of Segregation* is that it went beyond descriptive statistics and linked the national increase in concentrated poverty to specific policy choices. Using the unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, as his starting point, Jargowsky asserted that pockets of concentrated poverty in cities and inner-ring suburbs were the result of a "durable architecture of segregation that ensures that racial segregation and the concentration of poverty is entrenched for years to come." According to Jargowsky, this "architecture" includes uncontrolled growth at urban fringes, exclusionary zoning, and public housing policy that reinforces patterns of poverty. The report's findings show that some of the national demographic trends identified by Jargowsky exist in the Southeast, while other patterns of change are significantly different. However, a number of questions regarding the roots of concentrated poverty remain to be answered.

What does sprawl have to do with it?

Jargowsky's conclusion that the increase in concentrated poverty has been largely caused by suburbanization is not far-fetched, but his study does not substantiate this assertion. If suburban out-migration and exclusionary housing policies are indeed the culprits behind concentrated poverty, we might expect to see higher rates of concentrated poverty in the sprawling regions of the West and Southeast than in the relatively dense Northeast. However, that is not the case. The regional outlier in the growth of concentrated poverty is the industrial Midwest, suggesting that economic shifts (such as the decline of blue-collar jobs) may be a larger factor than suburbanization.

The fact that concentrated poverty declined significantly between 1990 and 2000 throws another wrench in the narrative. Although, as Jargowsky states, there may have been stronger social policies in place to help the poor during this period, suburbanization certainly didn't slow down. This suggests that while sprawl may make life more complicated for the poor, it may be possible to mitigate concentrated poverty with a combination of social policies unrelated to urban form and a generally strong economic climate.

However, if Jargowsky is correct in placing the blame for concentrated poverty on suburbanization, it is unlikely that the studied time frame would provide us with evidence. By 1990, the suburban form of the American city had been in place for decades, and any increase in sprawl between 1990 and the latest ACS period was an incremental continuation of long-standing trends.

A Katrina effect?

Although Jargowsky does show that every region has experienced an increase in concentrated poverty since 2000, his report does not include data showing that each region experienced an increase in concentrated poverty in the 2005–09 ACS period. This omission is unfortunate, because the increase in concentrated poverty during the first ACS period is central to Jargowsky's claim that the increase is not only due to the Great Recession. In the Southeast, I found that concentrated poverty had, in fact, decreased during this period. However, this decrease may be partially due to Hurricane Katrina.

It might seem intuitive that a major disaster would *increase* concentrated poverty, but it seems to have had the opposite effect in some areas, including New Orleans. Many of the poor who were displaced by Katrina never returned to their neighborhoods, decreasing the poverty rate in many Gulf-area cities. Low-income and ethnic and racial minority households were disproportionately affected, damaged affordable multifamily housing was not readily replaced, and low-income homeowners often lacked the means to rebuild. In New Orleans, the level of concentrated poverty decreased by 10 percent between 2000 and the 2005–09 ACS. Other Gulf-area cities, including Houma, Louisiana, and Mobile, Alabama, also saw significant decreases during this period. In more recent years, the oil and gas boom in the Gulf may have also had a significant mitigating effect on the rate of concentrated poverty in the Southeast.

What Will the Next Round of Data Reveal?

Perhaps the largest question that remains is how much of an influence the Great Recession had on the patterns revealed in Jargowsky's paper. Although the 2005–09 ACS period does not reflect the full effects of the recession, it is not completely immune to them. So, there is not a real "control" period that can show that changes in concentrated poverty have been happening independently of broader economic trends. Now that the economic recovery has picked up its pace, it remains to be seen whether concentrated poverty has fallen, or if the trends identified in *The Architecture of Segregation* have continued. Adding newly released data into this study could shed light on these questions, possibly confirming or debunking Jargowsky's thesis.

Other avenues of exploration

In addition to adding in more recent data, there are a number of questions that future research in this area could explore:

- Are there some cities that have larger numbers of contiguous neighborhoods of concentrated poverty versus isolated areas of concentrated poverty? Does this change outcomes for residents?
- Do resident outcomes differ in areas of concentrated poverty located in central cities versus the suburbs?
- Are there different patterns of concentrated poverty that emerge when data is explored at a finer level–for example, blocks or block groups instead of census tracts?
- Have existing areas of concentrated poverty *deepened* in recent years?
- What kind of effect did the foreclosure crisis have on concentrated poverty?
- Has increasing college enrollment contributed to changes in concentrated poverty?
- How does the effect of regional migration compare to international immigration on concentrated poverty neighborhoods?
- What is the impact of industrial restructuring and shifts in the employment base of a region on concentrated poverty?
- Have any local governments succeeded in mitigating concentrated poverty through policy tools?

Ultimately, this report should be seen only as a starting point for examining concentrated poverty in the Southeast. Much more remains to be discovered.

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Appendix A: Poverty Change Maps

Appendix A includes maps of the largest cities in each of the six southeastern states included in this analysis (Atlanta, Birmingham, Jackson, Miami, Nashville, and New Orleans) as well as the two cities with the largest increases in concentrated poverty (Jackson and Macon).

