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The Continuing Increase in Income Segregation, 2007-2012

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ABSTRACT

Income segregation in the United States grew substantially from 1970 to 2007 (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Jargowsky, 1996; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011a, 2011b; Watson, 2009). Income segregation grew sharply in the 1980s, changed little in the 1990s, and then grew again in the early 2000s. A primary cause of this growth in segregation has been the rise in income inequality over the last four decades (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b; Watson, 2009).

Income inequality in the U.S. continued to rise in the 2000s. Although income inequality declined modestly from 2007 to 2009 during the Great Recession, it quickly rebounded, and is now higher than it was in 2007. In 2014, the top 10% of earners collectively accrued 50% of all income in the U.S. (Piketty & Saez, 2015). Has the post-recession increase in income inequality led to a continued rise in income segregation?

In this report, we use the most recent data from the American Community Survey to investigate whether income segregation increased from 2007 to 2012. These data indicate that income segregation rose modestly from 2007 to 2012. This continues the trend of rising income segregation that began in the 1980s. We show that the growth in income segregation varies among metropolitan areas, and that segregation increased rapidly in places that experienced large increases in income inequality. This suggests that rising income inequality continues to be a key factor leading to increasing residential segregation by income.

VERSION

March 2016

Suggested citation: Reardon, S.F., & Bischoff K. (2016). The Continuing Increase in Income Segregation, 2007-2012. Retrieved from Stanford Center for Education Policy Analysis: http://cepa.stanford.edu/content/continuing-increase-income-segregation-2007-2012

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March 6, 2016

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Income segregation in the United States grew substantially from 1970 to 2007 (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Jargowsky, 1996; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011a, 2011b; Watson, 2009). Income segregation grew sharply in the 1980s, changed little in the 1990s, and then grew again in the early 2000s. A primary cause of this growth in segregation has been the rise in income inequality over the last four decades (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b; Watson, 2009).

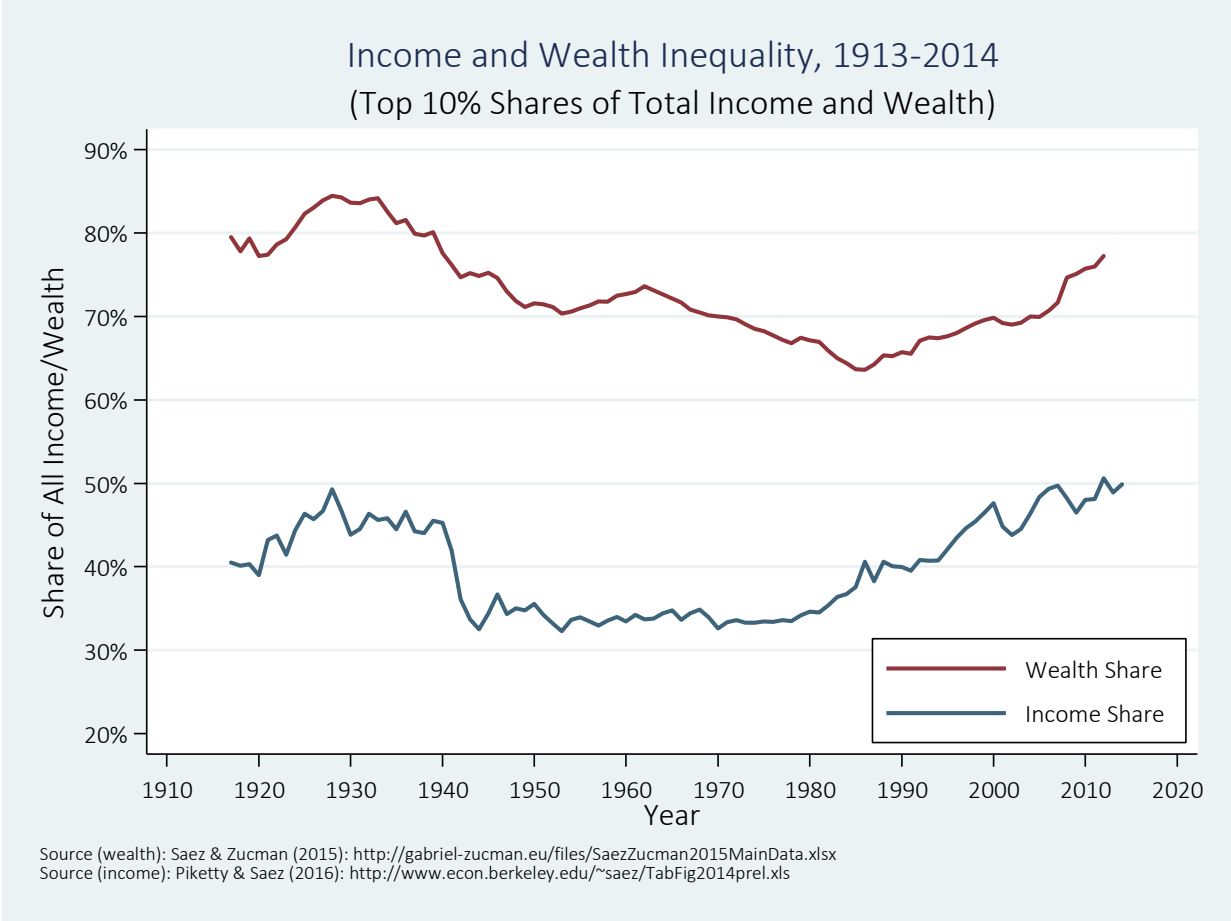
Income inequality in the U.S. continued to rise in the 2000s. Although income inequality declined modestly from 2007 to 2009 during the Great Recession, it quickly rebounded, and is now higher than it was in 2007. In 2014, the top 10% of earners collectively accrued 50% of all income in the U.S. (Piketty & Saez, 2015). Wealth inequality has also been rising. In the mid-1980s, the richest 10% of the U.S. population held 63% of U.S. wealth; today they hold 77% of the wealth, leaving less than a quarter of all wealth in the U.S. for the remaining 90% of the population (Saez & Zucman, forthcoming) (See Figure 1). Has the post-recession increase in income inequality led to a continued rise in income segregation?

In this report, we use the most recent data from the American Community Survey to investigate whether income segregation increased from 2007 to 2012. These data indicate that income segregation rose modestly from 2007 to 2012. This continues the trend of rising income segregation that began in the 1980s. We show that the growth in income segregation varies among metropolitan areas, and that segregation increased rapidly in places that experienced large increases in income inequality. This suggests that rising income inequality continues to be a key factor leading to increasing residential segregation by income.

This report is intended as a brief update to our earlier publications describing trends in income segregation; we refer readers to those papers for more theoretical and methodological detail (Bischoff &

Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b).

Figure 1



Data

To measure income segregation, we use U.S. decennial Census data in 1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000, and American Community Survey (ACS) data in 2005-2014. We measure segregation between census tracts within each U.S. metropolitan area.[1] Tract-level data are only available from the ACS as 5-year moving averages; we use the 2005-09 data (the first 5-year period available) and the 2010-14 data

[1] We use the 2003 OMB definitions of metropolitan areas for consistency with past reports (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011a, 2011b). For the largest metropolitan areas, we report segregation separately for each metropolitan division, as defined by OMB (see http://www.census.gov/population/metro/data/defhist.html).

(the most recent available). These time periods are the first pair of 5-year reporting windows that do not overlap. Because the data from these two time periods are based on independent samples, they provide a more precise estimate of the change in segregation than comparisons between prior, overlapping ACS time periods. Throughout this report, we refer to estimates from the 2005-09 and 2010-14 ACS data as "2007" and "2012," respectively.

