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The 10-20-30 Provision: Defining Persistent Poverty Counties

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SUMMARY

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The 10-20-30 Provision: Defining Persistent Poverty Counties

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below *poverty*, or economic hardship as measured by comparing income against a dollar amount that represents a low level of need) reaches 20% experience more acute systemic problems than in lower-poverty areas. Recent congresses have enacted antipoverty policy interventions that target resources on local communities based on the characteristics of those communities, rather than solely on those of individuals or families. One such policy, dubbed the *10-20-30 provision*, was first 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*—counties that maintained 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 provision is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently. Since ARRA, Congress has applied the 10-20-30 provision for other programs in addition to rural development programs, and may continue to do so, using more recent estimates of poverty rates. Doing this, however, requires updating the list of counties with persistent poverty, and that requires making certain decisions about the data that will be used to compile the list.

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys fielded by the U.S. Census Bureau. The list of counties identified as persistently poor may differ by roughly 60 to 100 counties in a particular year, depending on the surveys selected to compile the list and the rounding method used for the poverty rate estimates. In the past, the decennial census was the only source of county poverty estimates across the entire country. After 2000, however, the decennial census is no longer used to collect income data. However, there are two newer data sources that may be used to provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties: the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE). The Census Bureau implemented both the ACS and SAIPE in the mid-1990s. Therefore, to determine whether an area is *persistently* poor in a time span that ends after the year 2000, policymakers and researchers must first decide whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used for the later part of that time span. Which of these surveys is the best data source to use for compiling an updated list of counties with persistent poverty may differ based on the specific area or policy for which the antipoverty intervention is intended.

When defining *persistent poverty counties* in order to target funds for programs or services, the following factors may be relevant:

- Characteristics of interest: SAIPE is suited for analysis focused solely on poverty or median income; ACS for poverty and income and other topics (e.g., housing characteristics, disability, education level, occupation, veteran status).
- Geographic areas of interest: SAIPE is recommended for counties and school districts only; ACS may be used to produce estimates for other small geographic areas as well (such as cities, towns, and census tracts).
- Reference period of estimate: Both data sources produce annual estimates. However, the SAIPE estimate is based on one prior year of data while ACS estimates draw on data from the past five years.
- Rounding method for poverty rates: Rounding to 20.0% (one decimal place) yields a shorter list of counties with persistent poverty than rounding to 20% (whole number).
- Special populations: Poverty status is not defined for all persons. This includes unrelated individuals under age 15 (e.g., children in foster care), institutionalized persons, and residents of college dormitories; the homeless are not explicitly targeted by household surveys; and areas with

large numbers of students living off-campus may have higher poverty rates than might be expected, because poverty is measured using cash income and does not include student loans.

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Introduction

Antipoverty 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 provision*, 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 provided in that act 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 provision 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* (economic hardship as measured by comparing income against a dollar amount that represents a low level of need)[2] and being mindful about levels of federal spending, the past four Congresses included 10-20-30 language in multiple appropriations bills, some of which were enacted into law. However, the original language used in ARRA could not be re-used verbatim, because the decennial census—the data source used by ARRA to define persistent poverty—stopped collecting income information. As a consequence, the appropriations bills varied slightly in their definitions of *persistent poverty counties* as it was applied to various programs and departments. This variation occurred even within different sections of the same bill if the bill included language on different programs. In turn, because the definitions of *persistent poverty* differed, so did the lists of counties identified as persistently poor and subject to the 10-20-30 provision. The bills included legislation for rural development, public works and economic development, technological innovation, and brownfields site assessment and remediation. Most recently, in the 116th Congress, much of the language used in these previous bills was included in P.L. 116-6 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019), P.L. 116-93 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020), and P.L. 116-94 (Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020).[3]

[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] For a more thorough discussion of how poverty is defined and measured, see CRS Report R44780, *An Introduction to Poverty Measurement*, by Joseph Dalaker.

[3] In the 116th Congress, the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019 (P.L. 116-6) included 10-20-30 language in numerous sections: Section 752, in reference to loans and grants for rural housing, business and economic development, and utilities; Section 539, in reference to grants authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and grants authorized by Section 27 of the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act of 1980; Division D, Title I, in reference to the Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund Program Account; and Division E, Title II, in reference to the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act (CERCLA) of 1980 and its role in authorizing funding for brownfields site assessment and remediation. These same programs, with the addition of Transit Infrastructure Grants, were included in two appropriations acts for FY2020: the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020 (P.L. 116-93; public works grants in Division B, Title V, Section 533, and CDFI in Division C, Title I), and the Further Consolidation Appropriations Act, 2020 (P.L. 116-94; rural programs in Division B, Title VII, Section 740; CERCLA in Division D, Title II; and Transit Infrastructure Grants in Division H, Title I). Additionally, more than a dozen bills referencing 10-20-30 or persistent poverty counties had been introduced in the 116th Congress but not enacted. These bills covered a wide range of topics, such as rural jobs, restructuring of rural development loans, hospitals in rural areas, veterans' job opportunities, internet accessibility, the donation of federal electronic equipment to schools, programs to prevent or eliminate discrimination in housing, programs to support victims of trafficking, programs to ameliorate opioid abuse and various other Department of

This report discusses how data source selection, and the rounding of poverty estimates, can affect the list of counties identified as persistently poor. After briefly explaining why targeting funds to persistent poverty counties might be of interest, this report explores 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 provision's advantages and disadvantages against other policy options for addressing poverty, nor does it examine the range of programs or policy goals for which the 10-20-30 provision 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.[4] For instance, property values in high-poverty areas do not yield as high a return on 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.[5] The ill effects of high poverty rates have been documented both for urban and rural areas.[6] Depending on the years in which poverty is measured and the data sources used, between 360 and 500 counties have been identified as persistent poverty counties, out of a total of 3,143 counties or county-equivalent

Justice programs, and a number of regional authorities and commissions.

[4] 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, Craig Benson, Emily Shrider, and Brian Glassman, "Changes in Poverty Rates and Poverty Areas Over Time: 2005 to 2019," American Community Survey Brief 20-08, December 2020; Alemayehu Bishaw, "Changes in Areas With Concentrated Poverty: 2000 to 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.

