

Persistent Poverty Revisited: New Measures, New Methods, and the Rural-Urban Divide



Image: Iowa Tourism Office

Rural Poverty Research Symposium
Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta and USDA ERS
December 2, 2013

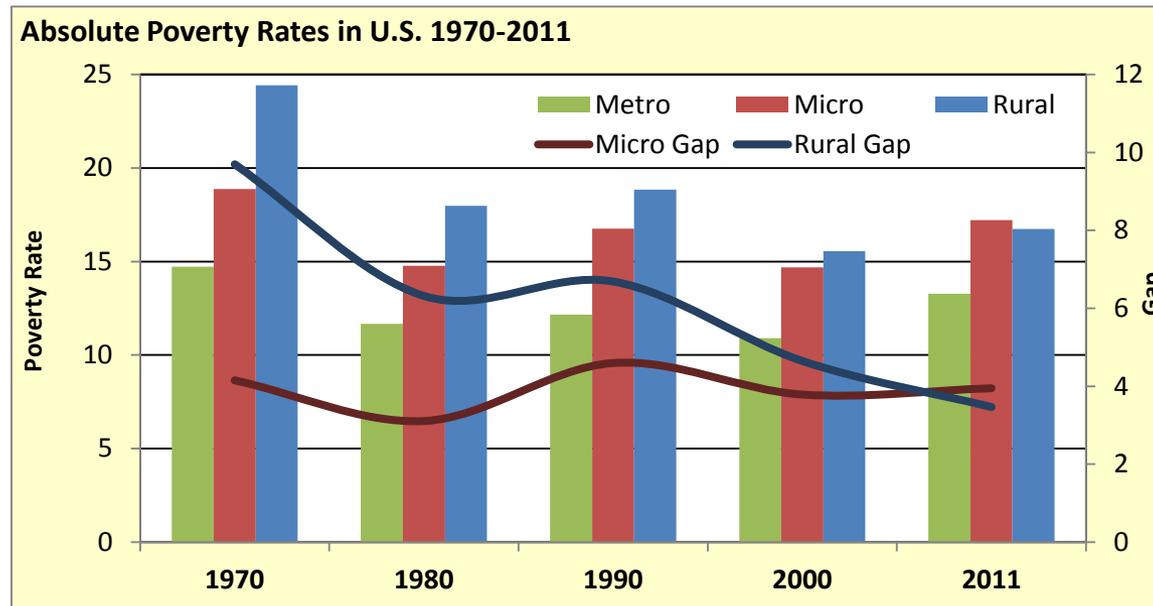
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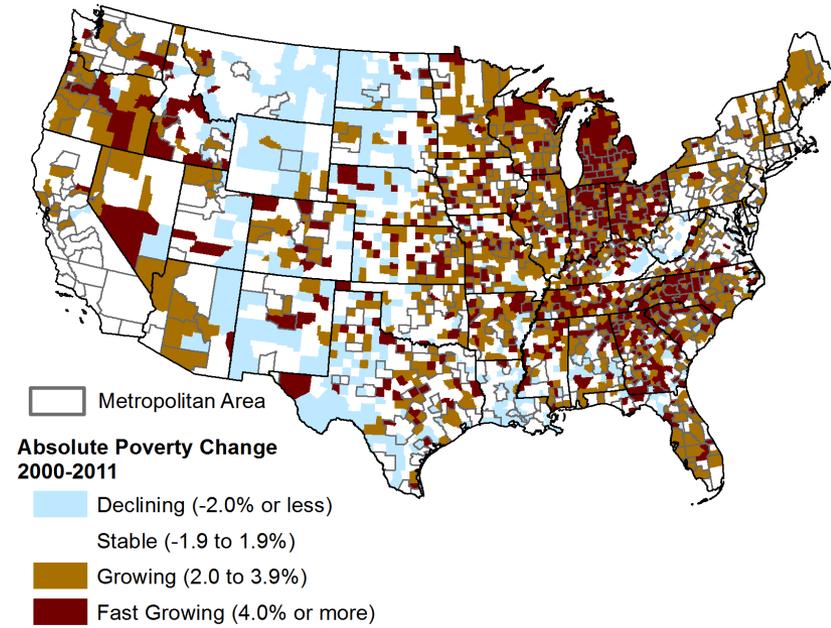
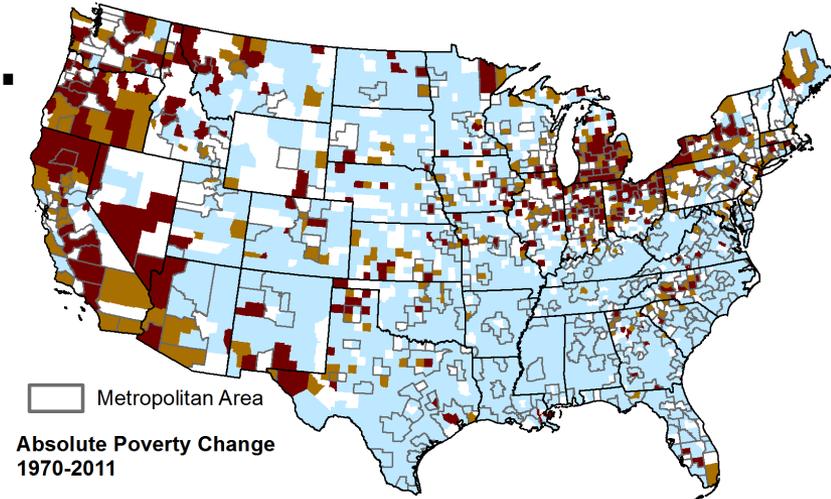
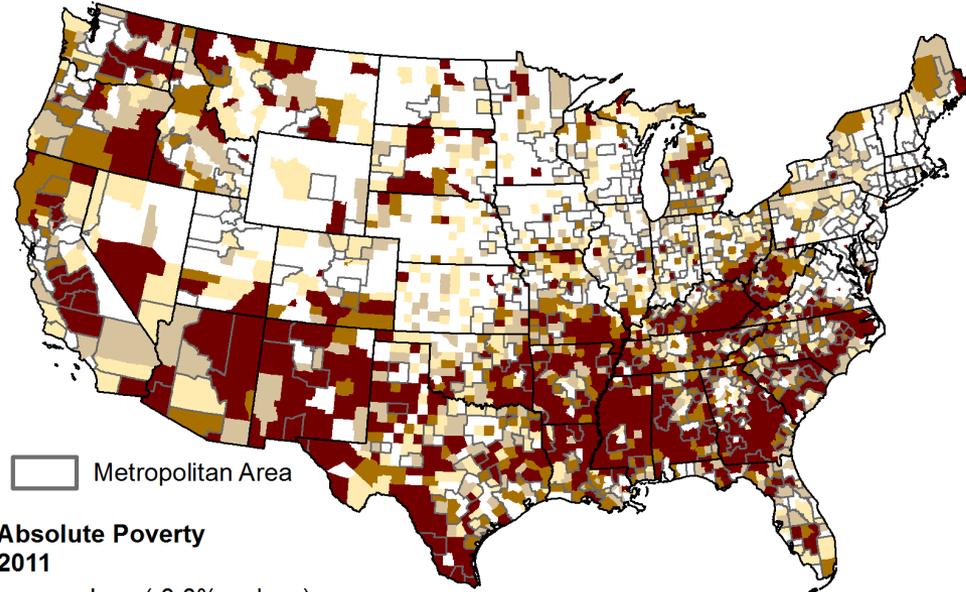


Mind the rural poverty gap ...

- Rural poverty higher than metro rates, but rural-metro gap closing.
- “Great U-Turn” of poverty and inequality ... not so great.
- U.S. has 5th highest rate among OECD countries.
(behind Israel, Mexico, Turkey, Chile)



Poverty is spatially concentrated ...



REVISITING PERSISTENT POVERTY

Measurement issues about poverty ...

- Only measures food needs, not other basic needs.
- Does not account for regional variation (e.g. COL).
- Poverty lines are 50 years old, only inflation-adjusted over time.

How it is addressed ...

Peer-Centered Poverty

- Person poverty rate less its peer average (based on 1993 UICs).
- Addresses regional variation issue.
- **Cautions: variations in averages, arbitrary choice of UIC.**

Relative Poverty

- Percent HHs with incomes below 50% of MHHI ... OECD definition.
- Addresses basic needs, regional variation, and out-of-date issues.
- **Cautions: not corrected for HH size, arbitrary choice of 50%.**

REVISITING PERSISTENT POVERTY

Methods issues about persistence ...

