

# **Incomplete Plumbing in Poor Rural Areas.**

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September 11, 1995

Abstract: Poor rural counties have a disproportionate share of the nation's substandard housing. Within this group of poverty counties the problem of incomplete household plumbing is fairly concentrated, as it is in rural America generally. Minorities, the elderly, and renters are at a higher risk of living with incomplete plumbing, while the largest numbers of plumbing deficient households are whites, young families, and homeowners. Despite the remaining problems, access to water and sewer services has increased significantly in poor rural areas. Eliminating substandard rural housing will require continued improvements in household sewage disposal.

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Keywords; incomplete plumbing, infrastructure, rural poverty

Barry Ryan is a research fellow in the Department of Applied Economics, University of Minnesota, Saint Paul. This research was funded in part by a grant from the Rural Utility Services Administration, U.S.D.A, with special thanks to the Economic Research Service, U.S.D.A.

## **Introduction.**

There is a shared value in America that all its citizens have the fundamental right to a clean water environment. Over the last 30 years, water quality standards have become more demanding, and billions of dollars have been spent building and upgrading our infrastructure. We have made tremendous progress, and today the vast majority of Americans take water and sewer services for granted. Yet close to a million homes are still without running water or a flush toilet. These families are often among the nation's poorest, and substandard plumbing is only one reflection of their impoverished lives.

Beyond the humanitarian reason, government has a responsibility for the larger public health and safety, to improve the sanitary conditions in these households. Yet to effectively target their financial resources, policymakers need more information. This report describes the extent of inadequate plumbing in rural America, and in particular the conditions in persistent poverty counties. Comparing rural poor counties with the rest of rural and urban America, illustrates how unevenly substandard housing is distributed. This study uses 1990 Census of Population and Housing data to examine the status of incomplete plumbing for the total housing stock, and then in more detail, the household characteristics of occupied substandard housing. The last section of this report describes water and sewer system access for the total housing stock.

## **Background.**

Even before the environmental legislation of the 1970's, the federal government recognized the inadequacy of rural America's water and sewage infrastructure. New laws were passed to make it easier for small communities to get financial assistance for water and sewer projects from federal agencies, such as the Farmers Home Administration. Rural housing conditions were documented by the Economic Research Service (ERS) in a series of research reports beginning in the early 1960's. These studies found virtually all urban housing had complete plumbing facilities in 1960, while 20-percent of rural homes were without indoor water, and 30-percent had no flush toilet. The worst conditions were in

the East South Central census region (Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Alabama) where 45-percent of rural homes had no indoor water and 57-percent had no flush toilet.

The ERS analysis used housing data from the 1960 Census of Population and Housing, which provided far greater detail on housing conditions than is available today. Reflecting the plumbing standards of a different time, household facilities were classified as either inside or outside the home, and for shared or exclusive use. Conditions differed enough to warrant distinctions between hot and cold running water, cold water alone, or no piped water at all. In contrast, the 1990 Census has a singular definition of a housing unit with complete plumbing; it must have hot and cold piped water, a flush toilet, and a bathtub or shower. All three elements are required for a unit to be counted, but they need not be for the exclusive use of the resident household.

Between 1960 and 1990 the U.S. population grew by 38 percent, to 249 million persons. The U.S. housing stock, however, nearly doubled -- from 53 million units to more than 102 million units. The 1960 rural population was estimated at 57 million persons, using the standard Census definition for rural (any community with 2,500 persons or less, plus people living in the open country). There were 17.6 million rural housing units, of which 3.5 million units had no running water, and 5.4 million lacked flush toilets. This study uses a somewhat different definition of rural, developed by ERS for policy research, and based on county government boundaries (2,276 rural, 813 metropolitan). Using this definition, the 1990 rural population was 51 million persons, and the rural housing stock numbered 22.5 million units.

