


TWhis report was prepared by Jennifer Garner, Janet Krofta, Sue Phillips, Mary Stover, and Leslie Strauss of the Housing Assistance Council (HAC). The Housing Assistance Council, a nonprofit corporation, supports the development of rural low-income housing nationwide. HAC provides technical housing services, seed money loans from revolving loan funds, rural housing program and policy assistance, research and demonstration projects, and training and information services.

The work providing the basis for the data analysis portions of this publication was supported by funding under Contract DU100C0018164 with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Preparation of the case study portion of this publication was supported by funding from the Ford Foundation. Preparation of the poster maps in this publication was supported by funding under Cooperative Agreement H-5925 CA with HUD. HAC is grateful to HUD and the Ford Foundation for their assistance.

The substance and findings of this work are dedicated to the public. HAC is solely responsible for the accuracy of the statements and interpretations contained in this publication and such interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Government.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## NATIONAL DATA

INTRODUCTION ..... 1
METHODOLOGY ..... 3
Definitions
POPULATION ..... 5Prospects for Rural and Nonmetro Population Growth in the FutureRural Demographic Overview
EMPLOYMENT AND THE RURAL ECONOMY ..... 11
POVERTY ..... 15
Poverty by Race/EthnicityFarmworkers
HOUSING ..... 23
Tenure
Manufactured Homes
Affordability
Housing Quality
Differences in Rural and Urban Housing Quality
Water Supply and Quality
CENSUS UNDERCOUNT ..... 35
SPECIAL NEEDS AREAS AND POPULATIONS
THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA ..... 41
Population
Poverty
Housing
NATIVE AMERICANS ..... 49
Population
Poverty
Housing
THE UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER ..... 57
Undercount
Population
Poverty
Housing

## CASE STUDIES

OVERVIEW ..... 77
APACHE COUNTY, ARIZONA ..... 83
Southern Apache County
The Navajo Nation in Apache County
HANCOCK COUNTY, TENNESSEE ..... 89
MORA COUNTY, NEW MEXICO ..... 93
NEWTON AND SEARCY COUNTIES, ARKANSAS ..... 97
SHANNON COUNTY/PINE RIDGE RESERVATION, SOUTH DAKOTA ..... 101
WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA ..... 107
ZAVALA COUNTY, TEXAS ..... 113
APPENDICES
APPENDIX A: Definitions of Subject Characteristics and Area Classifications
From the 1990 Census ..... A-1
APPENDIX B: Data ..... B-1
Figure 1: Changes in Rural Population, 1980-1990 (Map) ..... 5
Figure 2: Breakdown of Hispanic Origin in States with a Decrease in Total Rural Population, 1980-1990 ..... 7
Figure 3: Race, Age, and Household Type ..... 8
Figure 4: Percent Change in the Number of Jobs by Industry During Recession Years ..... 11
Figure 5: Nonmetro Unemployment Rates for Demographic Groups, 1992 ..... 12
Figure 6: Earnings per Job by Industry ..... 13
Figure 7: Rural/Nonmetro Poverty, 1970-1990 ..... 15
Figure 8: Poverty by Race/Ethnicity ..... 16
Figure 9: Poverty Status by Race/Ethnicity and Age ..... 17
Figure 10: Rural Poverty Rate by Race (Persons), 1970-1990 ..... 18
Figure 11: Persons Receiving Public Assistance ..... 19
Figure 12: Legal Status of Foreign-Born Farmworkers ..... 20
Figure 13: Tenure and Occupancy Status of Rural Housing Units ..... 23
Figure 14: Tenure of Occupied Housing Units by Race .....  24
Figure 15: Rural Mobile Homes, 1980-1990 ..... 25
Figure 16: Percent of Rural Population Living in Mobile Homes (Map) ..... 26
Figure 17: Age of Householder and Cost Burden by Tenure ..... 27
Figure 18: States with the Highest Rural Cost Burden, Median Rent, and Median Owner Cost .....  28
Figure 19: States with the Lowest Rural Cost Burden, Median Rent, and Median Owner Cost ..... 29
Figure 20: Changes in Rural Housing Quality, 1970-1990 .....  29
Figure 21: Housing Quality Indicators/Percent of Rural and Urban Units ..... 30
Figure 22: Housing Quality Indicators by Tenure ..... 31
Figure 23: Rural Units Lacking Complete Plumbing ..... 32
Figure 24: States with the Highest Percentage of Rural Units with Housing Quality Problems ..... 32
Figure 25: Source of Water ..... 33
Figure 26: Sewage Disposal ..... 34
LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA
LMD Figure 1: Population Data ..... 42
LMD Figure 2: Population Comparisons ..... 43
LMD Figure 3: Minority Population Comparisons ..... 43
LMD Figure 4: Poverty Data ..... 44
LMD Figure 5: Housing Data ..... 46
LMD Figure 6: Nonmetro Cost Burden Rates by Age of Householder ..... 48
NATIVE AMERICANS
NA Figure 1: Race and Urban/Rural Residence ..... 50
NA Figure 2: Race/Ethnicity of Householder by Household Type ..... 51
NA Figure 3: Poverty Rates by Race/Ethnicity ..... 51
NA Figure 4: Poverty by Age ..... 52 ..... 52
NA Figure 5: Tenure by Race of Householder ..... 52
NA Figure 6: Mobile Homes ..... 53 ..... 53
NA Figure 7: Cost Burden by Income Level ..... 53
NA Figure 8: Plumbing Facilities by Race/Ethnicity ..... 54
NA Figure 9: Housing Quality Indicators ..... 55
NA Figure 10: Source of Water and Means of Sewage Disposal ..... 55 ..... 55
UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER
BR Figure 1: Racial/Ethnic Origin ..... 61
BR Figure 2: Year of Arrival in United States ..... 62
BR Figure 3: Citizenship Status by Age ..... 62
BR Figure 4: Ability to Speak English and Spanish, by Age ..... 63 ..... 63
BR Figure 5: Household Size, Number of Persons ..... 64
BR Figure 6: Household Type ..... 64 ..... 64
BR Figure 7: Poverty Rates by Race/Ethnicity ..... 65
BR Figure 8: Poverty Status by Age, Hispanic Residents ..... 66
BR Figure 9: Tenure by Race and Ethnicity ..... 67
BR Figure 10: Mobile Homes ..... 68
BR Figure 11: Cost Burden by Income Level ..... 68
BR Figure 12: Housing Quality Indicators ..... 69
BR Figure 13: Housing Quality Indicators, Counties with at Least 15\% Rural Residents ..... 69
BR Figure 14: Plumbing Facilities by Race/Ethnicity ..... 70
BR Figure 15: Source of Water and Means of Sewage Disposal ..... 72
TABLES
APPENDIX B
Table B-1: Rural Housing Quality Indicators by State ..... B-1
Table B-2: Poverty Status of Rural Individuals by Age, by State ..... B-2
Table B-3: Poverty Status of Rural Black Persons, by State ..... B-3
Table B-4: Poverty Status of Rural American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut Persons, by State ..... B-4
Table B-5: Poverty Status of Rural Hispanic Persons, by State ..... B-5
Table B-6: Poverty Status of Rural Asian/Pacific Islander Persons, by State ..... B-6
Table B-7: Poverty Status of Rural White Persons, by State ..... B-7
Table B-8: Poverty Status of Rural Families, by State ..... B-8
Table B-9: Poverty Status of Rural Black Families, by State ..... B-9
Table B-10: Poverty Status of Rural White Families, by State ..... B-10
Table B-11: Poverty Status of Rural American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut Families, by State ..... B-11
Table B-12: Poverty Status of Rural Hispanic Families, by State ..... B-12
Table B-13: Poverty Status of Asian/Pacific Islander Families, by State ..... B-13
Table B-14: Ranking of Counties with More Than 30 Percent of the Population Below the Poverty Line ..... B-14
LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA TABLES
Table B-15: Lower Mississippi Delta Counties and Parishes ..... B-18
Table B-16: Population by Urban/Rural Areas, Race, and Hispanic Origin ..... B-20
Table B-17: Households by Household Type and Age of Householder ..... B-21
Table B-18: Poverty Status for all Persons by Age ..... B-22
Table B-19: Poverty Status of Black Persons by Age ..... B-23
Table B-20: Percent of Families in Poverty by Family Type and Presence of Children ..... B-24
Table B-21: Percent of Black Families in Poverty by Family Type and Presence of Children ..... B-25
Table B-22: Persons in Households by Age and Public Assistance Status ..... B-26
Table B-23: Total Units, Occupancy, and Tenure ..... B-27

Table B-24: Occupied Housing Units by Race/Ethnicity of Householder .................................. B-28
Table B-25: Owner-Occupied Housing Units by Race/Ethnicity of Householder .......................... B-29
Table B-26: Renter-Occupied Housing Units by Race/Ethnicity of Householder .......................... B-30
Table B-27: Occupied Mobile Homes by Tenure ............................................................... . . . 31
Table B-28: Housing Units by Source of Water . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 32
Table B-29: Housing Units with and without Complete Kitchens and Plumbing Facilities ................. B-33
Table B-30: Housing Units by Persons per Room and Tenure ............................................ . 34
Table B-31: Renter-Occupied Units by Rent as Percent of Income by Age of Householder ................ B-35
Table B-32: Owner-Occupied Units by Rent as Percent of Income by Age of Householder ................. B-36
UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER TABLES
Table B-33: Rural Population, Race and Ethnicity . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B- 38
Table B-34: Citizenship Status by Age . .................................................................. . . . 40
Table B-35: Hispanic Origin and Year of Entry ....................................................... . . 42
Table B-36: Household Type and Presence and Age of Children, by Race/Ethnicity . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B-44
Table B-37: Poverty Rates by Race . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B-56
Table B-38: Tenure by Race and Ethnicity of Householder . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B-60
Table B-39: Cost Burdened Owners by Income Level . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B-64
Table B-40: Cost Burdened Renters by Income Level . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . B-68
Table B-41: Housing Quality Indicators . .............................................................. . B-72
Table B-42: Source of Water and Means of Sewage Disposal ............................................. . 73


Rural America is changing, even as it remains the same, showing signs of vitality and growth while suffering from persistent poverty and housing quality problems. A second decade of modest population growth signals the end of the widespread flight of rural people to urban centers that characterized the 1950s and ' 60 s. As U.S. cities decay, and urban quali-

## United States experience

ty of life continues to
decline, there are signs that people are slowly moving back to rural communities. In the midst of this encouraging growth, severe poverty continues to plague rural areas of the United States, and the rate of rural people and families living below the poverty line rivals, and often surpasses, that of the nation's central cities. While communities throughout the rural United States experience high poverty rates, poverty is particularly pervasive within several concentrated geographical areas. The Lower Mississippi Delta, the colonias along the United States-Mexico border, and American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut lands have particularly high rates of people living in poverty. ${ }^{1}$
Dramatic improvements in rural housing quality during the 1980s were overshadowed by the growing inability of rural people to afford decent housing. This, too, signals the end of a long-standing trend. Until the 1980s, rural housing quality
problems were extremely severe, but housing was generally affordable, even to mod-erate-income people. As wages have fallen in the face of nationwide economic decline, and housing costs have risen, this is no longer true: in 1989, one in five rural households paid more than 30 percent of its income for housing costs. Despite improvements in housing quality, especially in the number of rural units with complete plumbing facilities, there are about three million units whose occupants are cost-burdened or which are physically substandard.
Even as these general conclusions can be drawn, it is impossible to talk about rural America as a monolith. From the rugged mining towns of Appalachia to the sprawling dairy farms of Upstate New York to the colonias in the Southwest, the very geography that defines the rural United States encompasses diverse communities and landscapes. The case studies at the end of this report attempt to capture the essence of this diversity, and to present a living picture of rural life that data alone cannot draw. The complex interaction of economic, demographic, and housing quality conditions impacts each of these communities differently. In the midst of this diversity, and mixture of vitality and decline, one thing is clear: the grinding poverty and persistent housing quality and affordability problems in so many of these communities demands renewed attention to the poorest of the poor in the most rural places.

[^0]Unless otherwise noted, all of the data in this report was taken from Summary Tape Files (STF) 1 and 3 of the 1990 decennial Census of Population and Housing on CD-ROM. Some of the data from the Census, including that for income (and therefore poverty) measures 1989 conditions, while other data, including that for population and most housing characteristics, measures conditions present on Census day (April 1, 1990).

## number of rural residents

 between 1980 and 1990 is a continuming reversal of the dramatic decline in puralpopulation wich occullreal

## in the 1950s and 1960s.

## Definitions

There is an enormous amount of confusion about the exact definition of "rural," exacerbated by the fact that different government agencies have different definitions. This report uses the U.S. Census Bureau definition of rural throughout. It is: places of less than 2,500 people, including the rural portions of extended cities and areas outside incorporated and Census designated places. Nonmetropolitan areas are places outside Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) that have populations below 50,000 . (For comprehensive definitions of these and other terms used in this report, see Appendix A.) The terms "rural" and "nonmetropolitan" are not used interchangeably in this report.
Tables containing poverty, population, and housing quality data for rural areas by state are included in Appendix B of this report. Detailed tables for the Lower Mississippi Delta and the U.S.-Mexico border region are also in Appendix B.

From 1980 to 1990, the rural population in the United States grew by just over 5 percent, from 58.6 million to 61.7 million people. This growth rate was significantly lower than that of urban areas (12 percent) and the United States as a whole ( 9.8 percent). Nevertheless, the growth in the number of rural residents between 1980 and 1990 is a continuing reversal of the dramatic decline in rural population which occurred in the 1950s and 1960s.
every region but the Midwest.
While North Dakota, Iowa, and Wyoming experienced the most significant rates of rural population decline between 1980 and 1990, almost every Midwestern state lost rural residents. These states lost such large portions of their rural populations primarily because their economies are heavily dependent on agriculture. ${ }^{2}$ As farming has become more capital intensive than labor intensive, the number of agricultural jobs has declined, resulting in fewer employment opportunities for rural people. In the three states with the largest rural population decline, the average farm size is so large $(2,300$ acres in North Dakota), and they employ so many people, that farm closings or consolidations have a greater impact than in states with smaller farms and more diversified economies. Some rural people in these states migrated to urban areas, while others left the state entirely. Young people between the ages of 18 and 34 are leaving the rural parts of these states in tremendous numbers. Data from North Dakota indicates that the majority of counties lost more than 50 percent of the population of 18-64 year olds in the 1980s, thus lowering the birth rate and further hastening the decline in overall rural population.
States in the West North Central and Mountain divisions experienced the great-

As the map below shows, the relatively small rural growth rate is misleading given the explosion in rural population in several key states. While the urban population accrued primarily in states with so-called "gateway cities," largely as a result of immigration, growth in rural areas occurred in

[^1]est increase in rural black population, while none had a commensurate rise in the urban black population. In many of these states, the greatest number of AfricanAmericans living in rural areas lived in the rural portions of extended cities, not smaller towns. ${ }^{3}$ This trend is significant given that many of the states in these regions experienced a net loss of rural population.
Most of the growth in rural population occurred among white people, who comprise 91 percent of rural residents in the United States. The most dramatic trend in rural population between 1980 and 1990, however, was the huge increase in the number of Hispanic people living in rural areas throughout the United States. ${ }^{4}$ In each of the seven states experiencing rural growth rates of more than 15 percent between 1980 and 1990, the rural Hispanic population increased faster than any other racial/ethnic group: the number of Hispanic people in rural Alaska, New Hampshire, and Florida doubled from 1980 to 1990 . While the west coast and Southwest had the largest numbers of Hispanic immigrants, the Midwest and Northeast also experienced a large influx of Hispanic people.
The only exceptions to this national trend were seven states in the South which had a marked decline in both rural and urban Hispanic population: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, West Virginia, Mississippi, South

Carolina, and Louisiana. The decline in Hispanic population in these states is exceptional not only because it contradicts national population trends, but because it contravenes regional and racial migration patterns of the last several decades.
For the last one hundred years, the population of the United States has shifted slowly to the West. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this trend was concurrent with a secondary shift to northeastern cities from the South, particularly among African-Americans. In the 1960s, however, this latter trend reversed, and the South began to experience a net inmigration. Demographic analysts at the Census Bureau suggest that the relocation of industry from other regions to the South, a regional leveling of standards of living, and the success of the civil rights movement, among other reasons, contributed to this reversal. ${ }^{5}$ In each of the years between 1985 and 1991, the South was second only to the West in net inmigration. ${ }^{6}$ In this context, 1990 Census data showing a decline in both rural and urban Hispanic population in several southern states is even more significant. ${ }^{7}$
Given the diversity in the economic, social, and employment patterns within Hispanic communities, an analysis of the countries of origin of Hispanic people in these states is critical to understanding why the states lost rural Hispanic population.
Each of the states in this table experienced

[^2]Figure 2: Breakkown of Hispanic Origin in States with a Decrease in Total Rural Population, 1980-1990

| STATE | $\begin{gathered} 1990 \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% CHANGE } \\ & \text { 1980-1990 } \end{aligned}$ | mexican | puerto RICAN | cuban | OTHER |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Kentucky | 5,811 | -52.5 | -65.4 | +30.7 | -53.0 | -36.9 |
| Mississippi | 6,549 | -47.0 | -64.8 | +60.1 | -67.6 | -5.6 |
| Alabama | 7,021 | -43.4 | -59.7 | +69.9 | -48.4 | -18.4 |
| West Virginia | 4,780 | -41.2 | -62.4 | +13.3 | -13.8 | -19.1 |
| South Carolina | 8,452 | -37.8 | -58.2 | +66.4 | -30.6 | -9.2 |
| Tennessee | 8,334 | -29.7 | -45.8 | +82.6 | +9.7 | -14.4 |
| Louisiana | 16,789 | -23.7 | -23.1 | +40.3 | +19.1 | -30.2 |

a decline in the number of Hispanic people who identified themselves as being of Mexican or "Other" origin. Generally, most of those identifying as "Other" are from Central and Latin American countries. ${ }^{8}$ Because the majority of migrant and other farmworkers are Mexican and Central American immigrants or undocumented workers, and because these southern states have rural economies dependent largely on agriculture, it is logical to assume that the decrease in Mexican and "Other" rural Hispanic residents was based on a decline in agricultural production in the South, and the resulting decreased need for migrant and seasonal farm labor. ${ }^{9}$
There are several probable economic reasons for the decline in rural Hispanic populations in these states. The most significant are a decrease in the number of farms and the corollary decline in crop production in this region, both of which result in less need for farm labor. The number of
farms in these seven states decreased an average of 16 percent between 1982 and 1987 alone (mirroring national trends), while South Carolina had a 28 percent decline during this period. ${ }^{10}$ As a result, agricultural production declined significantly. Increased mechanization of farm work also contributed to a diminished need for farm labor.
Legislation passed between 1980 and 1990 may also have affected rural (and urban) Hispanic population trends. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 legalized the employment of 1.3 million undocumented workers in the United States, thereby freeing them to pursue safer and higher-paying employment. In Southern rural areas, this legislation probably had a significant impact on the outmigration of Hispanic people. Of all people working in agricultural, forestry, and fishing industries in the South, Hispanics were the only group to have a net outmigration in 1991: five people left for every one person who immigrated to the region. ${ }^{11}$

## Prospects for Rurral and Nonmetro Population Growth in the Fulture

TThere is strong evidence that the country's rural and nonmetropolitan population will increase at even greater rates in the next decade, perhaps even surpassing the growth rates of metro areas. While only 47 percent of all nonmetro counties in the United States gained population in the 1980s, two-thirds gained population between 1990 and 1991. Population growth is also occurring in counties that lost population in the 1980s. Increasing

[^3]employment opportunities in nonmetropolitan areas are probably responsible for this encouraging growth. Calvin Beale, the preeminent rural demographer in the United States, asserts that "the economic picture in rural areas was so poor from 1980 on . . . three-quarters of the decade saw a combination of an exceptionally severe and long farm crisis with a general economic recession. What we see now, even though the country is having this in-and-out recession, is that the employment picture since 1990 has looked better in the nonmetro areas than in the metro areas," ${ }^{12}$ Federal statistics show that in fiscal year 1992, the unemployment rate in nonmetro areas was lower than that in metro areas for the first time in 13 years. If this trend continues, the population of rural and nonmetropolitan areas in the United States is likely to grow at a significant rate.

## Figure 3: Race, Age, and Household Type

|  | RURAL |  | URBAN |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | "19 | TOTAL | \% |
| TOTAL POPULATION | 61,656,386 | 100 | 187,053,487 | 100 |
| Race |  |  |  |  |
| White | 55,878,791 | 90.63 | 143,807,279 | 76.6 |
| Black | 3,832,616 | 6.22 | 26,153,444 | 14.0 |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut | 858,700 | 1.39 | 1,100,534 | . 6 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 338,973 | 0.55 | 6,934,689 | 3.7 |
| Other | 747,306 | 1.21 | 9,057,541 | 4.8 |
| Age |  |  |  |  |
| <18 years | 16,854,257 | 27.3 | 46,750,175 | 25.0 |
| 18-64 years | 38,928,852 | 63.2 | 116,734,758 | 62.4 |
| $65+$ years | 5,873,277 | 9.5 | 23,568,554 | 12.6 |
| TOTAL HOUSEHOLDS | 21,902,243 | 100 | 70,045,167 | 100 |
| One Person Households | 4,130,831 | 18.9 | 18,448,589 | 26.3 |
| Two or more Person Households | 17,771,412 | 81.2 | 51,595,578 | 73.7 |
| Family Households | 17,120,444 | 78.2 | 47,397,503 | 67.7 |
| Married couple families | 14,649,376 | 66.9 | 36,058,946 | 51.5 |
| Married couple families w/ children | 7,200,784 | 32.9 | 17,350,837 | 24.8 |
| Families with female householder | 1,785,292 | 8.2 | 8,880,751 | 12.7 |
| Female householder w/ children | 1,142,871 | 5.2 | 5,819,881 | 8.3 |
| Families with male householder | 685,776 | 3.1 | 2,457,806 | 3.5 |
| Non-Family Households | 650,968 | 3.0 | 4,198,075 | 6.0 |
| With male houscholder | 437,106 | 2.0 | 2,497,784 | 3.6 |
| With female householder | 213,862 | 1.0 | 1,700,291 | 2.4 |

[^4]graphic differences between rural and urban residents of the U.S. Ninety-one percent of rural Americans are white, while only 77 percent of all people living in urban areas are. The proportion of African-American and Hispanic people in rural areas is less than half that of urban areas, while twenty times more Asian/Pacific Islander people live in urban than rural parts of the country. The one racial/ethnic group that is more concentrated in rural areas is American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut people, who make up almost 1.5 percent of the total rural population, but only one half of 1 percent of the urban population.

The residents of rural America are younger than their urban counterparts: a greater proportion of rural people are under the age of 18 , while a larger percentage of urban residents are over 65 years old. The latter difference is likely due to the need for social services, health care, and transportation among the elderly, services that are generally more accessible in larger cities and towns. ${ }^{14}$
Rural people are also more likely to live in family households than people in urban areas: fewer than half of all urban households are comprised of married-couple families, while married couples make up more than two-thirds of all rural households. Conversely, only 11 percent of households in rural parts of the country are single-parent families, as opposed to 16 percent of all urban households.
${ }^{14}$ For more information on the housing conditions and poverty status of elderly rural people, see "Living Alone in Rural America," published by the American Association of Retired Persons, July 1993.

# EMPLOYMENT AND THE RURAL ECONOMY 


#### Abstract

$\mathrm{C}_{\mathrm{ic}}^{\mathrm{i}}$ince 1980, the United States has experienced two periods of severe economic recession, from 1980 to 1981, and from 1989 to 1991. The effects of these recessionary periods have been long-lasting, as plant closings, farm consolidations, and slow job growth continue to plague the U.S. economy. Because these recessions had disparate impacts on industry and agriculture, their impact on the nonmetro economy was fundamentally different from their effect on the economy of metro areas.


## Figure 4: Percent Change in the Number of Johs by Industry During Recession Years ${ }^{17}$

1989-1990

| INDUSTRY | NONMETRO | METRO | NONMETRO | METRO |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All industries | 1.5 | 1.3 | .1 | 1.2 |
| Farming | $(-1.7)$ | $(-2.8)$ | $(-3.2)$ | $(-3.7)$ |
| Agricultural services | 2.8 | 2.6 | $(-.3)$ | 3.7 |
| Mining | 2.1 | .4 | 8.3 | 17.1 |
| Construction | 2.2 | $(-.2)$ | $(-1.4)$ | $(-1.7)$ |
| Manufacturing | $(-.3)$ | $(-1.6)$ | $(-.8)$ | $(-.5)$ |
| Transportation | 2.0 | 2.9 | .8 | .7 |
| Wholesale Trade | $(-.7)$ | $(-1.1)$ | .8 | 1.7 |
| Retail Trade | 1.6 | .3 | .8 | 1.3 |
| Finance | 1.4 | .7 | 2.4 | 2.8 |
| Services | 3.5 | 3.8 | 2.3 | 3.6 |
| Government | 2.1 | 1.9 | $(-1.2)$ | $(-.7)$ |

Data on jobs by industry indicates that manufacturing job losses during the 1989 recession were concentrated in metropoli$\tan$ areas. In the 1980-81 recession, manufacturing in nonmetropolitan areas bore a disproportionately large share of job losses. ${ }^{16}$ According to a report from the Economic Research Service, job losses in nonmetro manufacturing between 1989 and 1990 accounted for only 6 percent of total national manufacturing losses, compared with 28 percent from 1980 to 1981. As Figure 4 shows, similar trends occurred in the construction industry: in the 1980-81 recession, nonmetro construction, which lost 6.5 percent of jobs, was the hardest-hit industry. In 1990, the number of nonmetro construction jobs increased while metro construction jobs declined. As has been the case throughout the last decade, farming also lost jobs in 1990. Since 1984, farming has lost more jobs than any other single industry. Increasing unemployment in the farm industry has not traditionally been linked with periods of national economic decline. Rather, a steady decrease in farming has occurred for the last 20 years, as increased mechanization, poor weather conditions, farm consolidations and the growth of huge agribusinesses, and poor financial conditions have conspired against the health - even existence - of the small farm in rural America.

[^5]Nonmetro employment rates are recovering more slowly from the 1990 recession than they did from the recession in 1980. The Economic Research Service attributes this difference to the combination in 1990 of a weak rebound in sales and accelerated gains in labor productivity. These conditions indicate that increased production needs could be met with relatively little hiring. ${ }^{18}$ The nonmetro employment rate did improve in late 1992, when it fell to 6.9 percent. The metro unemployment rate at the same time was 7.5 percent. The unemployment rates of nonmetro 1624 year olds, black people, and Hispanic people were all approximately twice the overall nonmetropolitan unemployment rate of 7.1 percent in 1992. These workers are more likely than other groups to accept part-time work despite their desire for full-time employment, and to abandon their job search in the belief that jobs cannot be found. These factors, combined with other socio-economic influences, contribute to chronic under- and unemployment. Because unemployment figures exclude people who are not technically looking for work at the time of the survey, the actual unemployment rates for these groups are likely to be even higher. ${ }^{20}$ While the U.S. economy was showing
signs of recovery by the middle of 1993, job growth has remained slow. Rural and nonmetropolitan areas are, however, improving at a faster rate than urban and metro areas. The Economic Research Service suggests that the 1989-90 recession affected industries that are concentrated in metro areas, such as construction, financial institutions, and defense-related industries, more severely than it affected predominantly nonmetropolitan industries. Employment figures show that the recent recession had its greatest impact on the east and west coasts, which are highly urban. After a decline between 1990 and 1991, nonmetro employment rose by 2.1 percent from 1991 to 1992, while metro employment gained only two-tenths of one percent in the same period. Nonmetro employment growth accounted for nearly 70 percent of national gains in 1992. ${ }^{31}$

[^6]Figure E: Earnings per Joh hy Industry ${ }^{2}$

|  | 1990 EARNINGS |  |  | CHANGE IN NONMETRO EARNINGS PER JOB (\%) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| INDUSTRY | NONMETRO <br> (S) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { METRO } \\ & \text { (S) } \end{aligned}$ | NONMETRO/MET RATIO (\%) | 1979-1990 |
| All industries | 19,253 | 25,927 | 74.3 | (-7.2) |
| Farming | 18,710 | 20,335 | 92.0 | 6.9 |
| Agricultural services | 13,467 | 15,482 | 87.0 | (-27.9) |
| Mining | 34,837 | 41,687 | 83.6 | (-10.9) |
| Construction | 21,263 | 29,082 | 73.1 | (-25.2) |
| Manufacturing | 24,626 | 35,095 | 70.2 | (-4.1) |
| Transportation | 30,349 | 34,909 | 86.9 | (-7.6) |
| Wholesale Trade | 23,014 | 34,058 | 67.6 | (-10.6) |
| Retail Trade | 11,583 | 14,331 | 80.8 | (-21.1) |
| Finance | 12,596 | 24,884 | 50.6 | (-26.3) |
| Services | 17,366 | 24,882 | 69.8 | 8.8 |
| Government | 20,586 | 26,558 | 77.5 | 7.7 |

It is uncertain if this trend will continue as the nation emerges from a severe recession. It is also uncertain whether increasing nonmetro employment will translate into a decline in nonmetro poverty. Nonmetro earnings per job have fallen in the last several years at a greater rate than metro earnings, which negatively affects the poverty rate even as overall employment rates improve.

The majority of rural and nonmetro poverty-level households ( 65 percent) have at least one wage-earner. A much smaller percentage ( 54 percent) of poor people in urban and metro areas work, suggesting that higher wages may be almost as important to future rural economic health as higher employment rates. The preponderance of low-wage and seasonal occupations in nonmetro areas limits the ability of nonmetro workers to escape poverty. The fact that more than half of the poor people in nonmetro areas do work or are members of families whose household head works suggests a potential for eliminating a significant amount of nonmetro poverty through economic development, training, and education. Where there are large percentages of poverty-level children, elderly, and disabled persons, however, immediate solutions for the eradication of poverty are more likely to concern welfare policy.

[^7]In 1990, there were 7.6 million people below the poverty line in the rural United States, 13 percent of the total rural population. This degree of poverty halted a trend of decreasing rural poverty in the last several decades which culminated in a 5.2 percent drop in the number of rural poor people between 1970 and 1980. There was almost exactly the same number of poor people in rural America in 1990 as there was in 1980, a disheartening end to an encouraging trend.
After a substantial decline in the number of poor people living in nonmetropolitan areas between 1970 and 1980, the nonmetro poverty rate rose sharply between


1980 and 1990, from 13.8 percent to 16.5 percent. Most of the increase in poverty in these areas occurred in urbanized places with populations between 2,500 and 50,000 which were located outside of metropolitan areas.
In the mid-1980s, poverty rates in metropolitan areas began to fall slightly, while nonmetro rates increased. One possible reason that poverty rates in nonmetro areas did not decline as they did in other geographical areas is that the economy of nonmetro areas historically grows at a slower rate than that of metro areas. ${ }^{24}$ This was particularly true in the early 1980s, when the United States experienced a recession that affected the nation's nonmetro areas more severely than it did metropolitan areas. ${ }^{25}$ Because a large percentage of rural people living below the poverty line are employed, and a large number of people are dependent upon the labor force, the severity of nonmetro poverty is especially affected by employment. During the mid-1980s, the recession caused nonmetro unemployment to rise more quickly than unemployment in metro areas. Because of the heightened correlation between nonmetro unemployment and poverty rates, the percentage of people in poverty grew rapidly in nonmetro areas during this period. The difference between poverty rates in metro and nonmetro areas was also augmented by a widening income gap. In 1973, the metropolitan per capita income was $\$ 3,100$ higher than the nonmetro per capita income, but by 1989 , it was $\$ 5,200$ higher. ${ }^{26}$
${ }^{24}$ Paul Dudenhefer, "Poverty in the Rural United States," FOCUS 15, no. 1, (Spring 1993): 39.
${ }^{25}$ For more information on the impact of this recession on the rural economy, see the previous section of this report, entitled
"Employment and the Rural Economy."
${ }_{26}^{26}$ Dudenhefer, p. 39.

Prior to 1975 , nonmetro poverty rates exceeded those of the central cities of large urban areas. Since 1975, poverty in central cities has increased dramatically while nonmetro poverty has lessened slightly. The current focus on conditions in the nation's cities, however, has fueled the growing myth that poverty in central cities is much more severe than anywhere else in the United States. In fact, this is not true. The central city poverty rate in 1989, at 18.0 percent, was only slightly higher than the 16.8 percent nonmetro poverty rate. ${ }^{27}$

## Poverty hy Race/Elthnicity

AFigure 8 indicates, the poverty rates of irtually every racial/ethnic group are higher in nonmetro areas than they are in metropolitan areas, even those in central cities. This is particularly true for demographic groups already marginalized by virtue of their race or ethnicity, age, and/or family status.
With the exception of Asian/Pacific Islander persons and families, the overall poverty rates, and those for the elderly, children, and female-headed households, are higher for every racial/ethnic group in nonmetropolitan areas than they are in metro areas.
There is a perplexing paradox in 1990 Census poverty rates. The poverty rate for central city residents is 18 percent, while for nonmetro residents it is 16.8 percent. At the same time, however, the nonmetro poverty rate for every racial/ethnic group but Asian/Pacific Islanders exceeds the rate for central cities. (The relatively small number of Asian/Pacific Islander people is not enough to explain the difference.) The most likely hypothesis to explain this discrepancy is that white central city residents

Figure 8: Poverty by Race/Elthicity

were undercounted in the 1990 Census, particularly those living in poverty. The 1989 Current Population Survey (CPS) counted 54.1 million white central city residents and 48.8 million white nonmetro residents. The 1990 Census, however, counted 49.8 million whites in central cities and 47.4 million in nonmetro areas. The rate of difference between the Census and the CPS for the white central city population was 7.8 percent, while for nonmetro whites the difference between the two counts was only 2.9 percent. ${ }^{28}$ Data from the 1991 Current Population Survey indicates that the poverty rate for white central city residents was almost 2 percent higher than for white nonmetro residents, suggesting that in coming years poverty rates for white residents of the nation's central cities will definitely surpass that of white people living in nonmetropolitan areas.

[^8]Poverty rates among people of color living in nonmetropolitan areas were substantially higher than those of white nonmetro residents. People of color were only 11
percent of the total nonmetro population in 1989, but comprised 26 percent of nonmetro people living below the poverty line.

## Figure 9: Poverty Status hy Race/Ethnicity and Age



As Figure 9 illustrates, poverty rates for African-American, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, and Hispanic people were two and a half to three times higher than those for whites. The overall nonmetro poverty rate for black people was the highest of all racial/ethnic groups: 1.8 million of the 4.5 million AfricanAmericans living in nonmetro areas were below the poverty line in 1989. Black children were especially besieged by poverty: 25 percent of all children in poverty in nonmetro areas were black, despite the fact that they represented only 11 percent of the total population of nonmetro children. A staggering 53 percent of black children under the age of five were poor. Elderly black people living outside metropolitan areas of the United States had by far the highest poverty rates of any other elderly racial/ethnic group: almost one of every two was poor.
American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut persons in nonmetro areas experienced poverty at rates rivalling those of African-Americans. The poverty rate for American Indians living in nonmetro areas was 15 percent higher than that for American Indians living in metro areas, due in large part to the enormous poverty on reservations, almost all of which are in nonmetro areas. Among all nonmetro adults, American Indians had the highest poverty rates of all racial/ethnic groups: more than one in three lived below the poverty line in 1989.
Data from the 1990 Census indicates that poverty is worsening for American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut persons, even as it improves for some other racial/ethnic groups. ${ }^{29}$ As Figure 10 indicates, the rural poverty rate for American Indian/Eskimo/ Aleut people was 3.6 percent higher in 1990 than in 1980. There was a similar rise in the poverty rate of Hispanic people living in the rural United States, while a slightly lower proportion of rural African-

Figure 10: Rurral Poverty Rate hy Race (Persons), 1970-1990


Americans experienced poverty in 1990 than in 1980. The 1990 poverty rates for white persons remained virtually identical to those of 1980, providing further evidence that the improvements made in rural poverty conditions between 1960 and 1980 have ceased.
Despite similar rates of poverty, poor people in nonmetropolitan and rural areas are fundamentally different from those in metro areas. They are more likely to be chronically poor, are dispersed over a much wider geographical area, and "are less likely to behave in ways that are generally assumed to be correlative with poverty: a lower percentage are dependent on welfare, and proportionally fewer of them are single parents. ${ }^{30}$ Nonmetro families below the poverty line were also much

[^9]| AGE | RURAL |  |  | URBAN |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | WITH PUBLIC ASSISTANCE | \% | TOTAL | WITH PUBLIC ASSISTANCE | \% |
| ALL | 60,459,197 | 4,595,107 | 7.6 | 168,537,597 | 17,030,508 | 10.1 |
| $<15 \mathrm{yrs}$ | 13,994,257 | 1,260,268 | 9.0 | 39,433,685 | 5,329,318 | 13.5 |
| $15-64 \mathrm{yrs}$ | 39,111,185 | 2,537,834 | 6.5 | 120,046,741 | 9,493,938 | 7.9 |
| $65+\mathrm{yrs}$ | 7,353,755 | 797,005 | 10.8 | 7,729,858 | 2,207,525 | 11.4 |

assistance than the rural population, of which only 7.6 percent receive federal or state income assistance. This disparity is even greater among children: 13.5 percent of urban children receive public assistance, while only 9 percent of children in rural areas do. The lower overall percentage of rural public assistance benefimore likely to have a formally working family member ( 64.6 percent, compared to 54.1 percent of urban poor families). ${ }^{31}$

Poor people in rural and nonmetro areas also differ from their urban and metro counterparts in ways that affect their ability to escape poverty and inadequate living conditions. These include the varying extent to which they are unable to join the labor force due to physical disability, and benefit from public assistance.
The difference in poverty rates between rural and urban areas would be even higher if the value of noncash benefits such as food, housing, and medical assistance were included as income in the determination of poverty status. While the poverty rates of both urban and rural areas would decrease, urban poverty rates would decline at a significantly higher rate because of the disproportionately low number of public assistance beneficiaries among the rural population, and the relatively low assistance payments of poorer, more rural states.
As Figure 11 shows, 2.5 percent more of the total urban population receives public
ciaries is most likely due to the disproportionate focus of anti-poverty programs on urban areas, and the relative lack of an efficient public services delivery system in remote rural areas. ${ }^{33}$ Regardless of the reasons, it is clear that proportionately fewer poor people in rural areas receive income assistance than their urban counterparts.
Another factor that affects rural people's ability to move out of poverty is the high rate of disability relative to urban people. Almost 14 percent of rural adults had a work disability in 1989 , while only 11.5 percent of urban adults did. ${ }^{34}$ The differences are even greater among the elderly: 36.5 percent of rural people above the age of 65 had a work disability, whereas 31.6 percent of their urban counterparts were work disabled.

## Farmworkers

Farmworkers experience some of the worst housing and poverty conditions of any group in the rural United States.
Those who are immigrants, especially, are

[^10]a focus for many of the prevalent cultural myths that exist about poverty, especially rural poverty: they "cause" their own and others' poverty by underbidding American workers, thus taking work away from those who deserve it; they have only a casual attachment to work, returning to their countries of origin during the agricultural off-season; and they are a drain on the economic resources of the states in which they live and work while contributing very little to the economy. In fact, agricultural businesses in the United States demand and systematically recruit the cheap labor provided by most farmworkers. Many farmworkers are recruited to work in American fields by planters and growers via farm labor contractors, who then demand fees from the workers for transportation to the worksite, work equipment, and, often, for dangerously substandard housing in farm labor camps. Most agricultural workers, even those who are foreign-born, stay in the United States all year, patching together a living as they move from harvest to harvest. Most farmworkers, half of whom live below the poverty line, receive no benefits from their employers, and virtually none from the United States government, despite the fact that the vast majority are working legally in this country.
One of the reasons such inaccurate stereotypes about farmworkers can be perpetuated is an appalling lack of data and information about their lives and work. The 1990 Census provides virtually no data on farmworkers. ${ }^{35}$ The last nationwide, federally sponsored comprehensive study on the housing and poverty conditions of farmworkers was conducted in 1980, after it was mandated by the 1978 Housing Act.

# Figure 12: Legal Status of Foreign-Born Farmworkers 



This report was never officially released. Seven thousand Seasonal Agricultural Services (SAS) workers were interviewed during the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) from 1989-1991. ${ }^{36}$ The NAWS is the only recent source of data about farmworkers, and provides a basic overview of the demographic makeup and working conditions of farmworkers in the U.S., but no information about housing. A Labor Department report analyzing data from the NAWS distinguishes between two large "Latinized" regions in the United States. One of these, consisting of the western states, Texas, and Florida, has a well-established tradition of receiving immigrant farmworkers. The second "receiving region" includes the Midwest and eastern states (except Florida), where a widespread number of immigrant agricultural workers is a relatively recent phe-

[^11]nomenon. ${ }^{37}$ The report also uses legal status, ethnicity, and workers employed by farm labor contractors versus those hired directly by agricultural producers as categories of comparison.
Data from the NAWS indicates that 83 percent of all agricultural workers in the established western region were immigrants, whereas foreign-born workers were only 36 percent of all workers in the eastern states. Immigrants in the East, however, made up two-thirds of the harvest workers and almost all of the migrant labor force. Two out of five farmworkers were U.S.-born, of whom 60 percent were non-Hispanic whites, 31 percent were Hispanic, and 6 percent were AfricanAmerican. The Seasonal Agricultural Services labor force was predominantly male ( 73 percent), largely Mexican born ( 55 percent), and relatively young (averaging 31 years old). Among the foreignborn, one-half were Special Agricultural Workers (SAWs), one-quarter were Legal Permanent Residents or naturalized U.S. citizens, and 11 percent were otherwise authorized to work. Only 17 percent of foreign-born agricultural workers had no work authorization, and only 22 percent of all farmworkers were undocumented, challenging the stereotype that most foreignborn and migrant farmworkers work in the United States illegally.
According to the NAWS, nearly one-half (46 percent) of all farmworkers lived below the poverty line in 1991. More than threequarters ( 77 percent) of all undocumented workers were poor. These staggering poverty rates are due primarily to the extremely low wages earned for agricultural work. ${ }^{38}$ Average hourly earnings for this work actually declined from 1989 to 1991, from $\$ 5.19$ to $\$ 4.94$. Workers hired
through farm labor contractors (FLCs) had lower earnings than those hired directly by growers, packing houses, and nurseries ( $\$ 4.92$ an hour compared to $\$ 5.14$ an hour). Farmworkers paid by the piece were paid more than those with an hourly wage, although piece workers hired by FLCs earned significantly less per hour than those hired directly by agricultural producers. FLC-employed farmworkers had an average yearly personal income of $\$ 4,700$ (in 1989 dollars), while the average income of non-FLC workers was $\$ 6,900$. ${ }^{39}$
A small percentage of all agricultural workers - less than one in four - had access to employer-provided benefits such as medical insurance and vacation pay. This percentage varied widely across ethnic groups and legal statuses. U.S.-born and Legal Permanent Residents were the most likely of all workers to receive vacation pay and medical insurance from their employers ( 32 percent). Fewer than 5 percent of undocumented workers received these benefits. Workers hired directly were more than three times more likely than FLC workers to receive employer-provided benefits. Settled workers also received employment benefits more often than migrant farmworkers.
Working conditions for all agricultural workers are notoriously bad. The NAWS measured three variables in an effort to document these conditions: workers who must provide or pay for their own equipment, workers forced to pay for transportation to the worksite, and workers who lack water to drink and wash with and/or toilets at their worksite. ${ }^{40}$ FLCemployed, foreign-born, and undocumented workers had the worst working conditions of all agricultural workers in the United States. Foreign-born workers were

[^12]more than four times more likely than U.S.-born workers to be required to provide their own equipment. Almost half of all FLC-hired farmworkers paid for their own work equipment, as opposed to 17 percent of workers hired by producers. Those hired by FLCs were also four times more likely than other workers to be charged for transportation to the worksite. Overall, 24 percent of all workers surveyed lacked access to toilets, drinking water and water to wash with at their work site. Once again, the numbers were worse for FLC-hired workers, of whom more than half ( 52 percent) lacked access to these basic sanitation facilities at work.
As this data shows, the poverty and working conditions of farmworkers in the United States remain at crisis proportions. Because of the economic desperation of workers, and the unwillingness of U.S. agricultural businesses to pay a living
wage, farmworkers are locked in a cycle of poverty. Many are exploited by farm labor contractors who charge workers, especially those who are foreign-born and undocumented, fees for work equipment, transportation to the worksite and, in many cases, substandard and dangerous housing in farm labor "camps." Very few of these workers receive basic benefits such as health insurance and paid vacation or sick leave. Those who are Hispanic immigrants in particular face severe backlash from many in the United States who believe that their own standard of living is threatened by the presence of workers the U.S. agricultural industry demands. Finally, the persistent poverty and deplorable housing conditions of farmworkers starkly illustrate the general failure of rural policy in the United States to recognize and address the needs of the poorest of the poor in the most rural places.

Ihe number of occupied housing units in the rural United States increased by 11 percent during the 1980s, from 19.8 million in 1980 to 21.9 million in 1990. Rural population growth during this period was only 4 percent. A nationwide trend toward smaller households, greater numbers of people living alone, and less overcrowding contributes to this discrepancy in growth rates. As a general rule, the states with the most growth in rural population between 1980 and 1990 had the largest increases in the proportion of housing units located in rural areas. Conversely, the states with the lowest percentage of rural units experienced less growth in rural population.

## STATES WITH THE

HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF RURAL UNITS

| Vermont | $71.9 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| West Virginia | $62.0 \%$ |
| Maine | $59.7 \%$ |
| New Hampshire | $52.6 \%$ |
| Mississippi | $51.6 \%$ |

## LOWEST PERCENTAGE OF RURAL UNITS

California
8.1\%

New Jersey
Nevada
Hawaii
Arizona

The states with the highest percentage of rural units are, not surprisingly, the states with the largest proportion of rural population. Three of the four states with the greatest percentage of rural units are in the extreme northeastern United States, while those states with the lowest percent of rural units were clustered largely in the west.

## Tenure

Womeownership rates in the rural United States stagnated between 1980 and 1990, after a slow but steady increase in the previous decades. Eighty-one percent of all rural units were owner-occupied in 1990, while only 59 percent of urban units were. These rates are virtually identical to those in 1980.

The difference between rural and urban homeownership rates can be misleading, since 4.7 million of the total 26 million rural housing units were mobile homes. Mobile homes are disproportionately located in rural/nonmetro areas: 64 percent of all mobile homes were in rural areas in 1990,
while rural housing units comprised only 26 percent of the total number of units in the United States. Past American
Housing Surveys have indicated that about half of all owner-occupied mobile homes are situated on rented sites, thereby undermining the security often associated with homeownership while pushing up rural homeownership rates.
There is an inverse relationship between the size of the city or town a householder lives in and the likelihood that they will own their own home: people living outside towns altogether have the highest homeownership rates, while those living in central cities have the lowest. The nonmetropolitan homeownership rate ( 71 percent) is substantially lower than the rural rate, suggesting that people in towns of 2,50050,000 have the lowest rates of homeownership among those living outside metro areas. This rate, at 62 percent, is 20 percent less than the homeownership rate for
the 17.7 million Americans living in more remote rural areas.

While a greater percentage of white rural residents own their own homes than any other racial/ethnic group, rural people of all races are more likely to be homeowners that those in urban areas. Rural AfricanAmerican and American Indian/Eskimo/ Aleut people were almost twice as likely as their urban counterparts to be homeowners. People of "other" race (who are 98 percent Hispanic) were by far the least likely of all racial groups to own their homes in the rural United States.

## Manufactured Homes

Tthe most pronounced trend in rural housing between 1980 and 1990 was the increase in the number of mobile homes. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of rural mobile homes skyrocketed by 61 per-

Figure 14: Temure of Occupied Housing Units by Race

| RACE OF HOUSEHOLDER | RURAL | \% | NONMETRO | \% | URBAN | \% |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| White | $\mathbf{2 0 , 2 6 7 , 0 0 7}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 8 , 5 4 6 , 2 0 8}$ |  | $\mathbf{5 6 , 6 1 3 , 0 9 8}$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | $16,508,146$ | 81.5 | $13,732,317$ | 74.0 | $35,924,502$ | 63.5 |
| Renter-Occupied | $3,758,861$ | 18.6 | $4,813,891$ | 26.0 | $20,688,596$ | 36.5 |
| Black | $\mathbf{1 , 1 3 9 , 4 2 1}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 , 5 2 0 , 2 0 9}$ |  | $\mathbf{8 , 8 3 6 , 7 4 0}$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 818,729 | 71.9 | 894,751 | 58.9 | $3,508,536$ | 39.7 |
| Renter-Occupied | 320,692 | 28.2 | 625,458 | 41.1 | $5,328,204$ | 60.3 |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut | $\mathbf{2 4 1 , 4 7 3}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 6 7 , 8 3 0}$ |  | $\mathbf{3 4 9 , 8 9 9}$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 168,873 | 69.9 | 167,471 | 62.5 | 149,128 | 42.6 |
| Renter-Occupied | 72,600 | 30.1 | 100,359 | 37.5 | 200,771 | 57.4 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | $\mathbf{7 8 , 8 6 9}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 1 7 , 4 5 4}$ |  | $\mathbf{1 , 9 3 4 , 8 6 6}$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 56,007 | 71.0 | 64,111 | 54.6 | 994,175 | 51.4 |
| Renter-Occupied | 22,862 | 29.0 | 53,343 | 45.4 | 940,691 | 48.6 |
| Other | $\mathbf{1 7 5 , 4 7 3}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 2 6 , 4 6 3}$ |  | $\mathbf{2 , 3 1 0 , 5 5 6}$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 97,429 | 55.5 | 119,202 | 52.6 | 799,286 | 34.6 |

## Figure 15: Rural Mobile Homes, 1980-1990"

|  | $\underline{880}$ | $\underline{1990}$ | $\%$ CHANGE |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Rural Population | $59,491,167$ | $61,656,386$ | 3.6 |
| Rural Housing Units | $23,467,220$ | $26,051,626$ | 11.0 |
| Rural Mobile Homes | $2,944,842$ | $4,736,108$ | 61.0 |
| \% of total housing units | $12.5 \%$ | $18.2 \%$ | 5.7 |
| Persons in Mobile Homes | $6,705,752$ | $10,196,187$ | 52.1 |
| \% of total rural population | $11.3 \%$ | $16.5 \%$ | 5.2 |
| Occupied Mobile Homes | $2,301,575$ | $3,841,729$ | 66.9 |
| Vacant Mobile Homes | 643,267 | 894,379 | 39.0 |
| Vacancy Rate | $21.8 \%$ | $18.9 \%$ | -2.9 |

cent, while the growth rate for all rural housing units in this period was only 11 percent. The total number of rural persons living in mobile homes also jumped more than 52 percent, from 6.7 million people in 1980 to almost 10.2 million in 1990. Since 1980, 2.8 million manufactured homes have been built in the United States, representing approximately 14 percent of all new U.S. housing production, and almost 30 percent of all new singlefamily homes sold. ${ }^{41}$
Every state in the U.S. had a substantial increase in the number of rural mobile homes between 1980 and 1990. Only two states, Wyoming and New Jersey, had growth rates of less than 20 percent, while the number of rural mobile homes doubled in 23 states. Most of the states with the lowest growth rates in the number of rural mobile homes also experienced an overall decline in rural population. The states with the highest mobile home growth rates were not, however, the states with the largest increase in total rural population. All of the states with the highest growth rates were in the South, led by

Oklahoma (104 percent), Georgia (98 percent), and Texas ( 98 percent).
Not surprisingly given these statistics, the proportion of rural residents living in mobile homes also rose significantly during this time period, from 11.3 percent in 1980 to 16.5 percent in 1990. Seven states had 25 percent or more of their rural population living in mobile homes in 1990. Of the five states with the highest proportion of rural people living in mobile homes, three were in the southwestern United States: Nevada ( 32.5 percent), New Mexico (30.8 percent), and Arizona (28.1 percent). The same states also had the highest rates of mobile homes as a percentage of total rural housing units. Those with the lowest rates were clustered in New England (with the exception of Hawaii, which had the overall lowest rate, at .2 percent).
As the map in Figure 16 indicates, only four states, all in the Northeast, had fewer than five percent of their rural population living in mobile homes in 1990. Nineteen states had 20 to 33 percent of their rural population residing in mobile homes, including all of the states in the deep South. It appears that population density is roughly correlative with mobile home residency: the highest rates of mobile home occupancy are in remote rural areas, in which 20 percent of all people live in mobile homes. As a general rule, states with lower population densities have higher percentages of their total rural population living in mobile homes.
There also appears to be a relationship between poverty rates and mobile home occupancy. (This relationship cannot be confirmed because the Census does not aggregate poverty data by type of residence.) Of the five states with the highest rates of rural poverty (Nevada, Florida,

[^13]${ }^{42} 1980$ Data from the 1980 Census of Population and Housing, "Mobile Homes" (HC80-3-2), Table 2.

New Mexico, Arizona, and South Carolina), all had more than 20 percent of the rural population living in mobile homes. Similarly, the states with the lowest proportion of rural people in poverty (Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Jersey) also had the lowest number of rural mobile home residents.
There is disagreement over whether the growing number of mobile homes and other forms of manufactured housing in the United States will provide safe and affordable housing for rural people. According to the manufactured housing industry, the average manufactured home costs onehalf to one-third as much as a site-constructed home. ${ }^{43}$
Although data linking the increase in rural mobile homes with greater numbers of affordable rural units is not available, it appears that manufactured housing is generally more affordable to more rural residents than traditional homes.
The federal government and housing advocates, including the Housing Assistance Council, have been very concerned that mobile homes are less safe than site-constructed housing. This concern was amplified following Hurricane Andrew in 1992, which destroyed or severely damaged between 14,500 and 18,000 mobile homes in Florida and Louisiana. While federal building codes for manufactured housing became more stringent in 1976, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has proposed additional regulations to improve the resistance of manufactured

Figure 16: Percent of Rural Population Living in Mobile Homes

homes to wind forces in areas prone to high winds. Under these new regulations, such homes would have to be designed to withstand winds of 80 to 110 miles an hour. ${ }^{+4}$ Increasing attention to safety standards will likely make manufactured housing an even more viable choice for the nation's rural residents in the next decade.

## Affordability

Recent record lows in mortgage interest IIrates have led many to believe that housing in the United States is more affordable than ever before. In fact, as the following data shows, housing affordability remains a severe problem throughout the country. Despite lower mortgage rates, which fell below 7 percent in 1993, weak income growth has limited improvements in homeownership affordability, and a recessionary economy has made potential

[^14]homebuyers cautious. Thus, houses may be cheaper to buy, but fewer people can afford to buy them. With all of the focus on low mortgage rates, the growing inability of renters to find affordable housing has been virtually ignored. Costs associated with homeownership may have dropped in the last ten years, but rents have remained at record high levels. ${ }^{45}$
Housing costs for both owners and renters are generally higher in metropolitan and urban areas than they are in nonmetro and rural areas, so a greater number of metro/urban residents are "cost burdened," the primary measure of housing affordability. Under standards established by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, low-income households that spend more than 30 percent of
their income for housing costs (including utilities other than telephone) are considered cost-burdened, and therefore eligible for some federal housing subsidies. Until 1981, housing was considered affordable by HUD if it consumed no more than 25 percent of a household's income.
Renters in all geographical divisions are two to three times more likely to be cost burdened than owners: almost 40 percent of all renter households in the United States spent more than 30 percent of their monthly income for housing in 1989. While a greater proportion of urban than rural households are cost burdened, the rates are very similar. As Figure 17 shows, there was only a 2.7 percent difference between the cost-burden levels of rural and urban homeowners, and a 6 percent

## Figure 17: Age of Householder and Cost Burden by Tenure

| AGE/COST BURDEN | OWNERS |  |  |  | RENTERS |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | RURAL |  | URBAN |  | RURAL |  | URBAN |  |
|  | TOTAL | \% | total | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% |
| 15-64 Year Olds | 8,153,283 |  | 25,777,750 |  | 2,619,302 |  | 22,966,203 |  |
| <20\% | 4,886,256 | 59.93 | 13,595,786 | 52.74 | 1,111,772 | 42.45 | 7,707,616 | 33.56 |
| 20-24\% | 1,160,740 | 14.24 | 4,041,247 | 15.68 | 369,050 | 14.09 | 3,535,717 | 15.40 |
| 25-29\% | 737,116 | 9.04 | 2,799,629 | 10.86 | 262,895 | 10.04 | 2,712,399 | 11.81 |
| 30-34\% | 435,496 | 5.34 | 1,724,426 | 6.69 | 182,609 | 6.97 | 1,882,014 | 8.19 |
| 35\%+ | 933,675 | 11.45 | 3,616,662 | 14.03 | 692,976 | 26.46 | 7,128,457 | 31.04 |
| Total Cost Burdened | 1,369,171 | 16.79 | 5,341,088 | 20.72 | 875,585 | 33.43 | 9,010,471 | 39.23 |
| 65+ Year Olds | 2,580,136 |  | 8,727,051 |  | 407,825 |  | 4,199,594 |  |
| <20\% | 1,654,877 | 64.14 | 5,709,825 | 65.43 | 82,796 | 20.30 | 745,268 | 17.75 |
| 20-24\% | 262,045 | 10.16 | 824,363 | 9.45 | 54,830 | 13.44 | 494,055 | 11.76 |
| 25-29\% | 181,530 | 7.04 | 562,164 | 6.44 | 62,151 | 15.24 | 627,530 | 14.94 |
| 30-34\% | 124,134 | 4.81 | 389,764 | 4.47 | 44,734 | 10.97 | 453,327 | 10.79 |
| 35\%+ | 357,550 | 13.86 | 1,240,935 | 14.22 | 163,314 | 40.05 | 1,879,414 | 44.75 |
| Total Cost Burdened | 481,684 | 18.67 | 1,630,699 | 18.69 | 208,048 | 51.01 | 2,332,741 | 55.55 |
| Total Cost-Burdened Units | 1,850,855 | 17.24 | 6,971,787 | 20.21 | 1,083,633 | 35.80 | 11,343,212 | 41.76 |

"s Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, State of the Nation's Housing: 1993, p. 3.
difference
between renters. Elderly rural homeowners, in fact, had the same degree of cost burden as elderly homeowners in urban areas. Data also shows that the vast majority of households that are cost burdened pay more than 35 percent of their incomes for housing, further indication that housing affordability is a severe problem throughout United States.
Housing cost burden is a particular problem for low-income people, for whom high housing costs often preclude other basic necessities such as food, clothing, and health care. Seventy-three percent of rural renter households earning less than $\$ 10,000$ a year paid more than 35 percent of their income for housing in 1989. Three of every five rural renter households earning less than \$20,000 a year were cost burdened. These statistics underlie the critical need for increased rental assistance in rural areas.

Rural homeowners with low incomes also have high housing cost burdens. More than half paid over 30 percent of their income for housing-related costs. Despite high housing cost burdens, low-income rural residents are much more likely than their urban counterparts to own their own homes. The homeownership rate for rural households earning less than $\$ 10,000$ a year, at 60 percent, was higher than the overall urban homeownership rate for all incomes. More than one in five rural households lives in housing that is not affordable to them. In some regions of the

Figure 18: States with the Highest Rurral Cost Burden, Medilan Rent, and Medilian Owner Cost

| RANK | COST BURDEN |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 1 | California | $31.9 \%$ |
| 2 | New Hampshire | $30.7 \%$ |
| 3 | New Jersey | $29.9 \%$ |
| 4 | Rhode Island | $28.3 \%$ |
| 5 | Massachusetts | $28.0 \%$ |
| 6 | Colorado | $27.2 \%$ |

MEDIAN RENT

| New Jersey | $\$ 668$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Connecticut | $\$ 646$ |
| Massachusetts | $\$ 588$ |
| Rhode Island | $\$ 587$ |
| New Hampshire | $\$ 548$ |
| Hawaii | $\$ 534$ |

MEDIAN OWNER COST
New Jersey $\$ 1333$

Connecticut $\$ 1309$

New Hampshire $\$ 1153$

Massachusetts $\$ 1140$
Rhode Island $\$ 1105$
California
\$1076
country, a much higher percentage of rural residents are cost burdened. In almost every case, states with the highest percentage of cost-burdened households also have the highest median monthly rents and owner costs.
While Figure 18 lists only the first six states, all of the New England states (with the exception of Maine) are among the states with the largest percentage of costburdened households. California has by far the highest number of rural households living in housing that is not affordable: more than one of every three paid over 30 percent of its income for housing costs in 1989. The states in Figure 18 are not among those with the lowest rural median income or the most rural poverty: they simply have the most expensive housing in the United States.
Almost all of the Midwestern states are among those with the lowest percentage of cost-burdened rural households, as shown in Figure 19. The correlation between cost burden and median monthly housing costs found among those states with the highest levels of cost burden is not present among states with the lowest percentage of costburdened rural households.

# Figure 19: States with the Lowest Rural Cost Burden, Median Rent, and Median Owner Cost 

RANK
COST BURDEN

| 1 | Indiana | $13.8 \%$ | North Dakota | $\$ 245$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 2 | Iowa | $15.5 \%$ | South Dakota | $\$ 249$ |
| 3 | Nebraska | $15.6 \%$ | Mississippi | $\$ 259$ |
| 4 | Kansas | $16.9 \%$ | Alabama | $\$ 266$ |
| 5 | Ohio | $17.2 \%$ | Nebraska | $\$ 269$ |
| 6 | Illinois | $17.4 \%$ | Kentucky | $\$ 270$ |

MEDIAN OWNER COST

| Mississippi | $\$ 533$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| West Virginia | $\$ 551$ |
| Arkansas | $\$ 555$ |
| Kentucky | $\$ 569$ |
| Oklahoma | $\$ 577$ |
| Alabama | $\$ 585$ |

## Figure 20: Changes in Rural Housing Quality, 1970-1990



## Housing Quality

Mousing quality in the rural 1 United States has improved significantly in the last 20 years. Fewer than one million occupied housing units in rural areas were substandard in 1990, a decrease of 66 percent since 1970.46
As the chart in Figure 20 illustrates, particularly dramatic improvements have occurred in the number of rural units that lack complete plumbing. In 1970, 2.2 million housing units in the rural U.S. had incomplete plumbing facilities. By 1990, the number of units lacking complete plumbing had fallen to just over 344,000 . Conditions of overcrowding also improved between 1970 and 1990, after a slight increase in 1980.
Despite these encouraging figures, extreme caution should be used when drawing conclusions about overall improvements in rural housing quality based on decennial Census figures. The Census is more likely to under-

[^15]count rural than urban housing units, especially those in remote areas and those that are renter-occupied, which are also frequently substandard. ${ }^{+7}$ The 1990 data on complete plumbing facilities is also not strictly comparable with data from the 1970 and 1980 Censuses: the Census Bureau estimates that approximately 25 percent of all units counted as lacking complete plumbing in 1970 and 1980 would be counted as having complete plumbing using 1990 criteria. ${ }^{\text {48 }}$
The improvement in overall rural housing quality between 1970 and 1990 is most directly attributable to an increase in federal housing programs targeting rural areas. The amount of money that the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) disbursed in loans for rural housing increased 500 percent between 1970 and 1980, from $\$ 793.7$ million to $\$ 4.2$ billion. ${ }^{49}$ The number of substandard units during the same period fell by 1.2 million. Between 1980 and 1990, the number of substandard housing units still declined, but by only 700,000 units - about half the rate of decline in the previous decade. FmHA funding levels also dropped by 42 percent from 1980 to 1990 (from $\$ 4.2$ billion to $\$ 2.3$ billion), suggesting a strong correlation between federal rural housing expenditures and rural housing quality. It is also likely that a significant portion of the improvement in housing quality between 1980 and 1990 occurred in the early ' 80 s, when many of the units that were funded by Farmers Home during its peak spending years in the late 1970s were finished and occupied.

## Differenceces in Rural and Urban Housing Quality

As Figure 21 indicates, the housing quality problems of rural households tend to be different from those of households in urban areas, despite the fact that the overall percentages of substandard units are similar.

## Figure 21: Housing Quality Indicators/Percent of Rural and Urban Units

| Housing | PERCENT | PERCENT |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| QUALITY | OF TOTAL | Of TOTAL |
| INDICATOR | RURAL UNITS | URBAN UNITS |
| Crowded only | 2.9\% | 5.1\% |
| Lack plumbing only | 1.6\% | .4\% |
| Both | . $3 \%$ | .1\% |
| Total | 4.8\% | 5.5\% |

Figure 21 shows that households in urban parts of the United States are more often overcrowded, while rural households are four times more likely to lack complete plumbing. It is likely that crowded units are more prevalent in urban areas because housing units are often small and larger units less affordable, making it difficult for households to move as they expand. Almost all housing units in urban areas are connected to public water systems by virtue of their physical proximity, while many rural units lack public sewer and water connections. Homes with multiple housing quality problems are disproportionately located in the rural United States: of all the housing units that are both overcrowded and lacking complete plumbing, almost half are in rural areas.

