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Working Paper on Poverty and the Recession

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Drilldown on Poverty and the Recession

Working Paper

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Introduction

This working paper analyzes recently released 1-year estimates of poverty and economic conditions data from the U.S. Census Bureau 2009 American Community Survey. These data are used along with local and state administrative data bases to help residents and public officials address concerns related to poverty, employment and education for residents of Milwaukee and the state. This analysis complements the work of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Employment and Training Institute preparing monthly "Vital Signs" reports for the Greater Milwaukee Foundation measuring changes in economic health and government safety net usage in Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington and Waukesha counties. The Institute also collaborates with the Milwaukee Area Workforce Investment Board on monthly drilldown reports analyzing employment needs of local residents and employers. Institute research is posted at www.eti.uwm.edu. *The statistical ties identified for rankings listed in the findings below are an update of those in the initial report issued in October.* *See statistical note, page 4.*

Findings

1. Poverty is a very serious statewide problem with 1 out of 8 Wisconsin residents living in poverty, according to the 2009 American Community Survey. In Milwaukee 1 in 4 residents was living in poverty in the 12 months prior to the ACS survey. In Racine, Eau Claire and Madison 1 in 5 residents was living in poverty, and in Kenosha and Green Bay 1 in 6 residents was estimated to be living in poverty.

2. Poverty rates are higher for children than adults. In Milwaukee and Racine, 1 out of 3 children was living in poverty. In Green Bay and Kenosha 1 out of 4 children likely lived in households with income below the poverty level, according to the 2009 ACS.

3. Milwaukee is not, however, the "4th poorest city in [the] nation," as a recent *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* headline claimed. The ACS 2009 website identified 44 cities with higher poverty rates than Milwaukee. Analysis of the poverty estimates and their margins of error also showed 69 cities in a statistical tie with Milwaukee in their percent of poverty. Additionally, ACS ranking data were not provided for thousands of cities with populations below 65,000.

4. Poverty was shown by the Census Bureau to be a serious problem in nearly every major U.S. city. In 70 of the 75 cities with 250,000 or more population, at least 1 out of every 10 residents was living in poverty in the prior 12 months, according to the 2009 ACS 1-year estimates. Using the U.S. Census Bureau methodology for comparing geographies, Milwaukee's poverty level was statistically tied with 7 other cities (Buffalo, St. Louis, Miami, Memphis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Newark) where an estimated 1 in 4 residents was living in poverty.

5. Most of the 62 metropolitan areas encompassing the largest cities have similar levels of poverty. The Milwaukee metropolitan statistical area (MSA) has an estimated poverty level of 14% and is statistically tied with 19 of these 62 MSAs, according to the data posted by the ACS.

6. What makes Milwaukee unique is the **isolation** of the urban poor in the central city. The city of Milwaukee houses 73% of the 4-county area's poor residents compared to 33% of residents with incomes not below the poverty line. Of the large cities and their MSAs examined, Milwaukee was one of the cities with very high differences between its share of the metro area poor residents vs. its share of the metro area non-poor residents.[1]

[1] The ACS data are consistent with state Department of Public Instruction reports on school children certified as having family income below 185% of poverty (for free and reduced price meal programs). The 2008-09 school data showed that even with open enrollment and Chapter 220 student transfers, 78% of students in Milwaukee Public Schools and in the Milwaukee choice and charter schools were poor, while 84% of students in suburban public schools and 86% of students in suburban private schools of the 4-county area were not poor. See **Children Most Impacted by the Recession** (UWM Employment and Training Institute, 2009), posted at www.eti.uwm.edu.

I. Poverty is a statewide problem with 1 out of 8 residents living in poverty, according to the 2009 American Community Survey.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey, in 2009 an estimated 1 out of 8 Wisconsin residents had income below the poverty level during the past 12 months. Wisconsin's estimated poverty rate of 12.4% is about 2 percentage points below the national average of 14.3%.

In Wisconsin poverty concentrations were most severe in urban areas.

- In Milwaukee 1 in 4 residents was living in poverty, according to ACS 1-year estimates.
- In Racine, Eau Claire and Madison, 1 out of 5 residents was living in poverty, according to ACS.
- Kenosha, Green Bay and Appleton also showed high poverty concentrations.

