

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF EXCLUSION

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RACE,  
SEGREGATION &  
CONCENTRATED  
POVERTY

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# BACKGROUND

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- The late 2000s “Great Recession” has refocused the nation’s attention on poverty, racial and ethnic inequality, and spatial disparities in income.
- In 2012, 46.5 people in the United States were poor, up from 32 million in 2000.
- The recent uptick in poverty has raised new questions about the reemergence of an “underclass” living in high-poverty areas.

# RESEARCH GOALS

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- Provide new estimates of changing patterns of concentrated poverty and racial inequality over the 1990-2009 period.
- Show that poverty has become increasingly concentrated across U.S. *places*.
- Fit various multivariate models of *within-county* concentrations of poverty.

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

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- The singular focus on big-city neighborhood racial segregation and concentrated poverty is incomplete at best and misleading at worst.
- We focus instead on macro-scale (between different places across the US) rather than micro-scale or neighborhood concentration.
- Communities – unlike most big-city neighborhoods or counties – are political actors that have reshaped America's patterns of racially concentrated poverty.

# RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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- Are disadvantaged populations (e.g., poor minorities) increasingly living in poor places?
- How segregated are the poor from the nonpoor?
- How are patterns of concentrated place-based poverty structured by larger labor markets in which communities compete for jobs and people?

# METHODS

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## Spatial Units:

