ECONOMIC INNOVATION GROUP

THE EXPANDED GEOGRAPHY OF HIGH-POVERTY NEIGHBORHOODS

How the economic recovery from the Great Recession failed to change the landscape of poverty in the United States

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Key findings

- Across the metropolitan United States, the number of neighborhoods with a high poverty rate (30 percent or higher) doubled from 1980 to 2010 and remains stubbornly high as the country faces a new economic crisis.
- A total of 24 million people lived in these neighborhoods in 2018, 12 million more than in 1980.
- Poor Americans have become relatively more concentrated in poorer neighborhoods in recent decades. In 1980 more of the nation's poor lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate below 10 percent than in a high-poverty neighborhood, the inverse of what we find today.
- Meanwhile, real median household income for the average high-poverty neighborhood declined over the last two decades after growing robustly in the 1980s and the 1990s.
- The income gap between high-poverty neighborhoods and those with a low-poverty rate (below 20 percent) increased by more than one-quarter from 1980 to 2018.
- The demographic composition of high-poverty neighborhoods has changed substantially over the past few decades as the proportion of Blacks declined, Hispanics surged, and non-Hispanic whites increased modestly.
- From 2000 to 2018, the number of non-Hispanic white poor living in a high-poverty neighborhood doubled, compared to a 20 percent increase for Black poor and a 38 percent increase for Hispanic poor.
- Even with this increase, someone who is Black and poor is more than three times as likely to live in a high-poverty neighborhood as someone who is white and poor.

Introduction

The longest economic expansion in the country's history has come to an abrupt end, exposing the ways in which the boom years failed the country's most vulnerable communities. This report looks at the proliferation of high-poverty neighborhoods in metropolitan areas across the United States from 1980 until 2018 and provides further evidence that the recovery from the Great Recession in many respects exacerbated inequalities rooted in place. Consistent with other studies of neighborhood poverty (Jargowsky 2013, Cortright 2014, Iceland and Hernandez 2018), this analysis finds that, aside from a small decline during the 1990s, the total number of high-poverty neighborhoods in the United States has risen steeply since 1980. While the spread of high-poverty neighborhoods in the 2000s, a decade bookended by recessions, has been well-documented, what impact the long recovery of the 2010s had on the landscape of high-poverty neighborhoods remains an unanswered question. As of 2018, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods stood relatively unchanged from 2010 estimates. Worse still, median household income continued to decline for high-poverty areas over the 2010s.

Despite the prolonged economic expansion that followed the Great Recession, the number of high-poverty neighborhoods today is relatively unchanged from 2010 estimates.

The long historical perspective adopted here allows the true scale of the spread of high-poverty neighborhoods over time to become clear. For much of the past century, America's pockets of high poverty were concentrated in a few neighborhoods in major cities and far flung rural communities. The spread of poverty in urban areas accelerated with the rapid suburbanization of America in the post-World War II period, which contributed greatly to the entrenchment of poverty in cities across the country. Blacks, who had already been segregated into economically-disadvantaged neighborhoods through redlining and other public policies and private sector practices that exacerbated racial divides, found themselves increasingly isolated in cities reeling from disinvestment, population loss, and vanishing employment opportunities. Even after the passage of landmark laws such as the Fair Housing Act in 1968, the damage was hard to undo.

This paper picks up the narrative with that legacy firmly fixed onto the nation's map. New dynamics have layered on top of it: an increase in suburban poverty over the past couple decades (Kneebone 2013) and deepening rural poverty have expanded the boundaries of high poverty. At the same time, increased sorting by income (Reardon and Bischoff 2014) and persistent racial segregation (Sampson and Sharkey 2008) also contributed to the spread of high-poverty neighborhoods. Meanwhile, the much-hyped urban renaissance of the early 2010s has delivered little for chronically poor neighborhoods.

As this paper will show, widening income gaps and stark racial divisions continue to define high-poverty neighborhoods. While high-poverty neighborhoods are no longer majority Black as they were in 1980, a surge of Hispanics living in these neighborhoods means that people of color comprise more than two-thirds of their population. In this sense, history continues to repeat itself. In a companion paper we show that not only have these high-poverty neighborhoods proliferated over the past 38 years, but that poverty is very difficult to uproot once it has taken hold in a place. Here we provide evidence for why that is by highlighting the concentrated disadvantage that defines these communities. High poverty neighborhoods are such an urgent public policy concern because they often fail to provide pathways out of poverty and economic hardship for their residents, instead making poverty an intergenerational burden.

Methodology and terminology

"High poverty" is used here to refer to neighborhoods with a poverty rate of 30 percent or higher. Other researchers have chosen to set the benchmark for high poverty at 20 or 40 percent. Since communities with poverty rates of 40 percent or higher are often referred to as areas experiencing concentrated or extreme poverty, high poverty is used here to capture a broader universe of tracts, while still focusing on areas where the poverty rate is more than double the current national poverty rate of 11.8 percent and, in many cases, much higher (the median poverty rate of a high-poverty neighborhood is 37 percent). Low poverty refers to a neighborhood with a poverty rate below 20 percent.

