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New Dynamics of Urban-Suburban Change: Immigration, Restructuring and Racial Separation

No. 94-321

Research Report
September 1994

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This is a revised version of a background paper for the 1994 President's National Urban Policy Report, commissioned by the Office of Policy Development and Research, U.S. Department of HUD.

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ABSTRACT

This paper provides an overview of urban and suburban change in the United States over the 1980-1990 period based on the results of the 1990 census. Its tables provide statistics on regional, metropolitan, and city-suburb change by race-ethnicity, for a variety of socio-economic measures. Its Appendix tables provide detailed statistics on central city-suburb redistribution by race for all individual metropolitan areas, and selected central city-suburb statistics for the largest 25 metropolitan areas.

The analyses identify three broad influences on the nation's regional and urban change during the 1980s: (1) immigration-related minority gains which are leading to sharper regional differences in race ethnic demographic profiles; (2) urban and regional restructuring which has brought an uneven return to urbanization in the backdrop of the 1970s "rural renaissance;" and (3) a suburban-dominated society which has accompanied a selective deconcentration of residences and jobs, further isolating poorer and minority city populations that are unable to move out.

These urban demographic developments have created both new opportunities and challenges. Sharper, more dynamic growth patterns have brought renewed population gains to the revitalized economies in the nation's coastal regions, especially in the South Atlantic states and in the states surrounding California. At the other extreme are many metropolitan areas located, largely, in the interior parts of the country which have suffered economic declines and selective out-migration of their younger and most well-educated populations. Apart from these two contexts are the large multi-ethnic immigrant "port-of-entry" areas in California, Texas and the greater regions surrounding New York, Miami, and Chicago where new demographic dynamics have just begun to emerge.

The dominance of the suburbs, within metropolitan areas, has created opportunities for new urban economic development and is the primary residential location for the nation's middle class population. However, it has also accentuated the plight of new immigrants and minorities, as well as poverty-stricken and low-skilled residents who continue to remain isolated in segregated cities and inner-suburban communities and neighborhoods. Patterns of concentrated poverty, especially among minorities, have accelerated in the central cities of many Midwest and southern interior metropolitan areas which experienced economic declines during the 1980s. Increases in the poverty population are also evident in the central cities of large "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas.

The above dynamics of recent urban demographic change can be associated with regional industrial restructuring, racial polarization and varied patterns of poverty concentration. They pose continuing challenges to federal and local policies aimed at bridging the divided opportunity potentials which are emerging both within and across regions.

Data used: Decennial US censuses

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NEW CONTEXTS FOR URBAN DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

The contexts for urban demographic change in the 1980s and 1990s have led to sharper divisions in growth prospects, diversity profiles, and economic inequalities across space. Some of the worst consequences of these new demographic growth trends are borne by inner city residents in selected parts of the Rustbelt and also in coastal areas that serve as "ports-of-entry" for the surging immigrant flows which have accelerated over the course of the 1980s. Yet, sharp differences in population gains and race-ethnic compositions are also emerging across broad regions and metropolitan areas. The regions surrounding the high immigration areas--in California, Texas, South Florida, and New York--are becoming distinct from other parts of the country as a result of the growth of "new" minority populations. The "whiter," interior parts of the country are also becoming more strongly differentiated by patterns of economic growth and decline.

This chapter provides a backdrop for understanding the changing population profiles of urban America by focusing on the forces that shape key demographic trends across broad regions and within metropolitan areas and then goes on to show how these trends have led to disparities in area growth and decline and in socio-demographic change. The new changes in the nation's urban landscape are strongly influenced by three elements (Frey 1993a):

1. Immigration-related Minority Gains The expanded role of minority populations has important influence on internal redistribution within the United States. The heightened immigration from Latin America and Asia hasf contributed to a marked growth disparity between the minority and majority (non-Hispanic) white populations for the U.S. as a whole. However, these nation-

wide "majority-minority" trends are not replicated for each region and local area. Although minorities (Hispanics, Blacks, Asians, American Indians, and others) have dispersed to a greater degree than in earlier decades, minority growth is predominantly focused on particular regions and metropolitan areas. For example, fully one-fifth of the total minority growth over the 1980s accrued to just one metropolitan area--Los Angeles. Over half of the decade-wide minority growth accrued to just nine metropolitan areas. In contrast, the vast majority of the nation's metropolitan areas have relatively low minority percentages. These disparities across broad regions and metropolitan areas in race and ethnic profiles can be linked to similar disparities in their age structure and their skill-level and poverty compositions.

2. Urban and regional restructuring The 1980s brought a revival of urbanization against the backdrop of the "rural renaissance" 1970s. The latter is now seen to be a result of exogenous or cyclical economic and demographic forces which temporarily increased the growth of small and nonmetropolitan areas. It also resulted from an industrial restructuring which reduced the employment-generating capacities of several northern industrial metro areas. The new urban growth patterns are clearly not a return to the past. Rather, they follow new industrial structure shifts that favor "knowledge-based" advanced service industries in metropolitan areas that serve as corporate headquarters, or with otherwise highly diversified economies. Growth has also occurred in recreation and retirement centers catering to the large waves of retired elderly. Still, many smaller and rural areas, particularly in the interior parts of the nation, did not fare well as a consequence of 1980s economic downturns and these areas' reliance on, now, less than competitive industries. In sum, urban and regional restructuring has led to more marked patterns of growth and decline for regions and metro areas.

(Figure 1 here)

3. A Suburban-dominated Society A third important distribution-related development of the 1980s is the continued outward spread of population and jobs away from the historically dominant central cities of metropolitan areas. While the "urbanization of the suburbs' is not a new theme and

the suburban office boom was already noticeable in the 1970s, most urban residents now live and work within the suburbs. The growth of the suburban portion of the metropolitan areas resulted both from the relocation of activities outside of central cities in older northern and eastern metropolitan areas, as well as the recent growth within suburban areas of southern and western metropolitan areas where central cities never dominated, as completely, their areas' economic and residential landscapes (Cervero 1989; Stanback 1991) (see Figure 2). This is not to devalue a focus of central city demographic dynamics. On the contrary, it underscores their plight as places which house a plurality of the nation's minorities and disproportionate shares of urban poverty and recent immigrant populations.

(Figure 2 here)

Each of these three broad trends--the increased growth of minorities, the new disparities in urban growth and decline, and the suburban dominance of metropolitan activities--are signature characteristics of contemporary urban America. These trends serve to shape evolving patterns of growth, decline, and minority concentration across broad regions, as well as within selected metropolitan areas. These evolving patterns are discussed in greater detail below. Because minority concentration is occurring both across regions, and within metropolitan areas, the roles of immigration, national minority growth, and their selective impact on the internal redistribution of minorities is first discussed.

IMMIGRATION AND MINORITY GAINS -- NATIONAL AND LOCAL IMPACTS

Immigration's Role in National Growth The nation's population continues to grow at about one percent a year. The most pronounced shift is linked to the greater role of international migration which accounted for more than one-third of national population growth between 1980 and 1990. During the 1980s, approximately 10 million immigrants entered the U.S. as either legal aliens, undocumented aliens, or refugees (Fix and Passel 1994). This represents the largest numeric increase via the immigration route since the 1900-1910 decade.

The greater immigration component of national population growth can, to a large degree, be attributed to high numbers of undocumented, illegal aliens from Mexico and Central and South America, as well as to refugees who immigrated here from Southeast Asia, Cuba, and other countries. It is not likely that this higher 1980s immigration will taper off, however. Although the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) was intended to stem further undocumented immigration, it is estimated that between 100,000-300,000 illegals will continue to immigrate annually. Moreover, the Immigration Reform Act of 1990 will also have the effect of increasing the number of legal immigrants. The immigration experience of the 1980s decade has led the Census Bureau to revise its projections for future population growth (Day 1993). Primarily because of new immigration assumptions, the projected year 2050 population was revised from 300 million to 392 million. This projection, compiled in 1993, assumes a net annual immigration of 880,000 (including 200,000 illegal aliens) for each year of the projection. The earlier 1989-based projection assumed an annual net immigration of 500,000.

These immigration gains have contributed substantially to recent growth in the nation's minority (other than non-Hispanic white) population. This is because the 1965 immigration legislation effectively decreased immigration allotments from Europe and Canada and increased allotments for developing countries, particularly in Asia. As a result, the share of legal immigrants originating in Asian countries increased from 13 percent during the 1960s to about 44 percent during the 1980s. Latin American countries, especially Mexico, continue to account for 40 percent of legal immigrants, and almost again as many illegal immigrants. As a consequence, the expanded immigration that is anticipated over the 1990s will be disproportionately from Latin American and Asian origins.

The disparity between minority and majority growth rates is evident from 1980s statistics which showed the non-Hispanic white "majority" population to grow by only 4.4 percent during the decade—in contrast to a +30.9 percent growth for the combined minority populations. About three-quarters of the Asian populations' 108 percent growth can be attributed to immigration over the decade. Once heavily dominated by Japan, China, and the Philippines as countries of origin,

recent Asian growth encompasses a much wider array of national origin populations (including India, Korea, and Viet Nam, among others). About one-half of the Hispanic population's 53 percent growth can be attributed to immigration with the remainder accounted for by natural increase (the surplus of fertility over mortality). Mexicans make up 13.4 million of the 22.3 million Hispanic population in 1990. The remainder consist of Puerto Ricans (2.7 million), Cubans (1 million) and other Central and South American origins (about 5 million).

Although Asians and Hispanics represent the fastest-growing minorities, the black population remains the most dominant--comprising about 30 million and 12.1 percent of the 1990 US. population. However, this continued sharp disparity between the growth rate for blacks, and higher immigration-generated rates for Asians and Hispanics will lead to an increasingly smaller representation of blacks among both the minority and total populations. For the first time in 1990, blacks comprise less than half of the combined minority population. In fact, the Census Bureau's projections for the year 2050 portray a population that is 21 percent Hispanic, 15 percent black, 10 percent Asian, and one percent native American. Under this scenario, "majority," non-Hispanic whites would constitute only 53 percent of the total population.

Impacts on States -- Migration Dynamics This nationwide picture camouflages distinctly different patterns for broad regions and individual states as a consequence of their divergent immigration and internal migration experiences. A significant distinction is whether the State's dominant migration flow is comprised of immigration from abroad, or internal migration from other States. The geographic patterns of gains from these two sources, by and large, do not overlap. Led by California and New York, States which are the dominant destinations for abroad migrants tend to be those with large existing settlements of earlier immigrants from Latin America and Asia (Bean and Tienda 1987; Barringer, Gardner, and Levin 1993). A somewhat different grouping of States constitutes the greatest internal migrant "magnets"--which are located largely in the South Atlantic and the Pacific and Mountain regions. These maps also illustrate an overlap

that does exist between States that lose large numbers of internal migrants and those that gain significantly from immigration.

To clarify these distinctions, a typology of States is presented based on their dominant migration sources of change (Frey 1993b; 1994b). (See Figure 3 and Table 1). States classed as "High Immigration States" include the six States with largest 1985-90 migration from abroad, where the immigration component overwhelms net internal migration (California, New York, Texas, New Jersey, Illinois, Massachusetts). In fact, all of these States, except California, lost internal migrants to other States during the 1985-90 period. (Note: although California ranked seventh among States in attracting internal migrants during this period, its growth dynamics are clearly dominated by migration from abroad.)

[Figure 3 and Table 1 here]

The six States classed as "High Internal Migration States" (Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, Washington, Arizona) displayed greatest net increases in their migration exchanges with other States over the 1985-90 period. Moreover, in each case, these net internal migration gains significantly exceeded those of the immigration component. (This is also the case for Florida as well despite its strong attraction for immigrants.) The attraction of these States for internal migrants is their growing economies and, in most cases, climatic and other amenities that serve as additional "pulls" for elderly retirees (Frey 1992; Taeuber 1992).

The third class of States shown in Table 1 are five "High Out-Migration States"--Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Iowa. These are States that displayed the greatest net out-migration in their exchanges with other States and were not recipients of large immigration from abroad. Although several of the High Immigration States experienced greater levels of net internal out-migration (e.g., New York, Illinois, Texas, and New Jersey) than some of these, their demographic dynamics are much more influenced by the immigration component.

Although this migration classification of States is based on the dominant immigration/internal migration component of population change, it is intended to serve as a vehicle for characterizing the race and status selectivity associated with these distinct migration dynamics.

Sharp differences in the race-migration dynamics are associated with each class of States. The characteristic dynamic for most High Immigration States is a large, primarily minority immigration stream--coupled with a significant, largely white net internal out-migration. Although California's internal migration is positive, it too sustained selective net out-migration of important white population segments (discussed below). Clearly, the substantial minority immigrant flows dominate demographic change in all of these States.

The characteristic-migration dynamics for the High Internal Migration States contrast sharply with these. Here, the strong white internal migration gains dominate growth over the 1985-90 period. Almost the reverse pattern characterizes the race-migration dynamic in High Out-Migration States. For these, it is a large net out-migration of whites that dominates migration over the 1985-90 period. In fact, with the exception of Louisiana, the minority component of total net out-migration from these States is extremely small. They are losing large numbers of whites that are not being compensated for by immigration from abroad.

The above dynamics, if continued, suggest a situation where a few immigrant destination states will continue to gain larger minority populations, while losing (predominantly white) internal migrants to other prosperous areas. These different processes serve to maintain or even exacerbate a polarized pattern which could lead to regional and state differences in racial compositions, age structures, and other demographic characteristics which separate the largely minority immigrant populations from the white majority population that dominates internal migration streams. These dynamics will be highlighted in the discussions that follow.

REGIONAL AND METROPOLITAN TRENDS

<u>Growth and Decline in the 1980s</u> Although immigration has an important impact on metropolitan population growth, areas that gained primarily from internal migration have benefited from economic gains owing to both national and worldwide economic restructuring. The patterns of gains and losses associated with restructuring have led to a resurgence in urban growth in some

metropolitan areas, especially larger areas on the coasts. However, many smaller metropolitan areas and rural areas in the nation's interior have not benefited from this regional restructuring.

Growing metropolitan areas tend to be those which successfully transformed their economies from manufacturing to advanced services, FIRE (finance, insurance and real estate) "high-tech" research and development, and growing new industries (Noyelle and Stanback 1984; Frey 1987). Less stable growth prospects occurred in smaller, nonmetropolitan areas engaged in peripheral, routine production activity that could be phased out by decision makers located in corporate or (in the case of defense activities) government centers. Nonetheless, much of the de-industrialization-related "urban decline" of the 1970s turned around for the 1980s. Of the eight large "million-plus" metropolitan areas that lost population in the 1970s, three (New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis) began gaining in 1980-85, and an additional three (Detroit, Milwaukee, Buffalo) showed gains in 1985-90. Only Pittsburgh and Cleveland continued to lose population through the 1980s.

The economic bases of the fastest gaining metropolitan areas are tied to expanding economic sectors and do not have histories of "heavy industry" manufacturing. They also tend to be located on the coasts. The following list of large metropolitan areas whose population growth rates exceeded two and a half times the national rate for the respective period illustrates these points:

1970-80	1980-85	1985-90
Phoenix MSA	Phoenix MSA	Orlando MSA
Tampa-St.Pete. MSA	Dallas-Ft.Worth CMSA	Sacramento MSA
Houston CMSA	Houston CMSA	San Diego MSA
Miami MSA	Tampa-St.Pete. MSA	Phoenix MSA
San Diego MSA	Atlanta MSA	Atlanta MSA
Denver CMSA	San Antonio MSA	Los Angeles CMSA
Sacramento MSA	San Diego MSA	Seattle CMSA
	Sacramento MSA	Washington, DC MSA
		Miami CMSA
		Charlotte MSA
		Tampa-St.Pete. MSA
		Dallas-Ft.Worth CMSA

Yet, the national trend toward 1980s reurbanization has been coupled with a deceleration of redistribution to the Sunbelt, when examined from a 30-year perspective. While 1980s South and West regional growth continued to outpace northern growth by a wide margin, the differential has become reduced--particularly or the South. This shift suggests that some of the strong period-related draws of small Sunbelt places have diminished over the 1980s and that several large Snowbelt metropolises benefited from restructuring or better economic times.

A Coastal-Interior Dichotomy The Snowbelt-Sunbelt (or Northeast and Midwest vs. South and West) dichotomy continues to be useful for distinguishing large absolute differences in population decline and growth between these two broad regions. Yet an additional geographic distinction is useful for analyzing the recent changes in urbanization patterns for these regions. This distinction separates the "interior" portion of each region from its "coastal" portion. This way of dividing regions shows that the observed growth declines in both the South and the West regions are concentrated heavily in their interior sections. These growth slow-downs are most severe for 1985-90 for small metropolitan areas in the interior South. (See Figure 4).

(Figure 4 here)

Small and nonmetropolitan areas in the northern part of the country also displayed disparate patterns for interior (Midwest) and coastal (Northeast) regions. While these areas

showed lower levels of 1970s growth than their counterparts in the Sunbelt, Midwest small areas fared even worse in the 1980s -- particularly in the early part of the decade. Nonmetropolitan areas in this section registered negligible--then negative--growth as the decade wore on. In contrast, Northeast small and nonmetropolitan areas showed increased growth in the 1985-90 period. These categories of North coastal areas grew faster than the large metropolises of the region.

The interior growth slow-downs of small and nonmetropolitan areas in both the Sunbelt and Snowbelt are strongly linked to economic period influences. The world-wide and cyclical forces that stimulated the sharp 1970s growth rises in smaller interior areas also provoked declines during the 1980s. The weak early 1970s dollar served to stimulate labor-intensive manufacturing in the South's eastern interior region and many small Rustbelt areas. But the dollar became stronger in the early 1980s with a change in the balance of trade. This, combined with the recessions, led to reduced demand and hence, increased unemployment and disinvestment in these activities and areas. Likewise, the worldwide agricultural shortages which stemmed the decline of farming areas in the 1970s turned into an agricultural surplus in the 1980s--effecting widespread population declines in the rural and small-town Midwest and selected parts of the South.

Still, it was the changing fortunes of the mining and petroleum industries that had the most severe impact on communities of all sizes--in Appalachia, the mountain West, and, in particular, the Southwest. Many of these areas grew at exceptionally high rates during portions of the 1970s and early 1980s. However, with the fall of world-wide petroleum prices toward mid-decade, growth was sharply curtailed in several interior metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas.

The generally higher levels of growth for smaller and nonmetropolitan areas in the coastal sections of their respective regions draws from particular economic specialties -- such as the recreation and retirement industry in Florida, New England, and the Pacific Northwest. It is also explained by the more diversified economies these areas possess because of their stronger links to broader urban networks in the coastal portions of their regions. Some of these areas (such as the Allentown, Lancaster and Reading MSAs in eastern Pennsylvania) lie at arm's length from major

metropolises and were able to attract both employers and residents in search of somewhat lower labor and housing costs.

The growth prospects for large coastal metropolises in all three regions improved considerably over the 1980s decade. Areas that serve as national or regional advanced service centers have shown the most steady population gains over the 1980s. Other metropolitan areas specializing in recreation and resorts show spectacular but fluctuating growth levels (such as Miami, Tampa-St. Petersburg) are also located in coastal regions. Together, both types of areas help to account for the steadily rising 1980s growth levels in the nation's coastal regions.

Racial Disparities in Metropolitan Growth Just as the immigration-driven growth of "new minorities" has led to disproportionate minority gains in high immigration states, these impacts are also observed for metropolitan areas. Immigrant minorities historically tended to locate in traditional "port-of-entry" areas, or areas with already large concentrations of their ethnic group. In contrast, recent white majority migration streams tend to follow the "pushes" and "pulls" associated with regional restructuring-related economic gains. This can be seen by comparing metropolitan areas with the greatest non-Hispanic White population increases over the 1980s with those that show the greatest increases in the combined minority population. (See Table 2.) The former areas--strong economic magnets--attracted Whites in search of employment opportunities. The latter areas constitute the nation's largest "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas for immigrants, or areas with established minority concentrations.

(Table 2 here)

Black distribution patterns differ from other minorities. Metropolitan areas that constituted traditional northern destinations for earlier southern-origin black migrants--New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Detroit--still rank among the black metropolitan concentrations. These traditional destinations still house almost a quarter of the nation's black population and the 12 metropolitan areas with more than a half million blacks are home to more than two-fifths of the black population.

Still, recent black redistribution shifts, even among these 12 areas, demonstrate a shift toward the Sunbelt. Chicago's metropolitan black population decreased during the 1980s and slow black growth characterized Philadelphia and Detroit. In contrast, the "new South" metros--Atlanta, Miami, and Dallas--displayed substantial gains. Other fast-growing areas not on the list include these South Atlantic areas: Orlando, Raleigh-Durham, and Tampa-St. Petersburg. This is consistent with the recent attraction of South Atlantic states as Sunbelt destinations for blacks.