- Arbitrary cut-points, not based on the data distribution.
- Cut-points do not account for severity of poverty.
- Typologies typically do not capture change over time.

How it is addressed ...

Hierarchical Agglomerative Cluster Analysis

- Cut-points based on unique distribution of the data.
- Distinguishes between extreme (50%) & above avg (20%) poverty.
- Identifies places who moved into or out of poverty over time.

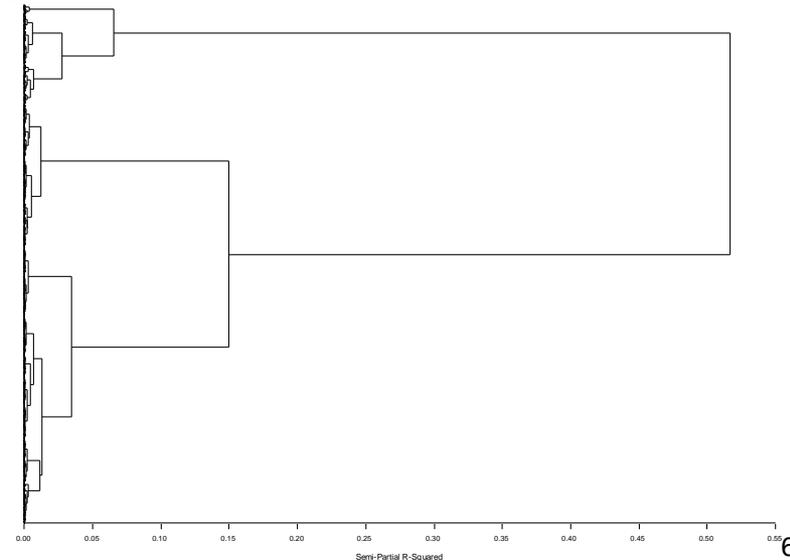
DATA AND PROCEDURES

Data ...

- 1970 through 2000 Decennial Census; and 2007-2011 ACS.
- Counties corrected to 2000 Census geographies.
- Dropped AK and HI. Merged smaller VA cities into counties.
- $N=3,078$ county-level units for analysis.

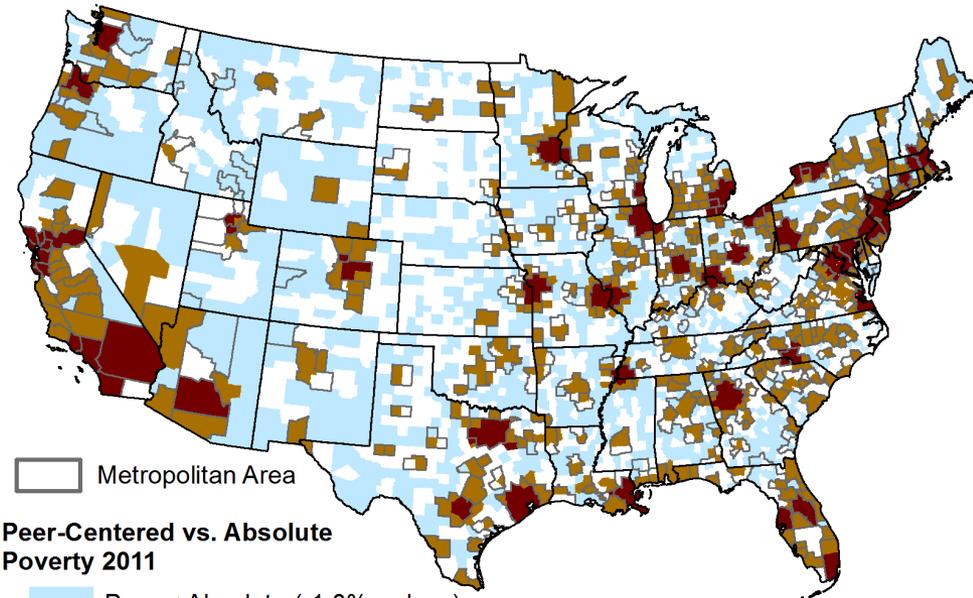
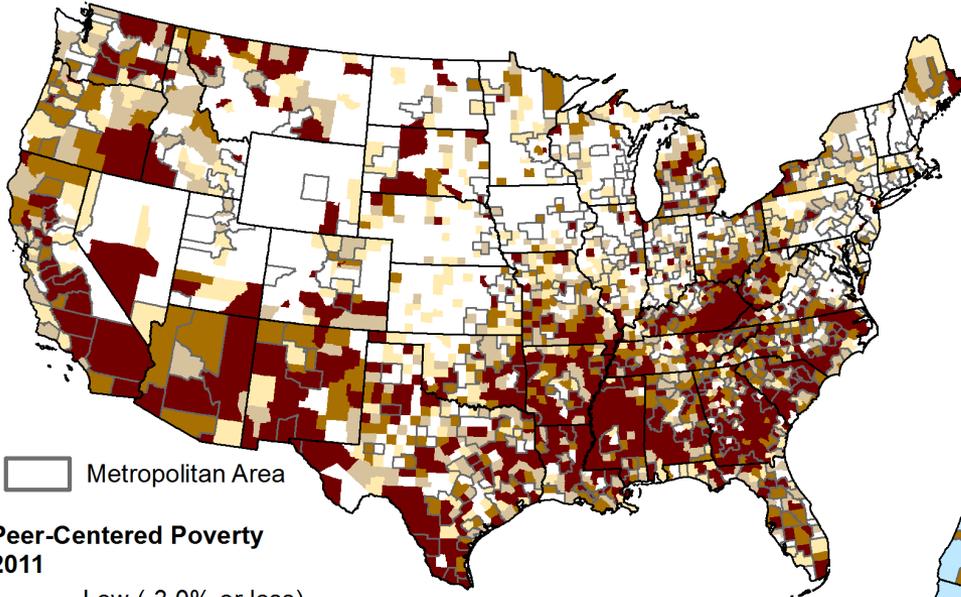
Procedures ...

- Hierarchical agglomerative cluster analysis – Ward's Method.
- Groups counties based on similarity in poverty over decades.
- GLM regressing covariates (**Y**) on clusters (**x**). Preliminary results.



PERSISTENT PEER-CENTERED POVERTY 1970 - 2011

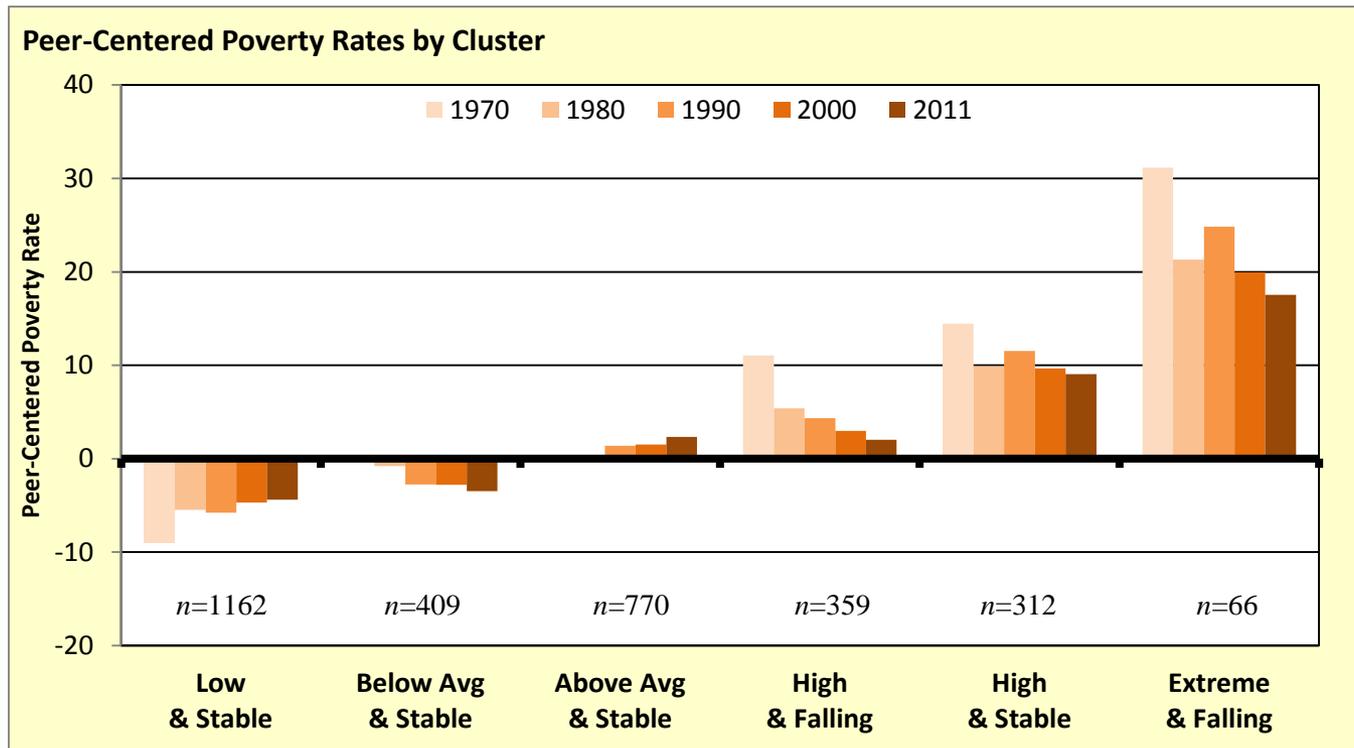
PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY



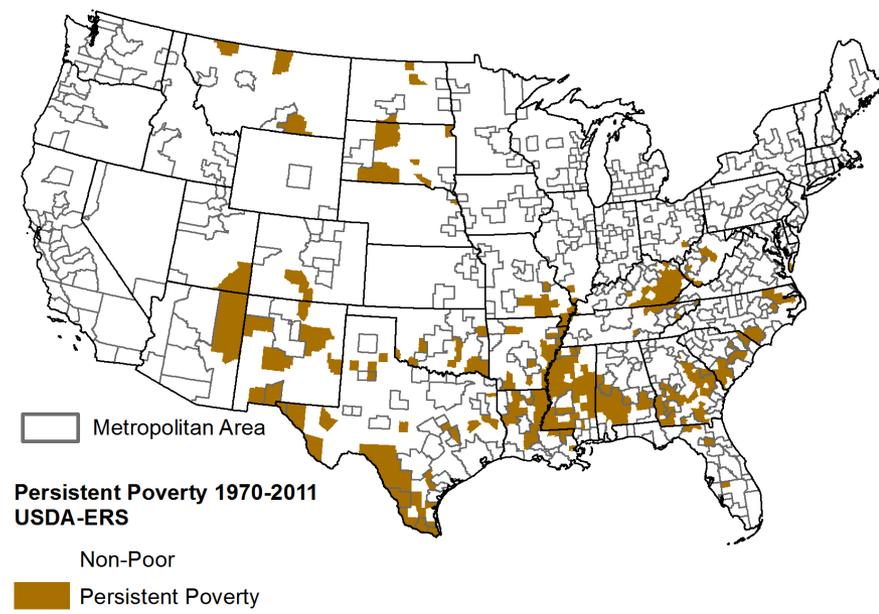
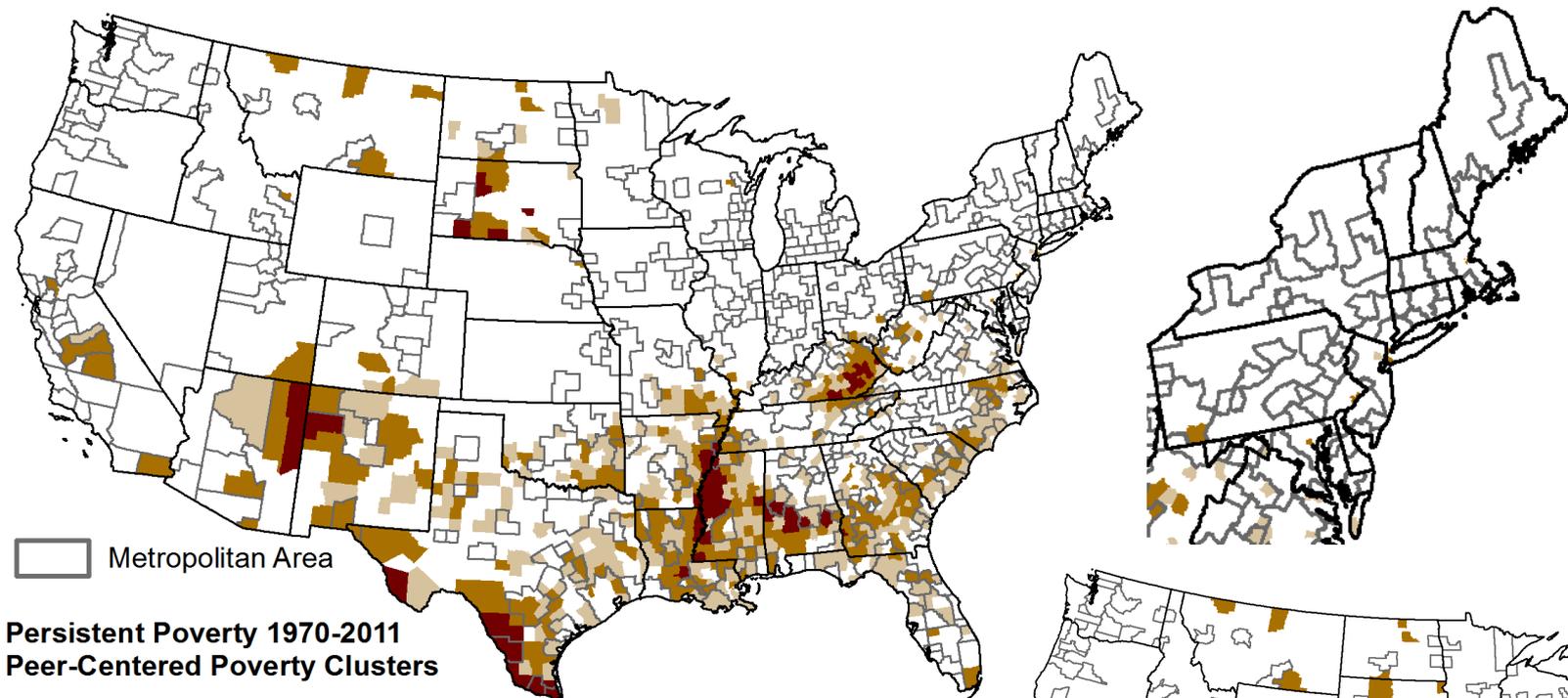
PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

Identification of Clusters ...

- $N=3,078$ counties grouped into 6 clusters.
- Preserves 79.2% of the original variance (85.2% optimal).
- Good cluster solution. (Non-Sig. 2011 AAS-HF)



PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

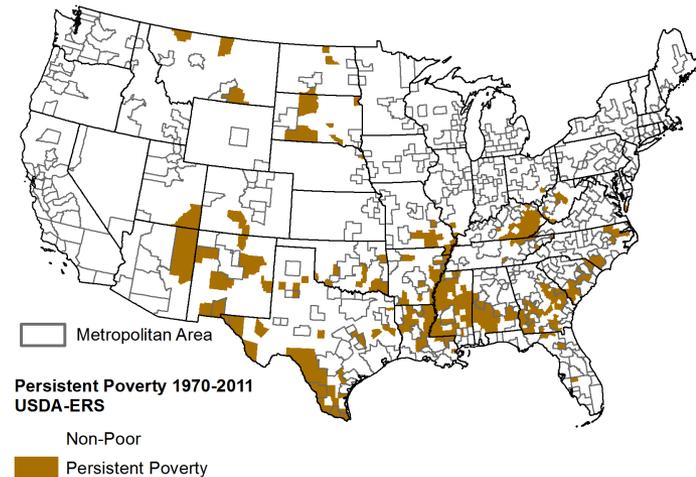
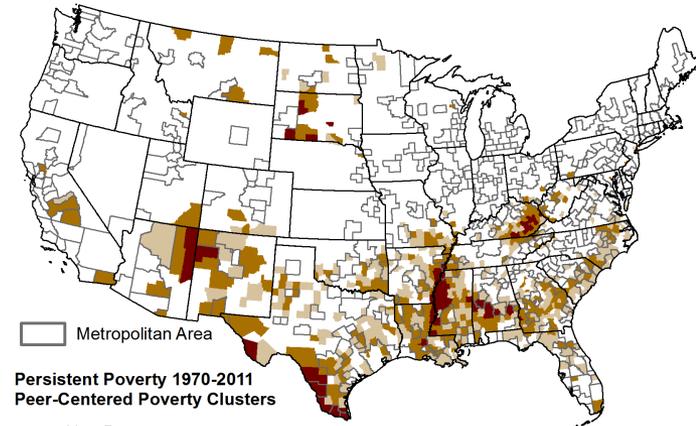


PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

Geospatial differences ...

