Children Left Behind

How Metropolitan Areas Are Failing America's Children

First in a series of reports from

diversitydata.org

Dolores Acevedo-Garcia
Nancy McArdle
Theresa L. Osypuk
Bonnie Lefkowitz
Barbara K. Krimgold

January 2007

Harvard School of Public Health

CENTER FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HEALTH

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge funding from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, as well as support and feedback from program officers Gillian Barclay, Jacquelynne Borden-Conyers, Barbara Sabol, and Al Yee. We especially thank Henrie Treadwell for making this project possible.

The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, and Gail Christopher, provided resources for completing the indicator development. For their ideas and encouragement, we are indebted to our colleagues Heidi Hartmann, David Moriarty, Gary Orfield, Bill O'Hare, Sean Reardon, and Philip Tegeler.

SUMMARY

Across metropolitan America, black and Hispanic children face particularly severe challenges, especially compared to white and Asian children. Not only do black and Hispanic children live in families that experience many disadvantages, but disparities among individuals and families are exacerbated by vast inequalities in neighborhood and school environments. These inequalities go far beyond what can be explained by income differences, as poor black and Hispanic children tend to encounter environments considerably worse than poor white and Asian children. Yet the very conditions that contribute to these inequalities suggest some possible policy solutions.

These conclusions are derived from *diversitydata.org*, a new website profiling U.S. metropolitan areas, which are home to over 80% of the nation's children. Under development for over three years at the Harvard School of Public Health in conjunction with the Center for the Advancement of Health, and with support from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation, the interactive online resource *diversitydata* brings together a wide range of indicators on many dimensions of well-being including housing, neighborhood conditions, residential integration, education and health. The website uses data from multiple sources and allows users to create metropolitan area profiles, rank metropolitan areas according to their performance on a given indicator, and create maps. Most of the data are broken down by racial/ethnic group to highlight both the demographic diversity that characterizes U.S. metropolitan areas, as well as racial/ethnic disparities in opportunity.

This first report, focusing on the 100 metropolitan areas with the largest child populations[i], reflects a stark picture of disparities across all dimensions. Black children are consistently most likely to experience adverse conditions, with Hispanic kids only slightly better off. Among the specific findings of *Children Left Behind*:

- For indicators of health, families' own income and homeownership, the income and homeownership of their neighborhoods, residential and school segregation, and school poverty, black children fared most poorly. In most cases, Hispanic children were next, with Asians falling between Hispanics and whites, who consistently did the best.

- In very few instances do the *very best* metro areas for black and Hispanic children perform close to the *average* level for white children.

- Black children encounter difficulties right from birth. In 90% of metro areas, the share of low birthweight births to black mothers was over 9%, much higher than the target rate of 5%, set in the health objectives in *Healthy People 2010*. In 60% of metro areas, the pre-term birth rate for blacks was over 15%, a rate found in virtually no metro areas for other racial groups.

- In 85% of metro areas, the homeownership rate of white families with children was over 70%. In sharp contrast, in 96% of metro areas for black families and 63% of metros for Hispanic families, homeownership rates were 50% or less.

[i] Table T-1 in the accompanying Chartbook lists the 100 largest metropolitan areas in alphabetical order and provides the size and racial/ethnic composition of their child population according to the 2000 Census.

- Black and Hispanic children lived in vastly different neighborhoods than did white and Asian children. Within the largest 100 metro areas for children, 72% of black children and 56% of Hispanic children would have to move to a different neighborhood in order for them to be fully integrated with white children.

- Children not only lived in separate neighborhoods but in ones with strikingly different socioeconomic profiles. The average black child lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate of 21%, compared to a neighborhood poverty rate of 8% for the average white child, 19% for the average Hispanic child, and 11% for the average Asian child.

- A further look at specific metro areas shows that neighborhood inequality goes beyond what can be explained by income. In metro Chicago, for example, nearly 75% of *poor* white children lived in low-poverty neighborhoods, while less than 10% of *poor* black children lived in these more advantaged locations.

- Using a summary measure of neighborhood socioeconomic conditions, some of the *best* metropolitan areas for children were:

    - For blacks: Denver, Colorado Springs and Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill
    - For Hispanics: Ann Arbor, Cincinnati and Washington DC
    - For Asians: Austin, Baltimore and Washington DC
    - For whites: Ann Arbor, Boston and San Francisco

- Among the areas with the *worst* neighborhood socioeconomic conditions for children were:
    - For blacks: Buffalo, Chicago and New York
    - For Hispanics: Bakersfield, Providence and Springfield
    - For Asians: Bakersfield, Fresno, and New York
    - For whites: Bakersfield, El Paso and New York

BACKGROUND

Children are the focus of this first *diversitydata* report first because they are the future.[ii] The conditions facing America's children in metropolitan areas greatly influence their present well-being, and the prospects of the adults they will become. There is almost uniform agreement that early life experiences are critical to human development and opportunities for advancement

[ii] Our definition of children includes individuals under 18 years. Unless otherwise noted, the four racial/ethnic groups used in this report are: 1) Non-Hispanic white; 2) Non-Hispanic black; 3) Hispanic or Latino; 4) Non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander. For Census-based indicators, where people are able to designate themselves as multi-racial, we generally include only those people who identify themselves as one race alone. We acknowledge that these broad racial/ethnic groupings include subgroups that may vary substantially in their socioeconomic conditions and degree of segregation, perhaps most notably within the Hispanic and Asian categories. However, to maintain higher levels of statistical validity, we did not examine smaller subgroups but aggregate patterns for the main four racial/ethnic groups.

throughout life.[1] Economists from the Minneapolis Federal Reserve have urged investment in early childhood over traditional economic development programs, citing a 12% internal rate of return for society in increased health and productivity, and decreased crime and dependency.[2]

America's children are more racially and ethnically diverse than the total population. And they are growing up in areas characterized by large proportions of what were once minorities. Eighteen million of the 45 million children in the largest metro areas live in "majority-minority" metros, where non-white or Hispanic children make up more than half of the child population.[iii] Given this increasing diversity, major racial/ethnic disparities among children are of particular concern. The landscape of diversity and opportunity in metropolitan areas has a substantial impact on the well-being of America's children. And, in turn, the development of these children will have a strong influence on the economic and social prospects of these regions.