The Economic Research Service organizes rural counties further into 11 groups, based on their primary economic activity, or dominant social characteristic. Rural counties need not fall exclusively into one of these 11 groups, indeed many overlap. For instance, the 535 persistent poverty counties overlap heavily with farming, manufacturing, transfers-dependent, and nonspecialized categories in the ERS typology. To qualify as a persistent poverty county, 20 percent or more of the households living in the county had to have incomes below the national poverty line in each of the last four census surveys; 1960-1990. Rural poor counties are characterized by Cook and Mizer as having a disproportionate

share of at-risk populations; minorities, female-headed households, high school drop-outs, and persons with physical or mental disabilities. Incomes are lower and unemployment is higher in persistent poverty counties, than in the rest of rural America.

**Housing units.**

One percent of the U.S. housing stock is plumbing deficient, about 1.1 million units. Despite having only 22 percent of the nation’s total housing stock, rural America has over half the incomplete plumbing units. Poor rural counties, which hold just 4 percent of the U.S. housing stock, claim 17 percent of the substandard units. Overall, 5 percent of poor rural housing has incomplete plumbing, twice the rate of non-poor rural areas, and ten times higher than metropolitan counties.

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 Table 1. Plumbing Status of U.S. Housing -- 1000's Units

	<u>Complete</u>	<u>Incomplete</u>
Metropolitan	79,343	515
R. Non-poor	18,058	393
Rural Poor	3,761	193
U.S. Total	101,16	1,101

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 Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

Many factors may contribute to these inequalities in housing. Poor rural households have lower incomes, and thus may not be willing or able to pay for better plumbing services. Economies of scale may also work against poor rural counties, which are less densely populated than non-poor counties, despite having larger households. Settlement patterns and the local geology may also play a role. The surface water resources of rural poor counties are only half that of non-poor counties. The relative scarcity of water may increase resource management problems, and have a negative impact on the viability of

water and sewer services. Largely concentrated in the southern U.S., poor rural counties may also reflect other geographic and socioeconomic peculiarities of that region.

**Housing types.**

Single family homes (SFH), including attached units such as row houses, make up two-thirds of the U.S. housing stock. A similar portion of the plumbing deficient housing is single family as well. In poor rural areas, 71 percent of the housing stock is SFH, a smaller share than in non-poor rural areas. Yet among the plumbing deficient rural poor units, 78 percent are SFH.

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 Table 2. Incomplete Plumbing by Housing Type -- 1000's units

	SFH	MFH	MobH	Other
Metropolitan	271	173	45	26
R. Non-poor	284	15	69	25
Rural Poor	150	3	29	11
U.S. Total	705	191	143	62

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.  
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Multi-family housing units (MFH), some larger than 50 dwellings per structure, make up 28 percent of the U.S. housing stock. In rural areas only 12 percent of the housing is multi-family, and these tend to be structures of fewer than 10 units. Inadequate MFH plumbing is predominately an urban problem, and explains only 3 percent of rural substandard housing. Mobile homes (MobH) are 15 percent of the total rural housing stock, but in poor rural areas they make up 19 percent of all housing units. These structures account for 98,000 of the rural substandard housing units. Finally, there are more than 1 million "other" housing units in the U.S., such as houseboats, railroad cars, campers and vans. Overall, about 6 percent of this housing type is plumbing deficient, while the rate in rural areas is two to three times higher.

