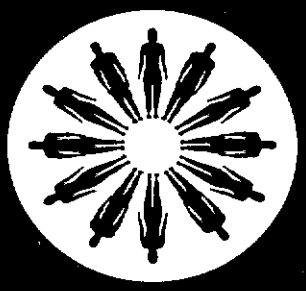

# National Longitudinal Surveys

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## Discussion Paper

Poverty Dynamics Among Mature Women: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Surveys 1967-1989

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# Poverty Dyamics Among Mature Women: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Surveys 1967-1989

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*Executive Summary*

Massive transfer programs, especially the social security retirement program and the related supplemental security income system, have sharply reduced the poverty levels of aged Americans. In 1959 the poverty rate among persons 65+ was 57% greater than that of all persons in the U.S. (35.2% versus 22.4%). Thirty years later (1989) the rate was less than the population average (12.4% versus 14.2%). The incidence of poverty is not equal across the aging population, however. Citing a House Select Aging subcommittee report, a subcommittee member reported, "Women are 70 percent more likely to spend their retirement in poverty than men." (Columbus Dispatch, September 25, 1992) It is natural to ask how these women can be helped. At the same time, the huge expenditures required to secure the current reduction in poverty raises a second question of whether it is possible to achieve the same goal more cheaply.

To confront either of these policy issues, it is important to know the origins of poverty among retirement age women. Without an understanding of the processes that lead to poverty among the aged, policy planners must rely on increased direct cash transfers to the aged, perhaps through an expanded SSI program, as the only poverty tool. Is aged poverty primarily an extension of a life long condition or is it the result of negative wealth shocks later in life such as a divorce or a husband's disability or death? The first possibility is a basic redistribution question and is unlikely to be resolved outside a broader agreement on the appropriate distribution of income. The second is a social insurance problem and is potentially resolvable with changes in the design of the current social insurance system.

The National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women provides a rich data set for exploring this issue. Offering a quarter of a century of detailed information on approximately 5000 female respondents 30 to 44 years of age in the first year (1967), the NLS panel provides a valuable opportunity to explore family income dynamics from midlife to the eve of retirement for the entire sample and into the retirement period for a substantial subset of the sample. The analysis focuses on the 1967-1989 period at which time the respondents were 52 to 66 years of age.

Major findings of the analysis include:

1) Over much of this time, poverty dynamics are quite stable. Specifically an income model with a permanent component and a white noise component "fits" the data rather well. This structure has the implication that the entry into and exit from poverty are independent of the intervening time interval. The exit rate from poverty, for example, will be the same over twenty years as over five. The exit and entry rates are especially stable over time intervals exceeding five years. Poverty entry and retention rates do appear to change with age, however, increasing significantly as respondents approach retirement age.

2) The overall level of poverty persistence is high. Three quarters of all aged females in poverty come from families with low incomes (less than twice the poverty threshold) in midlife. Forty percent come from families that were in poverty themselves at midlife. The aged poor problem is much more than a social insurance problem. Most also had low incomes in midlife.

3) The persistence of poverty was especially high for black women. Two-thirds of aged poor black women were also poor two decades before. Ninety percent of the aged black poor had low incomes (less than twice the poverty threshold) two decades before.

4) Despite the large fraction of aged poor who were poor in midlife, the social insurance problem is not inconsequential. Approximately one quarter of the poor in 1989 had family incomes that were more than twice the poverty level in 1967. The majority of these experienced a marital disruption. Most intact families that reported a catastrophic decline in income reported the labor force withdrawal of the husband. Apparently private and public insurance mechanisms failed to protect women in these situations from major declines in economic status.

5) In the matched mother-daughter sample, the daughters were much better off economically. They were only half as likely to be in poverty at the same age as their mothers. Paralleling the lives of their mothers, however, poor daughters were primarily drawn from families that were themselves poor. Almost one half the poor daughters had poor mothers, almost 80 percent had low income mothers (less than twice the poverty threshold).

## I. Introduction

Massive transfer programs, especially the social security retirement program and the related supplemental security income system, have sharply reduced the poverty levels of aged Americans. In 1959 the poverty rate among persons 65+ was 57% greater than that of all persons in the U.S. (35.2% versus 22.4%).[1] Thirty years later (1989) the rate was less than the population average (12.4% versus 14.2%).[2] The incidence of poverty is not equal across the aging population, however. Citing a House Select Aging subcommittee report, a subcommittee member reported, "Women are 70 percent more likely to spend their retirement in poverty than men." (Columbus Dispatch, September 25, 1992) It is natural to ask how these women can be helped. At the same time, the huge expenditures required to secure the current reduction in poverty raises a second question of whether it is possible to achieve the same goal more cheaply.

To confront either of these policy issues, it is important to know the origins of poverty among retirement age women. Without an understanding of the processes that lead to poverty among the aged, policy planners must rely on increased direct cash transfers to the aged, perhaps through an expanded SSI program, as the only poverty tool. Even then the indirect consequences of increased SSI benefit levels on recipient behavior earlier in the life cycle (crucial to moral hazard questions) are unknowable without an understanding of the underlying socio-economic processes. Is aged poverty primarily an extension of a life long condition or is it the result of negative wealth shocks later in life such as a divorce or a husband's disability or death? The first possibility is a basic redistribution question and is

unlikely to be resolved outside a broader agreement on the appropriate distribution of income. The second is a social insurance problem and is potentially resolvable with changes in the design of the current social insurance system.

The National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women provides a rich data set for exploring this issue. Offering a quarter of a century of detailed information on approximately 5000 female respondents 30 to 44 years of age in the first year (1967), the NLS panel provides a rich opportunity to explore family income dynamics from midlife to the eve of retirement for the entire sample and into the retirement period for a substantial subset of the sample. The analyses to follow will focus on the 1967-1989 period at which time the respondents were 52 to 66 years of age.

Beyond the value of this information for the design of programs to reduce aged poverty, the analysis contributes to the general discussion of the persistence of poverty, an issue much in dispute. Duncan (1984), for example, stresses the large flows of individuals into and out of poverty over a ten year period. As he summarizes his findings, *"Only a little over one-half of the individuals living in poverty in one year are found to be poor in the next, and considerably less than one-half of those who experience poverty remain persistently poor over many years."* [author's italics] (p.3) Conversely Bane and Ellwood (1986) are struck by the high levels of poverty persistence, especially among individuals who remain in poverty for more than a year of two. As they conclude their study, "We found that most of those who ever become poor will have only a short stay in poverty. At the same time, the majority of people who are poor at a given time will have very long spells of poverty before they escape." (p.21)

Knowing the proportion of each of these types in the poverty population would be helpful to policy planners for the same reason that an understanding of the origins of aged female poverty is important--appropriate policy measures are likely to be quite different for the occasionally poor and for the persistently poor. The Duncan study and the Bane and Ellwood study both rely on the PSID; data from the NLS should provide important independent evidence of the persistence of poverty.

Reflecting the objective of analyzing truly long term poverty processes, ones that might stretch from midlife to retirement, the analysis focuses on five year transitions over the twenty-two year period 1967-1989, neglecting shorter term fluctuations in income status. In particular the study measures poverty transitions over the years 1967-1972-1977-1982-1987-1989. Extended face-to-face interviews were conducted with respondents in each of these years. The average poverty experience of the NLS Mature Women's cohort, weighted to adjust for the oversampling of blacks in the original research design and for differential attrition in later years, reflects aggregate poverty trends rather well, Table 1, Panel A. In the Mature Women's cohort, the poverty rate declines from 13.9% in 1966 to a low of 8.7% in 1981 before increasing to 13.6% in 1986 (family income information in the NLS Mature Women's survey was collected for the calendar year preceding the survey). The national average declines from 14.7% in 1966 to 11.8% in 1976 before increasing again to 14.2% in 1981. The patterns are similar for whites and blacks with the rate about three times greater for blacks.

The sharper decline and recovery of poverty rates in the NLS than in the national cross sectional data presumably reflects life cycle phenomena.

In particular within surveys, age trends reveal that respondent families moved disproportionately out of poverty at younger ages and disproportionately into poverty at later ages, Table 1, Panel B. The respondent families initially experienced growth in the respondents' own earnings as they returned to the labor force--children matured and required less home care. Moreover respondents experienced growth in own and husbands' earnings as a result of accumulated experience. Offsetting this trend and of increasing importance over time was the growing frequency of marital dissolution and in time, the declining health and labor force participation of the respondent and spouse. The impact of lost earnings, especially those of the husband, becomes the dominant process as the respondents reached retirement age and average family income declined.

The life cycle pattern suggests that negative income shocks during the lives of these respondents explain a portion of late life poverty status. To quantify the magnitude of this effect, however, we must look at individual records over time. In the next section I report on estimates of poverty transition matrices over five, ten, fifteen, and twenty year intervals. I consider, among other issues, i) the implications of poverty transitions of varying lengths for the stochastic structure of the underlying family income process, and ii) the stability of poverty transitions over the life cycle.

I then turn in Section III to the issue of special concern here, the origins of poverty among older women. Are the aged poor primarily life-long poor or are they the victims of adverse events later in life? To answer this question, I exploit the full twenty-two years of data between 1967 and 1989. Poverty persistence is strikingly high in the demographic group in

question, particularly among blacks respondents. To cite just one result, approximately forty percent of the total sample in the last years of this survey (1989) were also in poverty in the first year of the survey 22 years before. Of those respondents who were not poor in 1967, many had incomes sufficiently close to the poverty line that little explanation is required for their gentle slide into poverty. Redesign of social insurance programs would not help the majority of the aged poor in a substantial way.

None of these facts indicate that negative income shocks play no role in the poverty process; as noted above, the evidence is quite to the contrary. It is natural to ask what the major uninsured risks are that lead women in economically well situated families in midlife into poverty as they grow older. Past studies suggest that marital disruption and loss of husband's income within marriage are important in explaining movements into and out of poverty. To what extent do these twin threats precede entry into poverty? In Section IV, I first review the dynamics of marital disruption and of the husband's labor force withdrawal. I then explore the importance of these factors in accounting for major declines in family economic status over the 1967-1989 period.

The study of these long term income processes suggests a comparison with intergenerational transitions in family economic status. The intergenerational linkage of economic status is almost surely looser than that between the same individual at two points in time, but how much so remains an important empirical question. A valuable feature of the NLS is the ability to match a significant subset of the mature women respondents with their daughters in the Young Women's Survey. The timing of the two surveys permits a more or less precise age match between the mothers in the first

survey year (1967) and the daughters in a much later survey (1988). This data permits the measurement of intergenerational mobility for these mother-daughter pairs and therefore a comparison of intergenerational processes with long interval life cycle processes in Section V. Section VI offers some concluding remarks.

## II. Female Poverty Dynamics over Long Intervals

How likely is it that a mature woman who is not in poverty will be in poverty five years later, ten years, fifteen or twenty? How likely is it that a mature woman in poverty will remain so over these same time intervals? The National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women permits us to develop an answer to those questions. The study measures poverty transitions over intervals of various lengths contained within the survey years 1967, 1972, 1977, 1982, 1987 and 1989. These matrices provide important insights into the stochastic structure of the processes that generate family income. In this section I consider i) the implications of poverty transitions of varying lengths for the stochastic structure of the underlying family income process, and ii) the stability of poverty transitions over the part of the life cycle covered by the survey, essentially the period from midlife to retirement.

Movements into and out of poverty are a function of changes 1) in family income and 2) in the location of the poverty line. We are especially interested in the former. Although the official poverty line has been essentially unchanged in real terms since its inception, a variety of minor changes have accumulated over time. To maximize uniformity of the poverty

definition across years, the 1988 definition of poverty, adjusted for inflation, was used in all years. The inflation adjustment is based on CPI-U-X1.

All tables in this paper are weighted by NLS population weights to correct for the initial sampling design, including an oversampling of blacks, and for differential attrition. The frequencies reported in the various tables are normalized to the original population frequencies to give some idea of the number of observations underpinning the table data. Because of rounding error in the computations, the frequencies within a table will not necessarily sum to the total, although they should be close. The addition of entries across tables will not sum to the total and need not even be close. For example, in the weighted transition matrices, the sum of the reported number of blacks and whites who exit poverty is not the total number exiting poverty, even after adjusting for the small number of other races in the survey, because the weighted frequencies in the black and white tables are normalized by the raw numbers of each group in the survey, not the weighted numbers. The statistics by race add to the total frequencies after the raw numbers for both groups are appropriately weighted.

Because respondents with incomes in the vicinity of the poverty threshold are most likely to enter and leave poverty than are those more removed, it will be useful to partition families into three mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories from time to time. The categories are: POOR, NEAR POOR, and NOT POOR. Occasionally I will discuss a two way classification, POOR and OTHER (NEAR POOR OR NOT POOR). The categories are defined as follows:

POOR Respondents in families with incomes at or below the official poverty threshold;

NEAR POOR Respondents in families with incomes between one and two times the poverty threshold; and

NOT POOR Respondents in families with income more than two times the poverty threshold.

Other definitions used in the tables to follow include:

| | |
|---|---|
| Age = 1 | Cohort members who were 30-34 in 1967 |
| Age = 2 | Cohort members who were 35-39 in 1967 |
| Age = 3 | Cohort members who were 40-44 in 1967 |
| | |
| Race = 1 | Race white |
| Race = 2 | Race black |
| Race = 3 | Other races |

The 1967-1989 surveys permit a number of five-year transitions to be estimated, four in fact [67-72, 72-77, 77-82, 82-87], as well as three ten-year transitions [67-77, 72-82, 77-87], two fifteen-year transitions [67-82, 72-87], and one twenty-year transition [67-87]. Consider the probability that a respondent who is not in poverty in the first survey will be in poverty in a later survey and also the probability that the POOR respondent will be poor in the later survey as well: these statistics are tabulated in Table 2 for intervals of varying length from the full transition matrices (the complete transition matrices can be found in the appendix). The entry rate into poverty of respondents who were not poor in the initial period averages 5.5% over five year interval--a little over five percent of the NOT POOR find themselves POOR five years later. Conversely approximately fifty percent (47%) of the POOR find themselves still poor after five years.

The story changes little as the observation interval lengthens. Over ten year intervals, the entry rate into poverty is 6.5% and the retention rate for those already in poverty is 38%. Over fifteen year intervals the

figures are respectively 7% and 36%, over twenty years 8% and 35%. Apparently there is a great deal of stability in poverty status, especially among NOT POOR respondents, many of whom have incomes that are not close to the poverty threshold and would require extraordinary income declines to push into poverty. Even for those who start in poverty, there is a great deal of stability. More than one third of the individuals in poverty in 1967 were in poverty twenty years later.

The relationship between the stochastic structure of family income and movements into and out of poverty is a close one. Because of the stability of the poverty threshold, the stochastic structure of family income will determine the structure of transition rates, both average levels of entry and exit and relationships between transition rates of differing length, Lillard and Willis (1978). Consider for example an income process with a very simple structure--income is the sum of 1) a permanent component and 2) a white noise component. The permanent component is presumably based on relatively stable family characteristics, such as presence or absences of husband, and on relatively stable individual characteristics such as education, intelleigence, and region of residence [Neither these nor myriad unobserved productivity factors are completely stable, but they may be approximately so].

