A Guide to Interpreting Recent Developments to Poverty Measures in the United States

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In 2012, Johnson and Smeeding provided *A Consumer's Guide to Interpreting various U.S. Poverty Measures* via the Institute for Research on Poverty's *Fast Focus* series. The purpose of this guide was to help consumers of United States poverty statistics understand the key differences between various measures such as the Official Poverty Measure (OPM), the new (at the time) Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM), and state and local measures inspired by the National Academies of Sciences 1995 report on improving poverty measurement (National Research Council, 1995). A lot has changed in the decade plus since Johnson and Smeeding's original guide. The purpose of the present guide is to explain the differences between current measures while also providing updates on recent developments in the field. These include updates to the SPM between its inception and today, as well as proposed changes from a 2023 National Academies panel on further improving the measurement of income poverty in the United States. We also provide a short review of other poverty measures including sub-annual (i.e., monthly) measures; measures that harness various administrative data sources; and measures based on assets, consumption, and material deprivation. Lastly, we discuss the ways that social policy analysts have used SPM measures to assess the effects of government policies and programs related to poverty in the United States.

Defining Poverty: Current Debates and Historical Context

When thinking about low-income status, how do we determine whether a family is experiencing poverty? Most would agree that we need to determine a threshold (i.e., a poverty line indicating the minimum level of resources needed) and a total level of resources (or income) to compare it to. If we focus first on income-based measures, many agree that a proper definition of income should include all earnings from work, other cash income from government programs or market sources, resources from in-kind benefits like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP (formerly known as food stamps), and net changes in income from federal and state income taxes (including tax credits) and payroll taxes.

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But what about health care benefits from an employer or from the government in the form of Medicaid or Medicare? Should homeowners without mortgages be treated differently than renters or those with mortgages? And what about people who need to pay for childcare in order to work or go to school?

All these situations suggest different levels of both needs and resources. In fact, all families and households may face their own particular and specific needs. But we can't have a different definition of poverty for everyone in every conceivable circumstance. The key is how to decide what factors are included in the measure of needs, or a threshold, and what factors are included in the measure of resources, or income.

The OPM and the SPM

The Census Bureau used to produce a joint report every September summarizing income, poverty (calculated using the Official Poverty Measure, or OPM), and health insurance coverage in the United States. Poverty statistics measured using the Supplemental Poverty Measure, or SPM, were released in a separate report. The Bureau now releases all poverty estimates—both OPM and SPM—in a single annual report called *Poverty in the United States* (e.g., Shrider & Bijou, 2025). This facilitates more direct comparisons of levels and trends in poverty across the Census Bureau's measures. Making sense of the statistics in the report and the different trends across measures requires a basic understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of each measure. Below, we detail the main conceptual differences between the OPM and SPM, comparing across measures' definitions of poverty units, poverty thresholds, and resources.

Poverty Units A "poverty unit" is the group of people assumed to be sharing resources for determining poverty status. Under the OPM, the poverty unit is the family—defined as those living together and related by blood, marriage, or adoption. Thus, a married couple living together with three biological children would be considered a family, and that family would be the poverty unit thought to be sharing resources with one another. If one spouse earned $20,000, the other spouse earned $10,000, and the three children had no income, these five people would be assumed to be sharing $30,000 annually. That $30,000 would be compared against that family's poverty line (or threshold) when determining poverty status. Under the OPM, if that family lived with an unrelated married couple—say a couple who was renting a room from the first family—that married couple would be a second poverty unit residing in the same household.

Summary of Differences between Official, Supplemental, and Proposed "Principal" Poverty Measures in the United States

