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The Great Recession and SNAP Caseloads:

A Tale of Two States

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Abstract

Using unique detailed administrative data for the 2003-2010 period, we contrast Florida's and Oregon's dramatically different participation dynamics, assessing the expansion and extension of benefits before, during, and after the Great Recession. While the recession led to increased need and SNAP participation in both states, state differences in pre-recession program policies and efforts to enroll and retain eligible participants provide a plausible explanation for lower exit rates and longer spell durations in Oregon. Implications of these findings for low income households, policymakers and future research are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The Great Recession of 2008-2009 produced record numbers of poor Americans. Since then, the economy has recovered slowly with persistently high levels of underemployment and long-term unemployment. Yet, food insecurity, one of the most direct measures of material hardship, did not rise in the years immediately after the Recession even though income-based measures of economic well-being continued to deteriorate (Coleman-Jensen et al. 2012). Increases in the take-up rates and the generosity of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP¹) have been given some credit for this buffering of American families from food insecurity during and after the Recession (Nord and Prell 2011). Following an extraordinary spike with the onset of the Great Recession, the SNAP caseload continued to grow even as the economy slowly improved, reaching 22.3 million households in fiscal year 2012, up from 12.7 million households in fiscal year 2008 (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2012).

While it is evident that SNAP caseloads have increased as a result of the Great Recession, little is known about how dynamics of SNAP use have changed since then. Differences in those dynamics across states provide an opportunity to examine the degree to which the SNAP caseload is impacted by the economic needs state agencies and residents have faced and the ways agencies have implemented this important safety net program. Florida and Oregon offer a useful contrast in the SNAP-reliance of their populations, the administration of the program, and the timing and depth of economic impact of the Recession. Using state administrative data from Oregon and Florida over the 2003-2010 time period, we document each state's pre-recession situation, its reaction to the recession in terms of *expansion* of SNAP benefits (increasing the flow of new participants into the program), and the *extension* of SNAP duration for participants

(reducing the outflow from the program). We conclude with a discussion of implications of our findings for low-income families, policymakers, and researchers.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Changes in the SNAP caseload over the past 30 years have inspired a body of research that examines the relative impacts of policy changes versus macro-economic conditions. A series of studies at the end the 1990s sought to explain the substantial decline in caseloads over the 1980s and 1990s (Currie & Grogger 2001; Figlio, Gundersen, & Ziliak 2000; Kabbani & Wilde 2003; Kornfeld 2002; Wallace & Blank 1999; Ziliak, Gundersen & Figlio 2003.). Some researchers found that macro-economic conditions accounted for more of the declining caseload than did policy changes (Kabbani & Wilde 2003; Ziliak et.al. 2003), while others detected relatively equal effects (Kornfeld 2002), and still others concluded that policy changes were more influential than the improving economy of the 1990s (Currie & Grogger 2001).

Focusing on the dramatically increasing caseload of the 2000s, a new round of studies looked at how variation in administrative processes in the program as well as macroeconomic conditions affected the SNAP caseload. Ziliak (2013), Klerman & Danielson (2011) and Mabli & Ferrerosa (2010) found greater effects of macro-economic conditions than effects from policy innovations, but all three identified non-trivial effects of SNAP policy changes at both the federal and state level. Those changes include use of categorical eligibility (where eligibility for one need-based program qualifies clients for another), increases in the dollar value of vehicles excluded from asset calculations, and adoption of electronic benefits transfer (EBT) cards to replace paper coupons. Ratcliffe, McKernan & Finegold (2008) also identified significant effects of policy innovations such as longer certification periods and more generous asset tests. Mabli,

Sama-Martin & Castner (2009) confirmed these findings and found that outreach spending had only a small impact.

Johnson (2012) explored the entry and exit dynamics at the national level, concluding that slower exit rates drove the rising SNAP caseloads during the economic recovery period of 2003-2007. However, during the Great Recession, while exit rates remained stable, entry rates increased, in large part reflecting increases in the eligible population.²

It is clear from the previous literature that measures of *need*, including the economic conditions and demographic characteristics of the population, and changes in policy altering the ability of income-eligible populations to *access* the program have affected the size of SNAP caseloads and the dynamics of participation. However, the most recent studies suggest that, while SNAP has historically been a countercyclical program, participation patterns appear to have changed since the 2001 recession, with SNAP caseloads rising even during times of declining unemployment. We use state administrative data to describe two different patterns of SNAP expansion and extension before, during and after the Great Recession, suggesting that poor households' experiences with this federal safety net program were impacted by states' implementation decisions.