ATLANTA, GA

Poverty Rate ■ 0 - 20% ■ 20 - 40% ■ 40 - 60% ■ 60 - 80% ■ 80 - 100%
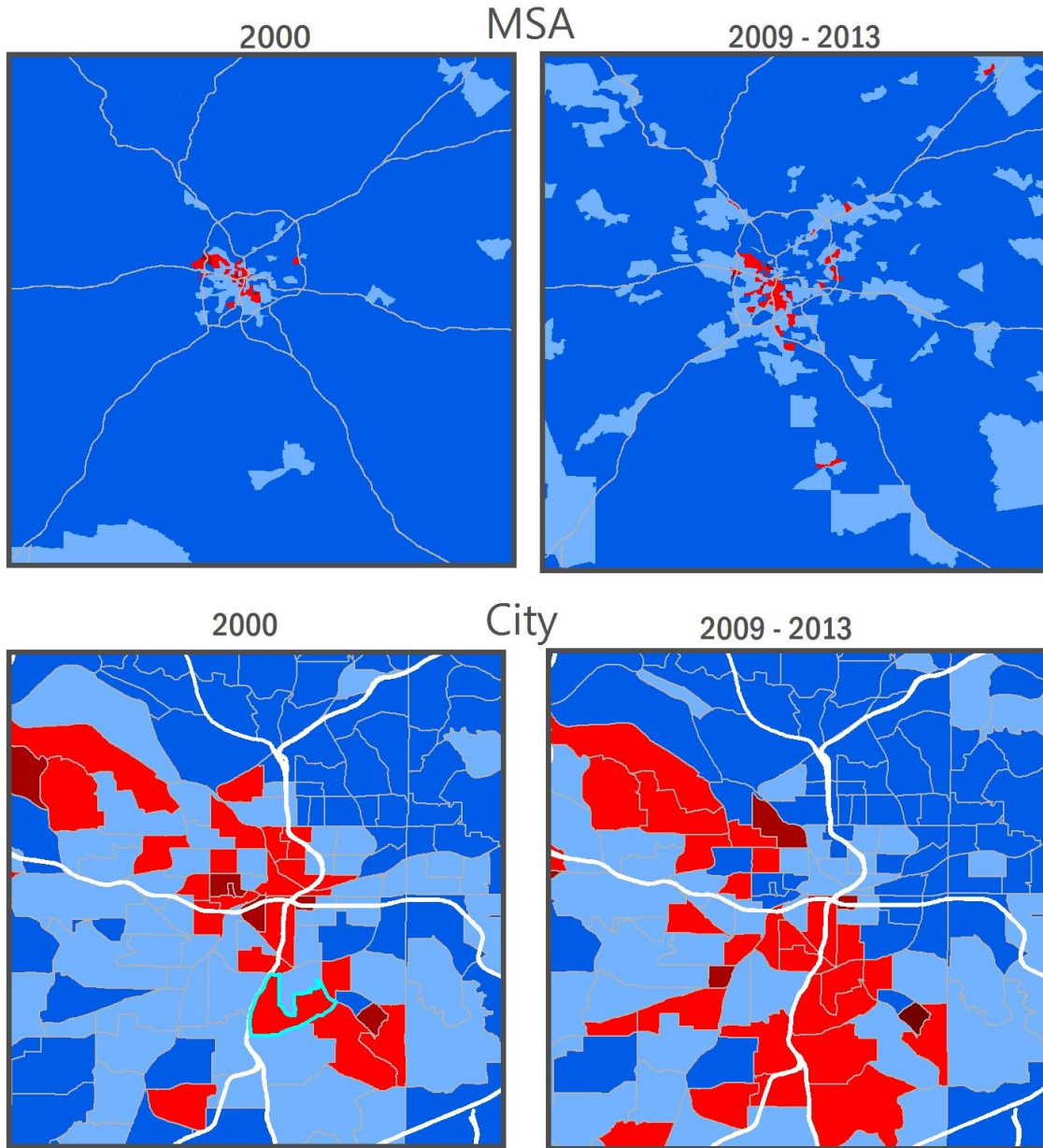
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