[^16][^17]
## Figure 22: Housing Quality Indicators hy Tenure

| Kitchen Facilities | $\begin{aligned} & \text { UNITED } \\ & \text { STATES } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \% \\ \text { OF ALL } \\ \text { US. } \\ \text { UNTS } \end{gathered}$ | RURAL |  |  | URBAN |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { ALL } \\ \text { RURAL } \\ \text { UNTTS } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% OF } \\ & \text { U.S. UNTTS } \\ & \text { WITH } \\ & \text { PROBLEM } \end{aligned}$ | TOTAL | \% OF <br> ALL <br> URBAN <br> UNITS | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% OF } \\ & \text { U.S. UNITS } \\ & \text { WITH } \\ & \text { PROBLEM } \end{aligned}$ |
| complete | 101,154,052 | 98.9 | 25,503,967 | 97.9 | 25.2 | 76,650,085 | 99.3 | 75.8 |
| lacking complete | 1,109,626 | 1.1 | 559,413 | 2.1 | 50.4 | 550,213 | . 7 | 49.6 |
| Plumbing Facilities |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| complete | 101,161,982 | 98.9 | 25,354,044 | 97.3 | 25.4 | 75,807,938 | 98.2 | 74.9 |
| lacking complete | 1,101,696 | 1.1 | 709,336 | 2.7 | 64.4 | 392,360 | . 5 | 35.6 |
| Housing Problems by Tenure |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| OWNERS | 59,031,378 |  | 17,664,141 |  |  | 41,367,237 |  |  |
| complete plumbing with overcrowding | 1,431,705 | 1.6 | 395,019 | 1.8 | 27.6 | 1,036,686 | 1.5 | 72.4 |
| lacking complete plumbing, no overcrowding | 328,782 | . 4 | 227,862 | 1.0 | 69.3 | 100,920 | . 14 | 30.7 |
| lacking complete plumbing with overcrowding | 51,724 | . 06 | 38,760 | . 18 | 74.9 | 12,964 | . 02 | 25.1 |
| RENTERS | 32,916,032 |  | 4,247,644 |  |  | 28,668,388 |  |  |
| complete plumbing with overcrowding | 2,751,469 | 3.0 | 241,985 | 1.1 | 8.8 | 2,509,484 | 3.6 | 91.2 |
| lacking complete plumbing, no overcrowding | 264,582 | . 29 | 116,410 | . 5 | 44.0 | 148,172 | . 2 | 66.0 |
| lacking complete plumbing with overcrowding | 76,605 | . 08 | 22,823 | . 1 | 29.8 | 53,782 | . 08 | 70.2 |

Despite improvements, serious housing quality problems remain for many rural Americans. Almost one million people in rural areas live in housing that lacks complete plumbing facilities, and 1.8 million live in overcrowded housing units. All together, more than 2.7 million rural Americans lived in substandard housing in $1990 .{ }^{50}$

As Figure 22 illustrates, rural renters were more than twice as likely to live in substandard housing as people who owned their own homes. With lower median incomes and higher poverty rates than homeowners, many renters are unable to find adequate housing that is still affordable to them. The rates of cost burden among rural renters, especially those who are low-income, indicate that many cannot
afford even the substandard units in which they currently reside. The general lack of housing affordable to low-income people in the rural United States exacerbates this problem, and keeps the rural poor locked in inadequate housing.
Only 2 percent of all rural housing units in the U.S. lacked complete plumbing facilities in 1990. This number rose dramatically for units with a black, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, or Hispanic householder. Minority rural households comprised 33 percent of all rural households that lacked complete plumbing, despite the fact that they occupied only 7.5 percent of all rural units.
Thirteen percent of the nation's American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut households in rural areas did not have complete plumbing in

[^18]1989, almost ten times the rate of white householders. ${ }^{\text {" }}$ Ninety-three thousand rural black households lived without adequate plumbing facilities, more than 8 percent of all units with a black householder. Of all minority racial/ethnic groups, only Asian/Pacific Islander households had complete plumbing at rates equal to white households.
The worst housing in the rural United States is concentrated in Alaska, Arizona, and New Mexico. These three states have by far the highest percentage of units with incomplete kitchen and plumbing facilities, units that are overcrowded, and units that are crowded and lacking complete plumbing. In 1990, 27 percent of all overcrowded rural units that lacked complete plumbing facilities were in Alaska, Arizona, and New Mexico, but these states had only 1.5 percent of all rural housing units in the United States.
These staggering housing quality problems are closely related to the extreme poverty of the states' rural residents. Arizona and New Mexico have the highest rural poverty rates in the country: more than 27 percent of the states' rural people lived below the poverty line in 1989.
Twelve percent of rural people in Alaska lived in poverty, which is substantially higher than the national average. These states also had the highest concentration of American Indian/Eskimo/ Aleut people, whose national nonmetro poverty rate was almost 40 percent. In Alaska, Arizona, and New Mexico, the poverty rate of American Indian/Eskimo/ Aleut people was

Figure 23: Ruraal Units Lacking Complete Plumbing

28.4 percent, 61.0 percent, and 55.8 percent, respectively. In addition to extreme poverty conditions, the remoteness of rural areas in these three states exacerbates housing quality problems: current sewer and water facilities are wholly inadequate to meet the need of existing units, and new hookups are often too expensive to extend as settlements expand.

# Figure 24: States with the Highest Percentage of Rulral Units with Housing Quality Problems 

|  | LACKING COMPLETE KITCHEN |  | LACKING COMPLETE PLUMBING |  | OVERCROWDED |  | CROWDED AND LACKING COMPLETE PLUMBING |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Alaska | 28.1 | Alaska | 20.2 | Arizona | 15.0 | Alaska | 7.0 |
| 2 | Arizona | 10.4 | Arizona | 9.5 | Hawaii | 13.7 | Arizona | 5.2 |
| 3 | New Mexico | 8.4 | New Mexico | 7.6 | Alaska | 13.5 | New Mexico | 3.5 |
| 4 | North Dakota | 4.2 | Kentucky | 4.8 | New Mexico | 12.6 | Hawaii | . 92 |
| 5 | Utah | 4.2 | Virginia | 4.2 | California | 7.4 | Utah | . 76 |

[^19]|  | RURAL |  | URBAN |  | NONMETRO |  | METRO |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% |
| Total Units | 26,063,380 |  | 76,200,298 |  | 24,619,279 |  | 77,644,399 |  |
| public or private system | 12,132,843 | 46.6 | 73,935,923 | 97.0 | 15,955,543 | 64.8 | 70,113,223 | 90.3 |
| individual drilled well | 11,461,919 | 44.0 | 2,005,229 | 2.6 | 6,941,605 | 28.2 | 6,525,543 | 8.4 |
| individual dug well | 1,481,471 | 5.7 | 183,072 | . 2 | 970,114 | 3.9 | 694,429 | . 9 |
| other | 987,147 | 3.8 | 76,074 | . 1 | 752,017 | 3.1 | 311,204 | . 4 |

## Water Supply and Quality

Water supply and sewage disposal problems are much more common in the rural United States than they are in urban areas. Although the percentage of rural housing units with complete plumbing has improved dramatically over the last 30 years, there are indications that many rural water supply facilities have serious structural problems. A 1990 report of the Environmental Protection Agency stated that $\$ 110$ billion was needed to construct new and improve existing wastewater treatment facilities in communities with less than 10,000 people. ${ }^{52}$
As Figure 25 illustrates, the source of water for almost 50 percent of all rural households is individually drilled or dug wells, which is 25 times higher than the proportion of urban households using wells. Fewer than half of rural households are served by large community-wide water systems, due largely to inadequate infrastructure and lack of funding to expand public water systems.
Water quality in the rural United States is severely compromised as a result. Households served by community systems ( 15 or more connections) tend to have the best overall water quality, followed closely
by individual systems (usually wells), while those on intermediate systems (2-14 connections) generally have the poorest quality. ${ }^{53}$ The most recent nationwide study of rural water conditions, conducted in 1984 by Cornell University for the Environmental Protection Agency, found "problems of greater magnitude and prevalence than had been expected. ${ }^{5 \$ 4}$ Almost twothirds of all rural households had water judged unacceptable for at least one major contaminant. Coliform organisms, the most prevalent problem, were found in 29 percent of all rural units, including 40 percent of those served by intermediate or individual systems. Fecal coliform bacteria were found in the water of 12 percent of all rural households. In general, households with low incomes and low educational levels were more likely than others to have bacterial contamination. ${ }^{55}$
The contamination of drinking water with coliform bacteria is one indication that residential sewage disposal capability is inadequate in rural areas. According to the 1991 American Housing Survey, 9.8 million nonmetropolitan households (almost one-half of the total) relied on septic tanks and cesspools for sewage disposal; another 108,000 used undefined means other than public sewer, septic tank, or cesspool. Unfortunately, two-thirds of the land area

[^20]
## Figure 26: Sewaye Disposal

|  | RURAL |  | URBAN |  | NONMETRO |  | METRO |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% |
| Total Units | 26,063,380 |  | 76,200,298 |  | 24,619,279 |  | 77,644,399 |  |
| public sewer | 6,247,799 | 24.0 | 70,207,412 | 92.1 | 11,960,508 | 48.6 | 64,494,703 | 83.1 |
| septic tank or cesspool | 18,926,980 | 72.6 | 5,743,897 | 7.5 | 11,953,275 | 48.6 | 14,717,602 | 19.0 |
| other means | 888,601 | 3.4 | 248,989 | 0.33 | 705,496 | 2.9 | 432,094 | 0.6 |

in the United States does not meet the minimum requirements for soil absorption systems, and much of the land area with severe soil limitations is in areas where septic tank field absorption systems are most concentrated. ${ }^{56}$
Many rural households also experience problems with water quantity and availability. According to the 1984 EPA study, 700,000 households reported that their supply "usually" or "always" provided an insufficient quantity of water, which was most often attributable to deterioration or inadequate construction of physical facilities. About 370,000 rural households were
forced to haul water on a regular basis from an off-premises supply. Twenty-six percent of rural households experienced water supply breakdowns during the year they were surveyed. This figure was even higher for households in small rural communities. ${ }^{57}$
The method of sewage disposal followed similar patterns. Note especially the extreme difference in the proportion of rural vs. urban units using septic tanks or cesspools. While the number of rural communities that had access to public sewer systems increased between 1980 and 1990, almost three quarters of all rural housing units lacked this basic service in 1990.

[^21]TThe Census Bureau, other government agencies, and nonprofit groups agree that the level of error in the 1990 decennial Census was the highest ever since the Census began. These organizations disagree, however, on the actual level of error. The Census Bureau estimates that the net undercount for the 1990 Census was about 5.3 million people. ${ }^{58}$ In a report requested by the House Subcommittee on Census and Population, the General Accounting Office (GAO) argues that using net undercount figures obscures the true level of error in the Census. In addition to those persons the Census failed to count, the GAO report asserts, millions of others were improperly counted. The GAO believes that using an analysis of gross error (the total number of mistakes made), rather than net undercount, gives a more precise understanding of the accuracy of the 1990 Census.
Following the tabulation of Census data, the Census Bureau undertook three types of analysis to gauge undercount levels: a "demographic analysis," which compares Census data with administrative records such as school enrollment, birth/death records, and immigration statistics; a "Post-Enumeration Survey" (PES) in which researchers return to selected sites and undertake a detailed interview, then
strong correlations with

## undercount . . .

 <br> \title{. . . housing tenure and <br> \title{
. . . housing tenure and <br> <br> geograaphical location had
} <br> <br> geograaphical location had
}
compare the results with the Census forms for those sites; and "alternative enumerations," in which ethnographers studied 29 different areas in the United States known to be problem areas for undercounts, such as rural North Carolina, the colonias, Puerto Rico, Harlem, etc. The results are once again compared to Census data. Using data from the Post-Enumeration Survey, the Government Accounting Office estimates that there were between 14.1 and 25.7 million gross errors in the 1990 Census. ${ }^{59}$
Undercounts are to be expected in Censuses attempting to count the population of a country the size of the United States. But the 1990 decennial Census had a very large differential undercount of racial/ethnic minorities. The PostEnumeration Survey, which according to most demographers consistently underestimates the undercount, showed the following rates of undercounting:

| Non-Hispanic Whites | .7\% |
| :---: | :---: |
| Blacks | 4.6\% |
| Hispanics | 5.0\% |
| Asian/Pacific Islanders | 2.4\% |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut (on Native lands) | 12.2\% |

The PES also showed that housing tenure and geographical location had strong correlations with undercount, with rural renters, especially minority renters, showing undercount rates of up to 15.8 percent. Statisticians and demographers generally agree that there

[^22]are five major reasons forthe differential undercount. ${ }^{00}$ It is important to note that many of these are related to economic as well as cultural factors.

1) Irregular and complex household arrangements. This category represents many layers of problems, from families doubling up in housing, to extended families, to different cultural definitions of the same Census terms. For example, in many Asian/Pacific Islander communities, a child is not considered an official member of the family until after it has had a naming ceremony, which can range from three months to a year after a baby is born. Some Asian/Pacific Islander people are, therefore, not likely to list a young baby as a family member on the Census form. Another example is that there are only seven places on the short form to list household residents. Obviously many families have more than seven people. Logic dictates that the older household members get listed first, so children are omitted from the form because there is no more space. Both of these examples contribute to the fact that children under five years old are very likely to be undercounted, especially if they are not white. ${ }^{61}$
2) Irregular Housing. Enumerators obviously cannot judge precisely how many housing units there are in a given building, especially if the building is vacant. Two brownstones of the same size in New York City can have one or ten housing units. Housing in converted (or unconverted) lofts, garages, basements, barns, and other places is also often missed.
3) Residential mobility. This is a particular problem when measuring migrant workers, new immigrants, and students.
4) Fear of government and outsiders. This was consistently reported to be the largest contributor to people's failure to respond accurately (or at all) to the Census. The Census Bureau's public relations material stresses that data collected is confidential, a message that is particularly targeted to minority communities. However, history shows that confidentiality has not always been observed. In the midst of World War II, the United States government used Census records to identify Japanese people so that they could be rounded up and interned in detention camps.
In public housing, when a child turns 18 he or she must be added to the lease (with a commensurate increase in rent) or s /he must move out. Of course, neither is a viable option for many people, so people 18 or older live "illegally" in public housing. Many public housing residents do not fill out the Census accurately for fear the information will be given to housing authorities and they will be evicted. This phenomenon is primarily responsible for the very high undercount levels of black men between the ages of 18 and 22 . On Indian reservations and trust lands, where the undercount is the highest, residents are very unlikely to answer the Census accurately for fear that land will be taken from the tribes if the population is accurately measured.
5) Little or no knowledge of English. This is especially true for new immigrants from Asia and the Pacific Islands and for Hispanic people. There were severe problems reported with the availability of Spanish-language Census forms. Dissemination of Census forms in other languages was not widespread.

[^23]"These examples, and all those in this section, were relayed by community activists who attempt to organize their communities - and pressure the Census Bureau - to increase the accuracy of Census counts.

All of these factors contribute to rural undercounts, but some factors are specifically rural. Among them are the following:

1) Nonreceipt of Census form. This is also a problem in metropolitan areas, but for different reasons. In rural areas, the mailing address of a housing unit is often not at the physical location of the unit (i.e., post office boxes, general delivery, mailboxes at one end of a rural route, multiple units sharing one mailbox). A substantial number of rural housing units are missed this way. Also, enumerators that do followup often "can't find" rural units.

In 1970, an estimated 87 percent of the total

United States population

answered the Census

questionnaire, while in 1990

only 74 percent responded.
2) Mix of housing types and occupancy status. The myriad kinds of rural housing also contribute to the undercount. The preponderance of mobile homes confounds the problem, since they can literally be moved. In urban areas, tenure is more uniform on a block level, while in rural areas one block is more likely to contain multiple owner- and renter-occupied units. The same mobile home can also be used over the course of one year as an extra bedroom for a family or as a whole separate unit.
3) Rough terrain. The sheer physical distance between housing units is a barrier to follow-up enumeration.

In addition to the under- and mis-counting, the Census Bureau encountered severe problems related to the public's willingness to participate in the Census in 1990. There has been a sharp decline in public participation rates over the last several decades. In 1970, an estimated 87 percent of the total United States population answered the Census questionnaire, while in 1990 only 74 percent responded. Concern for privacy and confidentiality, illiteracy, the presence of a large number of non-English speaking immigrants, general apathy, lack of confidence in government, and the fear of undocumented aliens to reveal information about themselves, have all contributed to this problem. ${ }^{62}$ The General Accounting Office also reports that the cost of the 1990 Census increased significantly compared to the 1980 Census, even as the accuracy declined. Among other errors resulting in increased cost, the GAO reported that the Census Bureau's address list development process was flawed, which resulted in sending millions of questionnaires to vacant or nonexistent housing units. Followup by Census enumerators to these units cost an estimated $\$ 317$ million in $1990 .{ }^{63}$
These problems seriously compromise data from the 1990 Census, particularly data related to the demographic groups highlighted in this report: rural Americans, renters, low-income people, and racial/ethnic minorities. Extreme caution should be used when attempting to draw detailed conclusions from 1990 Census data.

[^24]
# THE LOWER MISSISSSPPI DEITA 

The Mississippi Delta region of the United States has had high, even extreme, rates of poverty for decades. In 1970, the Mississippi Delta Region (then identified as 43 counties within the flatland delta areas of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi and Missouri) was considered to have the largest number of poor people in the country. ${ }^{1}$ At that time the area's high

In 1989, the Lower Mississippi Delta's approximately 8.4 million inhabitants faced an overall poverty rate of 23 percent.
incidence of poverty was primarily, though not entirely, related to the area population's racial composition. ${ }^{2}$ Eighty-four percent of the black population and 31 percent of the white population were classified as poor in 1966. ${ }^{3}$
In 1988 Congress established the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission, which expanded the geographic definition of the delta to include a total of 219 counties in portions of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky. ${ }^{4}$ In its 1990 report to the President and Congress, the Commission said of the area and its population:

These are the people who thrive or in some cases, barely survive along . . . [the heart of the nation's] great living artery, the Mississippi

River. These are the people who by virtue of place are surrounded by thousands of square miles of some of the country's richest natural resources and physical assets . . . . And yet, these are the people who by statistics constitute the poorest region of the United States of America . . . where good housing . . . is unattainable for many . . . . ${ }^{5}$
In 1989, the Lower Mississippi Delta's approximately 8.4 million inhabitants faced an overall poverty rate of 23 percent. ${ }^{6}$ The region continues to have higher proportions of people who are the most likely to be poor throughout the United States, including people in rural and nonmetro areas and black people. However, many of the reasons for the Lower Mississippi Delta's continuing persistent poverty relative to the rest of the nation are beyond the scope of the population, poverty and housing data presented in this report. Obviously, a complex array of social, cultural, and economic factors influences an area's ability to provide jobs, educational opportunities, and decent housing for its inhabitants. Additionally, the Lower Mississippi Delta (LMD) is a diverse region with sub-regional economic markets and influences. Even a 1970 report on the 43 counties in four states that were then considered to make up the Mississippi Delta notes that "the Delta is

[^25]not a completely homogeneous region: local areas differ in population mix, ... (employment base) and social institutions."
The following subsections provide a brief report on some of the most current population, poverty and housing data available for the region. The data presented is from 1990 Census (Summary Tape File 3) data on the 219 counties identified by the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission. The following analyses compare aggregate statistics for the entire LMD with statistics for the total U.S. and compare nonmetro LMD statistics with nonmetro U.S. and metro LMD statistics. Nonmetro areas, rather than rural areas, of the Lower Mississippi Delta are the focus of the analyses since rural data (other than persons in rural areas) is not available for the region. ${ }^{8}$

## POPULATION

The LMD had a total population of $8,361,766$ persons in $3,048,733$ households in 1990. Tables B-16 and B-17 in Appendix B provide breakdowns of the Lower Mississippi Delta population by urban/rural, metro/nonmetro and state locations, by race and Hispanic origin, by family/non-family household types, and by age of householder. The summary table that follows provides aggregate population data for the area. LMD Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the region's percentages of selected sub-populations compared to those populations' proportions in the total United States.

## LMD Figure 1: Population Data

|  | TOTAL $L M D$ | METRO <br> LMD | NONMETRO LMD | $\begin{gathered} \text { NONMETRO } \\ \text { \% } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Persons | 8,361,766 | 3,449,269 | 4,912,497 | 59\% |
| Living in Urban Areas | 4,997,233 | 3,044,197 | 1,953,036 | 39\% |
| Living in Rural Areas | 3,364,533 | 405,072 | 2,959,461 | 88\% |
| White | 5,831,867 | 2,108,023 | 3,723,844 | 64\% |
| Black | 2,424,932 | 1,276,455 | 1,148,477 | 47\% |
| Other Race | 104,967 | 64,791 | 40,176 | 38\% |
| Hispanic | 103,300 | 68,943 | 34,357 | 33\% |
| Households | 3,048,733 | 1,262,917 | 1,785,816 | 59\% |
| Families by Age of Householder: |  |  |  |  |
| 15 to 64 | 1,839,610 | 762,106 | 1,077,504 | 59\% |
| 65 and older | 382,700 | 131,432 | 251,268 | 66\% |
| Non-Families by Age of Householder: |  |  |  |  |
| 15 to 64 | 485,250 | 253,432 | 231,818 | 48\% |
| 65 and older | 341,173 | 115,947 | 225,226 | 66\% |

[^26]

## Rurpal and Nonmetro Population

TThe Lower Mississippi Delta population is generally more rural than the total U.S. population. Approximately 3.4 million, or 40 percent of the LMD population, lived in rural areas in 1990. This compares to a national rural population that was 25 percent of the country's total population.

## LMD Figure 3: Minority Population Comparisons



LMD inhabitants are also more likely than the rest of the U.S. population to live in nonmetro counties. The 19 metro counties included in this region contained only 41 percent of the region's population in $1990 .{ }^{10}$ Nationally, metro counties contained 77 percent of the total population. Approximately 4.9 million, or 59 percent of LMD inhabitants, lived in the region's 200 nonmetro counties.

## Race and Ethnicity

The LMD has a higher proportion of black people than the United States as a whole ( 29 percent versus 12 percent in 1990), and a lower proportion of American Indians, Eskimos, Aleuts, Asian/Pacific Islanders and persons of other races (only 1 percent for all these races combined). As is true for the rest of the country, nonmetro areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta have lower proportions of minorities than metro areas. Minorities made up 24 percent of the region's nonmetro population. The Hispanic population of this region is also much smaller proportionately than it is nationwide, representing only 1 percent of the area's total population in 1990. Four of the LMD states Kentucky, Mississippi, Tennessee and Louisiana - were listed earlier in this report as among the seven states experiencing a decrease in rural Hispanic population between 1980 and 1990. ${ }^{11}$

## Elderly Population

4 ouseholders in the Lower Mississippi IDelta are, in general, more likely to be elderly than householders nationwide. Elderly households (those headed by person 65 years and older) made up 24 percent of the region's total households in 1990. Nationally, elderly householders constituted 22 percent of all households
${ }^{10}$ This report uses designations of LMD counties as metro or nonmetro provided in The Delta Initiatives, a 1990 report by the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission.
"For more information on the decline in Hispanic population in these states, see the "Population" section at the beginning of this report.
and 26 percent of nonmetro households. Similarly, in nonmetro areas of the LMD, elderly houscholders accounted for 27 percent of households. Approximately half of the nonmetro elderly householders in the LMD are in non-family households, meaning they live alone or with nonrelatives.

## Families

Housing units in the LMD are more likely Ito be occupied by families than units nationwide. Seventy-three
percent of all LMD households and 74 percent of LMD nonmetro households were comprised of families in 1990. These proportions compared to a nationwide proportion of family households of 70 percent.

## POUERTV

Iables B-18 through B-21 in Appendix B list poverty rates by age (for all persons and for black persons ${ }^{12}$ ) and by family type (for all persons and for black persons) by state and metro/nonmetro areas of the region. The poverty rate for all persons in the Lower Mississippi Delta was 23 percent in 1989. As is true for the entire country, persons living in nonmetro areas of the LMD are more likely to live below the poverty line. The aggregate nonmetro poverty rate for the region was 25 percent, while the corresponding metro rate was 20 percent. The aggregate nonmetro poverty rate and the 5 percent spread between aggregate metro and nonmetro poverty rates mask staggering poverty rates among vulnerable sub-populations, especially black children, in nonmetro areas of the region. LMD Figure 4 presents summary poverty data for the LMD.

## LMD Figure 4: Poverty Data ${ }^{\text {T }}$

|  | TOTAL LMD | METRO LMD | NONMETRO LMD | NONMETRO \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| All Persons | 8,110,583 | 3,360,755 | 4,749,828 | 59\% |
| Persons in Poverty | 1,848,878 | 665,325 | 1,183,553 | 64\% |
| Poverty Rate | 23\% | 20\% | 25\% |  |
| Black Persons | 2,334,401 | 1,238,462 | 1,095,939 | 47\% |
| Black Persons in Poverty | 1,026,850 | 467,773 | 559,077 | 54\% |
| Poverty Rate | 44\% | 38\% | $51 \%$ |  |
| All Families | 2,222,310 | 893,538 | 1,328,772 | 60\% |
| Families in Poverty | 405,411 | 141,518 | 263,893 | 65\% |
| Poverty Rate | 18\% | 16\% | 20\% |  |
| Black Families | 564,855 | 303,609 | 261,246 | 46\% |
| Black Families in Poverty | 224,464 | 103,371 | 121,093 | 54\% |
| Poverty Rate | 40\% | $34 \%$ | 46\% |  |

[^27]
## Poverty Rates by Age

Phildren under five years old living in Unonmetro areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta are the most likely to live in poverty. Their aggregate 1989 poverty rate was 36 percent. Five-year-old children, persons 75 and older, and children age six to 11 are also extremely vulnerable to poverty in nonmetro areas of the region. These subpopulations' poverty rates (among all races) were 35 percent, 34 percent and 33 percent, respectively. Persons age 18 to 64 are least likely to be poor in nonmetro areas of the LMD. Their 1989 poverty rate, however, was still 20

Persons age 18 to 64
are least likely to be poor
in nonmetro areas of
the IMD. Their 1989

## poverty rate, however,

was still 20 percent. percent. Interestingly, the second least likely age group to be poor are 65 to 74 year olds, whose aggregate nonmetro poverty rate was 22 percent in 1989. Persons in this age group of younger elderly in the LMD are less likely to be poor than persons 75 and older for the same reasons as exist nationally. They are more likely to live in family households than persons 75 and older and to share a spouse's and/or extended family member's income.
The younger elderly population also includes a higher proportion of men, whose lifetime earnings and retirement savings/benefits are usually higher than those of women.
The relative prevalence of poverty among the nonmetro black population of the Lower Mississippi Delta reflects an even stronger bias toward children. Black children 11 years and younger are the most likely to be poor. Black children under five years old in nonmetro areas of the LMD experienced a staggering poverty rate of 65 percent in 1989. Even black children who were 12 to 17 years old experienced a poverty rate equal to that of black individuals 75 years and older -57 percent. As
for all races, nonmetro black persons age 18 to 64 and those age 65 to 74 had the lowest poverty rates within their race in 1989. Still, these rates were 44 percent and 49 percent, respectively.

## Poverty Rates by Family Type

Among all races, single-parent families with children are the most likely to be poor. Female-headed families with children in nonmetro areas of the LMD experienced a poverty rate of 63 percent in 1989. The second highest poverty rate among family types was that of maleheaded (no wife present) families with children - 37 percent. Married-couple families without children and those with children had the lowest LMD nonmetro poverty rates in 1989 - 10 percent and 15 percent, respectively.
The ranking of nonmetro black families in the Lower Mississippi Delta by family type according to percent living in poverty is the same as that for all races. Black families of every type, however, are much more likely to be poor. The 1989 poverty rate for female-headed families with children was 75 percent in nonmetro areas of the LMD. The rates for male-headed families with children, female-headed families without children and male-headed families without children were 53 percent, 38 percent and 30 percent, respectively. Even black married-couple families with children and without children living in nonmetro areas of the LMD experienced 1989 poverty rates of 29 percent and 25 percent, respectively.

## Public Assistance

Table B-22 provides data on public assistance income for residents of the Lower Mississippi Delta by age and by state and metro/nonmetro areas. As is true for the entire country, nonmetro residents of the LMD, although they have higher poverty rates, are less likely than their metro counterparts to live in households that receive
public assistance income. This is true for the aggregate population of people of all ages and for persons under 15 years old. Nonmetro LMD residents 15 years and older were slightly more likely to live in households that received public assistance income in 1989 than their metro counterparts. However, the spread between metro and nonmetro poverty rates is still greater than the spread between metro and nonmetro assistance rates for persons in the older age categories. Thus it cannot be assumed that public assistance has equalized the effects of poverty on the LMD's nonmetro and metro population.

## HOUSING

Table B-23 in Appendix B provides 1990 occupancy and tenure data for housing units by state and metro/nonmetro areas. The region's 89 percent occupancy rate for all areas is comparable to the U.S. occupancy rate of 90 percent. The 89 percent occupancy rate in nonmetro areas of the LMD, however, is five percentage points higher than the rate for all nonmetro areas of the country. On a state-bystate basis, each state's nonmetro LMD area, except for Missouri, had an occupancy rate that was within two percentage points of the occupancy rate for all nonmetro counties in the state. Missouri's statewide nonmetro occupancy rate was 4 percent lower than the 89 percent occupancy rate for the nonmetro counties in the LMD portion of the state. The higher occupancy rates in nonmetro LMD areas may, at least in part, be explained by the tendency for occupancy rates to be higher in rural areas of these states and the fact that LMD nonmetro counties have relatively high proportions of their populations living in rural areas. (This is especially true for Missouri.)

## Tenure

The proportions of owner- and renteroccupied units for the total population and for nonmetro areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta are similar to those for the total United States. Owners occupied 67 percent of all occupied units in the region in 1990, and 72 percent of all occupied nonmetro units. According to 1980 data from a report by the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission, ownership rates for the LMD did not change between 1980 and 1990.

Tables B-24, 25, and 26 in Appendix B provide race and ethnicity data for all occupied units, owner-occupied units and renter-occupied units by state and metro/nonmetro areas. White householders are slightly more likely to be homeowners in nonmetro areas of the LMD than throughout the rest of the country. However, as is true nationally, minority householders are less likely to be owners than white householders in both metro and nonmetro areas of the LMD. The

## LMD Figure 5: Housing Data"

|  | TOTAL | METRO | NONMETRO | NONMETR0 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | LMD | LMD | LMD | $\%$ |
| HOUSING UNITS | $3,409,766$ | $1,410,165$ | $1,999,601$ | $59 \%$ |
| Owner Occupied | $2,050,732$ | 762,895 | $1,287,837$ | $63 \%$ |
| Renter Occupied | 998,589 | 501,770 | 496,819 | $50 \%$ |
| Vacant | 360,445 | 145,500 | 214,945 | $60 \%$ |
| Occupied Mobile Homes | 308,347 | 54,870 | 253,477 | $82 \%$ |
| UNITS WITH HOUSING PROBLEMS |  |  |  |  |

UNIS WITH HOUSING PROBLEMS

| Without Complete Kitchen | 52,226 | 12,681 | 39,545 | $76 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Without Complete Plumbing | 57,533 | 10,862 | 46,671 | $81 \%$ |
| Crowded | 143,506 | 63,150 | 80,356 | $56 \%$ |
| Cost-Burdened | 670,560 | 335,996 | 334,564 | $50 \%$ |

[^28]region's homeownership rate amongblackheaded households is actually one percentage point lower than the nationwide homeownership rate for this population. Approximately 200,000 , or 58 percent, of black householders in nonmetro areas of the region, owned their homes in 1990. The ownership rate for LMD nonmetro white householders was 76 percent. These rates compare to 59 percent and 74 percent ownership rates for nonmetro black and white households, respectively, nationwide.

## Mohile Homes

# Eighty-two percent 

## of the region's mobile

## homes were located in

## nonmetro counties.

Ms noted in Table B-27, 10 Apercent of the region's occupied units were mobile homes in 1990. Mobile homes made up the same proportion of occupied units in nonmetro areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta as they did for nonmetro areas of the total U.S. -14 percent. Eightytwo percent of the region's mobile homes were located in nonmetro counties. Seventy-eight percent of these units were owner-occupied and account for 15 percent of the owner-occupied housing in nonmetro areas of the region.
On a state-by-state basis, LMD counties in six of the seven states in the region contain about the same proportions of mobile homes as the total states. The 16 LMD counties of Southern Illinois, however, had a mobile housing rate of 14 percent in 1990, compared to a 9 percent rate for the entire state. A possible explanation for the higher proportion of mobile homes in LMD counties of Illinois is that several of the counties are in the Shawnee National Forest, where mobile homes are common-
ly used as retirement homes, second homes and permanent residences.

## Water Supply

Table B-28 in Appendix B provides 1990 data on housing units' water sources. Housing units in nonmetro areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta are more likely to be on public or private water systems than nonmetro units throughout the country. 15 The proportion of nonmetro units on public or private systems in the LMD was 80 percent, versus 65 percent for nonmetro areas of the country as a whole. The higher incidence of water systems is primarily due to soil conditions in the region that do not allow for drilling of safe, adequate wells. In its 1990 report, the Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission noted that development of water and sewage facilities in rural areas of the region is very costly. ${ }^{16}$

## Housing Quality

Tables B-29 and B-30 in Appendix B provide kitchen, plumbing and crowding data for housing units in the LMD. ${ }^{17}$ The percentages of units with specified problems, other than units occupied by black householders that lack plumbing, are the same for the aggregate of nonmetro counties and the region as a whole. Two percent of nonmetro units and 2 percent of all units in the LMD lacked complete kitchens in 1990. Two percent of each group lacked complete plumbing. Three percent of owner-occupied units and 8 percent of renter-occupied units in nonmetro and all areas of the Lower Mississippi Delta were crowded, meaning they were occupied by more than one person per room. As is true for the rest of the country, units occupied by black or other minority householders in the LMD are

[^29]much more likely to have housing quality problems than those occupied by white householders. Five percent of units occupied by black householders in nonmetro areas of the LMD and 3 percent of all units occupied by black householders in the LMD lacked plumbing in 1990.

## Housing Affordability

Despite two of the LMD states Mississippi and Kentucky - being among the six U.S. states with the lowest median rent and home ownership costs, ${ }^{18}$ the percentage of cost-burdened households (those paying 30 percent or more of monthly income toward housing costs) in the region is high. Tables B-31 and B-32 in Appendix B present housing cost burden data for the region by age of householder.
As is true for the rest of the country, renters in the LMD are much more likely to be cost burdened than owners. Elderly householders are more likely to have cost burden problems than non-elderly householders. Also like the rest of the country, cost burden rates are generally higher in metro than nonmetro regions of the LMD. LMD Figure 6 illustrates 1990 cost burden rates for nonmetro households. Fifty-three percent of elderly renters in nonmetro areas were cost burdened while 42 percent of non-elderly renters were. The 21 percent cost burden rate for nonmetro elderly homeowners was only 1 percent less than the rate for metro elderly homeowners. The cost burden rate for non-elderly nonmetro homeowners was 18 percent.

LMD Figure E: Nonmetro Cost Burden Rates hy Age of Householder


[^30]Native Americans constitute only a small proportion of the population of the rural United States, ${ }^{2}$ but suffer some of the highest poverty rates and worst housing conditions of any group in the country. In 1989, almost two of every five Native American persons residing in rural areas lived below the poverty line. Thirteen percent of Native American households in rural areas, and 16.5 percent in Native American areas, ${ }^{3}$ lived without complete plumbing in 1990.

Additional information about rural Native Americans is difficult to obtain from published Census data, however. Very little data is aggregated by race or ethnicity. While data is aggregated for geographic areas associated with Native Americans, nationwide only 42 percent of American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut persons lived in these areas in 1990. As NA Figure 1 shows, over 73 percent of the residents of Native American areas identified themselves as white, and only 16 percent as Native American. This apparent imbalance occurs because Native American areas include reservation lands in states such as

Oklahoma and Alaska where reservation land is not set aside in trust and tribal land is integrated into the general community. Even the data for Native American persons in Native American areas is not truly useful for purposes of this report, because it is not separated for the rural and urban parts of those areas and, as indicated in NA Figure 1, only 41 percent of their residents live in technically rural communities.
This section presents the information that is available about all rural Native Americans, and some of the key housingrelated data available for Native American areas. No attempt has been made to extrapolate further estimates of Native American housing conditions, or to examine separately any of the 579 individual Native American areas or any group of those areas, because another study is under way, pursuant to a U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development contract with the Urban Institute and several other organizations, that will provide better data than could be inferred here using publicly available data. The Census Bureau prepared special tabulations of Native American data to be used in that study, which are not available to the public. That study is expected to be published by the end of February 1995.
The data itself, of course, does not explain why Native Americans rates of poverty and housing problems are high. Native
'This report uses the term "Native American" as equivalent to the Census Bureau's racial category denominated "American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut." The Census does not include Native Hawaiians in this category; they are part of the "Asian/Pacific Islander" racial group. For detailed definitions, see Appendix A.
${ }^{2}$ It is important to note that American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut persons living on native lands are the racial/ethnic group by far the most likely to have been undercounted in the 1990 Census, as discussed earlier in this report.
' These areas - collectively called American Indian and Alaska Native Areas by the Census Bureau, and called Native American areas in this report for convenience - include American Indian Reservations with Trust Lands, American Indian Reservations with no Trust Lands/Tribal Jurisdiction Statistical Areas/Tribal Designated Statistical Areas/Alaska Native Village Statistical Areas, American Indian Trust Lands (with no reservation), and state-designated Alaska Native Regional Corporations. See Appendix A for definitions of these terms.

Americans' current problems are rooted in a history of exploitation and misunderstanding of native peoples that does not need to be recounted here.
Meeting the housing needs of any area suffering persistent poverty is a serious challenge. In Native American areas that challenge is compounded by a variety of problems. First, native lands are held in trust status, an ownership arrangement incompatible with standard financing mechanisms from both lenders' and borrowers' perspectives. Lenders - private or governmental - are reluctant to make loans secured by trust land because they may not be able to take ownership of the land if the borrower defaults on the loan. And residents are reluctant to use their land as security because the land may be taken away from the tribe if the lender forecloses. Recent legislation and financing arrangements by particular government entities (the Farmers Home Administration, for example) have made some efforts to deal with trust land issues. Native American areas also suffer other problems shared by some other rural areas with persistent poverty, including a lack of infrastructure such as roads and utility lines, geographic remoteness, and, in most places, the nonexistence of a stable economic base. The data summarized below hints at the extent of the resulting need.

## POPULATION

Native Americans constituted only 1.3 percent of the total rural population in the United States in 1990. Almost one-quarter more rural Americans identified themselves as Native American in $1990(858,700)$ than in $1980(693,251)$.
The vast majority of rural Native Americans are non-Hispanic, although 3 percent $(27,685)$ did identify themselves as Hispanic.
Rural Native American household composition was similar to that of black persons,
as indicated in NA Figure 2. Persons of all races reported that about 80 percent of their households consisted of families and about 20 percent were non-family. Within the category of family households Native Americans, like blacks, had proportionately fewer married-couple families and more single-parent households than other racial/ethnic groups. Nearly 20 percent of Native American households were headed by women. Male-headed households with no wife present comprised just over 7 percent of Native American households, a higher proportion than in any other racial/ethnic group. At least two-thirds of the Native American female-headed and male-headed households without a spouse also included related children.

## POUERTY

Nationwide and in rural areas, Native Americans had the highest poverty rate of any racial/ethnic group in 1989, as NA Figure 3 demonstrates. ${ }^{5}$ At 37 percent, the rural Native American poverty rate was more than three times the rate for rural white persons.
Figures 8 and 9 in the first section of this report, which compare poverty rates by race and ethnicity for metro and nonmetro residents, show that two of every five

## NA Figure 1: Race and Urban/Rural Residence

(Occupants of Native American Areas)

| Race | nUMBER OF PERSONS | PERCENT |
| :--- | :---: | ---: |
| White | $3,767,335$ | 73.4 |
| Black | 411,774 | 8.0 |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut | 823,524 | 16.0 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 64,031 | 1.3 |
| Other | 66,676 | 1.3 |
| Residence |  |  |
| Urban | $3,047,556$ | 59.4 |
| Rural | $2,085,784$ | 40.6 |

[^31]
## NA Figure 2: Race/Ethnicity of Householder by Household Type

(All Rural U.S. Households)

| HOUSEHOLD TYPE | WHITE |  | BLACK |  | AMER. IND./ ESK./ALEUT |  | ASIAN/ PACIFIC ISL. |  | HISPANIC ${ }^{4}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | total | \% | TOTAL | \% | TOTAL | \% | total | \% | TOTAL | \% |
| FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS | 15,848,092 | 78.2 | 864,156 | 75.8 | 193,976 | 80.3 | 64,393 | 81.7 | 189,900 | 81.2 |
| Married Cpl. Family | 13,837,760 | 68.3 | 508,759 | 44.7 | 128,947 | 53.4 | 54,326 | 68.9 | 151,290 | 64.7 |
| W/ rel. chil. | 6,681,707 | 33.0 | 307,295 | 27.0 | 85,164 | 35.3 | 34,823 | 44.2 | 103,311 | 44.2 |
| No rel. chil. | 7,156,053 | 35.3 | 201,464 | 17.7 | 43,783 | 18.1 | 19,503 | 24.7 | 47,979 | 20.5 |
| Other family | 2,010,332 | 9.9 | 355,397 | 31.2 | 65,029 | 26.9 | 10,067 | 12.8 | 38,610 | 16.5 |
| Male hshldr, no wife | 590,491 | 2.9 | 61,547 | 5.4 | 17,183 | 7.1 | 3,467 | 4.4 | 14,221 | 6.1 |
| W/ rel. chil. | 321,001 | 1.6 | 34,396 | 3.0 | 12,270 | 5.1 | 1,817 | 2.3 | 8,524 | 3.6 |
| No rel. chii. | 269,490 | 1.3 | 27,151 | 2.4 | 4,913 | 2.0 | 1,650 | 2.1 | 5,697 | 2.4 |
| Female hshldr, no husband | 1,419,841 | 7.0 | 293,850 | 25.8 | 47,846 | 19.8 | 6,600 | 8.4 | 24,389 | 10.4 |
| W/ rel. chil. | 872,812 | 4.3 | 214,755 | 18.9 | 37,334 | 15.5 | 4,394 | 5.6 | 18,514 | 7.9 |
| No rel. chil. | 547,029 | 2.7 | 79,095 | 6.9 | 10,512 | 4.4 | 2,206 | 2.8 | 5,875 | 2.5 |
| NONFAMILY HOUSEHOLDS | 4,418,915 | 21.8 | 275,265 | 24.2 | 47,497 | 19.7 | 14,476 | 18.4 | 44,056 | 18.8 |
| Hshldr living alone | 3,814,957 | 18.8 | 246,756 | 21.7 | 39,730 | 16.5 | 11,331 | 14.4 | 34,521 | 14.8 |
| Hshldr not living alone | 603,958 | 3.0 | 28,509 | 2.5 | 7,767 | 3.2 | 3,145 | 4.0 | 9,535 | 4.1 |

## NA Figure 3: Poverty Rates by Race/Ethnicity



[^32]Native American and black persons living in nonmetro areas are poor. The poverty rates among Native American and black children in nonmetro areas are even higher, exceeding 50 percent for children under age five.
The overall poverty rate for residents of Native American areas - of all races - is lower than the poverty rates of Native American persons in various geographic divisions, although at almost 20 percent it is nevertheless painfully high. As NA Figure 4 indicates, poverty in Native American areas follows the same age patterns as in other areas, being most prevalent among children under age five.

## HOUSING

## Tenure

ike all rural residents, rural and nonmetro Native Americans had a higher rate of homeownership than their urban counterparts: 69.9 percent of housing units in rural areas occupied by a household whose head is American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut were owner-occupied, while in urban areas only 42.6 percent owned their homes, as shown in Figure 14 earlier in this report. The same figure indicates that rural and nonmetro Native Americans had a lower homeownership rate than most other racial/ethnic groups. For example, 81.5 percent of white rural households, and 71.9 percent of black rural households, owned their homes.
In Native American areas, Native American homeownership rates were close to those of whites, as NA Figure 5 illustrates. The gap is narrower in these areas not because Native American homeownership is more common than in other geographic areas - it is still just under 67 percent - but because a lower proportion of white persons own their own homes in Native American areas than in rural or nonmetro areas generally.

## NA Figure 4: Poverty by Age

(Persons for Whom Poverty is Determined, Native American Areas)

| AGE | TOTAL <br> PERSONS | PERSONS <br> IN POVERTY | PERCENT IN <br> POVERTY |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | :---: |
| Total | $5,010,213$ | 980,646 | 19.6 |
| $<5 \mathrm{yrs}$ | 409,436 | 120,468 | 29.4 |
| 5 to 17 yrs | $1,056,636$ | 260,646 | 24.7 |
| 18 to 64 yrs | $2,984,062$ | 492,189 | 16.5 |
| $65+\mathrm{yrs}$ | 560,079 | 107,343 | 19.2 |

## NA Figure 5: Tenure by Race of Householdier

(Occupied Housing Units, Native American Areas)

| TENURE BY RACE | NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS |  |
| :--- | ---: | :---: |
| White | $1,458,368$ |  |
| Owner-Occupied | $1,010,176$ | 69.3 |
| Renter-Occupied | 448,192 | 30.7 |
| Black | 132,205 |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 67,637 | 51.2 |
| Renter-Occupied | 64,568 | 48.8 |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut | 223,656 |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 149,121 | 66.7 |
| Renter-Occupied | 74,535 | 33.3 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 16,037 |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 7,447 | 46.4 |
| Renter-Occupied | 8,590 | 53.6 |
| Other | 17,991 |  |
| Owner-Occupied | 8,183 | 45.5 |
| Renter-Occupied | 9,808 | 54.5 |

## Mobile/Manufactured Homes

TThe only information available regarding mobile or manufactured home occupancy by Native Americans is for households of all races living in Native American areas. In those areas, mobile homes were a
substantial source of housing, comprising over 12 percent of all housing units and over 13 percent of owneroccupied units. As NA Figure 6 and Figure 15 above indicate, mobile homes are somewhat less common in Native American areas than in rural areas nationwide. This difference is not surprising, since over half the population of Native American areas lives in urban places, where mobile homes are generally less prevalent. Also, the high poverty rate in Native American areas (nearly 20 percent, compared to 15.1 percent in the entire United States and 13 percent in rural areas) may indicate that more residents of these areas could not afford to purchase even a mobile home.

## NA Figure 6: Mohile Homes

(Native American Areas)

|  | NUMBER | PERCENT |
| :--- | ---: | :---: |
| All units | $2,170,005$ | - |
| All mobile homes | 269,678 | 12.4 |
| Vacant units | 321,748 | - |
| Vacant mobile homes | 57,850 | 18.0 |
| Occupied units | $1,848,257$ | - |
| Occupied mobile homes | 211,828 | 11.5 |
| Owner-occupied units | $1,242,564$ | - |
| Owner-occupied mobile homes | 167,043 | 13.4 |
| Renter-occupied units | 605,693 | - |
| Renter-occupied mobile homes | 44,785 | 7.4 |
|  |  |  |

NA Figure 7: Cost Burden by Income Level
(Households for Which Cost Burden was Determined, Native American Areas)

| tenure and HOUSEHOLD INCOME | тота | COST-BURDENED |  | COST-BURDENED AT $35 \%$ OF INCOME |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | \# | \% |  | \% |
| Owners | 886,361 | 161,562 | 18.2 | 115,579 | 13.0 |
| < \$10,000 | 129,903 | 68,034 | 52.4 | 57,546 | 44.3 |
| \$10,000-19,999 | 158,816 | 41,327 | 26.0 | 30,492 | 19.2 |
| \$20,000-34,999 | 220,960 | 34,511 | 15.6 | 19,446 | 8.8 |
| \$35,000-49,999 | 164,402 | 11,313 | 6.9 | 5,608 | 3.4 |
| \$50,000 or more | 212,280 | 6,377 | 3.0 | 2,487 | 1.2 |
| Renters | 523,145 | 198,417 | 37.9 | 165,213 | 31.6 |
| < \$10,000 | 152,133 | 124,706 | 82.0 | 113,756 | 74.8 |
| \$10,000-19,999 | 139,300 | 55,987 | 40.2 | 42,760 | 30.7 |
| \$20,000-34,999 | 132,072 | 14,996 | 11.4 | 7,542 | 5.7 |
| \$35,000-49,999 | 57,842 | 2,362 | 4.1 | 1,100 | 1.9 |
| \$50,000 or more | 41,798 | 366 | 0.9 | 55 | 0.1 |

## Affordability

I ike information on mobile homes, data on housing affordability for Native American persons is available only indirectly, using data for Native American area residents of all races as a proxy. Households in Native American areas experience cost burdens at levels exceeding those in rural areas nationwide and approaching urban levels. Just over 18 percent of Native American area residents paid more than 30 percent of their income for housing, as NA Figure 7 shows. Figure 17 in the first section of this report indicates that 17 percent of rural homeowners nationwide, and 20 percent in urban areas, were similarly cost-burdened. A higher proportion of renters than of owners in all geographic levels were cost-burdened, and the 46 percent rate in Native American areas exceeds both the 42 percent urban rate and the 36 percent rate in rural areas nationwide shown in Figure 17.
Housing affordability is a particular problem for low-income persons throughout
the United States, and Native American areas are no exception. NA Figure 7
demonstrates the dramatic correspondence
between high cost-burden levels and low incomes for both renters and owners in Native American areas. Fully 82 percent of
renters earning less than $\$ 10,000$ paid too much for their housing, and the vast majority of them paid more than 35 percent of their income for housing, while less than 1 percent of renters earning $\$ 50,000$ or more had the same problem.
${ }^{6}$ Hispanic people may be of any race.

# NA Figure 9: Housing Quality Indicators 

(Native American Areas)

| INDICATOR | OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS |  | RENTER-OCCUPIED UNITS |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\pm$ | \% | $\pm$ | \% |
| Total occupied units | 1,242,415 | 100 | 606,231 | 100 |
| Crowded only | 47,131 | 3.8 | 45,857 | 7.6 |
| Lack plumbing only | 25,042 | 2.0 | 9,904 | 1.6 |
| Both | 17,535 | 1.4 | 4,941 | 0.8 |
| Total substandard | 89,708 | 7.2 | 60,702 | 10.0 |

## Housing Quality

Although the Census's housing quality Adata is limited, it indicates that Native Americans suffer extremely poor housing conditions. While all rural households lacked complete plumbing four times more often than urban households (as shown in Figure 21 above), Native American households in rural areas were more than eight times more likely to lack complete plumbing than rural households generally, as NA Figure 8 demonstrates. Native American residents of Native American areas fared even worse: 16.5 percent of them lacked complete plumbing, compared to 12.9 percent in rural areas and 11.9 percent in nonmetro areas. Thus the only Census housing quality indicator that is aggregated by race and ethnicity points strongly towards the conclusion that Native Americans as a group live in the worst housing in the United States.
As might be expected based on the data for persons who identified themselves as American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut, Native American areas' residents of all races suffered both overcrowding and incomplete plumbing at rates exceeding those of rural areas nationwide. NA Figure 9 presents the data for Native American areas, and Figure 21 above contains the percentages for urban and rural units throughout the United States. Renters in Native American areas (who tend to have lower incomes than owners)
experienced overcrowding more often even than residents of all urban areas nationwide.

## Water Supply and Quality

It is difficult to draw clear conclusions about the quality of the water supply or the sanitary nature of the sewage disposal available to persons living in Native American areas based on the available Census information - which is presented in NA Figure 10 - except to state that it seems to reflect the 59/41 percent urban/rural character of Native American areas. For example, comparing NA Figure 10 with Figure 25 above shows that 80 percent of Native American area units obtain their water from public or private water systems, compared to 47 percent of rural units and 97 percent of urban units nationwide. But the remarkable frequency of Native American-occupied units lacking complete plumbing indicates that the relatively high rates of connection to water and sewer systems do not mean that Native American residents of Native American areas (or indeed of any areas) have adequate potable water and sewage disposal available. It should also be noted that the Census does not collect information on the condition of water or sewage disposal methods.

NA Figure 10: Source of Water and Means of Sewaye Disposal
(Native American Areas)

|  | NUMBER OF UNITS | \% OF UNITS |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Source of water |  |  |
| Public or private system | $1,747,074$ | 80.5 |
| Individual drilled well | 325,239 | 15.0 |
| Individual dug well | 37,384 | 1.7 |
| Other | 62,065 | 2.9 |
| Means of sewage disposal |  |  |
| Public sewer | $1,413,525$ | 65.1 |
| Septic tank or cesspool | 662,768 | 30.5 |
| Other | 95,469 | 4.4 |

















                 


.

## THE <br> UNITED STATES-MEXICO BORDER

ike the Mississippi Delta and Native American areas, the U.S.-Mexico border has a high concentration of people of color - here, Hispanic persons - and suffers from rates of poverty, substandard housing, and housing cost burden significantly higher than those in the United States as a whole. About half the border region's population is Hispanic. The poverty rate in the region is almost 20 percent, and in individual counties as many as 60 percent of the residents live below the poverty line. The region's residents experience a much higher rate of substandard housing than others around the country - over 18 percent on the Texas border, and 11.6 percent in the region as a whole.
State and local studies and anecdotal information suggest that a high proportion of the border's problems are concentrated in "colonias" - literally, "neighborhoods" - occupied primarily by low-income Hispanic persons of Mexican origin. The problems of the colonias have been receiving much attention from public policymakers since the late 1980s and early 1990s, with a variety of programs being developed at the federal level and by states (particularly Texas) to assist their residents.
The colonias are defined primarily by what they lack, such as water and sewage systems, decent housing, paved roads, and standard mortgage financing. A concise description is provided by the Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs (although the following was written
specifically about Texas, it is applicable to colonias in other states as well):

The Texas-Mexico border area is characterized by impoverished rural areas commonly known as 'colonias'. Colonia areas generally lack basic infrastructure facilities, such as water, sewer, and streets, and safe and decent housing. These areas in most cases lack health and medical facilities, transportation services, recreational facilities, and structures to encourage economic development. Water is hauled in containers, many of which may not be safe and sanitary. Septic tanks, cesspools, or outdoor privies serve as sewer disposal facilities. Although residents of these colonias are faced with limited opportunities and resources, they manage to take advantage of the little that is available to survive and to strive to improve the future of their children. It has been evident from observations during site visits that these residents are resourceful, often times using crates, cardboard boxes, and tar paper to construct homes. . . .
Although each colonia is different and may have unique needs, there are general characteristics that apply to most. It has been estimated that [in Texas] there are over 1,200 colonias located along a 1,000 mile stretch, primarily between Brownsville and El Paso, with a total population of approximately 500,000 . In some cases, colonias are remotely located from urbanized areas, which inhibits the traditional method of service delivery systems. Colonia residents are
predominantly Hispanic, young, unskilled and have estimated annual incomes of $\$ 7,000$. Most subsist on incomes below the federal poverty level. . . Generally, the level of education of colonia residents is low and illiteracy is high. The primary language is Spanish, which often impedes access to existing programs and interpretation and understanding of policies, procedures, and legal documents. ${ }^{1}$
The 1990 National Affordable Housing Act (NAHA), which set aside 10 percent of Community Development Block Grant funds for colonias, created a federal definition of the term. A colonia under NAHA is an "identifiable community" in Arizona, California, New Mexico, or Texas within 150 miles of the U.S.-Mexico border, lacking decent water and sewage systems and decent housing, and in existence as a colonia before November 28, 1990. Originally NAHA also required that each colonia be designated as such by the state or county in which it is located, but that condition was removed by the Housing and Community Development Act of 1992. Arizona has declined to designate any border communities as colonias under NAHA.
The origin of the colonias varies. Some were sparsely settled rural communities that became densely populated over time. The water wells and privies or septic tanks that had once adequately served the needs of a few families could not provide potable water and healthy sewage disposal for large numbers of homes. ${ }^{2}$
Ironically, many other colonias developed out of attempts by low-income border residents to become self-sufficient and to own their own homes. Unscrupulous owners of land outside municipal boundaries - particularly in Texas and New Mexico, where
until the early 1990s there were few controls on land use - subdivided their property and sold lots to persons who then built their own homes but could not necessarily afford sturdy materials and standard construction techniques. The developers provided little or no infrastructure, and generally did not draw up plats for the subdivisions. Perhaps worse, they often sold the lots under a "contract for deed" arrangement, which is unlike a mortgage in some crucial respects. This type of financing does not provide a public record of the buyer's purchase. It allows the seller/lender to retain title to the property until the debt is fully paid, and therefore to repossess the lot (and whatever the purchaser has built on it) immediately if even a single payment is missed.

> Because developers are able to add missed payments and interest to the note, residents rarely are able to become title owners of the property. Financial institutions have been reluctant to finance housing in colonia areas because of the uncertainty in actual ownership of property and because the traditional method of financing, payments which may be due on a monthly basis, may not be appropriate for colonia residents. Some colonia families are migrants or farmworkers that have employment of a cyclical nature. ${ }^{3}$

At least one legislative change was adopted in Texas in 1989 attempting to restrict the creation of new colonias, and a variety of additional measures have been introduced in the Texas legislature to correct the legal structure, or lack of one, that has permitted colonias to develop. Changes have been proposed in New Mexico law as well. The problems of the existing colonias remain to be solved, however.

[^33]Because the colonias have particularly severe poverty and housing problems, the Housing Assistance Council had hoped to be able to examine Census data for them separately from data for the rest of the border region. Unfortunately, however, that is not possible at present. Most of the colonias are unincorporated; thus their boundaries do not correspond to any of the political boundaries for which Census data are aggregated. Mapping the colonias and determining what census tracts or block numbering areas correspond to their borders is a time-consuming undertaking. The Texas Office of the Attorney General (OAG) has performed a version of this task for Hidalgo County, where more than half of Texas's colonias are located, and eventually will do the same for Cameron and El Paso counties. The OAG warns, however, that its methodology - first drawing colonia boundaries on paper, and then entering the locations on a computerized geographic information system containing Census geography - risked creating errors significant enough so that its findings should not be used to draw conclusions about any specific colonia, although it considered its information "accurate enough to support conclusions about all census blocks with colonias compared as a group to all census blocks without colonias." ${ }^{+}$
The following analysis deals with the border regions of Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas as a whole, using county-level data. Unlike the other sections of this report, it does not distinguish between urban and rural or metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. The only urban-rural distinction available for published county-level Census data is the
number of persons living in urban and rural areas; no further demographic, economic, or housing data is provided for those geographic levels. It would have been possible to separate the characteristics of metropolitan and nonmetro parts of the border region, since entire counties are defined as either metro or nonmetro. That distinction would have been more misleading than helpful here, however, since colonias - presumed to be the neediest rural areas within the region - exist in metro counties as well as nonmetro counties. For example, in a recent study the Texas Water Development Board (TWDB) found 122 colonias in El Paso County, and noted that generally "as the distance increases from the U.S.-Mexico border and major metropolitan areas, the number and density of colonias rapidly decreases," ${ }^{3}$ although the TWDB did identify colonias in three counties far from the border: Newton, Red River, and Sabine, all of which are included in this study for that reason.
This study, therefore, includes the counties listed below. Figures in parentheses indicate the number of colonias identified by the TWDB's 1992 study of 37 counties in Texas. Counties without parentheticals were not included in the TWDB study. The TWDB's figures are provided for information only; they should not be considered dispositive regarding the presence or absence of colonias. The TWDB study found a total of 1,193 colonias with an estimated population of 279,863 , nearly 60 percent of which was in just four counties in the lower Rio Grande Valley (Hidalgo, Starr, Cameron, and Willacy), ${ }^{6}$ but the Border Low Income Housing Coalition believes there are more colonias than this, and reports that the TWDB study missed

+ Office of the Attorney General, Sociocconomic Characteristics of Colonia Areas in Hidalgo County: What the 1990 Census Shows (White Paper, September 1993), p. 13.
${ }^{5}$ Facility Needs Section, Planning Division, Texas Water Development Board, Water for Texas: Water and Wasteczater Needs of Colonias in Texas (October 1992), "Executive Summary," p. 3, and "Colonias Survey Description," p. 5.
${ }^{6}$ Ibid., "Colonias Survey Description," p. 1, and "Executive Summary," p. 1. The Board defined colonias as primarily residential subdivisions containing at least five housing units, in which 80 percent of dwellings were occupied on June 1, 1989, water or sewer services are inadequate, and financial resources are inadequate to meet minimal water or sewer needs.

| ARIZONA | NEW MEXICO | TEXAS | Jim Wells (7) | Red River (11) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Cochise | (continued) | (continued) | Kenedy (0) | Recves (2) |
| Pima | Eddy | Cameron (75) | Kinney (2) | Refugio |
| Santa Cruz | Hidalgo | Crockett (0) | Kleberg | Sabine (1) |
| Yuma | Lea | Culberson (0) | La Salle (7) | San Patricio |
|  | Luna | Dimmit (6) | Live Oak | Starr (90) |
| CALIFORNIA | Otero | Duval (1) | McMullen (0) | Sutton (0) |
| Imperial |  | Edwards (1) | Maverick (48) | Terrell (1) |
| Riverside | TEXAS | El Paso (122) | Medina | Uvalde (9) |
| San Diego | Aransas | Frio (0) | Newton (6) | Val Verde (6) |
|  | Atascosa (0) | Hidalgo (715) | Nueces | Webb (41) |
| NEW MEXICO | Bee | Hudspeth (3) | Pecos (5) | Willacy (7) |
| Chaves | Brewster (0) | Jeff Davis (1) | Presidio (7) | Zapata (3) |
| Dona Ana | Brooks (0) | Jim Hogg (2) | Real (0) | Zavala (14) |

"colonias which were not platted or were sold by metes and bounds." In addition, of course the number of colonias in any count varies depending on the precise characteristics used to define a colonia.

## UNDERCOUNT

Several of the points made in the "Census Undercount" section of this report bear repeating here, because many of the factors that lead to high undercounts are present in the border region. As noted above, the Census Bureau has estimated the undercount rate for Hispanic persons nationwide at 5 percent. It is likely to be higher than 5 percent along the border, because (as figures for those who were included in the Census indicate) the proportion of border residents who have recently arrived in the country is higher than the proportion of recent arrivals for the country as a whole (though not as high as the percentage of recently arrived residents in certain other areas such as Los Angeles, Miami, and New York City). Recent arrivals are unlikely to trust Census enumerators, despite assurances of confidentiality.

In addition, many border residents speak only or primarily Spanish, live in extended family households, and/or live in remote rural areas, and undercounting is more likely to occur in all these situations.
This assumption is bolstered by comparison between the Texas Attorney General's office study of Hidalgo County, using 1990 Census data for the colonias locations identified by the TWDB, and the counts made by the TWDB itself. In 1990 the Census counted 84,374 persons in Hidalgo County Census blocks containing colonias, while in 1992 the TWDB survey counted 109,337 persons in the county's colonias. Some differences would have been expected due to the twoyear time difference, the fact that the survey was not designed to be an entirely accurate count, and the fact that Census blocks do not correspond directly to colonias boundaries, but the Attorney

# Many horder residents <br> speak only or primarily 

Spanisht, live in extended
family households, and/or
live in remote rurral areas, and undercounting is more
likely to occurr in all these

## situations.

General's office found the size of the difference "alarming" and concluded that Census undercount had to be responsible for some part of it. ${ }^{\text {. }}$

## POPULATION

$C$ensus data shows that in 1990 the border region differed from the rest of the country in a number of ways, although there were significant differences among the border states as well. Generally, they were more urban, less racially diverse, and comprised of more recent immigrants, than the nation's population as a whole. (Of course other areas of the country could be identified that are still more urban than the border, even less racially diverse than the border, or occupied by even greater percentages of recent arrivals than the border.) Many residents were bilingual in English and Spanish. Households were larger than in the general population, while the distribution of household types varied among border states.