	Official Poverty Measure (OPM)	Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM)	Principle Poverty Measure (PPM)
Resource Sharing Units	Census family—Those living together who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption	"SPM family"—Census family plus cohabiting partners and their children, foster children, and any unrelated children under the age of 15	Household—All household members in the residence
Thresholds	Derived from food spending and household budgets in the 1960s, updated annually for changes in prices (i.e., inflation) Vary by age of householder and number of adults and children in the family Do not vary across geographies	Derived from consumer spending on food, clothing, shelter, utilities (including internet and phone), plus a multiplier to account for other necessities Vary by number of adults and children in the family, housing status, and number of adults and children in the SPM family Varies across geographies for differences in rents	Derived from consumer spending on food, clothing, and utilities (including internet and phone), plus a multiplier to account for other necessities; shelter needs estimated from Fair Market Rents (incorporating differences by geography), and owner's costs Cost of health insurance added to thresholds Vary by number of adults and children in the household; do not vary by housing status Cost of adequate childcare added to thresholds for households with children under the age of 13 and children with disabilities
Income/Resource Definition	Before-tax cash income	After-tax cash income (inclusive of refundable tax credits) plus the value of select in-kind or near-cash benefits and minus the value of non-discretionary expenses on work, child support, medical care, and childcare	After-tax cash income (inclusive of refundable tax credits) plus the value of select in-kind or near-cash benefits and minus the value of non-discretionary expenses on work and child support; implicit rent added for homeowners; resource value of health insurance and childcare added to income/resources
Treatment of Medical Care and Childcare	None	Out-of-pocket expenses on medical care and childcare expenses subtracted from income/resources	Medical and childcare needs counted in the thresholds; value of health insurance and childcare subsidies added to income/resources

For the SPM, the Census Bureau made several changes to the determination of poverty units—essentially broadening the definition of a family—although the Bureau does not use that descriptor. The *first change* is treating unmarried, cohabiting partners as equivalent to married partners. Under the OPM, if the couple in the family described above were not married, one member of the couple would be designated as living in a second poverty unit, and the couple's respective earnings would not be summed when determining poverty status. Under the SPM, the couple would be treated equivalently to a married couple and would be assumed to share resources. This would also include any relatives of the unmarried, cohabiting partners who the Bureau could identify in the data as sharing the place of residence.

The *second change* to poverty units using the SPM is including foster children under the age of 22 as part of the unit. Under the OPM these foster children are simply excluded from the calculation of poverty status. Under the SPM, however, these foster children are treated the same as other children of the primary[1] poverty unit in the household (see Pac et al., 2017, for an examination of poverty among foster children under the SPM).

[1] The primary unit is the unit of the Census' "householder," typically the person in the household who holds the lease or mortgage on the housing unit.

The *third change* is similar to the second. Occasionally there are children in a household who do not seem to be related to anyone in the main poverty unit. These children are also typically excluded from the calculation of poverty status under the OPM. Using the SPM, these children (if they are under 15 years old) are considered attached to the primary poverty unit—which makes the implicit assumption that the adults in that unit are caring for and sharing resources with those children.

It is worth noting that poverty measures are based on surveys that sample dwellings (or households). Institutional populations such as those in prisons, jails, military barracks, nursing homes, or college dormitories, and those experiencing homelessness, are not counted by either poverty measure.

Poverty Thresholds Poverty thresholds are the monetary values of resources (i.e., income) below which a family is deemed to be in poverty, or above which they are deemed to not be in poverty. These are sometimes also colloquially referred to as the "poverty line." Threshold levels are important for determining the level of poverty in a given time period, and how the thresholds are updated is important for determining long-term trends in poverty.

The OPM uses poverty thresholds developed in the 1960s. They are based off the food costs of a minimally adequate diet at the time, as well as information about how the costs of that diet factored into families' overall budgets (Orshansky, 1965). These thresholds, once established by law, have since been updated for changes in inflation.[2] Thresholds vary primarily by the number of adults and children in the family, with some variation depending on whether the householder—generally the person on the household's lease or mortgage—is over 65 or not. Thresholds are the same regardless of what area of the country a family lives in. That is, they do not account for variation in the costs of living across the country—a common critique of the OPM's thresholds.

Another critique of the OPM's thresholds is that they are outdated—they don't represent a contemporary bundle of necessities required by U.S. families to meet basic needs. In an attempt to modernize poverty assessments, the SPM takes a different approach to setting thresholds. First, the thresholds are based on contemporary expenditures for necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, and utilities, including internet and telephone.[3] Second, the cost of

[2] Note that the official poverty lines differ slightly from the national "poverty guidelines." Under a 1981 appropriations bill, HHS is required annually to take Census Bureau poverty-line figures, adjust them for inflation, and create guidelines in January that agencies and states use to determine who is eligible for various types of assistance. These include tens of millions of people enrolled in Medicaid, the Children's Health Insurance Program, insurance plans sold in Affordable Care Act marketplaces, SNAP, and other food programs—all of which depend on the poverty guidelines to determine eligibility (see ASPE, 2025). The guidelines are essentially simplified poverty thresholds generally applicable to, say, four-person families or households rather than thresholds that differ between four person families or households that vary by the numbers of adults and children and age of householder. These guidelines also vary geographically and are higher in Alaska and Hawai'i to account for the higher costs of living in those two states.

