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

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

Research has suggested that areas with a poverty rate 20% or greater experience more acute systemic problems than do lower-poverty areas. The *poverty rate* is the percentage of the population that is below *poverty*, or economic hardship as measured by comparing income against a dollar amount that represents needs for a low level of material well-being. Recent Congresses have enacted antipoverty policy interventions that target resources on local communities based on the characteristics of those communities, rather than solely on those of individuals or families. One such policy, dubbed the *10-20-30 provision*, was first implemented in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA, P.L. 111-5). Title I, Section 105 of ARRA required the Secretary of Agriculture to allocate at least 10% of funds from three rural development program accounts to *persistent poverty counties*—counties that maintained poverty rates of 20% or more for “the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.”

One notable characteristic of this provision is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently. Since ARRA, Congress has applied the 10-20-30 provision for other programs in addition to rural development programs, and may continue to do so, using more recent estimates of poverty rates. Doing this, however, requires updating the list of counties with persistent poverty, and that requires making certain decisions about the data that will be used to compile the list.

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys fielded by the U.S. Census Bureau. The list of counties identified as persistently poor may differ by roughly 60 to 100 counties in a particular year, depending on the surveys selected to compile the list and the rounding method used for the poverty rate estimates. In the past, the decennial census was the only source of county poverty estimates across the entire country (there are 3,144 counties or county-equivalent areas, nationwide). After 2000, however, the decennial census is no longer used to collect income data. There are two newer data sources that may be used to provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties: the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE) program. The Census Bureau implemented both the ACS and SAIPE in the mid-1990s. Therefore, to determine whether an area is *persistently* poor in a time span that ends after the year 2000, policymakers and researchers must first decide whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used to demarcate that time span. Which of these surveys is the best data source to use for compiling an updated list of counties with persistent poverty may differ based on the specific area or policy for which the antipoverty intervention is intended.

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

- Characteristics of interest: SAIPE is suited for analysis focused solely on poverty or median income; ACS for poverty and income and other topics (e.g., housing characteristics, disability, education level, occupation, veteran status).
- Geographic areas of interest: SAIPE is recommended for counties and school districts only; ACS may be used to produce estimates for other small geographic areas as well (such as cities, towns, and census tracts).
- Reference period of estimate: Both data sources produce annual estimates. The SAIPE estimate is based on one prior year of data while ACS estimates draw on data from the prior five years.
- Rounding method for poverty rates: Rounding to one decimal place (e.g., not including a county with a poverty rate of 19.9% because it is less than 20.0%) yields a shorter list of counties with persistent poverty than rounding to a whole number (e.g., including a county with a poverty rate of 19.9% because it rounds up to 20%).
- Special populations:
  - Poverty status is not defined for all persons, such as unrelated household members under age 15 (e.g., children in foster care), institutionalized persons, and residents of college dormitories.
  - Persons without housing are not included in household surveys.
  - Areas with large numbers of college students living off-campus may have higher poverty rates than might be expected, because poverty is measured using cash income and does not include student loans.

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## Introduction

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

One notable characteristic of this provision is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently. Given Congress’s interest both in addressing *poverty* (economic hardship as measured by comparing income against a dollar amount that represents needs for a low level of material well-being)<sup>2</sup> and being mindful about levels of federal spending, the 112<sup>th</sup> through the 119<sup>th</sup> Congresses included 10-20-30 language in multiple bills, some of which were enacted into law.<sup>3</sup> However, the original language used in ARRA could not be re-used verbatim, because the decennial census—the data source used by ARRA to define persistent poverty—stopped collecting income information. As a consequence, the appropriations bills varied slightly in their definitions of *persistent poverty counties* as applied to various programs and departments. This variation has occurred even within different sections of the same bill if the bill included language relating to different programs. In turn, because the definitions of *persistent poverty* differed, so did the lists of counties identified as persistently poor and subject to the 10-20-30 provision. The bills included legislation for rural development, public works and economic development, technological innovation, and brownfields site assessment and remediation.

More recently, into the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress much of the language used in these previous bills was included in three appropriations acts (see **Table 1**), as well as bills that were not enacted. In some instances, the references to persistent poverty may have targeted resources to counties other than by requiring a 10% set-aside specifically, or by using other geographic areas in addition to counties.<sup>4</sup>

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

<sup>2</sup> For a more thorough discussion of how poverty is defined and measured, see CRS Report R44780, *An Introduction to Poverty Measurement*, by Joseph Dalaker.

<sup>3</sup> Additionally, in the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress, the 10-20-30 provision was proposed as a floor amendment to H.R. 1 that was not adopted.

<sup>4</sup> For example, in Division D Title I of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2026 (P.L. 119-75), a set-aside of 5% rather than 10% was to be reserved for the Department of Transportation’s local and regional project assistance grant programs, under the heading National Infrastructure Investments; the same language included census tracts with poverty rates of not less than 20% as measured by the American Community Survey 2018 five-year estimates. In addition, the bill H.R. 1298, as introduced in February 2025, would establish a business start-up tax credit for veterans creating businesses in underserved communities, which are defined using (among other measures) persistent poverty counties as identified by the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s (USDA) Economic Research Service (ERS). For further discussion of ERS’s methodology regarding persistent poverty counties, see Tracey Farrigan and Austin Sanders, *The Poverty Area Measures Data Product*, USDA ERS, July 23, 2024, <https://www.ers.usda.gov/publications/pub-details?pubid=109610>.

**Table I. Public Laws that Targeted Funds to Persistent Poverty Counties**  
 (with or without funding set-asides of exactly 10%; includes other percentages and dollar amounts)

Congress	Public Law	Short Title	Sections
119 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 119-37	Continuing Appropriations, Agriculture, Legislative Branch, Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, and Extensions Act, 2026	Division B, Title VII, §733
	P.L. 119-74	Commerce, Justice, Science; Energy and Water Development; and Interior and Environment Appropriations Act, 2026	Division A, Title V, §533 Division C, Title II
	P.L. 119-75	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2026	Division D, Title I
118 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 118-42	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024	Division B, Title VII, §736 Division C, Title V, §533 Division E, Title II Division F, Title I
	P.L. 118-47	Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024	Division B, Title I
117 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 117-58	Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act	Division B, Title I Subtitle B Division F, Title I Division J, Title I
	P.L. 117-103	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2022	Division A, Title VII, §736 Division B, Title V, §533 Division E, Title I Division G, Title I Division L, Title I
	P.L. 117-169	Inflation Reduction Act of 2022	Title VI, Subtitle E, §60501
	P.L. 117-328	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2023	Division A, Title VII, §736 Division B, Title V, §533 Division E, Title I Division G, Title II Division L, Title I
116 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 116-6	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019	Division B, Title VII, §752 Division C, Title V, §539 Division D, Title I Division E, Title II
	P.L. 116-93	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020	Division B, Title V, §533 Division C, Title I
	P.L. 116-94	Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2020	Division B, Title VII, §740 Division D, Title II Division H, Title I
	P.L. 116-260	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2021	Division A, Title VII, §736 Division E, Title I Division L, Title I

Congress	Public Law	Short Title	Sections
115 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 115-31	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017	Division A, Title VII, §750 Division B, Title V, §539 Division E, Title I Division G, Title II
	P.L. 115-141	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2018	Division A, Title VII, §759 Division B, Title V, §535 Division E, Title I Division G, Title II
	P.L. 115-334	Agriculture Improvement Act of 2018	Title VII, Subtitle D Title X
113 <sup>th</sup> -114 <sup>th</sup>	—	No laws creating or funding programs with references to persistent poverty were enacted <sup>a</sup>	—
112 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 112-74	Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2012 <sup>b</sup>	Division C, Title I
111 <sup>th</sup>	P.L. 111-5	American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009	Title I, §105

**Source:** Congressional Research Service, using searches of public laws on <https://www.congress.gov>.

**Notes:** Table entries include only explicit references to “persistent poverty” in the text of the acts listed. Under continuing resolutions, certain programs subject to the 10-20-30 provision or similar set-aside provisions may have received funding but without explicit references to “persistent poverty” in the text of the continuing resolution (because the instruction to use poverty estimates would have been indicated in a previous act).

- a. In the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, no bills containing 10-20-30 language were enacted into public law; 10-20-30 language was included in H.R. 1360 (the America’s FOCUS Act of 2015), H.R. 5393 (the Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5054 (the Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5538 (the Department of the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), and S. 3067/H.R. 5485 (the Financial Services and General Government Appropriations Act, 2017). The Consolidated Appropriations Acts for 2017, 2018, and 2019 used language analogous to the bills introduced in the 114<sup>th</sup> Congress, with some modification. In the 113<sup>th</sup> Congress, H.R. 5571 (the 10-20-30 Act of 2014) was introduced and referred to committee.
- b. Division C, Title I included language under the heading “Community Development Financial Institutions [CDFI] Fund Program Account,” which read: “That of the funds awarded under this heading, not less than 10 percent shall be used for projects that serve populations living in persistent poverty counties (where such term is defined as any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial censuses).” The Department of the Treasury issued guidance to use the 2010 ACS Five-Year Estimates for CDFI-related purposes, in “Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs): CDFI Investment Area Transition to the American Community Survey 2006-2010 Data,” February 4, 2013, <https://www.cdfifund.gov/system/files?file=documents/cdfi-investment-areas-potential-fqs-2-1-13-final.pdf>. Also, in the 112<sup>th</sup> Congress the 10-20-30 provision was proposed as a floor amendment to H.R. 1 that was not adopted.

This report discusses how data source selection and the rounding of poverty estimates can affect the list of counties identified as persistently poor. After briefly explaining why targeting funds to persistent poverty counties might be of interest, this report explores how *persistent poverty* is defined and measured, and how different interpretations of the definition and different data source selections could yield different lists of counties identified as persistently poor. This report does not compare the 10-20-30 provision’s advantages and disadvantages against other policy options for addressing poverty, nor does it examine the range of programs or policy goals for which the 10-20-30 provision might be an appropriate policy tool.