For consistency with prior research, we restrict most of our analyses to the 117 large metropolitan areas, those with populations greater than 500,000 in 2007.[2] In analyses by racial/ethnic group, we restrict our sample to metropolitan areas that had at least 10,000 families of that particular racial/ethnic group in each year from 1970 through 2012 (or from 1980 for Hispanic families because the Census did not provide data for Hispanics in 1970). This creates stable longitudinal samples within each group.

We describe patterns of *family* income segregation rather than *household* income segregation; again partly for consistency with prior research (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b; Watson, 2009). Our emphasis on families is also motivated by evidence that income segregation may be particularly consequential for children. Recent evidence indicates that children's neighborhood contexts, particularly the neighborhoods they live in when they are young, have long-term consequences for their later educational attainment, earnings, and childbearing (Chetty & Hendren, 2015; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2015; Wodtke, Harding, & Elwert, 2011). These findings demonstrate the importance of neighborhood conditions for early childhood and adolescent development and confirm the predictions of developmental theory (see, for example, Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, & Aber, 1997; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000).

[2] Using the 2003 OMB definitions, there are 380 metropolitan areas in the United States.

The measurement of income segregation

As we have done in earlier reports (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011a), we describe changes in income segregation using four different measures of segregation. One approach measures the proportion of families living in poor or affluent neighborhoods; the others describe the extent to which families sort into different neighborhoods by income. Each measure is described briefly below.

The proportion of families living in poor and affluent neighborhoods

We compute the proportion of families in metropolitan areas who live in neighborhoods that are "poor" or "affluent" relative to their metropolitan area's median income. Following earlier research, we define poor neighborhoods as those with a median family income that is less than 0.67 of the metropolitan area median income; we define affluent neighborhoods as those with a median income at least 1.5 times that of the metropolitan area median income (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014). For example, in a metropolitan area with a median family income of $60,000, neighborhoods with a median income of $40,000 or less would be classified as poor; those with a median income of $90,000 or greater would be classified as affluent. The proportion of all families in metropolitan areas who live in poor or affluent neighborhoods provides an intuitive and interpretable measure of income segregation, but this measure has two limitations: it is based on somewhat arbitrary classifications of neighborhoods types; and it may confound differences in segregation with differences in income inequality (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014).

The rank-order information theory index

The rank-order information theory index (denoted H) is a measure of the degree of sorting among neighborhoods by family income. It is not sensitive to rank-preserving changes in income inequality (i.e. a stretching or contracting of the income distribution where the absolute income of individual families change, but their position in the income distribution does not change) and it does not depend on arbitrary definitions of neighborhood types. For these reasons it is preferable as a precise

measure of income segregation, although it has a less intuitive interpretation than our first measure (Reardon, 2011; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b). H ranges from 0 to 1, with 0 indicating no segregation (all neighborhoods have an identical income distribution) and 1 indicating complete segregation (all neighborhoods have families of only a single income level).

The segregation of poverty and affluence

We measure segregation of poverty (denoted $H10$) using a variant of H that describes the segregation of very poor families (those in the bottom 10 percent of their metropolitan area income distribution) from all other families. Likewise, the segregation of affluence (denoted $H90$) describes the segregation of very high-income families (those in the top 10 percent of their metropolitan area income distribution) from all other families. These indices range from 0 to 1, with 0 indicating that poor (or affluent) families comprise exactly 10% of the population in each neighborhood and 1 indicating that the poor (or affluent) live in neighborhoods where all other families are poor (or affluent).[3]

How has income segregation changed in recent years?

Income segregation has increased over the last four decades, and has continued to increase in recent years. In large metropolitan areas (the 117 metropolitan areas with populations of 500,000 or more), the proportion of families living in neighborhoods with median incomes well above or below the median income of their metropolitan area has grown rapidly since 1970 (Figure 2 and Table 1). In 1970, only 15% of all families lived in such neighborhoods, while 65% lived in middle-income neighborhoods. By 2012, over one third (34%) of all families lived in either rich or poor neighborhoods, more than double the percentage in 1970. Over the same time period the proportion living in middle-income neighborhoods

[3] These measures of segregation are described in more detail elsewhere (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Reardon, 2011; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b).

declined from 65% to 40%. The graphic depiction of this trend in Figure 2 is quite striking. In smaller metropolitan areas, income segregation is slightly lower, but has increased at the same rate over time (see Appendix Table A1).

This increase in segregation has been relatively steady from 1970 to 2012, though the rate of increase in segregation by this measure was slightly faster from 2007 to 2012 than in the preceding decades. The proportion of families living in rich or poor neighborhoods grew by roughly 4.5 percentage points per decade from 1970 to 2007, and by 3.2 percentage points in the five years from 2007 to 2012 (a 10-year rate of 6.4 percentage points).

Figure 2

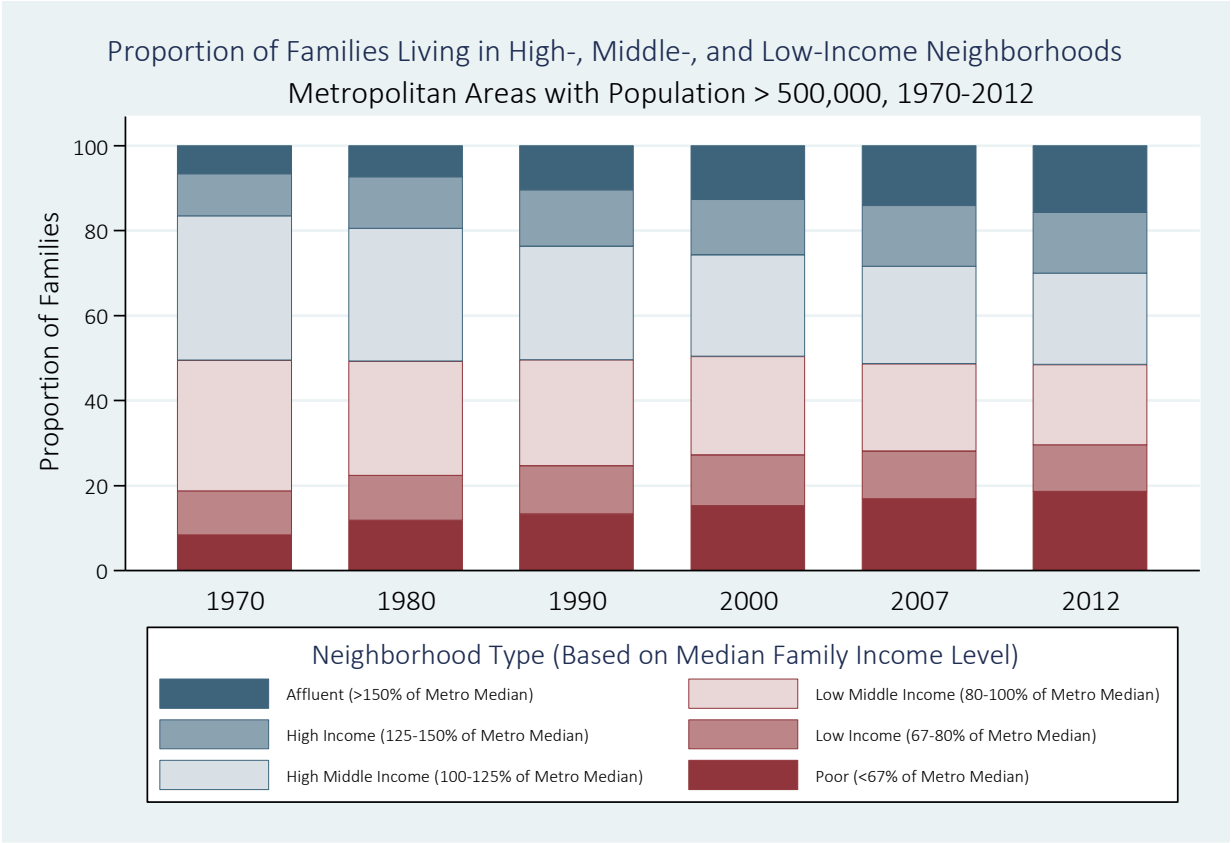


Table 1: Proportion of Families in Low-, Middle-, and High-Income Neighborhoods, 1970-2012, Metropolitan Areas with Population > 500,000