Lillard and Willis, for example, find that earnings correlations over five to six year intervals are relatively well fitted by such a stochastic income structure (1978, Figure 1). In such a model, the transition matrix will be identical across intervals of any length; whether two years apart or ten, the link between years will be driven only by the distributions of the transitory element and the permanent component [although at the practical level the "permanent" component might shrink as the interval lengthens].

Lillard and Willis do find evidence for a more complex, autoregressive processes across annual earnings data, which implies that shocks to annual income do not dissipate completely from one year to the next. The impact of these short term processes, however, is limited in our analysis of earning intervals of five years and longer.

The progression of transition rates from five years to ten to fifteen and twenty are broadly consistent with an underlying permanent component and white noise decomposition of income. There is only a modest upward drift in entry rates with the length of the intervening time interval. The change in the entry rate into poverty over five year intervals is 5.5%, over ten 6.5%, over fifteen 7.0% and over twenty 8.1%. The same can be said for the retention rate in poverty (or conversely the exit rate from poverty). The share of the original population of poor that remains poor is 47% over five years, 38% over ten. After ten years, additional intervals have no effect on the percentage of the first year poor who remain in poverty in the last period.

The sharp increases in poverty rates across age categories in the 1987 Survey--from 10% among respondents 50 to 54 years of age to 15% among those 60 to 64 (Table 1, Panel B) suggest that the transition process may not be stable late in the life cycle. The suggestion is correct; as the following table indicates, the rate of entry into poverty and of retention in poverty increases as the respondent reaches traditional retirement ages:

| | RATES OF: | |
|---|---|---|
| | ENTRY INTO POVERTY | RETENTION IN POVERTY |
| *TOTAL* | *9.2%* | *35.9%* |
| AGE 52-56 in 1989 | 6.9% | 33.5% |
| AGE 57-61 in 1989 | 8.0% | 34.2% |
| AGE 62-66 in 1989 | 12.8% | 40.1% |

Entry rates into poverty over the interval 1967-1989 almost double, from 6.9% to 12.8%, as we move from the youngest age group to the oldest--52-56 and 62-66 in 1989. The rate of retention in poverty also increases, though more modestly--from 33.5% to 40.1%. A similar life cycle pattern is evident in the transition parameters reported earlier in Table 2. For the sample as a whole, five year entry rates into poverty increase from 4.9% in 1967-1972 to 7.4% in 1982-1987, with all of the increase coming in the last period, 1982-1987. The same pattern is evident in the ten-year transitions, as the entry rate into poverty almost doubles as the cohort ages, from 4.9 percent to 9.3%. The full transition matrix from which these estimates are derived is reported in Table 3.

Overall the estimates are consistent with the belief that poverty transitions are reasonably well characterized by a set of fixed transition parameters from midlife to the eve of retirement. Over much of the period, five year poverty transitions are also broadly consistent with a simple long term income process, with income as the sum of a permanent component and a white noise element. As the respondents enter the retirement period, the parameters shift; the entry rate into poverty and the retention rate in poverty increase.

## III. The Persistence of Poverty among Mature Women

In this section we return to the issue of the antecendents of aged female poverty, focusing our discussion on poverty transitions over the full period 1967 to 1989, Table 3. The transition parameters reveal that, for some at least, aged poverty begins in midlife. Of those who began the survey period in poverty, 36% remained in poverty twenty-two years later (only 13 percent of the population in total is in poverty at the time of the 1989 survey). The persistence is especially strong for blacks. Almost one-half (48%) of the blacks in poverty in 1967 were also in poverty in 1989. For whites the corresponding figure is 29%. Of the total sample that was poor in 1967 57% were either POOR or NEAR POOR in 1989. Among poor blacks in 1967 76% were either poor or near poor. By the age of 30-44, the great majority of low income black women were locked into a lifetime of low income.

To answer the question of whether the aged poor are drawn primarily from the long term poor or are the product of negative late-life shocks, we need to look backwards rather than forwards. Of the poor in 1989, what fraction was also poor in 1967? Reformulating the data in this way, it is possible to conclude that a large fraction of the aged poor were in poverty much earlier in the life cycle. For the total sample, 41 percent (87 of 211) of the poor in 1989 were also poor in 1967, Table 3. The persistence is especially strong among blacks, with 66 percent (111/167) or two-thirds of the poor in 1989 also poor in 1967. Even among whites poverty persistence was far from negligible--thirty percent (35/115) of the poor in 1989 were poor in 1967.

The bulk of the remaining poor in 1989 were drawn from families that were near poor in 1967. In total three quarters (160/211) of the poor in

1989 were drawn from families with 1967 income less than twice the poverty threshold. Among blacks 89 percent (149/167) or almost 9 out of 10 of the poor in 1989 were in low income (POOR or NEAR POOR) families 22 years before. For whites the figure is 71% (82/115).

Poverty among the aged is more than simply a failure of social insurance programs. The greater share of all aged poor females were poor decades before they were aged. From a policy perspective this suggests that policy alternatives to large transfer payments (Social Security and SSI) will have to confront the stubborn problem of life long poverty--concern about the aged poor would seem seem to require concern about the not-aged poor.

## IV. Sources of Large, Late-Life Declines in Economic Status

One need not work hard to develop plausible theories of why women who are poor at midlife are also poor as they approach retirement age. The stability of the earning power of individual family members and of family structure over the life cycle is sufficient. But what of the 25 percent of the 1989 poor who were not poor (that is, were neither POOR nor NEAR POOR) in 1967? For these respondents, private and social insurance have apparently failed and it would be valuable to know what negative economic shocks explain the large declines in family income.

I should note that, although these "insurance failures" are a reasonably large share of the poor in 1989, about 25%, they are a relatively small share of the NOT POOR in 1967. There are just many more NOT POOR than POOR. Put differently, the transition from NOT POOR (income more than



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double the poverty level) to POOR is rare, even over an interval spanning more than two decades. In the total sample, only 5.7% of the 1967 NOT POOR were POOR in 1989, although again race differences were pronounced. Five percent (5.1%) of whites and 16.2% of blacks experienced a fall in income status this large, passing over the intermediate NEAR POOR category. For this cohort, rather firmly entrenched in traditional family structures, two possible sources of negative income shocks come immediately to mind: 1) marital disruption, that is divorce or death of the husband; and 2) the withdrawal of the husband from the labor force. Both of these phenomenon are common in the Mature Women's cohort.

Certainly the marital status of respondents shifted adversely from a family income standpoint over this period. In Table 4, I report the distribution of respondents across marital states in 1967 and 1989. In 1967, 84 percent of the sample reported their marital status as married with spouse present. By 1989 that statistic had dropped to 68 percent. The percent who reported themselves as widowed increased from 3 percent to 19 percent, the share divorced from 5 percent to 11 percent. Both white and black respondents experienced these adverse trends, although the decline was larger, both in percentages and percentage points, for blacks. Among blacks the percent married with spouse present fell from 64 percent to 43 percent, among whites from 84 percent to 70 percent. By 1989, 26 percent of all black respondents report themselves as widowed. Both the widowed and the divorced experienced a disruption in a long term economic partnership and are economically vulnerable, so these activities surely preceded some of these major declines in economic status.

The female need not separate from her husband to suffer a catastrophic decline in family income; the onset of a disabling condition in the spouse would also do it. For respondents who are married with spouse present in both 1967 and 1989, the husband's labor force statuses in 1967 and 1989 are reported in Table 5. The standard CPS survey week activity questions necessary for the construction of the usual labor force status variable are available only in 1989. So a dummy was constructed for 1967 and 1989; the dummy is equal to one if the husband worked 40 or more weeks in the previous year, zero otherwise. A comparison of this measure with the standard CPS survey week measure of labor force status is reported in Table 6. As a categorical device, the weeks worked measure is quite similar to the standard labor force measure, especially for those WORKING. Only 4 percent of those who reported working 40 or more weeks in 1988 (the previous year), reported that they were out of the labor force in 1989. Of those who worked less than 40 weeks in 1988, 12 percent reported that they were in the labor force in the survey week.

The decline in labor force activity of the husband is substantial over the 1967-1989 period and provides an alternative path from a financially comfortable life to one of poverty. In 1967 only 6 percent of respondents who were married with spouse present reported that their husbands were working less than 40 weeks a year. By 1989 that figure had increased to 44 percent. Of course the impact of the husband's labor force withdrawal on family finances is a function of the unexpectedness of the withdrawal. A planned retirement will typically not have the same economic consequences as

the early onset of a disabling condition. How much this mechanism contributes to catastrophic declines in family incomes is an empirical question.

How many of the large family income status declines can these two processes--marital disruption and husband's labor force withdrawal--explain? To answer that question, 1967-1989 poverty transition matrices were constructed separately by marital status transitions and, for those married spouse present in both years, by transitions in husband's labor force status. The results are reported in Table 7. Apparently the vast majority of large-decline cases are explained by these two processes. Of the 51 respondents who experienced a transition from NOT POOR to POOR between 1967 and 1989, 33 experienced a change in marital status from married with spouse present to another category.[3] Another eleven (11) remained married with spouse present over the period but experienced an adverse shift in the husband's work status. In total 86 percent (41 of 51) of all cases can be accounted for in this way. The conclusion is unambiguous. The descent from a comfortable economic circumstance in 1967 to poverty in 1989 is largely the result of marital disruption or a change in the spouse's work status and inadequate insurance against these economically adverse events. Indeed there are few cases which are not preceded by one of these two sources of income shock. The majority of the remaining large decline cases are to be found among women who were not married with spouse present in either 1967 or 1989. The negative economic consequences of marital disruption may have occurred prior to the initial survey year.

The path from poverty in 1967 to being comfortably out of poverty (NOT POOR) in 1989 is not similarly well defined. Forty-four percent of the

respondents who were poor in 1967 had by 1989 reached family incomes that were at least twice the poverty threshold, Table 7. Reversals of the common paths into poverty described above, 1) not married-with-spouse-present to married-with-spouse-present and 2) husband not working to husband working, are likely to have limited impact because of the relative rarity of each. Less than one in five (18 of 105 or 17%) involve a change in marital status from all categories of not married with spouse present to married with spouse present. Even fewer, 4 percent (4/105), involve a husband reentering the labor force between 1967 and 1989. The socio-economic factors explaining the great majority of the large successes must be sought elsewhere.

## IV. The Intergenerational Trends

Economic status appears to be extremely stable among women in the age intervals covered by the National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women, approximately 30 to 65 years of age. The sample design of the NLS permits an additional economic mobility comparison, an intergenerational one. The original NLS had four cohorts: young men and women, mature women, and preretirement aged men. To economize on surveying costs, whenever possible respondents for the different cohorts were drawn from the same family. As a consequence, it is possible to construct a sample composed of mother-daughter pairs, permitting construction of intergenerational transition matrices in the same way that we have constructed life cycle transition matrices [the transition matrices are weighted by the 1967 Mature Women population weights]. In particular it is possible to compare the economic

status of the Mature Women in 1967 when they were 30 to 44 years of age with the poverty status of the Young Women in 1988 when they were 34 to 44 years of age. The age pairing can be made more exact by limiting the analysis to Mature Women 34 to 44 years of age in 1967. We impose that restriction in the following analysis.

In this matched sample, the economic status of the daughters is significantly better than that of their mothers at the same point in the life cycle, Table 8. In the matched sample of 695 mother-daughter pairs, 19 percent of the mothers but onl y 8 percent of the daughters were in poverty at age 34-44. Forty-seven (47) percent of the mothers but only 24 percent of the daughters had family incomes less than two times the poverty threshold. The poverty gains are especially pronounced for blacks. The poverty rate fell from 63 percent to 24 percent across the generations for blacks, from 14 percent to 6 percent for whites.

The large intergenerational shift in poverty rates across the generation guarantees that the intergenerational transition rates, the change in economic status from the mother to the daughter, will be more "positive" than the mother's long term own transition rates. The mother-daughter intergenerational transition matrices are reported in Table 9. Every economic class contributed to the reduction in poverty across the generations. Of the POOR mothers in 1967, 35 percent were in poverty in 1989, but the same was true of only 18 percent of their daughters (in 1988 to be precise). Among NEAR POOR mothers in 1967, 13 percent were POOR in 1989, but the same was true of only 9 percent of their daughters. The fall into poverty from the relatively advantaged NOT POOR class is rare for either mother or

daughter; 6 percent of the mothers and only 3 percent of the daughters suffered a decline of this magnitude.

Looked at from a different perspective, the intergenerational record on the origins of poverty does not look so very different from the long term record of the mother herself. Present poverty status is dependent on past poverty status, across generations as well as across life. In particular the percentage of daughters in poverty who came from poverty families is large. Almost one half (24 of 54) the daughters in poverty had mothers who were themselves in poverty. Four out of five (42 of 54) of the daughters in poverty came from families which were either POOR or NEAR POOR. These statistics do not differ significantly from those for the origins of aged poor mothers. Although the daughters are better off than the mothers, the long term antecedent of poverty is a familiar one, namely poverty in the past.

## V. Conclusion

The National Longitudinal Survey of Mature Women offers a wide range of insights into the long term poverty dynamics of females between the ages of 30 and 66 years:

1) Over much of this time, the poverty dynamics are quite stable. Specifically an income model with a permanent component and a white noise component "fits" the data rather well. This structure has the implication that the entry into and exit from poverty are independent of the intervening time interval. The exit rate from poverty, for example, will be the same over twenty years as over five. The data suggests a process not unlike this is in operation. Especially after the first five year interval, the exit and entry rates are quite stable across greater time intervals. Poverty entry and retention rates do appear to change with age, however, increasing significantly as the respondent approaches retirement age.

2) The overall level of poverty persistence is high. Three quarters of all aged females in poverty come from families with low incomes (less than twice the poverty threshold) in midlife. Forty percent come from families that were in poverty themselves at midlife. The aged poor problem is much more than a social insurance problem. Most also had low incomes in midlife.

3) The persistence of poverty was especially high for black women. Two-thirds of the aged poor were also poor two decades in the past. Ninety percent of the aged black poor had low incomes (less than twice the poverty threshold) two decades before.

4) Despite the large fraction of aged poor who were poor in midlife, the social insurance problem is not inconsequential. Approximately one quarter of the poor in 1989 had family incomes that were at least twice the poverty level in 1967. The majority of these experienced a marital disruption. Most intact families that reported a catastrophic decline in income reported the labor force withdrawal of the husband. Apparently private and public insurance mechanisms failed to protect these women from major declines in economic status.

5) In the matched mother-daughter sample, the daughters were much better off economically. They were only half as likely to be in poverty at the same age as their mothers. Paralleling the lives of their mothers, however, poor daughters were primarily drawn from families that were themselves poor. Almost one half the poor daughters had poor mothers, almost 80 percent had low income mothers (less than twice the poverty threshold).

Hopefully the analysis demonstrates the value of extending the current study to 1992 and beyond. The 1967-1989 evidence suggests that the transition from work to retirement has a major impact on the rate of entry into and exit from poverty. The work/retirement transition is also important because the period following appears to be one of unusual stability, McGarry (1992). Social security is a large fraction of total family income in retirement, especially among low income families, and it has been quite stable in real terms over the last several decades. Unfortunately at the time of the 1989 survey, the respondents were only 52 to 66 years of age, so that only the oldest third have reached traditional retirement ages (although a larger share of married respondents have husbands of that age, given marriage customs in the U.S.). By the time of the 1992 survey, the respondents were 55

to 69 years of age, so that all would have reached the age of early retirement, and the majority would have reached traditional retirement ages.