Economic and Program Influences on SNAP Use in Florida and Oregon

1. "Need": State Populations and Economic Indicators

We begin by comparing the demographic and economic indicators of Florida and Oregon. Given the short time horizon of this study, 2003-2010, the demographic characteristics of each state are relatively stable, but they tell us something about the static nature of need, given that SNAP use rates vary substantially based on gender, race, and age. Economic conditions, on the other hand, are highly dynamic but also directly determine the size of the population eligible for SNAP.

-- Table 1 here --

Table 1 illustrates that there are several differences in the population characteristics that could affect the demand for SNAP in the two states. Some demographic factors suggest a higher level of demand in Florida. For example, Florida has much higher shares of Black and Hispanic populations than Oregon. To the extent that Black and Hispanic populations tend to have lower incomes, the different population compositions could increase the demand for SNAP. Also, the share of adults with high school and college degrees is slightly lower in Florida than in Oregon, which could lead to lower earnings and higher demand for SNAP.

In contrast, the age structure of the population in the two states may reduce demand for SNAP in Florida. Florida has a smaller share of children and a larger share of retirees than Oregon. Since children are more likely to be in poverty and those over age 65 are less likely to be in poverty, the age composition of the population puts downward pressure on demand for SNAP in Florida relative to Oregon and the nation.

Some other demographic factors have indeterminate effects on baseline demand for SNAP. Florida has higher shares of foreign-born and non-English-speaking populations than the US and much higher shares than Oregon. Having larger shares of the population not speaking English may both decrease the use of SNAP if there are language barriers to enrollment, and increase the need for SNAP to the extent that language barriers restrict access to well-paid jobs.

While static differences in state participation rates for SNAP are influenced by demographic characteristics of states, changes in the SNAP caseload depend on business cycle dynamics. The 2003-2010 period which we examine includes the expansion that followed the 2001 recession (2001-2007) and the Great Recession (2008-2009) as well as the start of a subsequent recovery. Business cycles are experienced differently in different states. During the

recovery from the 2001 recession, Florida had lower unemployment rates than Oregon. Florida entered the Great Recession sooner, recovered later, and had a larger increase in the unemployment rate between 2006 and 2010 than did Oregon. Poverty rates for Oregon and Florida were similar and fairly stable prior to the recession (around 12%) and rose quickly to around 15% during the recession.

Considering demography alone, Florida has a more racially heterogeneous population mix, more immigrants, and lower average levels of education relative to Oregon. Thus, one would expect Florida to have a larger proportion of its population income-eligible for and participating in SNAP. But in terms of the expectations of SNAP use and duration due to the health of the macro-economy, the expectations are not so clear. While Oregon's economy was weaker at the beginning of our observation window, Florida's subsequent economic conditions suggest an even more severe and prolonged recession, hence likely increasing SNAP enrollment and length of use.

2. Administrative Access and SNAP Policy in Florida and Oregon

While SNAP is a federal program, there is a great deal of difference at the state level in terms of how the program is administered. For example, states have the option of requesting a waiver for several federal regulations that can make it easier to apply and qualify for and retain benefits. Additionally, the application process itself can be streamlined or arduous, depending in part on the adoption of a modernized service delivery model or the availability of program staff (Castner, O'Reilly, Conway, et. al 2012; Center for Budget and Policy Priorities 2011; Rowe, Hall, O'Brien, et al.2010). Spurred on by the "internet revolution," at least 34 states now offer the option of applying for SNAP benefits online (Center for Budget and Policy Priorities 2011). Driven variously by claims of enhanced efficiency, increased access, and cost savings (Castner et

al. 2012; Rowe et al. 2010), the application of “e-government” to the SNAP application process is a unique process in each state that may include the use of call centers, electronic documentation storage, the elimination of face-to-face eligibility interviews, and the elimination of case-workers. Florida and Oregon have dramatically diverged in the motivation for and speed with which they have embraced modernization as well as pursued other policy waivers.

