

Minnesota Poverty Report 2022

April 2022

Minnesota Community Action Partnership and Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota









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March 7, 2022

Research funded by the Minnesota Community Action Partnership

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This report highlights the troubling degree to which federal and state programs designed to ameliorate poverty in Minnesota and nationally are failing to provide sufficient resources to lift families above the poverty level. In Minnesota, we note particular disparities for Black, indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) communities and the much higher percentages of these communities living in poverty compared to their white counterparts. The report offers three measures that could be implemented immediately to begin addressing these disparities. The report will be updated later this year to provide historical context and more granular geographic detail.

Call to Action

Federal and state benefits programs should offset many of the costs incurred by people with low incomes in terms of food, rent, medical bills, and other necessities. As highlighted throughout the report, federal benefits programs can help offset the costs facing people with low incomes and mitigate the effects of poverty, which the supplemental poverty rate takes into account. However, for many Minnesotans, particularly BIPOC households, the costs are too high to be offset by these programs. This is why the supplemental poverty rate is not statistically significantly different than the official poverty measure across the state. And, in the metro, Duluth, and Northwest Minnesota – areas of the state with higher concentrations of BIPOC households - the supplemental poverty rate actually goes up when we take into consideration the costs people have to pay for basic amenities like food, rent, and medical bills, as illustrated throughout the preceding report. To mitigate this and ensure that more people are able to escape poverty, MinnCAP proposes three statewide policy initiatives to be implemented immediately.

Housing:

In the metro in particular, people in poverty pay a disproportionate share of their income for rent or home mortgages. Creating more affordable housing is a challenge and will take extensive investment and policy changes over many years, especially as we need to simultaneously lower costs and build more units to assure sufficient housing supply.

Acknowledging the long-term nature of changing our housing system to be more affordable, we support the Yes to Invest in 2022 campaign's call for the state to invest \$2 billion in housing and homelessness this year, especially recognizing the historic surplus the state is experiencing. Such an investment in housing and homelessness may not solve the high cost of housing experienced across the state, but it will represent a significant start.

Longer term, we need to change our housing system. We will need to create more tax incentives for developers and additional funds for nonprofit developers to build additional affordable housing units, mandate that affordable units remain affordable for more years, and provide rental, down payment and mortgage assistance for those with the lowest incomes. Areas of the state where housing discrimination in the form of redlining and other discriminatory lending practices were widespread should be the focus for much of this investment.

Food:

Many people living with low incomes have to choose every month between paying their food bills or paying for their housing and other necessities. Federal benefits programs like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and the Women Infant and Children (WIC) programs are intended to supplement people's food incomes and ameliorate some of the effects of poverty as illustrated by the Supplemental Poverty Measure.

One way to impact food access in Minnesota is to change our restrictive laws around SNAP. Currently, Minnesota's eligibility for SNAP is set at 165% of the FPL. One relatively easy and cost-effective fix is to increase the eligibility limit for SNAP to 200%, the maximum allowed by the federal government. As this is a federal benefits program, the federal government will pay for the benefits for all additional people who qualify, and will only cost the state \$14,000 in total over the FY '22-'23 and FY '24-'25 bienniums.

<u>Creation of a Commission to End Poverty</u>

As illustrated throughout the report, poverty impacts all facets of someone's life, from housing, to food, to health care and medical costs, education, transportation, and so much more. However, our policies are created in silos both at the state legislature and within government agencies. By not taking into consideration both the whole person and the full picture of their experience, we cannot address the problems faced by people in poverty in our state.

We propose the creation of an Interagency Commission to End Poverty, which would be tasked with bringing together governmental staff across agencies, NGO's, business and labor leaders and people experiencing poverty to work on ending or addressing poverty and breaking down the silos. People live at the intersection of all our policy silos, and their whole person and full needs must be addressed by our government and our political system. This commission would report to the legislature and would bring together diverse stakeholder groups representing BIPOC and traditionally underrepresented communities, social service agencies, and agency representatives from the Department of Commerce, Department of Employment and Economic Development, Department of Human Services, Minnesota Housing, Department of Transportation. The Commission would be tasked with bringing a legislative agenda to the legislature each session, in collaboration with the Governor.

