

Rural Child Poverty and the Role of Family Structure

Linda L. Swanson and Laarni T. Dacquel

The percentage of children living in poverty rose between 1980 and 1990. This was true for Black, White, and Hispanic children, urban and rural¹ children. The only group for whom the increase was small was urban White children. For Black children, the rate of poverty continues to be higher for those living in rural areas than for those living in urban areas. The rising education of mothers, declining family size, and a small decrease in the poverty of children living in married-couple families have not been enough to offset the forces acting to increase the incidence of poverty among rural children.

Particularly for rural Blacks, the sharp rise in families headed by women, accompanied by an increasingly high poverty rate for these families, has been the strongest force in increasing poverty among rural children.

The increase in poverty among rural minority children (under age 18) between 1980 and 1990 widened the already substantial difference between urban and rural poverty for minority children. In 1989, half of all rural Black children, 43 percent of rural Native American children, and 38 percent of rural Hispanic children were poor. (Poor children are those whose family income falls below the official poverty threshold for a family of that size and type. A family of two adults and two minor children, for example, had a poverty threshold in 1989 of \$12,575.)

Within minority groups, child poverty was more prevalent than adult poverty and rose even when adult poverty was stable (table 1). Poverty is a debilitating force, particularly for children. Garfinkel and McLanahan (1986) found that the low income of mother-only families explained much of their children's lower educational performance. A study of rural poverty and the Food Stamp Program found that

the rural poor in particular were far more likely to experience depressed biochemical nutrient levels and growth stunting among their children, as well as higher rates of low birthweight and infant mortality (Public Voice, 1987).

The gap between urban and rural poverty rates has narrowed, but the poverty rate for rural children is still higher than that for urban children (Swanson, 1994). More rural than urban children were being raised in married-couple families in 1990 (80 percent vs. 75 percent), but the rural "family structure advantage" was smaller in 1990 than 1980. The proportion of children being raised in households headed by women rose faster in rural than urban areas, particularly for Black children (Swanson and Dacquel, 1991).

Table 1—Poverty rate by race/ethnicity, age, and residence¹, 1979-89

Race/ethnicity and age	Urban		Rural	
	1979	1989	1979	1989
	<i>Percent</i>			
Black:				
Total	27.6	27.5	38.7	40.0
< 18 years old	36.0	38.1	45.5	49.8
Hispanic:				
Total	22.7	24.1	27.2	32.0
< 18 years old	28.9	31.1	31.8	38.3
Native American:				
Total	22.0	24.0	33.9	37.7
< 18 years old	28.0	33.3	38.2	43.4
Non-Hispanic White:				
Total	7.4	7.4	12.5	13.2
< 18 years old	8.7	9.0	14.4	16.1

¹ Rural people are defined here as those who live in counties outside the boundaries of metropolitan areas (nonmetropolitan), as defined by the Office of Management and Budget at the time of the census.

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.

Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

In 1989, 13.2 percent of children in married-couple families were poor in rural areas compared with 8 percent in urban areas. In families headed by women, the urban/rural poverty difference is greater: 57.4 percent for rural children versus 47.7 percent for urban children. Lichter and Eggebeen (1992) found that among rural poor children, an increasing share (54 percent in 1989) of those living in families headed by women were deeply poor. In contrast, a decreasing share (32 percent in 1989) of those in married-couple families was deeply poor.

Rates of poverty for rural children were consistently higher than for urban children in the same race/ethnicity group, and rural Black children had the highest poverty rate of all (table 1). Twenty-seven percent of rural Black children living in married-couple families were poor in 1989, compared with 13.4 percent in urban areas. Well over half (58.5 percent) of Black children living in families headed by women lived in poverty in urban areas, a highly publicized and frightening statistic. Yet, in rural areas, nearly three-fourths (72.7 percent) of Black children in families headed by women lived in poverty (Bureau of the Census, 1993).