BIRMINGHAM, AL

Poverty Rate 0 - 20% 20 - 40% 40 - 60% 60 - 80% 80 - 100%

MSA

2000

2009 - 2013

City

2000

2009 - 2013
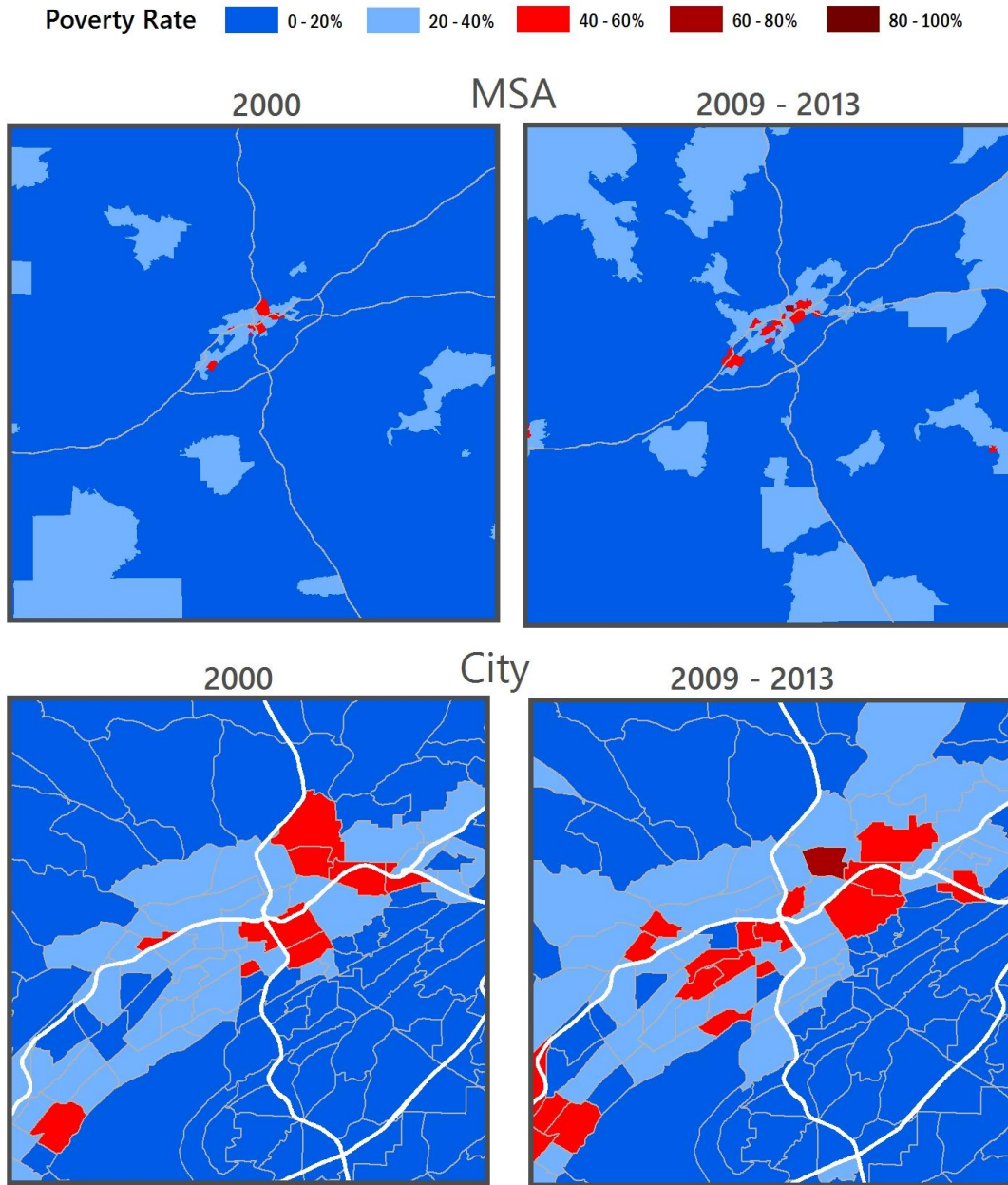
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