Those working to end poverty in Minnesota will recall a similar Commission to End Poverty in Minnesota by 2022. That Commission issued a suite of recommendations in 2018, but most were never implemented. It seems fitting, now in 2022 and with poverty still very much with us, that we try again, with new resolve, to achieve the goal common to all just societies.

Introduction

This report estimates poverty defined three different ways for 23 regions of Minnesota to help policy makers and human services professionals better understand the varying economic needs across the state. Poverty measures compare the resources that a family has to a threshold; if the family's resources fall below the threshold, all individual members of the family are classified as in poverty. The three poverty measures estimated in this study primarily vary by the resources counted and by the threshold used. Table 1 provides an overview of the differences across the three measures estimated in this report.

Table 1: Three Poverty Measures: Resources and Threshold Differences

	Resources Included	Poverty Threshold
Market Income Poverty Measure	Labor earnings + Investment income + Retirement income + Other private income (Before Tax)	Same as OPM
Official Poverty Measure (OPM)	Resources listed above + Cash welfare benefits + Cash Social Security benefits + Cash Supplemental Security Income benefits	Thresholds are defined by the U.S. Census based on 3 times the cost of a minimum food diet in 1963. The threshold varies by number of adults and number of children in the family only. For example, the 2019 poverty threshold for a family of 2 adults and 2 children was \$25,465.
Supplemental Poverty Measure (SPM)	Resources listed above + noncash benefits (SNAP, WIC, school lunch program, housing assistance, energy assistance) + tax credits (earned income tax credits) - non-discretionary expenses (state and federal taxes, FICA, work and childcare expenses, medical out-of-pocket expenses)	Thresholds are based on expenditures of food, clothing, shelter, and utilities. The threshold varies by the number of adults and the number of children in the family, and the cost of housing in the geographic area of residence. For example, the 2019 threshold for a family of 2 adults and 2 children was \$30,460 if they rented a home in the Twin Cities metro and \$25,168 if they rented a home in a non-metro area of Minnesota.

The market income poverty measure is intended to capture the poverty rate in the absence of any public assistance benefits to families. The official poverty measure (OPM) takes into account some cash public assistance benefits in addition to private income. The supplemental poverty measure (SPM) aims to capture all possible resources available to a family to cover basic necessities. It attempts to comprehensively reflect a family's economic circumstances by adding in the value of non-cash public benefits, like food stamps and earned income tax credits, and subtracting out expenses that are non-discretionary, like taxes paid and out-of-pocket medical expenses. The SPM also sets the poverty threshold based on the costs of living (not just food costs) and reflects the fact that some regions of the country are more or less expensive than others.

The official poverty rate produced by the U.S. Census Bureau for the nation and for each state are estimated using data from the Current Population Survey (CPS), a nationwide survey of 100,000 conducted in March of each year. However, to calculate poverty measures for a geographic area smaller than the state, a larger dataset is needed. This report uses the 2019 American Community Survey (ACS), which includes 54,102 people from the state of Minnesota alone. The ACS does not ask the exact same questions as the CPS, and so the poverty measures produced using the ACS will not line up exactly with those produced using the CPS. However, every effort was made to reproduce the official poverty measure estimated by the Census Bureau.

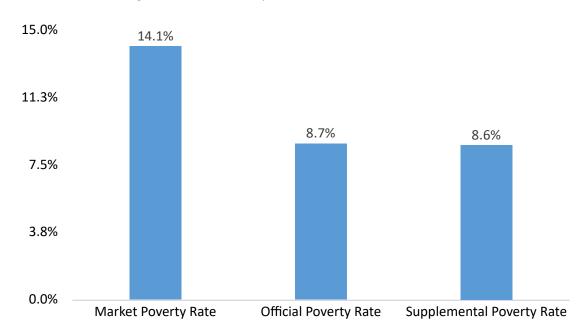


Figure 1: Three Poverty for the State of Minnesota, 2019

The key findings of this report are shown in Figures 1 and 2. The official poverty rate for the state of Minnesota is estimated to be 8.7% in 2019 (Figure 1). Cash public assistance to Minnesota families brings the poverty rate down from 14.1% -- the rate of poverty that would exist if families did not receive any cash payments from the government (welfare, social security, or supplemental security income). Finally, when all possible resources are included, non-discretionary spending is excluded, and thresholds are adjusted for housing costs, the supplemental poverty rate for the state is 8.6%. The fact that the OPM and SPM rates for the state are nearly identical implies that on average, the additional resources almost exactly cancel out the additional costs included in the SPM for Minnesota families. However, the state rate masks substantial differences by region of the state. Ten counties in northern Minnesota, three counties in southern Minnesota, and three metro areas have statistically significantly higher supplemental poverty rates than the state rate (Figure 2). In contrast, the suburban and exurban areas around the Twin Cities and counties near the Mayo Clinic have significantly lower supplemental poverty rates than the state rate.