Estimated Poverty Rates for Larger Wisconsin Cities: 2009 ACS

	Est. % of people living in poverty	Concentration of poverty among residents	ACS-reported margin of error
Milwaukee city	27.0	1 out of 4	+/- 1.7
Racine city	22.7	1 out of 5	+/- 3.5
Eau Claire city	21.5	1 out of 5	+/- 3.2
Madison city	21.4	1 out of 5	+/- 2.2
Kenosha city	18.0	1 out of 6	+/- 4.0
Green Bay city	17.6	1 out of 6	+/- 3.2
Appleton city	13.2	1 out of 8	+/- 3.8
Waukesha city	10.6	1 out of 9	+/- 2.9
STATE OF WISCONSIN	12.4	1 out of 8	+/- 0.4
UNITED STATES	14.3	1 out of 7	+/- 0.1

U.S. Census Bureau ACS 2009 1-Year Estimates, Table GCT1701: Percent of People below Poverty Level in the Past 12 Months (For Whom Poverty Status is Determined)

Note: While 1-year ACS estimates provide more current data, they are subject to high error rates even in many of the larger jurisdictions of Wisconsin. In Kenosha poverty is estimated by ACS to be somewhere between 14% and 22%, with a 90% expected confidence level. ACS 1-year estimates were provided only for jurisdictions of 65,000 population and above.

Child Poverty is Higher

Poverty rates are even higher for children, with 1 out of 6 Wisconsin children (under age 18) estimated to be living in poverty, according to ACS 2009 1-year estimates.

- In Milwaukee and Racine, 1 out of 3 children were living in poverty.
- In Green Bay and Kenosha 1 out of 4 children likely lived in households with income below the poverty level.

Estimated Poverty Rates for Children (under age 18) in Larger Wisconsin Cities: 2009 ACS

	Est. % of children living in poverty	Concentration of poverty among resident children	ACS-reported margin of error
Milwaukee city	39.4	1 out of 3	+/- 3.4
Racine city	32.7	1 out of 3	+/- 6.7
Green Bay city	26.4	1 out of 4	+/- 6.6
Kenosha city	23.9	1 out of 4	+/- 7.7
Appleton city	19.9	1 out of 5	+/- 8.5
Eau Claire city	19.6	1 out of 5	+/- 7.0
Madison city	15.1	1 out of 7	+/- 4.5
Waukesha city	11.7	1 out of 9	+/- 4.6
STATE OF WISCONSIN	16.7	1 out of 6	+/- 0.8
UNITED STATES	20.0	1 out of 5	+/- 0.2

U.S. Census Bureau ACS 2009 1-Year Estimates, Table GCT1704: Percent of Children Under 18 Years Below Poverty Level in the Past 12 Months (For Whom Poverty Status is Determined)

ACS 2009 error rates are higher for the subpopulation of children under age 18 than for the population as a whole. In Kenosha the poverty among children is estimated by ACS to be somewhere between 16.2% and 31.6%, with a 90% expected confidence level. In Milwaukee the child poverty rate is estimated to be between 36.0% and 42.8%.

II. Milwaukee is NOT the "4th Poorest City in Nation"

While the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* headline of September 28, 2010, claimed "Milwaukee Now 4th Poorest City in Nation," the American Community Survey 2009 data indicate that this claim is false. On the U.S. Census Bureau website showing 2009 ACS 1-year estimation data, the ACS listed 44 cities out of 490 places (and labeled as "cities" on the website) with **higher** estimated poverty rates than Milwaukee. (See Census table GCT1701.) The ACS further reported margin of error rates that indicate that Milwaukee is in a statistical tie with 69 other cities for its level of poverty..

The ACS 2009 data indicate that 69 cities are statistically tied with Milwaukee in their poverty percentage. As a result, Milwaukee's actual poverty ranking could be anywhere from 21st to 90th worse in the U.S. – among the 490 cities listed by the ACS in its online posting. Notably, thousands of mid-size and smaller U.S. cities with populations below 65,000 were not included in the ACS posting. The corrected *MJS* headline would be:

> **"Milwaukee is 21st to 90th Poorest City in the Nation, of Cities with 65,000 Population or above."**

Unlike the inaccurate headline, the *MJS* article itself specified that it was comparing Milwaukee only to the largest U.S. cities of 250,000 population or more and not to all cities "in the nation." An examination of 75 cities meeting this criterion found that Milwaukee's poverty rate was statistically tied with 7 other major U.S. cities: Buffalo, St. Louis, Miami, Memphis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Newark. (See tables in section III. below) If the *MJS* had included the modifier "largest" in its headline (consistent with the data used in the news article) and accounted for the margins of error given by the Census Bureau, the corrected headline would be:

> **"Milwaukee is 3rd to 10th Poorest City in U.S. of the Largest 75 Cities"**
> or

"Milwaukee Tied with 7 Other Large U.S. Cities for High Poverty Concentrations."