The terms tract, neighborhood, and community are used interchangeably here. Although census tracts are not always ideal approximations of neighborhoods, they are the most suited unit of analysis and the most common geography used in similar poverty studies.

This report focuses on poverty trends in metro area census tracts, which make up around 80 percent of U.S. census tracts. Rural areas in the United States were not fully tracted until 1990, therefore only metropolitan census tracts can be compared going back to 1980. Census tract boundaries are not stable and have changed dramatically over time. Census tracts that have lost population have merged into adjacent census tracts, and census tracts that have gained population have split into new census tracts. This analysis uses contemporaneous tract boundaries for all years (e.g. 1980 tract boundaries for 1980 data, 2018 tract boundaries for 2018 data, etc.).[1]

Much like census tracts, the boundaries of metropolitan areas change over time as well. This analysis uses 2018 metropolitan boundaries for all years, excluding counties that had not been tracted in 1980.

Tracts where 50 percent or more of the population were students are excluded, since high student populations can lead to inflated poverty rates even though most students are only temporarily low-income. In order to reduce the number of outliers and account for higher margins of error in ACS data versus decennial census data, census tracts with populations under 500 were excluded from the analysis as well.

Finally, this study relies on decennial census data from the U.S. Census Bureau for the years 1980, 1990 and 2000, and the 2006-2010 and 2014-2018 American Community Survey 5-Year estimates,[2] which are referred to in the text as 2010 and 2018, respectively.

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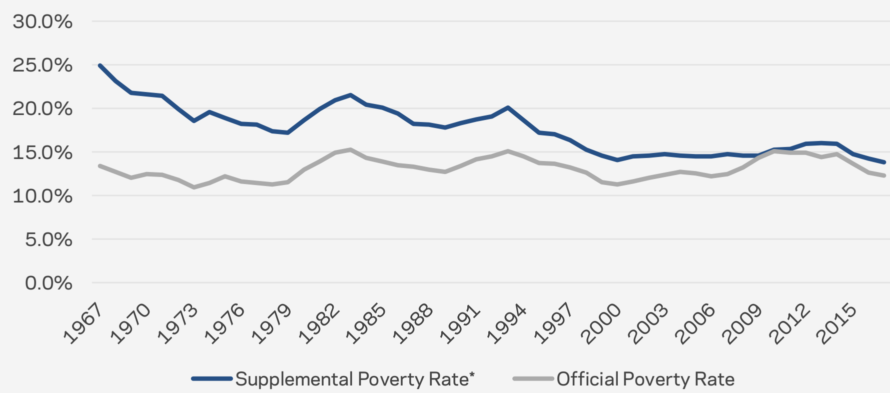
1 For more information on this approach see Jargowsky 2003.

2 Beginning with the 2010 Decennial Census, poverty rates were no longer published at the census tract level and were only available through the American Community Survey 5-Year estimates.

The federal poverty measure

The Official Poverty Measure (OPM) used as the primary metric in this report is subject to a number of shortcomings in evaluating the lived experience of poor people in the United States.[3] While the federal poverty rate has changed little since the 1970s,[4] the experience of being poor has changed and there can be no doubt that the poor today experience a higher level of material comfort than they did decades ago. Furthermore, federal anti-poverty programs, which are generally not reflected in the OPM, have alleviated some of the more severe aspects of poverty. The pre-tax, income-based threshold used for the OPM is set at three times the minimum cost of food in 1963 (the assumption being that food reflects one-third of a family's expenses) and inflation-adjusted for subsequent years. This does not accurately reflect how the average family spends their income today. The Census Bureau has responded to these criticisms by publishing a Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM), which is available at the national, state and metro level. Unlike the OPM, the SPM shows a steep decline in the poverty rate over the last 50 years. In 1967 the poverty rate was 25.0 percent, according to the SPM, and in 2017 it was 13.9 percent, a decline of 11 percentage points. Despite its shortcomings, the OPM is used extensively by the federal government and researchers to track the economic well-being of places and can be quite effective for flagging places that are experiencing economic distress.

Supplemental Poverty Rate and Official Poverty Rate, 1967-2017



Source: U.S. Census Bureau and Columbia University
*anchored to 2012

3 For further discussion of issues with the OPM see Blank 2008, Kolesnikova & Liu 2012, Meyer & Sullivan 2012 and Ziliak 2018. The most agreed upon limitation of the OPM is that it only measures a family's resources based on pre-tax income plus cash transfers (like cash welfare, social security, or UI payments), but not taxes, tax credits (e.g. the Earned Income Tax Credit), or non-cash transfers (e.g. food stamps). At the same time, it does not do a very good job measuring the hidden costs of being poor, ranging from childcare costs to out-of-pocket medical expenses to rising debt. It also does not take into account dramatic differences in cost of living based on geography.