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007	2012
Poor	8.4%	11.8%	13.3%	15.2%	17.0%	18.6%
Low-Income	10.4%	10.6%	11.3%	11.9%	11.1%	11.0%
Low-Middle Income	30.6%	26.9%	25.0%	23.2%	20.6%	18.9%
High-Middle Income	34.1%	31.3%	26.7%	23.9%	22.9%	21.6%
High-Income	9.9%	12.2%	13.3%	13.1%	14.3%	14.2%
Affluent	6.6%	7.3%	10.4%	12.7%	14.1%	15.7%
Middle Income	64.7%	58.2%	51.7%	47.1%	43.5%	40.5%
Poor + Affluent	15.0%	19.1%	23.7%	27.9%	31.1%	34.3%

N =117 Metropolitan Areas.

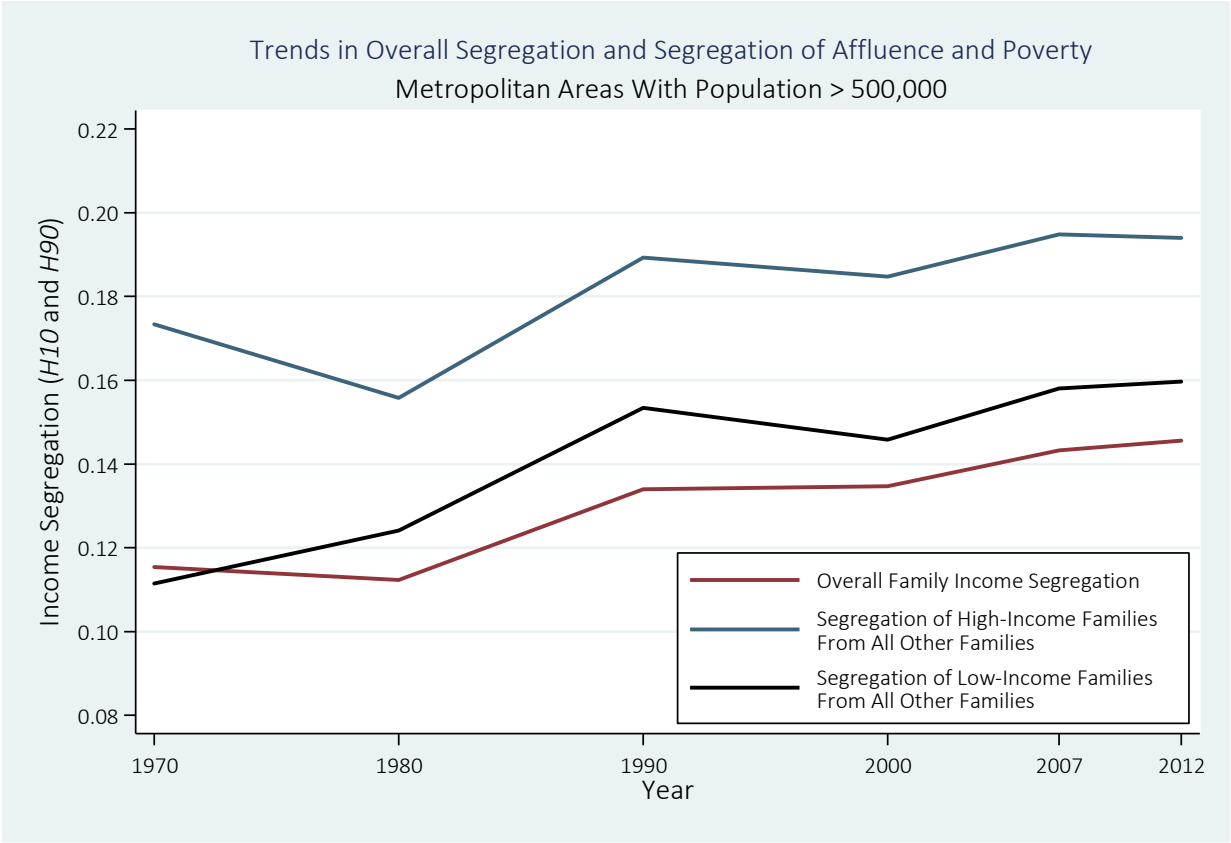
The degree of family sorting among neighborhoods by income has likewise grown substantially since 1970. In large metropolitan areas, the rank-order segregation index (H) grew by over 25% from 1970 to 2012 (Figure 3 and Table 2). The segregation of poverty and affluence likewise grew by 43% and 12%, respectively. These are large changes, relative to the variation among metropolitan areas: from 1970 to 2012, overall segregation grew by more than one standard deviation of the 1970 distribution of segregation levels; segregation of poverty grew by two standard deviations; segregation of affluence grew by half a standard deviation. Most of the growth in these measures of income segregation occurred in the 1980s and the period from 2000 to 2007. In the last five years, overall income segregation (H) grew as well, although at only half the rate of its growth from 2000 to 2007.[4]

Interestingly, the segregation of poverty and affluence did not change significantly over this time period, despite the fact that overall income segregation did grow. How is this possible? The measure of overall segregation (H) can be thought of as roughly a weighted average of segregation of poverty ($H10$),

[4] Trends in income segregation for smaller metropolitan areas (those with populations less than 500,000; N=263) largely mirror the trends for our sample of large metropolitan areas, though the absolute levels of segregation are lower in smaller metropolitan areas (average *H* in small metropolitan areas in 2012 was 0.108, compared to 0.146 in large areas).

segregation of affluence ($H90$), and segregation of the upper half of the income distribution from the lower half ($H50$).[5] From 2007 to 2012, $H50$ increased significantly (from 0.131 to 0.134, p<.001), unlike the segregation of poverty and affluence. What this means is that families with incomes in the 10th to 50th percentile of the income distribution became more segregated from those in the 50th to 90th percentiles, even while those below the 10th or above the 90th percentiles did not become more segregated from others. More generally, average segregation increased in the middle two-thirds of the income distribution, but not in the tails. In other words, the last 5 years witnessed more of an increase in segregation among the working-class, middle-class, and upper middle-class than an increase in the segregation of the very poor or very rich.

Figure 3



[5] In fact, H is a weighted average of segregation at every single percentile, not just the 10th, 50th, and 90th; but for simplicity we focus on just these three percentiles.