(Table 3 here)

Hispanics and Asians are even more strongly concentrated in large metropolitan areas than blacks. The nine metropolitan areas with the largest numbers of Hispanics contain almost three-fifths of the nation's Hispanic population. The four areas with the largest Asian populations contain just over half of the nation's Asian population. Unlike the situation with blacks, metro areas with greatest 1990 Hispanic and Asian populations, should also continue to experience the largest numerical gains. This is because they are key "port-of-entry" areas for recent immigrants.

Still, the spread of these groups is evident in the fact that 29 metropolitan areas had more than 100,000 Hispanics in 1990 (up from 22 in 1980), with high levels of growth displayed in areas like Washington, DC, and Boston, Phoenix, Orlando, and Tampa-St. Petersburg. Areas with Asian populations of greater than 100,000 have grown to 12 in 1990 (up from 5 in 1980). High Asian growth rates are seen in the majority of the nation's metropolitan areas (from small population bases). Hence, there is both concentration and some spread of these populations. The areas with high percentages of Hispanics tend to be located in the West and in Texas. Only two metropolitan areas have Asian populations that exceed 10 percent--Honolulu (62.9 percent) and San Francisco (14.8 percent).

The explosion of minority populations--both homegrown and immigrant--is leading to a much more diverse national population. However, the trends for regions and metropolitan areas point up the sharp disparities that have emerged. Some parts of the country--smaller sized communities in the North and Midwest--are becoming increasingly "whiter" and older than the national populations. At the same time, growing multicultural "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas

are taking on a much different demographic character. If current trends continue, the majority-minority polarization across regions, areas, and communities will intensify. Moreover, intra-metropolitan concerns associated with residential segregation, multi-lingual education, and concentrated poverty will be heightened in those parts of the country that have served as magnets for minorities.

INTRA-METROPOLITAN CITY-SUBURB TRENDS

The demographic dynamics within metropolitan areas have also taken significant turns. The majority of America's metropolitan population now lives in the suburbs. Although central cities once dominated such that their population characteristics were more representative of the nation's demographic profile, this is no longer the case. Now many central cities, particularly in the older regions of the country, show demographic profiles that are quite distinct from that of their suburbs and from the nation as a whole. They are more racially diverse, and have higher percentages of young adults and elderly, and a greater incidence of poverty. During the manufacturing-to-services transformation of the nation's economy, some cities survived better than others. Still, even in these surviving cities, the kinds of white-collar professional jobs that have grown are often not consistent with the lower skill and education levels of large segments of their resident populations (Frey and Speare 1988; Kasarda 1988). This section discusses the broad outlines of central city growth and decline as a prelude to subsequent discussions of race-ethnic suburbanization, as well as the concentration of poverty and its associated demographic characteristics in the nation's central cities.

City Gains and Declines The 1980s rise in metropolitan growth served to moderate the declines and growth slow-downs many large cities sustained during the 1970s. This is evident from Table 4, which shows trends for the central cities and surrounding areas (suburbs) of the nation's 25 largest metropolitan areas. (The central city-suburb comparisons in this section pertain to central cities and metropolitan balances of 320 PMSAs, MSAs and NECMAs defined by the

Office of Management and Budget as of June 30, 1990.) Of the 18 central cities that lost population during the 1970s, six (New York, Boston, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Kansas City, San Francisco-Oakland, and Seattle) displayed gains in the 1980s, and all but one (Denver) of the remaining areas showed smaller losses than in the 1970s.

(Table 4 here)

There are two primary reasons why the larger central cities have rebounded from their 1970s losses. One has to do with the economic functions some of these cities possess, which dovetailed with secular patterns of corporate growth and related advanced service industries during the 1980s. Cities that serve as headquarters of corporations and related FIRE (finance, insurance, and real estate) industries tended to grow in employment and population. A case in point is New York, where the metropolitan area's population growth became strongly concentrated within the central city where many of these employment opportunities grew. On the other hand, those cities located within metropolitan areas where such industries with "new" agglomeration economies are less prominent did not grow as strongly.

A second continuing source of city growth in selected "port-of entry" cities draws from immigration. Immigrant minorities are more likely to locate in the central city than is the general population. As a result, large immigrant streams to areas like Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco and Miami contributed significantly to these central cities' growth.

City Losses by Race Although several large central cities have rebounded, somewhat, demographically over the past decade, many central cities of all sizes continue to experience declines in their populations. This is a result of continued suburban spread as well as industrial restructuring patterns which adversely affect many central city employment bases. While population losses of whites in selected cities are countered by gains in immigrant populations, this is not the dominant pattern. Central city population loss is addressed in Table 5, which shows rankings of absolute and percentage loss between 1980 and 1990 for the total, non-Hispanic white, black, and Hispanic populations.

(Table 5 here)

Cities with greatest absolute losses are heavily concentrated in the Midwest and interior Northeast. Chicago leads the pack with a loss of 208 thousand people. Other losers include three large east-coast cities (Philadelphia, Newark, and Baltimore) and three southern cities (New Orleans, Memphis, and Louisville). Most of these cities also lost blacks, except for Detroit and Memphis which gained blacks over the eighties. The numbers for Hispanics are striking; Chicago's loss would have been much greater without the influx of 130 thousand Hispanics between 1980 and 1990. Philadelphia, Newark, and Denver also partially offset their losses with gains of Hispanics.

Ranking cities by percentage loss produces a different top 15 list--one that includes many cities in small metropolitan areas, in addition to the large cities common to both lists. Most of the declining small cities have heavy manufacturing or mining-based economies and are located in the region where Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia meet (Johnstown, PA; Wheeling, Huntington, and Parkersburg, WV; and Steubenville, OH). In none of these cities were losses offset by black or Hispanic gains.

About half of the top 15 losers of non-Hispanic whites also appear on the total population list. The others are all cities that lost non-Hispanic whites, but gained members of one or more minority groups. Many of these cities registered gains in total population between 1980 and 1990. New York City is a case in point; it lost just over half a million non-Hispanic whites and gained over 300 thousand each of blacks and Hispanics, as well as 270 thousand Asians (data not shown), resulting in a total population gain of 253 thousand (Note: Some of these blacks and Asians may have also been Hispanic.). Several other immigration-magnet cities attracted Hispanics and Asians while losing a substantial number of non-Hispanic whites (Los Angeles, Houston, Miami, and Minneapolis).

In terms of non-Hispanic white percent population loss, new cities on the list include several New Jersey areas (Atlantic City, Bergen-Passaic, Trenton, and Jersey city), all of which lost over 20 percent of their white populations, yet gained Hispanics (and sometimes, blacks).

Three large cities lost over one-third of their non-Hispanic white population between 1980 and 1990 (Miami--38 percent, Detroit--36 percent, and Newark--34 percent).

Conclusions about city population loss vary depending on the group of interest and whether the focus is on absolute or relative loss. One group of large midwestern and northeastern cities stands out, especially if the focus is on absolute loss: Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Newark, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh. These cities have sustained population losses over several decades, through suburbanization and regional restructuring. A second group represents cities in which heavy white population losses were more than offset by minority population gains (primarily Hispanics and Asians): Boston, Houston, Los Angeles, Miami, Minneapolis, and New York City. Those experiencing large percentage losses make up a third group containing the cities of small metropolitan areas in the heavy manufacturing-mining district of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia.

MINORITY SUBURBANIZATION

Suburbanization Levels Another major trend characterizing the 1980s was the increased suburbanization of minorities. Over the decade, the proportion of metropolitan residents living in the suburbs (suburbanization level), increased five percentage points for the combined minority population (from 34 to 39 percent) and only two points (from 65 to 67 percent) for non-Hispanic whites (Figure 5). Despite this increase for minorities, suburbanization levels among non-Hispanic whites continued to be much higher than those of all three minority groups in all regions, and in most individual metropolitan areas. In 1990, for the U.S. as a whole, two-thirds (67 percent) of non-Hispanic whites lived in the suburbs, compared to 51 percent for Asians, 43 percent of Hispanics and 32 percent of blacks. Asian and Hispanic suburbanization levels would be higher were it not for a tendency among recent immigrants to concentrate in central cities (Frey and Speare 1988).

(Figure 5 here)

Blacks are distinct; their suburbanization level remains much lower than those for other groups, even though it has increased by five percentage points in each of the last two decades. While the emergence of a bona fide black middle class and the enactment of federal fair housing legislation in the 1960s spurred suburbanization among blacks, the black-white gap in suburbanization levels has changed very little (Fielding and Frey 1994).

However, the majority-minority difference in suburbanization level varies widely across metropolitan areas. In some areas, such as Los Angeles, even the level for blacks approaches that for non-Hispanic whites. In general, differences among areas can be traced to historical development patterns (Frey and Speare 1988), with majority-minority disparities being widest in larger metropolitan areas of the two northern regions, and smallest in the West (see bottom panel of Figure 5). Blacks represent the extreme case. In the West, the black suburbanization level (41 percent) was only about 20 points lower than that for non-Hispanic whites, whereas in the North, the gap is nearly 50 percentage points (22 percent for blacks and 70 percent for non-Hispanic whites).

The continued majority-minority gap in suburbanization levels perpetuates the difference in racial-ethnic composition between cities and suburbs. The minority percentage of central city populations is generally much higher than those of their surrounding suburbs. This is less the case in Western metropolises, owing to the more sprawling, over-bounded central cities, but it is quite distinct in most Northern and Southern metropolitan areas. Eleven of the nation's largest central cities have populations comprised of "majority-minorities" -- led by Miami (83 percent), Detroit (70 percent), and Atlanta (65 percent). None of the nation's suburban rings have minority shares that high, though the multi-ethnic suburban areas surrounding Miami and Los Angeles have approached "majority-minority" status.

Although city-suburb racial disparities deserve emphasis, it is also important to note that all three major minorities--Blacks, Hispanics and Asians--increased their suburbanization level in all regions of the country over the 1980s. How these changes affect population patterns within suburban rings plays out quite differently across metropolitan areas, depending on their mixes of

minorities and historical growth patterns. Additional evidence from the 1990 census (not shown) provides some examples:

1. Older metropolitan areas, with suburbanizing blacks and new minority groups, showing further redistribution of whites to outer suburbs. (Examples: New York, Philadelphia)
2. West and Southwest metropolitan areas with multi-racial mixes exhibiting lower levels of neighborhood segregation during new dynamic transition patterns and "majority-minority" suburban cities. (Example: Los Angeles)
3. Minority (largely Black) growth and suburbanization in several Southern metropolitan areas. (Example: Atlanta)
4. Extreme patterns for individual areas: 1950s style Black city concentration, white suburban flight. (Example: Detroit) White city gains coupled with suburban dispersal of minorities (Example: Washington, DC)

These scenarios illustrate several potential avenues for suburban racial change in the future. The relative changes in majority and minority populations in individual suburbs will have long term effects on the economic, social, and political development of those communities.

Suburbanization by Socioeconomic Status Historically, suburbanization was linked to upward mobility. That is, families with greater income levels, or higher educations and socioeconomic or occupational characteristics were more likely to live in the suburbs than in the city. While this was true for the population as a whole, it was not until recently the case for blacks (Frey and Speare 1988; Fielding 1990). For the other minorities, Hispanics and Asians, the link is a bit stronger.

The graph in Figure 6a shows how suburbanization levels by education and race (for the population 25 years old and over) changed over the 1980s for the country as a whole. For the total population, the proportion in the suburbs remained stable for the two lowest education groups (less than 9 years and 9-11 years), while it increased slightly for the three highest groups. This pattern

is somewhat misleading, however, because it characterizes none of the individual race or ethnic groups.

The pattern for whites is distinctive. The proportion of college educated whites living in the suburbs actually declined between 1980 and 1990. This decline occurred in all regions and size categories of metropolitan areas, but it was most pronounced in the largest ones. Some of this decline can be explained by gentrification among highly educated whites, but most of it is attributable to white movement away from older, Northeast metropolitan areas to central cities in newer parts of the country. Because of de-suburbanization among highly educated whites over the last two decades, the class pattern for whites in 1990 is an inverted U-shape, with the college educated being even less likely than the least educated to live in the suburbs. This pattern contrasts sharply with those for the minority groups, all of which exhibit the traditional class selective pattern of suburbanization.

Among blacks and Asians, the pattern of change in suburbanization over the 1980s reinforced this pattern with greater increases for the higher education categories. For black college graduates, vigorous suburbanization led to an increase of seven percentage points (from 33 percent in 1980 to 40 percent in 1990) in the percent living in the suburbs. Although suburbanization level rises with education for Hispanics, increases in level over the 1980s were nearly even across education categories.

(Figure 6a here)

Because class patterns of metropolitan residence are strongly affected by the historical development of areas, they play out quite differently across regions, size categories, and metropolitan areas. To illustrate this the 1980 and 1990 suburbanization levels by race and education level are shown in Figure 6b for three individual metropolitan areas: Dallas, Detroit, and Los Angeles.

In Dallas (first panel of 6b), all groups experienced increases in suburbanization level over the eighties. Within each race, the class pattern is similar to that for the country as a whole, with the college educated displaying the lowest level of suburbanization among whites and the highest

level among each of the minority groups. This pattern is typical of large metropolitan areas in the South. The increase in suburbanization among college educated blacks was dramatic; their level doubled from 16 percent in 1980 to 33 percent in 1990. The Dallas area attracted a large number of high-status black in-migrants over the eighties, many of whom moved directly to the suburbs.

In Detroit, the disadvantage of blacks in suburbanization level is glaring. Even among college graduates, the 1990 level for blacks is more than 60 percentage points less than that for whites (second panel of Figure 6b). As in Dallas, black college graduates in Detroit experienced significant suburbanization over the 1980s, exacerbating the sharp upturn in suburbanization level for the highest education category. Unlike for the nation as a whole, the suburbanization level for whites increases with education. Very few whites with high educational attainment live in the city of the Detroit metropolitan area.

Two aspects of suburbanization patterns are unique in Los Angeles: (third panel of Figure 6b) much narrower racial differentials than in other areas and negligible increases in suburbanization levels over the 1980-90 decade for all groups except Asians. The traditional class-selective pattern characterizes blacks in 1990, and the level for black college graduates approaches that for other groups. Low and decreasing suburbanization levels among low-education whites (which include white Hispanics) and Hispanics can be traced to the heavy immigration of Hispanics to Los Angeles during the 1980s. Most new arrivals have low educational attainment and locate initially in the city.

(Figure 6b here)

POVERTY

Urban poverty has emerged as a major policy concern over the last decade. Rising poverty rates in central cities as well as the increasing concentration of the poor population in specific areas within cities have captured the attention of researchers and policy makers (Wilson 1987; Ricketts and Sawhill 1988; Jargowsky and Bane 1991). This section focuses on poverty in cities and suburbs, covering the following issues: 1980-90 trends in poverty rates and the growth of the

poverty and non-poverty populations; the level of economic polarization between cities and suburbs; rates of female headship and poverty among female-headed households; and the poverty rates of children.

Several consistent themes run through this section. First, poverty conditions and trends vary widely across metropolitan areas and regions, generally mirroring area-specific economic conditions. While the poverty rate increased only slightly across all areas between 1980 and 1990, some cities (like Detroit and Houston) experienced large increases. Second, the poverty population is concentrated in the central cities of metropolitan areas and within cities, in specific high poverty areas. Trends in the concentration of poverty follow those for poverty rates, with increases in similar cities and regions. Third, poverty conditions are worse among minorities (especially blacks and Hispanics), female-headed households, and children.

1980-90 Trends Poverty rates (the proportion of the population with incomes below the federal poverty line) for cities and suburbs in 1980 and 1990 appear in Table 6 for the total, black, and Hispanic populations. Beginning with the total population, the national poverty rate rose slightly for central cities, from 16.2 percent in 1980 to 18.0 percent in 1990. The rate in suburbs remained stable at 8 percent. These trends in rates reflect the differential growth rates of the poverty and non-poverty populations over the eighties. In cities, the poverty population grew noticeably faster (18.4 percent) than the non-poverty population (4.1 percent), while for the suburbs the differential was much smaller (poverty--17.3 percent, non-poverty--14.9 percent).

(Table 6 here)

Focusing first on cities, the trends vary by region and size category. Among the four regions, only the Northeast showed no increase in its poverty rate. Here the poverty population actually declined slightly (-0.1 percent), while the non-poverty population increased (0.4 percent). The largest increase in city poverty rate took place in the Midwest, where the percent in poverty went from 15.5 percent in 1980 to 19.1 percent in 1990. Behind this change was a growth (16.5 percent) of the poverty population and a sizable decline (-9.6 percent) of the non-poverty

population. Midwestern cities are still experiencing out-migration of higher status persons. Cities in the South and West, on the other hand, experienced increases in both their poverty and non-poverty populations.

Change in city poverty rate between 1980 and 1990 was negatively related to size of metropolitan area, with the smallest areas experiencing the largest increase (3.1 percentage points). Like for the Midwest region, cities in the small metropolitan category had a growing poverty population (16.7 percent) and a declining non-poverty population (-7.0 percent). In the medium and large metropolitan categories, both poverty and non-poverty populations grew, with the former growing faster, yielding increases in poverty rates.

The pattern of changes in poverty rates for suburbs is quite similar to that for cities, although the suburban changes are smaller in magnitude. One difference is for the South, where suburbs, unlike the cities, had a lower poverty rate in 1990 (10.2 percent) than in 1980 (10.4 percent). The ranking of regions and size categories by poverty rates is also different for the suburbs, probably reflecting higher poverty rates among the rural populations of some suburban rings. Southern and western areas, as well as small metropolitan areas, show relatively high poverty rates in both years. Small metropolitan areas are also distinct in having experienced a decline (-2.9 percent) in their suburban poverty populations.

Trends in city poverty rates for blacks over the eighties mostly parallel those for the total population, but most of the changes are larger in magnitude. For example, the city poverty rate in the Northeast declined -3.5 percentage points in the Northeast and rose 5.7 points in the Midwest. In the suburbs, poverty rates declined in all regions except the Midwest and in large- and medium-sized metropolitan areas. These declines stem partly from class-selective suburbanization among blacks over the 1980s.

Poverty trends for Hispanics over the 1980s are quite similar to those for the total population although increases in and absolute levels of poverty rates are higher for Hispanics. In the aggregate, Hispanic poverty increased 2.2 points (from 26.4 percent to 28.6 percent) for the cities and 1.4 points (from 17.7 percent to 19.1 percent) in the suburbs. Increases in the city

poverty rate for Hispanics were largest in the South and West regions as opposed to the Midwest for the total population. The South and West contain the primary destinations for most new Hispanic immigrants, many of whom are poor. The city poverty rate for the Northeast, even after declining over the decade, was noticeably higher in 1990 in the other regions, reflecting the concentration of Puerto Ricans there.

A sense of the changes in poverty indicators for the total population in the most distressed cities can be gained from looking at the rankings displayed in Table 7. Among the metropolitan areas in 1990 with the highest city poverty rates are two large cities (New Orleans and Detroit), three university towns (State College, PA; Athens, GA; and Bloomington, IN) and three heavily Hispanic Texas border towns (Brownsville, Laredo, and McAllen). Many of these same cities also appear on the top list for greatest increases in poverty rates between 1980 and 1990. Poverty rates increased in areas with already high rates..Nearly all of the cities with large increases in poverty rate had growing poverty and declining non-poverty populations. Especially prevalent on this list are industrial, midwestern cities (Flint, Jackson, and Detroit, MI; Youngstown, OH; and Johnstown, PA) These cities continued to lose jobs over the 1980s, pushing some people into poverty and spurring others to migrate out of the city.

Focusing on absolute growth of poverty population produces a different top 15 list--one headed by Los Angeles which gained nearly 100 thousand poor residents between 1980 and 1990. It should be noted, however, that Los Angeles also tops the list of growth in <u>non-poverty</u> population. Immigration dominated the population growth figures for Los Angeles in the 1980s. Other magnets for Hispanic immigration appearing on both lists include: Phoenix, Fresno, San Diego, Anaheim, Fort Worth, Dallas, and San Antonio. Only four of the cities (Houston, Detroit, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis) on the top poverty gainers list actually had decreases in their non-poverty populations, yielding substantial increases in their poverty rates.

(Table 7 here)

Similarly, most of the cities on the list of top gainers of non-poverty population make the top 25 list of poverty gainers. Four cities (New York City, Norfolk, Raleigh-Durham, and

Jacksonville, FL) stand out as having increases primarily in their non-poverty populations and decreases in their poverty rates. Because of expanding corporate and high-technology sectors, New York City and Raleigh-Durham both attracted many new white-collar residents during the 1980s.

Economic Polarization of Metropolitan Areas Metropolitqan areas are polarized by economic status, with poor people being more likely tolive in cities and non-poor people to live in the suburbs. This polarization is reflected in higher poverty rates in cities than in suburbs, a condition that exists in nearly all U.S. metropolitan areas. Changes over time in this phenomena are influenced by two factors, which could have either opposing or reinforcing effects. One involves the destination choices of poor and non-poor intrametropolitan movers and metropolitan in-migrants (whether native or immigrant). If poor movers tend to choose city destinations at the same time as non-poor movers choose the suburbs, metropolitan polarization would increase. The other factor concerns changes in the poverty status of non-movers. Economic conditions, such as the closing of a large factory in the city, could impact city residents disproportionately, thereby increasing city poverty rates relative to suburban rates.