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TABLE 1

Poverty Rates, National and NLS Mature Women's Cohort
1966-1988[a]

PANEL A

| YEAR[b] | NATIONAL TOTAL / | | | NLS MATURE WOMEN | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Black | Total | White | Black |
| 1966 | 14.7% | 12.2% | 41.8% | 13.9% | 10.1% | 43.2% |
| 1971 | 12.5 | 9.9 | 30.9 | 10.9 | 7.5 | 36.9 |
| 1976 | 11.8 | 9.1 | 31.1 | 8.9 | 6.5 | 28.4 |
| 1981 | 14.0 | 11.1 | 34.2 | 8.7 | 6.2 | 31.0 |
| 1986 | 13.6 | 11.0 | 31.1 | 12.6 | 9.7 | 37.1 |
| 1988** | 13.0 | 10.1 | 31.3 | 13.6 | 10.9 | 36.1 |

PANEL B

| | AGE | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0-34 | 35-39 | 40-44 | 45-49 | 50-54 | 55-59 | 60-64 |
| 1967 | 15.7% | 13.7% | 12.7% | | | | |
| 1972 | | 12.4% | 10.4% | 10.2% | | | |
| 1977 | | | 9.4% | 7.0% | 10.2% | | |
| 1982 | | | | 8.0% | 7.7% | 10.4% | |
| 1987 | | | | | 10.2% | 12.4% | 15.0% |

SOURCES: National: Statistical Abstract of the United States, (various years); NLS Mature Women: Parsons (1994, "Poverty Status").

[a] All data are weighted.

[b] Income information for the NLS Mature Women is for the year preceding the survey. Ages in Panel B are as of survey date.

TABLE 2

Rates of Entry into Poverty and Retention in Poverty at Time Intervals of Five, Ten, Fifteen and Twenty Years, 1967-1989[a]

| | RATES OF: | |
|---|---|---|
| | **ENTRY INTO POVERTY** (Out of Poverty in Initial Year) | **RETENTION IN POVERTY** (In Poverty in Initial Year) |
| | *FIVE YEAR TRANSITIONS* | |
| 1967-1972 | 4.9% | 44.9% |
| 1972-1977 | 4.6% | 39.3% |
| 1977-1982 | 5.0% | 51.2% |
| 1982-1987 | 7.4% | 52.4% |
| *AVERAGE* | *5.5%* | *47.0%* |
| | *TEN YEAR TRANSITIONS* | |
| 1967-1977 | 4.9% | 33.3% |
| 1972-1982 | 5.4% | 38.7% |
| 1977-1987 | 9.3% | 41.5% |
| *AVERAGE* | *6.5%* | *37.8%* |
| | *FIFTEEN YEAR TRANSITIONS* | |
| 1967-1982 | 5.3% | 29.9% |
| 1972-1987 | 8.8% | 41.5% |
| *AVERAGE* | *7.0%* | *35.7%* |
| | *TWENTY YEAR TRANSITIONS* | |
| 1967-1987 | 8.1% | 34.6% |
| | *TWENTY-TWO YEAR TRANSITIONS* | |
| 1967-1989 | 9.2% | 35.9% |

SOURCE: Parsons (1994, "Poverty Status")

[a] All data are weighted.

TABLE 3

Poverty Transitions, 1967-1989, By Age and Race

**Poverty in 1989**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 557 | 74.7 | 145 | 19.4 | 44 | 5.9 | 746 | 677 | 75.8 | 165 | 18.5 | 51 | 5.7 | 892 |
| Near | 251 | 55.5 | 111 | 24.6 | 90 | 19.9 | 452 | 277 | 61.4 | 101 | 22.5 | 73 | 16.1 | 452 |
| Poor | 123 | 31.8 | 97 | 25.1 | 167 | 43.2 | 387 | 105 | 43.1 | 51 | 20.9 | 87 | 35.9 | 243 |
| All | 931 | 58.7 | 353 | 22.3 | 301 | 19 | 1585 | 1059 | 66.8 | 315 | 19.9 | 211 | 13.3 | 1585 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 182 | 83.1 | 25 | 11.4 | 12 | 5.5 | 219 | 225 | 83.6 | 31 | 11.3 | 14 | 5.1 | 269 |
| Near | 115 | 66.9 | 33 | 19.2 | 24 | 14 | 172 | 133 | 72.8 | 32 | 17.6 | 17 | 9.6 | 183 |
| Poor | 60 | 39 | 30 | 19.5 | 64 | 41.6 | 154 | 49 | 52.9 | 13 | 13.5 | 31 | 33.5 | 93 |
| All | 357 | 65.5 | 88 | 16.1 | 100 | 18.3 | 545 | 408 | 74.8 | 75 | 13.8 | 62 | 11.4 | 545 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 198 | 78.6 | 41 | 16.3 | 13 | 5.2 | 252 | 243 | 79.4 | 46 | 15.0 | 17 | 5.5 | 306 |
| Near | 81 | 54.4 | 42 | 28.2 | 26 | 17.4 | 149 | 90 | 62.0 | 36 | 24.8 | 19 | 13.1 | 145 |
| Poor | 39 | 30.7 | 36 | 28.3 | 52 | 40.9 | 127 | 32 | 41.1 | 19 | 24.7 | 26 | 34.2 | 77 |
| All | 318 | 60.2 | 119 | 22.5 | 91 | 17.2 | 528 | 365 | 69.1 | 101 | 19.1 | 62 | 11.8 | 528 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 177 | 64.4 | 79 | 28.7 | 19 | 6.9 | 275 | 207 | 66.1 | 87 | 27.6 | 20 | 6.4 | 314 |
| Near | 55 | 42 | 36 | 27.5 | 40 | 30.5 | 131 | 55 | 44.3 | 33 | 26.6 | 36 | 29.1 | 125 |
| Poor | 24 | 22.6 | 31 | 29.2 | 51 | 48.1 | 106 | 25 | 34.0 | 18 | 25.5 | 29 | 40.4 | 72 |
| All | 256 | 50 | 146 | 28.5 | 110 | 21.5 | 512 | 288 | 56.2 | 139 | 27.1 | 86 | 16.7 | 512 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 495 | 76.4 | 120 | 18.5 | 33 | 5.1 | 648 | 506 | 76.8 | 119 | 18.1 | 34 | 5.1 | 659 |
| Near | 194 | 62.6 | 68 | 21.9 | 48 | 15.5 | 310 | 195 | 63.4 | 66 | 21.5 | 47 | 15.1 | 308 |
| Poor | 67 | 52.3 | 21 | 16.4 | 40 | 31.3 | 128 | 64 | 53.6 | 21 | 17.3 | 35 | 29.1 | 119 |
| All | 756 | 69.6 | 209 | 19.2 | 121 | 11.1 | 1086 | 766 | 70.4 | 206 | 19.0 | 115 | 10.6 | 1087 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 52 | 60.5 | 24 | 27.9 | 10 | 11.6 | 86 | 63 | 59.5 | 26 | 24.3 | 17 | 16.2 | 105 |
| Near | 52 | 38.5 | 41 | 30.4 | 42 | 31.1 | 135 | 61 | 44.0 | 39 | 28.3 | 38 | 27.6 | 139 |
| Poor | 54 | 21.3 | 74 | 29.1 | 126 | 49.6 | 254 | 56 | 24.2 | 64 | 27.7 | 111 | 48.1 | 230 |
| All | 158 | 33.3 | 139 | 29.3 | 178 | 37.5 | 475 | 180 | 37.8 | 129 | 27.1 | 167 | 35.1 | 475 |

TABLE 4

Marital Status in 1967 and 1989, By Age and Race

## Marital Status in 1967

| Unweighted | MSP N | MSP Pct | MSA N | MSA Pct | Widowed N | Widowed Pct | Divorced N | Divorced Pct | Separated N | Separated Pct | Never Married N | Never Married Pct | All N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All** | 4064 | 80.0 | 46 | 0.9 | 145 | 2.9 | 253 | 5.0 | 285 | 5.6 | 290 | 5.7 | 5083 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1273 | 79.0 | 15 | 0.9 | 21 | 1.3 | 78 | 4.8 | 100 | 6.2 | 125 | 7.8 | 1612 |
| 2 | 1310 | 80.5 | 12 | 0.7 | 48 | 3.0 | 79 | 4.9 | 95 | 5.8 | 83 | 5.1 | 1627 |
| 3 | 1481 | 80.3 | 19 | 1.0 | 76 | 4.1 | 96 | 5.2 | 90 | 4.9 | 82 | 4.5 | 1844 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3112 | 86.3 | 28 | 0.8 | 61 | 1.7 | 159 | 4.4 | 72 | 2.0 | 174 | 4.8 | 3606 |
| 2 | 879 | 63.2 | 16 | 1.2 | 83 | 6.0 | 89 | 6.4 | 211 | 15.2 | 112 | 8.1 | 1390 |
| 3 | 73 | 83.9 | 2 | 2.3 | 1 | 1.2 | 5 | 5.8 | 2 | 2.3 | 4 | 4.6 | 87 |

## Marital Status in 1967

| Weighted | MSP N | MSP Pct | MSA N | MSA Pct | Widowed N | Widowed Pct | Divorced N | Divorced Pct | Separated N | Separated Pct | Never Married N | Never Married Pct | All N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All** | 4271 | 84.0 | 41 | 0.8 | 103 | 2.0 | 234 | 4.6 | 173 | 3.4 | 260 | 5.1 | 5083 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1320 | 83.5 | 14 | 0.9 | 14 | 0.9 | 74 | 4.7 | 62 | 3.9 | 98 | 6.2 | 1581 |
| 2 | 1430 | 84.6 | 10 | 0.6 | 35 | 2.1 | 65 | 3.9 | 58 | 3.5 | 91 | 5.4 | 1690 |
| 3 | 1522 | 84.0 | 17 | 1.0 | 53 | 2.9 | 96 | 5.3 | 53 | 2.9 | 71 | 3.9 | 1812 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3868 | 86.4 | 34 | 0.7 | 73 | 1.6 | 197 | 4.4 | 89 | 2.0 | 217 | 4.8 | 4477 |
| 2 | 347 | 64.1 | 7 | 1.3 | 29 | 5.4 | 35 | 6.5 | 82 | 15.1 | 41 | 7.6 | 541 |
| 3 | 57 | 87.5 | 1 | 0.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 3.9 | 3 | 3.9 | 3 | 3.9 | 65 |

## Marital Status in 1989

| Unweighted | MSP N | MSP Pct | MSA N | MSA Pct | Widowed N | Widowed Pct | Divorced N | Divorced Pct | Separated N | Separated Pct | Never Married N | Never Married Pct | All N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All** | 1927 | 62.3 | 9 | 0.3 | 589 | 19.0 | 338 | 10.9 | 104 | 3.4 | 126 | 4.1 | 3093 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 680 | 65.6 | 3 | 0.3 | 100 | 9.6 | 150 | 14.5 | 50 | 4.8 | 54 | 5.2 | 1037 |
| 2 | 649 | 65.0 | 3 | 0.3 | 181 | 18.1 | 87 | 8.7 | 43 | 4.3 | 35 | 3.5 | 998 |
| 3 | 598 | 56.5 | 3 | 0.3 | 308 | 29.1 | 101 | 9.6 | 11 | 1.0 | 37 | 3.5 | 1058 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1576 | 70.5 | 8 | 0.4 | 343 | 15.3 | 214 | 9.6 | 26 | 1.2 | 70 | 3.1 | 2237 |
| 2 | 328 | 40.2 | 1 | 0.1 | 239 | 29.3 | 118 | 14.4 | 77 | 9.4 | 54 | 6.6 | 817 |
| 3 | 23 | 59.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 7 | 18.0 | 6 | 15.4 | 1 | 2.6 | 2 | 5.1 | 39 |

## Marital Status in 1989

| Weighted | MSP N | MSP Pct | MSA N | MSA Pct | Widowed N | Widowed Pct | Divorced N | Divorced Pct | Separated N | Separated Pct | Never Married N | Never Married Pct | All N |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **All** | 2088 | 67.5 | 11 | 0.4 | 505 | 16.3 | 322 | 10.4 | 62 | 2.0 | 105 | 3.4 | 3093 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 734 | 72.1 | 4 | 0.4 | 73 | 7.2 | 140 | 13.8 | 29 | 2.9 | 37 | 3.7 | 1018 |
| 2 | 722 | 70.8 | 4 | 0.4 | 150 | 14.7 | 83 | 8.2 | 26 | 2.6 | 35 | 3.4 | 1020 |
| 3 | 633 | 60.0 | 3 | 0.3 | 282 | 26.7 | 99 | 9.3 | 6 | 0.6 | 32 | 3.1 | 1056 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1936 | 70.4 | 10 | 0.4 | 421 | 15.3 | 267 | 9.7 | 32 | 1.2 | 85 | 3.1 | 2752 |
| 2 | 132 | 42.9 | 1 | 0.3 | 79 | 25.7 | 50 | 16.1 | 28 | 9.1 | 18 | 5.9 | 309 |
| 3 | 20 | 62.1 | 0 | 0.0 | 5 | 14.6 | 6 | 17.5 | 1 | 3.9 | 1 | 1.9 | 32 |

TABLE 5

Husband's Labor Force Status in 1967 and 1989,
By Age and Race

**Husband's Labor Force Status in 1967**

| | Unweighted | | | | | Weighted | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Working | | Working | | All | Not Working | | Working | | All |
| | N | Pct | N | Pct | N | N | Pct | N | Pct | N |
| **ALL** | 269 | 7.39 | 3371 | 92.6 | 3640 | 218 | 6.0 | 3422 | 94.0 | 3640 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 77 | 6.67 | 1077 | 93.3 | 1154 | 60 | 5.3 | 1080 | 94.7 | 1140 |
| 2 | 70 | 5.98 | 1100 | 94 | 1170 | 58 | 4.8 | 1160 | 95.2 | 1218 |
| 3 | 122 | 9.27 | 1194 | 90.7 | 1316 | 101 | 7.9 | 1182 | 92.1 | 1283 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 167 | 5.96 | 2634 | 94 | 2801 | 182 | 5.5 | 3128 | 94.5 | 3310 |
| 2 | 95 | 12.2 | 687 | 87.9 | 782 | 32 | 11.3 | 255 | 88.7 | 287 |
| 3 | 7 | 12.3 | 50 | 87.7 | 57 | 4 | 10.2 | 39 | 89.8 | 43 |

**Husband's Labor Force Status in 1989**

| | Unweighted | | | | | Weighted | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Working | | Working | | All | Not Working | | Working | | All |
| | N | Pct | N | Pct | N | N | Pct | N | Pct | N |
| ALL | 831 | 46.4 | 960 | 53.6 | 1791 | 798 | 44.5 | 993 | 55.5 | 1791 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 184 | 28 | 473 | 72 | 657 | 172 | 26.4 | 480 | 73.6 | 651 |
| 2 | 268 | 45 | 328 | 55 | 596 | 260 | 42.3 | 354 | 57.7 | 614 |
| 3 | 379 | 70.5 | 159 | 29.6 | 538 | 366 | 69.6 | 160 | 30.4 | 526 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 655 | 44.1 | 829 | 55.9 | 1484 | 730 | 43.8 | 937 | 56.2 | 1667 |
| 2 | 166 | 58 | 120 | 42 | 286 | 61 | 56.6 | 47 | 43.4 | 108 |
| 3 | 10 | 47.6 | 11 | 52.4 | 21 | 6 | 39.6 | 10 | 60.4 | 16 |