Table 2: Average Family Income Segregation (*H*) and Segregation of Poverty and Affluence, 1970-2012, Metropolitan Areas with Population > 500,000

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007	2012
Overall Segregation (*H*)	0.115	0.112 *	0.134 ***	0.135	0.143 ***	0.146 ***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.027)
Segregation of Poverty (*H* 10)	0.112	0.124 ***	0.153 ***	0.146 ***	0.158 ***	0.160
	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.038)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.028)
Segregation of Affluence (*H* 90)	0.173	0.156 ***	0.189 ***	0.185 ***	0.195 ***	0.194
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.036)

N =116 Metropolitan areas withpopulation >500,000 in 2007 and data available in all years. Standard deviations in parentheses. Asterisks indicate that the change from prior time period is statistically significant (p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001).

Income segregation and income inequality

Income inequality is a key driver of income segregation (Bischoff and Reardon 2014; Reardon and Bischoff 2011b; Watson 2009). As the family income distribution widens, the absolute differences in income between families at different points in the income distribution grow, making it less likely that lower-income families can afford to live in the same neighborhoods as those with higher incomes. We measure income inequality with the Gini index, which describes the extent to which the actual family income distribution deviates from a perfectly equal distribution of income across families.[6]

As Figure 1 above shows, income inequality has continued to grow in the last decade. The growth in income inequality was not the same everywhere. On average, income inequality grew by about 0.008 (roughly a third of a standard deviation) from 2007-2012 (see Table 3). There is, however, considerable variation among metropolitan areas in the rate at which inequality grew. The standard deviation of the change in inequality was 0.010, meaning that roughly 20% of metropolitan areas experienced no change or a decline in income inequality. Likewise, 20% of metropolitan areas experienced increases in income inequality of 0.016 or greater (twice the average rate of increase).

[6] We use publically available binned family income data from the ACS to calculate metropolitan-level inequality estimates using the `-rpme-` program in Stata (Von Hippel et al, 2015).

Table 3: Average Changes in Income Inequality and Income Segregation, All Metropolitan Areas, 2007-2012

		2007	2012	Change	
Income Inequality (Gini)	(Mean)	0.391	0.399	0.008	***
	(SD)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.010)	
Segregation (H)	(Mean)	0.111	0.114	0.003	***
	(SD)	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.011)	
Segregation of Poverty (H10)	(Mean)	0.132	0.136	0.004	***
	(SD)	(0.037)	(0.035)	(0.019)	
Segregation of Affluence (H90)	(Mean)	0.151	0.151	0.000	
	(SD)	(0.045)	(0.044)	(0.016)	

Note: N = 380 metropolitan areas. Standard deviations in parentheses. *** p<.001

Did rising income inequality drive the continuing rise in income segregation over the last 5 years? We examine whether metropolitan areas with the largest increases in income inequality tended to have the largest increases in segregation. Specifically, we regress income segregation on income inequality using pooled data from 2007 and 2012 for metropolitan areas. These models include metropolitan fixed-effects, and therefore control for any time-invariant characteristics of metropolitan areas. The coefficient on income inequality can be interpreted as the average within-metropolitan area association (over time) between income inequality and income segregation (Table 4).

The coefficient on income inequality in column 1 of Table 4 indicates that income segregation grew faster, on average, in metropolitan areas where income inequality was also rising quickly. Columns 2 and 3 show that rising income inequality was associated more with the rising segregation of affluence than the segregation of poverty. This pattern is consistent with earlier research showing that rising income inequality generally has a much larger effect on the segregation of the rich from all other families than it does on the segregation of the poor (Owens, Reardon, & Jencks, 2016; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b). These patterns are similar for large and small metros.

Table 4: Estimated Association Between Within-Metropolitan Area Changes in Income Inequality and Changes in Income Segregation, 2007-2012: All Metropolitan Areas

	All Metros		
	Segregation (*H*)	Segregation of Poverty	Segregation of Affluence
Change in Income Inequality (Gini)	0.228 ***	0.104	0.224 *
	(0.056)	(0.101)	(0.087)
Change 2007-2012	0.001	0.003 *	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Average Segregation in 2007	0.111 ***	0.132 ***	0.151 ***
	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Metropolitan Area Fixed Effects	X	X	X
N	760	760	760
Unique Metropolitan Areas	380	380	380

Note: * p<.05; *** p<.001

Where has income segregation increased and decreased the most?

Although income segregation increased on average, it did not increase uniformly everywhere. Table 5 and 6 list the 20 metropolitan areas (among the 117 large metropolitan areas) that experienced the greatest increases in income segregation (as measured by H and by the proportion of families living in poor or affluent neighborhoods, respectively) from 2007 to 2012.[7] Among those with the greatest increases in H (which measures the degree to which families of different incomes live in different neighborhoods, independent of the degree of income inequality), many of those with the largest increase in segregation are in the South (5 are in Florida, 3 and in North or South Carolina, 2 are in Texas); an additional 4 are in New England (Table 5).

The set of metropolitan areas where income segregation grew most rapidly as measured by the proportion of families living in poor or affluent neighborhoods (Table 6) overlaps to some extent with

[7] Appendix Table A2 includes the four measures of incomes segregation in 2007 and 2012 for each of the 117 large metropolitan areas. More detailed information going back to 1970 is available at http://www.s4.brown.edu/us2010/Data/Data.htm.

those listed in Table 5. Eight metropolitan areas appear on both lists, five in the South (West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL; Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL; Greenville, SC; Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC; Raleigh-Cary, NC); in addition to New Haven-Milford, CT; Indianapolis, IN; and the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV metropolitan areas.

Many of the places where income segregation increased the most in the 2007-2012 period were metropolitan areas that prior to 2007 had low to moderate levels of segregation. In fact, in the metropolitan areas that were most segregated in 2007 (Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT; New York-Wayne-White Plains, NY-NJ; and Philadelphia, PA), income segregation actually declined very slightly from 2007 to 2012. The lack of growth in income segregation in such places may be partly because income inequality changed little in these metropolitan areas from 2007-2012 (see Appendix Table A2).

Table 5: Metropolitan Areas With Largest Increase in Income Segregation (H), 2007-2012

	Segregation (H)			
Metropolitan Area Name	2007	2012	change	rank
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	0.103	0.128	0.025	1
Greenville, SC	0.121	0.137	0.016	2
Provo-Orem, UT	0.125	0.140	0.015	3
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	0.158	0.173	0.015	4
Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.132	0.147	0.015	5
Springfield, MA	0.136	0.151	0.014	6
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	0.138	0.150	0.013	7
Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	0.158	0.171	0.013	8
Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL	0.142	0.154	0.012	9
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	0.137	0.149	0.012	10
New Haven-Milford, CT	0.153	0.165	0.011	11
Columbus, OH	0.175	0.186	0.011	12
Indianapolis, IN	0.159	0.170	0.011	13
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	0.168	0.179	0.011	14
Bethesda-Frederick-Gaithersburg, MD	0.152	0.163	0.011	15
El Paso, TX	0.132	0.143	0.010	16
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.126	0.136	0.010	17
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	0.088	0.097	0.010	18
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	0.156	0.166	0.010	19
McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	0.085	0.094	0.009	20

Table 6: Metropolitan Areas With Largest Increase in Proportion of Families in Poor or Affluent Neighborhoods, 2007-2012

	% in Poor or Affluent Neighborhoods			
Metropolitan Area Name	2007	2012	change	rank
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	0.305	0.415	0.110	1
Modesto, CA	0.182	0.291	0.109	2
Greenville, SC	0.219	0.323	0.104	3
New Haven-Milford, CT	0.305	0.405	0.100	4
Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	0.296	0.393	0.098	5
Columbia, SC	0.198	0.296	0.098	6
New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	0.302	0.389	0.088	7
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	0.196	0.283	0.087	8
Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.249	0.326	0.077	9
Charleston-North Charleston, SC	0.228	0.303	0.075	10
Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	0.159	0.232	0.073	11
Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	0.246	0.318	0.072	12
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	0.215	0.288	0.072	13
Wichita, KS	0.251	0.322	0.071	14
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.288	0.357	0.069	15
Indianapolis, IN	0.303	0.372	0.069	16
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	0.121	0.184	0.063	17
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	0.301	0.361	0.060	18
Lake County-Kenosha County, IL-WI	0.337	0.396	0.060	19
Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	0.164	0.222	0.059	20

Summary

The results presented in this report show that from 2007 to 2012 income segregation continued on the long upward trajectory that began in 1980. During the 2007-2012 period—which spans the start of the Great Recession and the early years of recovery—middle-class, mixed-income neighborhoods became less common as more and more neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and concentrated affluence developed. These are not new trends, but the increase in segregation in the last five years exacerbates the increase of economically polarized communities that has occurred over the last four decades.