Data relevant to level of metropolitan polarization (differing class compositions of cities and suburbs) in 1990 are provided in Table 8, which contains some of the same information as Table 7, but arranged differently. Poverty rates in cities are higher than in suburbs across all races, regions, and size categories. Nationally, 18 percent of the city population had incomes below the poverty line, compared with 8.1 percent for the suburbs. This polarization of metropolitan areas by poverty status is larger and more consistent than for other socio-economic indicators, such as education. For instance, in many metropolitan areas the proportion with a college education is higher in the citiy than in the suburbs (Frey 1993d).

(Table 8 here)

The level of polarization by poverty status stems largely from variations in suburban poverty rates; city rates, though higher, vary within a narrower range. Nevertheless, cities do vary

in their poverty levels because of their sizes, regional locations, and racial compositions. For example, Detroit's high poverty rate (30.2 percent) for the total city population is linked to both poor economic conditions and the large proportion of blacks, whose poverty rate is high.

Degree of polarization by poverty status tends to be greater in the industrial North than in the Sunbelt, as well as for the larger metropolitan areas. These differentials can be attributed to the generally higher suburban poverty levels in the South and West and in small metropolitan areas due to their larger rural, but suburban, populations. This pattern holds for the total population and for whites, but sometimes plays out differently for the minority groups.

Polarization among blacks in highest in the Midwest, but is also high in some large southern metropolitan areas. Among the areas listed, Atlanta had the greatest difference in city and suburb poverty rates for blacks (19.4 percent). For Hispanics, the gap was largest in the Northeast, as typified by Philadelphia where the difference was 32.2 percent. The relationship between polarization and metropolitan size is reversed for both Hispanics and Asians. Asians, in particular, showed a high city poverty rate (30.6 percent) and a large city-suburb difference (14.0 percent) in small metropolitan areas, reflecting the destinations of recent Southeast Asian immigrants.

In summary, poverty is not exclusively a problem of central cities, but in all regions, metropolitan size categories, and nearly all metropolitan areas, it is concentrated in cities. That is, the city-suburb difference in poverty rate, is consistently positive. Changes over the 1980s in polarization by poverty status varies widely across metropolitan areas, depending on the volume and destinations of immigrant and internal migrant streams, as well as differential changes in income levels of city and suburban residents. In some areas, both trends exert the same direction of impact, as in Detroit where differential internal migration and difficult economic conditions both contributed to increasing concentration of poverty in the city. Economic conditions in New York City yielded a decrease in the city poverty rate, probably caused by both improved incomes among residents and by high-status in-migration.

In addition to being concentrated in the central cities of metropolitan areas, the poverty population, especially among blacks, is concentrated within cities (Kasarda 1993a; 1993b; Jargowsky 1994). Certain areas of large cities have high poverty rates and also contain a disproportionate share of the poverty population. Both the number of high poverty tracts and the concentration of the poor in them increased over the 1980s. The pattern of increase during the 1980s was diffused across all regions and sizes of metropolitan areas, whereas for the 1970s, increases occurred mainly in the large areas of the Northeast and Midwest (Kasarda 1993a; Jargowsky 1994).

As was the case for cities overall, changes in the concentration of poverty within cities over the 1980s were tied to wider metropolitan economic conditions. Cities with poor or declining economies (like Detroit) often experienced increases in both city poverty rates and the concentration of poverty within the city. Those experiencing good economic fortune (like New York) often saw decreases in poverty rates and in poverty concentration over the decade.

Female-Headed Households, Children and Poverty One of the major concerns in the poverty literature is the rising number of female-headed households and their difficult economic situations (see for example, Garfinkel and McLanahan 1986; Wilson 1987). Poverty rates are high for female-headed households, with the consequences being especially severe for their children (Newberger, Melnicoe, and Newberger 1986; Danziger and Stern 1990; Danziger and Danziger 1993). Shown in Table 9 are statistics for urban areas in 1990 for the percent of female-headed households and the percent of children below the poverty line. These data provide a preliminary look at the complex issues concerning female-headed households, children, and poverty.

(Table 9 here)

Female-headed households exhibited higher rates of poverty than other households in 1990. Nationally, their percentage in poverty for cities was 36.1 percent (see top panel of Table 9). Among regions, the poverty rate among female-headed households was lowest in the West (29.3 percent). However, patterns for the suburbs diverge, with rates for female-headed households

being lowest in the Northeast and highest in the West. Consequently, the level of metropolitan polarization by poverty status (the difference between city and suburb rates) was very low in the West (5.7 percentage points). This finding is consistent with the results for overall poverty rates. That is, in the West, the poor population is much more evenly distributed between cities and suburbs than in other regions. The relationship between size of area and poverty is negative for female-headed households, whereas it was positive for the total population. Perhaps in small areas, women are less able to find employment sufficient to support their households, thereby raising poverty rates among female-headed households. In large metropolitan areas, female-headed poverty is primarily concentrated in cities, rather than suburbs.

Among the four racial/ethnic groups, Hispanic female-headed households had the highest rates of poverty (49.2 percent nationally for cities), followed closely by blacks (45.1). Levels were much lower for Asians (28.8 percent) and whites (24.8 percent). Within each race, patterns are quite consistent with those for the total population. Poverty rates for black female-headed households were especially high in the Midwest (city rate = 50.2 percent) and the South (47.5 percent). Black women in those regions have a difficult time earning enough money to support their dependents. The regional pattern is different for Hispanics. City poverty rates were highest in the Northeast (56.3 percent) for Hispanic female-headed households. Not only are there many female-headed Hispanic households in Northeastern cities, over half of them have incomes below the poverty line. Thus, one expects high rates of poverty among Hispanic children in the Northeast.

In general, patterns in the poverty rates of female-headed households parallel those for female-headship rates. That is, areas in which a large proportion of households are female-headed also tend to have high rates of poverty among those households. In the city of Detroit for example (data not shown) 36 percent of all black households are female-headed and of these, one half have incomes below the poverty line. Both of these phenomena are related to general economic and social conditions, thus it is not surprising that they vary together.

Poverty rates for children, which are intimately linked to those for female-headed households, appear in the bottom panel of Table 9. In 1990, poverty among children was more severe in cities (26.6 percent) than in suburbs (16.0 percent). Regional patterns are similar to those discussed for the poverty of female-headed households. That is, the West was characterized by a low city rate (21.5 percent) and a high suburban rate (13.7 percent), while in the Northeast and Midwest, the converse (high city and low suburban rates) was true. An analogous pattern appears for the metropolitan size comparison with large areas being like the two northern regions and small areas being like the West. The trends by region and for individual areas are partly driven by racial composition patterns. Blacks and Hispanics have much higher child poverty rates than whites. Because the cities of large metropolitan areas, especially those in the Northeast and Midwest, have large minority populations, their child poverty rates were high. Similarly, suburban child poverty rates in those same areas were relatively low partly because of the lack of minorities in their rings. In the South and West, where minorities are more evenly distributed within metropolitan areas, citiy and suburban poverty rates for children were much closer in 1990.

Unlike for female-headed households, child poverty in cities was higher for blacks (43.0 percent) than for Hispanics (36.8 percent). In addition, the poverty rate among city children for Asians (24.9 percent) is well above that for whites (16.0 percent). This finding for Asians probably reflects higher fertility and poverty rates of more recent immigrants from southeast Asia. Among minorities, poverty rates for children follow the same patterns as those for female-headed households. For black children, city poverty was especially prevalent in the Midwest (48.6 percent) and the South (43.9 percent), and for Hispanics, it was especially high in the Northeast (city, 46.5 percent).

As for the other populations studied, poverty rates for children in cities vary widely across metropolitan areas. Rankings of cities with the most distressed child populations appear in Table 10. For the total population, child poverty rates in 1990 ranged from a high of 70.5 percent in Benton Harbor, MI to a low of 7.8 percent in Portsmouth, NH. Among the cities with the highest child poverty rates are three Texas border towns with large Hispanic populations (Brownsville,

McAllen, and Laredo); New Orleans and two small Louisiana areas (Monroe and Alexandria); and three medium-to-large industrial, midwestern cities (Flint, Detroit, and Cleveland). These cities also ranked high in poverty for the total population (Table 7).

(Table 10 here)

The list of highest poverty rates for black children looks somewhat different than that for the total population. Many of the areas have very small black populations; these are not discussed. The others are all small metropolitan areas, mostly in the South (Houma and Monroe, LA; Pascagoula, MS; and Owensboro, KY). Two Michigan cities on Lake Michigan (Benton Harbor and Muskegon) also make the list. Thus, the country's highest poverty rates among black children do not occur in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest that are home to the largest underclass populations. These large cities have very large numbers of poor black children, but rates of poverty are higher for children in small, Southern areas.

Unlike that for blacks, the list of cities with highest child poverty rates for Hispanics children does include some larger cities, all in the Northeast (Springfield, MA; Buffalo, and Hartford). Most Hispanics in these cities are of Puerto Rican origin. Also on the list are some smaller areas in New York and Pennsylvania, as well as several other scattered areas with small Hispanic populations.

CONCLUSION

Over the past decade, the growth and decline patterns of America's cities and broad urban regions have been transformed by changes in the global economy, as well as by new domestic social and economic trends. Regional and metropolitan-wide industrial restructuring has created new dynamics of growth and decline across the national landscape favoring areas that serve as corporate headquarters and advanced service centers, "knowledge-based" industries, and resort and recreation areas. This has led to a return to urban growth in several large metropolitan areas that had shown declines during the "de-industrialization" 1970s, but has resulted in continued and,

sometimes, accelerated stagnation in many other places that could not make the manufacturing-to-services transition, with economies still grounded in less-than-competitive industries.

Another important source of population growth is immigration. While we are a nation of immigrants and immigration from abroad has continued to reinvigorate the populations of our traditional "port-of-entry" areas, recent immigration to the U.S. is unique. Larger numbers and more racially and ethnically diverse origins has led to new challenges for "port-of-entry" regions which continue to gain from the vibrancy and vitality of new immigrants, but also face increased demands on their social service systems. Moreover, migration data from the 1990 census make a clear distinction between areas gaining population, largely, from immigration than those gaining primarily from internal migration (Frey 1994b). These two migration components differ sharply on race-ethnicity, skill levels, and even age structures in the migrants they bring to their destination areas. The continued disparity, across areas, in these two sources of migration growth could well lead to racial and ethnic polarization <u>across</u> regions in the same way it has long been evident <u>within</u> metropolitan areas and central cities.

The demographic trends of the last decade have also underscored the indisputable dominance of the suburbs as the primary locus of activity for new urban economic development and growth of the nation's middle class white population. This trend has emphasized even further the plight of new immigrants, minorities, poverty-stricken and low-skilled residents who continue to remain "trapped" in segregated cities and inner suburban communities and neighborhoods, as a consequence of housing discrimination and the outward relocation of appropriate employment opportunities. Patterns of concentrated poverty, especially among minorities, have accelerated in many midwestern and southern interior metropolitan areas which experienced economic declines during the 1980s. Increases in the poverty population are also evident in the central cities of large "port-of-entry" metropolitan areas. While minority and poverty concentration in central cities is evident in most parts of the country, it has come to be particularly acute in these interior and immigrant destination areas.

The urban demographic trends of the 1980s and 1990s have created both new opportunities and challenges. Sharper, more dynamic growth patterns have brought renewed population gains to revitalized economies in the nation's coastal regions, especially in the South Atlantic states and in the states surrounding California. Migrants attracted to these areas bring with them experience, college educations, and, among the elderly, significant disposable incomes. At the other extreme are many metropolitan areas located, largely, in the interior parts of the country which have suffered economic declines and selective out-migration of their younger and most well-educated populations. Within these areas, in particular, levels of minority segregation and concentrated poverty were exacerbated as the traditional "stepping stones" to entry-level jobs and affordable housing have been taken away. Apart from these two contexts are the large multi-ethnic immigrant "port-of-entry" areas in California, Texas, and the greater regions surrounding New York, Miami, and Chicago where new demographic dynamics have just begun to emerge. Both skilled and unskilled immigrants are moving to these areas, but the preponderance of the latter has fueled an out-migration of native-born residents at the lower end of the social-economic spectrum. Although poverty is not as concentrated in these areas as in older Midwest and southern cities, poverty populations, fueled by immigration, are rising and Asian and Hispanic residential patterns are becoming more segregated. Each of these dynamics of recent urban demographic change are associated with regional industrial restructuring, racial polarization, and varied patterns of poverty concentration. They will pose continuing challenges for federal and local policies aimed at bridging the divided opportunity potentials that are emerging both within and across regions.

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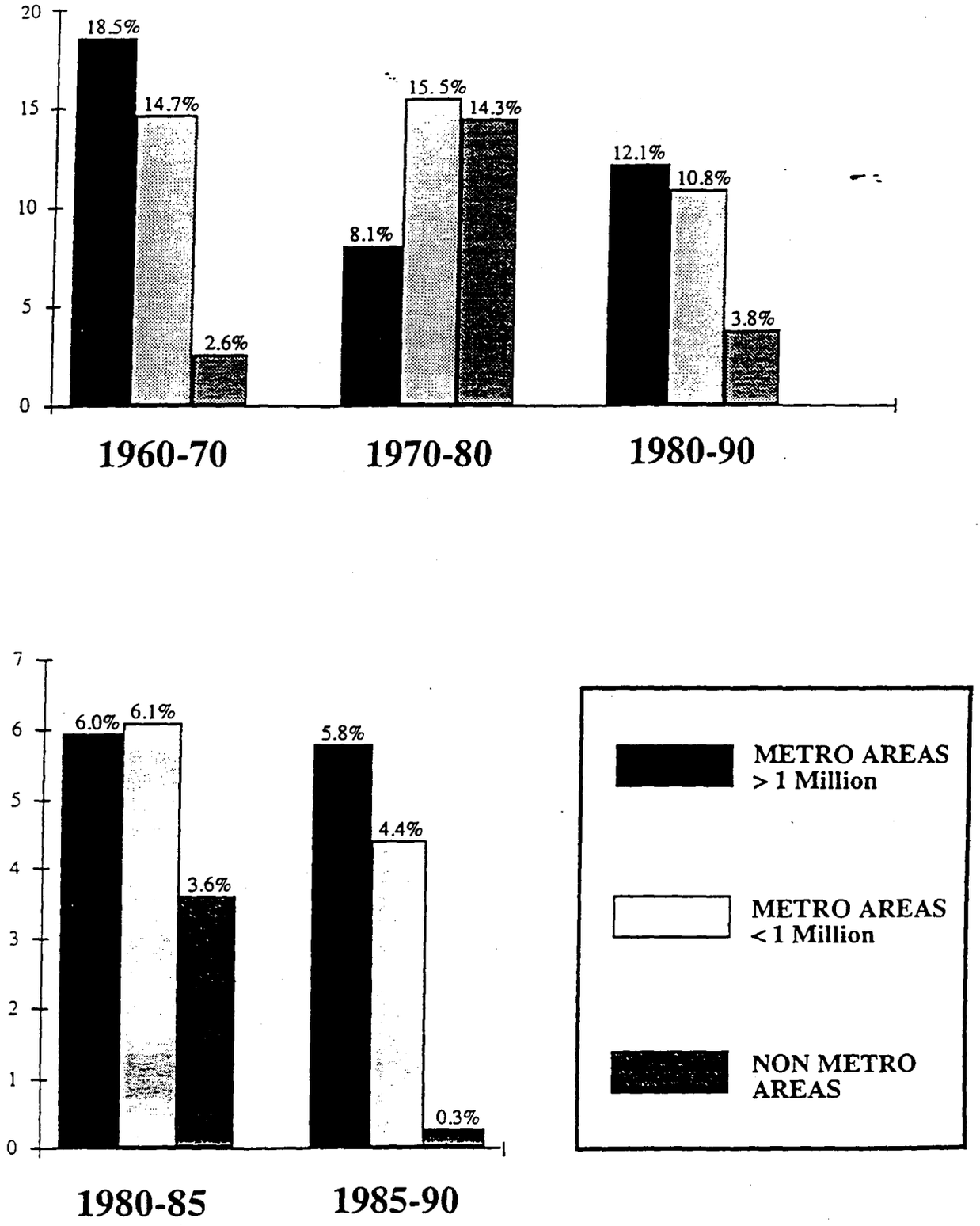


Figure 1: U.S. Metropolitan Growth Trends, 1960-1990

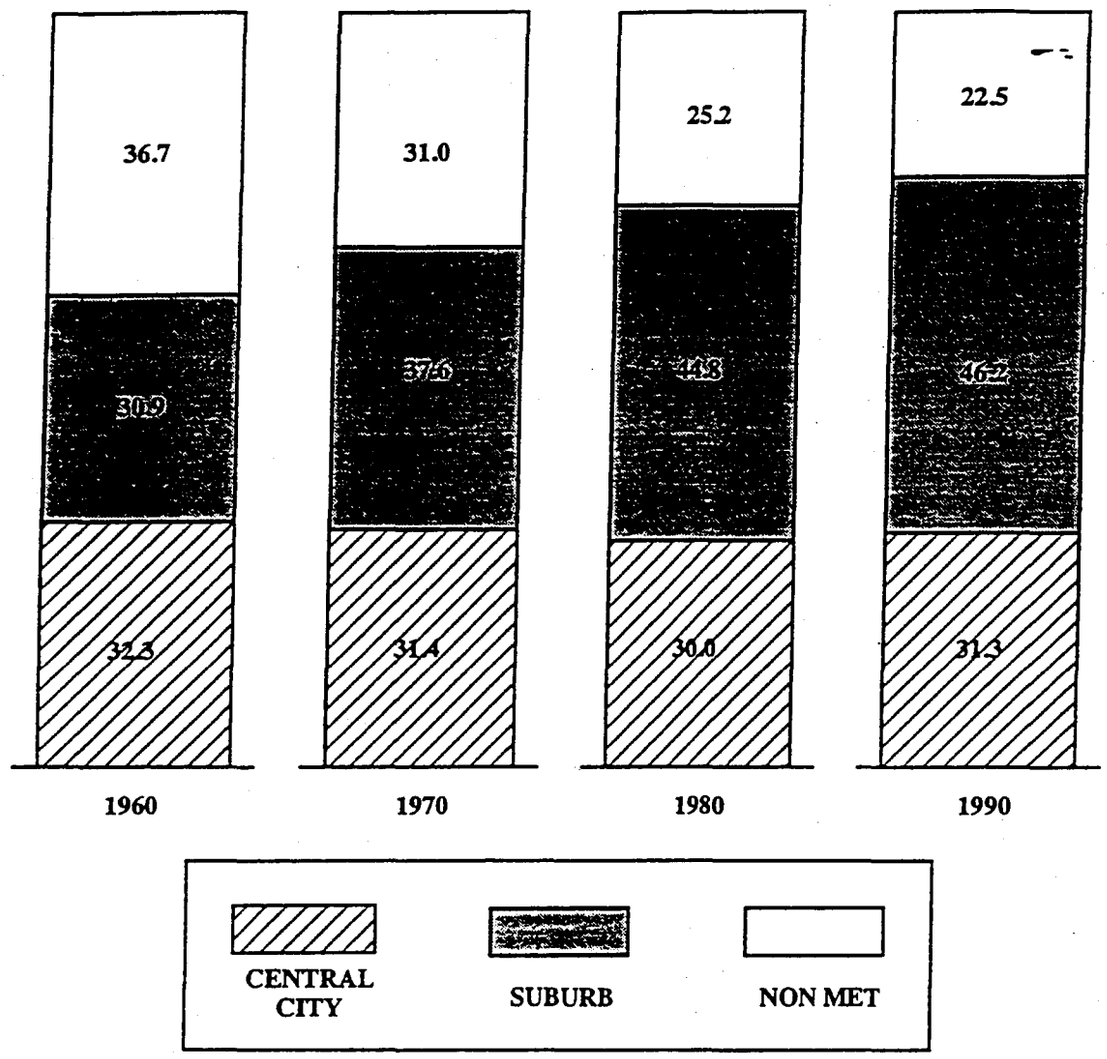
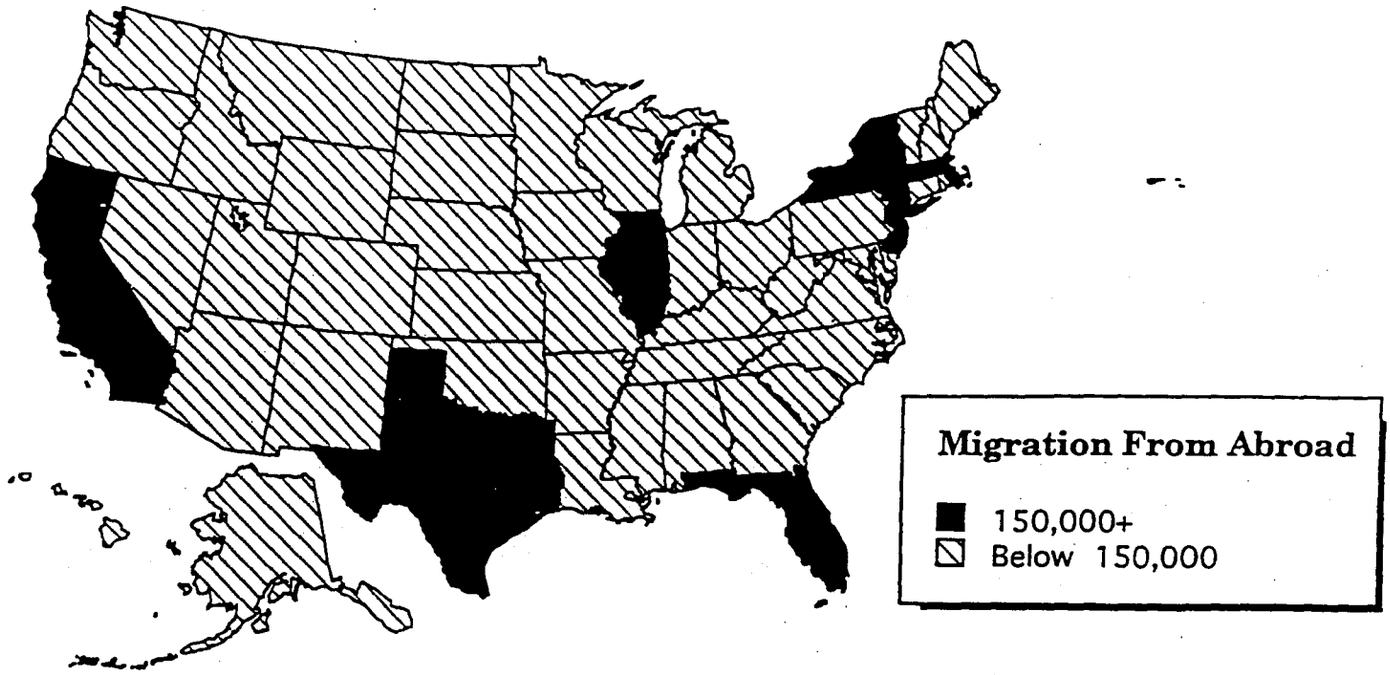