For High & Stable and Extreme & Falling clusters.

		Peer PP	ERS PP	Difference
Persistently Poor (% US)	<i>counties</i>	12.3	11.2	1.1
	<i>population</i>	9.6	1.7	7.8
Rural Persistently Poor (%)	<i>counties</i>	83.9	94.8	(10.9)
	<i>population</i>	22.7	61.2	(38.5)
Metro PP (% metro US)	<i>counties</i>	7.5	2.2	5.3
	<i>population</i>	9.6	1.7	7.8
Rural PP (% rural US)	<i>counties</i>	14.0	14.4	(0.4)
	<i>population</i>	11.8	11.5	0.4



PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

Demographic differences ...

Demographics	Rural Persistent Peer Poverty versus	
	<i>Metro Persistent Poor</i>	<i>Rural Non-Poor</i>
Population	Lower (22k v 270k)	--
<i>Change</i>	Slower growth (15.4 v 64.2%)	--
Population Density	Lower (35 v 1420)	--
<i>Change</i>	--	--
Micropolitan area	--	--
Adjacent to metro area	--	--
Minority population	--	More (43.6 v 10.0%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Slower growth (11.4 v 15.3%)
Age 17 & younger	Fewer (25.2 v 27.2%)	More (26.0 v 23.2%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Faster decline (-13.5 v -11.7%)
Age 65 & older	More (14.5 v 11.8%)	Fewer (14.5 v 17.3%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Slower growth (2.8 v 4.4%)
Single-headed families	--	More (40.9 v 26.6%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Faster growth (28.8 v 20.5%)
Migration 5 years ago	--	--
<i>Change</i>	--	--
No high school degree	More (27.1 v 23.8%)	More (27.1 v 13.1%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Faster decline (-43.3 v -35.0%)
College degree or higher	Fewer (12.8 v 18.8%)	Fewer (12.8 v 18.8%)
<i>Change</i>	Slower growth (7.2 v 11.5%)	Slower growth (7.2 v 11.7%)

PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

Economic differences ...

Rural Persistent Peer Poverty versus		
Economics	<i>Metro Persistent Poor</i>	<i>Rural Non-Poor</i>
Median HH income <i>Change</i>	Lower (\$31,350 v \$41,170) --	Lower (\$31,350 v \$45,690) Faster growth (200.6 v 187.0%)
Median HH income, peer-entered <i>Change</i>	Smaller deficit (-\$9,120 v -\$11,570) --	Deficit vs. surplus (-\$9,120 v \$5,213) Worse vs. improve (7.8 v -5.9%)
Poverty rate <i>Change</i>	Higher (26.6 v 22.3%) Faster improving (-16.0 v -9.9%)	Higher (26.6 v 12.4%) Faster improving (-16.0 v -1.7%)
Poverty rate, peer-entered <i>Change</i>	-- --	Above avg vs. below avg (9.7 v -4.5%) Improve vs. worse (-9.5 v 4.9%)
Relative poverty rate <i>Change</i>	-- --	Higher (30.0 v 25.7%) Faster improving (-6.9 v -5.0%)
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct <i>Change</i>	-- --	-- Mixed: HF(5.5%), EF(-3.4%), LS(2.9%)
Gini index <i>Change</i>	Lower (0.347 v 0.392) --	Lower (0.347 v 0.432) Faster growth (0.070 v 0.017)
Labor force participation <i>Change</i>	Lower (36.3 v 41.6%) Slower growth (8.7 v 12.2%)	Lower (36.3 v 47.6%) Slower growth (8.7 v 13.0%)

PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

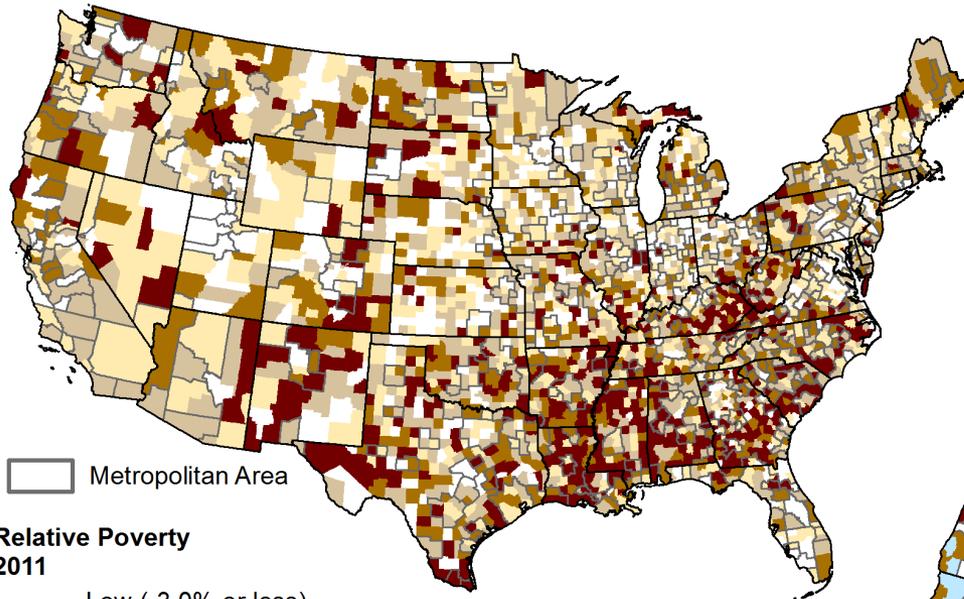
Employment differences ...

Employment	Rural Persistent Peer Poverty versus	
	<i>Metro Persistent Poor</i>	<i>Rural Non-Poor</i>
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining <i>Change</i>	Higher (8.2 v 2.9%) --	-- --
Construction <i>Change</i>	-- --	Mixed: HF(8.9%), EF(6.8%), LS(7.9%) Slower growth (0.2 v 1.3%)
Manufacturing <i>Change</i>	-- --	Lower for EF (10.2 v 13.2%) Faster decline (-7.8 v -5.5%)
Transport, Communication & Utilities <i>Change</i>	-- --	-- --
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate <i>Change</i>	Lower (3.7 v 5.3%) --	Lower (3.7 v 4.4%)
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs <i>Change</i>	Lower (25.6 v 29.7%) --	-- --
Professional, Education & Health Svcs <i>Change</i>	-- --	Higher (26.5 v 24.4%) Faster growth (9.8 v 8.6%)
Public Administration <i>Change</i>	-- Faster growth (2.0 v 0.0%)	Higher (7.1 v 5.0%) Faster growth (2.0 v 0.3%)

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

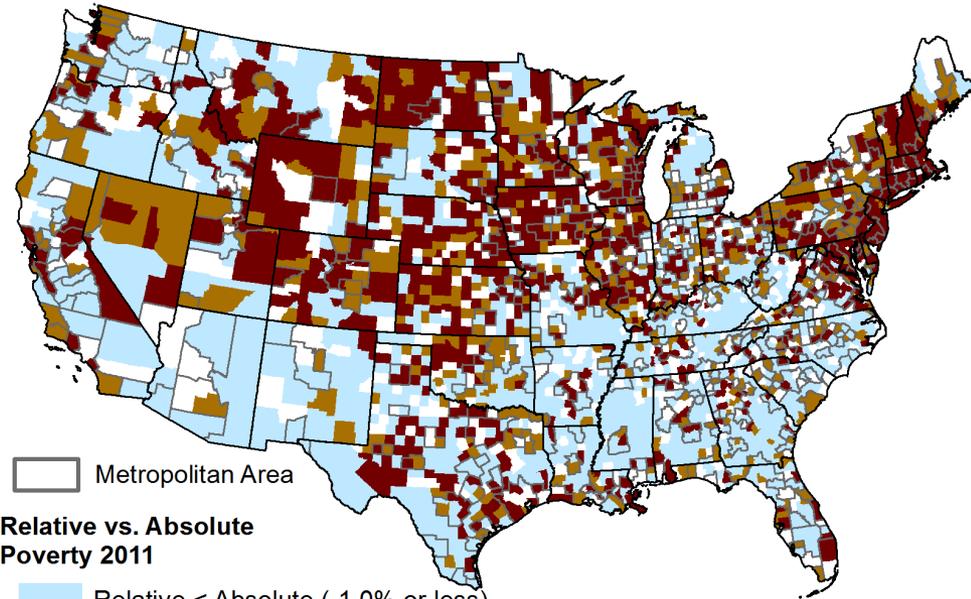
PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY 1970 - 2011