JACKSON, MS

Poverty Rate | 0 - 20% | 20 - 40% | 40 - 60% | 60 - 80% | 80 - 100%

MSA

2000

2009 - 2013

City

2000

2009 - 2013
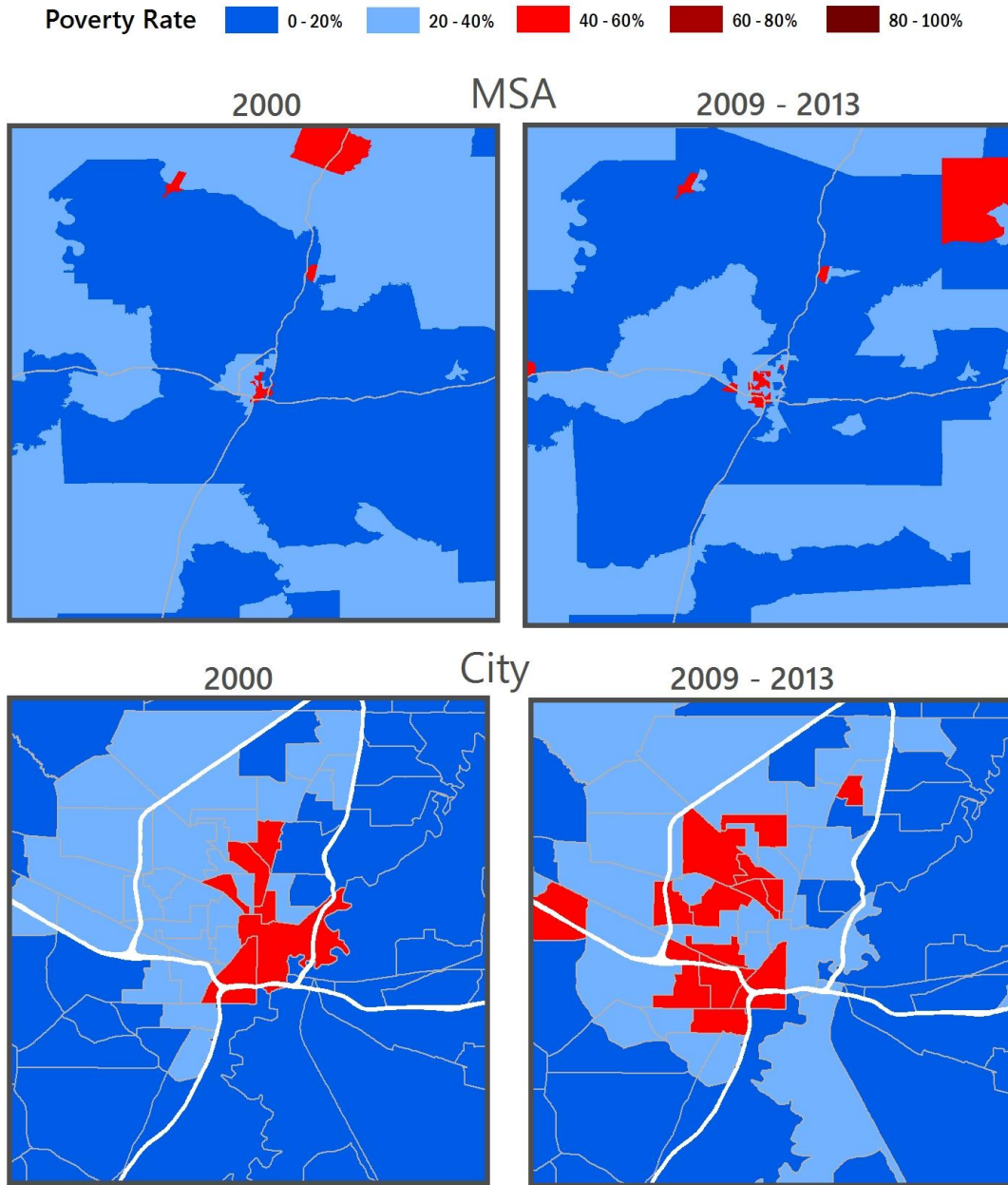
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

MACON, GA

Poverty Rate | 0 - 20% | 20 - 40% | 40 - 60% | 60 - 80% | 80 - 100%

MSA

2000

2009 - 2013

City

2000

2009 - 2013
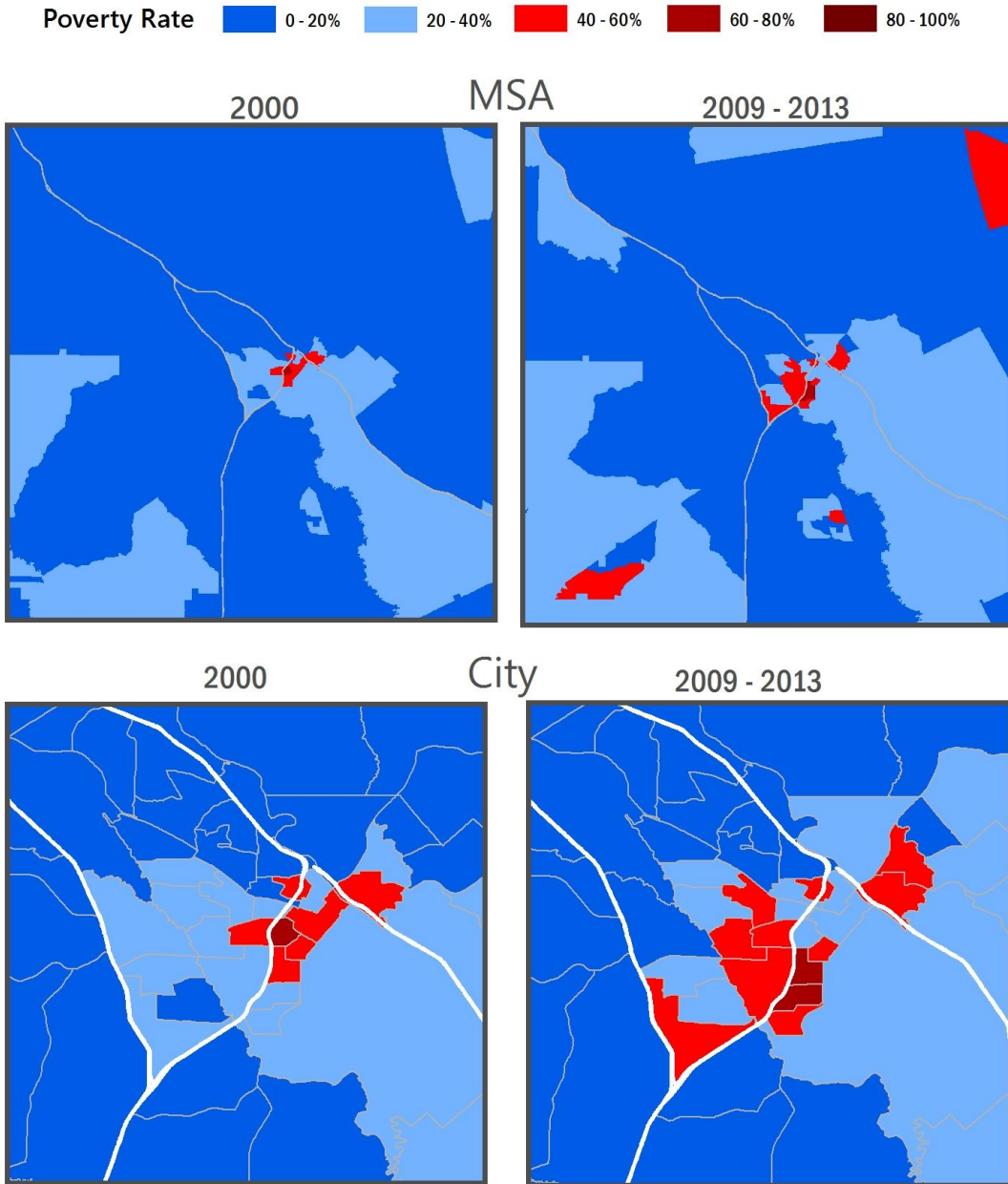
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