## Motivation for Targeting Funds to Persistent Poverty Counties

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below poverty) reaches 20% experience systemic problems that are more acute than in lower-poverty areas.<sup>5</sup> The poverty rate of 20% as a critical point has been discussed in academic literature as relevant for examining social characteristics of high-poverty versus low-poverty areas.<sup>6</sup> For instance, property located in high-poverty areas does not yield as high a return on investment as does property located in low-poverty areas, and that low return provides a financial disincentive for property owners in high-poverty areas to spend money on maintaining and improving property.<sup>7</sup> The ill effects of high poverty rates have been documented both for urban and rural areas.<sup>8</sup> Depending on the years in which poverty is measured and the data sources used,

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<sup>5</sup> For example, the following research articles discuss the linkages between persistent poverty and cancer, depression, and academic achievement and school quality. For a discussion of liver cancer, see Matthew Ledenko and Tushar Patel, “Association of county level poverty with mortality from primary liver cancers,” *Cancer Medicine*, vol. 13 no. 15, August 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cam4.7463>; for a discussion of breast cancer, see Robert B. Hines et al., “Health insurance and neighborhood poverty as mediators of racial disparities in advanced disease stage at diagnosis and nonreceipt of surgery for women with breast cancer,” *Cancer Medicine*, vol. 12 no. 14, July 2023, <https://doi.org/10.1002/cam4.6127>; for diagnosis, surgery, and survival rates for small-cell lung, breast, and colorectal cancer, see Marianna V. Papageorge et al., “The Persistence of Poverty and its Impact on Cancer Diagnosis, Treatment and Survival,” *Annals of Surgery*, vol. 277 no. 6, June 2023, [https://journals.lww.com/annalsofsurgery/abstract/2023/06000/the\\_persistence\\_of\\_poverty\\_and\\_its\\_impact\\_on.20.aspx](https://journals.lww.com/annalsofsurgery/abstract/2023/06000/the_persistence_of_poverty_and_its_impact_on.20.aspx). For a meta-analysis of depression and persistent poverty, see Bethany M. Wood et al., “The Price of Growing Up in a Low-Income Neighborhood: A Scoping Review of Associated Depressive Symptoms and Other Mood Disorders among Children and Adolescents,” *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, vol. 20 no. 19, October 2023, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph20196884>. For an analysis of persistent poverty’s effects on children’s academic achievement as distinct from school quality’s effects on their achievement, see Geoffrey T. Wodtke et al., “Are Neighborhood Effects Explained by Differences in School Quality?” *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 128 no. 5, October 2023, <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/724279>.

<sup>6</sup> For instance, George Galster of Wayne State University conducted a literature review that suggested “that the independent impacts of neighborhood poverty rates in encouraging negative outcomes for individuals like crime, school leaving, and duration of poverty spells appear to be nil unless the neighborhood exceeds about 20 percent poverty.” Galster distinguishes the effects of living in a poor neighborhood from the effects of being poor oneself but not necessarily in a poor neighborhood. Cited in George C. Galster, “The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications,” presented at the Economic and Social Research Council Seminar, “Neighbourhood Effects: Theory & Evidence,” St. Andrews University, Scotland, UK, February 2010.

Additionally, the Census Bureau has published a series of reports examining local areas (census tracts) with poverty rates of 20% or greater. See, for instance, Craig Benson, Alemayehu Bishaw, and Brian Glassman, “Persistent Poverty in Counties and Census Tracts,” U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Report ACS-51, May 2023, at <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2023/acs/acs-51.html>; Alemayehu Bishaw, Craig Benson, Emily Shrider, and Brian Glassman, “Changes in Poverty Rates and Poverty Areas Over Time: 2005 to 2019,” American Community Survey Brief 20-08, December 2020; Alemayehu Bishaw, “Changes in Areas With Concentrated Poverty: 2000 to 2010,” U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports ACS-27, June 2014; and Leatha Lamison-White, “Poverty Areas,” U.S. Census Bureau Statistical Brief, June 1995.

<sup>7</sup> The effects of poverty rates on property values are explored by George C. Galster, Jackie M. Cutsinger, and Ron Malega in “The Costs of Concentrated Poverty: Neighborhood Property Markets and the Dynamics of Decline,” pp. 93-113 in N. Retsinas and E. Belsky, eds., *Revisiting Rental Housing: Policies, Programs, and Priorities* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008). They indicate that “the relationship between changes in a neighborhood’s poverty rate and maintenance choices by local residential property owners will be lumpy and non-linear. Substantial variations in poverty rates in the low-moderate range yield no deviations in the owner’s decision to highly maintain the building.... Past some percentage of poverty, however, the owner will switch to an undermaintenance mode whereby net depreciation will occur.”

<sup>8</sup> For instance, see Rohit Acharya and Brett Morris, “Reducing Poverty Without Community Displacement: Indicators (continued...)”

between 300 and 500 counties have been identified as persistent poverty counties, out of a total of 3,144 counties or county-equivalent areas nationwide.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, policy interventions at the community level, and not only at the individual or family level, have been and may continue to be of interest to Congress.<sup>10</sup>

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of Inclusive Prosperity in U.S. Neighborhoods,” Brookings Institution, September 2022, pp. 9-14, at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/reducing-poverty-without-community-displacement-indicators-of-inclusive-prosperity-in-u-s-neighborhoods/> and a 2008 report issued jointly by the Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution, “The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S.,” David Erickson et al., eds., 2008, at <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-enduring-challenge-of-concentrated-poverty-in-america/>. Additional research into concentrated poverty in both rural and urban areas has been undertaken for decades; for example, educational attainment and health disability were discussed in a rural context by Calvin Beale in “Income and Poverty,” chapter 11 in Glenn V. Fuguitt, David L. Brown, and Calvin L. Beale, eds., *Rural and Small Town America*, Russell Sage Foundation, 1988.

<sup>9</sup> The state of Connecticut reorganized its counties in 2022, going from 8 to 9 (bringing the total U.S. count from 3,143 to 3,144), with all Connecticut counties undergoing boundary changes. While this represents a break in the data series, none of Connecticut’s counties are persistent poverty counties. Since the Census Bureau began measuring poverty, the highest estimated poverty rates for Connecticut counties included Windham County’s poverty rate of 13.3% in 1959 (from the 1960 census) and the 13.3% estimated for the Greater Bridgeport Planning Region in 2022 (from the American Community Survey, using Connecticut’s new county designations for the first time)—well below the required 20% over 30 years.

<sup>10</sup> As of the cover date of this report, three public laws enacted by the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress targeted resources to persistent poverty counties. **Table 1** lists public laws from the 111<sup>th</sup> to the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress that define persistent poverty counties in order to direct resources, whether through funding set-asides or other approaches (such as by using other geographic areas in addition to counties).

**Table 2. Definitions of Persistent Poverty by Program/Fund Account**

Public Laws in the 119<sup>th</sup> Congress, Enacted as of the Cover Date of This Report  
(with or without funding set-asides of exactly 10%; includes other percentages and dollar amounts)

Department/ Agency	Program or Fund Account	Definition Used
Agriculture	• Rural Housing Service—Rural Housing Insurance Fund Program Account	“Any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and 2007–2011 American Community Survey 5-year average, or any territory or possession of the United States.” (P.L. 119-37, Division C, Title II, §733)
	• Rural Housing Service—Mutual and Self-Help Housing Grants	
	• Rural Housing Service—Rural Housing Assistance Grants	
	• Rural Housing Service—Rural Community Facilities Program Account	
	• Rural Business—Cooperative Service—Rural Business Program Account	
	• Rural Business—Cooperative Service—Rural Economic Development Loans Program Account	
	• Rural Business—Cooperative Service—Rural Cooperative Development Grants	
	• Rural Business—Cooperative Service—Rural Microentrepreneur Assistance Program	
	• Rural Utilities Service—Rural Water and Waste Disposal Program Account	
	• Rural Utilities Service—Rural Electrification and Telecommunications Loans Program Account	
• Rural Utilities Service—Distance Learning, Telemedicine, and Broadband Program		
Commerce	• Public Works grants authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965	“Any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1993 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, the 2000 decennial census, and the most recent Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, or any Territory or possession of the United States.” (P.L. 119-74, Division A, Title V §533)
	• Grants authorized by Section 27 of the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act of 1980	

Department/ Agency	Program or Fund Account	Definition Used
Environmental Protection Agency	Section 104(k) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 (CERCLA), including grants, interagency agreements, and associated program support costs	<p>“Any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1993 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, the 2000 decennial census, and the most recent Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, or any Territory or possession of the United States.”</p> <p>(P.L. 119-74 Division C, Title II)</p>
Transportation	Local and regional project assistance grant programs, under the heading National Infrastructure Investments; most recently called the Better Utilizing Investments to Leverage Development (BUILD) program	<p>“That of the amounts made available under this heading in this Act, not less than 5 percent shall be awarded to projects in historically disadvantaged communities or areas of persistent poverty as defined under section 6702(a)(1) of title 49, United States Code.”</p> <p>(P.L. 119-75, Division D, Title I)</p> <p>49 U.S.C. 6702(a)(1) reads:</p> <p><i>(1) Area of persistent poverty.-The term "area of persistent poverty" means-</i></p> <p><i>(A) any county (or equivalent jurisdiction) in which, during the 30-year period ending on the date of enactment of this chapter, 20 percent or more of the population continually lived in poverty, as measured by-</i></p> <p><i>(i) the 1990 decennial census;</i></p> <p><i>(ii) the 2000 decennial census; and</i></p> <p><i>(iii) the most recent annual small area income and poverty estimate of the Bureau of the Census;</i></p> <p><i>(B) any census tract with a poverty rate of not less than 20 percent, as measured by the 5-year data series available from the American Community Survey of the Bureau of the Census for the period of 2014 through 2018; and</i></p> <p><i>(C) any territory or possession of the United States.</i></p>

Department/ Agency	Program or Fund Account	Definition Used
Treasury	Community Development Financial Institutions (CDFI) Fund	<p>“Any county, including county equivalent areas in Puerto Rico, that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses and the 2016-2020 5-year data series available from the American Community Survey of the Bureau of the Census or any other territory or possession of the United States that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2020 Island Areas Decennial Censuses, or equivalent data, of the Bureau of the Census.”</p> <p>(P.L. 119-75, Division E, Title I)</p>

**Source:** Congressional Research Service, using searches of public laws on <https://www.congress.gov>.

## Defining Persistent Poverty Counties

Persistent poverty counties are counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or greater for at least 30 years. The county poverty rates for 1999 and previous years have traditionally been measured using decennial census data. For more recent years, either the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE) or the American Community Survey (ACS) are used. Both of these Census Bureau data sources were first implemented in the mid-1990s and both provide poverty estimates no longer available from the decennial census.<sup>11</sup> The data sources used, and the level of precision of rounding for the poverty rate, affects the list of counties identified as persistent poverty counties, as will be described below.

