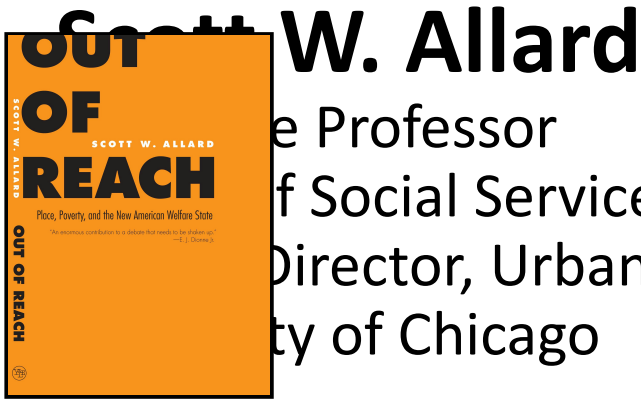
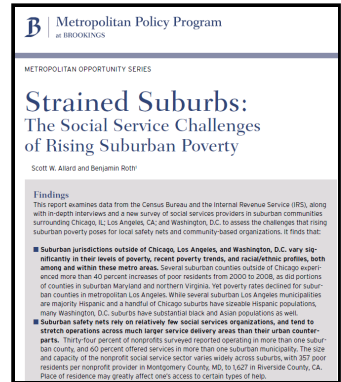


# Places in Need: The Changing Geography of Poverty and the American Safety Net



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Associate Professor  
of Social Service Administration  
and Director, Urban Network  
Institute of Chicago



Presentation at the 2013 National Association for Welfare Research and Statistics Workshop,  
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# **Geography of Today's Safety Net**

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- **Rising poverty in urban and suburban areas since 1990**
- **Different starting points for urban and suburban safety nets in 2000**
- **Caseload and expenditure changes consistent across suburban v. urban locations**

# Data Sources

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- **Census 1990/2000; 2006-10 American Community Survey**
  - Metropolitan area, place, county, and tract
- **Longitudinal Employer-Household Dynamics (LEHD), 2002-10**
- **County-level safety net database, 2000-10**
  - Administrative data: EITC, TANF, SNAP, SSI
  - Nonprofit expenditure and revenue data from 990 forms

# Defining Urban v. Suburban

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- **County-based classification (2010 geography)**
  - Use OMB defined metropolitan areas
  - Urban county = contains “primary” principal city of metro
    - Identify “secondary” principal cities over 100,000 population
  - Suburban county = all other counties in metro
  - Year of median housing build define mature v. newer suburbs
- **Tract classification (2010 geography)**
  - Municipal location – urban or suburban
  - Year of median housing build define mature v. newer suburbs

# Increasing Number of Poor Persons, Largest 100 Metro Areas, 1990 to 2010

	# of Poor Persons, 1990 (in 1000s)	# of Poor Persons, 2000 (in 1000s)	# of Poor Persons, 2006-10 (in 1000s)	% Change # of Poor Persons, 1990-2010	% Change in Total Population 1990-2010
<b>Total Urban</b>	<b>9,459</b>	<b>10,110</b>	<b>11,041</b>	<b>+16.7%</b>	<b>+10.5%</b>
<b>Suburbs by Age</b>					
<b>&lt; 1970</b>	4,097	4,629	5,313	+29.7%	+1.7%
<b>1970-80</b>	2,195	2,599	3,297	+50.2%	+10.6%
<b>1980-90</b>	1,578	2,018	2,777	+76.0%	+35.0%
<b>1990-2000</b>	695	1,078	1,782	+156.4%	+153.7%
<b>2000s</b>	134	191	611	+356.0%	+480.1%
<b>Total Suburban</b>	<b>8,701</b>	<b>10,515</b>	<b>13,780</b>	<b>+58.4%</b>	<b>+31.4%</b>

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography  
Sources: 2006-10 American Community Survey; 2000 Census; 1990 Census

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# Increasing Extreme Poverty in Largest 100 Metros, 1990-2010