The differences between states in terms of the administration of the program are striking. Florida has been at the leading edge of the rapid transformation from a traditional paper/caseworker/in-person interview model to a technology-mediated model. The re-design by Florida’s Department of Children and Families (DCF) has been nationally recognized as an exemplar of modernization, receiving innovation awards from the USDA and others. Its new approach to administering SNAP was implemented in the 2004-2006 period, well before the recessionary pressures compelled many other states to think about substantial changes to their application system. While Florida served as a pioneer in terms of modernizing the application and eligibility determination processes for public social programs, Heflin, London and Mueser (2012) suggest that the system has had important weaknesses. While Florida eventually adopted expanded “categorical eligibility” (which would increase SNAP enrollments by changing resource and asset limits), the state also maintained a six month recertification period for the majority of its caseload, making more participants vulnerable to being disqualified or accidentally dropped due to bureaucratic errors by state agencies and client errors in providing needed documentation. The state allows for revoking SNAP benefits as a TANF sanction for the non-compliant (hence reducing SNAP participation) and it did not operate a formal outreach program to increase participation.

In contrast to Florida, while Oregon was a slow adopter of SNAP application

modernization, it adopted other innovative approaches with a central aim of increasing SNAP participation. Policy analysts, state agencies, and community partner organizations have closely collaborated since the late 1990s to identify and remove barriers to participation (Edwards 2012), leading to high participation rates acknowledged nationally by awards from the USDA. In contrast to the six month recertification period in Florida, the standard certification period in Oregon has remained at 12 months – a policy which would logically result in longer durations of SNAP participation. Early on, between 2000 and 2002 Oregon expanded categorical eligibility to all TANF-related cash programs. Oregon increased the income eligibility limit to 185 percent of the federal poverty line, waived asset reporting for vehicles and bank accounts, implemented simplified reporting, increased its outreach efforts, and established a ‘no wrong door’ policy – all efforts aimed to expand the SNAP participation rate. In contrast to Florida, where staff positions were reduced by 40 percent, Oregon TANF caseworkers were reassigned to SNAP in 2006, increasing the number of SNAP authorized positions by 44 percent. In early 2009 the number of Oregon’s authorized positions increased by another 15 percent. This growth supported a newly implemented “same day/next day” interview policy, so that, whenever possible, client interviews would be conducted no later than the day after the application was received (Oregon DHS policy staff, personal communication, October 9, 2012).

Considering the impact of the structure of access, one might expect that states like Florida with redesigned application and eligibility procedures would have increased access to SNAP, compared to states using the traditional caseworker model. All else equal, the ability to substitute time in a social service office with internet or telephone contact should reduce the transaction costs of the application procedure and increase participation among eligible populations. However, the unique collaborative nature in the Oregon experience, with a more

solicitous customer-friendly approach to application and recertification could lead to Oregon having higher enrollment rates and longer periods on SNAP. More frequent recertification deadlines in Florida (six month versus the twelve months in Oregon) suggest the duration of program participation should be longer in Oregon than Florida.

DATA and METHODS

Monthly data on SNAP applicants and participants over the January 2003-March 2010 time period come from administrative case records maintained by the Florida Department of Children and Families (DCF) and the Oregon Department of Human Services (DHS) in computer readable form. For Florida, the information in these records includes the monthly benefit amounts, reported income amounts, as well as demographic and geographic characteristics of households. Oregon's data include demographic, geographic, and household composition, but not financial information. Data on employment and earnings come from quarterly earnings records maintained by Florida and Oregon, respectively, in support of their Unemployment Insurance systems. The observation period captures the pre-Recession years running up to and through the Great Recession.

State administrative data are ideal for these analyses and represent a substantial advantage over the two other data sources typically used for analyses of SNAP caseloads – Quality Control data (QC) and data from the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). Both the QC data and the SIPP contain only a sample of respondents, and the sample for a given state may be quite small and unrepresentative in the case of the SIPP. QC data provide a cross-sectional window only and are therefore unable to answer questions about caseload dynamics. Finally, SIPP has also been noted to have substantial problems with measurement error in reporting of social safety net programs such as SNAP (Bollinger & David 2001). In

contrast, our analysis of administrative data from Florida and Oregon provides a unique opportunity to observe how SNAP characteristics and dynamics have changed over the 2003-2009 period for the entire population of SNAP clients in two states.