### Computing the Poverty Rate for an Area

Poverty rates are computed by the Census Bureau for the nation, states, and smaller geographic areas such as counties.<sup>12</sup> The official definition of poverty in the United States is based on the money income of families and unrelated individuals. Income from each family member (if family members are present) is added together and compared against a dollar amount called a *poverty threshold*, which represents a level of economic hardship and varies according to the size and characteristics of the family (ranging from one person to nine persons or more). Families (or unrelated individuals) whose income is less than their respective poverty threshold are considered to be in poverty (sometimes also described as *below poverty*).<sup>13</sup>

Every person in a family has the same poverty status. Thus, it is possible to compute a poverty rate based on counts of persons. This is done by dividing the number of persons below poverty within a county by the county's total population,<sup>14</sup> and multiplying by 100 to express the rate as a percentage.

### Data Sources Used in Identifying Persistent Poverty Counties

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys. Currently, the only data sources that provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties are the ACS and SAIPE. Before the mid-1990s, the only poverty data available at the county level came from the Decennial Census of Population and Housing, which is collected once every 10 years. In the past, these data were the

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<sup>11</sup> The decennial census does not collect income information in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. It asks for income information in American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands (areas for which neither ACS nor SAIPE data are available).

<sup>12</sup> There are two definitions of poverty for official use in the United States: one for statistical purposes, which is used by the Census Bureau and described in Statistical Policy Directive 14 by the Office of Management and Budget; and the other for program administration purposes, which is used by the Department of Health and Human Services and is referred to in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. Measuring the poverty rates of counties, which are in turn used in the 10-20-30 plan, is a statistical use of poverty data; thus, the statistical definition of poverty (used by the Census Bureau) applies.

<sup>13</sup> For further details about the official definition of poverty, see CRS Report R44780, *An Introduction to Poverty Measurement*, by Joseph Dalaker.

<sup>14</sup> Poverty rates are computed using adjusted population totals because there are some individuals whose poverty status is not determined. These include unrelated individuals under age 15, such as foster children, who are not related to anyone else in their residence by birth, marriage, or adoption and who are not asked income questions in household surveys; persons living in military barracks; and persons in institutions such as nursing homes or prisons. Some surveys (such as those described in this report) do not compute poverty status for persons living in college dormitories. These persons are excluded from the total population when computing poverty rates. Furthermore, people who have no traditional housing and who do not live in shelters are typically not sampled in household surveys.

only source of estimates that could determine whether a county had persistently high poverty rates (ARRA referred explicitly to decennial census poverty estimates for that purpose). However, after Census 2000, the decennial census has no longer collected income information in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico, and as a result cannot be used to compute poverty estimates.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, to determine whether an area is persistently poor in a time span that ends after 2000, it must first be decided whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used to demarcate the end of the time span or, depending on the availability of the preferred dataset, whether it may be used for the beginning or other points within it.<sup>16</sup>

The ACS and the SAIPE program serve different purposes. The ACS was developed to provide continuous measurement of a wide range of topics similar to that formerly provided by the decennial census long form, available down to the local community level. ACS data for all counties are available annually, but are based on responses over the previous five-year time span (e.g., 2020-2024). ACS five-year data are available beginning for the 2009 five-year estimates (covering 2005-2009) and onward. The SAIPE program was developed specifically for estimating poverty at the county level for school-age children and for the overall population, for use in funding allocations for the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-382). SAIPE data are also available annually, and reflect one calendar year, not five. However, unlike the ACS, SAIPE does not provide estimates for a wide array of topics. SAIPE county data are available for 1989, 1993, 1995, 1997, and annually thereafter. For further details about the data sources for county poverty estimates, see the **Appendix**.

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<sup>15</sup> The decennial census still collects income information in American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Neither the ACS nor the SAIPE program is conducted for these territories; decennial census data are the only small-area poverty data available for them. The 2020 Census questionnaire for these territories covered the same topics as the ACS; see the Island Areas Censuses Operation Detailed Operational Plan at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/2020-census/planning-management/planning-docs/IAC-detailed-op-plan.html>. For Puerto Rico, ACS estimates are still produced, but SAIPE estimates stopped being produced after 2003. For details see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/technical-documentation/methodology/puerto-rico.html>. For estimates and a discussion of persistent poverty in the U.S. Island Areas and Puerto Rico, see Craig Benson and Alemayehu Bishaw, "Persistent Poverty in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Island Areas," U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Report ACS-57, August 7, 2024, at <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2024/acs/acs-57.html>.

<sup>16</sup> Using the same dataset to examine poverty rates over time avoids differences that arise due to methodological differences in the data and not actual differences in the poverty status of the populations being measured; though a consistent series for counties has not always been available. Eventually, it will be possible to measure a 30-year span of persistent poverty using data collected after Census 2000 exclusively. Congress has opted to use 1993 SAIPE data instead of 1990 Census data when defining persistent poverty counties for the public works grants referenced in Section 533 of P.L. 117-328 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2023). In the 117<sup>th</sup> Congress, H.R. 6531 as passed by the House, and S. 3552 as reported to the Senate (Targeting Resources to Communities in Need Act of 2022), both would have defined persistent poverty counties using SAIPE data only, requiring a poverty rate of not less than 20% in the latest year available, and in at least 25 of the past 30 years. A variety of definitions of persistent poverty, using different datasets and numbers of years selected to demarcate the time span, were discussed and compared in Craig Benson et al., "Persistent Poverty in Counties and Census Tracts," U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Report ACS-51, May 9, 2023, at <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2023/acs/acs-51.html>.

## Considerations When Identifying and Targeting Persistent Poverty Counties

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

Because poverty estimates can be obtained from multiple data sources, the Census Bureau has provided guidance on the most suitable data source to use for various purposes.<sup>17</sup>

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

The Census Bureau recommends using SAIPE poverty estimates when estimates are needed at the county level, especially for counties with small populations, and when additional demographic and economic detail is not needed at that level.<sup>18</sup> When additional detail is required, such as for county-level poverty estimates by race and Hispanic origin, detailed age groups (aside from the elementary and secondary school-age population), housing characteristics, or education level, the ACS is the data source recommended by the Census Bureau.

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

For counties (and school districts) of small population size, SAIPE data have an advantage over ACS data in that the SAIPE model uses administrative data to help reduce the uncertainty of the estimates. However, ACS estimates are available for a wider array of geographic levels, such as ZIP code tabulation areas, census tracts (subcounty areas of roughly 1,200 to 8,000 people), cities and towns, and greater metropolitan areas.<sup>19</sup>

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

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

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<sup>17</sup> This guidance is posted on the Census Bureau’s website at <https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html>, and is reproduced in the **Appendix**.

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

<sup>19</sup> Some laws, including Division L, Title I of P.L. 117-103 (see **Table 1**), define *areas of persistent poverty* to include census tracts with poverty rates “not less than 20 percent” along with persistent poverty counties and “any territory or possession of the United States” per 49 U.S.C. §6702(a)(1). The text box, “Areas of Persistent Poverty: Including High-Poverty Census Tracts,” discusses further.

## Other Considerations

### Treatment of Special Populations in the Official Poverty Definition

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

In the decennial census, ACS, and SAIPE, poverty status also is not defined for persons living in college dormitories.<sup>20</sup> However, students who live in off-campus housing are included. Because college students tend to have lower money income (which does not include school loans) than average, counties that have large populations of students living off-campus may exhibit higher poverty rates than one might expect given other economic measures for the area, such as the unemployment rate.<sup>21</sup>

Given the ways that the special populations above either are or are not reflected in poverty statistics, it may be worthwhile to consider whether counties that have large numbers of people in those populations would receive an equitable allocation of funds. Other economic measures may be of use, depending on the type of program for which funds are being targeted.

#### **Areas of Persistent Poverty: Including High-Poverty Census Tracts**

The 10-20-30 provision as it was first enacted in 2009 in ARRA (P.L. 111-5) used counties as the geographic areas targeted using poverty statistics, and as indicated throughout this report, more recent public laws have done so as well. That is not the only geographic level Congress has targeted in funding set-asides and other interventions. It is possible for communities with high poverty rates to exist as enclaves within otherwise well-resourced counties.

*Census tracts* are geographic areas smaller than counties, contained wholly within counties (they do not cross county boundaries), and typically have 1,200 to 8,000 inhabitants, with about 4,000 on average (though some tracts are unpopulated, such as those covering waterways or airports).

Some programs, such as the Department of Transportation's local and regional project assistance grant programs (most recently referred to as the BUILD program), define areas of persistent poverty to include census tracts with poverty rates "not less than 20 percent" along with persistent poverty counties and "any territory or possession of the United States" (49 U.S.C. §6702(a)(1)). The census tract poverty rates noted in the legislation refer to the ACS five-year estimates. Because of its large sample size, the ACS is the only source with sufficient statistical reliability to provide census-tract level poverty rates available on a uniform, nationwide basis.

Which geographic entities' poverty rates are used, which public or private organizations are eligible to receive funding, and how the federal government can verify how much funding has benefited persistent poverty counties

<sup>20</sup> Details on the poverty universe in the ACS are available at [https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/tech\\_docs/subject\\_definitions/2020\\_ACSSubjectDefinitions.pdf#page=112](https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/tech_docs/subject_definitions/2020_ACSSubjectDefinitions.pdf#page=112) and for the SAIPE estimates at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/guidance/model-input-data/denominators/poverty.html>.

<sup>21</sup> For some counties, the percentage-point difference could be large when off-campus students are excluded. Using ACS data for 2009-2011, Whitman County, WA, experienced the largest poverty rate difference among all counties when off-campus students were excluded—its poverty rate fell by 16.5 percentage points. For the United States as a whole, the poverty rate fell from 15.2% to 14.5% when off-campus students were excluded (based on the same dataset). For details, see Alemayehu Bishaw, "Examining the Effect of Off-Campus College Students on Poverty Rates," Working Paper SEHSD 2013-17, U.S. Census Bureau, May 1, 2013.

or high-poverty census tracts specifically, all have important policy implications that are not discussed in this report, but are discussed in other reports by CRS and the Government Accountability Office (GAO).<sup>22</sup>

## Persistence Versus Flexibility to Recent Situations

The 10-20-30 provision was developed to identify and target funding to counties that have had persistently high poverty rates over an extended period. Therefore, using that approach by itself would not allow flexibility to target funding at counties that have only recently experienced economic hardship, such as counties that had a large manufacturing plant close within the past three years. Other interventions besides the 10-20-30 provision may be more appropriate for identifying and targeting funding at counties that have had a recent spike in the poverty rate in contrast to having experienced persistent poverty.