	# Persons <=50% FPL, 1990 (in 1000s)	# Persons <=50% FPL, 2000 (in 1000s)	# Persons <=50% FPL, 2006-10 (in 1000s)	% Change # Persons <=50% FPL, 1990-2010	% Change in # of Poor Persons, 1990-2010
<b>Total Urban</b>	<b>4,604</b>	<b>4,954</b>	<b>4,994</b>	<b>+8.5%</b>	<b>+16.7%</b>
<b>Suburbs by Age</b>					
< 1970	1,806	2,094	2,253	+24.8%	+29.7%
1970-80	951	1,163	1,419	+49.2%	+50.2%
1980-90	676	911	1,200	+77.5%	+76.0%
1990-2000	293	487	786	+168.3%	+156.4%
2000s	56	84	273	+387.5%	+356.0%
<b>Total Suburban</b>	<b>3,782</b>	<b>4,739</b>	<b>5,932</b>	<b>+56.8%</b>	<b>+58.4%</b>

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography  
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# Rising Concentrated Poverty

## Largest 100 Metro Areas - 1990 to 2010

	Percentage of Tracts with Poverty Rates Over 20%			
Type of Tract	1990	2000	2010	% Change, 1990-2010
<b>Principal Cities</b>	36.0%	39.7%	44.5%	<b>+22.4%</b>
<b>Large Cities</b>	41.8%	45.2%	48.5%	<b>+14.4%</b>
<b>Suburbs</b>				
< 1970	11.2%	13.2%	18.2%	<b>+62.6%</b>
1970-80	7.2%	8.4%	14.3%	<b>+96.7%</b>
1980-90	5.7%	5.0%	10.6%	<b>+86.7%</b>
1990-2000	4.5%	3.3%	6.1%	<b>+35.4%</b>
2000s	6.6%	2.8%	2.8%	<b>-57.0%</b>

Note: Tracts are defined as high-poverty if tract poverty rate is greater than or equal to 20%. Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography.

Sources: 2006-10 American Community Survey; 2000 Census; 1990 Census

# Rising Concentrated Poverty

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# Contemporary Safety Net

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- **Changing mix of federal cash & in-kind assistance**
  - TANF = smaller role within today's safety net
  - SNAP = dramatic expansion since 2005
  - EITC = largest cash assistance program
  - Medicaid insurance coverage expansion
- **Human service programs ≈ \$150-200 billion/year**
  - Employment, counseling, adult education, children and youth programs, housing, emergency assistance
  - Critical role played by nonprofit organizations
  - Volatility and pro-cyclical nature of funding
  - Inherently local activity - place and access matters

# Local Safety Net Responses

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- **Common factors shaping response of urban and suburban areas**
- **Additional challenges confronting suburban safety nets amidst rising poverty**
- **Many reasons why suburban areas may respond more aggressively than urban areas**

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# **Lower Starting Capacity in Suburbs in early 2000s**

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# Comparing Urban and Suburban Safety Nets

	EITC Recipients per Poor Person	SNAP Recipients per Poor Person	TANF Recipients per Poor Person	Median Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures per Poor Person (\$Nominal)
<b>Urban Counties, 2000</b>	<b>.558</b> (.102)	<b>.523</b> (.161)	<b>.209</b> (.129)	<b>\$530</b>
<b>Suburban Counties, 2000</b>	<b>.686</b> (.153)	<b>.468</b> (.156)	<b>.101</b> (.066)	<b>\$168</b>

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography. Standard deviation reported in parentheses. EITC data are reported for 2000 and 2010, TANF and SNAP data are reported for 2000 and 2009, Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures are reported for 2000 and 2008.

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**24.1%** of *suburban* counties have no registered nonprofit human service organizations in 2000

**0%** of *urban* counties have no registered nonprofit human service organizations in 2000

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography. Standard deviation reported in parentheses. EITC data are reported for 2000 and 2010, TANF and SNAP data are reported for 2000 and 2009, Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures are reported for 2000 and 2008.