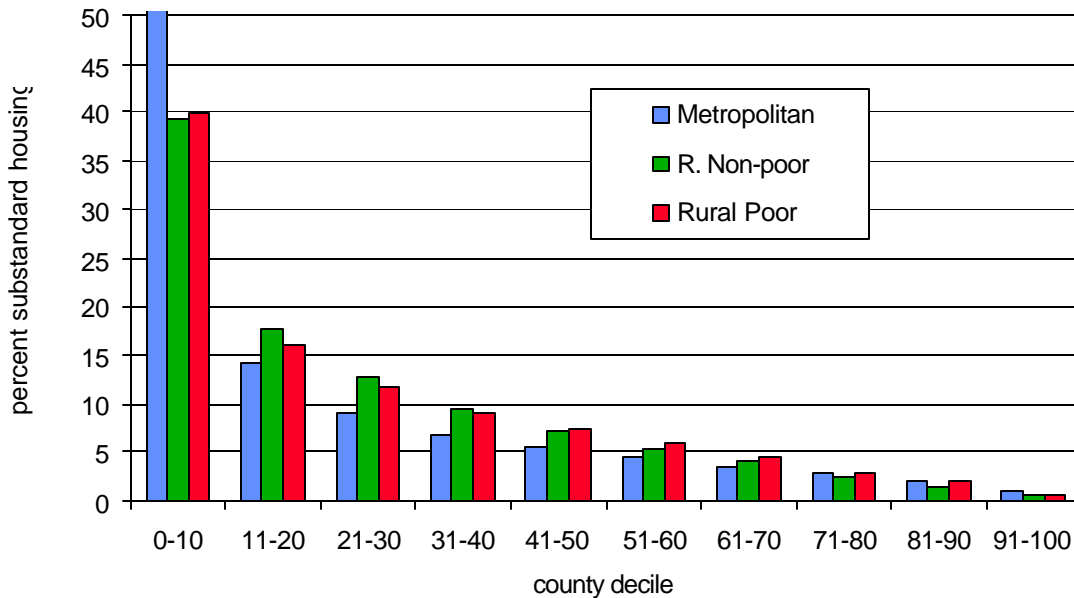
## **Occupied housing.**

Occupied housing is a subset of the total housing stock, and represents a variety of household situations; from one person living alone to an extended family living together. A housing unit is any dwelling that constitutes separate living quarters. To be considered occupied, the dwelling must be the usual place of residence for a person or household. On the other hand, vacant housing includes only those units in which no person was living permanently or regularly at the time of the survey. Examples of vacant housing include seasonal recreation properties, empty rental units or houses for sale. Some occasional-use housing is also considered vacant, such as that used by migrant farm workers during the cropping season.

Ten percent of the 102.3 million U.S. housing units are vacant. The vacancy rate in rural America is 15 percent, and the same rate holds in poor rural areas. Vacant housing has a much higher incidence of incomplete plumbing than do occupied units. So while the total U.S. housing stock has 1.1 million units with incomplete plumbing, the occupied housing stock lacks complete facilities in just 720,000 units. Rural America has 586,000 total housing units with incomplete plumbing, but only 327,000 are occupied homes. In poor rural counties, 193,000 houses are without full plumbing, of which 60,000 are vacant. Even after adjusting out the vacant housing units, the same relative disparity exists between urban and rural groups. Metropolitan counties still have only one-half of one percent of their households without complete plumbing. The non-poor rural rate falls from 2.1 percent (for housing units) to just 1.25 percent of (occupied) households are plumbing deficient, while the rural poor rate goes from 5 percent to 4 percent.

Substandard Concentrations. The burden of incomplete plumbing is not evenly distributed within urban or rural county groups. Indeed, a large number of the substandard housing is concentrated in a small portion of each county group. In rural poor counties for instance, 38

percent of the incomplete plumbing households live in just 10 percent of the rural poor counties.



Appendix tables 1-3 list the 20 best and worst counties in rural poor, non-poor, and metropolitan policy groups. The worst five rural poor counties have nearly 18,000 incomplete occupied households, about 8 percent of the rural poor total. Three counties are in Arizona, and two are in New Mexico. These five counties are in a largely native American area, known as the Four Corners region. A significant share of the total housing units there are vacant, and the percentage with incomplete plumbing is higher among vacant units than occupied homes in these counties. The 20 rural poor counties with the lowest incidence of incomplete plumbing have a total of 115 plumbing deficient occupied homes. A similar distribution exists in non-poor rural counties, where several Alaska and Virginia counties top the list of counties with the highest number of occupied housing units with incomplete plumbing. No substandard occupied housing was reported in 38 non-poor rural counties; an area with over 62,300 rural households.