## Effects of Rounding and Data Source Selection on Lists of Counties

In ARRA, persistent poverty counties were defined as “any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.”<sup>23</sup> Poverty rates published by the Census Bureau are typically reported to one decimal place. The numeral used in the ARRA statutory text was the whole number 20. Thus, for any collection of poverty data, two reasonable approaches to compiling a list of persistent poverty counties include using poverty rates of at least 20.0% in all three years, or using poverty rates that *round up* to the whole number 20% or greater in all three years (i.e., poverty rates of 19.5% or more in all three years). The former approach is more restrictive and results in a shorter list of counties; the latter approach is more inclusive.<sup>24</sup>

Two tables in the **Appendix** illustrate the effects of rounding and data source selection. **Table A-2** illustrates the number of counties identified as persistent poverty counties using the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and various ACS and SAIPE datasets for the last data point, under both rounding schemes. The rounding method and data source selection can each have large impacts on the number of counties listed. In most years, using SAIPE for the latest year resulted in more counties being identified as persistently poor than were identified by using the ACS; the exceptions were 2019 and 2020. Compared to using 20.0% as the cutoff (rounded to one decimal

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of how various economic metrics and geographic areas are used to target funding for economic and rural development, see CRS Report R48059, *Identifying Areas of Economic Distress: Examples and Considerations*, by Joseph Dalaker, Julie M. Lawhorn, and Lisa S. Benson. For a geographic analysis of publicly reported federal spending data from USASpending.gov, see U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Targeting Federal Funds: Information on Funding to Areas with Persistent or High Poverty*, GAO-20-518, July 2020, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-20-518.pdf>. For an evaluation of how effectively certain programs have had their funds targeted toward persistent poverty counties and high-poverty census tracts, with recommendations of how funds may be targeted more effectively, see U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Areas with High Poverty: Changing How the 10-20-30 Funding Formula Is Applied Could Increase Impact in Persistent-Poverty Counties*, GAO-21-470, May 2021, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-21-470.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> P.L. 111-5, Section 105.

<sup>24</sup> Rounding is not the only mathematical procedure that could affect the list of counties. The U.S. Economic Development Administration (EDA) also considered whether the margin of error of the estimated poverty rate includes 20%, as did a 2021 evaluation by GAO (*Areas with High Poverty: Changing How the 10-20-30 Funding Formula Is Applied Could Increase Impact in Persistent-Poverty Counties*, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-21-470.pdf>). In their evaluation, GAO discussed EDA’s methods, among other approaches; they also recommended that the federal government use a standard methodology, such as one applied by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. For further comparisons and contrasts among methods, see Craig Benson, Alemayehu Bishaw, and Brian Glassman, “Persistent Poverty in Counties and Census Tracts,” U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Report ACS-51, May 2023, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2023/acs/acs-51.html>.

place), rounding up to 20% from 19.5% adds approximately 40 to 60 counties to the list. Taking both the data source and the rounding method together (as shown in **Table A-3**), the list of persistent poverty counties could vary by roughly 60 to 100 counties in a given year depending on the method used.

During the 115<sup>th</sup> Congress, when the 10-20-30 provision began to be used in annual appropriations acts for the first time since ARRA, the acts defined persistent poverty using decennial census data and the latest ACS or SAIPE data. Congress has used additional approaches since that time. Beginning with the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2022, the definition of persistent poverty has been updated for the Agriculture, Commerce, and Environmental Protection Agency programs to use the 1993 SAIPE as the source of the first poverty rate, Census 2000 as the second, and the most recent SAIPE as the third (which taken together cover a 31-year span, using the most recent SAIPE estimates as of the cover date of this report). As indicated in **Table 2**, this definition continues to be used for these programs. To establish clear comparisons that isolate the effects of rounding and data source selection, **Table A-2** and **Table A-3** display older definitions using the 1990 and 2000 decennial census estimates.

## Example List of Persistent Poverty Counties

The list of persistent poverty counties below (**Table 3**)<sup>25</sup> is based on data from the 1993 SAIPE, Census 2000, and the 2024 SAIPE estimates, and includes the 366 counties with poverty rates of 19.5% or greater (that is, counties with poverty rates that were at least 20% with rounding applied to the whole number). These same counties are mapped in **Figure 1**.

This definition of persistent poverty was first used in the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2022 in reference to Public Works grants authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and grants authorized by Section 27 of the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act of 1980 (P.L. 117-103, Division B, Title V, §533), as well as in Division G, Title II of the same act, for State and Tribal Assistance Grants administered by the Environmental Protection Agency for carrying out Section 104(k) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980.

This list of 366 counties (out of a total of 3,144 nationwide) is similar but not identical to a list that would be compiled if ACS data were to be used, because poverty estimates from different data sources almost always differ.

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<sup>25</sup> This example list reflects the definition used in Section 533 of the Commerce, Justice, Science; Energy and Water Development; and Interior and Environment Appropriations Act, 2026 (P.L. 119-74), which applied the 10-20-30 provision to Public Works grants authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and grants authorized by Section 27 of the Stevenson-Wydler Technology and Innovation Act of 1980; this same definition was used in Division C, Title II, for the State and Tribal Assistance Grants used to carry out Section 104(k) of the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980.

**Table 3. List of Persistent Poverty Counties, Based on 1993 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE), Census 2000, and 2024 SAIPE, Using Poverty Rates of 19.5% or Greater**

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
1	01005	Alabama	Barbour	2	25.0	26.8	28.1
2	01007	Alabama	Bibb	6	20.0	20.6	21.6
3	01011	Alabama	Bullock	2	33.0	33.5	36.7
4	01013	Alabama	Butler	2	27.1	24.6	20.3
5	01023	Alabama	Choctaw	7	25.0	24.5	21.9
6	01035	Alabama	Conecuh	2	27.4	26.6	22.7
7	01041	Alabama	Crenshaw	2	22.8	22.1	20.4
8	01047	Alabama	Dallas	7	34.2	31.1	29.6
9	01053	Alabama	Escambia	1	24.4	20.9	19.7
10	01063	Alabama	Greene	7	38.8	34.3	33.7
11	01065	Alabama	Hale	7	31.4	26.9	21.0
12	01085	Alabama	Lowndes	7	36.3	31.4	25.0
13	01087	Alabama	Macon	2	35.3	32.8	30.8
14	01091	Alabama	Marengo	7	28.4	25.9	21.6
15	01099	Alabama	Monroe	2	21.6	21.3	21.2
16	01105	Alabama	Perry	7	42.4	35.4	29.8
17	01107	Alabama	Pickens	7	25.7	24.9	22.0
18	01109	Alabama	Pike	2	25.6	23.1	22.8
19	01113	Alabama	Russell	2	20.4	19.9	20.2
20	01119	Alabama	Sumter	7	35.2	38.7	32.6
21	01131	Alabama	Wilcox	7	41.3	39.9	34.0
22	02050	Alaska	Bethel Census Area	at large	33.2	20.6	28.4
23	02070	Alaska	Dillingham Census Area	at large	20.5	21.4	23.6
24	02158	Alaska	Kusilvak Census Area <sup>b</sup>	at large	41.4	26.2	34.9
25	02290	Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk Census Area	at large	29.6	23.8	19.9
26	04001	Arizona	Apache	2	40.8	37.8	29.3
27	04017	Arizona	Navajo	2	31.2	29.5	22.7
28	05011	Arkansas	Bradley	4	23.8	26.3	20.6

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
29	05017	Arkansas	Chicot	1	38.8	28.6	27.9
30	05027	Arkansas	Columbia	4	23.6	21.1	20.4
31	05035	Arkansas	Crittenden	1	28.0	25.3	22.5
32	05041	Arkansas	Desha	1	30.6	28.9	25.9
33	05069	Arkansas	Jefferson	4	27.6	20.5	22.3
34	05073	Arkansas	Lafayette	4	30.0	23.2	20.4
35	05077	Arkansas	Lee	1	45.4	29.9	41.3
36	05079	Arkansas	Lincoln	1	29.0	19.5	25.8
37	05093	Arkansas	Mississippi	1	26.2	23.0	20.0
38	05095	Arkansas	Monroe	1	33.0	27.5	22.8
39	05099	Arkansas	Nevada	4	19.9	22.8	21.4
40	05107	Arkansas	Phillips	1	42.7	32.7	35.8
41	05111	Arkansas	Poinsett	1	26.6	21.2	22.1
42	05123	Arkansas	St. Francis	1	35.7	27.5	30.6
43	05129	Arkansas	Searcy	1	26.8	23.8	21.0
44	05147	Arkansas	Woodruff	1	31.8	27.0	25.6
45	06015	California	Del Norte	2	19.9	20.2	19.9
46	06107	California	Tulare	20, 21, 22	28.2	23.9	19.9
47	08011	Colorado	Bent	4	20.0	19.5	28.9
48	08023	Colorado	Costilla	3	33.5	26.8	22.8
49	08109	Colorado	Saguache	3	30.5	22.6	23.7
50	12001	Florida	Alachua	3	20.2	22.8	22.9
51	12027	Florida	DeSoto	18	25.0	23.6	21.8
52	12039	Florida	Gadsden	2	29.2	19.9	20.7
53	12047	Florida	Hamilton	3	24.3	26.0	25.3
54	12077	Florida	Liberty	2	19.8	19.9	20.5
55	12079	Florida	Madison	2	23.8	23.1	19.6
56	12107	Florida	Putnam	6	24.3	20.9	20.7
57	13003	Georgia	Atkinson	8	24.2	23.0	28.3
58	13005	Georgia	Bacon	1	24.2	23.7	20.7
59	13007	Georgia	Baker	2	26.8	23.4	24.1
60	13017	Georgia	Ben Hill	8	23.7	22.3	22.2
61	13031	Georgia	Bulloch	12	22.4	24.5	21.5
62	13033	Georgia	Burke	12	29.2	28.7	24.2