We describe changing characteristics of SNAP participants and the length of time they used SNAP at different points prior to and during the Great Recession. Given that we have access to the full population of SNAP participants for these two states over the time period, with hundreds of thousands of cases in each state, we do not need to use inferential statistics based on sampling theory. Every difference presented is statistically significant and descriptive results are representative of the caseload dynamics. Our approach follows that of Ribar, Edelhoch, & Liu (2008), using state-level administrative data linked to state employment data. They note that using administrative data from a single state has a number of disadvantages: limited variation in policies and economic conditions and inclusion in the dataset of only those people who have participated in the program. These disadvantages are offset, of course, by advantages such as having detailed information about participants, data not subject to recall and non-response bias, a very large number of cases, and longitudinal data that follow individuals over a long period of time providing information about the timing of transitions and program spell duration. To offset the single-state disadvantage, we have used administrative data in two very different states, and so are able to explore how variation in political and administrative cultures in the two states, along with policy and economy influences, is related to the SNAP caseload.

We break down the observation period into four time periods to highlight different sets of policy or economic conditions. The first period, from January 2003 to December 2004, serves as our baseline period. The second period, from January 2005 to December 2006, is when Florida's new delivery model was phased in. The third period, from January 2007 to June 2008,

corresponds to the period when the economic conditions began to deteriorate. The final period shown is from July 2008 to March 2009 and captures the height of the Great Recession and just prior to implementing the increased SNAP benefits that were part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009. For each time period, we show how average spell durations changed for the overall caseload, and for particular demographic groups, specifically documenting the median spell length and the percentage of total spells that were at least 12 months in duration.^{3,4}

RESULTS

EXPANSION: SNAP CASELOADS OVER TIME AND AMONG GROUPS IN FLORIDA AND OREGON

We begin by describing SNAP caseload growth for the two states. Figure 1 shows the growth in the percentage of the population receiving SNAP in Florida and Oregon beginning in 2003. The caseload in Florida grew somewhat faster in the first two years, was then essentially flat 2005-2008, and then increased dramatically. In Oregon, growth was somewhat slower at first, then remained steady 2004-2008, after which it increased in the face of the recession, much like Florida.

-- Figure 1 here --

Economic differences between the states provide little by way of explanation for the patterns of SNAP growth in the two states from 2003-2007, prior to the recession. For example, unemployment declines were very similar in 2003-2005 in the two states, yet SNAP growth was *larger* in Florida. Poverty rates in Oregon and Florida were about the same prior to the recession (around 12%) and both rose quickly to near 15% during the recession, yet Oregon's SNAP participation, as a percentage of the population, remained consistently above Florida's in every year.

Expansion of SNAP to more people may come not just from the aggregate economic need among residents, but from state-specific levels of access, whereby income-eligible individuals may be more likely to apply for and receive SNAP benefits. In 2003, Oregon had 80 percent participation among the eligible population, and by 2007 it had achieved nearly full participation among income-eligible residents. The Oregon figures far exceed the national average, which increased from 56 percent in 2003 to 72 percent in 2009. Florida remained below the national average through the period. However, the increase in the participation rate was dramatic, with growth from 48 percent in 2003 to 69 percent, very close to the national average, in 2009 (See Cunyningham, et.al 2012; 2010; 2007).

-- Figure 2 here --

Our data permit us to describe the state-specific expansion of SNAP with the rate of new entrants to SNAP relative to the state population at risk; that is, the ratio of entrants to those not receiving SNAP. Figure 2 makes clear that Florida and Oregon had flows onto SNAP that were quite similar until the recession hit, when Florida's inflow accelerated faster than Oregon's. As a consequence, the expansion of SNAP caseloads in both states can be viewed as a result of the growing population becoming income-eligible for SNAP benefits as the macroeconomy worsened, while Florida's more rapid acceleration is consistent with its rapidly growing participation rate among income-eligible residents. Oregon's participation rate was already high leading into the recession, and so fewer non-participating income-eligible residents remained to be enrolled. Hence, in both states expansion of benefits was evident through increasing numbers of income-eligible people (due to the recession) and through differently timed successes at enrolling eligible residents before and during the recession.

EXTENSION: SNAP SPELLS in FLORIDA AND OREGON

SNAP caseloads are not only a function of entries, but of exits and time until exit. Tables 2a and 2b present Florida and Oregon information on average spell length by demographic characteristics for those beginning SNAP spells during the period of our study. Most notable is the consistently longer spell length in Oregon. For SNAP spells starting in the first period (2003-2004), the median length for Florida was 7 months, and 37 percent of spells were over 12 months, whereas the comparable figures for Oregon were 10 months and 46 percent. Although, in the subsequent period, spell length declined in Florida, in both states the spell length increased dramatically in the last two periods. In the most recent period, 48 percent of spells in Florida and 63 percent of spells in Oregon lasted more than 12 months.