4 The poverty rate fell steeply in the 1960s, reflecting the rapid impact of Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty." Since 1970, the OPM has not fluctuated by more than a few percentage points. Even at the height of the Great Recession, it only climbed to 15.1 percent followed by a steady decline to 11.8 percent in 2018.

Why neighborhood poverty matters

Why does neighborhood poverty matter? High-poverty neighborhoods are a unique force in perpetuating poverty from one generation to the next, erecting barriers to economic opportunity for poor and non-poor residents alike. A landmark study of the Moving to Opportunity Project (Chetty, Hendren, and Katz 2015) provides evidence that poor children who move from a high-poverty census tract to a low-poverty census tract at a young age have substantially improved long-term life outcomes. This fits with a previous finding from Chetty, that the "segregation of poverty has a strong negative association with upward mobility" (Chetty et al. 2014). Inequality of economic opportunity is magnified in high-poverty areas, which commonly lack good job opportunities, trusting neighbors, and strong community institutions (Finighan and Putnam 2016). In 2018, more than one-quarter of the nation's poor lived in a high-poverty neighborhood. However, it is important to note that neighborhood poverty is a conceptually distinct area of study from individual poverty, and it merits special focus.

At the neighborhood level, high poverty rates are closely associated with other indicators of economic hardship. Based on 2015 data from the Centers for Disease Control, the average life expectancy in a high-poverty neighborhood is 74 years, compared to 80 years for a low-poverty neighborhood. This six-year difference is the culmination of systemic gaps in economic, social, and physical well-being and reflect uneven access to economic opportunity, inadequate healthcare, and a lack of social capital. For example, 24 percent of high-poverty neighborhoods are food deserts compared to seven percent of low-poverty neighborhoods.[5] With respect to healthcare access, the share of residents of high-poverty neighborhoods who are uninsured is more than double the rate of low-poverty neighborhoods, 15 percent versus seven percent.

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One-quarter of adults living in a high-poverty neighborhood lack even a high school diploma. Residents are half as likely to have obtained a bachelor's degree as someone living in a low-poverty neighborhood. The average median household income for a high-poverty neighborhood is less than half the nation as a whole, and residents of these neighborhoods are much more likely to be out of work and rent-burdened.[6] Concentrated economic hardship defines high-poverty neighborhoods and is the primary reason that the proliferation of these neighborhoods is so troubling.

5 USDA Food Access Research Atlas, 2015 data.

6 Share of renter-occupied households that spend 30 percent or more of their household income on housing.

Measures of economic hardship, high- and low-poverty neighborhoods, metro areas, 2018

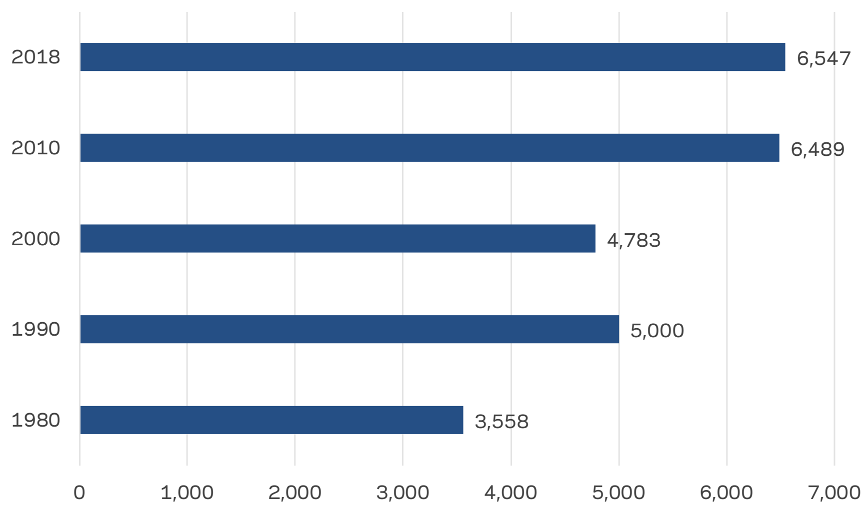
	Adults not working	Bachelor's degree plus	No high school diploma	Median household income (thousands)	Rent - burdened
High-poverty neighborhoods	35.8%	14.1%	26.7%	$29.0	61.0%
Low-poverty neighborhoods	19.0%	37.5%	9.2%	$78.7	46.1%
Nation	25.0%	32.7%	11.5%	$61.9	49.7%

Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of American Community Survey 5-Year estimates
Adults not working reflects the share of the population age 25 to 54 not working (i.e. either unemployed or not in the labor force).
Bachelor's Degree plus reflects the share of the population age 25 and older who hold a bachelor's degree or higher.
Rent-burdened reflects the share of renter occupied households that spend 30%+ of their household income on housing.