We focus on metropolitan areas[iv] because over 80%, or almost 60 million of America's children live in metropolitan areas, and two-thirds, or 45 million, live in the 100 largest metro areas highlighted in this report. Disparities in opportunity are apparent when we focus on metropolitan areas, which include both central city and suburban jurisdictions [3]. Focusing on such political jurisdictions as cities or counties would be too limited. Labor and housing markets operate across their boundaries, and solutions to many of the disparities are to be found in efforts that encompass entire metropolitan areas.

Place matters greatly. Depending on where in their metropolitan areas they live, kids will either find or not find many of the conditions that will allow them to be healthy: to realize their potential, satisfy their needs, and develop the capacity to successfully interact with their environment—the definition of child health embraced by the National Research Council.[4] Those conditions include neighborhood health and safety, housing options and degree of residential and school integration, recreation choices, services such as education, family support and transportation, employment and other opportunities for economic advancement.

[iii] In 32 of the metropolitan areas analyzed black children are 20% or more of the children population. The metro areas with the largest proportion of black children range from Nashville (19.9%) to Memphis (52.5%). In 32 of the metro areas Hispanic children are 20% or more of the children population. The metro areas with the largest proportion of Hispanic children range from Sacramento (19.9%) to McAllen (94.4%). In 3 of the metro areas, Asian children are 20% or more of the children population. These areas include Honolulu, San Jose, and San Francisco.

[iv] Metropolitan areas are defined by the Office of Management and Budget and generally have a population of at least 100,000 and a core city or urbanized area of at least 50,000 people. In addition to the county(ies) containing the main city/area, a metro area may also include additional counties that have strong economic and social ties to the central county(ies) and meet specified requirements of metropolitan character, determined chiefly by commuting to work patterns. Very large metro areas (generally over a million people) are often designated as Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs) and divided into smaller component Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs.) In this study, we focus on individual Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) and on Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs), rather than the larger CMSAs. In some cases, depending on data availability, we use New England County Metropolitan Area (NECMA) definitions rather than Metro Area definitions in New England. We use metropolitan areas as defined as of June 20, 1999, in order to be consistent with metropolitan boundaries used in Census 2000 publications. For a listing of metro area components, see: http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/metro-city/99mfips.txt
For a listing on NECMA component counties for New England, see:
http://www.census.gov/population/estimates/metro-city/99nfips.txt

Our findings are organized by presenting indicators of child well-being for the four main racial/ethnic groups focusing first on families, then on neighborhood environment and finally on school environment. For "Families", we examine health at birth, family income, and homeownership. For "Neighborhoods", we look at residential segregation, neighborhood poverty, and exposure to other neighborhood socioeconomic conditions such as homeownership and unemployment rates. For "Schools", we look at school segregation and poverty. For each indicator, we show distribution graphs, which allow us to illustrate the range of performance across metro areas.[v] Additional graphs are presented in an accompanying Chartbook.

Then, for each racial/ethnic group, we show the rankings of metropolitan areas for a subset of indicators of neighborhood environment. We also show the metro areas with the largest black/white, Hispanic/white and Asian/white disparities.

Whether the analysis was within or across metropolitan areas, we looked at poor and non-poor children separately to show that racial/ethnic differences in neighborhood environment transcend differences in socioeconomic status.

Finally, we discuss the policy implications of our findings, including a brief overview of the levers that might be employed to improve prospects for the nation's children and more detailed descriptions of several promising models for action.

FINDINGS

FAMILIES

Families are fundamental to children's well-being because they have a profound influence on the resources available to children for their needs, including economic resources, time, and social networks. Thus family factors can be sources of either risk or resilience for the developing child.[4] Yet there are large racial/ethnic gaps in the family conditions facing children in U.S. metropolitan areas, which means that black and Hispanic children start their lives with fewer protective factors to develop resilience.

---

[v] In the distribution graphs, the horizontal x-axis along the bottom shows value ranges of the indicator of interest (for example, poverty rate), and the vertical y-axis shows the proportion of metro areas that fall within a given value range of the indicator of interest. For a given racial/ethnic group, the highest point in the graph tells us the most prevalent value range of the indicator of interest across metro areas. So if the highest vertical point on a graph corresponds with 60% on the vertical y-axis and a poverty rate of 3-6% on the x-axis, this would mean that the poverty rate ranged from 3-6% in 60% of the metro areas and, that 3-6% was the most prevalent poverty rate among metro areas for that racial/ethnic group. For each indicator, the extent of overlap among the distribution graphs suggests that the range of opportunities across metropolitan areas is similar for children of different racial/ethnic groups. Conversely, the extent of separation in the distributions suggests little in common in the opportunities available to children For each racial/ethnic group, the distribution graphs include only those metro areas with at least 5,000 children of the respective group, i.e. 100 metros for whites, 94 for blacks, 91 for Hispanics, and 64 for Asians. Because the number of American Indian/Alaskan Native children only met this minimum threshold in 11 metro areas, they were not included in this analysis.