MIAMI, FL

Poverty Rate | 0 - 20% | 20 - 40% | 40 - 60% | 60 - 80% | 80 - 100%

MSA

2000

2009 - 2013

City

2000

2009 - 2013
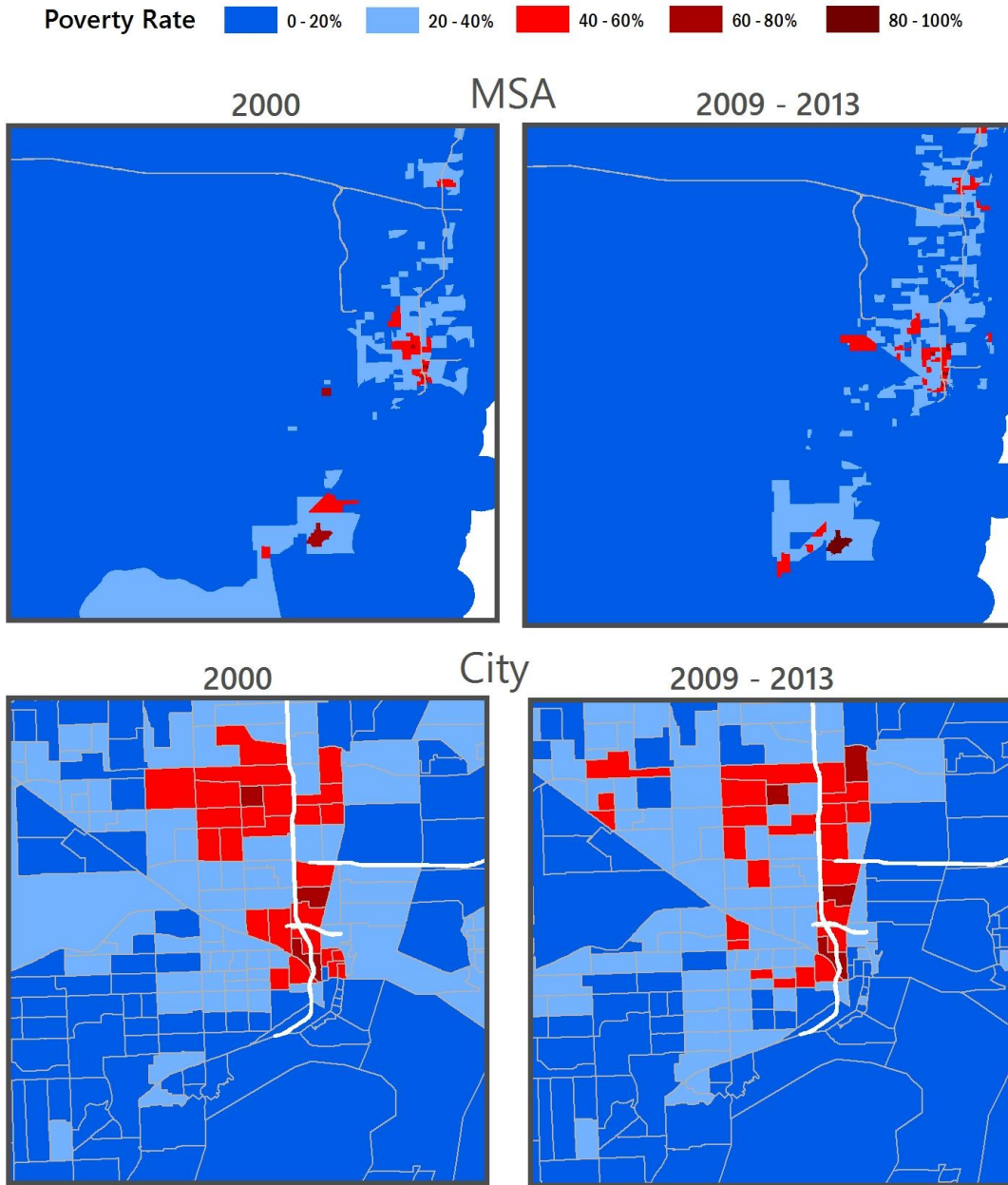
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