- Census places (fixed boundaries over time)
- Counties as units of analyses

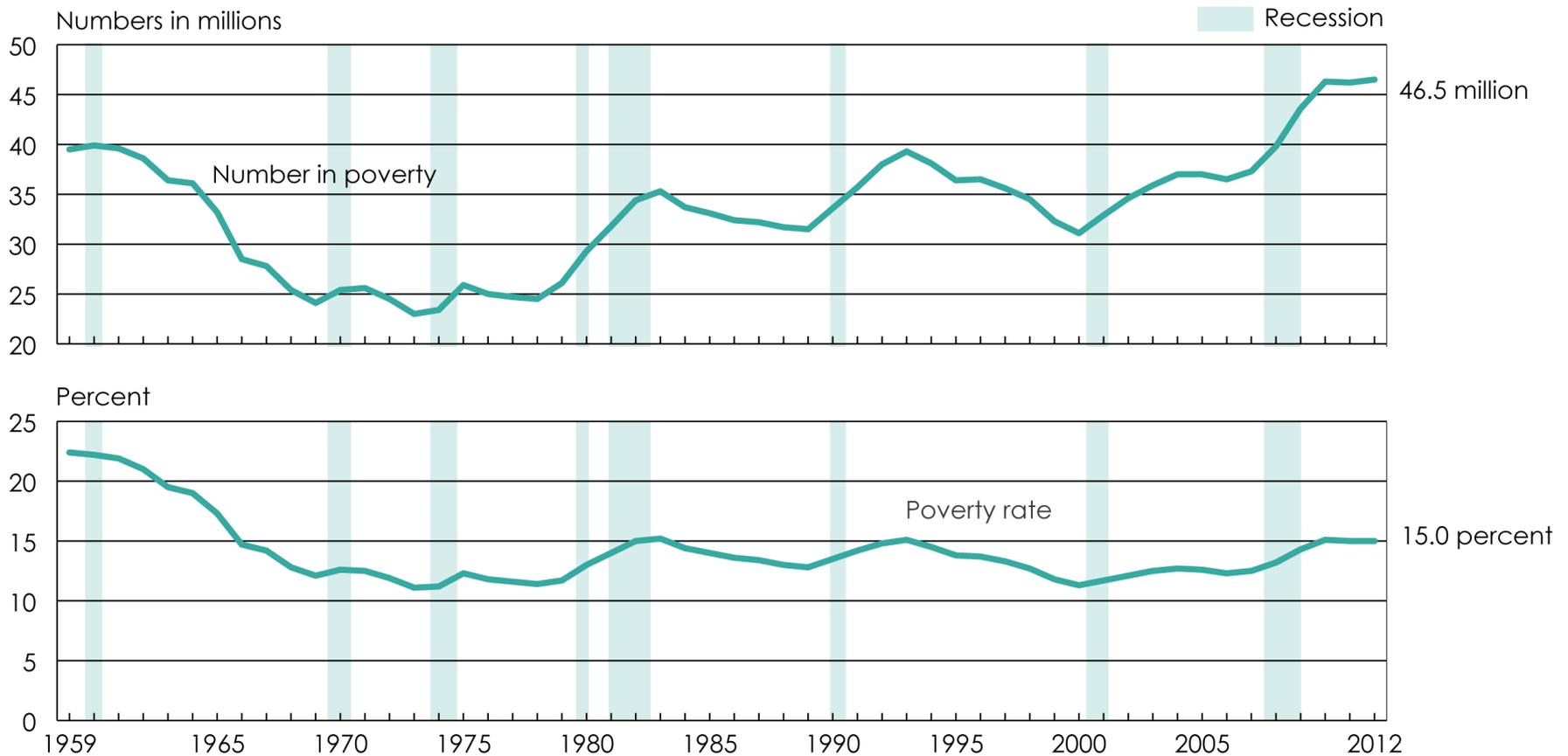
## Data

- 1990 and 2000 Censuses and 2005-2009 *American Community Survey*

## Measures

- Index of Dissimilarity ( $D$ )
- County demographic, economic, and spatial characteristics as predictors of intercounty variation in  $D$

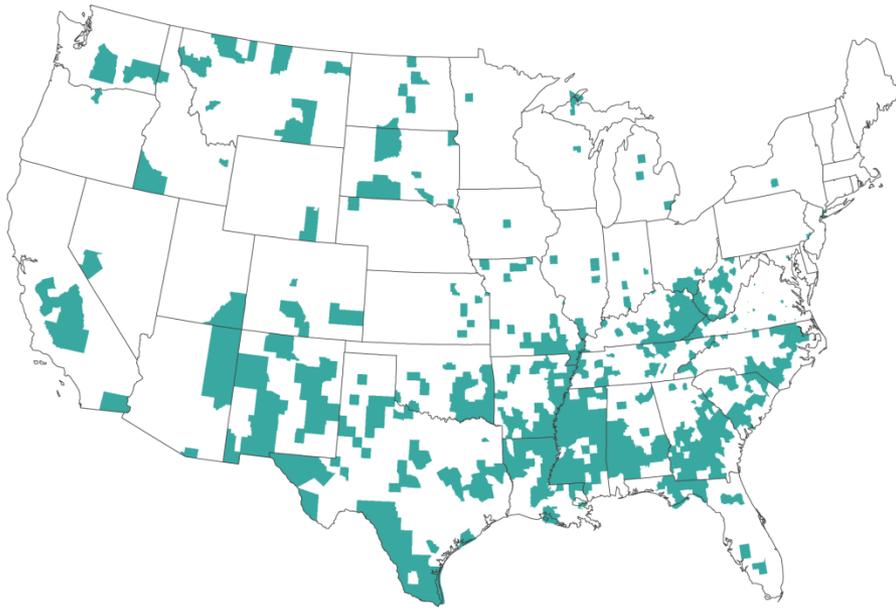
# NUMBER IN POVERTY AND POVERTY RATE: 1959 TO 2012



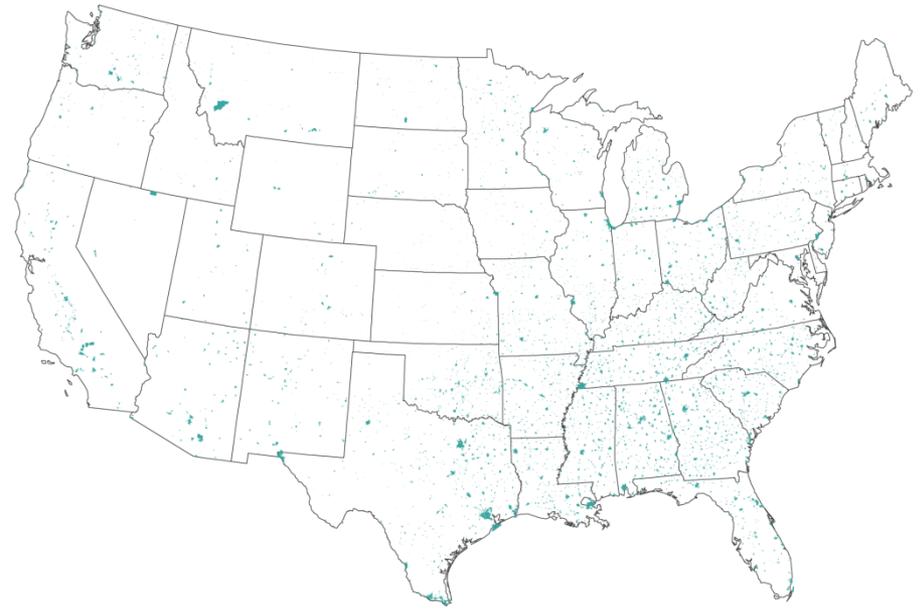
Note: The data points are placed at the midpoints of the respective years. For information on recessions, see Appendix A.  
 Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 1960 to 2013 Annual Social and Economic Supplements.

# CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY, 2009

**Counties** with 20% or more poor



**Places** with 20% or more poor



# PLACE AND COUNTY CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY, 2009

PLACE POVERTY		
COUNTY POVERTY	LOW	HIGH
Low	93.8	66.0
High	6.2	34.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
N of Places	18,314	6,286

# CONCENTRATION OF POVERTY

	2000		2009	
	METRO	NONMETRO	METRO	NONMETRO
<b>PLACES</b>				
Places with Poverty >20%	1,566	3,215	2,189	4,075
Places with Poverty >40%	173	415	275	637
<b>POPULATION</b>				
Percent of Poor in Poor Places	33.0	27.5	31.0	35.2
Percent of Population in Poor Places	16.5	15.2	16.3	21.0

# RACIAL GROUPS LIVING IN POOR PLACES

	2000		2009	
	METRO	NONMETRO	METRO	NONMETRO
<b>TOTAL WHITE</b>	<b>9.3</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>16.6</b>
Poor	18.1	17.5	25.3	28.8
<b>TOTAL BLACK</b>	<b>37.7</b>	<b>40.7</b>	<b>35.1</b>	<b>45.9</b>
Poor	48.4	52.0	47.7	57.6
<b>TOTAL HISPANIC</b>	<b>30.2</b>	<b>35.2</b>	<b>22.9</b>	<b>35.6</b>
Poor	41.7	44.5	31.8	45.4

# SEGREGATION OF POOR FROM NONPOOR ( $\mathcal{D}$ ), BY RACE

	2000		2009	
	METRO	NONMETRO	METRO	NONMETRO
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	<b>20.6</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>21.4</b>	<b>15.2</b>
<b>POOR/NONPOOR, BY RACE</b>				
White	18.1	12.6	20.1	16.1
Black	21.5	29.6	25.2	33.1
Hispanic	25.2	34.5	28.4	37.4

# RACIAL SEGREGATION, BY POVERTY STATUS

	2000		2009	
	METRO	NONMETRO	METRO	NONMETRO
<b>POOR</b>				
White-Black	38.9	41.2	40.6	43.8
White-Hispanic	34.5	40.4	37.6	42.9
Hispanic-Black	33.0	43.7	35.6	46.4
<b>NON-POOR</b>				
White-Black	39.3	38.9	39.0	42.1
White-Hispanic	29.1	30.1	31.5	35.0
Hispanic-Black	30.5	39.8	32.1	45.0

# FACTORS AFFECTING WITHIN-COUNTY SEGREGATION OF POOR POPULATIONS, 2009

		ALL	
		b	SE
Constant		.460	.835
<b>2009 POP. CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
County size (sq. mi.)		-.061***	.005
% Black		.061***	.006
% Hispanic		-.062***	.005
% In Poverty		-.058***	.011
Total population (ln)		.959***	.055
<b>% CHANGE, 1990-2000</b>			
% Population Change		.028**	0.013
% of Housing Units Built		.091**	0.014
<b>FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION</b>			
% Manufacturing Emp.		-.148***	.010
% Government Emp.		-.032	.023
% Greater than 65		-.188***	.018
% 18-24 In College		.065***	.004
<b>REGION (SOUTH AS REFERENCE)</b>			
Northeast		3.934***	.201
Midwest		.958***	.155
West		1.751***	.180
<b>SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS</b>			
Nonmetro		-2.289***	.147
White-Black Segregation		.170***	.003
White-Hispanic Segregation		.135***	.004
Black-Hispanic Segregation		-.040***	.003
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>		44.2	

# CONCLUSIONS

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- The post-2000 period was not only marked by rising poverty rates but also increasingly concentrated poverty and a new pattern of spatial (and social) isolation of America's poor.
- Poor minorities are highly ghettoized spatially at the macro-scale level – especially in rural areas.
- Patterns of racial and income segregation were distinct but overlapping phenomena – segregation by income cannot be explained by race (or vice versa).
- Need to balance our current preoccupation with neighborhood poverty and segregation with new emphasis on political economy of places.