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
63	13037	Georgia	Calhoun	2	29.2	26.5	36.8
64	13043	Georgia	Candler	12	25.5	26.1	21.3
65	13049	Georgia	Charlton	1	21.3	20.9	20.4
66	13059	Georgia	Clarke	10	22.3	28.3	23.5
67	13061	Georgia	Clay	2	35.4	31.3	25.7
68	13065	Georgia	Clinch	8	25.0	23.4	22.0
69	13071	Georgia	Colquitt	8	25.8	19.8	22.2
70	13081	Georgia	Crisp	8	30.4	29.3	22.8
71	13087	Georgia	Decatur	2	26.9	22.7	21.7
72	13093	Georgia	Dooly	2	29.0	22.1	25.6
73	13095	Georgia	Dougherty	2	27.6	24.8	23.6
74	13099	Georgia	Early	2	32.0	25.7	26.7
75	13101	Georgia	Echols	8	22.9	28.7	22.2
76	13107	Georgia	Emanuel	12	28.4	27.4	22.1
77	13109	Georgia	Evans	12	25.6	27.0	22.6
78	13131	Georgia	Grady	2	24.9	21.3	19.5
79	13141	Georgia	Hancock	10	28.8	29.4	30.7
80	13163	Georgia	Jefferson	12	27.7	23.0	21.5
81	13165	Georgia	Jenkins	12	25.2	28.4	28.8
82	13167	Georgia	Johnson	12	24.5	22.6	33.4
83	13193	Georgia	Macon	2	30.2	25.8	29.9
84	13197	Georgia	Marion	2	24.1	22.4	22.1
85	13201	Georgia	Miller	2	24.0	21.2	20.3
86	13205	Georgia	Mitchell	2	30.7	26.4	23.0
87	13209	Georgia	Montgomery	12	23.1	19.9	20.7
88	13239	Georgia	Quitman	2	28.0	21.9	22.3
89	13243	Georgia	Randolph	2	34.9	27.7	25.9
90	13251	Georgia	Screven	12	22.3	20.1	21.1
91	13253	Georgia	Seminole	2	27.6	23.2	22.5
92	13259	Georgia	Stewart	2	29.8	22.2	30.6
93	13261	Georgia	Sumter	2	26.0	21.4	27.6
94	13263	Georgia	Talbot	2	22.3	24.2	22.0
95	13265	Georgia	Taliaferro	10	27.6	23.4	23.4
96	13267	Georgia	Tattnall	12	26.2	23.9	24.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
97	13269	Georgia	Taylor	2	25.6	26.0	25.1
98	13271	Georgia	Telfair	8	26.3	21.2	25.7
99	13273	Georgia	Terrell	2	30.9	28.6	27.3
100	13279	Georgia	Toombs	12	25.0	23.9	22.8
101	13283	Georgia	Treutlen	12	27.0	26.3	22.9
102	13287	Georgia	Turner	8	29.8	26.7	25.2
103	13289	Georgia	Twiggs	8	22.5	19.7	20.1
104	13299	Georgia	Ware	1	22.6	20.5	23.6
105	13301	Georgia	Warren	12	27.1	27.0	24.6
106	13303	Georgia	Washington	12	23.4	22.9	25.1
107	13309	Georgia	Wheeler	12	26.2	25.3	35.0
108	13315	Georgia	Wilcox	8	27.4	21.0	28.4
109	17003	Illinois	Alexander	12	30.1	26.1	24.8
110	17077	Illinois	Jackson	12	21.3	25.2	20.5
111	17153	Illinois	Pulaski	12	25.5	24.7	21.7
112	21001	Kentucky	Adair	1	24.2	24.0	21.2
113	21011	Kentucky	Bath	5, 6	28.9	21.9	22.6
114	21013	Kentucky	Bell	5	34.8	31.1	31.8
115	21025	Kentucky	Breathitt	5	40.3	33.2	35.5
116	21051	Kentucky	Clay	5	40.3	39.7	33.6
117	21053	Kentucky	Clinton	1	35.2	25.8	21.4
118	21057	Kentucky	Cumberland	1	30.5	23.8	19.8
119	21063	Kentucky	Elliott	5	34.4	25.9	28.3
120	21065	Kentucky	Estill	6	29.5	26.4	21.0
121	21071	Kentucky	Floyd	5	32.4	30.3	27.7
122	21075	Kentucky	Fulton	1	29.2	23.1	23.9
123	21095	Kentucky	Harlan	5	33.6	32.5	29.4
124	21109	Kentucky	Jackson	5	36.1	30.2	22.0
125	21115	Kentucky	Johnson	5	29.2	26.6	20.9
126	21119	Kentucky	Knott	5	35.5	31.1	25.9
127	21121	Kentucky	Knox	5	37.9	34.8	30.7
128	21127	Kentucky	Lawrence	5	32.8	30.7	23.4
129	21129	Kentucky	Lee	5	39.3	30.4	29.6
130	21131	Kentucky	Leslie	5	34.1	32.7	31.2

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
131	21133	Kentucky	Letcher	5	31.8	27.1	25.3
132	21135	Kentucky	Lewis	4	29.0	28.5	22.2
133	21147	Kentucky	McCreary	5	43.8	32.2	36.4
134	21153	Kentucky	Magoffin	5	39.1	36.6	30.1
135	21159	Kentucky	Martin	5	33.0	37.0	33.8
136	21165	Kentucky	Menifee	5	31.6	29.6	23.6
137	21169	Kentucky	Metcalfe	1	25.3	23.6	20.9
138	21171	Kentucky	Monroe	1	24.3	23.4	20.0
139	21175	Kentucky	Morgan	5	37.4	27.2	25.3
140	21189	Kentucky	Owsley	5	46.4	45.4	34.6
141	21193	Kentucky	Perry	5	32.5	29.1	24.5
142	21195	Kentucky	Pike	5	26.0	23.4	22.4
143	21197	Kentucky	Powell	6	28.3	23.5	20.8
144	21203	Kentucky	Rockcastle	5	29.7	23.1	21.8
145	21205	Kentucky	Rowan	5	27.3	21.3	20.8
146	21231	Kentucky	Wayne	5	34.3	29.4	28.8
147	21235	Kentucky	Whitley	5	30.6	26.4	25.5
148	21237	Kentucky	Wolfe	5	40.0	35.9	26.1
149	22001	Louisiana	Acadia Parish	3	27.6	24.5	20.9
150	22003	Louisiana	Allen Parish	4	30.5	19.9	23.6
151	22007	Louisiana	Assumption Parish	2	25.7	21.8	20.1
152	22009	Louisiana	Avoyelles Parish	5, 6	34.1	25.9	25.0
153	22013	Louisiana	Bienville Parish	4	27.3	26.1	25.8
154	22017	Louisiana	Caddo Parish	4, 6	25.3	21.1	22.1
155	22021	Louisiana	Caldwell Parish	5	24.3	21.2	21.8
156	22025	Louisiana	Catahoula Parish	5	30.7	28.1	22.6
157	22027	Louisiana	Claiborne Parish	4	29.4	26.5	26.6
158	22029	Louisiana	Concordia Parish	5	29.3	29.1	27.7
159	22035	Louisiana	East Carroll Parish	5	52.0	40.5	44.4

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
160	22039	Louisiana	Evangeline Parish	4	31.1	32.2	25.9
161	22041	Louisiana	Franklin Parish	5	33.2	28.4	25.8
162	22043	Louisiana	Grant Parish	4	23.5	21.5	21.1
163	22045	Louisiana	Iberia Parish	3	23.9	23.6	22.6
164	22047	Louisiana	Iberville Parish	2	27.6	23.1	21.5
165	22061	Louisiana	Lincoln Parish	4	24.4	26.5	25.5
166	22065	Louisiana	Madison Parish	5	39.8	36.7	33.3
167	22067	Louisiana	Morehouse Parish	5	31.5	26.8	28.5
168	22069	Louisiana	Natchitoches Parish	6	31.0	26.5	26.9
169	22071	Louisiana	Orleans Parish	1, 2	37.9	27.9	21.3
170	22073	Louisiana	Ouachita Parish	4, 5	25.1	20.7	19.6
171	22081	Louisiana	Red River Parish	4	29.3	29.9	22.9
172	22083	Louisiana	Richland Parish	5	32.3	27.9	26.4
173	22085	Louisiana	Sabine Parish	4	23.9	21.5	21.0
174	22091	Louisiana	St. Helena Parish	5	30.1	26.8	20.8
175	22097	Louisiana	St. Landry Parish	6	32.6	29.3	24.5
176	22101	Louisiana	St. Mary Parish	3	26.6	23.6	21.8
177	22107	Louisiana	Tensas Parish	5	40.1	36.3	27.4
178	22113	Louisiana	Vermilion Parish	3	22.5	22.1	22.4
179	22117	Louisiana	Washington Parish	5	31.0	24.7	25.6
180	22119	Louisiana	Webster Parish	4	22.7	20.2	20.7
181	22125	Louisiana	West Feliciana Parish	5	28.7	19.9	23.3
182	22127	Louisiana	Winn Parish	4	26.6	21.5	23.7
183	24039	Maryland	Somerset	1	22.3	20.1	20.3
184	28001	Mississippi	Adams	2	29.2	25.9	24.0
185	28005	Mississippi	Amite	2	27.0	22.6	22.0

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
186	28007	Mississippi	Attala	2	29.1	21.8	19.5
187	28009	Mississippi	Benton	1	28.1	23.2	19.9
188	28011	Mississippi	Bolivar	2	40.1	33.3	30.0
189	28017	Mississippi	Chickasaw	1	20.9	20.0	23.1
190	28019	Mississippi	Choctaw	1	26.4	24.7	20.6
191	28021	Mississippi	Claiborne	2	40.4	32.4	33.3
192	28023	Mississippi	Clarke	3	21.1	23.0	19.6
193	28025	Mississippi	Clay	1	26.2	23.5	20.6
194	28027	Mississippi	Coahoma	2	42.2	35.9	34.9
195	28029	Mississippi	Copiah	2	31.2	25.1	19.5
196	28031	Mississippi	Covington	3	27.7	23.5	20.0
197	28035	Mississippi	Forrest	4	24.6	22.5	21.4
198	28041	Mississippi	Greene	4	26.6	19.6	22.0
199	28049	Mississippi	Hinds	2, 3	26.1	19.9	22.2
200	28051	Mississippi	Holmes	2	50.0	41.1	34.3
201	28053	Mississippi	Humphreys	2	41.9	38.2	33.3
202	28055	Mississippi	Issaquena	2	40.0	33.2	55.7
203	28061	Mississippi	Jasper	3	26.2	22.7	19.6
204	28063	Mississippi	Jefferson	2	39.3	36.0	30.5
205	28065	Mississippi	Jefferson Davis	3	34.8	28.2	23.9
206	28069	Mississippi	Kemper	3	29.8	26.0	25.4
207	28075	Mississippi	Lauderdale	3	23.6	20.8	20.0
208	28077	Mississippi	Lawrence	3	24.6	19.6	19.9
209	28079	Mississippi	Leake	2	27.5	23.3	20.8
210	28083	Mississippi	Leflore	2	37.6	34.8	31.2
211	28091	Mississippi	Marion	3	31.8	24.8	19.8
212	28093	Mississippi	Marshall	1	28.3	21.9	20.4
213	28097	Mississippi	Montgomery	2	28.0	24.3	22.8
214	28101	Mississippi	Newton	3	21.6	19.9	21.6
215	28103	Mississippi	Noxubee	3	36.9	32.8	27.4
216	28107	Mississippi	Panola	2	29.6	25.3	20.7
217	28113	Mississippi	Pike	3	30.8	25.3	21.4
218	28119	Mississippi	Quitman	2	40.2	33.1	31.9
219	28125	Mississippi	Sharkey	2	44.3	38.3	32.6