The remainder of this report expands on these key findings. First, I provide a short description of the policy environment in Minnesota in 2019. Second, the methodology used to estimate the three poverty measures and the specific regions and subgroups examined are explained. Finally, the 2019 results for each of the 23 regions and for specific subgroups of interest are provided.

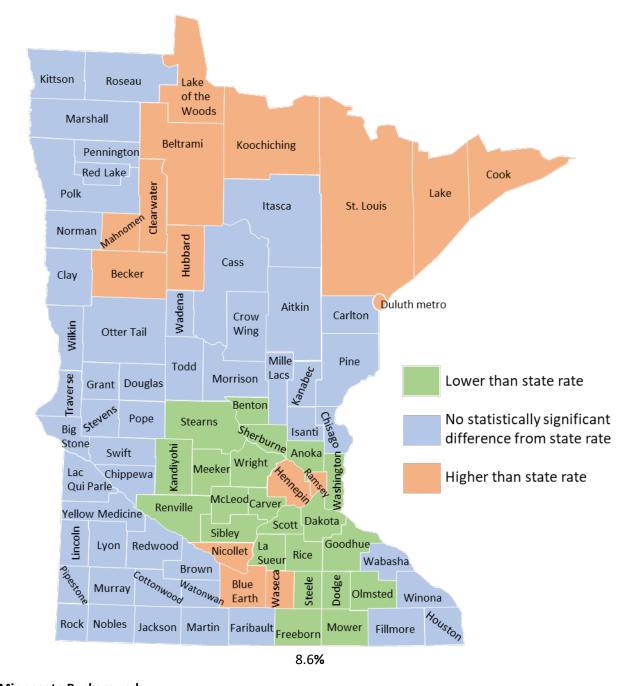


Figure 2: Minnesota Regions with 2019 Supplemental Poverty Rates Above/Below the State Rate of

Minnesota Background

The state of Minnesota's supplemental poverty rate (8.6%) is much lower than the US average (14.2%). The lower poverty rate is in part due to Minnesota's economy: the median household income in 2019 was \$74,593 in Minnesota compared to the US median of \$65,712. The state minimum wage in 2019 was \$10.00/hour where the federal rate was \$7.25/hours.

The poverty rate is also lower because Minnesota's safety net is more generous than other states in certain ways. The welfare benefit for a 3-person family in 2019 was \$532/month, where the US average

is \$476/month.¹ Unlike many states, Minnesota supplements the incomes of working low-income families with a state earned income tax program, the Minnesota Working Family Credit, above the federal earned income tax credit. Minnesota expanded Medicaid in accordance with the Affordable Care Act such that almost all families with incomes below 138% of the federal poverty level are eligible for Medicaid.

However, there are many ways in which Minnesota is a hard place to live for low-income families. The median rent for the state in 2019 was \$977.² As a result, 43% of renter households pay more than 30% of their income toward housing, and 22% pay more than 50% of their income toward housing.² In addition, Minnesota has one of the highest state and local income taxes per capita at \$1,984 in 2017 (seventh highest in the nation).³ Minnesota also ranks among the most expensive states in terms of childcare, where infant care costs \$16,087 per year on average, or 77.3% of the earnings from a full-year, full-time minimum wage job.⁴

Minnesota's economy also varies greatly by geography. Scott and Carver counties, adjacent to the Twin Cities have median household incomes above \$100,000, where Mahnomen and Beltrami counties in northern Minnesota have median households incomes below \$50,000.⁵ Similarly, median gross rent in Hennepin county was \$1,135 in 2019, where in Wilkin county on the western border of Minnesota, the median rent was \$523.