Occupied Housing Characteristic:



Homeownership. Seventy-five percent of rural households own the home in which they live, compared with 62 percent in metropolitan counties. Homeowners, everywhere, are more apt to have complete plumbing, than are renters within the same county group. Renters in poor rural counties have the highest level of incomplete plumbing, followed by homeowners in poverty counties. The only exceptions are when the cohorts are divided further based on the number of persons per room living in the household.

The vast majority of households (95%) have fewer than one person per room, regardless of where they live or their ownership status. For these households, homeowners are always more likely have complete plumbing than are renters. In households with between 1.0 and 1.5 persons per room, the incidence of incomplete plumbing is about the same for owners and renters. But for rural households above 1.5 persons per room, the likelihood of incomplete plumbing is twice as great for homeowners than renters. The worst situation is in poor rural areas, where 32 percent of homeowners (with more than 1.5 persons per room) are living with substandard plumbing, compared to 17 percent for the same group of renters. While these large families represent a very small percentage of the total rural poor households (2%), they are a large share (17%) of the 133,000 rural poor households with incomplete plumbing.

Age of the structure. Eighteen percent of the U.S. occupied housing was built before 1940. These older homes are less likely to have modern plumbing, but the distribution of incomplete plumbing favors newer homes only slightly. Twenty-two percent of rural America's occupied housing is pre-1940's construction, compared to just 12 percent in poor rural areas. Having a newer housing stock concentrates the rural poor substandard units into the remaining pre-1940 structures. Older homes account for 18 percent of the poor rural households with substandard plumbing, compared to 23 percent in non-poor areas. Across rural America, there are 87,000 households living in pre-1940 structures that have substandard plumbing.

Racial and ethnic differences. The largest racial group of rural households are whites, with 16.9 million of the 18.8 million occupied housing units. Blacks account for

nearly 1.4 million rural households. American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut (AIEA) number over a quarter million households. There are 200,000 households classified as "Other Race" (i.e. multiracial background), and 100,000 of Asian or Pacific Island (API) descent. Rural poverty counties have a similar racial distribution, but a higher percentage of minorities; 1.5 million of the 4.0 million rural poor households are non-white.

Just 1.25 percent of rural white households live without complete plumbing facilities, the smallest percentage of any rural racial group. Yet they represent the largest number of rural households with plumbing deficiencies -- 212,000 (or 70 percent) of the total 327,000 occupied rural households with incomplete plumbing. The rate for whites in poor rural areas is 2.3 percent, and they make up 58,000 (or 44 percent) of the 133,000 plumbing deficient homes.

Rural black households have a 6 percent chance of being without complete plumbing. Poor and non-poor rural counties combined have 77,000 plumbing deficient black households -- 46,000 are in poor counties alone. American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut in non-poor counties have a 4 percent risk of living in substandard housing, but in poor rural counties that rate jumps to over 22 percent. Thirty-two thousand rural American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut households lack complete plumbing, and 26,000 of these are in poverty counties. Inadequate plumbing among rural Asian or Pacific Islanders and "Others" is generally below 2 percent. Combined they account for less than 6,000 plumbing deficient rural households.

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 Table 3. Incomplete Plumbing by Race -- 1000's Households

	White	Black	AIEA	API/Other	Hisp.
Metropolitan	234	100	5	54	81
R. Non-poor	155	30	6	3	5
Rural Poor	58	47	26	3	7
U.S. Total	447	177	37	60	93

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Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

The only ethnic distinction is for households of Hispanic origin, and they are counted as a subset of the racial breakdown. Close to 500,000 Hispanic households live in rural areas. In non-poor counties Hispanic households have a 1.5 percent chance of living with substandard plumbing, while in poor rural counties the rate is three times higher. Just over 12,000 rural Hispanic households live with incomplete plumbing, and 60 percent are in poor rural counties. Hispanics and all of the racial groups have a larger number of incomplete plumbing households in metropolitan areas than in rural areas, except for American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut. Asians or Pacific Islanders and "Others", as well as Hispanics, are household groups found predominately in metropolitan counties, and their largest numbers of substandard homes are in those counties as well.