These trends may be particularly consequential for children. Neighborhood contexts and their associated resources affect children's development and well-being, and their opportunities for future social mobility (Chetty et al., 2015). The combination of rising inequality and increasing segregation is

substantially changing the distribution of experiences of children growing up today. Neighborhoods of concentrated poverty and affluence were once much less common in the U.S., but now are home to more than a third of all families in large metropolitan areas.

Although it is perhaps obvious why we might worry about the increase in the number of children growing up in very poor neighborhoods—because of the limits such neighborhoods impose on children's opportunities—we should be concerned as well about the rising isolation of the affluent. Segregation of affluence not only concentrates income and wealth in a small number of communities, but also concentrates social capital and political power. As a result, any self-interested investment the rich make in their own communities has little chance of "spilling over" to benefit middle- and low-income families. In addition, it is increasingly unlikely that high-income families interact with middle- and low-income families, eroding some of the social empathy that might lead to support for broader public investment in social programs to help the poor and middle class. These processes pack a one-two punch that may do as much to harm the poor as does the concentration of poverty itself.

As existing research has shown, income inequality is a key driver of rising income segregation (Bischoff & Reardon, 2014; Owens, forthcoming; Owens et al., 2016; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011b; Watson, 2009), a pattern evident in the new data we report here. On average, income segregation increased more in places with large increases in income inequality. Indeed, in metropolitan areas where inequality changed little, income segregation did not change significantly from 2007 to 2012. Put differently, in the absence of rising inequality, there was no significant change in income segregation from 2007 to 2012.

Reducing income segregation is not simple. In an era of very high income and wealth inequality, families have very different resources to spend on housing, and the housing market responds to this inequality in ways that exacerbate segregation. Given the importance of neighborhood contexts for children's opportunities, and for shaping the experiences of the affluent, rising income segregation will likely only further exacerbate the economic inequality that has produced it. This self-reinforcing cycle—

where inequality begets segregation and segregation fosters inequality—will be hard to break. Nonetheless, housing policies that avoid concentrating poor families in poor communities and economic policies that increase wages for low- and middle-income families may be effective in doing so. Any serious effort to reduce income segregation will likely have to include such policies.

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Table A1: Proportion of Families in Low-, Middle-, and High-Income Neighborhoods, 1970-2012, Metropolitan Areas with Population < 500,000

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007	2012
Poor	5.5%	7.4%	9.3%	9.4%	11.7%	13.1%
Low-Income	9.3%	9.5%	10.0%	10.5%	10.4%	10.5%
Low-Middle Income	36.8%	32.7%	29.6%	29.1%	24.9%	23.9%
High-Middle Income	34.6%	36.9%	33.4%	33.1%	31.0%	29.4%
High-Income	9.7%	10.1%	11.8%	11.7%	14.6%	14.6%
Affluent	4.1%	3.4%	5.9%	6.1%	7.4%	8.5%
Middle Income	71.4%	69.6%	63.0%	62.2%	55.9%	53.3%
Poor + Affluent	9.6%	10.8%	15.2%	15.5%	19.1%	21.6%

N =163 Metropolitan areas with population <500,000 in 2007 and for which data are available in all years 1970-2012.

Table A2: Change in Income Segregation, 2007-2012, Metropolitan Areas with Population > 500,000, Ranked by Change in Segregation (H)