Forces Competing To Increase and Reduce Child Poverty

Recent research has examined the competing forces acting to increase or decrease the child poverty rate (Bianchi, 1993; Gottschalk and Danziger, 1993). Acting to decrease child poverty were (1) rising education of parents, (2) rising proportion of mothers who worked, and (3) decreasing number of children per family. Acting to increase child poverty were (1) sluggish economic growth in the last two decades; (2) rising earnings inequality among men (falling earnings for the less educated); (3) rising number of children raised in households headed by a woman, whose earnings potential is lower than a man's; and (4) the below-average income growth experienced by families with children, due to factors (2) and (3). Bianchi also notes that the increase in the number of mother-only families was driven by never-married mothers, who are most likely to be poor, and that this trend was stronger for Blacks than Whites.

We compare the poverty of minority children in rural areas with that of other rural children as well as to minority children living in urban areas, with respect to the poverty-affecting factors of family structure, presence of children, and education of mothers. The first and largest part of our analysis includes only

children living with their mother and father or with their mother alone. Although the percentage of children who live with their father alone is growing, in 1990 the percentage was still small (table 2).

Children living in the households of grandparents or other relatives are also a large share of the child population, particularly for rural Black children (20 percent), so we include an analysis of the family structure in which they live, their rate of poverty, and how their situation changed between 1980 and 1990. Of rural Black children living with grandparents, 80 percent were part of a subfamily, indicating that one or both parents was in the household as well.

Shifts in Family Structure

Poverty is clearly related to family structure, although the direction of cause and effect is not certain (Swanson and Dacquel, 1992). Child poverty is rising, children in single-parent families have higher poverty rates than children in married-couple families, and the proportion of children living in single-parent families is increasing. Eggebeen and Lichter estimate that, if children in 1988 had the same family structure as children in 1960, the poverty rate would have been a third lower (1991). The same study found that changing family structure accounted for nearly half of the increase in child poverty between 1980 and 1988.

American attitudes toward childbearing outside marriage have shifted over time, with younger and better educated cohorts most tolerant of nonmarital childbearing (Pagnini and Rindfuss, 1993). About half of young children (under age 6) in the United States will spend some time in a single-parent family, most because of divorce (Martin and Bumpass, 1989). Most of those will remain in a mother-only family for the rest of their childhood (Bumpass and Sweet, 1989).

Differences in family structure by race and urban/rural residence are not new. Families headed by women were more common among Blacks and in urban areas at the turn of the century, and the residential difference was greater for Blacks. In 1910, women headed 18 percent of rural Black families, compared with 33 percent in urban areas. For Whites, the comparable figures were 7 percent in rural areas and 11 percent in urban areas (Morgan and others, 1993).

The authors of the above study, using 1910 Census data, argue that contemporary racial differences in

Table 2—Living arrangements of children by race/ethnicity and residence¹, 1990

Relationship of child to head of household by race/ethnicity	Urban	Rural
	<i>Percent</i>	
Black	100.0	100.0
Parent(s) head of household	82.0	79.3
Married couple	36.9	39.6
Father only	3.9	3.7
Mother only	41.3	36.0
Other relative head of household	18.0	20.7
Grandparent		
Grandparent only	2.9	3.9
In subfamily with parent	11.3	13.2
Other relative		
Other relative only	2.4	2.4
In subfamily with parent	1.4	1.2
Total Black children (1,000)	7,466	1,516
Hispanic	100.0	100.0
Parent(s) head of household	88.9	91.4
Married couple	63.8	71.3
Father only	5.1	4.1
Mother only	20.1	16.0
Other relative head of household	11.1	8.6
Grandparent		
Grandparent only	.8	1.0
In subfamily with parent	6.1	5.3
Other relative		
Other relative only	2.2	1.6
In subfamily with parent	2.0	.7
Total Hispanic children (1,000)	6,616	768
Non-Hispanic White	100.0	100.0
Parent(s) head of household	95.7	95.9
Married couple	81.4	82.0
Father only	2.6	3.0
Mother only	11.6	10.9
Other relative head of household	4.3	4.1
Grandparent		
Grandparent only	.6	.8
In subfamily with parent	2.9	2.5
Other relative		
Other relative only	.5	.6
In subfamily with parent	.3	.2
Total White children (1,000)	31,514	11,465

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.
Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

family structure may be rooted in traditional West African patterns where strong kin ties and obligations rival conjugal ones. Thus, to characterize the high proportion of mother-only families among Blacks solely as a breakdown in family structure is to ignore the African legacy of emphasis on kin networks rather than nuclear families. In the United States today, however, without small communities of kin networks to provide financial or child-care support, mother-only families are vulnerable to poverty.