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# **Safety Net Response to Rising Poverty during the 2000s**

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<b>Urban Counties, 2008-10</b>	<b>.636</b> (.122)	<b>.973</b> (.189)	<b>.130</b> (.087)	<b>\$421</b>
<b>Suburban Counties, 2008-10</b>	<b>.764</b> (.238)	<b>1.014</b> (.286)	<b>.085</b> (.109)	<b>\$145</b>

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**19.6%** of *suburban* counties have no registered nonprofit human service organizations in 2008

**0%** of *urban* counties have no registered nonprofit human service organizations in 2008

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography. Standard deviation reported in parentheses. EITC data are reported for 2000 and 2010, TANF and SNAP data are reported for 2000 and 2009, Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures are reported for 2000 and 2008.

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Suburban Counties, 2008-10	.764 (.238)	1.014 (.286)	.085 (.109)	\$145
<b>% Change, 2000s</b>				
Urban Counties	+14.0%	+86.0%	-37.8%	-20.6%
Suburban Counties	+11.4%	+116.7%	-15.8%	-13.7%

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography. Standard deviation reported in parentheses. EITC data are reported for 2000 and 2010, TANF and SNAP data are reported for 2000 and 2009, Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures are reported for 2000 and 2008.

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# Concluding Thoughts

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- **Poverty, extreme poverty, and concentrated poverty are urban and suburban problems**
- **Expect suburban and urban safety nets to respond differently to rising poverty**
- **Suburbs lag behind urban areas in nonprofit human service capacity, not EITC or SNAP**
- **Can suburban nonprofit capacity improve over time?**
- **Changing politics of metropolitan safety nets – greater competition or collaboration?**



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# Thank You

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# % Poor in Largest 100 Metros, 1990-2010

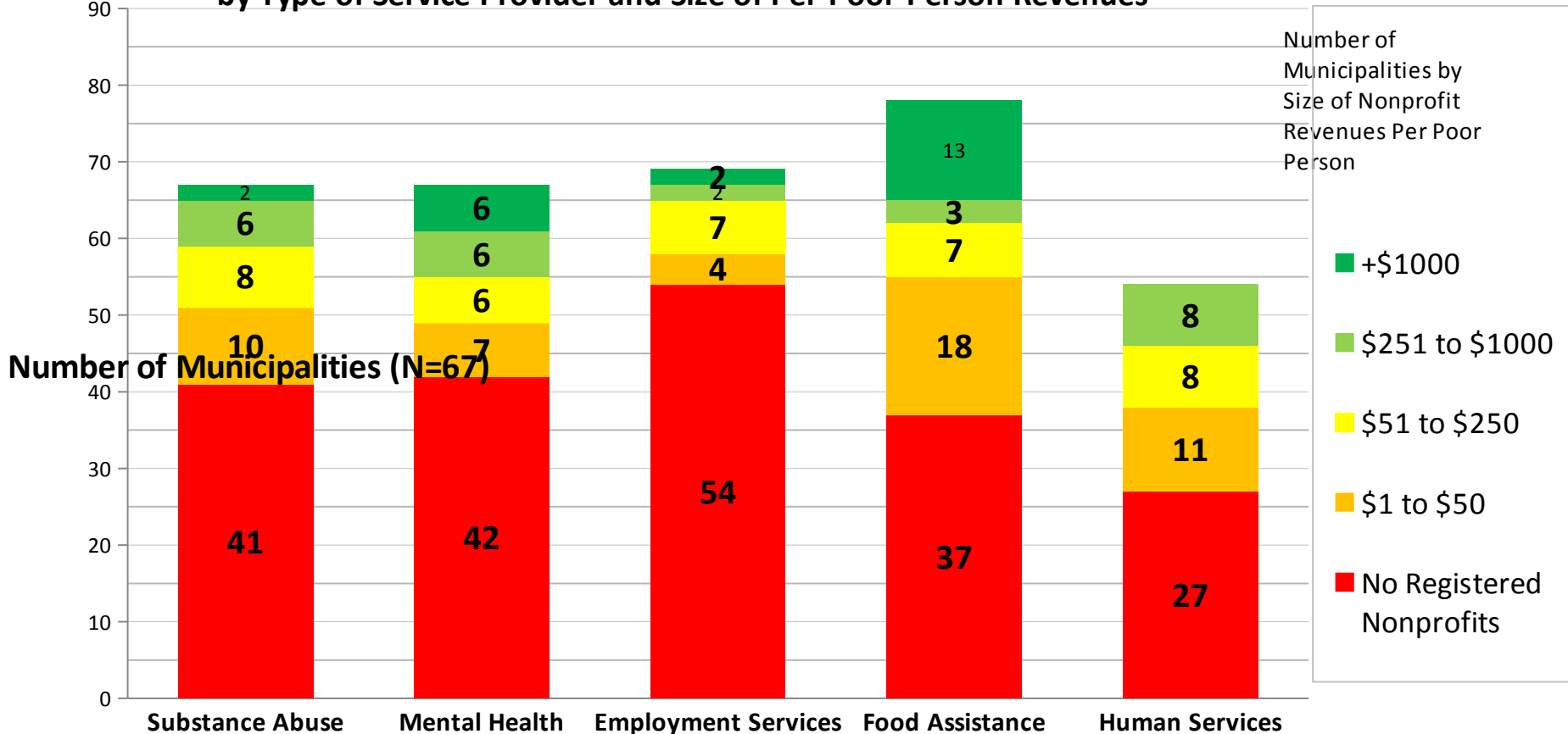
	% Poor, 1990	% Poor, 2000	% Poor, 2006-10	Percentage Point Change, 1990-2010
<b>Total Urban</b>	<b>18.2%</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>+1.0</b>
<b>Suburbs</b>				
< 1970	8.9%	9.8%	11.3%	+2.4
1970-80	7.8%	8.6%	10.6%	+2.8
1980-90	7.1%	7.4%	9.3%	+2.2
1990-2000	7.7%	6.1%	7.7%	0.0
2000s	7.8%	5.7%	6.2%	-1.6
<b>Total Suburban</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>9.8%</b>	<b>+1.7</b>