## BR Figure 1: Racia//Ethnic Origin (Percent)



The border region generally was somewhat more urban than the United States as a whole: only 13.2 percent of the border population lived in rural areas, compared to 25 percent nationwide. (By contrast, as noted elsewhere in this report, fully 40 percent of the Lower Mississippi Delta region's population was rural.) New Mexico's border region was by far the most rural, with 27 percent of its people living in rural areas. Rural population for each border county and the border portions of each state are listed in Table B-33 in Appendix B.
The vast majority ( 90.8 percent) of border county residents fell into only three racial/ethnic groups: non-Hispanic white persons, Hispanic white persons, and Hispanic persons who identified themselves as of "other" race (i.e., not white, black, American Indian, or Asian). As BR Figure 1 shows, a smaller but still substantial majority ( 84 percent) of residents of the entire United States were members of those three groups. Just over 4 percent of the region's population were non-Hispanic black persons, and 3.5 percent nonHispanic Asian or Pacific Islander (most of them in California), while non-Hispanic American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut and non-Hispanic "other" persons combined comprised less than 1 percent of the border population. Details of the border region population's racial/ethnic origin are provided in Table B-33 in Appendix B.
There were differences in population composition among the border states: Hispanic persons made up a much larger proportion of the border population in Texas ( 71 percent) than in Arizona, California, or New Mexico. Non-Hispanic whites comprised more than half the population along the border in the latter three states, but only slightly over one-quarter in Texas.
American Indians were only .8 percent of the border population, exceeding 2 percent of the population in only two counties: Pima County, Arizona, and Otero

[^34]County, New Mexico, as shown in Table B-33 in Appendix B.
Almost all ( 93 percent) of the border region's Hispanic residents were of Mexican origin. Over 16 percent of the border region's 1990 residents were born outside the United States (see Table B-34 in Appendix B), compared to only 7.9 percent of all U.S. residents. The proportions of foreign-born residents varied widely among the border states, from just under 10 percent in New Mexico to over 18 percent in Texas. In all four states, as in the entire U.S., more foreign-born persons entered the United States during the 1980s than during any other decade, as shown in BR Figure $2 .{ }^{\circ}$ The Census does not provide data on year of arrival by race/ethnicity or country of origin but, given the high proportion of Hispanic residents of Mexican origin along the border, it can be assumed that immigration from Mexico accounted for much of the high proportion of recent arrivals along the border.
As BR Figure 3 indicates, the border region's population included proportionately more non-citizens than the United States population as a whole. Nearly 20 percent of the border region's adults and 7 percent of its children were not U.S. citizens. There were higher proportions of

Br Figure 2: Year of Arpival in United States

| YEAR OF ARRIVAL | ALL BORDER COUNTIES |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { UNITED } \\ & \text { STATES } \end{aligned}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \# | \% | \# | \% |
| Total | 1,179,582 |  | 19,767,316 |  |
| 1980s | 491,635 | 41.7 | 8,663,627 | 43.8 |
| 1970s | 326,797 | 27.7 | 4,869,415 | 24.6 |
| 1960s | 172,873 | 14.7 | 2,792,565 | 14.1 |
| 1950s | 102,847 | 8.7 | 1,599,021 | 8.1 |
| Before 1950 | 85,430 | 7.2 | 1,842,688 | 9.3 |

non-citizens in the border areas of California and Texas than in Arizona and New Mexico. Over three-quarters of the border region's adult residents were native-born U.S. citizens, as were more than 90 percent of the region's children under 18 . Another 7 percent of adults and 1 percent of children were foreign-born naturalized citizens. For county figures, see Table B-35 in Appendix B.
Given the large numbers of Hispanic residents along the border, many of whom arrived fairly recently in the United States, it is not surprising that in all the border

## BR Figure 3: Citizenship Status by Age

ARIZ. BORDER

|  | ARIZ. BORDER |  | CALIF. BORDER |  | N.M. BORDER |  | TEXAS BORDER |  | ALL BRDR. CNTS. |  | UNITED STATES |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\pm$ | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% |
| < 18 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Native | 221,453 | 94.6 | 900,516 | 91.7 | 110,282 | 95.6 | 699,149 | 92.9 | 1,931,400 | 92.7 | 61,514,084 | 96.7 |
| Frgn.-born ntrlzd. | 1,726 | 0.7 | 11,385 | 1.2 | 822 | 0.7 | 9,709 | 1.3 | 23,642 | 1.1 | 340,034 | 0.5 |
| Frgn-born noncit. | 10,889 | 4.7 | 70,436 | 7.2 | 4,210 | 3.7 | 43,493 | 5.8 | 129,028 | 6.2 | 1,752,426 | 2.8 |
| 18+ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Native | 577,613 | 86.6 | 2,246,084 | 80.2 | 227,033 | 87.9 | 1,142,360 | 76.4 | 4,190,090 | 80.3 | 167,428,473 | 90.5 |
| Frgn.-born ntrlzd. | 35,635 | 5.3 | 204,672 | 7.3 | 11,944 | 4.6 | 126,097 | 8.4 | 378,348 | 7.3 | 7,656,964 | 4.1 |
| Frgn.-born noncit. | 53,759 | 8.1 | 347,639 | 12.4 | 19,434 | 7.5 | 227,732 | 15.2 | 648,564 | 12.4 | 10,017,892 | 5.4 |

[^35]BR Figure 4: Ability to Speak English and Spanisht, ty Aye

AGE 5-17
Spk. English only


\left.| ARIZ. BORDER | CALIF. BORDER |  | N. MEX. BORDER |  | TEXAS BORDER |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |$\right)$

states except California a remarkably high proportion of residents spoke both English and Spanish. BR Figure 4 demonstrates that this is particularly true in Texas, where less than one-third of the children and the adults to age 65 , and one-half of older adults, were monolingual Englishspeakers. While the largest proportion of English-only speakers was among adults over 65 , working-age adults had the largest proportion of Spanish-speakers who said they did not speak English well. On the Texas border, nearly 16 percent of persons age 18 to 64 fell in this latter category, indicating a potentially serious need for language education to be included in any economic development that would bring jobs requiring English language abilities to the region, or in employment
training efforts that would qualify residents for such jobs.
Border region households tended to be larger than households nationwide. More than twice as many border households consisted of seven or more persons than in the United States as a whole, as BR Figure 5 illustrates. Half the border region's population lived in households of one or two persons, and over 16 percent - compared to just over one-tenth nationwide - lived in households of five or more persons. The border's larger than average households were either a contributing factor to, or a result of, the inadequate size of many border residents' homes that resulted in the overcrowding discussed below.
As BR Figure 6 demonstrates, household types in the border region as a whole were
distributed much the same as those nationwide, with a slightly higher rate along the border of married- couple households living with their own children under age 18 , and a commensurately slightly lower proportion of nonfamily households. Nearly 60 percent of border households were comprised of married couples, about half of whom had their own children living with them.
The distribution of family types varied considerably among the border states, however. More Texas households were married couples with children than in any other border state, and Texas had a far lower rate of nonfamily households than any of the others. Conversely, Arizona had the lowest proportion of married couples with children, and the highest rate of nonfamily households, nearly one-third compared to Texas's one-fifth. In all four border states, as Table B-36 in Appendix B shows, households with Hispanic or Asian/Pacific Islander heads tended to include a higher proportion of married couples, with or without children, and fewer nonfamily groups or individuals, than those with heads of other races.

## BR Figure 6: Household Type

|  | ARIZ, BORDER |  | CALIE. BORDER |  | N.M. BORDER |  | TEXAS BORDER |  | ALL BRDR. CNTS. |  | UNITED STATES |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\pm$ | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% | $\pm$ | \% | \# | \% | $\#$ | \% |
| FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married couple w/ own children < 18 | 83,118 | 24.3 | 357,124 | 27.0 | 41,238 | 31.8 | 247,508 | 36.4 | 728,988 | 29.5 | 24,224,117 | 26.3 |
| Married couple, no own children <18 | 101,846 | 29.8 | 386,418 | 29.2 | 37,821 | 29.2 | 181,959 | 26.8 | 708,044 | 28.6 | 27,494,097 | 29.9 |
| Male, no wife, w/ own children $<18$ | 5,833 | 1.7 | 23,373 | 1.8 | 2,809 | 2.2 | 10,814 | 1.6 | 42,829 | 1.7 | 1,275,406 | 1.4 |
| Male, no wife, no own children $<18$ | 5,258 | 1.5 | 26,914 | 2.0 | 2,000 | 1.5 | 11,503 | 1.7 | 45,675 | 1.9 | 1,674,154 | 1.8 |
| Female, no husband, w/ own children <18 | 22,581 | 6.6 | 82,200 | 6.2 | 9,321 | 7.2 | 56,564 | 8.3 | 170,666 | 6.9 | 5,865,147 | 6.4 |
| Female, no husband, no own children <18 | 13,254 | 3.9 | 53,914 | 4.1 | 4,861 | 3.8 | 39,326 | 5.8 | 111,355 | 4.5 | 4,516,507 | 4.9 |
| NON-FAMILY <br> HOUSEHOLDS | 110,079 | 32.2 | 393,059 | 29.7 | 31,544 | 24.3 | 131,763 | 19.4 | 666,445 | 26.9 | 26,944,154 | 29.3 |

04 Taking Stock of Rural Poverty and Housing for the 1990s

BR Figure 7: Poverty Rates by Race/Ethnicity


## POVERTY

Census data on poverty status is reported by race and by Hispanic origin but, unlike many of the population figures, poverty data for each race is not separated for persons not of Hispanic origin and persons of Hispanic origin. In other words, poverty is reported for white persons, black persons, etc., and for Hispanic persons, but not for non-Hispanic whites and Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic blacks and Hispanic blacks, etc. Thus there is overlap in the racial and ethnic categories discussed in this section. ${ }^{10}$ This overlap makes it impossible to compare poverty rates for nonHispanic white persons and Hispanic white persons, two of the three major racial/ethnic groups in the border region.

Comparisons between different geographic divisions of the country are difficult as well, because the racial composition of persons who identified themselves as Hispanic varies. In the United States as a whole, more than half ( 52.1 percent) of Hispanic persons identified themselves as white, and 43.2 percent as of "other" race. In the border region, however, these proportions were quite different; nearly twothirds ( 62 percent) of Hispanic residents identified themselves as white, and onethird ( 36.4 percent) as "other." " The difference was even more striking when viewed from another angle: only 5.7 percent of total U.S. white residents were Hispanic, but fully 31.9 percent of the border's white residents were Hispanic. Thus, national and border region poverty figures for white persons and for Hispanic persons represented proportions of the population that were not equivalent. The figures for specific races and ethnicities presented below must be examined with these caveats in mind.
The overall poverty rate for the border region in 1989 was 19.7 percent, substantially higher than poverty rates for the entire United States ( 15.1 percent) or for rural areas nationwide ( 13.0 percent), nonmetro areas nationwide ( 16.8 percent), or central cities nationwide ( 18.0 percent). ${ }^{12}$ Poverty rates for white and Hispanic persons in the border region far exceeded nationwide rates, while rates for Asians were somewhat higher and for American Indians slightly higher along the border than in the United States generally. Slightly fewer black persons lived in poverty in the border region than in the entire United States. BR Figure 7 presents poverty rates by race/ethnicity for persons

[^36][^37]for whom poverty status was determined. County figures are shown in Table B-37 in Appendix B.
Given the overlap in racial/ethnic categories discussed above, all that can be said with certainty regarding poverty on the border is that Hispanic persons in that region suffered much higher poverty rates than Hispanic persons in the United States generally. Patterns of Hispanic poverty across age groups were similar in the border region to those throughout the United States, however, with much higher proportions of children under 18 living in poverty than adults aged 18 to 64 . More than four in ten of the border region's Hispanic children lived in poverty, as illustrated in BR Figure 8.

## HOUSING

## Tenure

1omeownership rates were much lower along the border than in rural areas nationally, but were in keeping with rates for the total United States, as shown in Figure 13 and BR Figure 9. Some totally rural border counties, such as Newton and Sabine Counties in Texas, had homeownership rates commensurate with the national rural owner-occupancy rate of 80.6 percent. For detailed data, see Table B-38 in Appendix B.
Tenure rates varied by race and ethnicity, as BR Figure 9 demonstrates. NonHispanic white persons had the highest homeownership rates in all border states, with Hispanic persons second highest in all states except California.
While homeownership is often described as an integral part of "the American dream," it should be noted that relatively high homeownership rates among certain portions of the border population do not necessarily indicate that those households had decent housing or were economically

BR Figure 8: Poverty Status by Age, Hispanic Residents
(Hispanic Persons for whom Poverty Status was Determined)

|  | UNITED STATES |  |  | ALL BORDER COUNTIES |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | \#NPOVERTY | $\%$ | TOTAL | \#NPOVERTY | $\%$ |
| Total | $21,388,017$ | $5,403,492$ | 25.3 | $2,822,585$ | 961,782 | 34.1 |
| Under 5 | $2,271,443$ | 758,113 | 33.4 | 296,091 | 123,142 | 41.6 |
| $5-17$ | $5,201,473$ | $1,649,353$ | 31.7 | 765,649 | 316,893 | 41.4 |
| $18-64$ | $12,887,346$ | $2,749,664$ | 21.3 | $1,597,339$ | 466,754 | 29.2 |
| $65+$ | $1,027,755$ | 246,362 | 24.0 | 163,506 | 54,993 | 33.6 |

comfortable. As this report has pointed out, in rural areas homeownership is common even among those living below the poverty level. Also, Census data does not link any housing characteristics with ownership or rental rates; American Housing Survey data nationwide shows that lowerincome homeowners often own mobile homes - which deteriorate much more quickly than stick-built or modular homes, and which are often located on rented sites - or homes with serious physical problems not recorded by the Census such as leaking roofs, lack of weatherproofing, decayed floors, and the like.
In the colonias, the concept of homeownership is made even more tenuous by the use of contracts for deed. As explained in the introduction to this section, under this purchase arrangement the resident does not obtain a deed to the property until the purchase price is paid in full. Thus, unlike a purchaser with a mortgage, the "homeowner" does not have any equity in the property and cannot use the property as security for a loan.

## Mobile/Manufacturred Homes

Mobile homes were a significant and growing part of the housing stock in the border region, as around the nation. As BR Figure 10 indicates, the New Mexico border had a particularly high proportion of mobile homes, more than one
in five. In most areas mobile homes were proportionately more popular among homeowners than renters, but New Mexico also had a remarkably high rate of mobile homes among its renter-occupied units. The Texas border had a much lower proportion of mobile homes - less than 10 percent of occupied units - but, as reported earlier in this study, Texas as a whole had one of the highest growth rates of all states in the number of rural mobile homes from 1980 to 1990. The number of mobile homes in the state nearly doubled between 1980 and 1990 .

## Affordability

Many residents of the border region, like others around the United States, were paying more than they could afford for their housing in 1989. The lower a household's income was, the greater the likelihood that household was cost-burdened. More than 90 percent of renters earning under $\$ 10,000$ a year and living in the border counties of Arizona and California paid more than 30 percent of their income for housing, and most of those paid more than 35 percent. The rates for homeowners were slightly lower, but still very high:

## BR Figure 9: Tenure by Race and Ethnicity

RACE/ETHNICITY OF
HOUSEHOLDER AND TENURE ARIZ. BORDER

## ALL RACES/ETHNICITIES

Owner-Occupied

Renter-Occupied
NON-HISPANIC WHITE

| Owner-Occupied | 161,624 | 64.4 | 615,711 | 62.9 |
| :--- | ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Renter-Occupied | 89,313 | 35.6 | 363,947 | 37.2 |

NON-HISP. BLACK

|  | 3,638 | 39.2 | 23,659 | 35.0 | 1,475 | 46.3 | 7,214 | 46.0 | 35,986 | 37.6 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Owner-Occupied | 5,633 | 60.8 | 43,934 | 65.0 | 1,714 | 53.8 | 8,471 | 54.0 | 59,752 | 62.4 |

NON-HISP. AMER. IND./ESK./ALEUT

|  | 2,986 | 55.0 | 4,586 | 49.0 | 575 | 44.6 | 864 | 47.8 | 9,011 | 50.4 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Owner-Occupied | 2,448 | 45.1 | 4,766 | 51.0 | 713 | 55.4 | 945 | 52.2 | 8,872 | 49.6 |
| Renter-Occupied |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| NON-HISP. ASIAN/PAC. ISL. | 1,848 | 43.0 | 31,191 | 56.2 | 283 | 41.4 | 1,572 | 47.4 | 34,894 | 54.7 |
| Owner-Occupied | 2,452 | 57.0 | 24,293 | 43.8 | 400 | 58.6 | 1,742 | 52.6 | 28,887 | 45.3 |
| Renter-Occupied |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| NON-HISP. OTHER | 146 | 47.9 | 462 | 34.3 | 101 | 64.3 | 527 | 52.9 | 1,236 | 44.0 |
| Owner-Occupied | 159 | 52.1 | 887 | 65.8 | 56 | 35.7 | 469 | 47.1 | 1,571 | 56.0 |
| Renter-Occupied |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| HISPANIC | 40,895 | 57.9 | 91,682 | 43.9 | 27,739 | 64.8 | 260,430 | 63.1 | 420,746 | 57.2 |
| Owner-Occupied | 29,795 | 42.2 | 117,194 | 56.1 | 15,075 | 35.2 | 152,292 | 36.9 | 314,356 | 42.8 |
| Renter-Occupied |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## BR Figure 10: Mobile Homes

|  | ARIZ. BORDER |  | CALIE. BORDER |  | N.M. BORDER |  | TEXAS BORDER |  | ALL BRDR. CNTIES |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 4 | \% | $\pm$ | \% | \# | \% | 4 | \% | 4 | \% |
| All units | 394,581 | - | 1,466,646 | - | 149,357 | - | 793,817 | - | 2,804,401 | - |
| All mobile homes | 67,093 | 17.0 | 126,343 | 8.6 | 30,729 | 20.6 | 93,092 | 11.7 | 317,257 | 11.3 |
| Vacant units | 53,644 | - | 144,334 | - | 20,005 | - | 115,133 | - | 333,116 | - |
| Vacant mobile homes | 15,213 | 22.7 | 18,732 | 13.0 | 4,902 | 16.0 | 26,946 | 29.0 | 65,793 | 19.8 |
| Occupied units | 340,937 | - | 1,322,312 | - | 129,352 | - | 678,684 | - | 2,471,285 | - |
| Occupied mobile homes | 51,880 | 15.2 | 107,611 | 8.1 | 5,827 | 20.0 | 66,146 | 9.8 | 251,464 | 10.2 |
| Owner-occupied units | 211,137 | - | 767,291 | - | 87,425 | - | 438,162 | - | 1,504,015 | - |
| Owner-occupied mobile homes | 41,705 | 19.8 | 93,374 | 12.2 | 19,718 | 22.6 | 53,807 | 12.3 | 208,604 | 13.9 |
| Renter-occupied units | 129,800 | - | 555,021 | - | 41,927 | - | 240,522 | - | 967,270 | - |
| Renter-occupied mobile homes | 10,175 | 7.8 | 14,237 | 2.6 | 6,109 | 14.6 | 12,339 | 5.1 | 42,860 | 4.4 |

two-thirds of homeowners in those states earning under $\$ 10,000$ a year were costburdened.
BR Figure 11 depicts the direct relation between income level and cost burden for owners and renters in the border states. Cost-burden rates for owner and renter households at various income levels in all the border counties are presented in Tables B-39 and B-40 in Appendix B.

## Housing Quality

$A_{\mathrm{th}}^{\mathrm{n}}$necdotal evidence and local studies from Ithe border region, particularly the colonias, suggest that significant housing quality problems exist, and the Census data while weakened by its failure to include physical dilapidation - strongly supports this conclusion. All the states along the border had a much higher incidence of

## BR Figure 11: Cost Burden hy Income Level

| HOUSEHOLD INCOME | ARIZ. BORDER |  | CALIE. BORDER |  | N. MEX. BORDER |  | TEXAS BORDER |  | ALL BRDR. CNTIES |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% C.B. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% C.B, } \\ & \text { AT 35\% } \end{aligned}$ | \% C.B. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% C.B. } \\ & \text { AT } 35 \% \end{aligned}$ | \% C.B. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% C.B. } \\ & \text { AT 35\% } \end{aligned}$ | \% C.B. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% C.B. } \\ & \text { AT 35\% } \end{aligned}$ | \% C.B. | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% C.B. } \\ & \text { AT 35\% } \end{aligned}$ |
| OWNERS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| < \$10,000 | 65.2 | 58.8 | 68.4 | 61.5 | 51.5 | 44.3 | 49.3 | 41.6 | 55.9 | 48.6 |
| \$10,000-19,999 | 43.0 | 35.0 | 43.9 | 38.5 | 23.7 | 16.9 | 22.0 | 16.0 | 32.2 | 26.0 |
| \$20,000-34,999 | 25.5 | 14.0 | 45.0 | 36.8 | 12.2 | 6.3 | 12.7 | 6.9 | 28.8 | 21.0 |
| \$35,000-49,999 | 9.6 | 4.7 | 39.2 | 24.9 | 3.6 | 1.5 | 4.4 | 1.7 | 24.7 | 15.2 |
| \$50,000 or more | 4.1 | 1.8 | 17.7 | 9.0 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 1.9 | 0.9 | 13.2 | 6.7 |
| RENTERS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| < \$10,000 | 91.7 | 87.2 | 92.1 | 88.4 | 82.1 | 75.9 | 78.6 | 70.3 | 86.6 | 80.9 |
| \$10,000-19,999 | 55.6 | 37.0 | 84.6 | 73.7 | 41.3 | 23.9 | 39.6 | 23.6 | 66.6 | 52.9 |
| \$20,000-34,999 | 11.6 | 5.8 | 40.0 | 23.4 | 6.0 | 2.3 | 6.1 | 2.5 | 28.8 | 16.5 |
| \$35,000-49,999 | 2.9 | 0.8 | 12.3 | 5.4 | 0.9 | 0.1 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 9.5 | 4.1 |
| \$50,000 or more | 0.8 | 0.1 | 3.1 | 0.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 2.6 | 0.2 |

®

## BR Figure 12: Housing Quality Indicators, Percent of Occupied Border Units by State

| HOUSING QUALITY <br> INDICATOR | ARIZONA <br> BORDER | CALIFORNIA <br> BORDER | NEW MEXICO <br> BORDER | TEXAS <br> BORDER | ALL BORDER <br> COUNTIES |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Crowded only | 6.8 | 9.1 | 7.5 | 15.3 | 10.4 |
| Lack plumbing only | 0.4 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 1.6 | 0.7 |
| Both | 0.2 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 1.5 | 0.5 |
| Total Substandard* | 7.5 | 9.6 | 8.1 | 18.4 | 11.6 |

${ }^{*}$ Numbers may not add to totals due to rounding.
substandard housing than either rural or urban parts of the country in general. Housing quality was worst in Texas. Residents of Texas' border counties were more than three times more likely to live in substandard housing than households in either rural or urban areas nationwide, as shown in BR Figure 12 and Figure 21. Generally - except in Texas - the rate of homes in the border region lacking complete plumbing was comparable to the national rate for urban areas rather than rural areas. Overcrowding was a much more serious problem in all states along the border, however, and in Texas a remarkably high 1.5 percent of units were both overcrowded and lacked complete plumbing. Texas's unfortunate distinction in this respect came from its many colonias, which by definition have serious plumbing and water/sewer problems. Data

## BR Figure 13: Housing Quality Indicators, Percent of Border Units by State, Counties with at Least 15 Percent Rural Residents

| HOUSING QUALITY | ARIZONA <br> BORDER | CALIFORNIA <br> BORDER | NEW MEXICO <br> BORDER | TEXAS <br> BORDER | ALL BORDER <br> COUNTIES |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| INDICATOR | 10.0 | 19.7 | 7.5 | 16.9 | 14.1 |
| Crowded only | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.4 | 2.3 | 1.6 |
| Lack plumbing only | 0.3 | 0.4 | 2.2 | 1.4 |  |
| Both | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 | 21.5 | 17.1 |
| Total Substandard* | 10.8 | 21.1 | 8.1 | 2 |  |

${ }^{*}$ Numbers may not add to totals due to rounding.
for each border county is shown in Table B-41 in Appendix B.
Differences in rural and urban housing quality cannot be determined for border counties because the Census does not aggregate county-level data by rural and urban areas, but an indication of the extent to which rural housing quality was worse than that in urban areas along the border can be gained by removing the most urban border counties from the calculations summarized in BR Figure 12. As BR Figure 13 indicates, housing quality for border counties with at least 15 percent rural population was significantly worse than for all border counties together. ${ }^{13}$ In California, for example, Imperial County, which had more than 15 percent rural residents, had more than three times as many units lacking plumbing as Riverside County or San Diego County, each of which had less than 15 percent rural residents. The rates of overcrowded housing and housing that is both overcrowded and lacking complete plumbing were about twice as high in Imperial County as in Riverside or San Diego counties.
As noted earlier, the only housing quality indicator aggregated by race and ethnicity is occupied units lacking complete plumbing. BR Figure 14 reports that, despite the relatively urban character of the border area, border residents suffered from incomplete plumbing almost as often as rural residents around the country (see NA Figure 8). American Indians were the racial/ethnic group in the border region most likely to lack complete plumbing, as is true in the United States generally. More than one in ten American Indian households in Arizona and Texas border counties lived with incomplete plumbing facilities.
Hispanic residents along the border suffered a high rate ( 3.1 percent) of incomplete plumbing as well, particularly in Texas ( 4.5 percent). This figure is very likely a reflection of the large numbers of Hispanic residents in Texas colonias with inadequate plumbing, water and sewer facilities.

[^38]As explained above, it is difficult to compare the distribution of plumbing problems among Hispanic persons and other racial/ethnic groups because of the substantial overlap between the white and Hispanic categories. For example, because over half the border residents in the Hispanic category identified themselves as white, it would be misleading to interpret BR Figure 14 as showing that Hispanicheaded households in the border region lacked plumbing more than three times as often as white-headed households. The difference would probably be much greater if non-Hispanic white households and Hispanic white households were separated. Additional severe physical deficiencies in border region housing have been identified by local studies. In 1991, for example, significantly more than half of 310 farmworkers surveyed in the Eagle Pass
(Maverick County), Texas area stated that their home required "a lot of repairs" and almost a third described their homes' conditions as "poor." "[Sixteen] percent had no indoor toilets, 14 percent no tubs or showers, 6 percent no cook stoves, and 37 percent no heaters -21 percent indicated bad electrical wiring in their home, 38 percent bad foundation, and 32 percent a leaky roof." The majority ( 57 percent) said their homes were overcrowded (though it is not clear what standard was used to define overcrowding), and a third shared their home with at least one other family. In addition, the financial information they provided showed that on average they were paying over 39 percent of income for housing. A 1987 survey of 214 farmworkers in the El Paso area found similar cost burden problems and overcrowding, while physical conditions were both better and

## BR Figure 14: Plumbing Facilities hy Race/Ethnicity

(Occupied Housing Units)*

## RACE/ETHNICTTY OF <br> HOUSEHOLDER AND PLUMBING

All Races/Ethnicities Complete Plumbing
Lacking Complete Plumbing
White, Complete Plumbing
Lacking Complete Plumbing

| ARIZ. BORDER |  |
| ---: | ---: |
|  | $\%$ |
| 338,763 | 99.4 |
| 2,174 | 0.6 |
| 285,518 | 99.6 |
| 1,018 | 0.4 |
| 9,478 | 99.5 |
| 49 | 0.5 |
|  |  |
| 5,596 | 88.7 |
| 710 | 11.3 |
| 4,441 | 98.4 |
| 74 | 1.6 |
| 33,730 | 99.1 |
| 323 | 1.0 |
| 70,015 | 99.1 |
| 675 | 1.0 |

worse than the Eagle Pass study. Only a third of the respondents said their homes needed "a lot of repairs," but " 43 percent had no indoor toilets, 45 percent no tubs or showers, 33 percent no cook stoves, and 54 percent no heaters - 9 percent indicated bad electrical wiring in their home, 19 percent bad foundation, and 23 percent a leaky roof." ${ }^{1+}$
Farmworkers have particular difficulty in improving their housing conditions because their incomes tend to be extremely low and their income flow sporadic. Texas studies have noted that a large portion of the state's farmworker population lives in the border region. ${ }^{15}$ The area's low-income residents suffered inadequate housing conditions even if they were not farmworkers, however. A local housing organization in Hidalgo County, Texas found that many low-income homeowners' units were dilapidated but could not effectively be repaired. The homes had been built - often by their owners - with substandard materials, and did not meet Federal Housing Administration or Farmers Home Administration standards required for rehabilitation financing. Residents' ability to obtain public or private financing for repairs is further complicated by the contract for deed arrangement under which many of them purchased their homes; because that structure does not provide equity as a mortgage does, homeowners do not have equity in their property to use as security for a loan. Proyecto Azteca, the Hidalgo County group, concluded that rehabilitation was
not a "prudent" option, and concentrated its efforts on developing low-cost replacement housing. ${ }^{16}$
The prevalence of the contract for deed arrangement and the concomitant impossibility of borrowing against one's equity makes solving the housing problems of the border region generally, and of the colonias in particular, unusually difficult. The state of Texas has recognized converting those contracts to conventional mortgages as an essential early step in improving border housing conditions. ${ }^{17}$
The border region's housing problems are so massive that the Texas Water Development Board has estimated that repair, removal, and replacement of existing substandard housing in that state's colonias alone - not in the entire border region - would cost more than $\$ 500$ million. ${ }^{18}$ The Border Low Income Housing Coalition has concluded that a wide variety of types of assistance is needed to address the region's housing problems. It calls for rehabilitation of existing housing, increasing the stock of both single- and multifamily housing, building new public housing units and modernizing existing units, providing new Section 8 certificates, preserving FmHA and HUD units eligible for prepayment, targeting low income housing tax credits for FmHA Section 515 units to families rather than elderly persons, and creating a state Rural Rental Housing Authority to assist residents living in areas not served by public housing authorities. ${ }^{19}$

[^39]
# BR Figure 15: Source of Water and Means of Sewaye Disposal, Percent of Units hy State 

|  | ARIZONA <br> BORDER | CALIFORNIA <br> BORDER | N. MEXICO <br> BORDER | TEXAS <br> BORDER | ALL BORDER <br> COUNTIES | 100\% RURAL <br> BORDER <br> COUNTIES <br> Source of water |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Pub. or pvt. sys. | 94.4 | 97.6 | 84.8 | 91.6 | 94.8 | 57.7 |
| Indiv. drilled well | 5.1 | 1.9 | 13.6 | 6.9 | 4.4 | 35.1 |
| Indiv. dug well | 0.3 | 0.2 | 0.8 | 0.8 | 0.4 | 4.1 |
| Other | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.5 | 3.1 |
| Means of sewage disposal |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Pub. sewer | 82.3 | 88.4 | 71.0 | 77.3 | 83.5 | 21.8 |
| Septic tank or cesspool | 17.2 | 11.2 | 28.2 | 20.9 | 15.7 | 73.7 |
| Other | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.8 | 1.8 | 0.8 | 4.4 |

## Water Supply and Quality

Iike its housing quality data, the Census's
data on water supply and sewage disposal must be supplemented by locally gathered information in order to understand conditions in the border region. First, the Census asks only about the existence of water sources and sewage systems, and does not collect facts about their condition or adequacy. Also, since water and sewer data cannot be isolated for the colonias, or even for all rural areas along the border, conditions in those communities known to have particular water and sewer problems cannot be distinguished from those of sizable cities with large and relatively wellfunded systems.
According to the Census, as shown in BR Figure 15, over 90 percent of border households received their water from public or private water systems, and over 80 percent were connected to public sewer systems. For national statistics, see Figures 25 and 26. Perhaps more telling are the
figures for the ten totally rural border counties: over a third of their residents obtained water from individual drilled wells, and almost three-quarters used septic tanks or cesspools for sewage disposal. ${ }^{20}$ Statistics for individual counties are presented in Table B-42 in Appendix B.
Local studies have documented water/sewer problems in the colonias in greater detail. The Texas Water Development Board found in the mid1980s that at least 463 communities in Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr, and Willacy counties - 420 of them in Cameron County alone - had waste disposal inadequacies posing significant health risks. ${ }^{21} \mathrm{~A}$ literature review and study in the early 1990s found that "the majority" of the colonias have some sort of community water system, but that a number of those systems were "under-designed, underfinanced and under-functioning." ${ }^{12}$ The General Accounting Office reported serious water/wastewater system problems in Texas and New Mexico colonias it visited

[^40]in 1990, although it is not clear whether it included wells and septic tanks or cesspools in its conclusions.

In Texas, 60 percent of the colonias we visited have water supplies, but less than 1 percent have sewage systems. In New Mexico, 80 percent of the colonias have water and 7 percent have sewer systems. Within those colonias that have water systems, some problems exist with the adequacy of the systems. For example, in some Texas colonias, residents only have outside water spigots to provide water and do not have indoor plumbing. Sometimes residents have not hooked up to the water system because they cannot afford the user fees. ${ }^{23}$
Local studies, unlike the Census, also provide information about the health risks posed by the existing water and sewer conditions. For example, the Texas Rural Water Quality Network Project examined water and sewer problems in four lower Rio Grande Valley counties (Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr and Willacy) and found that colonias residents often used hand-dug pit toilets or privies. In the lower Valley, soil is primarily clay, which is not very permeable to wastes, and water tables are shallow, so the frequent floods in
the area washed human waste out of the privies. "As a result," the Project concluded, "many of these areas suffer[ed] disease problems that more closely resemble[d] Third World conditions than those of the rest of contemporary rural Texas." Not only did colonias residents, including children, endure serious health problems themselves, but residents of other neighborhoods were affected as well, because children from those areas came in contact with colonias children at school. ${ }^{24}$
The lack of water systems made these problems worse. In some communities wells were available, but they were often contaminated. Many residents, "either out of convenience or necessity," drew water from irrigation or drainage ditches, many of which were also contaminated. ${ }^{25}$ Others hauled water miles over unpaved roads from public water supplies, sometimes using barrels that previously held pesticides or chemicals. ${ }^{26}$

As a result of these water and sewer problems, compounded by crowded living conditions, border residents have been found to suffer from preventable diseases such as gastrointestinal diseases and Type A hepatitis two to three times more often than persons in other parts of the country. ${ }^{27}$ Leprosy and malaria - diseases eliminated in most parts of the United States - as well as tuberculosis have been reported by local health departments in the Lower Rio Grande Valley. ${ }^{28}$
While state and federal funding has been made available to alleviate some of the border region's water and sewer problems,
improvements are far from complete. In 1986 the Texas Rural Water Quality
Network Project estimated that, "relying on block grants and traditional technologies, it would take about eighty-five years to provide wastewater systems to all the colonias. Even this might be optimistic, since new colonias are forming and existing grant funds are also growing more scarce. ${ }^{2 / 2}$ The Project's study concluded that the cost of conventional sewage disposal systems was the primary barrier to their more widespread use, that nontraditional technologies offered appropriate alternatives at lower cost, that local system management and use of resources should be improved, and that some additional financial resources were needed. ${ }^{30}$

A HUD-funded study several years later reached essentially the same conclusions with respect to water and sewer needs, emphasizing the need for non-traditional and innovative systems. ${ }^{31}$ Experts consulted in the course of that study agreed "that the immediate colonia needs were for water, sewage and improved housing, in that order of priority." ${ }^{32}$

[^41]CASE STUDES
n the early 1980s, HAC researchers studied eight rural counties in an effort to explore the people and places behind the startling poverty and housing data that emerged from the 1980 Census. These counties were chosen based on their persistently high poverty rates and severe housing quality problems, and also to reflect the racial/ethnic and geographical diversity of the rural Ten years later, United States. Ten years later, HAC researchers have returned to the same counties to explore how poverty and housing conditions have improved or worsened in the last decade, and to present an overview of life

counties to explore

how poverty and housing
conditions have improved
or worsenend in the last
decade, and to present

## an overview of life

in the counties.
in the counties. ${ }^{1}$
What we found is not encouraging. Poverty rates in the counties remain extremely high - three to four times the 1990 national rural poverty rate of 13 percent. While all of the counties' poverty rates fell in the decade between 1970 and 1980, three of the eight counties studied actually experienced a substantial increase in poverty from 1980 to 1990. As the table below shows, the three counties in which the poverty rates decreased witnessed only marginal improvement. ${ }^{2}$

In this regard, these persistent-poverty counties mirror the trend in rural areas nationwide. As the data analysis in the preceding part of this report illustrates, the poverty rate for rural areas nationwide remained virtually unchanged from 1980 to 1990 , effectively ending the trend toward improving poverty exhibited between 1960 and 1980. For many rural communities, including several highlighted in these case studies, the trend actually reversed in the 1980s.
The proportion of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities fell in each of the counties we visited, yet at a rate far below that of rural areas nationwide. There was a 54 percent decrease in the number of rural units lacking complete plumbing in the United States between - 1980 and 1990. The average decrease in the chronically impoverished case study counties, however, was under 14 percent. This differential rate of improvement is most likely due to the inability of lowincome communities to systematically extend public water/wastewater systems, and the lack of capital on the part of homeowners to afford needed improvements.
Serious housing quality problems remain in all eight counties, even as the data shows marked improvements in the number and proportion of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities. The real strength of the following case studies is that they allow the reader to reach beyond these numbers to the communities and individual lives they reflect. Nowhere is

[^42]this more important than for housing data, which is sorely inadequate because it measures only a fraction of the variables that actually contribute to physical housing quality.
It is impossible to overstate the difference between the number of units that lack complete plumbing or those that are overcrowded (which comprise the Census definition of substandard) and the number of units that are dilapidated. Local housing and health activists in several of the counties we visited reported that up to half of all low-income people in their communities live in structurally inadequate housing. Collapsing roofs, a lack of windows and insulation, holes in floors and walls, and rodent infestations were among the most prevalent problems noted. In the more remote parts of the case study counties, homes with these types of problems appeared to be the norm rather than the exception.
County health executives in virtually all of the case study counties report a direct correlation between bad housing conditions and persistent health problems. Chronic respiratory ailments are caused by polluting smoke from wood stoves and inefficiently weatherized homes, and parasitic infections abound because of poor water quality and the lack of adequate sanitation facilities. These problems are undoubtedly exacerbated by a health care crisis in which rural hospitals are closing at an alarming rate, and low-income communities lack funds for emergency health services of any kind. (Fortunately, at least one case study county, Zavala, has witnessed improvements in health care provision in the last decade.) The lack of comprehensive health care in many of the counties we studied has resulted in unusually high death rates from treatable illness and startlingly high infant mortality.
Development and rehabilitation of lowincome housing units occurred during the decade between 1980 and 1990 in all of

Poverty Rates for Persons, 1970-1990

|  |  |  |  | CHANGE | CHANGE |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| COUNTY | $\mathbf{1 9 7 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 8 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 9 9 0}$ | $1970-1980$ | $1980-1990$ |
| Apache, AZ | $53 \%$ | $40 \%$ | $47 \%$ | $-13 \%$ | $+7 \%$ |
| Hancock, TN | $63 \%$ | $43 \%$ | $40 \%$ | $-20 \%$ | $-3 \%$ |
| Mora, NM | $64 \%$ | $38 \%$ | $36 \%$ | $-27 \%$ | $-2 \%$ |
| Newton/Searcy, AR | $44 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $30 \%$ | $-13 \%$ | $-1 \%$ |
| Shannon, SD | $46 \%$ | $45 \%$ | $63 \%$ | $-1 \%$ | $+18 \%$ |
| W. Feliciana, LA | $48 \%$ | $33 \%$ | $34 \%$ | $-15 \%$ | $+1 \%$ |
| Zavala, TX | $49 \%$ | $39 \%$ | $50 \%$ | $-10 \%$ | $+11 \%$ |

the counties visited. This work did have a modest impact on the accessibility of decent, affordable housing for residents of these communities, but serious problems were also experienced. In many of the counties, housing activists and local residents decried the culturally insensitive design and location of federally assisted housing. In the Ozark and Appalachian regions, for example, people who wanted to receive FmHA rental assistance have had to move out of their long-standing communities and into town. On the Indian reservations in Shannon and Apache counties, the boxy designs of HUD-funded homes, the prohibition against residents using surrounding space for livestock, and highly concentrated sites violate deeply held cultural conceptions of both autonomy and community.
In each of the counties visited for this report, local officials and housing providers underscored the growing gap between housing need and financial resources to meet this need. This is certainly a common problem for all rural communities. Yet in the case study counties, and other chronically impoverished areas, this gap has been widening so fast for so long that many housing problems are getting more severe rather than improving. On the Pine Ridge Reservation in Shannon County, for example, HUD

[^43]and the Indian Housing Authority estimate that over 1,900 new units are required to address current housing needs, but there is only enough money to build 80 units a year.
Similarly, funds available for weatherization and rehab simply do not come close to helping even a fraction of the people who need assistance. The magnitude of physical housing problems and the high rates of homeownership in these counties make the lack of funds for rehabilitation particularly problematic. The lack of funds available for rehabbing rental units is also a serious problem in places such as West Feliciana Parish, where

## The stark contrast

## between rents and

## income underscores the

increasing severity of affordability problems

in these chronically

## impoverished counties.

 rental units predominate.The presence of experienced nonprofit and/or public housing providers varied tremendously in the case study counties. In several of the communities we visited, the lack of local technical and programmatic housing capacity seriously hampered peoples' ability to tap into the limited federal and state funds available for rehab and development. In other areas, nonprofit capacity in particular has grown significantly in the last decade.
The juxtaposition of affordability and physical quality problems with the lack of adequate federal assistance coalesces to create extreme difficulties in using HUD Section 8 vouchers in these communities. The inability of low-income renters to afford housing has caused long waiting lists for certificates. Yet there are simply not enough rental units in these counties that meet the minimal quality standards of the Section 8 program. Consequently, there are not enough vouchers to meet the need, while some localities cannot apply for more vouchers because there are very few adequate rental units.

The data analysis in the previous section of this report suggests that affordability supplanted physical quality as the single most serious housing-related issue in rural areas nationwide in the decade between 1980 and 1990. The lack of affordable housing and the extreme rates of housing cost burden were identified as critical problems in each of the counties we visited. A growing proportion of people especially low-income renters - simply cannot afford housing, when they can find rental units of reasonably good quality at all. An astonishing 43 percent of all renter households (across income categories) paid more than 30 percent of their monthly income for housing-related costs. Median rents in the case study counties rose by an average of 89 percent in the decade between 1980 and 1990, while median household income fell by an average of 4 percent during the same period (in constant dollars). The stark contrast between rents and income underscores the increasing severity of affordability problems in these chronically impoverished counties.

- The causes of this growing crisis in housing affordability differed in light of the specific socio-economic contexts of the case study counties. The continuing decline in the number and economic health of small family farms disproportionately affected traditionally agricultural economies such as those in Hancock County, Tennessee and Newton and Searcy Counties in Arkansas. The increasing mechanization of farm labor and the displacement of agricultural processing plants had a strong impact in several of the counties in the Southwest. In West Feliciana Parish, new high-tech industries moved into the area in the last decade, but few jobs have been created for unskilled workers.
Nearly all of the case study counties witnessed first hand the general decline in rural manufacturing industries spoken of previously in this report. In the 1970s, each of these counties had relied heavily on local, state, and federal governments
for providing jobs in public administration, education, and other support services. The number of people employed by the government fell sharply in almost all of the case study counties as government spending was cut in the 1980s. Modest growth in the number of people employed in retail trade helped mitigate unemployment in some of the counties, but the mostly minimum-wage jobs did little to improve the overall economic condition of residents.
The great economic paradox in most of the case study counties is that they abound in fertile farm and pasture land, timber, and mineral deposits, but most residents do not have access to these resources. This phenomenon has if anything intensified in the last decade, as "outside" companies clear cut timber in the Ozarks, drill for natural gas in Tennessee, graze livestock and farm in New Mexico and South Dakota. Thus local low-income residents continue to be alienated from the abundant economic resources of their communities.

In many ways, the communities and people highlighted in the following case studies are unique in the persistence and severity of poverty, housing quality, and affordability problems. Despite the bleak picture painted by impersonal data, however, each of these communities brings innumerable resources to bear to address and combat the many challenges they face. In almost every county we visited, residents were eager to explain how common histories, kinship ties, and the surrounding physical beauty kept people from moving elsewhere. Some were fiercely protective of these qualities, often rejecting economic development in the form of "outside" industries that might provide additional employment but might also destroy the slow pace and solitude in which the communities' strengths thrive. The sheer fortitude exhibited by the residents of these counties, their proud cultural traditions, and the sense of shared struggle against economic hardship all provide exceptional insights into the resilience, vibrancy, and pride of rural communities.


ming $\underset{\sim}{\sim}$









오수ํ

n





mo i in in
$\vec{\infty} \underset{\sim}{-2} \underset{\sim}{\circ} \underset{\sim}{\circ} \underset{\sim}{n}$
$\stackrel{n}{2}$
in $\frac{7}{1}$

| HANCOCK |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $1980 \quad 1990 \quad \%$ CHANGE |  |

            1980
    





$\stackrel{+}{i}$

む
+
in
ningon in Nin

HANCOCK
$1980 \quad 1990 \quad \%$ CHANGE




| HANCOCK |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $1980 \quad 1990 \quad \%$ CHANGE |  |

            1980
                                \(\underset{\sim}{4}\)
    
क
$n$
$\infty$
$\infty$
$\infty$
$\infty$
1
$\infty_{0}^{\infty}$
0
0
69.7
0.1
0.1
0.1
0.0
0.
Yo


0
$j$
 क in
on
$\omega$
$\omega$
$\omega$

## 52，108

 23.0 0.5 0.574.9 0.1 1.4

3.6 | $\infty$ |
| ---: |
|  |
|  |

権 mom of Families Below Poverty
\％of Female－Headed Below Pov． \％of Female－Headed Below Pov
Housing Characteristics Housing Characteristics
Housing Units
Poverty and Income African－American
American Indian／Eskimo／Aleut

White
African－American Hispanic ${ }^{\star}$
Families Households Top Industries（By \％Employed） Agriculture，Forestry，Fishing Construction Manufacturing Trade Educational Services Public Administration \％Unemployed
\％Employed by Government Poverty and Income
Median Household Income \％of Persons Below Poverty
\％of Families Below Poverty \％of Persons Below Poverty
$\%$ of Families Below Poverty

荡 \％Mobile Homes
\％Occupied
\％Owner－Occupied
\％With Inc．Plumbing Only
\％Overcrowded
\％Substandard
Public Sys．or Priv．Comp．Water
Public System Sewage Disposal
Median Rent（1989 \＄）
\％of Renters Cost－Burdened
Median Owner－Occ．Value（1989 \＄）
\％of Owners Cost－Burdened

# 1980 <br> $1980 \quad 1990$ \％CHANGE 

|  | +nonononono |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | $\rightarrow a-a \operatorname{On}$ บ mo in |
|  |  |

べゥ


¢

 $\underset{\sim}{2}$
$\pm \infty \infty$
等
in
in
No今is
$\qquad$ in

|  | SHANNON |  |  | W. FELICIANA |  |  | ZAVALA |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 1980 | 1990 | \% CHANGE | 1980 | 1990 | \%CHANGE | 1980 | 1990 | \% CHANGE |
| Population |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Population | 11,323 | 9,902 | -12.6 | 12,186 | 12,915 | 6.0 | 11,666 | 12,162 | 4.3 |
| White | 6.1 | 5.1 | -1.0 | 41.8 | 43.8 | 2.0 | 80.7 | 53.0 | -27.7 |
| African-American | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.0 | 57.9 | 55.3 | -2.6 | 0.2 | 2.4 | 2.2 |
| American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut | 93.4 | 94.1 | 0.7 | 0.1 | 0.5 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0.6 | 0.4 |
| Asian/Pacific Islander | 0.3 | 0.1 | -0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0 | -0.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other | 0.1 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 18.8 | 44.0 | 25.2 |
| Hispanic* | 1.1 | 2.0 | 0.9 | 0.8 | 1.4 | 0.6 | 89.0 | 89.3 | 0.3 |
| Families | 1,969 | 1,819 | -7.6 | 1,830 | 2,048 | 11.9 | 2,715 | 2,733 | 0.7 |
| Households | 2,299 | 2,231 | -3.0 | 2,300 | 2,687 | 16.8 |  | 3,287 |  |
| Top Industries (By \% Employed) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing | 5.8 | 3.8 | -2.0 | 2.7 | 2.2 | -0.5 | 22.8 | 20.8 | -2.0 |
| Construction | 2.5 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 10.4 | 5.1 | -5.3 | 4.9 | 4.7 | -0.2 |
| Manufacturing | 3.4 | 2.5 | -0.9 | 15.2 | 11.2 | -4.0 | 14.3 | 11.1 | -3.2 |
| Retail Trade | 3.9 | 9.3 | 5.4 | 11.8 | 12.5 | 0.7 | 13.7 | 14.0 | 0.3 |
| Health Services | 7.2 | 8.1 | 0.9 | 10.4 | 8.8 | -1.6 | 4.7 | 6.0 | 1.3 |
| Educational Services | 31.4 | 32.7 | 1.3 | 7.2 | 8.4 | +1.2 | 14.2 | 15.2 | 1.0 |
| Public Administration | 32.7 | 20.9 | -11.8 | 25.7 | 17.6 | -8.1 | 5.4 | 5.5 | 0.1 |
| \% Employed by Government | 73.6 | 58.4 | -15.2 | 45.4 | 32.7 | -12.7 | 25.3 | 25.5 | 0.2 |
| \% Unemployed | 19.3 | 30.5 | 11.2 | 6.3 | 9.5 | 3.2 | 12.0 | 19.7 | 7.7 |
| Poverty and Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Median Household Income | \$17,011 | \$11,105 | -34.7 | \$20,534 | \$19,402 | -5.5 | \$15,231 | \$11,822 | -22.4 |
| Per Capita Income | \$4,509 | \$3,417 | -24.2 | \$6,710 | \$6,796 | -1.3 | \$5,475 | \$4,814 | -12.1 |
| \% of Persons Below Poverty | 44.7 | 63.1 | 18.4 | 33.4 | 33.8 | - 0.4 | 38.6 | 50.4 | 11.8 |
| \% of Families Below Poverty | 43.3 | 56.9 | 13.6 | 27.7 | 29.0 | - 1.3 | 34.7 | 46.1 | 11.4 |
| \% of Female-Headed Below P | ov. 60.0 | 68.4 | 8.4 | 51.9 | 64.2 | 12.3 | 58.4 | 64.6 | 6.2 |
| Housing Characteristics |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Housing Units | 2,616 | 2,699 | 3.2 | 2,715 | 3,392 | 24.9 | 3,455 | 4,180 | 21.0 |
| \% Mobile Homes | 8.6 | 22.9 | 14.3 | 18.5 | 30.3 | 11.8 | 4.1 | 13.3 | 9.2 |
| \% Occupied | 88.1 | 81.7 | -6.4 | 85.2 | 80.8 | - -4.4 | 88.8 | 80.3 | -8.5 |
| \% Owner-Occupied | 44.8 | 44.9 | 0.1 | 60.0 | 68.2 | - 8.2 | 71.4 | 69.4 | $4-2.0$ |
| \% With Inc. Plumbing Only | 10.4 | 8.3 | -2.1 | 16.5 | 3.0 | -13.5 | 16.8 | 2.5 | -14.3 |
| \% Overcrowded | 43.9 | 42.1 | -1.8 | 8.3 | 6.6 | 6-1.7 | 21.8 | 28.9 | -7.1 |
| \% Substandard | 54.3 | 50.4 | -3.9 | 24.8 | 9.6 | 6-15.2 | 38.6 | 31.4 | $4-7.2$ |
| Public Sys. or Priv. Comp. Water |  | 53.2 |  |  | 96.6 |  |  | 86.5 |  |
| Public System Sewage Disposal |  | 50.2 |  |  | 38.1 |  |  | 59.5 |  |
| Median Rent (1989 \$) | \$162 | \$248 | 53.1 | \$88 | \$248 | -181.8 | \$109 | \$210 | - 92.7 |
| \% of Renters Cost-Burdened |  | 44.3 |  |  | 39.3 |  |  | 53.3 $\$ 19300$ |  |
| Median Owner-Occ. Value (1989 \$) | \$17,500 | \$14,999 | -14.3 | \$73,535 | \$63,200 | -15.1 | \$27,203 | \$19,300 | -29.1 |
| \% of Owners Cost-Burdened |  | 14.6 |  |  | 22.5 |  |  | 12.7 |  |

*Hispanic people may be of any race
Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing, STF3

In the northeast corner of Arizona, and extending along more than half the eastern length of the state, Apache County includes over seven million acres, about two-thirds of it in the Navajo Tribal Reservation and Trust Lands, but also including portions of the Fort Apache Reservation and the Zuni Indian Reservation. ${ }^{+}$Apache County includes dra-

## The unemployment rate

## was about 16 percent

in 1994, and there are
large disparities in income.

## Under-employment

is common.
matic scenery from the White Mountains in the south to red mesas of the north, Petrified Forest National Park, Canyon de Chelly National Monument and national forest lands, but the county is far enough from population centers that tourism infrastructure has not been fully developed. Much of it is desert or dry land, with limited water supplies to support population. Agriculture, forestry, coal mining, oil and gas, some tourism and handicrafts make up much of the economic base.
Native Americans make up more than three-fourths, and whites about a fifth, of the population of the county. Although there was early Hispanic settlement, less than 4 percent of the current population is Hispanic. Most Indians live on reservation lands, especially the Navajo. Indian and non-Indian lands are separately governed and face separate challenges. Because of the differences, this report will describe them separately.

## SOUTHERN APACHE COUNTY

Non-Indian settlement in southern Apache County in the last half of the nineteenth century was dominated by Mormon farmers and ranchers. Added to this agricultural base in the 1970s and 1980s were two large, coal-fired electric generating plants, creating an economic boom that subsided when construction ended. Large reductions of power plant jobs in 1993 and 1994 continued the employment downslide. At about the same time, environmental concerns decreased logging operations and grazing permits on national lands. These losses fueled interest in more diversified economic development activity to replace the losses, and a county economic development director was hired in 1994. The unemployment rate was about 16 percent in 1994, and there are large disparities in income. Underemployment is common.
Many of the highly skilled construction and operations workers have left the area, leaving a modest surplus of housing. Some of the construction workers had been housed in mobile homes which have since been moved away from the area. Some mobile homes remain in use in the area, while others stand vacant and boarded. Houses in the towns are mostly modestly sized frame buildings, although a few old adobe buildings remain. Good houses stand next to structures in poor condition. Some new houses have been built outside of the towns.

[^44]In fall 1994, a new, 250-inmate state prison will open in the county, but starting salaries for most of its jobs will be half those at the power plant. Part of the decision to build that prison in Apache County rested upon the availability of housing in the area. A housing inventory in 1992 showed 151 houses available for sale and 48 low-income apartments, but only a few apartment vacancies, and over 400 trailer park spaces available in the area. A developer is considering building a market-rate, 22-unit housing complex with 15 units for elderly persons in the county seat, St. Johns.
Two government housing programs are being used in support of low-income housing. Community Development Block Grant monies can be used for repair and weatherization of eligible houses. The program is supervised by the Northern Arizona Council of Governments through city governments. The Farmers Home Administration Office in southern Apache County works primarily in housing, and in spring 1994 was servicing 325 rural housing loans. Farmers Home self-help houses are well established in St. Johns. Older residents use the Section 504 grant funds quickly, but are reluctant to use loan programs because they are concerned about their ability to repay.
Despite recent economic downturns, local officials are working on economic development and do not see persistent poverty as
a major issue in the southern part of Apache County. In contrast, over half the families in the Navajo Nation portion of the county have incomes below the poverty level.

## THE NAVAJO NATION IN APACHE COUNTY

Approximately the northern two-thirds of Apache County is in the Navajo Nation, but this is only one part of the territory of the second-largest Indian tribe in the United States. The tribe has almost 200,000 members on 17.5 million acres in the four contiguous states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. About one-fourth of Navajos live in the Apache County part of the reservation, which includes the headquarters town of

## The tribe is growing

## rapidly, by almost

20 percent hetween

1980 and 1990.

> Window Rock. The tribe is growing rapidly, by almost 20 percent between 1980 and 1990. The median age is 22 , so rapid growth in household formation is expected. Median per capita income is slightly over $\$ 4,000$. Navajo people traditionally gained their livelihood from agriculture, raising crops in places with sufficient rainfall, or herding sheep, goats and
 some cattle in more arid places and times. Especially in dry areas, this required homes to be widely spaced, and separate summer and winter dwelling places often were used. Grazing lands were sometimes communal, but there also
were family use rights, passed from generation to generation. In a move to curtail the environmental damage of over-grazing, the Bureau of Indian Affairs forced a stock reduction in the late 1930s and early 1940s that was traumatic to the economic and social fabric of the Navajo people. Fewer people were needed to care for family herds. It was more difficult for a household to reach self-sufficiency, so extended families had to continue to live together. Children were sent to school because they were less needed at home, and adults had to look for other employment.
Today, under-employment and unemployment remain a serious

# To meet all of its housing 

needs, the Navajo Nation

estimates that 20,000 new

housing units are needed

now, including special

needs such as elderly care facilities and housing for

independent living for the

## physically challenged.

problem for the Navajos, even though the tribe has energy resources such as coal, oil and gas that provide some jobs and income. Indian crafts and tourism also provide some jobs and have potential for more. Agriculture, especially livestock, remains important to families, but is not a major employer. More than twofifths of Navajo employment in the Apache county part of the reservation is by government.
As people increasingly have earned their livelihood from jobs other than agriculture, living in built-up areas has become more practical because utilities and streets are much less costly per housing unit. Villages now frequently include a compound of similar houses built for school or governmental employees or by the Navajo Housing Authority for lowincome families.
In rural areas, in contrast, home sites are widely spaced, in keeping with Navajo preference and the need for animal forage. The houses may be traditional round log hogans roofed with an earth-covered dome, newer variations of the hogan
shape, simple one-story rectangular frame houses, or mobile homes. Often there are several homes in a residency group, linked by power and water lines. Home sites are generally quite bare of water-consuming landscape planting in this dry-land area, except sometimes a single shade tree. Often there is a livestock corral. Tribal members can get permits to cut wood, so wood heat is used in over half of the homes.
Overcrowding is a severe problem. Several families often share a home designed as a single-family structure. The extent of this problem is demonstrated by a tribal document prioritizing families for new homes that describes severe overcrowding situations as more than one family per bedroom. In addition, many homes are very old and need to be replaced.
To meet all of its housing needs, the Navajo Nation estimates that 20,000 new housing units are needed now, including special needs such as elderly care facilities and housing for independent living for the physically challenged. Working poor people need rental housing, especially in the growth areas on the reservation and border towns.
People might prefer scattered site housing, but there is a problem of infrastructure. Although sewage can be readily managed with septic systems, in practice, housing must be built where there is a water supply. Getting water and electricity to scattered home sites is expensive. For example, it costs $\$ 8$ per foot to extend electric lines. Even a short extension of 400 feet for a home recently cost $\$ 3,200$. Telephone lines are costly as well, so three-fourths of occupied housing units on the reservation do not have telephone service. Water rights belong to the tribe, so an individual who would drill a well, likely to be deep and costly, would not have exclusive rights to the water. Some people have lived without electricity and plumbing all their lives; indeed, some traditional people associate electricity with lightning, which is a taboo, so do not want to have it in their homes. Although a family might be willing to do
without, governments and private lenders usually require utilities at a home site.
To deal with all these challenges of needs and resources, the Navajo Nation has developed its own agencies and procedures; it could be compared to a state or national government. Its governance is complicated by the fact that it relates to four states as well as the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). For its rapidly-growing population, the Navajo Nation has a number of housing programs, but there is never enough money to meet the needs.
Some housing is provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian Health Service (IHS), school districts and the Navajo Nation for their employees. The nonprofit Fort Defiance Housing Corporation built 76 units of housing for low-income households in the 1970s. The largest provider of low- and very lowincome housing is the Navajo Housing Authority (NHA), which has about 6,000 units. Some of the NHA units are quite old and are being rehabilitated, including asbestos and lead abatement. The Housing Authority would like to build 500 units a year, but dollars available in 1993 could fund only 186 units. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) programs are seen as having too much red tape, with required approvals at every step of development.
Another part of tribal government, Navajo Community Development, has a section that puts priority on housing. The section tries to garner funds from as many sources as possible, including weatherization funds from the U.S. Department of Energy, housing programs of the states of Arizona and New Mexico, the HUD HOME program, the BIA Home Improvement Program, and any others, to meet the huge need. They are looking at alternative building materials (like straw bales, foam, and volcanic cinder blocks) and construction methods that could give cost-effective energy efficiency. Although the Nation's capacity to build is better than ever, each year available dollars shrink
and needs increase. The tribe gives small grants ( $\$ 15,000-16,000$ average) on the basis of priorities set by its 110 chapters, each of which is asked to list its ten top projects each year. About two million dollars are used this way every year. Community development officials have identified a need for greater local expertise in zoning and planning for needed growth.
Another tribal agency concerned with housing is the Department of Veterans Affairs, designed to serve the tribe's 16,000 veterans, their spouses and gold star mothers. About 25 percent of their clientele have housing needs, and 40 percent are unemployed. Their funding comes from the tribal general fund and matching fund programs (each with its own conditions) of the states of Arizona and New Mexico. In the last few years they have built an average of 100 new, stick-built units per year, most with two or three bedrooms. In the past, they also helped veterans buy mobile homes, but discontinued that because units did not last. Their goal is to help all veterans, not just the neediest, but the state programs have income eligibility criteria. A memorandum of agreement between the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs and Indian tribes is expected to facilitate loan guarantees for housing on tribal lands using regular VA loans.



Some additional federal housing assistance comes from the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA). Navajos were the first tribe to make use of FmHA programs, and the local supervisor has been there over 20 years. His office now serves the whole Navajo and Hopi reservations. FmHA now has 100 single-family housing loans and 30 farm loans, and has given ten Section 504 grants for elderly households. FmHA on the district level has made a loan for multifamily staff housing at the Navajo Community College. These numbers are small compared to the housing need, and the state FmHA Director is strongly encouraging a greater FmHA role in Indian housing. Some additional staff has been assigned to the area.
Money for infrastructure development for housing comes from several federal sources. The Indian Health Service, the agency charged with delivering health care to Indians, also is funded to supply water as a preventative health service. Some IHS water money now is being used to build two water transfer stations. It takes three or four years for a typical water project to be ready to supply homes, so there is usually a waiting list for projects, especially at scattered home sites. In addition, IHS water budgets have been particularly
uncertain, so planning ahead is difficult. The BIA provides funding for streets. FmHA is able to help with some of the tribe's infrastructure needs as well; it has made loans for sewers to the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority.
Most of these assistance programs are geared to low- and very low-income persons, but persons with moderate incomes also have housing problems. There is not a conventional market for housing on the reservation. Private lenders have stayed away from mortgages on the reservation. FmHA would like to guarantee loans by private lenders, but the cost in time and money of extra layers of approvals for loans on tribal lands is a disincentive to private lenders. The only homes advertised for sale in the local newspaper over a period of several days in May 1994 were mobile homes, which usually are financed by dealers or personal loans. Besides the infrastructure issues noted above, home site leases must be approved by both the tribe and the BIA. It is difficult to find home sites not already leased or in someone's customary use area. Families often are forced to share housing with several others because they cannot get separate housing.

Navajo officials have identified some additional housing problems of their people. Fire insurance is either very expensive or impossible to obtain for people on the reservation. A fire can wipe out a family's investment, and it takes years to get back to the top of the priority list for help. Officials also noted a need for construction training programs, particularly apprenticeship and journeyman training. Environmental and archaeological restrictions and the need to work with many jurisdictions form further barriers to meeting housing demand.
A further demand on Navajo housing resources comes from the part of the reservation outside of the Apache County section. Because of a longstanding boundary dispute with the Hopi Nation, whose reservation is located within the perimeter of the Navajo reservation in Arizona, for 27 years there was a freeze on new construction and home repairs in much of the contested area. Housing conditions in that area, therefore, deteriorated badly. The dispute was "settled" by the U.S. Congress' authorization of partitioning. In 1977, boundaries were drawn awarding much land occupied by Navajo families to the Hopi tribe. Approximately 10,000 Navajos, or 2,500 families, including some very traditional people who had lived for generations in the heart of the Navajo territory, were directly affected. Relocation benefits were provided but, since most other, useable Navajo tribal lands were already in homesite leases or customary family land use areas, finding new sites has been difficult. Some people moved far off reservation to be near other family members, and some who moved off reservation already have lost their new homes. The process has made homeless refugees.
Almost 1,500 of the displaced Navajos agreed to move to a "new land" area, much of which is in Apache County and has now returned to trust status. New homes have been built, served with electricity and water. There are serious problems with the relocation, however, even beyond the severe stress of relocating.

There are no job opportunities in the new area, and 96 percent of the people are unemployed. Some cattle can be grazed on tribally owned ranches nearby, but livestock and sheep corrals are not permitted beside the houses. The U.S. government Relocation Commission in charge of this program says it provides only benefits, not actual houses, so is not responsible for houses meeting federal quality standards. Nevertheless, it has an approved list of contractors and too few inspectors, so materials and workmanship are often poor. Some homes have been built on land leased for strip-mining coal. Some houses are built on unstable soils and are breaking apart. Chimneys installed too close to framing have caused fires. There is no telephone service, and the IHS is not allowed to use its water funds for fire hydrants, so owners cannot get fire insurance after the initial period paid for by the U.S. government. During the protracted period of relocation, children have grown up and formed new households, but have not received benefits or home site leases. They have had to double up in their parents' single-family houses.
The Navajo Nation faces huge challenges of isolation, low income, lack of employment and the need for water and community infrastructure. As one of the largest tribes in the United States, with large land areas, mineral resources and many people, the Navajo Nation has been able to develop a variety of programs to supplement federal programs in dealing with the poverty and enormous housing needs of its rapidly growing population. While this has added bureaucracy, it has also allowed more cultural sensitivity in delivering the programs. Solutions will require creativity, interagency cooperation and new approaches. Such work has begun, but dollars currently available are far from adequate.

# HANCOCK COUNTY, TENNESSEE 

Hancock County, Tennessee, nestled in the Cumberland range of the Appalachian mountains on the Tennessee-Virginia border, is home to some of the most rugged terrain in the United States. Virtually the entire county is covered by forest: only a few small towns are nestled in remote hollers, linked by tiny two-lane roads that scramble up the jagged mountains' impossibly steep slopes. For as long as most folks can

persistent and pervasive

as the trees, but less

so than the inhabitants'
fierce pride in the
beauty and resilience
of their community. remember, Hancock County has been stigmatized as the poorest place in the state. Poverty here is as persistent and pervasive as the trees, but less so than the inhabitants' fierce pride in the beauty and resilience of their community.
Hancock County's extraordinarily high poverty rate gives it the unfortunate distinction of being among the 52 poorest counties in the United States. According to the 1990 Census, 40 per- cent of people in the county lived below the poverty line, an improvement of only 3 percent in the decade between 1980 and 1990. While the poverty rate of families in the area also declined slightly, that of women-maintained households actually rose substantially during the last decade: by 1990, well over half of all female-headed households in Hancock County lived in poverty.
There are so few jobs in the county that almost 30 percent of the labor force must commute outside the county for work. Several small manufacturing operations provide the bulk of non-farm employment
for those able to find work within Hancock County. The largest of these, which produces table tops, employs about 150 people in mostly minimum-wage jobs. As in many other small rural communities, limited employment opportunities have made it necessary for young people who are looking for work to leave the county altogether. Despite the general lack of employment, especially that which offers above minimum-wage jobs, many in the area are reluctant to welcome new industries to the county for fear they would, in the words of one resident, "spoil the quietness, the peace of the place."
Farming in Hancock County is limited because there is virtually no flat table-top land. What little arable land there is in the mountains' narrow valleys is planted with -tobacco, the primary cash crop in the county. Level pastureland for raising dairy or beef cattle is scarce, so the cattle have cut walkways into the mountainsides, allowing them to graze on the precipitous slopes.
Sneedville, the county seat, is about 60 miles northeast of Knoxville. It is home to several beauty salons, electronics repair stores, and gas stations. The relatively larger, more successful businesses are all owned by the same few families. These businesses, mostly grocery, feed, and hardware stores, extend credit to local people. According to several local residents, the fact that these critical businesses allow purchases on credit forces low-income people without available cash to shop there, despite substantially higher prices than similar stores in neighboring counties. Inflated prices and the lack of economic choices conspire against the ability of low-income people to afford basic necessities in Hancock County.