The spread of high-poverty neighborhoods

The number of high-poverty neighborhoods increased dramatically across U.S. metro areas from 1980 to 1990, rising by 41 percent from 3,558 in 1980 to 5,000 in 1990. Robust economic growth in the 1990s succeeded in partially reversing this trend and led to a four percent reduction in the number of high-poverty neighborhoods by 2000. This modest improvement turned out to be short-lived. The economically turbulent 2000s pushed the number of high-poverty neighborhoods up to 6,489 by 2010.[7] Even after several years of robust economic growth, the 2018 count of high-poverty neighborhoods remained elevated at 6,547—almost double the number of high-poverty neighborhoods in 1980. In retrospect, the most recent era of national economic growth seems to have temporarily halted the spread of high-poverty neighborhoods at best, standing in contrast to the progress made during the 1990s expansion. Now, with another severe economic shock underway, it is almost certain that the number of high-poverty neighborhoods will climb even higher.

Number of high-poverty neighborhoods, 1980-2018, U.S. metro areas

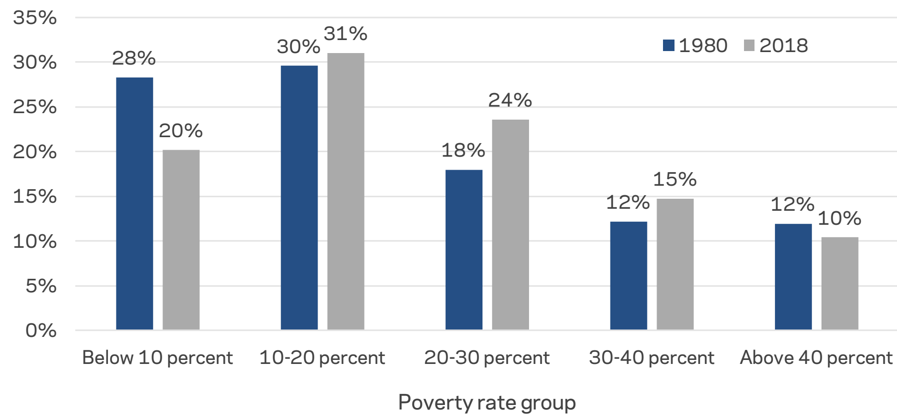


Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

7 Tract-level data for 2010 is only available through 5-year American Community Survey estimates, which makes it difficult to compare to the single year 2000 census data. The 2010 data reflects an average of survey data from 2006 through 2010 so it captures a mix of pre-Recession data and peak-Recession data. The number of high-poverty tracts nationally was at its highest in the 2010-2014 5-year estimates when it crested at 8,516

Poor Americans today are less likely to live in a very low-poverty neighborhood (with a poverty rate below 10 percent) than they were in the past. In 1980, 28 percent of the nation's poor lived in a very low-poverty neighborhood compared to 20 percent in 2018. A greater share of the nation's poor lived in a very low-poverty neighborhood than in a high-poverty one in 1980; by 2018 that relationship had inverted. Poor Americans have become increasingly concentrated into higher poverty neighborhoods over the past 38 years, a very slight reduction in the share living in the most concentrated poverty neighborhoods notwithstanding.

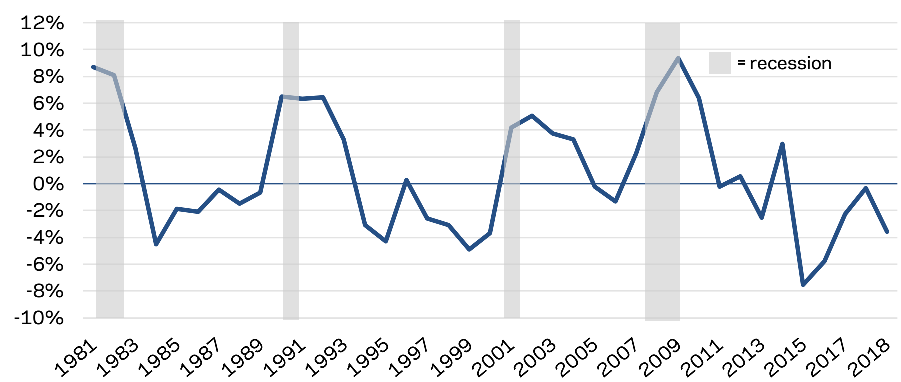
Share of the nation's poor grouped by census tract poverty rate, U.S. metro areas, 1980 and 2018



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

This increasing concentration of the poor in higher poverty neighborhoods aligns with research from Iceland and Hernandez (2017), which concludes that the geographical sorting of people by income was a leading cause of the surge in high-poverty neighborhoods from 2000 to 2010. The macroeconomic forces of the economically turbulent 2000s created a perfect storm, as well. Two recessions in a single decade invariably drove the total number of people living below the poverty line higher. The number of poor Americans rose in eight years of the last decade. From 2000 to 2010 the number of poor people rose in all but two years.

