URBAN INSTITUTE · ELEVATE · THE · DEBAT

.

.



Conceptualizing and Measuring Poverty

Julia B. Isaacs

Urban Institute Senior Fellow and IRP Research Affiliate

June 12, 2018

What is poverty? How do we measure it?

- Three general approaches
 - Absolute
 - Relative
 - Capabilities & Well-being
- Two primary measures in the US
 - Official
 - Supplemental Poverty Measure
 - WI Poverty Measure
- Measuring poverty dynamics

- URBAN INSTITUTE

Measuring poverty

- Poverty is a social indicator, a status determined by a comparison of needs vs. resources for individuals in a family unit
 - Needs: How do you set the poverty line?
 - Resources: What do you include in the income/package?
 - Cash earnings
 - Pre-tax, post-tax
 - Cash benefits
 - Non-cash benefits

 Over what family unit? (& how adjust for family size & economies of scale)

Definitions of Poverty (1)

- <u>Absolute poverty</u>
 - Income below some dollar amount
 - Used in the U.S.
 - ~\$25,000 for family of 4, in 2017
 - Advantages
 - Easy to measure
 - Easy to see trends
 - Disadvantages
 - What about changes in standard of living?
 - Cannot do international comparisons



Example 1 : US poverty 1959-2014



• URBAN INSTITUTE

Definitions of Poverty (2)

- <u>Relative Poverty</u>
 - Income below some point on the distribution
 - Used in the rest of the developed world
 - Below half of median income is one approach (~\$29,500 in US in 2017)
 - Advantages
 - Reflects that individuals live in social contexts (inequality; social distance)
 - Allows for international comparison
 - Disadvantages
 - Can never "end" poverty
 - No sense of need



Example 2: Child poverty in 29 countries*



* Child lives in family with income less than half of the median family income for the country Source: UNICEF Office for Research on Children, 2013)

URBAN INSTITUTE

Definitions of Poverty (3)

- Poverty as low capabilities
 - Low levels of health, education, well-being
 - Experiences of hardship
 - Advantages
 - Better measure of people's actual life circumstances
 - Disadvantages
 - Wellbeing and/or hardship is hard to measure
 - Expectations of capabilities change over time
 - e.g. health, education



Example 3a: Children of "low family affluence" *



*Scale of "low family affluence" based on # of family cars, family vacations, computers, and whether child has own bedroom.

Source: UNICEF Office for Research on Children, 2013)

Example 3b: Food insecurity

Trends in prevalence rates of food insecurity and very low food security in U.S. households, 1995-2016



Note: Prevalence rates for 1996 and 1997 were adjusted for the estimated effects of differences in data collection screening protocols used in those years.

Source: USDA, Economic Research Service, using data from Current Population Survey Food Security Supplement.

• • **U R B A N** • I N S T I T U T E •

Measuring poverty in the U.S.

- Poverty is a social indicator, a status determined by a comparison of needs vs. resources for individuals in a family unit
 - Needs: How do you set the poverty line?
 - Resources: What do you include in the income/package?
 - Cash earnings
 - Pre-tax, post-tax
 - Cash benefits
 - Non-cash benefits

 Over what family unit? (& how adjust for family size & economies of scale)

U.S. Official Poverty Measure

- Absolute approach (Approach #1)
- Compare income to a defined poverty threshold
 Set in 1963
 - **Minimal** nutritional requirements of a typical American family,
 - Multiplied the costs of low food diet by 3
 - Adjusted for family size, # of children, urban/rural
- Compare gross (pre-tax) income to thresholds
- Family units are married parents and children
- Only adjustment over time is to adjust poverty thresholds for inflation (CPI)

Current U.S. Poverty Thresholds

- Thresholds for official measure are the 1963 thresholds, adjusted for 50+ years of inflation
 - •1963 \$3,130 (family of 4)
 - 36 million people
 - 20% of population
 - •2016 ~ \$24,560 (family of 4)
 - 41 million people
 - 13 % of population
- Do these amounts buy the same things in both periods?