Methods and Data

Data for this study come from the 2019 American Community Survey and the 2019 ACS Supplemental Poverty Measures Research Files. I obtained the ACS data from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) available at usa.ipums.org/usa/. These data include the income, household composition, and the geographic area of 54,102 non-institutionalized people residing in Minnesota in 2019. The SPM Research Files are produced by researchers at the U.S. Census Bureau and include additional information needed to calculate the Supplemental Poverty Measure for each individual in the ACS, including estimates of the amount of public program benefits received by the household and state and federal taxes paid.

I examined 23 areas in Minnesota, including 6 individual counties (Anoka, Washington, Ramsey, Hennepin, Wright, and Olmstead), 1 metro area (Duluth), and 16 multi-county areas. Figure 3 displays a map separating out the 23 areas. The population of each area ranges from 92,924 (Duluth metro area) to 1,240,740 (Hennepin County). The average population in each region is 239,525. I also calculated

¹ University of Kentucky Center for Poverty Research. (2022, Feb.). UKCPR National Welfare Data, 1980-2020. Lexington, KY. Available at http://ukcpr.org/resources/national-welfare-data (accessed 3/5/2022).

² Minnesota Housing Partnership. (2021). "State of the State's Housing 2021". Available at https://www.mhponline.org/publications/2021-state-of-the-state-s-housing (accessed 3/5/2022).

³ Tax Foundation. (2020). "State and Local Individual Income Tax Collections per Capita" Available at https://taxfoundation.org/state-and-local-individual-income-taxes-per-capita-2020/ (accessed 3/5/2022).

⁴ Economic Policy Institute "Child care costs in the United States: Minnesota" Available at https://www.epi.org/child-care-costs-in-the-united-states/#/MN (accessed 3/5/2022).

⁵ U.S. Census Bureau. "Median Household Income (in 2019 dollars), 2015-2019" Available at https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/dashboard/US/PST045221 (accessed 3/5/2022).

poverty rates for three age groups (children, working age adults, and seniors), and for six race/ethnic groups.

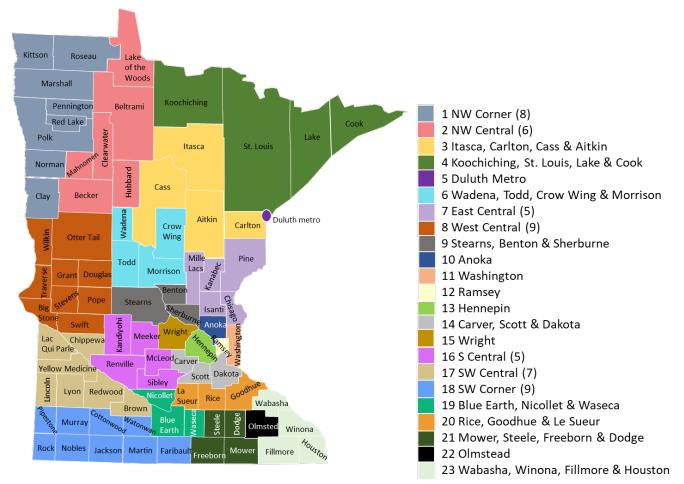


Figure 3: Twenty-three Minnesota regions analyzed

Measures

The official poverty measure was estimated for all non-institutionalized individuals residing in Minnesota using the 2019 American Community Survey. The 2019 ACS is collected over all 12 months of the year and asks about income over the last 12 months. This means that families who completed the survey in January are reporting on mostly 2018 income and families who completed the survey in December are reporting on mostly 2019 income. As a result, I used an average of 2018 and 2019 official poverty thresholds established by the U.S. Census Bureau.⁶ These thresholds vary by the number of adults, the number of children, and the age of the head of the household. These thresholds were matched to households of related families. For each family, resources were summed from wage or salary income and self-employment income from everyone in the family; interest, dividends, or net rental income; social security income; supplemental security income; public assistance income; retirement income; and other types of income. All individuals in a family whose resources were below their family's poverty threshold were categorized as in poverty.

⁶ U.S. Census Bureau. Poverty Thresholds. Available at https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/historical-poverty-thresholds.html (accessed 1/20/2022).

The market poverty income uses the same poverty thresholds as the official measure. The difference is that I subtract from the resources three items: social security income, supplemental security income, and public assistance income.