		Segregation (H)				Segregation of Poverty (H10)				Segregation of Affluence (H90)				% in Poor or Affluent Neighborhoods				Income Inequality (Gini)			
ID	Metropolitan Area Name	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank
15980	Cape Coral-Fort Myers, FL	0.103	0.128	0.025	1	0.107	0.136	0.029	1	0.171	0.200	0.028	3	0.159	0.232	0.073	11	0.41	0.43	0.018	13
24860	Greenville, SC	0.121	0.137	0.016	2	0.143	0.160	0.017	10	0.178	0.178	0.000	54	0.219	0.323	0.104	3	0.41	0.42	0.008	75
39340	Provo-Orem, UT	0.125	0.140	0.015	3	0.175	0.171	-0.004	86	0.135	0.165	0.030	1	0.174	0.196	0.022	75	0.37	0.37	0.003	102
16740	Charlotte-Gastonia-Concord, NC-SC	0.158	0.173	0.015	4	0.145	0.164	0.019	6	0.231	0.247	0.016	13	0.296	0.393	0.098	5	0.41	0.43	0.013	42
39580	Raleigh-Cary, NC	0.132	0.147	0.015	5	0.135	0.150	0.014	16	0.177	0.206	0.029	2	0.249	0.326	0.077	9	0.39	0.40	0.012	43
44140	Springfield, MA	0.136	0.151	0.014	6	0.206	0.203	-0.003	80	0.147	0.155	0.008	25	0.264	0.270	0.007	100	0.39	0.40	0.016	27
48424	West Palm Beach-Boca Raton-Boynton Beach, FL	0.138	0.150	0.013	7	0.131	0.147	0.016	12	0.211	0.213	0.002	46	0.305	0.415	0.110	1	0.43	0.44	0.009	68
38060	Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale, AZ	0.158	0.171	0.013	8	0.156	0.177	0.021	3	0.215	0.227	0.012	17	0.344	0.375	0.031	59	0.40	0.42	0.014	33
22744	Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach-Deerfield Beach, FL	0.142	0.154	0.012	9	0.125	0.138	0.013	20	0.208	0.229	0.021	7	0.377	0.388	0.011	92	0.41	0.43	0.015	30
39300	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	0.137	0.149	0.012	10	0.185	0.188	0.003	54	0.166	0.170	0.004	39	0.274	0.302	0.028	66	0.38	0.40	0.017	18
35300	New Haven-Milford, CT	0.153	0.165	0.011	11	0.206	0.205	-0.002	76	0.173	0.182	0.009	22	0.305	0.405	0.100	4	0.39	0.40	0.011	56
18140	Columbus, OH	0.175	0.186	0.011	12	0.186	0.201	0.015	15	0.232	0.238	0.006	31	0.321	0.354	0.033	57	0.39	0.40	0.012	53
26900	Indianapolis, IN	0.159	0.170	0.011	13	0.180	0.191	0.011	27	0.203	0.211	0.008	23	0.303	0.372	0.069	16	0.39	0.41	0.014	35
47894	Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	0.168	0.179	0.011	14	0.190	0.186	-0.004	87	0.208	0.231	0.023	6	0.301	0.361	0.060	18	0.38	0.39	0.012	44
13644	Bethesda-Frederick-Gaithersburg, MD	0.152	0.163	0.011	15	0.137	0.148	0.010	29	0.236	0.243	0.007	30	0.273	0.287	0.014	88	0.37	0.38	0.006	90
21340	El Paso, TX	0.132	0.143	0.010	16	0.112	0.132	0.020	5	0.193	0.211	0.018	8	0.294	0.329	0.036	54	0.45	0.43	-0.013	117
45300	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0.126	0.136	0.010	17	0.130	0.139	0.009	38	0.192	0.197	0.005	37	0.243	0.282	0.038	51	0.41	0.42	0.012	47
29460	Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	0.088	0.097	0.010	18	0.101	0.122	0.021	4	0.134	0.137	0.003	43	0.173	0.157	-0.016	114	0.39	0.40	0.008	73
25540	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	0.156	0.166	0.010	19	0.232	0.228	-0.004	83	0.173	0.174	0.001	49	0.226	0.246	0.020	78	0.37	0.39	0.016	25
32580	McAllen-Edinburg-Pharr, TX	0.085	0.094	0.009	20	0.078	0.081	0.003	55	0.154	0.167	0.013	14	0.281	0.302	0.021	77	0.47	0.46	-0.011	116
49340	Worcester, MA	0.128	0.137	0.009	21	0.172	0.177	0.005	46	0.161	0.164	0.002	44	0.224	0.242	0.017	82	0.37	0.39	0.018	6
38860	Portland-South Portland, ME	0.078	0.086	0.009	22	0.109	0.119	0.010	30	0.137	0.137	-0.001	58	0.079	0.137	0.058	21	0.37	0.38	0.008	71
48620	Wichita, KS	0.148	0.157	0.009	23	0.160	0.169	0.009	36	0.174	0.191	0.017	10	0.251	0.322	0.071	14	0.38	0.38	0.002	105
24660	Greensboro-High Point, NC	0.141	0.149	0.008	24	0.147	0.162	0.015	14	0.191	0.206	0.016	12	0.302	0.316	0.014	89	0.41	0.42	0.006	92
25420	Harrisburg-Carlisle, PA	0.101	0.109	0.008	25	0.155	0.154	-0.001	74	0.136	0.137	0.002	47	0.115	0.160	0.045	37	0.36	0.38	0.017	17
27140	Jackson, MS	0.148	0.156	0.008	26	0.165	0.184	0.019	7	0.194	0.196	0.002	48	0.345	0.390	0.045	39	0.43	0.43	0.004	97
40140	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	0.138	0.145	0.008	27	0.130	0.139	0.009	39	0.174	0.186	0.012	15	0.309	0.362	0.053	24	0.39	0.41	0.017	22
46060	Tucson, AZ	0.158	0.165	0.008	28	0.155	0.174	0.018	8	0.221	0.210	-0.010	94	0.366	0.391	0.025	71	0.41	0.41	0.006	91
19780	Des Moines, IA	0.128	0.136	0.008	29	0.136	0.142	0.007	42	0.167	0.162	-0.005	76	0.199	0.244	0.045	35	0.37	0.38	0.009	69
42644	Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA	0.125	0.133	0.007	30	0.139	0.139	0.000	71	0.184	0.185	0.001	50	0.217	0.265	0.049	29	0.38	0.39	0.012	46
40380	Rochester, NY	0.137	0.145	0.007	31	0.192	0.209	0.017	11	0.175	0.175	0.000	57	0.224	0.275	0.051	26	0.38	0.39	0.012	54
33124	Miami-Miami Beach-Kendall, FL	0.148	0.155	0.007	32	0.120	0.131	0.011	28	0.243	0.260	0.017	9	0.352	0.402	0.050	27	0.45	0.47	0.017	19
17900	Columbia, SC	0.121	0.128	0.007	33	0.134	0.146	0.012	21	0.168	0.175	0.008	26	0.198	0.296	0.098	6	0.39	0.40	0.009	66
24340	Grand Rapids-Wyoming, MI	0.121	0.128	0.007	34	0.130	0.146	0.016	13	0.182	0.182	0.000	53	0.209	0.244	0.036	53	0.39	0.39	0.007	83
29820	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	0.132	0.138	0.006	35	0.137	0.148	0.011	24	0.166	0.176	0.010	20	0.196	0.283	0.087	8	0.38	0.40	0.021	2
12060	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.148	0.154	0.006	36	0.140	0.146	0.006	44	0.222	0.224	0.002	45	0.288	0.357	0.069	15	0.41	0.43	0.018	8
12540	Bakersfield, CA	0.152	0.158	0.006	37	0.125	0.124	-0.002	75	0.210	0.214	0.004	41	0.423	0.465	0.042	45	0.43	0.44	0.009	63
33340	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	0.180	0.186	0.006	38	0.229	0.223	-0.006	92	0.202	0.209	0.007	28	0.300	0.347	0.047	33	0.39	0.41	0.016	23
28940	Knoxville, TN	0.134	0.140	0.006	39	0.163	0.156	-0.007	95	0.179	0.204	0.025	4	0.249	0.258	0.010	95	0.41	0.41	0.003	99
16700	Charleston-North Charleston, SC	0.123	0.129	0.005	40	0.139	0.136	-0.002	78	0.181	0.192	0.011	18	0.228	0.303	0.075	10	0.41	0.42	0.005	95
35004	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	0.094	0.099	0.005	41	0.103	0.114	0.011	25	0.178	0.183	0.006	33	0.121	0.184	0.063	17	0.36	0.37	0.013	39
14260	Boise City-Nampa, ID	0.106	0.111	0.005	42	0.107	0.110	0.003	53	0.142	0.167	0.025	5	0.192	0.181	-0.011	111	0.38	0.39	0.014	37
10900	Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton, PA-NJ	0.127	0.132	0.005	43	0.168	0.182	0.014	17	0.156	0.161	0.005	34	0.182	0.211	0.030	60	0.37	0.38	0.014	36
34980	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro, TN	0.152	0.157	0.005	44	0.164	0.165	0.001	60	0.236	0.236	0.000	56	0.281	0.317	0.036	52	0.41	0.41	0.005	93
45780	Toledo, OH	0.145	0.150	0.005	45	0.194	0.194	0.000	68	0.182	0.189	0.007	29	0.249	0.283	0.034	55	0.39	0.41	0.019	4
36084	Oakland-Fremont-Hayward, CA	0.171	0.176	0.005	46	0.166	0.173	0.007	41	0.225	0.223	-0.002	61	0.370	0.404	0.034	56	0.40	0.41	0.010	58
38900	Portland-Vancouver-Beaverton, OR-WA	0.111	0.116	0.005	47	0.113	0.123	0.010	33	0.175	0.181	0.006	32	0.189	0.230	0.041	47	0.39	0.40	0.008	78
27260	Jacksonville, FL	0.126	0.130	0.005	48	0.137	0.135	-0.002	77	0.182	0.190	0.008	24	0.207	0.250	0.043	42	0.39	0.41	0.018	11
14484	Boston-Quincy, MA	0.156	0.160	0.005	49	0.190	0.194	0.004	51	0.224	0.217	-0.006	81	0.311	0.358	0.047	32	0.40	0.42	0.014	32
36260	Ogden-Clearfield, UT	0.115	0.120	0.004	50	0.135	0.137	0.002	59	0.154	0.145	-0.009	89	0.133	0.162	0.029	64	0.34	0.35	0.012	50
10420	Akron, OH	0.150	0.154	0.004	51	0.173	0.180	0.006	43	0.209	0.209	0.000	55	0.263	0.292	0.029	63	0.39	0.40	0.012	52
36740	Orlando, FL	0.120	0.125	0.004	52	0.113	0.115	0.002	58	0.190	0.491	0.010	19	0.227	0.270	0.044	41	0.40	0.42	0.018	10
40900	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	0.140	0.145	0.004	53	0.147	0.146	-0.001	73	0.180	0.183	0.003	42	0.299	0.348	0.049	28	0.39	0.41	0.022	1
17140	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	0.144	0.148	0.004	54	0.181	0.191	0.010	32	0.197	0.190	-0.007	83	0.239	0.269	0.030	61	0.39	0.40	0.017	21
44700	Stockton, CA	0.126	0.131	0.004	55	0.129	0.129	0.000	67	0.149	0.165	0.016	11	0.297	0.337	0.039	48	0.40	0.41	0.015	31
41940	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	0.137	0.141	0.004	56	0.126	0.136	0.010	31	0.202	0.188	-0.014	105	0.304	0.332	0.028	65	0.40	0.40	0.002	104
37340	Palm Bay-Melbourne-Titusville, FL	0.092	0.096	0.004	57	0.119	0.126	0.007	40	0.145	0.144	-0.001	60	0.100	0.113	0.013	90	0.38	0.40	0.013	41
30780	Little Rock-North Little Rock, AR	0.121	0.125	0.004	58	0.128	0.132	0.004	52	0.189	0.187	-0.002	63	0.231	0.238	0.007	99	0.40	0.39	-0.007	115
35084	Newark-Union, NJ-PA	0.206	0.210	0.004	59	0.214	0.219	0.004	50	0.257	0.245	-0.012	99	0.436	0.481	0.045	36	0.41	0.42	0.007	82