[5] 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."

[6] 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.

areas nationwide. Therefore, policy interventions at the community level, and not only at the individual or family level, have been and may continue to be of interest to Congress.[7]

Defining Persistent Poverty Counties

Persistent poverty counties are counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or greater for at least 30 years. The county poverty rates for 1999 and previous years are measured using decennial census data. For more recent years, either the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE) or the American Community Survey (ACS) are used. Both of these Census Bureau data sources were first implemented in the mid-1990s and both provide poverty estimates no longer available from the decennial census.[8] The data sources used, and the level of precision of rounding for the poverty rate, affects the list of counties identified as persistent poverty counties, as will be described below.

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.[9] 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 (sometimes also described as *below poverty*).[10]

Every person in a family has the same poverty status. Thus, it is possible to compute a poverty rate based on counts of persons. This is done by dividing the number of persons below poverty

[7] In the 116th Congress, P.L. 116-6 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019), P.L. 116-93 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020), and P.L. 116-94 (Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020) used the 10-20-30 provision; see footnote 3 for details. Of the public laws passed by the 115th Congress, 10-20-30 language was included in P.L. 115-31 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017), P.L. 115-141 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2018), and P.L. 115-334 (Agricultural Improvement Act of 2018). Multiple other bills were introduced but not enacted into public law. In the 114th Congress, no bills containing 10-20-30 language were enacted into public law, but 10-20-30 language was included in 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). However, the Consolidated Appropriations Acts for 2017, 2018, and 2019 used language analogous to the bills introduced in the 114th Congress, with some modification. Additionally, in the 113th Congress, H.R. 5571 (The 10-20-30 Act of 2014) was introduced and referred to committee but not passed.

[8] The decennial census does not collect income information in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, but still asks for income information in American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Neither ACS nor SAIPE poverty estimates are currently available for these island areas.

[9] There are 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 program administration 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 plan, is a statistical use of poverty data; thus, the statistical definition of poverty (used by the Census Bureau) applies.

[10] For further details about the official definition of poverty, see CRS Report R44780, *An Introduction to Poverty Measurement,* by Joseph Dalaker.

within a county by the county's total population,[11] and multiplying by 100 to express the rate as a percentage.

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 ACS and SAIPE. Before the mid-1990s, the only poverty data available at the county level came from the Decennial Census of Population and Housing, which is collected once every 10 years. In the past, these data were 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 has no longer collected income information in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, and as a result cannot be used to compute poverty estimates.[12] 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., 2015-2019). 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 Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-382). 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**.

[11] 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; and persons in institutions such as nursing homes or prisons. Some surveys (such as those described in this report) do not compute poverty status for persons living in college dormitories. These 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 sampled in household surveys.

[12] The decennial census still collects income information in American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Neither the ACS nor the SAIPE program is conducted for these island areas; decennial census data are the only small-area poverty data available for them. The 2020 Census questionnaire for these island areas covered the same topics as the ACS; see the Island Areas Censuses Operation Detailed Operational Plan at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/2020-census/planning-management/planning-docs/IAC-detailed-op-plan.html. For Puerto Rico, ACS estimates are still produced, but SAIPE estimates stopped being produced after 2003. For details see https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/technical-documentation/methodology/puerto-rico.html.

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.[13]

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

The Census Bureau recommends using SAIPE poverty estimates 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.[14] When additional detail is required, such as for county-level poverty estimates by race and Hispanic origin, detailed age groups (aside from the elementary and secondary school-age population), housing characteristics, or education level, the ACS is the data source recommended by the Census Bureau.

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 (subcounty 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.

[13] 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**.

[14] 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.

Other Considerations

Treatment of Special Populations in the Official Poverty Definition

Regardless of the data source used to measure it, 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.

In the decennial census, ACS, and SAIPE estimates, poverty status also is not defined for persons living in college dormitories.[15] 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.[16]

Given the ways that the special 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 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 provision was developed to identify counties with persistently high poverty rates. Therefore, using that funding approach by itself would not allow flexibility to target counties that have recently experienced economic hardship, such as counties that had a large manufacturing plant close within the past three years. Other interventions besides the 10-20-30 provision 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."[17] 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

[15] Details on the poverty universe in the ACS are available at https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/tech_docs/subject_definitions/2018_ACSSubjectDefinitions.pdf?#page=107 and for the SAIPE estimates at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/guidance/model-input-data/denominators/poverty.html.

[16] 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.

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

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 each have large impacts on the number of counties listed. Approximately 25 to 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 to 60 counties to the list. Taking both the data source and the rounding method together, the list of persistent poverty counties could vary by roughly 60 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
ACS, 2011-2015	397	453	56
ACS, 2012-2016	392	446	54
ACS, 2013-2017[a]	386	436	50
ACS, 2014-2018[a]	384	430	46
ACS, 2015-2019	375	418	43
			Mean difference: 51.11
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
SAIPE, 2016	420	469	49
SAIPE, 2017	411	460	49

Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
SAIPE, 2018	395	443	48
SAIPE, 2019	361	407	46
			Mean difference: 54.33
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	
Difference, SAIPE 2016 minus ACS 2012-2016	28	23	
Difference, SAIPE 2017 minus ACS 2013-2017	25	24	
Difference, SAIPE 2018 minus ACS 2014-2018	11	13	
Difference, ACS 2015-2019 minus SAIPE 2019	14	11	
Mean difference:	24.22	26.78	

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2012-2019 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates for 2007-2011, 2008-2012, 2009-2013, 2010-2014, 2011-2015, 2012-2016, 2013-2017, 2014-2018, and 2015-2019.