HEALTH AT BIRTH. We first present indicators of child health at birth because they influence health and developmental trajectories throughout the life course. We focus on preterm births (i.e. babies born before 37 weeks of gestation) and low birthweight (i.e. babies with a birthweight <2,500 grams, or <5pounds, 8 ounces).[vi] Low birthweight and short gestation comprise the leading causes of neonatal death, accounting for 20% of neonatal deaths. [5, 6] Low birthweight is also related to worse health and developmental outcomes later in life, including school-age disabilities, behavioral problems, cognitive function and educational attainment.[7] Finally, these birth health outcomes are markers not only for lack of access to adequate prenatal care services or for exposures to hazards (e.g. chronic stress) during pregnancy, but also for maternal conditions predating the pregnancy, such as poor nutrition and health problems.

The low birthweight rate is the percentage of babies born with low weight. As shown in **Figure 1**, the distribution of the low birthweight rate for black babies is distinctly worse than for white, Hispanic and Asian babies. In 95% of metro areas, the low birthweight rate for white babies was 3-6%. This level is close to or better than the low birthweight rate target (5%) set in the health objectives for the nation in *Healthy People 2010*.[8] In 70% of metro areas, the low birthweight rate for Hispanic babies was also 3-6%. The most prevalent rate for Asian babies was higher, i.e. 6-9%, in 57% of metros. The most prevalent rate for black babies was much higher, 9-12% in 66% of metros.

Unlike most of the indicators that we will see in this report, for low birthweight, Hispanic children had favorable outcomes. This is related to the so-called "Hispanic health paradox".[9] Hispanic infants, especially those born to immigrant mothers, have better birth outcomes than would be expected given the low socioeconomic status of their mothers and families. Although, public health experts are still uncovering the reasons for such paradox, it is undoubtedly good news that Hispanic children start off their lives with a healthy birthweight profile.

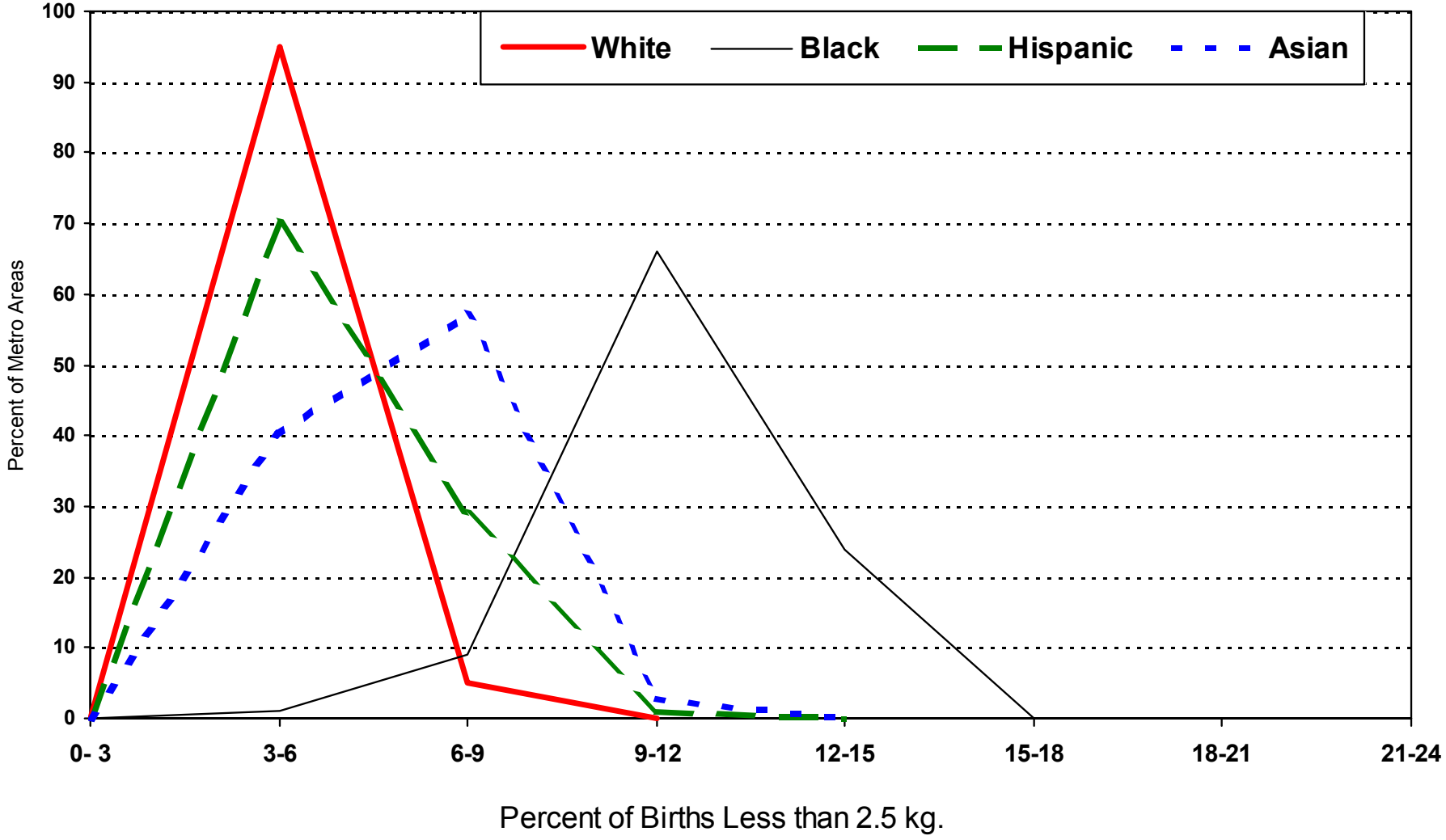
The preterm birth rate is the percentage of children born before 37 weeks of gestation. The distribution of the preterm birth rate is better for white babies (i.e. shifted to the left) than for minority babies (see Graph G-2 in *diversitydata 1* Chartbook*)*. The distribution for black babies is the worst—furthest to the right. While in 60% of metro areas, the preterm birth rate for black babies is over 15%, there are virtually no metros with that high rate for white, Hispanic or Asian babies.