The supplemental poverty measure is provided in the 2019 ACS Supplemental Poverty Measure Public Use Research Files. 7 That data file includes a sum of all resources, which includes all income included in the official poverty measure described above plus the estimated value of Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits, Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women's, Infant's and Children's (WIC) benefits, the family's housing assistance benefits, the National School Lunch Program (NSLP) benefits, and the families Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP) benefits. Subtracted from these resources are the estimated taxes paid to the federal government (this number can be negative if refundable tax credits are greater than a family's tax liability), to the state government, and to the Federal Insurance Contribution Act (FICA) and federal retirement contribution; and the estimated expenditures of the family on work (e.g., travel to work) and child care expenses and out-ofpocket medical expenditures. Out-of-pocket medical expenditures include premiums paid for health insurance or Medicare Part B and co-pays or deductibles. The data file also include the poverty threshold used by the Supplemental Poverty Measure that adjusts for geographic shelter and utility costs. The federal and state taxes paid by each observation were estimated using TAXSIM,8 a microsimulation model that is used by researchers to estimate state and federal taxes. The family unit is defined slightly differently in the SPM than in the OPM – unmarried partners and their relatives, and foster children count as family members in the SPM measure. As above, all individuals in a SPM family unit whose SPM resources were below their family's SPM poverty threshold were categorized as in poverty.9

Analysis

The poverty measures were estimated using sampling weights provided by the ACS. The non-institutionalized sample residing in Minnesota in 2019 was 54,102 individuals weighted to represent 5,509,065 Minnesotans. All percentages are created using weights to make them representative of the state population. For each percentage, a 95% confidence interval was computed using standard errors from the unweighted percentages. Unweighted standard errors were used to provide a conservative margin of error around the percentages. Percentages were identified as statistically significant if their 95% confidence intervals did not overlap.

⁷ U.S. Census Bureau. "ACS Supplemental Poverty Measures (SPM) Research Files: 2009 to 2019" Available at https://www.census.gov/data/datasets/time-series/demo/supplemental-poverty-measure/acs-research-files.html (accessed 12/20/2022).

⁸ Feenberg, Daniel Richard, and Elizabeth Coutts, <u>An Introduction to the TAXSIM Model</u>, Journal of Policy Analysis and Management vol 12 no 1, Winter 1993, pages 189-194.

⁹ Fox, Liana, Glassman, Brian, Pacas, Jose. "The Supplemental Poverty Measure using the American Community Survey" SEHSD Working Paper #2020-09"

Findings

Table 1 provides the three poverty measures for 23 regions of Minnesota, three age groups, and six race/ ethnic groups. For each measure, rates that are statistically significantly different from the state rate are indicated by a star.

Variations by Region

The market poverty rate for the state was 14.1%. The Northwest Central region (Becker, Beltrami, Clearwater, Hubbard, Lake of the Woods, and Mahnomen counties) had the highest market poverty rate of all 23 regions at 23.2% while Washington county had the lowest market poverty rate of 6.7%. Fifteen regions had market poverty rates that were significantly higher than the state rate. Six regions had market poverty rates that were below the state rate, while two regions had market rates that were not significantly different from the state rate.

The official poverty rate for the state was 8.7%. A three-county area in southern Minnesota (Blue Earth, Nicollet and Waseca counties) had the highest official poverty rate in the state at 16.5% while Washington county had the lowest official poverty rate of 3.2%. Eight regions had official poverty rates significantly higher than the state rate. Five regions had rates significantly lower than the state rate. The remaining ten regions had official poverty rates that were not statistically different from the state rate.

The supplemental poverty rate for the state was 8.6%. Like the market poverty rate, the Northwest Central region (Becker, Beltrami, Clearwater, Hubbard, Lake of the Woods, and Mahnomen counties) had the highest SPM rate of all 23 regions at 13.7% and Washington county had the lowest SPM rate of 3.8%. As shown in Figure 2, two regions in northern Minnesota, one region in southern Minnesota, and three metro areas (Duluth metro, Hennepin, Ramsey) have statistically significantly higher supplemental poverty rates than the state rate. The suburban and exurban areas around the Twin Cities and the areas around the Mayo Clinic in southern Minnesota have significantly lower supplemental poverty rates than the state rate. Eight regions spread across the state have rates that are not statistically significantly different from the state rate.