Figure 2: Distribution of US Population by Central City, Suburb, and Nonmetropolitan Status, 1960-1990*

*Categories consistent with definitions in effect at each census

Source: US Decennial Censuses

Migration From Abroad 1985-90



Net Interstate Migration 1985-90

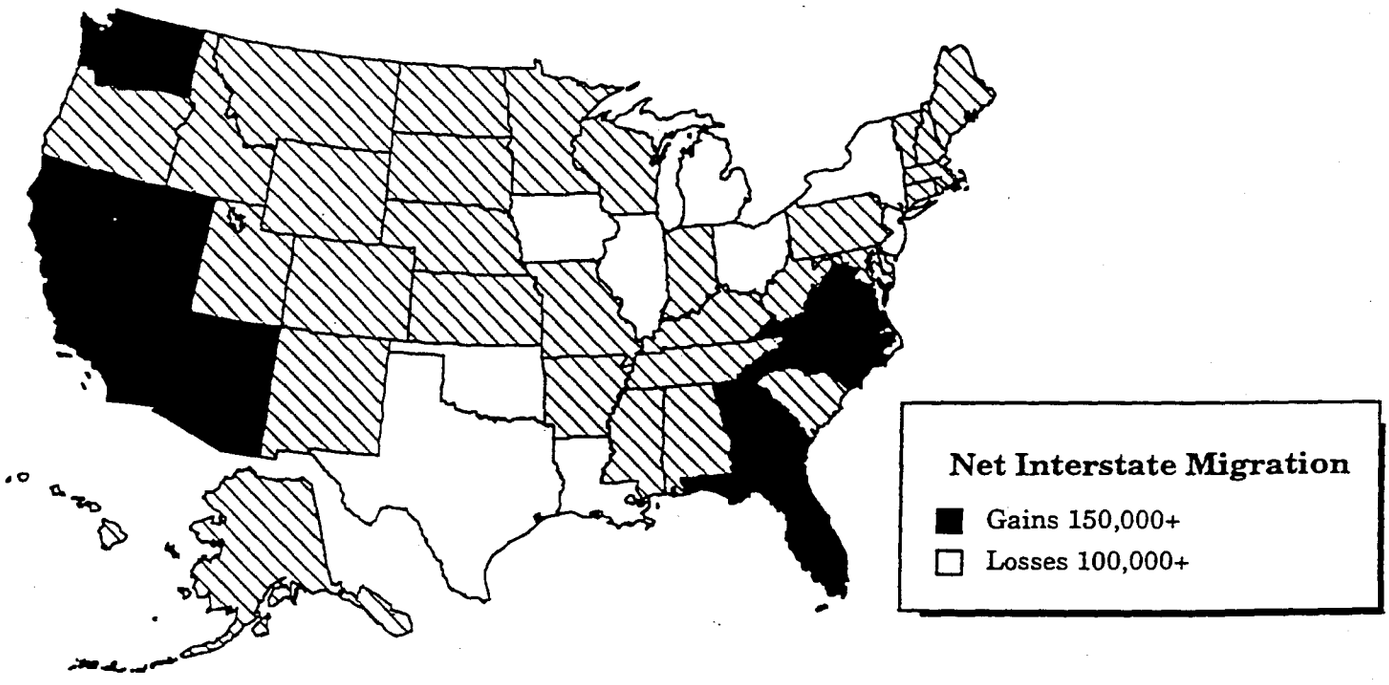
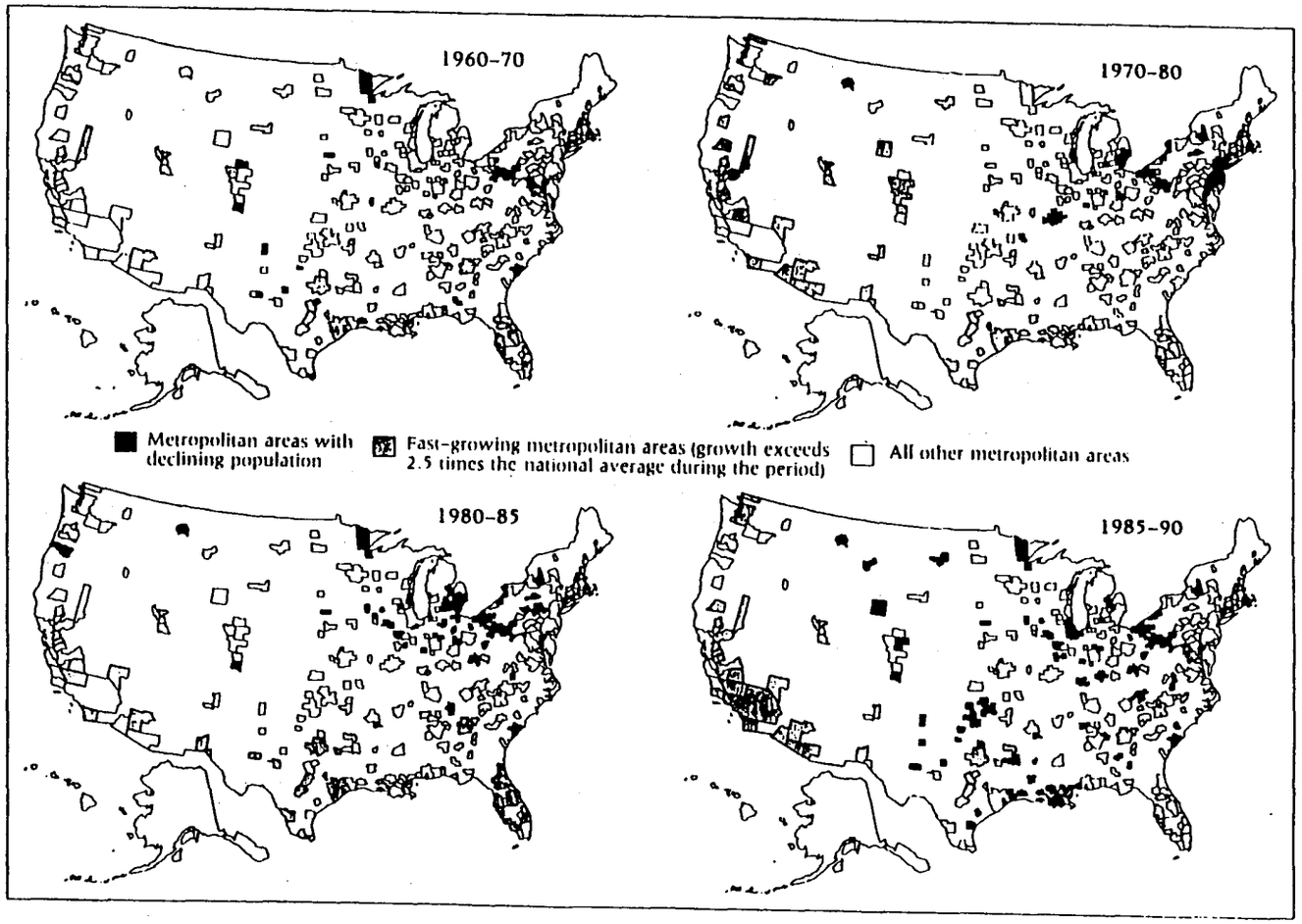


Figure 3: US Immigration and Internal Migration, 1985-90

Figure 4: Geographic pattern of population change in metropolitan areas of the United States over four intervals between 1960 and 1990



Source: William H. Frey and Alden Speare, Jr. "The Revival of Metropolitan Population Growth in the United States: An Assessment of Findings from the 1990 Census." Population Development Review Vol. 18 No. 1 (March, 1992) p. 136.

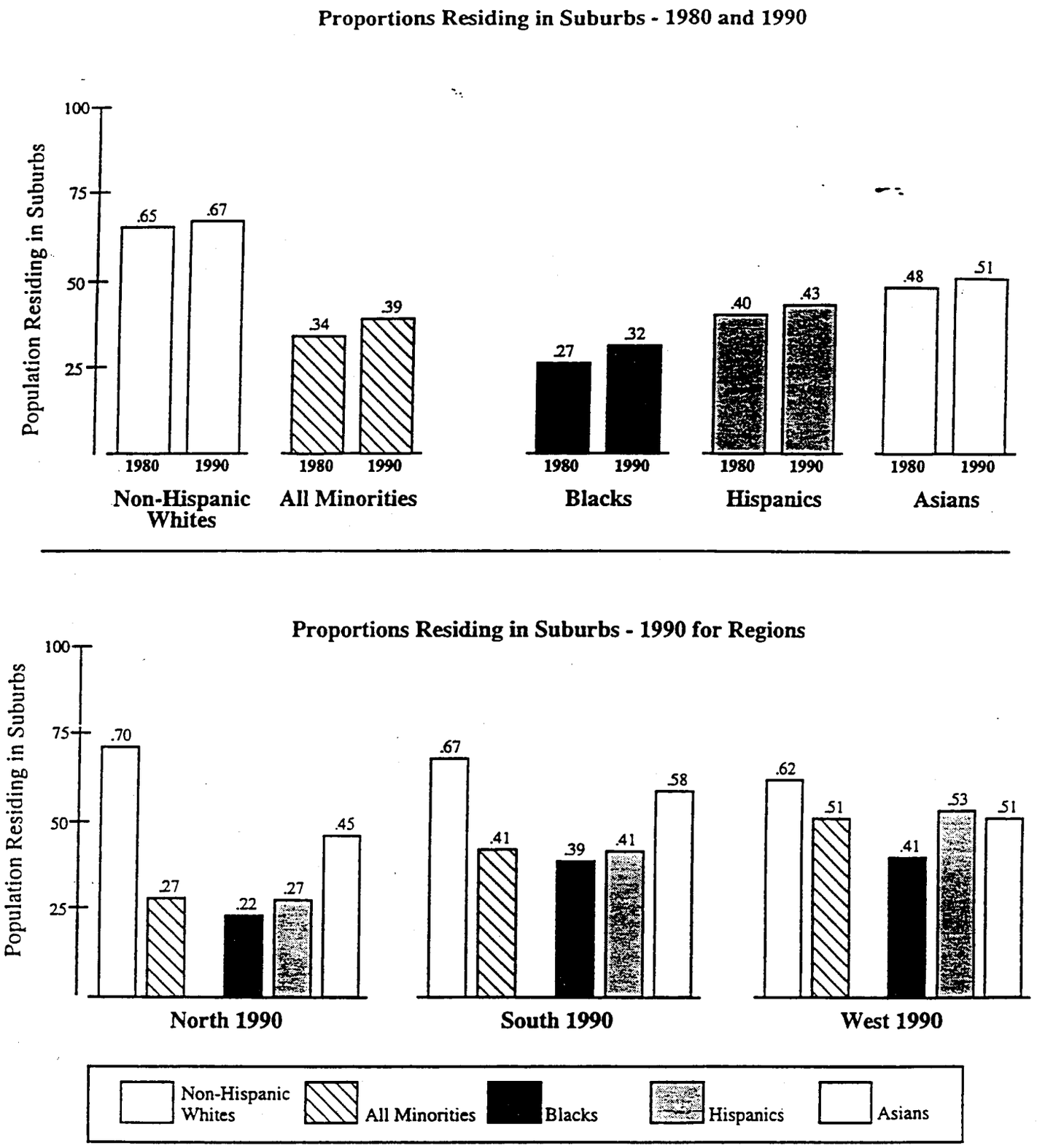


Figure 5: Proportions residing in suburbs, 1980:90: metropolitan area race and ethnic groups

Source: William H. Frey, "Minority Suburbanization and Continued 'White Flight' in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Assessing Findings from the 1990 Census" Research in Community Sociology Vol. 4 (1994) pp. 15-42

Figure 6a. Proportion in Suburbs by Race and Education, for Total U.S., 1980 and 1990

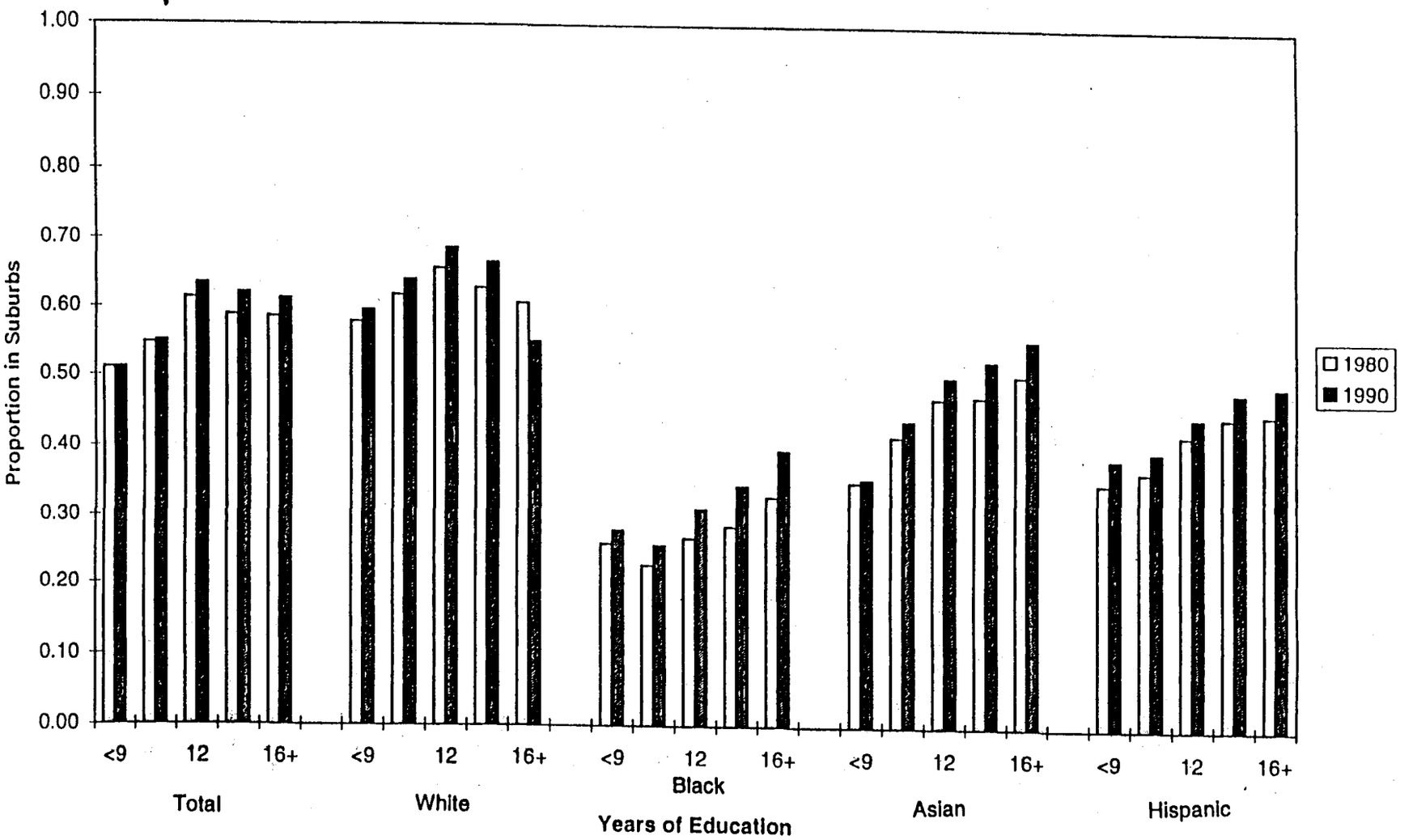
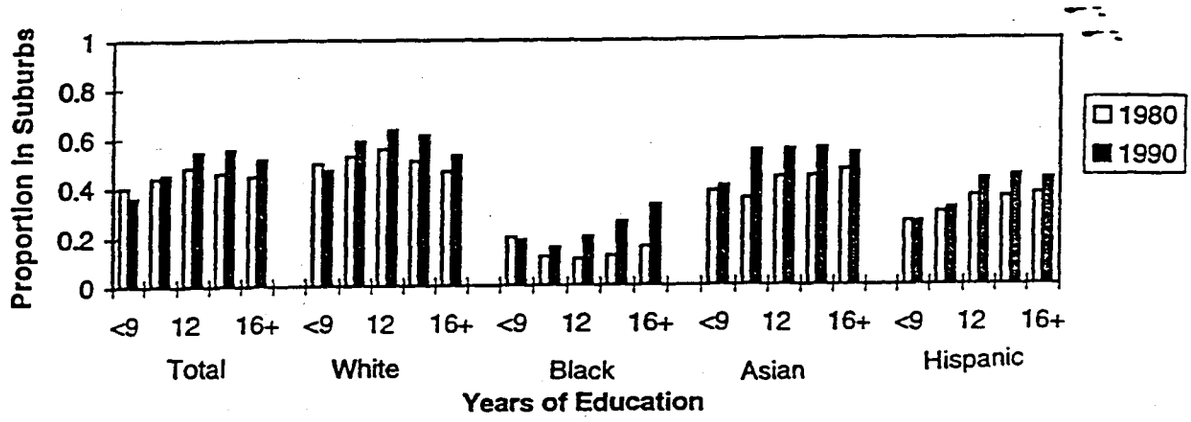
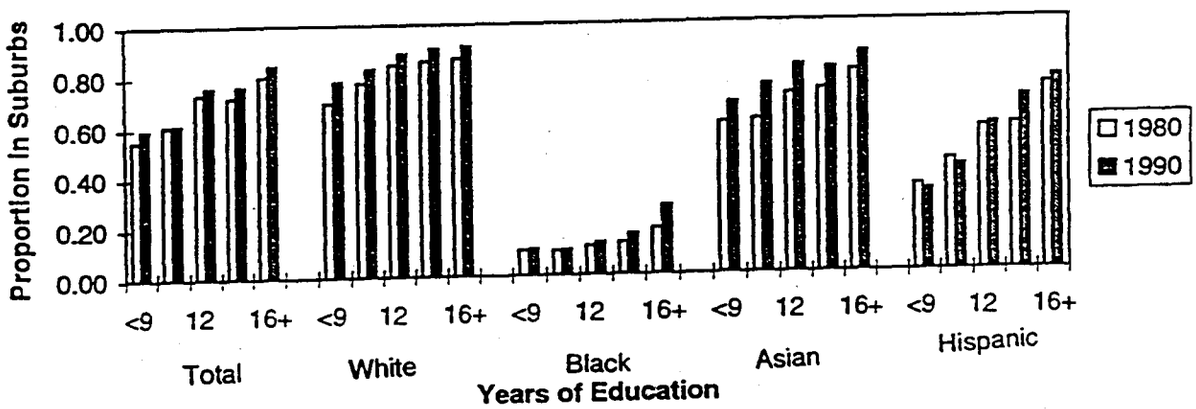