As might be expected in this economic context, housing quality in the county is a serious problem. While the number of housing units with incomplete plumbing facilities and/or overcrowded conditions declined by 50 percent from 1980 to 1990, the overall rate of substandard housing remains extremely high: in 1990, one out of every five homes in Hancock County was substandard, more than four times the rate of rural areas nationwide. Public water/wastewater systems did expand in the county during the last decade, but they still reach relatively few homes. Over three-quarters of housing units in the county lack access to a public or private water system. Of these, almost 40 percent obtain water from springs, creeks, cisterns, or rivers. The quality of this water is highly suspect, since 20 percent of all homes are forced to dispose of wastewater and sewage by means other than a public system, septic tank, or cesspool.
Sally Morris, Director of the Hancock County Health Department, asserts that these housing conditions exacerbate many of the prevalent health problems in the area. Smoke from wood stoves combines with the dampness and fog in the valleys to form respiratory ailments. Intestinal parasites, due primarily to poor water quality and bad sanitation, are rampant among poorly-housed children in particular. The only hospital in the county closed several years ago, and the EMT service is in imminent danger of closing. This lack of emergency medical care seriously compounds housing-related health problems for residents of Hancock County.
The biggest change in housing in the county in the last decade has been the development of several low-income multifamily rental projects in Sneedville, including two financed under the Farmers Home Administration's Section 515 program and at least one HUD Section 202 project. Beyond these projects, rental housing in general is scarce in Hancock County, and rental units affordable to low-income people are virtually nonexistent. Shirley

Williams, the Director of Hancock County's Neighborhood Service Center, reports that "people without subsidies cannot afford rental units at all, even middleincome people." Some Section 8 vouchers are in use in the county, but local advocates believe that insufficient monitoring by regional HUD officials implicitly allows local landlords to rent substandard units through the program. According to one, "there is simply no accountability," so Section 8 recipients have no choice but to remain in inadequate units.
There is very little nonprofit capacity in Hancock County to help address and combat these housing problems, and there are no nonprofit housing organizations attempting to develop affordable housing. The Appalachian Service Project does send work crews to the county every few years to help build outhouses for low-income people, but its ability to work in Hancock County is hampered by the fact that there is no adequate place for volunteers to stay.
Local advocates are optimistic, however, that additional organizational and financial capacity to confront the poverty and housing conditions in the area is forthcoming. Hancock County has joined with Bell County, Kentucky and Lee County, Virginia in applying to become designated a rural Empowerment Zone, which would make the consortium eligible to receive $\$ 40$ million over the next 10 years. Sally Morris reports that "there is a lot of hope vested in this application," which if successful would provide critical-ly-needed money for the County's public school system, infrastructure improvements such as extending the County's meager system of paved roads, and a 24hour medical triage and ambulance service. Diantha Hodges, Co-Director of a
new nonprofit organization in the county called the Jubilee Project, believes that the process of applying for designation as an Empowerment Zone has in itself been helpful in terms of community empowerment, as local residents have come together to prioritize areas of need and to identify possible solutions.
This willingness to join together to solve the community's problems is by all accounts a defining characteristic of Hancock County inhabitants. Residents' longstanding history with the land and deeply-rooted kinship ties combine to
form a resilient tapestry, a supportive backdrop against which the county's persistent poverty and housing problems fade into the fabric. "People have fought against economic adversity," asserts Diantha Hodges, "and what people have lived through gives them a sense of common struggle." Local residents strongly assert that this shared struggle, not chronic poverty and substandard housing, is what defines life in Hancock County.

# MORA COUNTY, NEW MEXICO 

0n the east side of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, and sloping to range land on the east, Mora County, New Mexico, once was part of Mexico. It was crossed by the Santa Fe Trail, and Fort Union was built there in 1851 as a strategic United States military post and quartermaster depot. Since then, dynamic economic activity has gone elsewhere, and

## There are few joh

## opportunities in the county,

## and partial or seasonal

employment is common.

Subsistence farming

is practiced, as are more than one-third of its people have incomes placing them below the poverty line. There are few job opportunities in the county, and partial or seasonal employment is common. Subsistence farming is practiced, as are barter transactions. Its people are largely Hispanic, and many families originally acquired their land as Spanish grants. They are loyal to their land and reluctant to risk losing it by incurring mortgages or taxes that they would be unable to pay.
U.S. Census data shows there was little change during the 1980s in Mora County. Population increased only very slightly. The whole county was characterized as rural in both 1980 and 1990. Median household income ( $\$ 12,993$ in 1990) hardly changed at all, and the proportion of the population living below the poverty line decreased slightly. Still, 32 percent of families and 62 percent of female-headed households were reported to have incomes below the poverty level.
The economy relies primarily on government and tourism. The northwest corner of the county borders Taos ski area and has some vacation homes. Commercial
agriculture is primarily ranching in the eastern part of the county, but there also is some irrigated farming, including one raspberry grower who uses a few seasonal laborers. Most of the large ranches have out-of-state owners. Lack of economic strength encourages young people to leave, which provides some offset for housing demand.
Economic development projects are not necessarily welcome, because a politically effective group sees growth as a threat to the traditional way of life in the area. Local politics are contentious. A proposed expansion of a federally funded fish hatchery reportedly was opposed with great vigor. People expressed opposition to development that would give jobs to outsiders. Property taxes are low, perhaps \$35-40 per year for a very modest house, but so is the ability to pay. County government is often close to bankruptcy, and state government has provided special funds for Mora County.
The county has imposed a moratorium on new development and land use, other than single-family houses, while it prepares a comprehensive plan and land use regulations that are expected to include a zoning ordinance. This moratorium, and the county's hiring of an Albuquerque consulting firm to develop the land use controls, was triggered by development proposals by outside individuals and organizations. County officials realized that they did not have legal controls over outsiders' activities, but it remains to be seen if residents will accept controls that will also affect their own use of land.
Residents must look outside the county for both jobs and services. This results in long drives and higher costs. Jobs are often service jobs at low wages. Mothers of young children may be unable to take such jobs
at all because of a lack of day care, and slightly older children may be in self care for long hours.
There are no hospitals in the county, and mothers must go to Las Vegas, in the next county, for prenatal care and delivery of babies. There is a clinic in Mora staffed full time by either a physician or physician's assistant, and another staffed part time in Wagon Mound, 60 miles to the east, on Interstate 25 . Leading health issues in the county are diabetes, alcoholism, domestic abuse and stress-related illnesses. The county nurse reports a good record of childhood immunizations, and no reported cases of high lead levels in children. Teenage pregnancy is common.
Most of the people live in the foothill areas on the western side of the county. Many houses have corrugated metal roofs, which are resistant to wind, moisture and hail that are common there.
Old adobe structures, frame buildings with stucco sidings, and a high proportion of mobile homes in scattered locations demonstrate the results of having few building controls and no zoning. Serious deterioration of houses from weather and time is widely evident. Many homes lack adequate sewage disposal and plumbing. Water comes from wells or small community systems. The county seat, Mora, now has a central sewer system, but connecting a home to the main line is at the individual owner's cost.
In these resource-restricted circumstances, there is a shortage of affordable housing. Overcrowding is common, as families are large and several generations may live together. One community leader says, "Hispanic culture says one never puts family out in the street." Thus, people really may be homeless or near homeless.
Although there are many vacant units in Mora County, building officials estimate that more than 50 percent of these are substandard, and vacant units not for sale or rent make up about 16 percent of the dwellings. Building
inspectors further estimate that about 18 percent of occupied units in Mora County lack plumbing and do not meet code requirements. About two-thirds of all substandard dwellings are suitable for rehabilitation. When people leave the county for jobs elsewhere, they do not sell their land, but keep it as a place where they can return. Low property taxes fit well with this goal. The region's 1994 Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS) says that lack of income has prevented some persons living in cities from repairing old homes they own in rural areas, so that a number of houses are unusable.
The mortgage process is a particular problem in Mora County because the old land titles are descriptive rather than surveyed. Title searches and quieting title may take several thousand dollars and a number of months. There is a strong tradition of splitting family

## Overcrowding is common,

 as families are large and several generations may live together: lands among the children, which is allowed under New Mexico law. A Farmers Home Administration official reports that some people continue to be very casual about conveying real estate, compounding old


## Wind and weather take a

toll on mobile homes, as

can he seen hy drooping

## insulation and peeling paint.

title problems. According to one banker, much business, including housing, is conducted on the basis of long-standing relationships rather than strict adherence to formal procedures. A banker from the one bank that has a branch in Mora reports that it is difficult to do mortgage lending to meet Community Reinvestment Act requirements, because properties do not meet adequate water, sewer and street construction standards.
Mobile homes have been used to fill the housing affordability gap, and often are located next to a house or other trailers on one property. It is estimated that one of every three low- and very low-income families in the region live in mobile homes. Much of the newer housing is mobile homes because they are less costly to purchase and financing is easier. Dealers or personal loans finance the mobile homes, without the complications of a mortgage process. The trailer market has been a disincentive for persons to build single-family and multifamily housing or to repair vacant houses for rental. Wind and weather take a toll on mobile homes, as can be seen by drooping insulation and peeling paint. The Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program director describes one older appli-
cant living in a mobile home that had many upright posts inside supporting a water-damaged and sagging roof.
Rental housing also is in short supply. Less than 5 percent of rental or sale housing units is affordable to persons at or below 80 percent of median family income.
Participants in the 1994 CHAS community meetings identified a shortage of housing for low-income and special needs persons. It is interesting to note, however, that the land use consultant hired to work on the land-use development moratorium reports that the issue of affordable housing had not come up as a concern in a series of forums in the county conducted by the consulting firm.
To help meet the need for affordable housing, the county has an allocation of 60 HUD Section 8 certificates, with 27 households on the waiting list. They will stop taking applications soon. The county is unable to request more certificates because it does not have more rental housing available that meets Section 8 stan--dards. A number of the certificates are used in mobile homes in a mobile home park in the town of Mora.
The county CDBG program has made a difference in improving the quality of local housing. Operated by one individual in a separate county office, this program rehabilitated 26 units in 1993. Although sometimes CDBG money has been used for infrastructure, such as the Mora sewer system, more often the money has been used for improvements to individual properties. Using priority criteria including age, disability, income and family status, the county makes grants of CDBG funds to households. They have had 161 home repair applicants, and have a cap of $\$ 10,000$ for any one structure at one time, or $\$ 6,000$ for a well. Mobile homes must be on a permanent foundation to be eligible for CDBG funds. The executive director of the CDBG program says, "It is sad to make a family choose between water and a roof." She would like to have the funds to do complete rehabilitation on each home
at one time, rather than partial renovation in one year and another part in five years when the family becomes eligible to apply again, as is now the case. To make limited funds go farther, she is aggressive in working with other agencies to get funds to serve more homes. Weatherization funds and Farmers Home Administration programs have been used in this way.
Farmers Home Administration Section 504 grants to correct health and safety housing problems for elderly persons are fully used in Mora County (five in the first eight months of fiscal year 1994), particularly for roofs, wells, septic tanks and baths. Because FmHA standards and those of CDBG are different, each agency may fund distinctly different parts of the work on the same structure when they are cooperating to make needed repairs. The FmHA supervisor reports that there is a general attitude in the county against long-term debt, so that agency has not had demand for housing loans. Mora County has been targeted by FmHA for a pilot project of new housing construction in conjunction with a nonprofit organization, but such a partnership has not yet been developed. The time and expense ( $\$ 2,500$
to $\$ 3,000$ per property) of clearing titles continues to be a barrier to use of FmHA monies. The director also reports that the type of soil found in Mora County requires an engineered foundation to prevent excessive settling of structures.
Mora County is an example of a county that has seen little change over the decade in data reported by the Census. Change has occurred, however. Weather has continued to damage houses; those without repairs show the wear or may have been replaced by mobile homes. Mobile homes have deteriorated faster than site-built housing. Water and sewer problems have continued or become worse because of little public investment, except in the town of Mora.
Without significant economic development, life has continued much as before, but long commutes to poorly paid jobs outside the community have left some children on their own longer and kept other families in welfare dependence.
Low costs of living have
become lower in rela-
tion to other places, and have attracted outsiders in ways that prompted a county moratorium on land use development. Low taxes have allowed people to hold onto their lands, but have provided few funds for public services. The small supply of rental housing has become less affordable, except for those who are cushioned by the HUD Section 8 program. Grant programs have helped make some housing better, but loan programs have been little used. Some people feel things have become better, some that they are worse. The public choice has been for their traditional way of life over development.

# NEWTON AND SEARCY COUNTIES, 

 ARKANSASIhe Ozark mountains in North Central Arkansas provide some of the most stunningly beautiful vistas in the United States: tabletop land predominates, where farms and pastureland nestle the edges of majestic old-

In the ten years since the last version of Taking Stock was released, the promise of decreasing poverty
> exhibitited in the 1970s has growth forests. A sense of timelessness pervades the mountains, ethereal as the clouds that descend in the valleys. For many residents of Newton and Searcy counties, however, the astonishing beauty of the Ozarks offers little respite from grinding poverty and the pervasive lack of decent, safe, and affordable housing.
The decade between 1970 and 1980 showed great promise for the region, as infrastructure improvements and a diversifying economy contributed to a significant decline in poverty rates. Even as these factors helped improve poverty in Newton and Searcy counties, they also had less desirable economic impacts. "Wal-Mart and paved roads changed things forever," asserts Bob King of the Searcy County Chamber of Commerce. A wider network of paved roads made it possible for people living in remote communities to travel away from the immediate area - often to neighboring counties - for goods and services. Small cottage industries and Mom \& Pop stores, upon which much of the local economy was based, were decimated by the trend. Retail trade in the area has yet to rebound.

In the ten years since the last version of Taking Stock was released, the promise of decreasing poverty exhibited in the 1970s has failed to materialize. Poverty rates remain extremely high: according to the 1990 Census, 29.8 percent of people in Newton and Searcy counties lived below the poverty line, an improvement of only 1.3 percent since 1980. The proportion of female-headed households increased by 17 percent during the last decade: by 1990, over 40 percent of all women-maintained households lived in poverty.
The economic health of Newton and Searcy counties is precarious, and chronic underemployment plagues most residents. The scarcity of jobs in the region requires that many workers commute great distances: over 50 percent of people in Newton County travel outside the county for work. Most people in the area, particularly those with low incomes, patch together a precarious living from several part-time jobs. The timber industry provides physically demanding, dangerous, and low-paying seasonal jobs for a large number of men. While recognizing the economic importance of logging, community activists decry the fact that much of the land in the counties on which timber is cut is logged by outside companies, and that higher-paying processing and finishing jobs are located elsewhere.
Clearcutting of the land is also becoming a serious problem, as timber companies remove the counties' natural resources without regard to conservation or reforestation.

Tourism provides some employment in Newton County, particularly in the town of Jasper and surrounding area. The Buffalo National River and adjacent national park land attract visitors from throughout the South and Midwest. The national park, designated wilderness areas, and other federally owned land encompass a sizeable portion of both counties, thus reducing the area's tax base. The counties' proximity to Branson, Missouri, which is quickly becoming the largest center of country music entertainment outside of Nashville, offers some hope that tourism in the area will expand. Branson's popularity has caused an explosion in the number of people traveling through Searcy County in particular: the County's Chamber of Commerce estimates that as much as 80 percent of the summer traffic through Marshall, the county seat, is bound for Branson. The county is actively exploring ways to capture a portion of the millions of dollars these visitors represent.
The expansion of water and wastewater systems in both Newton and Searcy counties has led to an increase in the number of housing units with complete plumbing facilities, but severe structural problems and inadequate weatherproofing still characterizes much of the housing in the region. According to local housing experts and program directors, housing quality has failed to improve in any significant way, leading one advocate to comment that "the housing in this area is certainly no better than it was ten years ago. In fact, it's just ten years older."
While the need for additional affordable housing is tremendous, the development of several Farmers Home Administration projects in Newton and Searcy counties in the last ten years has had a modest impact in the area. The projects do serve some low-income people, but local housing activists assert that the projects "cream" the rental market, often disallowing the renters with the greatest need for affordable housing. These projects, built by forprofit developers, are almost all located in the Newton and Searcy county seats, thus
requiring people who want to take advantage of the housing to move "into town." The Newton County leadership of FmHA refused throughout the decade to accept Section 502 projects in virtually the entire county, citing the inability of the soil to withstand traditional septic systems. Under intense pressure from nonprofit organizations, the county FmHA office recently accepted the state of Arkansas' less restrictive criteria for septic systems. Local nonprofit housing organizations are hopeful that this overdue policy change will result in additional affordable housing development in the area.
A small number of FmHA housing preservation and weatherization grants are being used in Newton and Searcy counties. The administrator of the weatherization program in the counties believes that the little amount of money available for insulation and other minor weatherization improvements is just a "drop in the bucket," and that the majority of the houses that receive the grants need comprehensive rehabilitation or complete reconstruction. Another source of frustration for housing advocates is the stringent requirements regarding lead-based paint paint must be removed from all sites before funds can be used, would "prohibit the use of virtually any federal money for rehab and reconstruction in the area." Because of the age of the housing stock, almost all of the units that need work have lead-based paint, and the cost of hiring certified contractors to remove, haul, and dispose of the material is prohibitive.

HUD Section 8 certificates and HOME tenant-based rental assistance are also being used in Newton and Searcy counties. According to Hershel Sullivan, the Director of the Regional Housing Authority, there is a large gap between the need and availability of Section 8 vouchers. The biggest problem related to using this program in the area, however, is the pronounced lack of suitable housing that meets HUD fair market rents, which HUD recently lowered in the area to 1985 levels. There simply are not enough adequate rental units in the counties to meet even the minimum standards required by the Section 8 program. In major urban

## Families unable to find op

afford decent, safe housing
have heen forced to occupy
decrepit outhuildings
patched together with
scrap materials like dis-
carded sheets of pressed

## wood and Pusty tin.

areas, tremendously long waiting lists for certificates are the primary problem, while in Newton and Searcy counties (and most other rural areas) a dearth of minimally decent rental units impedes effective use of the program.
The wholesale lack of rental units - affordable or otherwise - is a serious problem throughout the region. The shortage of rental units, combined with the inability of low-income people to afford homeownership and the complete lack of access to mortgage credit, has led to a longstanding housing crisis in Newton and Searcy counties. Families unable to find or afford decent, safe housing have been forced to occupy decrepit outbuildings patched together with scrap materials like discarded sheets of pressed wood and rusty tin. Doubling-up and commensurate overcrowding is common as extended families share space in the tiny, one-story homes.

Many of these shacks lack electricity and running water, and are heated in the area's harsh mountain winters with inefficient wood stoves. The polluting smoke from the stoves, drafty homes, and lack of potable water have a great impact on the health of people in the more remote regions of the counties. The Newton County Health Executive reports that bacterial infections and severe respiratory problems predominate in the area, and that these ailments are directly attributable to poor housing conditions. These serious health problems are exacerbated by the fact that there is no hospital, ambulance service, or after-hours medical care of any kind in either county. The lack of prenatal care has caused a crisis in infant mortality in the counties.
Nonprofit housing organizations and local housing advocates in Newton and Searcy counties are extremely discouraged by the pervasive poverty and substandard housing that predominates. The rigidity of state and federal housing programs and the tunwillingness of the Farmers Home Administration to be flexible in light of the particular topographical context of the area made far-reaching progress in affordable housing virtually impossible between 1980 and 1990. Nonprofit capacity to develop housing in the region has increased substantially in the last ten years, but the extreme paucity of federal funds and programmatic support - and the lack of political will to provide real solutions to the low-income housing crisis in Newton and Searcy counties - make it unlikely that there will be meaningful improvement in the quality of life for low-income people in the next decade.

# SHANNON COUNTY/PINE RIDCE RESERVATION, SOUTH DAKOTA 

Rolling hills of prairie grassland, sculpted by wind, water and geologic forces, dotted with scattered trees along waterways, describe the barren beauty of Shannon County, South Dakota. The Badlands of the north show
...grasslands and some cultivated fields support a few herds of heef cattle, but sparse water supplies limit the populations of hoth

## people and animals.

 raw earth, still forming spectacular gullies and deep ravines, because the soil texture and dry climate combine to form easily erodible land unprotected by vegetation. Yet a rich treasure of fossils shows that once many kinds of animals lived on this land. Further south, grasslands and some cultivated fields support a few herds of beef cattle, but sparse water supplies limit the populations of both people and animals. Located in the northern great plains, Shannon County is subject to severe cold and wind in winter and dry, hot summers. It is a remote land of few economic resources, but a place where earth enters the soul. It is also the poorest county in the United States.All of Shannon County is included in the Oglala Sioux Reservation of the Oglala tribe. The Oglala were a part of the Dakota/Nakota/Lakota nomadic people who roamed widely in North America. They belonged to the Oceti Sakowin, a group that today is known as the Sioux. The Dakota had four sub-groups and stayed east in Minnesota, two Nakota sub-
groups stayed in what is now southeastern South Dakota, and the Lakota moved west of the Missouri River and developed the Plains culture. They subdivided into seven bands, one of which is the Oglala. The Dakota/Nakota/Lakota people's origin stories say that their people originated in the Black Hills west of Shannon County, an area that remains sacred to Lakota culture. What is now Bear Butte State Park in the Black Hills area is a traditional site of Vision Quests and Sun Dances.
The Oglala were in a period of expansion of territory when white people first came to the upper plains area. Trading posts were developed along the Missouri River. Fort Laramie (first as a trading post and later as a U. S. army fort) was established at the juncture of the North Platte and Laramie rivers, the area where the Oglala were in control. Fort Laramie was a major rest stop on the Oregon Trail, and other Lakota tribes often stayed in this area. In 1851, the United States negotiated a series of treaties with the tribes that established territories and recognized Lakota territory as including much of eastern Wyoming and western South Dakota. Nevertheless, continuing white intrusion within that territory by emigrants, miners and unauthorized forts led to "Red Cloud's War" of 1866-68. The treaty of 1868 recognized the western half of South Dakota as the Great Sioux Reservation, guaranteed no white encroachment, promised government protection and annual payments and "guaranteed that the terms of the treaty could not be changed nor any land ceded
'unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians.'" No later treaties or agreements ever had those signatures. ${ }^{5}$
White slaughter of the buffalo, decimation of the fur trade, white settlers and, finally, the discovery of gold in the Black Hills led to further conflicts and a series of "agreements" that progressively decreased Lakota territory. By 1889 the Oglala Sioux Reservation of Pine Ridge was established as home for the Oglala Nation in its present boundaries in three counties. The Wounded Knee Massacre ended military conflict with the U.S. government in 1890; the monument to the massacre's victims, standing on a lonely, wind-swept hill, is a poignant reminder of abuse in an unequal power relationship.
The whole reservation covers almost 2.8 million acres and is checkered with land that has gone out of trust status through sales and foreclosures, leaving 1.8 million acres still in trust status and under tribal control. The territory of Shannon County is under tribal government, and remains an "unorganized county" from a state jurisdictional perspective; i.e., there is no county government. The tribe is governed by a 16 -member tribal council led by a five-member executive committee, and the
village of Pine Ridge is tribal headquarters. Tribal chairmen are elected every two years.
Historically, Indians were seen as a federal, rather than a state responsibility. In Washington, D.C., Indian concerns had low priority, and programs were consistently under-funded. Schools were often run by Christian churches, and for many years tried to wipe out Indian culture.
Along the paved and gravel roads of the reservation, there are widely spaced small villages, most of which include clusters of similar, HUD-funded, rectangular wood frame houses and other frame houses, many showing signs of deterioration. Scattered in the countryside, especially in tree-dotted valleys, are small homes and outbuildings of wood frame, log buildings and mobile homes. Some seem deteriorated beyond use, but are still occupied. Villages often include a circular community building, designed to reflect Lakota culture. The village of Kyle is home to Oglala Lakota College, which has an espe-

Scattered in the country-
side. . . are small homes and outbuildings of wood frame, log buildings and mobile homes. Some seem deteriopated heyond use,
 but are sill occupied.

[^45]cially distinctive, circular administrative building.
U.S. Census data about the Pine Ridge Reservation is clearly flawed, but is the most detailed available. While the 1990 Census lists a 12 percent decline in population over the past decade (to 9,902 ), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Superintendent estimates that the reservation population grew substantially. He reports that enumerators did not do a careful count, and that he was not even counted. To the extent that Census numbers are used as a basis for distribution of funds and services, an undercount further disadvantages already

## There are now 1,650 families

on the IHA waiting list,

most of whom currentity

are severely crowided

with several families sharing

## single-family structures.

resource-poor people. Population growth comes from a renewed interest in Lakota culture that is bringing tribal members back to the reservation, and from high fertility rates. Most of the reservation population lives in Shannon County.
Sixty-three percent of the county's residents lived in poverty. The 1990 Census reported a median household income of $\$ 11,105$, a one-third decline in dollar income since 1980 (in con-
stant dollars). There are few job opportunities in Shannon County other than with the tribe, the BIA or other governmental bodies.
Along with the low incomes, there is an acute shortage of housing. The average addition of 52 new units per year over the last decade (as reported by the Census Bureau) did not nearly meet the backlog of housing need and the population growth. In contrast, an average of 130 units were added each year in Shannon County during the decade of the 1970s. Unlike most rural areas, private homeownership does not predominate. Over half of the total 2,205 units of occupied housing stock is rental housing.
The Indian Housing Authority (IHA) provides most of the housing available to the generally low-income population, using U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) monies. The IHA is a separate authority originally established by the tribal council in 1961, one of the first tribal housing authorities in the - United States. Its 1,432 units include two projects for elderly persons and both rental and ownership units for low-income households. One elderly project has 23 units, and includes meals. The other is 32 units and reduces costs by not including meals. There are now 1,650 families on the IHA waiting list, most of whom currently are severely crowded with several families sharing single-family structures. This crowding allows families to share costs, but overcrowding and the harsh local weather are very hard on buildings.
Most IHA housing units on the reservation are free-standing units designed for a single family. In order to have community water supplies and sewer systems, lower development costs and to build on tribal land, most are grouped in subdivisions or projects of clusters of buildings of similar, basic, rectangular, wood-frame design, varying in number of bedrooms. Some units have areas of brick trim. A serious problem is non-payment of rents; arrears total one million dollars. Since most of the
rental payments collected should be used for maintenance, these arrears have a serious effect on the tribal housing stock. The Indian Housing Authority uses radio station KILI, "The Voice of the Lakota Nation," to broadcast encouragement to care for housing as a resource of the people. In 1992, HUD reported a total of 2,712 housing units on the Pine Ridge reservation, 1,418 in standard condition and 1,294 in substandard condition. It reported 660 units needing renovation and 634 units needing replacement. It declared a need for 1,912 new units. Present funding from HUD to the IHA, however, only allows for the development of approximately 80 units per year. About half of these are rental units, where residents are charged 30 percent of income for rent. The other units being developed are in the mutual help program, where residents pay 15 percent of their income for house payments and can achieve ownership in 30 years. These few new units are far from meeting needs.
At this time, IHA builds the houses as modular units in batches of about 26 at a location in Kyle, then moves the units to prepared foundations. Mutual help program structures have basements, and rental units have crawl spaces. This construction process is used for efficiency, because of long distances between villages. Total development costs are now about $\$ 90,000$ per unit, with about $\$ 70,000$ of that for the actual structure. The IHA employs about 200 persons, so it is a major employer on the reservation. IHA is also in the second year of a five-year HUD Comprehensive Grant program to rehabilitate older rental units, some of which are now about 30 years old, and badly worn. The work includes new siding, roofs, interior walls, insulation, kitchens and plumbing and additional storage space. It will also include planting grass around the buildings. The rehabilitation costs are estimated to run about $\$ 25,000$ per unit, and

up to $\$ 36,000$. Work crews of six or seven persons are drawn from the local population and have received on-the-job training. Originally, workers were persons recommended by the eight tribal districts, and had different skill levels. The Comp Grant Director feels that he now has crews that are trained and working effectively. They expect to have completed 120 units by the end of the second year, October 1994.
In the dry-land climate of Shannon County, availability of potable water is a serious problem. According to a 1993 engineering report, "water on the Reservation is frequently microbiologically contaminated, especially during the summer. Two of 51 rural wells sampled . . . showed nitrate levels higher than EPA's maximum contaminant level." Approximately half of all housing units in the county have water and sewer service from public systems.
The Indian Health Service (IHS) provides funding for water and sewers for housing units. It is now digging wells and building an emergency pipeline to provide useable water on the west side of the reservation. This system will be linked to the Mni Wiconi Water Supply Project, a separate federal project to serve the Pine Ridge, Rosebud and Lower Brule reservations and other areas, which will bring water from the Missouri River in five years.

# A major step towarls 

## overcoming the old lending

 barrier of trust status ofthe land has heen taken by
the adoption of legislation
providing for retention of
tribal trust status in the

## case of loan default.

Other housing on the reservation includes 100 rental units that the Bureau of Indian Affairs provides for its employees. Most of its rental income goes toward maintenance. BIA is not now building new units. There is a compound of houses for the Oglala Lakota College in Kyle. The IHS, which opened a new hospital in 1994, also provides housing units for its professional and administrative staff. These governmental bodies find that they need to provide housing for employees because of the lack of available units and of a private housing market. A 1991 South Dakota Housing Authority report notes a lack of mortgage money available on the reservation for persons whose incomes place them above the level of eligibility for low-income programs.
Two Farmers Home Administration offices serve different parts of Shannon County. FmHA has long made loans for agriculture in the area, and now is actively working to fund housing and community facilities on the reservation. A major step towards overcoming the old lending barrier of trust status of the land has been taken by the adoption of legislation providing for retention of tribal trust status in the case of loan default. FmHA has made some grants for repair and plumbing for very low-income elderly homeowners through its Section 504 program. It is working with the IHA, with IHS to link to water and sewer, and with the tribal government in regard to roads. Farmers Home officials report that good working relationships are being built with tribal officials over time.
At this writing, FmHA has reserved $\$ 125,000$ for a ten-house site that would be connected to community water and
sewer, but a suitable site has not yet been found. FmHA would like to use the services of loan packagers to facilitate work on the reservation. It is also investigating alternative housing designs that would be smaller and less costly than usual FmHA requirements, and thus would be more suitable to local income levels.
FmHA deals directly with the borrower or through loan packagers, rather than through tribal authorities or banks. FmHA-developed properties are not subject to HUD and IHA rules. Individuals can obtain title to property faster with an FmHA loan than under the HUD mutual help program, but with less subsidy.
The problems of housing on the reservation are directly related to other problems faced by the Oglala Sioux. For example, there are acute health problems. The Indian Health Service, which provides health care on the reservation, reports high mortality rates that are more than twice those of the U.S. population as a whole. Alcoholism rates here are the highest of any IHS region, and tuberculosis rates second-highest among IHS regions. Diseases of the respiratory system are the leading cause of outpatient visits. Heart diseases follow accidents as leading causes of death in Shannon County. Crowded housing conditions, and resulting stress, could relate directly to these health conditions.
Lack of employment opportunities also is a major barrier to increasing the quantity and quality of housing in Shannon County. Geographic isolation and a lack of water and sewer facilities discourage many kinds of economic development. A history of frequent turnover of tribal leadership has complicated economic development planning. Little private enterprise is apparent in Shannon County, although a busy gas station and convenience store is located on Highway 18 in the village of Pine Ridge, and there is a Taco John's nearby. The regional center of Rapid City is too far away to commute to work.

Most of the reservation residents who are employed work for the tribe, the BIA or other governmental bodies. The 1990 Census reports 31 percent of adults unemployed, but persons on the reservation estimate that 70 to 90 percent of the population is unemployed. Shannon County has for the last several decades had among the highest unemployment rates in the country. Because of a lack of jobs and a history of dependency upon federal payments, only a small number of adults are currently actively seeking employment. Payments were promised from the first treaty that established reservations, but never reached the stated levels. Much of the current adult population does not have job-holding experience and skills.
The Oglala Lakota College has offered courses in carpentry and electrical skills that include on-the-job training such as building a college center building at Batesland. Some graduates have found jobs working for the Housing Authority. Vocational education funds that supported those programs are decreasing, however, and the electrical program is being phased out. It may become necessary to drop the carpentry program as well.
Nevertheless, there are opportunities for raising incomes in Shannon County, and a variety of efforts are currently underway. The nearby Black Hills area and the Badlands include national parks that are major tourist attractions, albeit with some points of contention because those places are sacred in tribal tradition. The tribe successfully operates Cedar Pass Lodge under a concession contract with the National Park Service. There is discussion of building a casino near the western edge of the reservation close to the Black Hills. A cooperative markets Indian crafts near the Wounded Knee monument and grave site. The South Dakota Office of Economic Development is interested in working with the tribe to develop employment opportunities, and has talked with entrepreneurs interested in leather goods and stitch-and-assembly factories, but there have been no major successes to
date. A non-profit Lakota Fund has been established on the reservation to provide loans and help to small businesses. The Mni Wiconi Water Supply Project will bring water from the Missouri River for housing and development.
Under a contract with the BIA for mineral development, work is underway to manufacture adobe brick from local soil. A pilot project has built a demonstration house of this brick. This structure is also using energy-saving design by being banked into a hillside on the north. It is not yet clear whether adobe will be acceptable to local preferences.
Culture, history, politics and resources combine to form the present circumstances in Shannon County. There is a great need for housing, but very little income to support it. Federal funding for new construction has not kept up with population growth, and overcrowding of existing units has hastened their deterioration. There are few job opportunities, and a history of control by the federal government has discouraged self-sufficiency and economic development. Conditions have barely improved over the decade of the eighties.
Nevertheless, there are a number of potentially positive signs. The HUD Comp Grant Program has developed work crews to rehabilitate older rental units. The Farmers Home Administration has increased its efforts to be part of developing housing solutions, including more use of grants for very low-income elderly persons and experimentation with less expensive design alternatives.
FmHA is actively seeking a suitable site for new home construction. There appears to be serious interest in interagency collaboration to solve housing problems. The state of South Dakota is actively interested in economic development on the reservation. And renewed interest in Lakota culture could be turned to finding culturally authentic solutions to addressing the Lakota nation's needs.

# WEST FEILCIANA PARIISH, LOUISIANA 

west Feliciana Parish has two faces. The most readily visible is the world of the "antebellum" plantation homes, of the quaint historic district that dates from the turn of the previous century, of the towering trees hung with Spanish moss, of elite resort communities, of a fine new school system, and of highpriced homes in newly developed subdivisions. The countenance presented by this world exudes genuine hospitality and southern charm as it assures the Yankee visitor that she cannot possibly fathom southern race relations. This world is a peaceful one, pervaded by a strong sense of community spirit and benevolence.
West Feliciana's other world is not so easily apparent. The visitor only catches glimpses of it - within the shadows of the ancient trees and stately homes. It can be found in the voice of the proud man who talks about his blind youngest son and in the tales of a young woman met by chance in a waiting room. This other world is one of gross undereducation and poverty, of teenage pregnancy, of high school dropouts, of extreme unemployment, of separate proms for black and white high school students, of dilapidated housing and nonexistent sewage systems, and of dirt roads right off of new highways. This world is painfully conscious of racism and rightfully suspicious of the intentions or abilities of community leaders to effect real change.

If the state of Louisiana is a foot and lower leg, then West Feliciana Parish is situated at the point where the bridge of that foot becomes the ankle. The parish is nestled between the Mississippi River, the Mississippi state line, and the larger parish of East Feliciana. Its bayous and the ancient trees of its highlands lend it an almost prehistoric aura in the eyes of a visitor. Against this backdrop, the sparkling blacktop of the ever-expanding Highway 61 that cuts through the parish like an artery imitates the extreme contrasts found throughout West Feliciana.
The Housing Assistance Council's study of West Feliciana Parish in 1984 described the serious lack of employment opportunities, the high rates of poverty, and the dearth of decent and affordable housing. The intervening decade has witnessed litthe improvement in most of these categories. The poverty rate for parish residents actually increased slightly to 33.8 percent. ${ }^{6}$ The unemployment rate rose dramatically from 6.3 percent in 1980 to 9.5 percent in $1990 .^{7}$ Housing affordability remains a serious problem. Housing quality, on the other hand, improved substantially. (See accompanying table for additional Census data.)
Just as it was 10 years ago, the lack of employment opportunities for West Feliciana Parish residents is still the primary obstacle to real change. Although the parish is home to a nuclear power plant, a paper mill, a hospital, and a prison, the only one of these that provides low-skill jobs and hires local people is the prison Angola Penitentiary. Although a few jobs

[^46]enting and conflict resolution skills. A Head Start program provides four years of free pre-school to eligible children and their families. Parents can enroll in literacy and GED classes.
The efforts of the school superintendent to provide a better education by first addressing students' most basic needs have paid off in more ways than one. Today, the school ranks seventh in the state and student test scores rise each year. The Assistant District Attorney also reports greatly diminished numbers of child abuse and child neglect cases. The school system enjoys broad community support, as well; during a recent referendum, 80 percent of voters supported a tax increase to support the school system.
The River Bend Energy Center, a nuclear power plant located at the southern end of the parish, is another important influence on West Feliciana, but not because it provides jobs to parish residents. In fact, according to most estimates, River Bend employs relatively few West Feliciana natives; the majority of its employees commute to the plant from Baton Rouge and other parishes. Moreover, many of the jobs at the nuclear plant are highly skilled, and since 42.8 percent of parish residents never graduated from high school, few residents qualify for employment at River Bend.
Although the River Bend nuclear plant does not provide most parish residents with a job, it has had a substantial effect on the community in other ways. One of these is the fact that the construction of the nuclear plant created a temporary economic boon for the local construction business. Realizing that the nuclear plant could translate into a significantly increased amount of economic development activity in the parish, developers created five or six small apartment complexes in St. Francisville. Although only one of the projects included affordable housing
(Audubon Apartments), today these apartments represent the vast majority of the decent rental units available in the parish.
During the last decade, West Feliciana has expended considerable energy polishing its image as a desirable tourist destination and selling itself as an ideal place to live. Billboards advertising St. Francisville and West Feliciana's plantation homes can be seen as far away as New Orleans, and advertisements in tourist publications for luxury rental housing emphasize that St. Francisville has easy proximity to "excellent schools, churches, and is only a short drive to River Bend, James River, [and] Georgia Pacific" (nearby large employers). West Feliciana has capitalized on its image as a peaceful small town, luring away from Baton Rouge those tired of crime, poor public schools, and city life.
The nuclear plant has significantly influenced the parish's fortune by acting as the catalyst that stimulated a flood of new residents. First, many of the new plant's employees chose to relocate in West Feliciana. After this initial wave, word began to spread, and the combination of West Feliciana's proximity to Baton Rouge (St. Francisville is located only 24 miles north of Baton Rouge on Highway 61) and to well-paying, highly skilled jobs at the nuclear power plant and the larger employers in Baton Rouge, and its fine school system and small town atmosphere
drew increasing numbers of upper middle class white residents to West Feliciana.
The arrival of more prosperous residents in the parish has had a tremendous effect on the housing market. Most of the land in the parish has traditionally been held by a few large landowners. Now, however, as land prices skyrocket, increasing numbers of these landowners are willing to divide their land into smaller parcels for sale at great profit to developers of luxury housing, and numerous high-priced housing subdivisions are in the process of being developed on such land. The influx of newcomers has also affected the rental housing market. It has not only driven up the cost of local rental housing, but has also made it virtually impossible to find rental housing in the area at any price.
In spite of the current pace of development activity and the severe need for additional affordable housing, however, developing housing for low-income residents has not been a priority for West Feliciana during the past decade. More prosperous parish residents - those with the political or social power to make change - have either been ignorant of the conditions in which many residents live or have chosen to ignore the situation.
During the past five years, however, the West Feliciana community has become inflamed with the spirit of community activism. An awareness of the desperate need for action began to grow when the school system's Family
Service
Center personnel started making visits to students' homes.

Service Center staff were appalled by the housing conditions and poverty in which they found many families living. Extending the school's philosophy of social activism to the larger community, the staff began to look for ways to improve the living conditions of low-income parish residents. Inspired by the school system's previous successes, a broad spectrum of parish residents - from the Assistant District Attorney to the Executive Vice President of one of the two local banks to the Assistant Administrator of the local hospital - joined the effort, and several task forces and other bodies have recently been formed to address the numerous problems facing the community.
First, in response to increased development activity in the area, the parish established a zoning board and a planning commission. A town housing authority was created, and, shortly afterwards, a parish housing authority was established. A parish health task force has also been formed. The parish has traditionally received much of its federal funding through a CAP agency based in neighboring Pointe Coupee parish. After discovering that the CAP's board was comprised solely of Pointe Coupee residents and that the funds received by the CAP were not being (from the perspective of West Feliciana)
fairly distributed between the two parishes, however, West Feliciana residents have decided to form their own CAP agency to solicit federal funds and in the spring of 1994 were in the process of doing so.
Also as of the spring of 1994, parish activists have been moderately successful in their quest to address some of the problems facing the community. The town housing authority applied for and received HOME funds for housing rehabilitation. The parish housing authority also applied for HOME funds and was awarded $\$ 150,000$ for housing rehabilitation, and it has been designated as a Community Housing Development Organization (CHDO). Of the parish's HOME money, $\$ 75,000$ will be used in the unincorporated, traditionally African-American community of Independence. The other $\$ 75,000$ will be used in a similar community called Solitude.
Community activists are finding that actually spending the funds is more difficult than they anticipated. One obstacle to actually disbursing the money is the fact that the funds can only be used to rehabilitate owner-occupied homes and many of the homes most in need of assistance are rental units. An additional barrier is that in order to be eligible to receive funds for rehabilitation, a homeowner must be able to demonstrate that $\mathrm{s} / \mathrm{he}$ has clear title to the property. As in many rural areas, this is often difficult to do since homes and properties are passed from generation to generation and sales of property used to be based on a handshake rather than on legal documents. Finally, the HOME funds may not be used to rehabilitate mobile homes.
Exactly what the future holds for West Feliciana parish is still unclear, but it certainly will bring change. In 1997, the River Bend nuclear power plant will return to the parish tax rolls, and West Feliciana could become the wealthiest parish in Louisiana. Spurred especially by that knowledge, community activists are organizing a "parish-wide" meeting to priori-
tize the parish's needs and to make longterm plans for the use of those funds. Their efforts to address and alleviate some of the most severe housing, health, and poverty problems that exist in West Feliciana may be successful, but the parish still has more on its plate than it can handle.
In spite of the united front presented by most parish residents, the community is still rife with division and contention. Some members of the community gloss over the discrimination and racism that are still very much a part of life in West
Feliciana. In a pending case, the American Civil Liberties Union has sued the town for excluding African-Americans from its Board of Aldermen. And the only reason that the parish police jury is representative of AfricanAmericans is because the intervention of the Washington, DC-based Lawyers' Committee on Civil Rights recently forced district reapportionment. With these realities serving as a rather disappointing backdrop to the inspiring activism of the community, one must ask just how representative these new agents of change really are. Although any funds won by the community to develop or rehabilitate affordable housing would be welcome, the attitudes of those with the political and social force to decide how they will be spent may have the power to mean the difference between a community with safe, decent, and affordable housing for all residents and one that only addresses the needs of the "deserving" poor or perhaps the non-threatening elderly poor.

# ZAVALA COUNTY, TEXAS 

lavala County is in Texas brush country, relatively flat compared to the hill country to the north or the border area to the west and south. ${ }^{8}$ The open country around the county's three towns is mostly divided into large ranches, and much of it is fenced but uncultivated, thickly splotched with low, scrubby bushes and trees. Cacti, palm trees, and mesquite

## There have been lew

changes in Tavala County
since 1980, and those
few are not improvementis.
Tisis is "a pretty grow under the immense Texas sky. Portions of Zavala County's land are cultivated, planted with corn, cabbage, onions, and occasionally still the spinach that gave the county seat of Crystal City the title "Spinach Capital of the World." Other tracts are devoted to grazing cattle, and some of the uncultivated land is occupied by deer, kept in place for hunters by extra high fences.
Crystal City gained a certain fame as the birthplace of La Raza Unida, a Mexican-American political party that became an important force in Texas politics, and an inspiration to Hispanic persons nationwide, from the late 1960 s to the mid-1970s. The party no longer exists, but its legacy can still be
seen in the distribution of population within the county. The majority of the "Anglos" - non-Hispanic whites - in Zavala County live in the unincorporated towns of Batesville (1990 population: $1,369)$ and La Pryor $(1,432)$ or in the nonurbanized parts of the county, rather than in Crystal City $(8,117)$. Others, say local Mexican-American activists, moved to nearby cities like Carrizo Springs, the seat of neighboring Dimmit County, in the 1960s and have never returned. ${ }^{\circ}$
There have been few changes in Zavala County since 1980, and those few are not improvements. This is "a pretty depressed area," affirms county planner Esequiel Guzman. When La Raza Unida was created, political power was linked with economic power, notes Paul Edwards, interim director of the regional Council of Governments (COG). The white ranchers who owned most of the county's land also controlled its politics and filled its elective offices. The shift to Mexican-American control of the political structure did not bring a concomitant degree of economic control, however. The white ranchers still own the land, Mexican-American activists note.
Meanwhile, the local economy has been harmed by forces beyond the control of anyone within the county. For example, in

* Zavala County is considered part of the border area for some purposes, but from the close-up perspective of those who live in the county it is not quite at the border, and the geography is somewhat different closer to the actual border. The section of the data analysis portion of this report concerning the "U.S.-Mexico Border Region" includes Zavala County and many other counties that do not actually border Mexico, for reasons explained there.
${ }^{\circ}$ The Census reported that of the 962 non-Hispanic white persons in Zavala County in 1990, 275 (29 percent) lived in Crystal City, 132, in La Pryor, and 113 in Batesville. Carrizo Springs, with a total population of 5,745 significantly smaller than Crystal City's, nevertheless has 753 Anglo residents compared to Crystal City's 275.

The table above on "Demographic Characteristics of Case Study Counties" does not capture the single most important racial/ethnic distinction in Zavala Count - that between Anglos and Hispanics - because is does no list separate figures for Hispanic and non-Hispanic persons of each race. Of the 6,433 white persons in Zavala County, 5,481 are Hispanic and 962 (8 percent of the county's population) are non-Hispanic. Almost an equal number of Hispanic persons identified themselves as being on non-white race: 6 black, 53 American Indian, and 5,325 "other."
the mid-1980s after freezing weather devastated citrus crops farther south, many citrus growers shifted to crops like onions and cabbage that had long been mainstays of Zavala County's economy, but the southern climate permitted harvesting earlier and competing successfully against Zavala County's crops. Another locally uncontrollable blow was struck in the winter of 1993-94 when Del Monte laid off nearly 400 of the 600-person workforce at its Crystal City cannery.
Some former La Raza Unida members blame certain local problems on Anglo reaction to "Hispanics [not] behaving themselves." They explain that, for example, Wal-Mart seriously considered locating a store in Crystal City but was persuaded to open in Carrizo Springs instead. Crystal City has been "held down" for years, one asserts, "because of what we did."
Ironically, Mexican-American control of local politics has led to one kind of economic authority: local government is the largest employer in the county. Del Monte's recent layoffs cost the company its position as the county's largest employer.
In this region, called the country's "winter garden," agriculture remains an important source of jobs, second only to government in 1990, according to the Census. Much of the field work that once provided employment for unskilled laborers has vanished, however, replaced by mechanization or moved to the Midwest, farther south in Texas, or even into Mexico. "You can grow anything here, but there's no market," says planner Guzman.
The area is still a home base for migrant farmworkers who travel north, often with their families, usually to North Dakota or Minnesota to work on crops like sugar beets. Technology has supplanted some of their work in the north as well, reducing the work season there to a few short months, in some cases only from May to July, or sometimes through September or


October. (Enough migrants have left Zavala County by April 1, nevertheless, to make local activists suspect that the Census undercounts area residents.) When the migrants return to Zavala at the end of the season, there is no work at home. They continue to return every year, however; they like it here, they have relatives here, and a number of them own homes here, which they board up during the months they are travelling.
Other components of the local economy once included petroleum refining in neighboring Dimmit County, but the refinery closed in the 1970s. There was a brief oil boom in the early 1980s when oil was discovered in southeastern Zavala County and some nearby areas, but that oil supply appears to have been largely exhausted and others have not yet been located. Deer hunting is an important source of revenue for those who own land and can lease it to hunters. There are a number of jobs at a women's detention center in the county.
When asked about changes in the area since 1980, a number of Zavala County residents cite a change for the worse in young adults' attitudes. They complain that under the influence of television -
one resident particularly blames the San Antonio news broadcasts' coverage of murders - the young are beginning to commit crimes and create gangs. Also, they say, young people do not want to work in the available jobs at the available wages. Instead of working long hours in hourly-wage jobs in order to make more money, complain their parents, young people want to work regular forty-hour weeks and earn more than the available hourly rates.
Disincentives to work are created by the structure of the government income transfer programs on which (according to Edwards) perhaps half the

## Health care, for example,

## is far from ideal, hut is

 better than in someremote rural areas. county's residents depend, and by the administrative burden for recipients who might need those programs during only part of the year. If a position were available at the Del Monte cannery, explains local activist Pablo Aguillon, the individual hired would have to give up unemployment benefits, welfare payments, Medicaid, perhaps Section 8 housing assistance, and perhaps food stamps. But the cannery job would provide few if any benefits, and would likely last only a month or two until a particular crop was canned. Then the laidoff worker would have to apply all over again for each type of assistance. Program beneficiaries would be more likely to accept short-term work if government assistance programs took into account the lack of benefits provided with available jobs, and if it were less cumbersome to withdraw temporarily from programs.
At the same time, Zavala County's adults point out that the county is losing its youth to cities where job prospects are better. Like much of the rest of the country, Zavala County will need better services and different types of facilities in the near future to accommodate its increasingly elderly resi-
dents. Funds will be needed, notes the director of one of the area's community action agencies, to make housing more accessible for those with limited mobility. And the county needs a nursing home, something that does not currently exist there, says the director of a health clinic in Crystal City.
While the county's population increased modestly between 1980 and 1990, and the regional Council of Governments reports it continues to grow, residents say the local population is not stable. Some people are leaving, and others are moving in. This phenomenon helps ensure the need for continued government assistance, says COG director Edwards; he estimates the demand for services grows 7 or 8 percent each year in the Zavala County region.
Living conditions in the county provide a mixture of reasons to leave and reasons to stay. Health care, for example, is far from ideal, but is better than in some remote rural areas. The county's two hospitals closed in the 1970s, so the closest hospital

is now about 12 miles away in Carrizo Springs, and doctors from as far away as San Antonio (about 115 miles) are listed in the yellow pages of the local phone book. But there are local doctors as well, and many Medicaid patients make use of a sizeable clinic in Crystal City with a fulltime staff that has increased from one doctor (plus support staff) in 1980 to four doctors, one dentist, and one nurse-midwife in 1994. Outpatient surgical procedures are performed there, and immunizations, general medical care and mental health services are provided as well as a variety of public education programs.
The local educational system is about average among others in the same geographic area, according to the superintendent of the Crystal City Independent School District (CCISD). La Pryor has its own school district, and Batesville's schools are consolidated into a district centered in neighboring Uvalde County. CCISD reports its students are 99.5 percent Hispanic and 82.1 percent lowincome. The official graduation rate is 97.2 percent, but superintendent Rodolfo Espinosa says that calculation is less than accurate, since out of a freshman high school class of 200-300, about 90 students complete senior year. The school district does not keep records on those who do not graduate with their class, however, so it does not know how many move and finish school elsewhere, how many complete a GED, or how many never obtain a degree. At the local community college, the rodeo program is a particularly popular course of study and can lead to a bachelor's degree from Texas A\&M University.
Housing conditions in the county leave a great deal to be desired. Residents report there is a shortage of units for persons at all income levels in the county, even the wealthy. The housing available for lowincome persons is in poor condition; the Census shows that the proportion of occupied units lacking plumbing fell by over 14 percent from 1980 to 1990, but the kind of physical dilapidation not reported by the Census is immediately evident to anyone
passing through the residential neighborhoods of Crystal City, Batesville, and La Pryor. Jorge Botello, director of the Community Council of Southwest Texas, notes that his agency's weatherization activities frequently turn into rehabilitation projects because local homes need more than simply weatherproofing.
In addition, while median income in the county fell sharply from 1980 to 1990, median housing costs rose, so that in 1990 the Census found 53 percent of county renters and 13 percent of owners were paying more than 30 percent of their income for housing. Persons interviewed for this case study did not complain about the cost of housing, however. Their concerns were focussed on availability of units and on the physical condition of existing units.
Many county residents receive some type of housing assistance. HUD provides Section 8 rental assistance and some public housing units. The Farmers Home Administration has

## levels in the county,

## even the wealthy.

funded some home pur-
chases and some rehabilitation, in addition to the development of 26 units of farm labor housing in Crystal City. There is reportedly resistance to development of additional government-funded housing in the area, on the grounds that it would be exempt from taxes whereas private owners of rental housing must pay property taxes. In early 1994 the Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs initiated development of a subdivision in Crystal City, expected to be one of three demonstration projects statewide, to be developed for mixed-income residents using a combination of state and federal funds and the cooperative efforts of government and private organizations on all levels. The project has become "a political football," however, according to Aguillon, as the city and county jockey for control.

Two communities in the county, both adjacent to Crystal City, have been designated as colonias under the 1990 National Affordable Housing Act: Chula Vista and Loma Alta. ${ }^{10}$ The houses in these areas range from some that are well-kept and carefully landscaped, to others cobbled together by adding a room or a mobile home whenever the residents could afford it, and others seemingly built all at one time but seriously decrepit. City water lines have already been extended to these colonias, and soon federal funds will be used to extend city sewer lines. Other funds may be available for housing rehabilitation. The COG director notes an

## Crystal City has housing,

 curbs, parks, and otherinfrastructure attributable
to federal programs
at least as tar hack as ironic twist to these improvements: because most colonias residents purchased their lots under a contract for deed arrangement rather than a mortgage, the developer can and all too often does reclaim ownership of the property after a single missed payment, and when government-funded improvements are in place
these unscrupulous developers will be able to resell the property at much more profitable rates.

The federal and state assistance available in Zavala County over the years has certainly improved some aspects of life there. Crystal City has housing, curbs, parks, and other infrastructure attributable to federal programs at least as far back as "urban renewal" efforts in the 1960s. Many current residents rely on government assistance such as FmHA programs, HUD Section 8 rental assistance, Food Stamps, welfare, Medicaid, and the like. But local community leaders express concerns about the heavy reliance on outside assistance, and only some of them have hope for improvements in the region's economy in the future.
Crystal City's city planner, Miguel Delgado, is one who expresses optimism. On the job for only a month when interviewed for this case study, he has developed a "wish list" of economic development ideas ranging from expanding the women's detention center from 240 inmates to 1,000 , to raising emus. He is particularly enthusiastic about the city's applications to be designated an

## "urban renewal" efforts

 in the 1960s.
${ }^{10}$ For a definition of colonias and a discussion of conditions there generally, see the "U.S.-Mexico Border Region" section of the preceding part of this report.

Empowerment Zone eligible for $\$ 20$ million in federal assistance each year for two years, or an Enterprise Community receiving $\$ 3$ million. Other local housing activists point out, however, that there will be only three rural Empowerment Zones nationwide, and in Texas alone over 70 applications are expected to be filed.
A major question mark hanging over Zavala County's future is the North American Free Trade Agreement, known as NAFTA. By facilitating trade between the United States and Mexico, NAFTA had in early spring 1994 already created an economic boom in cities adjacent to both sides of the border. Zavala County observers disagree, however, about its potential effect on their economy given their distance from the border. Some point out that two-lane Highway 57, which passes through La Pryor and Batesville, is part of a road that extends from Chile at the southern tip of South America well into Canada. They hope for increased truck traffic along that road. In early 1994 a new gas station had already been opened in anticipation. Another mentions the need for additional warehouse space, reportedly already at a premium in border cities like Laredo, and speculates that Crystal City is close enough to the border for its available
space to be useful. Still another believes that any effect in the county will be slight, and that in fact growers will be likely to move their fields and processing facilities into Mexico, draining from the Zavala County area most of its remaining field work and processing jobs. One local observer concludes that it will be at least ten years before NAFTA's effects are clear. Meanwhile, county residents focus on the fact that they like their area and the quality of life there. Local and regional community development organizations and community action agencies are directed by individuals born and raised in the area, who attended college and sometimes graduate school elsewhere and have worked in cities as far away as Milwaukee, but who have chosen to return to their home towns. They seem to find that the benefits of living in an area where almost everyone is familiar and where doors are never locked outweigh the economic uncertainties facing many of their relatives and neighbors.

## One local observer

concludes that it will
he at least ten years
before NAFTA's effects
are clear!

## APPENDLES

# OFFINITIONS OF SUBJJECT CHARACTERISTICS AND AREA CLASSIFILCATIONS FROM THI 1990 CENSUS 

## AGE

The data on age were derived from answers to questionnaire item 5 , which was asked of all persons. The age classification is based on the age of the person in complete years as of April 1, 1990. The age response in question 5 a was used normally to represent a person's age. However, when the age response was unacceptable or unavailable, a person's age was derived from an acceptable year-of-birth response in question 5 b.
Data on age are used to determine the applicability of other questions for a person and to classify other characteristics in census tabulations. Age data are needed to interpret most social and economic characteristics used to plan and examine many programs and policies. Therefore, age is tabulated by single years of age and by many different groupings, such as 5 -year age groups.
Median Age-This measure divides the age distribution into two equal parts: one-half of the cases falling below the median value and one-half above the value. Generally,
median age is computed on the basis of more detailed age intervals than are shown in some census publications; thus, a median based on a less detailed distribution may differ slightly from a corresponding median for the same population based on a more detailed distribution.

Limitation of the DataCounts in 1970 and 1980 for persons 100 years old and over were substantially overstated. Improvements were made in the questionnaire design, in the allocation procedures, and to the respondent instruction guide to attempt to minimize this problem for the 1990 census.
Review of detailed 1990 census information indicated that respondents tended to provide their age as of the date of completion of the questionnaire, not their age as of April 1, 1990. In addition, there may have been a tendency for respondents to round their age up if they were close to having a birthday. It is likely that approximately 10 percent of persons in most age groups are actually 1 year younger. For most single years of age, the misstatements are largely offsetting. The problem is most
pronounced at age 0 because persons lost to age 1 may not have been fully offset by the inclusion of babies born after April 1, 1990, and because there may have been more rounding up to age 1 to avoid reporting age as 0 years. (Age in complete months was not collected for infants under age 1.)
The reporting of age 1 year older than age on April 1, 1990, is likely to have been greater in areas where the census data were collected later in 1990. The magnitude of this problem was much less in the three previous censuses where age was typically derived from respondent data on year of birth and quarter of birth.

## AMERICAN INDIAN AND ALASKA NATIVE AREA

Alaska Native Regional Corporation (ANRC)

flaska Native Regional ACorporations (ANRC's) are corporate entities established under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of

[^47]1972, Public Law 92-203, as amended by Public Law $94-$ 204, to conduct both business and nonprofit affairs of Alaska Natives. Alaska is divided into 12 ANRC's that cover the entire State, except for the Annette Islands Reserve. The boundaries of the 12 ANRC's were established by the Department of the Interior, in cooperation with Alaska Natives. Each ANRC was designed to include, as far as practicable, Alaska Natives with a common heritage and common interests. The ANRC boundaries for the 1990 census were identified by the Bureau of Land Management. A 13th region was established for Alaska Natives who are not permanent residents and who chose not to enroll in one of the 12 ANRC's; no census products are prepared for the 13th region. ANRC's were first identified for the 1980 census.

## Alaska Native Village (ANV) Statistical Area

Alaska Native villages (ANV's) constitute tribes, bands, clans, groups, villages, communities, or associations in Alaska that are recognized pursuant to the Alaska Native
Claims Settlement Act of 1972, Public Law 92-203. Because ANV's do not have legally designated boundaries, the Census Bureau has established Alaska Native village statistical areas (ANVSA's) for statistical purposes. For the 1990 census, the Census Bureau cooperated with officials of the nonprofit corporation within each participating Alaska Native Regional Corporation (ANRC), as well as other knowledgeable officials, to delineate boundaries that encompass the settled area associated with each

ANV. ANVSA's are located within ANRC's and do not cross ANRC boundaries. ANVSA's for the 1990 census replace the ANV's that the Census Bureau recognized for the 1980 census.

## American Indian Reservation and Trust Land

## merican Indian MReservation-Federal

 American Indian reservations are areas with boundaries established by treaty, statute, and/or executive or court order, and recognized by the Federal Government as territory in which American Indian tribes have jurisdiction. State reservations are lands held in trust by State governments for the use and benefit of a given tribe. The reservations and their boundaries were identified for the 1990 census by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), Department of Interior (for Federal reservations), and State governments (for State reservations). The names of American Indian reservations recognized by State governments, but not by the Federal Government, are followed by "(State)." Areas composed of reservation lands that are administered jointly and/or are claimed by two reservations, as identified by the BIA, are called "joint areas," and are treated as separate American Indian reservations for census purposes.Federal reservations may cross State boundaries, and Federal and State reservations may cross county, county subdivision, and place boundaries. For reservations that cross State boundaries, only the portion of the reservations in a given State are shown in the data products for that State; the entire reservations are
shown in data products for the United States.
Trust Land-Trust lands are property associated with a particular American Indian reservation or tribe, held in trust by the Federal Government. Trust lands may be held in trust either for a tribe (tribal trust land) or for an individual member of a tribe (individual trust land). Trust lands recognized for the 1990 census comprise all tribal trust lands and inhabited individual trust lands located outside of a reservation boundary. As with other American Indian areas, trust lands may be located in more than one State. Only the trust lands in a given State are shown in the data products for that State; all trust lands associated with a reservation or tribe are shown in data products for the United States. The Census Bureau first reported data for tribal trust lands for the 1980 census.

## Tribal Designated Statistical Area (TDSA)

Tribal designated statistical areas (TDSA's) are areas, delineated outside Oklahoma by federally- and State-recognized tribes without a land base or associated trust lands, to provide statistical areas for which the Census Bureau tabulates data. TDSA's represent areas generally containing the American Indian population over which federally-recognized tribes have jurisdiction and areas in which State tribes provide benefits and services to their members. The names of TDSA's delineated by Staterecognized tribes are followed by "(State)." The Census Bureau did not recognize TDSA's before the 1990 census.

# Tribal Jurisdiction Statistical Area (TJSA) 

Tribal jurisdiction statistical areas (TJSA's) are areas, delineated by federally-recognized tribes in Oklahoma without a reservation, for which the Census Bureau tabulates data. TJSA's represent areas generally containing the American Indian population over which one or more tribal governments have jurisdiction; if tribal officials delineated adjacent TJSA's so that they include some duplicate territory, the overlap area is called a "joint use area," which is treated as a separate TJSA for census purposes.
TJSA's replace the "Historic Areas of Oklahoma (excluding urbanized areas)" shown in 1980 census data products. The Historic Areas of Oklahoma comprised the territory located within reservations that had legally established boundaries from 1900 to 1907 ; these reservations were dissolved during the 2 to 3 -year period preceding the statehood of Oklahoma in 1907. The Historic Areas of Oklahoma (excluding urbanized areas) were identified only for the 1980 census.

## HISPANIC ORIGIN

The data on Spanish/Hispanic origin were derived from answers to questionnaire item 7 , which was asked of all persons. Persons of Hispanic origin are those who classified themselves in one of the specific Hispanic origin categories listed on the questionnaire "Mexican," "Puerto Rican," or "Cuban"-as well as those who indicated that they were
of "other Spanish/Hispanic" origin. Persons of "Other Spanish/Hispanic" origin are those whose origins are from Spain, the Spanish-speaking countries of Central or South America, or the Dominican Republic, or they are persons of Hispanic origin identifying themselves generally as Spanish, Spanish-American, Hispanic, Hispano, Latino, and so on. Write-in responses to the "other
Spanish/Hispanic" category were coded only for sample data.

Origin can be viewed as the ancestry, nationality group, lineage, or country of birth of the person or the person's parents or ancestors before their arrival in the United States. Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race.
Some tabulations are shown by the Hispanic origin of the householder. In all cases where households, families, or occupied housing units are classified by Hispanic origin, the Hispanic origin of the householder is used. (See the discussion of householder under "Household Type and Relationship.")
During direct interviews conducted by enumerators, if a person could not provide a single origin response, he or she was asked to select, based on self-identification, the group which best described his or her origin or descent. If a person could not provide a single group, the origin of the person's mother was used. If a single group could not be provided for the person's mother, the first origin reported by the person was used.
If any household member failed to respond to the Spanish/Hispanic origin ques-
tion, a response was assigned by the computer according to the reported entries of other household members by using specific rules of precedence of household relationship. In the processing of sample questionnaires, responses to other questions on the questionnaire, such as ancestry and place of birth, were used to assign an origin before any reference was made to the origin reported by other household members. If an origin was not entered for any household member, an origin was assigned from another household according to the race of the householder.

HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND RELATIONSHIP

## Household

Ahousehold includes all the persons who occupy a housing unit. A housing unit is a house, an apartment, a mobile home, a group of rooms, or a single room that is occupied (or if vacant, is intended for occupancy) as separate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants live and eat separately from any other persons in the building and which have direct access from the outside of the building or through a common hall. The occupants may be a single family, one person living alone, two or more families living together, or any other group of related or unrelated persons who share living arrangements.
In 100-percent tabulations, the count of households or householders always equals the count of occupied housing units. In sample tabulations,
the numbers may differ as a result of the weighting process.
Persons Per Household-A measure obtained by dividing the number of persons in households by the number of households (or householders). In cases where persons in households are cross-classified by race or Hispanic origin, persons in the household are classified by the race or Hispanic origin of the householder rather than the race or Hispanic origin of each individual.

## Relationship to Householder

Householder-The data on IIrelationship to householder were derived from answers to questionnaire item 2 , which was asked of all persons in housing units. One person in each household is designated as the householder. In most cases, this is the person, or one of the persons, in whose name the home is owned, being bought, or rented and who is listed in column 1 of the census questionnaire. If there is no such person in the household, any adult household member 15 years old and over could be designated as the householder.
Households are classified by type according to the sex of the householder and the presence of relatives. Two types of householders are distinguished: a family householder and a nonfamily householder. A family householder is a householder living with one or more persons related to him or her by birth, marriage, or adoption. The householder and all persons in the household related to him or her are family members. A nonfamily householder is a householder
living alone or with nonrelatives only.
Spouse-Includes a person married to and living with a householder. This category includes persons in formal marriages, as well as persons in common-law marriages.
The number of spouses is equal to the number of "mar-ried-couple families" or "mar-ried-couple households" in 100 -percent tabulations. The number of spouses, however, is generally less than half of the number of "married persons with spouse present" in sample tabulations, since more than one married couple can live in a household, but only spouses of householders are specifically identified as "spouse." For sample tabulations, the number of "married persons with spouse present" includes mar-ried-couple subfamilies and married-couple families.
Child-Includes a son or daughter by birth, a stepchild, or adopted child of the householder, regardless of the child's age or marital status. The category excludes sons-in-law, daughters-in-law, and foster children.

## Natural-Born or Adopted

 Son/Daughter-A son or daughter of the householder by birth, regardless of the age of the child. Also, this category includes sons or daughters of the householder by legal adoption, regardless of the age of the child. If the stepson/ stepdaughter of the householder has been legally adopted by the householder, the child is still classified as a stepchild.Stepson/Stepdaughter-A son or daughter of the householder through marriage but not by birth, regardless of the age of
the child. If the stepson/stepdaughter of the householder has been legally adopted by the householder, the child is still classified as a stepchild.
Own Child-A never-married child under 18 years who is a son or daughter by birth, a stepchild, or an adopted child of the householder. In certain tabulations, own children are further classified as living with two parents or with one parent only. Own children of the householder living with two parents are by definition found only in married-couple families.
In a subfamily, an "own child" is a never-married child under 18 years of age who is a son, daughter, stepchild, or an adopted child of a mother in a mother-child subfamily, a father in a father-child subfamily, or either spouse in a married-couple sub-family.
"Related children" in a family include own children and all other persons under 18 years of age in the household, regardless of marital status, who are related to the householder, except the spouse of the householder. Foster children are not included since they are not related to the householder.
Other Relatives-In tabulations, includes any household member related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption, but not included specifically in another relationship category. In certain detailed tabulations, the following categories may be shown:
Grandchild-The grandson or granddaughter of the householder.
Brother/Sister-The brother or sister of the householder,
including stepbrothers, stepsisters, and brothers and sisters by adoption. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are included in the "Other relative" category on the questionnaire.
Parent-The father or mother of the householder, including a stepparent or adoptive parent. Fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law are included in the "Other relative" category on the questionnaire.
Other Relatives-Anyone not listed in a reported category above who is related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption (brother-inlaw, grandparent, nephew, aunt, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law, cousin, and so forth).
Nonrelatives-Includes any household member, including foster children not related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. The following categories may be presented in more detailed tabulations:
Roomer, Boarder, or Foster Child-Roomer, boarder, lodger, and foster children or foster adults of the householder.

## Housemate or Roommate-A

 person who is not related to the householder and who shares living quarters primarily in order to share expenses.Unmarried Partner-A person who is not related to the householder, who shares living quarters, and who has a close personal relationship with the householder.
Other Nonrelatives-A person who is not related by birth, marriage, or adoption to the householder and who is not described by the categories given above.

When relationship is not reported for an individual, it is imputed according to the responses for age, sex, and marital status for that person while maintaining consistency with responses for other individuals in the household.

## Unrelated Individual

Aunrelated individual is: (1) householder living alone or with nonrelatives only, (2) a household member who is not related to the householder, or (3) a person living in group quarters who is not an inmate of an institution.

## Family Type

Afamily consists of a houseAholder and one or more other persons living in the same household who are related to the householder by birth, marriage, or adoption. All persons in a household who are related to the householder are regarded as members of his or her family. A household can contain only one family for purposes of census tabulations. Not all households contain families since a household may comprise a group of unrelated persons or one person living alone.
Families are classified by type as either a "married-couple family" or "other family" according to the sex of the householder and the presence of relatives. The data on family type are based on answers to questions on sex and relationship which were asked on a 100 -percent basis.
Married-Couple Family-A family in which the householder and his or her spouse are enumerated as members of the same household.

## Other Family:

Male Householder, No Wife Present-A family with a male householder and no spouse of householder present.
Female Housebolder, No Husband Present-A family with a female householder and no spouse of householder present.
Persons Per Family-A measure obtained by dividing the number of persons in families by the total number of families (or family householders). In cases where the measure, "persons in family" or "persons per family" are cross-tabulated by race or Hispanic origin, the race or Hispanic origin refers to the householder rather than the race or Hispanic origin of each individual.

## Subfamily

Asubfamily is a married couAple (husband and wife enumerated as members of the same household) with or without never-married children under 18 years old, or one parent with one or more never-married children under 18 years old, living in a household and related to, but not including, either the householder or the householder's spouse. The number of subfamilies is not included in the count of families, since subfamily members are counted as part of the householder's family.
Subfamilies are defined during processing of sample data. In selected tabulations, subfamilies are further classified by type: married-couple subfamilies, with or without own children; mother-child subfamilies; and father-child subfamilies.

Lone parents include people maintaining either one-parent families or one-parent subfamilies. Married couples include husbands and wives in both married-couple families and married-couple subfamilies.

## Unmarried-Partner Household

An unmarried-partner houseAhold is a household other than a "married-couple household" that includes a householder and an "unmarried partner." An "unmarried partner" can be of the same sex or of the opposite sex of the householder. An "unmarried partner" in an "unmarriedpartner household" is an adult who is unrelated to the householder, but shares living quarters and has a close personal relationship with the householder.

## Unmarried-Couple Household

An unmarried-couple household is composed of two unrelated adults of the opposite sex (one of whom is the householder) who share a housing unit with or without the presence of children under 15 years old.

## Foster Children

Foster children are nonrelatives of the householder and are included in the category, "Roomer, boarder, or foster child" on the questionnaire. Foster children are identified as persons under 18 years old and living in households that have no nonrelatives 18 years old and over (who might be parents of the nonrelatives under 18 years old).

## Stepfamily

Astepfamily is a "marriedcouple family" with at least one stepchild of the householder present, where the householder is the husband.

## INCOME IN 1989

The data on income in 1989 were derived from answers to questionnaire items 32 and 33. Information on money income received in the calendar year 1989 was requested from persons 15 years old and over. "Total income" is the algebraic sum of the amounts reported separately for wage or salary income; net nonfarm self-employment income; net farm self-employment income; interest, dividend, or net rental or royalty income; Social Security or railroad retirement income; public assistance or welfare income; retirement or disability income; and all other income. "Earnings" is defined as the algebraic sum of wage or salary income and net income from farm and nonfarm self-employment. "Earnings" represent the amount of income received regularly before deductions for personal income taxes, Social Security, bond purchases, union dues, medicare deductions, etc.
Receipts from the following sources are not included as income money received from the sale of property (unless the recipient was engaged in the business of selling such property); the value of income "in kind" from food stamps, public housing subsidies, medical care, employer contributions for persons, etc.; withdrawal of bank deposits; money borrowed; tax refunds; exchange of money between relatives living in the same household;
gifts and lump-sum inheritances, insurance payments, and other types of lump-sum receipts.

## Income Type in 1989

The eight types of income reported in the census are defined as follows:

## 1. Wage or Salary Income-

 Includes total money earnings received for work performed as an employee during the calendar year 1989. It includes wages, salary, Armed Forces pay, commissions, tips, piece-rate payments, and cash bonuses earned before deductions were made for taxes, bonds, pensions, union dues, etc.2. Nonfarm Self-Employment Income-Includes net money income (gross receipts minus expenses) from one's own business, professional enterprise, or partnership. Gross receipts include the value of all goods sold and services rendered. Expenses includes costs of goods purchased, rent, heat, light, power, depreciation charges, wages and salaries paid, business taxes (not personal income taxes), etc.

## 3. Farm Self-Employment

 Income-Includes net money income (gross receipts minus operating expenses) from the operation of a farm by a person on his or her own account, as an owner, renter, or sharecropper. Gross receipts include the value of all products sold, government farm programs, money received from the rental of farm equipment to others, and incidental receipts from the sale of wood, sand, gravel, etc. Operating expenses include cost of feed, fertilizer, seed,and other farming supplies, cash wages paid to farmhands, depreciation charges, cash rent, interest on farm mortgages, farm building repairs, farm taxes (not State and Federal personal income taxes), etc. The value of fuel, food, or other farm products used for family living is not included as part of net income.
4. Interest, Dividend, or Net Rental Income- Includes interest on savings or bonds, dividends from stockholdings or membership in associations, net income from rental of property to others and receipts from boarders or lodgers, net royalties, and periodic payments from an estate or trust fund.
5. Social Security IncomeIncludes Social Security pensions and survivors benefits and permanent disability insurance payments made by the Social Security Administration prior to deductions for medical insurance, and railroad retirement insurance checks from the U.S. Government. Medicare reimbursements are not included.
6. Public Assistance IncomeIncludes: (1) supplementary security income payments made by Federal or State welfare agencies to low income persons who are aged ( 65 years old or over), blind, or disabled; (2) aid to families with dependent children, and (3) general assistance. Separate payments received for hospital or other medical care (vendor payments) are excluded from this item.

## 7. Retirement or Disability

 Income-Includes: (1) retirement pensions and survivor benefits from a formeremployer, labor union, or Federal, State, county, or other governmental agency; (2) disability income from sources such as worker's compensation; companies or unions; Federal, State, or local government; and the U.S. military; (3) periodic receipts from annuities and insurance; and (4) regular income from IRA and KEOGH plans.
8. All Other Income--Includes unemployment compensation, Veterans Administration (VA) payments, alimony and child support, contributions received periodically from persons not living in the household, military family allotments, net gambling winnings, and other kinds of periodic income other than earnings.

## Income of Households-

Includes the income of the householder and all other persons 15 years old and over in the household, whether related to the householder or not. Because many households consist of only one person, average household income is usually less than average family income.

## Income of Families and

 Persons-In compiling statistics on family income, the incomes of all members 15 years old and over in each family are summed and treated as a single amount. However, for persons 15 years old and over, the total amounts of their own incomes are used. Although the income statistics covered the calendar year 1989, the characteristics of persons and the composition of families refer to the time of enumeration (April 1990). Thus, the income of the family does not include amountsreceived by persons who were members of the family during all or part of the calendar year 1989 if these persons no longer resided with the family at the time of enumeration. Yet, family income amounts reported by related persons who did not reside with the family during 1989 but who were members of the family at the time of enumeration are included. However, the composition of most families was the same during 1989 as in April 1990.
Median Income-The median divides the income distribution into two equal parts, one having incomes above the median and the other having incomes below the median. For households and families, the median income is based on the distribution of the total number of units including those with no income. The median for persons is based on persons with income. The median income values for all households, families, and persons are computed on the basis of more detailed income intervals than shown in most tabulations. Median household or family income figures of $\$ 50,000$ or less are calculated using linear interpolation. For persons, corresponding median values of $\$ 40,000$ or less are also computed using linear interpolation. All other median income amounts are derived through Pareto interpolation.
Mean Income-This is the amount obtained by dividing the total income of a particular statistical universe by the number of units in that universe. Thus, mean household income is obtained by dividing total household income by the total number of households. For the various types of
income the means are based on households having those types of income. "Per capita income" is the mean income computed for every man, woman, and child in a particular group. It is derived by dividing the total income of a particular group by the total population in that group.
Care should be exercised in using and interpreting mean income values for small subgroups of the population. Because the mean is influenced strongly by extreme values in the distribution, it is especially susceptible to the effects of sampling variability, misreporting, and processing errors. The median, which is not affected by extreme values, is, therefore, a better measure than the mean when the population base is small. The mean, nevertheless, is shown in some data products for most small subgroups because, when weighted according to the number of cases, the means can be added to obtained summary measures for areas and groups other than those shown in census tabulations.

## Limitation of the Data-

Since questionnaire entries for income frequently are based on memory and not on records, many persons tended to forget minor or irregular sources of income and, therefore, underreport their income. Underreporting tends to be more pronounced for income sources that are not derived from earnings, such as Social Security, public assistance, or from interest, dividends, and net rental income. There are errors of reporting due to the misunderstanding of the income questions such as reporting gross rather than
net dollar amounts for the two questions on net self-employment income, which resulted in an overstatement of these items. Another common error is the reporting of identical dollar amounts in two of the eight type of income items where a respondent with only one source of income assumed that the second amount should be entered to represent total income. Such instances of overreporting had an impact on the level of mean nonfarm or farm self-employment income and mean total income published for the various geographical subdivisions of the State.
Extensive computer editing procedures were instituted in the data processing operation to reduce some of these reporting errors and to improve the accuracy of the income data. These procedures corrected various reporting deficiencies and improved the consistency of reported income items associated with work experience and information on occupation and class of worker. For example, if persons reported they were self-employed on their own farm, not incorporated, but had reported wage and salary earnings only, the latter amount was shifted to net farm self-employment income. Also, if any respondent reported total income only, the amount was generally assigned to one of the type of income items according to responses to the work experience and class-of-worker questions. Another type of problem involved nonreporting of income data. Where income information was not reported, procedures were devised to impute appropriate values with
either no income or positive or negative dollar amounts for the missing entries.
In income tabulations for households and families, the lowest income group (e.g., less than $\$ 5,000$ ) includes units that were classified as having no 1989 income. Many of these were living on income "in kind," savings, or gifts, were newly created families, or families in which the sole breadwinner had recently died or left the household. However, many of the households and families who reported no income probably had some money income which was not recorded in the census.

The income data presented in the tabulations covers money income only. The fact that many farm families receive an important part of their income in the form of "free" housing and goods produced and consumed on the farm rather than in money should be taken into consideration in comparing the income of farm and nonfarm residents. Nonmoney income such as business expense accounts, use of business transportation and facilities, or partial compensation by business for medical and educational expenses was also received by some nonfarm residents. Many low income families also receive income "in kind" from public welfare programs. In comparing income data for 1989 with earlier years, it should be noted that an increase or decrease in money income does not necessarily represent a comparable change in real income, unless adjustments for changes in prices are made.

Ihe data on industry, occupation, and class of worker were derived from answers to questionnaire items 28,29 , and 30 respectively. These questions were asked of a sample of persons. Information on industry relates to the kind of business conducted by a person's employing organization; occupation describes the kind of work the person does on the job.

For employed persons, the data refer to the person's job during the reference week. For those who worked at two or more jobs, the data refer to the job at which the person worked the greatest number of hours. For unemployed persons, the data refer to their last job. The industry and occupation statistics are derived from the detailed classification systems developed for the 1990 census as described below. The Classified Index of Industries and Occupations provided additional information on the industry and occupation classification systems.
Respondents provided the data for the tabulations by writing on the questionnaires descriptions of their industry and occupation. These descriptions were keyed and passed through automated coding software which assigned a portion of the written entries to categories in the classification system. The automated system assigned codes to 59 percent of the industry entries and 38 percent of the occupation entries.

## Industry

The industry classification system developed for the 1990 census consists of 235 categories for employed persons, classified into 13 major industry groups. Since 1940, the industrial classification has been based on the Standard Industrial Classification Manual (SIC). The 1990 census classification was developed from the 1987 SIC published by the Office of Management and Budget Executive Office of the President.

The SIC was designed primarily to classify establishments by the type of industrial activity in which they were engaged. However, census data, which were collected from households, differ in detail and nature from those obtained from establishment surveys. Therefore, the census classification systems, while defined in SIC terms, cannot reflect the full detail in all categories. There are several levels of industrial classification found in census products. For example, the 1990 CP-2, Social and Economic Characteristics report includes 41 unique industrial categories, while the 1990
Summary Tape File 4 (STF 4) presents 72 categories.

## Occupation

The occupational classification system developed for the 1990 census consists of 500 specific occupational categories for employed persons arranged into 6 summary and 13 major occupational groups. This classification was developed to be consistent with the Standard Occupational Classification (SOC) Manual:

1980, published by the Office of Federal Statistical Policy and Standards, U.S. Department of Commerce. Tabulations with occupation as the primary characteristic present several levels of occupational detail. The most detailed tabulations are shown in a special 1990 subject report and tape files on occupation. These products contain all 500 occupational categories plus industry or class of worker subgroupings of occupational categories.

Some occupation groups are related closely to certain industries. Operators of transportation equipment, farm operators and workers, and private household workers account for major portions of their respective industries of transportation, agriculture, and private households. However, the industry categories include persons in other occupations. For example, persons employed in agriculture include truck drivers and bookkeepers; persons employed in the transportation industry include mechanics, freight handlers, and payroll clerks; and persons employed in the private household industry include occupations such as chauffeur, gardener, and secretary.

## Class of Worker

The data on class of worker were derived from answers to questionnaire item 30. The information on class of worker refers to the same job as a respondent's industry and occupation and categorizes persons according to the type of ownership of the employing organization. The class of
worker categories are defined as follows:

Private Wage and Salary Workers-Includes persons who worked for wages, salary, commission, tips, pay-in-kind, or piece rates for a private for profit employer or a private not-for-profit, tax-exempt or charitable organization. Selfemployed persons whose business was incorporated are included with private wage and salary workers because they are paid employees of their own companies. Some tabulations present data separately for these subcategories: "For profit," "Not for profit," and "Own business incorporated."

Employees of foreign governments, the United Nations, or other formal international organizations were classified as "Private-not-for-profit."

## Government Workers-

 Includes persons who were employees of any local, State, or Federal governmental unit, regardless of the activity of the particular agency. For some tabulations, the data were presented separately for the three levels of government.
## Self-Employed Workers-

Includes persons who worked for profit or fees in their own unincorporated business, profession, or trade, or who operated a farm.

## Unpaid Family Workers-

 Includes persons who worked 15 hours or more without pay in a business or on a farm operated by a relative.
## Salaried/Self-Employed-In

 tabulations that categorize persons as either salaried or self-employed, the salaried category includes private and government wage and salary workers; self-employedincludes self employed persons and unpaid family workers.
The industry category, "Public administration," is limited to regular government functions such as legislative, judicial, administrative, and regulatory activities of governments. Other government organizations such as schools, hospitals, liquor stores, and bus lines are classified by industry according to the activity in which they are engaged. On the other hand, the class of worker government categories include all government workers.
Occasionally respondents supplied industry, occupation, or class of worker descriptions which were not sufficiently specific for precise classification or did not report on these items at all. Some of these cases were corrected through the field editing process and during the coding and tabulation operations. In the coding operation, certain types of incomplete entries were corrected using the Alphabetical Index of Industries and Occupations. For example, it was possible in certain situations to assign an industry code based on the occupation reported.
Following the coding operations, there was a computer edit and an allocation process. The edit first determined whether a respondent was in the universe which required an industry and occupation code. The codes for the three items (industry, occupation, and class of worker) were checked to ensure they were valid and were edited for their relation to each other. Invalid and inconsistent codes were either blanked or changed to a consistent code.

If one or more of the three codes were blank after the edit, a code was assigned from a "similar" person based on other items such as age, sex, education, farm or nonfarm residence, and weeks worked. If all the labor force and income data also were blank, all these economic items were assigned from one other person who provided all the necessary data.

## MEIROPOLITAN AREA

The general concept of a metropolitan area (MA) is one of a large population nucleus, together with adjacent communities that have a high degree of economic and social integration with that nucleus. Some MAs are defined around two or more nuclei.
The MA classification is a statistical standard developed for use by Federal agencies in the production, analysis, and publication of data on MAs. The MAs are designated and defined by the Federal Office of Management and Budget, following a set of official published standards. These standards were developed by the interagency Federal Executive Committee on Metropolitan Areas, with the aim of producing definitions that are as consistent as possible for all MAs nationwide.
Each MA must contain either a place with a minimum population of 50,000 or a Census Bureau-defined urbanized area and a total MA population of at least 100,000 ( 75,000 in New England). An MA comprises one or more central counties. An MA also may include one or more outlying counties that have close eco-
nomic and social relationships with the central county. An outlying county must have a specified level of commuting to the central counties and also must meet certain standards regarding metropolitan character, such as population density, urban population, and population growth. In New England, MAs are composed of cities and towns rather than whole counties.
The territory, population, and housing units in MAs are referred to as "metropolitan." The metropolitan category is subdivided into "inside central city" and "outside central city." The territory, population, and housing units located outside MAs are referred to as "nonmetropolitan." The metropolitan and nonmetropolitan classification cuts across the other hierarchies; for example, there is generally both urban and rural territory within both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas.
To meet the needs of various users, the standards provide for a flexible structure of metropolitan definitions that classify an MA either as a metropolitan statistical area (MSA) or as a consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA) that is divided into primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs). Documentation of the MA standards and how they are applied is available from the Secretary, Federal Executive Committee on Metropolitan Areas, Population Division, U.S.
Bureau of the Census, Washington, DC 20233.

## Central City

In each MSA and CMSA, the largest place and, in some cases, additional places are designated as "central cities" under the official standards. A few PMSAs do not have central cities. The largest central city and, in some cases, up to two additional central cities are included in the title of the MA; there are also central cities that are not included in an MA title. An MA central city does not include any part of that city that extends outside the MA boundary.

## Consolidated and

 Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA and PMSA)If an area that qualifies as an MA has more than one million persons, primary metropolitan statistical areas (PMSAs) may be defined within it. PMSAs consist of a large urbanized county or cluster of counties that demonstrates very strong internal economic and social links, in addition to close ties to other portions of the larger area. When PMSAs are established, the larger area of which they are component parts is designated a consolidated metropolitan statistical area (CMSA).

## Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA)

Metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) are relatively free standing MAs and are not closely associated with other MAs. These are typically surrounded by nonmetropolitan counties.

## MINOR CIIII

DIIIIION

Minor Civil Divisions (MCDs) are the primary political or administrative divisions of a county. MCDs represent many different kinds of legal entities with a wide variety of governmental and/or administrative functions. MCDs are variously designated as American Indian reservations, assessment districts, boroughs, election districts, gores, grants, magisterial districts, parish governing authority districts, plantations, precincts, purchases, supervisors' districts, towns, and townships. In some States, all or some incorporated places are not located in any MCD and thus serve as MCDs in their own right. In other States, incorporated places are subordinate to (part of) the MCDs in which they are located, or the pattern is mixed-some incorporated places are independent of MCDs and others are subordinate to one or more MCDs.
The Census Bureau recognizes MCDs in the following 28 States: Arkansas, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. The District of Columbia has no primary divisions, and the entire area is considered equivalent to an MCD for statistical purposes.

The MCDs in 12 selected States (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin) also serve as general-purpose local governments. The Census Bureau presents data for these MCDs in all data products in which it provides data for places.

## POVERTY STATUS

## |N 1989

The data on poverty status were derived from answers to the same questions as the income data, questionnaire items 32 and 33. (For more information, see the discussion under "Income in 1989.") Poverty statistics presented in census publications were based on a definition originated by the Social Security
Administration in 1964 and subsequently modified by Federal interagency committees in 1969 and 1980 and prescribed by the Office of Management and Budget in Directive 14 as the standard to be used by Federal agencies for statistical purposes.
At the core of this definition was the 1961 economy food plan, the least costly of four nutritionally adequate food plans designed by the Department of Agriculture. It was determined from the Agriculture Department's 1955 survey of food consumption that families of three or more persons spend approximately one-third of their income on food; hence, the poverty level for these families was set at three times the cost of the economy food plan. For small-
er families and persons living alone, the cost of the economy food plan was multiplied by factors that were slightly higher to compensate for the relatively larger fixed expenses for these smaller households.
The income cutoffs used by the Census Bureau to determine the poverty status of families and unrelated individuals included a set of 48 thresholds arranged in a twodimensional matrix consisting of family size (from one person to nine or more persons) cross-classified by presence and number of family members under 18 years old (from no children present to eight or more children present). Unrelated individuals and two-person families were further differentiated by age of the householder (under 65 years old and 65 years old and over).
The total income of each family or unrelated individual in the sample was tested against the appropriate poverty threshold to determine the poverty status of that family or unrelated individual. If the total income was less than the corresponding cutoff, the family or unrelated individual was classified as "below the poverty level." The number of persons below the poverty level was the sum of the number of persons in families with incomes below the poverty level and the number of unrelated individuals with incomes below the poverty level.
The poverty thresholds are revised annually to allow for changes in the cost of living as reflected in the Consumer Price Index. The average poverty threshold for a family of four persons was $\$ 12,674$ in 1989. Poverty thresholds were
applied on a national basis and were not adjusted for regional, State or local variations in the cost of living. For a detailed discussion of the poverty definition, see U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 171, Poverty in the United States: 1988 and 1989.

## Persons for Whom Poverty

 Status is DeterminedPoverty status was determined for all persons except institutionalized persons, persons in military group quarters and in college dormitories, and unrelated individuals under 15 years old. These groups also were excluded from the denominator when calculating poverty rates.
## Specified Poverty Levels-

Since the poverty levels currently in use by the Federal Government do not meet all the needs of data users, some of the data are presented for alternate levels. These specified poverty levels are obtained by multiplying the income cutoffs at the poverty level by the appropriate factor. For example, the average income cutoff at 125 percent of poverty level was $\$ 15,843$ ( $\$ 12,674 \times 1.25$ ) in 1989 for a family of four persons.

## Weighted Average

 Thresholds at the Poverty Level-The average thresholds shown in the first column of the table on the following page are weighted by the presence and number of children. For example, the weighted average threshold for a given family size is obtained by multiplying the threshold for each presence and number of children category within the given family size by the number of families in that category. These products are thenaggregated across the entire range of presence and number of children categories, and the aggregate is divided by the total number of families in the group to yield the weighted average threshold at the poverty level for that family size.
Since the basic thresholds used to determine the poverty status of families and unrelated individuals are applied to all families and unrelated individuals, the weighted average poverty thresholds are derived using all families and unrelated individuals rather than just those classified as being below the poverty level. To obtain the weighted poverty thresholds for families and unrelated individuals below alternate poverty levels, the weighted thresholds shown in the table below may be multiplied directly by the appropriate factor. The weighted average thresholds presented in the
table are based on the March 1990 Current Population Survey. However, these thresholds would not differ significantly from those based on the 1990 census.
Income Deficit-Represents the difference between the total income of families and unrelated individuals below the poverty level and their respective poverty thresholds. In computing the income deficit, families reporting a net income loss are assigned zero dollars and for such cases the deficit is equal to the poverty threshold.
This measure provided an estimate of the amount which would be required to raise the incomes of all poor families and unrelated individuals to their respective poverty thresholds. The income deficit is thus a measure of the degree of impoverishment of a family or unrelated individual.
However, caution must be
used in comparing the average deficits of families with different characteristics. Apparent differences in average income deficits may, to some extent, be a function of differences in family size.

## Mean Income Deficit-

Represents the amount obtained by dividing the total income deficit of a group below the poverty level by the number of families (or unrelated individuals) in that group.

## RACE

The data on race were derived from answers to questionnaire item 4, which was asked of all persons. The concept of race as used by the Census Bureau reflects self-identification; it does not denote any clear-cut scientific definition of biological stock. The data for race represent self-classification by people

# Poverty Thresholds in 1989 by Size of Family and Numher of Related Children Under 18 Years 

SIZE OF
EAMILY UNITS
One person
Under 65
65 or over
Two Persons
Hshlder Under 65
Hshidr 65 or over

## Three Persons

Four Persons
Five Persons
Six Persons
Seven Persons
Eight Persons
Nine or more persons
weighted av THRESHOLD 0 1 \$6,310

$$
6,451 \quad \$ 6,451
$$

5,947 5,947
8,076
$8,343 \quad 8,303 \quad \$ 8,547$
$\begin{array}{lll}7,501 & 7,495 & 8,515\end{array}$
9,885
12,674
12,790
12
14,990
$\begin{array}{ll}15,424 & 15,648\end{array}$
16,921
19,162
$\begin{array}{lll}21,328 & 22,830 & 23,031 \\ 25,480 & 27,463 & 27,596\end{array}$

RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS
2
时

6
6
2
8OR MORE
\$9,990
$12,575 \quad \$ 12,619$
15,169
14,798
\$14,572
17,444
17,092
16,569
$\$ 16,259$
20,101
19,794
19,224
18,558
21,738
26,415
21,084
25,719
25,719
\$17,828
$20,403 \quad \$ 20,230$
$25,089 \quad 24,933$
\$23,973
according to the race with which they most closely identify. Furthermore, it is recognized that the categories of the race item include both racial and national origin or sociocultural groups.
During direct interviews conducted by enumerators, if a person could not provide a single response to the race question, he or she was asked to select, based on self-identification, the group which best described his or her racial identity. If a person could not provide a single race response, the race of the mother was used. If a single race response could not be provided for the person's mother, the first race reported by the person was used. In all cases where occupied housing units, households, or families are classified by race, the race of the householder was used.

The racial classification used by the Census Bureau generally adheres to the guidelines in Federal Statistical Directive No. 15 , issued by the Office of Management and Budget, which provides standards on ethnic and racial categories for statistical reporting to be used by all Federal agencies. The racial categories used in the 1990 census data products are provided below.
White-includes persons who indicated their race as "White" or reported entries such as Canadian, German, Italian, Lebanese, Near Easterner, Arab, or Polish.

Black-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Black or Negro" or reported entries such as African American, Afro-American, Black Puerto Rican, Jamaican, Nigerian, West Indian, or Haitian.

American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut-Includes persons who classified themselves as such in one of the specific race categories identified below.
Indian-Includes persons who indicated their race as
"American Indian," entered the name of an Indian tribe, or reported such entries as Canadian Indian, FrenchAmerican Indian, or SpanishAmerican Indian.
American Indian TribePersons who identified themselves as American Indian were asked to report their enrolled or principal tribe. Therefore, data in tabulations reflect the written tribal entries reported on the questionnaires. Some of the entries (for example, Iroquois, Sioux, Colorado River, and Flathead) represent nations or reservations.
The information on tribe is based on self-identification and therefore does not reflect any designation of Federallyor State-recognized tribe. Information on American Indian tribes is presented in summary tape files and special data products. The information is derived from the American Indian Detailed Tribal Classification List for the 1990 census. The list represents all tribes, bands, and clans that had a specified number of American Indians reported on the census questionnaire.
Eskimo-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Eskimo" or reported entries such as Arctic Slope, Inupiat, and Yupik.
Aleut-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Aleut" or reported entries such as Alutiiq, Egegik, and Pribilovian.

## Asian or Pacific Islander-

 Includes persons who reported in one of the Asian or Pacific Islander groups listed on the questionnaire or who provided write-in responses such as Thai, Nepali, or Tongan. In some data products, information is presented separately for the Asian population and the Pacific Islander population.Asian-Includes "Chinese," "Filipino," "Japanese," "Asian Indian," "Korean," "Vietnamese," and "Other Asian." In some tables, "Other Asian" may not be shown separately, but is included in the total Asian population.
Cbinese-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Chinese" or who identified themselves as Cantonese, Tibetan, or Chinese American. In standard census reports, persons who reported as "Taiwanese" or "Formosan" are included here with Chinese. In special reports on the Asian or Pacific Islander population, information on persons who identified themselves as Taiwanese are shown separately.
Filipino-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Filipino" or reported entries such as Philipino, Philipine, or Filipino American.

> Japanese-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Japanese" and persons who identified themselves as Nipponese or Japanese American.
> Asian Indian-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Asian Indian" and persons who identified themselves as Bengalese, Bharat, Dravidian, East Indian, or Goanese.

> Korean-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Korean" and persons who
identified themselves as Korean American.
Vietnamese-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Vietnamese" and persons who identified themselves as Vietnamese American.
Cambodian-Includes persons who provided a write-in response such as Cambodian or Cambodia.
Hmong-Includes persons who provided a write-in response such as Hmong, Laohmong, or Mong.
Laotian-Includes persons who provided a write-in response such as Laotian, Laos, or Lao.
Thai-Includes persons who provided a write-in response such as Thai, Thailand, or Siamese.

Other Asian-Includes persons who provided a write-in response of Bangladeshi, Burmese, Indonesian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Amerasian, or Eurasian.
Pacific Islander-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Pacific Islander" by classifying themselves into one of the following groups or identifying themselves as one of the Pacific Islander cultural groups of Polynesian, Micronesian, or Melanesian.
Hawaiian-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Hawaiian" as well as persons who identified themselves as
Part Hawaiian or Native Hawaiian.

Samoan-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Samoan" or persons who identified themselves as American Samoan or Western Samoan.
Guamanian-Includes persons who indicated their race as "Guamanian" or persons who
identified themselves as Chamorro or Guam.
Other Pacific Islander-Includes persons who provided a writein response of a Pacific Islander group such as Tahitian, Northern Mariana Islander, Palauan, Fijian, or a cultural group such as Polynesian, Micronesian, or Melanesian.
Other Race-Includes all other persons not included in the "White," "Black," "American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut," and the "Asian or Pacific Islander" race categories described above. Persons reporting in the "Other race" category and providing write-in entries such as multiracial, multiethnic, mixed, interracial, Wesort, or a Spanish/Hispanic origin group (such as Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican) are included here.
Written entries to three categories on the race item"Indian (Amer.)," "Other Asian or Pacific Islander (A/PI)," and "Other race"were reviewed, edited, and coded by subject matter specialists.
The written entries under "Indian (Amer.)" and "Other Asian or Pacific Islander (API)" were reviewed and coded during 100 -percent processing of the 1990 census questionnaires. A substantial portion of the entries for the "Other race" category also were reviewed, edited, and coded during the 100 -percent processing. The remaining entries under "Other race" underwent review and coding during sample processing. Most of the written entries reviewed and coded during sample processing were those indicating Hispanic origin
such as Mexican, Cuban, or Puerto Rican.
If the race entry for a member of a household was missing on the questionnaire, race was assigned based upon the reported entries of race by other household members using specific rules of precedence of household relationship. For example, if race was missing for the daughter of the householder, then the race of her mother (as female householder or female spouse) would be assigned. If there was no female householder or spouse in the household, the daughter would be assigned her father's (male householder) race. If race was not reported for anyone in the household, the race of a householder in a previously processed household was assigned.
Limitation of the Data-In the 1980 census, a relatively high proportion (20 percent) of American Indians did not report any tribal entry in the race item. Evaluation of the pre-census tests indicated that changes made for the 1990 race item should improve the reporting of tribes in the rural areas (especially on reservations) for the 1990 census. The results for urban areas were inconclusive. Also, the precensus tests indicated that there may be overreporting of the Cherokee tribe. An evaluation of 1980 census data showed overreporting of Cherokee in urban areas or areas where the number of American Indians was sparse.
In the 1990 census, respondents sometimes did not fill in a circle or filled the "Other race" circle and wrote in a response, such as Arab, Polish, or African American in the shared write-in box for "Other
race" and "Other API" responses. During the automated coding process, these responses were edited and assigned to the appropriate racial designation. Also, some Hispanic origin persons did not fill in a circle, but provided entries such as Mexican or Puerto Rican. These persons were classified in the "Other race" category during the coding and editing process. There may be some minor differences between sample data and 100 -percent data because sample processing included additional edits not included in the 100 -percent processing.

## HOUSING

## CHARACTERISTICS

## LIVING QUARTERS

Living quarters are classified as either housing units or group quarters. (For more information, see the discussion of "Group Quarters" under Population Characteristics.) Usually, living quarters are in structures intended for residential use (for example, a one-family home, apartment house, hotel or motel, boarding house, or mobile home). Living quarters also may be in structures intended for nonresidential use (for example, the rooms in a warehouse where a guard lives), as well as in places such as tents, vans, shelters for the homeless, dormitories, barracks, and old railroad cars.
Housing Units-A housing unit is a house, an apartment, a mobile home or trailer, a group of rooms or a single room occupied as separate living quarters or, if vacant, intended for occupancy as sep-
arate living quarters. Separate living quarters are those in which the occupants live and eat separately from any other persons in the building and which have direct access from outside the building or through a common hall.
The occupants may be a single family, one person living alone, two or more families living together, or any other group of related or unrelated persons who share living arrangements. For vacant units, the criteria of separateness and direct access are applied to the intended occupants whenever possible. If that information cannot be obtained, the criteria are applied to the previous occupants.
Both occupied and vacant housing units are included in the housing unit inventory except that recreational vehicles, boats, vans, tents, railroad cars, and the like are included only if they are occupied as someone's usual place of residence. Vacant mobile homes are included provided they are intended for occupancy on the site where they stand. Vacant mobile homes on dealers' sales lots, at the factory, or in storage yards are excluded from the housing inventory.
If the living quarters contains nine or more persons unrelated to the householder or person in charge (a total of at least 10 unrelated persons), it is classified as group quarters. If the living quarters contains eight or fewer persons unrelated to the householder or person in charge, it is classified as a housing unit.
Occupied Housing UnitsA housing unit is classified as occupied if it is the usual place of residence of the person or
group of persons living in it at the time of enumeration, or if the occupants are only temporarily absent; that is, away on vacation or business. If all the persons staying in the unit at the time of the census have their usual place of residence elsewhere, the unit is classified as vacant. A household includes all the persons who occupy a housing unit as their usual place of residence. By definition, the count of occupied housing units for 100percent tabulations is the same as the count of households or householders. In sample tabulations, the counts of household and occupied housing units may vary slightly because of different sample weighting methods.

## Vacant Housing Units-

 A housing unit is vacant if no one is living in it at the time of enumeration, unless its occupants are only temporarily absent. Units temporarily occupied at the time of enumeration entirely by persons who have a usual residence elsewhere also are classified as vacant.New units not yet occupied are classified as vacant housing units if construction has reached a point where all exterior windows and doors are installed and final usable floors are in place. Vacant units are excluded if they are open to the elements; that is, the roof, walls, windows, and/or doors no longer protect the interior from the elements, or if there is positive evidence (such as a sign on the house or in the block) that the unit is condemned or is to be demolished. Also excluded are quarters being used entirely for nonresidential purposes, such as a store or an office, or quarters used for the storage of
business supplies or inventory, machinery, or agricultural products.
Hotels, Motels, Rooming Houses, Etc.-Occupied rooms or suites of rooms in hotels, motels, and similar places are classified as housing units only when occupied by permanent residents; that is, persons who consider the hotel as their usual place of residence or have no usual place of residence elsewhere. Vacant rooms or suites of rooms are classified as housing units only in those hotels, motels, and similar places in which 75 percent or more of the accommodations are occupied by permanent residents. If any of the occupants in a rooming or boarding house live and eat separately from others in the building and have direct access, their quarters are classified as separate housing units.
Staff Living Quarters-The living quarters occupied by staff personnel within any group quarters are separate housing units if they satisfy the housing unit criteria of separateness and direct access; otherwise, they are considered group quarters.

## CONDOMINIUM STATUS

The data on condominium housing units were obtained from questionnaire item H 18 , which was asked on a sample basis at both occupied and vacant housing units. Condominium is a type of ownership that enables a person to own an apartment or house in a development of similarly owned units and to hold a common or joint own-
ership in some or all of the common areas and facilities such as land, roof, hallways, entrances, elevators, swimming pool, etc.
Condominiums may be single family houses as well as units in apartment buildings. A condominium unit need not be occupied by the owner to be counted as such. A unit classified as "mobile home or trailer" or "other" (see discussion under "Units In Structure") cannot be a condominium unit.

## Limitation of the Data-

Testing done prior to the 1980 and 1990 censuses indicated that the number of condominiums may be slightly overstated.

## CONTRACT RENT

Ihe data on contract rent (also referred to as, "rent asked" for vacant units) were obtained from questionnaire item H7a, which was asked at all occupied housing units that were rented for cash rent and all vacant housing units that were for rent at the time of enumeration.
Housing units that are renter occupied without payment of cash rent are shown separately as "No cash rent" in census data products. The unit may be owned by friends or relatives who live elsewhere and who allow occupancy without charge. Rent-free houses or apartments may be provided to compensate caretakers, ministers, tenant farmers, sharecroppers, or others. Contract rent is the monthly rent agreed to or contracted for, regardless of any furnishings, utilities, fees, meals, or services that may be included.

For vacant units, it is the monthly rent asked for the rental unit at the time of enumeration.
If the contract rent includes rent for a business unit or for living quarters occupied by another household, the respondent was instructed to report that part of the rent estimated to be for his or her unit only. Respondents were asked to report rent only for the housing unit enumerated and to exclude any rent paid for additional units or for business premises.
If a renter pays rent to the owner of a condominium or cooperative, and the condominium fee or cooperative carrying charge is also paid by the renter to the owner, the respondent was instructed to include the fee or carrying charge.
If a renter receives payments from lodgers or roomers who are listed as members of the household, the respondent was instructed to report the rent without deduction for any payments received from the lodgers or roomers. The respondent was instructed to report the rent agreed to or contracted for even if paid by someone else such as friends or relatives living elsewhere, or a church or welfare agency.
In some tabulations, contract rent is presented for all renteroccupied housing units, as well as specified renter-occupied and vacant-for-rent units. Specified renter occupied and specified vacant-for-rent units exclude one-family houses on 10 or more acres. (For more Information on rent, see the discussion under "Gross Rent.")

## Median and Quartile

 Contract Rent-The median divides the rent distribution into two equal parts. Quartiles divide the rent distribution into four equal parts. In computing median and quartile contract rent, units reported as "No cash rent" are excluded. Median and quartile rent calculations are rounded to the nearest whole dollar.Aggregate Contract RentTo calculate aggregate contract rent, the amount assigned for the category "Less than $\$ 80$ " is $\$ 50$. The amount assigned to the category " $\$ 1,000$ or more" is $\$ 1,250$. Mean contract rent is rounded to the nearest whole dollar.
Limitation of the Data-In the 1970 and 1980 censuses, contract rent for vacant units had high allocation rates, about 35 percent.

## GROSS RENT

Qross rent is the contract rent plus the estimated average monthly cost of utilities (electricity, gas, and water) and fuels (oil, coal, kerosene, wood, etc.) if these are paid for by the renter (or paid for the renter by someone else). Gross rent is intended to eliminate differentials which result from varying practices with respect to the inclusion of utilities and fuels as part of the rental payment. The estimated costs of utilities and fuels are reported on a yearly basis but are converted to monthly figures for the tabulations.
Renter units occupied without payment of cash rent are shown separately as "No cash rent" in the tabulations. Gross rent is calculated on a sample basis.

## GROSS RENT AS A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1989

Gross rent as a percentage of household income in 1989 is a computed ratio of monthly gross rent to monthly household income (total household income in 1989 divided by 12). The ratio was computed separately for each unit and was rounded to the nearest whole percentage. Units for which no cash rent is paid and units occupied by households that reported no income or a net loss in 1989 comprise the category "Not computed." This item is calculated on a sample basis.

## MOBILE HOME COSTS

The data on mobile home costs were obtained from questionnaire item H26, which was asked at owner occupied mobile homes. This item was asked on a sample basis.
These data include the total yearly costs for personal property taxes, land or site rent, registration fees, and license fees on all owner-occupied mobile homes. The instructions are to not include real estate taxes already reported in question H21.
Costs are estimated as closely as possible when exact costs are not known. Amounts are the total for an entire 12month billing period, even if they are paid by someone outside the household or remain unpaid.

The data from this item are added to payments for mortgages, real estate taxes, fire, hazard, and flood insurance payments, utilities, and fuels to derive selected monthly owner costs for mobile homes owners.

## MORTGAGE PAYMENT

TThe data on mortgage payment were obtained from questionnaire item H 23 b , which was asked at owner occupied one-family houses, condominiums, and mobile homes. This item was asked on a sample basis. Question H 23 b provides the regular monthly amount required to be paid the lender for the first mortgage (deed of trust, contract to purchase, or similar debt) on the property. Amounts are included even if the payments are delinquent or paid by someone else. The amounts reported are included in the computation of "Selected Monthly Owner Costs" and "Selected Monthly Owner Costs as a Percentage of Household Income in 1989 " for units with a mortgage.
The amounts reported include everything paid to the lender including principal and interest payments, real estate taxes, fire, hazard, and flood insurance payments, and mortgage insurance premiums. Separate questions determine whether real estate taxes and fire, hazard, and flood insurance payments are included in the mortgage payment to the lender. This makes it possible to avoid counting these components twice in the computation of "Selected Monthly Owner Costs."

## MORTGAGE STATUS

TThe data on mortgage status were obtained from questionnaire items H 23 a and H24a, which were asked at owner-occupied one-family houses, condominiums, and mobile homes. "Mortgage" refers to all forms of debt where the property is pledged as security for repayment of the debt. It includes such debt instruments as deeds of trust, trust deeds, contracts to purchase, land contracts, junior mortgages and home equity loans.
A mortgage is considered a first mortgage if it has prior claim over any other mortgage or if it is the only mortgage on the property. All other mortgages, (second, third, etc.) are considered junior mortgages. A home equity loan is generally a junior mortgage. If no first mortgage is reported, but a junior mortgage or home equity loan is reported, then the loan is considered a first mortgage.
In most census data products, the tabulations for "Selected Monthly Owner Costs" and "Selected Monthly Owner Costs as a Percentage of Household Income in 1989" usually are shown separately for units "with a mortgage" and for units "not mortgaged." The category "not mortgaged" is comprised of housing units owned free and clear of debt.

## PERSONS IN UNIT

This item is based on the $100-$ percent count of persons in occupied housing units. All persons occupying the housing unit are counted, including the householder, occupants related to the householder, and
lodgers, roomers, boarders, and so forth.
The data on "persons in unit" show the number of housing units occupied by the specified number of persons. The phrase "persons in unit" is used for housing tabulations, "persons in households" for population items. Figures for "persons in unit" match those for "persons in household" for 100 -percent data products. In sample products, they may differ because of the weighting process.

## Median Persons in Unit-In

 computing median persons in unit, a whole number is used as the midpoint of an interval; thus, a unit with 4 persons is treated as an interval ranging from 3.5 to 4.5 persons. Median persons is rounded to the nearest hundredth.
## Persons in Occupied

 Housing Units-This is the total population minus those persons living in group quarters. "Persons per occupied housing unit" is computed by dividing the population living in housing units by the number of occupied housing units.
## PERSONS PER ROOM

Dersons per room" is obtained by dividing the "number of persons in each occupied housing unit by the number of rooms in the unit. Persons per room is rounded to the nearest hundredth. The figures shown refer, therefore, to the number of occupied housing units having the specified ratio of persons per room.
Mean Persons Per RoomThis is computed by dividing persons in housing units by the aggregate number of
rooms. This is intended to provide a measure of utilization. A higher mean may indicate a greater degree of utilization or crowding; a low mean may indicate under-utilization.

## PLUMBING FACILITIES

TThe data on plumbing facilities were obtained from questionnaire item H 10 , which was asked at both occupied and vacant housing units. This item was asked on a sample basis. Complete plumbing facilities include hot and cold piped water, a flush toilet, and a bathtub or shower. All three facilities must be located inside the house, apartment, or mobile home, but not necessarily in the same room. Housing units are classified as lacking complete plumbing facilities when any of the three facilities are not present.
Comparability-The 1990 data on complete plumbing facilities are not strictly comparable with the 1980 data. In 1980, complete plumbing facilities were defined as hot and cold piped water, a bathtub or shower, and a flush toilet in the housing unit for the exclusive use of the residents of that unit. In 1990, the Census Bureau dropped the requirement of exclusive use from the definition of complete plumbing facilities. Of the 2.3 million year-round housing units classified in 1980 as lacking complete plumbing for exclusive use, approximately 25 percent of these units had complete plumbing but the facilities were also used by members of another household. From 1940 to 1970 , separate and
more detailed questions were asked on piped water, bathing, and toilet facilities. In 1970 and 1980, the data on plumbing facilities were shown only for year-round units.

## POVERTY STATUS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN 1989

TThe data on poverty status of households were derived from answers to the income questions. The income items were asked on a sample basis. Households are classified below the poverty level when the total 1989 income of the family or of the non family householder is below the appropriate poverty threshold. The income of persons living in the household who are unrelated to the householder is not considered when determining the poverty status of a household, nor does their presence affect the household size in determining the appropriate poverty threshold. The poverty thresholds vary depending upon three criteria: size of family, number of children, and age of the family householder or unrelated individual for one and two-persons households. (For more information, see the discussion of "Poverty Status in 1989" and "Income in 1989.")

## SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS

TThe data on selected monthly owner costs were obtained from questionnaire items H20 through H26 for a sample of owner-occupied one-family houses, condominiums, and mobile homes. Selected monthly owner costs is the sum of payments for mortgages, deeds of trust, contracts to purchase, or similar debts on the property (including payments for the first mortgage, second or junior mortgages, and home equity loans); real estate taxes; fire, hazard, and flood insurance on the property; utilities (electricity, gas, and water); and fuels (oil, coal, kerosene, wood, etc.). It also includes, where appropriate, the monthly condominium fee for condominiums and mobile home costs (personal property taxes, site rent, registration fees, and license fees) for mobile homes.
In certain tabulations, selected monthly owner costs are presented separately for specified owner-occupied housing units (owner-occupied one-family houses on fewer than 10 acres without a business or medical office on the property), owneroccupied condominiums, and owner-occupied mobile homes. Data usually are shown separately for units "with a mortgage" and for units "not mortgaged."
Median Selected Monthly Owner Costs-This measure is rounded to the nearest whole dollar.

SELECTED MONTHLY OWNER COSTS AS

## A PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME

TThe information on selected monthly owner costs as a percentage of household income in 1989 is the computed ratio of selected monthly owner costs to monthly household income in 1989. The ratio was computed separately for each unit and rounded to $\cdot$ the nearest whole percentage. The data are tabulated separately for specified owneroccupied units, condominiums, and mobile homes.
Separate distributions are often shown for units "with a mortgage" and for units "not mortgaged." Units occupied by households reporting no income or a net loss in 1989 are included in the "not computed" category. (For more information, see the discussion under "Selected Monthly Owner Costs.")

## SOURCE OF WATER

TThe data on source of water were obtained from questionnaire item H 15 , which was asked at both occupied and vacant housing units. Housing units may receive their water supply from a number of sources. A common source supplying water to five or more units is classified as a "Public system or private company." The water may be supplied by a city, county, water district, water company, etc., or it may be obtained from a well which supplies water to five or more housing units. If the water is supplied from a
well serving four or fewer housing units, the units are classified as having water supplied by either an "Individual drilled well" or an "Individual dug well." Drilled wells or small diameter wells are usually less than 1-1/2 feet in diameter. Dug wells are usually larger than $1-1 / 2$ feet wide and generally hand dug. The category, "Some other source" includes water obtained from springs, creeks, rivers, lakes, cisterns, etc.

## TENURE

The data for tenure were obtained from questionnaire item H 4 , which was asked at all occupied housing units. All occupied housing units are classified as either owner occupied or renter occupied.

Owner Occupied-A housing unit is owner occupied if the owner or co-owner lives in the unit even if it is mortgaged or not fully paid for. The owner or co-owner must live in the unit and usually is the person listed in column 1 of the questionnaire. The unit is "Owned by you or someone in this household with a mortgage or loan" if it is being purchased with a mortgage or some other debt arrangement such as a deed of trust, trust deed, contract to purchase, land contract, or purchase agreement. The unit is also considered owned with a mortgage if it is built on leased land and there is a mortgage on the unit.
A housing unit is "Owned by you or someone in this household free and clear (without a mortgage)" if there is no mortgage or other similar debt on the house, apartment, or mobile home including units built on leased land if the unit
is owned outright without a mortgage. Although owneroccupied units are divided between mortgaged and owned free and clear on the questionnaire, census data products containing 100 -percent data show only total owner-occupied counts. More extensive mortgage information was collected on the long form questionnaire and are shown in census products containing sample data. (For more information, see the discussion under "Mortgage Status.")
Renter Occupied-All occupied housing units which are not owner occupied, whether they are rented for cash rent or occupied without payment of cash rent, are classified as renter occupied. "No cash rent" units are separately identified in the rent tabulations. Such units are generally provided free by friends or relatives or in exchange_for services such as resident manager, caretaker, minister, or tenant farmer. Housing units on military bases also are classified in the "No cash rent" category. "Rented for cash rent" includes units in continuing care, sometimes called life care arrangements. These arrangements usually involve a contract between one or more individuals and a health services provider guaranteeing the individual shelter, usually a house or apartment, and services, such as meals or transportation to shopping or recreation.

## UNITS IN STRUCTURE

The data on units in structure (also referred to as "type of structure") were obtained from questionnaire item H 2 , which was asked at all housing units.

A structure is a separate building that either has open spaces on all sides or is separated from other structures by dividing walls that extend from ground to roof. In determining the number of units in a structure, all housing units, both occupied and vacant, are counted. Stores and office space are excluded.

The statistics are presented for the number of housing units in structures of specified type and size, not for the number of residential buildings.
1-Unit, Detached-This is a 1-unit structure detached from any other house; that is, with open space on all four sides. Such structures are considered detached even if they have an adjoining shed or garage. A one-family house that contains a business is considered detached as long as the building has open space on all four sides. Mobile homes or trailers to which one or more permanent rooms have been added or built also are included.
1-Unit, Attached-This is a 1-unit structure that has one or more walls extending from ground to roof separating it from adjoining structures. In row houses (sometimes called townhouses), double houses, or houses attached to nonresidential structures, each house is a separate, attached structure if the dividing or common wall goes from ground to roof.
2 or More Units-These are units in structures containing 2 or more housing units, further categorized as units in structures with 2,3 or 4,5 to 9,10 to 19,20 to 49 , and 50 or more units.
Mobile Home or TrailerBoth occupied and vacant mobile homes to which no permanent rooms have been
added are counted in this category. Mobile homes or trailers used only for business purposes or for extra sleeping space and mobile homes or trailers for sale on a dealer's lot, at the factory, or in storage are not counted in the housing inventory.
Other-This category is for any living quarters occupied as a housing unit that does not fit the previous categories. Examples that fit this category are houseboats, railroad cars, campers, and vans.

## UTILITIES

The data on utility costs were obtained from questionnaire items H20a through H20d, which were asked of occupied housing units. These items were asked on a sample basis.
Questions H20a through H20d asked for the yearly cost of utilities (electricity, gas, water) and other fuels (oil, coal, wood, kerosene, etc.). For the tabulations, these yearly amounts are divided by 12 to derive the average monthly cost and are then included in the computation of "Gross Rent," "Gross Rent as a Percentage of Household Income in 1989," "Selected Monthly Owner Costs," and "Selected Monthly Owner Costs as a Percentage of Household Income in 1989."

Costs are recorded if paid by or billed to occupants, a welfare agency, relatives, or friends. Costs that are paid by landlords, included in the rent payment, or included in condominium or cooperative fees are excluded.

Limitation of the DataResearch has shown that respondents tended to overstate their expenses for electricity and gas when compared to utility company records. There is some evidence that this overstatement is reduced when yearly costs are asked rather than monthly costs. Caution should be exercised in using these data for direct analysis because costs are not reported for certain kinds of units such as renter occupied units with all utilities included in the rent and owner-occupied condominium units with utilities included in the condominium fee.

## VACANCY STATUS

The data on vacancy status were obtained from questionnaire item C 1 , which was completed by census enumerators. Vacancy status and other characteristics of vacant units were determined by enumerators obtaining information from landlords, owners, neighbors, rental agents, and others. Vacant units are subdivided according to their housing market classification as follows:
For Rent-These are vacant units offered "for rent," and vacant units offered either "for rent" or "for sale."
For Sale Only-These are vacant units being offered "for sale only," including units in cooperatives and condominium projects if the individual units are offered "for sale only."
Rented or Sold, Not Occupied-If any money rent has been paid or agreed upon but the new renter has not moved in as of
the date of enumeration, or if the unit has recently been sold but the new owner has not yet moved in, the vacant unit is classified as "rented or sold, not occupied."

## For Seasonal, Recreational, or

 Occasional Use-These are vacant units used or intended for use only in certain seasons or for weekend or other occasional use throughout the year.Seasonal units include those used for summer or winter sports or recreation, such as beach cottages and hunting cabins. Seasonal units also may include quarters for such workers as herders and loggers. Interval ownership units, sometimes called shared-ownership or time-sharing condominiums, also are included here.
For Migrant Workers-These include vacant units intended for occupancy by migratory workers employed in farm work during the crop season. (Work in a cannery, a freezer plant, or a food-processing plant is not farm work.)
Other Vacant-If a vacant unit does not fall into any of the classifications specified above, it is classified as "other vacant." For example, this category includes units held for occupancy by a caretaker or janitor, and units held for personal reasons of the owner.

## Homeowner Vacancy Rate-

 This is the percentage relationship between the number of vacant units for sale and the total homeowner inventory. It is computed by dividing the number of vacant units for sale only by the sum of the owneroccupied units and the number of vacant units that are for sale only.Rental Vacancy Rate-This is the percentage relationship of the number of vacant units for rent to the total rental inventory. It is computed by dividing the number of vacant units for rent by the sum of the renter occupied units and the number of vacant units for rent.

VALUE

TThe data on value (also referred to as "price asked" for vacant units) were obtained from questionnaire item H6, which was asked at housing units that were owned, being bought, or vacant for sale at the time of enumeration. Value is the respondent's estimate of how much the property (house and lot, mobile home and lot, or condominium unit) would sell for if it were for sale. If the house or mobile home was owned or being bought, but the land on which it sits was not, the respondent was asked to estimate the combined value of the house or mobile home and the land. For vacant units, value was the price asked for the property.
Value was tabulated separately for all owner-occupied and vacant-for-sale housing units, owner-occupied and vacant-for-sale mobile homes or trailers, and specified owner-occupied and specified vacant-forsale housing units. Specified owner-occupied and specified
vacant-for-sale housing units include only one-family houses on fewer than 10 acres without a business or medical office on the property. The data for "specified units" exclude mobile homes, houses with a business or medical office, houses on 10 or more acres, and housing units in multi-unit buildings.
Median and Quartile Value-The median divides the value distribution into two equal parts. Quartiles divide the value distribution into four equal parts. These measures are rounded to the nearest hundred dollars. (For more information on medians and quartiles, see the discussion under "Derived Measures.")
Aggregate Value-To calculate aggregate value, the amount assigned for the category "Less than $\$ 10,000$ " is $\$ 9,000$. The amount assigned to the category " $\$ 500,000$ or more" is $\$ 600,000$. Mean value is rounded to the nearest hundred dollars. (For more information on aggregates and means, see the discussion under "Derived Measures.")

## YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT

TThe data on year structure built were obtained from questionnaire item H 17 , which was asked at both occupied and vacant housing units. This item was asked on a sample basis. Data on year struc-
ture built refer to when the building was first constructed, not when it was remodeled, added to, or converted. For housing units under construction that met the housing unit definition-that is, all exterior windows, doors, and final usable floors were in placethe category "1989 or March 1990 " was used. For a houseboat or a mobile home or trailer, the manufacturer's model year was assumed to be the year built. The figures shown in census data products relate to the number of units built during the specified periods that were still in existence at the time of enumeration.

## Median Year Structure

Built-The median divides the distribution into two equal parts. The median is rounded to the nearest calendar year. Median age of housing can be obtained by subtracting median year structure built from 1990. For example, if the median year structure built is 1957, the median age of housing in that area is 33 years (1990 minus 1957).