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
SAIPE 2016, whole number - ACS, 2012-2016, one decimal = 77
SAIPE 2017, whole number - ACS, 2013-2017, one decimal = 74
SAIPE 2018, whole number - ACS, 2014-2018, one decimal = 59
ACS, 2015-2019, whole number - SAIPE 2019, one decimal = 57

The lists of persistent poverty counties vary by about 78 counties on average (mean: 78.22), depending on which data source is used for the most recent poverty rate estimate, and which rounding method is applied to identify persistent poverty.

a. These counts include Rio Arriba County, NM, despite an ACS data collection error that occurred in that county in both 2017 and 2018. The Census Bureau detected the error after the five-year data for 2013-2017 had been released, but before the 2014-2018 data had been released. As a result, the 2014-2018 poverty rate for Rio Arriba County was not published, and the 2013-2017 poverty rate (formerly reported

as 26.4%) was removed from the Census Bureau website. The 2012-2016 ACS poverty rate for Rio Arriba County was 23.4%, and the 2018 SAIPE poverty rate was 22.0%. Because the ACS poverty rate immediately before the error (2012-2016) and the SAIPE poverty rate were both above 20.0%, Rio Arriba County is included in this table's counts of persistent poverty counties. For details see https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/technical-documentation/errata/125.html.

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 2019 SAIPE estimates, and includes the 407 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**.

This list of 407 counties is similar but not identical to a list that would be compiled if ACS (2015-2019) data were used with 1990 and 2000 Census data to determine counties with persistent poverty.

Table 2. List of Persistent Poverty Counties, Based on 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2019 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE), Using Poverty Rates of 19.5% or Greater