The shift toward women heading families ("families" refers to family households) without a spouse was greater in rural than in urban areas, particularly for Black women. The majority of rural Black women heading a family were part of a married couple in 1980, but by 1990 the majority headed the family on their own (table 3)

Although the percentage of Hispanic women heading a family as part of a married couple declined over the decade, the decline was less than half that for Black women, widening the difference in family structure between the two groups. The decline in the

Data and Methods

To assess the factors increasing and decreasing poverty among rural minority children in 1980-90, we pattern our analysis after Gottschalk and Danziger (1993). They charted 1968-86 change in the poverty-affecting factors of family structure, presence of children, and education of mothers for Black and White women under age 55 who headed households either as part of a married couple or alone.

Our sample is similarly defined, using data drawn from the 1980 and 1990 Census Public Use Microdata files. Mothers' education, family size, and family structure are as of 1980 and 1990, and the family's poverty status is from the previous year, 1979 and 1989. We include both urban and rural categories and compare non-Hispanic Whites, non-Hispanic Blacks, and Hispanics. (We shorten the terms non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Black to White and Black, respectively, for the sake of simplicity.) The data sample was not large enough to support an analysis of Asian or American Indian women.

The separate Hispanic category allowed us to look at change among Hispanic families, and to hold constant the composition of the White and Black groups. Hispanic women under age 55 who head households alone or with their husband increased from 2.7 million in 1980 to 3.7 million in 1990.

Table 3—Distribution of women age 15-54 heading family households by race/ethnicity, presence of children, family structure, and residence¹, 1980-90

Race/ethnicity, presence of children, and family structure	Urban		Rural	
	1980	1990	1980	1990
Black	<i>Percent</i>			
With children--				
No spouse present	38.1	41.8	29.6	40.0
Spouse present	38.4	29.4	49.1	35.3
No children	23.5	28.8	21.3	24.8
Total Black women (1,000)	3,674	4,152	724	723
Hispanic				
With children--				
No spouse present	18.9	22.5	12.5	17.1
Spouse present	59.5	53.7	68.7	61.8
No children	21.6	23.8	18.8	21.1
Total Hispanic women (1,000)	2,372	3,380	313	351
White				
With children--				
No spouse present	10.0	12.3	7.8	11.3
Spouse present	56.5	50.3	61.6	54.7
No children	33.6	37.5	30.6	34.0
Total White women (1,000)	24,569	26,009	9,332	8,634

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.
Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

percentage of Hispanic women in families with a husband was similar in urban and rural areas, maintaining the size of the Hispanic urban/rural gap. As with both Black and White women, Hispanic wives in married couples remained more prevalent in rural areas (table 3).

For Whites, urban and rural increases in women heading families without a spouse were essentially equivalent and similar in magnitude to that of Hispanics (table 3). White women with children were most likely of the three race/ethnicity groups to be part of a married couple.

In the 1980's, the increase in the proportion of families with children headed by women alone was greatest among Black women in rural areas. By 1990, 53 percent of rural Black women living with children of their own headed the family without a spouse, up from 38 percent in 1980 (fig. 1). The urban shift was smaller, from 50 percent in 1980 to

59 percent in 1990, cutting the urban/rural gap in half. By 1990, the majority of urban and rural Black women raising children of their own were heading the family without a spouse.

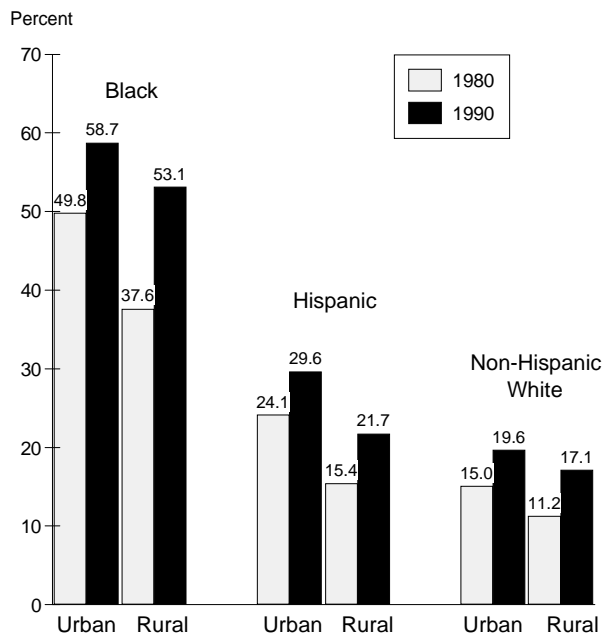
For Hispanics, increases in the proportion of women heading families with children were smaller than for Blacks (fig. 1). Among the three race/ethnicity groups, White women with children were least likely to be heading a household without a spouse. Changes for both White and Hispanic women were similar in urban and rural areas.

Education and Its Relationship to Family Size and Structure

The education of women in all three race/ethnicity groups rose during the 1980's. This was in part because the least well educated women, those who were older, moved out of our sample of women under

Figure 1

Share heading own household among women with children by race/ethnicity and residence, 1980-90



*Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.

Source: Compiled by Economic Research Service.

age 55 and in part because women of all ages became better educated. The greatest gains were among Black and White women in urban areas, while rural Hispanic women gained the least (table 4). For all race/ethnicity and family structure groups, urban education remained above rural levels. Black and White women’s education rose more quickly in urban areas, widening the urban/rural education gap.

By 1990, there was a correlation between Black women having education beyond high school and having both children and a spouse. Among rural Black women with a spouse and children, the proportion having 13 or more years of education nearly doubled between 1980 and 1990 (table 4). While the proportion with higher education also doubled among rural Black women who headed a household without a spouse, the absolute difference between the two family structure types widened.

The increase in the proportion of rural Hispanic women with higher education was similar to that for rural Black women, but Hispanic women differed less by family structure. By 1990, Hispanic women heading a household without a spouse had a slightly

higher proportion with more than a high school education than did those with a spouse, a pattern opposite that among Black women (table 4).

Improvement in education for rural White women was greater than for rural Black or Hispanic women. Thus, the education gap in rural areas between White and minority women widened over the decade.

The average number of children per family declined in 1980-90 for all race/ethnicity groups, education groups, and family structure groups. In both 1980 and 1990, the number of children per family was smaller when the mother had more education. However, the greatest decrease in the average number of children per family for rural Black and Hispanic women in both family structure types was among those with less than a high school education. The reduction in average family size diminished with higher education, resulting in more equality in family size across education levels, particularly for minority women heading families without a spouse. By contrast, the decrease in average number of children for rural White women was small and had little relationship to education level (table 4).

Rural Child Poverty and Family Size and Structure

Decreasing family size is reflected in the decline in the absolute number of children for all race/ethnicity groups (table 5). Dividing the children by family structure, however, shows that the total number of children has declined only in married-couple families. In spite of smaller family sizes, the shift in the proportion of children in families headed by women increased the number of children in this family structure for all race/ethnicity groups.

The proportion of rural Black children in families headed by women fell short of a majority in 1990, although more than half of the rural Black women with children headed their own family by that time. This is due to the fact that Black married-couple families in rural areas have more children per family than do those headed by women alone (table 5).

Child poverty rates increased over the decade for every race/ethnicity and residential group except urban White children. For Black and Hispanic children, the increase in poverty was greater in rural than urban areas.

Table 4—Education and mean number of children of rural¹ women age 15-54 with children by race/ethnicity and family structure, 1980-90

Race/ethnicity by years of schooling	1980				1990			
	No spouse present		Spouse present		No spouse present		Spouse present	
	Percent share	Mean number of children	Percent share	Mean number of children	Percent share	Mean number of children	Percent share	Mean number of children
Black:								
Less than 12 years	54.2	2.66	44.5	2.74	38.4	2.22	27.5	2.29
12 years	34.6	2.13	38.9	2.33	39.0	2.03	40.0	2.04
13 or more years	11.2	2.00	16.6	2.03	22.6	1.90	32.5	1.96
Total (1,000)	214		355		290		255	
Hispanic:								
Less than 12 years	57.9	2.54	54.6	2.82	46.7	2.23	46.8	2.42
12 years	28.9	1.96	32.9	2.13	26.7	2.04	29.4	2.07
13 or more years	13.2	1.79	12.5	2.10	26.7	1.91	23.9	2.00
Total (1,000)	38		216		60		218	
White:								
Less than 12 years	30.1	1.97	23.0	2.09	20.7	1.84	14.1	1.97
12 years	46.3	1.81	51.1	1.97	38.1	1.72	41.8	1.90
13 or more years	23.6	1.75	25.9	1.94	41.2	1.67	44.1	1.93
Total (1,000)	728		5,753		975		4,725	

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan. Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

It becomes clear when the children are divided by family type that the increase in child poverty is attributable to the increase in the proportion of children in families headed by women. Not only are the poverty rates for these children vastly higher than for those living in a married-couple family, but the rates of poverty for children in families headed by women (except urban Hispanics) rose significantly over the decade, particularly for Blacks. Bianchi's observation (1993) that much of the recent increase in single mothers was never-married mothers, a group at great risk of being poor, and that the trend was stronger for Blacks than Whites, provides one explanation for the rise in these already high levels of poverty.

For rural children in married-couple families, poverty rates declined among Blacks and held steady among Whites. Among rural Hispanic children in married-couple families, the poverty rate increased (table 5).

The proportion of rural Black and Hispanic children in large families declined substantially between 1980 and 1990 (table 5). By 1990 less than a fourth of Black and Hispanic children lived with three or more siblings, regardless of family type. In just 10 years the most common number of siblings for rural Black and Hispanic children had shifted downward from three or more children to one. The decline in number of siblings for Hispanic children in married-couple families was somewhat smaller, with two siblings nearly as prevalent as one (table 5).

The shift toward a smaller number of children per family helped hold the rate of poverty steady among children in married-couple families and ameliorated the rise in poverty among children in families headed by women. Not only are poverty rates lower among children with fewer siblings, but children with fewer siblings experienced lower increases in poverty rates from 1980 to 1990 (table 5).

Table 5—Distribution and poverty of rural¹ children living with mother by family type and number of siblings, 1980-90

Race/ethnicity, family type, and number of siblings	1980		1990	
	Distribution	Poverty rate	Distribution	Poverty rate
<i>Percent</i>				
Black	100.0		100.0	
Mother only	<u>33.7</u>	72.2	<u>47.5</u>	76.1
No siblings	4.5	47.6	9.1	56.9
One sibling	8.6	57.9	14.7	66.9
Two siblings	7.7	78.7	12.3	85.5
Three or more siblings	12.9	86.3	11.5	93.0
Mother with spouse	<u>66.3</u>	29.7	<u>52.5</u>	24.7
No siblings	7.8	14.7	9.6	11.1
One sibling	16.8	18.6	18.1	15.2
Two siblings	16.7	28.1	13.1	25.0
Three or more siblings	25.0	42.9	11.6	50.4
Total children (1,000)	1,406		1,126	
Hispanic	100.0		100.0	
Mother only	<u>13.4</u>	63.7	<u>18.0</u>	69.7
No siblings	2.5	47.1	3.6	50.0
One sibling	3.5	50.0	5.6	62.2
Two siblings	2.8	63.2	4.4	75.9
Three or more siblings	4.6	83.9	4.4	89.7
Mother with spouse	<u>86.6</u>	25.9	<u>82.0</u>	30.7
No siblings	10.0	11.8	12.3	14.8
One sibling	22.6	15.0	25.5	23.2
Two siblings	20.4	21.0	24.2	31.9
Three or more siblings	33.6	40.4	20.0	48.5
Total children (1,000)	678		660	
White	100.0		100.0	
Mother only	<u>9.1</u>	44.2	<u>11.7</u>	50.2
No siblings	2.3	28.9	3.6	36.6
One sibling	3.4	38.6	4.5	45.1
Two siblings	2.0	51.8	2.5	65.0
Three or more siblings	1.4	70.7	1.1	80.7
Mother with spouse	<u>90.9</u>	10.6	<u>88.3</u>	10.6
No siblings	16.9	5.9	17.6	5.8
One sibling	35.3	7.4	37.2	8.0
Two siblings	23.5	11.8	22.7	13.1
Three or more siblings	15.2	21.3	10.8	22.3
Total children (1,000)	10,575		12,715	

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.
Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

Table 6—Distribution and poverty rate of rural children living with relatives² by race/ethnicity and family structure, 1980-90

Race/ethnicity and family structure	1980		1990	
	Total	Poverty rate	Total	Poverty rate
	<i>Percent</i>			
Black	100.0	50.4	100.0	52.1
Woman without a spouse	56.5	63.1	63.2	61.5
Married couple	43.5	33.8	36.8	36.0
Total children (1,000)	331		293	
Hispanic:	100.0	34.3	100.0	37.1
Woman without a spouse	30.7	51.4	35.4	52.8
Married couple	69.3	26.7	64.6	28.5
Total children (1,000)	45		60	
White:	100.0	21.1	100.0	20.3
Woman without a spouse	29.4	32.1	34.2	31.9
Married couple	70.6	16.6	65.8	14.3
Total children (1,000)	445		429	

¹ Rural is defined as those areas outside metropolitan boundaries and is equivalent to nonmetropolitan; urban is equivalent to metropolitan.

² Excludes own children (natural, step, and adopted).

Source: Computed by ERS from Public Use Microdata Samples, 1980 and 1990 Censuses.

Among rural Black children in married-couple families, the poverty rate for those with fewer than three siblings declined. At the same time, the proportion of children with fewer siblings increased. Poverty rose among children with three or more siblings, but the proportion of children in that category declined.

Although rural Hispanic children also shifted toward fewer siblings, 53 percent had two or more siblings in 1990. Poverty rates rose for rural Hispanic children in married-couple families regardless of how many siblings they had. With the majority of children in the higher-poverty, larger families, poverty for rural Hispanic children in married-couple families rose by five percentage points (table 5).

Children Living in the Household of a Relative

A fifth of rural Black children live in the households of relatives other than their parents (“related” children). The percentage of children in this situation is lower for other race/ethnicity groups.

For this analysis we include related children who live in a household headed by a woman without a spouse or by a married couple. The woman of the household can be of any age.

Overall, the number of children living in the households of relatives rose over the decade while the number living in parental households declined. The number of Hispanic children living with relatives increased in both urban and rural areas, while the number of Black and White related children increased only in urban areas.

The majority of rural Black related children lived in a family headed solely by a woman in 1980, and the proportion had increased by 1990 (table 6). In contrast, the majority of Hispanic and White related children lived in married-couple families, though the proportions shrank between 1980 and 1990.

Poverty for Related Children

Among related children, poverty was higher for those in families headed by women (table 6), as was the case for own children. However, the level of poverty is lower for related children in these families than for own children. The gap between related-child and own-child poverty in families headed by women widened between 1980 and 1990. Poverty decreased for children living in a household headed by relatives and increased for children living in a household headed by their mother. Living with relatives often serves as a way for young unmarried mothers to stay out of poverty. The number of subfamilies living with relatives rose over the decade (Swanson and Dacquel, 1993), perhaps indicating, along with the rising poverty of single mothers heading households, increasing hardship for unmarried mothers on their own.

For White and Black related children in married-couple families, poverty was higher than for children whose own married parents headed the household. This may be due to the older ages of the married couples who have taken in related children, reducing the chance that the couple earns two incomes and increasing the likelihood that they are in retirement.

Conclusion

Fewer families had children in 1990 than in 1980, a factor that helped to keep increases in minority poverty rates low. Once the population is split into segments with and without children, however, we can see high and rising poverty for minority children and their families, particularly in rural areas.

Rising education among Black and Hispanic women, small declines in the poverty rates of children in married-couple families, and the declining number of children per family, especially among the least educated, have not been enough to offset the forces acting to increase the poverty rate for children. Particularly for rural Blacks, the sharp rise in families headed by women with children, accompanied by an increase in the already high poverty rate of such families, has greatly increased child poverty. Thus, growing proportions of rural minority children are disadvantaged, undermining the prospect of progress for rural minorities.

References

- Bianchi, S. M. 1993. "Children of Poverty: Why Are They Poor?" *Child Poverty and Public Policy*. J. Chafel (ed.) Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Bumpass, L. L., and J. A. Sweet. 1989. "Children's Experience in Single-Parent Families: Implications of Cohabitation and Marital Transitions," *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 21, No. 6, pp. 256-60.
- Evgebeen, D. J., and D. T. Lichter. 1991. "Race, Family Structure, and Changing Poverty Among American Children," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 56, No. 6, pp. 801-17.
- Garfinkel, I., and S. McLanahan. 1986. *Single Mothers and Their Children*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press.
- Garrett, P., N. Ng'andu, and J. Ferron. 1994. "Is Rural Residency a Risk Factor for Childhood Poverty?" *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 59, No. 1, pp. 66-83.
- Gottschalk, P., and S. Danziger. 1993. "Family Structure, Family Size, and Family Income: Accounting for Changes in the Economic Well-Being of Children, 1968-1986," *Uneven Tides: Rising Inequality in America*. S. Danziger and P. Gottschalk (eds.). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jensen, L., and M. Tienda. 1989. "Nonmetropolitan Minority Families in the United States: Trends in Racial and Ethnic Economic Stratification, 1959-1986," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 4, pp. 509-32.
- Lichter, D. T., and D. J. Evgebeen. 1992. "Child Poverty and the Changing Rural Family," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 57, No. 2, pp. 151-72.
- Lichter, D. T., G. T. Cornwell, and D. J. Evgebeen. 1993. "Harvesting Human Capital: Family Structure and Education Among Rural Youth," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 1, pp. 53-75.
- Martin, T. C., and L. L. Bumpass. 1989. "Recent Trends in Marital Disruption," *Demography*, Vol. 26, pp. 37-51.
- McLanahan, S. 1985. "Family Structure and the Reproduction of Poverty," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 90, No. 4, pp. 873-901.
- Morgan, S. P., A. McDaniel, A. T. Miller, and S. H. Preston. 1993. "Racial Differences in Household and Family Structure at the Turn of the Century," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 98, No. 4, pp. 798-828.
- Pagnini, D. L., and R. R. Rindfuss. 1993. "The Divorce of Marriage and Childbearing: Changing Attitudes and Behavior in the United States," *Population and Development Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 331-47.
- Public Voice for Food and Health Policy. 1987. *Profiles of Rural Poverty: Facing Barriers to the Food Stamp Program*. Washington, DC.
- Rogers, C. C. 1991. *The Economic Well-Being of Nonmetro Children*, RDRR-82. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.
- Smith, J. P. 1989. "Children Among the Poor," *Demography*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 235-48.
- Swanson, L. 1994. "Rural Poverty Rate Remains Higher than Urban Rate," *Rural Conditions and Trends*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 12-13.
- Swanson, L., and L. Dacquel. 1991. "Rural Families Headed by Women Are on the Rise," *Rural Conditions and Trends*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 20-21.
- Swanson, L., and L. Dacquel. 1992. "The Effect of Economic Stress on Family Structure," *Proceedings of Agriculture Outlook 1993*. YCON-3:532-544. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res.Serv.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. 1993. "Table 94. Poverty Status in 1989 of Black Families and Persons: 1990," *1990 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics, CP-2-1, United States*.