[3] An alternative to this approach is to set a modernized threshold in a specific year and update it year to year just for changes in prices; this is sometimes referred to as an "anchored" threshold (see Wimer et al., 2016; Wimer et al., 2025, for trends in anchored poverty using the SPM; and Kearney & Sullivan, 2025, for an alternative approach that includes trends in consumption poverty). Appendix Figure A1 shows the differences in long-term trends when using different approaches to illustrate the point

those necessities is adjusted for the number of adults and children in the SPM family unit according to a different formula than under the OPM—employing what's called an "equivalence scale," or an adjustment for the needs of families with different sizes and compositions. For a fuller discussion of the SPM's thresholds, see Garner and Munoz (2021).

SPM poverty thresholds also account for variations across the country in costs of living, more specifically the costs of rental housing across metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas. The portion of the SPM poverty thresholds representing shelter and utilities costs are adjusted upwards (or downwards) every year by the relative costs of rents for adequate housing (i.e., housing units with kitchens and plumbing) across geographic areas. Thus, poverty thresholds under the SPM are higher in high-cost areas like San Francisco and New York City, but lower in lower-cost areas like the Mississippi Delta and rural South Dakota. While SPM poverty thresholds vary with costs of living, most federal and state benefits do not, meaning that benefits will likely reduce poverty by a greater degree in rural and low-cost areas (Wimer et al., 2018; Hardy et al., 2023).

Poverty Resources Perhaps the biggest difference between the OPM and the SPM is in the definition of resources that are counted when determining whether a family is above or below the poverty threshold. Under the OPM, resources only include cash income before taxes. This includes earnings, other cash income such as alimony, rental property income, social security income, cash welfare, and anything else that families receive in cash and before accounting for taxes. This definition ignores many resources and costs that families face when meeting their routine expenses. The SPM tries to rectify this by accounting for: (1) resources available from "near cash" in-kind benefits, such as food, housing, and energy assistance not received by families in cash; (2) resources that add or subtract from incomes through the tax system, whether they be from taxes that families have to pay such as income and payroll taxes, or tax credits that some families receive as a refund at tax time, like the Earned Income Tax Credit or the refundable part of the Child Tax Credit; and (3) non-discretionary expenses, such as medical, work, and child care expenses that reduce families' disposable incomes. The SPM thus tries to account for a more comprehensive bundle of resources when comparing families' incomes to the poverty line.

Changes to the SPM since its Inception

The SPM was a culmination of decades of debate about how to better measure poverty in the United States. But from its inception it was intended to be a measure that would evolve as research and data improved. Several changes have been made to the SPM since it was first used by the Census Bureau in 2011 (Short, 2011). Some of these changes are to the measure itself and some are to the underlying data from the Current Population Survey's Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS-ASEC).

that while these choices matter for estimating levels of poverty in any given year, they generally produce consistent downward trends over time.

Regarding the underlying data, two major changes are notable. First, the CPS-ASEC underwent a redesign in 2014 (for calendar year 2013) where the survey's questions about income and income sources changed (Semega & Welniak, 2015; Pascale et al., 2016; Poverty Statistics Branch, 2025). Second, the U.S. Census instituted a revision to its processing system for creating income variables used to calculate poverty status in the 2018 ASEC survey, for incomes in 2017 (Edwards & Creamer, 2019; Rothbaum, 2019; Poverty Statistics Branch, 2025).