Note: The determinations of statistical significance used in this paper take into account the difference between the two poverty estimates (for Milwaukee and each other city/MSA) as well as the standard error of both estimates. The methodology recommended by the Census Bureau shows 7 of the largest 75 U.S. cities and 69 of the cities with populations of 65,000 or above statistically tied with Milwaukee for their estimated percentage of people living in poverty. Significance levels are calculated at the 90 percent confidence level.

It should be further noted that item nonresponse is a serious problem for ACS income questions as many census survey respondents are unwilling to provide information on their household income (and as a result their income statistics are imputed based on survey information provided by other respondents). The Census Bureau reported that wage and salary income data had to be imputed for 12% of Wisconsin respondents and that complete income data (required to calculate poverty rates) was imputed for 18% of the Wisconsin survey participants in the 2009 ACS.

Why Does Accuracy Matter?

Some might ask, "Does it really matter whether residents and policy makers understand Milwaukee's actual poverty ranking according to the ACS survey data?" There are several reasons why it is critical to have accurate reporting of ACS and other data on Milwaukee. First, researchers and journalists have a professional obligation to report data as accurately as possible. This appears to be a driving principle behind the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*'s new investigative research initiatives, which have increasingly provided valuable analyses and insights on city, metropolitan and statewide issues. This is also a driving principle in the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*'s detailed "fact check" analyses of claims made in current political campaigns.

If carefully used, the ACS survey data can help us better understand the dimensions of poverty in our community. It makes a difference whether Milwaukee has become a national outlier with extreme conditions seen in few other U.S. cities or whether Milwaukee's poverty problems, while most serious, share many features with poverty in a number of other major cities. Too often the "outlier" claim for Milwaukee has resulted not in increased resolve to alleviate poverty, unemployment and racism, but in a sense of resignation that local conditions are so bad – and unique -- that they are impervious to remediation.

The **ranking** of jurisdictions using census surveys is particularly problematic given that the overlapping error rates for each jurisdiction must be considered in the rankings. Unlike voter polls where a single poll is conducted for all candidates (and where statistical "ties" or "dead heats" are almost always now reported), for the American Community Survey each jurisdiction has a separate error rate. All of these error rates must be considered in combination if communities are to be ranked.

In spite of their statistical limitations, the U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 2009 1-year estimates can offer useful snapshots of the impact of the recession on the quality of life and employment activity during the recession. These data must, however, be used with caution, given that they have potentially large sampling errors.

III. Concentrations of Poverty in 75 Large U.S. Cities

Poverty was shown to be a serious problem in nearly every major U.S. city. In 70 of the 75 cities with 250,000 or more population, at least 1 out of every 10 residents was living in poverty in the prior 12 months, according to the 2009 ACS 1-year estimates. In approximately 30 of the cities, at least 1 out of every 5 residents was living in poverty. In Milwaukee and seven similarly impoverished cities, 1 of every 4 residents was estimated to be living in poverty, and in Detroit and Cleveland fully 1 out of every 3 residents was estimated to have income below the poverty level in 2009.

When poverty estimates and their margins of error are reviewed, seven of the 75 cities have poverty rates that are statistically tied with Milwaukee: Buffalo, St. Louis, Miami, Memphis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and Newark. As a result, Milwaukee's ranking could be anywhere from 3rd to 10th out of the 75 cities with populations of 250,000 or above.