The Elderly. Five million rural households are headed by a person 65 years of age or older. Elderly households are more common in rural areas (27%) than in metropolitan counties (21%). Yet regardless of where they live, the elderly are always more likely to living in structures with substandard plumbing. Rural elderly households make up one-third (106,000) of the 327,000 plumbing deficient rural (occupied) housing units. In rural poor counties there are 900,000 elderly households, and 40,000 of them (4.4%) lack complete home plumbing.

### **Access to Water and Sewage Collection Systems.**

A significant increase in rural access to sewer and water services accompanied the dramatic reduction in substandard rural housing over the last three decades. The ERS analysis of 1960 Census data found just 32 percent of rural housing were connected to a public or private water system, while only 14 percent had access to public sewage collection. Again, the worst conditions were in rural areas of the East South Central census region, where service was virtually non-existent. Today, sixty-five percent of all rural housing is connected to a water system, and the rate is even higher (69%) in poor rural areas. Water systems must have at least 5 connections, while drilled wells can serve up to 4

housing units. Drilled wells are the water source for 28 percent of non-poor rural housing, and 24 percent of poor rural housing.

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 Table 4. Source of drinking water -- 1000's housing units

	Water System	Drilled Well	Dug Well	Other Means
Metropolitan	71,644	7,079	782	352
R. Non-poor	11,707	5,424	730	590
Rural Poor	2,718	964	153	120
U.S. Total	86,068	13,467	1,664	1,063

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Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

Hand dug wells supply 4 percent of all rural homes, while another 4 percent draw water from some other source; including rivers, lakes, and cisterns. These two categories - dug wells and other means-- might easily be interpreted as inferior water sources, but this does not appear to be the case for all housing units. The two categories total 2.6 million units, more than twice the number of U.S. housing units with incomplete plumbing. This implies that dug wells and "other" water sources can support the needs of at least 1.5 million housing units well enough for them to be counted as having complete plumbing facilities.

Naturally, the existence of a water system should not be confused with water quality, many systems cannot achieve the most basic standards. In the same way, the mere collection of sewage waste does not guarantee it is safely recycled into the larger water environment. Sewer systems extend to 75 percent of the nation's total housing. But sewage collection reaches only half of all rural housing, and the rate is even lower (45%) in poor rural counties. Septic tanks and cesspools are still used by 25 million U.S. housing units, and over half of these units are in metropolitan counties.

As with substandard plumbing, poor rural areas have a disproportionate share of housing with some "other means" of sewage disposal. The difference between the U.S. total for this category (1,137 thousand) and the housing count for incomplete plumbing (1,101 thousand) is just 36,000 units. Such close estimates suggest that waste disposal is the likely point of failure in the Census complete plumbing test.

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Table 5. Method of Sewage Disposal -- 1000's Housing Units

	Public Sewers	Septic / Cesspool	Other Means
Metropolitan	65,533	13,855	469
R. Non-poor	9,196	8,801	454
Rural Poor	1,725	2,014	214
U.S. Total	76,455	24,670	1,137

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Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

### Summary.

Rural America has 586,000 housing units with incomplete plumbing facilities, but only 327,000 units are occupied households. Poor rural areas account for 133,000 of all rural plumbing deficient households. The rate of incomplete plumbing is three times higher in these poverty counties than in the rest of rural America. Overall, a small number of counties hold a large portion of the incomplete plumbing households.

Being a minority household, or having an elderly person heading the household, significantly increases the odds of substandard plumbing in the home. Renters live under worse conditions than homeowners, except when large families are living in crowded situations. Structurally speaking, single family homes are less likely than other housing types to have complete plumbing, as are structures built before 1940.

