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The 10-20-30 Rule and Persistent Poverty Counties

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Summary

Anti-poverty interventions that provide resources to local communities, based on the characteristics of those communities, have been of interest to Congress. One such policy, dubbed the "10-20-30 rule," was implemented in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA, P.L. 111-5). Title I, Section 105 of ARRA required the Secretary of Agriculture to allocate at least 10% of funds from three rural development program accounts to persistent poverty counties; that is, to counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or more for the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses. One notable characteristic of this rule is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently.

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below poverty) reaches 20% experience systemic problems that are more acute than in lower-poverty areas. Therefore, policy interventions at the community level (such as applying the 10-20-30 rule to other programs besides those cited in ARRA), and not only at the individual or family level, could continue to be of interest to Congress.

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys. Currently, the only data sources that provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties are the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE); before the mid-1990s, the decennial census was the only source of county poverty estimates. Therefore, to determine whether an area is "persistently" poor in a time span that ends after the year 2000, it must first be decided whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used for the later part of that time span.

Lists of persistent poverty counties may differ by roughly 80 to 100 counties in a particular year, depending on the data source selected to compile the list and the rounding method used for the poverty rate estimates. When determining the method to be used to compile a list of persistent poverty counties, the following may be relevant to consider:

- Characteristics of interest: SAIPE is suited for poverty or median income alone; ACS for other topics in addition to poverty and income.
- Geographic areas of interest: SAIPE is recommended for counties and school districts only; ACS produces estimates for other small geographic areas as well.
- Reference period of estimate: SAIPE for one year; ACS for a five-year span.
- Rounding method for poverty rates: rounding to 20.0% (one decimal place) yields a shorter list than rounding to 20% (whole number).
- Poverty status is not defined for all persons: foster children (unrelated individuals under age 15), institutionalized persons, and residents of college dormitories are excluded; the homeless are not targeted by household surveys; and areas with large numbers of students living off-campus may have high poverty rates.

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Introduction

Anti-poverty interventions that provide resources to local communities, based on the characteristics of those communities, have been of interest to Congress. One such policy, dubbed the "10-20-30 rule," was implemented in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA, P.L. 111-5). Title I, Section 105 of ARRA required the Secretary of Agriculture to allocate at least 10% of funds from three rural development program accounts to persistent poverty counties; that is, to counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or more for the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.[1]

One notable characteristic of this rule is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently. Given Congress's interest both in addressing poverty and being mindful about levels of federal spending, several bills had been introduced in the 114th Congress that sought to apply the 10-20-30 rule to other programs and in other executive departments.[2]

This report explains why targeting funds to persistent poverty counties might be of interest, how "persistent poverty" is defined and measured, and how different interpretations of the definition and different data source selections could yield different lists of counties identified as persistently poor. This report does not compare the 10-20-30 rule's advantages and disadvantages against other policy options, nor does it examine the range of programs or policy goals for which the 10-20-30 rule might be an appropriate policy tool.

Motivation for Targeting Funds to Persistent Poverty Counties

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below poverty) reaches 20% experience systemic problems that are more acute than in lower-poverty areas. The poverty rate of 20% as a critical point has been discussed in academic literature as relevant for examining social characteristics of high-poverty versus low-poverty areas.[3] For instance, property values in high-poverty areas do not yield as high a return on

[1] While the 1980-2000 period is actually 20 years, local communities have traditionally relied upon the decennial census data for small areas up to 10 years after their publication, hence the reference to "30 years." However, since the late 1990s newer data sources have become available for small communities at intervals shorter than 10 years, which has implications that will be discussed in this report.

[2] These included H.R. 1360 (America's FOCUS Act of 2015), H.R. 5393 (Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5054 (Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5538 (Department of the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), and S. 3067 and H.R. 5485 (Financial Services and General Government Appropriations Act, 2017), none of which were enacted into law. Additionally, in the 113th Congress H.R. 5571 (The 10-20-30 Act of 2014) was introduced and referred to committee but not passed.

[3] For instance, George Galster of Wayne State University conducted a literature review that suggested "that the independent impacts of neighborhood poverty rates in encouraging negative outcomes for individuals like crime, school leaving, and duration of poverty spells appear to be nil unless the neighborhood exceeds about 20 percent poverty." Galster distinguishes the effects of living in a poor neighborhood from the effects of being poor oneself but not necessarily in a poor neighborhood. Cited in George C. Galster, "The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications," Presented at the Economic and Social Research Council Seminar, "Neighbourhood Effects: Theory & Evidence," St. Andrews University, Scotland, UK, February 2010.

Additionally, the Census Bureau has published a series of reports examining local areas (census tracts) with poverty rates of 20% or greater. See, for instance, Alemayehu Bishaw, "Changes in Areas With Concentrated Poverty: 2000 to

investment as in low-poverty areas, and that low return provides a financial disincentive for property owners to spend money on maintaining and improving property.[4] The ill effects of high poverty rates have been documented both for urban and rural areas.[5] Therefore, policy interventions at the community level, and not only at the individual or family level, could be of interest to Congress.

Defining "Persistent Poverty" Counties

Computing the Poverty Rate for an Area

Poverty rates are computed by the Census Bureau for the nation, states, and smaller geographic areas such as counties.[6] The official definition of poverty in the United States is based on the money income of families and unrelated individuals. Income from each family member (if family members are present) is added together and compared against a dollar amount called a *poverty threshold,* which represents a level of economic hardship and varies according to the size and characteristics of the family (ranging from one person to nine persons or more). Families (or unrelated individuals) whose income is less than their respective poverty threshold are considered to be in poverty.[7]

Every person in a family has the same poverty status. Thus, it is possible to compute a poverty rate based on counts of persons (dividing the number of persons below poverty within a county by the county's total population,[8] and multiplying by 100 to express as a percentage).

2010," U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports ACS-27, June 2014; and Leatha Lamison-White, "Poverty Areas," U.S. Census Bureau Statistical Brief, June 1995.

[4] The effects of poverty rates on property values are explored by George C. Galster, Jackie M. Cutsinger, and Ron Malega in "The Costs of Concentrated Poverty: Neighborhood Property Markets and the Dynamics of Decline," pp. 93-113 in N. Retsinas and E. Belsky, eds., *Revisiting Rental Housing: Policies, Programs, and Priorities* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008). They indicate that "the relationship between changes in a neighborhood's poverty rate and maintenance choices by local residential property owners will be lumpy and non-linear. Substantial variations in poverty rates in the low-moderate range yield no deviations in the owner's decision to highly maintain the building.... Past some percentage of poverty, however, the owner will switch to an undermaintenance mode whereby net depreciation will occur."

[5] See, for instance, a 2008 report issued jointly by the Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution, "The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S.," David Erickson et al., eds., 2008. Additional research into concentrated poverty in both rural and urban areas has been undertaken for decades; for example, educational attainment and health disability were discussed in a rural context by Calvin Beale in "Income and Poverty," chapter 11 in Glenn V. Fuguitt, David L. Brown, and Calvin L. Beale, eds., *Rural and Small Town America,* Russell Sage Foundation, 1988.

[6] There are actually two definitions of poverty used in the United States: one for statistical purposes, which is used by the Census Bureau and described in Statistical Policy Directive 14 by the Office of Management and Budget; and the other for administrative purposes, which is used by the Department of Health and Human Services and is referred to in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. Measuring the poverty rates of counties, which are in turn used in the 10-20-30 rule, is a statistical use of poverty data; thus, the statistical definition of poverty (used by the Census Bureau) applies.

[7] For further details about the official definition of poverty, see CRS Report R44644, *Poverty in the United States in 2015: In Brief,* by Joseph Dalaker.