Criticisms of U.S. Official Poverty Measure

- Thresholds not adjusted for changes in standard of living over time
 - not adjusted for geographic cost of living adjustments
- Resources do not include non-cash benefits (e.g., SNAP) or tax credits (e.g., EITC)
 - Do not account for costs of payroll & income taxes, medical expenses, child care & other work-related expenses
- Many other more detailed criticisms in 1995 NAS report
- 2010 adoption of federal Supplemental Poverty Measure for research purposes

• • URBAN • INSTITUTE •

Two Poverty Measures

	Official Measure	Supplemental Poverty Measure
Threshold (Economic need)	Official poverty line 3x cost of minimum food diet in 1963, adjusted for prices (CPI) only	 Basic expenses (food, clothing, shelter, utilities x 1.2) averaged over 5 yrs Adjusted for geographic costs of living differences
Resources	Gross (before tax) cash income Includes cash government benefits like social security, workers comp., and unemployment ins.	More Family Resources Cash income as in left panel: +/- Taxes & tax credits + Non-cash benefits (inc. SNAP) - Work expenses (inc. childcare) - Out-of-pocket medical expenses - Child support paid to another family
Family Unit	Census "family" unit	Expanded Family Unit Census family + unmarried partner & foster children;

SPM rates differ from official rates (poverty by state)



Based on 3 years of CPS data (2011-2013). Source: Short (2014). Supplemental Poverty Measure: 2013.

••**URBAN**•INSTITUTE•

SPM shows lower child poverty rate & higher elderly poverty rate than the official measure



Source: Short (2015). Supplemental Poverty Measure: 214 (Census Bureau)

- URBAN INSTITUTE

Child and Elderly Poverty in Wisconsin in 2013, Under Different Poverty Measures



Note: All poverty rates measured with WPM thresholds and include adjustments for work expenses. Source: IRP tabulations of 2013 ACS data. (IPUMS)

URBAN INSTITUTE

Child Poverty Rates in Wisconsin under Different Poverty Measures, 2008–2016



Effects of Taxes, Public Benefits, and Expenses on Child Poverty in Wisconsin, 2008–2013



Source: IRP tabulations using 2008-2012 American Community Survey data.

Note: SNAP = Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. To simplify the figure, effects averaged over two years are shown for 2008–2009 and 2010–2011; for year-to-year impacts in 2008–2011, see earlier reports.

• **U R B A N** • I N S T I T U T E •

Both Measures Valuable

• Official measure

- Used as basis of eligibility for assistance, & for distributing funds across states
- Easy to track poverty over time (CPS trend back to 1959)
- Readily available at state, county, level (ACS data)
- Can measure (crudely) on any survey that gathers income information & family size
- Supplemental Poverty Measure (for research purposes)
 - More comprehensive measure
 - Better at capturing effect of government benefits
 - Threshold is tied to current conditions (& geography)
 - Requires MUCH more data, hard to estimate unless using CPS, (hard to implement in other survey research)

Measuring Poverty Dynamics

- How does monthly poverty differ from annual poverty? How many people are poor once (for a two-month spell) over the course of a year?
- How many children are poor at least one year in their 18-year child hood? For 9 or more years?

Poverty rate under different time frames (SIPP data)



Source: Edwards, Dynamics of Economic Well-being: Poverty, 2009-2012 (Census Bureau, Jan 2014) Notes: Using methods of official poverty rate

• • URBAN • INSTITUTE

Poverty rate under different time frames (SIPP data)



Source: Edwards, Dynamics of Economic Well-being: Poverty, 2009-2012 (Census Bureau, Jan 2014) Notes: Ever poor means at least two months of poverty in one year

- URBAN INSTITUTE

Poverty rate under different time frames (SIPP data)



Source: Edwards, Dynamics of Economic Well-being: Poverty, 2009-2012 (Census Bureau, Jan 2014) Notes: Ever poor means at least two months of poverty in a year.

URBAN INSTITUTE

39% of children poor at least once before age 18



Source: Ratcliffe, 2015, based on PSID data for children born between 1968 and 1989. Persistently poor- poor at least half the years from birth to 17. Ever-poor, not persistently are poor at least one year but less than half the years.

- URBAN INSTITUTE

75% of black children ever poor



Source: Ratcliffe, 2015, based on PSID data for children born between 1968 and 1989. Persistently poor- poor at least half the years from birth to 17. Ever-poor, not persistently are poor at least one year but less than half the years.

• • URBAN • INSTITUTE

Recap

- Different ways to measure poverty
 - Absolute
 - Relative
 - Capabilities & Well-being
- Two primary measures in the US
 - Official
 - Supplemental Poverty Measure
 - Results differ (by state, by age)
- People move in and out of poverty

• • URBAN • INSTITUTE •