Black children are more likely to be low birthweight and preterm than children of other racial/ethnic groups. Thus, many black children are at a disadvantaged position from the start. Ideally, the conditions they face in their families, neighborhoods and schools would ameliorate this initial health disadvantage. Hispanic children start with a better health picture than black children, and comparable to that of white children. Ideally, the conditions they face later in childhood would help preserve and further this initial health advantage. However, across metropolitan areas, the actual conditions facing black and Hispanic children work to compound

[vi] Analysis of pre-term and low-birthweight births excludes metro areas with less than 100 births to mothers in the specified subgroup over the 2001-2002 time period. Excludes plural births and births which occurred abroad, in Puerto Rico, or in U.S. Territories. Metro area refers to the location of residence of the mother at the time of the birth.

Figure 1

Low-Birthweight Rates: Distributions by Race/Ethnicity
100 Largest Metro Areas: 2001-2002



Note: Excludes metro areas with less than 100 births to mothers in the specified subgroup over the 2001-2002 time period.
Excludes plural births and births which occurred abroad, in Puerto Rico, or in U.S. Territories.
Source: DiversityData analysis of National Center for Health Statistics Vital Statistics Natality Birth Data

the initial health disadvantage of black children, and to undermine the initial health advantage of Hispanic children.

POVERTY AND HOMEOWNERSHIP OF FAMILIES. Black and Hispanic children are more likely than white and Asian children to live in families with more challenges and less resources. In turn, the disadvantages associated with living in poor families are magnified by poor neighborhood and school conditions.

Black and Hispanic kids are much more likely to live in families whose income falls under the federal poverty line. In the vast majority of metros (92%), 10% or fewer white families with children live in poverty. In sharp contrast, in the vast majority of metros (75%), over 20% of black families live in poverty. Hispanic and Asian families fall in the middle. In about half of the metro areas, between 10% and 20% of Hispanic families live in poverty, and only 10% or less of Asian families do (**Figure 2**).

Poverty is a measure of income. In addition to large racial/ethnic disparities in income, there exist even larger disparities in wealth. The main source of wealth accumulation for Americans is homeownership [10]. Therefore, we also look at the distribution of homeownership rates across metros. In most metros (about 85%) more than 70% of white families with children own their home. In contrast, in almost all metros (96%), the homeownership rates of black families are 50% or less. Asian families do fairly well, especially considering that many of them are immigrants, who are less likely to own their homes than the U.S.-born.[11] In 74% of metros, at least 60% of Asian families own their homes, but in only about 7% of metros do Hispanic families have such homeownership rates (**Figure 3**).

NEIGHBORHOODS

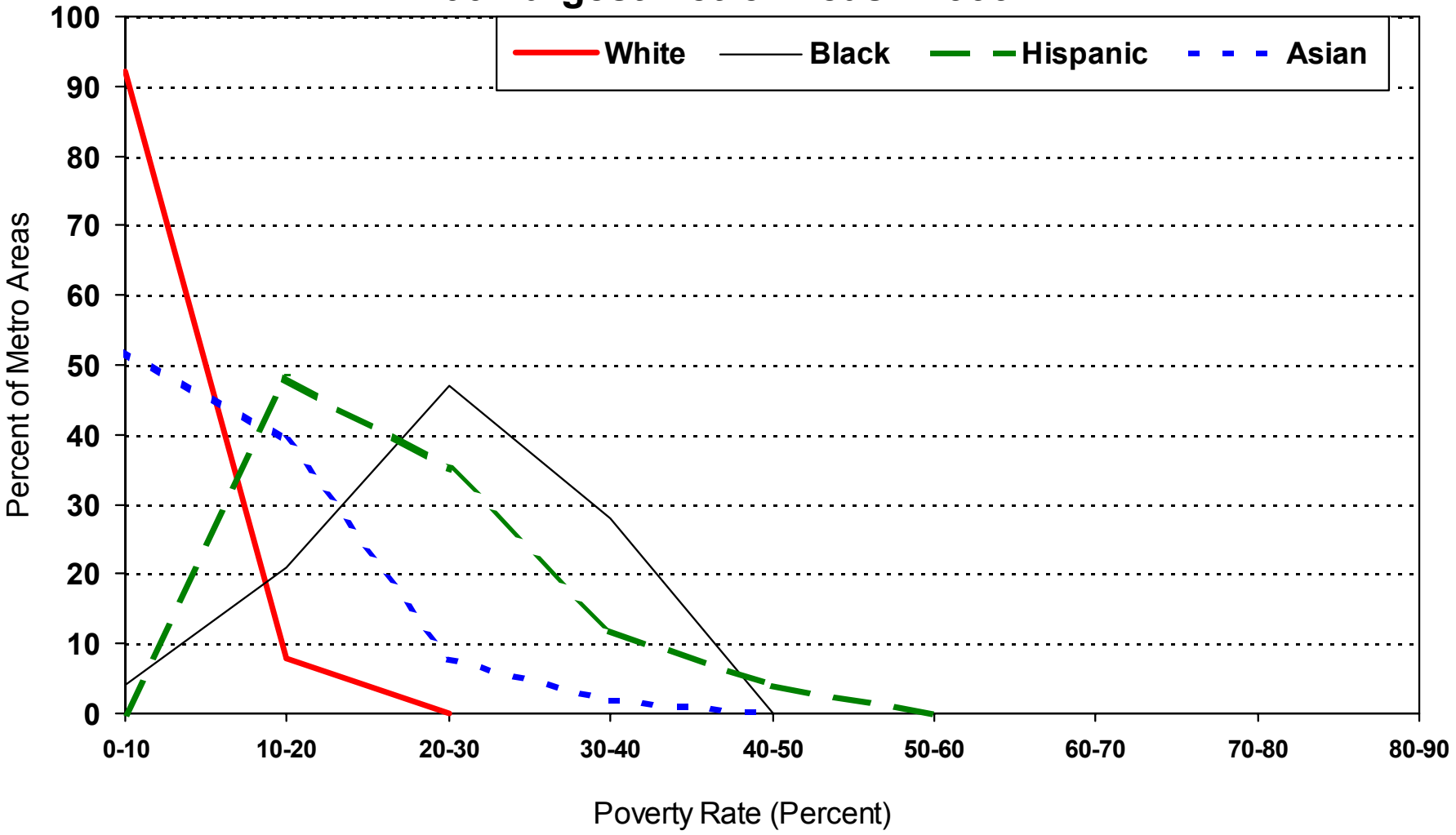
Difficulties facing children in black and Hispanic families are aggravated by neighborhood disadvantage. There is evidence that above and beyond individual and family characteristics, neighborhoods matter for children's health and development, because disadvantaged neighborhoods are associated with exposure to environmental hazards, community violence, weak neighborhood institutions (e.g. schools) and services (e.g. public safety), and scarcity of positive role models and peer influences.[1]