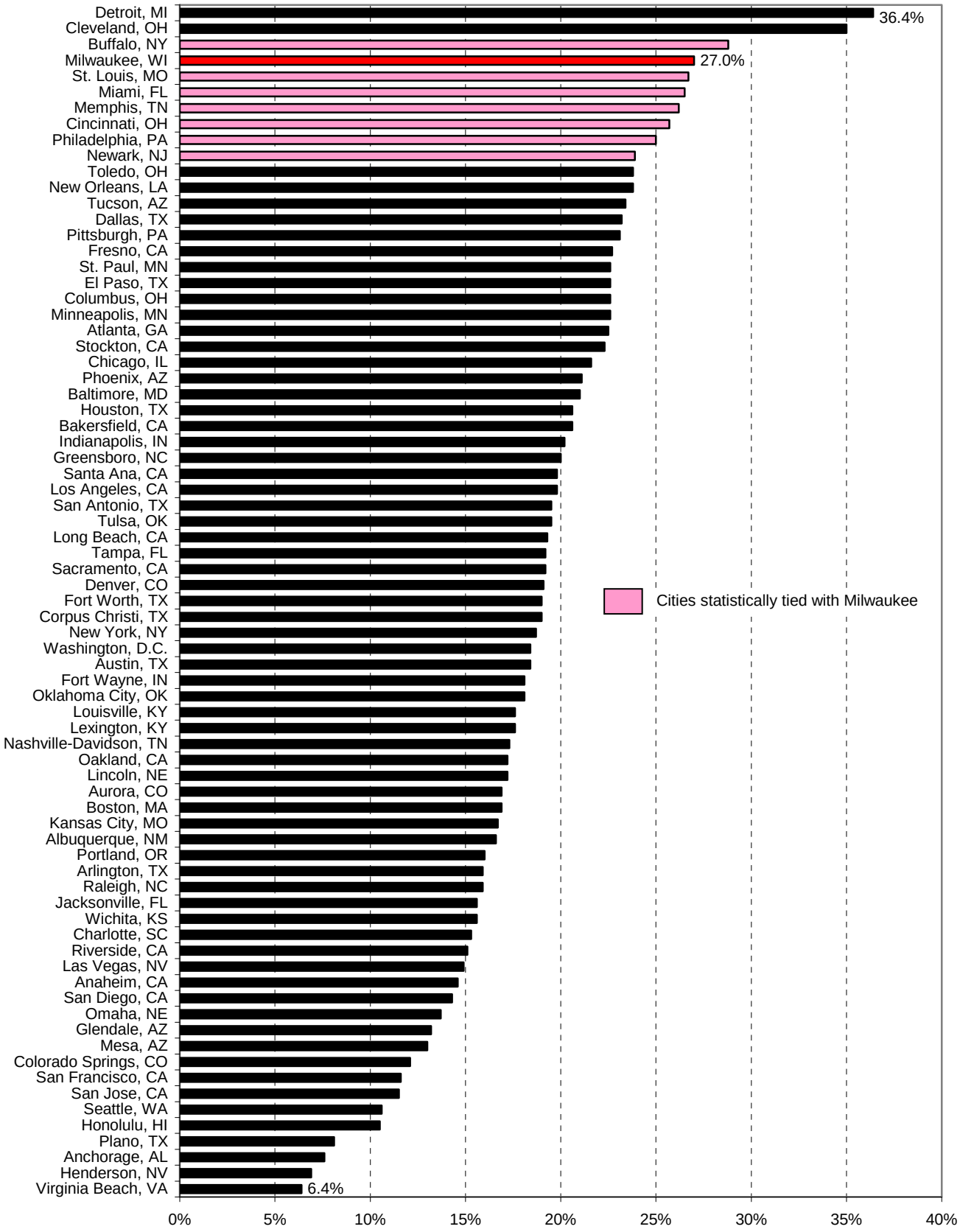
Percent of City Residents Estimated to Be Living in Poverty in the Prior 12 Months
U.S. Census, American Community Survey 2009 1-Year Estimates

Cities with 250,000 or more population, 2009	% of Residents Estimated in Poverty	Margin of error	Cities statistically tied with Milwaukee
Detroit, MI	36.4%	+/- 2.0%	
Cleveland, OH	35.0%	+/- 2.1%	
Buffalo, NY	**28.8%**	**+/- 2.5%**	**#**
Milwaukee, WI	***27.0%***	***+/- 1.7%***	***XXX***
St. Louis, MO	**26.7%**	**+/- 2.3%**	**#**
Miami, FL	**26.5%**	**+/- 2.3%**	**#**
Memphis, TN	**26.2%**	**+/- 1.9%**	**#**
Cincinnati, OH	**25.7%**	**+/- 2.3%**	**#**
Philadelphia, PA	**25.0%**	**+/- 1.1%**	**#**
Newark, NJ	**23.9%**	**+/- 2.6%**	**#**
New Orleans, LA	23.8%	+/- 2.2%	
Toledo, OH	23.8%	+/- 2.2%	
Tucson, AZ	23.4%	+/- 2.3%	
Dallas, TX	23.2%	+/- 1.2%	
Pittsburgh, PA	23.1%	+/- 2.9%	
Fresno, CA	22.7%	+/- 2.0%	
Minneapolis, MN	22.6%	+/- 2.0%	
Columbus, OH	22.6%	+/- 1.1%	
El Paso, TX	22.6%	+/- 1.7%	
St. Paul, MN	22.6%	+/- 2.5%	
Atlanta, GA	22.5%	+/- 2.1%	
Stockton, CA	22.3%	+/- 2.9%	
Chicago, IL	21.6%	+/- 0.8%	
Phoenix, AZ	21.1%	+/- 1.3%	
Baltimore, MD	21.0%	+/- 1.5%	
Bakersfield, CA	20.6%	+/- 2.2%	
Houston, TX	20.6%	+/- 1.1%	
Indianapolis, IN	20.2%	+/- 1.3%	
Greensboro, NC	20.0%	+/- 2.4%	
Los Angeles, CA	19.8%	+/- 0.7%	
Santa Ana, CA	19.8%	+/- 2.6%	
Tulsa, OK	19.5%	+/- 2.0%	
San Antonio, TX	19.5%	+/- 1.1%	