NASHVILLE, TN

Poverty Rate 0 - 20% 20 - 40% 40 - 60% 60 - 80% 80 - 100%

MSA

2000

2009 - 2013

City

2000

2009 - 2013
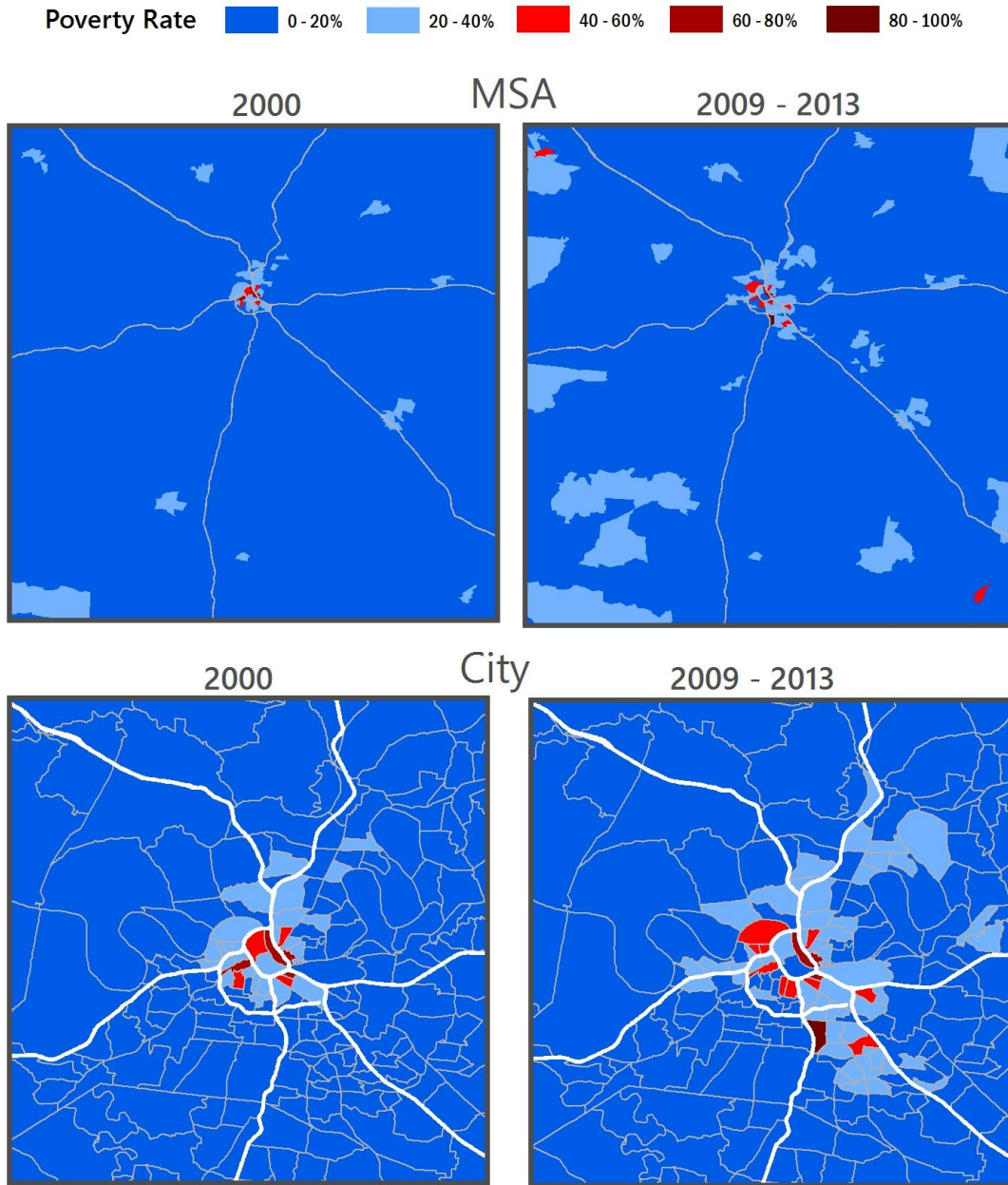
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