Year-over-year national change in persons living in poverty, 1980-2018

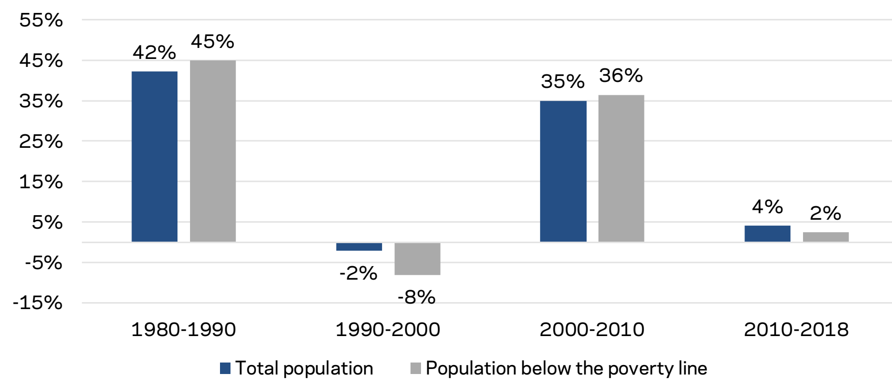


Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data

With another downturn now wreaking havoc on lower-wage industries, it seems certain that the number of individuals below the poverty line will climb again and consequently expand the universe of high-poverty neighborhoods further. Indeed, income segregation will concentrate hardship more than would be the case if low-income workers and their households were more evenly distributed across neighborhoods. High-poverty neighborhoods are especially exposed to the economic fallout from stay-at-home orders and related measures: 14 percent of individuals living in high-poverty neighborhoods work in the accommodation, food service, entertainment, and related industry sectors, for example, compared to nine percent of individuals living in low-poverty neighborhoods. Such figures speak to the precariousness and vulnerability to adverse economic shocks endemic to poor areas.

The total population residing in high-poverty neighborhoods doubled between 1980 and 2018, rising from 12 million to 24 million Americans (of those 24 million, 8.9 million were themselves below the poverty line). The total U.S. population only grew by 44 percent over the same period. Decades of relatively robust economic growth like the 1990s and 2010s suppressed population growth in high-poverty neighborhoods, while more economically unstable decades like the 1980s and 2000s saw big surges in the population of high-poverty neighborhoods. Dig deeper and the 1990s and 2010s differ starkly on how much progress was made as the economy expanded, however. The population actually living below the poverty line in high-poverty neighborhoods fell significantly over the 1990s. In stark contrast, the poor population of high-poverty neighborhoods continued to rise over the recovery from the Great Recession.

Average decennial change in total population and population below the poverty line living in metro high-poverty neighborhoods, 1980-2018



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

The regional geography of high-poverty neighborhoods

The Northeast

- One-fifth of the nation's high-poverty neighborhoods are in the Northeast.
- 72 percent of the Northeast's high-poverty neighborhoods are in Pennsylvania and New York.
- These two states have had very different trajectories—New York's total count of high-poverty neighborhoods was unchanged from 1980 to 2018, while Pennsylvania saw its count more than double.
- Every other Northeast state, with the exception of New Hampshire, has experienced an increase in high-poverty neighborhoods over the past 38 years.

The Midwest

- One-quarter of high-poverty neighborhoods are in Midwestern states. The region has more than doubled its count of high-poverty neighborhoods since 1980, with every state seeing an increase.
- Half of the Midwest's high-poverty neighborhoods are in Michigan and Ohio—both states had more than twice as many high-poverty neighborhoods in 2018 as in 1980.
- Indiana saw the biggest percentage increase in high-poverty neighborhoods over the last 38 years, more than tripling its count.

The South

- Like the Midwest, Southern states contributed about a quarter of high-poverty neighborhoods to the nation's total count of 6,547 in 2018.
- In Louisiana, 23 percent of all metropolitan census tracts in the state were high-poverty in 2018, the highest proportion nationwide. Mississippi and Alabama were tied with Michigan for the second-highest share.
- Texas, which is home to the second-highest total number of high-poverty metropolitan neighborhoods after California, saw its count more than double in the past 38 years from 291 in 1980 to 643 in 2018.