Cities with 250,000 or more population, 2009	% of Residents Estimated in Poverty	Margin of error	Cities statistically tied with Milwaukee
Long Beach, CA	19.3%	+/- 2.1%	
Sacramento, CA	19.2%	+/- 1.8%	
Tampa, FL	19.2%	+/- 2.0%	
Denver, CO	19.1%	+/- 1.5%	
Corpus Christi, TX	19.0%	+/- 2.4%	
Fort Worth, TX	19.0%	+/- 1.8%	
New York, NY	18.7%	+/- 0.5%	
Austin, TX	18.4%	+/- 1.3%	
Washington, D.C.	18.4%	+/- 1.6%	
Oklahoma City, OK	18.1%	+/- 1.5%	
Fort Wayne, IN	18.1%	+/- 2.2%	
Lexington, KY	17.6%	+/- 1.8%	
Louisville, KY	17.6%	+/- 1.5%	
Nashville-Davidson, TN	17.3%	+/- 1.8%	
Lincoln, NE	17.2%	+/- 1.9%	
Oakland, CA	17.2%	+/- 2.0%	
Boston, MA	16.9%	+/- 1.4%	
Aurora, CO	16.9%	+/- 2.2%	
Kansas City, MO	16.7%	+/- 1.6%	
Albuquerque, NM	16.6%	+/- 1.7%	
Portland, OR	16.0%	+/- 1.8%	
Raleigh, NC	15.9%	+/- 1.6%	
Arlington, TX	15.9%	+/- 2.2%	
Wichita, KS	15.6%	+/- 1.9%	
Jacksonville, FL	15.6%	+/- 1.4%	
Charlotte, SC	15.3%	+/- 1.4%	
Riverside, CA	15.1%	+/- 2.5%	
Las Vegas, NV	14.9%	+/- 1.4%	
Anaheim, CA	14.6%	+/- 2.3%	
San Diego, CA	14.3%	+/- 1.0%	
Omaha, NE	13.7%	+/- 1.3%	
Glendale, AZ	13.2%	+/- 2.4%	
Mesa, AZ	13.0%	+/- 1.6%	
Colorado Springs, CO	12.1%	+/- 1.4%	
San Francisco, CA	11.6%	+/- 1.0%	
San Jose, CA	11.5%	+/- 1.1%	
Seattle, WA	10.6%	+/- 0.9%	
Honolulu, HI	10.5%	+/- 1.3%	
Plano, TX	8.1%	+/- 1.7%	
Anchorage, AL	7.6%	+/- 1.3%	
Henderson, NV	6.9%	+/- 1.4%	
Virginia Beach, VA	6.4%	+/- 0.9%	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau ACS 2009 1-Year Estimates, Percentage of People Whose Income in the Past 12 Months is Below the Poverty Level, from the Place "Selected Economic Characteristics: 2009" data profiles. # Indicates that there is not a statistically significant difference between this city's poverty estimate and Milwaukee's at the 90 percent confidence interval.

Estimated % of City Residents Living in Poverty in the Prior 12 Months: ACS 2009



IV. Concentrations of Poverty in Major Metropolitan Areas

As part of the drilldown on poverty in the 75 largest U.S. cities, ACS 2009-reported poverty levels were examined for the 62 metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) that included these cities. (In 52 of the MSAs there was only 1 city with a population of 250,000 or more. In the remaining 10 metro areas, including New York City and Los Angeles, there were 2 or more major cities.)

What is striking about these poverty estimates is how many metropolitan areas, including the Milwaukee MSA, are clustered together with similar levels of poverty for the entire area. The poverty level for the Milwaukee metropolitan area (i.e., Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington and Waukesha counties) was estimated at 14.3%, ranking the area 25th of the 62 MSAs analyzed. Nineteen other MSAs were statistically tied with the Milwaukee MSA, according to the margin of error data provided by the Census Bureau.