TABLE 6

Husband's Work Status by Weeks Worked and Survey Week Activity, 1989, By Age and Race

| | Activity Most of Survey Week | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unweighted | | | | | Weighted | | | | |
| The Number of Weeks Worked 40+ | Not Working N | Not Working Pct | Working N | Working Pct | All N | Not Working N | Not Working Pct | Working N | Working Pct | All N |
| Not Working | 725 | 88.1 | 98 | 11.9 | 823 | 691 | 87.7 | 97 | 12.3 | 788 |
| Working | 34 | 3.62 | 904 | 96.4 | 938 | 36 | 3.7 | 937 | 96.3 | 973 |
| All | 759 | 43.1 | 1002 | 56.9 | 1761 | 727 | 41.3 | 1034 | 58.7 | 1761 |
| Age=1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Working | 132 | 71.7 | 52 | 28.3 | 184 | 124 | 71.8 | 49 | 28.2 | 173 |
| Working | 9 | 1.91 | 461 | 98.1 | 470 | 10 | 2.2 | 470 | 97.8 | 481 |
| All | 141 | 21.6 | 513 | 78.4 | 654 | 135 | 20.6 | 519 | 79.4 | 654 |
| Age=2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Working | 239 | 90.2 | 26 | 9.81 | 265 | 220 | 88.4 | 29 | 11.6 | 249 |
| Working | 21 | 6.65 | 295 | 93.4 | 316 | 20 | 5.9 | 313 | 94.1 | 332 |
| All | 260 | 44.8 | 321 | 55.3 | 581 | 239 | 41.2 | 342 | 58.8 | 581 |
| Age=3 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Working | 354 | 94.7 | 20 | 5.35 | 374 | 349 | 94.8 | 19 | 5.2 | 369 |
| Working | 4 | 2.63 | 148 | 97.4 | 152 | 5 | 3.4 | 152 | 96.6 | 157 |
| All | 358 | 68.1 | 168 | 31.9 | 526 | 355 | 67.5 | 171 | 32.6 | 526 |
| Race=1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Working | 567 | 87.5 | 81 | 12.5 | 648 | 561 | 87.4 | 81 | 12.6 | 642 |
| Working | 30 | 3.69 | 783 | 96.3 | 813 | 30 | 3.6 | 790 | 96.4 | 819 |
| All | 597 | 40.9 | 864 | 59.1 | 1461 | 591 | 40.4 | 870 | 59.6 | 1461 |
| Race=2 | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Working | 150 | 90.9 | 15 | 9.09 | 165 | 149 | 91.9 | 13 | 8.1 | 162 |
| Working | 4 | 3.48 | 111 | 96.5 | 115 | 6 | 5.5 | 112 | 94.5 | 118 |
| All | 154 | 55 | 126 | 45 | 280 | 155 | 55.4 | 125 | 44.6 | 280 |

TABLE 7

Poverty Transitions, 1967-1989
By Marital Status and Husband's Activity

| | Poverty in 1967 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
| Poverty in 1967 | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | ormalized Frequency | Pct | ormalized Frequency | Pct | ormalized Frequency |
| Not Poor | 557 | 74.7 | 145 | 19.4 | 44 | 5.9 | 746 | 676 | 75.9 | 164 | 18.4 | 50 | 5.7 | 891 |
| Near Poor | 251 | 55.5 | 111 | 24.6 | 90 | 19.9 | 452 | 277 | 61.2 | 102 | 22.5 | 74 | 16.3 | 452 |
| Poor | 123 | 31.8 | 97 | 25.1 | 167 | 43.2 | 387 | 105 | 43.5 | 50 | 20.8 | 86 | 35.7 | 242 |
| All | 931 | 58.7 | 353 | 22.3 | 301 | 19.0 | 1585 | 1058 | 66.8 | 316 | 20.0 | 210 | 13.3 | 1585 |
| **MSP67/MSP89** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 390 | 79.9 | 84 | 17.2 | 14 | 2.9 | 488 | 433 | 81.3 | 87 | 16.3 | 13 | 2.4 | 533 |
| Near Poor | 165 | 66.5 | 49 | 19.8 | 34 | 13.7 | 248 | 177 | 71.4 | 43 | 17.3 | 28 | 11.3 | 248 |
| Poor | 54 | 41.5 | 34 | 26.2 | 42 | 32.3 | 130 | 46 | 53.8 | 18 | 21.2 | 21 | 25.0 | 85 |
| All | 609 | 70.3 | 167 | 19.3 | 90 | 10.4 | 866 | 656 | 75.8 | 148 | 17.1 | 62 | 7.2 | 866 |
| **MSP67/NMSP89** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 102 | 56.7 | 52 | 28.9 | 26 | 14.4 | 180 | 129 | 57.9 | 60 | 27.1 | 33 | 15.0 | 222 |
| Near Poor | 45 | 35.7 | 39 | 31.0 | 42 | 33.3 | 126 | 47 | 39.3 | 37 | 30.9 | 36 | 29.8 | 121 |
| Poor | 23 | 25.3 | 20 | 22.0 | 48 | 52.8 | 91 | 19 | 34.8 | 11 | 19.7 | 24 | 45.5 | 54 |
| All | 170 | 42.8 | 111 | 28.0 | 116 | 29.2 | 397 | 195 | 49.1 | 108 | 27.3 | 94 | 23.6 | 397 |
| **NMSP67/MSP89** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 12 | 70.6 | 4 | 23.5 | 1 | 5.9 | 17 | 16 | 71.9 | 6 | 26.2 | 0 | 1.9 | 23 |
| Near Poor | 11 | 78.6 | 3 | 21.4 | | | 14 | 11 | 75.1 | 4 | 24.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 15 |
| Poor | 17 | 56.7 | 8 | 26.7 | 5 | 16.7 | 30 | 18 | 75.1 | 3 | 13.5 | 3 | 11.4 | 24 |
| All | 40 | 65.6 | 15 | 24.6 | 6 | 9.8 | 61 | 45 | 73.9 | 13 | 21.0 | 3 | 5.1 | 61 |
| **NMSP67/NMSP89** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 53 | 86.9 | 5 | 8.2 | 3 | 4.9 | 61 | 80 | 85.5 | 8 | 8.4 | 6 | 6.1 | 94 |
| Near Poor | 30 | 46.9 | 20 | 31.3 | 14 | 21.9 | 64 | 35 | 52.0 | 21 | 31.2 | 11 | 16.8 | 67 |
| Poor | 29 | 21.3 | 35 | 25.7 | 72 | 52.9 | 136 | 28 | 27.8 | 23 | 23.0 | 49 | 49.2 | 100 |
| All | 112 | 42.9 | 60 | 23.0 | 89 | 34.1 | 261 | 143 | 54.7 | 52 | 19.8 | 66 | 25.4 | 261 |
| **Married Spouse Present in 1967 and 1989** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 390 | 79.9 | 84 | 17.2 | 14 | 2.9 | 488 | 433 | 81.3 | 87 | 16.3 | 13 | 2.4 | 533 |
| Near Poor | 165 | 66.5 | 49 | 19.8 | 34 | 13.7 | 248 | 177 | 71.4 | 43 | 17.3 | 28 | 11.3 | 248 |
| Poor | 54 | 41.5 | 34 | 26.2 | 42 | 32.3 | 130 | 46 | 53.8 | 18 | 21.2 | 21 | 25.0 | 85 |
| All | 609 | 70.3 | 167 | 19.3 | 90 | 10.4 | 866 | 656 | 75.8 | 148 | 17.1 | 62 | 7.2 | 866 |
| **HLFP67=1/HLFP89=1** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 209 | 93.7 | 14 | 6.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 223 | 220 | 94.2 | 14 | 5.8 | 0 | 0.0 | 233 |
| Near Poor | 104 | 90.4 | 9 | 7.8 | 2 | 1.7 | 115 | 108 | 92.4 | 7 | 5.8 | 2 | 1.8 | 116 |
| Poor | 35 | 67.3 | 11 | 21.2 | 6 | 11.5 | 52 | 31 | 77.8 | 5 | 11.5 | 4 | 10.7 | 40 |
| All | 348 | 89.2 | 34 | 8.7 | 8 | 2.1 | 390 | 359 | 92.0 | 25 | 6.4 | 6 | 1.6 | 390 |
| **HLFP67=1/HLFP89=0** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 166 | 68.9 | 64 | 26.6 | 11 | 4.6 | 241 | 189 | 70.6 | 68 | 25.2 | 11 | 4.1 | 268 |
| Near Poor | 50 | 43.9 | 35 | 30.7 | 29 | 25.4 | 114 | 53 | 47.4 | 33 | 30.0 | 25 | 22.7 | 111 |
| Poor | 12 | 24.0 | 15 | 30.0 | 23 | 46.0 | 50 | 8 | 31.0 | 9 | 35.0 | 9 | 34.0 | 26 |
| All | 228 | 56.3 | 114 | 28.2 | 63 | 15.6 | 405 | 250 | 61.7 | 110 | 27.2 | 45 | 11.2 | 405 |
| **HLFP67=0/HLFP89=1** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 6 | 66.7 | 1 | 11.1 | 2 | 22.2 | 9 | 8 | 65.9 | 2 | 13.7 | 2 | 20.4 | 11 |
| Near Poor | 5 | 62.5 | 1 | 12.5 | 2 | 25.0 | 8 | 6 | 87.4 | 0 | 4.8 | 1 | 7.8 | 7 |
| Poor | 5 | 83.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 16.7 | 6 | 4 | 77.4 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 22.6 | 5 |
| All | 16 | 69.6 | 2 | 8.7 | 5 | 21.7 | 23 | 17 | 74.6 | 2 | 8.2 | 4 | 17.2 | 23 |
| **HLFP67=0/HLFP89=0** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 9 | 60.0 | 5 | 33.3 | 1 | 6.7 | 15 | 13 | 62.2 | 7 | 36.2 | 0 | 1.6 | 20 |
| Near Poor | 6 | 54.6 | 4 | 36.4 | 1 | 9.1 | 11 | 7 | 57.6 | 4 | 31.6 | 1 | 10.8 | 13 |
| Poor | 2 | 9.1 | 8 | 36.4 | 12 | 54.6 | 22 | 2 | 11.0 | 5 | 33.6 | 8 | 55.4 | 15 |
| All | 17 | 35.4 | 17 | 35.4 | 14 | 29.2 | 48 | 22 | 45.2 | 16 | 34.2 | 10 | 20.7 | 48 |

Table 8

The Economic Status of NLS Mothers in 1967 and their Daughters in 1988.

| Income Status | Mothers 1967 | Daughters 1988 |
|---|---|---|
| **ALL MATCHES (695)** | | |
| Not Poor | 53.0% | 75.9% |
| Near Poor | 27.9 | 16.3 |
| Poor | 19.1 | 7.8 |
| **WHITE (462)** | | |
| Not Poor | 58.2% | 79.3% |
| Near Poor | 28.1 | 14.9 |
| Poor | 13.6 | 5.8 |
| **BLACK (224)** | | |
| Not Poor | 8.5% | 47.6% |
| Near Poor | 29.0 | 28.4 |
| Poor | 62.9 | 24.0 |

SOURCE: Parsons (1994, "Poverty Status")

Weighted Sample Sizes in Parentheses.

TABLE 9

Poverty Transitions Between Mothers (1967) and Daughters (1988)
By Age and Race

| Mother's Poverty Status in 1967 | Daughter's Poverty Status, 1988 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | |
| | Not Poor | | Near Poor | | Poor | | All | * Not Poor | | Near Poor | | Poor | | All |
| | N | Pct | N | Pct | N | Pct | N | N | Pct | N | Pct | N | Pct | N |
| Not Poor | 245 | 85.1 | 33 | 11.5 | 10 | 3.47 | 288 | 313 | 85.0 | 43 | 11.6 | 12 | 3.3 | 368 |
| Near Poor | 134 | 72.8 | 28 | 15.2 | 22 | 12 | 184 | 144 | 74.4 | 32 | 16.3 | 18 | 9.3 | 194 |
| Poor | 102 | 45.7 | 68 | 30.5 | 53 | 23.8 | 223 | 71 | 53.0 | 39 | 29.1 | 24 | 17.9 | 133 |
| All | 481 | 69.2 | 129 | 18.6 | 85 | 12.2 | 695 | 528 | 75.9 | 113 | 16.3 | 54 | 7.8 | 695 |
| **Age = 1** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 14 | 82.4 | 3 | 17.7 | | | 17 | 20 | 82.4 | 4 | 17.6 | 0 | 0.0 | 25 |
| Near Poor | 3 | 42.9 | 2 | 28.6 | 2 | 28.6 | 7 | 1 | 22.1 | 2 | 38.6 | 2 | 39.3 | 5 |
| Poor | 4 | 33.3 | 5 | 41.7 | 3 | 25 | 12 | 1 | 19.6 | 4 | 62.3 | 1 | 18.1 | 6 |
| All | 21 | 58.3 | 10 | 27.8 | 5 | 13.9 | 36 | 23 | 63.1 | 10 | 28.3 | 3 | 8.6 | 36 |
| **Age = 2** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 97 | 83.6 | 14 | 12.1 | 5 | 4.31 | 116 | 127 | 83.9 | 18 | 12.0 | 6 | 4.1 | 151 |
| Near Poor | 65 | 70.7 | 15 | 16.3 | 12 | 13 | 92 | 76 | 74.9 | 16 | 16.0 | 9 | 9.0 | 102 |
| Poor | 50 | 46.7 | 32 | 29.9 | 25 | 23.4 | 107 | 32 | 52.3 | 18 | 28.3 | 12 | 19.4 | 62 |
| All | 212 | 67.3 | 61 | 19.4 | 42 | 13.3 | 315 | 235 | 74.8 | 52 | 16.5 | 27 | 8.7 | 315 |
| **Age = 3** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 134 | 86.5 | 16 | 10.3 | 5 | 3.23 | 155 | 166 | 86.2 | 21 | 10.7 | 6 | 3.1 | 193 |
| Near Poor | 66 | 77.7 | 11 | 12.9 | 8 | 9.41 | 85 | 66 | 76.3 | 13 | 15.5 | 7 | 8.2 | 86 |
| Poor | 48 | 46.2 | 31 | 29.8 | 25 | 24 | 104 | 37 | 56.3 | 18 | 27.1 | 11 | 16.6 | 65 |
| All | 248 | 72.1 | 58 | 16.9 | 38 | 11.1 | 344 | 269 | 78.1 | 52 | 15.0 | 24 | 6.9 | 344 |
| **Race = 1** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 223 | 84.8 | 30 | 11.4 | 10 | 3.8 | 263 | 229 | 84.9 | 32 | 11.7 | 9 | 3.4 | 269 |
| Near Poor | 102 | 76.7 | 21 | 15.8 | 10 | 7.52 | 133 | 99 | 76.2 | 21 | 16.5 | 10 | 7.3 | 130 |
| Poor | 40 | 60.6 | 17 | 25.8 | 9 | 13.6 | 66 | 39 | 61.7 | 16 | 25.5 | 8 | 12.8 | 63 |
| All | 365 | 79 | 68 | 14.7 | 29 | 6.28 | 462 | 366 | 79.3 | 69 | 14.9 | 27 | 5.8 | 462 |
| **Race = 2** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 16 | 84.2 | 3 | 15.8 | | | 19 | 16 | 84.1 | 3 | 15.9 | 0 | 0.0 | 19 |
| Near Poor | 32 | 62.8 | 7 | 13.7 | 12 | 23.5 | 51 | 39 | 60.5 | 9 | 14.4 | 16 | 25.0 | 65 |
| Poor | 60 | 39 | 51 | 33.1 | 43 | 27.9 | 154 | 52 | 36.8 | 51 | 36.5 | 37 | 26.6 | 141 |
| All | 108 | 48.2 | 61 | 27.2 | 55 | 24.6 | 224 | 107 | 47.6 | 64 | 28.4 | 54 | 24.0 | 224 |