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY



Relative Poverty 2011

- Low (-3.0% or less)
- Below Average (-2.9 to -1.0%)
- Average (-0.9 to 0.9%)
- Above Average (1.0 to 2.9%)
- High (3.0% or more)



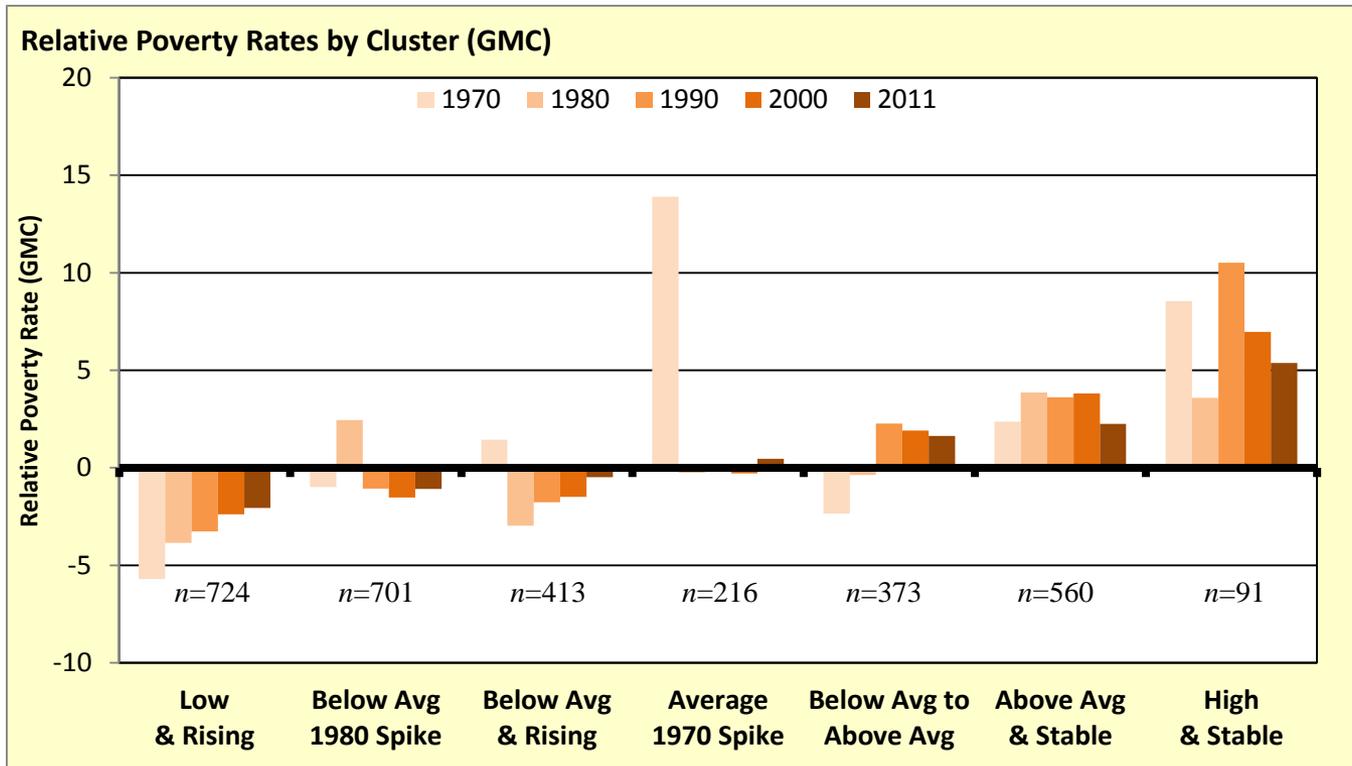
Relative vs. Absolute Poverty 2011

- Relative < Absolute (-1.0% or less)
- Relative = Absolute (0.9 to 0.9%)
- Relative > Absolute (1.0 to 2.9%)
- Relative > Absolute (3.0% or more)

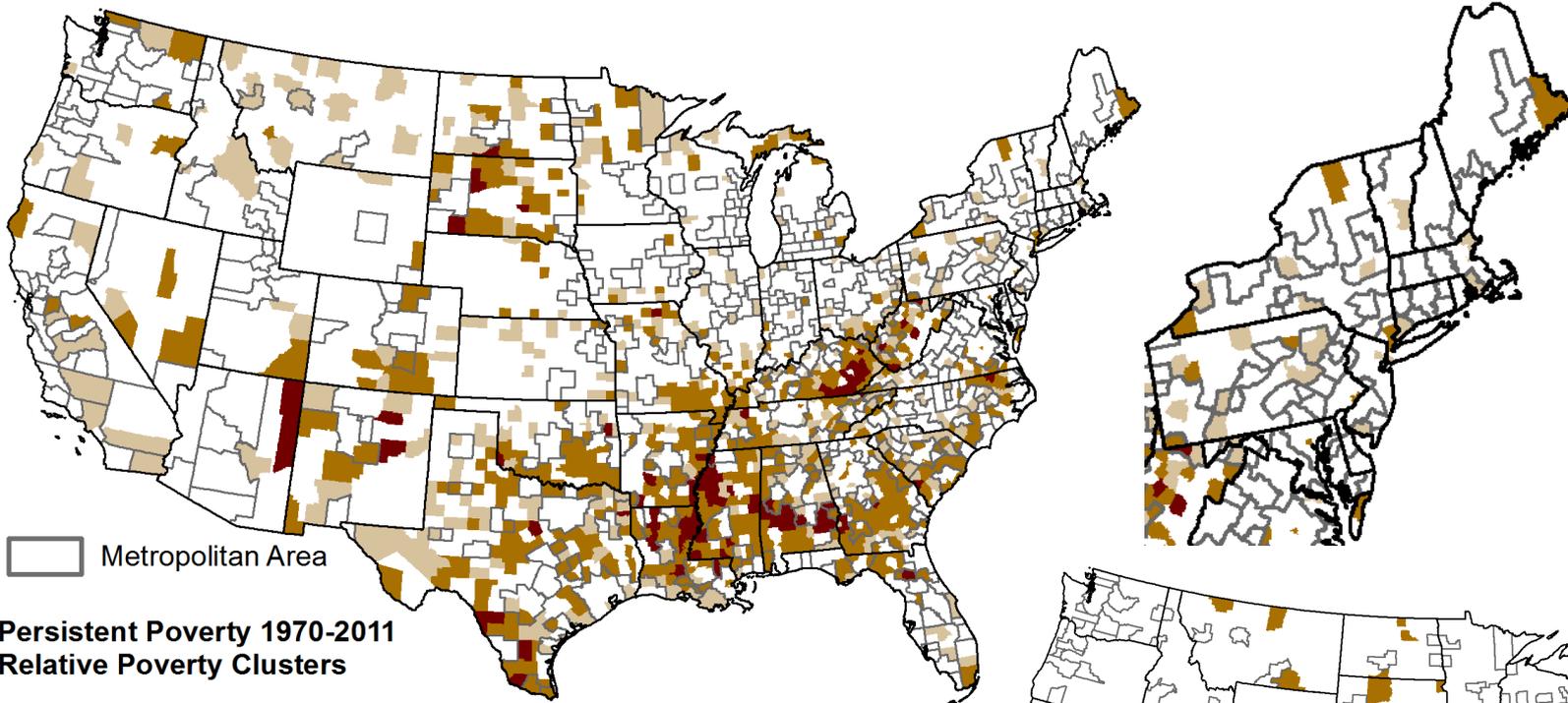
PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

Identification of Clusters ...