In 2021, the Census made several additional changes to the SPM methodology and implemented these going back to 2019. Changes included only a relatively small adjustment on the resources side of the measure—allowing values for Women, Infants & Children (WIC) programs to vary across states instead of using national valuations. Changes on the threshold side were more numerous and included adjustments to the percentile of expenditures on which the thresholds are based, the addition of home internet expenses, a change to the inflation adjustment used to bring data based on five years of expenditures up to the current year, and including in-kind benefits in the thresholds to better match the resource measure. Other smaller changes to the thresholds also occurred. For a fuller discussion, see Burns and Fox (2021). For complete technical information on the SPM, see Poverty Statistics Branch (2025) and Garner and Fox (2019).

The net result of these changes involves three breaks in the SPM poverty series across the decade, one in each of the calendar years 2013, 2017, and 2019. These breaks make direct year-to-year changes in SPM poverty difficult to establish with consistency and precision. Researchers must either show these breaks in series when presenting poverty trends or make some adjustments in the underlying microdata. Regarding changes in the thresholds, researchers are able to merge a consistent set of revised thresholds produced by the Bureau of Labor Statistics using the new methodology.

Towards a "Principal Poverty Measure"?

In 2023, a National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine panel released its report on further improving the measure of poverty in the United States (National Academies, 2023). One of its first recommendations was to rename the SPM the Principal Poverty Measure (PPM), recognizing the fact that the SPM has in many ways supplanted the official measure in understanding year-to-year changes in poverty as well as policies' effects on the poverty rate. The 2023 National Academies report also offered several recommended changes, the largest of which involved changes to the measure's treatment of health care, child care, and housing. They also recommended moving to the full household as the unit of income-sharing for measuring poverty.

The 1995 National Research Council report clearly stated that poverty is about economic deprivation—not having sufficient resources to purchase the goods and services that maintain a minimally adequate standard of living. To measure poverty, the cost of obtaining a well-defined bundle of basic needs must be established. While the SPM focused on food, clothing, shelter and utilities, the PPM extends this bundle to include health care and child care—which were treated as non-discretionary expenses (to be subtracted from resources) in the SPM. As such, the PPM thresholds are thought to represent the full range of expenses necessary to keep a family or household out of poverty.

While the SPM is widely considered superior to the OPM for the purpose of tracking the poverty status of U.S. Americans with low incomes, the PPM's accounting of medical expenses attempts to remedy what some see as miscalculations in the SPM (National Academies, 2023; Korenman & Remler, 2016). For example, the SPM may treat an uninsured family as not in poverty if they have few medical expenses—even when their medical expenses may be low precisely because they lack sufficient resources. However, the PPM might categorize the same family as living in poverty, under the assumption that they cannot afford to pay for health insurance. Other families may look worse off than they are given the way the SPM handles medical expenses. For example, older adults may be financing high health care expenses through assets they've accumulated earlier in life, potentially making them look poorer than they are. The PPM's recommended approach is to consider the cost of health insurance as a need embodied in the poverty threshold. Healthcare subsidies such as Medicare or Medicaid can thus be valued against this need. These recommendations are inspired by the Health Inclusive Poverty Measure (HIPM; Korenman & Remler, 2016) which embeds the cost of an Affordability Care Act "Silver Plan" (or a Medicare Advantage plan for older adults) as the need for health insurance in the poverty threshold. Doing so considers the monetary value of health insurance people have as resources available to meet their needs.

A similar potential for miscalculation concerns childcare. The SPM assumes that only working families require childcare, which is considered a work expense. Some families may not be able to pay for the childcare they need, given their low incomes, while other families may look poorer than they are if they are drawing on resources other than their income from employment. The PPM assumes that all families with children under age 13 require childcare (as well as older children with disabilities). The PPM would also account for the impact of childcare subsidies, which can be a substantial transfer to families, adding to the ability of the measure to estimate the impact of government transfer programs. The committee recommended developing a procedure similar to the Health Inclusive Poverty Measure to handle childcare. That is, finding a way to estimate childcare needs for families with children in the threshold, and then valuing the child care that people buy or use as resources available to meet that need.

The PPM recommendations also extended beyond healthcare and childcare. Regarding housing, the committee recommended basing housing needs in the thresholds on the Department of Housing and Urban Development's Fair Market Rents. It also recommended doing away with the SPM's separate thresholds by housing tenure (i.e., owners with and without mortgages and renters) and changing the way implicit subsidies received by owners without mortgages are calculated (i.e., because these owners have substantially lower housing costs, the committee argues that they are receiving implicit rental income that should be counted as resources rather than receiving a lower poverty threshold). The committee also recommended that poverty status be calculated only at the household level rather than allowing for multiple poverty units within a given household.