There are five regions that have higher poverty rates than the average using all three measures: the NW Central Region (Becker, Beltrami, Clearwater, Hubbard, Lake of the Woods, and Mahnomen counties); Cook, Koochiching, Lake, and St. Louis counties; the Duluth metro area; Ramsey county; and the three-county region in southern Minnesota (Blue Earth, Nicollet & Waseca). There are also five regions that have lower poverty rates than the average using all three measures: Anoka county; Washington county; Carver, Dakota, and Scott counties; Wright county; and Olmstead county. Twelve regions have market poverty rates at or above the state average but public assistance and the other adjustments bring their supplemental poverty rate in line with or below the state rate.

Finally, only one county has the reverse happen: Hennepin county has a market poverty rate that is below the state rate, but their supplemental poverty rate is significantly above than the state rate. This pattern is likely due to adjustments in housing costs that are implemented in the Supplemental Poverty Measure. The high housing costs in Hennepin county are factored into the SPM but not in the other two poverty measures. Because the market poverty measure and the official poverty measure do not take into consideration housing costs, they underestimate the economic hardship faced by families in Hennepin county.

Variations by Age

The market poverty rate of seniors (residents age 65+), which does not include Social Security benefits, would be 31.6%. In contrast, the market poverty rate of children and working age adults would be 12.3% and 10.1%, respectively. The inclusion of cash benefits dramatically reduces the poverty rate among seniors (a difference of almost 24 percentage points) bringing the official poverty rate to 7.7%, significantly below the state rate. The official poverty rate for working age adults is 8.0%, also significantly below the state rate. In contrast, the official poverty rate of children in Minnesota is 11.0%, significantly higher than the state rate. Unlike social security benefits that are received by nearly every senior in the state, a very small proportion of the population receives welfare benefits and so the inclusion of cash benefits has a small effect on the poverty rate for children. However, non-cash benefits like the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) and tax credits like the federal Earned Income Tax Credit and Minnesota's Working Family Credit reach a large number of families with children and thus bring down the Supplemental Poverty Rate for children to 8.1%. On the other hand, high medical expenses raise the Supplemental Poverty Rate for seniors to 10.2%, which is significantly higher than the state rate. The supplemental poverty rate for working age adults is 8.3%, which not significantly different from the state rate.

Variations by Race/Ethnicity

All three poverty rates differ substantially by race/ethnicity. Using the market income poverty measure, non-Hispanic Asian Minnesotans have the lowest poverty rate of 10.9% and non-Hispanic Native Americans have the highest poverty rate of 41.6%. When cash benefits are factored in, the poverty rate of non-Hispanic White Minnesotans is cut in half from 12.3% (market poverty rate) to 6.3% (official poverty rate), while the poverty rate among Native Americans falls only 8.5 percentages points to 33.1%. The Supplemental Poverty Rate is 7.0% for non-Hispanic White Minnesotans, down from their 12.3% market poverty rate. In contrast, the SPM for non-Hispanic Asian Minnesotans is 10.6%, which is essentially the same rate as their market poverty rate of 10.9%. The Supplemental Poverty rate was 28.5% for Non-Hispanic Native Americans, 20.7% for Non-Hispanic Black Minnesotans, 11.2% for Hispanic Minnesotans, and 10.5% for those identifying as multiracial or other race.

Table 2: Three Poverty Measures for Minnesota in 2019 by Region, Age Group, and Race/Ethnicity