- - Tables 2a and 2b here - -

Spell lengths for men versus women in Florida resembled one another throughout our periods, while Oregon women had longer average times on SNAP than Oregon men even during the Great Recession (Tables 2a and 2b). Until the height of the recession, African American SNAP recipients in Florida showed longer spell lengths than white recipients, whereas the convergence of spell lengths for these groups in Oregon occurred early in the study period. Patterns for Hispanic recipients were not appreciably different from those of African American recipients in each state until the height of the recession, when Oregon Hispanic recipients experienced greater growth in spell length than the other racial groups – with spells lasting four to five months longer. Finally, Oregon children receiving SNAP in each time period of our study had spell lengths dramatically longer than those of Florida children, with median spells for Oregon children increasing to nearly two years during the recession. Working age adults (18-39 and 40-59) and seniors showed less dramatic changes, although significant increases were

experienced by all three groups in both states, with the exception that there was little growth for younger adults in Florida.

Although it is difficult to identify all the factors that explain the differences in spell length, program design and administrative procedures can have a powerful influence on client behavior (Broughton 2012). An important contributor may be differences in redetermination periods and processes. Most SNAP cases in Oregon are certified for 12 months, while in Florida most are certified for 6 months. In both states recertification closely parallels the initial certification process, but in Oregon identification and citizenship requirements are not revisited at recertification.

-- Figure 3 here --

The longer SNAP spells in Oregon are further illustrated by examining the outflow rates of Oregon and Florida SNAP recipients (Figure 3). While the overall trend tracks with the economy (declining outflows as the economy worsened), the dramatically different outflow rates suggest that implementation decisions such as the 6-month recertification requirement in Florida shorten average spells. In any given month, it appears that a Florida SNAP recipient had approximately twice the likelihood of an Oregon SNAP recipient to be leaving the program, regardless of the prevailing economic conditions of the country or of the state.

DISCUSSION

By the end of the Great Recession, Florida's food insecurity rate had jumped from 11.8% at the beginning of the decade to 16.1%, while Oregon's rate remained at 13.7% (Nord, Andrews, and Carlson 2003; Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews and Carlson 2011). The "very low food security" rate also increased by 3 percentage points in Florida while only increasing by 1 percentage point in Oregon over this same period. These state differences in material hardship

are all the more striking given Florida's relatively low SNAP enrollment, short SNAP spells, and higher outflow rates.

Our findings from an analysis of unique state administrative data for two states suggest that how states choose to implement federal safety net programs matters. Population characteristics and trends in economic indicators for the states do not align with the similarities, differences, increases, and declines in SNAP entry rates, exit rates, and spell length, leaving program implementation as the most likely reason for many of the observed differences. Low income families in Oregon and Florida experienced a very different safety net prior to and during the Great Recession. Hence, to the extent that SNAP provides relief from food insecurity, low income families experienced the Great Recession's painful effects quite differently depending on where they lived, and not just because the recession had differential local impacts on the economy. State-specific program implementation and administration, within the flexibility provided by the federal program, made it more likely that Oregon residents who were income-eligible would participate before the recession and would keep their benefits before and during the recession. In contrast, Florida's income-eligible residents were less likely to be enrolled prior to the recession. During the recession they found greater success enrolling, but Floridians were much more likely than Oregonians to lose benefits before, during, and immediately after the recession. These benefit losses were not the result of better economic circumstances in Florida. While it is well known that SNAP caseloads rose across the United States during the Recession, the state-specific patterns and reasons for those patterns become clearer by examining the administrative data as we have done. It is important to note that the type of analysis presented here would not be possible using secondary data such as the American Community Survey or Current Population Survey, where measurement error issues and the cross-sectional time frame

prevent the reliable analysis of SNAP caseload characteristics and dynamics. Thus, this in-depth picture of SNAP receipt over the time period including the Great Recession is an important substantive contribution.