As of this writing, the Census Bureau is conducting ongoing research on these recommendations and undertaking evaluation of whether and when to make such changes.[4]

Measuring Policy Impacts on Poverty

The SPM—and the PPM, if instituted—allows one to determine the redistributive effects of programs and policies on poverty. Rainwater and Smeeding (2003; see also Gornick & Smeeding, 2018) utilized a conceptual approach that households rely on distinct sources of income to avoid material hardship. Those income sources include: the labor market, or own household resources—often termed "market income"; private transfers from family members living in other households; and public sector support from the state, transfers received, net of taxes paid.

Market income might be affected by "pre-distribution" policies like minimum wages, non-compete clauses, or overtime pay provisions (Gornick & Smeeding, 2018). Private transfers across poverty units tend to be small, other than the economies-of-scale benefits of family members living together. Public taxes and transfers, however, are very important. The Census SPM series separates out after-tax and transfer income from market income annually (see Burns & DiTommaso, 2024). Other analysts have used this same strategy to separate program and policy effects from market income effects using a historical version of the SPM produced by researchers at Columbia University (e.g., Fox et al., 2015; Wimer et al., 2016; with updated estimates recently published by Wimer et al., 2025); these analyses find that the major reason poverty has declined in the United States over the past 50 years is an increase in income-support policies, not a major rise in market incomes.

Researchers have also developed the capability to estimate the effects of refundable tax credits and cash and noncash transfers in reducing state-level poverty based on the SPM (see Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2025; Wilson et al., 2025, for examples).

One common critique of such estimates is that they rely upon survey data that has been known to increasingly undercount income from taxes and transfers, and which may suffer from other sources of misreporting (see e.g., Meyer & Sullivan, 2012; Ziliak, 2025 for treatment of these subjects over the long-term). This has potentially important implications for understanding both the levels and trends of poverty both in a given year and over the long term.[5] The past decade

[4] In addition to researchers at Census and the Bureau of Labor Statistics (e.g., DiTommaso, Landivar, & Silwal, 2025) various academic researchers have also been experimenting with empirically applying some of the recommendations (see Hyson, Korenman, & Gould-Ellen, 2025; Wimer et al., 2025)

[5] See also Burkhauser et al., (2024), who create what they call a "full-income poverty measure" finding poverty rates as low as 1.6% in recent years, though this stems largely from counting the value of health insurance in resources and comparing those resources to an absolute poverty threshold from the early 1960s.

has also seen attempts to improve survey estimates and thus measures of poverty by linking various survey and administrative data—see for example the Comprehensive Income Dataset and the Census Bureau's own National Experimental Well-Being Survey (Bee et al., 2025; Medalia et al., 2019). These projects involve several choices that need to be made when survey and administrative data disagree; the resolution of those choices then have implications for both levels and trends of poverty over time. The 2023 National Academies panel recommending the PPM also suggested further research and development of survey and administrative data linkages going forward.

Policies' Impacts in Close to Real Time

Regardless of the measure of income poverty and policies' effects, a common problem is the timeliness of annual estimates. There is a considerable lag between the release of annual poverty estimates and the time period to which they pertain. For example, in September of 2025 we learned the annual income poverty estimates for calendar year 2024 (Shrider & Bijou, 2025). These are the most timely estimates available until the following September, a lag of about 18 months between the release of new estimates and the calendar year that they reference. This hampers our ability not just to understand levels of need, but also how well policy is doing in reducing that need.

To fill this gap, two groups of researchers created monthly estimates of poverty that can be released with considerably shorter lag time, just a few months. Estimates from these approaches garnered significant media and research attention during the COVID-19 pandemic, when both the economy and the public policy landscape were shifting rapidly. The two approaches differed methodologically, however. One approach, by researchers Jeehoon Han, Bruce Meyer, and James Sullivan (Han, Meyer, & Sullivan, 2022), harnessed data from the monthly Current Population Survey which includes a question about total annual income over the past 12 months. The question includes categorical responses about total family income in the past 12 months. The research team converts this question into a continuous measure, compares it to standard poverty thresholds, and tracks its change month to month. The second approach, by researchers affiliated with the Columbia University Center on Poverty and Social Policy (including the first author of this publication), models monthly poverty rates based on transformed past annual data and the relationship between demographic and economic characteristics and poverty in that data and those same characteristics in recently released survey data (Parolin et al., 2022).