Table A2: Change in Income Segregation, 2007-2012, Metropolitan Areas with Population > 500,000, Ranked by Change in Segregation (H) (cont.)

		Segregation (H)				Segregation of Poverty (H10)				Segregation of Affluence (H90)				% in Poor or Affluent Neighborhoods				Income Inequality (Gini)			
ID	Metropolitan Area Name	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank	2007	2012	change	rank
31540	Madison, WI	0.098	0.102	0.003	60	0.141	0.137	-0.004	90	0.143	0.138	-0.005	73	0.111	0.157	0.046	34	0.36	0.37	0.007	80
33700	Modesto, CA	0.100	0.103	0.003	61	0.111	0.122	0.011	26	0.138	0.131	-0.006	79	0.182	0.291	0.109	2	0.40	0.42	0.018	7
15380	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	0.150	0.153	0.003	62	0.209	0.209	-0.001	72	0.185	0.173	-0.012	100	0.256	0.289	0.032	58	0.39	0.39	0.003	100
26420	Houston-Baytown-Sugar Land, TX	0.188	0.190	0.003	63	0.153	0.164	0.011	23	0.252	0.247	-0.005	74	0.461	0.461	-0.001	108	0.43	0.44	0.006	87
19380	Dayton, OH	0.140	0.143	0.003	64	0.179	0.166	-0.013	105	0.179	0.189	0.010	21	0.249	0.288	0.039	49	0.39	0.41	0.020	3
23104	Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0.166	0.168	0.003	65	0.162	0.163	0.001	64	0.224	0.219	-0.005	75	0.331	0.338	0.008	97	0.40	0.41	0.010	59
41180	St. Louis, MO-IL	0.149	0.151	0.003	66	0.175	0.178	0.003	56	0.210	0.208	-0.003	67	0.258	0.278	0.020	79	0.39	0.40	0.012	51
41620	Salt Lake City, UT	0.133	0.135	0.002	67	0.136	0.146	0.010	34	0.203	0.197	-0.006	78	0.241	0.265	0.024	72	0.37	0.39	0.016	24
19124	Dallas-Plano-Irving, TX	0.203	0.206	0.002	68	0.179	0.175	-0.003	81	0.242	0.254	0.012	16	0.451	0.477	0.026	69	0.43	0.43	0.000	108
47644	Warren-Farmington Hills-Troy, MI	0.133	0.135	0.002	69	0.138	0.155	0.017	9	0.206	0.196	-0.009	92	0.212	0.239	0.027	68	0.37	0.39	0.018	12
19804	Detroit-Livonia-Dearborn, MI	0.194	0.196	0.002	70	0.194	0.191	-0.003	79	0.260	0.264	0.005	38	0.459	0.511	0.052	25	0.42	0.44	0.018	15
23844	Gary, IN	0.129	0.131	0.002	71	0.185	0.178	-0.007	96	0.154	0.146	-0.008	87	0.226	0.249	0.023	73	0.38	0.38	0.006	88
31140	Louisville, KY-IN	0.149	0.151	0.002	72	0.176	0.181	0.005	48	0.220	0.217	-0.003	68	0.243	0.297	0.054	23	0.40	0.40	0.009	70
10580	Albany-Schenectady-Troy, NY	0.118	0.120	0.002	73	0.158	0.182	0.023	2	0.141	0.132	-0.009	91	0.167	0.166	-0.001	109	0.37	0.37	0.003	101
42540	Scranton--Wilkes-Barre, PA	0.085	0.086	0.001	74	0.114	0.127	0.012	22	0.133	0.124	-0.009	90	0.132	0.135	0.003	106	0.39	0.39	0.009	65
28140	Kansas City, MO-KS	0.167	0.168	0.001	75	0.176	0.185	0.009	37	0.224	0.221	-0.003	66	0.262	0.292	0.030	62	0.38	0.39	0.013	40
36420	Oklahoma City, OK	0.152	0.153	0.001	76	0.153	0.149	-0.004	85	0.210	0.198	-0.011	97	0.312	0.316	0.004	105	0.41	0.41	0.000	107
47260	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	0.140	0.141	0.001	77	0.170	0.161	-0.009	99	0.176	0.176	0.000	52	0.215	0.288	0.072	13	0.37	0.38	0.012	49
15764	Cambridge-Newton-Framingham, MA	0.137	0.137	0.000	78	0.153	0.147	-0.006	93	0.213	0.218	0.005	35	0.276	0.264	-0.012	113	0.38	0.39	0.007	84
32820	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0.196	0.196	0.000	79	0.194	0.196	0.001	62	0.264	0.243	-0.021	114	0.435	0.480	0.045	38	0.43	0.43	-0.002	109
23420	Fresno, CA	0.175	0.174	0.000	80	0.159	0.145	-0.014	109	0.228	0.226	-0.002	62	0.478	0.495	0.017	84	0.43	0.45	0.018	9
35380	New Orleans-Metairie-Kenner, LA	0.148	0.147	-0.001	81	0.174	0.161	-0.013	106	0.200	0.198	-0.003	65	0.302	0.389	0.088	7	0.43	0.44	0.017	16
38300	Pittsburgh, PA	0.129	0.128	-0.001	82	0.152	0.154	0.003	57	0.203	0.192	-0.011	95	0.234	0.237	0.004	104	0.39	0.40	0.004	98
33460	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.128	0.127	-0.001	83	0.165	0.165	0.000	70	0.181	0.175	-0.006	80	0.157	0.200	0.043	43	0.37	0.38	0.012	45
41884	San Francisco-San Mateo-Redwood City, CA	0.148	0.146	-0.001	84	0.165	0.165	0.000	69	0.213	0.190	-0.024	116	0.333	0.351	0.018	81	0.41	0.41	-0.003	111
17460	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	0.173	0.172	-0.002	85	0.220	0.221	0.001	66	0.225	0.214	-0.012	98	0.320	0.342	0.022	74	0.40	0.41	0.011	57
41700	San Antonio, TX	0.176	0.174	-0.002	86	0.153	0.157	0.005	47	0.238	0.242	0.004	40	0.392	0.413	0.021	76	0.42	0.41	-0.005	113
16974	Chicago-Naperville-Joliet, IL	0.170	0.168	-0.002	87	0.192	0.180	-0.012	103	0.232	0.228	-0.004	72	0.328	0.367	0.039	50	0.41	0.42	0.011	55
36540	Omaha-Council Bluffs, NE-IA	0.153	0.151	-0.002	88	0.188	0.163	-0.026	116	0.187	0.183	-0.004	70	0.250	0.256	0.006	101	0.37	0.38	0.007	85
42044	Santa Ana-Anaheim-Irvine, CA	0.151	0.149	-0.002	89	0.133	0.130	-0.004	82	0.207	0.201	-0.007	82	0.345	0.393	0.048	30	0.40	0.42	0.014	34
20764	Edison, NJ	0.134	0.131	-0.003	90	0.146	0.150	0.004	49	0.187	0.176	-0.011	96	0.223	0.231	0.007	98	0.37	0.38	0.008	72
13820	Birmingham-Hoover, AL	0.162	0.158	-0.003	91	0.161	0.153	-0.009	98	0.240	0.224	-0.016	108	0.356	0.361	0.006	102	0.41	0.42	0.009	62
45060	Syracuse, NY	0.137	0.134	-0.004	92	0.192	0.188	-0.004	84	0.166	0.167	0.001	51	0.214	0.225	0.012	91	0.38	0.39	0.010	60
48864	Wilmington, DE-MD-NJ	0.133	0.129	-0.004	93	0.169	0.157	-0.013	104	0.184	0.191	0.007	27	0.210	0.208	-0.002	110	0.37	0.38	0.015	28
16860	Chattanooga, TN-GA	0.115	0.111	-0.004	94	0.138	0.139	0.001	61	0.156	0.161	0.005	36	0.152	0.200	0.047	31	0.41	0.41	-0.006	114
12580	Baltimore-Towson, MD	0.172	0.168	-0.004	95	0.200	0.189	-0.011	100	0.205	0.197	-0.009	88	0.291	0.316	0.025	70	0.39	0.40	0.009	64
12260	Augusta-Richmond County, GA-SC	0.131	0.127	-0.004	96	0.139	0.135	-0.004	88	0.183	0.163	-0.020	113	0.246	0.318	0.072	12	0.42	0.42	0.005	94
21604	Essex County, MA	0.160	0.155	-0.005	97	0.182	0.183	0.001	63	0.197	0.176	-0.021	115	0.306	0.363	0.057	22	0.40	0.41	0.009	67
37964	Philadelphia, PA	0.208	0.203	-0.005	98	0.234	0.223	-0.011	101	0.250	0.238	-0.012	102	0.429	0.448	0.018	80	0.42	0.42	0.007	79
49660	Youngstown-Warren-Boardman, OH-PA	0.114	0.109	-0.006	99	0.186	0.168	-0.018	110	0.137	0.132	-0.005	77	0.164	0.222	0.059	20	0.38	0.39	0.007	81
29404	Lake County-Kenosha County, IL-WI	0.178	0.172	-0.006	100	0.149	0.162	0.014	18	0.255	0.248	-0.007	84	0.337	0.396	0.060	19	0.39	0.41	0.017	20
31084	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Glendale, CA	0.181	0.176	-0.006	101	0.149	0.142	-0.008	97	0.274	0.266	-0.008	86	0.457	0.473	0.016	85	0.44	0.45	0.008	76
15804	Camden, NJ	0.136	0.130	-0.006	102	0.187	0.169	-0.018	111	0.170	0.167	-0.003	69	0.154	0.194	0.041	46	0.36	0.37	0.013	38
26180	Honolulu, HI	0.123	0.116	-0.007	103	0.147	0.133	-0.014	108	0.155	0.140	-0.016	107	0.221	0.160	-0.061	117	0.37	0.37	-0.005	112
42260	Sarasota-Bradenton-Venice, FL	0.113	0.105	-0.007	104	0.106	0.119	0.013	19	0.170	0.166	-0.004	71	0.204	0.193	-0.011	112	0.41	0.41	0.006	86
37100	Oxnard-Thousand Oaks-Ventura, CA	0.144	0.136	-0.008	105	0.134	0.129	-0.005	91	0.200	0.186	-0.015	106	0.283	0.294	0.011	93	0.38	0.40	0.015	29
10740	Albuquerque, NM	0.140	0.132	-0.008	106	0.126	0.127	0.001	65	0.191	0.179	-0.012	101	0.314	0.324	0.010	94	0.40	0.42	0.019	5
39100	Poughkeepsie-Newburgh-Middletown, NY	0.117	0.108	-0.009	107	0.198	0.174	-0.024	114	0.119	0.112	-0.008	85	0.129	0.146	0.017	83	0.36	0.37	0.016	26
17820	Colorado Springs, CO	0.152	0.143	-0.009	108	0.144	0.137	-0.007	94	0.203	0.183	-0.020	112	0.305	0.320	0.015	87	0.38	0.39	0.008	74
45104	Tacoma, WA	0.110	0.100	-0.009	109	0.137	0.124	-0.013	107	0.139	0.137	-0.003	64	0.180	0.120	-0.060	116	0.37	0.38	0.008	77
40060	Richmond, VA	0.168	0.158	-0.009	110	0.181	0.186	0.005	45	0.218	0.204	-0.014	104	0.256	0.300	0.044	40	0.38	0.40	0.012	48
41740	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	0.164	0.155	-0.010	111	0.158	0.132	-0.026	115	0.221	0.207	-0.014	103	0.342	0.385	0.042	44	0.40	0.42	0.018	14
19740	Denver-Aurora, CO	0.180	0.170	-0.010	112	0.187	0.169	-0.018	112	0.223	0.213	-0.010	93	0.342	0.357	0.015	86	0.39	0.40	0.006	89
12420	Austin-Round Rock, TX	0.184	0.173	-0.010	113	0.169	0.178	0.010	35	0.243	0.225	-0.017	109	0.382	0.361	-0.021	115	0.40	0.41	0.010	61
35644	New York-Wayne-White Plains, NY-NJ	0.209	0.199	-0.010	114	0.192	0.171	-0.021	113	0.306	0.288	-0.018	110	0.502	0.511	0.009	96	0.46	0.47	0.004	96
12940	Baton Rouge, LA	0.127	0.116	-0.012	115	0.158	0.127	-0.031	117	0.153	0.152	-0.001	59	0.258	0.260	0.002	107	0.41	0.41	-0.002	110
46140	Tulsa, OK	0.152	0.140	-0.012	116	0.158	0.154	-0.004	89	0.218	0.200	-0.018	111	0.281	0.285	0.004	103	0.41	0.41	0.000	106
14860	Bridgeport-Stamford-Norwalk, CT	0.221	0.205	-0.016	117	0.213	0.201	-0.011	102	0.333	0.299	-0.034	117	0.444	0.472	0.028	67	0.40	0.41	0.002	103
	Average	**0.143**	**0.145**	**0.003**		**0.158**	**0.159**	**0.002**		**0.195**	**0.194**	**-0.001**		**0.271**	**0.304**	**0.033**		**0.395**	**0.405**	**0.010**	