- $N=3,078$ counties grouped into 7 clusters.
- Preserves 54.3% of the original variance (66.3% optimal).
- Fair cluster solution. (Non-sig. 1980 AVG-BAAA, AAS-HS)



PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY



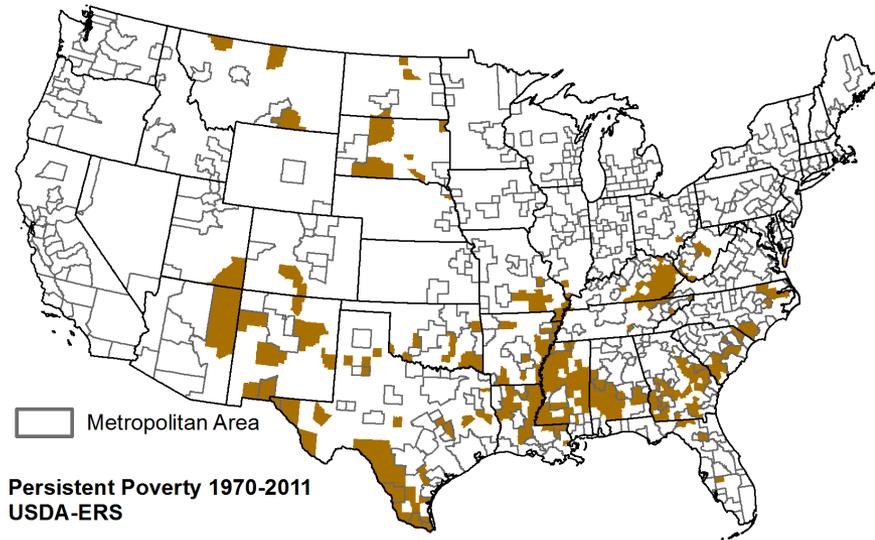
**Persistent Poverty 1970-2011
Relative Poverty Clusters**

Non-Poor

Below Average Rising to Above Average

Above Average & Stable

High & Stable



**Persistent Poverty 1970-2011
USDA-ERS**

Non-Poor

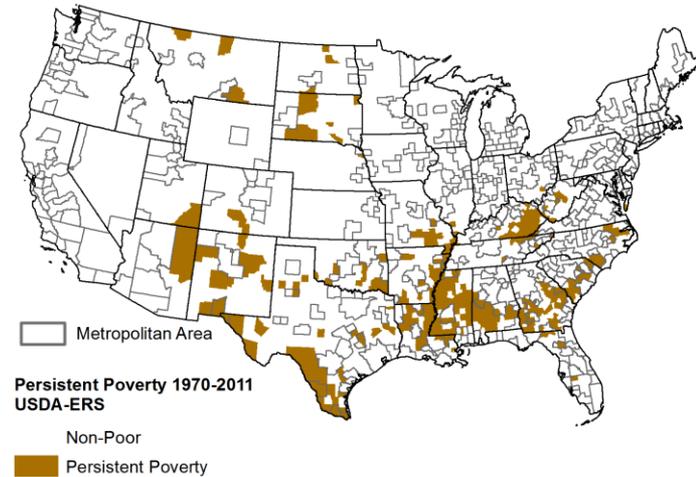
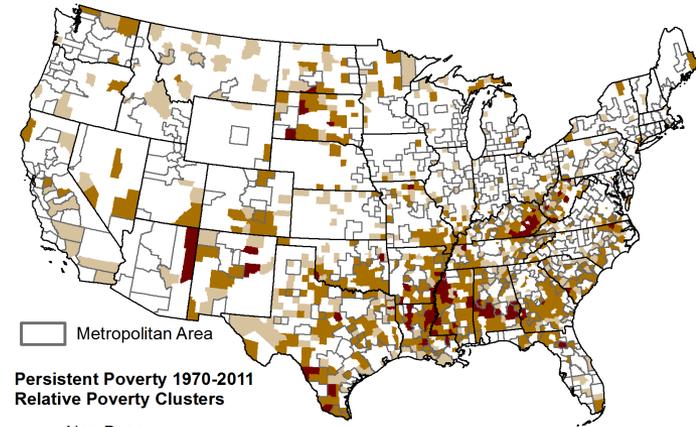
Persistent Poverty

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

Geospatial differences ...

For Above Avg & Stable and High & Stable clusters.

		Relative PP	ERS PP	Difference
Persistently Poor (% US)	<i>counties</i>	21.2	11.2	10.0
	<i>population</i>	7.9	1.7	6.1
Rural Persistently Poor (%)	<i>counties</i>	90.0	94.8	(4.8)
	<i>population</i>	39.6	61.2	(21.6)
Metro PP (% metro US)	<i>counties</i>	7.9	2.2	5.7
	<i>population</i>	7.9	1.7	6.1
Rural PP (% rural US)	<i>counties</i>	25.9	14.4	11.5
	<i>population</i>	21.6	11.5	10.2



PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

Demographic differences ...

Demographics	Rural Persistent Relative Poverty versus	
	Metro Persistent Poor	Rural Non-Poor
Population	Lower (23k v 311k)	--
<i>Change</i>	--	--
Population Density	Lower (38 v 1270)	--
<i>Change</i>	--	--
Micropolitan area Adjacent to metro area	-- --	-- --
Minority population	Mixed: BAA-AAS(24.2 v 33.9%), HS(48.4 v 39.9%)	More (32.3 v 13.9%)
<i>Change</i>	Slower growth (6.8 v 12.9%)	--
Age 17 & younger	--	--
<i>Change</i>	--	--
Age 65 & older	More (15.8 v 13.0%)	--
<i>Change</i>	--	Slower growth AAS-HS(2.8 v 4.8%)
Single-headed families	Mixed: BAA-AAS(33.1 v 37.0%), HS(45.2 v 40.4%)	More (37.1 v 26.6%)
<i>Change</i>	--	Faster growth (26.7 v 20.3%)
Migration 5 years ago	--	--
<i>Change</i>	--	Faster growth AAS-HS (16.5 v 12.1%)
No high school degree	More (23.9 v 18.4%)	More (23.9 v 14.4%)
<i>Change</i>	Faster decline (-42.4 v -37.0%)	Faster decline (-42.4 v -34.3%)
College degree or higher	Fewer (13.7 v 23.6%)	Fewer (13.7 v 18.4%)
<i>Change</i>	Slower growth (8.1 v 13.1%)	Slower growth (8.1 v 11.4%)

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

Economic differences ...

<u>Rural Persistent Relative Poverty versus</u>		
Economics	<i>Metro Persistent Poor</i>	<i>Rural Non-Poor</i>
Median HH income <i>Change</i>	Lower (\$33,940 v \$41,010) Faster growth (196.0 v 182.7%)	Lower (\$33,940 v \$46,380) Faster growth AAS-HS(199.2 v 186.4%)
Median HH income, peer-entered <i>Change</i>	Smaller deficit (-\$6,490 v -\$9,530) --	Deficit vs. surplus (-\$6,490 v \$5,720) Worse vs. improve AAS-HS (6.3 v -6.2%)
Poverty rate <i>Change</i>	-- Faster decline (-11.7 v -3.7%)	Higher (23.0 v 12.6%) Worse vs. improve (3.3 v -6.2%)
Poverty rate, peer-entered <i>Change</i>	-- --	Above avg vs. below avg (6.2 v -4.3%) Improve vs. worse (-11.7 v 4.6%)
Relative poverty rate <i>Change</i>	-- --	Higher (30.1 v 24.9%) Faster improving (-7.5 v -2.6%)
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct <i>Change</i>	-- --	-- Mixed: AAS(5.1%), HS(-0.1%), LR(2.9%)
Gini index <i>Change</i>	Lower (0.361 v 0.405) Faster growth (0.059 v 0.010)	Lower (0.361 v 0.434) Faster growth (0.059 v 0.007)
Labor force participation <i>Change</i>	Lower (38.7 v 43.6%) --	Lower (38.7 v 47.2%) Slower growth (9.0 v 12.5%)

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

Employment differences ...

Employment	Rural Persistent Relative Poverty versus	
	Metro Persistent Poor	Rural Non-Poor
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining <i>Change</i>	Higher (8.4 v 2.8%) Faster decline (-9.6 v -4.4%)	-- --
Construction <i>Change</i>	Higher (7.9 v 6.9%) --	-- Slower growth (0.4 v 1.5%)
Manufacturing <i>Change</i>	-- --	-- Faster decline BAA-AAS (-9.5 v -6.2%)
Transport, Communication & Utilities <i>Change</i>	-- Faster growth (1.5 v 0.4%)	-- --
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate <i>Change</i>	Lower (3.7 v 5.4%) --	Lower (3.7 v 4.4%) --
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs <i>Change</i>	Lower (25.8 v 29.7%) --	-- --
Professional, Education & Health Svcs <i>Change</i>	Lower (25.9 v 31.1%) --	Higher (25.9 v 23.2%) --
Public Administration <i>Change</i>	-- Faster growth (1.6 v 0.0%)	Higher (6.4 v 5.0%) Faster growth (1.6 v 0.1%)

REVISITING PERSISTENT POVERTY

CONCLUSIONS

AS a STATISTICAL average...



...AMERICANS' INCOMES ARE GROWING AGAIN!

CONCLUSIONS

Spatial and temporal ...

Peer PP vs. ERS PP ...

- Similar number of counties, but more population. Less rural bias.
- Includes more metro PP places and population. No change in rural PP.
- Very similar spatial distribution.
- Intensity and direction of poverty over last 40 years ...
high & falling (11.7%); high & stable (10.1%); extreme & falling (2.1%).

Relative PP vs. ERS PP ...

- More counties and more population. Also less rural bias.
- Includes more PP places and population in **both** metro and rural areas.
- New PP counties in the West, upper Midwest, and Northeast.
- Intensity and direction of poverty over last 40 years ...
below avg rising to above avg (12.1%); above avg & stable (18.2%);
high & stable (3.0%).

CONCLUSIONS

Demographics ...

Rural Peer PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

Poorer educational attainment

More minorities

More single-headed families

Younger

Metro PP

Poorer educational attainment

--

--

Older

Rural Relative PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

Poorer educational attainment

More minorities

More single-headed families

Metro PP

Poorer educational attainment

Fewer minorities

Fewer single-headed families

CONCLUSIONS

Economics ...

Rural Peer PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

Lower/growing MHHI, income deficit
Higher abs, peer & relative poverty
Improving abs, peer & relative poverty
Lower but growing inequality
Lower/lagging labor participation

Rural Relative PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

Lower/growing MHHI, income deficit
Higher abs, peer & relative poverty
Worse abs pov, improved peer & relative
Lower but growing inequality
Lower/lagging labor participation

Metro PP

Lower MHHI, small income gap
Higher abs poverty, same peer poverty
Improving abs poverty
Lower inequality
Lower/lagging labor participation

Metro PP

Lower/growing MHHI, small income gap
--
--
Lower but growing inequality
Lower labor participation

CONCLUSIONS

Employment ...

Rural Peer PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

--

Fewer/lagging const & manuf (EF only)

Fewer FIRE

More/growing prof/health/educ

More/growing public admin

Rural Relative PP Places versus

Rural Non-PP

--

Lagging const & manuf

Fewer FIRE

More professional/health/educ

More/growing public admin

Metro PP

More agriculture/resources

--

Fewer FIRE and leisure/retail

--

--

Metro PP

More/growing agriculture/resources

More construction

Fewer FIRE and leisure/retail

Fewer professional/health/educ

--

CONCLUSIONS

Implications for applied poverty research ...

Using Peer-Centered Poverty ...

Corrects for urban-bias in COL and wages.

- *Includes more metro counties as PP, especially highly urbanized ones.*

Easy to compute, more comparable to official rates, and similar to ERS typology.

Using Relative Poverty ...

Includes local variation, non-food needs, and current income conditions.

- *OECD definition. Includes more metro and rural PP places.*

Difficult to compute, different from official rates. Offers a new picture of poverty.

However, both measures ...

- Identify intensity and direction of place-based poverty over last 40 years.
- Have similar socioeconomic correlates.

Comments and Questions

For more information

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PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

	High & Falling		High & Stable		Extreme & Falling		Low & Stable
	Rural <i>n</i> =271	Metro <i>n</i> =88	Rural <i>n</i> =256	Metro <i>n</i> =56	Rural <i>n</i> =61	Metro <i>n</i> =5	Rural <i>n</i> =954
Percent of Base 2011							
Population (number)	24,732	115,757	22,436	390,010 *	18,286	301,173	25,460
Population Density (sq.mi.)	40.56	381.03	36.54	3643.70 *	26.47	229.89	39.47
Micropolitan area	23.25	n.a.	18.75	n.a.	18.03	n.a.	18.76
Adjacent to metro area	50.19 ^c	n.a.	45.70	n.a.	27.87 ^a	n.a.	42.24
Minority population	28.82 ^{bc}	28.78	41.02 ^{ac}	48.87 *	60.84 ^{ab}	75.07	9.99 ^{abc}
Age 17 & younger	23.44 ^{bc}	24.90 *	24.84 ^{ac}	24.38	27.21 ^{ab}	32.22 *	23.18 ^{bc}
Age 65 & older	16.06 ^{bc}	13.04 *	14.62 ^{ac}	12.06 *	12.68 ^{ab}	10.40	17.26 ^{abc}
Single-headed families	33.74 ^{bc}	30.80	39.07 ^{ac}	41.15	49.97 ^{ab}	38.46 *	26.61 ^{abc}
Migration 5 years ago	34.91	37.74	31.59	36.98	29.40	19.28	32.94
No high school degree	22.83 ^{bc}	17.71 *	26.45 ^{ac}	20.72 *	32.12 ^{ab}	33.11	13.06 ^{abc}
College degree or higher	13.87	19.40 *	12.74	22.26 *	11.65	14.61	18.84 ^{abc}

	High & Falling		High & Stable		Extreme & Falling		Low & Stable
	Rural <i>n</i> =271	Metro <i>n</i> =88	Rural <i>n</i> =256	Metro <i>n</i> =56	Rural <i>n</i> =61	Metro <i>n</i> =5	Rural <i>n</i> =954
Change 1970-2011							
Population (% chg)	30.62 ^{bc}	84.75 *	14.78 ^c	33.46	0.71 ^b	74.51 *	15.25 ^a
Population Density (sq.mi. chg)	12.19	77.65	6.02	(289.59) *	(1.11)	138.35	7.69 ^{ac}
Minority population	4.08 ^{bc}	3.89	10.20 ^a	14.91	12.65 ^a	30.73 *	6.98 ^{abc}
Age 17 & younger	(11.71) ^{bc}	(11.36)	(13.09) ^{ac}	(11.51)	(15.61) ^{ab}	(11.17)	(11.65) ^{bc}
Age 65 & older	3.28	2.60	3.18	2.62	1.98	2.16	4.40 ^{abc}
Single-headed families	24.16 ^{bc}	21.08 *	27.70 ^{ac}	27.37	34.45 ^{ab}	25.80	20.46 ^{abc}
Migration 5 years ago	17.41	16.08	14.92	16.11	15.57	3.17	12.71 ^a
No high school degree	(45.45) ^{bc}	(45.25)	(42.64) ^a	(37.38) *	(41.67) ^a	(35.90)	(34.96) ^{abc}
College degree or higher	8.59 ^{bc}	13.20 *	7.11 ^c	12.95 *	5.76 ^a	8.42	11.69 ^{abc}

PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

	High & Falling		High & Stable		Extreme & Falling		Low & Stable
	<u>Rural</u> n=271	<u>Metro</u> n=88	<u>Rural</u> n=256	<u>Metro</u> n=56	<u>Rural</u> n=61	<u>Metro</u> n=5	<u>Rural</u> n=954
Percent of Base 2011							
Median HH income (nom\$)	36,654 ab	48,940 *	31,909 ac	41,483 *	25,481 ab	33,071	45,694 abc
peer-entered	(4,097) ab	(4,312) *	(8,632) ac	(12,398) *	(14,619) ab	(17,992)	5,213 abc
Poverty rate	19.22 ab	14.44 *	26.13 ac	21.15 *	34.43 ab	31.22	12.37 abc
peer-entered	2.34 ab	1.14	9.28 ac	8.02	17.57 ab	17.35	(4.50) abc
Relative poverty rate	28.54 ab	26.81 *	30.01 a	29.23	31.38 a	31.28	25.74 abc
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct	28.44 ab	26.91 *	27.37 ac	27.33	24.72 ab	28.60	27.98 c
Gini index	0.375 ab	0.442 *	0.348 ac	0.409 *	0.317 ab	0.325	0.432 abc
Labor force participation	40.03 ab	44.27 *	36.94 ac	42.62 *	31.83 ab	38.02	47.56 abc
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining	7.52	2.51 *	8.18	2.65 *	8.86	3.54	9.55 a
Construction	8.92 ab	9.20	8.00 c	7.44	6.81 a	7.73	7.88 ac
Manufacturing	13.03	12.10	12.47	9.50	10.24	6.71	13.22 c
Transport, Communication & Utilities	7.04	7.50	7.07	7.55	6.25	9.08	7.08
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	4.12 c	5.69 *	3.74	5.74 *	3.26 a	4.54	4.43 abc
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs	25.89	29.10 *	25.45	29.02 *	25.55	31.08	25.80
Professional, Education & Health Svcs	24.56 c	25.17	25.88 c	29.19 *	29.02 ab	29.05	24.40 bc
Public Administration	6.53 c	5.70	6.84	6.14	7.89 a	4.99	5.03 abc