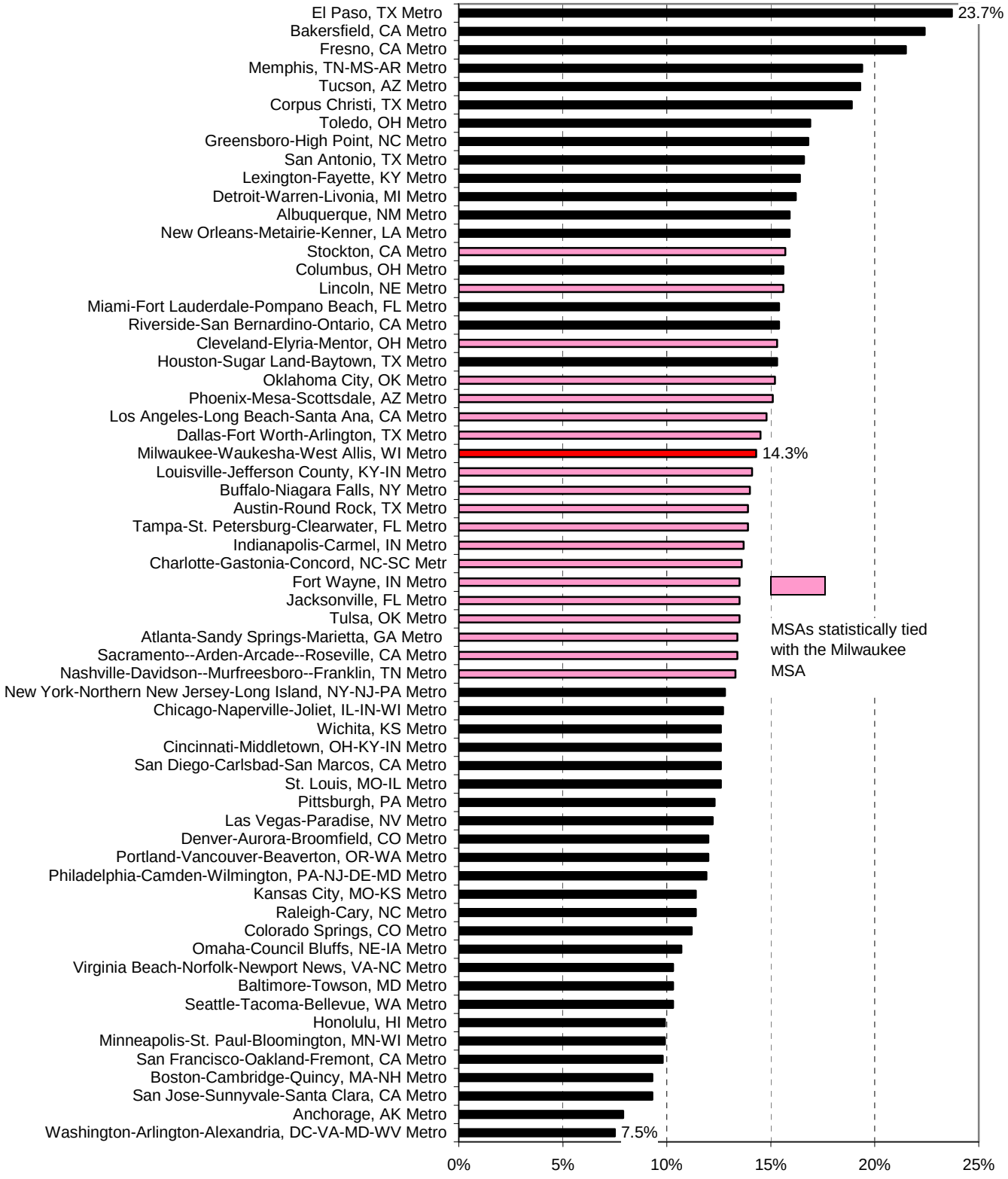
Estimated Percent of Metro Area Residents Living in Poverty in the Prior 12 Months
U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 2009 1-Year Estimates