	Populatio n	Market Poverty Rate	Official Poverty Rate	Supplemental Poverty Rate
Minnesota	5,509,065	14.1%	8.7%	8.6%
Regions				
1 NW Corner (8)	142,934	19.5% *	10.4% *	8.1%
2 NW Central (6)	118,110	23.2% *	14.3% *	13.7% *
3 Aitkin, Cass, Carlton, Itasca	118,755	19.4% *	8.8%	7.6%
4 Cook, Koochiching, Lake, St. Louis	128,063	19.1% *	11.9% *	10.9% *
5 Duluth Metro	92,924	18.7% *	13.4% *	12.8% *
6 Crow Wing, Morrison, Todd, Wadena	134,861	16.4% *	9.7%	9.3%
7 East Central (6)	164,451	18.1% *	9.0%	9.9%
8 West Central (9)	144,863	16.6% *	8.8%	8.1%
9 Benton, Sherburne, Stearns	288,978	13.9%	8.7%	6.9% *
10 Anoka	353,792	12.4% *	6.5% *	6.2% *
11 Washington	259,453	6.7% *	3.2% *	3.8% *
12 Ramsey	535,612	16.8% *	11.9% *	12.1% *
13 Hennepin	1,240,740	12.9% *	8.6%	10.2% *
14 Carver, Dakota, Scott	677,678	9.2% *	6.0% *	6.8% *
15 Wright	137,263	9.3% *	5.7% *	5.7% *
16 S Central (5)	129,393	17.5% *	9.8%	6.3% *
17 SW Central (7)	95,844	17.9% *	10.7% *	8.1%
18 SW Corner (9)	111,454	18.4% *	12.1% *	9.0%
19 Blue Earth, Nicollet, Waseca	112,882	21.1% *	16.5% *	12.0% *
20 Goodhue, Le Sueur, Rice	132,398	13.4%	7.7%	5.2% *
21 Dodge, Freeborn, Mower, Steele	125,788	16.0% *	8.7%	7.0% *
22 Olmstead	155,613	8.7% *	5.0% *	6.4% *
23 Fillmore, Houston, Wabasha, Winona	107,216	16.1% *	7.9%	7.6%
Age Groups				
Children (birth-17)	1,299,381	12.3% *	11.0% *	8.1%
Working age (18-64)	3,322,921	10.1% *	8.0% *	8.3%
Seniors (65+)	886,763	31.6% *	7.7% *	10.2% *

Race/Ethnic Groups

Non-Hispanic White Only	4,358,665	12.3% *	6.3% *	7.0% *
Non-Hispanic Black Only	350,756	32.0% *	26.8% *	20.7% *
Non-Hispanic Asian Only	273,007	10.9% *	8.9%	10.6% *
Non-Hispanic Native American Only	50,083	41.6% *	33.1% *	28.5% *
Non-Hispanic Other or Multiracial	169,682	16.4%	13.3% *	10.5%
Hispanic	306,872	15.6%	14.3% *	11.2% *

Source: Author's calculations from 2019 American Community Survey and the 2019 ACS SPM Research Files. Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of counties in that region if county names are not listed. * indicates that the estimate is statistically significantly different from the corresponding rate for the state (p<0.05).

Conclusion

This poverty report provides important insights into poverty in Minnesota. There is substantial variation in poverty across the state, with the metro areas and several rural counties with poverty rates significantly higher than the state rate. There is also large differences in poverty rates by age and race/ethnicity. Over 10% of seniors in the state are in poverty as measured by the Supplemental Poverty Rate. Over 20% of African-Americans and nearly 30% of Native Americans in Minnesota are in poverty. While overall Minnesota has a lower poverty rate than the US, there are specific groups of people within the state who still need additional support.

Appendix: Region Definitions

Region	PUMA	Counties (or City in the case of Duluth)
1	100	Clay, Kittson, Marshall, Norman, Pennington, Polk, Red Lake, Roseau
2	200	Becker, Beltrami, Clearwater, Hubbard, Lake of the Woods, Mahnomen
3	300	Aitkin, Cass, Carlton, Itasca
4	400	Cook, Koochiching, Lake, St. Louis (except Duluth, Hermantown, Proctor cities)
5	500	Duluth, Hermantown & Proctor cities
6	700	Crow Wing, Morrison, Todd, Wadena
7	600	Chisago, Isanti, Kanabec, Mille Lacs, Pine
8	800	Big Stone, Douglas, Grant, Otter Tail, Pope, Stevens, Swift, Traverse, Wilkin
9	900	Sterns
9	1000	Sherburne, Benton
10	1101-1103	Anoka
11	1201-1202	Washington
12	1301-1304	Ramsey
13	1401-1410	Hennepin
14	1501-1503	Dakota
14	1600	Scott (eastern part)
14	1700	Carver & Scott (western part)
15	1800	Wright
16	1900	Kandiyohi, McLeod, Meeker, Renville, Sibley
17	2000	Brown, Chippewa, Lac qui Parle, Lincoln, Lyon, Redwood, Yellow Medicine
18	2100	Cottonwood, Faribault, Jackson, Martin, Murray, Nobles, Pipestone, Rock, Watonwan
19	2200	Blue Earth, Nicollet, Waseca
20	2300	Goodhue, Le Sueur, Rice
21	2400	Dodge, Freeborn, Mower, Steele
22	2500	Olmsted
23	2600	Fillmore, Houston, Wabasha, Winona