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
1	1005	Alabama	Barbour	2	25.2	26.8	27.1
2	1007	Alabama	Bibb	6	21.2	20.6	20.3
3	1011	Alabama	Bullock	2	36.5	33.5	30
4	1013	Alabama	Butler	2	31.5	24.6	21.6
5	1023	Alabama	Choctaw	7	30.2	24.5	22.6
6	1035	Alabama	Conecuh	2	29.7	26.6	22.2
7	1047	Alabama	Dallas	7	36.2	31.1	26
8	1053	Alabama	Escambia	1	28.1	20.9	20.5
9	1063	Alabama	Greene	7	45.6	34.3	31.7
10	1065	Alabama	Hale	7	35.6	26.9	20.5
11	1085	Alabama	Lowndes	7	38.6	31.4	26.6
12	1087	Alabama	Macon	3	34.5	32.8	29.3
13	1091	Alabama	Marengo	7	30	25.9	24.8
14	1099	Alabama	Monroe	1	22.7	21.3	23.3
15	1105	Alabama	Perry	7	42.6	35.4	33.9
16	1107	Alabama	Pickens	7	28.9	24.9	24.3
17	1109	Alabama	Pike	2	27.2	23.1	21.8
18	1119	Alabama	Sumter	7	39.7	38.7	36.4
19	1131	Alabama	Wilcox	7	45.2	39.9	32.5
20	2050	Alaska	Bethel Census Area	at large	30	20.6	23.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
21	2158	Alaska	Kusilvak Census Area[b]	at large	31	26.2	26.8
22	2290	Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk Census Area	at large	26	23.8	24.4
23	4001	Arizona	Apache	1	47.1	37.8	33.4
24	4009	Arizona	Graham	1	26.7	23	20.1
25	4012	Arizona	La Paz	4	28.2	19.6	22.1
26	4017	Arizona	Navajo	1	34.7	29.5	25.2
27	5011	Arkansas	Bradley	4	24.9	26.3	22.9
28	5017	Arkansas	Chicot	1	40.4	28.6	31
29	5027	Arkansas	Columbia	4	24.4	21.1	21.2
30	5035	Arkansas	Crittenden	1	27.1	25.3	22.4
31	5041	Arkansas	Desha	1	34	28.9	25.4
32	5069	Arkansas	Jefferson	1, 4	23.9	20.5	24.4
33	5073	Arkansas	Lafayette	4	34.7	23.2	25.5
34	5077	Arkansas	Lee	1	47.3	29.9	35.4
35	5079	Arkansas	Lincoln	1	26.2	19.5	27.1
36	5093	Arkansas	Mississippi	1	26.2	23	23
37	5095	Arkansas	Monroe	1	35.9	27.5	25.5
38	5099	Arkansas	Nevada	4	20.3	22.8	24.1
39	5107	Arkansas	Phillips	1	43	32.7	33.3
40	5111	Arkansas	Poinsett	1	25.6	21.2	23.1
41	5123	Arkansas	St. Francis	1	36.6	27.5	32
42	5129	Arkansas	Searcy	1, 3	29.9	23.8	22.4
43	5147	Arkansas	Woodruff	1	34.5	27	27.1
44	6019	California	Fresno	4, 16, 21, 22	21.4	22.9	20.5
45	6025	California	Imperial	51	23.8	22.6	22
46	8003	Colorado	Alamosa	3	24.8	21.3	19.6
47	8011	Colorado	Bent	4	20.4	19.5	34.4
48	8021	Colorado	Conejos	3	33.9	23	19.9
49	8023	Colorado	Costilla	3	34.6	26.8	24.6
50	8109	Colorado	Saguache	3	30.6	22.6	25.4
51	12039	Florida	Gadsden	5	28	19.9	19.7
52	12047	Florida	Hamilton	5	27.8	26	32.5
53	12049	Florida	Hardee	17	22.8	24.6	22.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
54	12079	Florida	Madison	5	25.9	23.1	22.7
55	12107	Florida	Putnam	3	20	20.9	22.4
56	13003	Georgia	Atkinson	8	26	23	23.2
57	13007	Georgia	Baker	2	24.8	23.4	24.8
58	13017	Georgia	Ben Hill	8	22	22.3	22.8
59	13027	Georgia	Brooks	8	25.9	23.4	21.9
60	13031	Georgia	Bulloch	12	27.5	24.5	21.9
61	13033	Georgia	Burke	12	30.3	28.7	23.6
62	13037	Georgia	Calhoun	2	31.8	26.5	35.9
63	13043	Georgia	Candler	12	24.1	26.1	23.1
64	13059	Georgia	Clarke	9, 10	27	28.3	25.7
65	13061	Georgia	Clay	2	35.7	31.3	28.8
66	13065	Georgia	Clinch	1	26.4	23.4	22
67	13071	Georgia	Colquitt	8	22.8	19.8	21.9
68	13075	Georgia	Cook	8	22.4	20.7	21.4
69	13081	Georgia	Crisp	2	29	29.3	26.7
70	13087	Georgia	Decatur	2	23.3	22.7	23.4
71	13093	Georgia	Dooly	2	32.9	22.1	28.2
72	13095	Georgia	Dougherty	2	24.4	24.8	27.6
73	13099	Georgia	Early	2	31.4	25.7	27.3
74	13107	Georgia	Emanuel	12	25.7	27.4	20.9
75	13109	Georgia	Evans	12	25.4	27	24.1
76	13131	Georgia	Grady	2	22.3	21.3	21.7
77	13141	Georgia	Hancock	10	30.1	29.4	31.2
78	13163	Georgia	Jefferson	10	31.3	23	25.1
79	13165	Georgia	Jenkins	12	27.8	28.4	29
80	13167	Georgia	Johnson	10	22.2	22.6	24.2
81	13193	Georgia	Macon	2	29.2	25.8	29.4
82	13197	Georgia	Marion	2	28.2	22.4	21.1
83	13201	Georgia	Miller	2	22.1	21.2	21.3
84	13205	Georgia	Mitchell	2	28.7	26.4	30.7
85	13225	Georgia	Peach	2	24	20.2	19.8
86	13239	Georgia	Quitman	2	33	21.9	22.8
87	13243	Georgia	Randolph	2	35.9	27.7	25.3
88	13251	Georgia	Screven	12	22.9	20.1	24.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
89	13253	Georgia	Seminole	2	29.1	23.2	22.6
90	13259	Georgia	Stewart	2	31.4	22.2	34.7
91	13261	Georgia	Sumter	2	24.8	21.4	26.7
92	13263	Georgia	Talbot	2	24.9	24.2	19.6
93	13265	Georgia	Taliaferro	10	31.9	23.4	22.5
94	13267	Georgia	Tattnall	12	21.9	23.9	26.5
95	13269	Georgia	Taylor	2	29.5	26	22.9
96	13271	Georgia	Telfair	8	27.3	21.2	27.7
97	13273	Georgia	Terrell	2	29.1	28.6	28.2
98	13277	Georgia	Tift	8	22.9	19.9	21.5
99	13283	Georgia	Treutlen	12	27.1	26.3	31.6
100	13287	Georgia	Turner	8	31.3	26.7	28
101	13299	Georgia	Ware	1	21.1	20.5	26.3
102	13301	Georgia	Warren	10	32.6	27	26.5
103	13303	Georgia	Washington	10	21.6	22.9	21.4
104	13309	Georgia	Wheeler	12	30.3	25.3	34.2
105	13315	Georgia	Wilcox	8	28.6	21	29.4
106	16065	Idaho	Madison	2	28.6	30.5	27.4
107	17003	Illinois	Alexander	12	32.2	26.1	24
108	17077	Illinois	Jackson	12	28.4	25.2	25.4
109	17153	Illinois	Pulaski	12	30.2	24.7	22
110	20161	Kansas	Riley	1	21.2	20.6	20.9
111	21001	Kentucky	Adair	1	25.1	24	21.4
112	21013	Kentucky	Bell	5	36.2	31.1	30.3
113	21025	Kentucky	Breathitt	5	39.5	33.2	29.2
114	21043	Kentucky	Carter	5	26.8	22.3	20
115	21045	Kentucky	Casey	1	29.4	25.5	25.2
116	21051	Kentucky	Clay	5	40.2	39.7	32.6
117	21053	Kentucky	Clinton	1	38.1	25.8	23.4
118	21057	Kentucky	Cumberland	1	31.6	23.8	23
119	21063	Kentucky	Elliott	5	38	25.9	27.7
120	21065	Kentucky	Estill	6	29	26.4	22.7
121	21071	Kentucky	Floyd	5	31.2	30.3	27.4
122	21075	Kentucky	Fulton	1	30.3	23.1	25.6
123	21095	Kentucky	Harlan	5	33.1	32.5	31.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
124	21099	Kentucky	Hart	2	27.1	22.4	20.1
125	21109	Kentucky	Jackson	5	38.2	30.2	27.8
126	21115	Kentucky	Johnson	5	28.7	26.6	25.8
127	21119	Kentucky	Knott	5	40.4	31.1	30.5
128	21121	Kentucky	Knox	5	38.9	34.8	31.5
129	21125	Kentucky	Laurel	5	24.8	21.3	21.4
130	21127	Kentucky	Lawrence	5	36	30.7	23.4
131	21129	Kentucky	Lee	5	37.4	30.4	34.9
132	21131	Kentucky	Leslie	5	35.6	32.7	32.3
133	21133	Kentucky	Letcher	5	31.8	27.1	28.9
134	21135	Kentucky	Lewis	4	30.7	28.5	23.2
135	21137	Kentucky	Lincoln	5	27.2	21.1	19.7
136	21147	Kentucky	McCreary	5	45.5	32.2	34.5
137	21153	Kentucky	Magoffin	5	42.5	36.6	29.4
138	21159	Kentucky	Martin	5	35.4	37	34.4
139	21165	Kentucky	Menifee	6	35	29.6	26.1
140	21169	Kentucky	Metcalfe	1	27.9	23.6	22.6
141	21171	Kentucky	Monroe	1	26.9	23.4	21.7
142	21175	Kentucky	Morgan	5	38.8	27.2	26.5
143	21189	Kentucky	Owsley	5	52.1	45.4	35.5
144	21193	Kentucky	Perry	5	32.1	29.1	24.2
145	21195	Kentucky	Pike	5	25.4	23.4	24
146	21197	Kentucky	Powell	6	26.2	23.5	21.5
147	21201	Kentucky	Robertson	6	24.8	22.2	22
148	21203	Kentucky	Rockcastle	5	30.7	23.1	21
149	21205	Kentucky	Rowan	5	28.9	21.3	23.3
150	21207	Kentucky	Russell	1	25.6	24.3	22.6
151	21231	Kentucky	Wayne	5	37.3	29.4	23.8
152	21235	Kentucky	Whitley	5	33	26.4	22.6
153	21237	Kentucky	Wolfe	6	44.3	35.9	30.1
154	22001	Louisiana	Acadia Parish	3	30.5	24.5	20.3
155	22003	Louisiana	Allen Parish	4	29.9	19.9	21.6
156	22009	Louisiana	Avoyelles Parish	5	37.1	25.9	24.4
157	22013	Louisiana	Bienville Parish	4	31.2	26.1	24.4
158	22017	Louisiana	Caddo Parish	4	24	21.1	24.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
159	22021	Louisiana	Caldwell Parish	5	28.8	21.2	19.5
160	22025	Louisiana	Catahoula Parish	5	36.8	28.1	26.4
161	22027	Louisiana	Claiborne Parish	4	32	26.5	32.5
162	22029	Louisiana	Concordia Parish	5	30.6	29.1	27.5
163	22035	Louisiana	East Carroll Parish	5	56.8	40.5	38.4
164	22039	Louisiana	Evangeline Parish	4	35.1	32.2	28.6
165	22041	Louisiana	Franklin Parish	5	34.5	28.4	25.8
166	22045	Louisiana	Iberia Parish	3	25.8	23.6	21.9
167	22061	Louisiana	Lincoln Parish	5	26.6	26.5	29.5
168	22065	Louisiana	Madison Parish	5	44.6	36.7	41.1
169	22067	Louisiana	Morehouse Parish	5	31	26.8	31
170	22069	Louisiana	Natchitoches Parish	4	33.9	26.5	19.6
171	22071	Louisiana	Orleans Parish	1, 2	31.6	27.9	23.5
172	22073	Louisiana	Ouachita Parish	5	24.7	20.7	23.9
173	22077	Louisiana	Pointe Coupee Parish	6	30.3	23.1	20
174	22081	Louisiana	Red River Parish	4	35.1	29.9	23.9
175	22083	Louisiana	Richland Parish	5	33.2	27.9	25.1
176	22091	Louisiana	St. Helena Parish	5, 6	34.4	26.8	19.6
177	22097	Louisiana	St. Landry Parish	3, 4, 5	36.3	29.3	22.6
178	22101	Louisiana	St. Mary Parish	3	27	23.6	23.8
179	22105	Louisiana	Tangipahoa Parish	1, 5	31.5	22.7	21.7
180	22107	Louisiana	Tensas Parish	5	46.3	36.3	28.9
181	22117	Louisiana	Washington Parish	5	31.6	24.7	24.9
182	22119	Louisiana	Webster Parish	4	25.1	20.2	29.6
183	22123	Louisiana	West Carroll Parish	5	27.4	23.4	21
184	22125	Louisiana	West Feliciana Parish	5	33.8	19.9	22.1
185	22127	Louisiana	Winn Parish	5	27.5	21.5	23.4
186	24510	Maryland	Baltimore city	2, 3, 7	21.9	22.9	20.4
187	26073	Michigan	Isabella	4	24.9	20.4	22.9
188	28001	Mississippi	Adams	3	30.5	25.9	27.9
189	28005	Mississippi	Amite	3	30.9	22.6	20.9
190	28007	Mississippi	Attala	2	30.2	21.8	24.1
191	28009	Mississippi	Benton	1	29.7	23.2	20.7
192	28011	Mississippi	Bolivar	2	42.9	33.3	36.6
193	28017	Mississippi	Chickasaw	1	21.3	20	22.7