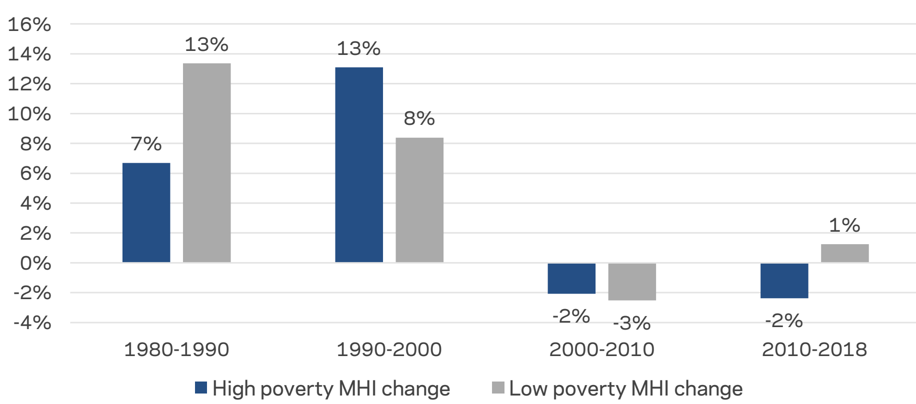
The West

- The West has 18 percent of the country's high-poverty neighborhoods, the fewest among the four regions.
- It is also a region of contrasts. Oregon, Washington, Utah, and Colorado have relatively small numbers of high-poverty neighborhoods and experienced only modest increases in the past 38 years.
- By contrast, Nevada and Arizona experienced steep increases in high-poverty neighborhoods. From 1980 to 2018 the number of high-poverty neighborhoods in Arizona quadrupled, even outpacing the state's robust population growth.
- The country's most populous state, California, contains more high-poverty metropolitan neighborhoods than any other: 692 census tracts in 2018 compared to 232 in 1980.

Widening neighborhood income gaps

After narrowing in the 1990s, neighborhood income gaps are widening again, decreasing the likelihood that their high-poverty status will only be fleeting. During the 1980s and 1990s, the income of the median household in the typical high-poverty neighborhood grew significantly in real terms. In the 1990s, income growth in high-poverty neighborhoods even exceeded that in low-poverty neighborhoods—underscoring just how inclusive the geography of economic growth was during that era. Yet, high-poverty neighborhoods have on average experienced a decline in median household income over the last twenty years. The modest upticks in low-poverty neighborhoods in the years since 2010 still elude most high-poverty neighborhoods in the latest data.

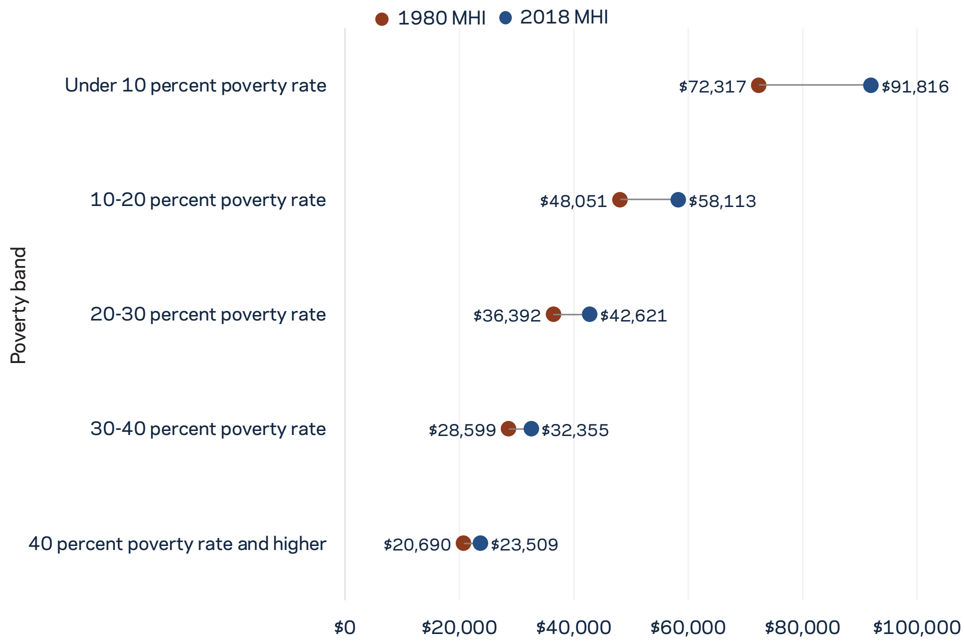
Average decennial median household income (MHI) change, high- and low-poverty neighborhoods, U.S. metro areas, 1980-2018



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates
MHI for all years adjusted to 2018 $

Over the entire study period, the median household income for high-poverty neighborhoods, adjusted to 2018 dollars, has grown modestly from $25K in 1980 to $29K in 2018 (by 15 percent), while household income for low-poverty neighborhoods increased from $65K in 1980 to $79K in 2018 (by 21 percent). The end result: the income gap between high- and low-poverty neighborhoods increased by more than one-quarter from 1980 to 2018.

Median household income (MHI) change, average census tract by poverty band, 1980-2018, U.S. metro areas, 2018 $

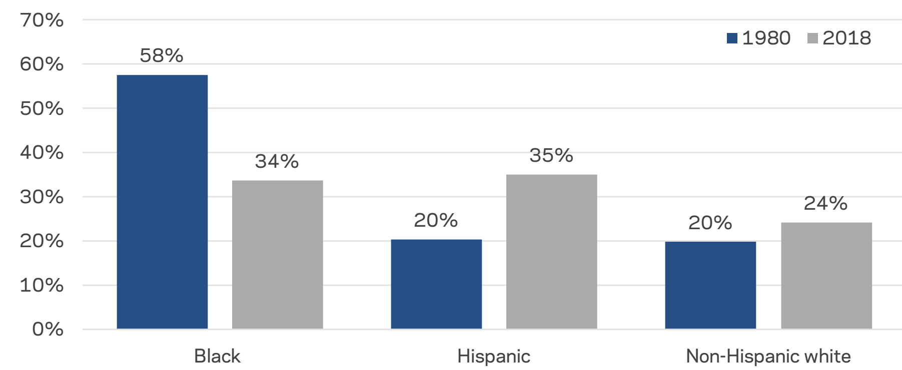


Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

The changing demography of high-poverty neighborhoods

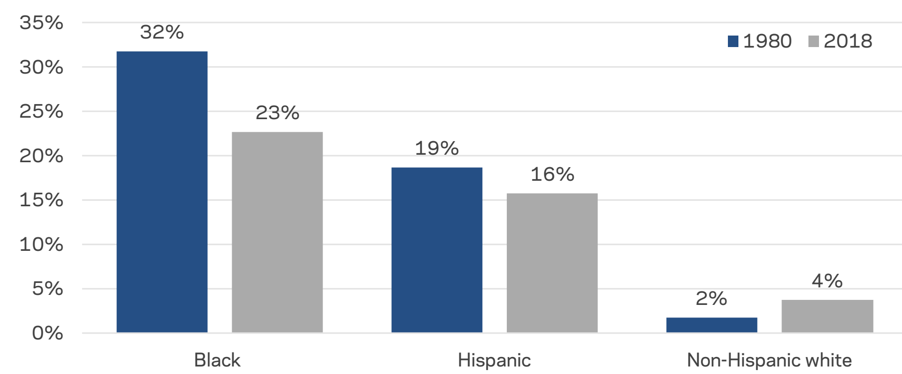
The racial and demographic composition of high-poverty neighborhoods has undergone considerable changes over the course of the past several decades. The Black share of the high-poverty neighborhood population fell from 58 percent in 1980 to 34 percent in 2018, as the Hispanic share surged and the non-Hispanic white (henceforth "white") share increased moderately. Both Blacks and Hispanics grew less likely to live in a high-poverty neighborhood over time. Whites, by contrast, grew slightly more likely to live in such a neighborhood. Despite this slight shift, immense racial gaps remain as Hispanics are four times as likely as whites to live in a high-poverty neighborhood and Blacks nearly six times.

Racial composition of high-poverty neighborhoods, 1980 and 2018, U.S. metro areas



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

Share of racial group living in a high-poverty neighborhood, 1980 and 2018, U.S. metro areas



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey, 5-Year estimates

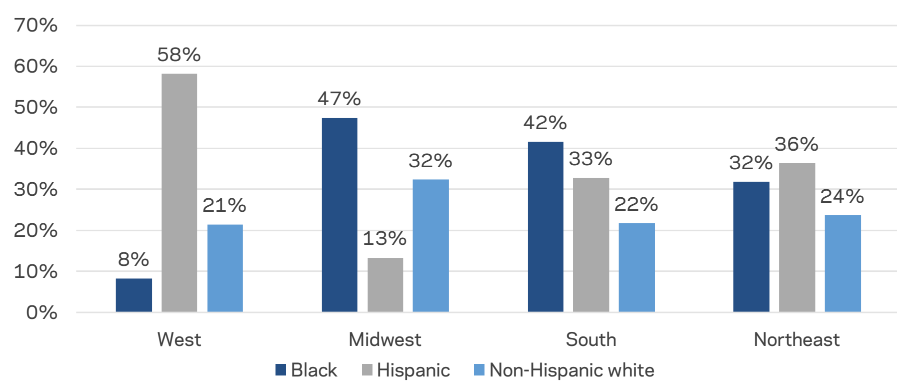
While high-poverty neighborhoods continue to be overwhelmingly populated with people of color (69 percent of the poor living in a high-poverty neighborhood in 2018 were Black or Hispanic), the white poor have experienced the most significant shift in the past two decades. From 2000 to 2018 the number of white poor living in a high-poverty neighborhood doubled compared to a 20 percent increase for Blacks and a 38 percent increase for Hispanics.