## APPENDIX TABLE

### Panel A
### Poverty Thresholds Based on Money Income, 1988

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Person (Unrelated Individual under 65) | $6,155 |
| 2 Persons (Householder under 65) | 7,958 |
| 3 Persons | 9,436 |
| 4 Persons | 12,092 |
| 5 Persons | 14,305 |
| 6 Persons | 16,149 |
| 7 Persons | 18,248 |
| 8 Persons | 20,279 |
| 9 Persons or More | 24,133 |

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States 1991, p.430

### Panel B
### CPI-U-X1 1966-1992

| | |
|---|---|
| 1966 | 35.2 |
| 1967 | 36.3 |
| 1968 | 37.7 |
| 1969 | 39.4 |
| 1970 | 41.3 |
| 1971 | 43.1 |
| 1972 | 44.4 |
| 1973 | 47.2 |
| 1974 | 51.9 |
| 1975 | 56.2 |
| 1976 | 59.4 |
| 1977 | 63.2 |
| 1978 | 67.5 |
| 1979 | 74.0 |
| 1980 | 82.3 |
| 1981 | 90.1 |
| 1982 | 95.6 |
| 1983 | 99.6 |
| 1984 | 103.9 |
| 1985 | 107.6 |
| 1986 | 109.6 |
| 1987 | 113.6 |
| 1988 | 118.3 |
| 1989 | 124.0 |
| 1990 | 130.7 |
| 1991 | 136.2 |
| 1992 | 140.3 |

FOOTNOTES

1. Statistical Abstract of the United States 1985, Table 761.

2. Statistical Abstract of the United States 1993, Table 739.

3. Recall that these are fictional respondents. The data are weighted to adjust for oversampling in the original sampling design and for differential attrition, so the numbers do not represent specific respondents.

## APPENDIX TABLES

## POVERTY TRANSITIONS OVER TIME INTERVALS OF FIVE TO TWENTY-TWO YEARS

## Poverty in 1967

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 2025 | 49.9 | 1146 | 28.3 | 885 | 21.8 | 4056 | 2365 | 58.3 | 1128 | 27.8 | 564 | 13.9 | 4056 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 592 | 45.2 | 409 | 31.2 | 310 | 23.6 | 1311 | 677 | 52.5 | 410 | 31.8 | 203 | 15.7 | 1290 |
| 2 | 629 | 47.9 | 385 | 29.3 | 298 | 22.7 | 1312 | 779 | 57.3 | 393 | 29.0 | 187 | 13.7 | 1359 |
| 3 | 804 | 56.1 | 352 | 24.6 | 277 | 19.3 | 1433 | 904 | 64.5 | 320 | 22.8 | 178 | 12.7 | 1403 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1708 | 60.7 | 793 | 28.2 | 315 | 11.2 | 2816 | 2215 | 62.4 | 977 | 27.5 | 357 | 10.1 | 3549 |
| 2 | 280 | 24 | 334 | 28.6 | 553 | 47.4 | 1167 | 122 | 27.0 | 134 | 29.7 | 195 | 43.2 | 450 |
| 3 | 37 | 50.7 | 19 | 26 | 17 | 23.3 | 73 | 28 | 50.0 | 16 | 28.6 | 12 | 21.4 | 57 |

## Poverty in 1972

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 1781 | 59.8 | 678 | 22.8 | 519 | 17.4 | 2978 | 2052 | 68.9 | 602 | 20.2 | 325 | 10.9 | 2978 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 449 | 53.6 | 219 | 26.1 | 170 | 20.3 | 838 | 503 | 61.9 | 208 | 25.6 | 101 | 12.5 | 813 |
| 2 | 607 | 61.3 | 217 | 21.9 | 167 | 16.9 | 991 | 727 | 70.9 | 191 | 18.6 | 107 | 10.5 | 1024 |
| 3 | 725 | 63.1 | 242 | 21.1 | 182 | 15.8 | 1149 | 819 | 72.2 | 200 | 17.6 | 116 | 10.2 | 1135 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1505 | 72.5 | 402 | 19.4 | 170 | 8.2 | 2077 | 1918 | 73.5 | 494 | 18.9 | 197 | 7.5 | 2609 |
| 2 | 246 | 28.8 | 267 | 31.3 | 340 | 39.9 | 853 | 110 | 33.3 | 98 | 29.7 | 122 | 36.9 | 331 |
| 3 | 30 | 62.5 | 9 | 18.8 | 9 | 18.8 | 48 | 24 | 66.7 | 6 | 16.7 | 6 | 16.7 | 36 |

## Poverty in 1977

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 1583 | 66.5 | 459 | 19.3 | 339 | 14.2 | 2381 | 1798 | 75.5 | 371 | 15.6 | 212 | 8.9 | 2381 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 540 | 66.5 | 152 | 18.7 | 120 | 14.8 | 812 | 610 | 75.5 | 121 | 15.0 | 76 | 9.4 | 807 |
| 2 | 511 | 68.7 | 145 | 19.5 | 88 | 11.8 | 744 | 602 | 77.4 | 121 | 15.6 | 55 | 7.0 | 779 |
| 3 | 532 | 64.5 | 162 | 19.6 | 131 | 15.9 | 825 | 586 | 73.7 | 129 | 16.2 | 81 | 10.2 | 795 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1309 | 78.1 | 247 | 14.7 | 119 | 7.1 | 1675 | 1660 | 79.5 | 293 | 14.0 | 136 | 6.5 | 2088 |
| 2 | 242 | 36.2 | 209 | 31.2 | 218 | 32.6 | 669 | 110 | 42.2 | 76 | 29.4 | 74 | 28.4 | 260 |
| 3 | 32 | 86.5 | 3 | 8.1 | 2 | 5.4 | 37 | 26 | 84.6 | 2 | 7.7 | 2 | 7.7 | 31 |

## Poverty in 1982

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 1757 | 68.5 | 449 | 17.5 | 360 | 14 | 2566 | 1978 | 77.1 | 364 | 14.2 | 223 | 8.7 | 2566 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 609 | 71.3 | 137 | 16 | 108 | 12.6 | 854 | 670 | 80.3 | 98 | 11.7 | 67 | 8.0 | 834 |
| 2 | 579 | 70 | 139 | 16.8 | 109 | 13.2 | 827 | 680 | 78.4 | 121 | 13.9 | 67 | 7.7 | 867 |
| 3 | 569 | 64.3 | 173 | 19.5 | 143 | 16.2 | 885 | 631 | 73.0 | 144 | 16.6 | 90 | 10.4 | 865 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1464 | 80.4 | 235 | 12.9 | 122 | 6.7 | 1821 | 1848 | 81.2 | 287 | 12.6 | 141 | 6.2 | 2277 |
| 2 | 260 | 36.8 | 211 | 29.9 | 235 | 33.3 | 706 | 105 | 40.5 | 74 | 28.7 | 80 | 30.7 | 259 |
| 3 | 33 | 84.6 | 3 | 7.7 | 3 | 7.7 | 39 | 26 | 83.3 | 3 | 8.3 | 3 | 8.3 | 31 |

## Poverty in 1987

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 1254 | 61.2 | 421 | 20.6 | 373 | 18.2 | 2048 | 1444 | 70.5 | 346 | 16.9 | 258 | 12.6 | 2048 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 476 | 68.5 | 107 | 15.4 | 112 | 16.1 | 695 | 537 | 78.4 | 78 | 11.4 | 70 | 10.2 | 684 |
| 2 | 416 | 62.2 | 129 | 19.3 | 124 | 18.5 | 669 | 498 | 71.7 | 111 | 15.9 | 86 | 12.4 | 694 |
| 3 | 362 | 52.9 | 185 | 27 | 137 | 20 | 684 | 412 | 61.3 | 160 | 23.8 | 100 | 14.9 | 672 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 1056 | 73.5 | 231 | 16.1 | 150 | 10.4 | 1437 | 1356 | 74.9 | 279 | 15.4 | 176 | 9.7 | 1810 |
| 2 | 178 | 30.4 | 186 | 31.8 | 221 | 37.8 | 585 | 72 | 33.0 | 66 | 30.2 | 80 | 36.8 | 217 |
| 3 | 20 | 76.9 | 4 | 15.4 | 2 | 7.7 | 26 | 18 | 81.8 | 2 | 9.1 | 2 | 9.1 | 23 |

## Poverty in 1989

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **All** | 1111 | 59.2 | 400 | 21.3 | 365 | 19.5 | 1876 | 1261 | 67.3 | 358 | 19.1 | 255 | 13.6 | 1874 |
| Age | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 418 | 66.3 | 97 | 15.4 | 115 | 18.3 | 630 | 460 | 75.4 | 79 | 12.9 | 71 | 11.7 | 610 |
| 2 | 379 | 61.2 | 134 | 21.6 | 106 | 17.1 | 619 | 445 | 69.9 | 118 | 18.6 | 73 | 11.5 | 636 |
| 3 | 314 | 50.1 | 169 | 27 | 144 | 23 | 627 | 358 | 56.7 | 163 | 25.8 | 111 | 17.5 | 632 |
| Race | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 911 | 69.8 | 242 | 18.5 | 152 | 11.6 | 1305 | 1169 | 70.8 | 302 | 18.3 | 180 | 10.9 | 1651 |
| 2 | 181 | 33.2 | 153 | 28.1 | 211 | 38.7 | 545 | 77 | 38.0 | 53 | 25.9 | 73 | 36.1 | 203 |
| 3 | 19 | 73.1 | 5 | 19.2 | 2 | 7.7 | 26 | 15 | 66.7 | 6 | 25.0 | 2 | 8.3 | 23 |

**Poverty in 1989**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 557 | 74.7 | 145 | 19.4 | 44 | 5.9 | 746 | 677 | 75.8 | 165 | 18.5 | 51 | 5.7 | 892 |
| Near | 251 | 55.5 | 111 | 24.6 | 90 | 19.9 | 452 | 277 | 61.4 | 101 | 22.5 | 73 | 16.1 | 452 |
| Poor | 123 | 31.8 | 97 | 25.1 | 167 | 43.2 | 387 | 105 | 43.1 | 51 | 20.9 | 87 | 35.9 | 243 |
| All | 931 | 58.7 | 353 | 22.3 | 301 | 19 | 1585 | 1059 | 66.8 | 315 | 19.9 | 211 | 13.3 | 1585 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 182 | 83.1 | 25 | 11.4 | 12 | 5.5 | 219 | 225 | 83.6 | 31 | 11.3 | 14 | 5.1 | 269 |
| Near | 115 | 66.9 | 33 | 19.2 | 24 | 14 | 172 | 133 | 72.8 | 32 | 17.6 | 17 | 9.6 | 183 |
| Poor | 60 | 39 | 30 | 19.5 | 64 | 41.6 | 154 | 49 | 52.9 | 13 | 13.5 | 31 | 33.5 | 93 |
| All | 357 | 65.5 | 88 | 16.1 | 100 | 18.3 | 545 | 408 | 74.8 | 75 | 13.8 | 62 | 11.4 | 545 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 198 | 78.6 | 41 | 16.3 | 13 | 5.2 | 252 | 243 | 79.4 | 46 | 15.0 | 17 | 5.5 | 306 |
| Near | 81 | 54.4 | 42 | 28.2 | 26 | 17.4 | 149 | 90 | 62.0 | 36 | 24.8 | 19 | 13.1 | 145 |
| Poor | 39 | 30.7 | 36 | 28.3 | 52 | 40.9 | 127 | 32 | 41.1 | 19 | 24.7 | 26 | 34.2 | 77 |
| All | 318 | 60.2 | 119 | 22.5 | 91 | 17.2 | 528 | 365 | 69.1 | 101 | 19.1 | 62 | 11.8 | 528 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 177 | 64.4 | 79 | 28.7 | 19 | 6.9 | 275 | 207 | 66.1 | 87 | 27.6 | 20 | 6.4 | 314 |
| Near | 55 | 42 | 36 | 27.5 | 40 | 30.5 | 131 | 55 | 44.3 | 33 | 26.6 | 36 | 29.1 | 125 |
| Poor | 24 | 22.6 | 31 | 29.2 | 51 | 48.1 | 106 | 25 | 34.0 | 18 | 25.5 | 29 | 40.4 | 72 |
| All | 256 | 50 | 146 | 28.5 | 110 | 21.5 | 512 | 288 | 56.2 | 139 | 27.1 | 86 | 16.7 | 512 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 495 | 76.4 | 120 | 18.5 | 33 | 5.1 | 648 | 506 | 76.8 | 119 | 18.1 | 34 | 5.1 | 659 |
| Near | 194 | 62.6 | 68 | 21.9 | 48 | 15.5 | 310 | 195 | 63.4 | 66 | 21.5 | 47 | 15.1 | 308 |
| Poor | 67 | 52.3 | 21 | 16.4 | 40 | 31.3 | 128 | 64 | 53.6 | 21 | 17.3 | 35 | 29.1 | 119 |
| All | 756 | 69.6 | 209 | 19.2 | 121 | 11.1 | 1086 | 766 | 70.4 | 206 | 19.0 | 115 | 10.6 | 1087 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 52 | 60.5 | 24 | 27.9 | 10 | 11.6 | 86 | 63 | 59.5 | 26 | 24.3 | 17 | 16.2 | 105 |
| Near | 52 | 38.5 | 41 | 30.4 | 42 | 31.1 | 135 | 61 | 44.0 | 39 | 28.3 | 38 | 27.6 | 139 |
| Poor | 54 | 21.3 | 74 | 29.1 | 126 | 49.6 | 254 | 56 | 24.2 | 64 | 27.7 | 111 | 48.1 | 230 |
| All | 158 | 33.3 | 139 | 29.3 | 178 | 37.5 | 475 | 180 | 37.8 | 129 | 27.1 | 167 | 35.1 | 475 |