Note: Urban-suburban definitions based on 2010 Census geography

Sources: 2006-10 American Community Survey; 2000 Census; 1990 Census

# Lack of Access in Suburbs

Number of Registered Nonprofits in Selected Suburban Municipalities of Chicago, L.A., and D.C., by Type of Service Provider and Size of Per-Poor-Person Revenues



Note: Figures reported are rounded to the nearest dollar. Values of zero indicate no reported revenues. Service categories reflect the following National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities (NTEE) codes for registered nonprofits: Substance Abuse (F20, F21, F22); Mental Health Treatment (F30, F32); Employment Services (J20, J21, J22); Food Assistance (K30, K31, K35, K36); and, Human Services (P20, P22, P24, P26, P27, P28, P297).

# Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures and Changing Poverty

% Change in Nonprofit Social Service Expenditures 2000-08



Note: Counties from the largest 100 Metropolitan Areas in 2010, N = 502

# Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures and Changing Poverty

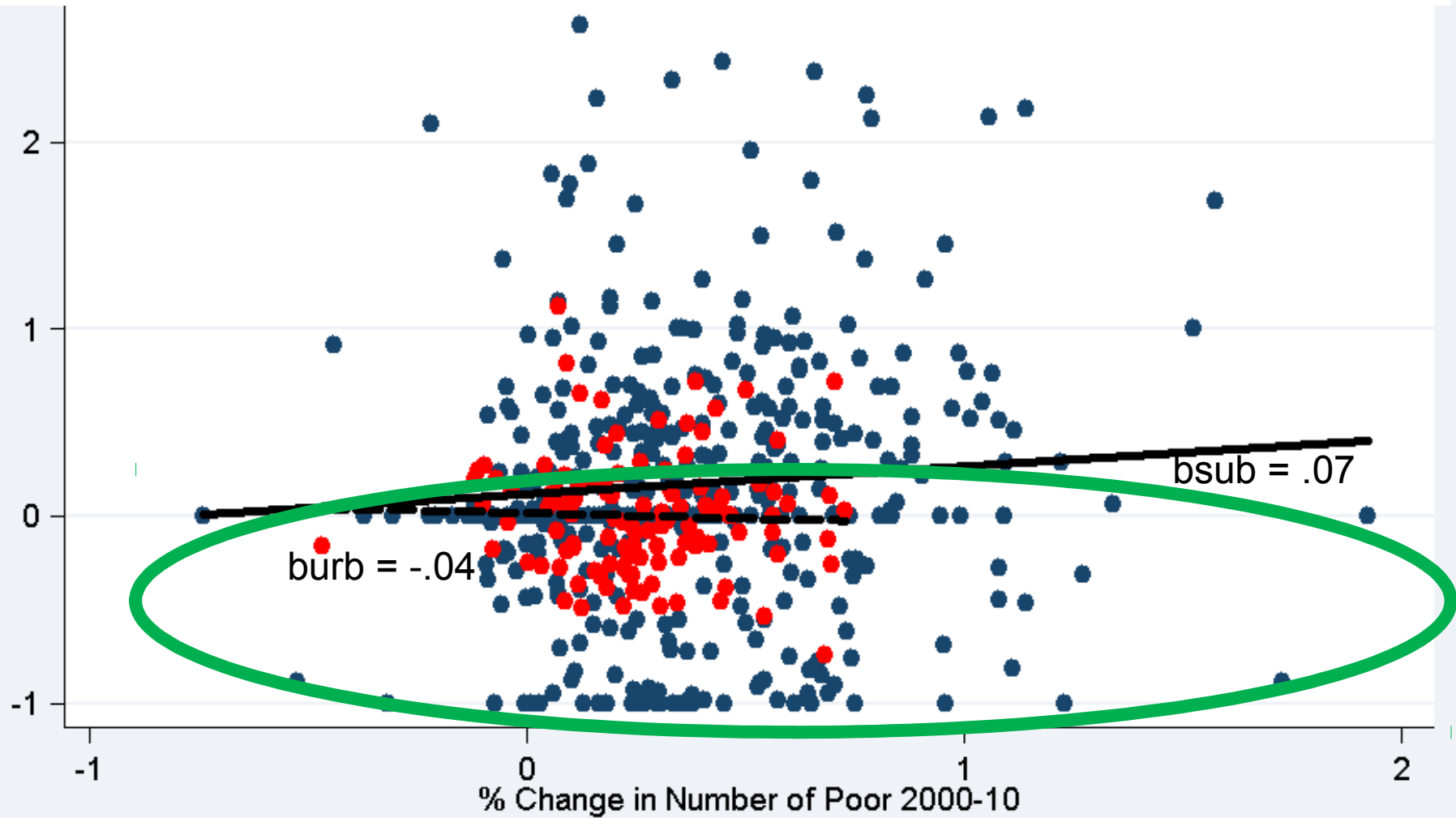
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# Nonprofit Human Service Expenditures and Changing Poverty

% Change in Nonprofit Social Service Expenditures 2000-08



Note: Counties from the largest 100 Metropolitan Areas in 2010, N = 502

# Factors Shaping Local Safety Net Responsiveness

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- **Common factors across urban and suburban areas**
  - Gaps and mismatches in provision
  - Difficulty securing funds – public and private
  - Lack of suitable, affordable, and accessible office space
- **Additional challenges suburban safety nets may face**
  - Limited public and private capacity
  - Perception problem of poverty as urban
  - Competitive pressures and NIMBYism
  - Anti-immigrant sentiment
  - Weak networks for referral or collaboration
  - Burden of serving multiple jurisdictions
- **Why suburban areas may respond more aggressively**
  - Fewer actors = easier coordination and mobilization
  - Political institutions and networks = less complicated
  - Greater wealth and significant public investment in education system

# Concluding Thoughts

---

- **Poverty, extreme poverty, and concentrated poverty are urban and suburban problems**
- **Expect suburban and urban safety nets to respond differently to rising poverty**
  - Suburban areas may lag and be slow to respond
    - Suburban lag in nonprofit social services, not in EITC or SNAP
  - Greater variation across suburban safety nets
  - Public safety net response  $\xrightarrow{\text{demographic, economic, state policy}}$
- **Can suburban nonprofit capacity improve over time?**
  - Greater wealth v. obstacles to expanded philanthropy
  - Strong religious congregations and communities
  - Gaps in foundations and corporate philanthropy
- **Changing politics of metropolitan safety nets – greater competition or collaboration?**