Despite the lingering problems of inadequate plumbing, poor rural areas have a higher level of access to drinking water systems, than non-poor rural areas. Sewage collection, however, is less common in poor rural counties, and the lack of complete household plumbing seems to be linked to the problems of sewage disposal. While rural poor areas still face many challenges, they have experienced dramatic improvements in their access to water and sewer services over the last 30 years.

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Appendix table 1. -- Incomplete plumbing: 20 highest and lowest RURAL POOR counties.

20 highest rural poor counties			Total Housing Units	Vacancy Rate:all housing	Incomplete Vacant percent	Plumbing Facilities <u>Occupied housing</u> percent	number
Rank	County or census area	State					
1	APACHE COUNTY	AZ	26,731	40%	47%	35%	5,544
2	MCKINLEY COUNTY	NM	20,933	21%	47%	26%	4,339
3	NAVAJO COUNTY	AZ	38,967	43%	18%	18%	3,931
4	COCONINO COUNTY	AZ	42,914	30%	16%	8%	2,392
5	SAN JUAN COUNTY	NM	34,248	16%	26%	8%	2,165
6	BETHEL CENSUS AREA	AK	9,261	31%	80%	55%	3,538
7	HALIFAX COUNTY	NC	22,480	10%	10%	7%	1,342
8	NOME CENSUS AREA	AK	3,684	36%	80%	42%	989
9	STARR COUNTY	TX	12,209	15%	13%	9%	978
10	BREATHITT COUNTY	KY	6,127	9%	29%	17%	928
11	WADE HAMPTON CENSUS	AK	1,882	27%	95%	66%	901
12	ROBESON COUNTY	NC	39,045	7%	5%	2%	891
13	ORANGEBURG COUNTY	SC	32,340	11%	4%	3%	848
14	MAVERICK COUNTY	TX	11,143	12%	20%	9%	846
15	CLAY COUNTY	KY	7,930	7%	5%	11%	836
16	DALLAS COUNTY	AL	19,045	11%	6%	5%	827
17	WHITLEY COUNTY	KY	13,399	9%	7%	7%	799
18	SAN JUAN COUNTY	UT	4,650	27%	44%	23%	780
19	PERRY COUNTY	KY	11,565	8%	10%	7%	768
20	LEE COUNTY	VA	10,263	10%	19%	8%	742
Total			368,816				34,384
20 lowest rural poor counties							
516	WORTH COUNTY	MO	1,269	18%	25%	1.0%	10
517	DE BACA COUNTY	NM	1,329	31%	9%	1.1%	10
518	HALL COUNTY	TX	2,189	24%	3%	0.5%	9
519	CONCHO COUNTY	TX	1,514	30%	11%	0.8%	8
520	BOYD COUNTY	NE	1,538	25%	11%	0.7%	8
521	DICKENS COUNTY	TX	1,564	31%	12%	0.7%	7
522	GRANT COUNTY	ND	2,011	32%	3%	0.5%	7
523	BRISCOE COUNTY	TX	1,074	27%	5%	0.9%	7
524	REAL COUNTY	TX	2,049	55%	5%	0.8%	7
525	UNION COUNTY	KY	6,091	8%	4%	0.1%	6
526	MOTLEY COUNTY	TX	1,026	37%	10%	0.9%	6
527	FAULK COUNTY	SD	1,286	18%	30%	0.6%	6
528	MENARD COUNTY	TX	1,562	40%	15%	0.6%	6
529	BAILEY COUNTY	TX	3,109	21%	3%	0.2%	6
530	DOUGLAS COUNTY	SD	1,517	11%	19%	0.4%	6
531	KIDDER COUNTY	ND	1,672	25%	5%	0.2%	2
532	HARMON COUNTY	OK	1,793	17%	7%	0.1%	2
533	CASTRO COUNTY	TX	3,357	14%	0%	0.1%	2
534	PARMER COUNTY	TX	3,685	12%	1%	0.0%	0
535	KENEDY COUNTY	TX	213	32%	0%	0.0%	0
Total			39,848				115

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.