## Poverty in 1972

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 1021 | 88.1 | 101 | 8.7 | 37 | 3.2 | 1159 | 1210 | 88.8 | 115 | 8.4 | 38 | 2.8 | 1363 |
| Near | 380 | 51.1 | 283 | 38.1 | 80 | 10.8 | 743 | 425 | 56.9 | 258 | 34.4 | 65 | 8.7 | 748 |
| Poor | 72 | 12 | 197 | 32.9 | 329 | 55 | 598 | 70 | 17.9 | 145 | 37.2 | 175 | 44.9 | 390 |
| All | 1473 | 58.9 | 581 | 23.2 | 446 | 17.8 | 2500 | 1705 | 68.2 | 518 | 20.7 | 278 | 11.1 | 2500 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 232 | 86.9 | 28 | 10.5 | 7 | 2.6 | 267 | 278 | 86.8 | 35 | 11.0 | 7 | 2.2 | 320 |
| Near | 125 | 49.8 | 94 | 37.5 | 32 | 12.7 | 251 | 144 | 54.3 | 94 | 35.4 | 27 | 10.3 | 265 |
| Poor | 26 | 13.1 | 59 | 29.6 | 114 | 57.3 | 199 | 22 | 16.9 | 49 | 37.2 | 60 | 45.9 | 131 |
| All | 383 | 53.4 | 181 | 25.2 | 153 | 21.3 | 717 | 445 | 62.1 | 178 | 24.8 | 94 | 13.1 | 717 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 337 | 89.4 | 27 | 7.2 | 13 | 3.4 | 377 | 401 | 89.1 | 34 | 7.6 | 15 | 3.3 | 450 |
| Near | 138 | 55.4 | 92 | 36.9 | 19 | 7.6 | 249 | 151 | 59.2 | 86 | 33.7 | 18 | 7.2 | 256 |
| Poor | 23 | 11 | 75 | 35.9 | 111 | 53.1 | 209 | 23 | 17.5 | 51 | 39.6 | 55 | 42.9 | 129 |
| All | 498 | 59.6 | 194 | 23.2 | 143 | 17.1 | 835 | 575 | 68.8 | 171 | 20.5 | 89 | 10.7 | 836 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 452 | 87.8 | 46 | 8.9 | 17 | 3.3 | 515 | 530 | 89.6 | 46 | 7.9 | 15 | 2.6 | 592 |
| Near | 117 | 48.1 | 97 | 39.9 | 29 | 11.9 | 243 | 129 | 57.1 | 78 | 34.5 | 19 | 8.4 | 226 |
| Poor | 23 | 12.1 | 63 | 33.2 | 104 | 54.7 | 190 | 26 | 19.6 | 45 | 34.1 | 61 | 46.4 | 131 |
| All | 592 | 62.4 | 206 | 21.7 | 150 | 15.8 | 948 | 684 | 72.1 | 169 | 17.8 | 96 | 10.1 | 948 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 879 | 89.4 | 78 | 7.9 | 26 | 2.6 | 983 | 899 | 89.3 | 82 | 8.2 | 26 | 2.6 | 1007 |
| Near | 308 | 59.5 | 171 | 33 | 39 | 7.5 | 518 | 307 | 59.9 | 168 | 32.8 | 38 | 7.4 | 513 |
| Poor | 51 | 23.7 | 92 | 42.8 | 72 | 33.5 | 215 | 48 | 24.3 | 84 | 42.6 | 65 | 33.0 | 197 |
| All | 1238 | 72.1 | 341 | 19.9 | 137 | 8 | 1716 | 1254 | 73.1 | 333 | 19.4 | 129 | 7.5 | 1716 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 121 | 79.1 | 22 | 14.4 | 10 | 6.5 | 153 | 140 | 79.4 | 26 | 14.7 | 10 | 5.9 | 176 |
| Near | 68 | 31.8 | 105 | 49.1 | 41 | 19.2 | 214 | 77 | 34.2 | 102 | 45.4 | 46 | 20.4 | 225 |
| Poor | 18 | 4.8 | 104 | 27.9 | 251 | 67.3 | 373 | 17 | 5.0 | 93 | 27.6 | 228 | 67.4 | 338 |
| All | 207 | 28 | 231 | 31.2 | 302 | 40.8 | 740 | 234 | 31.6 | 221 | 29.9 | 284 | 38.4 | 739 |

**Poverty in 1977**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1972** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 889 | 90.2 | 68 | 6.9 | 29 | 2.9 | 986 | 1054 | 91.5 | 70 | 6.1 | 28 | 2.4 | 1152 |
| Near | 208 | 50 | 149 | 35.8 | 59 | 14.2 | 416 | 217 | 58.1 | 113 | 30.4 | 43 | 11.5 | 373 |
| Poor | 41 | 12.9 | 120 | 37.9 | 156 | 49.2 | 317 | 36 | 18.8 | 81 | 42.0 | 76 | 39.3 | 193 |
| All | 1138 | 66.2 | 337 | 19.6 | 244 | 14.2 | 1719 | 1306 | 76.0 | 266 | 15.5 | 146 | 8.5 | 1719 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 243 | 93.5 | 8 | 3.1 | 9 | 3.5 | 260 | 292 | 95.8 | 6 | 1.8 | 7 | 2.3 | 305 |
| Near | 79 | 55.6 | 42 | 29.6 | 21 | 14.8 | 142 | 89 | 63.3 | 35 | 25.1 | 16 | 11.6 | 141 |
| Poor | 17 | 15.6 | 41 | 37.6 | 51 | 46.8 | 109 | 12 | 18.6 | 29 | 43.4 | 25 | 38.0 | 66 |
| All | 339 | 66.3 | 91 | 17.8 | 81 | 15.9 | 511 | 393 | 76.9 | 69 | 13.6 | 49 | 9.5 | 512 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 305 | 91 | 20 | 6 | 10 | 3 | 335 | 352 | 90.8 | 24 | 6.1 | 12 | 3.2 | 388 |
| Near | 63 | 48.5 | 53 | 40.8 | 14 | 10.8 | 130 | 68 | 57.6 | 41 | 34.8 | 9 | 7.6 | 118 |
| Poor | 14 | 14.7 | 37 | 38.9 | 44 | 46.3 | 95 | 13 | 23.7 | 24 | 44.3 | 17 | 32.0 | 54 |
| All | 382 | 68.2 | 110 | 19.6 | 68 | 12.1 | 560 | 432 | 77.3 | 88 | 15.8 | 39 | 6.9 | 559 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 341 | 87.2 | 40 | 10.2 | 10 | 2.6 | 391 | 409 | 89.3 | 41 | 9.1 | 8 | 1.7 | 458 |
| Near | 66 | 45.8 | 54 | 37.5 | 24 | 16.7 | 144 | 61 | 51.9 | 38 | 32.0 | 19 | 16.0 | 117 |
| Poor | 10 | 8.8 | 42 | 37.2 | 61 | 54 | 113 | 10 | 14.3 | 29 | 39.3 | 34 | 46.4 | 73 |
| All | 417 | 64.4 | 136 | 21 | 95 | 14.7 | 648 | 480 | 74.1 | 108 | 16.7 | 60 | 9.2 | 648 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 766 | 91.3 | 50 | 6 | 23 | 2.7 | 839 | 781 | 91.7 | 51 | 6.0 | 20 | 2.4 | 852 |
| Near | 150 | 59.5 | 75 | 29.8 | 27 | 10.7 | 252 | 150 | 61.4 | 70 | 28.5 | 25 | 10.1 | 245 |
| Poor | 22 | 23.4 | 46 | 48.9 | 26 | 27.7 | 94 | 23 | 25.7 | 40 | 45.9 | 25 | 28.4 | 88 |
| All | 938 | 79.2 | 171 | 14.4 | 76 | 6.4 | 1185 | 954 | 80.5 | 161 | 13.6 | 70 | 5.9 | 1185 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 106 | 82.2 | 17 | 13.2 | 6 | 4.7 | 129 | 132 | 86.4 | 16 | 10.3 | 5 | 3.3 | 152 |
| Near | 52 | 32.9 | 74 | 46.8 | 32 | 20.3 | 158 | 55 | 36.4 | 67 | 44.4 | 29 | 19.2 | 150 |
| Poor | 18 | 8.2 | 72 | 32.9 | 129 | 58.9 | 219 | 18 | 8.7 | 72 | 35.5 | 114 | 55.8 | 204 |
| All | 176 | 34.8 | 163 | 32.2 | 167 | 33 | 506 | 204 | 40.3 | 155 | 30.6 | 147 | 29.1 | 506 |

**Poverty in 1982**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1977** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 1006 | 88.3 | 98 | 8.6 | 35 | 3.1 | 1139 | 1168 | 90.4 | 92 | 7.1 | 32 | 2.5 | 1292 |
| Near | 119 | 36.7 | 135 | 41.7 | 70 | 21.6 | 324 | 112 | 42.3 | 107 | 40.4 | 46 | 17.3 | 264 |
| Poor | 35 | 15.1 | 56 | 24.1 | 141 | 60.8 | 232 | 29 | 20.7 | 39 | 28.0 | 71 | 51.2 | 139 |
| All | 1160 | 68.4 | 289 | 17.1 | 246 | 14.5 | 1695 | 1307 | 77.2 | 237 | 14.0 | 149 | 8.8 | 1693 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 366 | 92.4 | 20 | 5.1 | 10 | 2.5 | 396 | 429 | 94.7 | 15 | 3.4 | 9 | 1.9 | 454 |
| Near | 44 | 40.7 | 42 | 38.9 | 22 | 20.4 | 108 | 42 | 48.6 | 31 | 36.3 | 13 | 15.1 | 86 |
| Poor | 14 | 16.5 | 22 | 25.9 | 49 | 57.6 | 85 | 9 | 19.0 | 15 | 29.8 | 25 | 51.2 | 49 |
| All | 424 | 72 | 84 | 14.3 | 81 | 13.8 | 589 | 481 | 81.6 | 61 | 10.4 | 47 | 8.0 | 589 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 329 | 88.7 | 31 | 8.4 | 11 | 3 | 371 | 372 | 90.4 | 30 | 7.3 | 10 | 2.3 | 412 |
| Near | 38 | 36.5 | 44 | 42.3 | 22 | 21.2 | 104 | 37 | 43.4 | 34 | 40.3 | 14 | 16.4 | 85 |
| Poor | 9 | 15 | 10 | 16.7 | 41 | 68.3 | 60 | 7 | 20.0 | 8 | 21.4 | 22 | 58.6 | 37 |
| All | 376 | 70.3 | 85 | 15.9 | 74 | 13.8 | 535 | 417 | 78.0 | 72 | 13.5 | 45 | 8.5 | 535 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 311 | 83.6 | 47 | 12.6 | 14 | 3.8 | 372 | 365 | 85.8 | 47 | 11.1 | 13 | 3.1 | 425 |
| Near | 37 | 33 | 49 | 43.7 | 26 | 23.2 | 112 | 33 | 35.4 | 40 | 43.5 | 19 | 21.1 | 92 |
| Poor | 12 | 13.8 | 24 | 27.6 | 51 | 58.6 | 87 | 11 | 20.4 | 17 | 32.3 | 25 | 47.3 | 53 |
| All | 360 | 63 | 120 | 21 | 91 | 15.9 | 571 | 408 | 71.5 | 105 | 18.4 | 58 | 10.1 | 571 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 863 | 90.8 | 66 | 6.9 | 21 | 2.2 | 950 | 876 | 91.2 | 64 | 6.7 | 20 | 2.1 | 961 |
| Near | 75 | 44.4 | 66 | 39.1 | 28 | 16.6 | 169 | 75 | 45.7 | 66 | 39.9 | 24 | 14.5 | 165 |
| Poor | 22 | 29.3 | 21 | 28 | 32 | 42.7 | 75 | 19 | 28.1 | 21 | 31.6 | 27 | 40.4 | 68 |
| All | 960 | 80.4 | 153 | 12.8 | 81 | 6.8 | 1194 | 971 | 81.4 | 150 | 12.6 | 72 | 6.0 | 1193 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 119 | 72.6 | 31 | 18.9 | 14 | 8.5 | 164 | 136 | 74.6 | 28 | 15.5 | 18 | 9.8 | 183 |
| Near | 44 | 28.6 | 68 | 44.2 | 42 | 27.3 | 154 | 48 | 31.4 | 63 | 41.6 | 41 | 27.0 | 152 |
| Poor | 13 | 8.4 | 35 | 22.6 | 107 | 69 | 155 | 9 | 6.8 | 34 | 24.2 | 96 | 68.9 | 139 |
| All | 176 | 37.2 | 134 | 28.3 | 163 | 34.5 | 473 | 193 | 40.8 | 125 | 26.5 | 155 | 32.7 | 473 |

**Poverty in 1987**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1982** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 903 | 82.5 | 132 | 12.1 | 60 | 5.5 | 1095 | 1070 | 85.7 | 122 | 9.8 | 57 | 4.6 | 1248 |
| Near | 92 | 30.6 | 129 | 42.9 | 80 | 26.6 | 301 | 84 | 35.4 | 101 | 42.2 | 54 | 22.4 | 239 |
| Poor | 26 | 11.5 | 68 | 30 | 133 | 58.6 | 227 | 23 | 16.5 | 44 | 31.8 | 71 | 51.8 | 138 |
| All | 1021 | 62.9 | 329 | 20.3 | 273 | 16.8 | 1623 | 1175 | 72.4 | 266 | 16.4 | 182 | 11.2 | 1623 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 353 | 89.1 | 27 | 6.8 | 16 | 4 | 396 | 415 | 91.4 | 23 | 5.0 | 16 | 3.5 | 453 |
| Near | 30 | 33.7 | 35 | 39.3 | 24 | 27 | 89 | 23 | 38.9 | 25 | 41.7 | 12 | 19.4 | 60 |
| Poor | 8 | 11.4 | 19 | 27.1 | 43 | 61.4 | 70 | 8 | 18.7 | 9 | 22.7 | 24 | 58.7 | 42 |
| All | 391 | 70.5 | 81 | 14.6 | 83 | 15 | 555 | 446 | 80.3 | 57 | 10.3 | 52 | 9.4 | 555 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 292 | 83 | 42 | 11.9 | 18 | 5.1 | 352 | 346 | 86.8 | 39 | 9.7 | 14 | 3.5 | 398 |
| Near | 36 | 37.1 | 37 | 38.1 | 24 | 24.7 | 97 | 34 | 42.9 | 28 | 35.1 | 18 | 22.1 | 80 |
| Poor | 11 | 15.1 | 19 | 26 | 43 | 58.9 | 73 | 8 | 19.5 | 13 | 29.3 | 22 | 51.2 | 43 |
| All | 339 | 64.9 | 98 | 18.8 | 85 | 16.3 | 522 | 388 | 74.5 | 79 | 15.2 | 54 | 10.3 | 521 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 258 | 74.4 | 63 | 18.2 | 26 | 7.5 | 347 | 308 | 77.9 | 61 | 15.4 | 26 | 6.6 | 396 |
| Near | 26 | 22.6 | 57 | 49.6 | 32 | 27.8 | 115 | 26 | 26.4 | 47 | 48.3 | 25 | 25.3 | 97 |
| Poor | 7 | 8.3 | 30 | 35.7 | 47 | 56 | 84 | 6 | 11.3 | 21 | 40.2 | 26 | 48.5 | 53 |
| All | 291 | 53.3 | 150 | 27.5 | 105 | 19.2 | 546 | 340 | 62.3 | 129 | 23.7 | 76 | 14.0 | 546 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 796 | 86.1 | 91 | 9.8 | 37 | 4 | 924 | 813 | 86.9 | 86 | 9.2 | 36 | 3.8 | 935 |
| Near | 57 | 37.3 | 64 | 41.8 | 32 | 20.9 | 153 | 55 | 37.8 | 61 | 41.7 | 30 | 20.5 | 146 |
| Poor | 14 | 18.9 | 24 | 32.4 | 36 | 48.6 | 74 | 15 | 21.3 | 22 | 31.1 | 33 | 47.5 | 70 |
| All | 867 | 75.3 | 179 | 15.6 | 105 | 9.1 | 1151 | 883 | 76.7 | 169 | 14.7 | 99 | 8.6 | 1151 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 90 | 58.8 | 40 | 26.1 | 23 | 15 | 153 | 97 | 58.1 | 38 | 22.6 | 32 | 19.4 | 167 |
| Near | 35 | 24.1 | 62 | 42.8 | 48 | 33.1 | 145 | 44 | 29.9 | 58 | 39.5 | 45 | 30.6 | 146 |
| Poor | 12 | 7.9 | 44 | 28.9 | 96 | 63.2 | 152 | 10 | 7.2 | 44 | 32.1 | 83 | 60.7 | 137 |
| All | 137 | 30.4 | 146 | 32.4 | 167 | 37.1 | 450 | 150 | 33.4 | 140 | 31.0 | 160 | 35.6 | 450 |

