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Immigration and Poverty in America's Suburbs

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"Suburbs with little or no experience with either immigration or poverty face complex and unfamiliar public policy challenges."

Findings

An analysis of poverty levels among U.S.-born and foreign-born residents in the nation's 95 largest metropolitan areas in 2000 and 2009 shows that:

- **Foreign-born residents of America's suburbs experienced markedly higher poverty rates (14.1 percent) than the U.S. born (9.8 percent) in 2009.** The 2.7 million foreign-born poor in the suburbs represented one of every five suburban residents living in poverty.

- **Immigrants accounted for almost a third (30 percent) of overall population growth in the suburbs from 2000 to 2009, but less than a fifth (17 percent) of the increase in the poor population.** The suburbanization of poverty accelerated most among the U.S. born who accounted for 83 percent of the growth in suburban poverty.

- **Between 2000 and 2009 immigrants contributed more to the growth of the suburban poor population in the South than in other regions.** In Washington, D.C., 40 percent of the growth in the suburban poor was due to immigrants, while they contributed just 11 percent in Detroit. In 2009, immigrants made up the highest share of suburban poor in the West (27 percent) and the lowest in the Midwest (10 percent). In Miami, Los Angeles, McAllen, and Fresno, immigrants made up more than one third of the poor population living in suburbs.

- **The West was the only region where the poverty rate of suburban immigrants decreased between 2000 and 2009.** Atlanta saw the largest increase in its suburban immigrant poverty rate (6.5 percentage points) while three large immigrant destinations—McAllen, Los Angeles, and Riverside—experienced decreases.

- **Among immigrants currently living in suburban areas, those who arrived in the United States prior to 2000 had a lower poverty rate (13%) in 2009 than those who had arrived more recently (22 percent).** Sixty-one percent of all foreign-born who arrived prior to 2000 were living in suburban areas by 2009; likewise, a majority (53 percent) of new arrivals who are poor also lived in the suburbs.

- **Foreign-born poor in the suburbs are less educated, but more likely to be employed, than their native-born counterparts.** The families of the suburban immigrant poor also are more likely to be married couples with children, rather than female-headed households as is most common among the U.S.-born poor.

Demographic change and economic tumult have changed the geography of poverty across and within U.S. metropolitan areas. As a result of these intersecting trends, many suburban areas with little experience with either immigration or poverty face new and distinctive public policy challenges. Suburban governments, nonprofits, and private funders—many with already stretched budgets—will need to modify and extend their programming to reach immigrants living in poverty.

Introduction

As the foreign-born have grown more numerous, they have dispersed geographically. Some metropolitan areas have become immigrant gateways for the first time. And within many metropolitan areas, increasing numbers of immigrants have settled in suburban communities, where they were once only a sparse presence.[1] Meanwhile, another change has been taking place on the metropolitan landscape: poverty is on the rise in the suburbs. Recent Brookings Institution research shows that at the end of the Great Recession a majority of the nation's poor in the 100 largest metropolitan areas lived in the suburbs.[2] This report examines the intersection of these two trends—the suburbanization of poverty and the suburbanization of the foreign born—with an analysis of Census data from 2000 to 2009. The findings illuminate a new geography of nativity and disadvantage that has developed out of booms, bubbles and busts and challenges traditional thinking about the structure of metropolitan areas and their governance. It is no longer useful to think of central cities as the primary locations of poverty in America, surrounded by concentric suburban rings of predominately white and affluent populations.[3] The interplay of demographic change and economic turmoil has produced a dappled map in which foreign born and native born, poor and non-poor, are scattered and intermingled across the entire metropolitan landscape. As a result, suburbs with little or no experience with either immigration or poverty face complex and unfamiliar public policy challenges.

Immigrants tend to be distinctive because of differences in language, customs or physical appearance, and immigrant neighborhoods often stand out from neighboring communities. But viewed from a broader perspective it becomes clear that the trajectories immigrants follow in this country—including where they live—are often shaped by trends prevailing in U.S. society as a whole. The suburbanization of poverty is a clear example of how economic cycles and settlement patterns that are very much "Made in the USA" exercise a powerful, even determinative influence, over the lives of immigrants. The numbers of immigrant poor have increased in the suburbs of American metros for many of the same reasons that poverty has increased among the native born in the suburbs. The prevailing image of community building by immigrants is one of clustering into ethnic enclaves. In fact, however, their settlement patterns on a national and metropolitan scale mirror an increasingly variegated geography of economic well-being that is defined by the much larger native-born population.

In order to depict this new metropolitan geography we examine key measures of demographic and economic change in cities and suburbs over the past decade. Comparing immigrant and native born according to their poverty rates—the percentage of the group living in poverty—gives us an assessment of economic hardship in each group. In order to understand the makeup of the poverty population in a given place we examine the shares of poverty by nativity—the percentages of the total poor who are either immigrant or native born.[4] We will assess differences between cities and suburbs to demonstrate how the spatial relationship between immigration and disadvantage has shifted over time. These are all admittedly crude measures. There are many complex variations in economic status within the immigrant and native-born populations. And, similarly, there is a great deal of variation in both economic outcomes and demographic characteristics among different suburbs and different central cities even within a single metropolitan area. Further, because these are recent developments and involve some fine-grained distinctions both geographically and demographically, there are unavoidable data limitations (See methodology section).

This is a preliminary picture painted in broad brushstrokes. Nonetheless, it advances our understanding of the turbulent decade just past and the shape of metros in years to come. Geographic and economic mobility have always been closely linked in America, and that is no less true for the immigrants of today.

Methodology

This report uses data from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2009 American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2000 decennial census. Most of the ACS data are taken from summary tables showing poverty status by nativity, available online via the Census Bureau's American Factfinder tool.[5] In order to examine characteristics of poor immigrants, we use 2009 ACS microdata accessed from the University of Minnesota's Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) website.[6]

While we present data for the nation as a whole, our focus is on 95 of the largest metropolitan areas—where 85 percent of immigrants and 60 percent of people in poverty live—for which we delineate cities

and suburbs.[7] We define as a "primary city" the first named city in each metropolitan area (the largest), plus other incorporated places in the metro area with populations of at least 100,000 (per 2007 Population Estimates data). So, for example, for the Chicago-Naperville-Joliet MSA, Chicago and Naperville are considered primary cities, while Joliet and the remainder of the metro area are classified as suburban.

Across the 95 large metro areas, we identify a total of 132 primary cities. The metro area outside of primary cities is designated as "suburbs" or "suburban areas." We are limited in how much we can report for individual metropolitan areas due to the high margins of error associated with estimates of the immigrant poor population in the suburbs. We take a conservative approach and report data for only those individual metro areas where the coefficient of variation for poor immigrants in the suburbs is less than 15. We face different data constraints when examining characteristics of poor immigrants (findings E and F). Because the smallest level of geography for which microdata are available is the Public Use Microdata Area (PUMA), and PUMAs do not necessarily align neatly with city and suburban boundaries, we use only the 71 metropolitan areas in which the metropolitan, city, and suburban boundaries do not exceed a gross error of 25% and report aggregated results.

We use "foreign born" and "immigrant" interchangeably to refer to anyone born outside the United States who was not a U.S. citizen at birth. This population includes naturalized citizens, legal permanent residents, temporary migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, and, to the extent to which they are counted, unauthorized immigrants.[8] "Natives," "native born," and "U.S. born" refer to anyone who was born in the U.S. (including Puerto Rico) or born abroad to U.S. citizen parents.

Paul Jargowsky makes the case that the native-born children of immigrants should be counted among the foreign-born, since they live with their (foreign-born) parents and since poverty is determined at the household level.[9] He finds that when the native-born children of immigrants are grouped with their foreign-born parents, the poverty rates for these groups diverge. That is, the poverty rate goes up for immigrants and down for natives. Jargowsky finds that between 1980 and 2007, the contribution of immigrants to the change in national poverty rates is small. Furthermore, the lower poverty rate among established immigrants largely offsets the higher poverty rates among more recent arrivals. Work by George Borjas finds higher poverty rates in 2009 among native-born children with foreign-born parents (28.5 percent) than native-born children with at least one native-born parent (17 percent).[10] In this report, we count the native-born children of immigrants among the native-born population because data limitations do not allow us to systematically count these children with their immigrant parents.