Our project highlights how decisions made by state lawmakers and agencies directly influence the lives of low income people in various states. While Florida implementation policies make it harder for recipients to remain on SNAP, resulting in participation rates near the national average, Oregon policies achieve nearly 100% participation among eligibles. These are not economic forces at work, but are instead decisions by state actors who undoubtedly interpret the goals and meaning of these programs very differently from party to party, state to state.

While this analysis is limited by its consideration of only two states, the narrow focus allows for a deeper understanding and description of economic conditions, administrative practices and the dynamics of program use, highlighting the differently available safety net for low income households in different places. Scholars interested in understanding SNAP caseload fluctuations would improve our understanding of state-level differences in program participation by better attending to the cultural and political forces uniquely influencing different states. These state-level differences are often just identified as a state “fixed effect” in quantitative studies using all states. Those interested in bringing these influences directly into such models may consider using measures of political party affiliation of the Governor, and both state legislative bodies as well as indicators of citizen ideology and political ideology.

Finally, additional research is needed to identify which aspects of local culture are most important to determining the acceptability of program participation and to describe the roles of formal political actors as well as community-based advocacy groups in creating a context in

which program participation is viewed as a right and responsibility versus a sign of personal weakness.

ENDNOTES

1. SNAP was previously called the Food Stamp Program. The name was changed in 2008. We refer to the program as SNAP for the entire period.
2. Note that we have access to SNAP caseload data only and therefore do not estimate the SNAP eligible population ourselves. We rely upon the work of others to estimate the size and coverage of the eligible SNAP population. See Cunyningham et al 2012 for example.
3. Spells of SNAP participation identify the period, measured in months, that a spell of SNAP receipt lasts; that is, the number of months an individual receives SNAP continuously from the month of first receipt to the last month of receipt. However, we made adjustments to remove administrative “churn” by counting any month as a month of SNAP receipt if the individual received SNAP in both the prior and succeeding months. Hence, in effect, the start of a SNAP spell is defined as a month of SNAP receipt preceded by at least two months of nonreceipt, and the end of a SNAP spell is a month of receipt followed by at least two months of nonreceipt.
4. Where no spells shorter than the median are censored, calculations of median length are identical to Kaplan-Meier estimates. Where some spells are censored at lengths shorter than the median, Kaplan-Meier methods provide an approach to calculating survival probabilities based on partial information. In the case at hand, we have chosen not to use these methods because censoring is directly associated with time of spell start, and, as a result, K-M estimates could well exhibit bias.

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Table 1. State Demographic Characteristics

	Florida	Oregon	United States
Race			
White	78.5%	88.6%	78.1%
Black	16.5%	2.0%	13.1%
Other	5.0%	9.5%	8.7%
Ethnicity			
Hispanic	22.9%	12.0%	16.7%
Language			
English not spoken in home	26.6%	14.3%	20.1%
Education (age 25+)			
High school or higher	85.3%	88.6%	85.0%
Bachelor's degree or higher	25.9%	28.6%	27.9%
Age Structure			
Persons under 5 years	5.6%	6.1%	6.5%
Persons under 18 years	21.0%	22.3%	24.0%
Persons 65 years and over	17.6%	14.3%	13.0%

Source: United States Census 2010

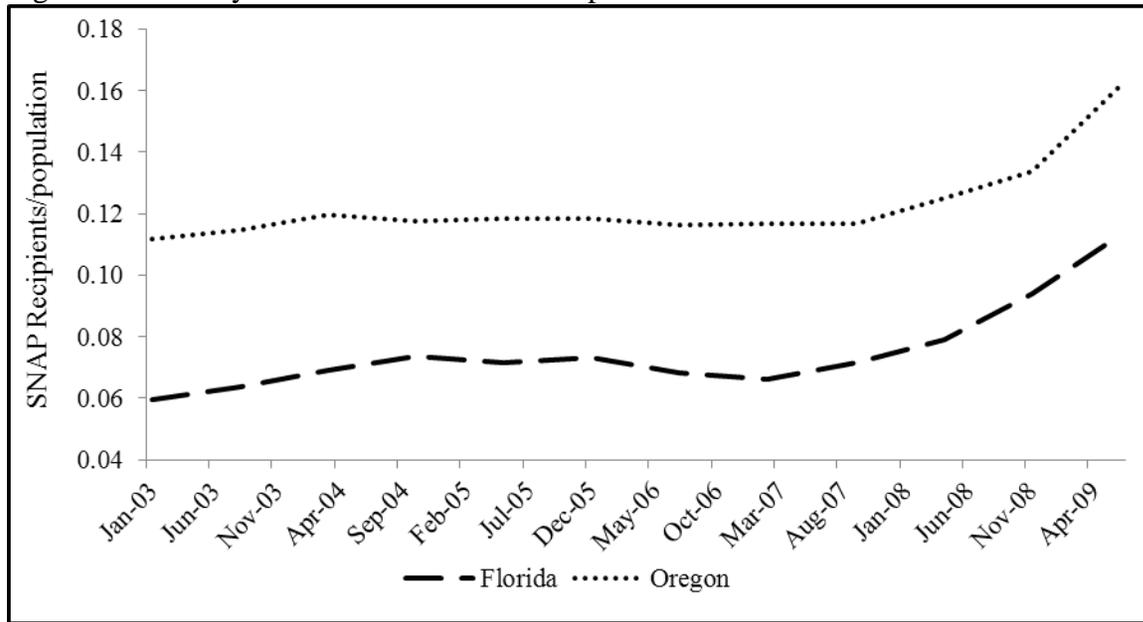
Table 2a. SNAP Spell Duration by Date of Spell Beginning by Demographic Characteristics – FLORIDA