PERSISTENT PEER POVERTY

	High & Falling		High & Stable		Extreme & Falling		Low & Stable
	Rural n=271	Metro n=88	Rural n=256	Metro n=56	Rural n=61	Metro n=5	Rural n=954
Change 1970-2011							
Median HH income (% chg, nom\$)	205.39 b	207.18	194.49 a	186.83	201.83	198.10	187.01 abc
peer-entered	13.04 b	19.19	1.60 a	(1.50)	8.64	11.28	(5.88) abc
Poverty rate	(15.05) bc	(10.99) *	(12.36) ac	(4.85) *	(20.51) ab	(13.91)	(1.67) abc
peer-entered	(8.84) bc	(9.54)	(5.83) ac	(3.43)	(13.70) ab	(12.33)	4.86 abc
Relative poverty rate	(7.09)	(6.90) *	(6.12)	(7.17)	(7.46)	(6.36) *	(4.98) ac
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct	5.54 bc	3.43	3.29 ac	2.69	(3.37) ab	7.64	2.92 ac
Gini index	0.089	0.077	0.063	0.030	0.057	0.035	0.017 abc
Labor force participation	9.35	13.06 *	8.44	10.96 *	8.36	12.72	12.95 abc
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining	(8.56) c	(7.08)	(9.34)	(4.76) *	(12.33) a	(10.16)	(10.11) a
Construction	0.85 c	0.40	0.42	0.55	(0.57) a	(0.26)	1.28 bc
Manufacturing	(10.65) c	(12.59)	(8.30)	(10.49)	(4.37) a	(3.27)	(5.50) ab
Transport, Communication & Utilities	1.87	0.80	1.70	0.67	1.31	1.40	1.42
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	1.86	2.46	1.59	1.43	1.39	0.87	1.68
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs	3.01	4.81	2.01	3.67	2.90	1.84	2.31
Professional, Education & Health Svcs	9.81	10.73	9.97	10.61	9.55	12.78	8.58 ab
Public Administration	1.82	0.56 *	2.01	(0.50) *	2.10	(0.09)	0.26 abc

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

	Below to Above Avg		Above Avg & Stable		High & Stable		Low & Rising
	Rural n=281	Metro n=92	Rural n=497	Metro n=63	Rural n=89	Metro n=2	Rural n=421
Percent of Base 2011							
Population (number)	25,631	470,741 *	21,494	299,306 *	21,095	164,278	27,779 b
Population Density (sq.mi.)	39.59	2058.09 *	38.32	1560.60 *	36.04	185.08	43.98
Micropolitan area	22.42	n.a.	15.49	n.a.	20.22	n.a.	22.80
Adjacent to metro area	44.48	n.a.	42.86	n.a.	31.46	n.a.	44.66
Minority population	21.12 bc	28.89 *	27.33 ac	38.90 *	48.40 ab	39.87	13.88 abc
Age 17 & younger	23.16 c	23.65	23.77	24.02	24.89 a	22.72	24.08 a
Age 65 & older	17.17 c	14.06 *	16.31 c	12.98 *	13.77 ab	11.99	16.40 c
Single-headed families	31.29 bc	35.37 *	34.82 ac	38.63 *	45.16 ab	40.38	26.60 abc
Migration 5 years ago	32.42	28.78	31.58	33.62	33.25	36.77	32.62
No high school degree	20.07 bc	16.78 *	23.04 ac	19.84 *	28.48 ab	18.68	14.39 abc
College degree or higher	14.70	22.61 *	13.44	21.36 *	13.09	26.73	18.41 abc

	Below to Above Avg		Above Avg & Stable		High & Stable		Low & Rising
	Rural n=281	Metro n=92	Rural n=497	Metro n=63	Rural n=89	Metro n=2	Rural n=421
Change 1970-2011							
Population (% chg)	14.96	23.44	17.22	23.28	2.73	44.72	22.11 c
Population Density (sq.mi. chg)	7.79	(3.73)	7.69	(194.50)	3.56	81.90	11.43 c
Minority population	7.76	13.13 *	5.78	12.77 *	9.28	7.89	8.62 b
Age 17 & younger	(11.89) c	(11.17)	(11.78) c	(11.41) *	(14.58) ab	(14.27)	(12.08) c
Age 65 & older	4.56 bc	4.30	3.20 a	3.18	2.31 a	4.74	4.82 bc
Single-headed families	23.48 c	25.31	25.01 c	26.40	31.51 ab	28.21	20.29 abc
Migration 5 years ago	14.16	10.81	15.20	14.96	17.70	12.84	12.11 bc
No high school degree	(40.27) b	(35.50) *	(43.74) a	(37.91) *	(43.12)	(37.61)	(34.31) abc
College degree or higher	9.02	13.76 *	8.31	13.02 *	6.94	12.45	11.38 abc

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

	Below to Above Avg		Above Avg & Stable		High & Stable		Low & Rising
	Rural n=281	Metro n=92	Rural n=497	Metro n=63	Rural n=89	Metro n=2	Rural n=421
Percent of Base 2011							
Median HH income (nom\$)	38,671 bc	45,666 *	35,188 ac	41,280 *	27,958 ab	36,229	46,379 abc
peer-entered	(2,054) bc	(5,921) *	(5,202) ac	(10,505) *	(12,222) ab	(12,161)	5,719 abc
Poverty rate	17.72 bc	16.33	21.06 ac	19.89	30.32 ab	25.46	12.58 abc
peer-entered	0.86 bc	2.59	4.20 ac	6.21	13.40 ab	10.89	(4.26) abc
Relative poverty rate	28.72 c	28.30	29.22 c	29.38	32.33 ab	33.92	24.97 abc
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct	28.08 c	26.73 *	28.02 c	27.52	25.24 ab	27.28	28.26 c
Gini index	0.390 bc	0.428 *	0.371 ac	0.404 *	0.322 ab	0.383	0.434 abc
Labor force participation	42.24 bc	44.85 *	39.54	43.01 *	34.24 ab	42.83	47.22 abc
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining	9.45	2.04 *	8.18 c	2.09 *	7.71	4.16	10.33 b
Construction	8.07	6.92 *	8.43	7.26 *	7.14 b	6.49	8.07
Manufacturing	12.35	12.41	13.43	11.25	11.57	5.25	13.51
Transport, Communication & Utilities	7.45 c	7.45	7.11	7.29	6.46 a	6.29	7.02
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	4.00 c	6.10 *	4.00 c	5.41 *	3.21 ab	4.64	4.37 bc
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs	26.11	29.26 *	25.38	30.04 *	25.76	29.79	25.90
Professional, Education & Health Svcs	24.12 c	27.93 *	24.78 c	28.59 *	28.73 ab	36.79	23.24 bc
Public Administration	5.94	4.91	6.30	5.22	7.10	4.53	5.03 abc

PERSISTENT RELATIVE POVERTY

	Below to Above Avg		Above Avg & Stable		High & Stable		Low & Rising
	Rural n=281	Metro n=92	Rural n=497	Metro n=63	Rural n=89	Metro n=2	Rural n=421
Change 1970-2011							
Median HH income (% chg, nom\$)	189.53 bc	177.23 *	197.46 a	181.90 *	201.01 a	188.85	186.35 bc
peer-entered	(2.84) bc	(9.87)	4.17 a	(5.30) *	8.45 a	3.45	(6.17) bc
Poverty rate	(5.84) bc	0.59 *	(11.27) ac	(3.81) *	(17.99) ab	(7.90)	(1.72) abc
peer-entered	0.37 bc	2.14	(4.52) ac	(2.27)	(11.47) ab	(6.16)	4.59 abc
Relative poverty rate	(1.94) bc	(1.67)	(5.98) ac	(5.93)	(8.97) ab	(11.23)	(2.59) bc
Income Gap of 75th vs 25th Pct	3.48 bc	2.43	5.11 ac	3.44	(0.13) ab	5.55	2.85 bc
Gini index	0.039 c	(0.028) *	0.071 a	0.012 *	0.067	0.047	0.007 abc
Labor force participation	9.42	10.15	8.81	10.71	8.87	13.53	12.50 abc
Agriculture, Forestry & Mining	(9.22)	(2.48) *	(9.22)	(4.33) *	(10.35)	(6.47)	(10.02)
Construction	0.94 c	0.57	0.88 c	0.33	(0.71) ab	(3.76)	1.50 bc
Manufacturing	(9.29)	(16.39) *	(9.64) c	(12.95)	(5.57) b	(1.48)	(6.17) ab
Transport, Communication & Utilities	1.58	0.24 *	1.67	0.27 *	1.23	0.58	1.53
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	1.53	1.87	1.80	1.21	1.29	1.28	1.71
Leisure, Other & Retail Trade Svcs	3.45	5.37	2.60	5.53 *	2.58	2.84	2.61
Professional, Education & Health Svcs	9.64	12.03 *	10.27	11.39	9.52	7.83	8.63 b
Public Administration	1.37	(0.29) *	1.63	(0.20) *	1.74	0.46	0.14 abc