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
220	28127	Mississippi	Simpson	3	23.0	21.6	19.7
221	28133	Mississippi	Sunflower	2	45.9	30.0	29.8
222	28135	Mississippi	Tallahatchie	2	38.9	32.2	32.3
223	28143	Mississippi	Tunica	2	43.4	33.1	25.0
224	28147	Mississippi	Walthall	3	37.4	27.8	22.3
225	28151	Mississippi	Washington	2	35.8	29.2	29.4
226	28153	Mississippi	Wayne	4	29.2	25.4	21.3
227	28157	Mississippi	Wilkinson	2	36.5	37.7	31.6
228	28159	Mississippi	Winston	3	26.9	23.7	22.0
229	28163	Mississippi	Yazoo	2	38.2	31.9	25.5
230	29069	Missouri	Dunklin	8	28.2	24.5	25.4
231	29133	Missouri	Mississippi	8	30.4	23.7	21.0
232	29149	Missouri	Oregon	8	25.5	22.0	20.1
233	29155	Missouri	Pemiscot	8	34.7	30.4	23.7
234	29181	Missouri	Ripley	8	30.4	22.0	21.9
235	29203	Missouri	Shannon	8	27.5	26.9	21.3
236	29223	Missouri	Wayne	8	27.5	21.9	19.6
237	29510	Missouri	St. Louis city	1	32.5	24.6	21.8
238	30003	Montana	Big Horn	2	30.2	29.2	22.2
239	30035	Montana	Glacier	1	31.4	27.3	25.9
240	30085	Montana	Roosevelt	2	26.9	32.4	22.8
241	35005	New Mexico	Chaves	1, 2, 3	24.9	21.3	21.6
242	35006	New Mexico	Cibola	2	28.1	24.8	25.9
243	35019	New Mexico	Guadalupe	1	31.0	21.6	22.3
244	35023	New Mexico	Hidalgo	2	23.4	27.3	24.0
245	35029	New Mexico	Luna	2	34.3	32.9	23.9
246	35031	New Mexico	McKinley	2, 3	38.7	36.1	26.2
247	35037	New Mexico	Quay	3	27.7	20.9	20.6
248	35041	New Mexico	Roosevelt	3	27.4	22.7	20.1
249	35047	New Mexico	San Miguel	3	30.5	24.4	26.0
250	35051	New Mexico	Sierra	2	23.1	20.9	20.6
251	35053	New Mexico	Socorro	2	31.2	31.7	28.5
252	36005	New York	Bronx	13, 14, 15, 16	33.3	30.7	28.7
253	37015	North Carolina	Bertie	1	25.3	23.5	20.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
254	37017	North Carolina	Bladen	7	23.2	21.0	20.6
255	37065	North Carolina	Edgecombe	1	23.1	19.6	21.1
256	37131	North Carolina	Northampton	1	24.5	21.3	22.5
257	37147	North Carolina	Pitt	3	22.0	20.3	19.8
258	37155	North Carolina	Robeson	7, 8	24.5	22.8	23.7
259	37165	North Carolina	Scotland	8	20.3	20.6	22.9
260	37177	North Carolina	Tyrrell	1	26.1	23.3	19.5
261	37187	North Carolina	Washington	1	21.0	21.8	19.9
262	38005	North Dakota	Benson	at large	29.3	29.1	24.2
263	38079	North Dakota	Rolette	at large	33.8	31.0	23.4
264	38085	North Dakota	Sioux	at large	37.0	39.2	29.9
265	39009	Ohio	Athens	12	23.4	27.4	25.3
266	40001	Oklahoma	Adair	2	25.0	23.2	22.4
267	40005	Oklahoma	Atoka	2	28.3	19.8	19.5
268	40023	Oklahoma	Choctaw	2	33.3	24.3	26.4
269	40055	Oklahoma	Greer	3	26.2	19.6	26.0
270	40057	Oklahoma	Harmon	3	33.9	29.7	24.5
271	40061	Oklahoma	Haskell	2	25.5	20.5	20.9
272	40063	Oklahoma	Hughes	2	26.4	21.9	22.4
273	40069	Oklahoma	Johnston	2	26.7	22.0	21.5
274	40077	Oklahoma	Latimer	2	24.9	22.7	21.1
275	40089	Oklahoma	McCurtain	2	31.4	24.7	21.2
276	40107	Oklahoma	Okfuskee	2	29.4	23.0	24.3
277	40133	Oklahoma	Seminole	5	27.3	20.8	19.7
278	40135	Oklahoma	Sequoyah	2	23.6	19.8	19.6
279	40141	Oklahoma	Tillman	4	25.6	21.9	22.2
280	42101	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	2, 3, 5	26.5	22.9	19.7
281	45005	South Carolina	Allendale	6	34.3	34.5	31.6
282	45009	South Carolina	Bamberg	6	27.9	27.8	24.2
283	45011	South Carolina	Barnwell	2	21.9	20.9	20.3
284	45029	South Carolina	Colleton	1, 6	24.1	21.1	21.0
285	45031	South Carolina	Darlington	7	21.8	20.3	24.6
286	45033	South Carolina	Dillon	7	28.4	24.2	23.8
287	45049	South Carolina	Hampton	6	24.4	21.8	20.5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
288	45061	South Carolina	Lee	5	31.4	21.8	22.8
289	45067	South Carolina	Marion	7	26.3	23.2	30.8
290	45069	South Carolina	Marlboro	7	24.1	21.7	30.2
291	45075	South Carolina	Orangeburg	2, 6	25.6	21.4	21.0
292	45089	South Carolina	Williamsburg	6	28.0	27.9	25.5
293	46007	South Dakota	Bennett	at large	33.4	39.2	29.4
294	46017	South Dakota	Buffalo	at large	28.9	56.9	36.3
295	46023	South Dakota	Charles Mix	at large	23.1	26.9	20.3
296	46031	South Dakota	Corson	at large	34.5	41.0	37.9
297	46041	South Dakota	Dewey	at large	32.0	33.6	28.8
298	46071	South Dakota	Jackson	at large	31.0	36.5	29.1
299	46085	South Dakota	Lyman	at large	21.7	24.3	21.4
300	46095	South Dakota	Mellette	at large	33.4	35.8	25.9
301	46102	South Dakota	Oglala Lakota <sup>c</sup>	at large	49.9	52.3	35.8
302	46121	South Dakota	Todd	at large	44.5	48.3	32.9
303	46137	South Dakota	Ziebach	at large	41.7	49.9	45.8
304	47029	Tennessee	Cocke	1	25.2	22.5	20.9
305	47061	Tennessee	Grundy	4	27.7	25.8	20.2
306	47067	Tennessee	Hancock	1	33.9	29.4	26.1
307	47069	Tennessee	Hardeman	8	24.1	19.7	21.5
308	47075	Tennessee	Haywood	8	27.6	19.5	19.8
309	47091	Tennessee	Johnson	1	24.4	22.6	20.9
310	47095	Tennessee	Lake	8	33.2	23.6	31.2
311	48025	Texas	Bee	27	28.2	24.0	24.2
312	48041	Texas	Brazos	10	19.9	26.9	22.1
313	48047	Texas	Brooks	15	38.2	40.2	30.6
314	48061	Texas	Cameron	34	38.5	33.1	24.3
315	48079	Texas	Cochran	19	28.6	27.0	20.8
316	48107	Texas	Crosby	19	29.2	28.1	21.2
317	48115	Texas	Dawson	19	28.1	19.7	20.1
318	48127	Texas	Dimmit	23	40.3	33.2	28.5
319	48131	Texas	Duval	28	34.3	27.2	24.8
320	48163	Texas	Frio	23	35.0	29.0	27.0
321	48191	Texas	Hall	13	27.7	26.3	22.1

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
322	48207	Texas	Haskell	19	21.6	22.8	22.8
323	48215	Texas	Hidalgo	15, 34	41.1	35.9	24.2
324	48229	Texas	Hudspeth	23	28.4	35.8	30.2
325	48247	Texas	Jim Hogg	28	30.8	25.9	22.1
326	48249	Texas	Jim Wells	15	29.5	24.1	22.8
327	48271	Texas	Kinney	23	26.5	24.0	20.7
328	48273	Texas	Kleberg	34	26.0	26.7	21.4
329	48283	Texas	La Salle	23	35.2	29.8	27.3
330	48315	Texas	Marion	1	27.1	22.4	21.0
331	48323	Texas	Maverick	23	44.8	34.8	21.8
332	48327	Texas	Menard	11	27.0	25.8	20.0
333	48347	Texas	Nacogdoches	17	21.8	23.3	21.9
334	48353	Texas	Nolan	19	21.7	21.7	19.7
335	48377	Texas	Presidio	23	37.6	36.4	19.8
336	48405	Texas	San Augustine	1	22.8	21.2	20.4
337	48427	Texas	Starr	28	49.9	50.9	35.4
338	48445	Texas	Terry	19	24.1	23.3	19.8
339	48463	Texas	Uvalde	23	32.7	24.3	19.5
340	48479	Texas	Webb	28	36.1	31.2	20.6
341	48489	Texas	Willacy	34	41.0	33.2	24.2
342	48505	Texas	Zapata	28	34.8	35.8	30.9
343	48507	Texas	Zavala	23	44.5	41.8	25.7
344	49037	Utah	San Juan	3	30.5	31.4	19.5
345	51027	Virginia	Buchanan	9	22.7	23.2	23.5
346	51051	Virginia	Dickenson	9	24.9	21.3	19.9
347	51105	Virginia	Lee	9	30.4	23.9	26.0
348	51111	Virginia	Lunenburg	5	21.0	20.0	19.9
349	51195	Virginia	Wise	9	23.0	20.0	19.5
350	51590	Virginia	Danville city	5	20.1	20.0	22.9
351	51620	Virginia	Franklin city	2	21.7	19.8	19.7
352	51730	Virginia	Petersburg city	4	24.3	19.6	23.3
353	53047	Washington	Okanogan	4	21.0	21.3	21.7
354	54007	West Virginia	Braxton	1	28.2	22.0	19.9

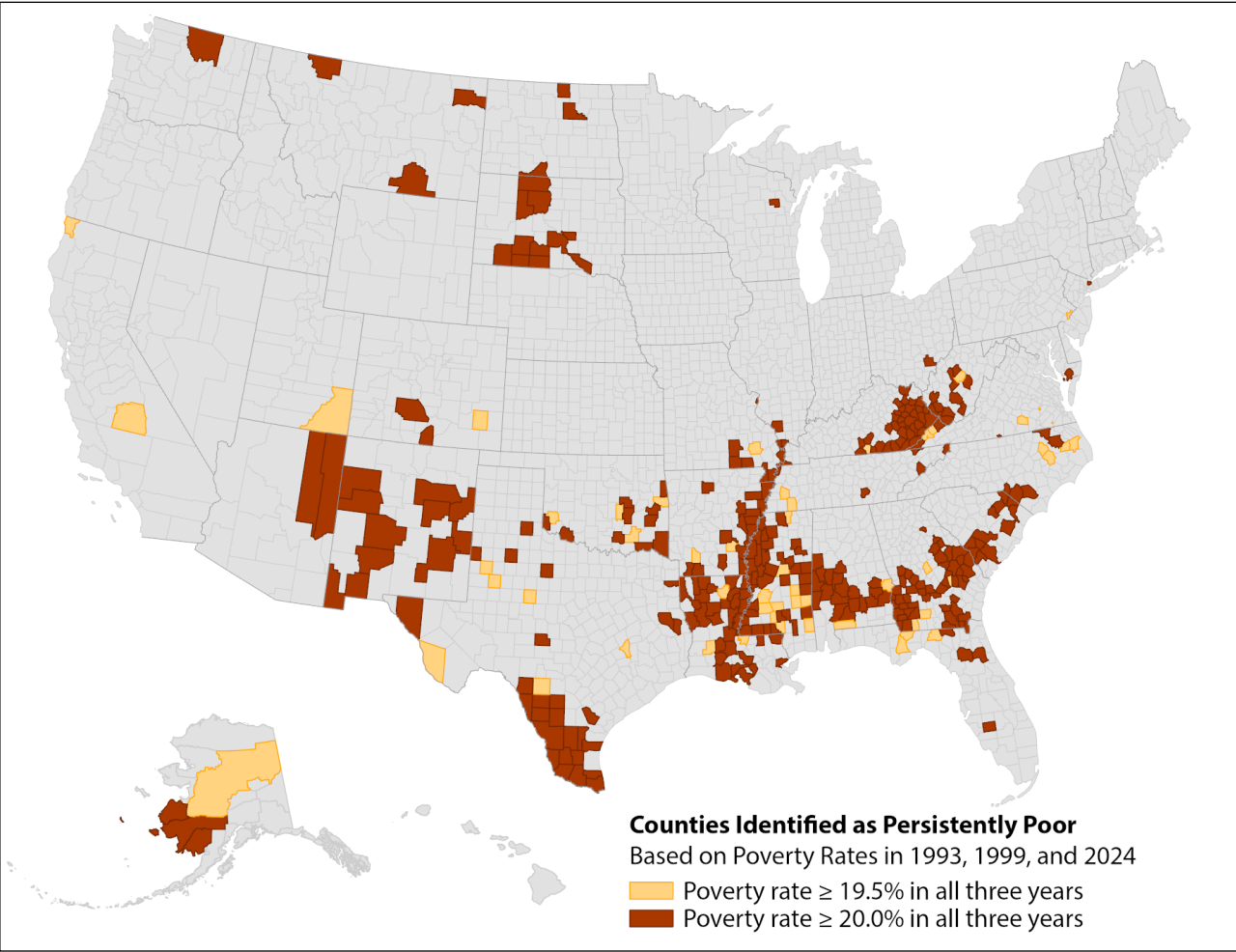
Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Congressional District(s) Representing the County <sup>a</sup>	Poverty Rate, 1993 (from SAIPE)	Poverty Rate, 1999 (from Census 2000)	Poverty Rate, 2024 (from SAIPE)
355	54013	West Virginia	Calhoun	1	30.9	25.1	22.9
356	54015	West Virginia	Clay	1	35.8	27.5	20.1
357	54019	West Virginia	Fayette	1	27.8	21.7	20.8
358	54021	West Virginia	Gilmer	1	32.3	25.9	26.8
359	54043	West Virginia	Lincoln	1	32.8	27.9	21.4
360	54045	West Virginia	Logan	1	27.6	24.1	21.1
361	54047	West Virginia	McDowell	1	38.8	37.7	38.4
362	54059	West Virginia	Mingo	1	30.5	29.7	25.7
363	54089	West Virginia	Summers	1	29.6	24.4	24.2
364	54101	West Virginia	Webster	1	36.4	31.8	24.4
365	54109	West Virginia	Wyoming	1	28.3	25.1	24.8
366	55078	Wisconsin	Menominee	8	31.0	28.8	24.4

**Source:** Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1993 and 2024 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, Census 2000, and 119<sup>th</sup> Congress Block Equivalency File (downloaded February 19, 2025).

**Notes:** FIPS: Federal Information Processing Standard.

- a. Numbers are ordinal, referring to the name of the congressional district(s) present in the county. For example, Barbour County, AL, is represented by Alabama's 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District (indicated by the 2). A congressional district may span multiple counties; conversely, a single county may be split among multiple congressional districts. Part of Orleans Parish, LA, for example, is represented by Louisiana's 1<sup>st</sup> Congressional District (indicated by the 1) and part by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congressional District (indicated by the 2). Counties labeled "at large" are located in states that have one member of the House of Representatives for the entire state.
- b. Changed name and geographic code effective July 1, 2015, from Wade Hampton Census Area (02270) to Kusilvak Census Area (02158).
- c. Changed name and geographic code effective May 1, 2015, from Shannon County (46113) to Oglala Lakota County (46102).

**Figure 1. Persistent Poverty Counties Using Two Rounding Methods, Based on 1993 and 2024 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates and Census 2000**



**Source:** Created by the Congressional Research Service (CRS) using data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1993 and 2024 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and Census 2000.

## Appendix. Details on the Data Sources

### Decennial Census of Population and Housing, Long Form

Poverty estimates are computed using data from household surveys, which are based on a sample of households. To obtain meaningful estimates for any geographic area, the sample has to include enough responses from that area so that selecting a different sample of households from that area would not likely result in a dramatically different estimate. If estimates for smaller geographic areas are desired, a larger sample size is needed. A national-level survey, for instance, could produce reliable estimates for the United States without obtaining any responses from many counties, particularly counties with small populations. To produce estimates for all 3,144 county areas in the nation, however, not only are responses needed from every county, but those responses have to be plentiful enough from each county so that the estimates are meaningful (i.e., their margins of error are not unhelpfully wide).

Before the mid-1990s, the only data source with a sample size large enough to provide meaningful estimates at the county level (and for other small geographic areas) was the decennial census. The other household surveys available prior to that time did not have a sample size large enough to produce meaningful estimates for small areas such as counties. Income questions were asked on the census long form, which was sent to one-sixth of all U.S. households; the rest received the census short form, which did not ask about income. While technically still a sample, one-sixth of all households was a large enough sample to provide poverty estimates for every county in the nation, and even for smaller areas such as small towns. The long form was discontinued after Census 2000, and therefore poverty data are no longer available from the decennial census for the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.<sup>26</sup> Beginning in the mid-1990s, however, two additional data sources were developed to ensure that poverty estimates for small areas such as counties would still be available: the American Community Survey (ACS), and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE) program.

### American Community Survey (ACS)

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

To produce meaningful estimates for small communities, the ACS needs to collect a number of responses comparable to what was collected in the decennial census.<sup>27</sup> To collect that many responses while providing information more frequently than once every 10 years, the ACS

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<sup>26</sup> Poverty estimates from the decennial census continue to be produced for American Samoa, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. SAIPE and ACS estimates are not. See footnote 15. For estimates and a discussion of persistent poverty in the U.S. Island Areas and Puerto Rico, see Craig Benson and Alemayehu Bishaw, “Persistent Poverty in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Island Areas,” U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Report ACS-57, August 7, 2024, at <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2024/acs/acs-57.html>.

<sup>27</sup> A sample of approximately 18.3 million households received the Census 2000 long form. Scott Boggess and Nikki L. Graf, “Measuring Education: A Comparison of the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey,” presented at Joint Statistical Meetings, San Francisco, CA, August 7, 2003. [http://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2003/acs/2003\\_Boggess\\_01\\_doc.pdf](http://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2003/acs/2003_Boggess_01_doc.pdf). From 2019 to 2023, 17.0 million housing unit addresses were sampled in the ACS. <http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample-size-and-data-quality/sample-size/index.php>.

collects information from respondents continuously, in every month, as opposed to at one time of the year, and responses over time are pooled to provide estimates at varying geographic levels. To obtain estimates for geographic areas of 65,000 or more persons, one year's worth of responses are pooled—these are the ACS one-year estimates. For the smallest geographic levels, which include the complete set of U.S. counties, five years of monthly responses are needed: these are the ACS five-year estimates. Even though data collection is ongoing, the publication of the data takes place once every year, both for the one-year estimates and the estimates that represent the previous five-year span.

## **Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE)**

The SAIPE program was developed in the 1990s in order to provide state and local government officials with poverty estimates for local areas in between the decennial census years. In the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (IASA, P.L. 103-382), which amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), Congress recognized that providing funding for children in disadvantaged communities created a need for poverty data for those communities that were more current than the once-a-decade census. In the IASA, Congress provided for the development and evaluation of the SAIPE program for its use in Title I-A funding allocations.<sup>28</sup>

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

## **Guidance from the U.S. Census Bureau, "Which Data Source to Use for Poverty"<sup>29</sup>**

The CPS ASEC<sup>[30]</sup> provides the most timely and accurate national data on income and is the source of official national poverty estimates, hence it is the preferred source for national analysis. Because of its large sample size, the ACS is preferred for subnational data on income and poverty by detailed demographic characteristics. The Census Bureau recommends using the ACS for 1-year estimates of income and poverty at the state level. Users looking for consistent, state-level trends should use CPS ASEC 2-year averages and CPS ASEC 3-year averages for state to state comparisons.