NEW ORLEANS, LA
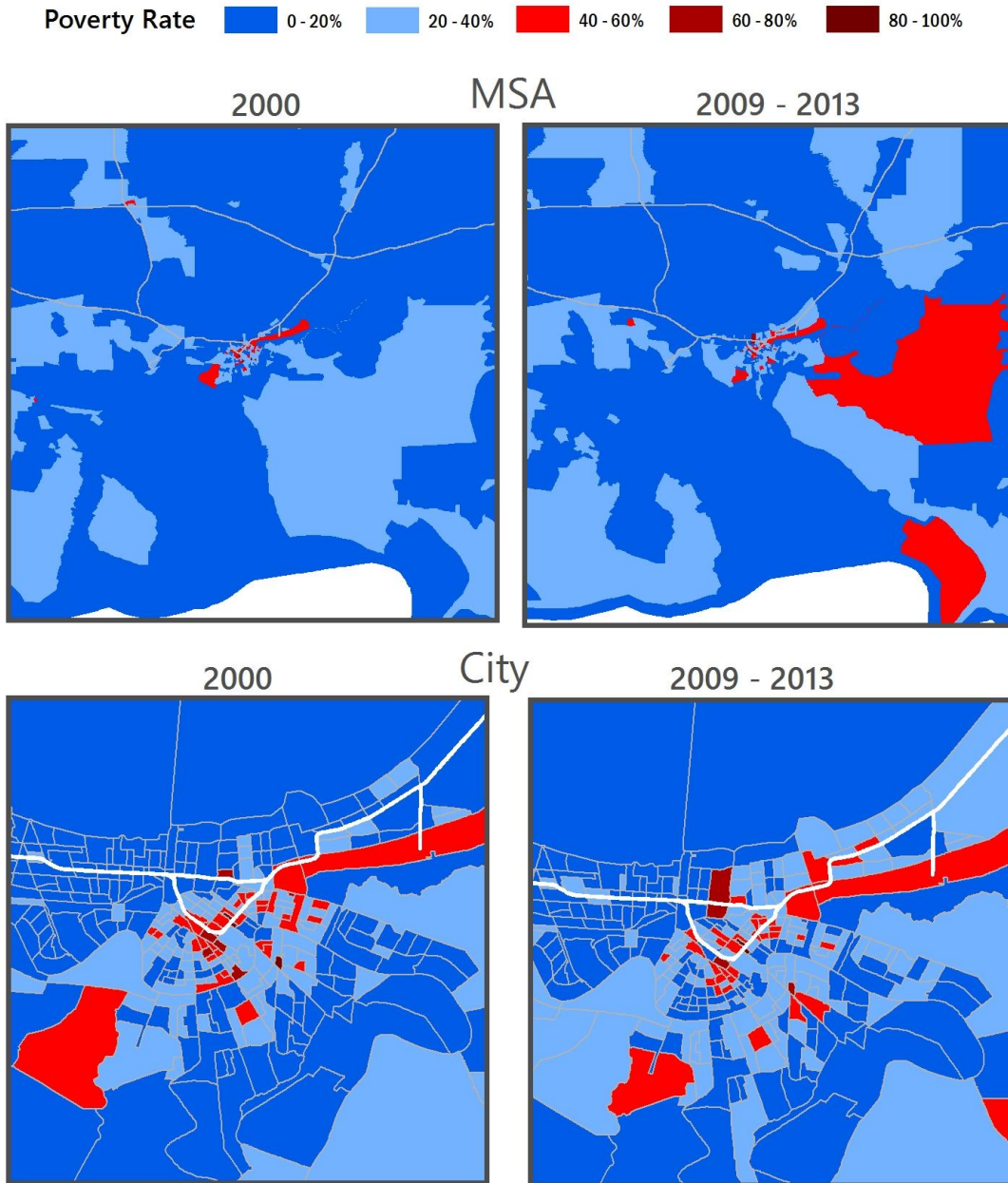
Sources: 2000 Census, 2009-13 ACS