**Poverty in 1989**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1987** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 671 | 81.4 | 121 | 14.7 | 32 | 3.9 | 824 | 793 | 83.0 | 132 | 13.8 | 31 | 3.2 | 956 |
| Near | 75 | 28.6 | 116 | 44.3 | 71 | 27.1 | 262 | 75 | 34.8 | 91 | 42.2 | 50 | 23.0 | 216 |
| Poor | 30 | 11.7 | 61 | 23.8 | 165 | 64.5 | 256 | 27 | 15.7 | 42 | 24.4 | 102 | 59.8 | 170 |
| All | 776 | 57.8 | 298 | 22.2 | 268 | 20 | 1342 | 894 | 66.6 | 266 | 19.8 | 183 | 13.6 | 1342 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 272 | 87.2 | 27 | 8.7 | 13 | 4.2 | 312 | 324 | 89.6 | 29 | 8.0 | 9 | 2.4 | 362 |
| Near | 21 | 33.3 | 30 | 47.6 | 12 | 19 | 63 | 20 | 42.3 | 20 | 42.3 | 7 | 15.4 | 48 |
| Poor | 10 | 12 | 16 | 19.3 | 57 | 68.7 | 83 | 7 | 15.2 | 10 | 21.0 | 31 | 63.8 | 48 |
| All | 303 | 66.2 | 73 | 15.9 | 82 | 17.9 | 458 | 352 | 76.8 | 59 | 12.9 | 47 | 10.3 | 458 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 234 | 82.4 | 43 | 15.1 | 7 | 2.5 | 284 | 275 | 84.7 | 43 | 13.2 | 7 | 2.0 | 325 |
| Near | 22 | 28.9 | 33 | 43.4 | 21 | 27.6 | 76 | 23 | 35.4 | 27 | 41.7 | 15 | 22.9 | 64 |
| Poor | 9 | 10.8 | 25 | 30.1 | 49 | 59 | 83 | 7 | 12.2 | 17 | 31.7 | 31 | 56.1 | 54 |
| All | 265 | 59.8 | 101 | 22.8 | 77 | 17.4 | 443 | 304 | 68.7 | 87 | 19.6 | 52 | 11.7 | 443 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 165 | 72.4 | 51 | 22.4 | 12 | 5.3 | 228 | 194 | 72.1 | 60 | 22.3 | 15 | 5.6 | 269 |
| Near | 32 | 26 | 53 | 43.1 | 38 | 30.9 | 123 | 33 | 31.1 | 45 | 42.9 | 27 | 26.1 | 105 |
| Poor | 11 | 12.2 | 20 | 22.2 | 59 | 65.6 | 90 | 12 | 18.3 | 14 | 20.3 | 41 | 61.4 | 67 |
| All | 208 | 47.2 | 124 | 28.1 | 109 | 24.7 | 441 | 239 | 54.0 | 119 | 27.0 | 84 | 19.0 | 441 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 584 | 83.9 | 95 | 13.6 | 17 | 2.4 | 696 | 593 | 84.1 | 95 | 13.4 | 18 | 2.5 | 706 |
| Near | 52 | 36.6 | 60 | 42.3 | 30 | 21.1 | 142 | 52 | 37.6 | 58 | 41.6 | 29 | 20.8 | 140 |
| Poor | 16 | 16.2 | 24 | 24.2 | 59 | 59.6 | 99 | 15 | 16.2 | 22 | 24.2 | 55 | 59.6 | 93 |
| All | 652 | 69.6 | 179 | 19.1 | 106 | 11.3 | 937 | 661 | 70.5 | 174 | 18.6 | 102 | 10.9 | 937 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 76 | 67.3 | 22 | 19.5 | 15 | 13.3 | 113 | 87 | 65.1 | 24 | 18.3 | 22 | 16.6 | 133 |
| Near | 22 | 18.6 | 55 | 46.6 | 41 | 34.7 | 118 | 24 | 22.1 | 49 | 44.6 | 36 | 33.2 | 109 |
| Poor | 14 | 8.9 | 37 | 23.6 | 106 | 67.5 | 157 | 19 | 13.3 | 36 | 24.7 | 90 | 62.0 | 146 |
| All | 112 | 28.9 | 114 | 29.4 | 162 | 41.8 | 388 | 130 | 33.6 | 109 | 28.1 | 149 | 38.3 | 388 |

**Poverty in 1987**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 673 | 81.3 | 106 | 12.8 | 49 | 5.9 | 828 | 824 | 83.1 | 112 | 11.3 | 56 | 5.6 | 992 |
| Near | 285 | 58.6 | 115 | 23.7 | 86 | 17.7 | 486 | 314 | 64.5 | 108 | 22.2 | 65 | 13.3 | 487 |
| Poor | 118 | 27.3 | 133 | 30.8 | 181 | 41.9 | 432 | 103 | 38.6 | 72 | 26.8 | 93 | 34.6 | 267 |
| All | 1076 | 61.6 | 354 | 20.3 | 316 | 18.1 | 1746 | 1241 | 71.1 | 292 | 16.7 | 213 | 12.2 | 1746 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 231 | 88.2 | 17 | 6.5 | 14 | 5.3 | 262 | 282 | 89.0 | 19 | 6.1 | 16 | 4.9 | 317 |
| Near | 131 | 73.2 | 28 | 15.6 | 20 | 11.2 | 179 | 148 | 80.2 | 23 | 12.7 | 13 | 7.1 | 185 |
| Poor | 53 | 33.1 | 46 | 28.8 | 61 | 38.1 | 160 | 44 | 45.4 | 23 | 23.3 | 31 | 31.3 | 98 |
| All | 415 | 69.1 | 91 | 15.1 | 95 | 15.8 | 601 | 476 | 79.2 | 66 | 10.9 | 59 | 9.9 | 601 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 216 | 82.4 | 29 | 11.1 | 17 | 6.5 | 262 | 267 | 84.2 | 32 | 10.2 | 18 | 5.6 | 318 |
| Near | 96 | 59.3 | 41 | 25.3 | 25 | 15.4 | 162 | 107 | 64.0 | 40 | 23.9 | 20 | 12.1 | 167 |
| Poor | 41 | 26.5 | 41 | 26.5 | 73 | 47.1 | 155 | 36 | 38.3 | 22 | 23.5 | 36 | 38.3 | 94 |
| All | 353 | 61 | 111 | 19.2 | 115 | 19.9 | 579 | 411 | 70.9 | 94 | 16.3 | 74 | 12.8 | 579 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 226 | 74.3 | 60 | 19.7 | 18 | 5.9 | 304 | 274 | 77.1 | 59 | 16.7 | 22 | 6.2 | 355 |
| Near | 58 | 40 | 46 | 31.7 | 41 | 28.3 | 145 | 59 | 43.9 | 45 | 33.5 | 31 | 22.6 | 135 |
| Poor | 24 | 20.5 | 46 | 39.3 | 47 | 40.2 | 117 | 22 | 29.5 | 27 | 35.6 | 26 | 34.8 | 75 |
| All | 308 | 54.4 | 152 | 26.9 | 106 | 18.7 | 566 | 355 | 62.7 | 132 | 23.3 | 79 | 14.0 | 567 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 608 | 83.5 | 83 | 11.4 | 37 | 5.1 | 728 | 626 | 83.9 | 81 | 10.9 | 39 | 5.2 | 746 |
| Near | 228 | 66.1 | 75 | 21.7 | 42 | 12.2 | 345 | 228 | 67.4 | 73 | 21.5 | 38 | 11.1 | 339 |
| Poor | 65 | 45.8 | 35 | 24.6 | 42 | 29.6 | 142 | 64 | 50.0 | 30 | 23.6 | 34 | 26.4 | 129 |
| All | 901 | 74.2 | 193 | 15.9 | 121 | 10 | 1215 | 919 | 75.6 | 186 | 15.3 | 111 | 9.1 | 1215 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 56 | 62.9 | 21 | 23.6 | 12 | 13.5 | 89 | 63 | 64.2 | 18 | 18.7 | 17 | 17.1 | 98 |
| Near | 51 | 38.3 | 38 | 28.6 | 44 | 33.1 | 133 | 55 | 39.1 | 41 | 29.0 | 45 | 31.9 | 141 |
| Poor | 49 | 17.2 | 98 | 34.4 | 138 | 48.4 | 285 | 49 | 18.1 | 89 | 33.1 | 131 | 48.8 | 268 |
| All | 156 | 30.8 | 157 | 31 | 194 | 38.3 | 507 | 167 | 32.9 | 148 | 29.2 | 192 | 37.9 | 507 |

## Poverty in 1982

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 910 | 86.6 | 98 | 9.3 | 43 | 4.1 | 1051 | 1089 | 87.9 | 107 | 8.7 | 43 | 3.5 | 1239 |
| Near | 414 | 68 | 129 | 21.2 | 66 | 10.8 | 609 | 446 | 72.5 | 111 | 18.1 | 58 | 9.4 | 615 |
| Poor | 133 | 27.5 | 162 | 33.5 | 188 | 38.9 | 483 | 114 | 38.7 | 92 | 31.4 | 88 | 29.9 | 294 |
| All | 1457 | 68 | 389 | 18.2 | 297 | 13.9 | 2143 | 1646 | 76.8 | 311 | 14.5 | 186 | 8.7 | 2143 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 278 | 89.4 | 21 | 6.8 | 12 | 3.9 | 311 | 336 | 90.4 | 24 | 6.3 | 12 | 3.3 | 371 |
| Near | 173 | 77.2 | 36 | 16.1 | 15 | 6.7 | 224 | 193 | 81.6 | 29 | 12.1 | 15 | 6.3 | 236 |
| Poor | 54 | 30.2 | 58 | 32.4 | 67 | 37.4 | 179 | 46 | 43.3 | 29 | 27.3 | 31 | 29.3 | 107 |
| All | 505 | 70.7 | 115 | 16.1 | 94 | 13.2 | 714 | 575 | 80.5 | 81 | 11.3 | 59 | 8.2 | 714 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 303 | 88.1 | 32 | 9.3 | 9 | 2.6 | 344 | 359 | 88.6 | 37 | 9.1 | 9 | 2.2 | 406 |
| Near | 138 | 69.7 | 41 | 20.7 | 19 | 9.6 | 198 | 149 | 73.4 | 36 | 17.6 | 18 | 9.0 | 202 |
| Poor | 43 | 27.6 | 52 | 33.3 | 61 | 39.1 | 156 | 36 | 39.5 | 29 | 32.6 | 25 | 27.9 | 90 |
| All | 484 | 69.3 | 125 | 17.9 | 89 | 12.8 | 698 | 544 | 77.9 | 102 | 14.6 | 52 | 7.5 | 698 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 329 | 83.1 | 45 | 11.4 | 22 | 5.6 | 396 | 393 | 85.2 | 47 | 10.2 | 21 | 4.6 | 461 |
| Near | 103 | 55.1 | 52 | 27.8 | 32 | 17.1 | 187 | 104 | 59.2 | 48 | 27.1 | 24 | 13.8 | 175 |
| Poor | 36 | 24.3 | 52 | 35.1 | 60 | 40.5 | 148 | 31 | 32.6 | 34 | 35.7 | 30 | 31.8 | 94 |
| All | 468 | 64 | 149 | 20.4 | 114 | 15.6 | 731 | 527 | 72.1 | 128 | 17.5 | 76 | 10.4 | 731 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 811 | 88.7 | 73 | 8 | 30 | 3.3 | 914 | 827 | 88.7 | 77 | 8.2 | 29 | 3.1 | 932 |
| Near | 319 | 74 | 81 | 18.8 | 31 | 7.2 | 431 | 320 | 75.0 | 75 | 17.6 | 32 | 7.4 | 427 |
| Poor | 77 | 48.7 | 44 | 27.8 | 37 | 23.4 | 158 | 71 | 49.5 | 41 | 28.4 | 32 | 22.1 | 143 |
| All | 1207 | 80.3 | 198 | 13.2 | 98 | 6.5 | 1503 | 1217 | 81.0 | 192 | 12.8 | 93 | 6.2 | 1503 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 80 | 69 | 23 | 19.8 | 13 | 11.2 | 116 | 87 | 67.6 | 26 | 20.2 | 16 | 12.2 | 128 |
| Near | 85 | 50.9 | 47 | 28.1 | 35 | 21 | 167 | 93 | 51.5 | 41 | 22.6 | 47 | 25.9 | 182 |
| Poor | 53 | 16.6 | 118 | 36.9 | 149 | 46.6 | 320 | 55 | 18.9 | 115 | 39.1 | 123 | 42.0 | 293 |
| All | 218 | 36.2 | 188 | 31.2 | 197 | 32.7 | 603 | 236 | 39.1 | 182 | 30.1 | 186 | 30.9 | 604 |