Appendix table 2. -- Incomplete plumbing: 20 highest and lowest Rural NON-POOR counties.

20 highest rural non-poor counties		Total	Vacancy	Incomplete Plumbing			
Rank	County or census area	State	Housing Units	Rate: all housing	Vacant percent	Occupied housing percent	number
1	KODIAK ISLAND BOROUGH	AK	4,151	23%	79%	53%	1,693
2	FAIRBANKS NORTH STAR BORO	AK	31,823	16%	20%	6%	1,561
3	HAWAII COUNTY	HI	48,253	14%	8%	3%	1,246
4	HALIFAX COUNTY	VA	11,790	9%	9%	10%	1,108
5	KENAI PENINSULA BOROUGH	AK	19,364	26%	40%	7%	963
6	ACCOMACK COUNTY	VA	15,840	20%	7%	8%	958
7	MATANUSKA-SUSITNA CENSUS	AK	20,953	36%	46%	7%	938
8	MECKLENBURG COUNTY	VA	14,589	23%	9%	8%	852
9	GRANVILLE COUNTY	NC	14,164	7%	13%	6%	803
10	ROCKINGHAM COUNTY	VA	22,614	8%	11%	4%	771
11	MENDOCINO COUNTY	CA	33,649	10%	10%	2%	760
12	WASHINGTON COUNTY	ME	19,124	30%	25%	5%	696
13	HUMBOLDT COUNTY	CA	51,134	9%	12%	1%	657
14	HANCOCK COUNTY	ME	30,396	40%	9%	4%	649
15	SCIOTO COUNTY	OH	32,408	8%	6%	2%	647
16	FREDERICK COUNTY	VA	17,864	8%	7%	4%	635
17	SOUTHAMPTON COUNTY	VA	6,560	8%	13%	11%	631
18	PIKE COUNTY	KY	28,760	9%	6%	2%	624
19	ROSS COUNTY	OH	26,173	7%	8%	2%	597
20	AUGUSTA COUNTY	VA	21,202	7%	9%	3%	586
Total			470,811				17,375
20 lowest rural non-poor counties							
1722	LANE COUNTY	KS	1,117	14%	4%	0%	0
1723	HOOKER COUNTY	NE	433	23%	1%	0%	0
1724	ROBERTS COUNTY	TX	492	21%	1%	0%	0
1725	MORRILL COUNTY	NE	2,530	18%	15%	0%	0
1726	SCOTT COUNTY	KS	2,305	12%	3%	0%	0
1727	SHERMAN COUNTY	KS	3,177	14%	0%	0%	0
1728	RICH COUNTY	UT	1,859	72%	3%	0%	0
1729	LIPSCOMB COUNTY	TX	1,683	27%	10%	0%	0
1730	LLANO COUNTY	TX	9,773	46%	3%	0%	0
1731	HANSFORD COUNTY	TX	2,525	16%	8%	0%	0
1732	CHOUTEAU COUNTY	MT	2,668	23%	10%	0%	0
1733	WALLACE COUNTY	KS	840	19%	5%	0%	0
1734	KEARNEY COUNTY	NE	2,756	8%	8%	0%	0
1735	OLDHAM COUNTY	TX	861	21%	7%	0%	0
1736	KIOWA COUNTY	CO	878	25%	2%	0%	0
1737	GRANT COUNTY	KS	2,599	8%	0%	0%	0
1738	SEWARD COUNTY	KS	7,572	13%	1%	0%	0
1739	IRION COUNTY	TX	842	29%	0%	0%	0
1740	CHILDRESS COUNTY	TX	3,046	20%	6%	0%	0
1741	ARMSTRONG COUNTY	TX	916	16%	0%	0%	0
Total			48,872				0

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.

Appendix table 3. -- Incomplete plumbing: 20 highest and lowest METROPOLITAN counties.