Appendix B: Concentrated Poverty Tables

Percent change in concentrated poverty

	1990 to 2000	2000 to 2005–09	2005–09 to 2009–13	1990 to 2009–13	2000 to 2009–13
Alabama					
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	-10.37%	0.40%	2.42%	-7.55%	2.81%
Huntsville, AL	-3.44%	0.51%	2.76%	-0.17%	3.27%
Mobile, AL	-11.55%	-4.69%	-0.89%	-17.13%	-5.58%
Montgomery, AL	-15.53%	-4.59%	0.83%	-19.29%	-3.76%
Tuscaloosa, AL	-15.35%	-3.39%	4.25%	-14.49%	0.86%
Florida					
Miami, FL	-3.05%	-3.69%	3.88%	-2.87%	0.18%
Tampa, FL	-3.35%	-0.07%	3.58%	0.16%	3.50%
Orlando, FL	0.97%	-1.94%	0.23%	-0.74%	-1.71%
Jacksonville, FL	-2.42%	0.63%	1.18%	-0.61%	1.81%
North Port, FL	0.00%	0.00%	7.19%	7.19%	7.19%
Georgia					
Atlanta, GA	-2.08%	-4.50%	2.83%	-3.75%	-1.67%
Augusta, GA	-1.35%	1.61%	-0.59%	-0.33%	1.02%
Savannah, GA	-7.43%	1.75%	-1.22%	-6.90%	0.53%
Columbus, GA	-7.62%	2.67%	-1.58%	-6.53%	1.09%
Macon, GA	2.13%	3.39%	10.82%	16.35%	14.21%
Louisiana					
New Orleans, LA	-9.30%	-9.71%	3.04%	-15.96%	-6.66%
Baton Rouge, LA	-10.74%	12.56%	-12.97%	-11.15%	-0.41%
Shreveport, LA	-11.37%	-1.26%	-5.73%	-18.36%	-6.99%
Lafayette, LA	-5.65%	-1.90%	-1.19%	-8.73%	-3.09%
Houma-Thibodaux, LA	-5.17%	-2.57%	0.00%	-7.74%	-2.57%
Mississippi					
Jackson, MS	-21.00%	8.00%	0.34%	-12.67%	8.34%
Gulfport, MS	-6.90%	0.64%	7.62%	1.36%	8.26%
Hattiesburg, MS	-1.02%	-1.83%	-0.10%	-2.94%	-1.92%
Tupelo, MS	0.00%	0.00%	2.32%	2.32%	2.32%
Meridian, MS	-9.07%	-1.96%	-3.16%	-14.19%	-5.12%
Tennessee					
Nashville, TN	-2.54%	-1.41%	2.02%	-1.93%	0.61%
Memphis, TN	-16.09%	4.07%	2.10%	-9.91%	6.17%
Knoxville, TN	1.46%	5.73%	-6.23%	0.95%	-0.51%

Chattanooga, TN	-0.45%	1.29%	3.48%	4.31%	4.76%
Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA	0.00%	4.92%	0.62%	5.55%	5.55%

Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS

Percent change in total population of high-poverty tracts

	1990 to 2000	2000 to 2005–09	2005–09 to 2009–13	1990 to 2009–13	2000 to 2009–13
Alabama					
Birmingham, AL	-3.77%	0.04%	1.33%	-2.39%	1.37%
Huntsville, AL	-0.74%	0.01%	1.14%	0.41%	1.15%
Mobile, AL	-5.02%	-1.30%	0.16%	-6.16%	-1.14%
Montgomery, AL	-6.90%	-1.86%	0.37%	-8.38%	-1.49%
Tuscaloosa, AL	-9.05%	-1.62%	2.02%	-8.65%	0.40%
Florida					
Miami, FL	-0.62%	-1.21%	1.74%	-0.09%	0.53%
Tampa, FL	-0.58%	0.11%	1.42%	0.96%	1.53%
Orlando, FL	0.35%	-0.43%	0.29%	0.21%	-0.14%
Jacksonville, FL	-0.73%	0.32%	0.83%	0.43%	1.15%
North Port, FL	0.00%	0.00%	2.02%	2.02%	2.02%
Georgia					
Atlanta, GA	-0.31%	-0.64%	1.39%	0.43%	0.74%
Augusta, GA-SC	-0.53%	0.85%	1.00%	1.32%	1.85%
Savannah, GA	-2.35%	0.46%	0.52%	-1.37%	0.98%
Columbus, GA-AL	-2.48%	1.21%	0.09%	-1.19%	1.30%
Macon, GA	0.26%	1.61%	5.47%	7.34%	7.08%
Louisiana					
New Orleans, LA	-4.09%	-3.88%	1.99%	-5.98%	-1.89%
Baton Rouge, LA	-4.97%	4.13%	-4.68%	-5.51%	-0.55%
Shreveport, LA	-6.61%	-0.60%	-2.46%	-9.67%	-3.06%
Lafayette, LA	-3.72%	-1.12%	-0.25%	-5.10%	-1.37%
Houma-Thibodaux, LA	-3.31%	-1.04%	0.00%	-4.36%	-1.04%
Mississippi					
Jackson, MS	-10.84%	3.01%	0.56%	-7.27%	3.57%
Gulfport, MS	-2.39%	0.19%	2.98%	0.79%	3.18%
Hattiesburg, MS	-0.57%	-1.23%	0.66%	-1.14%	-0.57%
Tupelo, MS	0.00%	0.00%	0.99%	0.99%	0.99%
Meridian, MS	-7.90%	-1.40%	-1.38%	-10.68%	-2.78%
Tennessee					

Nashville, TN	-0.64%	-0.09%	0.73%	0.00%	0.64%
Memphis, TN	-6.65%	2.20%	1.57%	-2.88%	3.77%
Knoxville, TN	0.06%	1.88%	-1.88%	0.07%	0.01%
Chattanooga, TN	-0.24%	0.81%	1.38%	1.95%	2.19%
Kingsport-Bristol, TN-VA	0.00%	1.87%	0.33%	2.20%	2.20%

Sources: 1990 and 2000 Census, 2005–09 and 2009–13 ACS