## Limitation of the Data-

 Data on year structure built are more susceptible to errors of response and non reporting than data on many other items because respondents must rely on their memory or on estimates by persons who have lived in the neighborhood a long time.










|  |
| :---: |

$\qquad$

b-2: POUERTY STATUS OF RURAL INDIVIIUUALS BY AGE BY STAEE'

|  | ALL PERSONS |  |  | PERSONS 65 AND OVER |  |  | CHILDREN UNDER 18 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| State | TOTAL | $\begin{array}{r} \text { BELOW } \\ \text { POVERTY } \end{array}$ | \% | TOTAL | $\begin{array}{r} \text { BELOW } \\ \text { POVERTY } \end{array}$ | \% | TOTAL | $\begin{array}{r} \text { BELOW } \\ \text { POVERTY } \end{array}$ | \% |
| ALABAMA | 1,584,194 | 289,186 | 18.25 | 194,201 | 57,035 | 29.37 | 432,663 | 98,581 | 22.78 |
| ALASKA | 174,562 | 21,494 | 12.31 | 7,224 | 871 | 12.06 | 60,375 | 9,151 | 15.16 |
| ARIZONA | 442,351 | 120,141 | 27.16 | 52,100 | 10,212 | 19.60 | 138,709 | 49,717 | 35.84 |
| ARKANSAS | 1,078,793 | 204,918 | 19.00 | 153,333 | 39,263 | 25.61 | 291,143 | 69,281 | 23.80 |
| CALIFORNIA | 2,091,102 | 248,088 | 11.86 | 259,923 | 19,571 | 7.53 | 565,236 | 97,798 | 17.30 |
| COLORADO | 567,649 | 65,828 | 11.60 | 56,555 | 7,560 | 13.37 | 158,199 | 23,503 | 14.86 |
| CONNECTICUT | 675,971 | 20,694 | 3.06 | 70,141 | 3,328 | 4.74 | 169,990 | 6,002 | 3.53 |
| DELAWARE | 175,161 | 16,655 | 9.51 | 23,730 | 2,738 | 11.54 | 43,505 | 5,900 | 13.56 |
| FLORIDA | 1,899,763 | 250,417 | 13.18 | 322,197 | 38,145 | 11.84 | 455,811 | 84,732 | 18.59 |
| GEORGIA | 2,339,341 | 323,393 | 13.82 | 237,896 | 55,474 | 23.32 | 653,193 | 113,703 | 17.41 |
| HAWAII | 118,435 | 13,769 | 11.63 | 14,269 | 1,376 | 9.64 | 33,887 | 5,256 | 15.51 |
| IDAHO | 423,848 | 54,320 | 12.82 | 50,250 | 6,315 | 12.57 | 138,089 | 22,272 | 16.13 |
| ILLINOIS | 1,729,723 | 162,730 | 9.41 | 225,067 | 25,758 | 11.44 | 473,466 | 56,243 | 11.88 |
| INDIANA | 1,919,597 | 144,570 | 7.53 | 214,869 | 22,844 | 10.63 | 538,524 | 50,579 | 9.39 |
| IOWA | 1,074,982 | 112,902 | 10.50 | 165,979 | 20,727 | 12.49 | 300,285 | 38,782 | 12.92 |
| KANSAS | 744,093 | 79,151 | 10.64 | 112,786 | 15,064 | 13.36 | 209,849 | 27,208 | 12.97 |
| KENTUCKY | 1,756,588 | 389,094 | 22.15 | 201,649 | 51,935 | 25.76 | 483,004 | 130,520 | 27.02 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,315,143 | 303,231 | 23.06 | 134,542 | 40,408 | 30.03 | 404,868 | 114,017 | 28.16 |
| MAINE | 668,482 | 67,019 | 10.03 | 78,825 | 11,328 | 14.37 | 179,880 | 21,951 | 12.20 |
| MARYLAND | 866,489 | 55,416 | 6.40 | 94,200 | 10,912 | 11.58 | 224,080 | 17,431 | 7.78 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 928,502 | 41,859 | 4.51 | 100,108 | 7,110 | 7.10 | 245,472 | 12,566 | 5.12 |
| MICHIGAN | 2,691,253 | 269,329 | 10.01 | 300,265 | 33,828 | 11.27 | 758,247 | 98,876 | 13.04 |
| MINNESOTA | 1,299,132 | 145,200 | 11.18 | 176,867 | 28,425 | 16.07 | 388,129 | 51,283 | 13.21 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 1,334,071 | 346,183 | 25.95 | 161,038 | 54,600 | 33.91 | 402,632 | 134,281 | 33.35 |
| MISSOURI | 1,573,665 | 233,036 | 14.81 | 218,451 | 41,576 | 19.03 | 429,275 | 78,996 | 18.40 |
| MONTANA | 371,872 | 62,782 | 16.88 | 45,047 | 6,601 | 14.65 | 111,279 | 24,087 | 21.65 |
| NEBRASKA | 524,139 | 63,586 | 12.13 | 83,324 | 11,895 | 14.28 | 151,183 | 22,528 | 14.90 |
| NEVADA | 134,664 | 13,665 | 10.15 | 13,922 | 1,774 | 12.74 | 37,048 | 4,612 | 12.45 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 535,552 | 28,713 | 5.36 | 52,677 | 4,830 | 9.17 | 145,046 | 8,953 | 6.17 |
| NEW JERSEY | 797,391 | 33,402 | 4.19 | 85,125 | 5,730 | 6.73 | 207,443 | 10,412 | 5.02 |
| NEW MEXICO | 403,261 | 110,237 | 27.34 | 38,315 | 9,779 | 25.52 | 132,873 | 45,567 | 34.29 |
| NEW YORK | 2,740,324 | 224,470 | 8.19 | 316,814 | 29,129 | 9.19 | 737,789 | 78,170 | 10.60 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 3,243,176 | 400,440 | 12.35 | 387,959 | 85,785 | 22.11 | 815,448 | 125,371 | 15.37 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 292,422 | 48,004 | 16.42 | 48,057 | 7,685 | 15.99 | 85,813 | 17,788 | 20.73 |
| OHIO | 2,747,063 | 276,224 | 10.06 | 302,773 | 32,012 | 10.57 | 773,668 | 105,686 | 13.66 |
| OKLAHOMA | 995,184 | 178,484 | 17.93 | 135,919 | 29,744 | 21.88 | 276,017 | 61,631 | 22.33 |
| OREGON | 831,340 | 96,000 | 11.55 | 115,560 | 11,707 | 10.13 | 220,430 | 32,832 | 14.89 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 3,605,795 | 324,641 | 9.00 | 459,826 | 46,935 | 10.21 | 936,958 | 113,339 | 12.10 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 138,221 | 7,409 | 5.36 | 15,038 | 1,116 | 7.42 | 34,690 | 1,690 | 4.87 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 1,550,053 | 240,438 | 15.51 | 169,014 | 41,535 | 24.57 | 433,031 | 86,388 | 19.95 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 340,739 | 64,131 | 18.82 | 51,594 | 9,182 | 17.80 | 105,382 | 26,077 | 24.75 |
| TENNESSEE | 1,885,227 | 285,678 | 15.15 | 227,680 | 56,584 | 24.85 | 485,726 | 87,624 | 18.04 |
| TEXAS | 3,282,280 | 594,033 | 18.10 | 406,412 | 84,381 | 20.76 | 952,377 | 222,424 | 23.35 |
| UTAH | 222,122 | 29,966 | 13.49 | 21,344 | 3,090 | 14.48 | 89,769 | 14,241 | 15.86 |
| VERMONT | 372,523 | 32,849 | 8.82 | 40,057 | 4,932 | 12.31 | 102,040 | 11,059 | 10.84 |
| VIRGINIA | 1,855,004 | 214,523 | 11.56 | 227,937 | 43,211 | 18.96 | 466,837 | 65,086 | 13.94 |
| WASHINGTON | 1,132,643 | 121,492 | 10.73 | 133,436 | 12,265 | 9.19 | 323,904 | 45,830 | 14.15 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 1,127,580 | 237,379 | 21.05 | 145,080 | 27,722 | 19.11 | 299,690 | 82,116 | 27.40 |
| WISCONSIN | 1,654,790 | 144,797 | 8.75 | 209,263 | 22,726 | 10.86 | 470,803 | 52,433 | 11.14 |
| WYOMING | 157,430 | 18,742 | 11.90 | 14,867 | 1,943 | 13.07 | 50,276 | 7,466 | 14.85 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 60,413,685 | 7,830,708 | 12.96 | 7,373,505 | 1,198,696 | 16.26 | 16,624,031 | 2,772,039 | 16.67 |

[^48]
## 3-3: POVERTY STATUS OF RURAL BLLCK PERSONS BY STATE'

$\left.\begin{array}{lrrr} & & \text { ALL PERSONS }\end{array}\right]$

| CHILDREN UNDER 18 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| 96,928 | 47,271 | 48.77 |
| 445 | 27 | 6.07 |
| 958 | 285 | 29.75 |
| 36,133 | 19,390 | 53.66 |
| 9,058 | 2,373 | 26.20 |
| 436 | 86 | 19.72 |
| 1,850 | 76 | 4.11 |
| 6,830 | 2,176 | 31.86 |
| 54,627 | 23,370 | 42.78 |
| 129,613 | 51,487 | 39.72 |
| 396 | 46 | 11.62 |
| 179 | 27 | 15.08 |
| 4,988 | 2,380 | 47.71 |
| 1,748 | 372 | 21.28 |
| 401 | 86 | 21.45 |
| 1,172 | 269 | 22.95 |
| 8,468 | 3,179 | 37.54 |
| 97,288 | 55,495 | 57.04 |
| 586 | 72 | 12.29 |
| 21,377 | 5,181 | 24.24 |
| 1,904 | 283 | 14.86 |
| 7,675 | 2,612 | 34.03 |
| 558 | 173 | 31.00 |
| 168,414 | 94,884 | 56.34 |
| 5,691 | 2,608 | 45.83 |
| 120 | 53 | 44.17 |
| 262 | 48 | 18.32 |
| 210 | 75 | 35.71 |
| 546 | 45 | 8.24 |
| 9,637 | 1,859 | 19.29 |
| 698 | 195 | 27.94 |
| 8,321 | 1,945 | 23.37 |
| 162,174 | 55,168 | 34.02 |
| 117 | 21 | 17.95 |
| 5,552 | 1,397 | 25.16 |
| 5,356 | 2,410 | 45.00 |
| 581 | 149 | 25.65 |
| 5,617 | 1,636 | 29.13 |
| 69 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 159,972 | 59,120 | 36.96 |
| 103 | 24 | 23.30 |
| 25,200 | 9,081 | 36.04 |
| 57,066 | 26,410 | 46.28 |
| 86 | 6 | 6.98 |
| 307 | 26 | 8.47 |
| 76,039 | 21,207 | 27.89 |
| 1,606 | 245 | 15.26 |
| 5,035 | 2,329 | 46.26 |
| 778 | 208 | 26.74 |
| 49 | 17 | 34.69 |
| 1,183,224 | 497,882 | 42.08 |

[^49]$\left.\begin{array}{lrrr} & & \text { ALL PERSONS }\end{array}\right]$

CHILDREN UNDER 18 TOTAL BELOW POVERTY

| 这 | (elow POVERIX |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4,181 | 1,025 | 24.52 |
| 20,545 | 5,843 | 28.44 |
| 48,235 | 29,429 | 61.01 |
| 2,039 | 640 | 31.39 |
| 15,222 | 4,947 | 32.50 |
| 2,412 | 769 | 31.88 |
| 422 | 39 | 9.24 |
| 262 | 58 | 22.14 |
| 2,709 | 641 | 23.66 |
| 1,836 | 372 | 20.26 |
| 253 | 110 | 43.48 |
| 2,684 | 1,000 | 37.26 |
| 923 | 244 | 26.44 |
| 1,138 | 261 | 22.93 |
| 644 | 153 | 23.76 |
| 2,553 | 668 | 26.17 |
| 661 | 358 | 54.16 |
| 2,728 | 1,291 | 47.32 |
| 1,483 | 372 | 25.08 |
| 598 | 136 | 22.74 |
| 695 | 138 | 19.86 |
| 7,878 | 2,268 | 28.79 |
| 7,780 | 4,175 | 53.66 |
| 2,614 | 1,239 | 47.40 |
| 2,363 | 737 | 31.19 |
| 14,112 | 7,248 | 51.36 |
| 2,412 | 1,352 | 56.05 |
| 2,486 | 992 | 39.90 |
| 218 | 43 | 19.72 |
| 567 | 174 | 30.69 |
| 34,788 | 19,415 | 55.81 |
| 4,023 | 845 | 21.00 |
| 21,683 | 6,297 | 29.04 |
| 8,306 | 4,819 | 58.02 |
| 1,334 | 319 | 23.91 |
| 47,477 | 16,166 | 34.05 |
| 5,843 | 1,719 | 29.42 |
| 1,211 | 299 | 24.69 |
| 168 | 5 | 2.98 |
| 1,168 | 345 | 29.54 |
| 16,620 | 10,948 | 65.87 |
| 1,422 | 473 | 33.26 |
| 4,047 | 1,070 | 26.44 |
| 4,245 | 2,251 | 53.03 |
| 511 | 152 | 29.75 |
| 959 | 193 | 20.13 |
| 11,680 | 4,425 | 37.89 |
| 530 | 172 | 32.45 |
| 7,656 | 3,831 | 50.04 |
| 2,545 | 1,312 | 51.55 |
| 328,869 | 141,778 | 43.11 |

[^50]
## B-5: POUERTY STATUS OF RURAL HISPANIC PERSONS BY STATE'

| STATE | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 6,460 |
| ALASKA | 3,268 |
| ARIZONA | 74,065 |
| ARKANSAS | 7,333 |
| CALIFORNIA | 358,919 |
| COLORADO | 54,954 |
| CONNECTICUT | 8,183 |
| DELAWARE | 2,028 |
| FLORIDA | 82,480 |
| GEORGIA | 21,108 |
| HAWAII | 10,510 |
| IDAHO | 20,993 |
| ILLINOIS | 15,288 |
| INDIANA | 12,198 |
| IOWA | 4,473 |
| KANSAS | 13,850 |
| KENTUCKY | 4,924 |
| LOUISIANA | 15,212 |
| MAINE | 3,040 |
| MARYLAND | 6,965 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 8,541 |
| MICHIGAN | 35,786 |
| MINNESOTA | 6,244 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 5,449 |
| MISSOURI | 9,115 |
| MONTANA | 3,948 |
| NEBRASKA | 6,237 |
| NEVADA | 10,270 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 2,750 |
| NEW JERSEY | 17,216 |
| NEW MEXICO | 148,391 |
| NEW YORK | 29,005 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 22,687 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 1,189 |
| OHIO | 18,578 |
| OKLAHOMA | 16,130 |
| OREGON | 29,245 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 19,742 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 912 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 7,667 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 1,440 |
| TENNESSEE | 8,259 |
| TEXAS | 559,174 |
| UTAH | 7,772 |
| VERMONT | 1,735 |
| VIRGINIA | 10,826 |
| WASHINGTON | 52,650 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 4,132 |
| WISCONSIN | 9,311 |
| WYOMING | 5,202 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 1,785,854 |

U.S. TOTAL

ALL PERSONS
BELOW POVERTY

| 1,520 | 23.53 |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 388 | 11.87 |  |
| 22,210 | 29.99 |  |
| 2,226 | 30.36 |  |
| 91,158 | 25.40 |  |
| 14,505 | 26.39 |  |
| 975 | 11.91 |  |
| 547 | 26.97 |  |
| 22,904 | 27.77 |  |
| 5,632 | 26.68 |  |
| 1,607 | 15.29 |  |
| 6,781 | 32.30 |  |
| 2,427 | 15.88 |  |
| 1,495 | 12.26 |  |
| 946 | 21.15 |  |
| 2,987 | 21.57 |  |
| 1,324 | 26.89 |  |
| 3,569 | 23.46 |  |
| 464 | 15.26 |  |
| 807 | 11.59 |  |
| 1,269 | 14.86 |  |
| 7,097 | 19.83 |  |
| 1,939 | 31.05 |  |
| 1,633 | 29.97 |  |
| 1,852 | 20.32 |  |
| 1,037 | 26.27 |  |
| 1,645 | 26.37 |  |
| 2,061 | 20.07 |  |
| 211 | 7.67 |  |
| 1,988 | 11.55 |  |
| 45,282 | 30.52 |  |
| 4,215 | 14.53 |  |
| 5,184 | 22.85 |  |
| 282 | 23.72 |  |
| 3,061 | 16.48 |  |
| 5,496 | 34.07 |  |
| 8,320 | 28.45 |  |
| 3,405 | 17.25 |  |
| 87 | 9.54 |  |
| 1,703 | 22.21 |  |
| 399 | 27.71 |  |
| 1,686 | 20.41 |  |
| 224,519 | 40.15 |  |
| 1,936 | 24.91 |  |
| 166 | 9.57 |  |
| 1,101 | 13.04 |  |
| 1,743 | 315 | 26.96 |
| 5343 | 25.28 |  |
|  | 29.86 |  |
| , 342 |  |  |

CHILDREN UNDER 18

| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2,440 | 728 | 29.84 |
| 1,302 | 146 | 11.21 |
| 29,277 | 10,531 | 35.97 |
| 3,001 | 1,088 | 36.25 |
| 138,775 | 44,191 | 31.84 |
| 20,607 | 6,645 | 32.25 |
| 2,869 | 492 | 17.15 |
| 707 | 266 | 37.62 |
| 27,970 | 9,398 | 33.60 |
| 6,614 | 1,987 | 30.04 |
| 4,194 | 782 | 18.65 |
| 8,823 | 3,329 | 37.73 |
| 5,999 | 1,107 | 18.45 |
| 5,268 | 788 | 14.96 |
| 1,921 | 459 | 23.89 |
| 6,248 | 1,656 | 26.50 |
| 1,846 | 630 | 34.13 |
| 5,042 | 1,282 | 25.43 |
| 1,374 | 265 | 19.29 |
| 2,674 | 373 | 13.95 |
| 3,157 | 558 | 17.68 |
| 15,667 | 3,873 | 24.72 |
| 3,288 | 1,144 | 34.79 |
| 2,082 | 782 | 37.56 |
| 3,785 | 956 | 25.26 |
| 1,810 | 589 | 32.54 |
| 2,886 | 910 | 31.53 |
| 4,169 | 1,028 | 24.66 |
| 1,128 | 95 | 8.42 |
| 5,450 | 682 | 12.51 |
| 54,089 | 19,721 | 36.46 |
| 10,426 | 1,705 | 16.35 |
| 7,619 | 2,139 | 28.07 |
| 662 | 168 | 25.38 |
| 7,703 | 1,609 | 20.89 |
| 7,099 | 2,802 | 39.47 |
| 11,386 | 3,614 | 31.74 |
| 7,184 | 1,511 | 21.03 |
| 300 | 18 | 6.00 |
| 2,725 | 747 | 27.41 |
| 686 | 228 | 33.24 |
| 3,197 | 697 | 21.80 |
| 226,349 | 106,586 | 47.09 |
| 3,648 | 1,015 | 27.82 |
| 623 | 75 | 12.04 |
| 3,861 | 565 | 14.63 |
| 22,154 | 8,315 | 37.53 |
| 1,331 | 430 | 32.31 |
| 4,215 | 966 | 22.92 |
| 2,268 | 729 | 32.14 |
| 697,898 | 250,400 | 35.88 |

[^51]
## b-b: POUERTY STATUS OF RUBAL ASIANPPALIFIC ISLANDER PERSONS BY State'

| State | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 2,828 |
| ALASKA | 2,270 |
| ARIZONA | 1,765 |
| ARKANSAS | 1,932 |
| CALIFORNIA | 43,268 |
| COLORADO | 2,638 |
| CONNECTICUT | 6,221 |
| DELAWARE | 1,204 |
| FLORIDA | 9,711 |
| GEORGIA | 6,803 |
| HAWAII | 66,068 |
| IDAHO | 1,994 |
| ILLINOIS | 5,388 |
| INDIANA | 4,658 |
| IOWA | 2,239 |
| KANSAS | 2,674 |
| KENTUCKY | 2,802 |
| LOUISIANA | 4,014 |
| MAINE | 1,939 |
| MARYLAND | 6,320 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 7,013 |
| MICHIGAN | 8,657 |
| MINNESOTA | 3,920 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 2,492 |
| MISSOURI | 3,281 |
| MONTANA | 1,027 |
| NEBRASKA | 1,079 |
| NEVADA | 1,208 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 2,498 |
| NEW JERSEY | 16,146 |
| NEW MEXICO | 1,030 |
| NEW YORK | 14,746 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 8,717 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 432 |
| OHIO | 6,728 |
| OKLAHOMA | 1,855 |
| OREGON | 5,979 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 11,552 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 1,184 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 3,699 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 611 |
| TENNESSEE | 3,516 |
| TEXAS | 11,256 |
| UTAH | 1,212 |
| VERMONT | 1,132 |
| VIRGINIA | 7,812 |
| WASHINGTON | 11,743 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 2,593 |
| WISCONSIN | 3,729 |
| WYOMING | 403 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 323,986 |

ALL PERSONS

| 741 | 26.2 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 199 | 8.77 |
| 219 | 12.41 |
| 294 | 15.22 |
| 5,686 | 13.14 |
| 142 | 5.38 |
| 341 | 5.48 |
| 141 | 11.71 |

$\begin{array}{rr}141 & 11.71 \\ 964 & 9.93 \\ 635 & 9.33\end{array}$
7,409 $\quad 11.21$
$281 \quad 14.09$
$539 \quad 10.00$
$344 \quad 15.36$
$636 \quad 23.78$
$212 \quad 7.57$
1,108 27.60
$175 \quad 9.03$
$251 \quad 3.97$
$517 \quad 7.37$
$888 \quad 10.26$
$419 \quad 10.69$
$\begin{array}{ll}467 & 18.74 \\ 351 & 10.70\end{array}$
$118 \quad 11.49$
$157 \quad 14.55$
$96 \quad 7.95$
$252 \quad 10.09$
$\begin{array}{rr}695 & 4.30 \\ 89 & 8.64\end{array}$
$1,127 \quad 7.64$
$\begin{array}{rr}1,007 & 11.55 \\ 70 & 16.20\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}455 & 6.76 \\ 320 & 17.25 \\ 895 & 14.97 \\ 1,193 & 10.33 \\ 137 & 11.57 \\ 310 & 8.38 \\ 108 & 17.68 \\ 427 & 12.14 \\ 1,531 & 13.60 \\ 94 & 7.76 \\ 119 & 10.51 \\ 382 & 4.89 \\ 1,323 & 11.27 \\ 322 & 12.42 \\ 640 & 17.16 \\ 42 & 10.42 \\ \mathbf{3 5 , 2 1 6} & \mathbf{1 0 . 8 7}\end{array}$
323,986

CHILDREN UNDER 18
TOTAL BELOW POVERTY

| 925 | 325 | 35.14 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 730 | 46 | 6.30 |
| 583 | 55 | 9.43 |
| 610 | 131 | 21.48 |
| 12,781 | 2,586 | 20.23 |
| 892 | 51 | 5.72 |
| 2,068 | 106 | 5.13 |
| 385 | 74 | 19.22 |
| 3,016 | 344 | 11.41 |
| 2,114 | 197 | 9.32 |
| 20,357 | 3,190 | 15.67 |
| 633 | 148 | 23.38 |
| 2,186 | 213 | 9.74 |
| 1,690 | 169 | 10.00 |
| 1,219 | 196 | 16.08 |
| 939 | 270 | 28.75 |
| 1,029 | 60 | 5.83 |
| 1,616 | 601 | 37.19 |
| 870 | 98 | 11.26 |
| 2,224 | 48 | 2.16 |
| 2,325 | 132 | 5.68 |
| 3,952 | 332 | 8.40 |
| 2,430 | 220 | 9.05 |
| 749 | 178 | 23.77 |
| 1,154 | 172 | 14.9 |
| 367 | 34 | 9.26 |
| 476 | 75 | 15.76 |
| 378 | 39 | 10.32 |
| 933 | 121 | 12.97 |
| 5,495 | 140 | 2.55 |
| 305 | 35 | 11.48 |
| 5,697 | 419 | 7.35 |
| 3,018 | 488 | 16.17 |
| 201 | 30 | 14.93 |
| 2,491 | 111 | 4.46 |
| 591 | 82 | 13.87 |
| 2,004 | 372 | 18.56 |
| 4,460 | 436 | 9.78 |
| 334 | 5 | 1.50 |
| 1,188 | 74 | 6.23 |
| 301 | 80 | 26.58 |
| 1,291 | 205 | 15.88 |
| 3,740 | 690 | 18.45 |
| 571 | 46 | 8.06 |
| 489 | 18 | 3.68 |
| 2,605 | 121 | 4.64 |
| 4,467 | 638 | 14.28 |
| 837 | 88 | 10.51 |
| 1,887 | 348 | 18.44 |
| 130 | 9 | 6.92 |
| 111,733 | 14,646 | 13.11 |

[^52]
## B-7: POVERTY STATUS OF RURAL WHITE PERSONS BY STATE'

| STATE | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 1,291,931 |
| ALASKA | 121,532 |
| ARIZONA | 294,397 |
| ARKANSAS | 965,085 |
| CALIFORNIA | 1,793,418 |
| COLORADO | 540,230 |
| CONNECTICUT | 660,230 |
| DELAWARE | 150,571 |
| FLORIDA | 1,703,778 |
| GEORGIA | 1,940,150 |
| HAWAII | 48,336 |
| IDAHO | 401,526 |
| ILLINOIS | 1,700,636 |
| INDIANA | 1,902,134 |
| IOWA | 1,068,241 |
| KANSAS | 724,256 |
| KENTUCKY | 1,719,277 |
| LOUISIANA | 1,032,822 |
| MAINE | 660,772 |
| MARYLAND | 776,393 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 907,086 |
| MICHIGAN | 2,621,299 |
| MINNESOTA | 1,273,172 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 881,215 |
| MISSOURI | 1,543,089 |
| MONTANA | 336,227 |
| NEBRASKA | 514,634 |
| NEVADA | 121,091 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 530,351 |
| NEW JERSEY | 742,106 |
| NEW MEXICO | 278,286 |
| NEW YORK | 2,678,012 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 2,636,518 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 272,556 |
| OHIO | 2,708,922 |
| OKLAHOMA | 845,425 |
| OREGON | 794,856 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 3,565,058 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 135,863 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 1,075,141 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 304,316 |
| TENNESSEE | 1,791,905 |
| TEXAS | 2,868,721 |
| UTAH | 207,407 |
| VERMONT | 368,924 |
| VIRGINIA | 1,566,382 |
| WASHINGTON | 1,055,167 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 1,104,448 |
| WISCONSIN | 1,626,667 |
| WYOMING | 149,085 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 54,999,644 |

ALL PERSONS BELOW POVERTY

| 172,385 | 13.34 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 8,433 | 6.94 |
| 43,765 | 14.87 |
| 155,611 | 16.12 |
| 174,173 | 9.71 |
| 58,858 | 10.89 |
| 19,797 | 3.00 |
| 10,926 | 7.26 |
| 185,065 | 10.86 |
| 199,446 | 10.28 |
| 5,801 | 12.00 |
| 47,107 | 11.73 |
| 154,796 | 9.10 |
| 141,811 | 7.46 |
| 111,574 | 10.44 |
| 74,689 | 10.31 |
| 377,397 | 21.95 |
| 167,094 | 16.18 |
| 65,781 | 9.96 |
| 40,588 | 5.23 |
| 39,457 | 4.35 |
| 253,324 | 9.66 |
| 135,267 | 10.62 |
| 128,989 | 14.64 |
| 223,992 | 14.52 |
| 47,178 | 14.03 |
| 60,091 | 11.68 |
| 9,854 | 8.14 |
| 28,190 | 5.32 |
| 26,951 | 3.63 |
| 53,715 | 19.30 |
| 213,450 | 7.97 |
| 238,703 | 9.05 |
| 38,313 | 14.06 |
| 269,931 | 9.96 |
| 132,441 | 15.67 |
| 86,474 | 10.88 |
| 317,424 | 8.90 |
| 7,101 | 5.23 |
| 95,448 | 8.88 |
| 42,780 | 14.06 |
| 258,454 | 14.42 |
| 435,512 | 15.18 |
| 23,798 | 11.47 |
| 32,236 | 8.74 |
| 152,187 | 9.72 |
| 99,246 | 9.41 |
| 230,211 | 20.84 |
| 135,271 | 8.32 |
| 15,361 | 10.30 |
| $\mathbf{0 4 6 , 4 4 6}$ | 10.99 |
|  |  |

CHILDREN UNDER 18

| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 330,061 | 49,801 | 15.09 |
| 38,406 | 3,196 | 8.32 |
| 78,174 | 15,870 | 20.30 |
| 251,435 | 48,673 | 19.36 |
| 456,909 | 62,251 | 13.62 |
| 148,350 | 20,424 | 13.77 |
| 164,894 | 5,663 | 3.43 |
| 35,713 | 3,418 | 9.57 |
| 386,251 | 56,092 | 14.52 |
| 516,768 | 60,601 | 11.73 |
| 12,331 | 1,827 | 14.82 |
| 129,522 | 18,926 | 14.61 |
| 463,455 | 53,004 | 11.44 |
| 532,528 | 49,489 | 9.29 |
| 297,415 | 38,158 | 12.83 |
| 202,340 | 25,079 | 12.39 |
| 472,438 | 126,798 | 26.84 |
| 302,428 | 56,294 | 18.61 |
| 176,639 | 21,368 | 12.10 |
| 199,175 | 11,924 | 5.99 |
| 238,951 | 11,691 | 4.89 |
| 732,951 | 91,825 | 12.53 |
| 376,131 | 46,203 | 12.28 |
| 230,508 | 37,808 | 16.40 |
| 419,142 | 75,182 | 17.94 |
| 96,291 | 16,567 | 17.21 |
| 147,139 | 20,729 | 14.09 |
| 32,245 | 2,970 | 9.21 |
| 143,048 | 8,702 | 6.08 |
| 190,175 | 7,926 | 4.17 |
| 83,583 | 20,956 | 25.07 |
| 717,655 | 74,593 | 10.39 |
| 625,471 | 62,170 | 9.94 |
| 76,919 | 12,823 | 16.67 |
| 761,451 | 103,060 | 13.53 |
| 219,559 | 41,580 | 18.94 |
| 207,505 | 29,077 | 14.01 |
| 923,498 | 110,482 | 11.96 |
| 34,084 | 1,680 | 4.93 |
| 269,970 | 26,728 | 9.90 |
| 88,141 | 14,952 | 16.96 |
| 457,223 | 77,715 | 17.00 |
| 802,942 | 154,859 | 19.29 |
| 83,289 | 11,384 | 13.67 |
| 100,613 | 10,856 | 10.79 |
| 386,155 | 43,287 | 11.21 |
| 293,346 | 35,424 | 12.08 |
| 293,066 | 79,437 | 27.11 |
| 459,222 | 47,637 | 10.37 |
| 46,864 | 5,841 | 12.46 |
| 4,732,369 | 2,013,000 | 13.66 |

## b-8: POUERTY STATUS OF RUBAL FAMLLIES BY STATE'

| state | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| AL.ABAMA | 457,778 |
| ALASKA | +2,955 |
| ARIZONA | 115,326 |
| ARKANSAS | 317,057 |
| CALIFORNIA | 574,266 |
| COLORADO | 160,780 |
| CONNECTICUT | 192,516 |
| DELAWARE | 50,547 |
| FLORIDA | 563,236 |
| GEORGIA | 669,518 |
| HAWAII | 30,038 |
| IDAHO | 116,289 |
| ILLINOIS | 499,629 |
| INDIANA | 553,524 |
| IOWA | 310,776 |
| KANSAS | 216,969 |
| KENTUCKY | 513,895 |
| LOUISIANA | 362,817 |
| MAINE | 190,569 |
| MARYLAND | 245,667 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 258,233 |
| MICHIGAN | 761,579 |
| MINNESOTA | 363,370 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 366,320 |
| MISSOURI | 459,853 |
| MONTANA | 103,903 |
| NEBRASKA | 150,157 |
| NEVADA | 36,857 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 150,533 |
| NEW JERSEY | 222,807 |
| NEW MEXICO | 106,329 |
| NEW YORK | 760,025 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 955,679 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 82,459 |
| OHIO | 788,337 |
| OKLAHOMA | 292,440 |
| OREGON | 240,544 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 1,037,432 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 38,319 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 435,968 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 94,191 |
| TENNESSEE | 561,853 |
| TEXAS | 929,279 |
| UTAH | 54,485 |
| VERMONT | 103,087 |
| VIRGINIA | 540,232 |
| WASHINGTON | 321,268 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 326,190 |
| WISCONSIN | 464,211 |
| WYOMING | 43,834 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 17,233,926 |

ALL FAMILIES
BELOW POVERTY

| 66,385 | 14.50 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 4,060 | 9.45 |
| 24,204 | 20.99 |
| 47,832 | 15.09 |
| 49,309 | 8.59 |
| 14,155 | 8.80 |
| 3,775 | 1.96 |
| 3,430 | 6.79 |
| 53,185 | 9.44 |
| 72,070 | 10.76 |
| 2,465 | 8.21 |
| 11,263 | 9.69 |
| 36,362 | 7.28 |
| 31,238 | 5.64 |
| 25,079 | 8.07 |
| 17,788 | 8.20 |
| 97,467 | 18.97 |
| 69,475 | 19.15 |
| 14,161 | 7.43 |
| 11,347 | 4.62 |
| 8,141 | 3.15 |
| 59,225 | 7.78 |
| 31,492 | 8.67 |
| 76,134 | 20.78 |
| 53,710 | 11.68 |
| 13,314 | 12.81 |
| 13,663 | 9.10 |

$\begin{array}{ll}3,011 & 8.17 \\ 5,846 & 3.88\end{array}$
6,697 $\quad 3.01$
$23,895 \quad 22.47$
43,622 $\quad 5.74$
$90,955 \quad 9.52$
$10,890 \quad 13.21$
$62,761 \quad 7.96$
$42,239 \quad 14.44$
20,167 8.38
$\begin{array}{ll}70,821 & 6.83\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{ll}1,187 & 3.10\end{array}$
52,575 12.06
$\begin{array}{ll}13,375 & 14.20 \\ 68,777 & 12.24\end{array}$
$130,306 \quad 14.02$
$5,976 \quad 10.97$
$6,601 \quad 6.40$
$49,235 \quad 9.11$
25,538 $\quad 7.95$
$57,575 \quad 17.65$
30,256 6.52
$4,222 \quad 9.63$
$1,737,256 \quad 10.08$

FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 57,174 | 23,346 | 40.83 |
| 4,576 | 1,279 | 27.95 |
| 14,840 | 7,894 | 53.19 |
| 31,166 | 12,599 | 40.43 |
| 50,730 | 16,040 | 31.62 |
| 12,437 | 4,065 | 32.68 |
| 16,120 | 1,624 | 10.07 |
| 5,909 | 1,464 | 24.78 |
| 57,341 | 17,991 | 31.38 |
| 85,029 | 28,231 | 33.20 |
| 3,851 | 909 | 23.60 |
| 7,981 | 2,732 | 34.23 |
| 38,370 | 11,137 | 29.03 |
| 41,861 | 9,041 | 21.60 |
| 19,901 | 5,893 | 29.61 |
| 14,255 | 4,291 | 30.10 |
| 55,089 | 24,094 | 43.74 |
| 49,172 | 25,456 | 51.77 |
| 19,115 | 5,111 | 26.74 |
| 23,713 | 4,683 | 19.75 |
| 25,782 | 3,824 | 14.83 |
| 72,864 | 22,944 | 31.49 |
| 23,780 | 7,730 | 32.51 |
| 62,899 | 32,936 | 52.36 |
| 37,663 | 13,712 | 36.41 |
| 9,288 | 3,849 | 41.44 |
| 9,363 | 2,758 | 29.46 |
| 3,374 | 1,014 | 30.05 |
| 12,756 | 1,922 | 15.07 |
| 20,428 | 2,745 | 13.44 |
| 14,445 | 7,217 | 49.96 |
| 74,644 | 15,684 | 21.01 |
| 123,056 | 35,992 | 29.25 |
| 6,132 | 2,463 | 40.17 |
| 68,726 | 19,838 | 28.87 |
| 26,571 | 11,167 | 42.03 |
| 18,666 | 6,320 | 33.86 |
| 93,364 | 23,359 | 25.02 |
| 3,332 | 455 | 13.66 |
| 67,626 | 23,792 | 35.18 |
| 7,868 | 3,416 | 43.42 |
| 58,685 | 18,415 | 31.38 |
| 84,664 | 31,569 | 37.29 |
| 3,828 | 1,517 | 39.63 |
| 10,961 | 2,721 | 24.82 |
| 62,422 | 17,166 | 27.50 |
| 27,457 | 9,129 | 33.25 |
| 39,702 | 16,744 | 42.17 |
| 33,868 | 8,537 | 25.21 |
| 3,188 | 1,206 | 37.83 |
| ,716,032 | 558,021 | 32.52 |

[^53]
## B-g: POVERTY STATUS OF RURAL BLACK FAMILIES BY STATE'

| STATE | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 66,765 |
| ALASKA | 309 |
| ARIZONA | 729 |
| ARKANSAS | 24,664 |
| CALIFORNIA | 7,378 |
| COLORADO | 318 |
| CONNECTICUT | 1,733 |
| DELAWARE | 5,179 |
| FLORIDA | 36,153 |
| GEORGIA | 93,129 |
| HAWAII | 364 |
| IDAHO | 88 |
| ILLINOIS | 3,441 |
| INDIANA | 1,282 |
| IOWA | 234 |
| KANSAS | 964 |
| KENTUCKY | 7,578 |
| LOUISIANA | 64,563 |
| MAINE | 259 |
| MARYLAND | 20,208 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 1,906 |
| MICHIGAN | 6,299 |
| MINNESOTA | 159 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 103,718 |
| MISSOURI | 4,099 |
| MONTANA | 42 |
| NEBRASKA | 159 |
| NEVADA | 127 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 276 |
| NEW JERSEY | 7,893 |
| NEW MEXICO | 466 |
| NEW YORK | 6,301 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 135,043 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 33 |
| OHIO | 5,372 |
| OKLAHOMA | 4,571 |
| OREGON | 238 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 4,805 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 83 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 112,662 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 46 |
| TENNESSEE | 21,328 |
| TEXAS | 44,051 |
| UTAH | 54 |
| VERMONT | 160 |
| VIRGINIA | 70,496 |
| WASHINGTON | 816 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 4,633 |
| WISCONSIN | 446 |
| WYOMING | 33 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 871,653 |

ALL FAMILIES
BELOW POVERTY

| POVERTY | \% |
| :---: | :---: |
| 24,375 | 36.51 |
| 21 | 6.80 |
| 124 | 17.01 |
| 9,690 | 39.29 |
| 1,148 | 15.56 |
| 18 | 5.66 |
| 69 | 3.98 |
| 1,023 | 19.75 |
| 10,940 | 30.26 |
| 26,358 | 28.30 |
| 28 | 7.69 |
| 12 | 13.64 |
| 1,099 | 31.94 |
| 103 | 8.03 |
| 30 | 12.82 |
| 160 | 16.60 |
| 1,932 | 25.49 |
| 28,946 | 44.83 |
| 32 | 12.36 |
| 2,886 | 14.28 |
| 112 | 5.88 |
| 1,338 | 21.24 |
| 28 | 17.61 |
| 45,183 | 43.56 |
| 1,216 | 29.67 |
| 3 | 7.14 |
| 16 | 10.06 |
| 23 | 18.11 |
| 14 | 5.07 |
| 904 | 11.45 |
| 81 | 17.38 |
| 678 | 10.76 |
| 32,559 | 24.11 |
| 3 | 9.09 |
| 690 | 12.84 |
| 1,513 | 33.10 |
| 32 | 13.45 |
| 701 | 14.59 |
| 0 | 0.00 |
| 31,375 | 27.85 |
| 4 | 8.70 |
| 5,601 | 26.26 |
| 15,244 | 34.61 |
| 2 | 3.70 |
| 12 | 7.50 |
| 13,323 | 18.90 |
| 83 | 10.17 |
| 1,367 | 29.51 |
| 47 | 10.54 |
| 11 | 33.33 |
| 261,157 | 29.96 |

FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 24,096 | 13,907 | 57.71 |
| 22 | 1 | 4.55 |
| 158 | 67 | 42.41 |
| 8,182 | 4,990 | 60.99 |
| 1,218 | 452 | 37.11 |
| 14 | 7 | 50.00 |
| 222 | 51 | 22.97 |
| 1,767 | 647 | 36.62 |
| 13,389 | 6,800 | 50.79 |
| 33,475 | 16,203 | 48.40 |
| 36 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 1 | 1 | 100.00 |
| 1,057 | 672 | 63.58 |
| 193 | 34 | 17.62 |
| 16 | 3 | 18.75 |
| 148 | 81 | 54.73 |
| 2,205 | 990 | 44.90 |
| 23,578 | 16,149 | 68.49 |
| 32 | 8 | 25.00 |
| 6,018 | 1,794 | 29.81 |
| 293 | 58 | 19.80 |
| 1,491 | 705 | 47.28 |
| 12 | 8 | 66.67 |
| 39,767 | 25,679 | 64.57 |
| 1,208 | 753 | 62.33 |
| 4 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 4 | 4 | 100.00 |
| 45 | 23 | 51.11 |
| 46 | 8 | 17.39 |
| 2,336 | 579 | 24.79 |
| 85 | 51 | 60.00 |
| 1,227 | 365 | 29.75 |
| 44,440 | 19,275 | 43.37 |
| 5 | 3 | 60.00 |
| 999 | 308 | 30.83 |
| 1,332 | 765 | 57.43 |
| 12 | 2 | 16.67 |
| 985 | 448 | 45.48 |
| 13 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 38,289 | 17,570 | 45.89 |
| 4 | 4 | 100.00 |
| 6,555 | 2,838 | 43.30 |
| 13,819 | 7,999 | 57.88 |
| 7 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 21 | 10 | 47.62 |
| 19,649 | 7,086 | 36.06 |
| 89 | 35 | 39.33 |
| 1,641 | 870 | 53.02 |
| 51 | 9 | 17.65 |
| 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 290,256 | 148,312 | 51.10 |

Families for whom poverty status was determined.

## b-10: POUERTY Status Of RURAL WHITE FAMLLIES BY STATE'

| State | ALL FAMILIES |  |  | FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| ALABAMA | 387,355 | 41,149 | 10.62 | 32,578 | 9,203 | 28.25 |
| ALASKA | 32,502 | 1,690 | 5.20 | 2,274 | 563 | 24.76 |
| ARIZONA | 84,456 | 9,318 | 11.03 | 6,867 | 2,510 | 36.55 |
| ARKANSAS | 289,671 | 37,512 | 12.95 | 22,675 | 7,493 | 33.05 |
| CALIFORNIA | 508,936 | 35,958 | 7.07 | 42,205 | 12,108 | 28.69 |
| COLORADO | 153,995 | 12,703 | 8.25 | 11,373 | 3,545 | 31.17 |
| CONNECTICUT | 188,632 | 3,617 | 1.92 | 15,703 | 1,521 | 9.69 |
| DELAWARE | 44,607 | 2,274 | 5.10 | 3,990 | 750 | 18.8 |
| FLORIDA | 516,989 | 39,970 | 7.73 | 42,708 | 10,633 | 24.9 |
| GEORGLA | 571,596 | 44,936 | 7.86 | 51,147 | 11,830 | 23.13 |
| HAWAII | 13,114 | 941 | 7.18 | 1,543 | 385 | 24.95 |
| IDAHO | 111,387 | 9,899 | 8.89 | 7,347 | 2,404 | 32.72 |
| ILLINOIS | 492,947 | 34,845 | 7.07 | 36,999 | 10,358 | 28.00 |
| INDIANA | 549,631 | 30,798 | 5.60 | 41,343 | 8,872 | 21.46 |
| IOWA | 309,547 | 24,872 | 8.03 | 19,747 | 5,824 | 29.49 |
| KANSAS | 212,374 | 16,861 | 7.94 | 13,660 | 3,981 | 29.14 |
| KENTUCKY | 504,740 | 95,253 | 18.87 | 52,649 | 22,975 | 43.64 |
| LOUISIANA | 294,789 | 39,376 | 13.36 | 25,098 | 8,986 | 35.8 |
| MAINE | 189,017 | 13,915 | 7.36 | 18,803 | 4,996 | 26.57 |
| MARYLAND | 223,271 | 8,362 | 3.75 | 17,542 | 2,859 | 16.30 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 252,986 | 7,658 | 3.03 | 24,921 | 3,558 | 14.28 |
| MICHIGAN | 745,242 | 55,949 | 7.51 | 69,712 | 21,376 | 30.66 |
| MINNESOTA | 358,314 | 29,551 | 8.25 | 22,251 | 6,739 | 30.29 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 260,386 | 30,272 | 11.63 | 22,607 | 6,975 | 30.85 |
| MISSOURI | 452,309 | 51,851 | 11.46 | 36,060 | 12,771 | 35.42 |
| MONTANA | 95,789 | 10,177 | 10.62 | 6,963 | 2,443 | 35.09 |
| NEBRASKA | 148,121 | 12,982 | 8.76 | 8,835 | 2,439 | 27.61 |
| NEVADA | 33,580 | 2,158 | 6.43 | 2,662 | 675 | 25.36 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 149,427 | 5,749 | 3.85 | 12,638 | 1,889 | 14.95 |
| NEW JERSEY | 209,263 | 5,396 | 2.58 | 17,670 | 2,049 | 11.60 |
| NEW MEXICO | 77,985 | 12,017 | 15.41 | 7,869 | 3,182 | 40.44 |
| NEW YORK | 746,165 | 42,080 | 5.64 | 72,429 | 15,024 | 20.74 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 800,581 | 54,007 | 6.75 | 74,482 | 14,893 | 20.00 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 78,065 | 8,817 | 11.29 | 4,487 | 1,336 | 29.77 |
| OHIO | 778,606 | 61,448 | 7.89 | 67,151 | 19,326 | 28.78 |
| OKLAHOMA | 256,584 | 32,607 | 12.71 | 20,122 | 7,755 | 38.54 |
| OREGON | 232,755 | 18,530 | 7.96 | 17,515 | 5,743 | 32.79 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 1,028,333 | 69,543 | 6.76 | 91,893 | 22,639 | 24.64 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 37,844 | 1,139 | 3.01 | 3,268 | 455 | 13.92 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 321,035 | 20,858 | 6.50 | 29,065 | 6,105 | 21.00 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 86,935 | 9,412 | 10.83 | 5,037 | 1,408 | 27.95 |
| TENNESSEE | 538,101 | 62,677 | 11.65 | 51,813 | 15,428 | 29.78 |
| TEXAS | 831,209 | 97,080 | 11.68 | 65,286 | 20,632 | 31.60 |
| UTAH | 51,271 | 4,714 | 9.19 | 3,209 | 1,133 | 35.31 |
| VERMONT | 102,336 | 6,476 | 6.33 | 10,837 | 2,672 | 24.66 |
| VIRGINIA | 466,231 | 35,550 | 7.62 | 42,336 | 9,914 | 23.42 |
| WASHINGTON | 304,721 | 21,297 | 6.99 | 24,513 | 7,605 | 31.02 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 320,386 | 55,963 | 17.47 | 37,845 | 15,778 | 41.69 |
| WISCONSIN | 458,129 | 28,332 | 6.18 | 32,211 | 7,541 | 23.41 |
| WYOMING | 41,944 | 3,503 | 8.35 | 2,843 | 1,013 | 35.63 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 15,944,189 | 1,362,042 | 8.54 | 1,354,781 | 372,292 | 27.48 |

[^54]B-11: POVERTY STATUS OF RURAL AMERICAN INDIAN/ESKIMO/ALLEUT FAMILIES BY STATE'

| STATE | ALL FAMILIES |  |  | FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| ALABAMA | 2,823 | 627 | 22.21 | 413 | 192 | 46.49 |
| ALASKA | 9,778 | 2,308 | 23.6 | 2,226 | 702 | 31.54 |
| ARIZONA | 23,362 | 12,989 | 55.6 | 6,915 | 4,842 | 70.02 |
| ARKANSAS | 1,902 | 420 | 22.08 | 233 | 96 | 41.20 |
| CALIFORNIA | 11,290 | 2,418 | 21.42 | 2,684 | 1,297 | 48.32 |
| COLORADO | 1,612 | 418 | 25.93 | 313 | 170 | 54.31 |
| CONNECTICUT | 336 | 11 | 3.27 | 55 | 3 | 5.45 |
| DELAWARE | 379 | 51 | 13.46 | 88 | 27 | 30.68 |
| FLORIDA | 3,068 | 549 | 17.89 | 482 | 180 | 37.34 |
| GEORGIA | 1,721 | 276 | 16.04 | 220 | 123 | 55.91 |
| HAWAII | 161 | 61 | 37.89 | 48 | 33 | 68.75 |
| IDAHO | 1,762 | 488 | 27.7 | 405 | 202 | 49.88 |
| ILLINOIS | 1,135 | 197 | 17.36 | 144 | 63 | 43.75 |
| INDIANA | 1,067 | 178 | 16.68 | 182 | 74 | 40.66 |
| IOWA | 483 | 104 | 21.53 | 83 | 42 | 50.60 |
| KANSAS | 1,721 | 318 | 18.48 | 256 | 124 | 48.44 |
| KENTUCKY | 878 | 212 | 24.15 | 160 | 96 | 60.00 |
| LOUISIANA | 2,107 | 794 | 37.68 | 342 | 230 | 67.25 |
| MAINE | 893 | 158 | 17.69 | 229 | 78 | 34.06 |
| MARYLAND | 638 | 36 | 5.64 | 70 | 9 | 12.86 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 622 | 113 | 18.17 | 154 | 77 | 50.00 |
| MICHIGAN | 5,454 | 1,116 | 20.46 | 1,011 | 523 | 51.73 |
| MINNESOTA | 4,184 | 1,722 | 41.16 | 1,420 | 923 | 65.00 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 1,471 | 528 | 35.89 | 433 | 228 | 52.66 |
| MISSOURI | 2,436 | 509 | 20.89 | 208 | 132 | 63.46 |
| MONTANA | 7,717 | 3,077 | 39.87 | 2,276 | 1,386 | 60.90 |
| NEBRASKA | 1,273 | 535 | 42.03 | 451 | 284 | 62.97 |
| NEVADA | 1,867 | 591 | 31.66 | 585 | 288 | 49.23 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 253 | 27 | 10.67 | 29 | 2 | 6.90 |
| NEW JERSEY | 661 | 107 | 16.19 | 151 | 70 | 46.36 |
| NEW MEXICO | 18,009 | 8,792 | 48.82 | 4,935 | 3,045 | 61.70 |
| NEW YORK | 3,474 | 520 | 14.97 | 665 | 186 | 27.97 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 16,452 | 3,731 | 22.68 | 3,800 | 1,708 | 44.95 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 4,213 | 2,032 | 48.23 | 1,620 | 1,116 | 68.89 |
| OHIO | 1,508 | 310 | 20.56 | 180 | 90 | 50.00 |
| OKLAHOMA | 29,189 | 7,394 | 25.33 | 4,963 | 2,554 | 51.46 |
| OREGON | 4,020 | 882 | 21.94 | 823 | 429 | 52.13 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 1,164 | 190 | 16.32 | 158 | 89 | 56.33 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 173 | 23 | 13.29 | 35 | 0 | 0.00 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 1,218 | 231 | 18.97 | 168 | 99 | 58.93 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 7,062 | 3,938 | 55.76 | 2,796 | 1,997 | 71.42 |
| TENNESSEE | 1,485 | 356 | 23.97 | 195 | 97 | 49.74 |
| TEXAS | 4,083 | 730 | 17.88 | 483 | 170 | 35.20 |
| UTAH | 2,144 | 1,018 | 47.48 | 530 | 350 | 66.04 |
| VERMONT | 387 | 79 | 20.41 | 71 | 30 | 42.25 |
| VIRGINIA | 1,253 | 141 | 11.25 | 210 | 72 | 34.29 |
| WASHINGTON | 7,347 | 2,095 | 28.52 | 1,999 | 1,056 | 52.83 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 471 | 157 | 33.33 | 107 | 66 | 61.68 |
| WISCONSIN | 4,437 | 1,637 | 36.89 | 1,485 | 914 | 61.55 |
| WYOMING | 1,330 | 588 | 44.21 | 305 | 176 | 57.70 55.95 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 202,473 | 65,782 | 32.49 | 47,794 | 26,740 | 55.95 |

[^55]| State | ALL FAMILIES |  |  | FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% | TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | \% |
| ALABAMA | 1,479 | 270 | 18.26 | 154 | 65 | 42.21 |
| ALASKA | 506 | 36 | 7.11 | 49 | 13 | 26.53 |
| ARIZONA | 16,118 | 4,044 | 25.09 | 2,161 | 1,248 | 57.75 |
| ARKANSAS | 1,489 | 398 | 26.73 | 147 | 61 | 41.50 |
| CALIFORNIA | 73,161 | 15,168 | 20.73 | 7,433 | 3,575 | 48.10 |
| COLORADO | 13,141 | 3,075 | 23.40 | 1,917 | 1,003 | 52.32 |
| CONNECTICUT | 1,830 | 217 | 11.86 | 339 | 173 | 51.03 |
| DELAWARE | 430 | 103 | 23.95 | 69 | 46 | 66.67 |
| FLORIDA | 18,170 | 3,852 | 21.20 | 1,822 | 805 | 44.18 |
| GEORGIA | 3,983 | 747 | 18.75 | 342 | 161 | 47.08 |
| HAWAII | 2,096 | 249 | 11.88 | 396 | 140 | 35.35 |
| IDAHO | 4,195 | 1,147 | 27.34 | 319 | 165 | 51.72 |
| ILLINOIS | 3,020 | 303 | 10.03 | 244 | 62 | 25.41 |
| INDIANA | 2,535 | 232 | 9.15 | 243 | 74 | 30.45 |
| IOWA | 738 | 156 | 21.14 | 90 | 67 | 74.44 |
| KANSAS | 2,905 | 511 | 17.59 | 302 | 150 | 49.67 |
| KENTUCKY | 1,151 | 244 | 21.20 | 106 | 66 | 62.26 |
| LOUISIANA | 3,765 | 755 | 20.05 | 433 | 171 | 39.49 |
| MAINE | 617 | 63 | 10.21 | 58 | 20 | 34.48 |
| MARYLAND | 1,299 | 69 | 5.31 | 50 | 19 | 38.00 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 1,948 | 215 | 11.04 | 349 | 105 | 30.09 |
| MICHIGAN | 7,257 | 1,234 | 17.00 | 1,062 | 525 | 49.44 |
| MINNESOTA | 985 | 268 | 27.21 | 139 | 82 | 58.99 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 1,226 | 257 | 20.96 | 184 | 120 | 65.22 |
| MISSOURI | 1,891 | 270 | 14.28 | 243 | 101 | 41.56 |
| MONTANA | 709 | 155 | 21.86 | 132 | 63 | 47.73 |
| NEBRASKA | 1,223 | 284 | 23.22 | 178 | 76 | 42.70 |
| NEVADA | 2,311 | 413 | 17.87 | 172 | 100 | 58.14 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 628 | 31 | 4.94 | 96 | 29 | 30.21 |
| NEW JERSEY | 3,849 | 288 | 7.48 | 374 | 102 | 27.27 |
| NEW MEXICO | 37,405 | 10,041 | 26.84 | 5,351 | 2,833 | 52.94 |
| NEW YORK | 6,150 | 647 | 10.52 | 754 | 239 | 31.70 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 5,010 | 911 | 18.18 | 671 | 278 | 41.43 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 182 | 33 | 18.13 | 9 | 2 | 22.22 |
| OHIO | 3,988 | 546 | 13.69 | 569 | 204 | 35.85 |
| OKLAHOMA | 3,604 | 1,029 | 28.55 | 409 | 224 | 54.77 |
| OREGON | 5,594 | 1,201 | 21.47 | 561 | 264 | 47.06 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 4,020 | 432 | 10.75 | 390 | 150 | 38.46 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 224 | 10 | 4.46 | 17 | 10 | 58.82 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 1,647 | 246 | 14.94 | 227 | 91 | 40.09 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 212 | 47 | 22.17 | 26 | 14 | 53.85 |
| TENNESSEE | 1,722 | 303 | 17.60 | 189 | 53 | 28.04 |
| TEXAS | 125,711 | 45,406 | 36.12 | 14,278 | 7,972 | 55.83 |
| UTAH | 1,545 | 362 | 23.43 | 125 | 65 | 52.00 |
| VERMONT | 401 | 35 | 8.73 | 38 | 9 | 23.68 |
| VIRGINIA | 2,436 | 258 | 10.59 | 225 | 94 | 41.78 |
| WASHINGTON | 10,304 | 2,881 | 27.96 | 1,086 | 631 | 58.10 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 1,019 | 230 | 22.57 | 166 | 49 | 29.52 |
| WISCONSIN | 1,710 | 255 | 14.91 | 224 | 110 | 49.11 |
| WYOMING | 1,139 | 267 | 23.44 | 110 | 70 | 63.64 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 388,678 | 100,194 | 25.78 | 45,028 | 22,749 | 50.52 |

[^56]
# B-13: POVERTY STATUS OF RURAL ASIAN/PACIFIC ISLANDER FAMIILES BY State' 

| STATE | TOTAL |
| :---: | :---: |
| ALABAMA | 509 |
| ALASKA | 240 |
| ARIZONA | 260 |
| ARKANSAS | 353 |
| CALIFORNIA | 9,584 |
| COLORADO | 568 |
| CONNECTICUT | 1,431 |
| DELAWARE | 222 |
| FLORIDA | 1,880 |
| GEORGIA | 1,438 |
| HAWAII | 15,919 |
| IDAHO | 449 |
| ILLINOIS | 941 |
| INDIANA | 769 |
| IOWA | 237 |
| KANSAS | 471 |
| KENTUCKY | 526 |
| LOUISIANA | 689 |
| MAINE | 310 |
| MARYLAND | 1,275 |
| MASSACHUSETTS | 1,469 |
| MICHIGAN | 1,267 |
| MINNESOTA | 297 |
| MISSISSIPPI | 512 |
| MISSOURI | 452 |
| MONTANA | 155 |
| NEBRASKA | 117 |
| NEVADA | 213 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE | 480 |
| NEW JERSEY | 3,834 |
| NEW MEXICO | 138 |
| NEW YORK | 2,763 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 1,665 |
| NORTH DAKOTA | 50 |
| OHIO | 1,223 |
| OKLAHOMA | 245 |
| OREGON | 1,143 |
| PENNSYLVANIA | 2,015 |
| RHODE ISLAND | 202 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 598 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA | 75 |
| TENNESSEE | 544 |
| TEXAS | 1,894 |
| UTAH | 223 |
| VERMONT | 186 |
| VIRGINIA | 1,578 |
| WASHINGTON | 2,046 |
| WEST VIRGINIA | 552 |
| WISCONSIN | 541 |
| WYOMING | 37 |
| U.S. TOTAL | 64,585 |

ALL FAMILIES
BELOW POVERTY

| 165 | 32.42 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 19 | 7.92 |
| 46 | 17.69 |
| 47 | 13.31 |
| 895 | 9.34 |
| 15 | 2.64 |
| 29 | 2.03 |
| 14 | 6.31 |
| 183 | 9.73 |
| 136 | 9.46 |
| 1,411 | 8.86 |
| 44 | 9.80 |
| 61 | 6.48 |
| 55 | 7.15 |
| 24 | 10.13 |
| 115 | 24.42 |
| 26 | 4.94 |
| 196 | 28.45 |
| 43 | 13.87 |

$\begin{array}{rr}43 & 13.87 \\ 41 & 3.22 \\ 108 & 7.35\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}128 & 10.10 \\ 43 & 14.48\end{array}$
10219.92
$\begin{array}{lr}15 & 9.68 \\ 15 & 12.82\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}15 & 12.82 \\ 16 & 7.51 \\ 47 & 9.79\end{array}$
$151 \quad 3.94$
$\begin{array}{rr}25 & 18.12 \\ 169 & 6.12\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}188 & 11.29 \\ 11 & 22.00\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{lr}55 & 4.50 \\ 56 & 22.86\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{ll}136 & 11.90 \\ 223 & 11.07\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}11.07 \\ 25 & 12.38\end{array}$
$\begin{array}{rr}48 & 8.03 \\ 9 & 12.00\end{array}$
$66 \quad 12.13$

| 264 | 13.94 |
| ---: | ---: |
| 14 | 6.28 |
| 34 | 18.28 |
| 102 | 6.46 |
| 207 | 10.12 |
| 57 | 10.33 |
| 115 | 21.26 |
| 0 | 0.00 |
| $\mathbf{6 , 0 4 3}$ | $\mathbf{9 . 3 6}$ |

FEMALE-HEADED FAMILIES

| TOTAL | BELOW POVERTY | $\%$ |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 69 | 31 | 44.93 |
| 39 | 5 | 12.82 |
| 25 | 10 | 40.00 |
| 51 | 8 | 15.69 |
| 883 | 187 | 21.18 |
| 52 | 3 | 5.77 |
| 60 | 7 | 11.67 |
| 12 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 263 | 85 | 32.32 |
| 116 | 34 | 29.31 |
| 2,181 | 491 | 22.51 |

$491 \quad 22.51$
43.86
26.56
34.15
29.73
58.33
36.36
64.63
57.58
20.78
35.07
34.34
54.84
53.66
30.10
35.00
0.00
0.00
41.18
9.27
100.00
26.42
18.27
37.50
19.67
48.28
43.20
54.40 0.00 6.52
24.14 44.87

| 173 | 63 | 36.42 |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 20 | 1 | 5.00 |


| 27 | 9 | 33.33 |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 173 | 61 | 35.26 |
| 238 | 71 | 29.83 |
| 75 | 23 | 30.67 |
| 31 | 16 | 51.61 |
| 9 | 0 | 0.00 |
| $\mathbf{6 , 8 2 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 , 8 7 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 7 . 4 9}$ |

[^57] POPULIATION BELOW THE POVERTY LINE

| RANK | COUNTY | State | NONMETRO | TOTAL POP | $\begin{aligned} & \text { BELOW } \\ & \text { POVERTY } \end{aligned}$ | \% BELOW POVERTY |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Shannon County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 9,693 | 6,118 | 63.12 |
| 2 | Starr County | TEXAS | Yes | 40,264 | 24,150 | 59.98 |
| 3 | Tunica County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 8,087 | 4,597 | 56.84 |
| 4 | East Carroll Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 9,316 | 5,293 | 56.82 |
| 5 | Holmes County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 21,179 | 11,266 | 53.19 |
| 6 | Owsley County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 4,930 | 2,570 | 52.13 |
| 7 | Ziebach County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 2,214 | 1,131 | 51.08 |
| 8 | Maverick County | TEXAS | Yes | 36,120 | 18,217 | 50.43 |
| 9 | Zavala County | TEXAS | Yes | 11,922 | 6,004 | 50.36 |
| 10 | Todd County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 8,254 | 4,143 | 50.19 |
| 11 | Issaquena County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 1,904 | 939 | 49.32 |
| 12 | Dimmit County | TEXAS | Yes | 10,360 | 5,062 | 48.86 |
| 13 | Menominee County | WISCONSIN | Yes | 3,820 | 1,860 | 48.69 |
| 14 | Presidio County | TEXAS | Yes | 6,592 | 3,172 | 48.12 |
| 15 | Sharkey County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 6,952 | 3,305 | 47.54 |
| 16 | Sioux County | NORTH DAKOTA | Yes | 3,735 | 1,769 | 47.36 |
| 17 | Lee County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 12,936 | 6,119 | 47.30 |
| 18 | Apache County | ARIZONA | Yes | 60,836 | 28,640 | 47.08 |
| 19 | Jefferson County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 8,638 | 4,048 | 46.86 |
| 20 | Tensas Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 6,981 | 3,235 | 46.34 |
| 21 | Humphreys County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 11,927 | 5,479 | 45.94 |
| 22 | Greene County | ALABAMA | Yes | 10,039 | 4,575 | 45.57 |
| 23 | McCreary County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 15,533 | 7,062 | 45.46 |
| 24 | Coahoma County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 30,796 | 13,997 | 45.45 |
| 25 | Wilcox County | ALABAMA | Yes | 13,349 | 6,034 | 45.20 |
| 26 | Buffalo County | SOUTH DAKOTA | No | 1,741 | 785 | 45.09 |
| 27 | Madison Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 12,139 | 5,416 | 44.62 |
| 28 | Willacy County | TEXAS | Yes | 17,631 | 7,848 | 44.51 |
| 29 | Dewey County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 5,491 | 2,438 | 44.40 |
| 30 | Wolfe County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 6,403 | 2,835 | 44.28 |
| 31 | Kalawao County | HAWAII | Yes | 110 | 48 | 43.64 |
| 32 | Claiborne County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 9,381 | 4,087 | 43.57 |
| 33 | McKinley County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 60,069 | 26,118 | 43.48 |
| 34 | Phillips County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 28,422 | 12,229 | 43.03 |
| 35 | Bolivar County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 39,990 | 17,158 | 42.91 |
| 36 | Perry County | ALABAMA | Yes | 12,086 | 5,154 | 42.64 |
| 37 | Corson County | SOUTH DAKOTA | No | 4,182 | 1,779 | 42.54 |
| 38 | Magoffin County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 12,881 | 5,479 | 42.54 |
| 39 | Wilkinson County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 9,550 | 4,033 | 42.23 |
| 40 | Tallahatchie County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 15,085 | 6,328 | 41.95 |
| 41 | Hidalgo County | TEXAS | No | 380,201 | 159,216 | 41.88 |
| 42 | Sunflower County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 29,409 | 12,302 | 41.83 |
| 43 | Edwards County | TEXAS | Yes | 2,251 | 939 | 41.71 |
| 44 | Quitman County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 10,381 | 4,315 | 41.57 |
| 45 | Noxubee County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 12,556 | 5,193 | 41.36 |
| 46 | Mellette County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 2,090 | 864 | 41.34 |
| 47 | Zapata County | TEXAS | Yes | 9,249 | 3,790 | 40.98 |
| 48 | Rolette County | NORTH DAKOTA | Yes | 12,549 | 5,103 | 40.66 |
| 49 | Knott County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 17,416 | 7,035 | 40.39 |
| 50 | Chicot County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 15,603 | 6,299 | 40.37 |
| 51 | Clay County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 21,544 | 8,656 | 40.18 |
| 52 | Hancock County | TENNESSEE | Yes | 6,560 | 2,627 | 40.05 |
| 53 | Sumter County | ALABAMA | Yes | 15,425 | 6,131 | 39.75 |


| RANK | COUNTY | STATE | NONMETRO | TOTAL POP | $\begin{aligned} & \text { BELOW } \\ & \text { POVERTY } \end{aligned}$ | \% BELOW POVERTY |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | Cameron County | TEXAS | No | 255,586 | 101,362 |  |
| 55 | Breathitt County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 25,586 15,375 | 101,362 | 39.66 39.49 |
| 56 | Yazoo County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 25,132 | 9,861 | 39.49 39.24 |
| 57 | Clay County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | -9,958 | 3,901 | 39.24 39.17 |
| 58 | Frio County | TEXAS | Yes | 13,188 | 5,158 | 39.11 |
| 59 | Duval County | TEXAS | Yes | 12,876 | 5,021 | 39.00 |
| 60 | Leflore County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 35,941 | 13,987 | 38.00 |
| 61 | Knox County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 29,027 | 11,289 | 38.89 |
| 62 | Hudspeth County | TEXAS | Yes | 2,802 | 1,089 | 38.87 |
| 63 | Morgan County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 11,162 | 4,328 | 38.77 |
| 64 | Jackson County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 2,779 | 1,077 | 38.75 |
| 65 | Lowndes County | ALABAMA | Yes | 12,594 | 4,858 | 38.57 |
| 66 | Guadalupe County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 4,132 | 1,589 | 38.46 |
| 67 | Jackson County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 11,884 | 4,544 | 38.24 |
| 68 | Webb County | TEXAS | No | 131,345 | 50,116 | 38.16 |
| 69 | Clinton County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 9,050 | 3,447 | 38.09 |
| 70 | Elliott County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 6,455 | 2,456 | 38.05 |
| 71 | McDowell County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 34,985 | 13,195 | 37.72 |
| 72 | Bennett County | SOUTH DAKOTA | Yes | 3,136 | 1,179 | 37.60 |
| 73 | Lee County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 7,229 | 2,704 | 37.40 |
| 74 | Wayne County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 17,292 | 6,446 | 37.28 |
| 75 | Avoyelles Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 37,247 | 13,817 | 37.10 |
| 76 | La Salle County | TEXAS | Yes | 5,178 | 1,918 | 37.04 |
| 77 | Brooks County | TEXAS | Yes | 8,123 | 2,989 | 36.80 |
| 78 | Catahoula Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 10,842 | 3,989 | 36.79 |
| 79 | St. Francis County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 28,128 | 10,302 | 36.63 |
| 80 | Karnes County | TEXAS | Yes | 12,183 | 4,450 | 36.53 |
| 81 | Bullock County | ALABAMA | Yes | 10,340 | 3,776 | 36.52 |
| 82 | San Juan County | UTAH | Yes | 12,431 | 4,523 | 36.38 |
| 83 | Val Verde County | TEXAS | Yes | 37,906 | 13,790 | 36.38 |
| 84 | St. Landry Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 78,931 | 28,665 | 36.32 |
| 85 | Dallas County | ALABAMA | Yes | 47,176 | 17,099 | 36.25 |
| 86 | Bell County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 30,940 | 11,209 | 36.23 |
| 87 | Mora County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 4,257 | 1,540 | 36.18 |
| 88 | Lawrence County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 13,821 | 4,980 | 36.03 |
| 89 | Monroe County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 11,188 | 4,022 | 35.95 |
| 90 | Randolph County | GEORGIA | Yes | 7,626 | 2,740 | 35.93 |
| 91 | Walthall County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 14,211 | 5,101 | 35.89 |
| 92 | Allendale County | SOUTH CAROLINA | Yes | 10,703 | 3,837 | 35.85 |
| 93 | Pemiscot County | MISSOURI | Yes | 21,561 | 7,728 | 35.84 |
| 94 | Clay County | GEORGIA | Yes | 3,275 | 1,170 | 35.73 |
| 95 | Glacier County | MONTANA | Yes | 11,838 | 4,224 | 35.68 |
| 96 | Hale County | ALABAMA | Yes | 15,223 | 5,420 | 35.60 |
| 97 | Leslie County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 13,515 | 4,808 | 35.58 |
| 98 | Martin County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 12,497 | 4,422 | 35.38 |
| 99 | Jim Hogg County | TEXAS | Yes | 5,091 | 1,798 | 35.32 |
| 100 | Big Horn County | MONTANA | Yes | 11,191 | 3,949 | 35.29 |
| 101 | Kemper County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 10,022 | 3,522 | 35.14 |
| 102 | Evangeline Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 32,664 | 11,471 | 35.12 |
| 103 | Red River Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 9,161 | 3,216 | 35.11 |
| 104 | Menifee County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 5,070 | 1,776 | 35.03 |
| 105 | Webster County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 10,635 | 3,700 | 34.79 |
| 106 | Navajo County | ARIZONA | Yes | 76,251 | 26,458 | 34.70 |
| 107 | Lafayette County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 9,534 | 3,305 | 34.67 34.57 |
| 108 | Costilla County | COLORADO | Yes | 3,185 | 1,101 | 34.57 34.55 |
| 109 | Woodruff County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 9,375 | 3,239 | 34.55 |
| 110 |  | ALABAMA | Yes | 22,650 | 7,812 | 34.49 |