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION. Black and Hispanic children live in *different* neighborhoods than do white and Asian children. Racial residential segregation is defined as concentration of racial/ethnic groups within certain neighborhoods to a larger degree than they are represented in the metro area overall . While middle class minority neighborhoods can be positive and supportive places to live, very high levels of segregation are often accompanied by poverty and such detrimental conditions as joblessness, concentration of social ills, lack of positive role models, a small tax base, and inadequate resources and services.

Across metropolitan areas, black children experience the highest level of residential segregation with respect to white children, followed by Hispanic children. Asian children experience much lower levels of segregation. Below we summarize the picture of residential segregation for each racial/ethnic group for two dimensions of segregation, dissimilarity and isolation. For these

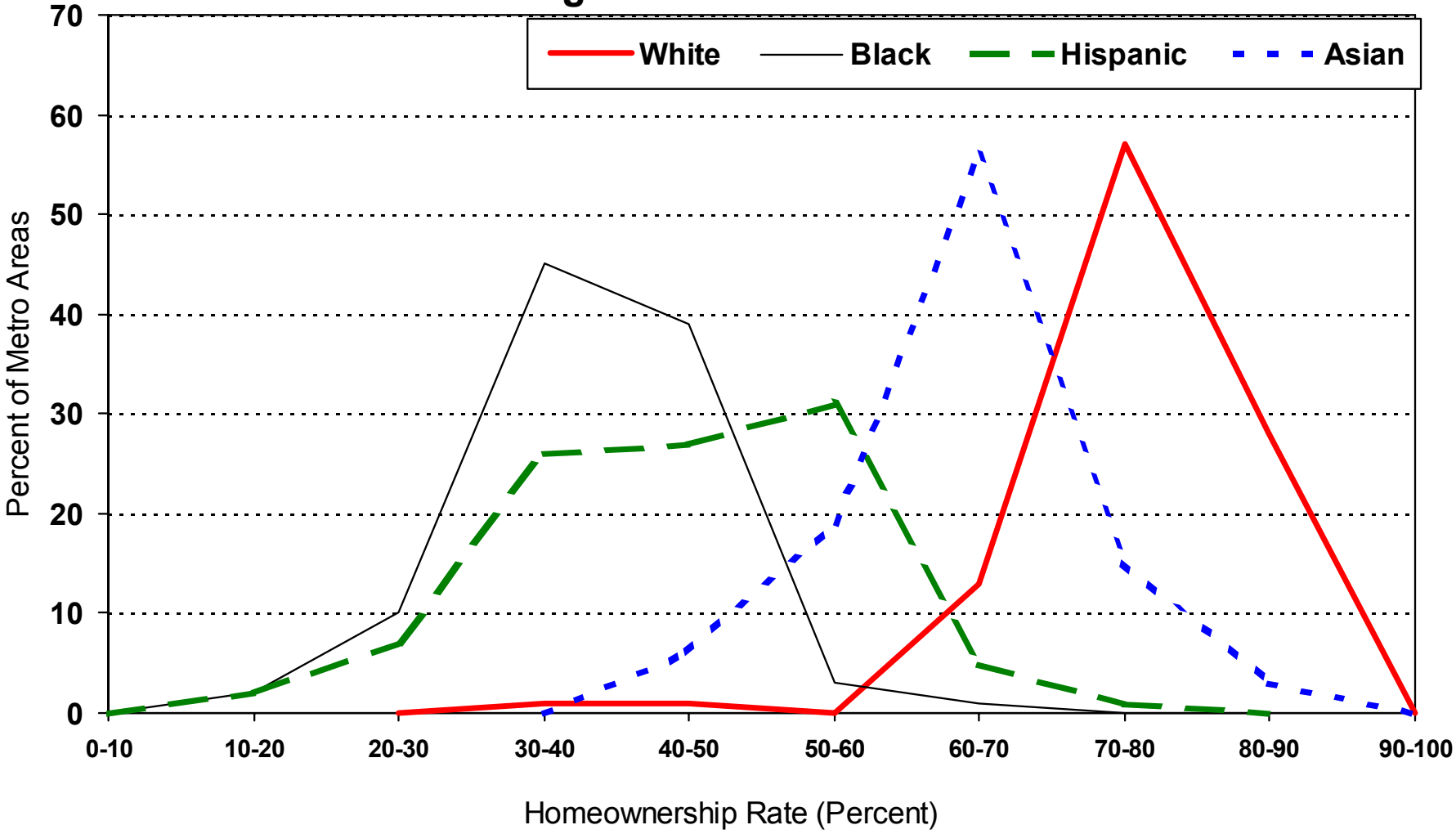
Figure 2

Poverty Rates for Families with Children
Distributions by Race/Ethnicity
100 Largest Metro Areas: 1999



Note: Includes 100 metro areas with largest child population (under age 18) as of 2000.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 4 data.

Homeownership Rates for Families with Children
Distributions by Race/Ethnicity
100 Largest Metro Areas: 2000



Note: Includes 100 metro areas with largest child population (under age 18) as of 2000
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 4 data.