	January 2003 - December 2004		January 2005 - December 2006		January 2007 - June 2008		July 2008 - March 2009	
	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months
Overall	7	37%	6	35%	9	41%	11	48%
Gender								
Males	7	36%	6	34%	8	40%	11	47%
Females	8	39%	6	37%	9	42%	11	49%
Race/Ethnicity								
White	6	33%	6	32%	7	39%	11	45%
African American	9	36%	7	32%	10	39%	11	45%
Other	7	37%	6	34%	9	41%	11	46%
Ethnicity								
Hispanic	8	39%	7	37%	9	41%	11	49%
Age								
Less than 18	8	40%	6	37%	10	43%	12	51%
At least 18, less than 40	6	29%	6	27%	6	33%	7	40%
At least 40, less than 60	7	37%	6	36%	9	42%	11	48%
At least 60	18	65%	19	64%	22	65%	--	63%

Table 2b: SNAP Spell Duration by Date of Spell Beginning by Demographic Characteristics - OREGON

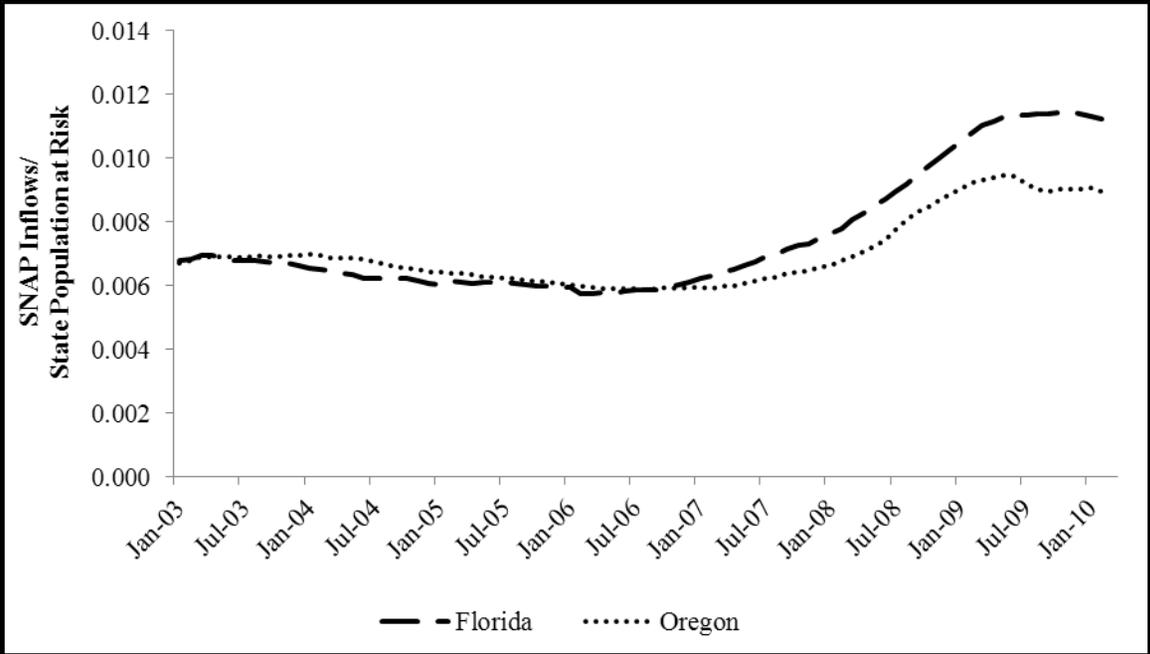
	January 2003 - December 2004		January 2005 - December 2006		January 2007 - June 2008		July 2008 - March 2009	
	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months	Median Length	At Least 12 months
Overall	10	46%	12	50%	12	54%	17	63%
Gender								
Males	8	42%	11	47%	12	51%	15	61%
Females	11	50%	12	54%	12	57%	18	64%
Race/Ethnicity								
White	9	45%	11	50%	12	54%	17	63%
African American	12	51%	12	53%	12	56%	18	64%
Other	11	47%	12	52%	12	55%	17	63%
Ethnicity								
Hispanic	9	44%	11	48%	12	56%	22	67%
Age								
Less than 18	12	51%	12	55%	14	59%	22	67%
At least 18, less than 40	7	38%	9	44%	11	47%	12	58%
At least 40, less than 60	10	46%	12	51%	12	55%	17	63%
At least 60	22	69%	23	71%	24	71%	25	75%