Figure 6b. Proportion in Suburbs by Race and Education, Selected Areas, 1980 and 1990

Dallas



Detroit



Los Angeles

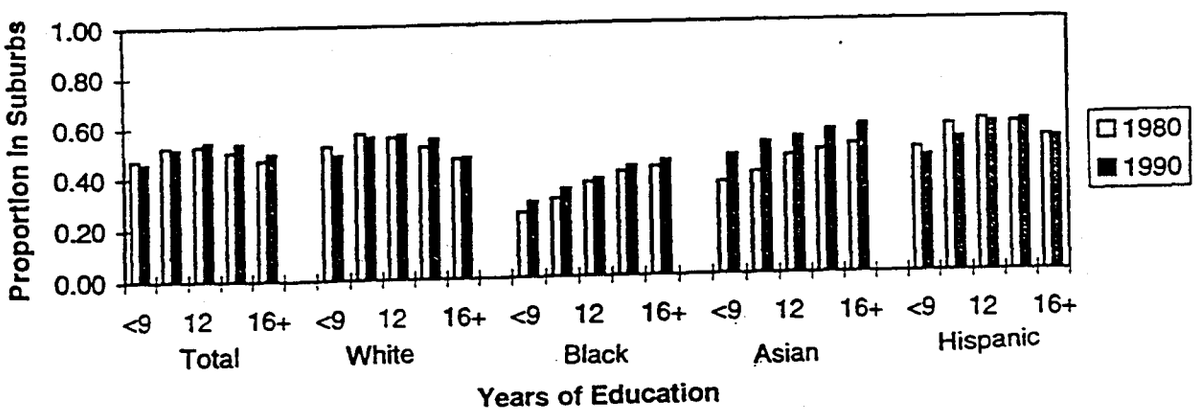


Table 1: Classification of States by Dominant Immigration and Interstate Migration Contributions to Population Change, 1985-90

Rank	State	Contribution to 1985-90 Change (1000s) Migration from Abroad	Net Interstate Migration**
I HIGH IMMIGRATION STATES[a]			
1	California	1499	174
2	New York	614	-821
3	Texas	368	-331
4	New Jersey	211	-194
5	Illinois	203	-342
6	Massachusetts	156	-97
II HIGH INTERNAL MIGRATION STATES[b]			
1	Florida	390	1071
2	Georgia	92	303
3	North Carolina	66	281
4	Virginia	149	228
5	Washington	102	216
6	Arizona	80	216
III HIGH OUT-MIGRATION STATES[c]			
1	Louisiana	30	-251
2	Ohio	69	-141
3	Michigan	74	-133
4	Oklahoma	32	-128
5	Iowa	17	-94

Source: Compiled from 1990 Census files at the Population Studies Center, The University of Michigan

* 1990 State residents who resided abroad in 1985

**1985-90 In-migrants from other States minus 1985-90 Out -migrants to other States

[a]States with largest 1985-90 migration from abroad which exceeds net interstate migration

[b]States with largest 1985-90 net interstate migration and exceeds migration from abroad

[c]States with largest negative net interstate migration and not recipients of large migration from abroad

Source: William H. Frey, "The New White Flight" American Demographics April, 1994

Table 2 METROPOLITAN AREAS with GREATEST 1980-90 INCREASES: TOTAL POPULATION, NON-HISPANIC WHITES, MINORITIES

Metro Area		Increase (1000s)
I.	*AREAS WITH GREATEST TOTAL INCREASE*	
1.	Los Angeles CMSA	+3,034
2.	Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA	+ 955
3.	San Francisco CMSA	+ 885
4.	Atlanta MSA	+ 695
5.	Washington DC MSA	+ 673
II.	*AREAS WITH GREATEST WHITE INCREASE*	
1.	Dallas-Fort Worth CMSA	+ 487
2.	Atlanta MSA	+ 414
3.	Phoenix MSA	+ 412
4.	Tampa-St. Petersburg MSA	+ 345
5.	Seattle CMSA	+ 324
III.	*AREAS WITH GREATEST MINORITY INCREASE*	
1.	Los Angeles CMSA	+2,795
2.	New York CMSA	+1,398*
3.	San Francisco CMSA	+ 787
4.	Miami CMSA	+ 635*
5.	Houston CMSA	+ 484

*Area experienced gain in minority population and loss in white population

Source: William H. Frey. "The New Urban Revival in the United States," Urban Studies Vol. 30 No. 4/5 (1993) pp. 741-774.

Table 3; METROPOLITAN AREAS with 1990 POPULATIONS of BLACKS, HISPANICS, ASIANS and OTHER RACES, EXCEEDING 500,000

	Metropolitan Area	1990 Pop. (1,000s)	Percent Change 1980-90	Minority Proportion of Total Pop.
Blacks				
1.	New York CMSA	3289	+ 16.4	18.1
2.	Chicago CMSA	1548	– 0.6	19.2
3.	Los Angeles CMSA	1230	+ 16.1	8.5
4.	Philadelphia CMSA	1100	+ 6.5	18.6
5.	Washington, DC MSA	1042	+ 19.7	26.5
6.	Detroit CMSA	975	+ 5.9	20.9
7.	Atlanta MSA	736	+ 40.0	25.9
8.	Houston CMSA	665	+ 17.8	17.9
9.	Baltimore MSA	616	+ 9.8	26.7
10.	Miami CMSA	591	+ 50.1	18.5
11.	Dallas CMSA	555	+ 32.4	14.2
12.	San Francisco CMSA	538	+ 14.8	8.6
Hispanics				
1.	Los Angeles CMSA	4779	+ 73.4	32.9
2.	New York CMSA	2778	+ 35.4	15.4
3.	Miami CMSA	1062	+ 70.9	33.3
4.	San Francisco CMSA	970	+ 47.0	15.5
5.	Chicago CMSA	893	+ 41.3	11.1
6.	Houston CMSA	772	+ 70.2	20.8
7.	San Antonio MSA	620	+ 28.8	47.6
8.	Dallas CMSA	519	+109.4	13.4
9.	San Diego MSA	511	+ 85.6	20.5
Asians and Other Races				
1.	Los Angeles CMSA	1339	+138.3	9.2
2.	San Francisco CMSA	927	+103.9	14.8
3.	New York CMSA	873	+135.5	4.8
4.	Honolulu MSA	526	+ 15.9	62.9

Source: Compiled at University of Michigan Population Studies Center from Decennial Censuses

Table 4: Percent Change in Central City(s) and Suburbs of the 25 Largest Metropolitan Areas by Region 1960-1990

Region & Metropolitan Area*	Central City Percent 10-Yr. Change 1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990	Suburbs Percent 10-Yr. Change 1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990
NORTHEAST						
New York	1.4	-10.4	3.5	22.0	2.3	1.7
Philadelphia	-3.1	-13.5	-5.8	25.1	6.4	8.4
Boston	1.5	-7.4	2.9	16.1	2.2	3.5
Pittsburgh	-14.1	-18.5	-13.0	4.2	-1.4	-5.8
MIDWEST						
Chicago	-4.7	-10.7	-6.7	39.8	13.1	7.4
Detroit	-8.5	-19.2	-13.0	30.9	9.5	2.5
Cleveland	-14.3	-23.6	-11.9	27.0	0.9	0.0
Minneapolis-St. Paul	-2.4	-12.5	0.5	51.2	22.4	22.8
St. Louis	-10.9	-22.4	-8.7	30.8	8.7	7.2
Cincinnati	-9.8	-15.0	-5.6	21.9	8.8	7.1
Milwaukee	-1.8	-9.3	-0.2	27.4	9.9	5.1
Kansas City	20.1	-6.9	1.0	8.2	17.3	16.8
SOUTH						
Washington, DC	0.6	-14.2	-0.1	64.9	16.6	27.7
Dallas	30.6	8.0	15.6	56.2	56.2	48.0
Houston	34.3	27.3	2.6	53.0	82.6	48.3
Miami	24.3	12.2	8.6	44.8	39.5	25.1
Atlanta	1.8	-12.7	-3.9	58.1	44.8	42.4
Baltimore	-2.8	-12.5	-6.0	34.5	19.7	16.8
Tampa-St. Petersburg	11.5	8.8	3.6	69.4	82.4	42.5
WEST						
Los Angeles	11.8	4.7	17.9	21.7	7.7	19.2
San Francisco	-3.3	-5.1	6.6	29.6	5.7	8.6
Seattle	-0.5	-5.2	7.8	64.4	26.2	31.1
San Diego	28.0	28.1	29.7	35.7	47.7	38.7
Phoenix	66.9	44.1	35.7	-4.6	104.4	55.7
Denver	4.2	-4.3	-5.0	61.6	58.3	23.4

*Metropolitan areas, central cities and suburbs are based on MSA, PMSA and NECMA definitions as designated on June 30, 1990.

Table 5. Rankings of Absolute and Relative Population Loss, 1980-1990
for Total, Non-Hispanic White, and Black Populations

Rank	Largest Absolute Loss, 1980-90 Name	Total	NH-White	Black	Hispanic	Rank	Highest Percent Loss, 1980-90 Name	Total	NH-White	Black	Hispanic
TOTAL											
1.	Chicago, IL	-208289	-242308	-105406	130419	1.	Johnstown, PA	-21	-22	-7	11
2.	Detroit, MI	-182575	-201197	21058	1206	2.	Wheeling, WV-OH	-19	-19	-19	-51
3.	Philadelphia, PA	-103986	-153082	-2303	36993	3.	Gary-Hammond, IN	-18	-28	-10	-7
4.	Cleveland, OH	-68206	-58418	-15942	5425	4.	Youngstown-Warren, OH	-15	-20	-3	0
5.	New Orleans, LA	-63171	-63063	-125	-1963	5.	Huntington-Ashland,	-14	-14	-14	-20
6.	Pittsburgh, PA	-59055	-55287	-6181	216	6.	Steubenville-Weirton	-13	-14	-10	-9
7.	St. Louis, MO	-57494	-33310	-27074	-301	7.	Parkersberg-Marietta	-13	-14	-11	-39
8.	Gary-Hammond, IN	-50679	-34483	-12337	-2561	8.	Niagara Falls, NY	-13	-17	6	3
9.	Newark, NJ	-50226	-40591	-28316	25252	9.	Detroit, MI	-13	-36	3	3
10.	Baltimore, MD	-49314	-56063	4331	31	10.	Pittsburgh, PA	-13	-16	-6	6
11.	Memphis, TN	-35898	-67219	29058	-944	11.	Benton Harbor, MI	-13	-53	-7	-12
12.	Louisville, KY	-30169	-26818	-3973	-298	12.	Cleveland, OH	-12	-19	-6	31
13.	Buffalo, NY	-29747	-42203	5463	6630	13.	Flint, MI	-12	-23	2	1
14.	Youngstown-Warren, OH	-25540	-23667	-1427	-20	14.	Pascagoula, MS	-12	-17	13	-37
15.	Denver, CO	-24755	-39392	794	15034	15.	Newark, NJ	-12	-31	-13	28
NON-HISPANIC WHITES											
1.	New York, NY	252644	-508413	318350	381224	1.	Benton Harbor, MI	-13	-53	-7	-12
2.	Chicago, IL	-208289	-242308	-105406	130419	2.	Miama-Hialeah, FL	9	-38	18	34
3.	Detroit, MI	-182575	-201197	21058	1206	3.	Detroit, MI	-13	-36	3	3
4.	Houston, TX	42342	-172320	20220	174588	4.	Atlanta, GA	-6	-34	-3	150
5.	Los Angeles-Long Beach	647687	-163919	3507	686851	5.	Newark, NJ	-12	-31	-13	28
6.	Philadelphia, PA	-103986	-153082	-2303	36993	6.	Bergen-Passaic, NJ	2	-31	8	46
7.	Boston-Lawrence-Salem	35143	-101029	41466	70288	7.	Gary-Hammond, IN	-18	-28	-10	-7
8.	Memphis, TN	-35898	-67219	29058	-944	8.	New Orleans, LA	-11	-25	0	-10
9.	Milwaukee, WI	-1485	-66422	44439	14081	9.	Flint, MI	-12	-23	2	1
10.	Miama-Hialeah, FL	50774	-66356	16494	108605	10.	Johnstown, PA	-21	-22	-7	11
11.	New Orleans, LA	-63171	-63063	-125	-1963	11.	Trenton, NJ	-4	-22	4	70
12.	Cleveland, OH	-68206	-58418	-15942	5425	12.	Birmingham, AL	-5	-22	8	-55
13.	Baltimore, MD	-49314	-56063	4331	31	13.	Kankakee, IL	-9	-20	17	107
14.	Pittsburgh, PA	-59055	-55287	-6181	216	14.	Jersey City, NJ	-2	-20	9	11
15.	Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN	3941	-54575	26985	7190	15.	Youngstown-Warren, OH	-15	-20	-3	0
BLACKS											
1.	Chicago, IL	-208289	-242308	-105406	130419	1.	Wheeling, WV-OH	-19	-19	-19	-51
2.	Washington, DC-MD-VA	-1034	10003	-44118	29810	2.	Huntington-Ashland,	-14	-14	-14	-20
3.	Newark, NJ	-50226	-40591	-28316	25252	3.	Newark, NJ	-12	-31	-13	28
4.	St. Louis, MO	-57494	-33310	-27074	-301	4.	Parkersberg-Marietta	-13	-14	-11	-39
5.	Cleveland, OH	-68206	-58418	-15942	5425	5.	St. Louis, MO	-9	-9	-10	-4
6.	Atlanta, GA	-17705	-8661	-14380	2735	6.	Gary-Hammond, IN	-18	-28	-10	-7
7.	Gary-Hammond, IN	-50679	-34483	-12337	-2561	7.	Steubenville-Weirton	-13	-14	-10	-9
8.	San Francisco, CA	44985	-18043	-7375	17344	8.	Washington, DC-MD-VA	0	3	-9	111
9.	Pittsburgh, PA	-59055	-55287	-6181	216	9.	Chicago, IL	-7	-17	-9	30
10.	Louisville, KY	-30169	-26818	-3973	-298	10.	San Francisco, CA	7	-5	-9	21
11.	Chattanoga, TN	-17099	-15591	-2378	-321	11.	Greeley, CO	14	8	-8	49
12.	Philadelphia, PA	-103986	-153082	-2303	36993	12.	Muncie, IN	-8	-8	-8	1
13.	Dayton-Springfield	-23403	-21496	-1679	-458	13.	Johnstown, PA	-21	-22	-7	11
14.	Youngstown-Warren, OH	-25540	-23667	-1427	-20	14.	Benton Harbor, MI	-13	-53	-7	-12
15.	Pensacola, FL	546	1175	-980	120	15.	Cleveland, OH	-12	-19	-6	31

Table 6. 1980-90 Trends in Poverty Rate and Population Growth by Race and Ethnicity for Regions and Metro Size Categories

	% Poverty City			% Poverty Suburb			Growth in Pov Pop		Growth in Non-Pov Pop	
	1990	1980	Diff	1990	1980	Diff	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
A. TOTAL										
REGIONAL TOTALS										
Northeast	19	19	0	6	7	-1	0	-5	0	7
Midwest	19	15	4	6	6	0	17	8	-10	2
South	19	17	2	10	10	0	23	25	7	28
West	15	13	2	10	9	1	40	34	19	24
U.S. TOTALS										
LargeMet.	18	17	1	7	7	0	18	30	8	25
Medium Met.	17	15	2	9	9	0	21	11	2	7
Small Met.	18	15	3	11	11	1	17	-3	-7	-9
Total	18	16	2	8	8	0	18	17	4	15
B. BLACKS										
REGIONAL TOTALS										
Northeast	27	31	-3	15	18	-3	-1	6	18	32
Midwest	35	29	6	19	17	2	18	40	-9	26
South	32	31	1	22	26	-4	15	14	7	41
West	25	25	0	17	18	-1	12	31	12	43
U.S. TOTALS										
LargeMet.	30	29	1	16	18	-2	11	38	8	56
Medium Met.	33	31	2	24	26	-2	13	4	3	18
Small Met.	37	33	4	30	30	0	15	-10	-4	-11
TOTAL	31	30	1	19	22	-3	12	18	6	38
C. HISPANICS										
REGIONAL TOTALS										
Northeast	34	37	-3	14	16	-2	22	41	38	66
Midwest	25	23	2	11	10	1	36	68	20	44
South	30	25	5	22	21	1	67	95	31	84
West	25	21	4	19	17	2	95	76	55	55
U.S. TOTALS										
LargeMet.	28	27	1	16	15	1	55	93	44	77
Medium Met.	29	25	4	26	22	4	72	83	42	47
Small Met.	31	27	4	27	25	2	22	7	-1	-5
TOTAL	29	26	2	19	18	1	56	78	40	62

Table 7. Rankings of Poverty Measures and Population Growth
by Poverty Status for the TOTAL Population of Central Cities

Highest 1990 City Poverty Percentage

Rank	Name	1990 % Pov.	1980-90 Change in % Pov.	Growth of Pov. Pop.	Growth of Non-Pov. Pop.
1.	Benton Harbor, MI	58	19	1703	-3647
2.	State College, PA	45	6	3100	601
3.	Brownsville, TX	39	8	17598	453
4.	Athens, GA	39	13	5876	-2042
5.	Monroe, LA	38	8	3469	-5786
6.	Laredo, TX	37	3	13835	16558
7.	McAllen-Edinberg, TX	36	7	23284	17215
8.	Augusta, GA-SC	33	3	211	-3620
9.	Chico, CA	32	6	5596	7437
10.	Blommington, IN	31	8	5775	2945
11.	New Orleans, LA	31	5	8343	-74916
12.	Flint, MI	31	14	15642	-35001
13.	Detroit, MI	30	10	81197	-258069
14.	Fort Pierce, FL	29	2	1456	1702
15.	Bryan, TX	29	5	10072	12655

Greatest 1980-90 Increases in City Pov. Percentage

Rank	Name	1990 % Pov.	1980-90 Change in % Pov.	Growth of Pov. Pop.	Growth of Non-Pov. Pop.
1	Benton Harbor, MI	58	19	1703	-3647
2	Flint, MI	31	14	15642	-35001
3	Athens, GA	39	13	5876	-2042
4	Houma-Thibodaux, LA	29	11	4149	-8272
5	Cumberland, MD-WV	26	11	2260	-4675
6	Johnstown, PA	27	10	1667	-9102
7	Detroit, MI	30	10	81197	-258069
8	Youngstown-Warren, OH	26	9	8541	-35134
9	Jackson, MI	25	9	2865	-5155
10	Merced, CA	25	8	7846	11439
11	Fresno, CA	24	8	49812	83644
12	Brownsville, TX	39	8	17598	453
13	Lake Charles, LA	24	8	4889	-9917
14	Monroe, LA	38	8	3469	-5786
15	Blommington, IN	31	8	5775	2945

Greatest Absolute Increase in Poverty Population

1.	Los Ang.-Long Beach	18	2	198221	433249
2.	Houston, TX	21	8	137441	-106021
3.	Detroit, MI	30	10	81197	-258069
4.	Phoenix, AZ	13	2	75224	324158
5.	Dallas, TX	17	4	67707	93256
6.	Milwaukee, WI	21	8	51111	-55187
7.	Fresno, CA	24	8	49812	83644
8.	Miama-Hialeah, FL	26	6	46814	1115
9.	San Diego, CA	13	1	46325	249445
10.	San Antonio, TX	23	2	45873	98819
11.	El Paso, TX	25	4	39636	49218
12.	Fort Worth-Arlington	14	2	35533	124858
13.	Anaheim-Santa Ana	15	4	35079	97133
14.	Minneapolis-St. Paul	16	5	34091	-27296
15.	Tucson, AZ MSA	20	5	32152	39907

Greatest Absolute Increase in Non-Poverty Population

1	Los Ang.-Long Beach	18	2	198221	433249
2	Phoenix, AZ	13	2	75224	324158
3	San Diego, CA	13	1	46325	249445
4	New York, NY	19	-1	-6910	226058
5	Norfolk-Virginia Beach, V/	12	-2	-882	162259
6	San Jose, CA	9	1	20420	131699
7	Fort Worth-Arlington	14	2	35533	124858
8	Sacremento, CA	16	1	25783	103888
9	San Antonio, TX	23	2	45873	98819
10	Anaheim-Santa Ana,	15	4	35079	97133
11	Dallas, TX	17	4	67707	93256
12	Raleigh-Durham, NC	13	-2	8922	92462
13	Jacksonville, FL	13	-3	-4632	91829
14	Austin, TX	18	2	28476	91335
15	Fresno, CA	24	8	49812	83644

Table 8

1990 Percent in Poverty, by Race and Ethnicity
for Central City(s) and Suburbs of
Region and Metro Categories, and Selected Metro Areas

Metro Areas, Regions & Metropolitan Categories	Total			Whites			Blacks			Hispanics			Asians		
	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.
Selected Metro Areas															
New York	19%	6%	13%	12%	5%	7%	25%	16%	9%	33%	16%	17%	16%	5%	12%
Philadelphia	21%	5%	16%	11%	4%	7%	29%	14%	15%	45%	13%	32%	29%	9%	21%
Chicago	21%	4%	17%	11%	3%	7%	33%	15%	18%	24%	10%	14%	17%	4%	13%
Detroit	30%	6%	24%	19%	6%	14%	35%	20%	15%	34%	10%	24%	30%	6%	24%
Dallas-Ft. Worth	17%	7%	10%	10%	5%	4%	29%	20%	9%	27%	18%	9%	18%	7%	11%
Atlanta	26%	7%	19%	10%	5%	5%	35%	15%	19%	28%	14%	14%	31%	10%	21%
Los Angeles	18%	12%	6%	13%	9%	4%	25%	16%	9%	28%	18%	9%	16%	11%	5%
Denver	17%	7%	10%	12%	6%	7%	27%	21%	6%	31%	14%	17%	26%	10%	16%
NORTHEAST															
Large Met	19%	5%	14%	12%	4%	8%	27%	14%	13%	33%	13%	21%	18%	6%	12%
Med. Met	16%	6%	10%	12%	6%	6%	29%	16%	14%	36%	16%	20%	22%	8%	14%
Small Met	18%	10%	8%	16%	10%	7%	35%	35%	1%	30%	22%	8%	24%	10%	14%
MIDWEST															
Large Met	21%	6%	15%	12%	5%	7%	35%	18%	17%	25%	10%	15%	26%	6%	21%
Med. Met	17%	6%	11%	12%	6%	7%	36%	19%	17%	23%	13%	9%	29%	9%	20%
Small Met	16%	8%	8%	13%	8%	6%	39%	28%	11%	27%	17%	10%	39%	13%	26%
SOUTH															
Large Met	19%	8%	11%	11%	6%	5%	30%	17%	13%	27%	16%	12%	18%	8%	9%
Med. Met	19%	12%	7%	12%	10%	3%	33%	27%	7%	32%	36%	-3%	22%	11%	11%
Small Met	20%	13%	7%	14%	11%	3%	38%	31%	7%	33%	26%	7%	26%	15%	11%
WEST															
Large Met	15%	9%	6%	11%	7%	4%	25%	16%	8%	25%	18%	8%	16%	10%	6%
Med. Met	15%	11%	4%	11%	9%	3%	25%	17%	8%	24%	24%	0%	18%	9%	9%
Small Met	15%	12%	2%	13%	11%	2%	23%	21%	2%	29%	28%	1%	27%	20%	6%
REGION TOTALS															
Northeast	19%	6%	13%	12%	5%	7%	27%	15%	13%	34%	14%	20%	19%	6%	12%
Midwest	19%	6%	13%	12%	6%	7%	35%	19%	16%	25%	11%	13%	29%	7%	22%
South	19%	10%	9%	12%	8%	4%	32%	22%	11%	30%	22%	8%	20%	9%	11%
West	15%	10%	5%	11%	8%	4%	25%	17%	8%	25%	19%	6%	17%	10%	7%
U.S. TOTALS															
Large Met	18%	7%	11%	11%	6%	6%	30%	16%	13%	28%	16%	12%	18%	9%	9%
Med. Met	17%	9%	8%	12%	7%	5%	33%	24%	9%	29%	26%	3%	20%	9%	11%
Small Met	18%	11%	6%	14%	10%	4%	37%	30%	7%	31%	27%	4%	31%	17%	14%
TOTAL	18%	8%	10%	12%	7%	5%	31%	19%	12%	29%	19%	9%	19%	9%	10%

Note: Whites include Hispanics in the data shown in this table.

Table 9. 1990 Percent in Poverty for Female-Headed Households and Children for Central Cities and Suburbs by Race, Region, and Metro Size Category

	Total			Whites			Blacks			Hispanics			Asians		
	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.	City	Suburbs	Diff.
A. Female-Headed Households															
REGION TOTALS															
Northeast	36	16	19	26	14	12	38	27	11	56	34	22	30	18	12
Midwest	40	20	20	28	18	10	50	35	16	51	30	21	43	19	24
South	37	24	13	23	19	4	48	37	11	45	35	10	34	22	12
West	29	24	6	23	20	3	39	32	7	42	36	6	25	21	4
U.S. TOTALS															
Large Met	35	19	17	22	15	7	42	29	13	48	32	17	28	20	8
Med. Met	37	24	13	26	20	6	49	42	7	52	45	7	29	23	5
Small Met	39	30	8	30	26	4	56	50	5	53	49	4	44	36	9
TOTAL	36	21	15	25	18	7	45	34	11	49	36	14	29	21	8
B. Children															
REGION TOTALS															
Northeast	29	8	21	19	7	12	38	21	16	47	19	27	23	6	17
Midwest	28	8	20	16	7	9	49	27	22	31	14	17	35	6	29
South	28	14	14	16	10	6	44	29	15	38	28	10	21	9	11
West	22	14	8	15	10	4	36	24	12	32	25	7	24	13	12
U.S. TOTALS															
Large Met	28	10	18	16	7	9	42	23	19	36	21	16	23	10	14
Med. Met	25	12	13	16	10	7	44	32	13	38	33	5	27	11	17
Small Met	23	15	9	16	12	3	49	38	11	38	33	5	34	21	13
TOTAL	27	11	16	16	9	7	43	27	16	37	24	12	25	10	15

Note: Whites include Hispanics in the data shown in this table.

Table 10. Rankings of Child Poverty Rate in Central Cities for the Total, Black, and Hispanic Populations

Highest 1990 City Poverty Rate			Highest 1990 City Poverty Rate			Highest 1990 City Poverty Rate		
TOTAL		1990%	**BLACK**		1990%	**HISPANIC**		1990%
Rank	Name	In Poverty	Rank	Name	In Poverty	Rank	Name	In Poverty
1.	Benton Harbor, MI	70	1	Eau Claire, WI	100	1	Cumberland, MD-WV	80
2.	Monroe, LA	53	2	Provo-Orem, UT	100	2	Hagerstown, MD	77
3.	Augusta, GA	50	3	Houma-Thibadaux, LA	75	3	York, PA	73
4.	Brownsville-Harlinge	50	4	Benton Harbor, MI	72	4	Monroe, LA	69
5.	McAllen-Edinburg-MI	47	5	Cumberland, MD-WV	68	5	Erie, PA	69
6.	Fort Pierce, FL	47	6	Owensboro, KY	67	6	Springfield, MA	66
7.	Laredo, TX	46	7	Monroe, LA	67	7	Jamestown-Dunkirk	66
8.	New Orleans, LA	45	8	Williamsport, PA	66	8	Aanderson, IN	65
9.	Flint, MI	45	9	Vancouver, WA	66	9	Elmira, NY	63
10.	Athens, GA	44	10	Johnstown, PA	65	10	Buffalo, NY	63
11.	Detroit, MI	44	11	Casper, WY	65	11	New Bedford-Fall River	61
12.	Cumberland, MD-WV	44	12	Sioux City, IA-NE	65	12	Harrisburg-Lenanon	60
13.	Johnstown, PA	43	13	Medford, OR	64	13	Utica-Rome, NY	60
14.	Cleveland, OH	43	14	Pascagoula, MS	64	14	Hartford-New Britain	59
15.	Alexandria, LA	42	15	Muskegon, MI	63	15	State College, PA	59

Table A: 1990 Race and Hispanic Compositions of Central City and Suburb Populations of Individual Metro Areas*

	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
Metro Area	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
ABILENE	106,654	13,001	76	7	16	1	91	1	7	0
AKRON	279,477	378,098	77	21	1	1	97	2	0	1
ALBANY, GA	78,122	34,439	44	55	1	0	74	25	1	0
ALBANY, NY	220,917	653,387	81	14	3	2	96	2	1	1
ALBUQUERQUE	384,736	95,841	58	3	34	2	45	2	48	1
ALEXANDRIA	49,188	82,368	49	49	1	1	82	15	1	1
ALLENTOWN	202,794	483,894	83	5	11	2	97	1	1	1
ALTOONA	51,881	78,661	98	2	0	0	99	0	0	0
AMARILLO	157,615	29,932	77	6	15	2	90	1	7	1
ANAHEIM	560,148	1,850,408	39	3	49	10	72	2	16	11
ANDERSON, IN	59,459	71,210	84	14	1	0	97	2	1	0
ANDERSON, SC	26,184	119,012	65	34	1	0	87	13	0	0
ANN ARBOR	109,592	173,345	80	9	3	8	84	13	2	2
ANNISTON	26,623	89,411	54	44	1	1	87	11	1	1
APPLETON	143,920	171,201	96	0	1	2	98	0	1	0
ASHVILLE	61,607	113,214	79	20	1	1	97	2	1	0
ATHENS	45,734	110,533	65	30	2	3	84	14	1	1
ATLANTA	438,146	2,395,365	35	62	2	1	77	19	2	2
ATLANTIC CITY	37,986	281,430	31	51	15	4	86	9	4	1
AUGUSTA	44,639	352,170	43	56	1	1	69	28	2	1
AURORA	146,380	210,504	67	10	21	2	90	2	7	1
AUSTIN	465,622	315,950	62	12	23	3	77	5	17	1
BAKERSFIELD	174,820	368,657	66	9	21	4	61	4	32	3
BALTIMORE	769,201	1,612,971	40	58	1	1	86	10	1	2
BANGOR	33,181	113,420	97	1	1	1	98	0	0	1
BATON ROUGE	219,531	308,733	53	44	2	2	78	19	1	1
BATTLE CREEK	53,540	82,442	80	17	2	1	90	7	2	0
BEAUMONT	173,047	188,179	50	42	6	3	90	7	3	1
BELLINGHAM	52,179	75,601	92	1	2	3	91	0	3	1
BENTON HARBOR	12,818	148,560	7	92	1	0	88	9	2	1
BERGEN	140,891	1,137,549	25	36	41	1	82	5	8	6
BILLINGS	81,151	32,268	93	1	3	1	95	0	2	0
BILOXI	87,094	110,031	71	23	2	3	84	13	1	1
BINGHAMTON	53,008	211,489	91	5	2	2	97	1	1	1
BIRMINGHAM	299,465	608,345	36	63	0	1	89	10	0	0
BISMARK	49,256	34,575	96	0	1	0	97	0	0	0
BLOOMINGTON, IL	91,995	37,185	91	6	2	2	99	0	1	0
BLOOMINGTON, IN	60,633	48,345	90	4	2	4	98	1	1	1
BOISE CITY	125,738	80,037	95	1	3	2	95	0	3	1
BOSTON	1,258,861	2,524,956	70	15	11	5	94	2	2	2
BOULDER	134,867	90,472	89	1	7	3	91	1	6	2
BRADENTON	43,779	167,928	80	14	5	1	89	6	4	1
BREMERTON	38,142	151,589	82	7	5	5	90	2	3	4
BRIDGEPORT	393,658	433,987	64	19	15	3	94	2	2	2
BROWNSVILLE	147,697	112,423	15	0	84	0	20	0	79	0
BRYAN	107,458	14,404	70	12	14	4	85	6	8	0
BUFFALO	328,123	640,409	63	31	5	1	96	1	1	1
BURLINGTON, NC	39,498	68,715	76	23	1	1	81	17	1	0
BURLINGTON, VT	39,127	92,634	96	1	1	1	98	0	1	1
CANTON	138,544	255,562	83	15	1	0	97	2	1	0
CASPER	46,742	14,484	94	1	4	1	96	0	3	0
CEDAR RAPIDS	108,751	60,016	95	3	1	1	98	0	1	1
CHAMPAIGN	117,058	55,967	78	13	3	6	95	2	1	1
CHARLESTON, SC	80,414	426,461	57	42	1	1	69	28	2	1
CHARLESTON, WV	57,287	193,167	84	14	1	1	96	3	0	0
CHARLOTTE	522,005	640,088	66	31	1	2	87	11	1	1
CHARLOTTESVILLE	40,341	90,766	75	21	1	2	86	11	1	2
CHATTANOOGA	152,466	280,744	65	34	1	1	96	2	1	0

Metro Area	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
CHEYENNE	50,008	23,134	83	3	12	1	90	3	6	1
CHICAGO	2,920,240	3,149,734	39	38	19	4	84	7	6	4
CHICO	40,079	142,041	85	2	9	4	88	1	7	3
CINCINNATI	364,040	1,088,605	60	38	1	1	94	5	1	1
CLARKSVILLE	105,303	64,136	72	23	3	2	79	16	4	1
CLEVELAND	505,616	1,325,506	48	47	5	1	89	9	1	1
COLORADO SPRINGS	281,140	115,874	81	7	9	2	82	8	8	3
COLUMBIA, MO	69,101	43,278	84	10	1	4	95	4	1	1
COLUMBIA, SC	98,052	355,279	53	44	2	1	71	27	1	1
COLUMBUS, GA	178,681	64,391	58	38	3	1	60	36	3	1
COLUMBUS, OH	711,806	665,613	76	20	1	2	95	3	1	1
CORPUS CHRISTI	257,453	92,441	44	5	50	1	42	1	56	0
CUMBERLAND	23,706	77,937	94	4	0	1	98	2	0	0
DALLAS	1,228,184	1,325,178	52	26	20	3	80	7	10	3
DANVILLE	53,056	55,655	62	37	1	0	73	27	0	0
DAVENPORT	179,087	171,774	86	9	4	1	94	2	3	1
DAYTON	252,531	698,739	64	34	1	1	92	6	1	1
DAYTONA BEACH	61,921	308,791	66	31	2	1	90	5	4	1
DECATUR, AL	48,761	82,795	82	16	1	1	89	8	0	0
DECATUR, IL	83,885	33,321	82	17	1	0	99	0	0	0
DENVER	467,610	1,155,370	61	13	23	2	85	3	9	2
DES MOINES	193,187	199,741	88	7	2	2	97	1	1	1
DETROIT	1,222,120	3,160,179	30	66	3	1	92	4	1	1
DOTHAN	53,589	77,375	71	27	1	1	80	17	2	1
DUBUQUE	57,546	28,857	98	1	1	1	99	0	0	0
DULUTH	112,627	127,344	96	1	1	1	97	0	0	0
EAU CLAIRE	56,856	80,687	95	0	1	4	99	0	0	0
EL PASO	515,342	76,268	26	3	69	1	20	6	73	1
ELKHART	67,424	88,774	86	9	3	1	97	1	1	1
ELMIRA	33,724	61,471	85	12	3	1	96	2	1	1
ENID	45,309	11,426	90	4	2	1	97	0	1	0
ERIE	108,718	166,854	85	12	2	0	98	1	0	1
EUGENE	157,352	125,560	92	1	3	3	96	0	2	1
EVANSVILLE	126,272	152,718	89	10	1	1	96	3	0	0
FARGO	106,406	46,890	96	0	1	1	98	0	1	0
FAYETTEVILLE, AK	72,040	41,369	94	2	1	1	97	0	1	0
FAYETTEVILLE, NC	75,695	198,871	56	38	3	2	62	29	5	2
FLINT	140,761	289,698	48	48	3	0	91	6	2	1
FLORENCE, AL	36,426	94,901	82	17	0	0	89	11	0	0
FLORENCE, SC	29,813	84,531	52	47	1	0	64	36	0	0
FORT COLLINS	125,110	61,026	90	1	7	2	93	0	6	1
FORT LAUDERDALE	343,485	912,003	70	21	8	1	77	13	9	2
FORT MYERS	120,197	214,916	82	13	5	1	92	3	4	0
FORT PIERCE	36,830	214,241	51	42	6	1	88	7	4	1
FORT SMITH	72,798	103,113	86	8	1	4	89	1	1	1
FORT WALTON BEACH	21,471	122,305	80	14	3	3	86	8	3	2
FORT WAYNE	173,072	190,739	79	17	3	1	98	1	1	1
FORT WORTH	709,340	622,713	65	17	16	3	88	4	6	2
FRESNO	354,202	313,288	49	8	30	13	52	1	42	4
GADSDEN	42,523	57,317	71	28	0	1	96	3	0	0
GAINESVILLE	84,770	119,341	70	21	4	4	78	17	3	1
GALVESTON	99,892	117,507	52	27	19	2	79	9	10	1
GARY	234,774	369,752	38	48	14	0	94	1	4	1
GLENS FALLS	15,023	103,516	97	1	1	0	96	2	2	0
GRAND FORKS	49,425	21,258	95	1	1	1	91	5	2	2
GRAND RAPIDS	219,871	468,528	76	16	6	1	96	1	2	1
GREAT FALLS	55,097	22,594	92	1	2	1	92	2	2	1
GREELEY	60,536	71,285	77	1	20	1	77	0	21	1
GREEN BAY	96,466	98,128	94	0	1	2	97	1	0	0
GREENSBORO	396,502	545,589	63	35	1	1	91	8	1	0

	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
Metro Area	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
GREENVILLE	101,749	539,112	59	40	1	1	85	13	1	1
HAGERSTOWN	35,445	85,948	92	6	1	1	93	6	1	1
HAMILTON	107,390	184,089	90	9	0	0	96	2	1	1
HARRISBURG	95,595	492,391	63	29	6	2	96	2	1	1
HARTFORD	318,632	805,046	60	21	19	1	93	4	2	2
HICKORY	28,301	193,399	81	17	1	1	92	7	1	1
HONOLULU	365,272	470,959	25	1	5	71	33	4	9	57
HOUMA	44,530	138,312	69	27	1	1	83	11	1	1
HOUSTON	1,694,403	1,607,534	42	27	27	4	72	9	15	4
HUNTINGTON	78,466	234,063	94	5	0	0	98	1	0	0
HUNTSVILLE	159,789	79,123	72	24	1	2	85	12	1	1
INDIANAPOLIS	731,327	518,495	75	23	1	1	97	1	1	1
IOWA CITY	59,738	36,381	90	3	2	6	96	1	1	1
JACKSON, MI	37,446	112,310	79	18	3	0	93	5	1	0
JACKSON, MS	196,637	198,759	43	56	0	1	70	29	1	0
JACKSON, TN	48,949	29,033	59	40	1	0	84	15	0	0
JACKSONVILLE, FL	635,230	271,497	70	25	3	2	89	8	2	1
JACKSONVILLE, NC	30,013	119,825	65	27	5	3	75	18	5	2
JAMESTOWN	48,670	93,225	90	3	6	0	97	1	1	0
JANESVILLE	87,706	51,804	91	7	1	1	97	1	1	0
JERSEY CITY	261,934	291,165	40	27	25	10	54	3	41	3
JOHNSON CITY	127,593	308,454	94	5	1	1	99	1	0	0
JOHNSTOWN	28,134	213,113	89	9	1	0	99	1	0	0
JOLIET	76,836	312,814	65	22	13	1	88	7	4	1
JOPLIN	40,961	93,949	94	2	1	1	97	0	1	1
KALAMAZOO	80,277	143,134	76	19	3	2	94	3	1	1
KANKAKEE	27,575	68,680	61	36	2	0	91	6	2	1
KANSAS CITY	686,760	879,520	68	26	4	1	95	2	2	1
KENOSHA	80,352	47,829	87	6	6	1	97	0	2	0
KILLEEN	109,644	145,657	58	25	14	4	71	16	11	2
KNOXVILLE	192,431	412,385	83	15	1	1	97	2	0	1
KOKOMO	44,962	51,984	88	9	2	1	98	1	1	0
LA CROSSE	51,003	46,901	93	1	1	5	99	0	0	0
LAFAYETTE, IN	69,671	60,927	92	2	2	4	93	2	1	4
LAFAYETTE, LA	94,440	114,300	70	27	2	1	75	22	1	1
LAKE CHARLES	70,580	97,554	57	42	1	1	89	9	1	0
LAKE COUNTY	104,370	412,048	54	25	19	3	91	2	5	2
LAKELAND	95,301	310,081	75	21	3	1	84	11	4	1
LANCASTER	55,551	367,271	66	12	21	2	97	1	1	1
LANSING	177,998	254,676	74	15	6	3	95	2	2	1
LAREDO	122,899	10,340	6	0	94	0	6	0	94	0
LAS CRUCES	62,126	73,384	50	2	47	1	33	1	64	1
LAS VEGAS	258,295	483,164	72	11	13	4	77	9	10	3
LAWRENCE	65,608	16,190	86	5	3	4	96	1	1	0
LAWTON	80,561	30,925	68	19	6	3	71	14	6	1
LEWISTON	64,066	41,193	98	1	1	1	98	0	1	0
LEXINGTON	225,366	123,062	84	13	1	2	93	6	0	0
LIMA	45,549	108,791	74	24	1	1	97	1	1	0
LINCOLN	191,972	21,669	93	2	2	2	98	1	1	0
LITTLE ROCK	266,637	246,480	68	30	1	1	89	9	1	0
LONGVIEW	93,993	68,438	70	25	4	1	80	18	2	0
LORAIN	127,991	143,135	76	14	10	0	95	3	2	1
LOS ANGELES	4,271,788	4,591,376	39	14	38	10	42	9	38	12
LOUISVILLE	305,385	647,277	72	27	1	1	92	7	1	1
LUBBOCK	186,206	36,430	67	9	23	1	71	3	25	0
LYNCHBURG	66,049	76,150	72	26	1	1	82	17	1	0
MACON	150,338	130,765	54	44	1	1	75	24	1	1
MADISON	191,262	175,823	89	4	2	4	97	1	1	1
MANCHESTER	179,229	156,844	95	1	3	1	98	0	1	1
MANSFIELD	50,627	75,510	80	18	1	1	98	1	1	0

Metro Area	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
MCALLEN	175,480	208,065	18	0	81	0	11	0	89	0
MEDFORD	46,951	99,438	92	0	5	1	94	0	4	1
MELBOURNE	161,672	237,306	85	9	4	2	89	7	2	1
MEMPHIS	638,596	343,151	44	54	1	1	83	15	1	1
MERCED	56,216	122,187	49	7	30	15	57	4	34	5
MIAMI	639,191	1,297,903	17	17	68	1	37	22	40	2
MIDDLESEX	83,678	936,157	42	21	37	3	84	6	4	6
MIDLAND	89,443	17,168	68	9	21	1	77	1	22	0
MILWAUKEE	685,046	747,103	63	28	6	2	97	1	1	1
MINNEAPOLIS	726,953	1,737,171	81	10	3	5	96	1	1	2
MOBILE	196,278	280,645	59	39	1	1	79	19	1	1
MODESTO	206,928	163,594	73	2	17	7	68	1	28	3
MONROE	54,909	87,282	43	56	1	1	83	16	1	0
MONTGOMERY	187,106	105,411	56	42	1	1	74	25	1	0
MUNCIE	71,035	48,624	89	10	1	1	98	1	0	0
MUSKEGON	40,283	118,700	68	27	4	0	88	9	2	0
NAPLES	19,505	132,594	92	6	2	0	80	4	15	0
NASHVILLE	533,296	451,730	74	23	1	2	93	6	1	0
NEW BEDFORD	231,008	275,317	90	2	4	1	96	1	2	1
NEW HAVEN	347,082	457,137	69	19	12	1	93	4	2	1
NEW LONDON	65,931	189,026	81	10	7	2	94	3	2	1
NEW ORLEANS	521,062	717,754	36	60	3	2	77	17	5	2
NEW YORK	7,371,282	1,175,564	43	29	24	7	77	12	8	4
NEWARK	385,223	1,439,098	23	47	30	2	75	17	5	3
NIAGARA FALLS	61,840	158,916	81	16	1	0	97	2	1	0
NORFOLK	1,114,184	281,923	64	30	3	3	76	21	1	1
OAKLAND	531,707	1,551,207	40	35	12	14	66	8	13	13
OCALA	42,045	152,788	73	24	2	1	86	10	3	0
ODESSA	89,699	29,235	62	6	31	1	66	1	32	0
OKLAHOMA CITY	550,807	408,032	75	14	4	2	85	6	2	1
OLYMPIA	33,840	127,398	90	1	3	5	90	2	3	4
OMAHA	390,110	228,152	84	11	3	1	93	3	2	1
ORLANDO	164,693	908,055	63	27	9	2	79	10	9	2
OWENSBORO	53,549	33,640	93	6	0	0	99	1	0	0
OXNARD	234,791	434,225	50	4	40	6	74	2	19	5
PANAMA CITY	34,378	92,616	75	22	1	2	89	7	2	2
PARKERSBURG	48,888	100,281	98	2	0	0	98	1	0	0
PASCAGOULA	25,899	89,344	77	21	1	1	78	20	1	1
PENSACOLA	58,165	286,241	65	32	2	2	82	13	2	2
PEORIA	145,758	193,414	81	16	1	1	98	1	1	0
PHILDELPHIA	1,703,818	3,153,063	50	40	7	3	89	8	2	2
PHOENIX	1,543,428	578,673	77	4	16	2	78	2	16	1
PINE BLUFF	57,140	28,347	46	54	0	0	77	22	1	0
PITTSBURGH	395,895	1,660,810	72	25	1	2	95	4	0	1
PITTSFIELD	48,622	90,730	95	3	1	1	97	1	1	1
PORTLAND, ME	64,358	212,312	96	1	1	2	98	1	1	1
PORTLAND, OR	437,319	802,523	83	8	3	5	92	1	4	3
PORTSMOUTH	77,597	437,068	95	2	1	1	98	0	1	1
POUGHKEEPSIE	28,844	230,618	64	31	4	2	89	6	4	2
PROVIDENCE	277,249	639,021	74	10	11	4	95	1	2	1
PROVO	154,396	109,194	93	0	4	2	96	0	3	0
PUEBLO	98,640	24,411	57	2	40	1	78	0	21	0
RACINE	84,298	90,736	73	18	8	1	95	2	2	1
RALEIGH	383,281	352,199	64	33	1	2	81	17	1	1
RAPID CITY	54,523	26,820	87	1	2	1	91	2	2	1
READING	78,380	258,143	72	10	18	1	97	1	1	1
REDDING	66,462	80,574	90	1	4	3	92	0	4	1
RENO	133,850	120,817	80	3	11	5	87	2	7	3
RICHLAND	94,807	55,226	81	2	14	3	85	1	13	1
RICHMOND	241,442	624,198	40	58	1	1	79	18	1	2

	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
Metro Area	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
RIVERSIDE	430,850	2,157,943	56	10	29	5	64	6	26	4
ROANOKE	96,397	128,080	74	24	1	1	95	3	1	1
ROCHESTER, NY	231,636	770,774	58	32	9	2	94	3	1	1
ROCHESTER,MN	70,745	35,725	93	1	1	4	98	0	0	1
ROCKFORD	139,426	144,293	79	15	4	2	95	2	3	1
SACRAMENTO	500,061	981,041	59	12	16	13	80	4	10	5
SAGINAW	146,501	252,819	72	20	7	1	92	4	3	1
SALEM	107,786	170,238	89	2	6	2	89	0	8	1
SALINAS	179,632	176,028	48	7	36	9	57	5	31	7
SALT LAKE CITY	223,845	848,382	83	2	10	4	92	1	5	2
SAN ANGELO	84,474	13,984	66	5	28	1	86	1	13	0
SAN ANTONIO	935,933	366,166	36	7	56	1	65	6	27	1
SAN DIEGO	1,219,184	1,278,832	60	9	21	11	71	4	20	5
SAN FRANCISCO	723,959	879,719	47	11	14	29	67	5	15	13
SAN JOSE	838,148	659,429	52	5	25	19	66	3	16	16
SANTA BARBARA	184,504	185,104	57	3	35	4	75	2	18	5
SANTA CRUZ	49,040	180,694	79	2	14	5	73	1	22	3
SANTA FE	55,859	61,184	49	1	47	1	56	1	40	1
SANTA ROSA	156,497	231,725	85	2	9	3	84	1	11	2
SARASOTA	50,961	226,815	78	16	5	1	96	2	2	0
SAVANNAH	137,560	105,062	46	51	1	1	83	15	1	1
SCRANTON	154,058	580,117	97	2	1	1	98	1	1	0
SEATTLE	619,322	1,353,639	76	9	3	10	89	2	2	5
SHARON	17,493	103,510	90	9	1	0	95	4	0	0
SHEBOYGAN	49,676	54,201	93	0	3	4	98	1	1	0
SHERMAN	53,106	41,915	83	11	3	1	95	1	2	0
SHREVEPORT	251,246	83,095	59	39	1	1	76	22	1	0
SIOUX CITY	80,505	34,513	91	2	3	1	94	0	3	1
SIOUX FALLS	100,814	22,995	96	1	1	1	99	0	0	0
SOUTH BEND	148,119	98,933	81	15	3	1	96	1	1	1
SPOKANE	177,196	184,168	92	2	2	2	95	1	2	2
SPRINGFIELD, IL	105,227	84,323	85	13	1	1	98	1	1	0
SPRINGFIELD, MA	268,348	334,530	71	12	16	1	95	1	2	2
SPRINGFIELD, MO	140,494	100,099	95	3	1	1	98	0	1	0
ST. CLOUD	48,812	142,109	96	1	1	1	99	0	0	0
ST. JOSEPH	71,852	11,231	93	4	2	0	98	0	1	0
ST. LOUIS	600,736	1,843,363	58	40	1	1	88	10	1	1
STATE COLLEGE	38,923	84,863	87	3	2	7	96	2	1	1
STEUBENVILLE	44,249	98,274	89	10	1	1	98	1	0	0
STOCKTON	262,817	217,811	50	8	23	19	69	3	24	4
SYRACUSE	163,860	496,004	74	20	3	2	97	1	1	1
TACOMA	176,664	409,539	76	11	4	7	86	5	3	4
TALLAHASSEE	124,773	108,825	66	29	3	2	66	31	2	1
TAMPA	617,428	1,450,531	70	20	8	1	89	4	6	1
TERRE HAUTE	57,483	73,329	88	9	1	1	98	1	0	1
TEXARKANA	54,287	65,845	64	34	1	0	86	12	2	0
TOLEDO	361,119	253,009	76	18	4	1	95	1	3	1
TOPEKA	119,883	41,093	82	11	6	1	95	1	2	1
TRENTON	88,675	237,149	37	49	14	1	86	8	3	4
TUCSON	405,390	261,490	63	4	29	2	76	1	17	1
TULSA	367,302	341,652	78	14	3	1	87	2	1	0
TUSCALOOSA	77,759	72,763	62	35	1	1	83	16	0	0
TYLER	75,450	75,859	62	28	9	1	83	14	3	0
UTICA	112,987	203,646	86	9	4	1	97	2	1	0
VALLEJO	248,252	202,934	60	14	13	14	73	6	15	6
VANCOUVER	46,380	191,673	90	2	3	3	94	1	2	2
VICTORIA	55,076	19,285	54	8	38	0	73	3	23	0
VINELAND	99,714	38,339	67	16	17	1	73	20	4	1
VISALIA	138,448	173,473	62	2	29	6	49	1	46	3
WACO	103,590	85,533	60	23	16	1	85	6	8	1

Metro Area	Population Size		Percent of City Population				Percent of Suburb Population			
	City	Suburb	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians	NH Whites	Blacks	Hisp.	Asians
WASHINGTON	817,984	3,105,590	39	52	7	3	69	20	5	6
WATERLOO	100,765	45,846	90	8	1	1	99	0	0	0
WAUSAU	37,060	78,340	93	0	1	6	99	0	0	0
WEST PALM BEACH	176,316	687,202	70	21	9	1	81	10	7	1
WHEELING	34,882	124,419	94	4	0	1	98	1	0	0
WICHITA	304,011	181,259	80	11	5	3	94	1	3	1
WICHITA FALLS	96,259	26,119	76	11	10	2	94	2	3	0
WILIAMSPORT	31,933	86,777	92	7	1	1	98	1	0	0
WILMINGTON, DEL	71,529	507,058	41	52	7	0	87	10	2	1
WILMINGTON, NC	55,530	64,754	64	34	1	1	90	8	1	0
WORCESTER	249,098	460,607	84	4	9	3	96	1	2	1
YAKIMA	54,827	133,996	78	2	16	1	67	0	27	1
YORK	42,192	375,656	70	21	8	1	98	1	1	1
YOUNGSTOWN	146,525	346,094	65	32	3	0	96	2	1	0
YUBA CITY	27,437	95,206	71	3	18	8	73	3	13	9
YUMA	54,923	51,972	58	4	36	2	50	2	46	1

*MSAs, PMSAs or (in New England) NECMAs as defined by OMB on June 30,1990. Excludes 6 areas where a central city-suburban distinction did not exist.

Table B: 1980-90 Percent Change in Central City and Suburb Populations by Race and Hispanic Status, Individual Metro Areas

Metro Area	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
ABILENE	8	3	4	2	14	-41	33	24	97	19
AKRON	-5	3	-8	2	4	47	3	16	171	56
ALBANY, GA	5	-10	-10	-7	22	-19	-27	-20	35	10
ALBANY, NY	-2	7	-9	6	29	56	98	73	147	97
ALBUQUERQUE	16	9	13	10	37	20	18	7	111	83
ALEXANDRIA	-5	-2	-8	-3	-2	8	-7	-6	107	46
ALLENTOWN	1	11	-7	10	41	72	91	75	133	138
ALTOONA	-9	-1	-9	-1	-2	92	16	0	34	74
AMARILLO	6	22	-2	19	14	23	70	76	94	266
ANAHEIM	32	23	-15	7	34	94	114	83	176	190
ANDERSON, IN	-8	-5	-9	-6	-5	81	-8	33	84	7
ANDERSON, SC	-4	12	-11	14	11	2	-38	-30	-8	60
ANN ARBOR	2	11	-3	8	-2	20	26	61	116	90
ANNISTON	-10	-1	-17	-2	-1	7	-1	-4	72	71
APPLETON	10	7	8	6	83	192	73	31	380	238
ASHVILLE	15	5	16	6	7	-19	29	3	217	80
ATHENS	7	26	1	25	16	30	24	67	213	205
ATLANTA	-4	42	-5	30	-5	94	44	167	96	386
ATLANTIC CITY	-6	19	-34	15	-3	29	150	88	496	290
AUGUSTA	-6	18	-12	16	-2	21	-26	12	29	92
AURORA	11	15	-2	10	24	117	59	86	226	72
AUSTIN	35	65	24	61	37	78	65	79	288	358
BAKERSFIELD	66	24	54	9	47	37	126	63	197	83
BALTIMORE	-6	17	-16	13	1	43	0	63	59	108
BANGOR	5	8	4	7	80	112	51	79	118	188
BATON ROUGE	0	12	-13	14	20	5	-14	-8	129	98
BATTLE CREEK	50	-22	61	-24	9	2	44	-8	458	-5
BEAUMONT	-4	-4	-14	-5	6	-7	22	18	101	24
BELLINGHAM	14	24	11	22	89	115	74	83	150	177
BENTON HARBOR	-13	-5	-53	-7	-7	8	-12	31	-14	82
BERGEN	2	-2	-31	-10	8	23	46	77	185	173
BILLINGS	21	-22	20	-22	75	89	20	-18	72	43
BILOXI	-2	18	-7	20	9	4	-7	12	133	125
BINGHAMTON	-5	2	-9	1	43	29	84	45	337	108
BIRMINGHAM	-5	7	-22	9	8	-12	-55	-12	85	100
BISMARK	11	-3	9	-3	49	50	91	-6	18	103
BLOOMINGTON, IL	15	-5	14	-6	17	77	61	4	105	41
BLOOMINGTON, IN	17	3	16	3	9	20	20	36	150	67
BOISE CITY	23	13	22	12	43	32	46	42	104	75
BOSTON	3	4	-10	0	28	82	108	110	176	189
BOULDER	13	29	10	27	-3	60	45	52	141	178
BRADENTON	45	42	46	39	17	28	261	179	226	197
BREMERTON	5	37	-1	33	76	106	40	76	37	103
BRIDGEPORT	3	2	-10	0	23	24	55	68	193	183
BROWNSVILLE	15	38	-14	13	-5	106	23	47	115	128
BRYAN	32	20	21	24	40	-26	78	64	309	-36
BUFFALO	-8	-3	-17	-3	6	18	70	25	147	70
BURLINGTON, NC	6	11	3	11	14	5	0	45	214	189
BURLINGTON, VT	4	19	2	19	79	73	69	17	308	82
CANTON	-7	0	-9	0	1	20	-26	-11	20	58
CASPER	-8	-30	-8	-30	-2	-65	-7	-28	20	-45
CEDAR RAPIDS	-1	1	-2	0	22	12	23	30	99	74
CHAMPAIGN	2	3	-4	3	15	-2	48	21	142	128
CHARLESTON, SC	16	18	25	17	3	18	-4	22	135	45
CHARLESTON, WV	-10	-6	-13	-6	4	-4	-11	-32	48	24
CHARLOTTE	21	19	16	20	27	4	54	30	198	171
CHARLOTTESVILLE	1	23	-5	24	18	6	27	72	147	224
CHATTANOOGA	-10	9	-14	9	-4	15	-25	-1	154	139

	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Metro Area	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
CHEYENNE	6	8	5	8	11	16	10	12	54	58
CHICAGO	-7	7	-17	0	-9	65	30	94	52	104
CHICO	51	21	43	16	58	32	136	67	351	283
CINCINNATI	-6	7	-12	6	6	21	-20	13	82	94
CLARKSVILLE	28	-6	25	-2	33	-23	67	17	78	12
CLEVELAND	-12	0	-19	-3	-6	27	31	32	51	57
COLORADO SPRINGS	31	23	26	22	65	25	40	31	118	56
COLUMBIA, MO	11	13	7	11	26	56	29	18	204	86
COLUMBIA, SC	-3	15	-10	12	5	23	-12	31	83	63
COLUMBUS, GA	5	-8	-3	-8	18	-9	50	5	44	26
COLUMBUS, OH	11	10	8	8	14	85	43	30	209	138
CORPUS CHRISTI	11	-2	3	-9	4	0	20	4	87	57
CUMBERLAND	-9	-5	-10	-5	19	0	-24	5	102	61
DALLAS	16	48	-1	35	16	120	98	136	227	336
DANVILLE	16	-16	4	-12	43	-25	-10	-51	98	19
DAVENPORT	-9	-9	-11	-10	10	20	13	15	45	31
DAYTON	-8	5	-12	3	-2	31	-20	31	38	97
DAYTONA BEACH	14	51	16	47	7	30	77	308	135	173
DECATUR, AL	16	6	14	4	22	-6	25	-34	536	30
DECATUR, IL	-11	-11	-13	-11	2	66	-18	-54	39	40
DENVER	-5	23	-12	19	1	113	16	46	57	132
DES MOINES	1	13	-1	12	5	48	31	39	188	105
DETROIT	-13	2	-36	1	3	29	3	29	37	82
DOTHAN	10	5	7	3	17	11	-21	10	61	42
DUBUQUE	-8	-8	-8	-8	51	28	3	-32	90	64
DULUTH	-8	-12	-9	-12	2	92	25	27	98	-15
EAU CLAIRE	10	2	6	1	62	57	76	28	831	67
EL PASO	21	40	-3	-14	32	-6	34	79	68	4
ELKHART	11	16	8	15	19	69	80	52	103	103
ELMIRA	-5	-1	-8	-3	19	148	50	101	55	82
ENID	-10	-8	-12	-10	-3	9	53	47	72	6
ERIE	-9	4	-12	4	13	44	91	10	29	55
EUGENE	7	-2	5	-3	25	57	39	2	98	60
EVANSVILLE	-3	5	-4	5	4	3	15	-8	33	47
FARGO	16	2	14	1	61	0	113	36	168	33
FAYETTEVILLE, AK	20	2	19	1	10	385	70	60	115	92
FAYETTEVILLE, NC	27	6	27	1	21	13	121	36	114	32
FLINT	-12	0	-23	-3	2	32	1	32	9	70
FLORENCE, AL	-2	-3	-3	-2	6	-10	-24	-43	43	28
FLORENCE, SC	-1	6	-1	2	-1	12	-32	-45	141	107
FORT COLLINS	31	13	30	12	74	110	42	35	114	56
FORT LAUDERDALE	5	32	-10	18	58	79	108	201	130	296
FORT MYERS	75	57	78	56	31	48	259	122	323	173
FORT PIERCE	9	82	3	81	7	65	171	182	100	232
FORT SMITH	2	13	-3	11	16	-5	45	71	236	75
FORT WALTON BEACH	3	37	-1	35	15	46	68	72	79	161
FORT WAYNE	1	5	-3	5	16	2	24	15	131	65
FORT WORTH	30	46	18	38	30	110	100	138	308	458
FRESNO	62	6	28	-9	42	-14	105	32	626	49
GADSDEN	-11	3	-15	4	3	-14	-43	-29	265	54
GAINESVILLE	4	33	0	31	8	29	15	81	170	200
GALVESTON	-3	27	-12	23	0	20	19	58	52	216
GARY	-18	3	-28	1	-10	344	-7	38	-21	69
GLENS FALLS	-5	10	-6	9	14	118	26	93	62	97
GRAND FORKS	13	-5	12	-6	46	23	34	-10	72	77
GRAND RAPIDS	6	19	-1	17	23	77	59	75	123	182
GREAT FALLS	-3	-6	-4	-6	49	-15	12	-8	64	65
GREELEY	14	1	8	-3	-8	5	49	19	86	6
GREEN BAY	10	12	6	12	105	96	79	48	497	48
GREENSBORO	13	9	11	9	14	7	25	24	237	143

Metro Area	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
GREENVILLE	0	15	-4	14	4	21	-9	27	98	203
HAGERSTOWN	4	9	3	6	15	79	3	58	61	102
HAMILTON	0	21	1	20	-4	65	-19	11	80	175
HARRISBURG	-2	8	-11	7	14	18	66	65	86	93
HARTFORD	4	8	-10	5	20	68	64	117	201	191
HICKORY	36	6	38	6	25	0	87	26	134	319
HONOLULU	0	18	-6	13	14	67	-13	13	7	24
HOUMA	-8	8	-14	5	6	19	-28	-16	131	127
HOUSTON	3	48	-20	32	5	108	60	117	104	240
HUNTINGTON	-14	-5	-14	-5	-14	7	-20	-22	38	50
HUNTSVILLE	12	45	5	54	32	-5	43	43	180	185
INDIANAPOLIS	4	11	2	11	8	46	25	26	81	96
IOWA CITY	18	17	14	15	53	127	72	77	188	167
JACKSON, MI	-6	0	-9	0	8	14	18	35	22	26
JACKSON, MS	-3	25	-19	33	15	8	-42	-19	58	192
JACKSON, TN	0	14	-10	23	17	-18	-32	-28	63	135
JACKSONVILLE, FL	17	50	15	53	17	12	68	77	132	115
JACKSONVILLE, NC	76	25	46	27	186	9	226	66	243	81
JAMESTOWN	-5	-3	-8	-4	5	80	81	73	33	54
JANESVILLE	2	-3	-2	-3	43	27	80	93	97	29
JERSEY CITY	-2	0	-20	-19	9	67	11	37	139	151
JOHNSON CITY	11	-3	11	-3	3	-7	9	-27	97	39
JOHNSTOWN	-21	-7	-22	-7	-7	76	11	-1	-49	28
JOLIET	-1	13	-9	10	6	37	48	42	109	61
JOPLIN	5	6	4	5	11	27	44	30	85	72
KALAMAZOO	1	8	-5	6	21	42	45	61	142	109
KANKAKEE	-9	-6	-20	-4	17	-31	107	37	59	62
KANSAS CITY	1	17	-3	15	7	82	28	54	81	108
KENOSHA	3	5	-2	4	83	116	52	81	57	92
KILLEEN	24	16	9	13	55	18	46	37	74	38
KNOXVILLE	-5	14	-7	13	3	19	-3	-10	73	148
KOKOMO	-6	-7	-7	-7	3	1	16	5	75	68
LA CROSSE	5	10	0	9	165	112	91	75	1,517	79
LAFAYETTE, IN	8	6	5	3	32	28	60	37	144	249
LAFAYETTE, LA	15	6	17	1	12	24	-21	-35	156	104
LAKE CHARLES	-6	6	-12	5	3	16	-30	-4	47	45
LAKE COUNTY	-2	23	-20	19	12	70	75	92	56	139
LAKELAND	39	23	39	23	30	4	104	67	138	135
LANCASTER	2	19	-13	18	35	69	75	65	55	140
LANSING	-2	7	-10	5	30	64	24	39	197	93
LAREDO	34	32	12	-70	62	33	36	68	514	-35
LAS CRUCES	38	43	34	23	50	22	42	59	123	66
LAS VEGAS	57	62	48	54	40	63	153	127	178	185
LAWRENCE	24	9	24	8	9	-10	35	71	152	85
LAWTON	1	-5	-5	-5	22	-16	17	11	42	21
LEWISTON	1	14	0	14	110	82	26	86	134	159
LEXINGTON	10	8	9	9	11	-8	72	-14	173	116
LIMA	-4	1	-9	1	13	7	31	44	113	54
LINCOLN	12	3	10	3	31	87	37	30	96	88
LITTLE ROCK	7	10	1	12	20	-8	0	6	63	115
LONGVIEW	7	7	3	8	11	-5	88	63	40	38
LORAIN	-4	1	-7	0	7	8	13	40	-7	139
LOS ANGELES	18	19	-9	-8	1	13	74	53	88	154
LOUISVILLE	-9	4	-11	3	-5	23	-13	10	105	49
LUBBOCK	7	-3	1	-5	12	-23	28	5	72	-15
LYNCHBURG	-1	2	-5	3	10	-1	5	-4	40	13
MACON	-4	22	-15	28	12	5	1	55	58	194
MADISON	12	15	7	14	76	121	73	80	178	92
MANCHESTER	13	33	9	32	126	91	163	133	330	208
MANSFIELD	-6	-2	-9	-3	6	15	-20	9	66	51

	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Metro Area	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
MCALLEN	31	40	5	5	53	40	38	46	217	78
MEDFORD	19	7	15	6	155	75	100	29	116	62
MELBOURNE	67	35	64	35	51	18	200	82	346	138
MEMPHIS	-5	44	-19	51	9	12	-17	30	76	147
MERCED	54	25	22	4	43	13	63	74	1,405	183
MIAMI	9	25	-38	-18	18	53	34	102	42	139
MIDDLESEX	4	16	-19	7	14	68	51	119	191	268
MIDLAND	27	42	18	22	16	24	70	230	250	11
MILWAUKEE	0	5	-13	4	30	58	49	51	223	67
MINNEAPOLIS	1	23	-9	21	64	165	55	84	370	135
MOBILE	-2	15	-7	19	5	0	-12	-7	105	335
MODESTO	56	23	37	7	104	115	140	81	404	277
MONROE	-5	7	-19	7	9	8	-30	15	187	23
MONTGOMERY	5	11	-1	13	14	5	-8	-31	105	107
MUNCIE	-8	-5	-8	-6	-8	80	1	19	97	69
MUSKEGON	-1	2	-10	1	25	3	16	36	1	62
NAPLES	11	94	11	92	-1	71	55	126	62	219
NASHVILLE	9	25	7	26	13	3	30	26	248	195
NEW BEDFORD	3	10	1	9	71	62	25	42	298	127
NEW HAVEN	3	7	-7	5	18	38	84	100	130	167
NEW LONDON	-1	10	-8	8	21	60	92	69	75	53
NEW ORLEANS	-11	7	-25	3	0	22	-10	18	32	81
NEW YORK	4	2	-14	-7	18	21	27	79	121	121
NEWARK	-12	0	-31	-8	-13	22	28	81	60	126
NIAGARA FALLS	-13	2	-17	2	6	26	3	24	25	81
NORFOLK	17	33	13	35	22	24	70	67	76	142
OAKLAND	8	22	-6	8	2	45	59	44	92	150
OCALA	13	79	18	79	-4	51	72	234	206	316
ODESSA	0	15	-12	-8	6	130	34	139	54	7
OKLAHOMA CITY	11	12	3	7	23	49	88	65	146	92
OLYMPIA	23	32	21	27	130	192	68	94	105	172
OMAHA	5	6	3	5	16	20	40	36	87	62
ORLANDO	28	59	24	46	15	71	187	292	174	311
OWENSBORO	-2	7	-2	7	5	54	-27	-25	-4	21
OXNARD	29	25	8	18	21	75	64	48	89	142
PANAMA CITY	3	44	4	41	-6	69	12	59	118	106
PARKERSBURG	-13	-1	-14	-1	-11	9	-39	-20	37	42
PASCAGOULA	-12	1	-17	-1	13	5	-37	-25	59	135
PENSACOLA	1	23	3	21	-5	29	15	38	49	74
PEORIA	-8	-7	-12	-7	14	29	5	10	67	26
PHILDELPHIA	-6	8	-15	6	0	25	46	58	146	120
PHOENIX	36	56	28	52	48	100	76	68	167	213
PINE BLUFF	1	-17	-8	-12	10	-31	-53	-17	41	16
PITTSBURGH	-13	-6	-16	-7	-6	7	6	2	127	43
PITTSFIELD	-6	-3	-8	-4	23	27	96	45	90	140
PORTLAND, ME	5	16	3	15	37	81	45	38	159	126
PORTLAND, OR	19	9	16	5	21	26	78	97	118	103
PORTSMOUTH	11	27	9	26	39	117	48	85	127	225
POUGHKEEPSIE	-3	7	-14	4	19	33	110	63	155	101
PROVIDENCE	1	8	-12	6	35	92	163	95	451	132
PROVO	22	19	20	19	156	138	80	49	110	55
PUEBLO	-3	1	-9	3	0	-2	8	-8	43	138
RACINE	-2	4	-8	3	23	15	25	28	56	93
RALEIGH	35	27	32	29	35	9	100	84	245	228
RAPID CITY	17	12	11	14	70	21	61	15	134	204
READING	0	10	-13	9	21	65	88	106	207	85
REDDING	58	9	52	8	45	59	124	32	805	85
RENO	33	30	21	25	43	112	190	91	189	114
RICHLAND	10	-6	1	-12	3	6	121	68	72	83
RICHMOND	-7	25	-18	21	2	34	-11	59	62	172

	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Metro Area	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
RIVERSIDE	34	74	11	49	46	179	104	145	234	345
ROANOKE	-4	7	-7	6	6	9	-2	19	130	157
ROCHESTER, NY	-4	6	-17	4	17	34	52	81	166	123
ROCHESTER,MN	22	5	18	4	94	67	100	21	269	65
ROCKFORD	0	3	-5	2	13	-7	45	53	181	79
SACRAMENTO	36	34	21	26	54	83	54	72	136	161
SAGINAW	-6	-5	-10	-6	3	6	7	10	53	45
SALEM	21	6	16	1	64	64	112	77	169	72
SALINAS	24	21	5	9	2	67	79	41	43	39
SALT LAKE CITY	-2	24	-5	22	6	40	24	48	116	138
SAN ANGELO	15	21	6	16	23	-6	40	74	127	95
SAN ANTONIO	19	28	14	15	14	52	23	68	110	102
SAN DIEGO	30	39	11	26	36	102	82	89	131	101
SAN FRANCISCO	7	9	-5	-5	-9	6	21	61	43	92
SAN JOSE	22	8	-4	-6	25	37	48	23	187	130
SANTA BARBARA	31	17	11	8	40	26	88	60	95	99
SANTA CRUZ	18	23	9	14	46	119	84	67	109	60
SANTA FE	14	39	33	36	44	55	-2	44	90	158
SANTA ROSA	34	27	26	21	67	55	119	88	172	104
SARASOTA	4	48	2	47	3	54	90	102	49	130
SAVANNAH	-3	33	-9	31	2	36	10	56	51	113
SCRANTON	-8	3	-9	2	38	83	44	108	102	77
SEATTLE	8	31	2	25	13	159	51	87	71	174
SHARON	-8	-5	-11	-6	22	4	108	15	4	69
SHEBOYGAN	3	3	-1	2	82	29	63	49	1,317	61
SHERMAN	-2	18	-6	17	6	-19	88	160	101	217
SHREVEPORT	-2	9	-8	12	7	-1	-13	-16	62	53
SIOUX CITY	-2	-3	-6	-6	65	78	143	101	311	504
SIOUX FALLS	24	-18	23	-18	192	-16	53	-18	123	-28
SOUTH BEND	-1	8	-4	6	11	33	39	53	85	147
SPOKANE	3	8	2	7	23	10	44	47	58	83
SPRINGFIELD, IL	6	-4	3	-5	27	6	33	9	50	21
SPRINGFIELD, MA	2	5	-10	2	21	47	99	133	211	209
SPRINGFIELD, MO	6	34	5	34	23	65	38	63	72	233
ST. CLOUD	15	18	14	17	111	140	54	49	81	81
ST. JOSEPH	-6	0	-7	0	0	--	12	-3	61	-18
ST. LOUIS	-9	7	-9	5	-10	30	-4	27	113	81
STATE COLLEGE	8	11	1	9	56	140	67	57	236	181
STEUBENVILLE	-13	-12	-14	-12	-10	-18	-9	-20	12	25
STOCKTON	42	34	15	24	31	88	68	71	235	90
SYRACUSE	-4	5	-12	4	24	36	68	47	192	99
TACOMA	11	25	3	23	39	44	72	54	158	70
TALLAHASSEE	53	0	55	1	40	-5	152	23	290	12
TAMPA	4	43	-1	37	12	64	23	128	150	262
TERRE HAUTE	-6	-4	-8	-3	4	-43	61	-33	113	57
TEXARKANA	3	9	-3	14	16	-19	-4	55	56	29
TOLEDO	-5	7	-9	6	6	30	24	21	112	77
TOPEKA	4	4	1	4	16	-31	30	6	54	129
TRENTON	-4	10	-22	4	4	30	70	122	76	172
TUCSON	23	30	13	26	41	22	44	53	153	119
TULSA	2	15	-3	12	17	-1	55	48	82	130
TUSCALOOSA	3	17	1	19	5	7	-24	-19	230	135
TYLER	7	31	-3	33	15	5	107	188	53	152
UTICA	-5	1	-11	0	51	329	101	146	164	125
VALLEJO	31	40	12	27	51	114	88	80	132	171
VANCOUVER	8	28	5	26	66	84	91	92	144	148
VICTORIA	9	6	1	5	9	-24	22	18	46	50
VINELAND	2	8	-7	5	21	11	43	94	65	-7
VISALIA	51	13	29	-10	58	-14	96	53	529	48
WACO	2	23	-8	21	9	6	51	79	157	137

Metro Area	Total		NH White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
WASHINGTON	0	28	3	14	-9	53	111	147	75	157
WATERLOO	-10	-9	-11	-9	-1	87	-3	-9	52	42
WAUSAU	14	-1	7	-1	96	200	152	23	3,363	136
WEST PALM BEACH	20	60	11	57	35	41	81	157	222	363
WHEELING	-19	-13	-19	-12	-19	-20	-51	-40	51	-7
WICHITA	9	11	5	10	14	15	54	44	100	87
WICHITA FALLS	2	-3	-1	-4	3	2	35	42	46	-13
WILIAMSPORT	-4	2	-7	1	65	50	50	68	33	54
WILMINGTON, DEL	2	12	-6	9	4	30	48	73	49	143
WILMINGTON, NC	26	9	38	9	9	3	10	30	177	52
WORCESTER	6	12	-4	10	73	74	151	95	417	213
YAKIMA	10	9	-2	-5	20	23	157	65	66	51
YORK	-5	12	-14	11	15	50	112	76	42	106
YOUNGSTOWN	-15	-4	-20	-4	-3	9	0	26	5	40
YUBA CITY	46	14	26	6	119	12	177	43	148	116
YUMA	29	8	13	-11	23	33	71	57	82	0

Table C: Percent College Graduates by Race and Hispanic Status for Central Cities and Suburbs of 25 Large Metro Areas, 1990

Region & Metropolitan Area	Total		White*		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
NORTHEAST										
New York	23	34	29	36	12	17	8	16	33	60
Philadelphia	15	27	19	27	9	17	7	20	31	51
Boston	27	33	30	32	15	29	11	24	36	54
Pittsburgh	19	20	21	20	9	12	38	26	71	64
MIDWEST										
Chicago	20	28	28	28	11	18	7	12	41	57
Detroit	11	20	14	20	8	19	7	18	40	57
Cleveland	8	24	10	24	5	15	6	28	35	62
Minneapolis-St. Paul	29	26	31	26	15	27	19	21	26	42
St. Louis	15	23	18	23	8	16	18	27	43	56
Cincinnati	22	20	29	20	8	15	42	32	65	48
Milwaukee	16	26	18	26	7	31	6	22	32	57
Kansas City	21	25	24	25	10	25	10	20	35	48
SOUTH										
Washington, DC	37	39	61	43	16	23	23	24	49	48
Dallas	27	28	35	29	12	20	8	11	43	44
Houston	25	25	32	27	13	21	7	9	44	43
Miami-Hialeah	13	22	14	25	6	12	10	18	33	37
Atlanta	27	27	48	28	11	20	21	25	55	39
Baltimore	16	26	25	26	8	21	26	32	40	47
Tampa-St. Petersburg	19	17	21	17	8	16	13	15	22	35
WEST										
Los Angeles-Long Beacl	23	22	29	23	13	17	6	6	34	39
San Francisco	35	35	45	36	15	17	15	13	25	40
Seattle	34	28	37	27	14	21	23	18	30	40
San Diego	29	22	33	23	14	14	10	9	29	26
Phoenix	23	20	24	21	14	20	8	6	40	37
Denver	29	29	34	30	15	22	7	12	32	30

* Includes Hispanic whites

Table D: Per Capita Income by Race and Hispanic Status for Central Cities and Suburbs of 25 Large Metro Areas, 1990

Region &	Total		White*		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Metropolitan Area	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
NORTHEAST										
New York	16,334	24,056	22,027	26,140	10,519	13,057	8,430	12,084	12,875	22,785
Philadelphia	11,869	18,827	14,922	19,478	8,927	12,431	6,066	11,984	8,266	16,724
Boston	15,348	20,329	17,455	20,603	10,323	15,076	7,602	11,127	9,573	16,890
Pittsburgh	12,346	14,458	14,173	14,637	7,276	9,781	10,436	12,989	10,504	21,330
MIDWEST										
Chicago	13,158	19,496	18,525	20,399	8,602	12,342	7,464	10,817	11,685	17,538
Detroit	10,056	17,873	12,971	18,078	8,812	13,680	8,041	13,930	8,303	19,477
Cleveland	9,258	17,316	11,161	17,770	7,369	12,465	6,357	13,505	7,867	22,025
Minneapolis-St. Paul	15,034	17,598	16,817	17,801	7,929	11,764	7,929	10,529	5,400	12,164
St. Louis	11,192	16,130	14,056	16,789	7,078	10,363	9,915	13,542	9,306	16,504
Cincinnati	12,547	15,300	15,757	15,514	7,451	10,951	10,200	13,985	13,455	17,468
Milwaukee	11,422	17,868	13,828	17,930	6,837	12,417	6,443	10,701	6,672	19,153
Kansas City	13,103	16,600	15,107	16,752	8,382	12,581	8,774	11,673	9,806	15,264
SOUTH										
Washington, DC	20,121	21,757	30,743	24,309	12,330	15,367	12,038	13,365	15,740	16,123
Dallas	16,084	16,799	21,387	17,962	8,535	10,447	7,214	9,012	12,039	13,531
Houston	14,210	16,015	19,575	17,451	8,355	10,673	7,011	8,603	12,359	13,819
Miami-Hialeah	10,510	15,249	11,724	17,744	6,126	8,626	8,910	12,441	10,910	13,763
Atlanta	15,332	17,182	28,321	18,827	8,089	11,245	11,367	13,286	12,139	13,202
Baltimore	12,268	18,660	17,054	19,318	8,979	13,727	11,980	15,322	12,761	17,491
Tampa-St. Petersburg	14,159	14,465	16,237	14,814	7,097	8,766	11,016	10,381	9,138	13,669
WEST										
Los Angeles-Long Beach	16,128	16,168	21,707	19,525	11,204	13,217	7,241	8,832	13,329	15,594
San Francisco	19,695	23,986	26,222	26,786	11,829	12,992	11,400	11,719	12,665	17,172
Seattle	17,564	18,085	19,401	18,518	10,480	13,228	13,881	12,899	11,709	14,295
San Diego	16,244	16,196	19,339	17,682	10,377	10,409	8,159	8,786	10,723	12,028
Phoenix	14,908	15,133	16,077	16,461	9,212	11,243	7,721	7,311	12,353	13,009
Denver	15,590	16,923	18,191	17,427	10,442	12,314	7,778	10,730	9,556	12,001

* Includes Hispanic Whites

Table E: Percent in Poverty by Race and Hispanic Status for Central Cities and Suburbs of 25 Large Metro Areas, 1990

Region & Metropolitan Area	Total		White*		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb	City	Suburb
NORTHEAST										
New York	19	6	12	5	25	16	33	16	16	5
Philadelphia	21	5	11	4	29	14	45	13	29	9
Boston	16	5	11	5	24	12	37	21	29	10
Pittsburgh	22	10	14	9	41	29	25	17	36	7
MIDWEST										
Chicago	21	4	11	3	33	15	24	10	17	4
Detroit	30	6	19	6	35	20	34	10	30	6
Cleveland	29	5	18	4	39	15	40	10	26	7
Minneapolis-St. Paul	16	5	10	4	40	27	26	11	51	7
St. Louis	22	7	11	5	38	22	21	10	22	11
Cincinnati	24	7	15	7	39	19	30	13	22	5
Milwaukee	21	3	10	3	42	11	34	10	42	7
Kansas City	15	6	9	6	29	15	17	10	22	9
SOUTH										
Washington, DC	14	4	7	3	20	8	18	10	16	7
Dallas	17	7	10	5	29	20	27	18	18	7
Houston	21	9	12	7	31	18	30	19	19	8
Miami-Hialeah	26	14	23	10	45	25	25	15	18	11
Atlanta	26	7	10	5	35	15	28	14	31	10
Baltimore	21	5	12	4	28	10	21	8	23	6
Tampa-St. Petersburg	16	10	10	9	36	26	19	19	18	11
WEST										
Los Angeles-Long Beach	18	12	13	9	25	16	28	18	16	11
San Francisco	13	6	9	5	26	15	16	13	13	6
Seattle	12	6	9	5	25	15	21	10	19	10
San Diego	13	10	9	8	23	17	26	20	14	10
Phoenix	13	12	10	8	29	21	27	29	15	13
Denver	17	7	12	6	27	21	31	14	26	10

* Includes Hispanic whites