indices, a value of zero indicates low levels of segregation, and a value of or near one indicates high segregation in the metropolitan area. Demographers have established that segregation over 0.6 indicates high segregation.

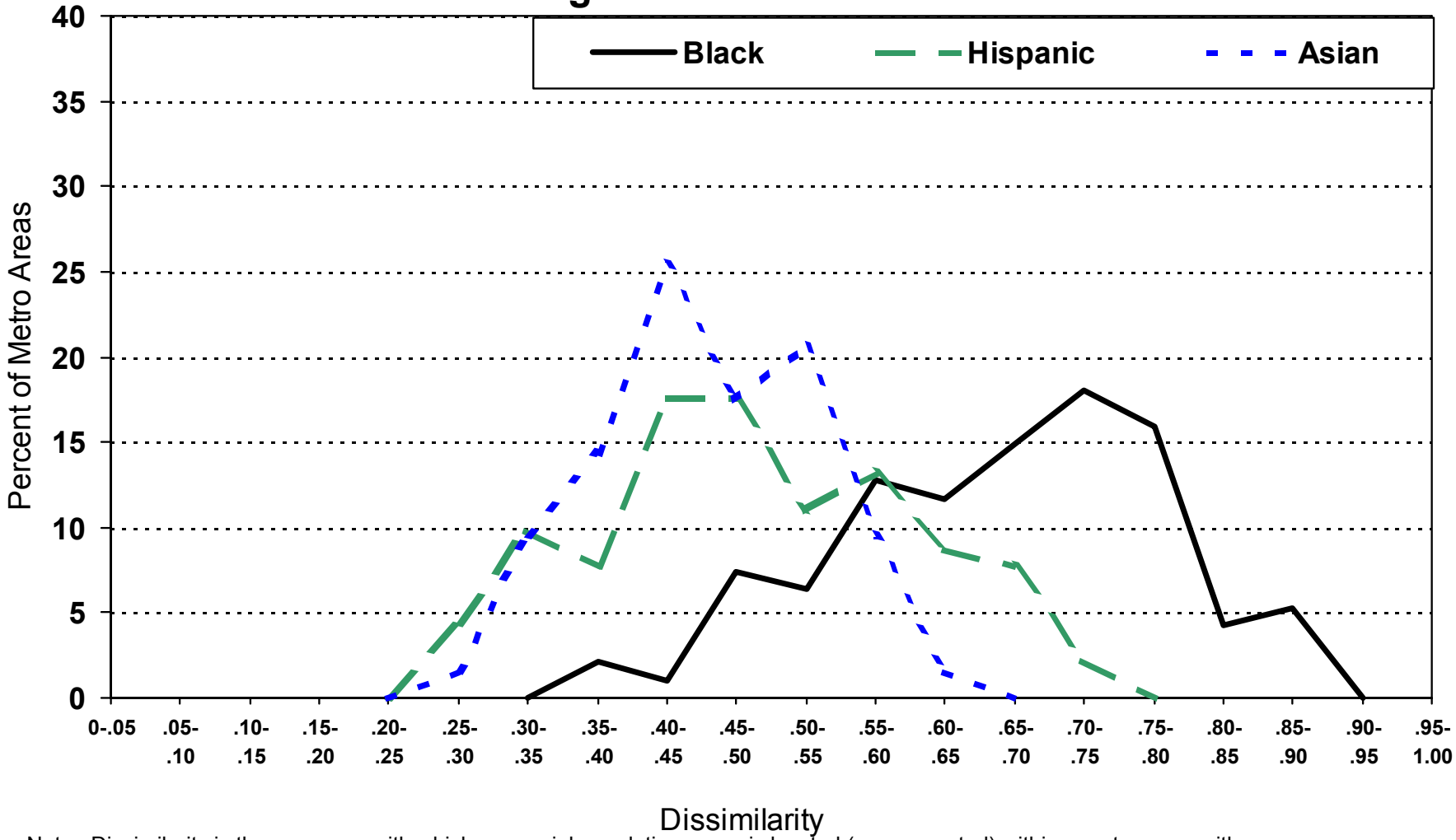
The most commonly presented measure of segregation is dissimilarity, interpreted as the proportion of minority children who would have to move to a different neighborhood so that their representation in each neighborhood equaled their representation in the metro area overall (i.e. be perfectly integrated.) From **Figure 4**, it is apparent that dissimilarity of black children is worse than that of Hispanic or Asian children, denoted by the peak for blacks that is shifted to the right of the other groups. On average in the U.S. for the largest 100 metros with over 5,000 black children (94 metros), 72% of black children would need to move to a different neighborhood to achieve an even distribution across the metropolitan area. Segregation for blacks is highest in areas with large black populations. In year 2000, black children experienced the highest dissimilarity with respect to white children in Milwaukee WI (.88), Detroit MI (.88), Gary IN (.87), and New York NY (.86). In 66, or 70% of these 94 metros black children experienced high segregation on the dissimilarity measure, or over .60. The MSAs with the lowest black children dissimilarity were El Paso TX (.38) and Honolulu HI (.38); but note that even there, 38% of the black child population would have to move to achieve perfect integration, which demographers consider a moderate degree of residential segregation.