For substate areas, like counties, users should consider their specific needs when picking the appropriate data source. The SAIPE program produces overall poverty and household income 1-year estimates with standard errors usually smaller than direct survey estimates. Users looking to compare estimates of the number and percentage of people in poverty for counties or school districts or the median household income for counties should use SAIPE, especially if the population is less than 65,000. Users who need other characteristics such as poverty among Hispanics or median earnings, should use the ACS, where and when available.

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<sup>28</sup> Details about the origins of the SAIPE project are available on the Census Bureau's website at <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/about/origins.html>.

<sup>29</sup> Downloaded from <http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html>, January 25, 2023.

<sup>30</sup> CPS ASEC: Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

The SIPP<sup>[31]</sup> is the only Census Bureau source of longitudinal poverty data. As SIPP collects monthly income over 2.5 to 5 year panels, it is also a source of poverty estimates for time periods more or less than one year, including monthly poverty rates.

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

**Table A-1. U.S. Census Bureau’s Guidance on Poverty Data Sources by Geographic Level and Type of Estimate**

Geographic Level	Cross-Sectional Estimates			Longitudinal Estimates
	Income/Poverty Rate	Detailed Characteristics	Year-to-Year Change	
United States	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC/ ACS 1-year estimates for detailed race groups	CPS ASEC	SIPP
States	ACS 1-year estimates CPS ASEC 3-year averages	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates	
Substate (areas with populations of 65,000 or more)	ACS 1-year estimates/ SAIPE for counties and school districts	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates / SAIPE for counties and school districts	None
Substate (areas with populations less than 20,000) <sup>a</sup>	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities/ Decennial Census 2000 and prior	ACS 5-year estimates/ Decennial Census 2000 and prior	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities <sup>b</sup>	None
State-to-Nation comparison	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	

**Source:** Congressional Research Service (CRS) formatted reproduction of table by U.S. Census Bureau, with an expansion to the notes. Original table downloaded from <http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html>, January 25, 2023.

**Notes:**

ACS: American Community Survey.

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

SAIPE: Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation.

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

<sup>31</sup> SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation; mentioned here only as part of the quotation.

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

## Comparing Lists of Persistent Poverty Counties Using Different Datasets and Rounding Schemes

**Table A-2** illustrates the number of counties identified as persistent poverty counties using the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and various ACS and SAIPE datasets for the last data point, under two rounding schemes: rounded to one decimal point (which includes only poverty rates of 20.0% or greater) and rounded to the whole number (which includes poverty rates of 19.5% or greater). The rounding method and data source selection can each have large impacts on the number of counties listed. In most years, using SAIPE for the latest year resulted in more counties being identified as persistently poor than were identified by using the ACS; the exceptions were 2019 and 2020. Compared to using 20.0% as the cutoff (rounded to one decimal place), rounding up to 20% from 19.5% adds approximately 40 to 60 counties to the list. Taking both the data source and the rounding method together (**Table A-3**), the list of persistent poverty counties could vary by roughly 60 to 100 counties in a given year depending on the method used.

As of the cover date of this report, no program or funding stream uses a definition of persistent poverty counties as the combination of 1990 Census, Census 2000, and the most recent (2024) ACS five-year poverty estimates. The combination of 1990 Census, Census 2000, and the most recent (2024) SAIPE data is used in 49 U.S.C. §6702(a)(1), with regard to local and regional project assistance grant programs.

**Table A-2. Number of Counties Identified as Persistently Poor, Using Different Terminal Datasets and Rounding Methods**

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

Terminal Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
ACS, 2007-2011 <sup>a</sup>	397	445	48
ACS, 2008-2012	404	456	52
ACS, 2009-2013	402	458	56
ACS, 2010-2014	401	456	55
ACS, 2011-2015	397	453	56
ACS, 2012-2016	392	446	54
ACS, 2013-2017 <sup>b</sup>	386	436	50
ACS, 2014-2018 <sup>b</sup>	384	430	46
ACS, 2015-2019	375	418	43
ACS, 2016-2020 <sup>c</sup>	355	397	42
ACS, 2017-2021	344	387	43
ACS, 2018-2022	348	386	38

Terminal Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
ACS, 2019-2023	326	361	35
			Mean difference: 47.5
SAIPE, 2011	433	495	62
SAIPE, 2012	435	491	56
SAIPE, 2013	427	490	63
SAIPE, 2014	427	486	59
SAIPE, 2015	419	476	57
SAIPE, 2016	420	469	49
SAIPE, 2017	411	460	49
SAIPE, 2018	395	443	48
SAIPE, 2019	361	407	46
SAIPE, 2020	306	354	48
SAIPE, 2021	362	414	52
SAIPE, 2022	360	417	57
SAIPE, 2023	340	393	53
			Mean difference: 53.8
<b>Differences between datasets released in same year</b>			
Difference, SAIPE 2011 minus ACS 2007-2011	36	50	
Difference, SAIPE 2012 minus ACS 2008-2012	31	35	
Difference, SAIPE 2013 minus ACS 2009-2013	25	32	
Difference, SAIPE 2014 minus ACS 2010-2014	26	30	
Difference, SAIPE 2015 minus ACS 2011-2015	22	23	
Difference, SAIPE 2016 minus ACS 2012-2016	28	23	
Difference, SAIPE 2017 minus ACS 2013-2017	25	24	
Difference, SAIPE 2018 minus ACS 2014-2018	11	13	
Difference, ACS 2015-2019 minus SAIPE 2019	14	11	
Difference, ACS 2016-2020 minus SAIPE 2020	49	43	
Difference, SAIPE 2021 minus ACS 2017-2021	18	27	
Difference, SAIPE 2022 minus ACS 2018-2022	12	31	
Difference, SAIPE 2023 minus ACS 2019-2023	14	32	
Mean difference:	23.9	28.8	

**Source:** Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2012-2023 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and American Community Survey Five-Year

Estimates for 2007-2011, 2008-2012, 2009-2013, 2010-2014, 2011-2015, 2012-2016, 2013-2017, 2014-2018, 2015-2019, 2016-2020, 2017-2021, 2018-2022, and 2019-2023.

**Notes:** ACS: American Community Survey. SAIPE: Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates. Comparisons between ACS and SAIPE estimates are between datasets released in the same year (both are typically released in December of the year following the reference period). There are 3,144 county-type areas in the United States.

- a. These data were used to define persistent poverty in Division B, Title VII, §736 of the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024 (P.L. 118-42), in reference to a variety of rural development programs.
- b. These counts include Rio Arriba County, NM, despite an ACS data collection error that occurred in that county in both 2017 and 2018. The Census Bureau detected the error after the five-year data for 2013-2017 had been released, but before the 2014-2018 data had been released. As a result, the 2014-2018 poverty rate for Rio Arriba County was not published, and the 2013-2017 poverty rate (formerly reported as 26.4%) was removed from the Census Bureau website. The 2012-2016 ACS poverty rate for Rio Arriba County was 23.4%, and the 2018 SAIPE poverty rate was 22.0%. Because the ACS poverty rate immediately before the error (2012-2016) and the SAIPE poverty rate were both above 20.0%, Rio Arriba County is included in this table's counts of persistent poverty counties. For details see <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/technical-documentation/errata/125.html>.
- c. These data were used to define persistent poverty in Division B, Title I of the Further Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2024 (P.L. 118-47), in reference to the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund in the Department of the Treasury.

**Table A-3. Maximum Differences in the Number of Persistent Poverty Counties by Terminal Data Source and Rounding Method**

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

<b>Terminal Data Source and Year, Rounding Method, and Number of Counties</b>					
<b>Most Counties</b>		<b>Fewest Counties</b>		<b>Maximum Difference (Number of Counties)</b>	
SAIPE 2011, whole number	495	ACS, 2007-2011, one decimal	397	98	
SAIPE 2012, whole number	491	ACS, 2008-2012, one decimal	404	87	
SAIPE 2013, whole number	490	ACS, 2009-2013, one decimal	402	88	
SAIPE 2014, whole number	486	ACS, 2010-2014, one decimal	401	85	
SAIPE 2015, whole number	476	ACS, 2011-2015, one decimal	397	79	
SAIPE 2016, whole number	469	ACS, 2012-2016, one decimal	392	77	
SAIPE 2017, whole number	460	ACS, 2013-2017, one decimal	386	74	
SAIPE 2018, whole number	443	ACS, 2014-2018, one decimal	384	59	
ACS, 2015-2019, whole number	418	SAIPE 2019, one decimal	361	57	
ACS, 2016-2020, whole number	397	SAIPE 2020, one decimal	306	91	
SAIPE 2021, whole number	414	ACS, 2017-2021, one decimal	344	70	
SAIPE 2022, whole number	417	ACS, 2018-2022, one decimal	348	69	
SAIPE 2023, whole number	393	ACS, 2019-2023, one decimal	326	67	
				<b>Mean difference:</b>	77.0

**Source:** Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2012-2023 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and American Community Survey Five-Year

Estimates for 2007-2011, 2008-2012, 2009-2013, 2010-2014, 2011-2015, 2012-2016, 2013-2017, 2014-2018, 2015-2019, 2016-2020, 2017-2021, 2018-2022, and 2019-2023.

**Notes:** ACS: American Community Survey. SAIPE: Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates. The selection of the data source and rounding method has a large effect on the number of counties identified as being in persistent poverty. The longest list of persistent poverty counties minus the shortest list of persistent poverty counties yields the maximum difference. For example, in 2023 the longest list used SAIPE poverty rates of 19.5% or greater, that is, rounded up to the whole number 20%, while the shortest list used the 2019-2023 ACS Five-Year Estimates, using poverty rates 20.0% or greater. The lists of persistent poverty counties vary by 77 counties on average, depending on which data source is used for the most recent poverty rate estimate, and which rounding method is applied to identify persistent poverty. Comparisons between ACS and SAIPE estimates are between datasets released in the same year (both are typically released in December of the year following the reference period). There are 3,144 county-type areas in the United States.

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