The first approach estimates annual poverty rates, but on a rolling monthly basis (i.e., a January 2025 poverty rate represents poverty from January 2024 to December 2024, a February 2025 poverty rate represents poverty from February 2024 to January 2025, etc.); the second approach estimates monthly poverty rates (i.e., whether monthly income falls below 1/12th of the annual poverty threshold) using a modeling approach. As such, care must be taken when comparing results jointly, and there is significant disagreement between the research groups on the meaning and interpretation of month-to-month trends. Nevertheless, both approaches are an attempt to provide more timely assessments of trends in poverty (and policies' effects), a critical shortcoming of conventional poverty statistics relying only on annual income surveys. Researchers at the Census Bureau have also been experimenting with the creation of such measures (Silwal, 2024) in the vein of the Columbia group's approach.

Complementary Economic and Social Poverty Measures

While this guide's primary focus is on income poverty, there have long been other complementary measures of poverty and material hardship. In this section, we briefly describe these measures. Our discussion is not meant to be a comprehensive treatment of these measures, but rather a scan of notable alternative approaches to the income-only poverty measures discussed thus far.

Not everyone agrees that poverty should be measured using income in the first place, with some putting forward measures based on consumption (Meyer & Sullivan, 2012) or expenditures (Bahk et al., 2025). Others have tried to create asset-based poverty estimates both in the United States and cross-nationally (Haveman & Wolff, 2004; Brandolini et al., 2010).

The literature on multi-dimensional material deprivation has also emerged based on Sen's approach to capabilities (Sen, 1985; Alkire & Foster, 2011). These are measures of material deprivation in unmet medical, housing, and childcare needs, as well as measures of food insecurity and insufficiency.[6] Measures of multidimensional inequality and poverty in the United States are also emerging (Dhongde et a., 2024; Dhongde & Haveman, 2022) along with a long history of food insecurity measures (Rose, 1999; Rabbitt et al. 2024). While the U.S. Census Bureau has yet to publish such measures, they are reported annually as a complement to numerical poverty measures in the United Kingdom (Noble et al., 2025) and in Australia (Naidoo et al. 2024).

There are also measures of "social poverty" or "social exclusion" centering on a lack of close, meaningful social ties with others, thereby assessing relational and emotional dimensions of socioeconomic disadvantage in the United States (Halpern-Meekin, 2019) as well as cross-nationally (Marlier & Atkinson, 2010).

Finally, in addition to work on the resources side, a number of researchers have also calculated higher family-needs budgets that try to capture broader economic security challenges (see Acs et al., 2024, for a recent empirical attempt dubbed the "True Cost of Living," and Joshi et al., 2025, for a review of key family budget measures including the Asset Limited Income Constrained Employed (ALICE) Household Survival Budget; the Economic Policy Institute's Family Budget Calculator; MIT's Living Wage Calculator; and Self-Sufficiency Standard). These measures are sometimes referenced as alternatives to a poverty measure, though some also describe them as measuring something conceptually distinct from the material deprivation that is embodied in the poverty concept. We also note that there is a tradition of retaining an income concept in the poverty measure but tracking it over time and across countries in purely relative

[6] The current administration recently canceled the Current Population Survey's annual survey supplement tracking food security, however.

terms, compared to, say, a fixed percent of median household incomes in a particular country (Gornick, 2024).

There is little consensus among scholars on a single preferred approach to measuring poverty, and our goal in this piece is not to advocate for one over another. Indeed, there could be much to gain by comparing and contrasting what we learn from different approaches. Our point here is simply to acknowledge a host of alternative approaches to measuring poverty and economic and social well-being than the OPM, SPM, or even PPM.