Hispanic and Asian children experience lower segregation from whites than do blacks on the dissimilarity measure. The average Hispanic child living in the largest 100 metropolitan areas with over 5,000 Hispanic children (91 metros) lived in a metro where 56% of Hispanic children would need to relocate to a different neighborhood to achieve racial integration with whites (compared to .72 for blacks). For Asians, the average was a bit lower, at 50%. The most segregated metropolitan area for Hispanic children on the dissimilarity measure was New York NY (.73), which was a full 15 points lower than the most segregated metropolitan area for black children. The next highest segregated metro areas for Hispanic children were Providence RI (.70), Hartford CT (.70), Springfield MA (.68), and Newark NJ (.68). In contrast to blacks, only 17 (versus 66) metropolitan areas have Hispanic dissimilarity scores higher than .60, or 19% of metros display high Hispanic segregation. The most integrated metropolitan areas for Hispanics on the dissimilarity measure were Jacksonville FL (.28), Cincinnati OH (.29), and Miami FL (.30). In only one metro area do Asian children exhibit "high segregation" on the dissimilarity measure –in San Francisco CA, where 61% of Asian children would need to move to another neighborhood to achieve integration with whites. Other most segregated areas for Asian children were Stockton CA (.59), Sacramento CA (.59), and New York NY (.59). The most integrated metro areas for Asians on the dissimilarity measure were Fort Lauderdale (.26), Phoenix AZ, (.31), and Ventura CA (.34).

The second most frequently used measure of segregation is isolation, which is the proportion of one's own racial/ethnic group in the neighborhood of the average person of that group in a metro area. **Figure 5** displays the isolation segregation scores for each racial group of children in year 2000. In most metros, most (non-Hispanic) white children lived in neighborhoods with other white children. For instance, the average white child in these 100 largest MSAs lived in a neighborhood where 73% of her child neighbors were white, although only in 23% of these metro areas did minority children comprise 25% or less of children. In only 10 metros did white

Figure 4

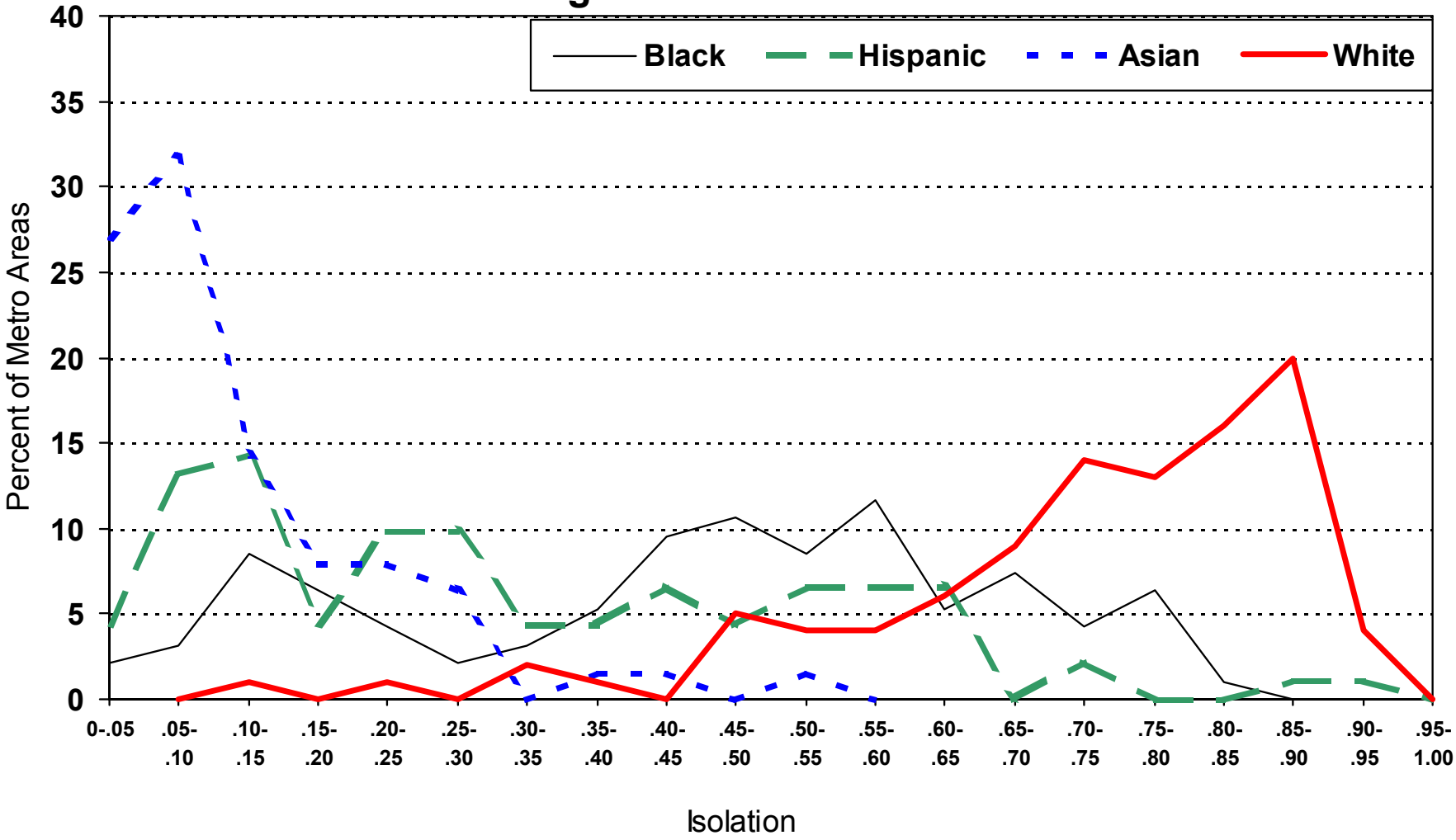
Residential Dissimilarity with Respect to White Children Distributions by Race/Ethnicity 100 Largest Metro Areas: 2000