62 Metropolitan Statistical Areas That Include the 75 Cities with 250,000 or more population, 2009	% of residents estimated in poverty	Margin of error	MSAs statistically tied with the Milwaukee MSA
El Paso, TX	23.7%	+/- 1.8%	
Bakersfield, CA	22.4%	+/- 1.5%	
Fresno, CA	21.5%	+/- 1.3%	
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	19.4%	+/- 1.1%	
Tucson, AZ	19.3%	+/- 1.5%	
Corpus Christi, TX	18.9%	+/- 1.9%	
Toledo, OH	16.9%	+/- 1.2%	
Greensboro-High Point, NC	16.8%	+/- 1.7%	
San Antonio, TX	16.6%	+/- 0.8%	
Lexington-Fayette, KY	16.4%	+/- 1.4%	
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	16.2%	+/- 0.5%	
Albuquerque, NM	15.9%	+/- 1.2%	
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	15.9%	+/- 0.8%	
Stockton, CA	**15.7%**	**+/- 1.6%**	#
Columbus, OH	15.6%	+/- 0.7%	
Lincoln, NE	**15.6%**	**+/- 1.6%**	#
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	15.4%	+/- 0.4%	
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	15.4%	+/- 0.6%	
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	**15.3%**	**+/- 0.6%**	#
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	15.3%	+/- 0.5%	
Oklahoma City, OK	**15.2%**	**+/- 1.0%**	#
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	**15.1%**	**+/- 0.6%**	#
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	**14.8%**	**+/- 0.3%**	#
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	**14.5%**	**+/- 0.5%**	#
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	***14.3%***	***+/- 0.8%***	***XXX***
Louisville-Jefferson County, KY-IN	**14.1%**	**+/- 0.8%**	#
Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	**14.0%**	**+/- 0.9%**	#
Austin-Round Rock, TX	**13.9%**	**+/- 0.8%**	#
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	**13.9%**	**+/- 0.7%**	#
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	**13.7%**	**+/- 0.7%**	#
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC Metro	**13.6%**	**+/- 0.8%**	#
Fort Wayne, IN	**13.5%**	**+/- 1.5%**	#
Jacksonville, FL	**13.5%**	**+/- 1.0%**	#

62 Metropolitan Statistical Areas That Include the 75 Cities with 250,000 or more population, 2009	% of residents estimated in poverty	Margin of error	MSAs statistically tied with the Milwaukee MSA
Tulsa, OK	**13.5%**	**+/- 1.0%**	#
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	**13.4%**	**+/- 0.5%**	#
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	**13.4%**	**+/- 0.7%**	#
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	**13.3%**	**+/- 0.9%**	#
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	12.8%	+/- 0.2%	
Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL-IN-WI	12.7%	+/- 0.3%	
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	12.6%	+/- 0.6%	
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	12.6%	+/- 0.6%	
St. Louis, MO-IL	12.6%	+/- 0.6%	
Wichita, KS	12.6%	+/- 1.3%	
Pittsburgh, PA	12.3%	+/- 0.5%	
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	12.2%	+/- 0.8%	
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	12.0%	+/- 0.6%	
Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	12.0%	+/- 0.6%	
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	11.9%	+/- 0.4%	
Kansas City, MO-KS	11.4%	+/- 0.7%	
Raleigh-Cary, NC	11.4%	+/- 0.9%	
Colorado Springs, CO	11.2%	+/- 1.0%	
Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	10.7%	+/- 0.9%	
Baltimore-Towson, MD	10.3%	+/- 0.5%	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	10.3%	+/- 0.5%	
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	10.3%	+/- 0.7%	
Honolulu, HI	9.9%	+/- 0.8%	
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	9.9%	+/- 0.4%	
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	9.8%	+/- 0.4%	
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	9.3%	+/- 0.4%	
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	9.3%	+/- 0.7%	
Anchorage, AK	7.9%	+/- 1.2%	
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	7.5%	+/- 0.4%	

Source: U.S. Census Bureau ACS 2009 1-Year Estimates, Percentage of People Whose Income in the Past 12 Months is Below the Poverty Level, from the Metropolitan Statistical Areas "Selected Economic Characteristics: 2009" data profiles. # Indicates that there is not a statistically significant difference between this MSA's poverty estimate and that of the Milwaukee MSA at the 90 percent confidence interval.

Estimated Percent of Metro Area Residents Living in Poverty in the Prior 12 Months
U.S. Census Bureau American Community Survey 2009 1-Year Estimates



V. Milwaukee MSA's Suburban Poverty is Lower, City Poverty Higher than in Many Other Metro Areas

A key factor that shapes the high poverty concentration within the city of Milwaukee is the isolation of the poor of the Milwaukee metro area largely in the central city. Notably, Milwaukee has 73% of the poor residents (i.e., residents with income below the poverty level) of the Milwaukee metropolitan area compared to 33% of the metro area's "non-poverty level" residents (i.e., residents with income above 100% of the poverty threshold) – for a difference of 40%. By contrast, the city of Jacksonville, FL has a similar portion of its MSA's poor (i.e., 71%) but a much higher portion of its metro area's non-poor (i.e., 60%) as well.