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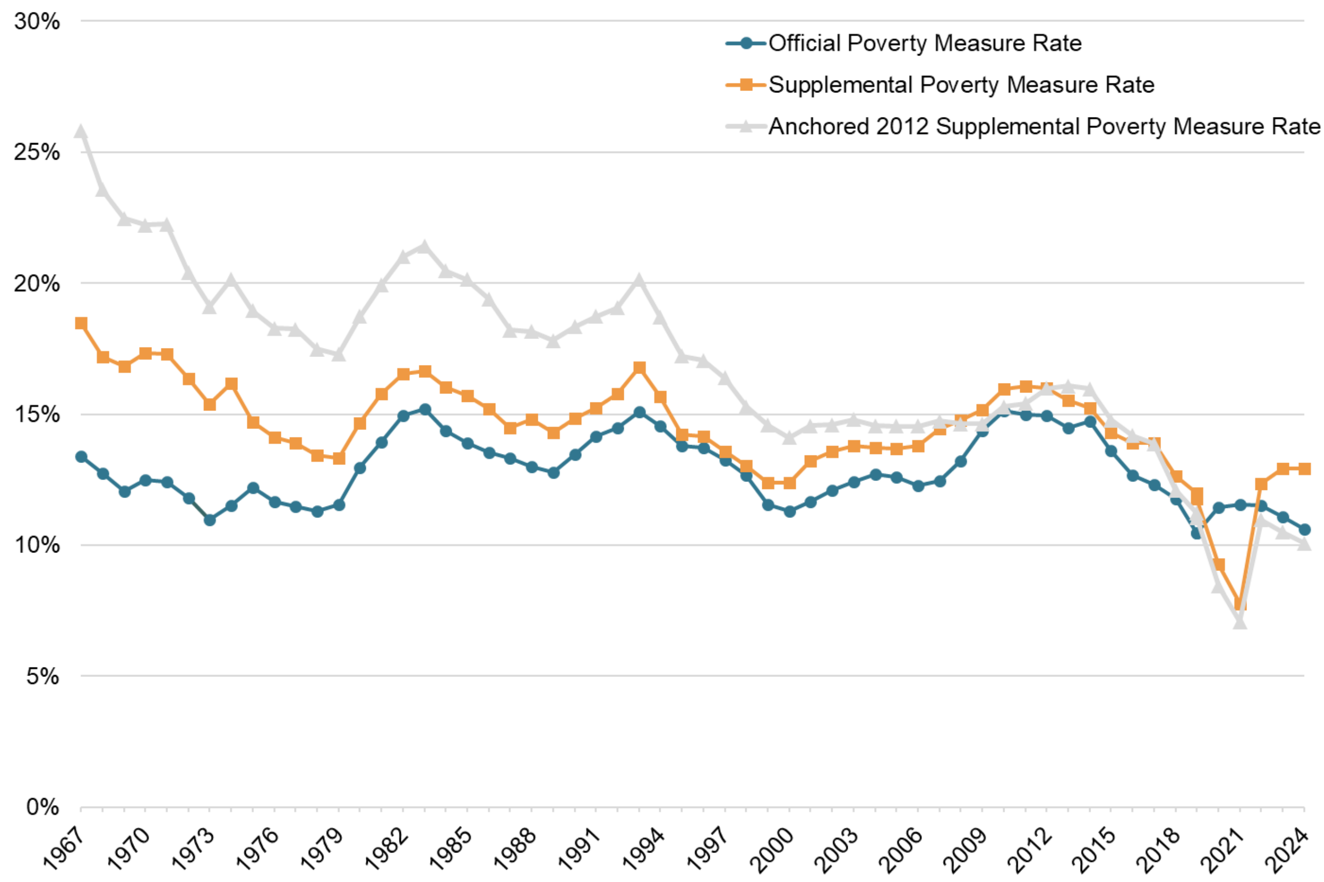
Appendix

Figure A1: Overall Poverty Rate by Measure, 1967 to 2024



Source: Wimer, C., Fox, L., Collyer, S. Garfinkel, I., Kaushal, N. Laird, L., Nam, J., Nolan, L., Pac, J. Vinh, R., & Waldfogel. J. (2025). *Historical Supplemental Poverty Measure data*. Center on Poverty and Social Policy, Columbia University. https://povertycenter.columbia.edu/historical-spm-data