**Poverty in 1987**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1972** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 656 | 79.3 | 114 | 13.8 | 57 | 6.9 | 827 | 783 | 81.0 | 126 | 13.0 | 58 | 6.0 | 967 |
| Near | 154 | 45.7 | 106 | 31.5 | 77 | 22.8 | 337 | 168 | 54.2 | 87 | 28.0 | 55 | 17.8 | 310 |
| Poor | 56 | 19.8 | 95 | 33.6 | 132 | 46.6 | 283 | 45 | 26.3 | 55 | 32.2 | 71 | 41.5 | 171 |
| All | 866 | 59.8 | 315 | 21.8 | 266 | 18.4 | 1447 | 997 | 68.9 | 268 | 18.5 | 182 | 12.6 | 1447 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 199 | 88.1 | 17 | 7.5 | 10 | 4.4 | 226 | 240 | 89.9 | 17 | 6.4 | 10 | 3.7 | 267 |
| Near | 67 | 62.6 | 24 | 22.4 | 16 | 15 | 107 | 76 | 70.2 | 19 | 17.3 | 13 | 12.5 | 108 |
| Poor | 21 | 20.6 | 30 | 29.4 | 51 | 50 | 102 | 17 | 27.3 | 16 | 26.6 | 28 | 46.0 | 60 |
| All | 287 | 66 | 71 | 16.3 | 77 | 17.7 | 435 | 332 | 76.3 | 52 | 11.9 | 51 | 11.8 | 435 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 218 | 79.6 | 38 | 13.9 | 18 | 6.6 | 274 | 261 | 81.4 | 42 | 13.2 | 17 | 5.4 | 321 |
| Near | 56 | 50.9 | 29 | 26.4 | 25 | 22.7 | 110 | 61 | 59.2 | 25 | 24.4 | 17 | 16.4 | 103 |
| Poor | 17 | 17.3 | 38 | 38.8 | 43 | 43.9 | 98 | 14 | 25.0 | 22 | 37.5 | 22 | 37.5 | 58 |
| All | 291 | 60.4 | 105 | 21.8 | 86 | 17.8 | 482 | 336 | 69.8 | 90 | 18.6 | 56 | 11.6 | 482 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 239 | 73.1 | 59 | 18 | 29 | 8.9 | 327 | 282 | 74.5 | 66 | 17.5 | 30 | 8.0 | 379 |
| Near | 31 | 25.8 | 53 | 44.2 | 36 | 30 | 120 | 32 | 32.8 | 42 | 43.0 | 24 | 24.2 | 99 |
| Poor | 18 | 21.7 | 27 | 32.5 | 38 | 45.8 | 83 | 14 | 27.3 | 17 | 32.3 | 21 | 40.4 | 52 |
| All | 288 | 54.3 | 139 | 26.2 | 103 | 19.4 | 530 | 330 | 62.1 | 126 | 23.7 | 75 | 14.2 | 531 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 573 | 81.2 | 92 | 13 | 41 | 5.8 | 706 | 586 | 81.8 | 92 | 12.9 | 38 | 5.3 | 716 |
| Near | 121 | 57.1 | 55 | 25.9 | 36 | 17 | 212 | 121 | 58.5 | 53 | 25.6 | 33 | 15.9 | 207 |
| Poor | 29 | 34.9 | 24 | 28.9 | 30 | 36.1 | 83 | 27 | 34.6 | 24 | 30.8 | 27 | 34.6 | 78 |
| All | 723 | 72.2 | 171 | 17.1 | 107 | 10.7 | 1001 | 734 | 73.4 | 168 | 16.8 | 98 | 9.8 | 1000 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 71 | 65.7 | 21 | 19.4 | 16 | 14.8 | 108 | 76 | 62.0 | 23 | 18.8 | 23 | 19.2 | 122 |
| Near | 31 | 25.6 | 49 | 40.5 | 41 | 33.9 | 121 | 37 | 30.7 | 48 | 40.0 | 35 | 29.3 | 119 |
| Poor | 25 | 12.8 | 71 | 36.2 | 100 | 51 | 196 | 26 | 14.3 | 67 | 36.2 | 91 | 49.5 | 184 |
| All | 127 | 29.9 | 141 | 33.2 | 157 | 36.9 | 425 | 139 | 32.6 | 137 | 32.2 | 150 | 35.2 | 425 |

**Poverty in 1977**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1967** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 833 | 87.9 | 71 | 7.5 | 44 | 4.6 | 948 | 992 | 88.4 | 80 | 7.2 | 50 | 4.5 | 1123 |
| Near | 385 | 65.7 | 153 | 26.1 | 48 | 8.2 | 586 | 425 | 71.5 | 135 | 22.7 | 34 | 5.8 | 594 |
| Poor | 108 | 22.6 | 170 | 35.6 | 200 | 41.8 | 478 | 95 | 31.8 | 105 | 35.1 | 99 | 33.1 | 298 |
| All | 1326 | 65.9 | 394 | 19.6 | 292 | 14.5 | 2012 | 1509 | 75.0 | 320 | 15.9 | 183 | 9.1 | 2012 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 268 | 88.4 | 22 | 7.3 | 13 | 4.3 | 303 | 316 | 89.2 | 25 | 6.9 | 14 | 3.9 | 355 |
| Near | 146 | 68.5 | 49 | 23 | 18 | 8.5 | 213 | 170 | 75.2 | 44 | 19.4 | 12 | 5.5 | 226 |
| Poor | 38 | 22.5 | 58 | 34.3 | 73 | 43.2 | 169 | 32 | 30.7 | 34 | 32.7 | 38 | 36.7 | 103 |
| All | 452 | 66 | 129 | 18.8 | 104 | 15.2 | 685 | 518 | 75.6 | 103 | 15.0 | 64 | 9.4 | 685 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 272 | 90.7 | 18 | 6 | 10 | 3.3 | 300 | 323 | 90.3 | 23 | 6.3 | 12 | 3.4 | 358 |
| Near | 129 | 68.3 | 47 | 24.9 | 13 | 6.9 | 189 | 141 | 72.8 | 43 | 22.3 | 10 | 5.0 | 194 |
| Poor | 35 | 22.6 | 64 | 41.3 | 56 | 36.1 | 155 | 28 | 31.0 | 37 | 40.8 | 26 | 28.2 | 91 |
| All | 436 | 67.7 | 129 | 20 | 79 | 12.3 | 644 | 493 | 76.6 | 103 | 16.0 | 48 | 7.4 | 644 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 293 | 84.9 | 31 | 9 | 21 | 6.1 | 345 | 351 | 85.7 | 33 | 8.2 | 25 | 6.2 | 410 |
| Near | 110 | 59.8 | 57 | 31 | 17 | 9.2 | 184 | 112 | 65.6 | 47 | 27.6 | 12 | 6.8 | 171 |
| Poor | 35 | 22.7 | 48 | 31.2 | 71 | 46.1 | 154 | 33 | 32.9 | 33 | 32.2 | 36 | 34.9 | 102 |
| All | 438 | 64.1 | 136 | 19.9 | 109 | 16 | 683 | 497 | 72.8 | 113 | 16.6 | 72 | 10.6 | 683 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 722 | 88.5 | 57 | 7 | 37 | 4.5 | 816 | 741 | 88.3 | 60 | 7.2 | 38 | 4.5 | 839 |
| Near | 307 | 72.4 | 98 | 23.1 | 19 | 4.5 | 424 | 308 | 73.8 | 91 | 21.8 | 18 | 4.4 | 417 |
| Poor | 64 | 39.8 | 52 | 32.3 | 45 | 28 | 161 | 62 | 42.3 | 48 | 32.7 | 36 | 25.0 | 146 |
| All | 1093 | 78 | 207 | 14.8 | 101 | 7.2 | 1401 | 1111 | 79.3 | 198 | 14.1 | 92 | 6.6 | 1401 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 90 | 81.8 | 13 | 11.8 | 7 | 6.4 | 110 | 112 | 82.9 | 13 | 9.4 | 10 | 7.7 | 135 |
| Near | 72 | 46.2 | 55 | 35.3 | 29 | 18.6 | 156 | 84 | 50.0 | 54 | 32.2 | 30 | 17.8 | 168 |
| Poor | 41 | 13.2 | 116 | 37.3 | 154 | 49.5 | 311 | 33 | 12.3 | 108 | 39.7 | 131 | 48.0 | 273 |
| All | 203 | 35.2 | 184 | 31.9 | 190 | 32.9 | 577 | 230 | 39.8 | 176 | 30.5 | 171 | 29.7 | 577 |

## Poverty in 1982

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| **Poverty in 1972** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 942 | 87.5 | 94 | 8.7 | 41 | 3.8 | 1077 | 1120 | 89.3 | 95 | 7.5 | 40 | 3.2 | 1255 |
| Near | 217 | 53.6 | 121 | 29.9 | 67 | 16.5 | 405 | 224 | 60.0 | 100 | 26.8 | 49 | 13.2 | 373 |
| Poor | 74 | 21.8 | 105 | 31 | 160 | 47.2 | 339 | 56 | 29.2 | 62 | 32.1 | 75 | 38.7 | 193 |
| All | 1233 | 67.7 | 320 | 17.6 | 268 | 14.7 | 1821 | 1400 | 76.9 | 257 | 14.1 | 164 | 9.0 | 1821 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 256 | 88 | 23 | 7.9 | 12 | 4.1 | 291 | 310 | 90.2 | 21 | 6.0 | 13 | 3.8 | 344 |
| Near | 91 | 66.9 | 28 | 20.6 | 17 | 12.5 | 136 | 99 | 73.3 | 22 | 16.2 | 14 | 10.5 | 135 |
| Poor | 28 | 23.7 | 39 | 33.1 | 51 | 43.2 | 118 | 21 | 30.9 | 21 | 30.9 | 26 | 38.2 | 67 |
| All | 375 | 68.8 | 90 | 16.5 | 80 | 14.7 | 545 | 429 | 78.7 | 63 | 11.6 | 53 | 9.7 | 545 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 327 | 89.1 | 30 | 8.2 | 10 | 2.7 | 367 | 382 | 90.7 | 29 | 6.9 | 10 | 2.4 | 421 |
| Near | 67 | 53.2 | 40 | 31.7 | 19 | 15.1 | 126 | 70 | 60.1 | 34 | 29.5 | 12 | 10.4 | 116 |
| Poor | 27 | 24.8 | 28 | 25.7 | 54 | 49.5 | 109 | 20 | 31.5 | 18 | 27.8 | 26 | 40.7 | 65 |
| All | 421 | 69.9 | 98 | 16.3 | 83 | 13.8 | 602 | 472 | 78.4 | 81 | 13.5 | 49 | 8.1 | 602 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 359 | 85.7 | 41 | 9.8 | 19 | 4.5 | 419 | 427 | 87.6 | 44 | 9.1 | 16 | 3.3 | 488 |
| Near | 59 | 41.3 | 53 | 37.1 | 31 | 21.7 | 143 | 57 | 45.9 | 44 | 36.1 | 22 | 18.0 | 123 |
| Poor | 19 | 17 | 38 | 33.9 | 55 | 49.1 | 112 | 15 | 23.9 | 24 | 38.0 | 24 | 38.0 | 62 |
| All | 437 | 64.8 | 132 | 19.6 | 105 | 15.6 | 674 | 499 | 74.1 | 113 | 16.7 | 62 | 9.2 | 673 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 830 | 89.7 | 67 | 7.2 | 28 | 3 | 925 | 840 | 90.0 | 67 | 7.2 | 27 | 2.8 | 934 |
| Near | 158 | 63.5 | 65 | 26.1 | 26 | 10.4 | 249 | 158 | 63.8 | 63 | 25.5 | 27 | 10.7 | 248 |
| Poor | 36 | 38.7 | 28 | 30.1 | 29 | 31.2 | 93 | 33 | 38.2 | 29 | 33.8 | 24 | 27.9 | 86 |
| All | 1024 | 80.8 | 160 | 12.6 | 83 | 6.6 | 1267 | 1031 | 81.4 | 158 | 12.5 | 77 | 6.1 | 1267 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 93 | 70.5 | 26 | 19.7 | 13 | 9.8 | 132 | 111 | 72.9 | 26 | 17.2 | 15 | 10.0 | 152 |
| Near | 53 | 35.6 | 55 | 36.9 | 41 | 27.5 | 149 | 53 | 36.6 | 52 | 35.5 | 41 | 28.0 | 146 |
| Poor | 37 | 15.2 | 77 | 31.7 | 129 | 53.1 | 243 | 38 | 17.0 | 70 | 31.0 | 117 | 52.0 | 225 |
| All | 183 | 34.9 | 158 | 30.2 | 183 | 34.9 | 524 | 203 | 38.7 | 148 | 28.2 | 173 | 33.0 | 523 |

**Poverty In 1987**

| | Unweighted | | | | | | | Weighted | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All | Not Poor | | Near | | Poor | | All |
| | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Pct | Frequency | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency | Pct | Normalized Frequency |
| | | Po | verty | in 1 | 987 | | | | | | | | | |
| **Poverty in 1977** | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 724 | 79.8 | 113 | 12.5 | 70 | 7.7 | 907 | 875 | 83.2 | 109 | 10.4 | 67 | 6.3 | 1051 |
| Near | 92 | 33.6 | 101 | 36.9 | 81 | 29.6 | 274 | 91 | 41.5 | 79 | 35.8 | 50 | 22.6 | 220 |
| Poor | 34 | 16.6 | 71 | 34.6 | 100 | 48.8 | 205 | 29 | 25.6 | 37 | 32.9 | 47 | 41.5 | 114 |
| All | 850 | 61.3 | 285 | 20.6 | 251 | 18.1 | 1386 | 995 | 71.7 | 227 | 16.4 | 165 | 11.9 | 1387 |
| Age=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 281 | 87.5 | 23 | 7.2 | 17 | 5.3 | 321 | 336 | 90.8 | 21 | 5.8 | 13 | 3.4 | 370 |
| Near | 35 | 38.5 | 33 | 36.3 | 23 | 25.3 | 91 | 34 | 46.7 | 26 | 35.3 | 13 | 18.0 | 73 |
| Poor | 18 | 24 | 23 | 30.7 | 34 | 45.3 | 75 | 15 | 34.4 | 12 | 26.7 | 17 | 38.9 | 44 |
| All | 334 | 68.6 | 79 | 16.2 | 74 | 15.2 | 487 | 385 | 79.1 | 59 | 12.1 | 43 | 8.8 | 487 |
| Age=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 232 | 81.7 | 32 | 11.3 | 20 | 7 | 284 | 279 | 84.4 | 32 | 9.8 | 19 | 5.7 | 330 |
| Near | 35 | 38 | 31 | 33.7 | 26 | 28.3 | 92 | 35 | 46.8 | 23 | 31.0 | 17 | 22.2 | 75 |
| Poor | 7 | 11.1 | 21 | 33.3 | 35 | 55.6 | 63 | 6 | 18.2 | 11 | 33.8 | 16 | 48.1 | 34 |
| All | 274 | 62.4 | 84 | 19.1 | 81 | 18.5 | 439 | 320 | 72.9 | 67 | 15.3 | 52 | 11.8 | 439 |
| Age=3 | 3 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 211 | 69.9 | 58 | 19.2 | 33 | 10.9 | 302 | 259 | 73.8 | 57 | 16.1 | 35 | 10.1 | 351 |
| Near | 22 | 24.2 | 37 | 40.7 | 32 | 35.2 | 91 | 22 | 30.4 | 30 | 41.1 | 21 | 28.5 | 73 |
| Poor | 9 | 13.4 | 27 | 40.3 | 31 | 46.3 | 67 | 7 | 20.5 | 15 | 41.0 | 14 | 38.5 | 36 |
| All | 242 | 52.6 | 122 | 26.5 | 96 | 20.9 | 460 | 288 | 62.7 | 101 | 22.0 | 70 | 15.3 | 460 |
| Race=1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 644 | 83.6 | 80 | 10.4 | 46 | 6 | 770 | 665 | 84.5 | 77 | 9.8 | 45 | 5.7 | 787 |
| Near | 65 | 45.5 | 50 | 35 | 28 | 19.6 | 143 | 65 | 47.9 | 49 | 35.7 | 22 | 16.4 | 136 |
| Poor | 19 | 31.1 | 21 | 34.4 | 21 | 34.4 | 61 | 18 | 33.3 | 17 | 31.5 | 19 | 35.2 | 53 |
| All | 728 | 74.7 | 151 | 15.5 | 95 | 9.8 | 974 | 747 | 76.7 | 142 | 14.6 | 85 | 8.7 | 974 |
| Race=2 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Not Poor | 68 | 55.3 | 31 | 25.2 | 24 | 19.5 | 123 | 74 | 55.5 | 30 | 22.4 | 30 | 22.1 | 134 |
| Near | 27 | 20.9 | 50 | 38.8 | 52 | 40.3 | 129 | 27 | 20.4 | 47 | 35.7 | 58 | 43.8 | 132 |
| Poor | 15 | 10.5 | 50 | 35 | 78 | 54.5 | 143 | 17 | 13.1 | 47 | 36.6 | 65 | 50.3 | 130 |
| All | 110 | 27.8 | 131 | 33.2 | 154 | 39 | 395 | 118 | 29.9 | 124 | 31.5 | 153 | 38.7 | 395 |

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