Housing Assistance Council
B-15

| RANK | county | State | NONMETRO | TOTAL POP | $\begin{aligned} & \text { BELOW } \\ & \text { POVERTY } \end{aligned}$ | \% BELOW POVERTY |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 111 | Franklin Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 21,764 | 7,500 | 34.46 |
| 112 | St. Helena Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 9,748 | 3,358 | 34.45 |
| 113 | Harmon County | OKLAHOMA | Yes | 3,619 | 1,236 | 34.15 |
| 114 | Montgomery County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 12,211 | 4,153 | 34.01 |
| 115 | Desha County | ARKANSAS | Yes | 16,542 | 5,621 | 33.98 |
| 116 | Natchitoches Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 34,171 | 11,594 | 33.93 |
| 117 | Conejos County | COLORADO | Yes | 7,414 | 2,510 | 33.85 |
| 118 | Panola County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 29,674 | 10,031 | 33.80 |
| 119 | Lincoln County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 21,293 | 7,197 | 33.80 |
| 120 | San Saba County | TEXAS | Yes | 5,217 | 1,762 | 33.77 |
| 121 | West Feliciana Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 7,901 | 2,668 | 33.77 |
| 122 | Washington County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 67,160 | 22,671 | 33.76 |
| 123 | Cibola County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 23,064 | 7,753 | 33.62 |
| 124 | Gilmer County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 7,102 | 2,378 | 33.48 |
| 125 | Franklin County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 8,279 | 2,760 | 33.34 |
| 126 | Jefferson Davis County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 13,928 | 4,633 | 33.26 |
| 127 | Richland Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 19,995 | 6,638 | 33.20 |
| 128 | McPherson County | NEBRASKA | Yes | 546 | 181 | 33.15 |
| 129 | Harlan County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 36,256 | 11,995 | 33.08 |
| 130 | Quitman County | GEORGIA | Yes | 2,203 | 727 | 33.00 |
| 131 | Whitley County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 32,188 | 10,622 | 33.00 |
| 132 | Dooly County | GEORGIA | Yes | 9,698 | 3,191 | 32.90 |
| 133 | Pike County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 36,200 | 11,904 | 32.88 |
| 134 | Choctaw County | OKLAHOMA | Yes | 15,031 | 4,919 | 32.73 |
| 135 | Warren County | GEORGIA | Yes | 5,960 | 1,943 | 32.60 |
| 136 | Lynn County | TEXAS | Yes | 6,711 | 2,179 | 32.47 |
| 137 | Fentress County | TENNESSEE | Yes | 14,534 | 4,695 | 32.30 |
| 138 | Alexander County | ILLINOIS | Yes | 10,529 | 3,395 | 32.24 |
| 139 | Radford city | VIRGINIA | Yes | 12,891 | 4,152 | 32.21 |
| 140 | Perry County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 29,985 | 9,636 | 32.14 |
| 141 | Calhoun County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 7,846 | 2,514 | 32.04 |
| 142 | Copiah County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 26,644 | 8,528 | 32.01 |
| 143 | Claiborne Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 15,937 | 5,096 | 31.98 |
| 144 | Taliaferro County | GEORGIA | Yes | 1,902 | 606 | 31.86 |
| 145 | Letcher County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 26,829 | 8,524 | 31.77 |
| 146 | Calhoun County | GEORGIA | Yes | 4,904 | 1,558 | 31.77 |
| 147 | Benson County | NORTH DAKOTA | Yes | 7,110 | 2,251 | 31.66 |
| 148 | Orleans Parish | LOUISIANA | No | 480,749 | 152,042 | 31.63 |
| 149 | Cumberland County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 6,689 | 2,112 | 31.57 |
| 150 | Washington Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 41,566 | 13,117 | 31.56 |
| 151 | Butler County | ALABAMA | Yes | 21,648 | 6,815 | 31.48 |
| 152 | Tangipahoa Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 82,451 | 25,950 | 31.47 |
| 153 | Ripley County | MISSOURI | Yes | 12,119 | 3,814 | 31.47 |
| 154 | Luna County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 17,947 | 5,645 | 31.45 |
| 155 | Charles Mix County | SOUTH DAKOTA | No | 8,871 | 2,785 | 31.39 |
| 156 | Stewart County | GEORGIA | Yes | 5,547 | 1,741 | 31.39 |
| 157 | Early County | GEORGIA | Yes | 11,591 | 3,635 | 31.36 |
| 158 | Turner County | GEORGIA | Yes | 8,599 | 2,694 | 31.33 |
| 159 | Jefferson County | GEORGIA | Yes | 16,975 | 5,312 | 31.29 |
| 160 | Dickens County | TEXAS | Yes | 2,529 | 791 | 31.28 |
| 161 | Covington County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 16,440 | 5,137 | 31.25 |
| 162 | Floyd County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 43,301 | 13,521 | 31.23 |
| 163 | Bienville Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 15,453 | 4,824 | 31.22 |
| 164 | Menard County | TEXAS | Yes | 2,217 | 690 | 31.12 |
| 165 | Atoka County | OKLAHOMA | Yes | 11,657 | 3,622 | 31.07 |
| 166 | Uvalde County | TEXAS | Yes | 22,865 | 7,102 | 31.06 |
| 167 | Wade Hampton Census Area | ALASKA | Yes | 5,787 | 1,794 | 31.00 |


| RANK | COUNTY | STATE | NONMETRO | TOTAL POP | $\begin{aligned} & \text { BELOW } \\ & \text { POVERTY } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% BELOW } \\ & \text { POVERTY } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 168 | Morehouse Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 31,162 | 9,645 | 30.95 |
| 169 | Thurston County | NEBRASKA | Yes | 6,810 | 2,107 | 30.95 30.94 |
| 170 | Mingo County | WEST VIRGINIA | Yes | 33,523 | 10,370 | 30.93 |
| 171 | Caldwell County | TEXAS | Yes | 25,905 | 8,010 | 30.92 |
| 172 | Childress County | TEXAS | Yes | 5,820 | 1,798 | 30.89 |
| 173 | Amite County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 13,284 | 4,100 | 30.86 |
| 174 | Rockcastle County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 14,637 | 4,498 | 30.73 |
| 175 | Lewis County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 12,855 | 3,946 | 30.70 |
| 176 | Jasper County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 16,978 | 5,204 | 30.65 |
| 177 | Saguache County | COLORADO | Yes | 4,567 | 1,399 | 30.63 |
| 178 | Concordia Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 20,504 | 6,268 | 30.57 |
| 179 | Marion County | TEXAS | Yes | 9,893 | 3,024 | 30.57 |
| 180 | Acadia Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 55,097 | 16,832 | 30.55 |
| 181 | Dawson County | TEXAS | Yes | 14,218 | 4,343 | 30.55 |
| 182 | Adams County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 34,883 | 10,634 | 30.48 |
| 183 | Real County | TEXAS | Yes | 2,377 | 724 | 30.46 |
| 184 | Pointe Coupee Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 22,243 | 6,749 | 30.34 |
| 185 | Jim Wells County | TEXAS | Yes | 37,152 | 11,262 | 30.31 |
| 186 | Fulton County | KENTUCKY | Yes | 8,141 | 2,467 | 30.30 |
| 187 | Wheeler County | GEORGIA | Yes | 4,832 | 1,463 | 30.28 |
| 188 | Burke County | GEORGIA | Yes | 20,319 | 6,147 | 30.25 |
| 189 | McCurtain County | OKLAHOMA | Yes | 32,887 | 9,937 | 30.22 |
| 190 | Pushmataha County | OKLAHOMA | Yes | 10,851 | 3,278 | 30.21 |
| 191 | Choctaw County | ALABAMA | Yes | 15,929 | 4,809 | 30.19 |
| 192 | Pulaski County | ILLINOIS | Yes | 7,441 | 2,246 | 30.18 |
| 193 | San Miguel County | NEW MEXICO | Yes | 24,387 | 7,357 | 30.17 |
| 194 | Attala County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 18,280 | 5,512 | 30.15 |
| 195 | Hancock County | GEORGIA | Yes | 8,722 | 2,628 | 30.13 |
| 196 | Oktibbeha County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 33,424 | 10,069 | 30.13 |
| 197 | Bethel Census Area | ALASKA | Yes | 13,396 | 4,022 | 30.02 |
| 198 | Marengo County | ALABAMA | Yes | 22,829 | 6,851 | 30.01 |
| 199 | Marshall County | MISSISSIPPI | Yes | 29,517 | 8,849 | 29.98 |
| 200 | Allen Parish | LOUISIANA | Yes | 19,755 | 5,916 | 29.95 |

## B-15: LOWER MISSISSIPPI DEITA COUNTIES AND PARISHES

| ARKANSAS | ILlinois | KENTUCKY | LOUISIANA |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas | Alexander | Ballard | Acadia |
| Ashely | Franklin | Caldwell | Allen |
| Baxter | Gallatin | Calloway | Ascension |
| Bradley | Hamilton | Carlisle | Assumption |
| Calhoun | Hardin | Christian | Avoyelles |
| Chicot | Jackson | Crittenden | Catahoula |
| Clay | Johnson | Fulton | Concordia |
| Cleveland | Massac | Graves | East Baton Rouge* |
| Craighead | Perry | Henderson | East Carroll |
| Crittenden* | Pope | Hickman | East Feliciana |
| Cross | Pulaski | Hopkins | Evangeline |
| Dallas | Randolph | Livingston | Franklin |
| Desha | Saline | Lyon | Grant |
| Drew | Union | Marshall | Iberia |
| Fulton | White | McCracken | Iberville |
| Grant | Williamson | McLean | Jackson |
| Greene |  | Muhlenberg | Jefferson* |
| Independence |  | Todd | Lofourche |
| Izard |  | Trigg | La Salle Lincoln |
| Jackson |  | Union | Livingston* |
| Jefferson* |  | Webster | Madison |
| Lawrence |  |  | Morehouse |
| Lee |  |  | Orleans* |
| Lincoln |  |  | Ouachita |
| Lonoke* |  |  | Plaquemines |
| Marion |  |  | Pointe Coupee |
| Mississippi |  |  | Rapides* |
| Monroe |  |  | Richland |
| Ouachita |  |  | St. Bernard* |
| Phillips |  |  | St. Charles* |
| Poinsett |  |  | St. Helena |
| Prairie |  |  | St. James |
| Pulaski* |  |  | St. John the Baptist* |
| Randolph |  |  | St. Landry |
| St. Francis |  |  | St. Martin |
| Searcy |  |  | Tangipahoa |
| Sharp |  |  | Union |
| Stone |  |  | Washington |
| Union |  |  | West Baton Rouge |
| VanBuren |  |  | West Carroll |
| White Woodruff |  |  | West Feliciana |
|  |  |  | Winn |

[^58]| MISSISSIPPI | MISSOURI | TENNESSEE |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Adams | Bollinger | Benton |
| Amite | Butler | Carroll |
| Attala | Cape Girardeau | Chester |
| Benton | Carter | Crockett |
| Bolivar | Crawford | Decatur |
| Carroll | Dent | Dyer |
| Claiborne | Douglas | Fayette |
| Coahoma | Dunkin | Gibson |
| Copiah | Howell | Hardemean |
| Covington | Iron | Hardin |
| DeSoto* | Madison | Haywood |
| Franklin | Mississippi | Henderson |
| Grenada | New Madrid | Henry |
| Hinds | Oregon | Lake |
| Holmes | Ozark | Lauderdale |
| Humphreys | Pemiscot | McNairy |
| Issaquena | Perry | Madison |
| Jefferson | Phelps | Obion |
| Jefferson Davis | Reynolds | Shelby |
| Lafayette | Ripley | Tipton |
| Lawrence | St. Genevieve | Weakley |
| Leflore | St. Francois |  |
| Lincoln | Scott |  |
| Madison* | Shannon |  |
| Marion | Stoddard |  |
| Marshall | Texas |  |
| Montgomery | Washington |  |
| Panola | Wayne |  |
| Pike | Wright |  |
| Quitman |  |  |
| Ranklin |  |  |
| Sharkey |  |  |
| Simpson |  |  |
| Sunflower |  |  |
| Tallahatchie |  |  |
| Tate |  |  |
| Tippah |  |  |
| Tunica |  |  |
| Union |  |  |
| Walthall |  |  |
| Warren |  |  |
| Washington |  |  |
| Wilkinson |  |  |
| Yalobusha |  |  |
| Yazoo |  |  |

Yazoo

# B-16: POPULATION BY URBAN/RURAL AREAS, RACE, AND HISPANIC ORIGIN, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA 



Arkansas

| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Metro | 524,354 | 427,865 | $82 \%$ | 96,489 | $18 \%$ | 364,016 | $69 \%$ | 154,176 | $29 \%$ | 6,162 | $1 \%$ | 4,479 | $1 \%$ |
| Nonmetro | 805,985 | 343,787 | $43 \%$ | 462,198 | $57 \%$ | 650,457 | $81 \%$ | 149,249 | $19 \%$ | 6,279 | $1 \%$ | 4,921 | $1 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $61 \%$ | $45 \%$ |  | $83 \%$ |  | $64 \%$ |  | $49 \%$ | 50 |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL $1,330,339$ | 771,652 | $58 \%$ | 558,687 | $42 \%$ | $1,014,473$ | $76 \%$ | 303,425 | $23 \%$ | 12,441 | $1 \%$ | 9,400 | $1 \%$ |  |

Illinois*
$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllll}\text { TOTAL } & 345,024 & 151,899 & 44 \% & 193,125 & 56 \% & 320,373 & 93 \% & 20,046 & 6 \% & 4,605 & 1 \% & 2,882 & 1 \%\end{array}$

Kentucky*

Louisiana

| Metro | $1,676,495$ | $1,527,223$ | $91 \%$ | 149,272 | $9 \%$ | $1,043,923$ | $62 \%$ | 587,943 | $35 \%$ | 44,629 | $3 \%$ | 56,151 | $3 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro $1,225,143$ | 503,965 | $41 \%$ | 721,178 | $59 \%$ | 835,263 | $68 \%$ | 377,358 | $31 \%$ | 12,522 | $1 \%$ | 12,890 | $1 \%$ |  |
| \% of Total | $42 \%$ | $25 \%$ |  | $83 \%$ |  | $44 \%$ |  | $39 \%$ |  | $22 \%$ |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | $2,901,638$ | $2,031,188$ | $70 \%$ | 870,450 | $30 \%$ | $1,879,186$ | $65 \%$ | 965,301 | $33 \%$ | 57,151 | $2 \%$ | 69,041 | $2 \%$ |

Mississippi

| Metro | 384,522 | 287,777 | $75 \%$ | 96,745 | $25 \%$ | 217,145 | $56 \%$ | 165,133 | $43 \%$ | 2,244 | $1 \%$ | 1,538 | $0 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro | 965,792 | 347,668 | $36 \%$ | 618,124 | $64 \%$ | 522,521 | $54 \%$ | 438,528 | $45 \%$ | 4,743 | $0 \%$ | 4,234 | $0 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $72 \%$ | $55 \%$ |  | $86 \%$ |  | $71 \%$ |  | $73 \%$ |  | $68 \%$ |  |  |  |
| TOTAL $1,350,314$ | 635,445 | $47 \%$ | 714,869 | $53 \%$ | 739,666 | $55 \%$ | 603,661 | $45 \%$ | 6,987 | $1 \%$ | 5,772 | $0 \%$ |  |

Missouri* ${ }^{*}$
$\begin{array}{lllllllllllllllllll}\text { TOTAL } & 604,896 & 219,132 & 36 \% & 385,764 & 64 \% & 574,706 & 95 \% & 24,995 & 4 \% & 5,195 & 1 \% & 3,072 & 1 \%\end{array}$

Tennessee

| Metro | 863,898 | 801,332 | $93 \%$ | 62,566 | $.7 \%$ | 482,939 | $56 \%$ | 369,203 | $43 \%$ | 11,756 | $1 \%$ | 6,775 | $1 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro | 495,327 | 180,989 | $37 \%$ | 314,338 | $63 \%$ | 397,183 | $80 \%$ | 95,928 | $19 \%$ | 2,216 | $0 \%$ | 2,425 | $0 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $36 \%$ | $18 \%$ |  | $83 \%$ |  | $45 \%$ |  | $21 \%$ |  | $16 \%$ |  |  |  |
| TOTAL $1,359,225$ | 982,321 | $72 \%$ | 376,904 | $28 \%$ | 880,122 | $65 \%$ | 465,131 | $34 \%$ | 13,972 | $1 \%$ | 9,200 | $1 \%$ |  |

## TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

| Metro | $3,449,269$ | $3,044,197$ | $88 \%$ | 405,072 | $12 \%$ | $2,108,023$ | $61 \%$ | $1,276,455$ | $37 \%$ | 64,791 | $2 \%$ | 68,943 | $2 \%$ |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro $4,912,497$ | $1,953,036$ | $40 \%$ | $2,959,461$ | $60 \%$ | $3,723,844$ | $76 \%$ | $1,148,477$ | $23 \%$ | 40,176 | $1 \%$ | 34,357 | $1 \%$ |  |
| $\%$ of Total | $59 \%$ | $39 \%$ |  | $88 \%$ |  | $64 \%$ |  | $47 \%$ |  | $38 \%$ |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | $8,361,766$ | $4,997,233$ | $60 \%$ | $3,364,533$ | $40 \%$ | $5,831,867$ | $70 \%$ | $2,424,932$ | $29 \%$ | 104,967 | $1 \%$ | 103,300 | $1 \%$ |

[^59]
## B-17: HOUSEHOLDS BY HOUSEHOLD TYPE AND AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  |  | FAMILY |  |  |  | NON FAMIILY |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | TOTAL | $\begin{gathered} 15 \mathrm{TO} 64 \\ \text { YEARS OLD } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 65 \text { AND } \\ & \text { OLDER } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 15 \text { TO } 64 \\ & \text { YEARS OLD } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 65 \text { AND } \\ & \text { OLDER } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 197,950 | 119,052 | 60\% | 21,351 | 11\% | 37,884 | 19\% | 19,663 | 10\% |
| Nonmetro | 304,382 | 179,726 | 59\% | 47,412 | 16\% | 36,275 | 12\% | 40,969 | 13\% |
| \% of Total | 61\% | 60\% |  | 69\% |  | 49\% |  | 68\% |  |
| TOTAL | 502,332 | 298,778 | 59\% | 68,763 | 14\% | 74,159 | 15\% | 60,632 | 12\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 134,932 | 72,842 | 54\% | 19,324 | 14\% | 22,564 | 17\% | 20,202 | 15\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 177,702 | 107,060 | 60\% | 25,048 | 14\% | 22,348 | 13\% | 23,246 | 13\% |

Louisiana

| Metro | 612,287 | 365,481 | $60 \%$ | 63,796 | $10 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 417,655 | 267,471 | $64 \%$ | 51,772 | $12 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $41 \%$ | $42 \%$ |  | $45 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | $1,029,942$ | 632,952 | $61 \%$ | 115,568 | $11 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 135,953 | 84,745 | $62 \%$ | 14,985 | $11 \%$ |
| Nonmetro | 332,114 | 202,495 | $61 \%$ | 46,129 | $14 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $71 \%$ | $70 \%$ |  | $75 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 468,067 | 287,240 | $61 \%$ | 61,114 | $13 \%$ |

Missouri*
TOTAL
230,464
135,387
$59 \% \quad 33,668 \quad 15 \%$

Tennessee

| Metro | 316,727 | 192,828 | $61 \%$ | 31,300 | $10 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 188,567 | 112,523 | $60 \%$ | 27,915 | $15 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $37 \%$ | $37 \%$ |  | $47 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 505,294 | 305,351 | $60 \%$ | 59,215 | $12 \%$ |

## TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

| Metro | $1,262,917$ | 762,106 | $60 \%$ | 131,432 | $10 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | $1,785,816$ | $1,077,504$ | $60 \%$ | 251,268 | $14 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $59 \%$ | $59 \%$ |  | $66 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | $3,048,733$ | $1,839,610$ | $60 \%$ | 382,700 | $13 \%$ |

## B-18: POVERTY STATUS FOR ALL PERSONS"* BY AGE, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  | all ages | UNDER 5 | 5 YEARS | 6 TO 11 | 12 TO 17 | 18 TO 64 | 65 TO 74 | 75 AND OLDER |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 17\% | 26\% | 24\% | 24\% | 22\% | 13\% | 17\% | 27\% |
| Nonmetro | 24\% | $36 \%$ | 34\% | 32\% | 29\% | 19\% | 22\% | 35\% |
| TOTAL | 21\% | 32\% | 30\% | 29\% | 27\% | 17\% | 20\% | 32\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 20\% | $32 \%$ | 29\% | 25\% | 21\% | 19\% | 13\% | 21\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 18\% | 26\% | 24\% | 22\% | 20\% | 15\% | 17\% | 25\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 21\% | 32\% | 32\% | 29\% | 29\% | 18\% | 17\% | 24\% |
| Nonmetro | 29\% | 39\% | 38\% | 37\% | 34\% | 24\% | 26\% | 38\% |
| TOTAL | 24\% | 35\% | 34\% | 33\% | 31\% | 20\% | 21\% | 30\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 20\% | 30\% | 30\% | 27\% | 27\% | 16\% | 19\% | 30\% |
| Nonmetro | 31\% | 44\% | 42\% | 40\% | 39\% | 25\% | 29\% | 41\% |
| TOTAL | 28\% | 40\% | $39 \%$ | 37\% | 36\% | 22\% | 26\% | 39\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 22\% | 33\% | 31\% | 29\% | 24\% | 19\% | 19\% | 31\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 18\% | 30\% | 26\% | 27\% | 25\% | 14\% | 18\% | 26\% |
| Nonmetro | 19\% | 27\% | 26\% | 22\% | 21\% | 14\% | 22\% | 33\% |
| TOTAL | 18\% | 29\% | 26\% | 25\% | 23\% | 14\% | 20\% | 29\% |

TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

| Metro | $20 \%$ | $30 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $28 \%$ | $27 \%$ | $16 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $26 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nonmetro | $25 \%$ | $36 \%$ | $35 \%$ | $33 \%$ | $30 \%$ | $20 \%$ | $22 \%$ | $34 \%$ |
| TOTAL | $23 \%$ | $34 \%$ | $32 \%$ | $31 \%$ | $29 \%$ | $19 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $31 \%$ |

[^60]
## B-19: POUERTY STATUS OF BLACK PERSONS"" BY AGE, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DEIA

|  | ALL AGES | UNDER 5 | 5 YEARS | 6 TO 11 | 12 TO 17 | 18 TO 64 | 65 TO 74 | 75 AND OLDER |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 36\% | 50\% | 44\% | 45\% | 41\% | 29\% | 42\% | 49\% |
| Nonmetro | 51\% | 67\% | 63\% | 60\% | 57\% | 43\% | 49\% | 57\% |
| TOTAL | 44\% | 58\% | 53\% | 53\% | 49\% | 36\% | 46\% | 54\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 50\% | 71\% | 70\% | 55\% | 47\% | 46\% | 41\% | 46\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 41\% | 51\% | 45\% | 50\% | 50\% | 36\% | 41\% | 41\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 41\% | 56\% | 55\% | 51\% | 50\% | 34\% | 36\% | 44\% |
| Nonmetro | 54\% | 67\% | 66\% | 64\% | 60\% | 47\% | 50\% | 57\% |
| TOTAL | 46\% | 60\% | 59\% | 56\% | 54\% | 38\% | $42 \%$ | 50\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 37\% | 50\% | 49\% | 45\% | 43\% | 31\% | 41\% | 51\% |
| Nonmetro | 52\% | 65\% | 63\% | 61\% | 59\% | 45\% | 51\% | 60\% |
| TOTAL | 48\% | 61\% | 59\% | $57 \%$ | 55\% | $41 \%$ | 49\% | 58\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 57\% | 71\% | 76\% | 66\% | 58\% | 50\% | 44\% | 56\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 34\% | 50\% | 45\% | 44\% | 40\% | 27\% | 37\% | 43\% |
| Nonmetro | 37\% | 52\% | 50\% | 40\% | 43\% | 30\% | 42\% | 48\% |
| TOTAL | $34 \%$ | 51\% | $46 \%$ | 44\% | 40\% | 27\% | 38\% | 45\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 38\% | 53\% | 50\% | 48\% | 45\% | 31\% | 38\% | 46\% |
| Nonmetro | 51\% | 65\% | 63\% | 60\% | 57\% | 44\% | 49\% | 57\% |
| TOTAL | 44\% | 58\% | 56\% | 54\% | 51\% | 36\% | 43\% | 52\% |

**Persons in households with black head of household for whom poverty status is determined.

## B-20: PERCENT OF FAMILIES" IN POVERTY BY FAMILY TYPE AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  | ALI faMILIES | MARRIED COUPLES |  | MALE-HEADED |  | FEMALE-HEADED |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | WITH CHILDREN | wTthout CHILDREN | $\begin{gathered} \text { WITH } \\ \text { CHILDREN } \end{gathered}$ | wITHOUT CHILDREN | $\begin{gathered} \text { WITH } \\ \text { CHILDREN } \end{gathered}$ | wTHOUT Children |
| Arkansas $46 \%$ - $15 \%$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 13\% | 8\% | 5\% | 24\% | 15\% | 46\% | 15\% |
| Nonmetro | 19\% | 16\% | 11\% | 30\% | 16\% | 62\% | 21\% |
| TOTAL | 17\% | 13\% | 8\% | 28\% | 16\% | 55\% | 18\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 15\% | 13\% | 7\% | 35\% | 14\% | 59\% | 14\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 14\% | 11\% | 8\% | 30\% | 13\% | 55\% | 18\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 17\% | 9\% | 6\% | 28\% | 14\% | 56\% | 20\% |
| Nonmetro | 24\% | 17\% | 12\% | 43\% | 22\% | 68\% | 29\% |
| TOTAL | 20\% | 13\% | 8\% | 35\% | 17\% | 61\% | 23\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 16\% | 8\% | 6\% | 30\% | 13\% | 50\% | 20\% |
| Nonmetro | 25\% | 17\% | 11\% | 41\% | 22\% | 67\% | 27\% |
| TOTAL | 22\% | 14\% | 10\% | 39\% | 20\% | 63\% | 25\% |


| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TOTAL | 18\% | 16\% | 10\% | $34 \%$ | 15\% | 62\% | 21\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 15\% | 7\% | 4\% | 24\% | 11\% | 48\% | 16\% |
| Nonmetro | 15\% | 11\% | 9\% | 29\% | 18\% | 49\% | 17\% |
| TOTAL | 15\% | 8\% | 6\% | 25\% | 13\% | 49\% | 16\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 16\% | 8\% | 5\% | 27\% | 14\% | 52\% | 18\% |
| Nonmetro | 20\% | 15\% | 10\% | 37\% | 18\% | 63\% | 23\% |
| TOTAL | 18\% | 12\% | 8\% | 33\% | 16\% | 58\% | 21\% |

[^61]
## b-21: PERCENT OF BLLCK FAMILIES" IN POVERTY BY FAMIIY TYPE AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DEITA

|  | aLL <br> EAMILIES | MARRIED COUPLES |  | MALE-HEADED |  | FEMALE-HEADED |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | WTTH CHILDREN | WITHOUT CHILDREN | $\begin{gathered} \text { WITH } \\ \text { CHILDREN } \end{gathered}$ | wITHOUT CHILDREN | WTTH CHILDREN | wITHOUT CHILDREN |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 32\% | 18\% | 15\% | 36\% | 25\% | 58\% | 27\% |
| Nonmetro | 46\% | 30\% | 24\% | 46\% | 24\% | 76\% | 37\% |
| TOTAL | 39\% | $24 \%$ | 20\% | 41\% | 25\% | 67\% | 32\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 47\% | 23\% | 21\% | 51\% | 19\% | 76\% | 36\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | $36 \%$ | 17\% | 19\% | 35\% | 21\% | 65\% | 33\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 37\% | 18\% | 13\% | 38\% | 25\% | 67\% | 30\% |
| Nonmetro | 50\% | 31\% | 27\% | 58\% | 36\% | 79\% | 44\% |
| TOTAL | 42\% | 23\% | 19\% | 47\% | 29\% | 71\% | 35\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 33\% | 17\% | 18\% | 43\% | 21\% | 59\% | 29\% |
| Nonmetro | 47\% | 32\% | 27\% | 53\% | $29 \%$ | 75\% | 37\% |
| TOTAL | 43\% | 28\% | 24\% | 50\% | 27\% | 70\% | 35\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 53\% | 28\% | 25\% | 43\% | $34 \%$ | 82\% | 45\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 30\% | 13\% | 12\% | 31\% | 0\% | 56\% | 23\% |
| Nonmetro | 33\% | 17\% | 21\% | 41\% | 24\% | 58\% | 24\% |
| TOTAL | 31\% | 14\% | 14\% | 33\% | 5\% | 56\% | 23\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 34\% | 17\% | 14\% | 36\% | 17\% | 62\% | 27\% |
| Nonmetro | 46\% | 29\% | 25\% | 53\% | 30\% | 75\% | 38\% |
| TOTAL | 40\% | 23\% | 19\% | 44\% | 23\% | 68\% | 32\% |

${ }^{* *}$ Families for whom poverty status is determined. Children include only those who are related to the head of household and are under 18 years old. Male-headed families have no wife present. Female-headed families have no husband present.




会号菜
Ro



N
तु
i
号号景 $\stackrel{\infty}{\stackrel{m}{2}}$
 륻
 흥登
 르르르․ $\stackrel{8}{2}$莫
 E 븡 웅 를 를
 $\stackrel{\stackrel{\circ}{\alpha_{0}}}{\stackrel{y}{\sim}}$ $\circ$
م̆
o
 $\begin{array}{cc}\text { t } \\ \text { in } \\ \text { on } \\ 0 & 0\end{array}$
芯
 ざ $\circ$
$\stackrel{y}{4}$
$\stackrel{1}{4}$ $\infty$
©
in
in
in
 ～～
畀号菏 total
334,124
483,850
$59 \%$
817,974


 $\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$管 | $\stackrel{8}{\circ}$ |
| :--- |
| $\frac{\infty}{\infty}$ | ER 15 YEARS OLD

$\%$ OF
TOTAL NOPA
 $\hat{8}$
in
in

 in


 $\underset{\infty}{\exists}$
 $S^{* *}$ UNDE
PA


a in ○ீ م
号

 $\stackrel{2}{ \pm}$
$\qquad$
TOTAL
2-2. o
 $\circ$
oi
ob
 $669^{\circ} 01$
in + ®o 20
$\qquad$ $8=1$
00
$\stackrel{\infty}{\circ} \underset{=}{\circ}$ $\underset{\substack{7 \\ \\ \hline \\ \hline}}{ }$气 ลิ à
出
号
in
च
む
さ
inかっ气PERSO$\stackrel{0}{\infty}$
$\stackrel{+}{ \pm}$
$\stackrel{-}{-}$ $\%$ OF
TOTAL $\underset{\underset{\sim}{i}}{\stackrel{\circ}{9}} \frac{\text { a }}{7}$


 륵 ぷ ஃ゚ $\stackrel{\circ}{=}$ ALL AGES
$\% \mathrm{OF}$



 $1,958,438$
$1,435,623$
42\％
 $\overline{3}$
I
m $\circ$
o
等
à Arkansas
Metro
Nonmetro
$\%$ of Total
TOTAL Illinois＊
TOTAL
Kentucky＊
TOTAL TOTAL Louisiana Metro
Nonmetro
$\%$ of Total
TOTAL Mississippi $\underset{\sim}{\text { a }} \underset{\sim}{\text { m }}$ $73 \%$
334,474


 8
0
0
0
0
B－22：

## b-23: TOTAL UNITS, OCCUPANCY AND TENURE, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELIA

| Arkansas | TOTAL | OCCUPIED | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | Vacant | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | OWNER <br> OCCUPIED | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { OCCUPIED } \end{gathered}$ | RENTER OCCUPIED | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { OCCUPIED } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Metro | 218,733 | 198,196 | 91\% | 20,537 | 9\% |  |  |  |  |
| Nonmetro | 341,307 | 303,787 | 89\% | 37,520 | 11\% |  | 62\% |  | 38\% |
| \% of Total | 61\% | 61\% |  | 65\% | 11\% | 215,168 | 71\% | 88,619 | 29\% |
| TOTAL | 560,040 | 501,983 | 90\% | 58,057 | 10\% | $63 \%$ 338,957 |  | 54\% |  |

Illinois*

| TOTAL | 150,317 | 134,671 | $90 \%$ | 15,646 | $10 \%$ | 96,688 | $72 \%$ | 37,983 | $28 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Kentucky*

| TOTAL | 196,441 | 177,598 | $90 \%$ | 18,843 | $10 \%$ | 128,662 | $72 \%$ | 48,936 | $28 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Louisiana

| Metro | 700,917 | 613,207 | $87 \%$ | 87,710 | $13 \%$ | 359,259 | $59 \%$ | 253,948 | $41 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 476,202 | 417,440 | $88 \%$ | 58,762 | $12 \%$ | 306,641 | $73 \%$ | 110,799 | $27 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $40 \%$ | $41 \%$ |  | $40 \%$ |  | $46 \%$ |  | $30 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | $1,177,119$ | $1,030,647$ | $88 \%$ | 146,472 | $12 \%$ | 665,900 | $65 \%$ | 364,747 | $35 \%$ |

Mississippi

| Metro | 148,648 | 136,658 | $92 \%$ | 11,990 | $8 \%$ | 89,977 | $66 \%$ | 46,681 | $34 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 367,996 | 332,458 | $90 \%$ | 35,538 | $10 \%$ | 239,001 | $72 \%$ | 93,457 | $28 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $71 \%$ | $71 \%$ |  | $75 \%$ |  | $73 \%$ |  | $67 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 516,644 | 469,116 | $91 \%$ | 47,528 | $9 \%$ | 328,978 | $70 \%$ | 140,138 | $30 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 259,815 | 230,210 | $89 \%$ | 29,605 | $11 \%$ | 165,445 | $72 \%$ | 64,765 | $28 \%$ |

## Tennessee

| Metro | 341,867 | 316,604 | $93 \%$ | 25,263 | $7 \%$ | 189,870 | $60 \%$ | 126,734 | $40 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 207,523 | 188,492 | $91 \%$ | 19,031 | $9 \%$ | 136,232 | $72 \%$ | 52,260 | $28 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $38 \%$ | $37 \%$ |  | $43 \%$ |  | $42 \%$ |  | $29 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 549,390 | 505,096 | $92 \%$ | 44,294 | $8 \%$ | 326,102 | $65 \%$ | 178,994 | $35 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| OTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | $1,410,165$ | $1,264,665$ | $90 \%$ | 145,500 | $10 \%$ | 762,895 | $60 \%$ | 501,770 | $40 \%$ |
| Nonmetro | $1,999,601$ | $1,784,656$ | $89 \%$ | 214,945 | $11 \%$ | $1,287,837$ | $72 \%$ | 496,819 | $28 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $59 \%$ | $59 \%$ |  | $60 \%$ |  | $63 \%$ |  | $50 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | $3,409,766$ | $3,049,321$ | $89 \%$ | 360,445 | $11 \%$ | $2,050,732$ | $67 \%$ | 998,589 | $33 \%$ |

## B-24: OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS BY RACE/ETHNICITY OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  | TOTAL | WHITE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | BLACK | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | american indian, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | HISPANIC* | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 198,196 | 147,360 | 74\% | 49,073 | 25\% | 638 | 0\% | 709 | 0\% | 1,412 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 303,787 | 253,911 | 84\% | 48,094 | 16\% | 889 | 0\% | 551 | 0\% | 1,258 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 61\% | 63\% |  | 49\% |  | 58\% |  | 44\% |  | 47\% |  |
| TOTAL | 501.983 | 401,271 | 80\% | 97,167 | 19\% | 1,527 | 0\% | 1,260 | 0\% | 2,670 | 1\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 134,671 | 127,230 | 94\% | 5,915 | 4\% | 313 | 0\% | 1,020 | 1\% | 640 | 0\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 177,598 | 162,831 | 92\% | 13,652 | 8\% | 395 | 0\% | 368 | 0\% | 876 | 0\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 613,207 | 410,025 | 67\% | 190,339 | 31\% | 1,709 | 0\% | 6,718 | 1\% | 18,997 | 3\% |
| Nonmetro | 417,440 | 302,528 | 72\% | 111,616 | 27\% | 1,409 | 0\% | 1,135 | 0\% | 3,300 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 41\% | 42\% |  | 37\% |  | 45\% |  | 14\% |  | 15\% |  |
| TOTAL | 1,030,647 | 712,553 | 69\% | 301,955 | 29\% | 3,118 | 0\% | 7,853 | 1\% | 22,297 | $2 \%$ |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 136,658 | 84,864 | 62\% | 51,152 | 37\% | 138 | 0\% | 417 | 0\% | 500 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 332,458 | 199,306 | 60\% | 131,703 | 40\% | 377 | 0\% | 805 | 0\% | 1,155 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 71\% | 70\% |  | 72\% |  | 73\% |  | 66\% |  | 70\% |  |
| TOTAL | 469,116 | 284,170 | 61\% | 182,855 | 39\% | 515 | 0\% | 1,222 | 0\% | 1,655 | 0\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 230,210 | 221,050 | 96\% | 7,436 | 3\% | 1,005 | 0\% | 545 | 0\% | 739 | 0\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 316,604 | 193,509 | 61\% | 119,640 | 38\% | 709 | 0\% | 2,163 | 1\% | 1,838 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 188,492 | 156,220 | 83\% | 31,553 | 17\% | 308 | 0\% | 248 | 0\% | 771 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 37\% | 45\% |  | 21\% |  | 30\% |  | 10\% |  | 30\% |  |
| TOTAL | 505,096 | 349,729 | 69\% | 151,193 | 30\% | 1,017 | 0\% | 2,411 | 0\% | 2,609 | 1\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 1,264,665 | 835,758 | 66\% | 410,204 | 32\% | 3,194 | 0\% | 10,007 | 1\% | 22,747 | 2\% |
| Nonmetro | 1,784,656 | 1,423,076 | 80\% | 349,969 | 20\% | 4,696 | 0\% | 4,672 | 0\% | 8,739 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 59\% | 63\% |  | 46\% |  | 60\% |  | 32\% |  | 28\% |  |
| TOTAL | 3,049,321 | 2,258,834 | 74\% | 760,173 | 25\% | 7,890 | 0\% | 14,679 | 0\% | 31,486 | 1\% |

## B-25: OWNER-OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS BY RACE/EHHNICITY OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  | TOTAL | WHITE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | BLACK | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR OR ALEUT | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | OTHER <br> RACE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | HISPANIC | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 123,789 | 98,556 | 80\% | 24,225 | 20\% | 338 | 0\% | 441 | 0\% | 229 | 0\% | 743 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 215,168 | 188,286 | 88\% | 25,940 | 12\% | 522 | 0\% | 307 | 0\% | 113 | 0\% | 706 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 63\% | 66\% |  | 52\% |  | 61\% |  | 41\% |  | 33\% |  | 49\% |  |
| TOTAL | 338,957 | 286,842 | 85\% | 50,165 | 15\% | 860 | 0\% | 748 | 0\% | 342 | 0\% | 1,449 | 0\% |

Illinois*

| TOTAL | 96,688 | 93,660 | $97 \%$ | 2,525 | $3 \%$ | 190 | $0 \%$ | 242 | $0 \%$ | 71 | $0 \%$ | 248 | $0 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Kentucky*
$\begin{array}{llllllllllllllll}\text { TOTAL } & 128,662 & 122,158 & 95 \% & 6,091 & 5 \% & 216 & 0 \% & 159 & 0 \% & 38 & 0 \% & 278 & 0 \%\end{array}$

## Louisiana

| Metro | 359,259 | 271,318 | $76 \%$ | 82,248 | $23 \%$ | 941 | $0 \%$ | 3,079 | $1 \%$ | 1,673 | $0 \%$ | 9,402 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro | 306,641 | 237,000 | $77 \%$ | 67,626 | $22 \%$ | 933 | $0 \%$ | 593 | $0 \%$ | 489 | $0 \%$ | 2,209 |
| \% of Total | $46 \%$ | $47 \%$ |  | $45 \%$ |  | $50 \%$ |  | $16 \%$ |  | $23 \%$ |  | $19 \%$ |
| TOTAL | 665,900 | 508,318 | $76 \%$ | 149,874 | $23 \%$ | 1,874 | $0 \%$ | 3,672 | $1 \%$ | 2,162 | $0 \%$ | 11,611 |

## Mississippi

| Metro | 89,977 | 62,597 | $70 \%$ | 27,053 | $30 \%$ | 84 | $0 \%$ | 207 | $0 \%$ | 36 | $0 \%$ | 266 |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Nonmetro | 239,001 | 157,706 | $66 \%$ | 80,513 | $34 \%$ | 202 | $0 \%$ | 438 | $0 \%$ | 142 | $0 \%$ | 714 |
| $\%$ of Total | $73 \%$ | $72 \%$ |  | $75 \%$ |  | $71 \%$ |  | $68 \%$ |  | $80 \%$ |  | $73 \%$ |
| TOTAL | 328,978 | 220,303 | $67 \%$ | 107,566 | $33 \%$ | 286 | $0 \%$ | 645 | $0 \%$ | 178 | $0 \%$ | 980 |

## Missouri*

$\begin{array}{lllllllllllllll}\text { TOTAL } & 165,445 & 161,571 & 98 \% & 2,989 & 2 \% & 597 & 0 \% & 214 & 0 \% & 74 & 0 \% & 428 & 0 \%\end{array}$

| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Metro | 189,870 | 131,318 | $69 \%$ | 56,869 | $30 \%$ | 428 | $0 \%$ | 1,060 | $1 \%$ | 195 | $0 \%$ | 822 |
| Nonmetro | 136,232 | 117,997 | $87 \%$ | 17,919 | $13 \%$ | 152 | $0 \%$ | 96 | $0 \%$ | 68 | $0 \%$ | 402 |
| \% of Total | $42 \%$ | $47 \%$ |  | $24 \%$ |  | $26 \%$ |  | $8 \%$ |  | $26 \%$ |  | $33 \%$ |
| TOTAL | 326,102 | 249,315 | $76 \%$ | 74,788 | $23 \%$ | 580 | $0 \%$ | 1,156 | $0 \%$ | 263 | $0 \%$ | 1,224 |

## TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Metro | 762,895 | 563,789 | $74 \%$ | 190,395 | $25 \%$ | 1,791 | $0 \%$ | 4,787 | $1 \%$ | 2,133 | $0 \%$ | 11,233 |
| Nonmetro | $1,287,837$ | $1,078,378$ | $84 \%$ | 203,603 | $16 \%$ | 2,812 | $0 \%$ | 2,049 | $0 \%$ | 995 | $0 \%$ | 4,985 |
| \% of Total | $63 \%$ | $66 \%$ |  | $52 \%$ |  | $61 \%$ |  | $30 \%$ |  | $32 \%$ |  | $31 \%$ |
| TOTAL | $2,050,732$ | $1,642,167$ | $80 \%$ | 393,998 | $19 \%$ | 4,603 | $0 \%$ | 6,836 | $0 \%$ | 3,128 | $0 \%$ | 16,218 |

# B-2b:RENTER-OCCUPIED HOUSING UNITS BY RACE/ETHNICITY OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA 

|  | TOTAL | WHITE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | BLACK | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ORALEUT | $\% \text { OF }$ <br> TOTAL | ASIAN OR <br> PACIFIC ISLANDER | $\%$ OF <br> TOTAL | OTHER <br> RACE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | HISPANIC ${ }^{-}$ | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 74,407 | 48,804 | 66\% | 24,848 | $33 \%$ | 300 | 0\% | 268 | 0\% | 187 | 0\% | 669 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 88,619 | 65,625 | 74\% | 22,154 | 25\% | 367 | 0\% | 244 | 0\% | 229 | 0\% | 552 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | $54 \%$ | $57 \%$ |  | 47\% |  | 55\% |  | 48\% |  | 55\% |  | 45\% |  |
| TOTAL | 163,026 | 114,429 | 70\% | 47,002 | 29\% | 667 | 0\% | 512 | 0\% | 416 | 0\% | 1,221 | 1\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 37,983 | 33,570 | 88\% | 3,390 | 9\% | 123 | 0\% | 778 | 2\% | 122 | 0\% | 392 | 1\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 48,936 | 40,673 | 83\% | 7,561 | 15\% | 179 | 0\% | 209 | 0\% | 314 | 1\% | 598 | $1 \%$ |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 253,948 | 138,707 | 55\% | 108,091 | 43\% | 768 | 0\% | 3,639 | 1\% | 2,743 | 1\% | 9,595 | 4\% |
| Nonmetro | 110,799 | 65,528 | 59\% | 43,990 | 40\% | 476 | 0\% | 542 | 0\% | 263 | 0\% | 1,091 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | $30 \%$ | 32\% |  | 29\% |  | 38\% |  | 13\% |  | 9\% |  | 10\% |  |
| TOTAL | 364,747 | 204,235 | 56\% | 152,081 | 42\% | 1,244 | 0\% | 4,181 | $1 \%$ | 3,006 | $1 \%$ | 10,686 | $3 \%$ |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 46,681 | 22,267 | 48\% | 24,099 | 52\% | 54 | 0\% | 210 | 0\% | 51 | 0\% | 234 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 93,457 | 41,600 | 45\% | 51,190 | 55\% | 175 | 0\% | 367 | 0\% | 125 | 0\% | 441 | 0\% |
| \% of Total | 67\% | 65\% |  | 68\% |  | 76\% |  | 64\% |  | 71\% |  | 65\% |  |
| TOTAL | 140,138 | 63,867 | 46\% | 75,289 | 54\% | 229 | 0\% | 577 | 0\% | 176 | 0\% | 675 | 0\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 64,765 | 59,479 | 92\% | 4,447 | 7\% | 408 | $1 \%$ | 331 | $1 \%$ | 100 | 0\% | 311 | 0\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 126,734 | 62,191 | 49\% | 62,771 | 50\% | 281 | 0\% | 1,103 | 1\% | 388 | 0\% | 1,016 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 52,260 | 38,223 | 73\% | 13,634 | 26\% | 156 | 0\% | 152 | 0\% | 95 | 0\% | 369 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 29\% | 38\% |  | 18\% |  | 36\% | 12\% |  | 20\% |  | 27\% |  |  |
| TOTAL | 178,994 | 100,414 | 56\% | 76,405 | 43\% | 437 | 0\% | 1,255 | 1\% | 483 | 0\% | 1,385 | 1\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 501,770 | 271,969 | 54\% 2 | 219,809 | 44\% | 1,403 | 0\% | 5,220 | 1\% | 3,369 | 1\% | 11,514 | 2\% |
| Nonmetro | 496,819 | 344,698 | 69\% 1 | 146,366 | 29\% | 1,884 | 0\% | 2,623 | 1\% | 1,248 | 0\% | 3,754 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 50\% | 56\% |  | 40\% |  | $57 \%$ |  | 33\% |  | 27\% |  | 25\% |  |
| TOTAL | 998,589 | 616,667 | 62\% 3 | 366,175 | 37\% | 3,287 | 0\% | 7,843 | 1\% | 4,617 | 0\% | 15,268 | 2\% |

B-27: OCCUPIED MOBILE HOMES BY TENURE, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DEITA

|  | OCCUPIED MOBILE HOMES | \% OF ALL occupied UNTTS | OWNEROCCUPIED mobile HOMES | \% OF ALL OWNEROCCUPIED UNTTS | RENTEROCCUPIED MOBILE HOMES | \% OF ALL RenterOCCUPIED UNTTS |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 16,159 | 8\% | 11,549 | 9\% | 4,610 | 6\% |
| Nonmetro | 41,633 | 14\% | 31,165 | 14\% | 10,468 | 12\% |
| \% of Total | 72\% |  | 73\% |  | 69\% |  |
| TOTAL | 57,792 | 12\% | 42,714 | 13\% | 15,078 | 9\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 18,693 | 14\% | 13,107 | 14\% | 5,586 | 15\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 24,073 | 14\% | 18,528 | 14\% | 5,545 | 11\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 25,198 | 4\% | 20,808 | 6\% | 4,390 | 2\% |
| Nonmetro | 70,736 | 17\% | 58,710 | 19\% | 12,026 | 11\% |
| \% of Total | $74 \%$ |  | $74 \%$ |  | 73\% |  |
| TOTAL | 95,934 | 9\% | 79,518 | 12\% | 16,416 | 5\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  | , |  |  |
| Metro | 7,790 | 6\% | 6,305 | 7\% | 1,485 | 3\% |
| Nonmetro | 47,501 | 14\% | 37,898 | 16\% | 9,603 | 10\% |
| \% of Total | 86\% |  | 86\% |  | 87\% |  |
| TOTAL | 55,291 | 12\% | 44,203 | 13\% | 11,088 | 8\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 29,314 | 13\% | 21,692 | 13\% | 7,622 | 12\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 5,723 | 2\% | 4,306 | 2\% | 1,417 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 21,527 | 11\% | 16,279 | 12\% | 5,248 | 10\% |
| \% of Total | 79\% |  | 79\% |  | 79\% |  |
| TOTAL | 27,250 | 5\% | 20,585 | 6\% | 6,665 | 4\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 54,870 | 4\% | 42,968 | 6\% | 11,902 | 2\% |
| Nonmetro | 253,477 | 14\% | 197,379 | 15\% | 56,098 | 11\% |
| \% of Total | $82 \%$ |  | $82 \%$ |  | 82\% |  |
| TOTAL | 308,347 | 10\% | 240,347 | 12\% | 68,000 | 7\% |


|  | TOTAL UNTTS | PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SYSTEM | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { DRILLED } \\ & \text { WELL } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ | DUG WELL | $\%$ OF <br> TOTAL | OTHER SOURCE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { TOTAL } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 218,733 | 211,378 | 97\% | 6,546 | 3\% | 578 | 0\% | 231 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 341,307 | 279,200 | 82\% | 51,661 | 15\% | 6,768 | 2\% | 3,678 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 61\% | $57 \%$ |  | 89\% |  | 92\% |  | 94\% |  |
| TOTAL | 560,040 | 490,578 | 88\% | 58,207 | 10\% | 7,346 | 1\% | 3,909 | 1\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 150,317 | 129,806 | 86\% | 10,415 | 7\% | 4,879 | 3\% | 5,217 | 3\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 196,441 | 158,704 | 81\% | 26,506 | 13\% | 6,457 | 3\% | 4,774 | 2\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 700,917 | 687,247 | 98\% | 11,365 | 2\% | 1,474 | 0\% | 831 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 476,202 | 403,348 | 85\% | 59,561 | 13\% | 10,750 | 2\% | 2,543 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 40\% | $37 \%$ |  | 84\% |  | 88\% |  | $75 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 1,177,119 | 1,090,595 | 93\% | 70,926 | 6\% | 12,224 | 1\% | 3,374 | 0\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 148,648 | 142,822 | 96\% | 4,698 | 3\% | 661 | 0\% | 467 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 367,996 | 313,319 | 85\% | 44,737 | 12\% | 7,248 | 2\% | 2,692 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | $71 \%$ | 69\% |  | 90\% |  | 92\% |  | 85\% |  |
| TOTAL | 516,644 | 456,141 | 88\% | 49,435 | 10\% | 7,909 | 2\% | 3,159 | 1\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 259,815 | 158,392 | 61\% | 90,316 | 35\% | 5,774 | 2\% | 5,333 | $2 \%$ |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 341,867 | 337,935 | 99\% | 3,236 | 1\% | 505 | 0\% | 191 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 207,523 | 153,231 | 74\% | 45,386 | 22\% | 7,162 | 3\% | 1,744 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | 38\% | $31 \%$ |  | 93\% |  | 93\% |  | 90\% |  |
| TOTAL | 549,390 | 491,166 | 89\% | 48,622 | 9\% | 7,667 | 1\% | 1,935 | 0\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 1,410,165 | 1,379,382 | 98\% | 25,845 | 2\% | 3,218 | 0\% | 1,720 | 0\% |
| Nonmetro | 1,999,601 | 1,596,000 | 80\% | 328,582 | 16\% | 49,038 | 2\% | 25,981 | 1\% |
| \% of Total | $59 \%$ | 54\% |  | 93\% |  | 94\% |  | 94\% |  |
| TOTAL | 3,409,766 | 2,975,382 | 87\% | 354,427 | 10\% | 52,256 | 2\% | 27,701 | 1\% |

## B-29: HOUSING UNITS WITH AND WITHOUT COMPLItE RITCHENS AND PLUMBING FACIIIIIES, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DEITA

|  | ALL UNITS |  |  | ALL UNITS |  |  | UNITS OCCUPIED BY BLACK HOUSEHOLDERS |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | WITH KITCHEN | wITHOUT KTTCHEN | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { UNITS } \end{gathered}$ | WITH <br> PLumbing | wITHOUT PLUMBING | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { WITH } \\ \text { PLUMBING } \end{gathered}$ | WITHOUT PLUMBING | $\begin{aligned} & \text { \% OF } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 216,349 | 2,384 | 1\% | 216,532 | 2,201 | 1\% | 47,940 | 1,133 | 2\% |
| Nonmetro | 334,843 | 6,464 | 2\% | 333,257 | 8,050 | 2\% | 45,854 | 2,240 | 5\% |
| \% of Total | 61\% | 73\% |  | 61\% | 79\% |  | 49\% | 66\% |  |
| TOTAL | 551,192 | 8,848 | 2\% | 549,789 | 10,251 | 2\% | 93,794 | 3,373 | 3\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 147,217 | 3,100 | 2\% | 147,073 | 3,244 | 2\% | 5,780 | 135 | 2\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 193,881 | 2,560 | 1\% | 193,217 | 3,224 | 2\% | 13,381 | 271 | 2\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 694,691 | 6,226 | 1\% | 696,458 | 4,459 | 1\% | 188,069 | 2,270 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 467,392 | 8,810 | 2\% | 466,485 | 9,717 | 2\% | 107,686 | 3,930 | 4\% |
| \% of Total | 40\% | 59\% |  | 40\% | 69\% |  | 36\% | 63\% |  |
| TOTAL | 1,162,083 | 15,036 | 1\% | 1,162,943 | 14,176 | 1\% | 295,755 | 6,200 | 2\% |
|  |  |  |  |  |  | , |  |  |  |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 146,982 | 1,666 | 1\% | 146,495 | 2,153 | 1\% | 49,470 | 1,682 | 3\% |
| Nonmetro | 359,099 | 8,897 | 2\% | 356,756 | 11,240 | 3\% | 123,822 | 7,881 | 6\% |
| \% of Total | 71\% | 84\% |  | 71\% | 84\% |  | 71\% | 82\% |  |
| TOTAL | 506,081 | 10,563 | 2\% | 503,251 | 13,393 | 3\% | 173,292 | 9,563 | 5\% |
| Missouri* ${ }^{*}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 253,966 | 5,849 | 2\% | 253,306 | 6,509 | 3\% | 7,214 | 222 | 3\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 339,462 | 2,405 | 1\% | 339,818 | 2,049 | 1\% | 118,389 | 1,251 | 1\% |
| Nonmetro | 203,658 | 3,865 | 2\% | 202,836 | 4,687 | 2\% | 29,834 | 1,719 | 5\% |
| \% of Total | 37\% | 62\% |  | 37\% | 70\% |  | 20\% | 58\% |  |
| TOTAL | 543,120 | 6,270 | 1\% | 542,654 | 6,736 | 1\% | 148,223 | 2,970 | 2\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 1,397,484 | 12,681 | 1\% | 1,399,303 | 10,862 | 1\% | 403,868 |  | 5\% |
| Nonmetro | 1,960,056 | 39,545 | 2\% | 1,952,930 | 46,671 | 2\% | 333,571 | 16,398 | 5\% |
| \% of Total | 58\% | 76\% |  | 58\% | 81\% |  | 45\% | 72\% | 3\% |
| TOTAL | 3,357,540 | 52,226 | 2\% | 3,352,233 | 57,533 | 2\% | 737,439 | 22,734 | 3\% |


|  | OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS |  |  |  | RENTER-OCCUPIED UNITS |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | ONE OR LESS PERSON/ ROOM | $\begin{aligned} & \% \mathrm{OF} \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ | MORE THAN ONE PERSON/ROOM | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ | ONE OR LESS PERSON/ ROOM | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ | MORE THAN ONE PERSON/ROOM | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 120,844 | 98\% | 2,945 | 2\% | 70,026 | 94\% | 4,381 | 6\% |
| Nonmetro | 209,289 | 97\% | 5,879 | 3\% | 82,595 | 93\% | 6,024 | 7\% |
| \% of Total | 63\% |  | 67\% |  | 54\% |  | 58\% |  |
| TOTAL | 330,133 | 97\% | 8,824 | 3\% | 152,621 | 94\% | 10,405 | 6\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 95,387 | 99\% | 1,301 | 1\% | 36,606 | 96\% | 1,377 | 4\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 127,018 | 99\% | 1,644 | 1\% | 46,934 | 96\% | 2,002 | 4\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 348,291 | 97\% | 10,968 | 3\% | 230,539 | 91\% | 23,409 | 9\% |
| Nonmetro | 291,998 | 95\% | 14,643 | 5\% | 98,186 | 89\% | 12,613 | 11\% |
| \% of Total | 46\% |  | 57\% |  | 30\% |  | 35\% |  |
| TOTAL | 640,289 | 96\% | 25,611 | 4\% | 328,725 | 90\% | 36,022 | 10\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 86,905 | 97\% | 3,072 | 3\% | 42,453 | 91\% | 4,228 | 9\% |
| Nonmetro | 227,276 | 95\% | 11,725 | 5\% | 81,911 | 88\% | 11,546 | 12\% |
| \% of Total | $72 \%$ |  | 79\% |  | 66\% |  | 73\% |  |
| TOTAL | 314,181 | 96\% | 14,797 | 4\% | 124,364 | 89\% | 15,774 | 11\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 162,177 | 98\% | 3,268 | 2\% | 61,588 | 95\% | 3,177 | 5\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 185,291 | 98\% | 4,579 | 2\% | 117,166 | 92\% | 9,568 | 8\% |
| Nonmetro | 133,601 | 98\% | 2,631 | 2\% | 49,734 | 95\% | 2,526 | 5\% |
| \% of Total | 42\% |  | 36\% |  | 30\% |  | 21\% |  |
| TOTAL | 318,892 | 98\% | 7,210 | 2\% | 166,900 | 93\% | 12,094 | 7\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 741,331 | 97\% | 21,564 | 3\% | 460,184 | 92\% | 41,586 | 8\% |
| Nonmetro | 1,246,746 | 97\% | 41,091 | 3\% | 457,554 | 92\% | 39,265 | 8\% |
| \% of Total | 63\% |  | 66\% |  | 50\% |  | 49\% |  |
| TOTAL | 1,988,077 | 97\% | 62,655 | 3\% | 917,738 | 92\% | 80,851 | 8\% |

## b-31: RENTER-OCCUPIED UNITS by ReNT AS PERCENT OF INCOME BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIIPPI DELIA

HOUSEHOLDERS AGE 15 TO 64

| Arkansas | HOUSEHOLDERS AGE 15 TO 64 |  |  |  | HOUSEHOLDERS AGE 65 AND OLDER |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { LESS THAN } \\ 30 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \% \text { OR } \\ & \text { MORE } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LESS THAN } \\ & 30 \% \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ | $30 \% \text { OR }$ MORE | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { of } \\ & \text { UNTTS } \end{aligned}$ |
| Metro | 34,436 | 61\% | 22,264 | 39\% |  |  |  |  |
| Nonmetro | 32,488 | 58\% | 23,159 | 42\% |  | 46\% | 5,254 | 54\% |
| \% of Total | 49\% |  | 51\% |  | 5,703 | 43\% | 7,663 | 57\% |
| TOTAL | 66,924 | 60\% | 45.423 |  | 56\% |  | 59\% |  |
|  |  |  |  | 40\% | 10,174 | 44\% | 12,917 | 56\% |

Illinois*
TOTAL
13,338
50\%
13,119
50\%
3,086
51\%
3,005
$49 \%$
Kentucky*
TOTAL
21,114
66\%
11,083
$34 \%$
3,964
$55 \%$
3,275
$45 \%$
Louisiana

| Metro | 113,416 | $56 \%$ | 90,272 | $44 \%$ | 11,788 | $40 \%$ | 17,849 | $60 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 40,273 | $53 \%$ | 35,860 | $47 \%$ | 4,875 | $42 \%$ | 6,607 | $58 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $26 \%$ |  | $28 \%$ |  | $29 \%$ |  | $27 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 153,689 | $55 \%$ | 126,132 | $45 \%$ | 16,663 | $41 \%$ | 24,456 | $59 \%$ |

Mississippi

| Metro | 21,253 | $57 \%$ | 15,722 | $43 \%$ | 2,238 | $41 \%$ | 3,256 | $59 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 32,863 | $56 \%$ | 26,242 | $44 \%$ | 5,295 | $42 \%$ | 7,378 | $58 \%$ |
| $\%$ of Total | $61 \%$ |  | $63 \%$ |  | $70 \%$ |  | $69 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 54,116 | $56 \%$ | 41,964 | $44 \%$ | 7,533 | $41 \%$ | 10,634 | $59 \%$ |

Missouri*

| TOTAL | 24,099 | $59 \%$ | 17,096 | $42 \%$ | 5,548 | $52 \%$ | 5,071 | $48 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Tennessee

| Metro | 63,293 | $62 \%$ | 39,443 | $38 \%$ | 6,730 | $42 \%$ | 9,208 | $58 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nonmetro | 23,603 | $67 \%$ | 11,484 | $33 \%$ | 3,533 | $48 \%$ | 3,792 | $52 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $27 \%$ |  | $23 \%$ |  | $34 \%$ |  | $29 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 86,896 | $63 \%$ | 50,927 | $37 \%$ | 10,263 | $44 \%$ | 13,000 | $56 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 232,398 | $58 \%$ | 167,701 | $42 \%$ | 25,227 | $42 \%$ | 35,567 | $59 \%$ |
| Nonmetro | 187,778 | $58 \%$ | 138,043 | $42 \%$ | 32,004 | $47 \%$ | 36,791 | $53 \%$ |
| \% of Total | $45 \%$ |  | $45 \%$ |  | $56 \%$ |  | $51 \%$ |  |
| TOTAL | 420,176 | $58 \%$ | 305,744 | $42 \%$ | 57,231 | $44 \%$ | 72,358 | $56 \%$ |

Notes: Percent of unit figures do not include householders for whom housing cost as a percent of income was not calculated.

## B-32: OWNER-OCCUPIED UNITS BY RENT AS PERCENT OF INCOME BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER, LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA

|  | HOUSEHOLDERS AGE 15 TO 64 |  |  |  | HOUSEHOLDERS AGE 65 AND OLDER |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { LESS THAN } \\ 30 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { \% OF } \\ \text { UNTTS } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 30 \% \text { OR } \\ & \text { MORE } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { LESS THAN } \\ 30 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \% \text { OF } \\ & \text { UNITS } \end{aligned}$ | $30 \%$ OR MORE | $\begin{gathered} \% \text { OF } \\ \text { UNITS } \end{gathered}$ |
| Arkansas |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 62,288 | 83\% | 12,443 | 17\% | 20,132 | 77\% | 6,052 | 23\% |
| Nonmetro | 77,024 | 83\% | 16,036 | 17\% | 38,536 | 77\% | 11,713 | 23\% |
| \% of Total | 55\% |  | 56\% |  | 66\% |  | 66\% |  |
| TOTAL | 139,312 | 83\% | 28,479 | 17\% | 58,668 | 77\% | 17,765 | 23\% |
| Illinois* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 35,146 | 84\% | 6,501 | 16\% | 20,020 | 83\% | 4,232 | 17\% |
| Kentucky* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 50,921 | 87\% | 7,647 | 13\% | 23,072 | 85\% | 4,026 | 15\% |
| Louisiana |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 178,704 | 80\% | 46,055 | 20\% | 59,860 | 79\% | 16,039 | 21\% |
| Nonmetro | 114,464 | 80\% | 28,358 | 20\% | 47,228 | 78\% | 13,092 | 22\% |
| \% of Total | 39\% |  | 38\% |  | 44\% |  | 45\% |  |
| TOTAL | 293,168 | 80\% | 74,413 | 20\% | 107,088 | 79\% | 29,131 | 21\% |
| Mississippi |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 44,053 | 78\% | 12,260 | 22\% | 13,675 | 75\% | 4,553 | 25\% |
| Nonmetro | 84,286 | 78\% | 23,816 | 22\% | 35,393 | 74\% | 12,410 | 26\% |
| \% of Total | 66\% |  | 66\% |  | 72\% |  | 73\% |  |
| TOTAL | 128,339 | 78\% | 36,076 | 22\% | 49,068 | 74\% | 16,963 | 26\% |
| Missouri* |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | 58,533 | 85\% | 10,080 | 15\% | 27,383 | 82\% | 6,204 | 18\% |
| Tennessee |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 105,838 | 80\% | 26,664 | 20\% | 29,559 | 77\% | 8,662 | 23\% |
| Nonmetro | 54,788 | 85\% | 9,692 | 15\% | 22,717 | 79\% | 5,923 | 21\% |
| \% of Total | 34\% |  | 27\% |  | 43\% |  | 41\% |  |
| TOTAL | 160,626 | 82\% | 36,356 | 18\% | 52,276 | 78\% | 14,585 | 22\% |
| TOTAL LOWER MISSISSIPPI DELTA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Metro | 390,883 | 80\% | 97,422 | 20\% | 123,226 | 78\% | 35,306 | 22\% |
| Nonmetro | 475,162 | 82\% | 102,130 | 18\% | 214,349 | 79\% | 57,600 | 21\% |
| \% of Total | 55\% |  | 51\% |  | 63\% |  | 62\% |  |
| TOTAL | 866,045 | 81\% | 199,552 | 19\% | 337,575 | 78\% | 92,906 | 22\% |

[^62]This page left intentionally blank.