Figure 1. Monthly SNAP Caseloads/State Population



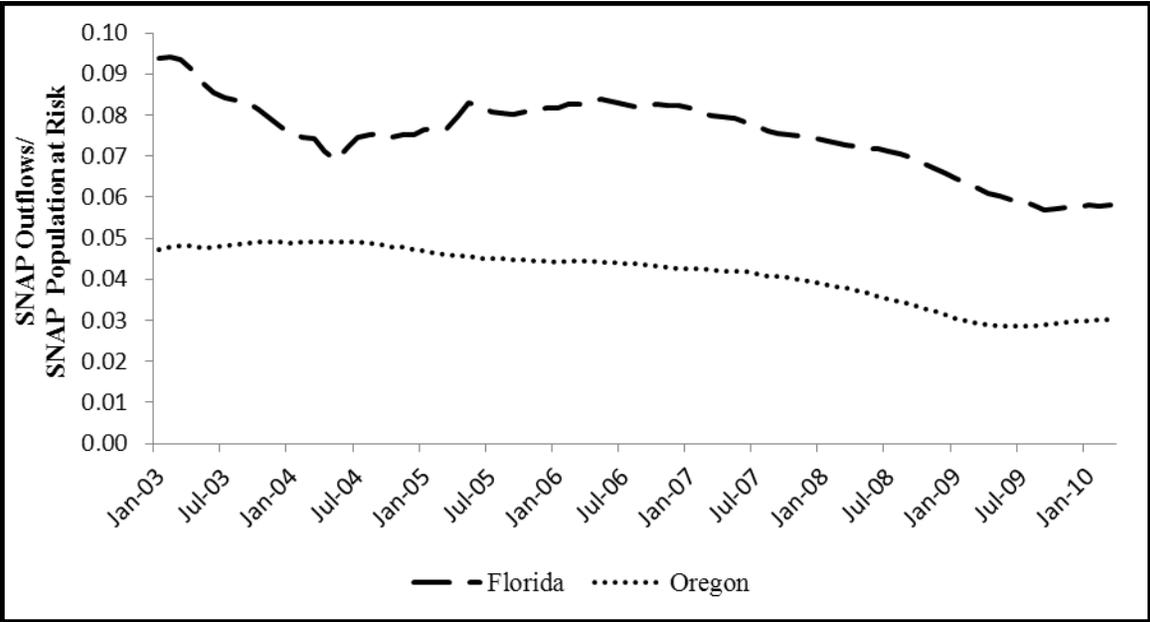
Source: Authors calculations of average monthly recipients based on data from Florida Department of Children and Families and Oregon Department of Human Services

Figure 2. SNAP Inflows Relative to Population Not Receiving SNAP



Source: Authors' calculations of average monthly recipients, based on data from Florida Department of Children and Families and Oregon Department of Human Services

Figure 3. SNAP Outflows Relative to SNAP Population



Source: Authors' calculations of SNAP recipient exits, based on data from Florida Department of Children and Families and Oregon Department of Human Services