[8] Poverty rates are computed using adjusted population totals because there are some individuals whose poverty status is not determined. These include unrelated individuals under age 15, such as foster children, who are not asked income questions and who are not related to anyone else in their residence by birth, marriage, or adoption; persons living in military barracks; persons living in college dormitories and who also are not reported as belonging to another household, such as their parents' household; and persons in institutions such as nursing homes or prisons. These

Data Sources Used in Identifying Persistent Poverty Counties

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys. Currently, the only data sources that provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties are the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE). Before the mid-1990s, the only poverty data available at the county level came from the Decennial Census of Population and Housing, which was only collected once every 10 years, and used to be the only source of estimates that could determine whether a county had persistently high poverty rates (ARRA referred explicitly to decennial census poverty estimates for that purpose). However, after Census 2000 the decennial census no longer collects income information, and as a result cannot be used to compute poverty estimates. Therefore, to determine whether an area is persistently poor in a time span that ends after 2000, it must first be decided whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used for the later part of that time span.

The ACS and the SAIPE program serve different purposes. The ACS was developed to provide continuous measurement of a wide range of topics similar to that formerly provided by the decennial census long form, available down to the local community level. ACS data for all counties are available annually, but are based on responses over the previous five-year time span (e.g., 2011-2015). The SAIPE program was developed specifically for estimating poverty at the county level for school-age children and for the overall population, for use in funding allocations for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. SAIPE data are also available annually, and reflect one calendar year, not five. However, unlike the ACS, SAIPE does not provide estimates for a wide array of topics. For further details about the data sources for county poverty estimates, see the **Appendix**.

Considerations When Identifying and Targeting Persistent Poverty Counties

Selecting the Data Source: Strengths and Limitations of ACS and SAIPE Poverty Data

Because poverty estimates can be obtained from multiple data sources, the Census Bureau has provided guidance on the most suitable data source to use for various purposes.[9]

Characteristics of Interest: SAIPE for Poverty Alone; ACS for Other Topics in Addition to Poverty

SAIPE poverty estimates are recommended when estimates are needed at the county level, especially for counties with small populations, and when additional demographic and economic detail is not needed at that level.[10] When additional detail is required, such as for county-level poverty estimates by race and Hispanic origin, detailed age groups (aside from the elementary

persons are excluded from the total population when computing poverty rates. Furthermore, people who have no traditional housing and who do not live in shelters are typically not in scope for household surveys.

[9] This guidance is posted on the Census Bureau's website at https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html, and is reproduced in the **Appendix**.

[10] SAIPE county-level estimates are available for the poverty status of the total population, persons under age 18, and related children ages 5 to 17 living in families, and for median household income.

and secondary school-age population), housing characteristics, or education level, the ACS is the recommended data source.

Geographic Area of Interest: SAIPE for Counties and School Districts Only; ACS for Other Small Areas

For counties (and school districts) of small population size, SAIPE data have an advantage over ACS data in that the SAIPE model uses administrative data to help reduce the uncertainty of the estimates. However, ACS estimates are available for a wider array of geographic levels, such as ZIP code tabulation areas, census tracts (sub-county areas of roughly 1,200 to 8,000 people), cities and towns, and greater metropolitan areas.

Reference Period of Estimate: SAIPE for One Year, ACS for a Five-Year Span

While the ACS has greater flexibility in the topics measured and the geographic areas provided, it can only provide estimates in five-year ranges for the smallest geographic areas. Five years of survey responses are needed to obtain a sample large enough to produce meaningful estimates for populations below 65,000 persons. In this sense the SAIPE data, because they are based on a single year, are more current than the data of the ACS. The distinction has to do with the reference period of the data—both data sources release data on an annual basis; the ACS estimates for small areas are based on the prior five years, not the prior year alone.

Other Considerations

Treatment of Special Populations in the Official Poverty Definition

Poverty status is not defined for persons in institutions, such as nursing homes or prisons, nor for persons residing in military barracks. These populations are excluded from totals when computing poverty statistics. Furthermore, the homeless population is not counted explicitly in poverty statistics. The ACS is a household survey, thus homeless individuals who are not in shelters are not counted. SAIPE estimates are partially based on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) administrative data and tax data, so the part of the homeless population that either filed tax returns or received SNAP benefits might be reflected in the estimates, but only implicitly.

Poverty status also is not defined for persons living in college dormitories. However, students who live in off-campus housing are included. Because college students tend to have lower money income (which does not include school loans) than average, counties that have large populations of students living off-campus may exhibit higher poverty rates than one might expect given other economic measures for the area, such as the unemployment rate.[11]

Given the ways that the populations above either are or are not reflected in poverty statistics, it may be worthwhile to consider whether counties that have large numbers of people in those

[11] For some counties, the percentage-point difference could be large when off-campus students are excluded. Using ACS data for 2009-2011, Whitman County, WA, experienced the largest poverty rate difference among all counties when off-campus students were excluded—its poverty rate fell by 16.5 percentage points. For the United States as a whole, the poverty rate fell from 15.2% to 14.5% when off-campus students were excluded (based on the same dataset). For details, see Alemayehu Bishaw, "Examining the Effect of Off-Campus College Students on Poverty Rates," Working Paper SEHSD 2013-17, U.S. Census Bureau, May 1, 2013.

populations would receive an equitable allocation of funds. Other economic measures may be of use, depending on the type of program for which funds are being targeted.

"Persistence" Versus Flexibility to Recent Situations

The 10-20-30 rule was developed to identify counties with persistently high poverty rates. Therefore, using that rule by itself would not allow flexibility to target counties that have recently fallen on hard times, such as counties that had a large manufacturing plant close within the past three years. Other interventions besides the 10-20-30 rule may be more appropriate for counties that have had a recent spike in the poverty rate.

Effects of Rounding and Data Source Selection on Lists of Counties

In ARRA, persistent poverty counties were defined as "any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses."[12] Poverty rates published by the Census Bureau are typically reported to one decimal place. The numeral used in the ARRA language was the whole number 20. Thus, for any collection of poverty data, there are two reasonable approaches to compiling a list of persistent poverty counties: using poverty rates of at least 20.0% in all three years, or using poverty rates that *round up* to the whole number 20% or greater in all three years (i.e., poverty rates of 19.5% or more in all three years). The former approach is more restrictive and results in a shorter list of counties; the latter approach is more inclusive.

Table 1 illustrates the number of counties identified as persistent poverty counties using the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and various ACS and SAIPE datasets for the last data point, under both rounding schemes. The rounding method and data source selection can have a large impact on the number of counties listed. Approximately 30 more counties appear in SAIPE-based lists compared to ACS-based lists using the same rounding method. Compared to using 20.0% as the cutoff (rounded to one decimal place), rounding up to 20% from 19.5% adds approximately 50 counties to the lists based on ACS five-year data, and approximately 60 counties to the lists based on SAIPE data. Taking both the data source and the rounding method together, the list of persistent poverty counties could vary by roughly 80 to 100 counties in a given year depending on the method used.

Table 1. Number of Counties Identified as Persistently Poor, Using Different Datasets and Rounding Methods

Counties identified as having poverty rates of 20% or more (applying rounding methods as indicated below) in 1989 (from 1990 Census), 1999 (from Census 2000), and latest year from datasets indicated below.

Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
ACS, 2007-2011	397	445	48
ACS, 2008-2012	404	456	52
ACS, 2009-2013	402	458	56
ACS, 2010-2014	401	456	55

[12] P.L. 111-5, Section 105.

Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
ACS, 2011-2015	397	453	56
			Mean difference: 53.40
SAIPE, 2011	433	495	62
SAIPE, 2012	435	491	56
SAIPE, 2013	427	490	63
SAIPE, 2014	427	486	59
SAIPE, 2015	419	476	57
			Mean difference: 59.40
Differences between datasets released in same year			
Difference, SAIPE 2011 minus ACS 2007-2011	36	50	
Difference, SAIPE 2012 minus ACS 2008-2012	31	35	
Difference, SAIPE 2013 minus ACS 2009-2013	25	32	
Difference, SAIPE 2014 minus ACS 2010-2014	26	30	
Difference, SAIPE 2015 minus ACS 2011-2015	22	23	
Mean difference	28.00	34.00	

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2011-2015 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates for 2007-2011, 2008-2012, 2009-2013, 2010-2014, and 2011-2015.

Notes: ACS: American Community Survey. SAIPE: Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates. Comparisons between ACS and SAIPE estimates are between datasets released in the same year (both are typically released in December of the year following the reference period). There are 3,143 county-type areas in the United States.

The selection of the data source and rounding method has a large effect on the number of counties identified as being in persistent poverty. The longest list of persistent poverty counties (SAIPE, 19.5% or greater, that is, rounded up to the whole number 20%) minus the shortest list of persistent poverty counties (ACS, 20.0% or greater) yields the maximum difference. Comparing datasets that were released in the same year, the maximum differences in the lists of counties were

SAIPE 2011, whole number - ACS, 2007-2011, one decimal = 98 counties
SAIPE 2012, whole number - ACS, 2008-2012, one decimal = 87
SAIPE 2013, whole number - ACS, 2009-2013, one decimal = 88
SAIPE 2014, whole number - ACS, 2010-2014, one decimal = 85
SAIPE 2015, whole number - ACS, 2011-2015, one decimal = 79

The lists of persistent poverty counties varied by about 87 counties on average (mean: 87.40), depending on which data source is used for the last data point in the 30-year span, and which rounding method is applied to identify persistent poverty.

Example List of Persistent Poverty Counties

The list of persistent poverty counties below (**Table 2**) is based on data from the 1990 Census, Census 2000, and the 2015 SAIPE estimates, and included counties with poverty rates of 19.5% or greater (that is, counties with poverty rates that were at least 20% with rounding applied to the whole number). These same counties are mapped in **Figure 1**.

Table 2. List of Persistent Poverty Counties, Based on 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2015 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE), Using Poverty Rates of 19.5% or Greater

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
1	01005	Alabama	Barbour	25.2	26.8	32.0
2	01007	Alabama	Bibb	21.2	20.6	22.2
3	01011	Alabama	Bullock	36.5	33.5	39.6
4	01013	Alabama	Butler	31.5	24.6	25.8
5	01023	Alabama	Choctaw	30.2	24.5	24.4
6	01025	Alabama	Clarke	25.9	22.6	22.2
7	01035	Alabama	Conecuh	29.7	26.6	28.3
8	01041	Alabama	Crenshaw	24.3	22.1	19.9
9	01047	Alabama	Dallas	36.2	31.1	34.6
10	01053	Alabama	Escambia	28.1	20.9	24.4
11	01061	Alabama	Geneva	19.5	19.6	22.4
12	01063	Alabama	Greene	45.6	34.3	37.7
13	01065	Alabama	Hale	35.6	26.9	28.5
14	01081	Alabama	Lee	24.9	21.8	21.0
15	01085	Alabama	Lowndes	38.6	31.4	35.2
16	01087	Alabama	Macon	34.5	32.8	32.2
17	01091	Alabama	Marengo	30.0	25.9	23.3
18	01099	Alabama	Monroe	22.7	21.3	28.6
19	01105	Alabama	Perry	42.6	35.4	40.0
20	01107	Alabama	Pickens	28.9	24.9	24.3
21	01109	Alabama	Pike	27.2	23.1	25.9
22	01113	Alabama	Russell	20.4	19.9	23.0
23	01119	Alabama	Sumter	39.7	38.7	33.2
24	01131	Alabama	Wilcox	45.2	39.9	33.2
25	02050	Alaska	Bethel Census Area	30.0	20.6	24.2
26	02070	Alaska	Dillingham Census Area	24.6	21.4	20.0

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
27	02158	Alaska	Kusilvak Census Area[a]	31.0	26.2	31.8
28	02290	Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk Census Area	26.0	23.8	23.4
29	04001	Arizona	Apache	47.1	37.8	38.0
30	04009	Arizona	Graham	26.7	23.0	22.9
31	04012	Arizona	La Paz	28.2	19.6	22.2
32	04017	Arizona	Navajo	34.7	29.5	28.1
33	04023	Arizona	Santa Cruz	26.4	24.5	24.4
34	05011	Arkansas	Bradley	24.9	26.3	28.0
35	05017	Arkansas	Chicot	40.4	28.6	31.4
36	05027	Arkansas	Columbia	24.4	21.1	23.8
37	05035	Arkansas	Crittenden	27.1	25.3	25.9
38	05037	Arkansas	Cross	25.4	19.9	21.5
39	05041	Arkansas	Desha	34.0	28.9	30.9
40	05057	Arkansas	Hempstead	22.7	20.3	24.1
41	05069	Arkansas	Jefferson	23.9	20.5	26.5
42	05073	Arkansas	Lafayette	34.7	23.2	22.7
43	05077	Arkansas	Lee	47.3	29.9	35.9
44	05079	Arkansas	Lincoln	26.2	19.5	25.1
45	05093	Arkansas	Mississippi	26.2	23.0	26.3
46	05095	Arkansas	Monroe	35.9	27.5	30.9
47	05099	Arkansas	Nevada	20.3	22.8	24.0
48	05101	Arkansas	Newton	29.6	20.4	24.2
49	05103	Arkansas	Ouachita	21.2	19.5	22.8
50	05107	Arkansas	Phillips	43.0	32.7	37.3
51	05111	Arkansas	Poinsett	25.6	21.2	23.9
52	05123	Arkansas	St. Francis	36.6	27.5	30.7
53	05129	Arkansas	Searcy	29.9	23.8	22.2
54	05147	Arkansas	Woodruff	34.5	27.0	25.8
55	06019	California	Fresno	21.4	22.9	25.2
56	06025	California	Imperial	23.8	22.6	24.3
57	06047	California	Merced	19.9	21.7	25.9
58	06107	California	Tulare	22.6	23.9	27.2
59	06115	California	Yuba	19.5	20.8	21.6
60	08003	Colorado	Alamosa	24.8	21.3	24.0

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
61	08011	Colorado	Bent	20.4	19.5	36.7
62	08021	Colorado	Conejos	33.9	23.0	20.2
63	08023	Colorado	Costilla	34.6	26.8	28.2
64	08099	Colorado	Prowers	21.0	19.5	19.6
65	08109	Colorado	Saguache	30.6	22.6	29.6
66	12001	Florida	Alachua	23.5	22.8	21.1
67	12039	Florida	Gadsden	28.0	19.9	24.5
68	12047	Florida	Hamilton	27.8	26.0	31.8
69	12049	Florida	Hardee	22.8	24.6	25.9
70	12079	Florida	Madison	25.9	23.1	27.0
71	12107	Florida	Putnam	20.0	20.9	27.3
72	13003	Georgia	Atkinson	26.0	23.0	26.9
73	13005	Georgia	Bacon	24.1	23.7	23.9
74	13007	Georgia	Baker	24.8	23.4	28.7
75	13017	Georgia	Ben Hill	22.0	22.3	32.5
76	13027	Georgia	Brooks	25.9	23.4	25.4
77	13031	Georgia	Bulloch	27.5	24.5	29.9
78	13033	Georgia	Burke	30.3	28.7	25.1
79	13037	Georgia	Calhoun	31.8	26.5	37.5
80	13043	Georgia	Candler	24.1	26.1	28.1
81	13059	Georgia	Clarke	27.0	28.3	38.1
82	13061	Georgia	Clay	35.7	31.3	34.3
83	13065	Georgia	Clinch	26.4	23.4	28.2
84	13071	Georgia	Colquitt	22.8	19.8	24.1
85	13075	Georgia	Cook	22.4	20.7	24.1
86	13081	Georgia	Crisp	29.0	29.3	32.3
87	13087	Georgia	Decatur	23.3	22.7	27.3
88	13093	Georgia	Dooly	32.9	22.1	33.8
89	13095	Georgia	Dougherty	24.4	24.8	29.4
90	13099	Georgia	Early	31.4	25.7	26.5
91	13107	Georgia	Emanuel	25.7	27.4	27.0
92	13109	Georgia	Evans	25.4	27.0	27.4
93	13131	Georgia	Grady	22.3	21.3	29.3
94	13133	Georgia	Greene	25.1	22.3	21.2
95	13141	Georgia	Hancock	30.1	29.4	34.7

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
96	13163	Georgia	Jefferson	31.3	23.0	27.7
97	13165	Georgia	Jenkins	27.8	28.4	35.9
98	13167	Georgia	Johnson	22.2	22.6	30.2
99	13193	Georgia	Macon	29.2	25.8	33.5
100	13197	Georgia	Marion	28.2	22.4	25.5
101	13201	Georgia	Miller	22.1	21.2	25.1
102	13205	Georgia	Mitchell	28.7	26.4	28.0
103	13209	Georgia	Montgomery	24.5	19.9	24.3
104	13225	Georgia	Peach	24.0	20.2	22.0
105	13239	Georgia	Quitman	33.0	21.9	28.9
106	13243	Georgia	Randolph	35.9	27.7	26.9
107	13249	Georgia	Schley	19.9	19.9	19.5
108	13251	Georgia	Screven	22.9	20.1	27.0
109	13253	Georgia	Seminole	29.1	23.2	25.8
110	13259	Georgia	Stewart	31.4	22.2	42.0
111	13261	Georgia	Sumter	24.8	21.4	30.8
112	13263	Georgia	Talbot	24.9	24.2	25.6
113	13265	Georgia	Taliaferro	31.9	23.4	33.5
114	13267	Georgia	Tattnall	21.9	23.9	27.5
115	13269	Georgia	Taylor	29.5	26.0	27.3
116	13271	Georgia	Telfair	27.3	21.2	34.7
117	13273	Georgia	Terrell	29.1	28.6	36.5
118	13277	Georgia	Tift	22.9	19.9	27.1
119	13279	Georgia	Toombs	24.0	23.9	25.1
120	13283	Georgia	Treutlen	27.1	26.3	28.7
121	13287	Georgia	Turner	31.3	26.7	28.4
122	13289	Georgia	Twiggs	26.0	19.7	26.3
123	13299	Georgia	Ware	21.1	20.5	28.4
124	13301	Georgia	Warren	32.6	27.0	27.7
125	13303	Georgia	Washington	21.6	22.9	26.3
126	13309	Georgia	Wheeler	30.3	25.3	39.3
127	13315	Georgia	Wilcox	28.6	21.0	30.4
128	16065	Idaho	Madison	28.6	30.5	28.1
129	17003	Illinois	Alexander	32.2	26.1	28.6
130	17077	Illinois	Jackson	28.4	25.2	23.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
131	17153	Illinois	Pulaski	30.2	24.7	24.7
132	20161	Kansas	Riley	21.2	20.6	23.4
133	21001	Kentucky	Adair	25.1	24.0	27.2
134	21011	Kentucky	Bath	27.3	21.9	24.9
135	21013	Kentucky	Bell	36.2	31.1	44.7
136	21025	Kentucky	Breathitt	39.5	33.2	32.9
137	21043	Kentucky	Carter	26.8	22.3	19.7
138	21045	Kentucky	Casey	29.4	25.5	25.1
139	21051	Kentucky	Clay	40.2	39.7	46.8
140	21053	Kentucky	Clinton	38.1	25.8	26.4
141	21057	Kentucky	Cumberland	31.6	23.8	24.8
142	21063	Kentucky	Elliott	38.0	25.9	34.4
143	21065	Kentucky	Estill	29.0	26.4	28.2
144	21071	Kentucky	Floyd	31.2	30.3	29.5
145	21075	Kentucky	Fulton	30.3	23.1	30.4
146	21095	Kentucky	Harlan	33.1	32.5	35.5
147	21099	Kentucky	Hart	27.1	22.4	22.0
148	21109	Kentucky	Jackson	38.2	30.2	31.2
149	21115	Kentucky	Johnson	28.7	26.6	25.9
150	21119	Kentucky	Knott	40.4	31.1	33.8
151	21121	Kentucky	Knox	38.9	34.8	32.0
152	21125	Kentucky	Laurel	24.8	21.3	23.0
153	21127	Kentucky	Lawrence	36.0	30.7	25.0
154	21129	Kentucky	Lee	37.4	30.4	34.7
155	21131	Kentucky	Leslie	35.6	32.7	33.7
156	21133	Kentucky	Letcher	31.8	27.1	33.2
157	21135	Kentucky	Lewis	30.7	28.5	24.7
158	21137	Kentucky	Lincoln	27.2	21.1	21.2
159	21147	Kentucky	McCreary	45.5	32.2	41.5
160	21153	Kentucky	Magoffin	42.5	36.6	32.6
161	21159	Kentucky	Martin	35.4	37.0	40.0
162	21165	Kentucky	Menifee	35.0	29.6	26.8
163	21169	Kentucky	Metcalfe	27.9	23.6	22.9
164	21171	Kentucky	Monroe	26.9	23.4	25.3
165	21175	Kentucky	Morgan	38.8	27.2	31.3

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
166	21189	Kentucky	Owsley	52.1	45.4	42.4
167	21193	Kentucky	Perry	32.1	29.1	28.5
168	21195	Kentucky	Pike	25.4	23.4	25.0
169	21197	Kentucky	Powell	26.2	23.5	26.0
170	21201	Kentucky	Robertson	24.8	22.2	22.5
171	21203	Kentucky	Rockcastle	30.7	23.1	22.9
172	21205	Kentucky	Rowan	28.9	21.3	27.2
173	21207	Kentucky	Russell	25.6	24.3	24.6
174	21231	Kentucky	Wayne	37.3	29.4	28.0
175	21235	Kentucky	Whitley	33.0	26.4	29.2
176	21237	Kentucky	Wolfe	44.3	35.9	30.7
177	22001	Louisiana	Acadia Parish	30.5	24.5	23.7
178	22003	Louisiana	Allen Parish	29.9	19.9	20.4
179	22009	Louisiana	Avoyelles Parish	37.1	25.9	25.3
180	22013	Louisiana	Bienville Parish	31.2	26.1	25.4
181	22017	Louisiana	Caddo Parish	24.0	21.1	22.2
182	22021	Louisiana	Caldwell Parish	28.8	21.2	22.9
183	22025	Louisiana	Catahoula Parish	36.8	28.1	27.2
184	22027	Louisiana	Claiborne Parish	32.0	26.5	30.9
185	22029	Louisiana	Concordia Parish	30.6	29.1	29.5
186	22031	Louisiana	De Soto Parish	29.8	25.1	24.9
187	22035	Louisiana	East Carroll Parish	56.8	40.5	43.5
188	22037	Louisiana	East Feliciana Parish	25.0	23.0	21.8
189	22039	Louisiana	Evangeline Parish	35.1	32.2	25.7
190	22041	Louisiana	Franklin Parish	34.5	28.4	25.4
191	22043	Louisiana	Grant Parish	25.5	21.5	21.3
192	22045	Louisiana	Iberia Parish	25.8	23.6	20.8
193	22047	Louisiana	Iberville Parish	28.0	23.1	22.3
194	22049	Louisiana	Jackson Parish	23.9	19.8	21.1
195	22053	Louisiana	Jefferson Davis Parish	27.3	20.9	20.3
196	22061	Louisiana	Lincoln Parish	26.6	26.5	25.5
197	22065	Louisiana	Madison Parish	44.6	36.7	37.6
198	22067	Louisiana	Morehouse Parish	31.0	26.8	31.1
199	22069	Louisiana	Natchitoches Parish	33.9	26.5	29.6
200	22071	Louisiana	Orleans Parish	31.6	27.9	24.0

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
201	22073	Louisiana	Ouachita Parish	24.7	20.7	23.0
202	22079	Louisiana	Rapides Parish	22.6	20.5	21.6
203	22081	Louisiana	Red River Parish	35.1	29.9	25.7
204	22083	Louisiana	Richland Parish	33.2	27.9	24.7
205	22091	Louisiana	St. Helena Parish	34.4	26.8	19.9
206	22097	Louisiana	St. Landry Parish	36.3	29.3	27.0
207	22101	Louisiana	St. Mary Parish	27.0	23.6	19.7
208	22105	Louisiana	Tangipahoa Parish	31.5	22.7	24.0
209	22107	Louisiana	Tensas Parish	46.3	36.3	35.1
210	22117	Louisiana	Washington Parish	31.6	24.7	26.2
211	22119	Louisiana	Webster Parish	25.1	20.2	25.9
212	22123	Louisiana	West Carroll Parish	27.4	23.4	22.7
213	22125	Louisiana	West Feliciana Parish	33.8	19.9	23.9
214	22127	Louisiana	Winn Parish	27.5	21.5	24.0
215	24510	Maryland	Baltimore city	21.9	22.9	22.7
216	26073	Michigan	Isabella	24.9	20.4	26.1
217	28001	Mississippi	Adams	30.5	25.9	29.6
218	28005	Mississippi	Amite	30.9	22.6	22.2
219	28007	Mississippi	Attala	30.2	21.8	22.9
220	28009	Mississippi	Benton	29.7	23.2	25.3
221	28011	Mississippi	Bolivar	42.9	33.3	36.1
222	28017	Mississippi	Chickasaw	21.3	20.0	26.6
223	28019	Mississippi	Choctaw	25.0	24.7	24.5
224	28021	Mississippi	Claiborne	43.6	32.4	46.3
225	28023	Mississippi	Clarke	23.4	23.0	21.8
226	28025	Mississippi	Clay	25.9	23.5	27.6
227	28027	Mississippi	Coahoma	45.5	35.9	35.0
228	28029	Mississippi	Copiah	32.0	25.1	26.1
229	28031	Mississippi	Covington	31.2	23.5	22.4
230	28035	Mississippi	Forrest	27.5	22.5	26.6
231	28037	Mississippi	Franklin	33.3	24.1	20.6
232	28041	Mississippi	Greene	26.8	19.6	22.6
233	28043	Mississippi	Grenada	22.3	20.9	21.3
234	28049	Mississippi	Hinds	21.2	19.9	27.1
235	28051	Mississippi	Holmes	53.2	41.1	43.3

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236	28053	Mississippi	Humphreys	45.9	38.2	41.5
237	28055	Mississippi	Issaquena	49.3	33.2	40.4
238	28061	Mississippi	Jasper	30.7	22.7	22.8
239	28063	Mississippi	Jefferson	46.9	36.0	39.3
240	28065	Mississippi	Jefferson Davis	33.3	28.2	30.5
241	28067	Mississippi	Jones	22.7	19.8	23.2
242	28069	Mississippi	Kemper	35.1	26.0	31.9
243	28071	Mississippi	Lafayette	25.1	21.3	21.0
244	28075	Mississippi	Lauderdale	22.8	20.8	22.0
245	28077	Mississippi	Lawrence	27.9	19.6	20.9
246	28079	Mississippi	Leake	29.6	23.3	24.3
247	28083	Mississippi	Leflore	38.9	34.8	42.3
248	28087	Mississippi	Lowndes	22.1	21.3	23.5
249	28091	Mississippi	Marion	29.6	24.8	24.2
250	28093	Mississippi	Marshall	30.0	21.9	23.3
251	28097	Mississippi	Montgomery	34.0	24.3	25.8
252	28099	Mississippi	Neshoba	26.6	21.0	25.5
253	28101	Mississippi	Newton	20.9	19.9	22.7
254	28103	Mississippi	Noxubee	41.4	32.8	34.3
255	28105	Mississippi	Oktibbeha	30.1	28.2	27.1
256	28107	Mississippi	Panola	33.8	25.3	24.8
257	28111	Mississippi	Perry	29.1	22.0	21.0
258	28113	Mississippi	Pike	32.9	25.3	30.1
259	28119	Mississippi	Quitman	41.6	33.1	38.2
260	28123	Mississippi	Scott	27.4	20.7	21.7
261	28125	Mississippi	Sharkey	47.5	38.3	34.3
262	28127	Mississippi	Simpson	22.7	21.6	24.5
263	28133	Mississippi	Sunflower	41.8	30.0	39.3
264	28135	Mississippi	Tallahatchie	41.9	32.2	32.9
265	28143	Mississippi	Tunica	56.8	33.1	28.9
266	28147	Mississippi	Walthall	35.9	27.8	27.6
267	28151	Mississippi	Washington	33.8	29.2	36.2
268	28153	Mississippi	Wayne	29.5	25.4	24.5
269	28157	Mississippi	Wilkinson	42.2	37.7	34.5
270	28159	Mississippi	Winston	26.6	23.7	26.6

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271	28161	Mississippi	Yalobusha	26.4	21.8	22.4
272	28163	Mississippi	Yazoo	39.2	31.9	34.2
273	29001	Missouri	Adair	24.9	23.3	21.9
274	29035	Missouri	Carter	27.6	25.2	21.4
275	29069	Missouri	Dunklin	29.9	24.5	27.6
276	29085	Missouri	Hickory	21.9	19.7	23.8
277	29119	Missouri	McDonald	20.6	20.7	20.1
278	29133	Missouri	Mississippi	29.7	23.7	26.6
279	29143	Missouri	New Madrid	26.9	22.1	23.9
280	29149	Missouri	Oregon	27.4	22.0	24.7
281	29153	Missouri	Ozark	22.1	21.6	27.7
282	29155	Missouri	Pemiscot	35.8	30.4	28.0
283	29179	Missouri	Reynolds	24.2	20.1	21.5
284	29181	Missouri	Ripley	31.5	22.0	25.4
285	29185	Missouri	St. Clair	22.4	19.6	22.6
286	29203	Missouri	Shannon	24.1	26.9	23.9
287	29215	Missouri	Texas	22.9	21.4	23.3
288	29221	Missouri	Washington	27.2	20.8	20.7
289	29223	Missouri	Wayne	29.0	21.9	24.3
290	29229	Missouri	Wright	25.3	21.7	24.1
291	29510	Missouri	St. Louis city	24.6	24.6	25.5
292	30003	Montana	Big Horn	35.3	29.2	31.0
293	30005	Montana	Blaine	27.7	28.1	29.6
294	30035	Montana	Glacier	35.7	27.3	28.1
295	30037	Montana	Golden Valley	27.5	25.8	20.2
296	30085	Montana	Roosevelt	27.7	32.4	24.3
297	30107	Montana	Wheatland	21.3	20.4	20.1
298	31173	Nebraska	Thurston	30.9	25.6	25.6
299	35003	New Mexico	Catron	25.6	24.5	23.4
300	35005	New Mexico	Chaves	22.4	21.3	21.1
301	35006	New Mexico	Cibola	33.6	24.8	29.2
302	35013	New Mexico	Doña Ana	26.5	25.4	25.7
303	35019	New Mexico	Guadalupe	38.5	21.6	23.9
304	35023	New Mexico	Hidalgo	20.7	27.3	25.2
305	35029	New Mexico	Luna	31.5	32.9	30.9

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306	35031	New Mexico	McKinley	43.5	36.1	34.1
307	35033	New Mexico	Mora	36.2	25.4	23.9
308	35037	New Mexico	Quay	25.1	20.9	23.0
309	35039	New Mexico	Rio Arriba	27.5	20.3	24.2
310	35041	New Mexico	Roosevelt	26.9	22.7	20.4
311	35047	New Mexico	San Miguel	30.2	24.4	28.7
312	35051	New Mexico	Sierra	19.6	20.9	28.7
313	35053	New Mexico	Socorro	29.9	31.7	23.5
314	35055	New Mexico	Taos	27.5	20.9	19.9
315	36005	New York	Bronx	28.7	30.7	30.3
316	36047	New York	Kings	22.7	25.1	22.3
317	37015	North Carolina	Bertie	25.9	23.5	24.8
318	37017	North Carolina	Bladen	21.9	21.0	25.4
319	37047	North Carolina	Columbus	24.0	22.7	24.0
320	37065	North Carolina	Edgecombe	20.9	19.6	27.8
321	37075	North Carolina	Graham	24.9	19.5	21.0
322	37083	North Carolina	Halifax	25.6	23.9	27.9
323	37117	North Carolina	Martin	22.3	20.2	22.5
324	37131	North Carolina	Northampton	23.6	21.3	26.8
325	37147	North Carolina	Pitt	22.1	20.3	25.9
326	37155	North Carolina	Robeson	24.1	22.8	30.6
327	37177	North Carolina	Tyrrell	25.0	23.3	25.0
328	37181	North Carolina	Vance	19.6	20.5	24.6
329	37187	North Carolina	Washington	20.4	21.8	23.4
330	38005	North Dakota	Benson	31.7	29.1	27.9
331	38079	North Dakota	Rolette	40.7	31.0	25.5
332	38085	North Dakota	Sioux	47.4	39.2	40.4
333	39009	Ohio	Athens	28.7	27.4	31.5
334	39105	Ohio	Meigs	26.0	19.8	22.8
335	40001	Oklahoma	Adair	26.7	23.2	28.4
336	40005	Oklahoma	Atoka	31.1	19.8	23.0
337	40015	Oklahoma	Caddo	27.8	21.7	21.3
338	40021	Oklahoma	Cherokee	28.8	22.9	21.5
339	40023	Oklahoma	Choctaw	32.7	24.3	29.9
340	40055	Oklahoma	Greer	23.4	19.6	23.7

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341	40057	Oklahoma	Harmon	34.2	29.7	23.6
342	40063	Oklahoma	Hughes	26.9	21.9	20.1
343	40069	Oklahoma	Johnston	28.5	22.0	21.4
344	40089	Oklahoma	McCurtain	30.2	24.7	25.3
345	40107	Oklahoma	Okfuskee	29.4	23.0	23.9
346	40119	Oklahoma	Payne	21.7	20.3	22.7
347	40127	Oklahoma	Pushmataha	30.2	23.2	21.1
348	40133	Oklahoma	Seminole	24.0	20.8	20.7
349	40135	Oklahoma	Sequoyah	24.7	19.8	24.4
350	40141	Oklahoma	Tillman	22.9	21.9	23.1
351	42101	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	20.3	22.9	25.4
352	45005	South Carolina	Allendale	35.8	34.5	41.0
353	45009	South Carolina	Bamberg	28.2	27.8	32.7
354	45011	South Carolina	Barnwell	21.8	20.9	27.3
355	45027	South Carolina	Clarendon	29.0	23.1	25.4
356	45029	South Carolina	Colleton	23.4	21.1	23.1
357	45031	South Carolina	Darlington	19.9	20.3	21.5
358	45033	South Carolina	Dillon	28.1	24.2	31.2
359	45039	South Carolina	Fairfield	20.6	19.6	23.0
360	45049	South Carolina	Hampton	27.7	21.8	23.6
361	45053	South Carolina	Jasper	25.3	20.7	23.2
362	45061	South Carolina	Lee	29.6	21.8	28.3
363	45067	South Carolina	Marion	28.6	23.2	24.4
364	45069	South Carolina	Marlboro	26.6	21.7	28.2
365	45075	South Carolina	Orangeburg	24.9	21.4	24.0
366	45089	South Carolina	Williamsburg	28.7	27.9	33.6
367	46007	South Dakota	Bennett	37.6	39.2	35.1
368	46017	South Dakota	Buffalo	45.1	56.9	36.8
369	46023	South Dakota	Charles Mix	31.4	26.9	23.3
370	46031	South Dakota	Corson	42.5	41.0	47.4
371	46041	South Dakota	Dewey	44.4	33.6	24.7
372	46071	South Dakota	Jackson	38.8	36.5	32.5
373	46085	South Dakota	Lyman	24.7	24.3	22.7
374	46095	South Dakota	Mellette	41.3	35.8	35.6

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375	46102	South Dakota	Oglala Lakota [b]	63.1	52.3	44.2
376	46109	South Dakota	Roberts	26.4	22.1	20.0
377	46121	South Dakota	Todd	50.2	48.3	44.0
378	46137	South Dakota	Ziebach	51.1	49.9	47.1
379	47013	Tennessee	Campbell	26.8	22.8	26.2
380	47025	Tennessee	Claiborne	25.7	22.6	21.6
381	47029	Tennessee	Cocke	25.3	22.5	26.4
382	47049	Tennessee	Fentress	32.3	23.1	25.7
383	47061	Tennessee	Grundy	23.9	25.8	26.1
384	47067	Tennessee	Hancock	40.0	29.4	30.1
385	47069	Tennessee	Hardeman	23.3	19.7	24.2
386	47075	Tennessee	Haywood	27.5	19.5	22.5
387	47091	Tennessee	Johnson	28.5	22.6	27.2
388	47095	Tennessee	Lake	27.5	23.6	43.1
389	47151	Tennessee	Scott	27.8	20.2	25.5
390	47173	Tennessee	Union	21.3	19.6	23.9
391	48013	Texas	Atascosa	29.9	20.2	20.4
392	48025	Texas	Bee	27.4	24.0	23.4
393	48041	Texas	Brazos	26.7	26.9	24.0
394	48047	Texas	Brooks	36.8	40.2	31.7
395	48061	Texas	Cameron	39.7	33.1	32.0
396	48079	Texas	Cochran	28.3	27.0	22.5
397	48083	Texas	Coleman	24.9	19.9	20.0
398	48107	Texas	Crosby	29.5	28.1	22.8
399	48109	Texas	Culberson	29.8	25.1	23.9
400	48115	Texas	Dawson	30.5	19.7	21.9
401	48127	Texas	Dimmit	48.9	33.2	24.4
402	48131	Texas	Duval	39.0	27.2	25.4
403	48137	Texas	Edwards	41.7	31.6	22.2
404	48141	Texas	El Paso	26.8	23.8	20.3
405	48145	Texas	Falls	27.5	22.6	23.9
406	48153	Texas	Floyd	27.1	21.5	21.8
407	48163	Texas	Frio	39.1	29.0	29.3
408	48169	Texas	Garza	23.1	22.3	26.8

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
409	48191	Texas	Hall	29.1	26.3	25.5
410	48207	Texas	Haskell	20.8	22.8	22.3
411	48215	Texas	Hidalgo	41.9	35.9	31.1
412	48225	Texas	Houston	25.6	21.0	27.0
413	48229	Texas	Hudspeth	38.9	35.8	25.0
414	48247	Texas	Jim Hogg	35.3	25.9	23.2
415	48249	Texas	Jim Wells	30.3	24.1	22.1
416	48255	Texas	Karnes	36.5	21.9	20.0
417	48271	Texas	Kinney	28.6	24.0	20.6
418	48273	Texas	Kleberg	27.4	26.7	24.3
419	48279	Texas	Lamb	27.1	20.9	21.8
420	48283	Texas	La Salle	37.0	29.8	27.9
421	48305	Texas	Lynn	32.5	22.6	20.5
422	48315	Texas	Marion	60.6	22.4	23.4
423	48323	Texas	Maverick	50.4	34.8	23.9
424	48327	Texas	Menard	31.1	25.8	20.8
425	48347	Texas	Nacogdoches	25.2	23.3	24.5
426	48353	Texas	Nolan	21.3	21.7	20.0
427	48377	Texas	Presidio	48.1	36.4	22.4
428	48405	Texas	San Augustine	29.7	21.2	24.3
429	48427	Texas	Starr	60.0	50.9	30.9
430	48445	Texas	Terry	25.5	23.3	22.5
431	48463	Texas	Uvalde	31.1	24.3	20.7
432	48465	Texas	Val Verde	36.4	26.1	22.1
433	48479	Texas	Webb	38.2	31.2	30.5
434	48489	Texas	Willacy	44.5	33.2	35.4
435	48505	Texas	Zapata	41.0	35.8	30.9
436	48507	Texas	Zavala	50.4	41.8	32.0
437	49037	Utah	San Juan	36.4	31.4	28.5
438	51027	Virginia	Buchanan	21.9	23.2	28.8
439	51029	Virginia	Buckingham	19.5	20.0	20.2
440	51051	Virginia	Dickenson	25.9	21.3	25.0
441	51105	Virginia	Lee	28.7	23.9	25.9
442	51121	Virginia	Montgomery	22.1	23.2	20.8
443	51131	Virginia	Northampton	26.6	20.5	20.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2015, from SAIPE
444	51195	Virginia	Wise	21.6	20.0	22.7
445	51540	Virginia	Charlottesville city	23.7	25.9	20.7
446	51660	Virginia	Harrisonburg city	21.5	30.1	30.9
447	51720	Virginia	Norton city	26.7	22.8	23.7
448	51730	Virginia	Petersburg city	20.3	19.6	28.4
449	51750	Virginia	Radford city	32.2	31.4	32.8
450	51760	Virginia	Richmond city	20.9	21.4	24.4
451	53037	Washington	Kittitas	20.2	19.6	20.0
452	53047	Washington	Okanogan	21.5	21.3	20.5
453	53075	Washington	Whitman	24.2	25.6	20.8
454	54001	West Virginia	Barbour	28.5	22.6	20.1
455	54005	West Virginia	Boone	27.0	22.0	23.4
456	54007	West Virginia	Braxton	25.8	22.0	23.7
457	54013	West Virginia	Calhoun	32.0	25.1	20.0
458	54015	West Virginia	Clay	39.2	27.5	27.7
459	54019	West Virginia	Fayette	24.4	21.7	19.9
460	54021	West Virginia	Gilmer	33.5	25.9	25.8
461	54041	West Virginia	Lewis	23.7	19.9	20.6
462	54043	West Virginia	Lincoln	33.8	27.9	28.3
463	54045	West Virginia	Logan	27.7	24.1	22.4
464	54047	West Virginia	McDowell	37.7	37.7	34.5
465	54053	West Virginia	Mason	22.1	19.9	22.3
466	54055	West Virginia	Mercer	20.4	19.7	21.1
467	54059	West Virginia	Mingo	30.9	29.7	29.0
468	54061	West Virginia	Monongalia	20.6	22.8	19.6
469	54087	West Virginia	Roane	28.1	22.6	21.1
470	54089	West Virginia	Summers	24.5	24.4	26.4
471	54099	West Virginia	Wayne	21.8	19.6	22.5
472	54101	West Virginia	Webster	34.8	31.8	29.6
473	54103	West Virginia	Wetzel	20.5	19.8	20.0
474	54109	West Virginia	Wyoming	27.9	25.1	22.5
475	55078	Wisconsin	Menominee	48.7	28.8	35.2
476	56001	Wyoming	Albany	19.8	21.0	20.1

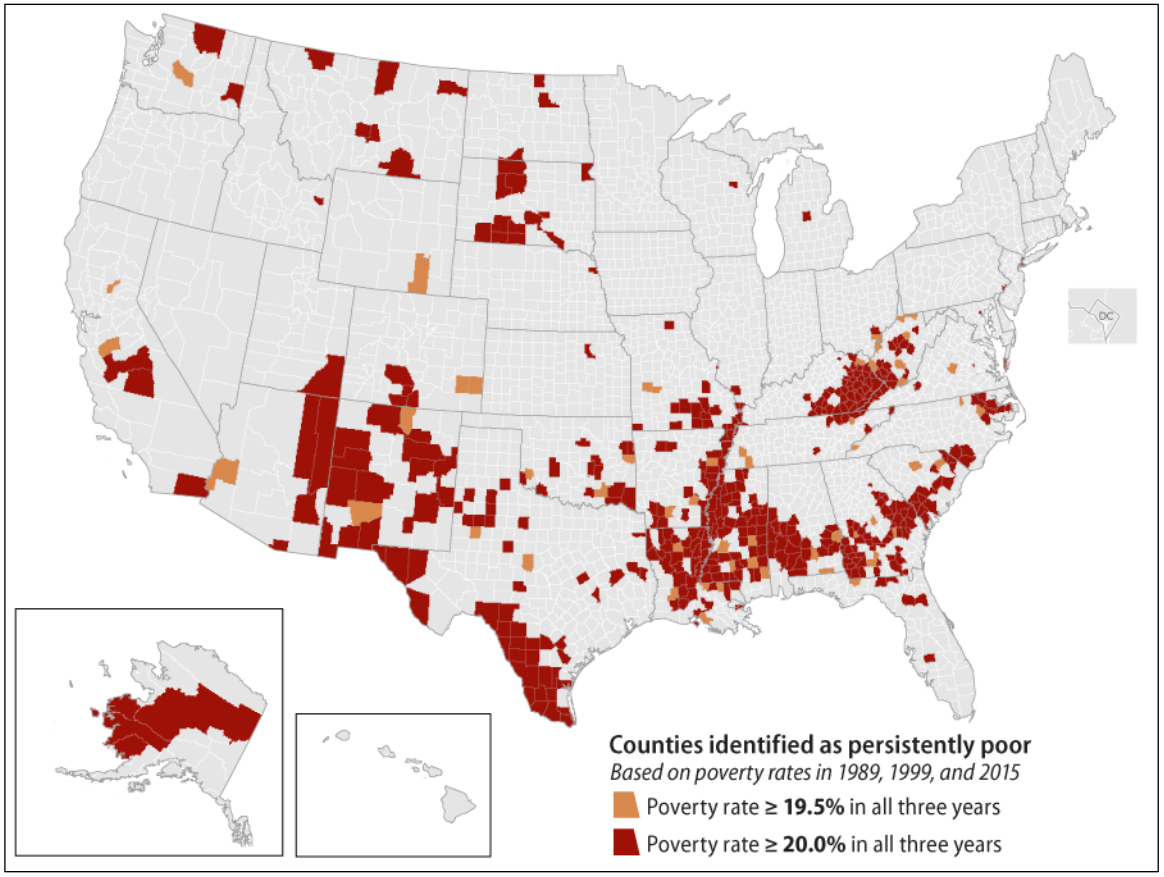
Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2015 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

Notes: FIPS: Federal Information Processing Standard.

a. Changed name and geographic code effective July 1, 2015, from Wade Hampton Census Area (02270) to Kusilvak Census Area (02158).

b. Changed name and geographic code effective May 1, 2015, from Shannon County (46113) to Oglala Lakota County (46102).

Figure 1. Persistent Poverty Counties Using Two Rounding Methods, Based on 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2015 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates



Source: Created by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) using data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2015 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

Appendix. Details on the Data Sources

Decennial Census of Population and Housing, "Long Form"

Poverty estimates are computed using data from household surveys, which are based on a sample of households. In order to obtain meaningful estimates for any geographic area, the sample has to include enough responses from that area so that selecting a different sample of households from that area would not likely result in a dramatically different estimate. If estimates for smaller geographic areas are desired, a larger sample size is needed. A national-level survey, for instance, could produce reliable estimates for the United States without obtaining any responses from many counties, particularly counties with small populations. In order to produce estimates for all 3,143 county areas in the nation, however, not only are responses needed from every county, but those responses have to be plentiful enough from each county so that the estimates are meaningful (i.e., their margins of error are not unhelpfully wide).

Before the mid-1990s, the only data source with a sample size large enough to provide meaningful estimates at the county level (and for other small geographic areas) was the decennial census. The other household surveys available prior to that time did not have a sample size large enough to produce meaningful estimates for small areas such as counties. Income questions were asked on the census long form, which was sent to one-sixth of all U.S. households; the rest received the census short form, which did not ask about income. While technically still a sample, one-sixth of all households was a large enough sample to provide poverty estimates for every county in the nation, and even for smaller areas such as small towns. The long form was discontinued after Census 2000, and therefore poverty data are no longer available from the decennial census. Beginning in the mid-1990s, however, two additional data sources were developed to ensure that poverty estimates for small areas such as counties would still be available: the American Community Survey (ACS), and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE).

American Community Survey (ACS)

The ACS replaced the decennial census long form. It was developed to accommodate the needs of local government officials and other stakeholders who needed detailed information on small communities on a more frequent basis than once every 10 years. To that end, the ACS questionnaire was designed to reflect the same topics asked in the census long form.

In order to produce meaningful estimates for small communities, however, the ACS needs to collect a number of responses comparable to what was collected in the decennial census.[13] In order to collect that many responses while providing information more currently than once every 10 years, the ACS collects information from respondents continuously, in every month, as opposed to at one time of the year, and responses over time are pooled to provide estimates at varying geographic levels. To obtain estimates for geographic areas of 65,000 or more persons, one year's worth of responses are pooled—these are the ACS one-year estimates. For the smallest geographic levels, which include the complete set of U.S. counties, five years of monthly

[13] A sample of approximately 18.3 million households received the Census 2000 long form. Scott Boggess and Nikki L. Graf, "Measuring Education: A Comparison of the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey," presented at Joint Statistical Meetings, San Francisco, CA, August 7, 2003. http://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2003/acs/2003_Boggess_01_doc.pdf.
From 2011 to 2015, 17.4 million addresses were sampled in the ACS. http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample-size-and-data-quality/sample-size/index.php

responses are needed: these are the ACS five-year estimates. Even though data collection is ongoing, the publication of the data takes place only once every year, both for the one-year estimates and the estimates that represent the previous five-year span.

Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE)

The SAIPE program was developed in the 1990s in order to provide state and local government officials with poverty estimates for local areas in between the decennial census years. In the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (IASA, P.L. 103-382), which amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), Congress recognized that providing funding for children in disadvantaged communities created a need for poverty data for those communities that were more current than the once-a-decade census. In the IASA, Congress provided for the development and evaluation of the SAIPE program for its use in Title I-A funding allocations.[14]

SAIPE estimates are model-based, meaning they use a mathematical procedure to compute estimates using both survey data (ACS one-year data) and administrative data (from tax returns and numbers of participants in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP). The modeling procedure produces estimates with less variability than estimates computed from survey data alone, especially for counties with small populations.

Guidance from the U.S. Census Bureau, "Which Data Source to Use"[15]

> The CPS ASEC[16] provides the most timely and accurate national data on income and is the source of official national poverty estimates, hence it is the preferred source for national analysis. Because of its large sample size, the ACS is preferred for subnational data on income and poverty by detailed demographic characteristics. The Census Bureau recommends using the ACS for 1-year estimates of income and poverty at the state level. Users looking for consistent, state-level trends before 2006 should use CPS ASEC 2-year averages.
>
> For substate areas, like counties, users should consider their specific needs when picking the appropriate data source. The SAIPE program produces overall poverty and household income 1-year estimates with standard errors usually smaller than direct survey estimates. Users looking to compare estimates of the number and percentage of people in poverty for counties or school districts or the median household income for counties should use SAIPE, especially if the population is less than 65,000. Users who need other characteristics such as poverty among Hispanics or median earnings, should use the ACS, where and when available.
>
> The SIPP[17] is the only Census Bureau source of longitudinal poverty data. It provides national estimates and since the 2004 Panel, provides reliable state-level estimates for select states. As SIPP collects monthly income over 3 or 4 year panels, it is also a source of poverty estimates for time periods more or less than one year, including monthly poverty rates.

[14] Details about the origins of the SAIPE project are available on the Census Bureau's website at https://www.census.gov/did/www/saipe/about/origins.html.

[15] Downloaded from http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html, November 29, 2016.

[16] *Author's note:* CPS ASEC: Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

[17] *Author's note:* SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation.

The chart below summarizes the recommendations at various geographic levels:

Table A-1. Guidance on Poverty Data Sources by Geographic Level and Type of Estimate

Geographic Level	Cross-Sectional Estimates			Longitudinal Estimates
	Income/Poverty Rate	Detailed Characteristics	Year-to-Year Change	
United States	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC/ ACS 1-year estimates for detailed race groups	CPS ASEC	SIPP
States	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates/ CPS ASEC 2-year averages[a]	SIPP for select states[b]
Substate (areas with populations of 65,000 or more)	ACS 1-year estimates/ SAIPE for counties and school districts	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates/ SAIPE for counties and school districts	None
Substate (areas with populations less than 20,000)[d]	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities/ Census 2000	ACS 5-year estimates/ Census 2000	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities[c]	None
State-to-Nation comparison	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	SIPP for select states[b]

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) formatted reproduction of table by U.S. Census Bureau, with an expansion to the notes. Original table available at http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html.

Notes:

ACS: American Community Survey.

CPS ASEC: Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

SAIPE: Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation.

a. Use CPS ASEC two-year averages when examining state trends that include years prior to 2000.

b. Reliable estimates are available for select states, generally the most populous 20 states, beginning in the 2004 Panel.

c. Use non-overlapping periods for ACS trend analysis with multiyear estimates. For example, comparing 2006-2010 ACS five-year estimates with 2011-2015 ACS five-year estimates is preferred for identifying change.

d. *Author's note:* Data for areas with populations of 20,000 to 65,000 persons previously had been produced using ACS three-year estimates, but are now only produced using the ACS five-year estimates. ACS three-year estimates are no longer produced (with 2011-2013 data as the last in the series). For details, see http://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/guidance/estimates.html.

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