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
194	28019	Mississippi	Choctaw	1	25	24.7	20.9
195	28021	Mississippi	Claiborne	2	43.6	32.4	37.5
196	28023	Mississippi	Clarke	3, 4	23.4	23	23.2
197	28025	Mississippi	Clay	1	25.9	23.5	29.7
198	28027	Mississippi	Coahoma	2	45.5	35.9	38.2
199	28029	Mississippi	Copiah	2	32	25.1	22.1
200	28031	Mississippi	Covington	3	31.2	23.5	21.3
201	28035	Mississippi	Forrest	4	27.5	22.5	23.3
202	28037	Mississippi	Franklin	3	33.3	24.1	19.6
203	28041	Mississippi	Greene	4	26.8	19.6	21.8
204	28043	Mississippi	Grenada	2	22.3	20.9	20.3
205	28049	Mississippi	Hinds	2, 3	21.2	19.9	20.1
206	28051	Mississippi	Holmes	2	53.2	41.1	33.8
207	28053	Mississippi	Humphreys	2	45.9	38.2	37.1
208	28055	Mississippi	Issaquena	2	49.3	33.2	35.8
209	28061	Mississippi	Jasper	3	30.7	22.7	20.5
210	28063	Mississippi	Jefferson	2	46.9	36	28.9
211	28065	Mississippi	Jefferson Davis	3	33.3	28.2	24.3
212	28067	Mississippi	Jones	4	22.7	19.8	23.8
213	28069	Mississippi	Kemper	3	35.1	26	28
214	28075	Mississippi	Lauderdale	3	22.8	20.8	21.5
215	28077	Mississippi	Lawrence	3	27.9	19.6	19.7
216	28079	Mississippi	Leake	2	29.6	23.3	23.8
217	28083	Mississippi	Leflore	2	38.9	34.8	35.7
218	28091	Mississippi	Marion	4	29.6	24.8	23.8
219	28093	Mississippi	Marshall	1	30	21.9	20.3
220	28097	Mississippi	Montgomery	2	34	24.3	23.7
221	28099	Mississippi	Neshoba	3	26.6	21	21.7
222	28101	Mississippi	Newton	3	20.9	19.9	20.3
223	28103	Mississippi	Noxubee	3	41.4	32.8	29.2
224	28105	Mississippi	Oktibbeha	1, 3	30.1	28.2	31.1
225	28107	Mississippi	Panola	2	33.8	25.3	22.8
226	28111	Mississippi	Perry	4	29.1	22	19.9
227	28113	Mississippi	Pike	3	32.9	25.3	26.2
228	28119	Mississippi	Quitman	2	41.6	33.1	35

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
229	28123	Mississippi	Scott	3	27.4	20.7	19.7
230	28125	Mississippi	Sharkey	2	47.5	38.3	33.4
231	28133	Mississippi	Sunflower	2	41.8	30	34
232	28135	Mississippi	Tallahatchie	2	41.9	32.2	37.9
233	28143	Mississippi	Tunica	2	56.8	33.1	28.1
234	28147	Mississippi	Walthall	3	35.9	27.8	21.7
235	28151	Mississippi	Washington	2	33.8	29.2	33.7
236	28153	Mississippi	Wayne	4	29.5	25.4	22.2
237	28157	Mississippi	Wilkinson	3	42.2	37.7	31.2
238	28159	Mississippi	Winston	1	26.6	23.7	25.4
239	28161	Mississippi	Yalobusha	2	26.4	21.8	24.4
240	28163	Mississippi	Yazoo	2	39.2	31.9	36.4
241	29035	Missouri	Carter	8	27.6	25.2	19.8
242	29069	Missouri	Dunklin	8	29.9	24.5	26.7
243	29133	Missouri	Mississippi	8	29.7	23.7	27.7
244	29143	Missouri	New Madrid	8	26.9	22.1	22.5
245	29149	Missouri	Oregon	8	27.4	22	20.6
246	29153	Missouri	Ozark	8	22.1	21.6	22.7
247	29155	Missouri	Pemiscot	8	35.8	30.4	26.9
248	29179	Missouri	Reynolds	8	24.2	20.1	21.7
249	29181	Missouri	Ripley	8	31.5	22	19.7
250	29203	Missouri	Shannon	8	24.1	26.9	22.6
251	29215	Missouri	Texas	8	22.9	21.4	21
252	29221	Missouri	Washington	8	27.2	20.8	22.4
253	29223	Missouri	Wayne	8	29	21.9	20.6
254	29229	Missouri	Wright	8	25.3	21.7	19.6
255	29510	Missouri	St. Louis city	1	24.6	24.6	20.4
256	30003	Montana	Big Horn	at large	35.3	29.2	26.1
257	30005	Montana	Blaine	at large	27.7	28.1	21.3
258	30035	Montana	Glacier	at large	35.7	27.3	25.7
259	30037	Montana	Golden Valley	at large	27.5	25.8	19.7
260	30085	Montana	Roosevelt	at large	27.7	32.4	24.3
261	31173	Nebraska	Thurston	1	30.9	25.6	24.9
262	35003	New Mexico	Catron	2	25.6	24.5	20.6
263	35006	New Mexico	Cibola	2	33.6	24.8	25.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
264	35013	New Mexico	Doña Ana	2	26.5	25.4	23.8
265	35019	New Mexico	Guadalupe	2	38.5	21.6	23.5
266	35023	New Mexico	Hidalgo	2	20.7	27.3	22.9
267	35029	New Mexico	Luna	2	31.5	32.9	23.8
268	35031	New Mexico	McKinley	2, 3	43.5	36.1	30.1
269	35033	New Mexico	Mora	3	36.2	25.4	21.2
270	35037	New Mexico	Quay	3	25.1	20.9	21.7
271	35039	New Mexico	Rio Arriba	3	27.5	20.3	22.2
272	35045	New Mexico	San Juan	3	28.3	21.5	19.9
273	35047	New Mexico	San Miguel	3	30.2	24.4	23.8
274	35051	New Mexico	Sierra	2	19.6	20.9	27.6
275	35053	New Mexico	Socorro	2	29.9	31.7	26
276	36005	New York	Bronx	13, 14, 15, 16	28.7	30.7	26.2
277	37015	North Carolina	Bertie	1	25.9	23.5	24.2
278	37017	North Carolina	Bladen	7, 9	21.9	21	21.2
279	37047	North Carolina	Columbus	7	24	22.7	22.3
280	37065	North Carolina	Edgecombe	1	20.9	19.6	21
281	37083	North Carolina	Halifax	1	25.6	23.9	23.8
282	37117	North Carolina	Martin	1	22.3	20.2	20.6
283	37131	North Carolina	Northampton	1	23.6	21.3	21.6
284	37155	North Carolina	Robeson	9	24.1	22.8	31.5
285	37177	North Carolina	Tyrrell	3	25	23.3	25.4
286	37187	North Carolina	Washington	1	20.4	21.8	21.3
287	38005	North Dakota	Benson	at large	31.7	29.1	23.3
288	38079	North Dakota	Rolette	at large	40.7	31	25.9
289	38085	North Dakota	Sioux	at large	47.4	39.2	32.1
290	39009	Ohio	Athens	6, 15	28.7	27.4	26.6
291	40001	Oklahoma	Adair	2	26.7	23.2	23.6
292	40015	Oklahoma	Caddo	3	27.8	21.7	20.6
293	40021	Oklahoma	Cherokee	2	28.8	22.9	21.4
294	40023	Oklahoma	Choctaw	2	32.7	24.3	22.5
295	40055	Oklahoma	Greer	3	23.4	19.6	24.1
296	40057	Oklahoma	Harmon	3	34.2	29.7	23.7
297	40061	Oklahoma	Haskell	2	27.1	20.5	20.2
298	40063	Oklahoma	Hughes	2	26.9	21.9	21.4

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
299	40069	Oklahoma	Johnston	2	28.5	22	21
300	40089	Oklahoma	McCurtain	2	30.2	24.7	21.9
301	40107	Oklahoma	Okfuskee	2	29.4	23	27.4
302	40119	Oklahoma	Payne	3	21.7	20.3	23
303	40127	Oklahoma	Pushmataha	2	30.2	23.2	23.9
304	40133	Oklahoma	Seminole	5	24	20.8	22
305	40135	Oklahoma	Sequoyah	2	24.7	19.8	21.6
306	40141	Oklahoma	Tillman	4	22.9	21.9	20.4
307	42101	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	2, 3, 5	20.3	22.9	23
308	45005	South Carolina	Allendale	6	35.8	34.5	30.2
309	45009	South Carolina	Bamberg	6	28.2	27.8	24.2
310	45011	South Carolina	Barnwell	2	21.8	20.9	24.9
311	45027	South Carolina	Clarendon	6	29	23.1	25.1
312	45029	South Carolina	Colleton	1, 6	23.4	21.1	21
313	45031	South Carolina	Darlington	7	19.9	20.3	19.6
314	45033	South Carolina	Dillon	7	28.1	24.2	26.8
315	45049	South Carolina	Hampton	6	27.7	21.8	23.2
316	45061	South Carolina	Lee	5	29.6	21.8	25.4
317	45067	South Carolina	Marion	7	28.6	23.2	24.9
318	45069	South Carolina	Marlboro	7	26.6	21.7	28.9
319	45075	South Carolina	Orangeburg	2, 6	24.9	21.4	26.3
320	45089	South Carolina	Williamsburg	6	28.7	27.9	27.8
321	46007	South Dakota	Bennett	at large	37.6	39.2	31.6
322	46017	South Dakota	Buffalo	at large	45.1	56.9	39.8
323	46023	South Dakota	Charles Mix	at large	31.4	26.9	21.2
324	46031	South Dakota	Corson	at large	42.5	41	40.3
325	46041	South Dakota	Dewey	at large	44.4	33.6	27.6
326	46071	South Dakota	Jackson	at large	38.8	36.5	29.9
327	46085	South Dakota	Lyman	at large	24.7	24.3	21.1
328	46089	South Dakota	McPherson	at large	21.5	22.6	19.5
329	46095	South Dakota	Mellette	at large	41.3	35.8	33.3
330	46102	South Dakota	Oglala Lakota[c]	at large	63.1	52.3	40.1
331	46109	South Dakota	Roberts	at large	26.4	22.1	19.6
332	46121	South Dakota	Todd	at large	50.2	48.3	43.4
333	46137	South Dakota	Ziebach	at large	51.1	49.9	47.7

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
334	47013	Tennessee	Campbell	2, 3	26.8	22.8	21.9
335	47025	Tennessee	Claiborne	2	25.7	22.6	19.7
336	47029	Tennessee	Cocke	1	25.3	22.5	22.8
337	47049	Tennessee	Fentress	6	32.3	23.1	20.9
338	47061	Tennessee	Grundy	4	23.9	25.8	21.4
339	47067	Tennessee	Hancock	1	40	29.4	26.4
340	47075	Tennessee	Haywood	8	27.5	19.5	20.7
341	47091	Tennessee	Johnson	1	28.5	22.6	25.2
342	47095	Tennessee	Lake	8	27.5	23.6	35.5
343	47151	Tennessee	Scott	3	27.8	20.2	22
344	48025	Texas	Bee	34	27.4	24	24
345	48041	Texas	Brazos	17	26.7	26.9	20
346	48047	Texas	Brooks	15	36.8	40.2	29.6
347	48061	Texas	Cameron	34	39.7	33.1	25.5
348	48079	Texas	Cochran	19	28.3	27	19.5
349	48107	Texas	Crosby	19	29.5	28.1	22.1
350	48109	Texas	Culberson	23	29.8	25.1	19.7
351	48115	Texas	Dawson	11	30.5	19.7	20.6
352	48127	Texas	Dimmit	23	48.9	33.2	25.3
353	48131	Texas	Duval	15	39	27.2	23.9
354	48137	Texas	Edwards	23	41.7	31.6	20.7
355	48145	Texas	Falls	17	27.5	22.6	21.6
356	48163	Texas	Frio	23	39.1	29	27.7
357	48169	Texas	Garza	19	23.1	22.3	24.2
358	48191	Texas	Hall	13	29.1	26.3	25.4
359	48207	Texas	Haskell	19	20.8	22.8	20.7
360	48215	Texas	Hidalgo	15, 28, 34	41.9	35.9	26.9
361	48225	Texas	Houston	8	25.6	21	20.9
362	48229	Texas	Hudspeth	23	38.9	35.8	28
363	48247	Texas	Jim Hogg	15	35.3	25.9	22.8
364	48249	Texas	Jim Wells	34	30.3	24.1	21
365	48255	Texas	Karnes	15	36.5	21.9	21
366	48273	Texas	Kleberg	34	27.4	26.7	23.3
367	48283	Texas	La Salle	23, 28	37	29.8	26.6
368	48315	Texas	Marion	4	60.6	22.4	21.4

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
369	48323	Texas	Maverick	23	50.4	34.8	26.9
370	48327	Texas	Menard	11	31.1	25.8	20.7
371	48347	Texas	Nacogdoches	1	25.2	23.3	20.9
372	48389	Texas	Reeves	23	28.8	28.9	22.1
373	48395	Texas	Robertson	17	28.4	20.6	20.7
374	48405	Texas	San Augustine	1	29.7	21.2	22.5
375	48427	Texas	Starr	28	60	50.9	32.5
376	48445	Texas	Terry	19	25.5	23.3	21.6
377	48463	Texas	Uvalde	23	31.1	24.3	19.8
378	48465	Texas	Val Verde	23	36.4	26.1	20.8
379	48479	Texas	Webb	28	38.2	31.2	20.9
380	48489	Texas	Willacy	34	44.5	33.2	30.5
381	48505	Texas	Zapata	28	41	35.8	30.1
382	48507	Texas	Zavala	23	50.4	41.8	29.6
383	49037	Utah	San Juan	3	36.4	31.4	21.9
384	51027	Virginia	Buchanan	9	21.9	23.2	21.7
385	51051	Virginia	Dickenson	9	25.9	21.3	24.2
386	51105	Virginia	Lee	9	28.7	23.9	27.1
387	51121	Virginia	Montgomery	9	22.1	23.2	20.5
388	51195	Virginia	Wise	9	21.6	20	20.4
389	51540	Virginia	Charlottesville city	5	23.7	25.9	22.1
390	51660	Virginia	Harrisonburg city	6	21.5	30.1	24.9
391	51730	Virginia	Petersburg city	4	20.3	19.6	21.6
392	51750	Virginia	Radford city	9	32.2	31.4	30.5
393	53075	Washington	Whitman	5	24.2	25.6	26.3
394	54013	West Virginia	Calhoun	2	32	25.1	21.6
395	54015	West Virginia	Clay	2	39.2	27.5	22.5
396	54019	West Virginia	Fayette	3	24.4	21.7	20.6
397	54021	West Virginia	Gilmer	1	33.5	25.9	25.5
398	54041	West Virginia	Lewis	2	23.7	19.9	19.5
399	54043	West Virginia	Lincoln	3	33.8	27.9	19.7
400	54045	West Virginia	Logan	3	27.7	24.1	21.9
401	54047	West Virginia	McDowell	3	37.7	37.7	33.8
402	54059	West Virginia	Mingo	3	30.9	29.7	27.3
403	54089	West Virginia	Summers	3	24.5	24.4	23.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2018, from SAIPE
404	54099	West Virginia	Wayne	3	21.8	19.6	19.6
405	54101	West Virginia	Webster	3	34.8	31.8	21.8
406	54109	West Virginia	Wyoming	3	27.9	25.1	22.9
407	55078	Wisconsin	Menominee	8	48.7	28.8	25.3

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2019 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and Nation-Based Relationship File for Congressional Districts and Counties (116th Congress).

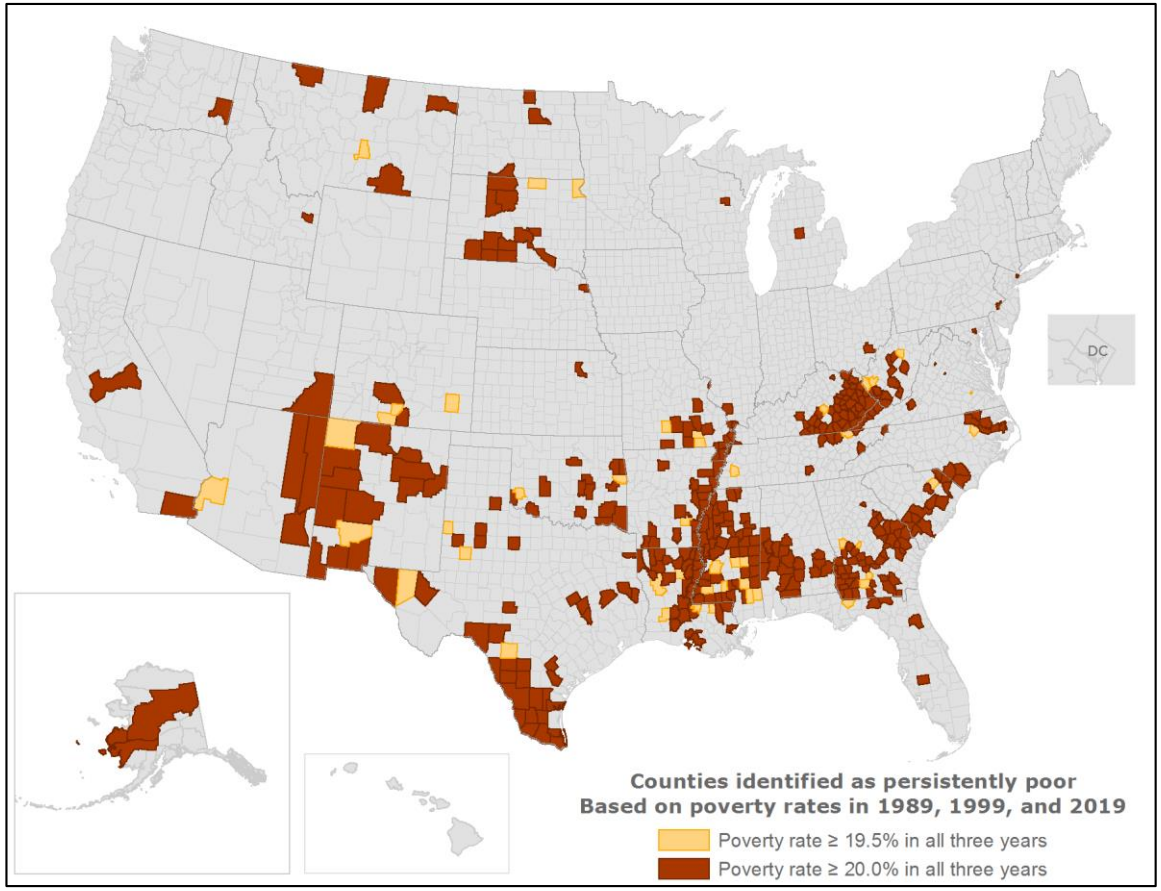
Notes: FIPS: Federal Information Processing Standard.

a. Numbers are ordinal, referring to the name of the congressional district(s) present in the county. For example, Barbour County, AL, is represented by Alabama's 2nd Congressional District (indicated by the 2). A congressional district may span multiple counties; conversely, a single county may be split among multiple congressional districts. Part of Clarke County, AL, for example, is represented by Alabama's 1st Congressional District (indicated by the 1) and part by the 7th Congressional District (indicated by the 7). Counties labeled "at large" are located in states that have one member of the House of Representatives for the entire state.

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

c. 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 2019 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates



Source: Created by Congressional Research Service (CRS) using data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2019 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 for the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.[18] 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.[19] 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,

[18] Poverty estimates from the decennial census continue to be produced for American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. SAIPE and ACS estimates are not. See footnote 12.

[19] 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 2014 to 2018, 17.7 million housing unit addresses were sampled in the ACS. http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample-size-and-data-quality/sample-size/index.php.

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 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.[20]

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"[21]

> The CPS ASEC[22] 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 should use CPS ASEC 2-year averages and CPS ASEC 3-year averages for state to state comparisons.
>
> 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.

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

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

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

> The SIPP[23] is the only Census Bureau source of longitudinal poverty data. As SIPP collects monthly income over 2.5 to 5 year panels, it is also a source of poverty estimates for time periods more or less than one year, including monthly poverty rates.

Table A-1 below reproduces the Census Bureau's recommendations, summarized for various geographic levels:

Table A-1. U.S. Census Bureau's 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 CPS ASEC 3-year averages	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates	
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)[a]	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities/ Decennial Census 2000 and prior	ACS 5-year estimates/ Decennial Census 2000 and prior	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities[b]	None
State-to-Nation comparison	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) formatted reproduction of table by U.S. Census Bureau, with an expansion to the notes. Original table downloaded from http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html, January 16, 2020.

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. *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 https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/guidance/estimates.html.

b. 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.

[23] *Author's note*: SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation; mentioned here only as part of a quotation.

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