Facilities		20 highest metropolitan counties		Total	Vacancy	Incomplete Plumbing	
<u>housing</u>				Housing	Rate: all	Vacant	<u>Occupied</u>
Rank	County or census area	State	Units	housing	percent	percent	percent
number							
1	LOS ANGELES COUNTY	CA	3,163,343	5%	1%	1%	20,963
2	NEW YORK COUNTY	NY	785,127	9%	2%	2%	13,142
3	COOK COUNTY	IL	2,021,833	7%	1%	1%	11,394
4	KINGS COUNTY	NY	873,671	5%	1%	1%	10,253
5	HIDALGO COUNTY	TX	128,241	19%	5%	6%	6,698
6	BRONX COUNTY	NY	440,955	4%	2%	1%	6,069
7	HARRIS COUNTY	TX	1,173,808	13%	1%	1%	5,676
8	DADE COUNTY	FL	771,288	10%	1%	1%	5,383
9	SAN FRANCISCO CITY/COUNTY	CA	328,471	7%	2%	2%	4,619
10	QUEENS COUNTY	NY	752,690	4%	1%	1%	4,506
11	WAYNE COUNTY	MI	832,710	6%	1%	1%	4,333
12	SAN DIEGO COUNTY	CA	946,240	6%	1%	0%	4,222
13	PHILADELPHIA CITY/COUNTY	PA	674,899	11%	3%	1%	4,036
14	DALLAS COUNTY	TX	795,513	12%	1%	0%	3,072
15	CAMERON COUNTY	TX	88,759	17%	3%	4%	2,883
16	EL PASO COUNTY	TX	187,473	5%	4%	2%	2,808
17	BEXAR COUNTY	TX	455,832	10%	2%	1%	2,764
18	ORANGE COUNTY	CA	875,072	5%	0%	0%	2,624
19	ESSEX COUNTY	NJ	298,710	7%	3%	1%	2,508
20	MARICOPA COUNTY	AZ	952,041	15%	1%	0%	2,506
		Total	16,546,676				120,459
		20 lowest metropolitan counties					
794	MORTON COUNTY	ND	9,467	8.3%	7.8%	0.4%	33
795	OHIO COUNTY	IN	2,161	8.4%	6.6%	1.7%	33
796	TIPTON COUNTY	IN	6,427	6.2%	4.0%	0.5%	32
797	LOGAN COUNTY	OK	12,277	17.1%	4.4%	0.3%	30
798	ROCKWALL COUNTY	TX	9,816	10.0%	1.8%	0.3%	30
799	HOOD COUNTY	TX	14,958	25.5%	3.7%	0.2%	27
800	MENARD COUNTY	IL	4,650	9.7%	6.7%	0.6%	27
801	ANDREW COUNTY	MO	5,841	7.1%	4.9%	0.5%	26
802	PIKE COUNTY	PA	30,852	65.8%	0.6%	0.2%	24
803	GRUNDY COUNTY	IL	12,652	5.3%	7.0%	0.2%	24
804	CASS COUNTY	NE	8,951	12.9%	6.3%	0.3%	22
805	LINCOLN COUNTY	SD	5,823	6.2%	3.0%	0.4%	20
806	KENDALL COUNTY	IL	13,747	3.2%	5.4%	0.1%	19
807	CHATTAHOOCHEE COUNTY	GA	3,108	7.2%	10.7%	0.7%	19
808	WOODFORD COUNTY	IL	11,932	4.5%	7.3%	0.1%	17
809	POSEY COUNTY	IN	10,401	8.6%	4.5%	0.2%	16
810	DAKOTA COUNTY	NE	6,486	7.0%	2.4%	0.2%	11
811	GRAND ISLE COUNTY	VT	4,135	51.2%	1.4%	0.5%	11
812	ARCHER COUNTY	TX	3,680	19.6%	3.9%	0.3%	9
813	LOS ALAMOS COUNTY	NM	7,565	4.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0
		Total	184,929				430

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing.