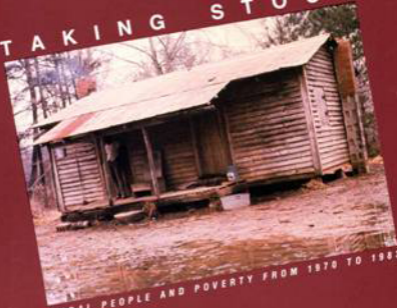


# TAKING STOCK



RURAL PEOPLE AND POVERTY FROM 1970 TO 1983

THE HOUSING ASSISTANCE

T A K I N G S T O C K

RURAL PEOPLE AND POVERTY FROM 1970 TO 1983

THE HOUSING ASSISTANCE COUNCIL  
JULY 1984



This book is dedicated to the rural poor left behind by the housing and community development improvements of the 1970s who continue to suffer the effects of poor health, inadequate education, and intolerable housing conditions. The discomfort and indignities they suffer, often alone and without protest, remain a blight on the conscience of this great nation and call out for redress.



Harold O. Wilson  
Executive Director  
Housing Assistance Council

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Linda Kravitz was the principal author of Taking Stock. Joseph Belden and Arthur Collings, Jr. collected most of the data and prepared most of the tables and graphs. Leslie Strauss edited. Anselmo Telles assisted in the site visits in the Southwest. Christina Lego prepared the book for production, including, among other contributions, the cover, the large map, and the overall production design. HAC also appreciated and benefited from the suggestions of Robert Hoppe, George Rucker, and staff at the Department of Housing and Urban Development who reviewed portions of this report.

Publication of this report was made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation. The maps are based on those prepared and provided by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, whose assistance has been greatly appreciated. Much of the research was supported by funding under contract with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. However, the Housing Assistance Council is solely responsible for the accuracy of the report, whose views do not necessarily reflect those of the government.

A national nonprofit organization, HAC provides technical housing services, seed money loans from a revolving fund, housing program and policy assistance, research and demonstration projects, and training and information services.

## CONTENTS

1	Introduction
5	General Trends in Rural Areas
5	Population Growth
7	Poverty
14	Employment
21	Age and Disability
21	Female-Headed Households
22	Public Assistance Beneficiaries
23	Housing
29	Land Tenure
29	Public Facilities
31	Profiles of High-Poverty Rural Regions and Races
32	Appalachia
32	Black Settlements of the Southeast
34	Indian Settlement Areas
34	Hispanic Settlement Areas
35	Land Tenure in the Southwest
36	Characteristics of Persistent Poverty Counties
43	Footnotes
51	Case Studies
57	Overview
61	Apache County, Arizona
67	Arkansas Ozarks, Newton and Searcy Counties
71	West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana
75	Mora County, New Mexico
79	Shannon County, South Dakota
83	Hancock County, Tennessee
85	Zavala County, Texas
89	Summary and Data
89	Summary
93	Appendices (Data)
93	Figure A: Nonmetro and Metro Poverty Rates for Black Persons, 1981
94	Figure B: Nonmetro and Metro Poverty Rates for Hispanic Persons, 1981
95	Tables 1-3: All Races: Data by State on Persons, Families, and Unrelated Individuals Below Poverty Level
98	Tables 4-6: Blacks: Data by State on Persons, Families, and Unrelated Individuals Below Poverty Level
101	Tables 7-9: Spanish Origin: Data by State on Persons, Families and Unrelated Individuals Below Poverty Level
104	Tables 10-12: American Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos: Data by State on Persons, Families, and Unrelated Individuals Below Poverty Level
107	Table 13: Housing: Data by State on General and Rural Conditions
112	Table 14: Home Owners and Renters: Data by State
120	Table 15: Mobile Homes: Data by State

## ILLUSTRATIONS IN TEXT

### Maps

- 2 State Reference Map
- 3 Population Change 1969-79
- 4 Housing Lacking Complete Plumbing in 1979
- Inside Back Cover: Poverty in 1979

### Tables

- 6 A: 1969-79 Changes in Rural Poverty
- 10 B: Census Comparisons of Urban and Rural Poverty Populations in 1979
- 11 C: 1980 Census Poverty Data for Urbanized and Non-Urbanized Areas
- 12 D: States Ranked by Rural Demographic Indicators
- 24 E: Rural Substandard Housing, 1970-80
- 25 F: 1980 Census of Housing: Selected Data
- 26 G: Substandard Housing Data for Urbanized and Non-Urbanized Areas in 1979
- 38 H: Characteristics of Selected Improved-Poverty and Persistent High-Poverty Counties, from the 1980 Census; Listing of U.S. Counties with at Least a Third of the Households Below Poverty Level in 1979
- 87 I: Population Change in Rural High-Poverty Areas

### Figures

- 7 1: Nonmetropolitan Poverty in the United States, 1969-82
- 8 2: Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan Poverty Rates, 1974-82
- 9 3: Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan Persons Below the Poverty Level, 1974-82
- 15 4: Poverty Rates Under Alternative Methods of Valuing Noncash Benefits, 1982
- 20 5: Nonmetro and Metro Poverty Rates for Persons, All Races, 1981
- 31 6: Rural and Urban Poverty Rates, by Race and Spanish Origin, from the 1980 Census

### Photographs

- Front Cover: Rural Housing in Alabama
- 51 Arizona
- 51 Texas
- 52 Louisiana
- 53 Georgia
- 53 Arkansas
- 54 New Mexico
- 55 South Dakota
- 56 Tennessee

With the exceptions of the cover photograph by the Alabama Rural Council, and the photographs of the Texas house by Pablo Aguillon and of the Georgia house by Bill Clark, all photographs were taken by Housing Assistance Council staff.

## INTRODUCTION

As of 1980, rural<sup>1</sup> communities--in general, those with fewer than 2,500 residents--contained nearly three million poverty-level households. Of these nearly a fourth lived in dwellings which were overcrowded or without complete plumbing,<sup>2</sup> and more lived in dilapidated units not counted as such by the Census and not officially recognized as substandard.<sup>3</sup> Such households are concentrated in the southern "black belt", Appalachia, the Ozarks, Indian trust lands, and along the Mexican border. The severe housing problem in these areas is made more challenging by endemic rural handicaps such as the scarcity of credit providers and the lack of roads, utilities, and water and sewer facilities to serve areas where new or improved housing is warranted; it is complicated by the idiosyncratic land tenure patterns and housing preferences of the cultures most afflicted with poor housing; and it is obscured by the tremendous rural proliferation, mostly on rented sites, of mobile homes.

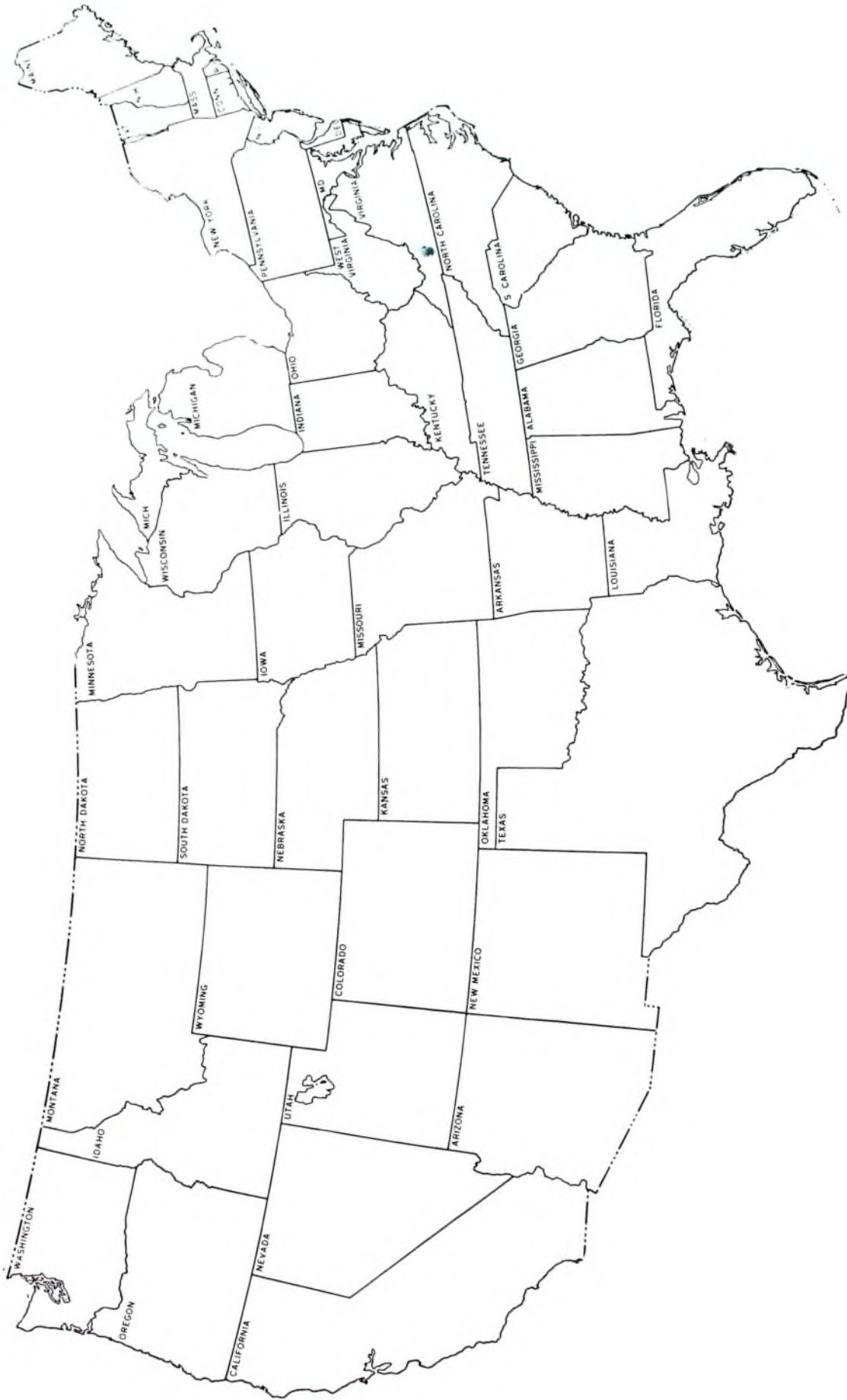
With a little over one fourth of the nation's population, rural areas in 1980 had a disproportionate share (52%) of its occupied units lacking complete plumbing.<sup>4</sup> The rural housing stock lacking complete plumbing has dropped dramatically--by three-fifths--over the last decade,<sup>5</sup> but is still a severe problem in the chronically poverty-stricken areas described later in this paper.

Moreover, the dramatic decline in units lacking plumbing, while heartening, is offset by other considerations. The level of rural units which are structurally deficient has stayed relatively constant.<sup>6</sup> Much of the the rural water supply is contaminated, primarily with coliform bacteria.<sup>7</sup> Former occupants of units lacking plumbing may simply be relocating into mobile homes whose structural quality, safety, and energy efficiency are uncertain.<sup>8</sup> Finally, the number of poverty-level households, presumably with "housing affordability" problems, has increased in nonmetropolitan areas in recent years.<sup>9</sup>

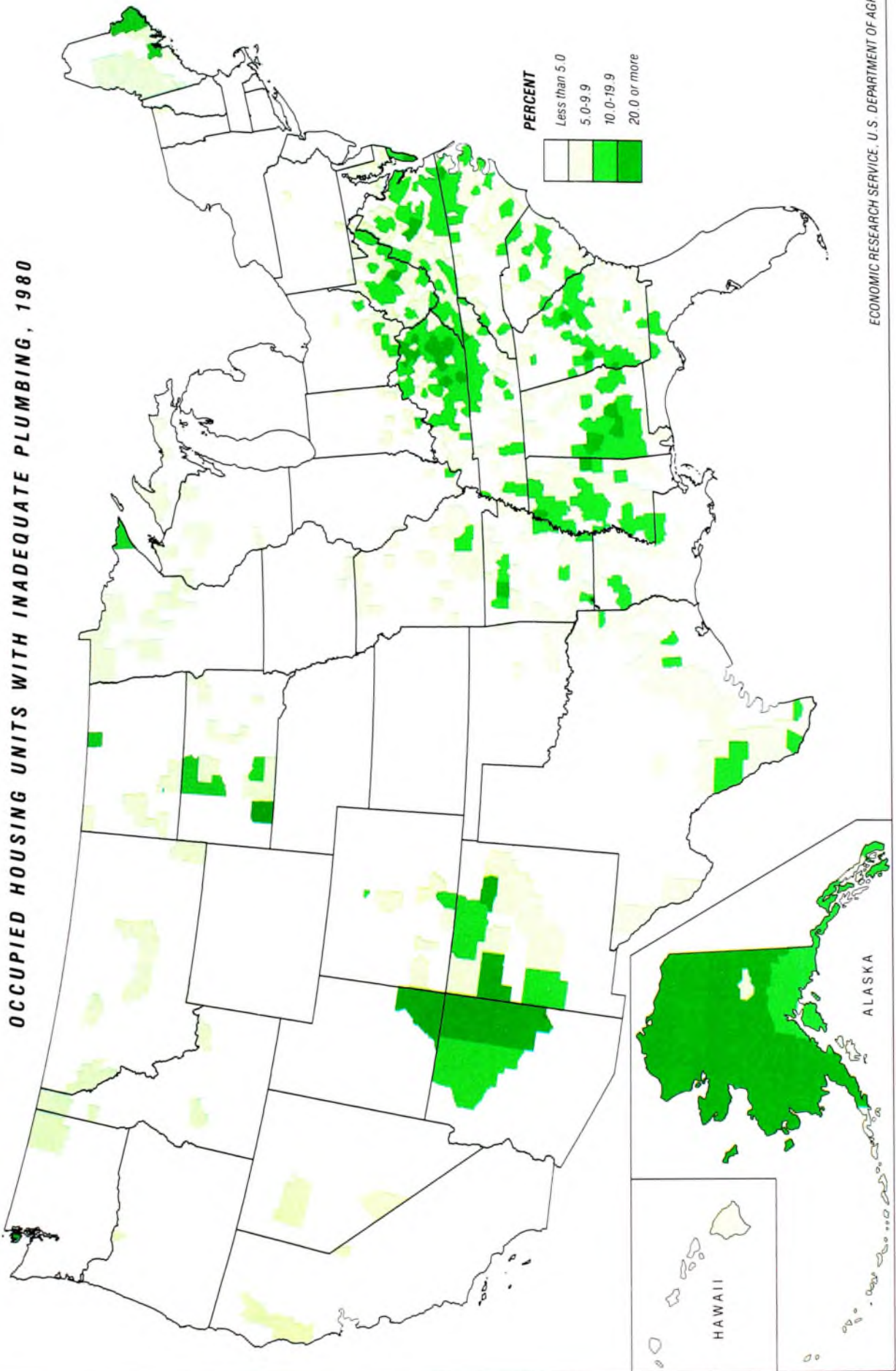
This report summarizes recent data from both the 1980 Census and subsequent surveys on rural poverty, housing, infrastructure, population growth and employment. Where data for rural areas are unavailable for conditions which have a bearing on rural poverty, housing, and infrastructure, nonmetropolitan data are frequently cited.



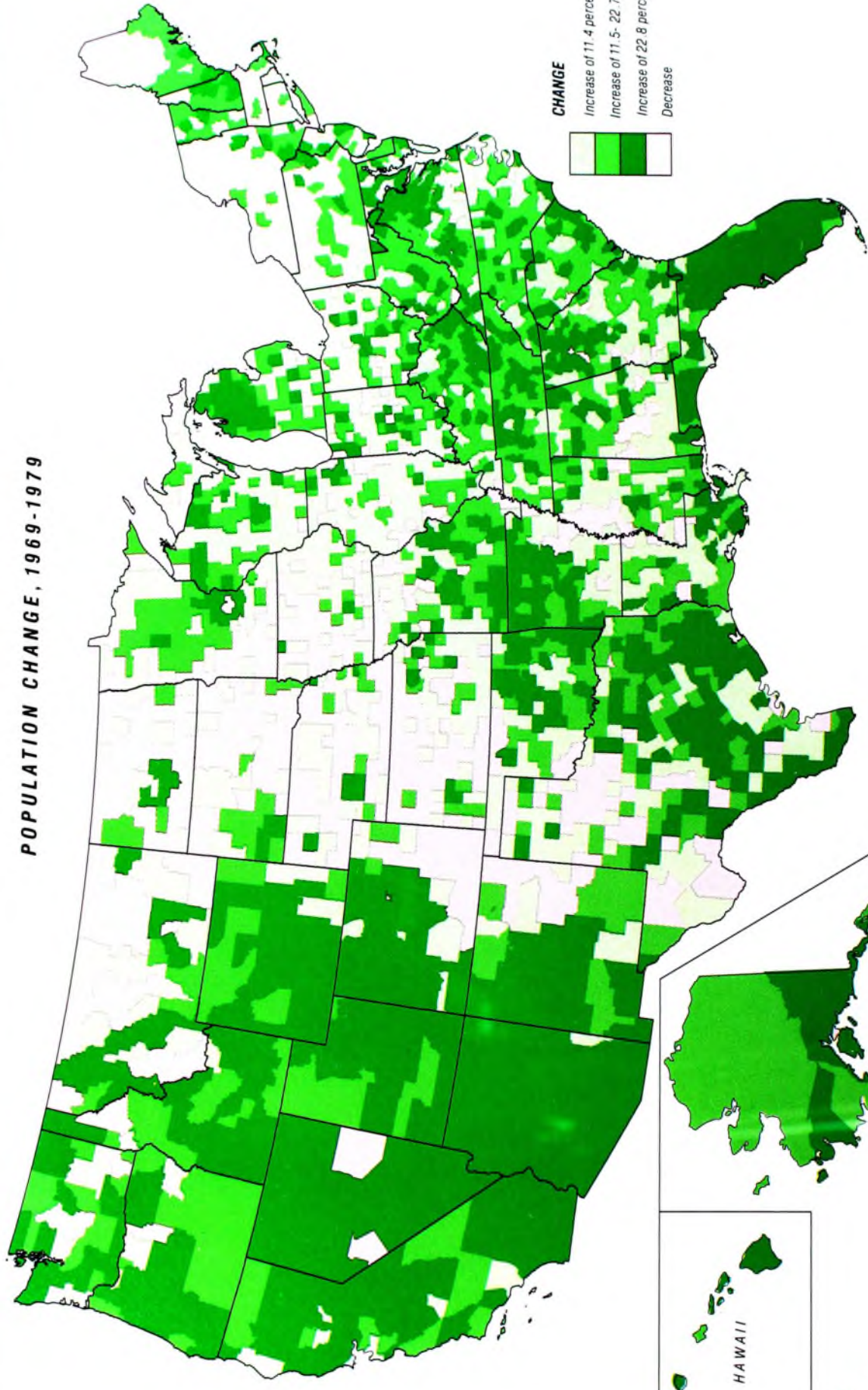
# State Reference Map



**OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS WITH INADEQUATE PLUMBING, 1980**

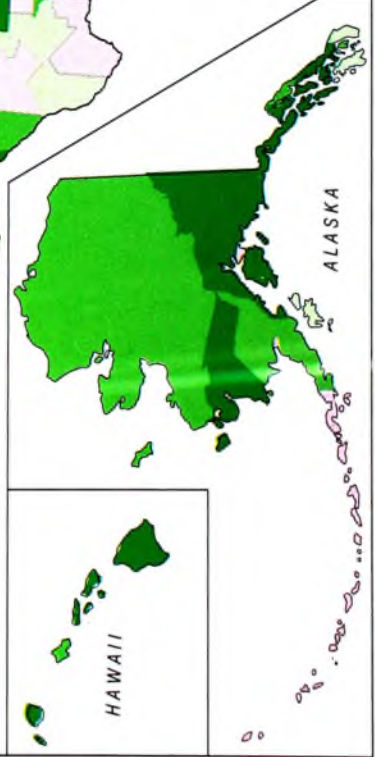


POPULATION CHANGE, 1969-1979

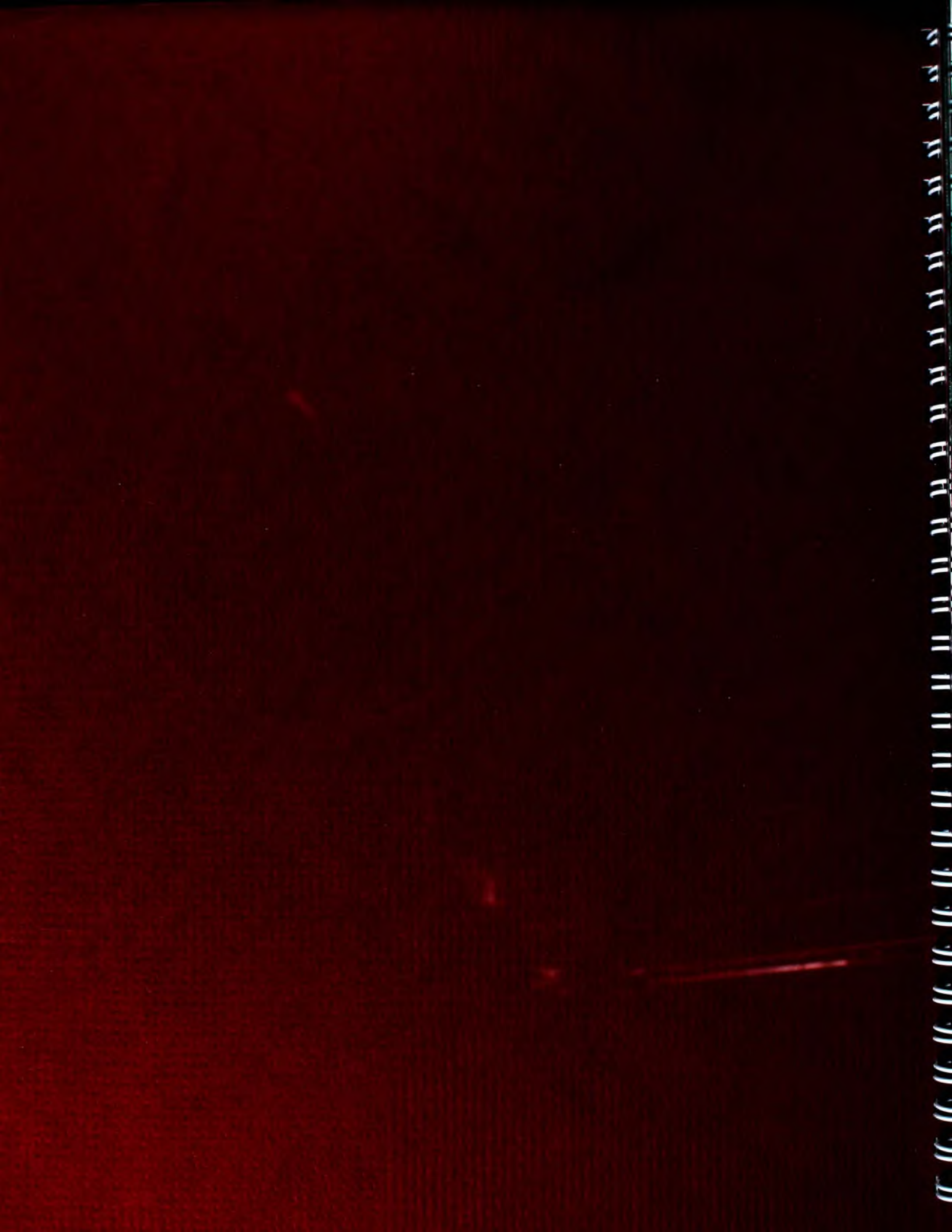


CHANGE

- Increase of 11.4 percent or less
- Increase of 11.5- 22.7 percent
- Increase of 22.8 percent or more
- Decrease







## GENERAL TRENDS IN RURAL AREAS

### POPULATION GROWTH

The rural population grew from 52.9 million in 1970 to 58.6 million in 1980. Its growth (11%) was slightly lower than that of the urban population, but is a reversal of the rural population decline which occurred in the 1960s. Most of the growth occurred in rural communities of more than 1,000 residents, and inside areas considered metropolitan as of 1980. As a group, communities of fewer than 1,000 residents did not regain their 1960 population level.<sup>10</sup>

Areas which were considered nonmetropolitan in 1970 have grown dramatically in population, however, confirming predictions of the Economic Research Service (ERS) of the U. S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). Tracking population change in counties that were nonmetropolitan in 1970, Calvin Beale of ERS found that although during the 1960s about 2.8 million more people moved out of than into these counties, in the 1970s the inmigrants exceeded the outmigrants by 3.5 million. As a result, population in the part of the nation considered nonmetropolitan in 1970 grew at a faster rate (15.8% for the decade) than it did in metropolitan areas (9.8%).<sup>11</sup>

Nonmetropolitan growth has occurred most rapidly in the western mountain and Pacific states, where increases in the nonmetropolitan population have averaged around 31%,<sup>12</sup> but other regions have also witnessed nonmetropolitan gains, which in some areas are in marked contrast to previous trends. For example, the black population grew in some of the nonmetropolitan counties of the Southeast where black outmigration had been heavy in the 1960s.<sup>13</sup>

There are still nonmetropolitan counties exhibiting a net outmigration, and these typically have an agricultural economic base. (However, not all farming areas lost population over the 1970s.) Although expecting growth to continue, ERS notes that it may be affected by changes in employment patterns: since the late 1970s, the rate of job growth in nonmetropolitan areas has not exceeded the metropolitan rate, and nonmetropolitan unemployment has exceeded that of metropolitan areas.<sup>14</sup> In fact, 1984 estimates from the Census Bureau indicate a slowing of nonmetropolitan growth, from an annual rate of 1.3% in the 1970s to 0.8% from 1980 to 1982, while metropolitan areas continue to grow at 1.0%, their approximate annual rate in the 1970s.<sup>15</sup>

The benefits of recent population growth to rural localities are uncertain. One concern is that a significant number of the immigrating population have incomes below the poverty level. Nonmetropolitan data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) may have significance for rural areas; the CPS reports that nonmetropolitan areas had a net gain of 269,000 poverty-level people relocating from metropolitan areas during the period from 1975 to 1979. In other words, 269,000 more poor people moved into than out of nonmetropolitan areas during that period. The poverty-level movers comprised only 18% of the total nonmetropolitan net influx of 1,520,000 persons, but that share was higher than the poverty rate (around 11%) of the population as a whole in the years concerned. Thus, the households

TABLE A: 1969-79 Changes in Rural Poverty (1970 and 1980 censuses)

	1969		1979	
	Number	Poverty Rate	Number	Poverty Rate
Poverty-level Persons*	9,714,669	18.4%	7,721,273	13.2%
White	7,242,524	15.0%	5,953,603	11.0%
Black	2,235,463	55.5%	1,360,547	36.4%
Hispanic	385,521	34.7%	380,346	26.6%
65 Years Or Older	1,889,656	36.2%	1,243,426	19.9%
Children Under 18	3,788,692	NA	2,826,471	15.6%
Poverty-level Families	2,098,496	15.3%	1,709,271	10.6%
White	1,653,321	12.9%	1,363,274	9.1%
Black	403,722	49.6%	269,972	32.0%
Hispanic	68,970	30.2%	71,084	23.0%
With Public Assistance	360,922 (% of rural poor)	17.2%	399,410 (% of rural poor)	23.4%
Female-headed Families (Percent of Poverty Families)	397,539	39.3% (18.9%)	419,827	30.1% (24.6%)
White	271,816	32.7%	281,977	25.8%
Black	115,509	69.4%	115,667	52.1%
Hispanic	10,649	59.2%	15,067	47.4%
W/children Householder Worked	299,473	48.3%	356,706	40.5%
	146,450	36.8%	183,700	43.8%
		(% of poverty-level female heads)		
Poverty-level Unrelated				
Individuals	1,396,216	49.9%	1,418,076	31.3%
White	1,214,779	47.9%	1,201,384	29.1%
Black	162,053	71.9%	164,271	57.7%
Hispanic	20,355	51.6%	46,583	45.3%
Elderly (65+)	802,577	62.2%	657,264	38.8%
With Public Assistance	209,125	13.7%	270,979	19.1%
		(% of poverty-level individuals)		

\* 1969 Rural data for American Indians are not available.

Sources: 1970 and 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

relocating into nonmetropolitan areas from 1975 to 1979 had a disproportionately large poverty-level population.<sup>16</sup>

**POVERTY**

Rural poverty declined from 9.7 million persons and 18.4% of the rural population in 1969 to 7.7 million and 13.2% in 1979 (see Table A), but has probably increased by 1984, possibly surpassing the 1969 level.<sup>17</sup> The assumption of an increase is based on the only statistical evidence apparently available, nonmetropolitan data from the annual CPS, which reveal a trend since 1978 of increasing poverty in nonmetropolitan areas. The nonmetropolitan poverty rate in 1969 was 17.9%; it declined to 13.5% in 1978, but then rose to 13.8% in 1979, and continued to rise to 17.8% in 1982, the year most recently reported. The nonmetropolitan poverty population decreased from 11.1 million in 1969 to 9.4 million in 1978, rose to 9.9 million in 1979, and had increased to 13.2 million by the end of 1982. (See Figure 1.) It is likely that major patterns of economic change in nonmetropolitan areas are similar or parallel to those of smaller rural areas, although the former are more influenced by developments in "small" cities, and the latter more by agriculture (where the poverty rate tends to be relatively high, and has increased over the last three years, from 13.3% in 1979 to 22.1% in 1982).

FIGURE 1: Nonmetropolitan Poverty in the United States, 1969-1982



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level, Current Population Reports, various years.

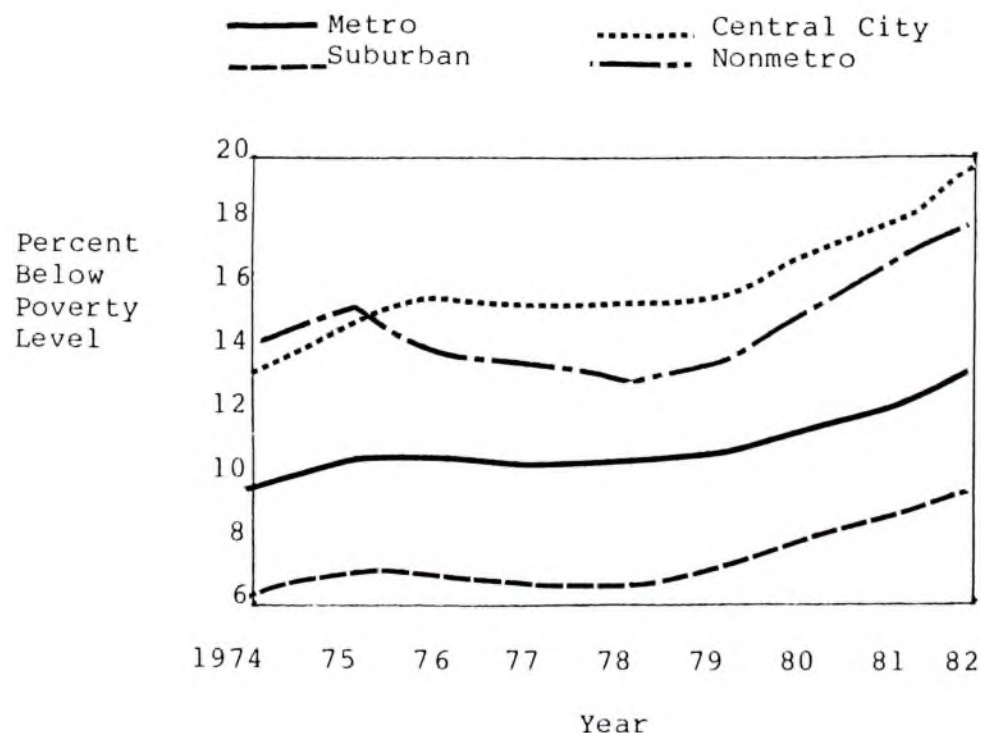
\*Data for 1971-73 are not available.



Although the number of nonmetropolitan poor has been consistently higher than the number of poor persons in the "central" or "inner" cities of large metropolitan areas, in recent years the nonmetropolitan poverty rate has been lower than that of the central city population. During the 1970s, the central city poverty rate rose as the nonmetropolitan poverty rate declined, with the two crossing paths in 1975, when they were both around 15%. In 1980 and 1982, the central city poverty rates were 17.2% and 19.9%, respectively, in contrast with the nonmetropolitan rates of 15.4% and 17.8%.

The metropolitan areas outside of central cities, however, have consistently been much lower than those of nonmetropolitan and central city

Figure 2: Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan Poverty Rates, 1974-1982

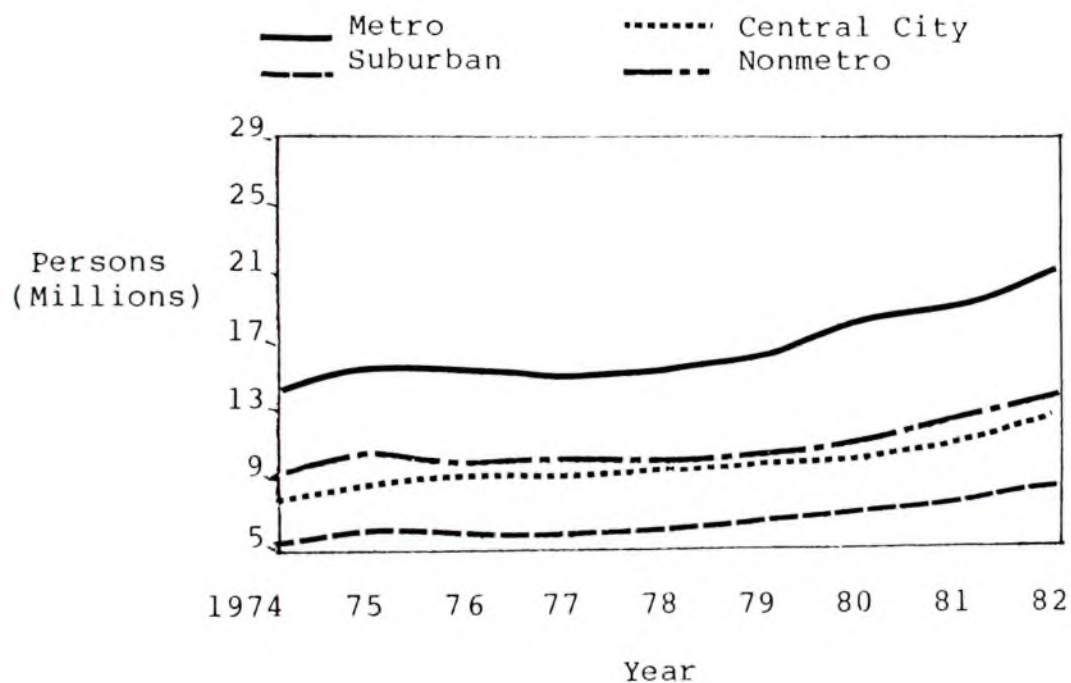


Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level, Current Population Reports, various years.

areas, in terms of both poverty numbers and rates. The number of suburban poor has hovered around eight million from 1980 to 1982, and the suburban poverty rate has been about half that of nonmetropolitan and central city areas, reaching 9.3% in 1982. (See Figures 2 and 3.)

Moreover, the rural poor differ from their urban counterparts demographically, and particularly in ways which affect their ability to escape poverty and inadequate living conditions. These include the varying extents to which they are elderly, in female-headed households, part of the labor force, or benefit from public assistance. (See Tables B and C.) Each of these characteristics is treated in detail below.

Figure 3: Nonmetropolitan and Metropolitan Persons Below the Poverty Level, 1974-82



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level, Current Population Reports, various years.

**TABLE B: Census Comparisons of the Urban and Rural Poverty Populations in 1979**

	URBAN		RURAL		Rural % of Nation
	Number In Poverty	Poverty Rate	Number In Poverty	Poverty Rate	
Poverty-level Persons	19,671,307	12.1%	7,721,273	13.2%	28.2%
White	11,378,068	8.7%	5,953,603	11.0%	34.3%
Black	6,288,057	28.7%	1,360,547	36.4%	17.8%
Hispanic	2,990,788	23.2%	380,346	26.6%	11.3%
American Indian (Eskimo, & Aleut)	178,811	22.6%	229,256	33.1%	56.1%
65 Years or Older	2,338,303	13.0%	1,243,426	19.9%	34.5%
White	1,741,946	10.9%	1,032,559	17.8%	37.2%
Black	515,687	32.3%	184,902	47.3%	26.4%
Hispanic	142,664	24.5%	25,106	34.3%	15.0%
American Indian...	8,974	24.5%	15,484	39.0%	63.3%
Children Under 18	7,199,152	16.2%	2,826,471	15.6%	28.2%
White	3,431,906	10.2%	2,035,737	12.6%	37.2%
Black	2,875,557	36.9%	603,097	42.6%	17.3%
Hispanic	1,421,667	28.9%	180,391	30.3%	11.2%
American Indian...	74,247	27.3%	107,813	37.3%	37.3%
Poverty-level Families	3,960,944	9.2%	1,709,271	10.6%	30.1%
White	2,203,405	6.2%	1,363,274	9.1%	9.0%
Black	1,345,980	25.6%	269,972	32.0%	16.9%
Hispanic	624,836	21.1%	71,084	23.0%	10.2%
American Indian...	37,073	19.5%	44,005	29.2%	29.1%
Householder Worked	1,907,045	48.1%	953,621	55.8%	33.3%
(% of poverty-level families)					
W/Public Assistance	1,441,420	36.4%	399,410	23.4%	21.7%
(% of poverty-level families)					
Female-headed	2,064,419	30.2%	419,827	30.9%	16.8%
White	943,458	21.4%	281,977	25.8%	23.0%
Black	935,849	45.7%	115,667	52.1%	11.0%
Hispanic	291,409	48.2%	15,067	47.4%	4.9%
American Indian...	20,370	43.3%	15,519	51.0%	43.2%
W/Children (18-)	1,865,733	40.3%	356,706	40.5%	16.1%
White	835,188	31.3%	236,698	35.0%	22.0%
Black	858,729	52.0%	100,356	59.4%	10.5%
Hispanic	270,011	56.4%	13,019	54.0%	4.6%
American Indian...	19,048	49.3%	13,759	55.6%	41.9%
W/Children (6-)	1,014,785	55.8%	170,549	54.5%	14.4%
Householder Worked	828,998	40.2%	183,700	43.8%	18.1%
(% of female-headed poverty households)					
Poverty-level Unrelated Individuals	5,442,506	23.8%	1,418,076	31.3%	20.7%
White	4,036,948	21.2%	1,201,384	29.1%	22.9%
Black	1,076,496	37.9%	164,271	57.7%	13.2%
Hispanic	397,135	35.0%	46,583	47.3%	10.5%
American Indian...	40,205	34.8%	22,529	48.5%	35.9%
Elderly (Over 65)	1,594,546	26.5%	657,264	38.8%	29.2%
W/Public Assistance	834,589	15.3%	270,979	19.1%	24.5%
(% of poverty-level individuals)					
Poverty-level Households	7,525,401	12.4%	2,770,624	14.0%	26.9%
In Substandard Units	984,468		608,655		38.2%
White	413,749		377,464		47.7%
Black	387,624		183,872		32.1%
Hispanic	263,034		39,904		13.2%
American Indian...	NA		NA		
(National Total for American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts = 41,225, for Asian and Pacific Islanders = 47,796, and for unknown = 141,393)					

Sources: 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, and Detailed Housing Characteristics.

**TABLE C: 1980 Census Poverty Data for Urbanized and Non-Urbanized\* Areas**

	URBANIZED		NON-URBANIZED		Non-urban Share of Nation
	Number	Pov. Rate	Number	Pov. Rate	
Population	135,751,108	11.8%	85,094,658	13.4%	38.5%
Number In Poverty					
Persons	15,965,933	11.8%	11,426,647	13.4%	41.7%
White	8,820,721	8.2%	8,510,950	11.1%	49.1%
Black	5,409,363	27.7%	2,239,241	36.9%	29.3%
Hispanic	2,592,775	22.8%	778,359	26.2%	23.1%
Native American	120,955	21.2%	287,112	31.4%	70.4%
65 Years or Older	1,717,924	12.0%	1,863,805	19.1%	52.0%
Children Under 18	5,907,393	16.0%	4,118,231	16.0%	41.1%
Poverty-Level Families	3,224,756	9.0%	2,445,459	10.4%	43.1%
Poverty-Level Unrelated Individuals	4,375,446	22.6%	2,485,136	31.0%	36.2%

\*An urbanized area consists of a central city or cities and surrounding closely settled territory or "urban fringe", which together have a minimum population of 50,000. The densely settled surrounding area generally consists of (1) contiguous incorporated places or census designated places having (a) a population of 2,500 or more or (b) a smaller population with either a density of 1,000 persons per square mile, a closely settled area containing a minimum of 50 percent of the population, or a cluster of at least 100 housing units; or (2) unincorporated areas with at least 1,000 persons per square mile.

Non-urbanized areas include rural areas in addition to urban areas outside of urbanized areas. FmHA Service Areas correspond closely but not entirely to non-urbanized areas.

Source: 1980 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

Marked geographical variations, also described below, are found in comparisons of the clusters of states featuring these characteristics. More elderly poor are found in the Ozark and Appalachian mountains; more single mothers are found in the Deep South. The rural working poor are simply concentrated in areas where rural poverty is most prevalent, except that unrelated individuals appear to gravitate to areas where seasonal farmwork is available. Perhaps the most interesting relationship, however, is between the availability of public assistance and each of these categories of the rural poor. (See Table D.)

Given certain definitions of poverty, the extent of noncash public assistance benefits among the rural poor also affects the nominal poverty rate of the rural population. A recent report by the Census Bureau finds that the poverty rate drops significantly if the value of noncash benefits such as food, housing, and medical care are included as income in the determination of poverty status.<sup>18</sup> For nonmetropolitan areas (and using the "budget share" value), it drops from 13.8% to 10.9% in 1979, and from 17.8% to 15.1% in 1982.<sup>19</sup> (See Figure 4.) The drops in the nonmetropolitan rates for both years are lower than those for metropolitan areas, however, presumably because of the relatively low proportion of public assistance beneficiaries among the nonmetropolitan population, and

**TABLE D: States Ranked by Rural Demographic Indicators**

RANK	RURAL POPULATION	RURAL POVERTY	RURAL POVERTY RATE	LOWEST AFDC MO. PAYMENT* (FAM/4)	HIGHEST AFDC MO. PAYMENT* (FAM/4)
1	Pa 3,643,044	NC 453,356	Ms 26.4%	Ms \$120	Ak \$634
2	NC 3,058,914	Tx 443,924	NM 23.9%	Tx 141	Ca 601
3	Tx 2,896,174	Ky 374,005	SD 21.7%	Ar 142	Vt 581
4	Oh 2,879,371	Ms 344,522	Az 21.4%	Al 148	Wi 563
5	Mi 2,710,527	Ga 342,841	Ky 21.4%	Tn 148	Ha 546
6	NY 2,700,004	Al 312,797	Al 20.2%	SC 163	Mn 520
7	Ca 2,060,296	Tn 308,613	Ar 20.1%	NC 210	Wa 515
8	Ga 2,054,024	Pa 303,871	La 19.5%	Ga 216	NY 515
9	In 1,964,926	SC 257,161	SC 18.2%	Fl 230	Mi 508
10	Il 1,908,479	NY 253,876	Tn 18.2%	La 234	Ct 501
11	Tn 1,817,547	La 252,401	Ga 16.9%	Ky 235	Ma 445
12	Va 1,817,395	Va 243,411	Ak 16.4%	Az 244	Ut 438
13	Ky 1,795,594	Oh 241,276	WV 16.4%	WV 249	Nb 420
14	Wl 1,685,035	Mi 240,128	ND 16.1%	NM 281	KI 420
15	Mo 1,567,098	Fl 239,291	Fl 16.0%	Va 283	Io 419
16	Al 1,556,174	Ca 224,191	Tx 15.6%	Mo 290	NJ 414
17	Fl 1,533,939	Mo 223,904	Ok 15.2%	De 312	Or 409
18	SC 1,432,567	Ar 220,466	NC 15.0%	Nv 314	ND 408
19	Mn 1,350,768	WV 202,154	Mo 14.5%	In 315	Pa 395
20	Ms 1,327,833	Mn 169,483	Mt 14.0%	Oh 319	NH 392

RANK	RURAL SHELTER POVERTY*	PERCENT OCCUPIED RURAL UNITS	LOWEST AFDC SHELTER PAYMENT AS % FMR**	HIGHEST AFDC SHELTER PAYMENT AS % FMR**	OCCUPIED RURAL MOBILE HOMES	RURAL MOBILE HOMES AS % OF OCC. UNITS
1	Ky 46,723	NM 9.69%	Ms 12%	Id 77%	NC 157,871	Nv 26.8%
2	NC 44,852	Ak 9.45	Tx 13	Vt 68	Fl 131,223	Wv 25.9%
3	Tx 39,326	Ms 8.87	Tn 15	Ha 64	Tx 127,638	Fl 24.2%
4	Ms 37,097	Az 8.82	Al 16	NY 63	Pa 123,128	Az 24.2%
5	Ga 32,695	Ky 7.87	SC 16	Wa 58	Ga 105,017	NM 22.3%
6	Tn 32,566	Al 6.26	Ar 17	SC 54	Ca 99,288	De 18.3%
7	Al 32,241	SC 5.58	NC 19	Wi 50	NY 88,652	Mt 17.8%
8	Va 30,636	Ar 5.42	Ga 20	Ka 47	Oh 84,887	Or 17.4%
9	SC 25,376	Tn 5.29	Az 21	Mi 45	Mi 80,791	Id 16.1%
10	WV 21,199	WV 5.10	Ca 21	Ut 44	Ky 79,175	Ga 15.7%
11	La 20,703	Va 5.06	Fl 23	Mn 42	Al 75,435	SC 15.5%
12	Ar 20,669	La 4.96	La 24	Nb 42	SC 72,575	NC 15.2%
13	Oh 16,830	Ga 4.88	Va 24	Ct 41	Tn 67,525	WV 15.0%
14	Pa 16,448	NC 4.32	Il 25	Ak 40	Va 63,886	La 14.6%
15	Fl 14,850	Ha 4.07	WV 25	ND 40	WV 62,286	Al 14.6%
16	Ca 13,188	Tx 4.03	De 27	RI 40	La 60,958	Wa 14.3%
17	Az 11,963	Oh 3.92	Ky 27	Io 39	Mo 60,176	Ca 14.2%
18	NM 10,842	Me 3.24	Md 28	Ok 39	In 59,696	Co 13.7%
19	Mi 10,302	SD 3.08	Mo 28	Or 38	Wa 54,277	Ky 13.3%
20	NY 10,054	Mo 2.89	Nv 30	Me, NH, NM 35	Or 50,925	Tx 13.1%

\* AFDC = Aid to Families With Dependent Children.

\*\* Shelter poverty = poverty-level households in substandard housing.

\*\* FMR = Fair Market Rent; Shelter Rent = 30% AFDC payment, except for states which have a separate shelter allowance established.

RANK	RURAL POVERTY FAMILIES	RURAL FAMILY POVERTY RATE	RURAL F-HEADED POVERTY FAMILIES	(WITH CHILDREN)	RURAL POV. FAMILIES ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	RURAL POOR WORKING HEADS
1	NC 103,377	Ms 21.0%	NC 30,240	NC 24,420	KY 25,520	NC 56,398
2	Tx 97,449	NM 19.9%	Ga 21,130	Ms 17,708	Ms 25,107	TX 55,226
3	KY 89,820	Ky 18.0%	Ms 20,513	Ga 17,550	NC 24,968	KY 44,710
4	Ga 76,334	SD 17.6%	SC 19,019	SC 16,010	Ga 20,825	Ga 40,593
5	Tn 74,185	Al 16.5%	Al 18,577	Al 15,379	Al 20,693	Tn 37,808
6	Ms 71,744	Ar 16.5%	Tx 18,304	Pa 15,154	Tx 19,655	Ms 35,867
7	Al 70,304	La 16.3%	Ky 17,689	Tx 14,994	Tn 18,595	Pa 35,803
8	Pa 64,471	Az 16.2%	Pa 17,666	Mi 14,838	La 17,093	Al 33,981
9	La 55,899	SC 14.6%	Mi 16,270	KY 13,961	SC 16,700	NY 31,142
10	SC 55,022	Tn 14.4%	La 15,600	La 13,266	Mi 15,874	OH 30,441
11	Va 53,828	Ga 13.7%	Va 15,034	NY 13,242	Pa 14,832	Mo 30,030
12	Oh 53,650	WV 13.4%	Tn 14,955	F1 12,670	Ar 13,784	M1 28,724
13	Mi 53,510	Ak 13.1%	NY 14,853	Oh 11,811	Oh 13,117	Ca 28,002
14	F1 52,472	ND 13.1%	F1 14,392	Ca 11,702	WV 13,078	SC 27,717
15	MO 51,934	Ok 12.4%	Oh 13,498	Va 11,676	Va 12,823	F1 27,424
16	Ar 51,626	Tx 12.2%	Ca 12,682	Tn 11,612	Mo 10,849	Va 27,422
17	NY 51,177	F1 12.1%	WV 11,503	WV 9,191	NY 10,456	Mn 26,021
18	Ca 47,937	NC 12.1%	Ar 10,219	Ar 8,455	Ca 10,351	Ar 25,778
19	WV 45,594	Mo 11.7%	Mo 8,704	Il 7,541	F1 10,273	La 24,870
20	Mn 37,772	Nb 11.3%	Il 8,689	Mo 7,215	OK 7,447	In 22,884

RANK	RURAL POOR ELDERLY PERSONS	RURAL POVERTY UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS.	UNRELATED INDIVID. POVERTY RATE	RURAL POOR UNRELATED ELDERLY INDIVIDUALS	RURAL UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS W/PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	RURAL POVERTY UNRELATED WORKING INDIVIDUALS
1	Tx 85,859	NC 80,827	Ms 50.9%	Tx 43,654	Tx 18,085	Ca 26,300
2	NC 82,286	Tx 76,430	Al 47.0%	NC 40,990	NC 15,776	NY 23,599
3	Tn 60,731	Pa 68,168	Ar 46.8%	Pa 28,730	Ms 15,016	NC 22,755
4	Ms 59,869	NY 62,731	La 44.4%	Ga 28,482	Al 14,945	Tx 18,959
5	Al 59,787	Ca 53,007	Tn 43.0%	Al 27,664	Ga 14,193	Pa 18,546
6	Ga 58,008	Ca 52,797	KY 42.5%	Tn 27,311	Pa 12,559	M1 18,073
7	KY 53,239	Mi 52,145	Ga 40.6%	Ms 26,909	La 12,530	F1 16,725
8	Mo 47,387	F1 51,203	Ok 40.5%	Mo 26,660	Tn 12,333	Va 13,427
9	Ar 46,372	Tn 48,218	SC 40.5%	KY 23,642	KY 11,418	Ga 12,320
10	Pa 45,329	Va 47,174	NM 39.2%	Va 22,904	Mo 11,350	Il 12,108
11	Va 44,539	Al 45,954	WV 37.6%	Ar 22,134	Ar 11,152	Oh 11,911
12	La 44,105	KY 45,654	NC 37.4%	La 20,676	NY 9,065	Wa 11,045
13	SC 37,409	Mo 45,204	Tx 36.9%	Mi 20,324	Mi 9,062	Wi 10,919
14	FL 36,440	Ms 44,282	Mo 36.5%	Oh 19,902	SC 8,563	Tn 10,544
15	Oh 34,633	Oh 43,714	Va 35.8%	NY 19,498	Va 8,158	KY 10,251
16	Mi 33,706	La 38,155	F1 35.1%	F1 19,024	OK 7,742	Mo 10,106
17	Ok 31,182	Il 36,796	Ut 34.2%	SC 18,726	FL 7,556	Or 9,924
18	NY 30,853	Ar 36,421	SD 34.1%	OK 17,487	WV 7,255	In 9,686
19	Mn 30,535	SC 36,086	Az 31.9%	Il 17,443	Oh 7,215	Mn 9,463
20	Il 28,673	WV 33,094	Me 31.3%	Mn 17,116	Ca 4,106	SC 8,179

Sources: 1980 Census for population and housing data; Social Security Administration State Plans for AFDC figures; National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials for shelter payments.

of the relatively low payments in the poorer, more rural states. For the same reason, the nonmetropolitan share of the nation's poor when noncash benefits are included as income increases slightly from 38.2% to 38.9%. By one valuation method, which includes the "market value" of the noncash benefits, the nonmetropolitan share on national poverty increases to 39.7%.

The Census report also shows that the growth in the poverty population and rates from 1979 to 1982 is more when noncash benefits are counted as income, and that it is higher for nonmetropolitan than for metropolitan areas and for married-couple families than for female householders or unrelated individuals. If cash income alone is considered, the poverty rate of nonmetropolitan areas increased by 29% from 1979 to 1982. If noncash benefits are included, however, it increased by a range of from 38.5% to as much as 50%, depending upon the valuation method. For married-couple families, the money income definition of poverty meant an increase in the poverty rate of 45.9%, but when noncash benefits were included, the increase ranged from 53.1% to 64.1%.<sup>20</sup> As poverty-level married-couple families are more common in nonmetropolitan areas, it is reasonable to conclude that the nonmetropolitan poverty increase is in large part a reflection of the number of "traditional" family units falling from 1979 to 1982 into the poverty population.

The range in the estimates yielded by the various definitions of poverty may give the impression that all poverty figures are somewhat arbitrarily derived. That is the case to the extent that they are based upon differing definitions of need which are not entirely objective. There is consistency, however, in the trends and patterns they suggest, specifically: nonmetropolitan areas not only have a higher poverty rate, but the nonmetropolitan poverty rate has in recent years increased more rapidly than that of metropolitan areas, and more rapidly still if noncash benefits are included as income.

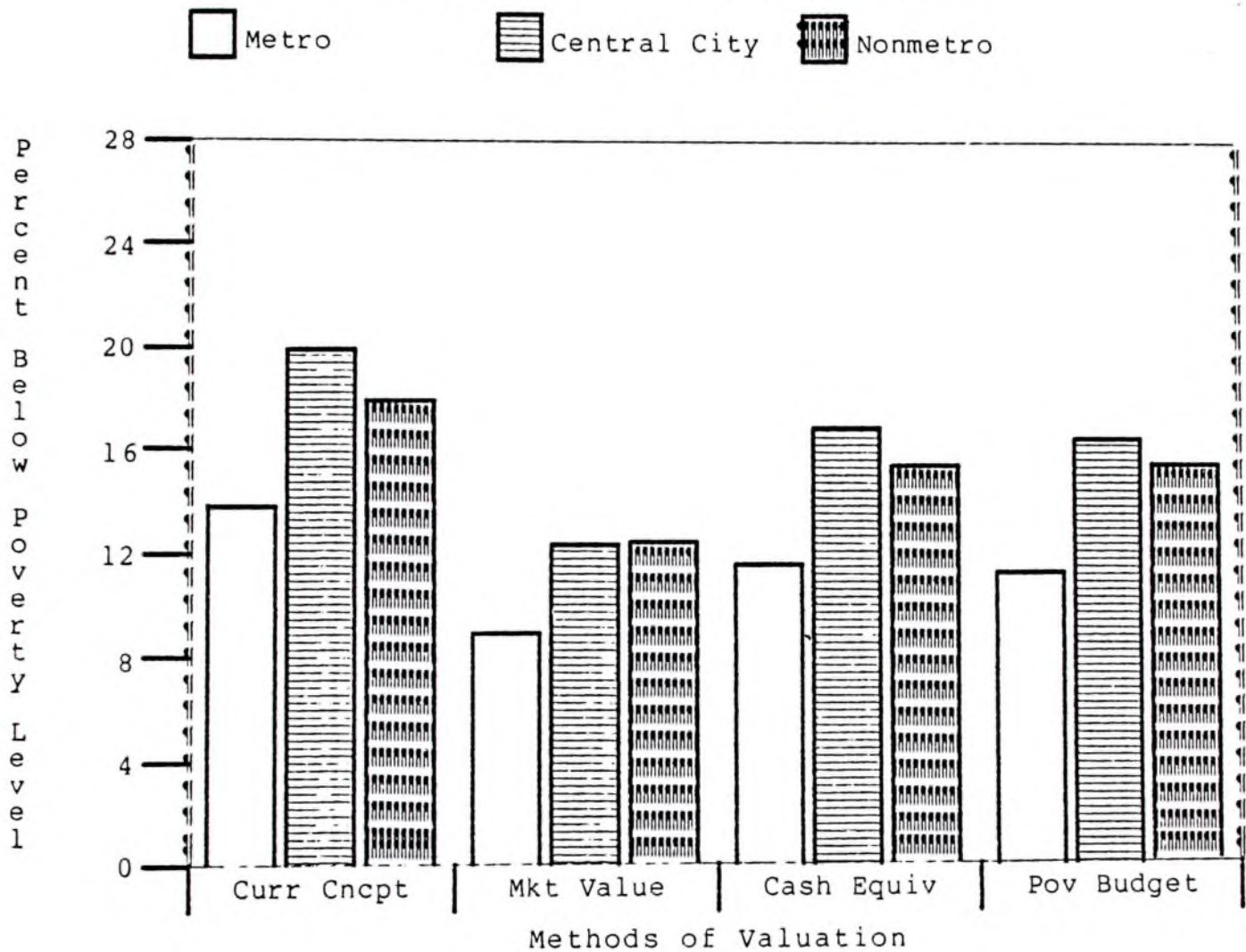
### **EMPLOYMENT**

The available employment opportunities have an obvious bearing on a locality's ability to eliminate poverty and deficient infrastructure. Labor force indicators for the 1970s suggest that the potential for generating incomes through employment in rural areas is limited not as much by the absence of willing workers, as by the limitations of the industries drawn to rural areas, by the skills and education of the labor force, and by the large share of the rural population, including the elderly and children, dependent upon the labor force.

The nonmetropolitan employment level grew annually by 2.3% during the 1970s, compared with a 1.9% rate increase in metropolitan areas.<sup>21</sup> Data available from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) since 1973 show employment grew from 26.9 million in 1973 to 30.2 million in 1980.<sup>22</sup> Although positive on its face, the increase in the nonmetropolitan labor force has had mixed benefits for the rural economy and the rural poor.

Over a fourth of the new jobs in nonmetropolitan areas (in contrast with only 6% of those in metropolitan areas) were in the goods-producing industries (mining, construction, and manufacturing)<sup>23</sup> and were highly vulnerable to the impact of the recession of the late 1970s. The 1970s thus witnessed not only a growth in the nonmetropolitan labor force but

FIGURE 4: Nonmetro and Metro Poverty Rates Under Alternative Methods of Valuing Noncash Benefits, 1982



Current concept: Present poverty definition (cash income only).

Market value: Value based on private market price of benefits (food stamps, school lunch, subsidized housing, Medicaid, Medicare).

Cash equivalent: Value based on amount of cash in lieu of goods or services.

Poverty budget: Value based on amount by which poverty threshold could be reduced for the family receiving the benefit.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Estimates of Poverty Including the Value of Noncash Benefits: 1979 to 1982, Technical Paper 51, February 1984.



also a doubling in the number of nonmetropolitan unemployed workers, from 1.2 million in 1973 to 2.4 million in 1980, and a sharp increase in the unemployment rate, from 4.4% to 7.3%.<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, with the exception of 1976, the nonmetropolitan unemployment rate (adjusted for part-time "due to economic reasons" workers and discouraged jobseekers) has equalled or exceeded the metropolitan rate; since 1978, whether adjusted or not, it has been consistently higher than that of metropolitan areas, which are far less dependent for employment on goods production. In 1983 the nonmetropolitan unemployment rate was 10.1%; adjusted for part-time (for economic reasons) workers and discouraged job seekers, it amounted to approximately 14.9% of the work force. In contrast, the metropolitan employment rate in that year was 9.4%; adjusted for the part-time and discouraged, it was 13.1%.<sup>25</sup>

Much of the increase in nonmetropolitan employment has been in low-wage or seasonal occupations, and may have contributed to the prevalence of the "working poor" among the rural poverty population. Because of existing eligibility criteria for government assistance programs, the characteristics of wage-earners among the rural poverty population are discussed below.

#### The Working Poor

Nearly a million heads of rural poverty-level households were wage-earners in 1979, and constituted the majority--nearly three-fifths--of all such household heads. By contrast, a little over two-fifths of the urban poor household heads earned wages in that year.<sup>26</sup> (CPS data for nonmetropolitan areas indicate that almost one third of the nonmetropolitan poor had two or more members in the workforce.)<sup>27</sup>

Nearly a third of the 1.4 million poverty-level rural "unrelated individuals", single men and women often living alone, also worked in 1979. The disparity between the proportion of workers among poverty-level unrelated individuals and household heads may be misleading, however, due to the fact that nearly half (46%) of the unrelated individuals were over 65. For purposes of assessing the extent of the working poor among unrelated individuals potentially in the labor force, it is reasonable to deduct the elderly from their number. Wage-earners are then found to amount to nearly three-fifths of the nonelderly unrelated individual poor in rural areas, comparable to their proportion of household heads.<sup>28</sup>

With some exceptions, however, the working poor unrelated individuals differ from working poor families in their settlement patterns. For example, Appalachia, which figured prominently in the ranking of working heads of families, appears to have relatively little attraction for jobseekers who are single or otherwise "unrelated". North Carolina, Texas, Kentucky, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Pennsylvania, Alabama, New York, and Ohio in that order were the ten states with the largest numbers of rural poverty-level families with at least one parent earning wages. In contrast, California and New York contain the largest numbers of poor individual rural workers; North Carolina, Texas, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Florida, Virginia, Georgia and Illinois are also among the ten states most populated by working rural unrelated individuals.<sup>29</sup> (See Table D.)

The difference between the settlement choices of working poor families and working poor individuals may be linked to factors such as the presence among the latter of college students willing to work on a seasonal or part-time basis and the flexibility of single persons in terms of being able to migrate in search of employment. For example, all of the states with high numbers of unrelated individual workers also harbor large numbers of seasonal and migrant farmworkers. In particular, California, New York, and Michigan, which have higher proportions of the working poor individuals than of the working poor family population, also have relatively large numbers of hired and migratory farm laborers, who it may be assumed are relatively low-income.

For example, in 1981 the nation's 2.5 million hired farmworkers earned an average income of \$4,299 from both farmwork and non-farmwork.<sup>30</sup> Such an income was below the poverty level for families of all sizes, including single persons. According to USDA, about 265,000 of hired farm worker "families" were single persons.<sup>31</sup> While farm laborers constitute only a small fraction of the rural labor force, their average wages indicate that their share of the rural working poor is more significant.

In general, the high proportion of wage-earners among the rural poor is at least partially attributable to a rural job market characterized by seasonal, part-time, or low-paying employment opportunities.<sup>32</sup> A family of four supported by one full-time worker earning the minimum wage has an income below the poverty level. Where the predominant industries pay low wages, as do the textile industries of the South, workers supporting families are more likely to be poor.

The economic base may not be the critical factor, however, in the "working poor" phenomenon. While the principal industries of nonmetropolitan counties with at least a third poor in 1979 are manufacturing, government, services, agriculture, and mining, industries within these broad categories are also found among affluent nonmetropolitan counties. Some studies suggest that a local "population profile", including factors such as education levels, race, disabilities, and age structure, is a more important determinant of persistence of low per capita incomes,<sup>33</sup> although others, described below, suggest that the mix of industries may also have some bearing on the ability to escape poverty.

Other factors in chronic rural poverty may be the federal, state, and local protections afforded specific industries and occupations, including "right to work" laws, trade agreements, tax policies, use of public lands, etc. Some USDA studies have concluded that government taxation, subsidy, and technical assistance policies have affected the structure of agriculture, and have hastened the decline of the small farm.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that more than half the rural poor do work or are members of families whose household head works suggests a potential for eliminating much rural poverty through economic development, training and education. Trends in the major industries found in rural poverty areas may shed light on the skills which would be needed by the working poor to attract or obtain satisfactory employment.

### Manufacturing

In the 1960s and early 1970s, manufacturing accounted for much of the growth in nonmetropolitan employment. Manufacturing has declined since 1975; in fact, the biggest loss of nonmetropolitan jobs from 1979 to 1982 has been in the manufacturing sector, due to an economic recession, foreign competition, and the decline in the auto, steel, and housing industries. In 1979, however, low-wage labor-intensive industries such as textiles, apparel, leather and lumber products still accounted for about one-half of nonmetropolitan manufacturing employment in the South.<sup>35</sup>

### Agriculture

The decades-long trend of a decline in dependence on farming for income continued in the 1970s; the number of farm residents declined at an annual rate of 4.8% in the 1960s and 2.9% in the 1970s. When it was first counted in 1920 the farm population was 30.2% of the total population, but by 1982 it had shrunk to only 2.4% of the total population, amounting to 5.62 million residents.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, reliance on off-farm work grew in the 1970s; now, more than half of farm families depend on nonfarm work to maintain their incomes.<sup>37</sup>

However, there is some slight evidence of a turn-around in the farm population trends. The number of farms rose by about 8,000 from 1980 to 1981. The increase was among farms with more than \$40,000 in sales, and farms with fewer sales continued to decline, but at a slower rate than in prior years.<sup>38</sup>

### Government

In most rural poverty areas, including those where agriculture is a primary industry, local government has been a leading job alternative. With the exceptions of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Arkansas, all the 20 (predominantly southern) states with highest rates of rural poverty and substandard housing had a higher-than-average share of their populations employed by state and local governments. Unfortunately, however, for employment prospects in these areas, Census reports for 1982 indicate a continuation of the 1981 decline--the first since World War II--in federal, state, and local government employment.<sup>39,40</sup>

About half the 1982 combined state and local government employment was in education. County governments, by far the largest public employer, placed more than a third of their employees in education and hospital functions. In Alaska, Maryland, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia education accounts for up to four-fifths of county employment and payrolls.

### Services

The largest growth in nonmetropolitan employment since 1975 has been in services (health care, business services, personal services and repair services). Most high-poverty counties, especially those with an agricultural base, are also highly dependent for personal incomes on

service occupations. Studies by USDA's Economic Research Service indicate that the expansion of service-producing industries has been partly responsible for the significant increase of women in the nonmetropolitan labor force.<sup>41</sup> Increases in clerical and service work accounted for almost two-thirds of the expansion in women's employment from 1973 to 1979, perhaps because these occupations offer relatively greater variability in work hours and adaptability to family needs.<sup>42</sup>

### Mining

Presence of the mining industry is strongly associated with persistent poverty areas in Appalachian coal fields. For decades, coal mining has dominated the economy of Appalachia's most impoverished areas. In recent years, industry wages have increased significantly, but Appalachian mineworkers have had little opportunity to reap the benefits. In spite of a national coal-mining boom, Appalachia's share of national coal production has been declining since 1970. Appalachian unemployment has risen during the recent recession, largely due to increased competition from western mines, reduced electricity demand, reduced demand from the declining steel industry, and reduced demand for the exports which had accounted for nearly one-fourth of the total market for Appalachian coal.<sup>43</sup> In 1982-83 West Virginia had the highest unemployment rate among states, up to 19%, and as much as 31% at the county level.<sup>44</sup> A number of counties in Virginia and Kentucky coal fields have fared as badly or worse.

### Industry Effects on Rural Incomes

Some clues to the effects of local industry on rural poverty are provided in the work done by the Economic Research Service (ERS) of USDA. ERS has examined change in 298 counties which were identified as persistently low-income on the basis of having been in the lowest quintile (20%) of all counties in terms of per capita income in 1950, 1959, and 1969.<sup>45,46</sup>

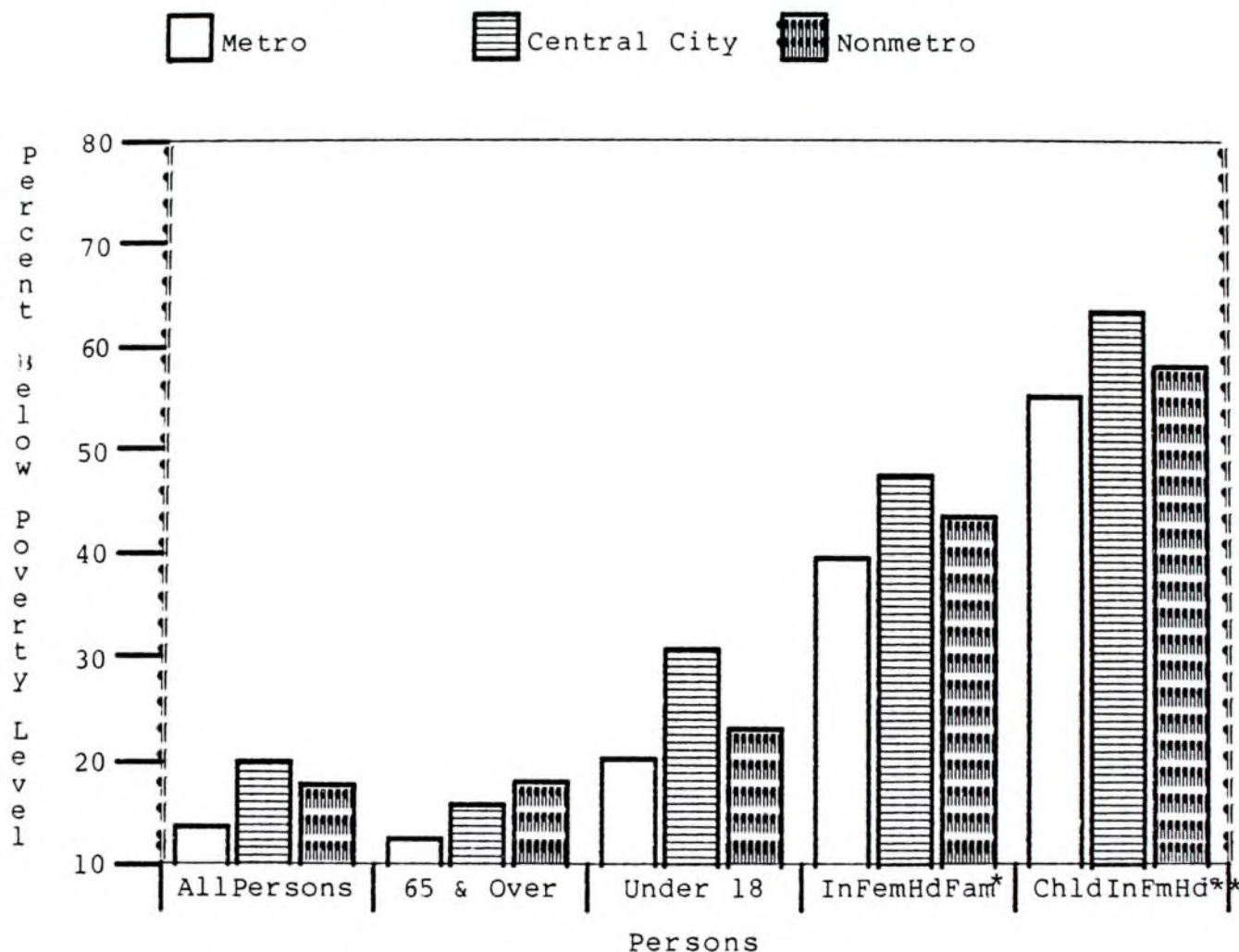
ERS compared counties which had "escaped" the lowest quintile since 1969 with those which had not and found some significant differences. Incomes in the former group were raised largely through mining, services, and manufacturing; incomes among the latter were raised--but not enough to escape the bottom quintile--through employment in services, government, and manufacturing.<sup>47</sup> The persistently low-income counties relied more than the others on transfer payments, which had produced nearly a fourth of their personal income growth since 1969.<sup>48</sup> Although more closely associated with persistently low-income counties, farm income also played a part in helping some counties escape the bottom quintile in both 1975 and 1979.<sup>49</sup> In addition, a larger share of these counties with incomes improved enough to escape the bottom quintile are classified as retirement or college communities or are close to urban areas.<sup>50</sup>

For many counties, income status over the last decade has fluctuated. For example, some counties which had escaped in 1975 due to a good year in agriculture had slipped back into the bottom quintile by 1979; presumably, some counties whose income growth was due to mining have also fallen back into the lowest-income group since then.<sup>51</sup>

The presence of large numbers of the working poor in rural areas implies a willing labor force which, given education and training, could benefit from

appropriate economic development strategies. On the other hand, where there are large percentages of poverty-level children, elderly, and disabled persons, immediate solutions for the eradication of poverty conditions are more likely to concern welfare policy.

FIGURE 5: Nonmetro and Metro Poverty Rates for Persons, All Races, 1982



\*In Female-Headed Families  
 \*\*Children in Female-Headed Families

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1982, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 144, March 1984.

## **AGE AND DISABILITY**

A fifth of the rural elderly (as opposed to 13% of the urban elderly) are poor. There are more than a million rural persons aged 65 years and older with poverty-level incomes. Half are found in only ten states: Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Kentucky, Georgia, Missouri, Arkansas, and Pennsylvania. (See Table D.) A little over half the rural elderly poor are "unrelated individuals", living apart from relatives and presumably, in many cases, alone. Many are widows.

However, the ranking among the states with elderly unrelated individuals differs in some respects from that for the general rural elderly population; for example, Texas and North Carolina are still first and second in terms of population, but Pennsylvania, jumping past seven other states with high elderly populations, is next. Such shifts indicate marked variations in the extent to which the elderly may have an extended family support system in rural areas. In Tennessee, Kentucky, and Mississippi a likely assumption is that the elderly are generally living with families; in Pennsylvania, however, nearly two-thirds could be assumed to live apart from or without families.<sup>52</sup> (See Table D.)

Rural areas are also characterized by high levels of disability. The CPS reports that in nonmetropolitan areas the main reason for not working is illness or disability; whereas, in metropolitan areas, the main reason offered is "keeping house".<sup>53</sup> Disability is often associated with age, and in fact, in areas such as the Arkansas Ozarks where the elderly population is disproportionately large the incidence of disability is also very high. However, disability is also frequently reported among younger rural adults in the Ozarks.<sup>54</sup>

## **FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS**

In comparison with urban areas, where over half of the poverty-level families are headed by women, a relatively low (24.6%) proportion of rural poor families in 1979 had female heads with no husband present. However, the rural proportion had increased since 1969 when the proportion of rural poor families headed by women was only 18.9%. The increase, not surprisingly, has been accompanied by an increase in families receiving public assistance. Of the 420,000 rural poverty-level female-headed households counted in the 1980 Census, more than 85% had children under 18 years of age. Over two-fifths (44%) of the total were working for wages in 1979, and the overlap with mothers of young children indicates that a third (at least) of the female-headed households with children were also working in that year.<sup>55</sup>

In 1979 there were 2.8 million poverty-level rural children under 18, about 800,000 of whom were under 5 years old. For those children whose mothers are working, with no husband present, the state of economic poverty may be compounded by poverty in emotional support, guidance, supervision, protection, and health care.

Although the poverty rate for rural female-headed households declined from 39% in 1969 to 31% in 1979, it has increased since then. If nonmetropolitan data reflect rural trends, by 1983 it may have surpassed the 1969 level. According to the CPS, the nonmetropolitan poverty rate for female-headed households has risen from 37% in 1979 to 44% in 1982, a dramatic increase.<sup>56</sup> (See Figure 5.)

Minorities are disproportionately represented among rural female-headed families in poverty. In fact, more than half (52%) of the rural households headed by black women are poor, and constitute over a fourth of the rural poverty-level female household heads. Not surprisingly, given black representation in the rural South, a third of the poverty-level women heading rural households are found in a handful of Southern states, including North Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Texas, and Louisiana. Three-fifths of the female-headed poverty-level rural households in this grouping of states are headed by black women. (See Table D.) With far fewer numbers of female-headed households, the poverty rates for rural households headed by Hispanic women and by American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut women are 51% and 47%, respectively.<sup>57</sup>

#### **PUBLIC ASSISTANCE BENEFICIARIES**

Less than a fourth (23%) of rural poor families in 1979 received public assistance, including Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Social Security Income (SSI), or General Assistance (GA). In contrast, more than a third (36%) of the urban poverty-level families received public assistance.<sup>58</sup>

It is likely that the relatively low rural proportion is due to the combined effects of the numbers of families with either a father present or working parents, and the exclusions from welfare assistance of both those groups in most of the states with high rural poverty rates. The South, for instance, presumably has an AFDC participation rate lower than that of other regions because of the practice in Southern states of limiting participation to single-parent families. Moreover, AFDC monthly payments in the South are much lower than for other regions, e.g., \$60 for a two-person family in Mississippi as opposed to \$408 in California.<sup>59</sup> These limitations in AFDC have another effect, however, of increasing Food Stamp participation among two-parent families with no other source of public assistance.<sup>60</sup> Thus, nonmetropolitan Southern counties have been found to have the highest Food Stamp participation of all the regions, and it is only a slight exaggeration to conclude that for much of the South, Food Stamps are the public assistance program.

With the exception of Michigan, none of the ten states with the highest AFDC payments is among the ten states with the highest numbers of rural poverty-level single mothers. On the other hand, there is a close correspondence between states with the most rural poverty-level female-headed households and those with the most rural families receiving general public assistance, indicating that although payments may be smaller where the need is greater, they are somewhat evenly distributed to families headed by women. (See Table D.)

Table D also confirms that the degree to which rural working poor are a factor in the population is negatively related to the degree to which the population is benefiting from AFDC. Moreover, six among the ten states with the highest numbers of rural working poor individuals were not among the ten states highest in rural public assistance. Considering the locations of most unrelated working poor, some of these are likely to be farmworkers. A USDA study finds that a relatively high percentage of farmworkers participate in the Food Stamp program; as expected, however, it appears that those without families may be infrequent recipients of public cash benefits.<sup>61</sup>

## HOUSING

The number of rural occupied housing units increased by 25% during the 1970s, from 15.9 to 19.8 million. The number of occupied rural units which were substandard (i.e., those that lacked complete plumbing or were overcrowded) declined by 42% from 2.9 to 1.7 million. (See Tables E and F.) Factors in this decline of more than a million substandard units probably include FmHA and HUD-subsidized housing construction during the 1970s, state agency activity, and, undoubtedly, the increase by a million units in the occupied mobile home stock.

Because of the low initial cost of mobile homes, it is likely that a significant portion of the population which would in years past have been obliged to live in units lacking plumbing are now mobile home occupants. In support of this assumption is the gap in median incomes between conventional and mobile home occupants; median incomes for all rural households in 1980 were \$17,600 for rural homeowners and \$10,400 for rural renters; for mobile home occupants, median incomes were \$12,600 for owners and \$8,700 for renters.<sup>62</sup>

Mobile homes constitute the highest percentage of the rural housing stock in those Western states also exhibiting the greatest population growth. In terms of absolute numbers, however, mobile homes are still concentrated mostly in the East (see Appendix Table 15), in rural areas with a historically high incidence of poverty and substandard housing.<sup>63</sup>

In spite of the decline in units considered substandard, there still remain more than 600,000 rural households who under the most conservative criteria are "shelter poor"; i.e., they are both poor and occupants of units which either lack plumbing or are overcrowded. (See Table B.) In FmHA Service Areas (see Table G) there are more than 800,000 such households which are without adequate housing and without the means to achieve it. The rural poor are much more likely than the urban poor to fall in this "shelter poor" category; 22% of rural as opposed to 13% of urban poverty-level households were in substandard housing in 1980. The correlation between shelter poverty and minority status is high; nearly half of the rural shelter poor are minority households, and nearly half of the rural poverty-level minority population lives in units which are substandard.<sup>64</sup>



TABLE E: Rural Substandard Housing, 1970-1980

	1970	1980	Change	Percent Change
1. Rural units* lacking complete plumbing	2,170,509	902,249	-1,268,260	-58.4%
2. Units in towns of 2,500-10,000 residents lacking complete plumbing	251,040	98,441	-152,599	-60.8%
3. TOTAL lacking complete plumbing	2,421,549	1,000,690	-1,420,859	-58.7%
4. Rural units with complete plumbing but overcrowded	708,214	768,143	+59,929	+8.5%
5. Units in towns of 2,500-10,000 residents with complete plumbing but overcrowded	160,649	204,541	+43,892	+27.3%
6. TOTAL with complete plumbing but overcrowded	668,863	972,684	+103,821	+11.9%
7. Rural units substandard	2,878,723	1,670,392	-1,208,331	-42.0%
8. Units in towns of 2,500-10,000 residents substandard	411,689	302,982	-108,707	-26.4%
9. TOTAL Substandard	3,290,412	1,973,374	-1,317,038	-40.0%

\* "Rural" includes communities of 2,500 or fewer residents or open country.

Sources: U.S. Census, General Housing Characteristics, for 1970 and 1980.

TABLE F: 1980 Census of Housing, HC80-1-A, Selected Data

	TOTAL	RURAL	Outside Urbanized Areas, Places of 2,500 to 10,000 Population	Rural Plus Places of 2,500-10,000 Population
1. Population*	226,545,805	59,494,813	14,398,522	73,893,335
Percent	100%	26.3%	6.4%	32.6%
2. Occupied year- around hsg. units	80,389,673	19,837,956	5,171,694	25,009,650
Percent	100%	24.8%	6.5%	31.1%
3. Occupied year- around units lacking complete plumbing	1,744,476	902,249	98,441	1,000,690
Percent	100%	51.7%	5.7%	57.4%
4. Occupied year- around units overcrowded	3,372,368	768,143	208,541	972,684
Percent	100%	22.8%	6.1%	28.8%
5. Total Sub- standard Occupied Units	5,116,844	1,670,392	302,982	1,973,374
Percent	100%	32.7%	5.9%	38.6%

\* From the largest Census sample, providing slightly higher numbers than other samples cited in this study.

TABLE G: 1980 Census Substandard Housing Data for Urbanized and Non-urbanized\* Areas

	URBANIZED	NON-URBANIZED*	Non-urban Share of Nation
Occupied Units	50,541,185	29,848,488	37.1%
Occupied Units Lacking Complete Plumbing	664,608	1,080,168	61.9%
Occupied Units With Plumbing But Overcrowded	2,218,010	1,154,358	34.2%
Total Substandard Occupied Units	2,882,618	2,234,526	43.7%
Poverty-Level Households	6,025,741	4,270,284	41.5%
Poverty-Level Households In Units Without Complete Plumbing	195,754	493,323	71.6%
In Units With Plumbing But Overcrowded	592,988	311,058	34.4%
In Substandard Units	788,742	804,381	50.5%

\*See Table C for an explanation of urbanized and non-urbanized areas. FmHA Service Areas correspond closely but not entirely to non-urbanized areas.

Source: 1980 Census, General Housing Characteristics and Detailed Housing Characteristics.

If the measures of substandard quality are broadened to include housing deficiencies other than plumbing and overcrowding, the number of rural shelter poor households would no doubt reach into the millions. There are about 7 million year-round rural homes built before 1940, and their state of dilapidation and energy inefficiency is unrecorded.

In rural areas, there are 650,000 occupied mobile homes which were acquired before 1975 and thus before there was a national construction and safety standard required for mobile homes.<sup>65</sup> Prior to 1975, mobile homes in general were notoriously subject to destruction or damage by fire, wind, floods, or wear and tear from normal occupant use.<sup>66</sup>

The Census count of units that are overcrowded or lack complete plumbing also omits a very large proportion of the migrant farmworker housing stock, because it does not report the quality of units which are not occupied on a year-round basis. However, a 1980 USDA study has estimated that 75% of migrant farmworker units lacked complete plumbing.<sup>67</sup> The most recent national survey, conducted in 1980 by InterAmerica Research Associates, concluded that nearly 800,000 new or substantially rehabilitated seasonal units were needed to adequately shelter the migrant stream throughout the country.<sup>68</sup>

Housing affordability is a widespread rural problem. The 1980 Census counted about 2.8 million poverty-level households in rural areas (communities with fewer than 2,500 residents). Larger communities are also

recognized as "rural in character" and served by FmHA. These include communities with up to 20,000 residents in nonmetropolitan areas and up to 10,000 in metropolitan areas. FmHA calculations, based on Census data, are that in 1980 these areas contained 6.5 million "very low-income" households with incomes below 50% of the area median and 20.9 million "low-income" households with incomes below 80% of the area median. Of the poverty-level rental households, 1.3 million paid more than 35% of their income for rent.<sup>69</sup> (See Table G, for Census data approximating FmHA Service Area coverage.)

### Owner-Renter Trends

In 1979, 80% of the nearly 20 million occupied rural units were home-owned, an increase from 76% in 1969. (In contrast, 60% of urban units were owner-occupied, an increase of less than 2% since 1969.) The apparent growth in rural owner-occupied homes may be misleading, however, since 2.3 million of these were mobile home owners, of whom (according to the Annual Housing Survey) more than half lived on rented sites.<sup>70</sup> When these are deducted from the owner-occupied units, it appears that 74% of the rural housing stock in 1979 is owner-occupied, land and all. Comparable data on site rental are not available for 1969; if we assume that half of the occupant-owned mobile homes then were also on rented sites, it appears that 73% of the total rural occupied stock was owned, with sites, and that there has thus been only a slight increase in rural home/site ownership over the last decade. (For purposes of assessing control over land tenure this percentage could also be misleading, since it includes owners of property with clouded titles or without mineral rights.)

Three-fourths of the nation's mobile homes are in rural areas, whose owner-occupied mobile home stock has more than doubled since 1979. In contrast, the proportion of urban homes which are mobile and the urban rate of increase in the mobile home stock has been relatively slight, with little bearing on the overall urban increase in home ownership.

Rural Poverty-Level Homeowners. Two-thirds of poverty-level rural households are home-owned. Although their housing conditions are often as bad or worse than those of poverty-level urban renters, their homeownership status disqualifies most from deep housing assistance subsidy programs. Weatherization assistance and the small home repair loans--of up to \$5,000--available from FmHA offer only a fraction of the ongoing assistance available to renters from other federal programs.

Nevertheless, according to the Census, over 300,000 of the rural homeowners in poverty, as opposed to 180,000 of their urban counterparts, are in houses lacking plumbing or overcrowded. The Annual Housing Survey (AHS) indicates that about 800,000 lack heating equipment considered adequate by HUD.<sup>71</sup> As noted above, the AHS also indicates that at least 700,000 poverty-level households are owners of mobile homes and that most of these "homeowners" are actually site renters.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, about 500,000 of the poverty-level homeowners are farmowners; if they wish to continue farming, in most cases they are unwilling to treat their farms as assets apart from their homes; if they are among the many small farmers with encumbrances on their property titles, they will not be able to use either home or farm as collateral in attempts to obtain credit for home improvements.<sup>73</sup>

Rural Poverty-Level Renters. Rural rental housing need is not negligible, however. Poverty-level renters, while in the minority, constitute an increasing proportion of the occupants of substandard units in rural communities--again, those with fewer than 2,500 residents. Their proportion increases with community size; in non-urbanized communities containing 2,500-10,000 residents, they make up about two-thirds of the approximately 100,000 households in units lacking plumbing or which are overcrowded. When communities of both sizes are combined, renters are approximately half of the 700,000 impoverished households living in substandard dwellings, although they constitute only two-fifths of the total 3.5 million households in poverty.<sup>74</sup>

### Rural Housing Assistance

The decennial Census does not report on households receiving housing assistance. Although the CPS does not have figures available for rural areas, it has a metropolitan/nonmetropolitan breakdown for such households. According to the CPS, about 28% of the metropolitan but only 18% of the nonmetropolitan poverty-level renters were in public housing or received private unit rental assistance subsidies in 1982.<sup>75</sup> The experience of the Housing Assistance Council is that the rural demand for rental units is great, and that where assistance is available, most communities have waiting lists.

If service to poverty-level households were the sole purpose of federal housing programs, it would appear reasonable to assume that the urban/rural disparity in assisted units is due to bias in the allocation systems of the various government rental subsidy programs. However, federal rental assistance programs in the 1970s were targeted to "low-income" households, with incomes below 80% of area median (including the poor as well as a much larger segment of the population), and, according to HUD, the metropolitan and nonmetropolitan eligible "low-income" populations are served in nearly equal proportions (17% and 16%, respectively).<sup>76</sup> The fact that the poor, as opposed to those who simply have relatively low income status, are more likely to be served in metropolitan than in nonmetropolitan areas must be explained by other factors, such as lack of deep subsidy program service in the remote communities in which the rural poor are found, and the disparity between 80% of median income in nonmetropolitan areas and rural poverty-level incomes.

Federal Assistance. The federal government, the major source of deep housing subsidies, allocates assistance by formula. HUD rental assistance is distributed according to a "fair share" formula based on factors such as population, age of housing, poverty, and growth lag, according to which nonmetropolitan areas should be receiving about 28% of rental assistance, based on 1980 county data reaggregated to reflect MSA boundaries through mid-1983. Nonmetropolitan allocations are further restricted, however, by legislation requiring that no less than 20% or more than 25% of HUD's low-income rental assistance be allocated to nonmetropolitan areas. Unfortunately, even this restriction can be waived against the interests of nonmetropolitan areas. Special 1982 Congressional appropriations language permitted waivers in 1982 and 1983 of the nonmetropolitan set-aside, and

by the end of 1983 the nonmetropolitan share of Section 8 and public housing had dropped to 18%. Overall, there has been a steady decline in the nonmetropolitan share of HUD rental program assistance from a high of 24.3% in 1980. (Likewise, there has been a decline in subsidized homeownership assistance under the Section 235 program, from 22.7% in 1980 to 0.4% in 1983.)

FmHA rental assistance is also allocated to states by formula based on need; it can be used in both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas defined as "rural" by FmHA--in the former case, towns of fewer than 10,000 residents and open countryside; in the latter, towns of fewer than 20,000 residents and open countryside. Although by definition a rural housing resource, FmHA rental assistance has been a relatively late arrival among government housing subsidies and has been dwarfed in size by the analogous HUD resources.

Federal/State Assistance. Although used primarily for other needs, welfare is the source of housing assistance which, although relatively shallow, reaches most poverty-level families. The federal government shares the costs of welfare, but its share varies--currently from 50% to 65%--depending largely upon the state's own welfare expenditures.<sup>77</sup> Welfare amounts are based on state-defined standards of need. In more than half the states the welfare payments are equivalent to the amount determined by the state to be adequate to cover "basic needs"; however, they are only a fraction of that amount--as little as 30%--in some of the poorest states, particularly in the South.<sup>78</sup>

Only ten states have separate shelter allowances under the AFDC welfare program, ranging from 35% to 60% of the HUD-established Fair Market Rent (FMR). If it is assumed that welfare recipients in the other states are using a third of their payments for shelter, their payments range up to 58% of FMR, and in most cases are from 20% to 39% of FMR.<sup>79</sup> However, there are some in which the shelter rent is even less than 20% of the FMR, and, unfortunately, a high incidence of substandard housing and poverty characterizes all such states (including Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas). There is no AFDC requirement that shelter meet minimal standards, and it is estimated that half the assisted families live in substandard housing.<sup>80</sup>

#### **LAND TENURE**

Confusion over land title cripples the attempts of many rural households to obtain credit for mortgages and home repair. As described in the regional profiles and case studies, the heir property problems of the Southern blacks, the status of Spanish and Mexican land grants in the Southwest, claims by whites and Indians for the same land, and the trust status of Indian reservations have been obstacles to the improvement of living conditions for rural minorities.

#### **PUBLIC FACILITIES**

Rural infrastructure needs are considerable. In particular, problems of water supply and sewage disposal have a much greater immediacy for rural than for urban households. Although plumbing equipment has increased,

there are indications that water supply facilities may have suffered a net deterioration in recent years. Cornell University, under contract with the Environmental Protection Agency, reported its findings in 1982 from a survey of 2,654 households representing 22 million rural households. Its National Statistical Assessment of Rural Water Conditions had found that almost two-thirds of all rural households had water judged unacceptable for at least one major contaminant, with coliform bacteria the most common contaminant. In general, households with low incomes (under \$10,000) and low education (less than high school) were more likely to have bacterial contamination. About 370,000 rural households hauled water on a regular basis from an off-premises supply.<sup>81</sup>

The contamination of drinking water with coliform bacteria is one indication that residential sewage disposal capability is inadequate. According to the Annual Housing Survey, in 1980 18 million or more than two-thirds of rural households relied on septic tanks and cesspools for sewage disposal; another 937,000 used undefined means other than public sewer, septic tank, or cesspool.<sup>82</sup> Unfortunately, two-thirds of the land area in the United States do not meet the minimum requirements for soil absorption systems; and much of the land area with severe soil limitations is in the areas where septic tank-field absorption systems are most concentrated.<sup>83</sup>

The recently released USDA report on the National Rural Community Facilities Study reinforces the findings in the EPA report, while it sheds some light on regional variations in the inventory of community facilities. The authors find from a nationwide sample survey of nonmetropolitan communities that more than half (59%) of those in the North Central region and 45% of those in the Northeast have no public water supply, and of those communities in these regions that do have public systems, the great majority serve under two-thirds of year-round households. In addition, more than three-fourths of the North Central and two-thirds of the Northeast communities were not served by a wastewater treatment plant.<sup>84</sup> On the other hand, while the South had proportionately more wastewater treatment facilities, they were used least by the local population: "...by far the largest portion of those using on-site disposal methods lived in the South, where there were more than 13 million people within the service area of an existing plant, yet not connected to it".<sup>85</sup>

The survey also inventoried hospitals, fire protection, local roads, streets, and bridges. While it did not assess the adequacy of facilities, the report found significant regional variations in their availability.

Without external assistance, rural local resources to address infrastructure needs are scanty. With a lower median income (\$14,176 as opposed to the urban \$16,881 in 1980)<sup>86</sup> and higher unemployment and poverty rates, the rural community tax base is relatively weak. Moreover, a number of studies have documented that the potential for local development which lies in the rich natural resources of many high-poverty areas, such as the mineral and timber resources of Appalachia and the Southeast, is undermined by absentee ownership and control.<sup>87</sup>

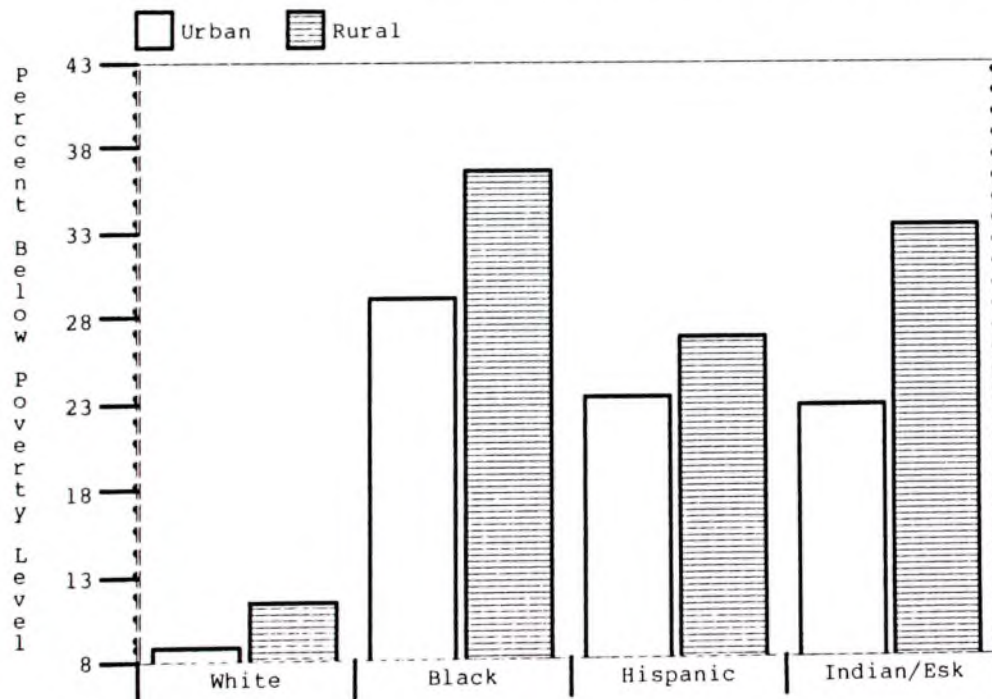
## PROFILES OF HIGH-POVERTY RURAL REGIONS AND RACES

With the exception of areas settled by American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts, rural economic distress and poor housing conditions are geographically concentrated in the South Census region, including Appalachia, the "Deep" South, much of the Ozarks, and Texas. The South contains more than half the nation's poverty and substandard housing, and more than two-thirds the population afflicted with both conditions.<sup>88</sup>

Outside of Appalachia and the Ozarks, rural poverty is closely associated with the presence of minorities. Blacks, American Indians (with Eskimos and Aleuts), and people of Spanish origin in that order have the highest rural poverty rates. (See Figure 6.)

One of the most interesting trends to emerge from the Census data on the 1970s is the growth in population in rural poverty areas. The rare exceptions are a few counties in the Deep South settled predominantly by blacks and in the Southwest settled by Hispanics. Even these appear to be stabilizing, i.e., their population decline is slowing, and in certain instances there are signs of actual population increases since 1980. (See Table I.)

FIGURE 6: Rural and Urban Poverty Rates, by Race and Spanish Origin, 1980



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population: Characteristics of the Population. General Social and Economic Characteristics, PC-80-1-C-1 through 50, various dates.



## **APPALACHIA**

Poor housing stock is conspicuous in Appalachian coal towns, where many residents are compelled by the terrain and land ownership patterns to live along the roadways, usually in the flood plain. A typical scene in coal country is a row of shacks with a highway on one side, a stream which serves as a sewer on the other, and parallel to all the coal company railroad. Spring floods make visible the function of streams for many Appalachian residents, as the water subsides and leaves toilet paper draping bordering shrubs. It also leaves mud and coal soot within the homes, contributing to structural rot, poor health, and demoralization.

Kentucky and West Virginia illustrate variations on the theme of Appalachian housing need and resources. Although not relatively large, Kentucky ranks third among the states in numbers of both poverty-level families and substandard units, and first in number of rural households afflicted with both poverty and bad housing. Eastern Kentucky has particularly high proportions of units lacking complete plumbing; in fourteen eastern counties at least a fifth of the occupied units lack plumbing, and at least a third of the households are below poverty level. There has been progress, however, since 1970, when three times as many counties had an equivalent poverty rate. Likewise, in West Virginia, none of the ten counties with a third poor in 1970 reached that level in 1980. Improvement in housing conditions has lagged behind the climb out of poverty, however, and the state still had six counties with at least 15% of the housing stock lacking complete plumbing.<sup>39</sup>

A major impediment to housing development is the lack of available land suitable for housing development. Land is often not available simply because it is controlled by absentee landowners, often corporations. In Mingo County, for example, where housing and poverty is among the worst in West Virginia, as much as 80% of the land is owned by absentee interests.

The worst Appalachian poverty and substandard housing rates are found in areas almost entirely dependent upon the recession-vulnerable coal, steel, timber, and textiles production industries. The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) has been assessing the potential of the region for attracting new industries and increasing employment. Among others, it has examined high technology industries, and concluded that the number of new jobs they will contribute to the Appalachian economy will be relatively small, low-skill, and related to auxiliary industries, such as the production of machinery, electronics, transportation, and instruments. In general, ARC finds that most Appalachian communities cannot meet the criteria used by high technology industries in selecting sites, such as "at least one outstanding university, the presence of other high technology industries, a large number of highly educated people, good schools and a culturally rich community." The Commission reports indicate that the best hope for new employment in the region lies in the service industries.<sup>90</sup>

## **BLACK SETTLEMENTS OF THE SOUTHEAST**

Rural blacks have the highest minority poverty rate: a third for families and almost three-fifths for unrelated individuals. (See Appendix Tables 4-6.) Data available on an annual basis on nonmetropolitan areas show that

the percentage of nonmetropolitan blacks who are poor has declined since 1970, but has been increasing since 1975, approaching the 1970 level. In a seeming reversal of recent trends of Southern black outmigration, they also indicate that the South (which has always contained most of the nation's nonmetropolitan black population) is increasing its share of the nation's black poverty, while its share of poor whites is decreasing.<sup>91</sup>

In the so-called "black belt", named for its once-rich topsoil, poverty and land tenure have been shaped by centuries of one-crop farming, in turn bolstered by an economic system dependent on slave labor, and subsequently on share-cropping and tenant farming. An additional factor in the settlement patterns of black households is the redistribution of land which took place after the Civil War, when the Freedman's Bureau divided some large land tracts into small 5-15 acre farmsteads which were allotted to former slaves.<sup>92</sup> Eventually, much of the rural populace in poverty was scattered on relatively small parcels of land. Others were clustered in tiny communities, often unincorporated and without public water and sewer service. Currently, race is still a factor in the location of corporate limits and lines of public service.<sup>93</sup>

Wells and septic tanks are not a positive option in much of the Southeast. Along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and north through the Mississippi and Arkansas Deltas the soil is considered by engineers to have "severe limitations" for on-site systems; most of the remaining land is held to be "moderately" limited. Typically, the soil does not "perk"; i.e., it does not permit waste to filter quickly or deeply enough for purposes of sanitation.<sup>94</sup> The resulting problems can be mitigated somewhat in open countryside where privies and septic fields may be constantly relocated; they are extreme, however, in small towns where sewage, including human waste from privies, runs in open ditches.<sup>95</sup>

Heir property, inherited for generations without wills or the clarification of title, is a major problem for housing and land tenure in the rural South. A study conducted by the Emergency Land Fund in the late 1970s found that about a third of the black-owned land parcels in the South were heir property. Without clear title, such land can rarely be used as collateral for credit. Like private lenders, FmHA as a general policy will not extend credit for housing improvements (except for loans of under \$2,500) or farm operations to the residents of heir property. Moreover, in addition to inability to improve or capitalize their property, heir property owners are vulnerable to displacement through partition sales, often induced by speculators.<sup>96</sup>

Most of the Southeastern counties with more than a third poor continue an agricultural tradition, and have either farming or "services" as their main industry. However, they are typically surrounded by counties where manufacturing is the chief industry, indicating a possible second major source of employment for poverty-level households.<sup>97</sup> In addition to those of seasonal farm work, the low wages characteristic of, for example, textile and defense factories may explain the high proportion of workers among the southern poverty population. More than half the household heads of poverty-level families in rural Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina,

South Carolina, and Texas were identified by the Census as having worked in 1979. In the rural portions of those four states alone, there are about 200,000 "working poor" families, and about 400,000 throughout the non-Appalachian rural South.<sup>98</sup>

### **INDIAN SETTLEMENT AREAS**

The 1.5 million American Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts living in the United States also have extremely high poverty rates: nearly a third for rural families and half for rural individuals. Due largely to impoverished Indian populations, New Mexico, Alaska, and Arizona rank first, second and fourth respectively among states in terms of the percentage of households which are both poverty-level and living in substandard dwellings.<sup>99</sup> Indian reservations in South Dakota and Utah also exhibit high levels of substandard housing--more than 30% in some counties.<sup>100</sup> Significant numbers (more than 4,000) of poverty-level Indians are also found in the rural areas of Montana, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and North Carolina. (See Appendix Tables 10-12.)<sup>101</sup>

Unlike rural blacks and Hispanics, the number of rural American Indians has increased dramatically, and at 693,251 is half again its size in 1970. Most live on reservations or in rural areas near reservations,<sup>102</sup> in shacks, mobile homes, or public housing.

Perhaps because of the extent of the need for standard units and the high birth rates of Indian tribes, public housing units tend to become overcrowded and, where maintenance subsidies are lacking, dilapidated. In addition to other handicaps, the trust status of most reservation land, precluding its use as security in loans, has made it difficult for Indians to obtain FmHA mortgage credit.

Agriculture and services appear to be the leading industries among Indians in high-poverty counties. They are the dominant industries in South Dakota Indian reservation counties, some of which are virtually unique among U. S. counties in having the discouraging combined effects of not only high poverty rates (more than 33%) but of poverty rates significantly higher in 1979 than in 1969. Census data on the population of these counties are perplexing: their educational level is high, with the median hovering around 12 years of school completed, for Indians as well as other races. Labor force participation is also relatively high. (See Table H.) Such data would indicate that the lack of progress against poverty in these counties is not due to a corresponding lack of "human capital"--education, ability to work--but may be related to economic factors such as seasonality and the earnings possible from the available employment opportunities.

### **HISPANIC SETTLEMENT AREAS**

The rural Hispanic population also exhibits high rates of poverty, from nearly a fourth for families to nearly half for unrelated individuals.<sup>103</sup> Poverty-level Hispanics are found in greatest numbers in California, Texas, Florida, New Mexico, Oregon, Idaho, Colorado, Arizona, and New York, in that order, but they are also somewhat evenly distributed throughout the Southern states, where their poverty rates (e.g., 64.7% in Mississippi), are exceptionally high. (See Appendix Tables 7-9.)

Their housing problems as poverty-level households are complicated in many areas by employment and tenure factors. The chief industries for rural Hispanics in high poverty counties--those with more than a third poor--are agriculture and "professional services and public administration".<sup>104</sup> At least a tenth of rural Hispanic households are farmworkers, many of whom migrate and spend much of the year in seasonal housing.<sup>105</sup>

In New Mexico, most reside on property granted to settlers by the Spanish and Mexican governments since the sixteenth century until they were annexed by the United States in the nineteenth century. The U.S. government has not accepted the title claims of many of the original settlers, rendering the property useless to them as collateral for credit.<sup>106</sup>

#### **LAND TENURE IN THE SOUTHWEST**

Indian and Hispanic land tenure problems combine to produce a formidable maze of housing development obstacles in the Southwest. In Arizona and New Mexico, rural Indians typically hold land in trust on a tribal basis; within the tribe itself, traditions concerning individual family rights often obstruct tribal use of land for housing or other developments. In New Mexico, a geographical checkerboard of land owned by the railroads and land owned by Indians persists; and Indian land tenure variations include land grants, reservations, tribal trust land, state-owned Indian land, privately owned Indian land, and land leased from the Bureau of Land Management.

It is noteworthy that the extremely high incidence of substandard housing (units lacking plumbing) and severe poverty are concentrated in areas with land tenure encumbrances.<sup>107</sup> For example, all the New Mexico counties which are over half rural and exhibit high levels of either poverty or substandard housing contain either Indian reservation or land grant territory, and some very complicated mixtures of tenure problems. McKinley and Mora Counties have the highest state rural poverty rates (37% and 38% respectively): the former is largely consumed by the Zuni and Navajo reservations; the latter county has a population which is 95% Hispanic, is largely taken up by land grant territory, and has a third of its housing stock lacking complete plumbing. (See case studies for Mora, New Mexico, and Apache County, Arizona, below.)

## ***CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSISTENT POVERTY COUNTIES***

Nearly all the counties with very high proportions (above 15%) of housing without complete plumbing have correspondingly high poverty rates, usually 33% or more. Table E shows the 86 counties with a third or more poor in 1979, here defined as "persistent poverty counties". Of these counties, all but one, Hidalgo, Texas, were nonmetropolitan counties. In half, at least 15% of the housing lacked complete plumbing. In another fourth at least 10% of the housing lacked complete plumbing; in only eight counties was the lack of plumbing insignificant.

As noted above, the lack of plumbing is only one indicator of inadequate housing. Due in part to federal housing standards and market pressures for upgraded housing, its significance is rapidly diminishing, though lack of plumbing may still be the indicator most useful in identifying the communities where housing inadequacy is most entrenched. It tends to occur in communities which have been poverty-stricken for generations: in Appalachia, black farming areas of the Southeast, and on Indian reservations.

However, overcrowding appears to be more of a problem in areas where there has been a relatively recent immigration of poverty-level households. It is indicative that the very few poverty-stricken nonmetropolitan counties which did not have a conspicuous lack of residential plumbing, mostly along the Texas border, did have a relatively high incidence of overcrowding.

Thus, persistent poverty is strongly related to persistent housing inadequacy, infrastructure and sanitation problems. For rural development and housing planners, this relationship warrants an examination of the factors which may affect poverty and its persistence. Data on factors which have been considered relevant, such as region, race, age, education, income distribution, labor force and industry, are reported by the Census, and a selection of such characteristics are provided in the appendices for persistent poverty counties.

In general, the appended Census data on high-poverty counties indicate the expected relationships: severe poverty is associated with (1) race or Spanish origin, except in Appalachia and the Ozarks; (2) a low educational level (with the exception of some counties predominantly settled by Indians in South Dakota); (3) disproportionately high numbers of dependents (children and the elderly); and (4) labor force participation rates considerably lower than the national average.

A comparison of all metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties where a high poverty level has dropped during the 1970s to a level approaching the national average (12%) with those where it is still extraordinarily high is shown in Table 3. Proximity to metropolitan areas, employment, and family structure are compared for (a) "improved" counties where an original poverty rate of at least 33.3% in 1970 dropped at least 20 percentile points to below 20% in 1979, (b) "unimproved" counties where an equivalent

poverty rate dropped less than 5%, and (c) very "high poverty" counties with a poverty rate of more than 42% in 1979, regardless of what it was in 1969. (The third group was added because of the small number in the second "unimproved" group, which was dominated by South Dakota counties which did not all fit our definition of "persistent poverty" counties, since, uniquely among all counties in the nation, they actually had higher levels of poverty in 1979 than in 1969.)

Differences among the three groups are evident, and are especially sharp between the "improved" and the "high poverty" counties. The counties with significant improvement (down to a poverty level of 10-20%) are more likely to be metropolitan or adjacent to an MSA. They tend to have higher labor force participation, lower unemployment rates, and fewer dependents per worker. Families with both parents present command a higher share of the population. Their median years of education and the percent who have graduated from high school are higher. (See Table H.)

**TABLE H: Characteristics of Selected Improved-Poverty and Persistent High-Poverty Counties, 1980**

State and County	Adjacent to SMSA	Persons under 18 years, percent living with 2 parents	Non-workers per 100 workers	Labor force participation rate	Unemployment rate	Persons 25 and over percent high school grads	Median years of education
Over 20 points improvement in poverty rate, 1969-79; and 1979 poverty rate below 20.0 percent							
ALABAMA							
Jamet	No	80.2	152	57.6	6.0	43.0	10.6
ARKANSAS							
Perry	Yes	85.6	174	49.9	9.5	51.2	12.0
GEORGIA							
Crawford	Yes	72.4	137	59.5	5.5	40.5	11.0
Lee (metro county)	-	80.0	115	66.2	4.4	54.1	12.1
Twiggs (metro county)	-	73.7	168	52.9	6.5	33.6	10.1
LOUISIANA							
St. Martin	Yes	76.3	154	57.5	5.3	39.3	10.0
MISSISSIPPI							
Lawrence	No	75.4	171	52.6	4.4	49.2	11.9
Webster	No	79.6	157	51.8	5.7	48.6	11.8
NEW MEXICO							
Sandoval (metro county)	-	74.4	161	54.5	9.0	67.0	12.5
NORTH CAROLINA							
Anson*	Yes	66.7	124	61.8	5.6	46.9	11.7
TENNESSEE							
Trousdale	Yes	85.4	97	66.5	5.3	42.3	10.4
TEXAS							
Camp	No	77.6	131	57.8	4.2	50.8	12.0
VIRGINIA							
Charles City (metro city)	-	71.6	103	67.2	5.1	41.9	11.0
Dickenson	No	85.8	233	42.0	10.3	33.5	8.9
Westmoreland	No	65.1	144	53.5	8.1	44.5	11.2
WISCONSIN							
Menominee	No	60.6	222	50.2	12.5	40.5	11.2

Poverty rate of 42.0 percent or higher in 1979

ALABAMA							
Greene	Yes	52.0	217	45.7	14.5	39.9	10.4
Lowndes	Yes	52.1	209	49.3	12.0	42.5	10.7
Wilcox	No	60.6	249	42.9	9.7	41.6	10.6
ARKANSAS							
Lee	Yes	62.8	213	47.0	14.7	31.9	9.2
KENTUCKY							
Clay	No	78.8	259	40.7	16.4	27.6	8.5
Owsley	No	83.0	286	36.2	19.3	29.3	8.5
LOUISIANA							
Madison	No	55.2	218	46.8	7.9	44.3	11.2
MISSISSIPPI							
Holmes	No	50.8	242	43.0	10.2	39.6	10.2
Humphreys	No	50.9	221	46.9	10.9	38.7	9.8
Tallahatchie	No	59.9	210	48.0	9.3	36.9	10.0
Tunica	Yes	53.0	241	45.8	14.9	30.8	8.6

TABLE H (continued):

State and County	Adjacent to SMSA	Persons under 18 years, percent living with 2 parents	Non-workers per 100 workers	labor force participation rate	Unemployment rate	Persons 25 and over, percent high school grads	Median years of education
Poverty rate of 42.0 percent or higher in 1979							
SOUTH DAKOTA							
Buffalo	No	61.7	209	54.6	19.1	60.5	12.3
Shannon	No	48.3	249	49.7	19.3	47.3	11.6
Todd	No	51.0	190	57.7	11.4	58.6	12.3
Ziebach	No	64.9	151	63.6	6.1	57.8	12.2
TENNESSEE							
Hancock	Yes	81.2	198	45.2	11.0	28.6	8.5
TEXAS							
Start	Yes	81.0	215	50.1	12.4	26.6	6.7
Less than 5 points improvement in poverty rate, 1969-79; and 1979 poverty rate of 33.3 percent or higher							
ALABAMA							
Perry	No	59.9	198	47.9	7.6	43.1	10.7
ARKANSAS							
Lee	Yes	62.8	213	47.0	14.7	31.9	9.2
COLORADO							
Costilla	No	81.3	219	42.4	10.3	45.9	11.3
GEORGIA							
Scriven	Yes	61.7	140	57.0	6.8	41.5	11.0
KENTUCKY							
Casey	No	86.2	181	48.2	9.5	33.2	9.8
SOUTH DAKOTA							
Corson	No	67.4	216	48.3	8.0	51.1	12.0
Jackson	No	69.0	195	52.1	4.0	58.5	12.2
Shannon	No	48.3	249	49.7	19.3	47.3	11.6
TEXAS							
Real	No	80.0	169	50.3	4.9	46.9	11.7
Start	Yes	81.9	215	50.1	12.4	26.6	6.7

Source: 1980 Census of Population



## Summary of Table H

### Urbanization

Of the sixteen "improved" counties, four are metropolitan, five are nonmetropolitan but adjacent to metropolitan areas, and seven are nonmetropolitan and not adjacent to a metropolitan area. Among the seventeen high-poverty counties none are metropolitan, six are nonmetropolitan but adjacent to an MSA (Metropolitan Statistical Area), and eleven are nonmetropolitan and not adjacent to an MSA.

### Labor Force

In the improved counties, labor force indicators are more positive:

. For those sixteen counties, the unemployment rate in 1979 was below 10% in fourteen and below 7% in ten counties. In contrast, in the high-poverty group, thirteen of seventeen counties had an unemployment rate of 10% or more. Nine of these counties had an unemployment rate of at least 12%.

. The labor force participation rate for the improved group was over 50% for all but two counties. In the high-poverty group, the participation rate was below 50% for thirteen of the seventeen counties.

. The number of nonworkers per 100 workers was much higher in the high-poverty counties. In fourteen out of seventeen there were over 200 nonworkers for every 100 workers, indicating a high level of dependency upon the incomes of a relatively few wage-earners. In contrast, in fourteen out of sixteen improved counties there were fewer than 175 nonworkers for every 100 workers.

### Presence of Both Parents

Family structure is also an important factor in the persistence of poverty. In every improved county, but in fewer than half of the high-poverty counties, families with both parents present constituted over 60% of all families.

### Education

All but one of the improved counties had a median education of ten or more years. Only three had a proportion of high school graduates which was lower than 40%. On the other hand, seven of the 17 high poverty counties had a median education of fewer than ten years, and ten had populations with under 40% high school graduates.

U. S. Counties  
With At Least A Third of the Households  
Below Poverty Level in 1979

Source: Economic Research Service  
USDA/U. S. Census, 1980

Alabama: Bullock, Greene, Hale, Loundes, Marengo, Perry, Sumter,  
Wilcox

Alaska: Wade-Hampton

Arkansas: Chicot, Lee, Monroe, Phillips, St. Francis

Arizona: Apache

Colorado: Costilla

Georgia: Clay, Dooly, Hancock, Jenkins, Quitman, Randolph,  
Screven, Stewart

Kentucky: Breathitt, Casey, Clay, Clinton, Jackson, Knox, Lee,  
Leslie, McCreary, Magoffin, Morgan, Owsley, Wayne, Wolfe

Louisiana: East Carroll, Madison, Richland, Tensas, West  
Feliciana

Mississippi: Bolivar, Coahoma, Holmes, Humphreys, Issaquena,  
Jefferson, Kemper, Leflore, Noxubee, Panola, Quitman,  
Sharkey, Sunflower, Tallahatchie, Tunica, Wilkinson, Yazoo

New Mexico: McKinley, Mora

South Dakota: Bennett, Buffalo, Carson, Dewey, Jackson,  
Mellette, Sanborn, Shannon, Todd, Zieback

Tennessee: Fentress, Hancock

Texas: Dimmitt, Edwards, Hidalgo (metro), Kenedy, Kinney,  
LaSalle, Maverick, Presidio, Real, Starr, Willacy, Zavala



## FOOTNOTES

1. The term "rural" is used throughout to signify areas defined by the Census as rural; i.e., open country and communities of fewer than 2,500 residents. It is not equivalent to "nonmetropolitan" (generally referring to counties outside contiguous commuting areas made up of a county or group of counties having a central city or cities of 50,000 population or more) but applies to some communities within both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. It is also not equivalent to the Farmers Home Administration Service Areas, which include open country, communities with up to 10,000 residents that are rural in character, and communities with up to 20,000 residents that are rural in character and are outside Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs).
2. 1980 Census, Detailed Housing Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Table 81.
3. Since the 1970 Census, the Census Bureau has not counted dilapidated units in the housing inventory, because their measurement was too difficult to conduct reliably. The measures of substandard quality used by federal housing programs in recent years have been the lack of complete plumbing and overcrowding (more than one person per room), both of which are reported and cross-tabulated by the Census. The Annual Housing Survey, carried out since 1973, does measure some structural deficiencies; according to HUD's 1982 National Housing Production Report, it indicates a fairly constant level of housing deficiencies since 1973, in spite of the improvement in plumbing facilities.
4. 1980 Census, General Housing Characteristics, compiled from state-level data (Table 2) by the Housing Assistance Council.
5. Ibid., Table 1, comparison with 1970 Census.
6. The 1974 and 1980 Annual Housing Surveys, Volume E, Table A-3 show that from 1974 to 1980 the number of rural units with leaking roofs, open cracks or holes in walls, or open cracks or holes in floors has increased and, except for leaking roofs whose incidence has slightly declined, the overall rates of such structural deficiencies have also increased in rural areas.
7. Joe D. Francis, et al., National Statistical Assessment of Rural Water Conditions, Executive Summary, Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, prepared for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 1982, p. 19.
8. Housing Assistance Council, Preliminary Summary of the Rural Housing Data from the 1980 Census and Supplemental Resources, January, 1984, p. 13. See finding that rural mobile homes increased in number by 83%, tantamount to about two-thirds of the decline in units considered officially to be substandard. Also, see Footnote 66 in this report, with a brief bibliography on studies on mobile home construction and safety.

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18. Bureau of the Census, Estimates of the Poverty Population Including the Value of Noncash Benefits: 1979-1982, Technical Paper No. 51, February, 1984.
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21. Better Country: A Strategy for Rural Development in the 1980s, Office of Rural Development Policy, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1983, p. 2.
22. Data prepared by the Rural Labor Markets Section, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, from Bureau of Labor Statistics Surveys.

23. Herman Bluestone, "Employment Growth in Metro and Nonmetro America: A Change in the Pattern?", Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Economic Report Number 492, p. 4.
24. Data prepared by the Rural Labor Markets Section, op. cit.
25. Ibid.
26. 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Table 108.
27. Current Population Report, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1981, Table 20.
28. 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics, op. cit.
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56. Current Population Reports, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level, 1979 and 1982.

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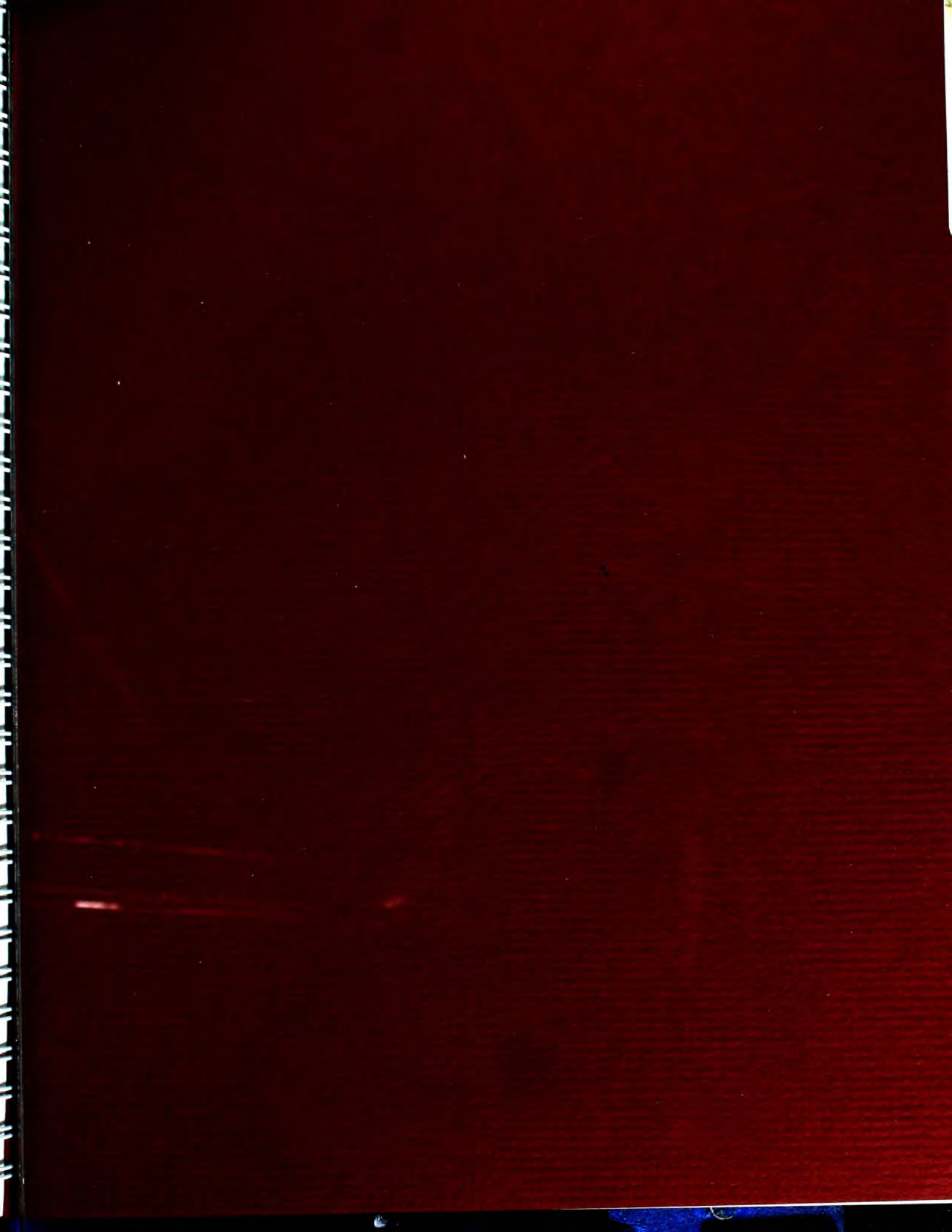
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78. Ibid., Research Tables Volume, p. 45.
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81. Joe D. Francis, op. cit., pp. 4, 7, 10, 19.
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**HOUSING**

**NAVAJO RESERVATION, ARIZONA**



Hogan.

**ZAVALA COUNTY, TEXAS**



Home of farmworker family.

WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA



Home of mother and four children, no water facilities.



Outskirts of St. Francisville.

**MONROE COUNTY, GEORGIA**



Town of Forsyth.

**NEWTON COUNTY, ARKANSAS**



Town of Jasper.



MORA COUNTY, NEW MEXICO



Home of family of six.



Adobe house.



Home of family of eleven  
(with nine children).

**OGLALA SIOUX RESERVATION, SOUTH DAKOTA**



Occupied in winter by three or four families.



Village of Pine Ridge.

HANCOCK COUNTY, TENNESSEE



Front and back views of home of elderly woman, lacking electricity and running water.



## OVERVIEW

In order to better understand the needs and resources of rural areas with high poverty and substandard housing, HAC staff visited with or interviewed residents of rural communities in Appalachia, the Ozarks, and the Deep South, and on New Mexico land grant territory and Indian reservations in Arizona and South Dakota. Sites were selected on the basis of high poverty and substandard housing and regional and ethnic variations. They are described in the "case studies" which follow.

Most photographs of housing conditions in these areas were taken in 1984; all were taken after the 1980 Census. Cultural variations in housing designs aside, the sagging structures, exposure to the elements, and unsanitary conditions these photographs depict may be found in nearly every rural area where poverty is found. The characteristic distinguishing the case study areas is that in them the conditions depicted were considered common and in some cases the norm. All the homes shown were occupied.

There were some common patterns among the case studies, not all of which were expected. The most positive was a significant drop during the 1970s in poverty rates; a major improvement in poverty rates occurred in all of the areas studied with the exception of the Oglala Sioux reservation in Shannon County, South Dakota. It should be noted, however, that community program staff interviewed generally believed that the local poverty rate had again climbed in the early 1980s, but as of this writing it was unclear if the upward trend would continue.

In areas outside of the Ozarks and Appalachia, the incidence of poverty and substandard housing was consistently higher for minority populations than for whites. In fact, given the high poverty rates of rural minorities in general, the high poverty rates in some of the areas selected may have been a reflection of minority predominance in the population. However, the fact that poverty rates for blacks, American Indians and Hispanics in the areas visited were higher than those for the total rural black, American Indian, or Hispanic populations, indicates that factors in addition to race contributed to poverty in the case study areas.

In varying degrees, natural resources including productive farmland, timber, water, and minerals were plentiful in these areas, and were reflected in their farming, timbering, and mining industrial bases. In general, however, such resources were either controlled by outside interests or could not be developed because local residents lacked the needed capital. For example, Hancock County, Tennessee residents owned abundant natural gas deposits, but could not afford to drill and mine the gas. The farmland of Indian reservations in South Dakota and Arizona was tied up in long-term leases to outside users at fixed rates which were

lower than their market value. Farmland owners in West Feliciana, Louisiana relied upon nonlocal middlemen to process and market their produce, having been left floundering when a nearby potato processing plant moved elsewhere to gain greater profits.

In addition to the remoteness of job markets and consumption markets for produce, timber, minerals, and crafts, the areas visited were extremely dependent on outside, mostly federal, assistance to meet basic needs. Federal programs had brought important benefits and significantly decreased the incidence of disease, malnutrition, and poor housing conditions. Together with county government, they had also directly or indirectly become the chief source of local jobs, in schools, health care facilities, housing and other programs. Progress against poverty, as measured by education, health, housing and poverty rates, was evident in the Census data on the case study areas.

Perhaps as a consequence of such progress, disorientation was also evident among the residents of the areas visited. For example, according to Indian reservation officials, the clustering of federally funded housing had contributed to social conflicts between tribal clans accustomed to living at a diplomatic distance from each other. Residents of a housing development in Louisiana felt that their sense of community had been weakened by outside management and its recruitment of new residents from other areas.

The chief sources of employment in most of the areas visited were services, primarily in the school systems, and public administration. Manufacturing, particularly in furniture and textile factories, and agriculture were the most common industries. The unemployment rates were consistently higher than the state averages, and had grown since 1980. Increases in unemployment were attributed by county personnel to cutbacks of staff in local government programs, to farm losses, to the slump in the Appalachian mine industry, and to factory relocations or lay-offs.

There was much discussion in all the areas visited of the problems of the "working poor", and of the need for increased job opportunities. Residents of the Ozarks and Appalachia in particular made a point of the "loyalty" of the local workers, known in the outside areas to which they commuted for work as having a relatively low rate of absenteeism.

In every area visited, many local health problems appeared to be related to housing conditions, and in particular to overcrowding, water sanitation, and weather-tightness. On the Indian reservations, in the Deep South and the Southwest, health personnel linked a high incidence of skin and digestive ailments to overcrowding and deficient water and waste facilities. Respiratory ailments and pneumonia were associated with poorly insulated homes on the reservations. Housing conditions were linked by local program staff to mental problems, including depression, reclusiveness, alcoholism, and violence.

A striking feature of the high poverty counties selected for study was the turn-around in the 1970s of the population decline which they had experienced in the 1960s. With the exception of the American Indian reservation counties in Arizona and South Dakota, every high poverty county visited had lost population in the 1960s. With the exception of Mora County, New Mexico, every county visited had gained population in the 1970s, and by 1980 most surpassed the 1960 population levels.

The American Indian reservation populations had increased dramatically, by more than a third, reflecting high birth rates, and possibly the return to the reservation of some of its original residents.

In Louisiana, West Feliciana's overall population growth over the 1970s reflected the more complex trends in rural black population change. While the white population increased, West Feliciana's residential black population decreased slightly. The decrease corresponded to declines in the rural black populations of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana, which were slower than those of the 1960s, indicating that the rural black population is becoming stabilized. South Carolina was the one "black belt" state to have an increase in the rural black population. In other predominantly black-populated high poverty counties in the Deep South, population change was also mixed; black population continued to decrease in such counties in Mississippi, Louisiana, western Georgia, and mid-south Alabama, but increased in most such counties in South Carolina, western Alabama (along the Tombigbee River), and eastern Georgia.

In spite of chronic high unemployment and poverty rates, the population in Zavala County, Texas, had increased. The increase was among the Hispanic residents, and compensated for a decline in the white population. Factors in Zavala's population growth appear to be a high birth rate, the availability in its Rio Grande valley of seasonal labor in the food industry, and its accessibility to immigrants from Mexico.

On the other hand, the Hispanic population declined in Mora, New Mexico, where county officials interviewed emphasized the difficulty of carrying out housing or economic development in an area with little water and encumbered with clouded titles from former land grant status. County officials believe that since 1980 Mora's population has increased, due to a slowing in outmigration and a high birth rate among poverty-level households.

The population growth in Hancock County, Tennessee appeared representative of other high-poverty counties in Appalachia (e.g., Clay and Owsley in Kentucky). Residents believed growth to some extent was due to the return of natives from northern cities where experience with employment opportunities and living conditions had not been as positive as they had hoped. There was also an influx of new and typically young households attracted by the mountain culture and way of life. Similar factors appeared to contribute to population increase in Searcy and Newton Counties, Arkansas.

On the whole, the high-poverty counties visited are characterized by high unemployment rates, abundant natural resources, and obstacles to local control over those resources. In most, poverty rates have declined and population has increased or stabilized over the 1970s. Factors in population increase in the counties visited appeared to be a combination of a slowing in outmigration and a high birth rate. Economic development was seldom noted and did not appear to be a factor in population increase. However, an increase in employment opportunities in public administration and services during the 1970s was repeatedly mentioned, as was the increasing local dependence upon these occupations for community income.

**APACHE COUNTY, ARIZONA (NAVAJO NATION)**

Population: 51,657  
Chief Industries: Services (Education), Public Administration, Retail Trade, Construction  
American Indian Population: 38,665  
Poverty Rate: 50.7%  
Per Capita Income: \$2,350  
Median Family Income: \$9,208  
Median Years of School Completed: Total Pop. 11.8, Am. Ind. 8.4  
Percent High School Graduates: Total Pop. 39.3%, Am. Ind. 35.1%  
Occupied Housing Units: 12,638  
With American Indian Householder: 8,351  
Lacking Complete Plumbing: 4,825  
Overcrowded, But With Complete Plumbing: 2,235  
Total Substandard: 7,060 (56% of all occupied units)  
Rural Occupied Housing Units: 9,413  
Lacking Complete Plumbing: 4,633 (90% of these had no plumbing at all)  
With Complete Plumbing, But Overcrowded: 1,426  
Total Rural Substandard: 6,059 (64% of all rural occupied units)

The Navajo reservation encompasses 13.7 million acres in portions of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah. Most of its 160,000 residents are in Arizona, and over a third are in Apache County, Arizona, which also contains three of the reservation's five "growth centers", Fort Defiance, Window Rock, and Chinle.

The county rangeland is dotted with "camps", extended family settlements whose mix of dwellings usually includes a hogan (round or polygonal building made out of wood and covered with mud), and often includes a mobile home and two or more homes in the conventional (rectangular) Anglo-American style. A sheep pen, other animal pens, and "ramada" (an outdoor eating and sleeping area shaded by an interwoven latticework of branches) are generally clustered around the dwellings, and, usually out of the camp's view, there may be a well and a "sweathouse" (bathing house, much like the Finnish sauna, enabling cleaning with little or no water). Such family settlements are miles apart, and also miles from crossroads, trading posts, and the reservation growth centers.

Traditional Navajo housing (the hogan) has been in part designed to meet religious requirements, some of which are incompatible with non-Indian notions of housing quality. For example, the dirt floors of hogans serve a religious purpose when medicine men draw on them the symbols (sand paintings) considered to have healing powers. The East, South, West, and North have spiritual significance and determine the placement of doors and



sleeping areas. Navajos have traditionally abandoned homes in which someone has died. The difficulty of assessing Navajo housing quality in non-Indian terms should be kept in mind when reviewing the following findings, most of which have been selected for their possible bearing on health and housing demand.

The Navajo Tribe/Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) housing inventory for 1983 found that out of the approximately 25,000 total reservation units, 15,000 were substandard (i.e., lacked complete plumbing or were overcrowded), and 11,000 needed renovation, and that more than 12,000 new or replacement units were needed. This number was more than double that of the 1971 estimate, reflecting both further deterioration of existing units and a population increase by about two-thirds. The average Apache county poverty-level family had 5.2 members in 1979.

In Apache County alone, 40% of the year-round housing units disposed of sewage with means (such as privies) other than public sewer, septic tank or cesspool. Three-fifths of the American Indian households had no bathroom or only a half bath. Three-fifths heated with fireplaces, stoves, or portable room heaters. Four-fifths had no telephone. Although trucks are commonly considered necessary on the reservation for bringing water, coal, and firewood to residences, one-fourth of the households had no vehicle. Four-fifths of the American Indian homes with elderly householders lacked complete plumbing.

The great majority (90%) of Apache County poverty-level American Indian households were in substandard units. This fact is particularly disturbing in view of the limited scale of government-funded efforts to develop new housing on the reservation. The Navajo Housing Authority manages 2,100 low-rent and mutual-help housing units initially subsidized by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and has another 1,140 "in the pipeline". The Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) has developed a subdivision of 200 units in one community, and is reviewing plans for another subdivision of 100 units.

The tribe is particularly concerned that 70% of its population is now under 21 years of age and will expand the demand for new units severalfold in the very near future. It is also concerned about how to accommodate the anticipated forced relocation of Navajos from the former Navajo-Hopi Joint Use Area.

The cost of housing development on the reservation is prohibitive. New subsidized units cost from \$50,000 to \$86,000 each, in spite of the "free" land provided. Labor and materials costs are high. Most housing production has relied upon the importation of lumber from off the reservation. Dineh Cooperatives, a Navajo enterprise, recently hired reservation residents to make bricks from the plentiful local clay resources, and staff believe brick housing would be acceptable to Navajos.

For scattered site housing of rural areas, where there are typically four households per mile, the cost of utility pole lines is \$13,000 a mile, assuming that approval for such lines can be obtained from residents of customary use areas, described below. Wells, which are constructed to serve the domestic and livestock needs of several families, cost \$100 per foot drilled; as they may need to be 700' or 1000' deep, an individual well cost of \$70,000 is not considered unreasonable.

On the other hand, federal program emphasis on housing "clusters" in isolated places has led to requirements which appear nonsensical to some reservation residents: a paved road will be required in the cluster development, but the lack of funds for maintaining the pavement and the rapid infiltration of clay from the surrounding miles of unpaved roads quickly defeat the purpose of road development.

There is demand for housing in the clusters, however, and the FmHA county office anticipates that the demand will grow tremendously with the expected increase among the population reaching adulthood. However, one housing official noted that residents have shown a tendency to move into the HUD clusters during the week, for "amenities", but will return to the more rural extended family enclaves on the weekends.

Culture clash also undermines housing program efficiency. Many Navajo live in hogans which lack plumbing, electricity, and other features considered essential by non-Indians. The Housing Services Department reports that in new BIA-funded homes families have been known to remove the bathrooms to add living space, or to knock out a wall so cattle can drink out of the tub. Until the 1930s, Navajo led a largely migratory life; their homes were built to be temporary domiciles, and Housing Services staff believe that many still place little value on housing durability or maintenance.

The reservation is encumbered with complex and sometimes incompatible jurisdictional structures. Together with the BIA, it controls land in four states (including land leased in Colorado) and a dozen counties. Instead of municipal governments with eminent domain powers and responsibility for provision of services to residents, it has 92 "chapters", regions which are typically occupied by clans of several extended families, and which have veto power rather than authority to undertake development.

Within chapters most and perhaps all of the land suitable for development is within the "customary use" areas of individual tribal families, whose origin is described below. In the customary use areas, it is possible to obtain a waiver for a 25-year lease for a homesite, but the prerequisites are formidable: reviews by the customary user's chapter, the Tribal Advisory Committee, the Tribal Chairman, and the BIA, all of which may take up to three years to process.

According to the FmHA county office, encumbrances on the land constitute the primary obstacle to subsidized housing development through FmHA. FmHA loans are contingent upon the marketability of the units it finances, and

marketability of reservation units is often hampered by customary use restrictions which may prevent willing buyers from moving onto someone else's land. Moreover, although FmHA regulations permit loans on Indian trust land, tribal leases are currently not accepted without a time-consuming review by FmHA legal counsel. One suggested solution has been that the tribe create a secondary mortgage insurance program for individual borrowers, with interest on trust assets, now held by the BIA, to be used as collateral. Another is to bring together the tribal leaders, BIA and FmHA officials to develop mechanisms for coordinating housing development.

In the meantime, housing conditions are contributing to the health problems of the Navajos. The director of the nursing programs at the reservation's community college reports that gastrointestinal problems are a major reason for hospitalization of children, and that these have been correlated with lack of running water in homes. In rural areas in particular, digestive and skin problems are linked to use of water from open wells or hauled in from trading posts and stored in rusty containers or even former paint containers.

According to a reservation midwife, it is not unusual to find ten people living in one hogan. The dampness and overcrowding found in typical single-room hogans with dirt floors contribute to the high incidence of pneumonia and tuberculosis. Lack of electricity in many of the homes makes it difficult to store food, increasing the incidence of salmonella and shigella infections. The infant mortality rate is much higher than the national average.

In addition to health, tribal and federal government officials have pointed out an intrinsic connection between reservation housing and economic development. Among all the other factors inhibiting both housing and economic development, the weaknesses in each of these areas increases those of the other. Lack of housing opportunities discourages economic development, and the lack of employment opportunities discourages adequate housing development.

The major source of personal income is government transfer payments. Aside from government programs, the major sources of employment are retail, mining, livestock, and agriculture. Sheep raising, introduced in the 16th century occupation of the Southwest by Spain, is a mainstay of livestock production, but some beef cattle are also now being raised. Navajo crafts, particularly silver and turquoise jewelry and rugs, are being marketed effectively although not on as large a scale as might be managed.

Navajo economic development is limited by several factors other than lack of capital. The United States Government holds the land in trust for the Navajos, and the BIA, within the Department of Interior, manages the trust, including the use of its land, water, and mineral resources. BIA negotiates leases of the Nation's considerable mineral rights to oil, gas, and coal companies, and of its grazing rights to non-Indians. For some minerals, such as coal, royalties from the negotiated leases have been

fixed at levels far lower than their market value. Navajo attempts to impose a severance tax on mineral exports out of the reservation are in litigative limbo.

The tribal government's reliance on oil as its financial base is increasingly untenable as oil revenues decline. Along with coal and uranium mining, it has always been at best half-heartedly supported by Navajos whose traditional philosophy of kinship and harmony with the natural environment is opposed to exploitation of mineral resources, or their separation from Mother Earth.

The trust status of the land prevents its use as security in loans for economic or infrastructure development. U.S. corporations are wary of entering into contracts involving reservation enterprises because they would be under the jurisdiction of the Navajo courts and laws. Disputes between the Hopis and Navajos discourage economic development in a former 1.8 million acre "Joint Use Area" where, for the same reason, no housing is being subsidized.

As it does with housing, the system of adherence to family "customary use" areas discourages economic development. Customary use areas evolved out of Navajo adaptations to the restrictions imposed by the General Allotment Act of 1887, which divided communally held tribal lands into separate, individually held parcels, and to the grazing rights established by the BIA in the 1930s. Through a range evaluation the BIA had determined that the reservation was overpopulated with livestock; it then forced stock reduction and established grazing districts which froze the current locations of pastoral families, accustomed to seasonal migrations between summer and winter homes. Grazing right areas became increasingly divided as "customary use areas" among succeeding generations of family heirs.

With the grazing rights, herds and flocks were also fractionized through inheritance. The economies of scale needed for livestock production were increasingly undermined. One study has suggested that grazing cooperatives would permit the Navajo to sustain the herds of 600 head considered to be essential for adequate returns. In the meantime, however, the customary use boundaries not only subvert the potential profitability of sheep and cattle industries, but are serious obstacles to the development of alternative industrial enterprises.

Even were it to be economically beneficial, abolition of the customary use system would be difficult to achieve. Politically, the limits are popular with customary users, who may be viewed as having more private property rights than are invested in non-Indians, since they are not subject to eminent domain threats, zoning restrictions, or property taxes.

Many Navajo view their reservation as a country which merits the same assistance from the United States as developing countries have received, and which could offer equivalent benefits for investors. The realization

of housing and economic development possibilities, however, will be contingent upon an easing of the restrictions on land use and the bureaucratic impediments to efficient planning and program management.

## THE ARKANSAS OZARKS: NEWTON AND SEARCY COUNTIES

Population: Searcy, 8,777; Newton, 7,725  
Chief Industries: Manufacturing (Furniture, Lumber, and Woodwork),  
Services  
Median Years of School Completed: Searcy, 10.1; Newton, 10.9  
Percent High School Graduates: Searcy, 41.6%; Newton, 45.3%  
Poverty Rate: Searcy, 30.6%; Newton, 31.7%  
Per Capita Income: Searcy, \$3,765; Newton, \$3,554  
Median Family Income: Searcy, \$9,301; Newton, \$9,356  
Occupied Housing Units: Searcy, 3,257; Newton, 2,718  
Lacking Complete Plumbing: Searcy, 577; Newton, 692  
Overcrowded, But With Complete Plumbing: Searcy, 140; Newton,  
105  
Total Substandard: Searcy, 717 (22%); Newton, 797 (29%)

Featuring "Dogpatch" (an actual incorporated community) and natural marvels such as the Buffalo National River and its bordering bluffs, the Arkansas counties of Newton and Searcy also exhibit some of the less cheering characteristics of undeveloped rural areas.

Nearly a third of their combined 16,000 residents are poor; over half their households lack complete bathrooms and, in fact, dispose of their wastewater without benefit of public sewer, septic tank or cesspool. Over half live in dwellings built before 1950, with most of these built before 1939. Only three towns, including the two county seats, have public water and sewer facilities. The rugged terrain and the lack of soil suitable for septic fields are major handicaps to the development of durable dwellings and sanitary wastewater treatment.

Local weatherization program crews find that most houses are far from weathertight. They lack storm and often even basic windows, insulation, and underpinning or skirting, and, as the Newton County program director observes, "heat just flies through them". Half to three-fourths of residents use wood for heat; for the rest who generally rely on propane or butane, utilities bills are a great burden.

An official of a program to assist the aging observes that housing conditions contribute to the health problems of the elderly in Newton and Searcy Counties. Lack of protection from the elements contributes in winter to a high incidence of hypothermia and in summer to heat prostration. Rheumatism and arthritis are common, and their effects are more severe for those who must walk outdoors to privies and water pumps. Indoor pollution from wood stoves contributes to respiratory ailments. The ensuing health problems are made more serious by the lack of doctors in the area; there are only two in Searcy, who attempt to visit the ill in Newton as well, where otherwise there are no currently practicing doctors. The health official finds that in all of northwest Arkansas, the aged of Newton and Searcy Counties are the most in need of in-home medical care.

According to the Northwest Regional Housing Authority Director, "we need subsidized housing desperately in this area." No public housing has been built to date in these counties. Without rental assistance, FmHA rental projects are not feasible. A 1984 survey found that four-fifths of otherwise eligible households in Newton and Searcy could not afford to pay the \$195 rent required in a FmHA project which did not also offer rental assistance; and, in fact, one such local "unsubsidized" project has not been able to rent out all its units, in spite of the low 1% interest FmHA charged for the project mortgage.

Staff of the nonprofit Ozark Opportunities' county weatherization programs report that poverty and the lack of rental units available which might qualify for rental assistance lead new households to build as cheaply and quickly as they can to meet immediate needs, producing "temporary" dwellings whose materials do not last as long as their occupancy. "People are known to live in barns here, papered inside with newspaper," was the report of one local worker.

Newton County in particular is characterized by such housing arrangements. More than half the county is in the public domain and largely forested. Migrant workers seeking jobs are known to camp out for long periods in the park areas.

Housing rehabilitation through community development block grants has been infrequent; under HUD administration the scattered rural housing problems did not qualify as "neighborhood" problems eligible for treatment through block grant funding, and under state administration block grants now are used primarily for economic development and infrastructure.

According to local housing program staff, the limited employment opportunities locally available continue to lead to outmigration of the more educated young, and a disproportionately large elderly population. While the elderly appear to be afflicted with the worst housing conditions, they do have the advantage of eligibility for more benefits, including FmHA home repair grants. However, due to FmHA program restrictions against grants for the elderly who own more than three acres, the bulk of the elderly poor, many of whom live on larger family-owned life estates, are ineligible for the kind of major rehab assistance they need. The alternatives are very limited: there is a three-year waiting list of elderly residents applying for Section 8 certificates for existing rental units.

Both Newton and Searcy Counties are also characterized by disproportionately high numbers of nonelderly persons with a work disability. A fifth of the adults aged 16-64 have a work disability, and the proportion rises to as much as a fourth among Searcy males. This high incidence, unexplained by any documented analysis, contributes to the pressures on local welfare resources.

Farming and timber are the economic bases of the counties. Farms are small, and, although the area was once a major producer of strawberries and tomatoes, weather, price and labor problems have caused most local farmers to turn instead to dairy or livestock production, and to supplement their incomes with off-farm work.

However, work for the semi-skilled and unskilled who constitute the bulk of the labor force is generally scarce. The state and county governments are the largest employers in Newton County, supplemented by tourist trades; in Searcy, a shirt factory is the largest non-farm employer. Many residents, particularly in Searcy County, commute to the more prosperous Boone and Carroll Counties for employment. They have been aided by a federal matching grant for mass transit which permits the North Arkansas Transportation Service to provide bus transportation for about 100 Searcy County residents to and from work in a chicken processing firm and other small factories, as well as to vocational technology schools.

Glimmers of prospects for improvement of the economy and living conditions are evident in local assets such as: a new vo-tech program in Boone County with courses in computer technology; undeveloped resources such as clays suitable for use in commercial pottery; soils suitable for truck farming; natural preserves of great beauty and attraction for tourists; available land for economic development; and, for housing purposes, an active regional housing authority with experience in FmHA self-help housing development, and nonprofit weatherization programs.





## WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA

Population: 12,186 (including 4,619 institutionalized residents in health care and prison facilities)

Chief Industries: Public Administration, Services

Black Population: 7,061 (including 3,310 institutionalized residents)

Of the 3,751 non-institutionalized black residents:

Median Years School Completed: 9.8

Percent Completed High School: 32.9%

Poverty Rate: 51%

Per Capita Income: \$1,840

Median Family Income: \$8,189

Occupied Housing Units: 2,313

Lacking Complete Plumbing: 381 (55% of these had no plumbing)

Overcrowded, But With Complete Plumbing: 173

Total Substandard: 554 (or 24% of total occupied units)

West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, wedged between the Mississippi River and the Mississippi state line, has a chronically high incidence of poverty and substandard housing. Over a third of its 12,000 people are poor, and nearly 20% of its dwellings lack plumbing. Unlike other areas with high rural poverty, renters, rather than owners, occupy the majority of homes lacking plumbing.

Poverty is concentrated among the black population, over half of whom are poor, compared to a sixth of the white population. In fact, over three-fourths of the poverty population is black. The great majority of the homes lacking complete plumbing, bathrooms, heating equipment, and a public source of water or a well are also occupied by blacks. Nearly a third of the black households lack telephones, and a fourth have no vehicle available for transportation.

The lineage of the parish's race-dominated housing and poverty problems is nowhere more evident than around St. Francisville, the parish seat. Here lovely "antebellum" plantation homes contrast sharply with the neighboring dwellings of descendents of plantation slaves. For these black residents, progress against poverty has been painfully slow.

Progress may be most evident in the Hardwood Subdivision, once a cluster of extremely dilapidated houses near St. Francisville. With the help of the Farmers Home Administration, the Hardwood community since 1972 has transformed itself into a pleasant neighborhood of wide streets, shady lawns, 50 single-family homes and 40 rental duplexes, many of which are occupied by the families who originally lived on the site.

As in other rural areas described in these case studies, long-time residents of West Feliciana perceive an erosion of family and community bonds among rural households who have only recently begun to gain access to modern benefits. For the Hardwood Subdivision itself, the development of

rental units entailed the importation of management expertise from a Baton Rouge firm, which subsequently rented units in the subdivision to Baton Rouge and other "outside" families. The subdivision association's control over its growth has been jeopardized by both the shift in management to a distant city and its infiltration by the urban poor. Interest in association board meetings has declined, and original Hardwood residents report that "we no longer know our neighbors" or have a sense of community. These residents are taking steps to strengthen the community base and control over subdivision development.

FmHA efforts in the area stand out in stark relief against the continuing high level of need and the lack of local resources for housing improvements. There is no other public housing, and no federal block grant activity for housing. Thus, residences like the one pictured here, within walking distance of the Hardwood Subdivision, are common in the parish.

Perhaps the greatest threat to community longevity and welfare is the lack of local employment opportunities which could enable young adults to significantly improve their living conditions. Most of the black adults are employed as low-paid service or blue collar workers, the latter in businesses which are particularly vulnerable to recessionary impacts. Local paper and saw mills have cut back on personnel. Construction jobs made possible by the development of a nuclear power plant will be eliminated with its completion, expected within the next few years.

A major setback for the low-income community has been the closing of a potato processing and canning plant, resulting both in the direct loss of about 500 jobs, most of which employed local women, and in the loss of a market for local potato farmers. Although the factory had been profitable, it closed because the owners determined that it would be more profitable to relocate in central Louisiana. The subsequent displacement of workers can be traced to the lack of diversification in the local economy, a situation typical of rural communities. It may conceivably be reversed in West Feliciana, however, as parish business leaders are exploring the possibility of buying and reviving the factory, adding freezing to its canning functions, and diversifying its products to snap beans and potato patties.

Like those of many impoverished rural areas, the natural and human resources of West Feliciana are impressive, and would seemingly bely the poor health of its economy. The parish has the water and organic resources of the Mississippi River, 44,000 acres of wetlands, 145,000 acres of forests and 75,000 acres of prime farmland. Its history, location in bayou country and ethnic mix has produced a culture rich in folklore, cuisine and crafts. It has a ready and willing, albeit largely unskilled labor force.

The eradication of poverty in the parish thus depends not only on government assistance in meeting basic needs, but also on the development of local industries which can tap such resources and offer the possibility of providing employment for the bulk of parish residents at above poverty-level wages. Businesses offering on-the-job training or plentiful opportunities for job advancement from the low-skill positions are sorely needed. In addition, cooperative ownership and management of enterprises, such as perhaps a revived potato processing plant, could restore motivation and restore a sense of community to low-income residents.

In the meantime, and perhaps as a prerequisite for such economic improvements, the parish poor and the parish as a whole would derive immediate benefits from programs to improve employment, education, housing, welfare, and infrastructure development.



## MORA COUNTY, NEW MEXICO

Population: 4,205

Chief Industries: Education, Agriculture

Median Years School Completed: 11.0 (Spanish Origin: 10.1)

Percent High School Graduates: 44.1% (Spanish Origin: 39.1%)

Spanish Origin Population: 3,640

Poverty Rate: 41.3%

Per Capita Income: \$2,822

Median Family Income: \$6,819

Occupied Units Lacking Complete Plumbing: 326

(Three-fifths of these have no plumbing at all)

Overcrowded Units, But With Complete Plumbing: 136

Total Substandard Units: 462 (33% of all units)

Most residents of the totally rural Mora County are settled in the county's western half, in the foothills and valleys of the Sangre De Cristo and Turkey Mountains. Many are in tiny settlements bordering the narrow Mora River, a precious but slim source of water flowing out of the snow-capped mountains to the northwest. The unrelentingly parched landscape of red clay and juniper trees is relieved from monotony only by the willow tree-shaded homes along this stream, occasional adobe dwellings, mobile homes with stovepipes and tires strewn over the roofs, ramshackle wooden bungalows, herds of sheep, goats, and cattle, and the constant and distantly looming presence of majestic mountain ranges.

In 1980 Mora County had only 1,390 occupied housing units, 10% fewer than it had in 1970. Nearly half of its year-round houses were built before 1940, and a number feature outdoor privies built by the Work Progress Administration (WPA) in the 1930s. Almost a fourth of its household heads are elderly. More than a third lack telephones. Nearly three-fifths of its households heat by fireplaces or wood stoves.

Eighty-four percent of Mora's households are of Spanish origin. Forty percent of its households are poor, and 94% of these are of Spanish origin. Half of the poverty-level households live in substandard units.

With the exception of the eastern third of the county's 1.2 million acres, most of Mora falls within the boundaries of land grants ceded to settlers by Spain, and later Mexico, and eventually confirmed by the U.S. government. According to the Remote Claims Impact Study conducted by the University of New Mexico for FmHA, a "Town of Mora Land Grant" awarded in 1835 by Mexico was confirmed by Congress in 1860. The Land Title Study of the New Mexico State Planning Office reports that at the time of confirmation there were about 8,000 land grant residents. The U.S. Department of Interior's Surveyor General argued for the confirmation partly on grounds that the area was one of the most fertile in New Mexico; if the community had not had official approval as a land grant from Mexico, he reasoned, the Mexican government would not have allowed it to survive.

Not only were the agricultural resources too valuable to relinquish, the community was virtually on the U.S. border and at a time when there were unmistakable harbingers of war with the United States over the New Mexico territory.

Most subsequent land grant claims in the county were rejected, however, by the Court of Private Land Claims established by Congress in 1891. According to the University of New Mexico Law School, a sample analysis of the decisions of the Court of Private Land Claims reveals that about 70% of the rejections were unfair, and generally based on technicalities of Anglo-American law bearing no relationship to the requirements for validity under Spanish and Mexican law. The rejections have remained in force, however.

Land grant status has been a mixed blessing for residents: it provided their ancestors with title to the land on which they were living, but, due to lack of adequate surveys, obsolescence of the deed descriptions (usually by metes and bounds, described in Spanish), lack of wills among the land grant heirs, and participation in an early revolt against the United States in which the archives were burned, the titles stemming from the 1800's have become encumbered with remote claims and are generally unacceptable as collateral to credit agencies, including FmHA. The County Records Office reports that every abstract, now costing from \$400 to \$600, requires legal action to quiet the deed, amounting to another \$1,200. With the additionally required survey costing \$50 an hour, the typical bill for title clearance will fall between \$2,000 and \$3,000.

Land grant status has contributed to population decline. County residents who cannot afford the costs of title clearance continue to live in poor housing, or move. Life savings are lost when invested in a well on what is found by a court to be someone else's property, as happened recently. Obscure boundaries lead to double tax assessments in many cases, increasing the vulnerability of property to takeover by speculators. A Land Status Study conducted by the New Mexico State Engineer in 1970 found that more acreage was reported as being assessed than existed as private property in the county, and that about 80% of the parcels in private ownership did not have good title. Currently there are over 200 parcels within the Mora land grant whose ownership is unknown and which are in the process of being auctioned; local residents cannot afford to purchase the property at \$300 an acre, and the county tax assessor believes that most of these are being bought by outside investors who stand to make a large profit upon resale.

According to county officials, poverty and poor housing conditions closely correspond to the area within land grant boundaries. Land grant residents are predominantly Hispanic and poor; residents of the rest of the county have a higher proportion of whites and are relatively affluent. Within the county seat itself--the town of Mora--there are clusters of residences with outhouses and no water supply. The school nurse reports that the housing conditions contribute to poor health, such as a high rate of ear and throat infections among children who are playing in ditchwater. Some families suffering from impetigo, scabies, and head lice get water for household use from open ditches.

Housing development is inhibited by factors other than the poverty of those who need new housing. Much of the town of Mora is flood prone. On the other hand, outside the town, the water table is in many areas so low that the cost of wells is prohibitive. In the summer of 1978, the National Guard brought water to residents of Ojo Feliz, where a drought had created a state of emergency. In 1980 HUD awarded community development block grant funds for a water system for Ojo Feliz, which had made the case that a public system would cost less than recurrent emergency service.

Many residents have become dependent upon government housing assistance: for tenants it helps pay the rent, and for landlords it has become a valuable source of income. Minimal landlord investment or risk is required to bring rental units up to federally required property standards. Where incurred, the cost of rehab is usually reimbursed by the rental assistance provided by HUD. About half the units receiving rental assistance, however, are mobile homes already built to standards established by HUD. (In 1980, fifteen percent of Mora's occupied units were mobile homes.) Housing Authority staff believe that the large proportion of local residents who are landlords are opposed to subsidized new housing development because it would represent a competitive threat in their rental market.

With a third of the county's occupied housing stock lacking complete plumbing or overcrowded, and more in a state of dilapidation, housing rehabilitation is viewed as a priority by Housing Authority staff. The county has an active community development block grant rehabilitation program, and the handsome bathroom additions it has promoted are typically in conspicuous contrast to the crumbling adobe structures to which they are attached. Bathrooms, weatherization, and basic rehab are in great demand among Mora residents.

FmHA, on the other hand, has rarely made housing rehabilitation or purchase loans in the area. If they amount to no more than \$2,500, its Section 504 home repair loans may be made without proof of title, given a promissory note from the borrower. Nevertheless, since 1981 FmHA has made only two Section 504 loans and one grant in Mora County, and its Section 502 homeownership program has been totally inactive there. Information for prior years was not available from FmHA at the time of this writing.

The economy of Mora has declined steadily for decades, and is now severely depressed. The land grant whose population of about 8,000 was considered to be settled on "good agricultural land" in 1860 was inhabited by fewer than half that number in 1980. For a while the area was the home base for migrant farmworker families, most of whom have now settled elsewhere. The general scarcity of water discourages industrial and agricultural development. The unemployment rate had risen to 38.5% by February 1984, due, county officials believe, to a decline in government-funded positions.

The prospects for Mora are not entirely bleak, however. A planned fiberboard plant in nearby Las Vegas, New Mexico, which would employ about



200 workers, may have a positive effect not only by recruiting employees from the county but by stimulating its latent sawmill industry. Mora also has an active housing authority and community development block grant program. There are signs, local residents say, that population is increasing, and that many originally from the area are returning to settle there.

**PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, SHANNON COUNTY, SOUTH DAKOTA**

Population: 11,323

Chief Industries: Services (Primarily in Education) and Public Administration

American Indian Population: 10,575

Median Years School Completed: 11.0

Percent High School Graduates: 43.2%

Poverty Rate: 46.3%

Per Capita Income: \$2,249

Median Family Income: \$9,515

Occupied Units: 2,306

Lacking Complete Plumbing: 610

Overcrowded But With Complete Plumbing: 643

Total Substandard: 1253 (54% of all occupied units)

The Oglala Sioux Reservation of Pine Ridge encompasses all of Shannon and parts of Jackson and Bennett Counties in southwest South Dakota. It comprises great expanses of grassland occasionally dotted by Indian homes, desolate "badland" dunes, and a handful of tiny communities. Pine-laden Black Hills border the distant southern horizon. The reservation is beautiful, remote, and very rural: gophers have closed down its airport by eating the electrical wiring; residents still make soap from soapweed and ornaments from porcupine quills; and pick-up trucks, typically driven by pony-tailed Indians in cowboy hats, are the most common form of transportation.

It is also very poor: 47% of Shannon County's Indians have incomes below the poverty level. Three-fifths of the poverty-level households are in substandard units, without complete plumbing or overcrowded. Although a tenth of the housing units are owned by whites, none of these are occupied by poverty-level households.

Of its 2,306 occupied year-round housing units, over half are rented, and about half are subsidized by HUD. According to the Housing Authority, several hundred households in the HUD units have no income at all. Although FmHA once funded a subdivision in Pine Ridge, which was subsequently bought by HUD, there are no current FmHA projects on the reservation. Census data indicate a need for 700 units simply to replace the substandard occupied housing in existence; and the data do not take into account the additional demand created by current population growth. Pine Ridge officials believe that the many tribal members living off reservation would return if housing were available, and that there is an actual need for 3,000 additional units.

Overcrowding is a severe problem: the median number of persons per unit is high (4.56), and the average number of rooms per unit is low (4.3). The

Housing Authority Director estimates that the great majority of the subsidized low-rent units are overcrowded, and that many are occupied by two or three families. Overcrowding is particularly evident in the winter, when families who live in shacks, tents, or automobiles in the summer move into the more habitable housing of relatives living in the village of Pine Ridge or in subsidized housing "clusters".

According to the Tribal President, subsidized "cluster housing is the worst thing that ever happened to the reservation." The clusters, which are filled without regard for clan distinctions, are notorious for violent outbreaks, vandalism, and disease. As of 1984, they had been without maintenance subsidies since 1979; the plumbing in many low-rent units was not working, and the fiberglass septic tanks supplied to about fifty mutual help units had collapsed shortly after installation, five years ago. An underlying rationale for cluster housing is the scarcity of groundwater on much of the reservation; however, Indian Health Service staff report that wells are possible on many scattered sites, although not necessarily those where households are now living or would choose to live.

The Community Health Representative reports that housing-related health problems are significant. She attributes a 1983 epidemic of hepatitis (250 cases) to overcrowded conditions and inadequate sanitation, water supply and sewage disposal. Nearly a third of the year-round units have no bathroom. Many of the families in subsidized units are accustomed to wells and outside privies rather than plumbing; they are unable to repair plumbing when it breaks down. Those in isolated dwellings without running water also suffer from dermatological problems, particularly in the winter when they are prevented by the weather from driving or walking up to three miles for the water needed for washing dishes, clothes, etc. Cases of infant diarrhea on the reservation have been attributed to formula feeding without sanitary water.

According to Indian Health Service staff, active cases of tuberculosis have decreased over recent years, but the disease, which is often spread through overcrowded living conditions, appears to be reviving. Several active cases emerged in the early spring of 1984, two of which were in two small apartments together occupied by about 18 people.

Health workers report that the winter of 1983-84 saw a sharp increase in deaths by pneumonia and a high infant mortality rate (27.4 per thousand, as opposed to the national average of 10.7 per thousand) largely due to respiratory problems. They attribute the high incidence of respiratory ailments to poorly insulated homes and lack of adequate heat. Many of the elderly live in dwellings, including subsidized units, with inefficient wood stoves whose smoke aggravates respiratory ailments.

"Violence, poisonings and accidents", most of which are due to alcohol abuse, constitute the leading categorical cause of death, according to the Pine Ridge Hospital. Alcoholism is the major disease. Together with cardiac disease, hypertension, and depression, its high incidence is

attributed to close confinement of large families, most of whom have no employed members, and to close proximity of feuding neighbors in the housing projects and villages which serve as wintertime residences for many Sioux.

A February 1984 survey by the Tribal Economic Development Planner and BIA found that 80% of the work force was unemployed. Most workers are employed in service occupations (primarily education) and public administration. BIA and the tribal government employ 400 workers alone. While the land is suitable for wheat and livestock production, most agricultural and grazing rights have been leased to non-Indians, at fixed rates established by the BIA which are below market value. About a third of the reservation's three million acres have been sold to white ranchers. Outside corporations have at times been lured by federal loans, tax breaks, and low labor costs to develop manufacturing enterprises on the reservation, but only one, a moccasin factory employing about 200 Sioux, has lasted.

Currently the tribe plans to combine funds from BIA and under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) in the development of relatively inexpensive but energy-efficient log houses, viewed as fitting the indigenous culture and local resources such as sawmills and lumber available in the Black Hills, and expected to be in great demand. Nevertheless, while the jobs created by the housing project will dent the unemployment rate and increase skills, the JTPA resource is expected to be only temporary.

On the whole, tribal leaders are deeply concerned about the uncertain prospects for major economic development opportunities on the reservation. There is hope that a vo-tech program, due to begin in July, will stimulate economic development. The tribe is also exploring possibilities of establishing the reservation as an enterprise zone, of creating a reservation bank or credit union, and of investing in cattle-related activities, such as feedlots and slaughterhouses. Finally, zeolite, a mineral valuable for its ability to absorb (actually, in scientific terminology, adsorb) radioactive elements, has been found in abundance in the northeast corner of the reservation, and the tribe is currently wrestling with the philosophical trade-offs between tampering with the land, for which it has great reverence, and income generation. Most such possibilities rest on the availability of sufficient investment capital, historically a significant problem for the tribe.



## HANCOCK COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Population: 6,883  
Chief Industries: Manufacturing (Furniture), Services  
Median Years School Completed: 8.5  
Percent High School Graduates: 28.6%  
Poverty Rate: 43%  
Per Capita Income: \$3,054  
Median Family Income: \$7,830  
Occupied Housing Units: 2,351  
Units Lacking Complete Plumbing: 726  
Overcrowded, But With Complete Plumbing: 78  
Total Substandard: 804 (34% of all occupied units)

Geographically isolated by some of the most formidable mountains in Appalachia, the 7,000 residents of Hancock County, Tennessee have the sixth lowest per capita income of all U.S. counties. More than two-fifths of Hancock's population is poor, and nearly a third of its housing is substandard. The rugged terrain is not conducive to housing development, including conventional wastewater treatment. Roads which are not state highways are generally unpaved, and only the county seat, Sneedville, has public water and sewer facilities. Less than a third of adult residents have completed high school.

Although manufacturing is the chief source of employment, factories are located in neighboring counties. Within its own boundaries, Hancock's economic base is agricultural, even though much of the cleared land is not being farmed, due to cumulative losses for the local small farmers over the past few years. In spite of declining federal support for tobacco production, tobacco allotments are still viewed (or, in the words of a resident, "clung to") by local farmers as their security.

The lack of rail and highway access prevents standard industrial development, and many Hancock residents must commute at least three hours per day to work in the mines of Virginia or in the nearest factories, which produce furniture, textiles, apparel, or laminated products. With about half of the population aged 16 or older in the labor force, Hancock's unemployment rate in 1982 rose to 21%.

The health problems of the county reflect its economy and living condition. A visiting nurse reports that hypertension, "nerves" (generally, depression), arthritis, and heart disease are common. She links the incidence of heart and mental problems to the frustrated high work ethic characteristic of county residents who are "driven" in their efforts to become economically independent but who are often unable even to rise out of poverty. As residents move or commute elsewhere for employment, family and community ties weaken, and many of the elderly suffer from depression attributable to living alone in isolated areas. Dental caries are prevalent due to lack of dental care and fluoridation of the water supply.

In spite of such handicaps, Hancock has impressive assets, some with income-generating potential. It is traversed by two beautiful, meandering rivers, the Powell and the Clinch, and dramatic vistas of mountain ranges are commonplace. Its sources of clean water are abundant. The minerals in its soils are said to produce vegetables of superior taste and quality. Unlike most Appalachian counties, large tracts of its mineral rights are not controlled by outside interests, and residents have investigated the possibility of developing on their own the recently discovered plentiful supply of natural gas. Concerning its potential for attracting outside capital, the reputation of its labor force for diligence has caused at least one manufacturing plant to locate in the county. Moreover, Hancock's culture is rich in crafts and music, traditional sources of pleasure for the residents, who only in the past decade have begun exploring their market potential.

The most positive asset may be the recent surge of local efforts to manage the land cooperatively, and to market farm produce, quilts, musical instruments, wooden crafts, and other products of indigenous skills. With, in the words of one resident, "the extended family now largely reduced into one unmarried daughter taking care of her mother", residents also hope to develop the markets needed for the jams, jellies, apple butter, and other creations of housebound women.

Several residents are attempting to develop community land trusts, to deter speculation, lower housing costs, diversify the community's agricultural base, and encourage the cooperative development of farm and crafts enterprises. One trust of 1,100 acres, incorporated in February 1984, is now being farmed and is awaiting financing to permit further development.

In addition to generating stable employment, homes, and other tangible benefits, such cooperative efforts may also restore a sense of community, said by one resident to have eroded in recent years. They will require much effort and assistance to succeed, however, in an area where the terrain presents obstacles for development, and the economy has been severely depressed for many years.

## ZAVALA COUNTY, TEXAS

Population: 11,666  
Chief Industries: Services (Mainly Education), Agriculture,  
Manufacturing (Mainly Food Processing)  
Spanish Origin Population: 10,386  
Median Years of School Completed: 5.7  
Percent High School Graduates: 19.4%  
Poverty Rate: 41.8%  
Per Capita Income: \$2,597  
Median Family Income: \$9,016  
Occupied Housing Units: 5,044  
Lacking Complete Plumbing: 945  
Overcrowded, But With Complete Plumbing: 1,233  
Total Substandard: 2,068 (41% of all occupied units)

Near the Mexican border, Zavala County is a traditional home base for many migrant farmworker families. Both at home and in the migrant stream, its predominantly Hispanic people are economically dependent on agriculture and food-related industries. The county is in the Rio Grande Plain region of south Texas, called the "Winter Garden" because of its typical bumper crops of vegetables during winter months. Zavala's county seat, Crystal City, is a processing and shipping center for cattle, vegetables, and cotton. A statue of Popeye in front of city hall still proclaims its past status as the "spinach capital of the world".

Since the late 1940s, the Del Monte Corporation's vegetable processing facility has been in operation about a mile from downtown Crystal City. The county's largest employer, Del Monte also owns and operates a 2,400 acre vegetable farm. The type of employment that Del Monte offers is basically seasonal, and during the off-season summer months its workers join other Zavala residents migrating to the midwest and Rocky Mountain areas to harvest crops. When Del Monte laid off 1,300 workers during the freeze of December 1983, the normal unemployment rate of 23-27% rose to 37%, and the county was declared a national disaster area.

Only a tenth of Zavala's residents are non-Hispanic whites, or "Anglos". The relatively affluent Anglos are also as a group the area's largest landowners. Zavala's reputation as the home of La Raza Unida, a now-defunct Hispanic political effort, has reportedly contributed during the last decade to outmigration of many non-Hispanic white residents. Nevertheless, Zavala's increase during the 1970s of 1,100 Hispanics more than offset the population loss of 700 Anglo residents. Much of the increase was undoubtedly due to the high birth rate of Zavala's Hispanic families, which average more than five members.

Zavala's housing conditions reflect its chronically depressed economy. The environmental health division of the State Health Department recently conducted a survey of Zavala which found that 60% of its housing was substandard according to criteria which included dilapidation, lack of



plumbing, and other housing deficiencies. The director of Community Agency for Self-Help (CASH) comments that "it's amazing that the housing survives the winds that we have occasionally" in the area. CASH provides weatherization services, but finds that many "houses are too far gone" to benefit from the modest improvements weatherization funds can permit.

Public sewer systems are nonexistent in Batesville and La Pryor, the largest communities after Crystal City, and the lots in those areas are considered by housing program staff to be too close together for sanitary septic fields. Most of the streets in La Pryor and a third of those in Batesville are unpaved.

Within the Texas FmHA Service Areas, Zavala ranks highest in delinquencies on FmHA loans, a record which has led to a virtual halt in FmHA loan-making activity. In any case, most residents cannot afford FmHA homeownership loans even with interest subsidy, and the consequent demand for more deeply subsidized rental units is great. However, the County Housing Authority has been inactive for several years. The Crystal City Housing Authority manages about 400 rental assistance units and certificates, but has as many on a waiting list.

Zavala's primary challenge in the 1980s is economic development, particularly the generation of employment opportunities for the migrant farmworkers who are having increasing difficulty finding work in the migrant stream. Not least among the obstacles in accommodating their needs is the adjustment the towns will have to make in providing year-around service to an additional 200-300 families, should they abandon migrant farmwork.

**TABLE I: Population Changes in Rural High Poverty Areas\***

	Case Study Areas					
	1980 Pop. (Minority)	1970 Pop. (Minority)	1960 Pop.	1980 Sbst/Uns.**	1980 Pov.	1970 Pov.
Apache County Arizona	52,108 (Navajo): 30,010	32,298 23,994	30,438	56%	40% <sup>+</sup>	53% <sup>+</sup>
Newton County Searcy County Arkansas	7,725 8,777	5,844 7,731	5,953 8,124	29% 22%	32% 31%	46% 42%
West Feliciana Par. Louisiana	12,186 (Black): 7,061	11,376 7,638	12,395	24%	33%	48%
Mora County New Mexico	4,205 (Sp.Or.): 3,640	4,673 4,410		33%	38% <sup>+</sup>	64% <sup>+</sup>
Shannon County South Dakota	11,323 (Sioux): 10,575	8,198 7,065	6,000	54%	45% <sup>+</sup>	46% <sup>+</sup>
Hancock County Tennessee	6,883	6,719	7,757	34%	43%	63%
Zavala County Texas	11,666 (Sp.Or.): 10,286	11,370 9,275	12,696	41%	39% <sup>+</sup>	49% <sup>+</sup>
<u>Other High Poverty Counties</u>						
Greene County Alabama	11,021 (Black): 8,553	10,560 8,027	13,600	30%	46%	66%
Wade-Hampton County, Alaska	4,665 (Eskimo): 4,420	3,917 3,636	3,128	85%	38%	63%
Quitman County Georgia	2,357 (Black): 1,336	2,160 1,311	2,432	33%	40%	54%
Clay County Owsley County Kentucky	22,752 5,709	18,481 5,023	20,748 5,369	33% 37%	42% 48%	65% 66%
Tunica County Mississippi	9,652 (Black): 7,050	11,854 8,614	15,826	36%	53%	66%

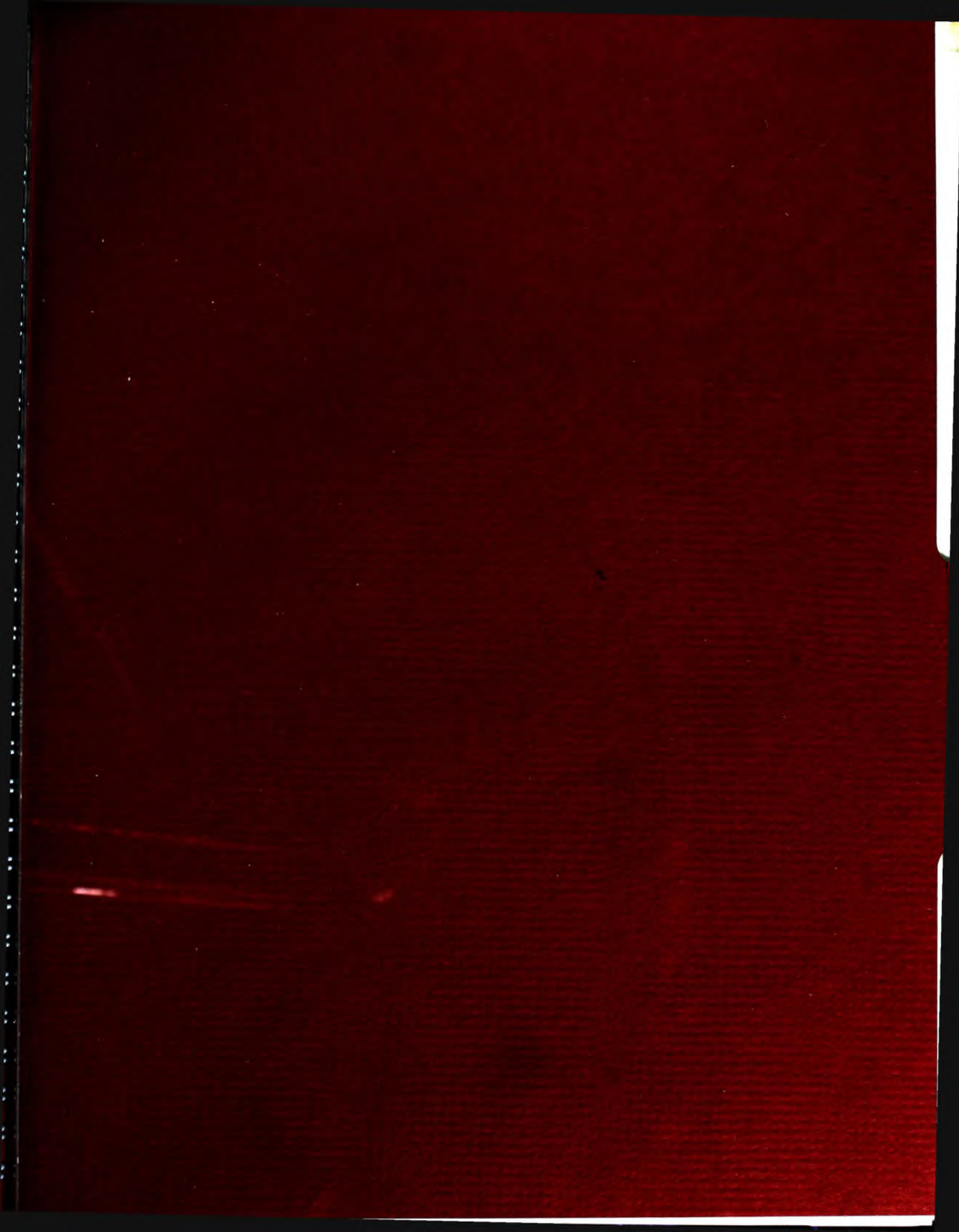
\*Counties were selected on the basis of having high poverty and substandard housing rates.

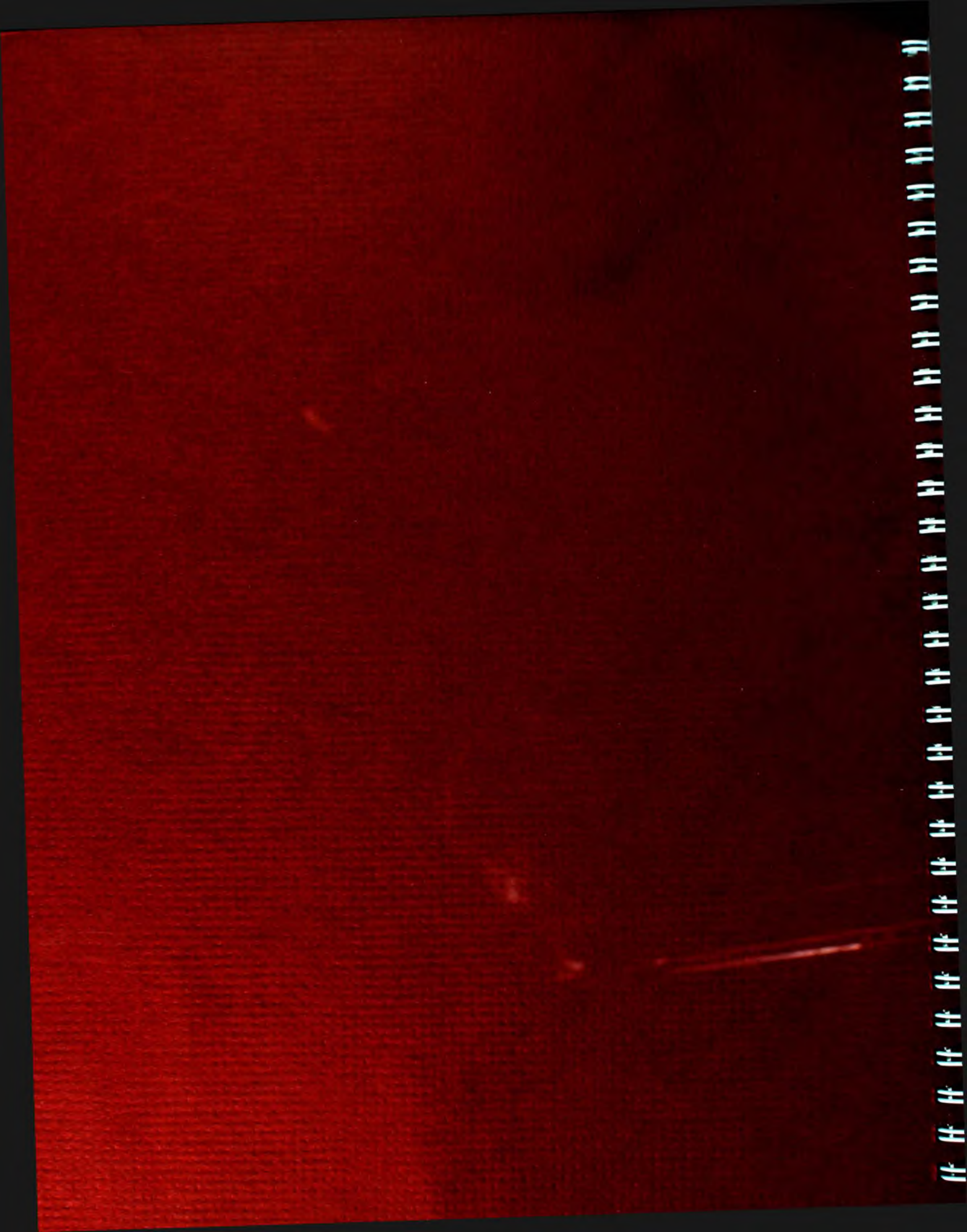
\*\*"Sbst./Uns." = Substandard Units.

+These poverty rates of the total population are lower than those of the minority population, provided in the case studies.

Source: 1980 Census of Population.







## **SUMMARY**

The 1980 Census reveals some positive general trends in the areas of rural poverty and substandard housing conditions, but also their persistence at high levels in certain regions. Specifically, Census data demonstrate the following:

### **Rural Population Growth:**

From 1970-80 the rural population grew by 11%, from nearly 53 million to nearly 59 million.

### **Poverty Persistence:**

Nearly 8 million rural people had incomes below poverty level in 1979. Based on nonmetropolitan trends, it is estimated that the number of rural persons in poverty has increased to at least 13 million in 1983.

The rural poverty rate of 13.2% in 1979 contrasts with a 12.1% urban poverty rate. The rural poverty rate is estimated to have increased to nearly 18% in 1983.

Out of 86 counties in the U.S. with a poverty rate of one third or more, all but one were nonmetropolitan.

Rural poverty is concentrated among minorities and in Appalachia. All the counties with one-third poor were in the Southeast, in black majority communities, in Appalachia, in areas settled by American Indians, Eskimos or Aleuts, in areas with a predominantly Hispanic population, or in the Ozarks. Specifically:

The rural black poverty-level population in 1979 was 1.4 million. Over a third of rural blacks were poor in 1979. Nearly half the black elderly and over half the black female-headed households had incomes below poverty level.

Over half the nation's 1.5 million American Indians lived in rural areas. A third of rural Indians were poor in 1979.

Over 380,000 or more than a fourth of rural Hispanics were poor in 1979.

Most of the rural poor do not receive welfare assistance. Less than a fourth (23%) of rural poverty-level families received public assistance in 1979, whereas over a third (36%) of urban poverty-level households received assistance.

Over half (55.8%) of rural poverty-level families were among the "working poor", with household heads who worked in 1979. This share was a sixth higher than that of urban areas.

Nearly a fifth of the rural poor, as opposed to little more than a tenth of the urban poor, were elderly (over 65).

A fourth of rural poverty-level families were headed by women, with no husband present. The proportion of rural poor families which were female-headed had increased by a third since 1969.

#### Rural Housing Trends:

The number of rural occupied housing units increased by 25% during the 1970s, from 15.9 to 19.8 million.

The number of occupied rural mobile homes increased by 83%, from 1.26 to 2.30 million.

The number of occupied rural units which were substandard (lacking complete plumbing or overcrowded) declined by two-fifths from 2.88 million to 1.67 million.

There were 1.3 million fewer rural occupied units lacking complete plumbing in 1979 than in 1969.

Rural areas continued to have a disproportionate share of inadequate housing and water and sewer facilities. Specifically, with a fourth of the occupied units, they had:

- a third of the substandard units;

- over half of those lacking complete plumbing;

- three-fifths of those with inadequate heating equipment and "uncomfortably cold";

- 94% of the units with no acceptable means of sewage disposal (public sewer, septic tank or cesspool);

- 95% of the units without an acceptable source of water (public system or well).

Units lacking plumbing were concentrated in areas settled by racial minorities and in Appalachia and the Ozarks. Nearly all the nonmetropolitan counties with at least a fifth of the housing stock lacking complete plumbing were in the high

poverty regions, including Appalachia, predominantly black communities of the Deep South, counties which contained Indian reservations or trust land (in Alaska, Arizona, New Mexico, South Dakota), or Southwestern counties which were predominantly Hispanic.

#### Rural Housing Affordability Problems:

In 1979 there were 2.8 million poverty-level rural households. Two-thirds were homeowners.

Rural areas harbored 1.7 million occupied units which were overcrowded or lacked complete plumbing. FmHA Service Areas had 2.2 million such substandard units.

Over 600,000 poverty-level rural households lived in units which were overcrowded or lacked complete plumbing. Two-thirds of these were in the Southern states.

In FmHA Service Areas there were 6.5 million very low-income households, with incomes below 50% of area median. Over a million were estimated to live in units which were overcrowded or lacked complete plumbing.

In general, rural areas in the 1970s gained population and enjoyed a decline in poverty rates. The black population of rural areas and the Deep South continued to decline, but not as rapidly as it had in the 1960s. The rural Hispanic population declined slightly, while the rural American Indian population increased dramatically.

Rural housing lacking complete plumbing declined by half, while the number of overcrowded units increased slightly. The number of mobile homes nearly doubled. Rural homeownership increased, although not significantly if occupant-owned mobile homes on rented sites are discounted. Two-thirds of rural households had water judged unacceptable for at least one major contaminant. The extent to which contaminated water offset the health benefits of increased plumbing is unknown.

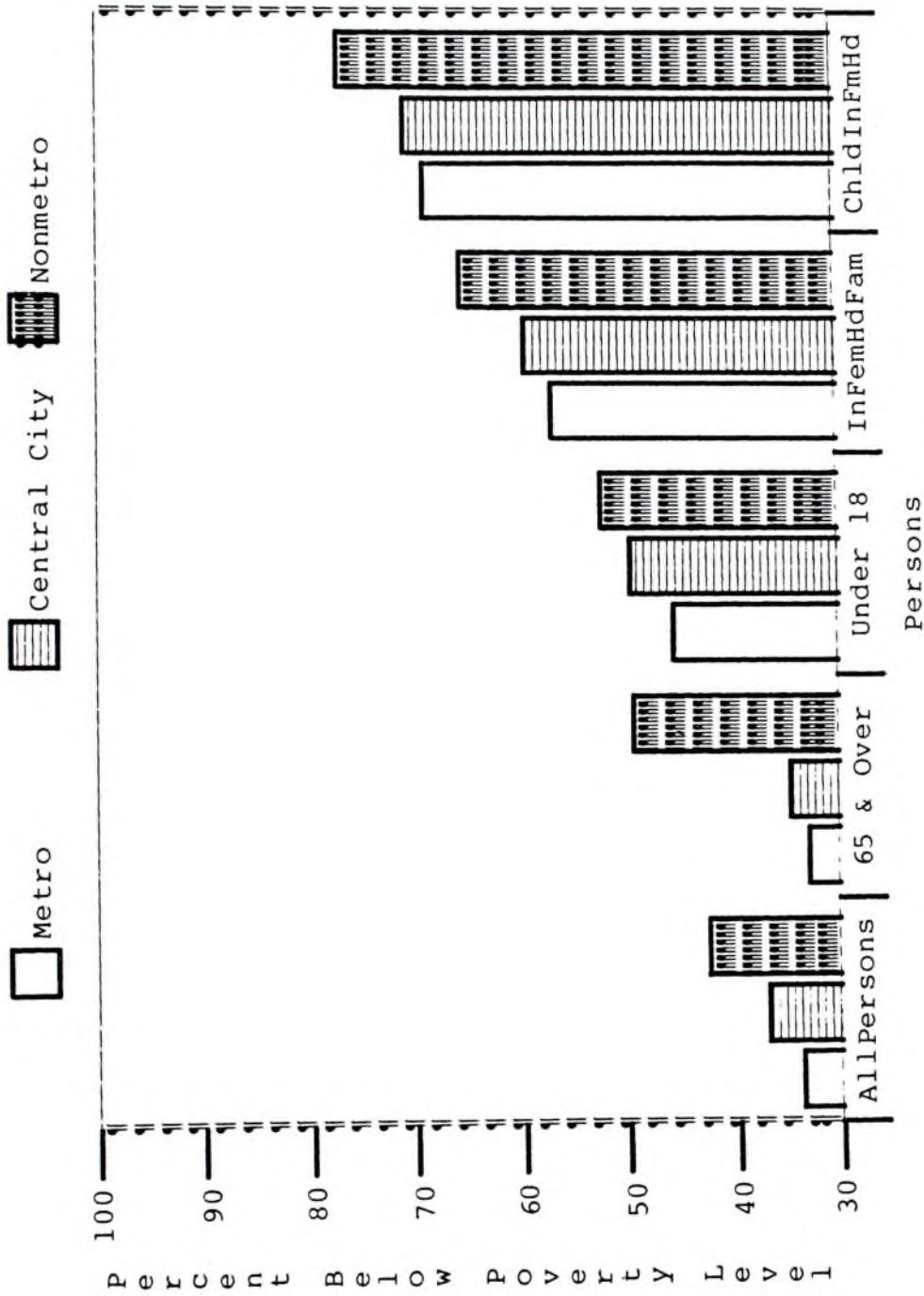
In 1979, rural poverty and substandard housing rates continued to be higher than those of urban areas, and their share of public assistance benefits remained lower. Over half of the heads of rural poverty-level families worked. Over a fifth lived in units which were overcrowded or lacked plumbing.

High poverty rural areas were concentrated in Appalachia, the Ozarks, or regions predominantly settled by minorities, had grown or levelled off in population, and relied for employment chiefly on service and public administration occupations. Agriculture, manufacturing, and mining were other major sources of employment in high poverty areas. Complicated land tenure status of the residents impeded their use of the resources, particularly in obtaining credit for housing or economic development.



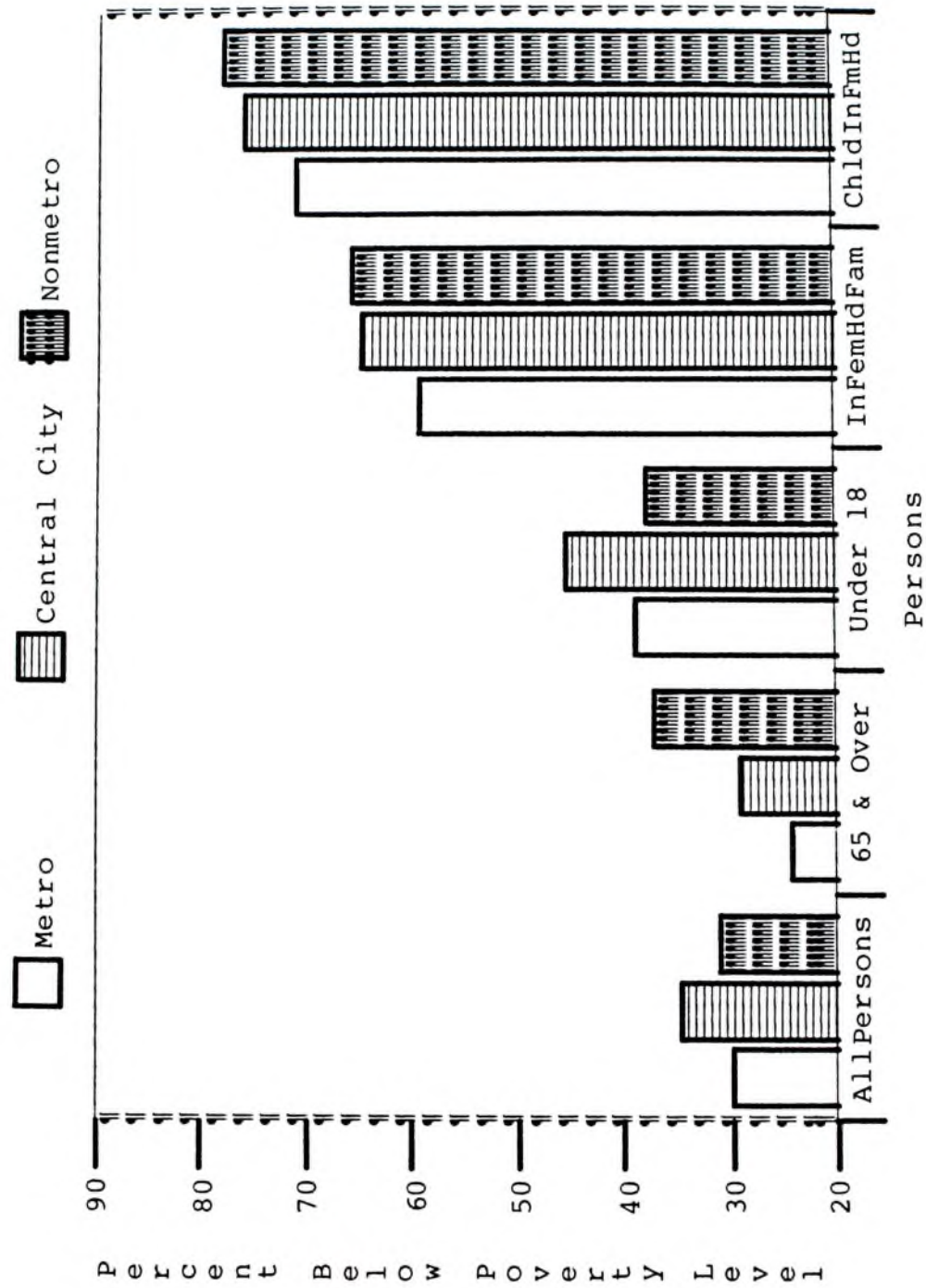


FIGURE A: Poverty Rates for Black Persons, 1982



SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1982, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 144, March 1984.

FIGURE B: Poverty Rates for Hispanic Persons, 1982



SOURCE: See FIGURE A.

**TABLE 1: Poverty Status of Persons, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980**

	State			Urban			Rural					
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Under 18	Over 65	Un Public Assistance	
Alabama	3,813,014	719,905	18.6	2,267,031	407,108	18.0	1,545,983	312,797	20.2	117,951	59,787	7,863
Alaska	387,222	41,615	10.7	248,153	18,786	7.6	139,069	2,282	1.6	891	93	3,977
Arizona	2,664,821	351,365	13.2	2,234,772	259,517	11.6	430,049	91,848	21.4	39,482	7,987	19,693
Arkansas	2,234,514	423,552	19.0	1,137,580	203,086	17.9	1,096,934	220,466	20.1	78,207	46,372	49,071
Calif	23,106,594	2,626,580	11.4	21,117,859	2,402,389	11.4	1,988,735	224,191	11.3	80,735	19,072	36,953
Colorado	2,813,861	284,898	10.1	2,259,515	222,346	9.8	554,346	62,552	11.3	21,063	7,054	7,315
Conn	3,022,777	242,650	8.0	2,376,093	215,153	9.1	646,684	27,497	4.3	8,762	3,926	2,698
Delaware	577,145	68,408	11.9	406,077	46,563	11.5	171,068	21,845	12.8	8,355	4,209	2,910
Florida	9,560,546	1,287,056	13.5	8,062,311	1,047,765	13.0	1,498,235	239,291	16.0	83,400	36,440	36,777
Georgia	5,318,410	884,383	16.6	3,293,248	541,542	16.4	2,025,162	342,841	16.9	130,948	58,008	79,135
Hawaii	927,032	91,618	9.8	799,812	75,903	9.5	127,220	15,715	12.4	5,653	1,625	4,117
Idaho	926,257	116,808	12.6	495,638	58,337	11.8	430,619	58,471	13.6	23,355	6,793	5,994
Illinois	11,166,068	1,230,541	11.0	9,279,083	1,066,819	11.5	1,886,985	163,722	8.7	54,938	28,673	22,007
Indiana	5,341,438	516,190	9.7	3,397,810	360,817	10.6	1,943,628	155,373	8.0	56,275	24,256	15,732
Iowa	2,820,271	286,173	10.2	1,631,606	150,899	9.2	1,188,665	135,274	11.4	48,364	22,336	14,496
Kansas	2,283,468	231,718	10.1	1,517,150	148,441	9.8	766,318	83,277	10.9	139,615	17,590	6,887
Kentucky	3,559,034	626,240	17.6	1,775,733	252,235	14.2	1,783,301	374,005	21.0	139,615	53,239	9,340
Louisiana	4,104,836	764,848	18.6	2,808,055	512,477	18.2	1,296,781	252,401	19.5	96,933	44,105	65,466
Maine	1,087,369	140,996	12.9	506,553	62,573	12.4	580,816	78,423	13.5	28,707	11,660	17,302
Maryland	4,118,381	404,560	9.8	3,309,137	333,321	10.1	809,244	71,239	8.8	23,939	12,094	11,703
Mass	5,550,330	532,458	9.6	4,638,319	475,661	10.3	912,011	56,797	6.2	20,107	7,521	11,403
Michigan	9,057,409	945,915	10.4	6,384,104	705,787	11.1	2,673,305	240,128	9.0	88,863	33,706	56,193
Minnesota	3,960,608	374,956	9.4	2,631,080	205,473	7.8	1,329,528	169,483	12.7	61,086	30,535	16,199
Miss	2,455,065	587,450	24.0	1,150,483	242,928	21.1	1,304,582	344,522	26.4	143,986	59,869	104,947
Missouri	4,787,950	582,252	12.2	3,240,163	358,348	11.1	1,547,787	223,904	14.5	73,693	47,387	37,320
Montana	767,251	94,280	12.3	400,906	43,006	10.7	366,345	51,274	14.0	19,095	5,805	5,966
Nebraska	1,522,776	163,326	10.7	951,193	84,392	8.9	571,583	78,934	13.8	27,031	14,511	4,891
Nevada	789,015	68,657	8.7	673,873	58,225	8.6	115,142	10,432	9.1	3,236	1,141	758
New Hamp	891,649	75,364	8.4	457,644	41,685	9.1	434,005	33,679	7.8	11,080	4,845	4,224
New Jers	7,231,599	689,491	9.5	6,444,793	637,399	9.9	786,806	52,092	6.6	18,546	7,061	9,254
New Mex	1,280,599	225,513	17.6	921,739	139,702	15.2	358,860	85,811	23.9	36,262	9,592	19,340
New York	17,129,692	2,298,922	13.4	14,490,935	2,045,046	14.1	2,638,757	253,876	9.6	93,173	30,853	39,000
North Car	5,682,948	839,950	14.8	2,665,298	386,594	14.5	3,017,650	453,356	15.0	157,887	82,286	89,884
North Dak	627,325	79,324	12.6	298,149	26,477	8.9	329,176	52,847	16.1	19,735	8,347	4,606
Ohio	10,567,858	1,088,962	10.3	7,734,116	847,686	11.0	2,833,742	241,276	8.5	92,092	34,633	48,270
Oklahoma	2,933,277	393,866	13.4	1,956,135	244,853	12.5	977,142	149,013	15.2	50,684	31,182	25,870
Oregon	2,573,423	274,159	10.7	1,737,374	188,042	10.8	836,049	86,117	10.3	28,848	10,701	12,181
Penn	11,571,604	1,209,819	10.4	8,001,908	905,948	11.3	3,569,696	303,871	8.5	111,051	45,329	54,285
Rhode Isl	914,026	93,959	10.3	794,089	85,270	10.7	119,937	8,689	7.2	2,645	1,095	1,426
South Car	3,013,707	500,363	16.6	1,602,591	243,202	15.2	1,411,116	257,161	18.2	101,520	37,409	67,134
South Dak	665,829	112,739	16.9	303,150	34,067	11.2	362,679	78,672	21.7	30,849	10,852	8,596
Tennessee	4,476,470	736,471	16.5	2,676,346	427,858	16.0	1,800,124	308,613	17.1	105,126	60,731	65,268
Texas	13,884,654	2,035,873	14.7	11,038,353	1,591,949	14.4	2,846,301	443,924	15.6	163,182	85,859	74,099
Utah	1,436,468	148,005	10.3	1,209,433	120,447	10.0	227,035	27,558	12.1	12,823	3,304	3,266
Vermont	469,939	59,059	12.6	160,674	19,184	11.9	329,265	39,875	12.1	14,154	4,877	7,561
Virginia	5,164,784	611,310	11.8	3,374,999	367,899	10.9	1,789,785	243,411	13.6	83,122	44,539	40,803
Washington	4,020,181	395,601	9.8	2,940,017	291,486	9.9	1,080,164	104,115	9.6	37,402	11,143	17,578
West Vir	1,914,081	286,995	15.0	684,574	84,841	12.4	1,229,507	202,154	16.4	75,619	28,258	48,519
Wisconsin	4,582,005	397,813	8.7	2,919,248	248,096	8.5	1,662,757	149,717	9.0	55,980	23,361	19,832
Wyoming	459,732	36,268	7.9	285,738	20,353	7.1	173,994	15,915	9.1	5,787	1,833	1,029
Total*	220,235,312	27,279,224	12.4	161,690,640	19,557,951	12.1	58,544,672	7,721,273	13.2	2,826,471	1,243,426	1,661,028

TABLE 2: Poverty Status of Families, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural						
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty		Female With Children Under 18	Householder Worked In 1979	
									Public Assistance	Householder Worked In 1979			
Alabama	1,042,571	154,272	13.6	616,099	83,968	13.6	426,472	70,304	16.5	20,693	3,398	18,577	15,379
Alaska	96,840	8,319	6.3	6,384	3,998	6.3	3,291	4,321	13.1	947	2,708	990	905
Arizona	709,912	67,577	8.3	598,433	49,491	8.3	111,479	18,086	16.2	4,386	9,171	4,580	3,924
Arkansas	628,006	93,572	13.3	315,210	41,946	13.3	312,796	51,626	16.5	13,784	25,778	10,219	8,455
Calif	5,978,084	521,138	8.7	5,427,914	473,201	8.7	550,170	479,377	8.7	10,351	28,002	12,682	11,702
Colorado	744,228	54,728	6.9	592,680	41,117	6.9	151,548	136,111	9.0	2,090	9,330	2,950	2,632
Conn	818,187	50,809	7.1	641,006	45,330	7.1	177,181	54,759	3.1	796	3,055	2,011	1,826
Delaware	155,073	13,776	8.5	107,664	9,175	8.5	47,409	46,011	9.7	11,477	28,791	16,466	15,166
Florida	2,706,485	268,262	9.5	2,274,090	215,790	9.5	432,395	52,472	12.1	10,273	27,424	14,392	12,670
Georgia	1,432,331	189,007	12.9	874,922	112,663	12.9	557,409	76,334	13.7	20,825	40,593	21,130	17,550
Hawaii	227,974	17,700	7.5	196,741	14,750	7.5	312,333	29,500	9.4	11,044	15,144	11,077	10,266
Idaho	248,258	23,883	8.4	132,397	11,100	8.4	115,861	12,783	11.0	1,590	9,041	2,481	2,293
Illinois	2,945,108	247,448	8.7	2,415,323	210,637	8.7	529,785	36,811	6.9	6,379	22,655	8,689	7,541
Indiana	1,461,645	107,415	8.0	917,992	73,012	8.0	543,653	34,403	6.3	4,346	22,884	7,292	6,347
Iowa	773,311	58,265	6.2	440,686	27,356	6.2	332,625	30,909	9.3	4,038	22,099	4,576	3,920
Kansas	638,387	47,088	6.6	416,647	27,615	6.6	221,740	19,473	8.8	2,062	13,549	2,925	2,441
Kentucky	986,495	143,667	11.1	486,275	53,847	11.1	500,220	89,820	18.0	25,520	44,710	17,689	13,961
Louisiana	1,074,479	162,550	14.6	731,372	106,651	14.6	343,107	55,899	16.3	17,093	24,870	15,600	13,266
Maine	295,488	28,855	8.8	135,855	11,971	8.8	159,633	16,884	10.6	4,793	9,990	4,672	4,184
Maryland	1,094,386	82,012	7.7	874,282	67,436	7.7	220,104	14,576	6.6	3,189	8,075	4,426	3,682
Mass	1,444,985	110,038	8.2	1,197,395	97,853	8.2	247,590	12,185	4.9	3,354	6,884	4,975	4,565
Michigan	2,404,910	198,391	8.7	1,675,403	145,221	8.7	729,507	53,170	7.3	15,874	28,724	16,270	14,838
Minnesota	1,043,532	73,356	5.2	684,045	35,584	5.2	359,487	37,772	10.5	4,402	26,021	4,982	4,179
Miss	645,453	120,618	16.1	303,083	48,874	16.1	342,370	71,744	21.0	25,107	35,867	20,513	17,708
Missouri	1,316,955	119,835	7.8	873,279	67,901	7.8	443,676	51,934	11.7	10,849	30,030	8,704	7,215
Montana	207,525	19,019	7.4	106,914	7,864	7.4	100,611	11,155	11.1	1,591	7,896	2,474	2,208
Nebraska	414,503	33,340	6.0	252,769	15,110	6.0	161,734	18,230	11.3	1,378	13,522	2,055	1,667
Nevada	239,647	13,132	6.2	177,148	11,035	6.2	31,786	20,977	6.6	221	1,377	563	513
New Hamp	1,471,515	121,131	6.4	121,131	6,998	6.4	118,516	6,998	5.9	1,239	4,393	1,329	1,329
New Jers	1,942,108	147,975	7.9	1,727,339	136,975	7.9	214,769	11,000	5.1	2,629	5,862	4,129	3,622
New Mex	334,917	46,828	11.8	244,034	28,733	11.8	90,883	18,095	19.9	4,638	9,098	4,717	4,007
New York	4,468,031	483,340	11.5	3,760,624	432,063	11.5	707,407	51,277	7.2	10,456	31,142	14,858	13,242
North Car	1,583,490	183,146	10.9	731,700	79,769	10.9	851,790	103,377	12.1	24,968	56,398	30,240	24,420
North Dak	168,418	16,449	6.0	78,542	4,674	6.0	89,876	11,775	13.1	1,222	8,662	1,461	1,195
Ohio	2,863,947	228,380	8.4	2,082,140	174,740	8.4	781,807	53,640	6.9	13,117	30,441	13,498	11,811
Oklahoma	830,508	85,824	9.3	549,035	50,973	9.3	281,472	34,851	12.4	7,447	18,428	7,257	6,256
Oregon	703,728	54,172	7.5	466,306	35,161	7.5	237,423	19,011	8.0	3,604	11,432	4,981	4,548
Penn	3,147,809	244,686	8.4	2,154,703	180,215	8.4	993,106	64,471	6.5	14,832	35,803	17,666	15,154
Rhode Isl	246,342	19,057	8.2	214,266	17,528	8.2	32,076	15,299	4.8	403	910	615	577
South Car	809,974	105,727	11.7	432,427	50,705	11.7	377,547	55,022	14.6	16,700	27,717	19,019	16,010
South Dak	178,756	23,335	7.5	80,115	6,010	7.5	98,641	17,325	17.6	2,193	12,641	2,602	2,228
Tennessee	1,252,226	163,505	12.1	735,786	89,320	12.1	516,440	74,185	14.4	18,595	37,808	14,955	11,612
Texas	3,696,656	412,076	10.9	2,896,540	314,627	10.9	800,116	97,449	12.2	19,655	55,226	18,304	14,994
Utah	354,171	27,133	7.3	298,231	21,787	7.3	55,940	5,346	9.6	744	3,565	1,040	977
Vermont	129,036	11,494	8.0	40,969	3,273	8.0	88,067	8,221	9.3	2,124	5,363	2,401	2,179
Virginia	1,404,745	128,974	8.3	907,728	75,146	8.3	497,017	53,828	10.8	12,823	27,422	15,034	11,676
Washington	1,086,319	78,194	7.0	784,101	55,056	7.0	302,218	23,138	7.7	5,125	14,457	6,983	6,498
West Vir	531,248	62,268	8.7	190,866	16,674	8.7	340,382	45,594	13.4	13,078	20,202	11,503	9,191
Wisconsin	1,215,023	77,140	5.9	767,612	45,153	5.9	447,411	31,987	7.1	5,317	21,346	6,426	5,664
Wyoming	123,420	7,218	4.8	76,430	3,642	4.8	46,990	3,576	7.6	289	2,676	711	656
Total*	59,054,564	5,649,708	9.2	42,870,098	3,940,437	9.2	16,184,466	1,709,271	10.6	399,410	953,621	419,827	356,706

TABLE 3: Poverty Status of Unrelated Individuals, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural					
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty On Public Assis	Worked in 1979	Over 65 Yrs	
												Poverty Rate (%)
Alabama	351,163	135,873	38.7	253,396	89,919	35.5	97,767	45,954	47.0	14,945	8015	27,664
Alaska	54,759	10,379	18.9	37,459	5725	15.3	17,300	4654	26.9	266	2629	349
Arizona	345,473	88,004	25.5	311,893	77,290	24.8	33,580	10,714	31.9	1311	3805	3306
Arkansas	219,629	85,625	39.0	141,819	49,204	34.7	77,810	36,421	46.8	11,152	6799	22,134
California	3,726,439	735,311	19.7	3,507,692	682,304	19.5	218,747	53,007	24.2	4106	26,300	9507
Colorado	438,171	96,633	22.1	378,103	81,772	21.6	60,068	14,861	24.7	1741	7965	4114
Connecticut	359,007	67,733	18.9	304,439	58,801	19.3	54,568	8932	16.4	497	4269	2611
Delaware	68,660	18,334	26.6	52,158	13,393	25.7	16,502	4941	29.9	836	1786	1963
Florida	1,353,146	356,479	26.3	1,207,424	305,276	25.3	145,722	51,203	35.1	7556	16,725	19,024
Georgia	549,371	176,023	31.9	419,233	123,226	29.4	130,138	52,797	40.6	14,193	12,320	28,482
Hawaii	107,787	24,775	22.9	92,397	20,077	21.7	15,390	4698	30.5	648	2237	1046
Idaho	102,798	30,450	29.6	69,130	20,180	29.2	33,668	10,270	30.5	987	4128	3592
Illinois	1,381,081	311,377	22.5	1,236,257	274,581	22.2	144,824	36,796	25.4	4933	12,108	17,443
Indiana	575,941	135,123	23.5	448,248	104,434	23.3	127,693	30,689	24.0	3210	9686	14,589
Iowa	345,259	84,659	24.5	247,132	60,349	24.4	98,127	24,310	24.8	3534	7487	14,046
Kansas	286,302	72,460	25.3	220,335	54,296	24.6	65,967	18,164	27.5	2287	5639	10,617
Kentucky	332,182	111,525	33.6	224,663	65,871	29.3	107,519	45,654	42.5	11,418	10,251	23,642
Louisiana	412,235	141,047	34.2	326,285	102,892	31.5	85,950	38,155	44.4	12,530	6871	20,676
Maine	132,356	39,360	29.7	76,294	21,807	28.6	56,062	17,553	31.3	3652	5871	7325
Maryland	499,078	110,588	22.1	436,721	92,793	21.2	62,357	17,795	28.5	2650	5667	7078
Massachusetts	768,834	158,891	20.7	687,910	143,535	20.9	80,924	15,356	19.0	1343	6876	4638
Michigan	1,045,526	252,079	24.1	842,959	199,934	23.7	202,567	52,145	25.7	9062	18,073	20,324
Minnesota	528,712	121,999	23.1	425,577	91,462	21.5	103,135	30,537	29.6	4053	9463	17,116
Mississippi	215,965	90,683	42.0	128,971	46,401	36.0	86,994	44,282	50.9	15,016	7992	26,909
Missouri	579,291	159,899	27.6	455,565	114,695	25.2	123,726	45,204	36.5	11,350	10,106	26,660
Montana	99,460	26,945	27.1	66,221	17,479	26.4	33,239	9466	28.5	872	4213	3529
Nebraska	193,718	47,919	24.8	143,797	33,729	23.5	49,921	14,190	28.4	1562	4268	8731
Nevada	136,045	24,369	17.9	121,885	21,137	17.3	14,160	3232	22.8	318	1487	678
New Hampshire	113,377	26,385	23.3	69,274	16,591	23.9	44,103	9794	22.2	1062	4422	3254
New Jersey	771,550	159,279	20.7	704,719	145,913	20.7	66,831	13,366	20.0	1399	4889	4381
New Mexico	138,495	41,895	30.2	111,979	31,509	28.1	26,516	10,386	39.2	2006	3221	3914
New York	2,384,257	579,533	24.3	2,142,616	516,802	24.1	241,641	62,731	26.0	9065	23,599	19,498
North Carolina	565,294	182,748	32.3	349,405	101,921	29.2	215,889	80,827	37.4	15,776	22,755	40,990
North Dakota	76,208	19,909	26.1	47,240	11,421	24.2	28,968	8488	29.3	1158	2717	4795
Ohio	1,189,827	288,207	24.2	1,012,820	244,493	24.1	177,007	43,714	24.7	7215	11,911	19,902
Oklahoma	336,586	102,150	30.4	266,164	73,632	27.7	70,422	28,518	40.5	7742	5463	17,487
Oregon	494,625	97,043	19.6	316,457	75,102	23.7	78,168	21,941	28.1	2393	9924	6105
Pennsylvania	1,332,361	343,586	25.8	1,065,768	275,428	25.8	266,593	68,158	25.6	12,559	18,546	28,730
Rhode Island	113,445	30,364	26.8	101,560	27,081	26.7	11,885	3283	27.6	229	1952	762
South Carolina	267,546	88,948	33.2	178,389	52,862	29.6	89,157	36,086	40.5	8563	8179	18,726
South Dakota	81,220	25,178	31.0	49,790	14,464	29.1	31,430	10,714	34.1	1401	3504	5857
Tennessee	439,000	149,521	34.0	326,860	101,303	31.0	112,140	48,218	43.0	12,333	10,544	27,311
Texas	1,562,319	424,715	27.2	1,355,452	348,285	25.7	206,867	76,430	36.9	18,085	18,959	43,654
Utah	140,263	42,527	30.3	128,293	38,435	30.0	11,970	4092	34.2	363	1421	1881
Vermont	68,471	19,009	27.8	29,742	8417	28.3	38,729	10,592	27.3	1750	5122	3186
Virginia	608,452	150,768	24.8	476,540	103,594	21.7	131,912	47,174	35.8	8158	13,427	22,904
Washington	611,816	136,798	22.4	510,682	111,978	21.9	101,134	24,820	24.5	3061	11,045	6834
West Virginia	183,808	61,327	33.4	95,701	28,233	29.5	88,107	33,094	37.6	7255	7023	14,652
Wisconsin	573,383	125,655	21.9	447,147	95,165	21.3	126,236	30,490	24.2	3147	10,919	13,583
Wyoming	57,951	11,987	20.7	41,737	8807	21.1	15,854	3180	20.1	231	1672	1065
Total *	27,218,282	6,822,074	25.0	22,692,298	5,403,998	23.8	4,525,984	1,418,076	31.3	270,979	424,250	657,254

TABLE 4: Poverty Status of Black Persons, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State				Urban			Rural			
	Total	In Poverty	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty Under 18	Over 65	On Public Assistance
Alabama	971,436	374,145	673,455	244,063	36.2	297,981	130,082	43.7	60834	18089	52177
Alaska	11946	1305	11062	1246	11.3	884	59	6.7	7	3	0
Arizona	70139	18950	66601	18114	27.2	3538	836	23.6	376	112	153
Arkansas	362,493	154,741	237,715	96187	40.5	124,778	58554	46.9	26658	9839	23455
Calif	1,750,502	393,478	1,724,740	388,040	22.5	25762	5438	21.1	1934	769	1560
Colorado	95621	20462	94564	20378	21.5	1057	84	7.9	20	7	8
Conn	209,931	53353	204,686	52988	25.9	5245	365	11.2	365	57	25
Delaware	92615	25595	67473	18931	28.1	25142	6664	26.5	3058	665	2121
Florida	1,306,615	453,275	1,152,707	388,454	33.7	153,908	64821	42.1	28171	7582	20056
Georgia	1,417,153	483,743	1,037,327	343,319	33.1	379,826	140,424	37.0	65189	16908	52473
Hawaii	12980	2104	12479	2025	16.2	501	79	15.8	26	9	0
Idaho	2448	521	2147	470	21.9	301	51	16.9	3	1	0
Illinois	1,634,118	492,859	1,617,457	486,841	30.1	16661	6018	36.1	2667	850	2103
Indiana	401,483	96777	396,133	95618	24.1	5350	1159	21.7	178	171	120
Iowa	39740	11195	38961	11100	28.5	779	95	12.2	23	182	5
Kansas	116,909	31452	113,114	30408	26.9	3795	1044	27.5	424	82	19
Kentucky	243,463	80408	206,937	68143	32.9	36526	12265	33.6	4305	1926	4171
Louisiana	1,203,114	456,909	913,892	333,667	36.5	289,222	123,242	42.6	55106	17161	47464
Maine	2806	437	2049	326	15.9	757	111	14.7	44	14	5
Maryland	929,993	198,493	835,370	178,391	21.4	94623	20102	21.2	7550	2984	5711
Mass	211,178	53458	204,826	52684	25.7	6352	774	12.2	73	73	208
Michigan	1,166,055	300,639	1,140,062	294,618	25.8	25943	6021	23.2	2474	980	2066
Minnesota	50016	13325	49365	13185	26.7	651	140	21.5	59	13	6
Miss	864,258	383,971	405,821	164,788	40.6	458,437	219,183	47.8	106141	27698	89907
Missouri	497,872	137,226	479,451	129,845	27.1	18421	7381	40.1	3543	1088	3738
Montana	1448	368	1270	336	26.5	178	32	18.0	15	2	0
Nebraska	45900	13315	45386	13207	29.1	514	108	21.0	35	0	9
Nevada	50047	10227	49564	10157	20.5	483	70	14.5	45	4	37
New Hamp	3754	638	3019	574	19.0	735	64	8.7	15	14	3
New Jers	899,889	233,615	866,007	227,157	26.2	33882	6458	19.1	2962	702	2234
New Mex	21517	6312	20320	6137	30.2	1197	175	14.6	62	32	35
New York	2,342,447	662,779	2,318,981	658,123	28.4	23466	4656	19.8	1581	385	836
North Car	1,262,615	383,732	704,801	208,352	29.6	557,814	175,380	31.4	75127	21318	55303
North Dak	1909	251	1744	218	12.5	165	33	20.0	12	4	6
Ohio	1,046,013	282,569	1,024,955	279,916	27.3	21058	2653	12.6	1030	459	716
Oklahoma	193,351	58268	172,223	50392	29.3	21128	7876	37.3	3141	1816	3030
Oregon	36175	10232	24865	9875	28.3	1310	357	27.3	99	5	6
Penn	1,013,990	302,609	993,869	298,905	30.1	20121	3704	18.4	1357	408	1070
Rhode Isl	25969	8055	25658	7995	31.2	311	60	19.3	17	6	43
South Car	917,968	304,601	457,889	145,421	31.8	460,079	159,180	34.6	71543	17552	57363
South Dak	1799	312	1402	250	17.8	397	62	15.6	20	0	0
Tennessee	701,578	239,713	602,359	204,409	33.9	99219	35304	35.6	14496	6365	14118
Texas	1,640,175	453,267	1,452,889	381,238	26.2	187,286	72029	38.5	27529	15881	23351
Utah	9198	2707	8879	2599	29.3	319	108	33.9	26	1	0
Vermont	1028	163	488	66	13.5	540	97	18.0	47	13	0
Virginia	964,724	251,393	665,839	171,632	25.8	298,885	79761	26.7	31760	11838	21869
Washington	97070	20284	94018	19841	21.1	3052	443	14.5	151	30	73
West Vir	61953	16697	37120	10097	27.2	24833	6600	26.6	2606	936	1975
Wisconsin	177,023	51018	175,635	50712	28.9	1388	306	22.0	123	20	9
Wyoming	2992	647	2865	608	21.2	127	39	30.7	24	12	0
Total	25,185,416	7,552,593	21,450,439	6,192,046	28.9	3,734,927	1,360,547	36.4	603,097	184,902	489,828

TABLE 5: Poverty Status of Black Families, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural			Female-headed		
	Total	In Poverty	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	On Public Assistance	Householder Worked in 1979	Total	W/children under 18	
												W/children under 18
Alabama	224,554	76,195	159,612	50,976	31.9	64,942	25,219	11,343	10,922	111,51	9,739	3816
Alaska	3270	301	3064	291	9.5	206	10	0	10	0	0	0
Arizona	17,209	3,888	16,386	3,740	22.8	823	148	33	94	45	45	15
Arkansas	82,734	30,697	55,036	19,285	35.0	27,698	11,412	5,224	5,035	43,30	3,866	1,442
California	430,983	88,816	424,474	87,626	20.6	65,09	11,90	4,59	414	444	382	119
Colorado	242,55	45,27	239,74	45,23	18.9	281	4	2	4	0	0	0
Connecticut	50,788	12,009	49,450	11,961	24.2	13,38	48	8	11	31	26	0
Delaware	22,010	5,523	16,416	4,222	25.7	5,594	1,301	505	759	713	701	384
Florida	304,465	94,887	271,052	82,312	30.4	33,413	12,575	4,697	6,230	65,00	5,906	2,921
Georgia	332,718	101,053	248,880	73,452	29.5	83,838	27,601	11,457	14,087	119,67	10,478	5,248
Hawaii	3,774	434	3,630	423	11.7	144	11	0	11	0	0	0
Idaho	541	72	492	70	14.2	49	2	0	1	0	0	0
Illinois	376,015	101,638	372,244	100,531	27.0	37,71	11,07	4,96	417	608	560	215
Indiana	96,781	20,574	95,614	20,460	21.4	11,67	114	35	49	32	25	21
Iowa	95,39	2,295	93,68	2,284	24.4	1,71	11	2	9	0	0	0
Kansas	289,23	6,695	279,39	6,478	23.2	984	217	51	141	54	52	25
Kentucky	59,181	17,135	50,238	14,624	29.1	8,943	2,511	1,078	1,177	1,160	959	439
Louisiana	279,597	95,213	215,023	70,243	32.7	64,574	24,970	10,763	10,355	104,22	9,106	3,483
Maine	759	81	56	56	10.0	200	25	2	17	13	13	13
Maryland	223,933	41,497	202,426	37,791	18.7	21,507	3,706	1,373	1,745	18,23	1,532	850
Mass	505,72	120,24	489,04	118,79	24.3	16,68	145	59	58	86	78	19
Michigan	279,680	65,637	273,293	64,445	23.6	6,387	1,192	534	375	542	487	149
Minnesota	115,48	27,11	11,424	2,691	23.6	1,24	20	1	10	0	0	0
Mississippi	189,431	73,790	91,843	32,469	35.4	9,758	4,132	1,857	2,085	15,998	14,284	6,792
Missouri	117,129	27,095	112,945	25,720	22.8	4,184	1,375	818	622	679	601	251
Montana	364	76	352	74	21.0	12	2	0	0	2	0	0
Nebraska	113,32	2,973	114	2,955	26.3	114	18	2	18	6	6	6
Nevada	11,702	2,121	11,584	2,108	18.2	118	13	6	13	0	0	0
New Hamp	936	112	751	107	14.2	185	5	1	5	1	1	1
New Jersey	216,479	50,999	208,254	49,666	23.8	8,225	1,333	573	659	770	717	382
New Mexico	52,71	13,79	4,955	1,324	26.7	316	55	12	21	23	16	0
New York	565,644	145,357	560,441	144,647	25.8	5,203	710	207	429	318	285	189
North Car	304,562	82,554	174,484	45,612	26.1	130,078	36,942	13,105	19,793	160,25	13,564	7,551
North Dak	536	56	480	49	10.2	56	7	2	5	0	0	0
Ohio	261,197	62,916	255,774	62,392	24.4	5,423	524	186	211	225	203	85
Oklahoma	478,72	125,22	4,2800	10,947	25.6	5,072	1,575	752	573	663	589	227
Oregon	86,20	21,24	8,357	2,093	25.0	263	31	2	21	12	12	12
Penn	245,023	64,653	240,067	64,018	26.7	4,956	635	291	195	386	337	112
Rhode Isl	64,27	18,42	6,363	1,828	28.7	64	14	9	5	9	9	0
South Car	210,266	62,819	108,428	30,730	28.3	101,838	32,089	12,691	15,117	143,38	12,306	5,720
South Dak	486	54	382	47	12.3	104	7	0	7	0	0	0
Tennessee	167,348	50,071	144,380	42,861	29.7	22,968	7,210	3,291	3,163	27,05	2,212	1,059
Texas	397,856	96,100	353,753	81,176	22.9	44,103	14,924	5,882	6,060	58,32	4,895	2,355
Utah	201,2	364	1,941	357	16.4	71	7	0	6	0	0	0
Vermont	197	16	86	7	8.1	111	9	0	6	2	2	2
Virginia	236,825	53,902	166,400	37,687	22.6	70,425	16,215	5,207	8,017	69,24	5,626	2,916
Washington	242,77	41,94	235,30	41,25	17.5	747	69	26	48	15	15	9
West Vir	152,36	32,68	9,250	1,963	21.2	5,986	1,305	489	383	793	703	229
Wisconsin	417,43	115,32	414,50	114,94	27.7	293	38	2	25	20	18	9
Wyoming	683	96	665	96	14.4	18	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total*	6,003,283	1,596,887	5,160,431	1,326,915	25.7	842,852	269,972	110,252	128,185	115,667	100,356	47,066



TABLE 6: Poverty Status of Black Unrelated Individuals, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1979

	State			Urban			Rural					
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty Assis	Worked in 1979	Over 65 yrs	
Alabama	86317	47044	54.5	66155	34188	51.7	20162	12856	63.8	5350	2265	7656
Alaska	1556	256	16.4	1370	214	15.6	186	42	22.6	5	17	3
Arizona	10123	4237	41.8	9683	4065	42.0	440	172	39.1	42	42	67
Arkansas	36108	21317	58.8	25378	13988	55.1	10730	7329	68.3	3074	1387	4495
California	283,829	75831	26.7	280,334	74558	26.6	3495	1273	36.4	256	371	325
Colorado	14962	4139	27.6	14806	4081	27.6	156	58	37.2	8	42	7
Connecticut	27854	8921	32.1	27291	8753	32.1	563	168	29.8	22	114	45
Delaware	11231	4230	37.7	8706	3030	34.8	2525	1200	47.5	282	381	480
Florida	157,274	74355	47.3	139,073	63183	45.4	18201	11172	61.4	2452	3918	3685
Georgia	142,806	67423	47.2	118,808	53269	44.8	23998	14154	59.0	4985	3620	7204
Hawaii	1777	380	21.4	1660	338	20.4	117	42	35.9	5	28	9
Idaho	581	210	36.1	460	170	37.0	121	40	33.1	0	26	0
Illinois	202,426	77557	38.3	199,903	76252	38.1	2523	1305	51.7	360	414	480
Indiana	46921	16504	35.2	45718	15738	34.4	1203	766	63.7	18	283	98
Iowa	5793	2036	35.1	5697	1984	34.8	96	52	54.2	0	13	16
Kansas	15692	6336	40.4	15198	6136	40.4	494	200	40.5	24	48	58
Kentucky	32605	16499	50.6	28635	13959	48.7	3970	2540	64.0	393	988	884
Louisiana	109,049	56610	51.9	88179	43411	49.2	20870	13199	63.2	5138	2398	6958
Maine	405	130	32.1	314	118	37.6	91	12	13.2	0	7	2
Maryland	116,240	38861	33.4	106,930	34241	32.0	9310	4620	49.6	886	1532	1493
Massachusetts	33602	9493	28.2	32698	9300	28.4	904	193	21.3	19	71	68
Michigan	148,816	53567	36.0	145,375	52115	35.8	3441	1452	42.2	420	416	590
Minnesota	9330	2999	32.1	9206	2955	32.1	124	44	35.5	5	29	5
Mississippi	70284	40976	58.3	41011	21880	53.4	29273	19096	65.2	7827	3842	11164
Missouri	63993	25045	39.1	61871	23893	38.6	2122	1152	54.3	398	247	547
Montana	290	88	30.3	220	75	34.1	61	13	21.3	0	7	0
Nebraska	6061	2250	37.1	5970	2202	36.9	91	48	52.7	0	22	0
Nevada	7127	1678	23.5	7052	1673	23.7	75	5	6.7	0	0	4
New Hampshire	601	188	31.3	497	146	29.4	104	42	40.4	0	14	14
New Jersey	111,799	37074	33.2	108,237	35841	33.1	3562	1233	34.6	315	384	375
New Mexico	3336	1355	40.6	3192	1324	41.5	144	31	21.5	5	24	0
New York	363,848	129,195	35.5	359,741	127,492	35.4	4107	1703	41.5	304	747	215
North Carolina	115,765	53354	46.1	80338	34004	42.3	35427	19350	54.6	4803	6074	8666
North Dakota	240	38	15.8	220	31	14.1	20	7	35.0	3	7	0
Ohio	140,073	54636	39.0	138,144	54028	39.1	1929	608	31.5	138	127	231
Oklahoma	23830	10635	44.6	21160	9010	42.6	2670	1625	60.9	633	205	1029
Oregon	6678	2507	37.6	6344	2293	36.1	334	214	64.1	0	121	5
Pennsylvania	148,392	60090	40.5	145,469	58818	40.4	2923	1272	43.5	201	472	223
Rhode Island	3741	1474	39.4	3696	1451	39.3	45	23	51.1	0	4	6
South Carolina	67310	34288	50.9	43063	20217	46.9	24247	14071	58.0	4433	3191	6917
South Dakota	307	97	31.6	268	74	27.6	39	23	59.0	0	14	0
Tennessee	74090	36011	48.6	66751	31615	47.4	7339	4396	59.9	1344	1059	2394
Texas	187,028	76535	40.9	167,194	63536	38.0	19834	12999	65.5	4498	3070	7505
Utah	2505	1450	57.9	2407	1384	57.5	98	66	67.3	0	41	1
Vermont	225	63	28.0	132	22	16.7	93	41	44.1	2	20	13
Virginia	105,061	42200	40.1	82443	30481	37.0	22618	11719	51.8	2233	3551	5196
Washington	17122	5561	32.5	16668	5366	32.2	454	195	43.0	6	95	23
West Virginia	8792	3871	44.0	5920	2563	43.3	2872	1308	45.5	193	172	452
Wisconsin	21251	5824	27.4	20978	5697	27.2	273	127	46.5	4	56	14
Wyoming	578	211	36.5	531	196	36.9	47	15	31.9	0	0	12
Total*	3,045,624	1,215,629	39.9	2,761,103	1,051,358	38.1	284,521	164,271	57.7	51084	41976	79634

TABLE 7: Poverty Status of Hispanic Persons, by State, Residence, and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural				
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty	Over 65	On Public Assistance
Alabama	32356	9959	19936	5479	27.5	12420	36.1	1838	593	1221	
Alaska	8433	1050	6863	858	12.5	1570	12.2	83	2	22	
Arizona	437,512	91792	379,338	80393	21.2	58174	19.6	5898	529	1342	
Arkansas	16387	4904	9205	2532	27.5	7182	33.0	1147	198	525	
Calif	4,467,296	854,358	4,187,092	792,275	18.9	280,204	22.2	30033	1454	10394	
Colorado	334,202	67109	282,869	54774	19.4	51333	24.0	5672	922	3186	
Conn	122,615	40345	116,690	39832	34.1	5925	8.7	241	14	176	
Delaware	9196	3085	7097	2460	34.7	2099	29.8	393	7	127	
Florida	845,211	151,033	802,911	137,711	17.2	42300	31.5	4955	459	839	
Georgia	56748	13291	41165	9002	21.9	15583	42.89	1919	409	1234	
Hawaii	68633	11300	57435	9464	16.5	11198	16.4	880	123	797	
Idaho	35801	10485	19593	5087	26.0	16208	33.3	2135	145	622	
Illinois	627,082	126,762	612,013	124,816	20.4	15069	12.9	827	124	276	
Indiana	84301	12593	74491	11402	15.3	9810	12.1	515	82	107	
Iowa	25414	4440	20888	3761	18.0	4526	15.0	299	47	46	
Kansas	60269	9844	50715	8053	15.9	9554	18.7	895	87	284	
Kentucky	24857	7100	13017	3326	25.6	11840	31.9	1612	435	965	
Louisiana	96752	18319	75653	13664	18.1	21099	22.1	1877	572	1049	
Maine	4993	997	2794	557	19.9	2199	20.0	278	15	81	
Maryland	61118	7792	55714	6900	12.4	5404	16.5	335	67	184	
Mass	137,034	51490	131,006	50736	38.7	6028	12.5	372	34	225	
Michigan	154,333	28812	124,238	23831	19.2	30095	16.6	2731	147	1487	
Minnesota	31182	5661	26673	4762	17.9	4509	19.9	380	76	119	
Miss	22992	7825	12145	3297	27.1	10847	41.7	2106	434	1747	
Missouri	49334	7673	41275	6188	15.0	8059	18.4	566	206	365	
Montana	9798	1634	6821	1164	17.1	2977	15.8	193	18	130	
Nebraska	27544	4742	21894	3554	16.2	5650	21.0	621	74	351	
Nevada	53404	6861	47069	5834	12.4	6335	16.2	526	23	12	
New Hamp	4978	805	3477	654	18.8	151	10.1	57	2	7	
New Jersey	487,761	129,190	475,219	127,032	26.7	12542	17.2	1085	54	417	
New Mexico	470,672	109,101	340,773	74456	21.8	129,899	26.7	15069	4165	8840	
New York	1,634,752	540,909	1,613,637	537,420	33.3	21115	16.5	1372	201	488	
North Car	51198	12300	28371	5985	21.1	22827	27.7	2599	620	1765	
North Dak	3284	782	2239	469	20.9	1045	30.0	155	6	104	
Ohio	117,552	23361	98147	20764	21.2	19405	13.4	1143	234	655	
Oklahoma	55369	12058	43749	8932	20.4	11620	26.9	1537	190	523	
Oregon	64221	13430	42898	8906	20.8	21323	21.2	1587	96	460	
Penn	149,020	52769	133,059	49866	37.5	15961	18.2	1183	298	270	
Rhode Isl	18335	4846	17581	4775	27.2	754	9.4	43	0	0	
South Car	30605	8629	16476	3832	23.3	14129	34.0	2189	461	1617	
South Dak	3578	817	2420	538	22.2	1158	24.1	158	7	42	
Tennessee	32153	9067	20219	5668	28.0	11934	28.5	1284	594	1054	
Texas	2,943,161	823,212	2,534,856	667,901	26.7	408,305	35.6	73730	9979	31222	
Utah	58739	10869	52986	9672	18.3	5753	20.8	562	48	117	
Vermont	3062	428	1435	195	13.6	1627	14.3	72	26	14	
Virginia	74974	10638	61877	7478	12.1	13097	24.1	1388	327	892	
Washington	116,842	26132	83307	17897	21.5	33535	24.6	4164	191	1552	
West Vir	12693	2965	4971	965	19.4	7722	25.9	811	206	509	
Wisconsin	61167	11494	53343	10335	19.4	7824	14.8	550	50	140	
Wyoming	24076	2916	18133	2176	12.0	5943	12.5	326	55	49	
Total *	14,322,989	3,367,974	12,895,773	2,987,628	23.2	1,427,216	26.6	180,391	25106	78672	

TABLE 8: Poverty Status of Hispanic Families, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural			Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty		Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Householder Worked In 1979	Female-headed W/Child- inholder worked In 1979
	In Poverty		Total	In Poverty		Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Public Assistance	Householder Worked In 1979											
	Total	In Poverty		Total	In Poverty															
Alabama	7395	1933	4519	1071	23.7	2876	862	30.0	284	354	211	165	74							
Alaska	1661	194	1373	163	11.9	288	31	10.8	7	6	7	7	0							
Arizona	96286	17524	83525	15480	18.5	12761	2044	16.0	278	1469	477	421	222							
Arkansas	3617	955	2061	502	24.4	1556	453	29.1	122	286	134	112	77							
Calif	976,474	164,292	918,479	153,479	16.7	57925	10813	18.7	2207	7641	2229	2094	906							
Colorado	78221	14416	66336	11842	17.9	11885	2574	21.7	779	1589	633	547	245							
Conn	28721	9170	27469	9063	33.0	1252	107	8.5	45	53	65	59	33							
Delaware	2001	617	1567	512	32.7	434	105	24.2	27	81	52	50	31							
Florida	222,580	33135	214,116	31250	14.6	8464	1885	22.3	179	1353	352	332	184							
Georgia	13239	2577	9738	1806	18.5	3501	771	22.0	265	445	258	203	103							
Hawaii	14136	2176	11798	1805	15.3	2338	371	15.9	224	155	159	135	49							
Idaho	7160	1766	4237	988	23.3	2923	778	26.6	139	666	126	124	76							
Illinois	139,528	26050	136,391	25714	18.9	3137	336	10.7	67	222	104	90	60							
Indiana	18938	2558	16896	2387	14.1	2042	171	8.4	27	117	37	34	21							
Iowa	5441	729	4546	635	14.0	895	94	10.5	13	71	31	21	14							
Kansas	13756	1830	11758	1489	12.7	1998	341	17.1	69	259	90	83	49							
Kentucky	6105	1502	3156	682	21.6	2949	820	27.8	263	346	158	108	53							
Louisiana	23590	3795	18429	2813	15.3	5161	982	19.0	267	473	298	244	102							
Maine	971	195	568	136	23.9	403	59	14.6	21	31	13	9	4							
Maryland	13913	1465	12799	1292	10.1	1114	173	15.5	48	68	92	69	32							
Mass	31847	11602	30473	11468	37.6	1374	134	9.8	62	52	95	81	36							
Michigan	33710	5714	27656	4880	17.6	6054	834	13.8	329	472	274	263	97							
Minnesota	6029	976	5228	833	15.9	801	143	17.9	31	88	36	29	11							
Miss	5127	1523	2731	640	23.4	2396	883	36.9	364	486	300	261	110							
Missouri	11064	1378	9319	1097	11.8	1745	281	16.1	95	130	85	80	50							
Montana	2012	300	1471	216	14.7	84	84	15.5	33	56	27	21	12							
Nebraska	5971	849	4860	651	13.4	1111	198	17.8	85	124	58	55	32							
Nevada	12207	1283	10910	1124	10.3	1297	159	12.3	3	145	37	32	32							
New Hamp	1111	126	757	99	13.1	354	27	7.6	2	21	10	6	6							
New Jers	121,051	30362	118,297	29956	25.3	2754	406	14.7	99	209	134	126	37							
New Mex	112,270	23258	81270	15825	19.5	31048	7433	23.9	2151	3779	1764	1475	567							
New York	403,185	128,874	398,639	128,330	32.2	4546	544	12.0	124	339	191	169	91							
North Car	12735	2593	6965	1220	17.5	5770	1373	23.8	448	811	476	425	196							
North Dak	749	133	593	101	17.0	156	32	20.5	2	28	5	0	2							
Ohio	26689	4820	22416	4277	19.1	4273	543	12.7	173	278	162	145	47							
Oklahoma	11911	2262	9564	1741	18.2	2347	521	22.2	112	349	93	86	49							
Oregon	12792	1924	8805	1406	16.0	3987	518	13.0	117	371	118	105	68							
Penn	33838	11053	30373	10557	34.8	3465	496	14.3	72	302	112	91	38							
Rhode Isl	4439	1055	4260	1050	24.6	179	5	2.8	0	5	5	5	5							
South Car	7191	1827	3809	821	21.6	3382	1006	29.7	378	476	422	347	162							
South Dak	648	104	466	71	15.2	182	33	18.1	10	27	12	12	6							
Tennessee	7736	1910	4668	1172	25.1	3068	738	24.1	282	271	181	137	41							
Texas	655,102	162,065	567,164	134,222	23.7	87938	27843	31.7	6372	19168	4217	3503	1559							
Utah	12747	2100	11619	1924	16.6	1128	176	15.6	31	114	45	43	25							
Vermont	671	60	341	28	8.2	330	32	9.7	5	18	12	6	3							
Virginia	17565	2163	14500	1488	10.3	3065	675	22.0	216	338	211	173	51							
Washington	24727	4797	17976	3325	18.5	6751	1472	21.8	348	1126	326	317	186							
West Vir	3213	602	1271	193	15.2	1942	409	21.1	138	147	67	50	22							
Wisconsin	12875	2183	11449	2027	17.7	1426	156	10.9	34	113	37	37	27							
Wyoming	5463	616	4183	456	10.9	1280	160	12.5	14	107	29	23	15							
Total*	3,270,408	695,391	2,961,816	624,307	21.1	308,592	71084	23.0	17461	45635	15067	13019	5920							

**TABLE 9: Poverty Status of Hispanic Unrelated Individuals, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980**

	State			Urban			Rural			
	Total	In Poverty	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty		
								Rate (%)	Public Assis	Worked
Alabama	2938	1360	1984	812	40.9	954	57.4	151	78	291
Alaska	1244	247	979	199	19.8	265	20.0	0	24	2
Arizona	30093	12150	27229	10990	40.4	2864	40.5	139	423	270
Arkansas	1486	728	1011	473	46.8	475	53.7	55	86	107
California	413,839	127,491	388,704	117,663	30.3	25135	39.1	384	5822	590
Colorado	28143	9973	24943	8510	34.1	3200	45.7	340	535	477
Connecticut	9629	3381	9145	3282	35.9	484	20.5	0	59	2
Delaware	862	312	654	253	38.7	208	28.4	17	28	7
Florida	85622	36990	77356	32581	42.1	8266	53.3	185	2310	256
Georgia	6011	2303	4853	1672	34.5	1158	54.5	145	238	244
Hawaii	6067	1939	5129	1584	30.9	938	37.8	55	146	65
Idaho	4782	2313	1733	599	34.6	3049	56.2	62	703	97
Illinois	50704	16657	49316	16193	32.8	1388	33.4	33	199	55
Indiana	6525	1999	5909	1709	28.9	616	47.1	37	102	58
Iowa	2545	968	2169	797	36.7	376	45.5	17	76	40
Kansas	5137	1763	4510	1522	33.7	627	38.4	18	139	46
Kentucky	2478	1187	1576	670	42.5	902	57.3	135	153	186
Louisiana	9694	3601	8241	2900	35.2	1453	48.2	229	114	299
Maine	569	178	391	128	32.7	178	28.1	2	17	6
Maryland	7144	2280	6585	2058	31.3	559	39.7	24	106	29
Massachusetts	14003	4916	13533	4712	34.8	470	43.4	0	110	26
Michigan	13808	4660	12130	4072	33.6	1678	35.0	89	197	76
Minnesota	3865	1342	3488	1157	33.2	377	49.1	15	40	47
Mississippi	1940	972	1263	534	42.3	677	64.7	93	62	156
Missouri	5269	1646	4493	1345	29.9	776	38.8	61	95	104
Montana	1071	358	806	255	31.6	265	38.9	9	77	14
Nebraska	2780	1009	2463	865	35.1	317	45.4	12	81	27
Nevada	6871	1658	5900	1443	24.5	971	22.1	13	75	23
New Hampshire	697	222	548	190	34.7	149	21.5	0	13	2
New Jersey	35343	11606	34211	11318	33.1	1132	25.4	44	123	35
New Mexico	33842	13948	26031	10012	38.5	7811	50.4	1116	1070	1690
New York	174,585	66765	171,719	65632	38.2	2866	39.5	136	457	113
North Carolina	5167	2051	3181	1131	35.6	1986	46.3	163	311	301
North Dakota	223	96	147	41	27.9	76	72.4	3	15	6
Ohio	10399	3595	9272	3176	34.3	1127	37.2	40	136	107
Oklahoma	4959	1755	4136	1330	32.2	823	51.6	75	149	131
Oregon	9877	4155	6509	2361	36.3	3368	53.3	130	1070	52
Pennsylvania	15191	6009	13160	5287	40.2	2031	35.5	73	308	170
Rhode Island	2036	820	1954	815	41.7	82	6.1	0	0	0
South Carolina	1971	784	1358	476	35.1	613	50.2	94	105	157
South Dakota	477	177	347	133	38.3	130	33.8	3	24	3
Tennessee	3346	1379	2535	936	36.9	811	54.6	120	97	219
Texas	169,662	72388	154,707	64337	41.6	14955	53.8	2001	2663	3332
Utah	5901	2411	5376	2155	40.1	525	48.8	8	132	26
Vermont	467	146	242	55	22.7	225	40.4	15	42	26
Virginia	8883	2340	7937	1947	24.5	946	41.5	53	120	152
Washington	13122	4326	10394	3172	30.5	2728	42.3	45	695	86
West Virginia	1175	514	576	231	40.1	599	47.2	73	83	66
Wisconsin	5857	1980	5235	1687	32.2	622	47.1	24	114	31
Wyoming	2235	499	1538	369	24.0	697	18.7	0	87	18
Total *	1,230,534	442,347	1,127,606	395,764	35.0	102,928	45.3	6536	19909	10323

TABLE 10: Poverty Status of American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut Persons, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural			On Public Assistance
	Total	In Poverty	Total	In Poverty	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	In Poverty Under 18	Over 65		
									Poverty Rate (%)	
Alabama	9088	2042	3935	611	5153	1431	27.8	562	104	422
Alaska	62905	16168	18725	3472	44180	12696	28.7	5620	625	3489
Arizona	150,611	66289	47301	14816	103,310	51473	49.8	24756	3316	17911
Arkansas	12470	2241	5615	808	6855	1433	20.9	478	174	376
California	224,833	40348	186,012	32050	38821	8298	21.4	3648	336	2154
Colorado	20013	4655	14861	3241	5152	1414	27.4	610	50	334
Connecticut	4797	1136	3892	1015	905	121	13.4	46	3	33
Delaware	1329	192	371	105	958	87	9.1	16	15	8
Florida	23962	5367	18285	3902	5677	1465	25.8	514	156	271
Georgia	9437	1820	5532	955	3905	865	22.2	324	73	204
Hawaii	2678	547	2263	445	415	102	24.6	24	0	24
Idaho	10100	3391	3512	1063	6588	2328	35.3	1170	191	309
Illinois	18904	4036	16904	3485	2864	551	19.2	180	31	102
Indiana	9444	1993	6719	1641	2725	352	12.9	101	47	37
Iowa	6162	1718	4428	1402	1734	316	18.2	149	2	126
Kansas	16741	3440	11693	2502	5048	938	18.6	369	97	302
Kentucky	4104	1249	2402	674	1702	575	33.8	225	62	234
Louisiana	12629	2876	6455	1251	6174	1625	26.3	704	166	390
Maine	4150	1224	1451	338	2699	886	32.8	392	86	234
Maryland	8720	1805	7256	1509	1464	296	20.2	142	20	192
Mass	8804	2143	7129	1799	1675	344	20.5	142	5	119
Michigan	43662	9653	28034	6091	15628	3562	22.8	1794	195	1477
Minnesota	35180	10523	20910	6200	14270	4323	30.3	2144	288	1354
Miss	6624	2222	1967	457	4657	1765	37.9	857	135	640
Missouri	14390	2849	8893	1576	5497	1273	23.2	500	153	314
Montana	36684	12861	9581	3199	27103	9662	35.6	4667	529	3225
Nebraska	8701	2957	4329	1339	4372	1618	37.0	794	100	610
Nevada	13656	2980	8404	1465	5252	1515	28.8	731	133	529
New Hamp	1296	275	562	151	734	124	16.9	53	4	31
New Jersey	9819	1536	8124	1396	1695	140	8.3	31	25	0
New Mexico	104,994	42224	30563	9882	74431	32342	43.5	15576	2223	9383
New York	42929	10542	30107	7979	12822	2563	20.0	1086	200	687
North Car	64150	17893	13530	3546	50620	14347	28.3	6667	1045	3689
North Dak	19150	7591	3623	1404	15527	6187	39.8	3348	248	2171
Ohio	15128	3318	11694	2624	3434	694	20.2	211	93	232
Oklahoma	166,021	39598	81804	16707	84217	22891	27.2	10700	2452	6175
Oregon	29326	6593	16884	4047	12442	2546	20.5	1092	134	580
Penn	10611	2884	7892	2270	2719	614	22.6	263	38	218
Rhode Isl	3094	1072	2627	990	467	82	17.6	42	8	22
South Car	6338	1582	2559	588	3779	994	26.3	456	83	264
South Dak	43785	20819	11482	5167	32303	15652	48.5	8212	823	6509
Tennessee	6741	1876	4013	1171	2728	705	25.8	195	96	153
Texas	49104	8625	38993	6815	10111	1810	17.9	646	165	307
Utah	18155	6592	9355	2731	8800	3861	43.9	1969	125	945
Vermont	1011	391	277	91	734	300	40.9	123	7	64
Virginia	9278	1247	6407	841	2871	406	14.1	85	56	164
Washington	61379	15238	35641	9103	25738	6135	23.8	2817	292	1490
West Vir	2263	587	739	160	1524	427	28.0	146	49	174
Wisconsin	29740	6896	14267	3229	15473	3667	23.7	1809	156	1629
Wyoming	8046	1761	2747	306	5299	1455	27.5	627	70	119
Total *	1,483,136	407,865	789,885	178,609	693,251	229,256	33.1	107,813	15484	70197

**TABLE 11: Poverty Status of American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut Families, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980**

	State			Urban			Rural					
	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Public Assistance	Householder Worked In 1979	Female-headed	
											Total	W/child- holder
Alabama	2511	556	1138	189	16.6	1373	367	26.7	106	212	118	97
Alaska	12036	3042	3757	748	19.9	8279	2294	27.7	733	1370	576	507
Arizona	29129	11694	9616	2526	26.3	19513	9168	47.0	3386	4034	2820	2365
Arkansas	3428	612	1567	220	14.0	1861	392	21.1	104	215	43	30
California	54633	8297	45204	6488	14.4	9429	1809	19.2	584	1017	716	665
Colorado	4661	890	3393	625	18.4	1268	265	20.9	74	121	83	83
Connecticut	1318	255	997	229	23.0	321	26	8.1	7	17	2	2
Delaware	363	43	109	23	21.1	254	20	7.9	2	11	6	6
Florida	6654	1286	5077	916	18.0	1577	370	23.5	71	252	84	84
Georgia	2702	420	1628	209	12.8	1074	211	19.6	55	139	66	60
Hawaii	712	110	654	102	15.6	58	8	13.8	8	8	0	0
Idaho	2356	699	893	259	29.0	1463	440	30.1	72	226	153	141
Illinois	4563	921	3800	767	20.2	763	154	20.2	27	90	26	22
Indiana	2622	506	1901	423	22.3	721	83	11.5	11	55	23	23
Iowa	1372	381	999	324	32.4	373	57	15.3	27	48	19	19
Kansas	4189	747	2872	538	18.7	1317	209	15.9	74	132	57	51
Kentucky	1223	278	747	153	20.5	476	125	26.3	65	43	43	0
Louisiana	3280	635	1756	256	14.6	379	379	24.9	106	228	61	53
Maine	968	262	413	85	20.6	555	177	31.9	61	82	89	64
Maryland	2193	383	1790	330	18.4	403	53	13.2	44	31	13	13
Mass	2157	482	1737	409	23.5	420	73	17.4	32	39	38	38
Michigan	10215	2026	6623	1286	19.4	3592	740	20.6	374	351	295	275
Minnesota	7338	2049	4460	1296	29.1	2878	753	26.2	303	440	371	356
Mississippi	1557	461	561	129	23.0	996	332	33.3	136	192	106	99
Missouri	4179	701	2621	403	15.4	1558	298	19.1	75	155	61	61
Montana	7579	2331	2254	707	31.4	5325	1624	30.5	645	848	700	635
Nebraska	1877	571	978	295	30.2	899	276	30.7	139	163	159	150
Nevada	3373	539	2144	227	10.6	1229	312	25.4	128	160	188	178
New Hamp	367	35	164	15	9.1	203	20	9.9	9	14	9	9
New Jersey	2598	362	2146	344	16.0	452	18	4.0	0	8	0	0
New Mexico	21371	8038	6416	1839	28.7	14955	6199	41.5	1915	2694	2117	1824
New York	10249	2178	7097	1629	23.0	3152	549	17.4	179	318	230	194
North Car	15473	3921	3360	815	24.3	12113	3106	25.6	864	1784	1139	1002
North Dak	3746	1461	751	324	43.1	2995	1137	38.0	464	604	493	479
Ohio	4109	795	3140	609	19.4	969	186	19.2	64	76	64	55
Oklahoma	39590	7892	20315	3489	17.2	19275	4403	22.8	1481	2114	1510	1298
Oregon	6836	1336	3829	866	22.6	3007	470	15.6	138	233	193	184
Penn	2802	673	2098	544	25.9	704	129	18.3	48	47	40	38
Rhode Isl	726	247	625	239	38.2	101	8	7.9	8	0	8	8
South Car	1605	342	695	132	19.0	910	210	23.1	65	149	36	25
South Dak	8167	3744	2282	1049	46.0	5885	2695	45.8	1264	1434	1311	1206
Tennessee	2036	491	1143	280	24.5	893	211	23.6	44	130	52	42
Texas	13345	1816	10479	1389	13.3	2866	427	14.9	74	265	78	70
Utah	3476	1101	1862	408	21.9	1614	693	42.9	185	339	193	186
Vermont	261	102	93	32	34.4	168	70	41.7	16	56	13	13
Virginia	2623	273	1768	156	8.8	855	117	13.7	40	39	49	30
Washington	13936	3169	8287	1928	23.3	5649	1241	22.0	354	676	564	507
West Vir	629	110	221	11	5.0	408	99	24.3	42	54	30	23
Wisconsin	6257	1398	3134	698	22.3	3123	700	22.4	389	395	355	342
Wyoming	1806	358	703	56	8.0	1103	302	27.4	27	174	119	119
Total *	341,196	81019	190,297	37014	19.5	150,899	44005	29.2	15119	22282	15519	13759
												5817

TABLE 12: Poverty Status of American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut Unrelated Individuals, by State, Residence and Selected Characteristics, 1980

	State			Urban			Rural				
	Total	In Poverty	Total	In Poverty	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)	Total	Poverty Rate (%)		
										In Poverty	On Public Assistance
Alabama	930	339	610	173	28.4	320	166	51.9	50	42	37
Alaska	5838	2413	2636	921	34.9	3202	1492	46.6	138	751	160
Arizona	8589	4913	4591	2287	49.8	3998	2626	65.7	662	667	837
Arkansas	1146	410	711	182	25.6	435	228	52.4	74	75	102
California	34410	9827	30132	8316	27.6	4278	1511	35.3	238	757	148
Colorado	3186	1165	2644	944	35.7	542	221	40.8	32	98	41
Connecticut	847	215	721	185	25.7	126	30	23.8	7	20	3
Delaware	208	63	82	30	36.6	126	33	26.2	5	20	15
Florida	4261	1426	3597	1153	32.1	664	273	41.1	36	127	88
Georgia	1164	436	803	251	31.3	361	185	51.2	22	107	38
Hawaii	682	247	555	194	35.0	127	53	41.7	16	44	0
Idaho	1127	608	591	270	45.7	536	338	63.1	27	251	76
Illinois	3040	908	2750	814	29.6	290	94	32.4	23	54	8
Indiana	1267	431	1001	322	32.2	266	109	41.0	19	30	36
Iowa	839	306	699	253	36.2	140	53	37.9	12	36	2
Kansas	1995	767	1615	616	38.1	380	151	39.7	25	66	36
Kentucky	614	267	437	237	54.2	177	30	16.9	0	3	10
Louisiana	1155	415	792	230	29.0	363	185	51.0	67	46	60
Maine	619	289	256	91	35.5	363	198	54.5	64	78	49
Maryland	1250	356	1126	328	29.1	124	28	22.6	0	4	7
Massachusetts	1470	440	1259	353	28.0	211	87	41.2	11	56	0
Michigan	5055	1831	3802	1372	36.1	1253	459	36.6	110	206	92
Minnesota	4307	1964	2918	1241	42.5	1389	723	52.1	142	266	179
Mississippi	564	243	258	63	24.4	306	180	58.8	31	65	20
Missouri	1898	714	1399	504	36.0	499	210	42.1	76	54	110
Montana	2912	1604	1078	507	47.0	1834	1097	59.8	134	513	190
Nebraska	926	481	532	255	47.9	394	226	57.4	50	87	52
Nevada	2103	673	1594	502	31.5	509	171	33.6	48	57	47
New Hampshire	270	131	149	92	61.7	121	39	32.2	4	29	2
New Jersey	1176	322	993	246	24.8	183	76	41.5	2	44	22
New Mexico	5232	2819	2474	1119	45.2	2758	1700	61.6	467	367	509
New York	6386	2302	4970	1874	37.7	1416	428	30.2	89	128	112
North Carolina	3837	1580	1410	439	31.1	2427	1141	47.0	343	334	346
North Dakota	1560	810	492	244	49.6	1068	566	53.0	125	253	118
Ohio	2248	948	1905	787	41.3	343	161	46.9	44	45	64
Oklahoma	14174	5958	9085	3371	37.1	5089	2587	50.8	727	528	1287
Oregon	4203	1777	3097	1234	39.8	1106	543	49.1	46	259	67
Pennsylvania	1833	737	1488	610	41.0	345	127	36.8	29	67	25
Rhode Island	440	169	375	149	39.7	65	20	30.8	14	6	8
South Carolina	525	218	304	127	41.8	221	91	41.2	3	22	38
South Dakota	3098	1783	1069	525	49.1	2029	1258	62.0	304	448	195
Tennessee	1034	396	822	285	34.7	212	111	52.4	45	31	42
Texas	7007	2320	6175	1980	32.1	832	340	40.9	41	133	81
Utah	2025	1228	1570	929	59.2	455	299	65.7	45	133	20
Vermont	180	75	52	9	17.3	128	66	51.6	18	27	5
Virginia	1501	437	1191	306	25.7	310	131	42.3	0	56	30
Washington	8284	3223	5908	2318	39.2	2376	905	38.1	155	429	102
West Virginia	336	165	113	62	54.9	223	103	46.2	23	40	27
Wisconsin	3325	1251	2058	703	34.2	1267	548	43.3	130	230	109
Wyoming	684	265	407	133	32.7	277	132	47.7	0	76	38
Total*	161,760	62665	115,296	40136	34.8	46464	22529	48.5	4773	8265	5690

\*Totals for states do not include data for the District of Columbia. Source: 1980 Census, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

**TABLE 13: General Rural Housing Data**

YEAR AROUND HOUSING UNITS

 OCCUPIED YEAR AROUND  
HOUSING UNITS

STATE	TOTAL	RURAL	% RURAL	TOTAL	RURAL	% RURAL
U.S. TOTAL	86,384,031	22,056,004	25.8%	80,136,530	19,837,956	24.8%
Alabama	1,450,011	567,918	39.2%	1,341,856	514,980	38.4%
Alaska	154,171	53,188	34.5%	131,463	43,046	32.7%
Arizona	1,066,437	162,796	15.3%	957,032	135,653	14.2%
Arkansas	888,740	422,722	47.6%	816,065	381,569	46.8%
California	9,220,421	816,881	8.9%	8,629,866	697,455	8.1%
Colorado	1,168,681	235,631	20.2%	1,061,249	192,634	18.2%
Connecticut	1,144,053	227,409	19.9%	1,093,678	216,996	19.8%
Delaware	230,107	73,438	32.0%	207,081	60,543	29.2%
Florida	4,270,391	651,888	15.3%	3,744,254	540,568	14.4%
Georgia	2,012,640	729,701	36.3%	1,871,652	670,267	35.8%
Hawaii	332,213	53,031	16.0%	294,052	40,270	12.4%
Idaho	359,756	161,074	44.8%	324,107	140,442	43.3%
Illinois	4,302,863	703,032	16.3%	4,045,374	652,125	16.1%
Indiana	2,063,117	698,628	33.9%	1,927,050	650,110	33.7%
Iowa	1,129,199	457,450	40.0%	1,053,033	418,880	39.8%
Kansas	950,151	313,822	33.0%	872,239	280,211	32.1%
Kentucky	1,355,008	641,650	47.4%	1,263,355	593,461	47.0%
Louisiana	1,535,321	467,212	30.8%	1,411,788	417,790	29.6%
Maine	427,377	219,718	51.4%	395,184	201,287	50.9%
Maryland	1,549,219	287,869	18.5%	1,460,865	266,400	18.2%
Massachusetts	2,140,141	327,349	15.3%	2,032,717	307,658	15.1%
Michigan	3,448,335	1,016,293	29.5%	3,195,213	885,135	27.7%
Minnesota	1,529,363	486,486	31.8%	1,445,222	445,054	30.8%
Mississippi	904,078	464,849	51.4%	827,169	418,377	50.6%
Missouri	1,961,163	626,629	32.0%	1,793,399	551,498	30.8%
Montana	315,015	144,170	45.8%	283,742	125,615	44.3%
Nebraska	618,699	229,076	37.0%	571,400	205,361	35.9%
Nevada	337,491	48,725	14.4%	304,327	41,607	13.7%
New Hampshire	349,215	167,859	48.1%	323,493	150,686	46.6%
New Jersey	2,687,754	284,711	10.6%	2,548,594	264,363	10.4%
New Mexico	493,292	133,656	27.1%	441,466	111,926	25.4%
New York	6,669,084	968,197	14.5%	6,340,429	886,520	14.0%
North Carolina	2,223,007	1,154,242	51.9%	2,043,291	1,037,739	50.8%
North Dakota	252,618	130,601	51.7%	227,664	114,073	50.1%
Ohio	4,077,276	990,845	24.3%	3,833,828	429,799	24.3%
Oklahoma	1,228,679	386,064	31.4%	1,118,561	345,575	30.9%
Oregon	1,071,294	327,255	30.5%	991,593	293,371	29.6%
Pennsylvania	4,509,332	1,006,400	22.0%	4,219,606	1,211,049	28.7%
Rhode Island	362,633	43,413	12.0%	338,590	40,472	12.0%
South Carolina	1,121,448	500,363	44.6%	1,029,981	454,874	44.2%
South Dakota	269,494	142,652	52.9%	242,523	124,758	51.4%
Tennessee	1,736,847	671,072	38.6%	1,618,505	615,311	38.0%
Texas	5,480,416	1,159,067	21.1%	4,929,267	975,794	19.8%
Utah	480,744	73,293	15.2%	448,603	65,197	14.5%
Vermont	195,944	130,185	66.4%	178,325	115,632	64.8%
Virginia	1,998,693	665,767	33.3%	1,867,073	605,973	32.5%
Washington	1,650,411	419,388	25.4%	1,540,510	379,204	24.6%
West Virginia	736,352	447,948	60.8%	686,311	415,387	60.5%
Wisconsin	1,752,969	605,221	34.5%	1,652,261	547,371	33.1%
Wyoming	182,368	66,170	36.3%	165,624	57,890	35.0%



# I. Rural Substandard Occupied Units

OCCUPIED HOUSING LACKING  
PLUMBING

OCCUPIED HOUSING OVERCROWDED  
W/COMPLETE PLUMBING

STATE	TOTAL	RURAL	% RURAL	TOTAL	RURAL	% RURAL
U.S. TOTAL	1,739,378	902,249	51.9%	3,352,203	768,143	22.9%
Alabama	56,294	42,993	76.4%	61,145	24,743	40.5%
Alaska	13,671	11,687	85.5%	7,786	3,441	44.2%
Arizona	20,415	14,393	70.5%	58,449	13,230	22.6%
Arkansas	34,103	26,173	76.7%	36,877	18,924	51.3%
California	103,184	12,832	12.4%	672,314	45,237	7.4%
Colorado	13,310	4,817	36.2%	28,910	7,252	25.1%
Connecticut	14,073	1,992	14.2%	27,493	3,048	11.1%
Delaware	3,536	2,248	63.6%	4,884	1,755	26.2%
Florida	41,740	11,966	28.7%	191,217	27,067	14.2%
Georgia	59,491	41,441	69.7%	86,833	33,226	38.3%
Hawaii	6,508	2,582	39.7%	43,131	5,771	13.4%
Idaho	4,559	3,143	68.9%	13,565	7,615	56.1%
Illinois	69,036	14,578	21.1%	161,952	15,678	9.7%
Indiana	31,405	15,866	50.5%	57,071	17,782	31.2%
Iowa	18,039	9,027	50.0%	20,673	8,361	40.4%
Kansas	10,572	5,502	52.0%	20,058	6,413	32.0%
Kentucky	81,683	71,638	87.4%	45,400	22,968	50.6%
Louisiana	33,763	20,836	61.7%	93,121	29,408	31.6%
Maine	19,255	14,157	73.5%	10,132	5,986	59.1%
Maryland	27,550	13,913	50.5%	41,724	6,273	15.0%
Massachusetts	30,927	3,264	10.6%	51,461	6,043	11.7%
Michigan	30,451	15,760	39.0%	96,863	27,342	28.2%
Minnesota	30,174	16,237	53.8%	30,928	13,212	42.7%
Mississippi	48,934	39,962	81.7%	54,202	29,047	53.6%
Missouri	37,119	23,451	63.2%	56,009	18,877	33.7%
Montana	6,564	3,941	60.0%	9,781	6,013	61.5%
Nebraska	6,878	3,653	53.1%	11,723	4,566	38.9%
Nevada	3,516	856	24.3%	13,797	2,248	16.3%
New Hampshire	8,007	4,367	54.5%	7,299	3,450	47.9%
New Jersey	39,602	2,844	7.2%	85,317	5,336	6.3%
New Mexico	15,908	12,698	79.8%	31,088	11,261	36.2%
New York	159,483	19,128	12.0%	293,239	21,619	7.4%
North Carolina	83,143	69,067	83.1%	77,903	40,533	52.0%
North Dakota	5,596	3,769	67.4%	5,831	3,676	63.0%
Ohio	63,910	32,988	51.6%	90,415	25,185	27.9%
Oklahoma	15,917	10,232	64.3%	38,935	15,097	38.8%
Oregon	13,764	5,803	42.2%	27,039	11,037	40.8%
Pennsylvania	76,383	33,807	43.3%	95,857	29,468	30.7%
Rhode Island	5,711	584	10.2%	8,284	889	10.7%
South Carolina	42,110	31,663	75.2%	52,404	26,444	50.5%
South Dakota	5,456	4,769	73.9%	7,767	5,131	66.1%
Tennessee	59,811	48,253	80.7%	61,767	22,582	36.6%
Texas	95,955	44,189	46.1%	321,269	59,008	17.8%
Utah	4,000	1,385	34.6%	24,900	5,309	21.3%
Vermont	4,865	3,742	76.9%	4,088	2,946	72.1%
Virginia	78,763	63,386	80.5%	52,011	19,019	35.4%
Washington	19,075	7,507	39.4%	41,332	13,598	32.9%
West Virginia	39,439	35,533	90.1%	22,174	16,201	73.1%
Wisconsin	32,136	16,337	50.8%	38,431	15,541	40.4%
Wyoming	2,589	1,290	49.8%	6,644	3,287	49.5%

STATE	OCCUPIED SUBSTANDARD HOUSING			% OF RURAL OCCUPIED UNITS SUBSTANDARD
	TOTAL	RURAL	% RURAL	
U.S. TOTAL	5,091,581	1,670,392	32.8%	9.4%
Alabama	117,439	67,736	57.7%	12.2%
Alaska	21,457	15,128	70.5%	35.1%
Arizona	78,864	27,623	35.0%	20.4%
Arkansas	70,980	45,097	63.5%	11.8%
California	715,498	58,069	8.1%	8.3%
Colorado	42,220	12,069	28.6%	6.3%
Connecticut	41,566	5,040	12.1%	2.3%
Delaware	8,420	4,003	47.5%	6.6%
Florida	232,957	39,033	16.8%	7.2%
Georgia	146,324	74,667	51.0%	11.1%
Hawaii	49,639	8,353	16.8%	20.7%
Idaho	18,124	10,758	59.4%	7.7%
Illinois	230,988	30,256	13.1%	4.6%
Indiana	88,456	33,648	38.0%	5.2%
Iowa	38,712	17,388	44.9%	4.2%
Kansas	30,630	11,915	38.9%	4.3%
Kentucky	127,084	94,606	74.4%	15.9%
Louisiana	126,884	50,244	39.6%	12.0%
Maine	29,387	20,143	68.5%	10.0%
Maryland	69,274	20,186	29.1%	7.6%
Massachusetts	82,388	9,307	11.3%	3.0%
Michigan	137,314	43,102	31.4%	4.9%
Minnesota	61,102	29,449	48.2%	6.6%
Mississippi	103,136	69,009	66.9%	16.5%
Missouri	93,128	42,328	45.5%	7.7%
Montana	16,345	9,954	60.9%	7.9%
Nebraska	18,601	8,219	44.2%	4.0%
Nevada	17,313	3,104	17.9%	7.5%
New Hampshire	15,206	7,817	51.4%	5.2%
New Jersey	124,919	8,180	6.5%	3.1%
New Mexico	46,996	23,959	51.0%	21.4%
New York	452,722	40,747	9.0%	4.6%
North Carolina	161,046	109,600	68.1%	10.6%
North Dakota	11,427	7,445	65.2%	6.5%
Ohio	154,325	58,173	37.7%	6.3%
Oklahoma	54,852	25,329	46.2%	7.3%
Oregon	40,803	16,840	41.3%	5.7%
Pennsylvania	172,255	63,275	36.7%	5.2%
Rhode Island	13,995	1,473	10.5%	3.6%
South Carolina	94,514	58,107	61.5%	12.8%
South Dakota	14,223	9,900	69.6%	7.9%
Tennessee	121,578	70,835	58.4%	11.5%
Texas	427,224	103,197	24.2%	10.6%
Utah	28,900	6,694	23.2%	10.3%
Vermont	8,953	6,688	74.7%	5.8%
Virginia	131,674	82,405	62.6%	13.6%
Washington	60,407	21,105	34.9%	5.6%
West Virginia	61,613	51,734	84.0%	12.5%
Wisconsin	70,567	31,378	45.2%	5.8%
Wyoming	9,233	4,577	49.6%	7.9%

## II. Substandard Housing, Outside Urbanized Areas, Places of 2,500-10,000 Population

STATE	POPULATION	YR-AROUND HSG UNITS	OCCUPIED YR-AROUND HSG. UNITS	OCCUPIED YEAR-AROUND OVERCROWDED W/COMPL. PLUMB	OCCUPIED YR-ROUND LACKING PLUMBING	TOTAL SUBST	% OF OCC. HSG. SUBST
U.S. TOTAL	14,398,522	5,632,108	5,171,694	204,541	98,441	302,982	5.9%
Alabama	342,102	127,565	118,502	5,742	4,316	10,058	8.5%
Alaska	47,147	15,581	14,183	1,154	905	2,059	14.5%
Arizona	215,423	82,926	72,677	7,146	1,093	8,239	11.3%
Arkansas	307,537	123,300	114,021	5,122	3,213	8,335	7.3%
California	850,952	339,238	299,412	22,883	2,379	25,262	8.4%
Colorado	190,999	77,767	68,355	2,493	773	3,266	4.8%
Connecticut	77,921	30,175	28,545	582	527	1,109	3.9%
Delaware	28,745	10,444	9,641	254	248	502	5.2%
Florida	508,462	239,595	195,853	8,859	3,655	12,514	6.4%
Georgia	427,476	157,815	147,921	9,036	6,334	15,370	10.6%
Hawaii	87,910	31,669	24,628	5,136	412	5,548	22.5%
Idaho	126,666	48,304	44,448	1,876	339	2,215	5.0%
Illinois	628,889	255,250	239,357	5,120	3,097	8,217	3.4%
Indiana	440,542	171,614	160,261	4,256	2,306	6,562	4.1%
Iowa	426,954	170,663	160,558	2,159	2,276	4,435	2.8%
Kansas	237,994	98,671	90,847	1,657	771	2,428	2.7%
Kentucky	296,466	116,133	108,851	3,670	3,309	6,979	6.4%
Louisiana	370,850	133,448	122,582	9,828	2,931	12,759	10.4%
Maine	170,070	65,782	60,591	1,415	1,747	3,162	5.2%
Maryland	141,143	55,292	46,067	1,000	1,015	2,015	4.4%
Massachusetts	220,191	87,941	80,461	1,551	1,184	2,735	3.4%
Michigan	484,041	185,799	174,647	3,608	2,507	6,115	3.5%
Minnesota	348,121	134,164	126,876	2,230	2,004	4,234	3.3%
Mississippi	241,772	88,008	82,173	5,439	3,104	8,543	10.4%
Missouri	414,521	171,880	159,333	4,270	2,331	6,601	4.1%
Montana	90,938	38,433	35,149	961	525	1,486	4.2%
Nebraska	164,144	67,121	62,252	1,003	552	1,555	2.5%
Nevada	55,765	26,130	21,360	847	263	1,110	5.2%
New Hampshire	68,810	25,927	24,421	480	579	1,059	4.3%
New Jersey	187,764	73,773	67,676	1,464	656	2,120	3.1%
New Mexico	168,532	61,815	54,157	5,014	945	5,959	11.0%
New York	550,378	205,169	191,359	3,803	3,260	7,063	3.7%
North Carolina	383,962	150,119	139,539	5,517	4,136	9,653	6.9%
North Dakota	63,083	21,585	20,166	436	288	724	3.6%
Ohio	575,220	217,118	204,540	4,620	2,533	7,153	3.5%
Oklahoma	357,409	150,957	137,624	4,890	1,344	6,234	4.5%
Oregon	255,072	106,166	96,534	3,176	809	3,985	4.1%
Pennsylvania	696,851	276,047	260,163	3,992	4,370	8,362	3.2%
Rhode Island	19,102	5,823	5,392	113	72	185	3.4%
South Carolina	339,141	125,383	115,591	6,648	4,799	11,447	9.9%
South Dakota	64,477	24,929	22,813	759	394	1,153	5.1%
Tennessee	337,444	131,394	122,805	4,543	2,746	7,289	5.9%
Texas	992,858	377,099	342,585	16,306	9,332	25,638	7.5%
Utah	104,319	34,459	31,167	1,952	184	2,136	6.9%
Vermont	77,771	31,391	29,669	504	618	1,122	3.8%
Virginia	271,274	100,850	94,130	2,747	2,491	5,238	5.6%
Washington	242,425	93,281	87,659	3,108	726	3,834	4.4%
West Virginia	178,487	70,625	66,542	1,704	1,222	2,926	4.4%
Wisconsin	430,090	164,047	157,723	2,345	2,515	4,860	3.8%
Wyoming	61,421	32,422	29,388	1,123	306	1,429	4.8%

### III. Substandard Housing, Outside Urbanized Areas, Rural and Places of 2,500-10,000 Population

STATE	POPULATION	OCC. YR-ROUND HSG.	OCC. YR-ROUND HSG. LACKING PLUMB.	OCC. YR-ROUND HSG. OVER- CROWDED W/ COMPL. PLUMB.	OCC. YR-ROUND HSG. SUBSTAND.	% OCC. HSG. SUBSTAND.
U.S. TOTAL	73,893,335	25,012,650	1,000,690	972,684	1,973,374	7.9%
Alabama	1,898,277	633,482	47,309	30,485	77,794	12.3%
Alaska	189,431	57,229	12,592	4,595	17,187	30.0%
Arizona	654,910	208,330	15,486	2,386	35,862	17.2%
Arkansas	1,414,416	495,590	29,386	24,046	53,432	10.8%
California	2,911,248	996,867	15,211	68,120	83,331	8.4%
Colorado	751,094	260,989	5,590	9,745	15,335	5.9%
Connecticut	735,723	245,541	2,519	3,630	6,149	2.5%
Delaware	203,264	70,184	2,496	2,009	4,505	6.4%
Florida	2,042,401	736,421	15,621	35,926	51,547	7.0%
Georgia	2,481,491	818,188	47,775	42,262	90,037	11.0%
Hawaii	218,009	64,848	2,994	10,407	13,901	21.4%
Idaho	560,899	184,890	3,482	9,491	12,973	7.0%
Illinois	2,349,021	821,386	17,675	20,798	38,473	4.7%
Indiana	2,603,815	889,467	18,172	22,038	40,210	4.5%
Iowa	1,632,530	579,438	11,303	10,520	21,823	3.8%
Kansas	1,025,774	371,058	6,273	8,070	14,343	3.9%
Kentucky	2,092,060	702,312	74,947	26,638	101,585	14.5%
Louisiana	1,689,441	540,372	23,767	39,236	63,003	11.7%
Maine	760,658	261,878	15,904	7,401	23,305	8.9%
Maryland	971,563	312,467	14,928	7,273	22,201	7.1%
Massachusetts	1,148,889	388,119	4,448	7,594	12,042	3.1%
Michigan	3,194,568	1,059,782	18,267	30,950	49,217	4.6%
Minnesota	1,698,889	571,930	18,241	15,442	33,683	5.9%
Mississippi	1,569,605	500,550	43,066	34,486	77,552	15.5%
Missouri	1,981,619	710,831	25,782	23,147	48,929	6.9%
Montana	461,226	160,764	4,466	6,974	11,440	7.1%
Nebraska	746,010	267,613	4,205	5,569	9,774	3.7%
Nevada	173,311	62,967	1,119	3,095	4,214	6.7%
New Hampshire	504,095	175,107	4,946	3,930	8,876	5.1%
New Jersey	995,210	332,039	3,500	6,300	10,300	3.1%
New Mexico	531,463	166,083	13,643	16,275	29,918	18.0%
New York	3,250,382	1,077,879	22,388	25,422	47,810	4.4%
North Carolina	3,442,876	1,177,278	73,203	46,050	119,253	10.1%
North Dakota	397,490	134,239	4,057	4,112	8,169	6.1%
Ohio	3,454,591	1,134,339	35,521	29,905	65,326	5.8%
Oklahoma	1,347,617	483,199	11,576	19,997	31,563	6.5%
Oregon	1,099,823	389,905	6,612	14,213	20,825	5.3%
Pennsylvania	4,339,895	1,471,212	38,177	33,460	71,637	4.9%
Rhode Island	142,252	45,864	656	1,002	1,658	3.6%
South Carolina	1,771,708	570,565	36,462	33,092	69,554	12.2%
South Dakota	434,468	147,571	5,163	5,890	11,053	7.5%
Tennessee	2,154,991	738,116	50,999	27,125	78,124	10.6%
Texas	3,889,032	1,318,379	53,521	85,314	138,825	10.5%
Utah	332,296	96,364	1,569	7,261	3,830	9.2%
Vermont	416,492	145,301	4,360	3,450	7,810	5.4%
Virginia	2,088,669	700,103	65,877	21,766	87,643	12.5%
Washington	1,337,367	466,863	8,233	16,706	24,939	5.3%
West Virginia	1,422,812	481,729	36,755	17,905	54,660	11.3%
Wisconsin	2,115,125	703,094	18,852	17,886	36,738	5.0%
Wyoming	256,339	87,878	1,596	4,410	5,006	6.8%

**TABLE 14: Rural Housing Data for Owners and Renters**

	OWNERS		RENTERS		TOTAL RURAL		LACKING PLUMBING OWNERS		LACKING PLUMBING RENTERS		TOTAL RURAL LACKING PLUMBING	
	(a)	(b)	(c) = (a+b)	(d)	(e)	(f) = (d+e)	(d)	(e)	(f) = (d+e)			
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>15,846,134</b>	<b>3,989,822</b>	<b>19,837,956</b>	<b>511,267</b>	<b>390,982</b>	<b>902,249</b>						
<b>Columns:</b>												
Alabama	415,299	99,681	514,980	20,732	22,261	42,993						
Alaska	29,814	13,232	43,046	8,174	3,513	11,687						
Arizona	103,048	32,605	135,653	10,642	3,751	14,393						
Arkansas	300,670	80,899	381,569	15,147	11,026	26,173						
California	498,931	198,524	697,455	6,580	6,252	12,832						
Colorado	144,491	48,143	192,634	2,633	2,184	4,817						
Connecticut	178,151	38,845	216,996	1,060	932	1,992						
Delaware	47,413	13,130	60,543	997	1,251	2,248						
Florida	437,123	103,445	540,568	6,512	5,454	11,966						
Georgia	525,993	144,274	670,267	16,501	24,940	41,441						
Hawaii	21,536	18,734	40,270	848	1,734	2,582						
Idaho	111,316	29,126	140,442	2,084	1,059	3,143						
Illinois	516,659	135,466	652,125	9,919	4,659	14,578						
Indiana	545,417	104,693	650,110	11,177	4,689	15,866						
Iowa	324,414	94,466	418,880	6,258	2,769	9,027						
Kansas	223,708	56,503	280,211	3,879	1,623	5,502						
Kentucky	467,162	126,299	593,461	39,267	32,371	71,638						
Louisiana	334,154	83,636	417,790	10,002	10,834	20,836						
Maine	167,364	33,923	201,287	10,738	3,419	14,157						
Maryland	211,725	54,675	266,400	7,047	6,866	13,913						
Massachusetts	247,653	60,005	307,658	2,012	1,252	3,264						
Michigan	752,017	133,118	885,135	11,042	4,718	15,760						
Minnesota	373,928	71,126	445,054	11,876	4,361	16,237						
Mississippi	328,294	90,083	418,377	18,130	21,832	39,962						
Missouri	445,839	105,659	551,498	16,076	7,375	23,451						
Montana	96,228	29,387	125,615	2,511	1,430	3,941						
Nebraska	157,637	47,724	205,361	2,497	1,156	3,653						
Nevada	30,662	10,945	41,607	463	393	856						
New Hampshire	122,240	28,446	150,686	3,028	1,339	4,367						
New Jersey	213,974	50,389	264,363	1,414	1,430	2,844						
New Mexico	86,414	25,512	111,926	9,384	3,314	12,698						
New York	708,600	177,920	886,520	12,305	6,823	19,128						
North Carolina	810,816	226,923	1,037,739	28,965	40,102	69,067						
North Dakota	90,691	23,382	114,073	2,644	1,125	3,769						
Ohio	768,755	161,044	929,799	20,805	12,183	32,988						
Oklahoma	280,460	65,115	345,575	6,746	3,486	10,232						
Oregon	231,475	61,896	293,371	3,546	2,257	5,803						
Pennsylvania	990,516	220,533	1,211,049	21,187	12,620	33,807						
Rhode Island	31,806	8,666	40,472	361	223	584						
South Carolina	363,239	91,635	454,874	12,874	18,789	31,663						
South Dakota	95,619	29,139	124,758	3,299	1,470	4,769						
Tennessee	495,248	120,063	615,311	26,376	21,877	48,253						
Texas	778,489	197,305	975,794	28,676	15,513	44,189						
Utah	54,005	11,192	65,197	1,007	378	1,385						
Vermont	88,271	27,361	115,632	2,508	1,234	3,742						
Virginia	480,337	125,636	605,973	34,405	28,981	63,386						
Washington	298,596	80,608	379,204	4,752	2,755	7,507						
West Virginia	329,220	86,167	415,387	20,036	15,497	35,533						
Wisconsin	448,958	93,413	542,371	11,413	4,924	16,337						
Wyoming	43,759	14,131	57,890	732	558	1,290						

**I. Rural (Open Spaces and Towns of Under 2,500 Population)**

U.S. TOTAL	OWNERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING		TOTAL RURAL OWNERS OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		RENTIERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING		TOTAL RURAL RENTERS OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		TOTAL RURAL OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		TOTAL RURAL SUBSTANDARD
	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOM	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOM	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOM	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOM	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOM	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOM	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOM	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOM	(m) = (l+l)	(n) = (j+m)	
431,221	98,399	529,620	173,644	64,879	238,523	768,143	1,670,392				
(g)	(h)	(i) = (g+h)	(j)	(k)	(l) = (j+k)	(m)	(n)				
Alabama	3,506	18,041	5,167	1,535	6,702	24,743	67,736				
Alaska	899	2,296	700	445	1,145	3,441	15,128				
Arizona	3,353	8,464	2,772	1,994	4,766	13,230	27,623				
Arkansas	2,234	12,640	4,798	1,486	6,284	18,924	45,097				
California	6,901	21,048	13,512	10,677	24,189	45,237	58,069				
Colorado	3,413	4,316	1,971	965	2,936	7,252	12,063				
Connecticut	1,894	2,108	714	226	940	3,048	5,040				
Delaware	989	1,191	449	115	564	1,755	4,003				
Florida	12,536	17,259	6,355	3,453	9,808	27,067	39,033				
Georgia	17,474	21,882	8,437	2,907	11,344	35,226	74,607				
Hawaii	1,760	2,714	1,717	1,340	3,057	5,771	8,353				
Idaho	4,275	5,247	1,642	726	2,368	7,615	10,758				
Illinois	9,805	11,129	3,747	802	4,549	15,678	30,256				
Indiana	11,915	13,549	3,566	667	4,233	17,782	33,648				
Iowa	5,488	6,312	1,722	327	2,049	6,561	17,388				
Kansas	5,709	4,350	1,647	416	2,063	6,413	11,915				
Kentucky	13,884	16,130	5,579	1,259	6,838	22,966	94,606				
Louisiana	16,611	20,873	6,080	2,455	8,535	29,408	50,244				
Maine	4,223	4,805	924	257	1,181	5,986	20,143				
Maryland	3,636	4,224	1,639	410	2,049	6,273	20,186				
Massachusetts	4,016	4,413	1,295	337	1,630	6,043	9,507				
Michigan	18,441	21,167	4,808	1,367	6,175	27,342	43,102				
Minnesota	9,487	11,074	1,701	437	2,138	15,212	29,449				
Mississippi	15,322	20,251	5,977	2,819	8,796	29,047	69,009				
Missouri	11,545	13,545	4,378	554	5,332	18,877	42,328				
Montana	3,215	4,059	1,380	574	1,954	6,013	9,954				
Nebraska	2,677	3,116	1,195	255	1,450	4,566	6,219				
Nevada	1,986	1,404	503	844	1,450	2,248	3,104				
New Hampshire	2,176	2,520	692	238	930	3,450	7,817				
New Jersey	2,937	3,381	1,482	473	1,955	5,336	8,180				
New Mexico	5,364	7,958	2,063	1,240	3,303	11,261	23,959				
New York	13,165	14,990	5,281	1,348	6,629	21,619	40,747				
North Carolina	23,909	28,411	9,708	2,414	12,122	40,533	109,600				
North Dakota	2,309	2,733	716	227	943	3,676	7,445				
Ohio	17,046	19,060	5,212	913	6,125	25,185	58,173				
Oklahoma	8,606	10,366	3,732	999	4,731	15,097	25,329				
Oregon	5,447	7,246	2,760	1,031	3,791	11,037	16,840				
Pennsylvania	19,677	21,985	6,298	1,185	7,483	29,468	63,275				
Rhode Island	547	619	200	70	270	889	1,473				
South Carolina	15,729	19,683	5,096	1,665	6,761	26,444	58,107				
South Dakota	2,500	3,136	1,370	625	1,995	5,131	9,500				
Tennessee	13,342	15,652	5,599	1,331	6,930	22,562	70,639				
Texas	28,746	38,658	13,638	6,712	20,350	59,008	103,197				
Utah	3,319	3,963	949	397	1,346	5,309	6,694				
Vermont	1,758	2,012	724	210	934	2,946	6,688				
Virginia	12,230	14,355	3,750	914	4,664	19,019	82,405				
Washington	6,375	8,642	3,280	1,676	4,956	13,598	21,105				
West Virginia	10,238	11,730	3,603	868	4,471	16,201	51,754				
Wisconsin	11,124	12,666	2,366	509	2,875	15,241	31,878				
Wyoming	1,780	2,247	752	283	1,040	3,287	4,577				

## II. Towns of 2,500 to 10,000 Population Outside Urbanized Areas

U.S. TOTAL	TOTAL OWNERS		TOTAL RENTERS		TOTAL (q) = (o+p)	LACKING PLUMBING OWNERS		LACKING PLUMBING RENTERS		TOTAL LACKING PLUMBING (t) = (r+s)
	(o)	(p)	(o)	(p)		(r)	(s)			
3,507,406	1,664,288	5,171,694	35,432	63,009	98,441					
Alabama	80,443	38,059	118,502	1,597	2,719	4,316				
Alaska	6,539	7,644	14,183	435	470	905				
Arizona	49,420	23,257	72,677	558	535	1,093				
Arkansas	77,429	36,592	114,021	1,110	2,103	3,213				
California	185,244	114,168	299,412	568	1,811	2,379				
Colorado	45,439	22,916	68,355	227	546	773				
Connecticut	17,443	11,102	28,545	157	370	527				
Delaware	5,477	4,164	9,641	59	189	248				
Florida	145,182	50,671	195,853	1,272	2,383	3,655				
Georgia	94,512	53,409	147,921	1,658	4,676	6,334				
Hawaii	13,961	10,667	24,628	89	323	412				
Iuaho	31,383	13,065	44,448	84	255	339				
Illinois	173,398	65,959	239,357	1,238	1,859	3,097				
Indiana	117,000	43,261	160,261	1,024	1,282	2,306				
Iowa	116,584	43,974	160,558	834	1,442	2,276				
Kansas	67,237	23,610	90,847	288	483	771				
Kentucky	71,096	37,755	108,851	1,295	2,014	3,309				
Louisiana	85,164	37,418	122,582	936	1,995	2,931				
Maine	39,832	20,759	60,591	837	910	1,747				
Maryland	31,754	14,313	46,067	354	661	1,015				
Massachusetts	48,384	32,077	80,461	830	1,184	1,859				
Michigan	119,334	55,313	174,647	828	1,679	2,507				
Minnesota	91,546	35,330	126,876	693	1,311	2,004				
Mississippi	55,511	26,662	82,173	946	2,158	3,104				
Missouri	112,472	46,861	159,333	931	1,400	2,331				
Montana	23,493	11,656	35,149	122	403	525				
Nebraska	44,133	18,119	62,252	205	347	552				
Nevada	14,356	7,004	21,360	41	222	263				
New Hampshire	14,387	10,034	24,421	179	400	579				
New Jersey	47,323	20,353	67,676	455	201	656				
New Mexico	36,532	17,625	54,157	625	320	945				
New York	119,844	71,515	191,359	935	2,325	3,260				
North Carolina	91,082	48,457	139,539	1,284	2,852	4,136				
North Dakota	9,843	10,323	20,166	64	224	288				
Ohio	143,705	60,835	204,540	950	1,563	2,533				
Oklahoma	97,505	40,119	137,624	599	745	1,344				
Oregon	62,682	33,852	96,534	196	613	809				
Pennsylvania	171,049	89,114	260,163	1,270	3,100	4,370				
Rhode Island	3,327	2,065	5,392	18	72	90				
South Carolina	74,428	41,263	115,691	1,339	3,460	4,799				
South Dakota	13,764	9,049	22,813	137	257	394				
Tennessee	83,284	39,521	122,805	1,144	1,602	2,746				
Texas	243,707	98,878	342,585	4,972	4,360	9,332				
Utah	24,066	7,101	31,167	60	124	184				
Vermont	15,873	13,796	29,669	161	457	618				
Virginia	63,163	30,967	94,130	949	1,542	2,491				
Washington	55,609	32,050	87,659	171	555	726				
West Virginia	44,764	21,578	66,342	343	879	1,222				
Wisconsin	107,304	50,359	157,663	756	1,759	2,515				
Wyoming	20,339	9,649	29,988	85	221	306				

U.S. TOTAL	OWNERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING		TOTAL OWNERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 POP OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		RENTERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING		TOTAL RENTERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 POP OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		TOTAL OWNERS & RENTERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING		TOTAL SUBSTANDARD IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 POP
	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOMS	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOMS	(u)	(v)	(w) = (u+v)	1.01-1.50 PERSONS/ROOM	1.51+ PERSONS/ROOM	(x)	(y)	(z) = (x+y)	(aa) = (w+z)
80,533	24,154	104,667	69,197	30,677	99,874	204,541	502,982				
Alabama	2,580	3,072	1,969	701	2,670	5,742	10,056				
Alaska	292	428	450	276	726	1,154	2,059				
Arizona	2,604	4,136	1,921	1,089	3,010	7,146	8,239				
Arkansas	1,989	2,488	1,893	741	2,634	5,122	8,335				
California	6,428	9,872	7,108	5,903	13,011	25,262	25,262				
Colorado	966	1,216	865	412	1,277	2,493	3,266				
Connecticut	245	270	261	51	312	582	1,109				
Delaware	84	106	119	29	148	254	502				
Florida	2,942	4,145	2,876	1,838	4,714	8,859	12,514				
Georgia	3,003	4,067	3,447	1,522	4,969	9,036	15,370				
Hawaii	1,447	2,716	1,537	883	2,420	5,136	5,546				
Idaho	849	1,044	596	236	832	1,670	2,215				
Illinois	2,578	2,864	1,777	479	2,256	5,120	8,217				
Indiana	2,195	2,478	1,435	343	1,778	4,256	6,562				
Iowa	1,170	1,323	608	228	836	2,159	4,435				
Kansas	798	1,950	543	164	707	1,657	2,428				
Kentucky	1,407	1,650	1,563	457	2,020	3,670	6,975				
Louisiana	4,237	5,509	2,937	1,382	4,319	9,828	12,759				
Maine	686	779	498	138	636	1,415	3,162				
Maryland	369	440	438	122	560	1,000	2,015				
Massachusetts	626	696	689	166	855	1,551	2,735				
Michigan	1,868	2,068	1,206	334	1,540	3,608	6,115				
Minnesota	1,334	1,485	556	189	745	2,230	4,234				
Mississippi	2,115	2,930	1,680	829	2,509	5,439	8,543				
Missouri	1,912	2,235	1,601	434	2,035	4,270	6,001				
Montana	446	524	318	119	437	961	1,486				
Nebraska	499	586	318	99	417	1,003	1,555				
Nevada	338	438	243	166	409	847	1,110				
New Hampshire	203	219	199	62	261	480	1,059				
New Jersey	545	636	637	191	828	1,464	2,120				
New Mexico	2,050	2,967	1,296	751	2,047	5,014	5,559				
New York	1,350	1,520	1,791	492	2,283	3,803	7,063				
North Carolina	2,026	2,434	2,436	647	3,083	5,517	9,053				
North Dakota	175	205	181	50	231	436	724				
Ohio	2,257	2,490	1,724	406	2,130	4,620	7,153				
Oklahoma	2,014	2,412	1,879	599	2,478	4,890	6,234				
Oregon	1,085	1,402	1,279	495	1,774	3,176	5,985				
Pennsylvania	1,771	1,970	1,628	394	2,022	5,992	8,362				
Rhode Island	40	42	46	25	71	115	185				
South Carolina	2,578	3,295	2,495	858	3,353	6,648	11,447				
South Dakota	254	309	319	131	450	759	1,155				
Tennessee	1,868	2,226	1,813	504	2,317	4,545	7,209				
Texas	10,586	14,914	7,233	4,159	11,392	26,306	35,638				
Utah	1,220	1,411	417	124	541	1,952	2,136				
Vermont	159	176	277	51	328	504	1,122				
Virginia	1,141	1,354	1,111	282	1,393	2,747	5,238				
Washington	935	1,305	1,187	616	1,805	3,108	5,854				
West Virginia	689	809	703	192	895	1,704	2,926				
Wisconsin	1,305	1,424	756	163	921	2,345	4,860				
Wyoming	477	632	336	155	491	1,123	1,429				



### III. Owners in Rural Areas and Towns of up to 10,000 Population

U.S. TOTAL	TOTAL OWNERS OVERCROWDED BUT WITH PLUMBING	RURAL OWNERS LACKING PLUMBING	OWNERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 POP. LACKING PLUMBING	TOTAL OWNERS LACKING PLUMBING	RURAL OWNERS OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING	OWNERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 OVERCROWDED WITH PLUMBING
	(dd)=(i+w)	(d)	(r)	(cc)=(d+r)	(i)	(w)
634,287	511,267	35,432	546,699	529,620	104,667	
Alabama	21,113	20,732	1,597	22,329	18,041	3,072
Alaska	2,724	8,174	435	8,609	2,296	428
Arizona	12,600	10,642	558	11,200	8,464	4,136
Arkansas	15,128	15,147	1,110	16,257	12,640	2,488
California	30,520	6,580	568	7,148	21,048	9,872
Colorado	5,542	2,633	227	2,860	4,316	1,216
Connecticut	2,378	1,060	157	1,217	2,108	270
Delaware	1,297	997	59	1,056	1,191	106
Florida	21,404	6,512	1,272	7,784	17,259	4,145
Georgia	25,949	16,501	1,658	18,159	21,882	4,067
Hawaii	5,430	848	89	937	2,714	2,716
Idaho	6,291	2,084	84	2,168	5,247	1,044
Illinois	13,993	9,919	1,238	11,157	11,129	2,864
Indiana	16,027	11,177	1,024	12,201	13,549	2,478
Iowa	7,635	6,258	834	7,092	6,312	1,325
Kansas	5,300	3,879	288	4,167	4,350	950
Kentucky	17,780	39,267	1,295	40,562	16,130	1,650
Louisiana	26,382	10,002	936	10,938	20,875	5,509
Maine	5,584	10,738	837	11,575	4,805	779
Maryland	4,664	7,047	354	7,401	4,224	440
Massachusetts	5,109	2,012	354	2,366	4,413	696
Michigan	23,235	11,042	828	11,870	21,167	2,068
Minnesota	12,559	11,876	693	12,569	11,074	1,485
Mississippi	23,181	18,130	946	19,076	20,251	2,950
Missouri	15,780	16,076	931	17,007	13,545	2,255
Montana	4,583	2,511	122	2,633	4,059	524
Nebraska	3,702	2,497	205	2,702	3,116	586
Nevada	1,842	463	41	504	1,404	438
New Hampshire	2,739	3,028	179	3,207	2,520	219
New Jersey	4,017	1,414	455	1,869	3,381	636
New Mexico	10,925	9,384	625	10,009	7,958	2,907
New York	16,510	12,305	935	13,240	14,990	1,520
North Carolina	30,845	28,965	1,284	30,249	28,411	2,434
North Dakota	2,938	2,644	64	2,708	2,733	205
Ohio	21,550	20,805	950	21,755	19,060	2,490
Oklahoma	12,778	6,746	599	7,345	10,366	2,412
Oregon	8,648	3,546	196	3,742	7,246	1,402
Pennsylvania	23,955	21,187	1,270	22,457	21,985	1,970
Rhode Island	661	361	18	379	619	42
South Carolina	22,978	12,874	1,359	14,213	19,683	3,295
South Dakota	3,445	3,299	137	3,436	3,156	309
Tennessee	17,878	26,376	1,144	27,520	15,652	2,226
Texas	53,572	28,676	4,972	33,648	38,658	14,914
Utah	5,374	1,007	60	1,067	3,963	1,411
Vermont	2,188	2,508	161	2,669	2,012	179
Virginia	15,709	34,405	949	35,354	14,355	1,354
Washington	9,947	4,752	171	4,923	8,642	1,505
West Virginia	12,539	20,036	343	20,379	11,750	809
Wisconsin	14,090	11,413	756	12,169	12,566	1,424
Wyoming	2,879	732	85	817	2,247	652

U.S. TOTAL	RURAL OWNERS IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS	OWNERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS	TOTAL OWNERS IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS
1,040,887	140,099	1,180,986	
(ee) = (u+1)	(rf) = (r+w)	(ef) = (e+fr)	
Alabama	38,773	4,669	43,442
Alaska	10,470	863	11,333
Arizona	19,106	4,694	23,800
Arkansas	27,787	3,598	31,385
California	27,628	10,440	38,068
Colorado	6,949	1,443	8,392
Connecticut	3,168	427	3,595
Delaware	2,188	165	2,353
Florida	23,771	5,417	29,188
Georgia	38,383	5,725	44,108
Hawaii	3,562	2,805	6,367
Idaho	7,331	1,128	8,459
Illinois	21,048	4,102	25,150
Indiana	24,720	3,502	28,228
Iowa	12,570	2,157	14,727
Kansas	8,229	1,238	9,467
Kentucky	55,397	2,945	58,342
Louisiana	30,875	6,445	37,320
Maine	15,543	1,616	17,159
Maryland	11,271	794	12,065
Massachusetts	6,425	1,050	7,475
Michigan	32,209	2,896	35,105
Minnesota	22,950	2,178	25,128
Mississippi	38,381	3,876	42,257
Missouri	29,621	3,166	32,787
Montana	6,570	646	7,216
Nebraska	5,613	791	6,404
Nevada	1,867	479	2,346
New Hampshire	5,548	398	5,946
New Jersey	4,795	1,091	5,886
New Mexico	17,342	3,592	20,934
New York	27,295	2,455	29,750
North Carolina	57,376	3,718	61,094
North Dakota	5,377	269	5,646
Ohio	39,865	3,440	43,305
Oklahoma	17,112	3,011	20,123
Oregon	10,792	1,598	12,390
Pennsylvania	43,172	3,240	46,412
Rhode Island	32,557	60	1,040
South Carolina	6,435	4,634	37,191
South Dakota	42,028	446	6,881
Tennessee	67,334	3,370	45,398
Texas	67,334	19,886	87,220
Utah	4,970	1,471	6,441
Vermont	4,520	337	4,857
Virginia	48,760	2,303	51,063
Washington	13,394	1,476	14,870
West Virginia	31,766	1,152	32,918
Wisconsin	24,079	2,180	26,259
Wyoming	2,979	717	3,696

IV. Renters in Rural Areas and Towns of 2,500-10,000 Population

U.S. TOTAL	RURAL RENTERS LACKING PLUMBING		RENTERS IN TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 LACKING PLUMBING		TOTAL RENTERS LACKING PLUMBING		RURAL RENTERS OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 RENTERS OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING		TOTAL RENTERS OVERCROWDED W/PLUMBING	
	390,982	(e)	63,009	(s)	453,991	(hh)=(e+s)	238,523	(l)	99,874	(z)	335,397	(11)=(1+z)
Alabama	22,261		2,719		24,980		6,702		2,670		9,372	
Alaska	3,513		470		3,983		1,145		1,871		1,871	
Arizona	3,751		535		4,286		4,766		3,010		7,776	
Arkansas	11,026		2,103		13,129		6,284		2,634		8,918	
California	6,252		1,811		8,063		24,189		13,011		37,200	
Colorado	2,184		546		2,730		2,936		1,277		4,213	
Connecticut	932		370		1,302		940		312		1,252	
Delaware	1,251		189		1,440		564		148		1,712	
Florida	5,454		2,383		7,837		9,808		4,714		14,522	
Georgia	24,940		4,676		29,616		11,344		4,969		16,313	
Hawaii	1,734		323		2,057		3,057		2,420		5,477	
Idaho	1,059		255		1,314		2,368		832		3,200	
Illinois	4,659		1,859		6,518		4,549		2,256		6,805	
Indiana	4,689		1,282		5,971		4,233		1,778		6,011	
Iowa	2,769		1,442		4,211		2,049		836		2,885	
Kansas	1,623		483		2,106		2,063		707		2,770	
Kentucky	32,371		2,014		34,385		6,838		2,020		8,858	
Louisiana	10,834		1,995		12,829		8,535		4,319		12,854	
Maine	3,419		910		4,329		1,181		636		1,817	
Maryland	6,866		661		7,527		2,049		560		2,609	
Massachusetts	1,252		830		2,082		1,630		855		2,485	
Michigan	4,718		1,679		6,397		6,175		1,540		7,715	
Minnesota	4,361		1,311		5,672		2,138		745		2,883	
Mississippi	21,832		2,158		23,990		8,796		2,509		11,305	
Missouri	7,375		1,400		8,775		5,332		2,035		7,367	
Montana	1,430		403		1,833		1,954		437		2,391	
Nebraska	1,156		347		1,503		1,450		417		1,867	
Nevada	393		222		615		844		409		1,253	
New Hampshire	1,339		400		1,739		930		261		1,191	
New Jersey	1,430		201		1,631		1,955		828		2,783	
New Mexico	3,314		320		3,634		3,303		2,047		5,350	
New York	6,823		2,325		9,148		6,629		2,283		8,912	
North Carolina	40,102		2,852		42,954		12,122		3,083		15,205	
North Dakota	1,125		224		1,349		943		231		1,174	
Ohio	12,183		1,583		13,766		6,125		2,130		8,255	
Oklahoma	3,486		745		4,231		4,731		2,478		7,209	
Oregon	2,257		613		2,870		3,791		1,774		5,565	
Pennsylvania	12,620		3,100		15,720		7,483		2,022		9,505	
Rhode Island	223		54		277		270		71		341	
South Carolina	18,789		3,460		22,249		6,761		3,353		10,114	
South Dakota	1,470		257		1,727		1,995		450		2,445	
Tennessee	21,877		1,602		23,479		6,930		2,317		2,247	
Texas	15,513		4,360		19,873		20,350		11,392		31,742	
Utah	378		124		502		1,346		541		1,887	
Vermont	1,234		457		1,691		934		326		1,262	
Virginia	28,981		1,542		30,523		4,664		1,303		6,957	
Washington	2,755		555		3,310		4,956		1,803		6,759	
West Virginia	15,497		879		16,376		4,471		895		5,366	
Wisconsin	4,924		1,759		6,683		2,875		921		3,796	
Wyoming	558		221		779		1,040		491		1,531	

U.S. TOTAL	RURAL RENTER SUBSTANDARD	TOWNS OF 2,500-10,000 RENTERS SUBSTANDARD	TOTAL RENTER SUBSTANDARD	TOTAL OWNERS AND RENTERS SUBSTANDARD
(jjj)=(e+ll)	(kk)=(s+z)	(ll)=(jj+kk)	(mm)=(ll+kk)	
629,505	162,883	792,388	1,973,374	
Alabama	28,963	5,389	34,352	77,794
Alaska	4,658	1,196	5,854	17,187
Arizona	8,517	3,545	12,062	35,862
Arkansas	17,310	4,737	22,047	53,432
California	30,441	14,822	45,263	83,331
Colorado	5,120	1,823	6,943	15,335
Connecticut	1,872	682	2,554	6,149
Delaware	1,815	337	2,152	4,505
Florida	15,262	7,097	22,359	51,547
Georgia	36,284	9,645	45,929	90,037
Hawaii	4,791	2,743	7,534	13,901
Idaho	3,427	1,087	4,514	12,973
Illinois	9,208	4,115	13,323	38,473
Indiana	8,922	3,060	11,982	40,210
Iowa	4,818	2,278	7,096	21,823
Kansas	5,686	1,190	6,876	14,343
Kentucky	39,209	4,034	43,243	101,585
Louisiana	19,369	6,314	25,683	63,003
Maine	4,600	1,546	6,146	23,305
Maryland	8,915	1,221	10,136	22,201
Massachusetts	2,882	1,685	4,567	12,042
Michigan	10,893	3,219	14,112	49,217
Minnesota	6,499	2,056	8,555	33,683
Mississippi	30,628	4,667	35,295	77,552
Missouri	12,707	3,435	16,142	48,929
Montana	3,384	840	4,224	11,440
Nebraska	2,606	764	3,370	9,774
Nevada	1,237	631	1,868	4,214
New Hampshire	2,269	661	2,930	8,876
New Jersey	3,385	1,029	4,414	10,300
New Mexico	6,617	2,367	8,984	29,918
New York	13,452	4,608	18,060	47,810
North Carolina	52,224	5,935	58,159	119,253
North Dakota	2,068	455	2,523	8,169
Ohio	18,308	3,713	22,021	65,326
Oklahoma	8,217	3,223	11,440	31,563
Oregon	6,048	2,387	8,435	20,825
Pennsylvania	20,103	5,122	25,225	71,637
Rhode Island	493	125	618	1,658
South Carolina	25,550	6,813	32,363	69,554
South Dakota	3,465	707	4,172	11,053
Tennessee	28,807	3,919	32,726	78,124
Texas	35,863	15,752	51,615	138,855
Utah	1,724	665	2,389	8,830
Vermont	2,168	785	2,953	7,810
Virginia	33,645	2,935	36,580	87,643
Washington	7,711	2,358	10,069	24,939
West Virginia	19,968	1,774	21,742	54,660
Wisconsin	7,799	2,680	10,479	36,738
Wyoming	1,598	712	2,310	6,006

**TABLE 15: 1980 Mobile Home Data**

STATE	Rural (Fewer than 2,500 Residents)			Towns of 2,500- 10,000 Residents in Non-Urbanized Areas			Total		
	Owners	Renters	Both	Owners	Renters	Both	Owners	Renters	Both
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>1,866,929</b>	<b>434,646</b>	<b>2,301,575</b>	<b>215,411</b>	<b>64,928</b>	<b>280,339</b>	<b>2,082,340</b>	<b>499,574</b>	<b>2,581,914</b>
Alabama	62,830	12,605	75,435	6,070	2,300	8,370	68,900	14,905	83,805
Alaska	3,564	1,271	4,835	1,184	319	1,503	4,748	1,590	6,338
Arizona	26,131	6,692	32,823	9,937	2,275	12,212	36,068	8,967	45,035
Arkansas	35,183	9,804	44,987	3,817	2,183	6,000	39,000	11,987	50,987
California	79,348	19,940	99,288	18,510	3,649	22,159	97,858	23,589	121,447
Colorado	20,809	5,618	26,427	4,448	1,277	5,725	25,257	6,895	32,152
Connecticut	3,076	661	3,737	158	25	183	3,234	686	3,920
Delaware	8,774	2,284	11,058	162	97	259	8,936	2,381	11,317
Florida	107,901	23,322	131,223	16,080	3,395	19,475	123,981	26,717	150,698
Georgia	82,348	22,669	105,017	5,205	2,403	7,608	87,553	25,072	112,625
Hawaii	25	19	44	15	8	23	40	27	67
Idaho	18,556	4,106	22,562	3,058	782	3,840	21,614	4,888	26,502
Illinois	38,528	10,845	49,373	7,377	2,988	10,365	45,905	13,833	59,738
Indiana	48,493	11,203	59,696	5,499	2,041	8,540	54,992	13,244	68,236
Iowa	18,223	3,637	21,920	4,231	1,147	5,378	22,454	4,944	27,298
Kansas	18,609	5,427	24,036	3,649	1,185	4,834	22,258	5,612	28,870
Kentucky	63,867	15,308	79,175	4,235	2,053	6,288	66,102	17,361	83,463
Louisiana	50,846	10,112	60,958	8,346	2,260	10,606	59,192	12,372	71,564
Maine	20,136	3,335	23,471	3,169	704	3,873	23,305	4,039	27,344
Maryland	13,728	4,025	17,753	740	329	1,069	14,468	4,354	18,822
Massachusetts	5,694	1,024	6,718	444	113	557	6,138	1,137	7,275
Michigan	67,556	13,235	80,791	5,012	709	5,721	72,568	13,944	86,512
Minnesota	26,469	4,295	30,764	5,497	872	6,369	31,966	5,157	37,133
Mississippi	42,035	9,039	51,074	2,597	1,104	3,701	44,632	10,143	54,775
Missouri	47,786	12,390	60,176	5,083	2,335	7,418	52,869	14,725	67,594
Montana	18,152	4,206	22,358	2,637	697	3,334	20,789	4,903	25,692
Nebraska	10,664	3,085	13,749	2,214	757	2,971	12,978	3,842	16,720
Nevada	8,306	2,335	11,141	2,460	606	3,066	11,266	2,941	14,207
New Hampshire	11,400	1,816	13,216	1,177	205	1,382	12,577	2,021	14,598
New Jersey	6,705	1,116	9,821	505	61	566	9,210	1,177	10,387
New Mexico	20,826	4,117	24,943	6,134	1,548	7,682	26,960	5,665	32,625
New York	72,455	16,197	88,652	3,519	728	4,247	75,974	16,925	92,899
North Carolina	120,825	37,046	157,871	3,927	1,693	5,620	124,752	38,739	163,491
North Dakota	9,215	1,443	10,658	1,234	209	1,443	10,449	1,652	12,101
Ohio	70,317	14,570	84,887	6,388	1,863	8,251	76,705	16,433	93,138
Oklahoma	32,126	5,926	38,052	5,133	1,701	6,834	37,259	7,527	44,886
Oregon	42,562	8,363	50,925	7,432	1,292	8,724	49,994	9,655	59,649
Pennsylvania	101,305	21,823	123,128	3,460	1,039	4,499	104,765	22,862	127,627
Rhode Island	930	183	1,113	5	4	9	935	187	1,122
South Carolina	58,824	13,751	72,575	4,731	2,797	7,528	63,555	16,548	80,103
South Dakota	8,797	1,943	10,740	1,250	444	1,694	10,047	2,387	12,434
Tennessee	52,204	15,321	67,525	3,582	2,450	6,032	55,786	17,771	73,557
Texas	104,649	22,989	127,638	15,540	5,012	20,552	120,189	28,001	148,190
Utah	5,977	1,487	7,464	1,898	417	2,315	7,875	1,904	9,779
Vermont	5,832	2,093	10,925	582	141	723	9,414	2,234	11,648
Virginia	51,841	12,045	63,886	3,799	1,134	4,933	55,640	13,179	68,819
Washington	44,846	9,431	54,277	3,561	929	4,490	48,407	10,360	58,767
West Virginia	51,242	11,044	62,286	2,564	919	3,483	55,806	11,963	67,769
Wisconsin	28,825	6,478	35,303	2,842	744	3,586	31,667	7,222	38,889
Wyoming	12,086	2,312	15,001	3,314	985	4,299	15,403	3,897	19,300