구 in o o






-8
ri
ri
－



 $\pm$
d
à 666，880 29，676 106，895 om
m
0
0
0
0
$=$
$=$
$=$
$=1$ 57,849
135,510
48,605
5,958
55,765
18,110
51,928
373,725
 $\stackrel{ \pm}{+}$
 $\infty$
$\stackrel{\infty}{0}$
+7 $\underset{\sim}{\underset{\sim}{\sim}}$ $\frac{\infty}{a}$ 80
in
in $\stackrel{N}{\sim}$ $\underset{\sim}{\infty}$


## COUNTY <br> Cochise County，AZ  Yuma County，AZ AZ TORAL

 Imperial County，CA Riverside County，CASan Diego County，CA CA TOTAL

Chaves County，NM
Dona Ana County，NM Eddy County，NM Hidalgo County，NM Lea County，NM之 Otero County，NM NM TOTAL

Aransas County，TX Atascosa County，TX Bee County，TX Brewster County，TX Brooks County，TX Cameron County，TX Crockett County，TX Culberson County，TX Dimmit County，TX Duval County，IX会 El Paso County，TX Frio County，TX Hidalgo County，TX Hudspeth County，TX侖 $x$
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
1
0合
0
0
0
0
0合
合
0
0
0
0
0
4
4为为


| HISPANC |  |
| ---: | ---: |
| 318 |  |
| 38.92 |  |
| 34,023 | 93.53 |
| 12,080 | 44.23 |
| 138 | 1.02 |
| 151,000 | 51.86 |
| 8,277 | 56.40 |
| 5,420 | 81.66 |
| 575 | 23.84 |
| 225 | 1.57 |
| 11,526 | 72.71 |
| 3,146 | 39.44 |
| 140 | 1.46 |
| 29,586 | 50.36 |
| 39,521 | 97.54 |
| 1,870 | 45.22 |
| 754 | 53.48 |
| 14,202 | 60.85 |
| 27,163 | 70.15 |
| 125,084 | 93.88 |
| 14,879 | 84.04 |
| 7,498 | 80.81 |
| 10,865 | 89.34 |
| $1,590,047$ | 70.71 |
| $, 873,296$ | 39.35 |













county McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX Newton County, TX Nueces County, TX Pecos County, TX Presidio County, TX Real County, TX
Red River County, TX Reeves County, TX Refugio County, TX Sabine County, TX TX San Patricio County, TX Starr County, TX Sutton County, TX
Terrell County, TX Uvalde County, TX Val Verde County, TX Webb County, TX Willacy County, TX Zapata County, TX Zavala Country, TX TX TOTAL
b-34: CIIIIENSHIP STATUS BY AEE, BORDER COUNTIES

|  | UNDER 18 YEARS |  |  |  |  |  | 18 AND OVER |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | native |  | Foreign born |  |  |  | native |  | FOREIGN BORN |  |  |  |
|  |  |  | naturalizedCitizen |  | NONCITIZEN |  |  |  | naturalizedCitizen |  | Nonctitizen |  |
| COUNTY | " | \% | \# | \% | $\stackrel{ }{*}$ | \% | \# | \% | \# | \% | 4 | \% |
| Cochise County, AZ | 25,496 | 95.54 | 296 | 1.11 | 895 | 3.35 | 61,005 | 86.00 | 4,771 | 6.73 | 5,161 | 7.28 |
| Pima County, AZ | 159,112 | 96.00 | 929 | 0.56 | 5,699 | 3.44 | 447,820 | 89.36 | 24,541 | 4.90 | 28,779 | 5.74 |
| Santa Cruz County, AZ | 8,507 | 83.37 | 234 | 2.29 | 1,463 | 14.34 | 10,378 | 53.30 | 2,741 | 14.08 | 6,353 | 32.63 |
| Yuma County, AZ | 28,338 | 90.14 | 267 | 0.85 | 2,832 | 9.01 | 58,410 | 77.41 | 3,582 | 4.75 | 13,466 | 17.85 |
| AZ TOTAL | 221,453 | 94.61 | 1,726 | 0.74 | 10,889 | 4.65 | 577,613 | 86.60 | 35,635 | 5.34 | 53,759 | 8.06 |
| Imperial County, CA | 33,529 | 88.69 | 473 | 1.25 | 3,801 | 10.05 | 44,206 | 61.83 | 7,320 | 10.24 | 19,974 | 27.94 |
| Riverside County, CA | 310,594 | 93.14 | 3,198 | 0.96 | 19,676 | 5.90 | 686,065 | 81.97 | 50,106 | 5.9 | 100,774 | 12.04 |
| San Diego County, CA | 556,393 | 91.05 | 7,714 | 1.26 | 46,959 | 7.68 | 1,512,813 | 80.17 | 147,246 | 7.80 | 226,891 | 12.02 |
| CA total | 900,516 | 91.67 | 11,385 | 1.16 | 70,436 | 7.17 | 2,243,084 | 80.24 | 204,672 | 7.32 | 347,639 | 12.44 |
| Chaves County, NM | 17,050 | 96.57 | 192 | 1.09 | 414 | 2.34 | 36,503 | 90.82 | 1,471 | 3.66 | 2,219 | 5.52 |
| Dona Ana County, NM | 38,187 | 92.74 | 429 | 1.04 | 2,562 | 6.22 | 76,984 | 81.61 | 5,712 | 6.06 | 11,636 | 12.34 |
| Eddy County, NM | 14,486 | 98.47 | 8 | 0.05 | 217 | 1.48 | 32,200 | 95.00 | 952 | 2.81 | 742 | 2.19 |
| Hidalgo County, NM | 1,920 | 98.01 | 17 | 0.87 | 22 | 1.12 | 3,647 | 91.20 | 184 | 4.60 | 168 | 4.20 |
| Lea County, NM | 17,990 | 97.21 | 66 | 0.36 | 450 | 2.43 | 33,765 | 90.62 | 1,465 | 3.93 | 2,029 | 5.45 |
| Luna County, NM | 4,862 | 91.79 | 43 | 0.81 | 392 | 7.40 | 10,758 | 83.96 | 643 | 5.02 | 1,412 | 11.02 |
| Otero County, NM | 15,787 | 98.63 | 67 | 0.42 | 153 | 0.96 | 33,176 | 92.36 | 1,517 | 4.22 | 1,228 | 3.42 |
| NM TOTAL | 110,282 | 95.64 | 822 | 0.71 | 4,210 | 3.65 | 227,033 | 87.86 | 11,944 | 4.62 | 19,434 | 7.52 |
| Aransas County, TX | 4,412 | 98.33 | 10 | 0.22 | 65 | 1.45 | 12,588 | 93.91 | 406 | 3.03 | 411 | 3.07 |
| Atascosa County, TX | 10,017 | 99.19 | 6 | 0.06 | 76 | 0.75 | 19,471 | 95.29 | 408 | 2.00 | 555 | 2.72 |
| Bee County, TX | 7,904 | 99.31 | 24 | 0.30 | 31 | 0.39 | 16,543 | 96.31 | 355 | 2.07 | 278 | 1.62 |
| Brewster County, TX | 2,000 | 99.40 | 0 | 0.00 | 12 | 0.60 | 6,204 | 93.03 | 133 | 1.99 | 332 | 4.98 |
| Brooks County, TX | 2,675 | 99.07 | 0 | 0.00 | 25 | 0.93 | 5,227 | 94.97 | 123 | 2.23 | 154 | 2.80 |
| Cameron County, TX | 84,297 | 91.61 | 1,575 | 1.71 | 6,147 | 6.68 | 118,222 | 70.33 | 18,431 | 10.96 | 31,448 | 18.71 |
| Crockett County, TX | 1,149 | 90.33 | 0 | 0.00 | 123 | 9.67 | 2,445 | 87.13 | 102 | 3.64 | 259 | 9.23 |
| Culberson County, TX | 1,153 | 97.71 | 6 | 0.51 | 21 | 1.78 | 1,751 | 78.63 | 215 | 9.65 | 261 | 11.72 |
| Dimmit County, TX | 3,739 | 98.68 | 18 | 0.48 | 32 | 0.84 | 5,711 | 85.96 | 430 | 6.47 | 503 | 7.57 |
| Duval County, TX | 4,102 | 98.42 | 23 | 0.55 | 43 | 1.03 | 8,330 | 95.20 | 182 | 2.08 | 238 | 2.72 |
| Edwards County, TX | 698 | 93.57 | 23 | 3.08 | 25 | 3.35 | 1,277 | 84.01 | 117 | 7.70 | 126 | 8.29 |
| El Paso County, TX | 175,710 | 91.51 | 2,133 | 1.11 | 14,166 | 7.38 | 274,284 | 68.64 | 45,020 | 11.27 | 80,297 | 20.09 |
| Frio County, TX | 4,635 | 98.39 | 19 | 0.40 | 57 | 1.21 | 8,019 | 91.53 | 356 | 4.06 | 386 | 4.41 |
| Hidalgo County, TX | 125,150 | 89.06 | 3,200 | 2.28 | 12,178 | 8.67 | 163,681 | 67.35 | 26,702 | 10.99 | 52,634 | 21.66 |
| Hudspeth County, TX | 820 | 88.74 | 26 | 2.81 | 78 | 8.44 | 1,379 | 69.26 | 217 | 10.90 | 395 | 19.84 |
| Jeff Davis County, TX | 513 | 99.42 | 0 | 0.00 | 3 | 0.58 | 1,313 | 91.82 | 57 | 3.99 | 60 | 4.20 |
| Jim Hogg County, TX | 1,626 | 98.67 | 0 | 0.00 | 22 | 1.33 | 3,221 | 93.07 | 107 | 3.09 | 133 | 3.84 |
| Jim Wells County, TX | 12,168 | 99.71 | 8 | 0.07 | 27 | 0.22 | 24,301 | 95.39 | 584 | 2.29 | 591 | 2.32 |
| Kenedy County, TX | 130 | 94.89 | 3 | 2.19 | 4 | 2.92 | 281 | 87.00 | 7 | 2.17 | 35 | 10.84 |
| Kinney County, TX | 757 | 95.58 | 15 | 1.89 | 20 | 2.53 | 1,962 | 84.31 | 147 | 6.32 | 218 | 9.37 |
| Kleberg County, TX | 8,646 | 99.05 | 49 | 0.56 | 34 | 0.39 | 20,135 | 93.46 | 564 | 2.62 | 846 | 3.93 |
| La Salle County, TX | 1,598 | 99.81 | 0 | 0.00 | 3 | 0.19 | 3,405 | 93.21 | 110 | 3.01 | 138 | 3.78 |
| Live Oak County, TX | 2,622 | 99.70 | 4 | 0.15 | 4 | 0.15 | 6,726 | 97.11 | 113 | 1.63 | 87 | 1.26 |
| McMullen County, TX | 195 | 98.48 | 0 | 0.00 | 3 | 1.52 | 605 | 97.74 | 0 | 0.00 | 14 | 2.26 |
| Maverick County, TX | 11,942 | 86.76 | 573 | 4.16 | 1,249 | 9.07 | 11,378 | 50.31 | 3,699 | 16.36 | 7,537 | 33.33 |
| Medina County, TX | 8,023 | 99.28 | 5 | 0.06 | 53 | 0.66 | 18,353 | 95.43 | 378 | 1.97 | 500 | 2.60 |
| Newton County, TX | 3,991 | 99.80 | 2 | 0.05 | 6 | 0.15 | 9,478 | 99.04 | 31 | 0.32 | 61 | 0.64 |
| Nueces County, TX | 87,318 | 98.67 | 315 | 0.36 | 864 | 0.98 | 188,899 | 93.22 | 6,595 | 3.25 | 7,154 | 3.53 |
| Pecos County, TX | 4,878 | 95.78 | 57 | 1.12 | 158 | 3.10 | 8,002 | 83.51 | 615 | 6.42 | 965 | 10.07 |
| Presidio County, TX | 1,853 | 86.59 | 23 | 1.07 | 264 | 12.34 | 3,162 | 70.31 | 276 | 6.14 | 1,059 | 23.55 |
| Real County, TX | 516 | 96.09 | 0 | 0.00 | 21 | 3.91 | 1,676 | 89.39 | 55 | 2.93 | 144 | 7.68 |




 N亡̈

＜compat＞ํา Mf
$\stackrel{\infty}{\stackrel{\infty}{+}}$
$+\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{3}$
옹
名合
$\stackrel{+}{\square}$


 to $\overbrace{0}^{\infty}$ ． | O |
| :--- |
| $\dot{4}$ | $\alpha \circ$

$\dot{\infty}$
in $\begin{array}{ll} \pm & 0 \\ \ddagger & 0 \\ \text { i } \\ \text { in } & 0 \\ \text { on } & \end{array}$ $\circ$
ni
on
m
m $\circ$
$=$
$\stackrel{m}{2}$ $\stackrel{\square}{\infty}$ 8
0
$i$
as
$\stackrel{y}{0}$
-1 in
夺 $\frac{\infty}{7}$ 응
$\pm$

+ nr用へ千
 $\underset{\sim}{n}$
$\underset{\sim}{n}$




8 nㅡㄹ 8 in
 n $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$

| 8 |
| :--- |
| in | $\stackrel{\square}{\square}$

菅 q $\ddagger$ $\pm \infty$
in $\stackrel{+}{4}$ in in
in $\cdots \frac{\infty}{\infty}$ in in
亏 it
ob
o
o
in N on的 O $a$
$\underset{\sim}{\infty}$
$=$
$=$ 어읔 ， $\xrightarrow{\infty}$ に I タ


 2
0
4
2
2
4
4 $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$


 FOREIGN－
BORN PENS，
11,123 11，123 な
a
in
in 20,147
102,009 31，568 31,568
173,754
 634，132
 $\circ$
io
子
on

 in荌 $\mathfrak{\infty}$ \＆ $\underset{子}{\infty}$ ORIGIN，PERSONS OF HISPANIC ORIGIN $\underset{\#}{\text { OTHER WISP．ORIG．}}$ $2.399-8.64$ $\infty$ $\mathfrak{c} \underset{\sim}{\sim}$ $+\stackrel{m}{n}$



 운 은
 윽 च an ${ }_{\text {an }}^{\text {m }}$ さ
こ
こ an＜compat＞ᄋ＜compat＞ᅲ＜compat＞ᄂ $\underset{\sim}{へ}$ REGIN
$\underline{6}$ $\stackrel{\circ}{\square}$ ぞ $\begin{array}{rr}147,242 & 9.42 \\ 22,201 & 96.97\end{array}$ $\begin{array}{ll}22,201 & 96.97 \\ 42,775 & 95.79\end{array}$ $237,585 \quad 92.67$ $69,499 \quad 97.39$
 $\begin{array}{ll}433,708 & 86.99 \\ 768,930 & 88.16\end{array}$


 \begin{tabular}{r}
\multicolumn{1}{c}{$\neq$} <br>
25,367 <br>
147,242 <br>
22,201 <br>
42,775 <br>
237,585 <br>
69,499 <br>
265,723 <br>
433,708 <br>
768,930

 18，357 

$\pm$ <br>
士 <br>
\hline
\end{tabular} + 守

ii
in $\infty$
0
0
N it $\begin{aligned} & \text { in } \\ & \text { on } \\ & \text { min } \\ & \text { in } \\ & \text { in }\end{aligned}$ $\overline{2}$
ai
穴

 io
$i_{n}^{\infty}=$
 COUNTy
Cochise County， AZ
Pima County， AZ
Santa Cruz County， AZ
Yuma County， AZ
AZ TOTAL
Imperial County，CA
Riverside County，CA
San Diego County，CA
CA TOTAL Chaves County，NM Dona Ana County，NM Eddy County，NM Hidalgo County，NM Lea County，NM Luna County，NM Otero County，NM NM TOTAL Aransas County，TX Atascosa County，TX Bee County，TX Brewster County，TX Brooks County，TX Cameron County，TX Crockett County，TX Culberson County，TX Dimmit County，TX Duval County，TX Edwards County，TX El Paso County，TX Fris County，TX Hidalgo County，TX Hudspeth County，TX Jeff Davis County，TX Jim Hogg County，TX
Jim Wells County，TX Jim Wells County，TX Kenedy County，IX
Kinney County，TX Kinney County，TX
Kleberg County，TX



N
-
I







$\stackrel{\circ}{\alpha}$
àM
N
N
in


$0 ป 11100$





Cochise County，AZ
Pima County，AZ
Santa Cruz County，AZ
Yuma County，AZ
AZ TOTAL
Imperial County，CA
Riverside County，CA
San Diego County，CA
CA TOTAL

Chaves County，NM Dona Ana County，NM Eddy County，NM Hidalgo County，NM Lea County，NM Luna County，NM Otero County，NM NM TOTAL

Aransas County，TX Atascosa County，TX Bee County，TX Brewster County，TX Brooks County，TX合 $x$

0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0

0 | 合 |
| :--- |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 3 | Dimmit County，TX

Duval County，TX合

范
会合
合
0
0
0
0
0
E
E为

 $\begin{array}{r}+8 \\ \stackrel{8}{4} \\ \vdots \\ \hdashline\end{array}$ EEM，NO HUSB．
NO OWN CHIL＿18

 84，284

## EEM，NO HUSB． W／OWN CHIL＿18 （





 | $\infty$ |
| :---: |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
| 0 |
|  | $\frac{\text { MARRIED CPL．W／}}{\text { OWN CHIL＿} 18}$





## 标定是

COUNTY
Kinney County，TX
Kleberg County，TX La Salle County，TX Live Oak County，TX Live Oak County，TX
McMullen County，TX Maverick County，TX Medina County，TX Newton County，TX Nueces County，TX Pecos County，TX Presidio County，TX Real County，TX
范 Reeves County，TX
Refugio County，TX Refugio County，TX
Sabine County，TX

 Sutton County，TX
Terrell County，TX Terrell County，TX
Uvalde County，TX Val Verde County，TX
Webb County，TX Willacy County，TX
 XIL＇junoz bienez TX TOTAL TOTAL


|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |



芜家

BLACK
COUNTY
Cochise County，$A Z$
Pima County，$A Z$
Santa Cruz County，$A Z$
Yuma County，$A Z$
AZ TOTAL









COUNTY
Imperial County, CA
Riverside County, CA
San Diego County, CA
CA TOTAL
Chaves County, NM
Dona Ana County, NM
Eddy County, NM
Hidalgo County, NM
Lea County, NM
Luna County, NM
Otero County, NM
NM TOTAL
Aransas County, TX
Atascosa County, TX
Bee County, TX
Brewster County, TX
Brooks County, TX
Cameron County, TX
Crockett County, TX
Culberson County, TX
Dimmit County, TX
Duval County, TX
Edwards County, TX
El Paso County, TX
Frio County, TX
Hidalgo County, TX
Hudspeth County, TX
Jeff Davis County, TX
Jim Hogg County, TX
Jim Wells County, TX
Kenedy County, TX
Kinney County, TX
Kleberg County, TX
La Salle County, TX
Live Oak County, TX
McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX
Newton County, TX

FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS






## * <br> Nueces County, TX Pecos County, TX  Presidio County, TX Real County, TX Red River County, TX Reeves County, TX Reeves County, TX Refugio County, TX Sabine County, TX <br> <br> COUNTY

 <br> <br> COUNTY} San Patricio County, TX Starr County, TX Sutton County, TX Sutton County, IX 43
0
0
0
0
3
3肴 2
0
0
0
0
0
3
3 Willacy County, TX Zapata County, TX Zavala County, TX TX TOTAL TOTAL $26,053 \quad 26.01$

AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT
 COUNTY
Cochise County, AZ
Pima County, AZ
Santa Cruz County, AZ
Yuma County, AZ
AZ TOTAL
Imperial County, CA
Riverside County, CA
San Diego County, CA
CA TOTAL
Chaves County, NM
Dona Ana County, NM
Eddy County, NM
Hidalgo County, NM
NONFAMILY
HOUSEHOLDS









＊



若 Hidalgo County，TX
Hudspeth County，TX
 Jim Hogg County，TX
Jim Wells County，TX合这 Kleberg County，TX
 Live Oak County，TX
McMullen County，TX Maverick County，TX合 Newton County，TX
Nueces County，TX Nueces County，TX
Pecos County，TX Presidio County，TX Real County，TX Red River County，TX迄

O8.8.8.8
oomoo
in ooon



| EEM. NO HUSB., W/ OWN CHIL- 18 | EEM., NO HUSB., NO OWN CHIL-<18 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% | + | \% |
| 8.54 | 6 | 7.32 |
| 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| $0 \quad 0.00$ | 0 | 0.00 |
| 1121.57 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 31.82 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 11100.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| $299 \quad 11.37$ | 55 | 2.09 |
| ,836 12.80 | 1,589 | 7.17 |

FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS FEM., NO HUSB..



 *
 +8 n 88 \%
 0 8

$$
\ln \ln
$$

$$
08
$$

$$
m
$$

ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER



AMERICAN INDIAN, ESKIMO, OR ALEUT (continued)

TOTAL
22,162 $5,813 \quad 26.23$
 <br> \section*{COUNTY <br> \section*{COUNTY <br> <br> San Patricio County, TX <br> <br> San Patricio County, TX <br> <br> COUNTY $\#$} <br> <br> COUNTY $\#$} Starr County, TX Sutton County, TX Terrell County, TX Uvalde County, TX Val Verde County, TX Webb County, TX Willacy County, TX Zapata County, TX XL 'Kıunoう ejearz TVLOL XL 5,813

$*$
$\qquad$





 8. 8 8. 8. 8.


* $00000000000000000 \mathrm{NOOOOOO}=000000000000 \mathrm{IO}$
$00 N 0000020000000000000000000000000000000$



$$
0
$$



 Kinney County, TX Kleberg County, TX
La Salle County, TX Live Oak County, TX McMullen County, TX Maverick County, TX Newton County, TX Nueces County, TX Pecos County, TX
 Real County, TX Red River County, TX Reeves County, TX Refugio County, TX Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX Starr County, 1 S
Sutton County, TX Terrell County, TX Uvalde County, TX Val Verde County, TX Webb County, TX
Willacy County, TX

 | 00 |  |
| ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 0 | $m$ |
|  | $m$ |









 $\begin{aligned} & \text { MARRIED CPL } \\ & \text { NO OWN CHIL. }<18\end{aligned}$
\# \%


 MALE, NO WIFE, $_{\text {W }}$
W/ OWN CHIL $<18$ NO WIFE,
N CHIL<18
$\%$


ASIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER (continued)

웅
COUNTY \#
 Zavala County, TX Zavala County, 1X
TX TOTAL
TOTAL TOTAL

OTHER





 \&
 N
N



 oे
m
0
0
OTHER (continucd)

county
El Paso County, TX
Frio County, TX
Hidalgo County, TX
Hudspeth County, TX
Jeff Davis County, TX
Jim Hogg County, TX
Jim Wells County, TX
Kenedy County, TX
Kinney County, TX
Kleberg County, TX
La Salle County, TX
Live Oak County, TX
McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX
Newton County, TX
Nueces County, TX
Pecos County, TX
Presidio County, TX
Real County, TX
Red River County, TX
Reeves County, TX
Refugio County, TX
Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX
Sutton County, TX
Terrell County, TX
Uvalde County, TX
Val Verde County, TX
Webb County, TX
Willacy County, TX
Zapata County, TX
Zavala County, TX
TX TOTAL
TAL











$y, ~ Y$

COUNTY
Cochise County, AZ Pima County, AZ Santa Cruz County, AZ Yuma County, AZ Imperial County, CA Riverside County, CA San Diego County, CA Chaves County, NM Dona Ana County, NM Hidalgo County, NM Lea County, NM Luna County, NM Otero County, NM NM TOTAL

Aransas County, TX Atascosa County, TX
Bee County, TX Brewster County, TX
Brooks County, TX
Cameron County, TX
Crockett County, TX
Culberson County, TX
Dimmit County, TX
Duval County, TX
Edwards County TX Edwards County, TX El Paso County, TX






 La Salle County, TX






 $\stackrel{\circ}{\text { ( }}$

This page left intentionally blank.
B－37：POVERTY RATES BY RACE，BORDER COUNTIES ${ }^{1}$ AMER．IND．／ESK．／ALEUT ASIAN／PACIFIC ISLANDER
 －点



点
市

$\stackrel{\sim}{\infty}$
＋
冓为に









WHITE


合 \＃
75,761 2 22，115 N
$\cdots$
$\infty$
$\infty$
 ò $N a$
a
on
$\infty$
$\infty$
$\infty$
on
-1会
or




$\frac{N}{\text { à }}$


## TOTAL

COUNTY
Cochise County，AZ
Pima County，AZ
Santa Cruz County，AZ
Yuma County，AZ
AZ TOTAL
Imperial County，CA
Riverside County，CA
San Diego County，CA
CA TOTAL

Chaves County，NM Dona Ana County，NM Eddy County，NM Hidalgo County，NM Lea County，NM Luna County，NM Otero County，NM NM TOTAL Aransas County，TX Atascosa County，TX Bee County，TX Brewster County，TX Brooks County，TX Cameron County，TX合 Culberson County，TX Dimmit County，TX Duval County，TX Edwards County，TX El Paso County，TX Frio County，TX Hidalgo County，TX Hudspeth County，TX
 Jim Hogg County，TX烒 Kenedy County，TX Kinney County，TX Kleberg County，TX







BLACK
WHITE BELOW POVERTY




County
La Pale County, TX
Live Oak County, TX
McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX
Newton County, TX
Nueces County, TX
Pecos County, TX
Presidio County, TX
Real County, TX
Red River County, TX
Reeves County, TX
Refugio County, TX
Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX
Sutton County, TX
Terrell County, TX
Uvalde County, TX
Val Verde County, TX
Webb County, TX
Willacy County, TX
Zapata County, TX
Zavala County, TX
TX TOTAL
TOTAL
B-37: POVERTY RATES BY RACE, BORDER COUNTIES' (contimued)


Persons for whom poverty status was determined.
Hispanic persons may be of any race.
$\hat{+}$
$\stackrel{+}{+}$



COUNTY
La Salle County, TX
Live Oak County, TX
McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX
Newton County, TX
Nueces County, TX
Pecos County, TX
Presidio County, TX
Real County, TX
Red River County, TX
Reeves County, TX
Refugio County, TX
Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX
Sutton County, TX
Terrell County, TX
Uvalde County, TX
Val Verde County, TX
Webb County, TX
Willacy County, TX
Zapata County, TX
Zavala County, TX
TX TOTAL
TOTAL
${ }^{1}$ Persons for whom poverty status was determined.
Hispanic persons may be of any race.
B－38：TENURE BY RACE AND ETHNICITY OF HOUSEHOLDER，BORDER COUNTIES

辎
等


n
in
in


\＆

$\circ$

8 ．
子



$\stackrel{\circ}{i}$
吉俞 ${ }^{\circ} \frac{0}{\sim}$ 品
－へ

$\because 688.8$
0
ま
8.8

| .8 |
| :--- |
| in |
| 0 |

は
8.
8.8
筞
$\mathrm{B}_{0}^{2}$
士 B

8



$\circ$
$\stackrel{\circ}{2}$
a
a
m
7
7
8
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
0
+
$\underset{\sim}{4}$
$\infty$
0
0
三운
$\stackrel{8}{8}$
$\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$

$\bigcirc$
8

NON－HISPANIC BLACK
OWNER－OCC RENTER－OCC
8
$=1$
$=1$
$=0$
－



a
in
in
0
0
0


a




$$
\begin{aligned}
& \stackrel{\infty}{\circ} \\
& \underset{\sim}{n} \\
& \pm
\end{aligned}
$$


$\frac{a}{3}$

©
$\stackrel{\infty}{\circ}$




Chaves County，NM
Dona Ana County，NM
Eddy County，NM
Hidalgo County，NM
Lea County，NM

 NM TOTAL
Aransas County，TX
Atascosa County，TX
Bee County，TX
Brewster County，TX
Brooks County，TX
Cameron County，TX
Crockett County，TX Culberson County，TX
 Edwards County，TX

 \begin{tabular}{l}
$\times$ <br>
\multirow{3}{*}{} <br>
0 <br>
0 <br>
0 <br>
0

 Hidalgo County，TX 

$\star$ <br>
\multirow{2}{*}{} <br>
0 <br>
0 <br>
0 <br>
0 <br>
5 <br>
$\frac{5}{3}$ <br>
3
\end{tabular}


 $x$
-
0
0
0
0
0
3
3
3会
NON-HISPANIC BLACK

\[

\]






B－38：TENURE BY RACE AND ETHNICTTY OF HOUSEHOLDEE，BORDER COUNTIIS（cantimed） NON－HISPANIC
$\begin{gathered}\text { ASIANPACIFIC ISLANDER } \\ \text { OWNER－OCG } \\ \text { RENTEROCC．}\end{gathered}$ ，мunimaicius
$\stackrel{\sim}{\sim}$









## RENTER－OCC． $\# \quad \%$ <br> NON－HISA OWNER－OCC $\# \quad \underline{2}$ <br> 56.41

$\therefore \tilde{n}^{\circ} \circ$ a
8
$\stackrel{o}{\infty}$
ま告
$\stackrel{\rightharpoonup}{\infty}$

in
in
in
年
$\underset{\sim}{6}$

8.8 .8
8.8

年
8．

| $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$ |
| :--- |
| + |
| + |

$\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$

$\frac{9}{\infty}$
군
8.
80
子合
m
さे
こ
8


へิ○○こへのす的 아
$=1$
a
in
0
in
à
in
in
ig
i



in
${ }_{n}{ }_{i n} 8$

| 8.8 |
| :--- |
| 8.8 |
| 1 |

8

8.
8.8 ${ }^{8} \stackrel{3}{\circ}$ 8 in 88888
$\infty$
$\dot{+}$
$\infty$
$\stackrel{8}{4}$
$\underset{y}{2}$
$\stackrel{3}{3}$

$\stackrel{\alpha}{\infty}$ | $\infty$ |
| :--- |
| $\infty$ |
| $\infty$ |
| $\stackrel{\infty}{\infty}$ |

 $\stackrel{\text { 筞 }}{+}$ ご品こ゚べに夺 $\infty \circ \pm \pm$ 0 n $0+$ $\circ 0$ $\stackrel{\circ}{\infty}$ $\circ$ $\hat{2}^{\circ}$
HISPANIC ${ }^{1}$

NON-HISPANIC OTHER



药


Hispanic persons may be of any race
b－39：COST BURDENED OWNERS BY INCOME LEVEL，BORDER COUNTIES＇ －

| COST－BURDENED | COST－BURD． $335 \%$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\boxed{m}$ |  | or

范

| $\infty$ |
| :--- |
| $\stackrel{\infty}{4}$ |亡ै

in
ते o
俞



 in $\begin{gathered}\infty \\ \text { in }_{0}^{2} \\ 0\end{gathered}$ a
in
in $\xrightarrow[4]{4}$ N去出 $\cdots$ $\stackrel{\infty}{⿻}$
 웅 HOUSE－
HOLDS 2，004 $\infty$
$\alpha_{0}$
0 in $\stackrel{\circ}{\circ}$ $\circ \infty$
$\underset{\sim}{n}$
$=0$
急会
 $\underset{\sim}{\infty}{ }_{-}^{\circ} \pm$







$\begin{array}{ll}\infty & \pm \\ & 士\end{array}$ $\infty$

$$
-
$$ － $\qquad$

 STIOH
-STNOH ＋
mi
m 여웅 コ年義
 Santa Cruz County，AZ Yuma County，AZ AZ TOTAL Aransas County，TX Dimmit County，TX Duval County，TX Edwards County，TX El Paso County，TX Frio County，TX Hidalgo County，TX
 Kenedy County，TX

$$
\text { INCOME } \$ 20,000 \text { TO } \$ 34,999
$$苶合き号吉



ぞチニコ士爻

우웅ㅇㅇㅇㅇㅇㄱㅇㅗㅓㅓㅜ



 $\qquad$
害。
 Cochise County，$A Z$
Pima County，AZ
S

## Imperial County，CA Riverside County，CA San Diego County，CA CA TOTAL

Chaves County，NM
Dona Ana County，NM
Eddy County，NM
Hidalgo County，NM
Lea County，NM
Luna County，NM
Otero County，NM
NM TOTAL Atascosa County，TX
Bee County，TX
Brewster County，TX
Brooks County，TX
Cameron County，TX
Crockett County，TX
Culberson County，TX
Dimmit County TX
 Jim Hogg County，TX Jim Wells County，TX

＇Owner households for which cost burden was determined．
 $\begin{array}{lllllll}255,738 & 73,634 & 28.79 & 53,808 & 21.04\end{array}$

INCOME $\$ 10,000$ TO \$19,999
COST-BURDENED COST-BURD. $335 \%$


$\infty$





INCOME $\mathbf{\$ 1 0 , 0 0 0}$


County
La Salle County, TX
Live Oak County, TX
McMullen County, TX
Maverick County, TX
Medina County, TX
Newton County, TX
Nueces County, TX
Pecos County, TX
Presidio County, TX
Real County, TX
Red River County, TX
Reeves County, TX
Refugio County, TX
Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX
Sutton County, TX
Terrell County, TX
Uvalde County, TX
Val Verde County, TX
Webb County, TX
Willacy County, TX
Zapata County, TX
Zavala County, TX
TX TOTAL
TOTAL

Owner households for which cost burden was determined.
DER BOUNTIES' (continued)
INCOME $\$ 50,000$ OR MORE



| COST-BURDENED |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\#$ | $\%$ |
| 170 | 6.10 |

- $-\infty \rightarrow$



INCOME S50,000 OR MORE


INCOME $\mathbf{\$ 3 5 , 0 0 0}$ TO $\$ 49,999$

La Gale County, TX McMullen County, TX Maverick County, TX Medina County, TX Newton County, TX Nueces County, TX
Pecos County, TX Presidio County, TX Real County, TX Red River County, TX Reeves County, TX Refugio County, TX Sabine County, TX
San Patricio County, TX San Patricio County, TX
Starr County, TX Starr County, TX
Sutton County, TX Terrell County, TX Uvalde County, TX Val Verde County, TX Webb County, TX Willacy County, TX Zapata County, TX Zavala County, TX TX TOTAL
total



## DER COUNTIES INCOME $\$ 10,000$ TO


MaN

$$
=2
$$

$$
1021
$$

には下onの上かm
 INCOME $\$ 10,000$ TO \＄19，999

> HoUSE－ 웅
 ch







$\pm$ の $\infty$

## 

$$
\infty
$$

$$
\stackrel{\hat{\theta}}{\hat{\theta}}
$$

$$
16 \angle 8
$$ NM TOTAL

Aransas County，TX
 Bee County，TX
Brewster County，TX Brooks County，TX
Cameron County，TX Cameron County，TX
Crockett County，TX
厷 Duval County，TX Edwards County，TX

 Hidalgo County，TX



 Kinney County，TX
Kleberg County，TX
${ }^{\prime}$ Renter households for which cost burden was determined．


DER COUNTIES (continued)
INCOME $\$ 50,000$ OR MORE



County
Cochise County, AZ
Pima County, AZ
Santa Cruz County, AZ
Yuma County, AZ
AZ TOTAL
Imperial County, CA
Riverside County, CA
San Diego County, CA
CA TOTAL
Chaves County, NM
Dona Ana County, NM
Eddy County, NM
Hidalgo County, NM
Lea County, NM
Luna County, NM
Otero County, NM
NM TOTAL
Aransas County, TX
Atascosa County, TX
Bee County, TX
Brewster County, TX
Brooks County, TX
Cameron County, TX
Crockett County, TX
Culberson County, TX
Dimmit County, TX
Duval County, TX
Edwards County, TX
El Paso County, TX
Frio County, TX
Hidalgo County, TX
Hudspeth County, TX
Jeff Davis County, TX
Jim Hogg County, TX
Jim Wells County, TX
Kenedy County, TX
Kinney County, TX
Kleberg County, TX


```
COST-BURD
    0000000000000000000000000 플
``` COST-BURDENED

    -
    -

\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline house. & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{COST-BURDENED} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{COST-BURD. 335} \\
\hline HOLDS' & \# & \% & \(\pm\) & \% \\
\hline 5 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 20 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 4 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 129 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 53 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 21 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 4,346 & 52 & 1.20 & 21 & 0.48 \\
\hline 136 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 14 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 4 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 27 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 83 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 54 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 11 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 517 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 38 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 34 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 20 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 145 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 377 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 809 & 3 & 0.37 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 52 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 7 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 44 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 \\
\hline 17,321 & 251 & 1.45 & 151 & 0.87 \\
\hline 119,412 & 11,395 & 9.54 & 4,941 & 4.14 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}


Renter households for which cost burden was determined.

B-41: HOUSING qUaLITY INDICATORS, BORDER COUNTIES
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline & & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{Crowded oniy} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{LACKING PLUMBING ONLY} & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{BOTH} & \multicolumn{2}{|l|}{TOTAL SUBSTANDARD} \\
\hline count & UNTTS & \(\#\) & \% & \# & \% & \# & \% & \# & \% \\
\hline Cochise County, AZ & 3, 546 & 1,675 & 4.85 & 173 & 0.50 & 23 & 0.07 & 1,871 & 5.42 \\
\hline Pima County, iz & 261,792 & 15,426 & 5.89 & 998 & 0.38 & 509 & 0.19 & 16,933 & 6.47 \\
\hline Santa Cruz County, AZ & 8,808 & 1,417 & 16.09 & 31 & 0.35 & 31 & 0.35 & 1,479 & 16.79 \\
\hline Yuma County, AZ & 35,791 & 4,806 & 13.43 & 246 & 0.69 & 163 & 0.46 & 5,215 & 14.57 \\
\hline AZ TOT.AL & 340,937 & 23,324 & 6.84 & 1,448 & 0.42 & 726 & 0.21 & 25,498 & 7.48 \\
\hline Imperial County, CA & 32,842 & 6,479 & 19.73 & 329 & 1.00 & 117 & 0.36 & 6,925 & 21.09 \\
\hline Riverside County, CA & 402,067 & 37,107 & 9.23 & 938 & 0.23 & 840 & 0.21 & 38,885 & 9.67 \\
\hline San Diego County, CA & 887,403 & 76,895 & 8.67 & 2,935 & 0.33 & 1,287 & 0.15 & 81,117 & 9.14 \\
\hline CA TOTAL & 1,322,312 & 120,481 & 9.11 & 4,202 & 0.32 & 2,244 & 0.17 & 126,927 & 9.60 \\
\hline Chaves County, NM & 20,589 & 1,372 & 6.66 & 112 & 0.54 & 23 & 0.11 & 1,507 & 7.32 \\
\hline Dona Ana County, NM & 45,029 & 4,132 & 9.18 & 128 & 0.28 & 88 & 0.20 & 4,348 & 9.66 \\
\hline Eddy County, NM & 17,472 & 1,131 & 6.47 & 39 & 0.22 & 9 & 0.05 & 1,179 & 6.75 \\
\hline Hidalgo County, NM & 2,004 & 146 & 7.29 & 5 & 0.25 & 0 & 0.00 & 151 & 7.53 \\
\hline Lea County, NM & 19,306 & 1,405 & 7.28 & 62 & 0.32 & 19 & 0.10 & 1,486 & 7.70 \\
\hline Luna County, NM & 6,797 & 601 & 8.84 & 75 & 1.10 & 39 & 0.57 & 715 & 10.52 \\
\hline Otero County, NM & 18,155 & 926 & 5.10 & 105 & 0.58 & 2 & 0.01 & 1,033 & 5.69 \\
\hline NM TOTAL & 129,352 & 9,713 & 7.51 & 526 & 0.41 & 180 & 0.14 & 10,419 & 8.05 \\
\hline Aransas County, TX & 6,938 & 596 & 8.59 & 65 & 0.94 & 26 & 0.37 & 687 & 9.90 \\
\hline Atascosa County, TX & 9,940 & 1,047 & 10.53 & 358 & 3.60 & 187 & 1.88 & 1,592 & 16.02 \\
\hline Bee County, TX & 8,592 & 752 & 8.75 & 131 & 1.52 & 12 & 0.14 & 895 & 10.42 \\
\hline Brewster County, TX & 3,350 & 262 & 7.82 & 77 & 2.30 & 16 & 0.48 & 355 & 10.60 \\
\hline Brooks County, TX & 2,673 & 361 & 13.51 & 47 & 1.76 & 30 & 1.12 & 438 & 16.39 \\
\hline Cameron County, TX & 73,278 & 15,558 & 21.23 & 1,312 & 1.79 & 1,571 & 2.14 & 18,441 & 25.17 \\
\hline Crockett County, TX & 1,449 & 102 & 7.04 & 0 & 0.00 & 12 & 0.83 & 114 & 7.87 \\
\hline Culberson County, TX & 1,076 & 152 & 14.13 & 16 & 1.49 & 4 & 0.37 & 172 & 15.99 \\
\hline Dimmit County, TX & 3,072 & 497 & 16.18 & 106 & 3.45 & 41 & 1.33 & 644 & 20.96 \\
\hline Duval County, TX & 4,159 & 453 & 10.89 & 189 & 4.54 & 86 & 2.07 & 728 & 17.50 \\
\hline Edwards County, TX & 795 & 100 & 12.58 & 12 & 1.51 & 5 & 0.63 & 117 & 14.72 \\
\hline El Paso County, TX & 178,366 & 24,589 & 13.79 & 1,556 & 0.87 & 1,252 & 0.70 & 27,397 & 15.36 \\
\hline Frio County, TX & 4,129 & 681 & 16.49 & 103 & 2.49 & 52 & 1.26 & 836 & 20.25 \\
\hline Hidalgo County, TX & 103,479 & 22,732 & 21.97 & 2,747 & 2.65 & 3,951 & 3.82 & 29,430 & 28.44 \\
\hline Hudspeth County, TX & 946 & 118 & 12.47 & 21 & 2.22 & 33 & 3.49 & 172 & 18.18 \\
\hline Jeff Davis County, TX & 779 & 34 & 4.36 & 9 & 1.16 & 3 & 0.39 & 46 & 5.91 \\
\hline Jim Hogg County, TX & 1,675 & 165 & 9.85 & 15 & 0.90 & 17 & 1.01 & 197 & 11.76 \\
\hline Jim Wells County, TX & 11,979 & 1,328 & 11.09 & 253 & 2.11 & 164 & 1.37 & 1,745 & 14.57 \\
\hline Kenedy County, TX & 145 & 20 & 13.79 & 0 & 0.00 & 0 & 0.00 & 20 & 13.79 \\
\hline Kinney County, TX & 1,187 & 107 & 9.01 & 18 & 1.52 & 2 & 0.17 & 127 & 10.70 \\
\hline Kleberg County, TX & 10,058 & 937 & 9.32 & 79 & 0.79 & 48 & 0.48 & 1,064 & 10.58 \\
\hline La Salle County, TX & 1,701 & 194 & 11.41 & 120 & 7.05 & 36 & 2.12 & 350 & 20.58 \\
\hline Live Oak County, TX & 3,550 & 252 & 7.10 & 72 & 2.03 & 9 & 0.25 & 333 & 9.38 \\
\hline McMullen County, TX & 319 & 21 & 6.58 & 16 & 5.02 & 0 & 0.00 & 37 & 11.60 \\
\hline Maverick County, TX & 9,756 & 2,313 & 23.71 & 544 & 5.58 & 302 & 3.10 & 3,159 & 32.38 \\
\hline Medina County, TX & 9,109 & 773 & 8.49 & 184 & 2.02 & 74 & 0.81 & 1,031 & 11.32 \\
\hline Newton County, TX & 4,910 & 293 & 5.97 & 191 & 3.89 & 5 & 0.10 & 489 & 9.96 \\
\hline Nueces County, TX & 99,740 & 9,246 & 9.27 & 592 & 0.59 & 177 & 0.18 & 10,015 & 10.04 \\
\hline Pecos County, TX & 4,712 & 570 & 12.10 & 40 & 0.85 & 10 & 0.21 & 620 & 13.16 \\
\hline Presidio County, TX & 2,255 & 249 & 11.04 & 70 & 3.10 & 46 & 2.04 & 365 & 16.19 \\
\hline Real County, TX & 924 & 50 & 5.41 & 7 & 0.76 & 0 & 0.00 & 57 & 6.17 \\
\hline Red River County, TX & 5,688 & 161 & 2.83 & 222 & 3.90 & 45 & 0.79 & 428 & 7.52 \\
\hline Reeves County, TX & 4,838 & 510 & 10.54 & 4 & 0.08 & 13 & 0.27 & 527 & 10.89 \\
\hline Refugio County, TX & 2,937 & 212 & 7.22 & 28 & 0.95 & 7 & 0.24 & 247 & 8.41 \\
\hline Sabine County, TX & 3,985 & 132 & 3.31 & 61 & 1.53 & 8 & 0.20 & 201 & 5.04 \\
\hline San Patricio County, TX & 18,776 & 2,069 & 11.02 & 248 & 1.32 & 79 & 0.42 & 2,396 & 12.76 \\
\hline Starr County, TX & 10,331 & 2,702 & 26.15 & 464 & 4.49 & 514 & 4.98 & 3,680 & 35.62 \\
\hline Sutton County, TX & 1,466 & 118 & 8.05 & 7 & 0.48 & 0 & 0.00 & 125 & 8.53 \\
\hline Terrell County, TX & 524 & 23 & 4.39 & 12 & 2.29 & 3 & 0.57 & 38 & 7.25 \\
\hline Uvalde County, TX & 7,553 & 868 & 11.49 & 116 & 1.54 & 82 & 1.09 & 1,066 & 14.11 \\
\hline Val Verde County, TX & 11,840 & 1,768 & 14.93 & 74 & 0.63 & 141 & 1.19 & 1,983 & 16.75 \\
\hline Webb County, TX & 34,438 & 8,490 & 24.65 & 544 & 1.58 & 654 & 1.90 & 9,688 & 28.13 \\
\hline Willacy County, TX & 5,049 & 892 & 17.67 & 165 & 3.27 & 182 & 3.60 & 1,239 & 24.54 \\
\hline Zapata County, TX & 2,862 & 506 & 17.68 & 12 & 0.42 & 56 & 1.96 & 574 & 20.06 \\
\hline Zavala County, TX & 3,356 & 869 & 25.89 & 85 & 2.53 & 102 & 3.04 & 1,056 & 31.47 \\
\hline TX TOTAL & 678,684 & 103,872 & 15.30 & 10,992 & 1.62 & 10,057 & 1.48 & 124,921 & 18.41 \\
\hline TOTAL & 2,471,285 & 257,390 & 10.42 & 17,168 & 0.69 & 13,207 & 0.53 & 287,765 & 11.64 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
```


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Poverty and housing conditions in each of these areas are treated in detail later in this report.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Analysis of rural population decline in the Midwest is based on data and analysis provided by Richard Ratchge of the North Dakota State Data Center.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ The terms African-American and black are used interchangeably in this report. When Census data is being quoted directly in tables and charts, the terms used by the Census Bureau are employed. These terms do not reflect how many people within racial/ethnic communities would choose to be identified.
    ${ }^{4}$ The 1990 Census delineates the following races: White, Black, American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut, Asian/Pacific Islander, and "Other." Hispanic people may be of any race. The majority of rural Hispanic people identified themselves as white in the 1990 Census. A large number also identified as being of "Other" race. Hispanic people comprise 98 percent of all rural people who identified as "Other." In the following tables, "Other" race is roughly correlative with Hispanic people, but does not include all Hispanic people. For more information, see the definitions in Appendix A. For more detailed information on Hispanic communities in the United States, see "State of Hispanic America: Toward a Latino Anti-Poverty Agenda," published by the National Council of La Raza in July 1993.
    'Diana DeAre, "Geographic Mobility: March 1990 to March 1991," Current Population Report P20-463, U.S. Census Bureau, pp. xi-xiii.
    ${ }^{\circ}$ Ibid., Table E.
    "All of the seven states analyzed here have fairly small Hispanic populations relative to the rest of the United States. Perennial undercount of minority populations, particularly Hispanics, is a problem with the accuracy of this data. One USDA estimate suggests that as many as two-thirds of all agricultural workers in the United States were not counted in the 1990 Census, while the Census Bureau acknowledges that undercounts were twice as high in Hispanic communities as in others.

[^3]:    "The Census Bureau's definition of people of "Other" Hispanic origin are those persons from Spain, Central or South America, or the Dominican Republic, or they identified themselves generally as Spanish, Hispanic, Latino, etc.
    ${ }^{\text {? }}$ Certainly, not every rural Hispanic person in these states is a farmworker, but data from the National Council of La Raza and the Association of Farmworker Opportunity Programs indicates that the majority of rural Hispanic people are involved in agricultural production at some level.
    ${ }^{10}$ United States Census Bureau, 1987 Census of Agriculture, Table 16.
    " DeAre, "Geographical Mobility," Table 20.

[^4]:    Felicity Barringer, "Population Grows in Rural America, Studics Say," Newr York Times, May 25, 1993, p, D1.
    "For a profile of rural population, poverty, and housing in the 1970s and carly 1980s, see Tiking Stock: Rural People and Poverty from 1970 to 1983, a publication of the Ilousing Assistance Council.

[^5]:    ${ }^{15}$ This section focusses on employment data from Current Population Surveys and the Bureau of Economic Analysis. 1990 decennial Census data for employment, which is less reliable (especially for nonmetro areas), is not used here.
    ${ }^{16}$ "Manufacturing Job Losses Concentrated in Urban Areas in 1990," Rural Conditions and Trends 4, no. 1 (Spring 1993 ): 10.
    ${ }^{17}$ Ibid., p. 11.

[^6]:    (t "Rural Unemployment Finally Eases," Rural Conditions and Trends 4, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 8.
    ${ }^{19}$ Ibid., p. 9.
    20 "Rural Unemployment Finally Eases."
    " "Rural Employment Picks Up," Rural Conditions and Trends 4, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 6.

[^7]:    22 "Manufacturing Job Losses Concentrated in Urban Areas in 1990," p. 13.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 1990 dollars.

[^8]:    "Central cities are not the same as "inner cities." Central cities are defined by the Census as the "largest place" within a Metropolitan Statistical Area. For more information, see the complete definition in Appendix A.
    ${ }^{35}$ There was also a difference of 3.6 percent between the Census and CPS counts of black central city residents, enough smaller than the white differential that it lends credence to this hypothesis.

[^9]:    ${ }^{29}$ For more information on the poverty and housing conditions of American Indians, please see the section of this report entithed "Native Americans."
    ${ }^{10}$ Dudenhefer, p. 37.

[^10]:    " Ibid.
    ${ }^{12}$ The Census Bureau defines public assistance as supplementary Social Security Income, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, and welfare/general assistance.
    ${ }^{13}$ The Task Force on Persistent Rural Poverty of the Rural Sociological Society asserts that rural anti-poverty policy has generally been confused by lawmakers with aid to farmers, which in the last twenty years has translated into greater levels of aid for industrialized farming. The Task Force believes that the focus of rural policy must shift from supporting large commercial farmers to low-income rural people. For more information, see the Task Force's publication entitled Persistent Poverty in Rural America (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).
    ${ }^{14}$ The Census defines a work disability as a health condition that lasted for six or more months and which limited the kind or amount of work a person could do at a job or business.

[^11]:    ${ }^{15}$ The Census provides only two data variables related to farmworkers: it counts the number of people employed in agricultural work, and the number of vacant housing units for migrant workers is counted (but not the number of occupied or available units). Some data on farmworkers exists from non-Census sources at the state and local level, but it is not gathered with consistent methodology, and national data is not compiled.
    ${ }^{\text {so }}$ Seasonal Agricultural Workers are defined by the National Agricultural Statistics Service of the USDA as those workers hired for less than 150 days a year in agricultural industries. Agricultural work is defined as work done on a farm or ranch in connection with the production of agricultural products, including nursery and greenhouse products and animal specialties such as fur farms or apiaries. Also included is work done off the farm to handle farm-related business such as trips to buy feed or deliver products to local market.

[^12]:    " All data in this section is taken from "U.S. Farmworkers in the Post-IRCA Period," Research Report No. 4 (U.S. Department of Labor, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy, Office of Program Economics, March 1993).
    ${ }^{18}$ A common stereotype of migrant farmworkers is that they are employed for just a few weeks a year and then return to their country of origin. In fact, this is not generally true. Most workers who do short-term tasks derive the major portion of their income from agricultural work, stringing together short-term and longer-term jobs as the job supply allows.
    ${ }^{19}$ "U.S. Farmworkers in the Post-IRCA Period," pp. 44-45.
    ${ }^{40}$ Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[^13]:    41 Source: Manufactured Housing Institute. The term "manufactured home" is used to describe a home built under a federal building code administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development which became effective in 1976. The term includes mobile homes/trailers, modular homes, panelized homes, and pre-cut homes. The Census Bureau does not have an official definition of mobile home, so it is unclear whether the Census count of mobile homes includes all manufactured housing. The terms "mobile home" and "manufactured home" are not used interchangeably in this report.

[^14]:    ${ }^{\text {4 }}$ Source: Manufactured Housing Institute.
    " Department of Housing and Urban Development Proposed Rule, 24 CFR Parts 3280 and 3282, Federal Register, Vol. 58, No. 70, Wednesday April 14, 1993, p. 19536.

[^15]:    ${ }^{4}$ The definition of "substandard" housing is transitory. For the sake of this report, the current conventional definition of substandard is used: housing that either lacks complete plumbing or is overcrowded (or both). This definition is wholly insufficient, however, to describe the total number of housing units that are unsafe, dilapidated, or otherwise inadequate. The conventional definition has, unfortunately, narrowed as data on housing quality available from the Census has become less precise. Readers should be cautioned that the actual number of poor quality units is substantially higher than any figures based on Census data, including those in this report.

[^16]:    ${ }^{4}$ For more information, see the section of this report on the Census undercount.

[^17]:    * A potential mitigant to some of this discrepancy is that in 1970 and 1980 the data on plumbing facilities was collected for units occupied all year only. 1990 figures include seasonal housing units as well, thus pushing the 1990 number of units lacking complete plumbing higher.
    ${ }^{* 2}$ These figures do not include loans from programs that do not produce housing units, such as Sections 523, 524,525, and 509(c). Source of data: Housing Assistance Council.

[^18]:    ${ }^{50}$ These figures are estimates based on the number of units with incomplete plumbing and those that are overcrowded times the average number of people per rural housing unit (2.76).

[^19]:    "For more information on the housing conditions of American Indian/Eskimo/Aleut people, see the section of this report enti-
    tled "Native Americans."

[^20]:    ${ }^{52}$ National Rural Water Association Staff, December 1992.
    "3 "National Statistical Assessment of Rural Water Conditions" (EPA Report \#570/09-84-004, June 1984).
    ${ }^{34}$ Ibid., p. 10.
    ${ }^{5}$ Ibid., p. 7.

[^21]:    ${ }^{15}$ SCS Engineers, Guidance Manual for Severless Sanitary Devices and Recycling Metbods, (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1983), p. 1-1.
    ${ }^{*}$ Ibid., pp. 10-12.

[^22]:    s"United States General Accounting Office, Report to the House Subcommittee on Census and Population, "Reported Net Undercount Obscured Magnitude of Error" (GAO/GGD-91-113. August 22, 1991).
    ${ }^{59}$ Ibid., pp. 1-2.

[^23]:    ${ }^{20}$ In the spring 1993, the Census Bureau sponsored the "Research Conference on Undercounted Ethnic Populations" in Richmond, Virginia. About 200 researchers, statisticians, demographers, and ethnographers from the Census Bureau, nonprofit groups, and universities gathered to share information on the differential undercount of racial/ethnic minorities in the 1990 Census, and to suggest changes in methodology and enumeration that might lessen undercount in the future. The conclusions in this section are based on the insights and reports of the conference attendees.

[^24]:    ${ }^{02}$ United States General Accounting Office, Report to the House Subcommittee on Census and Population, "1990 Results Show Need for Fundamental Reform" (GAO/GGD-92-94, pp. 2-4, June 1992).
    ${ }^{6}$ Ibid.

[^25]:    ${ }^{\text {' U.S. Department of Agriculture Economic Research Service, Human Resources in the Rural Mississippi Delta (1970), p. } 1 .}$
    ${ }^{2}$ The 1970 report was based on a 1966 survey of 1,249 households, of which 52.4 percent were headed by white persons and 47.6 percent were headed by black persons. (Ibid., pp. 3, 13.)
    ${ }^{3}$ Ibid., p. vii.
    ${ }^{4}$ Table B-15 in Appendix B is a list of the counties in the Lower Mississippi Delta Region.
    ${ }^{5}$ Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission, The Delta Initiatives (1990) p. 6.
    ${ }^{6}$ All poverty and income data in the 1990 Census measures conditions for the previous year (1989).
    ${ }^{7}$ Human Resources in the Rural Missisippi Delta, p. 1.

[^26]:    'Metro and nonmetro areas are determined on a county-wide basis, while urban and rural areas are defined at sub-county levels. Both metro and nonmetro counties may contain urban and rural areas. The terms metro, nonmetro, urban and rural are defined in Appendix A of this report.
    "Numbers and percents are rounded to the nearest whole number and may not sum to totals due to rounding.

[^27]:    ${ }^{2}$ Poverty rates for other races are not provided due to the relatively small proportion (1 percent) of the LMD population that they represent.
    "The data in this and other poverty tables includes only persons and families for whom poverty status was determined in the 1990 Census. Numbers and percents are rounded to the nearest whole number and may not sum to totals due to rounding.

[^28]:    " Numbers and percents are rounded to the nearest whole number and may not sum to totals due to rounding. Definitions of housing quality indicators are located in Appendix A of this report.

[^29]:    ${ }^{15}$ For more information on rural water quality in the United States, see the section of this report entitled "Water Supply and Quality."
    ${ }^{16}$ The Delta Initiatives, p. 92.
    ${ }^{17}$ Definitions of housing quality indicators are included in Appendix A.

[^30]:    ${ }^{\text {² }}$ See Figure 19 above.

[^31]:    The data in NA Figure 3 is for people for whom poverty status was determined.

[^32]:    ${ }^{4}$ Hispanic persons may be of any race.

[^33]:    ${ }^{\text {' }}$ Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs, "Texas Colonias: Creating Real Solutions to Poverty" (September 17, 1993), p. 3.
    'The Communications Group, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Tecbnical Assistance for Colonias: Final Report (September 1993), p. 7.
    'Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs, "Texas Colonias," p. 3.

[^34]:    ' Office of the Attorney General, Socioeconomic Conditions, p. 15.

[^35]:    "This figure includes persons who arrived between January 1 and March 31, 1990, as well. The Census - which was conducted on April 1, 1990 - included 1990 arrivals in its figures for those who arrived in the late 1980s.

[^36]:    ${ }^{10}$ The Census Bureau has stated that it intends to change the racial/ethnic designations in Census 2000 to eliminate overlap and reduce confusion.

[^37]:    "Persons of "other" race are sometimes used as a proxy for Hispanic persons, because 97.5 percent of "other"s nationally, and 99.1 percent in the border region, are Hispanic. But since Hispanic persons of "other" race represent far less than half of all Hispanic persons, such an assumption of equivalence is hardly accurate, especially in a predominantly Hispanic population such as the border's.
    ${ }^{1}$ As noted earlier in this report, poverty and income figures reported by the 1990 Census are for 1989 because that was the most recent full year for which respondents had information available.

[^38]:    ${ }^{11}$ Eight of the border region's 58 counties had a rural population of less than 15 percent: Pima County, Arizona; Riverside County, California; and Culberson, El Paso, Jim Hogg, Nueces, Val Verde, and Webb Counties, Texas. All of New Mexico's border counties had at least 15 percent rural residents.

[^39]:    ${ }^{14}$ Housing Subcommittee, Governor's Border Working Group, Housing Needs in the Texas Border Region: Findings, Recommendations, Action Steps (June 1992 draft), pp. 8-9, citing needs assessments prepared by Motivation, Education and Training, a nonprofit serving farmworkers.
    ${ }^{15}$ Housing Subcommittee, Housing Needs, p. 8; Border Low Income Housing Coalition, Border Housing, p. 28.
    ${ }^{16}$ Border Low Income Housing Coalition, Border Housing, p. 29.
    "Texas Departinent of Housing and Community Affairs, "Texas Colonias," p. 3.
    ${ }^{14}$ Statement of Francisco J. Gonzalez, Hispanic Health Care: Today's Shame, Tomorrow's Crisis, Joint Hearing before the Select Committee on Aging and the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, House of Representatives, 102d Congress, First Session (September 19, 1991), Comm. Pub. No. 102-842, p. 161.
    ${ }^{19}$ Border Low Income Housing Coalition, Border Housing, p. 28.

[^40]:    ${ }^{20}$ These ten counties, all in Texas, are Edwards, Hudspeth, Jeff Davis, Kenedy, Kinney, McMullen, Newton, Real, Sabine and Terrell.
    ${ }^{21}$ Texas Rural Water Quality Network Project, Challenge of the Colonias: Small Community Wastevater Management in the Lower Rio Grande Valley (Fall 1986), p. 3.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Communications Group, Technical Assistance, pp. iii and 10.

[^41]:    ${ }^{20}$ Texas Rural Water Quality Network Project, Challenge of the Colonias, p. 4.
    ${ }^{10}$ Ibid., pp. 7-13.
    "'The Communications Group, Technical Assistance, pp. vii-viii, 27, 66-68.
    ${ }^{12}$ Ibid., p. 19.

[^42]:    'The previous version of these case studies is included in Taking Stock: Rural People and Poverty from 1970 to 1983, and is available from the Housing Assistance Council for $\$ 4$.
    ${ }^{2}$ A wide range of poverty, housing, and employment data is included for each of the case study counties in the tables at the end of this section.

[^43]:    'See footnote number 46 of the preceding part of this report for a thorough description of the definition of "substandard" housing and the limitations of this definition.

[^44]:    ${ }^{4}$ These Apache and Zuni reservation areas are not discussed in this report because the Zuni lands are sacred and ceremonial and unpopulated, while only 216 persons live in the Apache County portion of the Fort Apache reservation.

[^45]:    Gregory Gagnon and Karen White Eyes, Pine Ridge Reservation, Yesterday and Today (Badlands Natural History Association, Interior, South Dakota, 1992).

[^46]:    ${ }^{6}$ U.S. Census Bureau poverty rates do not include institutionalized residents.
    "U.S. Census Bureau unemployment figures are widely considered to be flawed, since they do not include "discouraged work-
    ers" (those who have been unemployed for more than six weeks).

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ These definitions are taken verbatim from Appendix A, "Area Classifications," and Appendix B, "Definitions of Subject Characteristics," contained in the Technical Documentation for Summary Tape File 3 on CD-ROM: 1990 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Department of Commerce Economic and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census, May 1992, pp. A1-A13, B1-B52. Definitions for terms not used in this report have been omitted, as have statements describing the comparability of 1990 data with earlier Censuses.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ Persons for whom poverty status was determined.

[^49]:    Persons for whom poverty status was determined.

[^50]:    Persons for whom poverty status was determined.

[^51]:    Persons for whom poverty status was determined.

[^52]:    ' Persons for whom poverty status was determined.

[^53]:    Families for whom poverty status was determined.

[^54]:    ' Families for whom poverty status was determined.

[^55]:    Families for whom poverty status was determined.

[^56]:    Families for whom poverty status was determined.

[^57]:    Families for whom poverty status was determined.

[^58]:    * Denotes metro counties/parishes.

[^59]:    Notes (for all LMD Tables):

    * The Lower Mississippi Delta of Illinois, Kentucky and Missouri contain only nonmetro counties.
    **Persons of Hispanic origin may be any race.
    Numbers and percents are rounded to the nearest whole number and may not sum to totals due to rounding.

[^60]:    *"Persons for whom poverty status is determined.

[^61]:    **Families for whom poverty status is determined. Children include only those who are related to the head of household and are under 18 years old. Male-head ed families have no wife present. Female-headed families have no husband present.

[^62]:    Notes: Percent of unit figures do not include householders for whom housing cost as a percent of income was not calculated.