We use the federal measure of poverty as defined by the Office of Management and Budget and followed by the Census Bureau in 2000 and 2009. These agencies use a set of money income thresholds that vary by family size and composition to determine who is in poverty. If a family's total income is less than the family's threshold, then that family and every individual in it is considered in poverty. The official poverty thresholds do not vary geographically, but they are updated each year for inflation using the Consumer Price Index. The official poverty definition uses money income before taxes and does not include capital gains or noncash benefits (such as public housing, Medicaid, and food stamps). In 2009, the poverty threshold for a family of four with two children was $21,756 and for a single individual was $11,161.

Background

The Dispersal

The start of the current era of immigration is usually dated to the early 1970s when a period of historically low migration ended as new flows from Latin America and Asia gained momentum. The accelerated migration is often ascribed to changes in U.S. law combined with a variety of economic and demographic factors both here and in sending countries.[11] The foreign-born made up 4.7 percent of the U.S. population in 1970, a historic low. Immigrants now account for nearly 13 percent, approaching a historic high. Throughout this period of growth one characteristic has held constant: Immigrants are disproportionately concentrated in large metropolitan areas with 85 percent living in the 100 largest metros in 2009. Moreover, they remain concentrated in a few large metros: more than a third of the entire foreign-born population lives in New York, Los Angeles, Miami and Chicago. However, even as the population continues to grow in those gateways, there has been a dispersal both among and within those and other metropolitan areas.

Many metros of the Southeast, the Great Plains, and the Mountain West with historically small foreign-born populations saw skyrocketing increases in the number of foreign-born residents during the 1990s. In addition, metros in the Southwest, Texas and California with modest immigrant populations experienced steady increases. Distinctive patterns developed as the demands of local labor markets helped shape the characteristics of the immigrant newcomers drawn to settle there. Dallas, Las Vegas, Phoenix and other fast-growing places with burgeoning construction and service industries attracted high numbers of immigrants lacking a high school diploma. Meanwhile, cities like Pittsburgh, Seattle and San Jose with expanding technology, finance or health industries attracted larger shares of highly-skilled newcomers. Overall, immigrants clustered in metropolitan areas that offered them economic opportunities and moved away from areas that were distressed.[12]

The current era of immigration has taken place against the backdrop of a dramatic transformation of America's metropolitan areas, and immigrant settlement patterns have been shaped by those changes. The population shift of the native born—especially the middle class whites—out of cities and into the suburbs is one of the characteristic events of the post-war era, and in the later 20th century that movement spread to less densely populated outer suburbs and eventually exurbs.[13] Growth of cities in the 19th and early 20th century was centered on industrial jobs in dense urban cores. Latter 20th century development of metropolitan areas have been characterized by the growth of sprawling, auto-dependent, decentralized suburban zones. The rise of the suburbs as desirable places to live has been accompanied by job growth in these areas; cities no longer have the primacy they once did, especially the case in metropolitan areas that developed after World War II.[14] Unsurprisingly, immigrants are following job growth and increasingly settling in suburban locales. Between 2000 and 2009 the immigrant population grew more than twice as fast in the suburbs than in the primary cities (31 percent vs. 13 percent). As a result, a clear majority of immigrants in large metros (59 percent) now lives in the suburbs. By comparison, more than two-thirds (70 percent) of the native-born population of major metropolitan areas are suburbanites.

Looking back at an era that has involved a great deal of both immigration and metropolitan transformation, it becomes apparent that the geographic settlement patterns of the foreign born have been molded by trends in American society at large even as the immigrants' distinctive characteristics and experiences continue to play a role. The suburbanization of poverty serves as a case study.

Immigrant Poverty in the Suburbs

The suburbs are now home to a wide variety of poor people. That includes foreign born and native born, all races, people who lack a high school degree as well as college graduates. The suburbanization of poverty is now a defining characteristic of the American metropolis. And it is accelerating.[15]

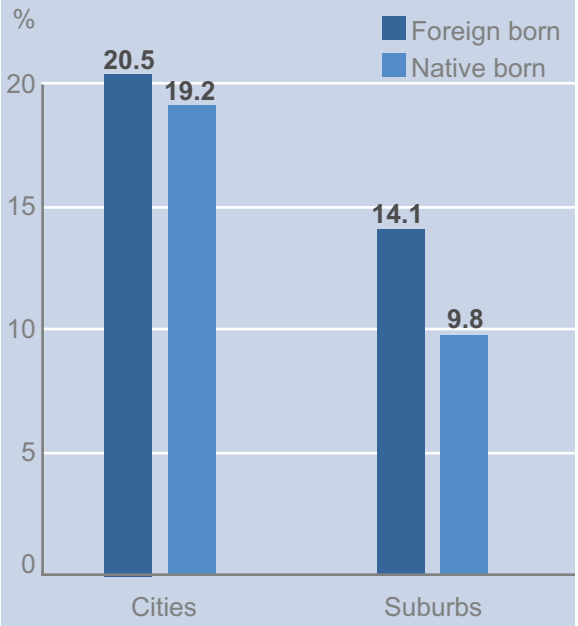
Residents of primary cities are still more likely to be poor than their suburban counterparts, but there are more poor people living in suburbs than cities. One third (13.7 million) of the nation's poor now reside in the suburbs of large metropolitan areas—compared to 28 percent in primary cities (12.1 million) and 40 percent in smaller metros and non-metropolitan areas (17 million). It is in suburbs that their numbers have grown fastest since 2000, more than twice as fast as in primary cities. This shift was first detected in the middle of the past decade and then accelerated with the collapse of the housing market and the Great Recession. Nonetheless, the suburbanization of poverty marks a significant change in the spatial distribution of economic well-being. Suburbs are no longer automatically places of economic advantage over cities, and yet they continue to serve as magnets for new populations, including the foreign born.

What has caused this trend? Ironically, the movement of jobs away from the urban core to the metropolitan fringe has been a major factor. The decentralization of employment opportunities has drawn low-wage workers out of the central cities although not necessarily to the most job-rich communities.[16] Often the availability of affordable housing or of transportation has determined where people of limited means have settled in the suburbs. During the Great Recession some of the largest job losses occurred in the most suburbanized industries such as construction, manufacturing, real estate and retail. The relative weight of different factors and the manner in which they have combined varies from one metropolitan area to another and can differ significantly even from one suburb to another within a single metropolitan area. In this analysis we are not able to disaggregate the various factors that have contributed to the suburbanization of poverty. Instead, our aim is to better understand how the growth of poverty in the suburbs relates to the growth of the foreign-born population.

Nationwide the foreign-born population had a higher poverty rate (17.5 percent) than the native born (13.9 percent) in 2009 (Appendix A). In part this reflects the limited English proficiency of the newly arrived

population as well their unfamiliarity with local labor markets. Lower incomes also characterize a large share of immigrants with low levels of education who find work here, particularly those living here illegally. In cities poverty rates differ only slightly by nativity, but in the suburbs poverty is clearly more pervasive among the foreign born than among natives (See Figure 1). However, poverty rates do not tell the whole story.

Figure 1. Poverty Rates by Nativity in Cities and Suburbs of the Largest 95 Metro Areas, 2009



Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS)

The growth in the number of immigrant poor in the suburbs reflects a demographic trend that is evident among the native born as well. Between 2000 and 2009 the total population of the suburbs grew faster than that of the central cities, and the fastest growth was in the poor population (See Figure 2). In other words, recent population increases in the suburbs include not just the affluent and the middle class but also large number of poor people as well. That holds for immigrants and natives alike, and indeed the trend is most pronounced among natives. The number of native-born poor in the suburbs grew by 39 percent while the number of suburban immigrant poor increased by 31 percent. That process of population growth in the suburbs has meant that the number of people in poverty has grown substantially despite relatively modest changes in poverty rates. For the native born in the suburbs the poverty rate increased by just two percentage points (from 7.7 percent to 9.8 percent) while the rate among immigrants remained at 14 percent. In sum while some suburbanites slid into poverty over the past decade because of job loss or decreased work earnings, trends in suburban poverty also have been powerfully shaped by larger numbers of poor persons——native-born and foreign-born—moving into the suburbs.

The spatial distribution of poverty on the metropolitan landscape offers a powerful illustration of the ways that immigrant trajectories can be shaped by economic and demographic trends in the broader society. The emergence of suburbs as places where rich, poor and middle class can all live and work is a quintessential American phenomenon of the last half of the 20th century. Immigrants went along for the ride. So too with the suburbanization of poverty: large shares of low-income immigrants arrived along with the large shares of low-income natives.

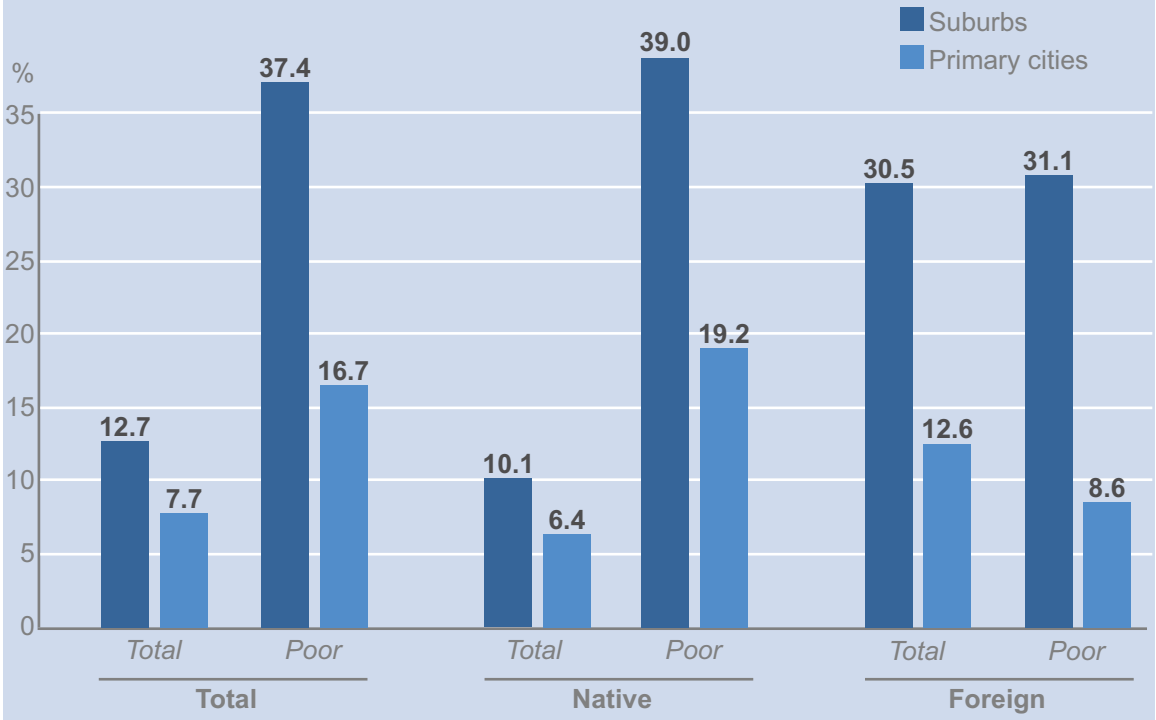
Findings

A. Foreign-born residents of America's suburbs experienced markedly higher poverty rates (14.1 percent) than the U.S. born (9.8 percent) in 2009.

The 2.7 million foreign-born poor in the suburbs represent one of every five suburban residents living in poverty. In the primary cities of America's largest metros the poverty rates in 2009 were roughly similar for the native (19.2 percent) and foreign born (20.5 percent). In the suburbs, however, there was a significant difference. The poverty rate was 14.1 percent among immigrants compared to 9.8 percent for the U.S.-born residents (Figure 1). Some 32.2 million immigrants live in the nation's 95 largest metro areas, accounting for 17 percent of the total population. Among the poor, the foreign born make up a somewhat higher share, 20 percent of all the poor in the suburbs and 22 percent in the cities.

As these poverty rates suggest, living in the suburbs is associated with greater economic well-being than living in cities regardless of nativity. Among natives, the poverty rate in the suburbs is 9.4 percentage points lower than in the cities, and that gap is apparent among immigrants too. Poverty rates are 6.4 percentage points lower for foreign-born persons living in suburbs than for those living in cities. As with the causes of

Figure 2. Growth Rates, Total and Poor Populations by Nativity and Geography, 2000-2009



Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS)

poverty, economic well-being in the suburbs appears to be the result of a combination of demographic, social and economic factors: People equipped with the skills and education to do well move to suburbs. They and their children benefit from better public safety, transportation, health and education services available there. They create and exploit economic opportunities away from the urban core.

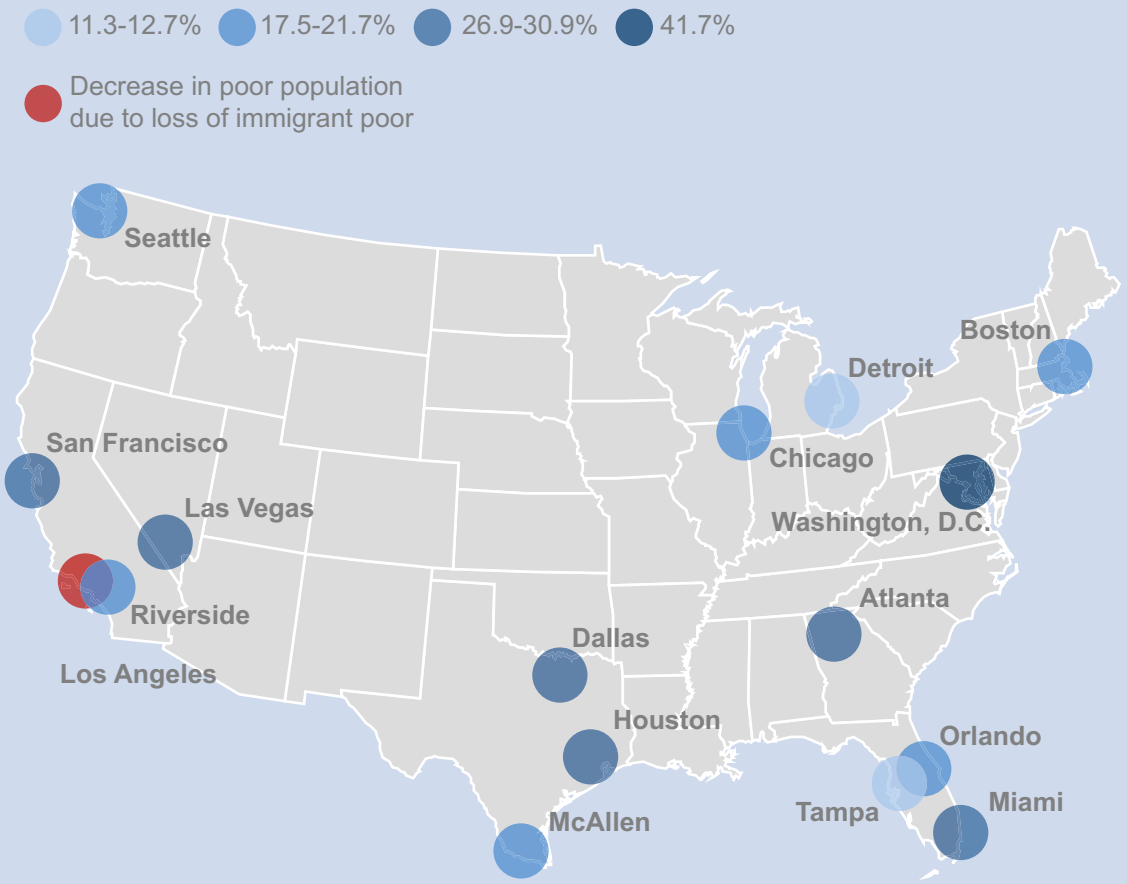
B. Immigrants accounted for almost a third (30 percent) of overall population growth in the suburbs from 2000 to 2009, but less than a fifth (17 percent) of the increase in the poor population.

The suburbanization of poverty accelerated most among the U.S. born who accounted for 83 percent of the growth in suburban poverty. Though not as fast as in the 1990s, the number of immigrants across the nation grew substantially between 2000 and 2009, outpacing the growth of the native born in every type of community. The number of immigrants in the suburbs increased by 31 percent from 2000 to 2009, compared to an increase of 10 percent among the native born. The native-born population remains much larger than the immigrant population, so the change in the number of native-born persons accounted for 70 percent of the growth in the suburbs.

The role of the native born in the suburbanization of poverty was further accentuated by their deepening poverty. While the poverty rate for the suburban foreign-born remained unchanged at 14 percent between 2000 and 2009, it increased for the U.S. born by two points from 8 percent to 10 percent. As a result the number of poor grew faster during this period for the suburban native born (39 percent) than for immigrants (31 percent).

At the beginning of the decade, the U.S.-born poor population was split evenly between cities and suburbs in the largest metropolitan areas, but by 2009 poverty had tilted towards the suburbs among the native born with 54 percent of the poor in metro areas resident in suburban communities. The change in distribution of immigrant poverty across cities and suburbs followed that of the natives. In 2000, a clear majority of the foreign-born poor still lived in the cities (55 percent), but by 2009 the immigrant poor were half in the suburbs and half in the cities. These are small shifts, but they are significant given the number of people involved and the extent to which changes in the poor population have implications for a range of public policies from transportation to health.

Map 1. Foreign-born Share of Growth in the Suburban Poor Population by Metro Area, 2000-2009 *



** The sixteen metro areas shown on this map had both statistically reliable data on the number of immigrant poor living in the suburbs in 2009, and experienced statistically significant (90% confidence level) change between 2000 and 2009 in the number of immigrant poor living in the suburbs.*

Map created using 2009 ACS data

Given the persistence of unemployment in the wake of the Great Recession and the scope of the foreclosure crisis in the suburbs, these trajectories are likely to continue for the foreseeable future. As the population grows in the suburbs, so will the number of poor people, and the native born will be leading the way.

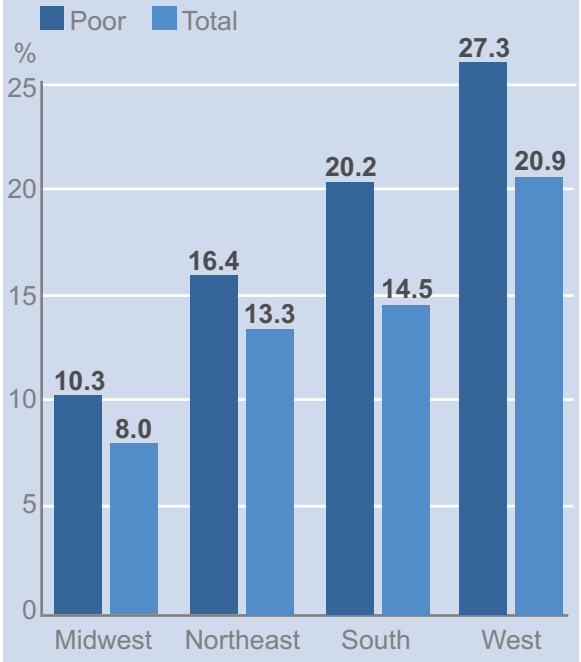
C. Between 2000 and 2009 immigrants contributed more to the growth of the suburban poor population in the South than in other regions of the country.

Immigrants' contribution to the suburban poor population—and its growth since 2000—varies across the country. These variations in the dimensions of immigrant poverty in the suburbs on both a regional and metropolitan basis reflect broad settlement patterns rather than specific economic conditions.

Almost a quarter (22 percent) of the growth in the suburban poor population in the South was due to immigrants. In the Northeast and West, the contribution of the foreign-born population to suburban poverty growth was less (17 and 15 percent, respectively). The Midwest had the lowest share, 11 percent (Appendix B).

Immigrants accounted for less than a fifth (17 percent) of the increase in the poor population living in the suburbs of the largest 95 metropolitan areas on the whole. But in some places, this share was much higher. In Washington, for example, immigrants accounted for 41 percent of the growth in the suburban poor population. In six other metros, at least one quarter of growth was due to immigrants. In Detroit and Tampa,

Figure 3. Foreign-born Share of Poor and Total Populations in Suburbs, 2009



Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS)

on the other hand, immigrants contributed less than the average to the increase in the suburban poor. And in the suburbs of Los Angeles, there were fewer poor people in 2009 than in 2000 due to a reduction in the number of foreign-born poor (Map 1).

In 2009, immigrants accounted for more than one in every four of the suburban poor in the West. In the South, one in five poor suburbanites was foreign born, followed by one in six in the Northeast and only one in ten in the Midwest. These concentrations reflect the proportions of the immigrant population as a whole in those places. That is, in the suburbs of the West the total foreign-born population, poor and not poor, is a much higher share of the total (20.9) than in the Midwest (8 percent). The same pattern then holds for immigrants in poverty (Figure 3).

In the large immigrant gateways of Miami and Los Angeles, and in the long established gateways of McAllen and Fresno, the foreign-born made up more than one-third of the suburban poor population. With the exception of Miami, those metros—and several others with above-average foreign-born shares—are in states along the southwestern border which have received a large influx of poor Mexican immigrants. In five metropolitan areas immigrants made up a smaller than average share of the suburban poor in 2009: Seattle, Chicago, Orlando, Tampa, and Detroit (Table 1).

D. The West was the only region where the poverty rate among suburban immigrants decreased between 2000 and 2009.

Given the Great Recession and other economic changes over the past decade, it is no surprise that poverty rates across the country were higher in 2009 than in 2000. The suburbs of large metropolitan areas were no different, posting an almost two percentage point increase in the overall poverty rate (from 8.5 to 10.4 percent) over the nine-year span. What may come as a surprise is that this change was driven by the native born. That is, within the suburbs of the 95 largest metropolitan areas on the whole, native-born poverty increased by 2 percentage points but held steady for the foreign born. However, these figures mask regional and metropolitan variation (Appendix C).

Manufacturing job loss in the first half of the decade, compounded by the effects of the Great Recession more recently, have hit the Midwest hard,[17] and poverty rates among both natives and immigrants reflect this (Figure 4). Poverty rates in the Midwestern suburbs went up by 3.2 and 2.5 percentage points for natives and immigrants, respectively. And while natives saw their rates go up in all regions of the country, the foreign-born experienced a modest increase in the South (less than one percentage point), no change in the Northeast, and a decline of 1.4 percentage points in Western suburbs (Figure 4).

While on the whole, poverty rates for immigrants in the suburbs held steady between 2000 and 2009, in a handful of metro areas there was a significant change. Detroit, Dallas, and Chicago all saw increases in immigrant suburban poverty rates, though Chicago's rate was still below average in 2009. Atlanta stands out, registering an increase in foreign-born poverty of 6.5 percent percentage points so that by 2009 more than one in five immigrants in Atlanta's suburbs was poor. Riverside, Los Angeles, and McAllen saw decreases in their suburban poverty rates. Although McAllen saw the greatest rate decrease (5.7 percentage points), its suburban immigrant poverty rate was still the highest by far at 44.4 percent (Table 2). Why poverty rates among suburban immigrants may have declined in these metropolitan areas of long-term immigrant settlement is not immediately apparent; further research may elucidate the processes at play.

Table 1. Foreign-born Share of Poor Population in Suburbs, 2009*

Metropolitan area	Percent
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	39.8
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	38.3
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	35.4
Fresno, CA	35.0
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	32.1
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	32.0
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	30.9
Bakersfield, CA	29.1
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	26.8
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	26.7
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	25.1
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	24.8
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	24.0
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	22.8
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	22.0
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	20.2
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	19.5
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	19.2
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	17.9
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	13.5
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	13.1
Total suburbs, 95 metro areas	**19.7**

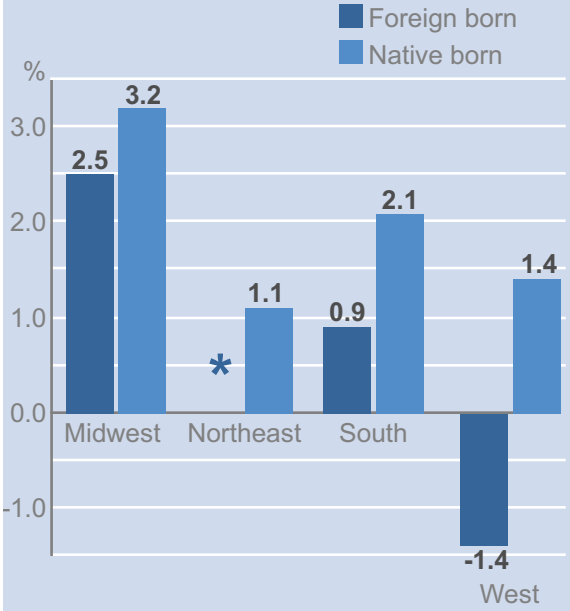
**Only these 21 metropolitan areas meet data reliability standards; see methodology section for details.*
Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS)

Table 2. Change in Poverty Rates Among Immigrants in Suburbs, 2000-2009*

Metropolitan Area	Poverty Rate, 2009	Percentage Point Change, 2000-2009
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	20.7	6.5
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	14.9	3.9
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	17.6	3.3
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	10.8	2.0
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	16.8	-2.5
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	14.4	-2.7
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	44.4	-5.7
Total suburbs, 95 metro areas	**14.1**	**--**

--No statistically significant change
**All changes are significant at the 90% confidence level*
Source: Author's calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2000 census

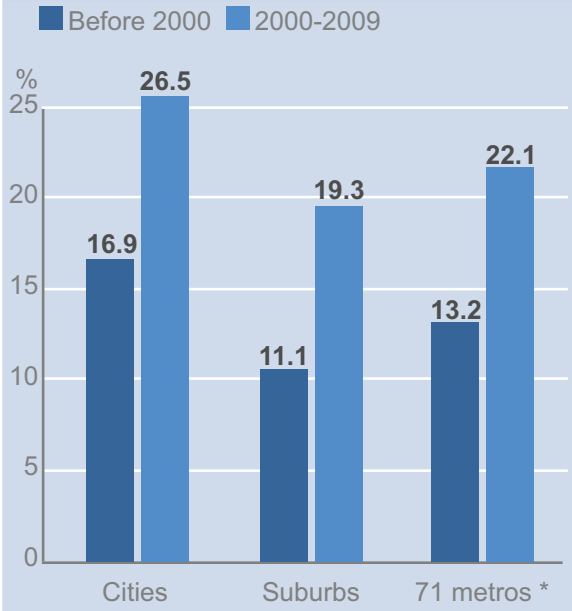
Figure 4. Change in Poverty Rates in Suburbs by Nativity, 2000-2009



** No statistically significant change*

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS) and the 2000 census

Figure 5. Poverty Rates in Cities and Suburbs by Immigrant Period of Arrival, 2009



** See methodology section*

Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 data from the American Community Survey (ACS)
PUMS data from IPUMS

E. Among immigrants currently living in suburban areas, those who arrived in the United States prior to 2000 had a lower poverty rate (11%) in 2009 than those who had arrived more recently (19 percent).

Sixty-three percent of all foreign-born who arrived prior to 2000 were living in suburban areas by 2009; likewise, a majority (53 percent) of new arrivals who are poor also lived in the suburbs.

As the immigrant population has grown in the suburbs, traditional patterns of post-war metropolitan settlement have been altered. Newcomers from abroad pass over city neighborhoods and arrive directly in suburban communities, transforming them into ports of entry.[18] This includes many recent immigrants living below the poverty line.

Sixty-one percent of all the foreign born who had arrived in the United States between 2000 and 2009 were living in the suburbs by the end of the decade. Some immigrants moved to suburban communities after short sojourns in the cities. Others arrived first in suburbs, never having lived in the type of old urban ethnic neighborhoods traditionally associated with clustering immigrants. As with other elements of suburbanization, immigrants have been adjusting to, and taking advantage of, settlement patterns established by the native-born population. Immigrants settle in the suburbs because that is where they have found jobs, housing and transportation—and increasingly their kith and kin. Given the overall dimensions of suburban settlement among immigrants, it is not surprising that a majority (53 percent) of poor immigrants—both recent arrivals and those who have been in the country since before 2000— also live in the suburbs.

Those recently arrived immigrants face a number of disadvantages which could contribute to lower economic status regardless of other characteristics. For example, they are less likely to speak English, or speak it well, compared to those who have been here longer, and they have less experience in U.S. labor markets. As expected then, recent arrivals (since 2000) have a higher poverty rate (22 percent) in metro areas as a whole than those who have been in the country at least a decade (13 percent), and that distinction applies similarly in both cities and suburbs (Figure 5). Living in the suburbs may produce lower poverty rates but it does not mean that the new arrivals are suddenly able to catch up. In the suburbs they lag behind just as they do in the cities.

F. Foreign-born poor in the suburbs are less educated, but more likely to be employed, than their native-born counterparts.

The families of the suburban immigrant poor also are more likely to be married couples with children, rather than female-headed households as is most common among the U.S.-born poor.

As suburban communities grapple with their new status as home to a significant number of people living in poverty, they must also contend with some of the distinctive characteristics of the foreign-born poor. These characteristics are not driven by geography: there are no substantial differences in the profile of immigrants in poverty whether they are living in cities or in suburbs. However, the foreign-born poor are distinctly different from the native born in several ways relevant to public policy and the operations of social service agencies.

The current era of immigration has included large shares of labor migrants with less than a high school education who are drawn by abundant work in construction, transportation, retailing and services.[19] Aside from requiring little schooling, those jobs share at least three other characteristics: low pay; conditional, often temporary, employment that is available to unauthorized migrants; and increasingly suburban locations. The suburban foreign-born poor are more than twice as likely to have left school before finishing high school (41 percent) than their native-born counterparts (18 percent). However, the immigrant poor in the suburbs are also more likely to be employed (76 percent vs. 65 percent).

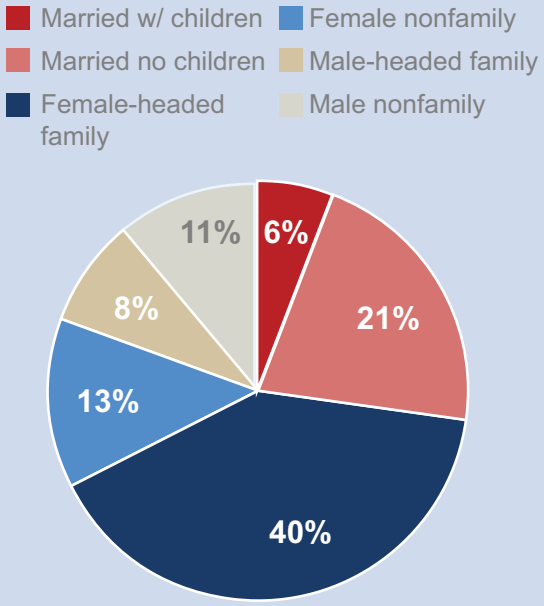
Many of the characteristics of the foreign-born poor, e.g. low-levels of education, large shares of recent arrivals and significant numbers of unauthorized migrants, are also characteristics of the large number of labor migrants who have come to the United States from Latin America, especially Mexico, in the past 15 years or so.[20] According to the Census Bureau, more than half of the foreign-born population (53.1 percent) was from Latin America in 2009, and Mexico alone accounted for 30 percent.[21] The composition of the poor reflects these characteristics with a greater concentration of Latin Americans among the poor than the non-poor. In the suburbs, for example, two-thirds (66 percent) of the foreign-born poor are from Latin America with 38.4 percent coming from Mexico. These immigrants also share another characteristic that distinguishes the foreign-born poor in the suburbs: strong families.

When the first suburban subdivisions were built after World War II, they offered homes to a booming number of young families. Suburbs today are home to a similar boom among the foreign born. In the suburbs 40 percent of immigrant households are made up of married couples living with their own children compared to about 32 percent in the cities. More significantly, the trends are going in the opposite direction among the native born. After an extended period of erosion in marriage and fertility rates, only 21 percent of native-born suburban households are now made up of married couples with children.

This stark difference in the characteristics of households is mirrored in the foreign- and native-born poverty populations (Figures 6a and 6b). The most common type of household among the suburban foreign-born poor is a married couple with children (28 percent), but that kind of household makes up only 6 percent of the native-born poor. Meanwhile, the most common kind of household in poverty among the native born is a female-headed family, representing 40 percent of the total. Meanwhile, female-headed families account for 22 percent of the foreign-born poor.

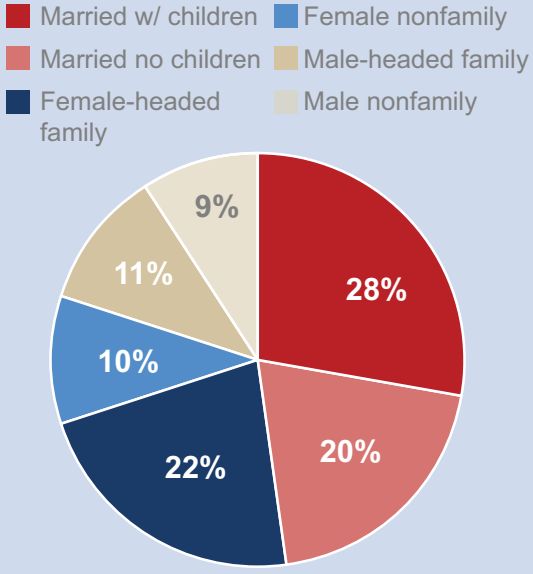
Another way to think of these differences is to view them from the perspective of service providers who must deal with two very different kinds of poverty households in the suburbs. For example, 85 percent of all female-headed families living in poverty in the suburbs are native born. Meanwhile, 61 percent of all the poor married couples with children are foreign born.

Figure 6a. Household Type for Native-born Suburban Poor, 2009



Source: Authors' calculations of 2009 ACS PUMS data from IPUMS

Figure 6b. Household Type for Foreign-born Suburban Poor, 2009



Source: Authors' calculations of 2009 ACS PUMS data from IPUMS

Conclusion

As depicted in popular culture, suburban America calls to mind racially and economically homogeneous communities where middle-aged couples in single-family homes enjoy many benefits from good public schools to leafy green spaces precisely because they do not live in the city. We know, of course, that the mythic suburb of the1950s long ago gave way to more complex realities that include work sites of all kinds, crime, traffic gridlock and many other attributes once associated with urban centers. In the past few decades, but especially since 2000, the diversity of suburban experiences has also been characterized by two powerful trends: the suburbanization of poverty and the dispersal of the foreign-born population. This report shows how they have intersected to produce yet another transformation in the suburban communities that are now home to most Americans, including most immigrants.

Policy challenges no longer neatly subdivide by geography within the nation's metropolitan areas. Cities and suburbs often as not share issues. The data analyzed here shows that suburban poverty among immigrants is a growing and substantial phenomenon that varies greatly across regions and metropolitan areas. Nationally, fully half of all the foreign-born living in poverty in large metropolitan areas resides in the suburbs, and constitute one of every five of the poor people in suburban communities. These measures would be even larger if all the U.S.-born children living in poverty with foreign-born parents were also taken into account.

The suburbs remain places of relative economic well-being for immigrants and native born alike with overall poverty rates lower than in cities. By focusing on poverty among immigrants we are not suggesting that this is the primary impact of the growth of the foreign-born population in suburban areas. The poor are indeed only a small fraction of the total. By far the majority of immigrants have been drawn to the suburbs for the same reasons and with the same results as the native born. They have found jobs, housing and strong communities.

However, the immigrant poor do often present distinctive challenges in the suburbs. Traditional anti-poverty programs have focused on central cities, and the suburban infrastructure including local governments, nonprofits and private funders have not caught up with the new realities.[22] In places with little prior history of immigration, service agencies sometimes struggle to help new influxes of immigrants in diverse languages, and demand for English language classes is often much higher than supply. Schools, too, may have limited resources, both fiscal and human, to adapt to a rapidly increasing student body with limited English proficiency. Amid strained budgets, support for these and additional services related to public safety or public health may be hard to come by, especially in communities where there are widespread misperceptions about the number of immigrants who are not legally present in the United States.[23] Suburban social safety nets already involve dollars stretched across larger areas than their counterparts in cities. These are critical challenges given that half of poor immigrants are to be found in the suburbs.

The suburbanization of poverty is a phenomenon driven by the U.S.-born population, the boom and bust of the suburban economy, the foreclosure crisis and other American realities. But suburban poverty is now also shaping the lives of millions of immigrants and their native-born children. It has become part of the context of reception, that constellation of positive and negative features in host communities that influences how newcomers incorporate themselves.[24] And so, not only is immigrant poverty changing America's suburbs but also suburban poverty is becoming part of the process of change for many of America's immigrants.

Appendix A. Foreign-born and Native-born Poverty Rates, 95 Metro Areas, 2000 and 2009

	Foreign born			Native born		
Metropolitan Area	**2000**	**2009**	**Change**	**2000**	**2009**	**Change**
Akron, OH	13.3	16.6	3.3	9.7	14.6	4.9 *
Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	12.1	14.2	2.1	9.1	9.5	0.4
Albuquerque, NM	24.0	23.3	-0.8	13.0	15.1	2.1 *
Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	12.9	11.7	-1.3	8.0	10.1	2.0 *
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	14.7	20.5	5.7 *	8.9	12.4	3.4 *
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	12.3	19.1	6.8	15.5	17.7	2.2 *
Austin-Round Rock, TX	19.2	20.6	1.4	9.9	12.7	2.8 *
Bakersfield, CA	29.5	29.5	-0.1	18.9	20.6	1.7 *
Baltimore-Towson, MD	11.3	11.1	-0.2	9.7	10.2	0.5
Baton Rouge, LA	19.3	18.0	-1.3	17.1	15.5	-1.6 *
Birmingham-Hoover, AL	19.3	19.9	0.6	13.4	14.0	0.6
Boise City-Nampa, ID	19.7	23.6	3.9	8.7	13.5	4.8 *
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	14.8	13.3	-1.5 *	7.5	8.5	1.0 *
Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	10.2	15.2	5.0 *	6.2	6.6	0.3
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	15.2	17.3	2.2	11.7	13.8	2.0 *
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	17.3	18.8	1.4	9.0	11.7	2.7 *
Charleston-North Charleston-Summerville, SC	14.3	19.5	5.2 *	14.0	15.4	1.4 *
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	17.2	20.1	2.9 *	8.8	12.9	4.1 *
Chattanooga, TN-GA	15.9	26.9	11.0 *	11.9	17.4	5.5 *
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	12.7	14.2	1.5 *	10.0	12.3	2.3 *
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	11.6	14.6	3.0	9.4	12.5	3.1 *
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	11.8	12.3	0.5	10.7	15.5	4.8 *
Colorado Springs, CO	11.6	15.3	3.7	7.7	10.9	3.2 *
Columbia, SC	18.8	15.5	-3.3	12.1	13.2	1.0
Columbus, OH	18.3	24.6	6.3 *	9.5	14.9	5.4 *
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	18.8	21.5	2.6 *	9.3	13.0	3.6 *
Dayton, OH	13.1	14.4	1.3	9.9	14.7	4.8 *
Denver-Aurora, CO	18.0	22.0	4.0 *	6.8	10.7	3.9 *
Des Moines-West Des Moines, IA	17.7	15.6	-2.1	6.9	9.8	2.8 *
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	13.2	18.1	4.9 *	10.4	16.0	5.7 *
El Paso, TX	31.2	28.7	-2.5	21.0	22.0	1.0
Fresno, CA	35.2	28.2	-7.0 *	19.5	19.7	0.1
Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	18.3	23.0	4.6 *	8.2	14.2	6.0 *
Greensboro-High Point, NC	18.3	29.6	11.3 *	10.1	15.6	5.5 *
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	9.9	8.1	-1.8 *	8.1	9.3	1.2 *
Honolulu, HI	13.2	13.2	0.0	9.1	9.1	0.0
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	20.3	20.4	0.1	12.1	13.8	1.7 *
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	14.6	26.7	12.1 *	8.3	12.9	4.6 *
Jackson, MS	12.1	17.4	5.3	17.1	18.2	1.1
Jacksonville, FL	11.0	12.2	1.2	10.7	13.6	2.9 *
Kansas City, MO-KS	16.4	21.9	5.5 *	8.2	10.7	2.5 *
Knoxville, TN	15.9	25.3	9.4 *	12.1	14.4	2.3 *
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	19.5	22.1	2.7	12.4	16.4	4.0 *
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	14.9	15.8	0.9	9.8	11.2	1.4 *
Little Rock-North Little Rock-Conway, AR	14.8	18.3	3.5	12.0	14.5	2.5 *
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	20.4	17.0	-3.4 *	13.9	13.6	-0.2
Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	16.4	18.6	2.2	10.8	13.9	3.2 *
Madison, WI	22.6	13.9	-8.7 *	8.1	12.7	4.6 *
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	47.2	42.7	-4.5 *	31.1	32.5	1.4
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	16.8	21.7	4.9	15.6	19.3	3.7 *

Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	17.2	16.6	-0.7	12.3	14.7	2.4 *
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	16.2	16.7	0.5	10.3	14.1	3.8 *
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	19.0	20.9	1.9	5.8	8.8	3.0 *
Modesto, CA	22.3	23.3	0.9	14.5	15.4	0.8
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	18.5	24.2	5.7 *	9.9	12.5	2.6 *
New Haven-Milford, CT	11.3	13.9	2.6	9.3	11.9	2.6 *
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	16.9	14.6	-2.3	18.4	16.0	-2.4 *
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	16.6	14.4	-2.1 *	12.6	12.2	-0.4 *
Ogden-Clearfield, UT	16.6	20.2	3.6	6.5	8.4	1.9 *
Oklahoma City, OK	24.7	19.8	-4.9 *	12.8	14.9	2.1 *
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	17.3	17.4	0.1	7.9	10.2	2.2 *
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	15.1	15.1	0.0	10.1	13.1	3.0 *
Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	14.9	13.8	-1.1	7.7	9.4	1.7 *
Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	12.9	12.5	-0.4	9.2	11.1	1.8 *
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	14.4	13.7	-0.7	10.6	11.7	1.1 *
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	24.7	24.9	0.2	9.9	13.3	3.4 *
Pittsburgh, PA	13.0	12.5	-0.5	10.8	12.3	1.5 *
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	18.1	17.4	-0.7	8.4	11.3	2.9 *
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	15.4	14.0	-1.4	10.7	10.9	0.2
Provo-Orem, UT	23.0	20.3	-2.6	11.2	13.7	2.4 *
Raleigh-Cary, NC	17.7	20.5	2.8	8.0	10.3	2.2 *
Richmond, VA	10.9	16.9	6.0 *	9.3	10.9	1.6 *
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	20.1	17.7	-2.4 *	13.8	14.8	0.9 *
Rochester, NY	12.7	12.2	-0.5	10.3	12.2	1.8 *
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	21.5	18.6	-2.9 *	11.2	12.3	1.1 *
Salt Lake City, UT	18.3	19.7	1.3	6.7	8.8	2.1 *
San Antonio, TX	21.4	20.6	-0.9	14.4	16.1	1.7 *
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	18.8	16.5	-2.3 *	10.6	11.4	0.8 *
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	11.4	11.2	-0.2	8.3	9.3	1.0 *
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	10.3	10.7	0.4	6.2	8.6	2.4 *
Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	16.0	26.1	10.1 *	10.7	13.3	2.6 *
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	15.1	13.7	-1.4 *	7.6	9.7	2.1 *
Springfield, MA	14.7	19.6	4.9 *	12.9	15.5	2.6 *
St. Louis, MO-IL	15.9	15.2	-0.7	9.8	12.5	2.6 *
Stockton, CA	26.7	19.7	-7.0 *	15.5	14.4	-1.1
Syracuse, NY	16.4	17.3	0.9	12.1	13.4	1.3 *
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	15.7	15.2	-0.5	10.7	13.8	3.1 *
Toledo, OH	16.8	22.3	5.5	11.9	16.7	4.7 *
Tucson, AZ	24.5	30.9	6.4 *	13.3	17.5	4.1 *
Tulsa, OK	19.2	24.2	5.0 *	11.5	12.9	1.4 *
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	9.4	10.6	1.2	10.7	10.3	-0.4
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	10.6	9.6	-1.0 *	6.7	7.0	0.3
Wichita, KS	20.7	16.7	-4.0	8.4	12.3	3.9 *
Worcester, MA	13.8	9.8	-4.1 *	8.8	9.3	0.5
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	8.4	20.7	12.3 *	11.5	16.1	4.6 *
95 Metro Area Total	**17.2**	**16.7**	**-0.5 ***	**10.6**	**12.6**	**2.0 ***
Large Metros in the Midwest	**14.0**	**16.6**	**2.6 ***	**9.4**	**13.0**	**3.6 ***
Large Metros in the Northeast	**15.8**	**14.2**	**-1.6 ***	**10.8**	**11.5**	**0.6 ***
Large Metros in the South	**17.8**	**18.4**	**0.6 ***	**11.2**	**13.3**	**2.1 ***
Large Metros in the West	**18.7**	**17.1**	**-1.7 ***	**10.9**	**12.4**	**1.5 ***
United States Total	**17.9**	**17.5**	**-0.3 ***	**11.7**	**13.9**	**2.2 ***

**Significant at the 90 percent confidence level*
Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 ACS and 2000 census data

Appendix B. Foreign-born and Native-born Poor Population in the Suburbs, 2000 and 2009

	Foreign-Born Poor					Native-Born Poor				
Suburbs of	2000	2009	Percent change	Foreign share of poor, 2009	Foreign share of poor population growth, 2000-2009	2000	2009	Percent change	Native share of poor, 2009	Native share of poor population growth, 2000-2009
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	55,868	138,228	147.4 *	22.8	26.9	245,426	469,002	91.1 *	73.1	73.1
Bakersfield, CA	24,269	30,942	27.5	29.1	35.0	62,899	75,267	19.7 *	70.9	65.0
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	48,773	60,075	23.2 *	20.2	20.6	193,670	237,190	22.5 *	79.8	79.4
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	71,171	109,299	53.6 *	19.2	18.6	292,795	459,277	56.9 *	80.8	81.4
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	50,447	107,138	112.4 *	25.1	27.9	173,996	320,179	84.0 *	74.9	72.1
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	30,393	47,274	55.5 *	13.1	11.3	180,984	313,500	73.2 *	86.9	88.7
Fresno, CA	26,271	29,988	14.1	35.0	22.8	43,111	55,727	29.3	65.0	77.2
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	60,372	104,816	73.6 *	24.8	28.5	205,932	317,664	54.3 *	75.2	71.5
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	21,738	39,270	80.7 *	26.8	30.9	68,064	107,221	57.5 *	73.2	69.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	420,090	373,942	-11.0 *	38.3	--	574,232	602,168	4.9	61.7	--
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	69,095	78,868	14.1 *	35.4	21.3	107,816	143,833	33.4 *	64.6	78.7
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	232,867	268,721	15.4 *	39.8	29.3	319,788	406,270	27.0 *	60.2	70.7
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	197,472	212,199	7.5	26.7	17.2	511,102	582,025	13.9 *	73.3	82.8
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	24,437	42,037	72.0 *	17.9	19.2	119,010	193,257	62.4 *	82.1	80.8
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	90,397	119,137	31.8 *	24.0	21.7	274,215	377,739	37.8 *	76.0	78.3
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	33,851	40,399	19.3	22.0	15.6	107,418	142,869	33.0 *	78.0	84.4
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	51,684	59,189	14.5	30.9	29.0	114,188	132,579	16.1 *	69.1	71.0
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	64,412	78,603	22.0 *	32.0	29.1	132,856	167,376	26.0 *	68.0	70.9
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	31,875	46,617	46.2 *	19.5	17.5	122,894	192,223	56.4 *	80.5	82.5
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	22,884	34,491	50.7 *	13.5	12.7	140,960	221,062	56.8 *	86.5	87.3
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	61,794	87,177	41.1 *	32.1	41.7	148,916	184,391	23.8 *	67.9	58.3
Suburban total, 95 metro areas	**2,063,205**	**2,705,793**	**31.1 ***	**19.7**	**17.2**	**7,928,087**	**11,022,894**	**39.0 ***	**80.3**	**82.8**
Suburbs in the Midwest	**152,906**	**252,954**	**65.4 ***	**10.3**	**10.5**	**1,342,759**	**2,196,923**	**63.6 ***	**89.7**	**89.5**
Suburbs in the Northeast	**332,733**	**391,814**	**17.8 ***	**16.4**	**17.1**	**1,711,274**	**1,997,092**	**16.7 ***	**83.6**	**82.9**
Suburbs in the South	**675,924**	**1,041,038**	**54.0 ***	**20.2**	**22.3**	**2,832,919**	**4,106,053**	**44.9 ***	**79.8**	**77.7**
Suburbs in the West	**901,642**	**1,019,987**	**13.1 ***	**27.3**	**14.8**	**2,041,135**	**2,722,826**	**33.4 ***	**72.7**	**85.2**

**Significant at the 90 percent confidence level*
-- Poor population decreased between 2000 and 2009
Note: The 21 metro areas in this table had statistically reliable data on the number of immigrant poor living in the suburbs in 2009. See methodology section for details.
Source: Authors' calculations based on 2009 ACS and 2000 census data

Appendix C. Foreign-born and Native-born Poverty Rates in the Suburbs, 2000 and 2009

	Foreign-born			Native-born		
Suburbs of	**2000**	**2009**	**2000-2009 Change**	**2000**	**2009**	**2000-2009 Change**
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	14.2	20.7	6.5 *	7.3	11.2	3.9 *
Bakersfield, CA	31.1	31.0	-0.1	20.3	21.5	1.1
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	11.7	11.4	-0.3	6.1	7.4	1.3 *
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	8.9	10.8	2.0 *	5.8	8.6	2.8 *
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	14.3	17.6	3.3 *	6.4	9.5	3.1 *
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	11.0	14.9	3.9 *	5.9	10.4	4.5 *
Fresno, CA	32.3	30.7	-1.6	15.3	17.1	1.8
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	15.9	16.6	0.7	8.8	10.9	2.1 *
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	13.9	13.3	-0.6	9.4	10.5	1.1
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	17.1	14.4	-2.7 *	10.9	10.9	0.1
McAllen-Edinburg-Mission, TX	50.1	44.4	-5.7 *	33.7	33.8	0.1
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	15.7	15.5	-0.3	11.1	13.5	2.4 *
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	10.4	9.8	-0.7	6.4	7.2	0.8 *
Orlando-Kissimmee, FL	14.4	14.6	0.2	9.4	12.6	3.2 *
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	19.2	16.8	-2.5 *	12.9	14.0	1.0 *
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	20.0	17.0	-3.0	9.6	11.2	1.5 *
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	17.9	16.3	-1.6	9.1	9.9	0.8
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	9.8	10.0	0.2	6.5	8.1	1.6 *
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	13.4	12.8	-0.6	6.4	9.3	2.9 *
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	14.4	15.1	0.7	9.1	12.3	3.2 *
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	9.3	9.2	0.0	4.7	5.3	0.6 *
Suburban total, 95 metro areas	**14.0**	**14.1**	**0.1**	**7.7**	**9.8**	**2.0 ***
Suburbs in the Midwest	**9.6**	**12.1**	**2.5 ***	**5.9**	**9.1**	**3.2 ***
Suburbs in the Northeast	**10.4**	**10.1**	**-0.3**	**6.8**	**7.9**	**1.1 ***
Suburbs in the South	**15.4**	**16.3**	**0.9 ***	**8.8**	**10.9**	**2.1 ***
Suburbs in the West	**16.4**	**14.9**	**-1.4 ***	**9.1**	**10.5**	**1.4 ***

**Significant at the 90 percent confidence level*
Note: The 21 metro areas in this table had statistically reliable data on the number of immigrant poor living in the suburbs in 2009. See methodology section for details.
Source: Author's calculations based on 2009 ACS and 2000 census data

Endnotes

1. Audrey Singer, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell, eds., *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2008).

2. Elizabeth Kneebone and Emily Garr, "The Suburbanization of Poverty: Trends in Metropolitan America, 2000 to 2008" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2010).

3. Alan Berube and others, "The State of Metropolitan America: On the Front Lines of Demographic Change" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2010).

4. Raphael and Smolensky investigate the extent to which the combination of increased poverty among immigrants and a higher ratio of immigrants to the total population adds to the national poverty rate. They show the compositional effects of immigration on the poverty rate between 1970 and 2005 when the immigrant population grew tremendously while still only comprising a small share of the total U.S. population. Thus, their results show that the change attributable to shifts in population shares between the native-born and foreign-born has increased poverty but the declines in poverty within each group have offset these increases, yielding an overall modest net decline in poverty of almost 1 percent during that period. See Steven Raphael and Eugene Smolensky, "Immigration and Poverty in the United States" Focus 25, (2) (2009): 27–31. University of Wisconsin-Madison, Institute for Poverty Research. Available at http://www.irp.wisc.edu/publications/focus/pdfs/foc262.pdf

5. http://www.factfinder.census.gov.

6. Miriam King and others. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series, Current Population Survey: Version 3.0*. [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010. Available at http://www.ipums.org

7. We start with the list of 100 largest metropolitan areas (as ranked by their 2007 Population Estimates from the US Census Bureau) that are included in the *State of Metropolitan America* series. In five of these metro areas (Bradenton, FL, Greenville, SC, Greensboro, NC, Portland, ME, and Poughkeepsie, NY), the primary city is too small (less than 65,000 total population) to meet ACS one-year estimate reporting standards. Thus, we eliminate these five metro areas from the bulk of the analysis.

8. The Department of Homeland Security estimates that 1.2 million unauthorized immigrants were not counted in the 2007 American Community Survey. Michael Hoefer, Nancy Rytina, and Bryan C. Baker, "Estimates of the Unauthorized Immigrant Population Residing in the United States: January 2007," Population Estimates, Office of Immigration Statistics. (Washington: Department of Homeland Security, 2008).

9. Paul Jargowsky and Karina Fortuny, "Decomposing the Impact of Immigration on Metropolitan Area Poverty Rates, 1980–2007." Paper presented at the APPAM conference in Boston, November 2010.

10. George J. Borjas, "Poverty and Program Participation among Immigrant Children" *The Future of Children* 21(1)(2011): 247-266.

11. The 1965 Immigration Act changed admissions criteria from a country-based quota system to one that prioritized family connections. Following these legislative changes, the volume of immigration increased dramatically, just as many Latin American and Asian countries experienced economic development that "pushed" migrants from those regions to the United States. The resulting shift reversed the trend of immigrants from source countries primarily in Europe to primarily Latin America and Asia.

12. Jim Baird and others, "Immigrant Settlement Patterns: The Role of Metropolitan Characteristics," *Sociological Inquiry* 78 (3) (August 2008): 310–334.; William H. Frey and Julie Park, "Migration and Dispersal of Hispanic and Asian Groups: An Analysis of the 2006-2008 Multiyear American Community Survey," (Ann Arbor: Population Studies Center, University of Michigan Institute for Social Research), 2010.

13. Alan Berube and others, "Finding Exurbia: America's Fast-Growing Communities at the Metropolitan Fringe." Living Cities Census Series. (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).

14. Susan W. Hardwick, "Toward a Suburban Immigrant Nation," in Singer, Audrey, Susan W. Hardwick, and Caroline B. Brettell, *Twenty-First Century Gateways: Immigrant Incorporation in Suburban America*, (Washington, DC: Brookings, 2008).

15. In 1980, 46.9 percent of the poor in large metropolitan areas lived in the suburbs. By 1990, that share was up to 47.3, to 49.8 in 2000, and to 53.1 percent in 2009.

16. Kneebone and Garr, "The Suburbanization of Poverty."

17. Alec Friedhoff and Howard Wial, "Bearing the Brunt: Manufacturing Job Loss in the Great Lakes Region, 1995-2005" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2006).

18. Singer, Hardwick, and Brettell, *Twenty-First Century Gateways*.

19. Matthew Hall and others, "The Geography of Immigrant Skills: Educational Profiles of Metropolitan Areas" (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2011).

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21. Elizabeth M. Grieco and Edward N. Trevelyan, "Place of Birth of the Foreign-Born Population: 2009." American Community Survey Briefs, October 2010. Available at http://www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/acsbr09-15.pdf. June 23, 2011.

22. Scott Allard and Benjamin Roth, "Strained Suburbs: The Social Service Challenges of Rising Suburban Poverty," (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution), 2010.; Sarah Reckhow and Margaret Weir. 2011. "Building a Stronger Regional Safety Net: Philanthropy's Role." Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution.; Erwin de Leon, Matthew Maronick, Carol J. De Vita, and Elizabeth T. Boris, "Community-based Organizations and Immigrant Integration in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area." (Washington, Urban Institute, 2009).

23. Audrey Singer, Jill H. Wilson, and Brooke DeRenzis, "Immigrants, Politics, and Local Response in Suburban Washington," (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2009).

24. Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut. *Immigrant America*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

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