Of 55 large cities and their MSAs examined, Milwaukee was one of the cities with very high differences between its share of the metro area's poor residents vs. its share of the metro area's non-poor residents.

Difference between Major Cities' Share of the Metro Poor and Metro Non-Poor: 55 Large Cities [see note], 2009 ACS

CITY	City Share of Metro Area Poor	City Share of Metro Area's Non-Poverty Level Residents	Difference: Poor Share vs. Non-Poor Share
Lincoln, NE	94.0%	83.7%	+ 10.4
Fort Wayne, IN	81.2%	57.3%	+ 23.8
El Paso, TX	78.7%	83.8%	- 5.0
San Antonio, TX	77.8%	64.0%	+ 13.9
Wichita, KS	75.1%	58.6%	+ 16.5
Anchorage, AL	73.5%	76.7%	- 3.2
Milwaukee, WI	***73.2%***	***33.0%***	***+ 40.2***
Jacksonville, FL	70.8%	59.8%	+ 11.0
Memphis, TN	70.0%	47.5%	+ 22.6
Corpus Christi, TX	69.4%	68.9%	+ 0.5
Colorado Springs, CO	68.8%	63.1%	+ 5.8
Omaha, NE	68.5%	51.7%	+ 16.8
Indianapolis, IN	68.3%	42.8%	+ 25.4
Lexington, KY	67.6%	62.1%	+ 5.5
Toledo, OH	66.2%	43.1%	+ 23.1
San Jose, CA	64.8%	51.2%	+ 13.7
Tucson, AZ	64.6%	50.6%	+ 14.0
Albuquerque, NM	64.5%	61.3%	+ 3.2
Columbus, OH	62.2%	39.3%	+ 22.8
Austin, TX	61.4%	43.9%	+ 17.4
Tulsa, OK	60.5%	39.0%	+ 21.5
Stockton, CA	60.5%	39.3%	+ 21.3
Louisville, KY	56.2%	43.2%	+ 13.0
Fresno, CA	55.4%	51.6%	+ 3.7
Philadelphia, PA	54.5%	22.1%	+ 32.4
Oklahoma City, OK	54.4%	44.1%	+ 10.3
Houston, TX	51.9%	36.1%	+ 15.8
Chicago, IL	50.6%	26.7%	+ 23.9
Raleigh, NC	50.2%	34.2%	+ 16.0
Nashville-Davidson, TN	49.8%	36.5%	+ 13.3
Buffalo, NY	49.5%	19.9%	+ 29.6
San Diego, CA	48.5%	41.9%	+ 6.6

CITY	City Share of Metro Area Poor	City Share of Metro Area's Non-Poverty Level Residents	Difference: Poor Share vs. Non-Poor Share
Baltimore, MD	48.3%	20.9%	+ 27.4
Cleveland, OH	47.2%	15.8%	+ 31.4
Detroit, MI	46.5%	15.7%	+ 30.8
Charlotte, SC	45.4%	39.6%	+ 5.8
New Orleans, LA	44.6%	27.0%	+ 17.6
Honolulu, HI	43.8%	41.0%	+ 2.8
Greensboro, NC	42.5%	34.3%	+ 8.2
Denver, CO	38.0%	22.0%	+ 16.1
Bakersfield, CA	37.0%	41.1%	- 4.2
Kansas City, MO	34.2%	21.9%	+ 12.2
Portland, OR	33.7%	24.1%	+ 9.6
Sacramento, CA	31.4%	20.5%	+ 11.0
Cincinnati, OH	31.3%	13.0%	+ 18.2
Washington, D.C.	26.9%	9.7%	+ 17.2
St. Louis, MO	26.7%	10.6%	+ 16.2
Boston, MA	25.6%	12.9%	+ 12.7
Pittsburgh, PA	24.9%	11.6%	+ 13.2
Seattle, WA	18.6%	18.0%	+ 0.6
Tampa, FL	17.3%	11.7%	+ 5.5
Atlanta, GA	16.6%	8.8%	+ 7.7
Virginia Beach, VA	16.1%	27.0%	- 10.9
Miami, FL	13.4%	6.8%	+ 6.7
Riverside, CA	7.0%	7.2%	- 0.2

Note: This analysis of large cities' share of metro poverty focuses on metro areas where there is only one large city of 250,000+ population. Cities in MSAs encompassing 2 or more large cities (e.g., the Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX MSA, Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN MSA, San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA MSA) are not included in this analysis.

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Milwaukee Drill photo courtesy of Milwaukee Electric Tool Corporation