Nonetheless, Black *poor* are much more likely to live in a high-poverty neighborhood than white poor. In 2018, 41 percent of the country's Black poor and 31 percent of its Hispanic poor lived in a high-poverty neighborhood, compared to 13 percent of its white poor. In other words, someone who is Black and poor is three times as likely to live in a high-poverty neighborhood as someone who is white and poor. Looking at the inverse, fully one-third of poor whites live in a neighborhood with a poverty rate *below* 10 percent compared to just nine percent of Blacks and 11 percent of Hispanics. Neighborhood conditions are essential for providing economic opportunities and pathways out of poverty; on this front white poor still have a big leg up over poor people of color, who are disproportionately likely to not just be poor, but end up stuck in a high-poverty neighborhood.

Someone who is Black and poor is three times as likely to live in a high-poverty neighborhood as someone who is white and poor.

The demographic composition of high-poverty neighborhoods varies substantially by region. In the western United States, Hispanics make up more than half of the population of high-poverty neighborhoods, while Blacks make up just 8 percent. In the Midwest and the South, Blacks make up the largest share of the population in high-poverty neighborhoods, although in the Midwest whites make up close to one-third—their highest share in any region. The Northeast has the most even distribution between the three groups.

High-poverty neighborhoods, race by geographical region, U.S. metro areas, 2018



Source: Economic Innovation Group analysis of U.S. Census Bureau data and American Community Survey 5-Year estimates

Conclusion

Income inequality has been on the rise for several decades now and manifests itself at all levels of geography—across regions and states, but also within metropolitan areas and cities. While not all high-poverty neighborhoods share the same level of disadvantage, they are generally places where economic opportunities are scarce and poverty is an intergenerational burden. When the poor become concentrated in a confined geography, economic mobility becomes circumscribed and pathways out of poverty become more difficult to access. Communities of color are disproportionately impacted by the spread and persistence of high-poverty neighborhoods, but the entrenchment of poor places impairs the entire economy. Put simply, the U.S. economy cannot reach its full potential if large shares of its citizens cannot reach theirs.

The long and uninterrupted spell of economic growth following the Great Recession did little to change the landscape of high-poverty communities. That missed opportunity will make the current crisis harder for many communities to weather. It is still too soon to predict the extent of the economic fallout from the pandemic, but it is safe to imagine that the ranks of high-poverty neighborhoods are sure to increase once again. The country needs to not only ameliorate the negative impact of the current crisis on these vulnerable communities, but also look ahead to the next recovery and how best to restore economic opportunity to the nation's high-poverty neighborhoods.

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Appendix

High-poverty tracts by state, metro areas, 1980 and 2018

State	High-poverty tracts 1980	High-poverty tracts 2018	High-poverty tracts share of state's total tracts 1980	High-poverty tracts share of state's total tracts 2018
Alabama	102	152	16%	19%
Alaska	0	1	0%	1%
Arizona	38	196	8%	14%
Arkansas	33	54	16%	15%
California	232	692	5%	9%
Colorado	22	49	4%	5%
Connecticut	43	68	6%	9%
Delaware	12	9	8%	4%
District of Columbia	29	27	17%	16%
Florida	165	338	9%	9%
Georgia	131	222	16%	15%
Hawaii	5	8	3%	3%
Idaho	2	9	2%	5%
Illinois	270	323	14%	12%
Indiana	43	177	5%	17%
Iowa	13	22	4%	6%
Kansas	18	47	6%	11%
Kentucky	38	78	9%	14%
Louisiana	116	192	17%	23%
Maine	6	13	4%	7%
Maryland	63	72	6%	6%
Massachusetts	64	94	6%	7%
Michigan	165	411	9%	19%
Minnesota	22	55	3%	6%
Mississippi	48	53	23%	19%
Missouri	58	111	8%	12%
Montana	2	3	3%	4%
Nebraska	12	25	7%	9%
Nevada	2	52	1%	9%
New Hampshire	3	2	2%	1%
New Jersey	126	140	8%	7%
New Mexico	20	48	13%	15%
New York	575	574	14%	13%
North Carolina	64	151	8%	10%
North Dakota	1	2	2%	3%
Ohio	206	445	10%	19%
Oklahoma	30	86	6%	13%
Oregon	17	25	4%	4%
Pennsylvania	140	302	6%	11%
Rhode Island	8	25	4%	11%
South Carolina	54	95	11%	11%
South Dakota	1	2	2%	2%
Tennessee	108	164	16%	15%
Texas	291	643	12%	15%
Utah	9	14	4%	3%
Vermont	1	4	4%	12%
Virginia	63	74	6%	5%
Washington	28	50	4%	4%
West Virginia	11	35	5%	14%
Wisconsin	48	113	6%	12%
Wyoming	0	0	0%	0%