Note: Dissimilarity is the evenness with which one racial population group is located (or segregated) within a metro area, with respect to another racial group. The dissimilarity statistic is interpreted as the proportion of one racial group that would need to relocate to another neighborhood (census tract) for that racial group to be distributed across the metro area like a second (reference) racial group. A value of "0%" reflects absolute integration; a value of "1" reflects absolute segregation.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 1 data.

Figure 5

Residential Segregation of Children: Isolation Distributions by Race/Ethnicity 100 Largest Metro Areas: 2000



Note: Isolation is a segregation measure referring to the degree of potential contact, or the possibility of interaction, between people of the same racial group. For instance, the black isolation index provides the average proportion of neighbors that are black, for the average neighborhood where blacks live.

Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 1 data.

children live on average in neighborhoods where they comprised less than 50% of the neighborhood children. For instance, in McAllen TX the average white child lived in a neighborhood where white children comprised only 11% of neighborhood children, and this number was also low in El Paso TX (.22), and Honolulu HI (.30). The metropolitan areas where white children were most likely to live with whites include Scranton PA where the average white child lived in a neighborhood where 94% of children are white, Pittsburgh PA (.91), Knoxville TN (.91), and Youngstown OH (.90).

In contrast to whites, who usually lived with other whites, Asian children lived in neighborhoods with low proportions of Asian children. In 37 metros, or 59%, Asian children lived in neighborhoods where less than 10% of children were Asian. The isolation index will be low if there are few people of the group in the metro area, so the low Asian isolation is partially due to their small population sizes across many metros. But their low isolation also indicates more integration with other racial groups. Asian kids were most likely to live with other Asian children in Honolulu HI, where the Asian isolation index was highest at .52. Other areas with relatively high Asian isolation included San Francisco (.43), San Jose CA (.38), Oakland CA (.28), New York NY (.28), and Los Angeles (.27). Areas with the lowest Asian isolation were Miami FL (.02), San Antonio TX (.03)), and Fort Lauderdale FL (.03).

Black children were highly segregated on the isolation measure. The average black child lived in a neighborhood where 57% of his child neighbors were also black. In one-quarter of our metro areas, black children lived on average in neighborhoods where black children comprised over 60% of the child population, or in metros considered very high segregation on the isolation measure. These metro areas are also the places with the highest numbers of blacks. The most segregated metro on the isolation measure for black children was Detroit, where the average black child lived in a neighborhood where 82% of her child neighbors were also black. Memphis (.79), New Orleans LA (.76), Birmingham AL (.76) and Chicago (.76) were the next most segregated areas for black children on the isolation measure. The metros with the lowest isolation for black children were Orange County CA (.03), San Jose CA (.04), and Tucson AZ (.06).

Hispanic children experienced lower levels of isolation than blacks and higher levels than Asians. The average Hispanic child in these 91 metros lived in a neighborhood where 54% of her neighbors were also Hispanic. Again, there was large variability across the country regarding neighborhood isolation for the average Hispanic child. In some places, Hispanic children lived with high proportions of other Hispanic children; these highly segregated areas included the Mexican border towns of McAllen TX (.95), El Paso TX (.87), as well as San Antonio TX (.73), Los Angeles CA (.72) and Fresno CA (.65). In 10 of the metros, Hispanics were highly segregated on the isolation measure (over .60). The areas with the lowest isolation were Pittsburgh PA (.02), Cincinnati OH (.02), Louisville KY (.03), and Baltimore (.05); but very few Hispanics lived there (less than 2% of the population was Hispanic in these places).[vii]

[vii] Demographers conceptualize and measure residential segregation along five distinct dimensions: dissimilarity, isolation, centralization, concentration and clustering. In the body of this report we discuss the most frequently used measures: dissimilarity and isolation. Tables T-7, T-8 and T-9 in the Chartbook present the other three dimensions.

NEIGHBORHOOD INCOME LEVELS. Not only do black and Hispanic children live in different neighborhoods than white children, but they also live in neighborhoods with much less favorable socioeconomic characteristics than white children. These inequalities in neighborhood environment are not fully explained by family income. Poor white children are much more likely to experience advantaged neighborhoods than poor black and Hispanic children.

Metropolitan areas have a distribution of neighborhoods with different income levels ranging from low to high. However, not all children have access to the full spectrum of neighborhoods. There are clear racial/ethnic disparities in the chances that children will be able to grow up and enjoy the schools and other services and amenities often associated with middle- and high-income neighborhoods.

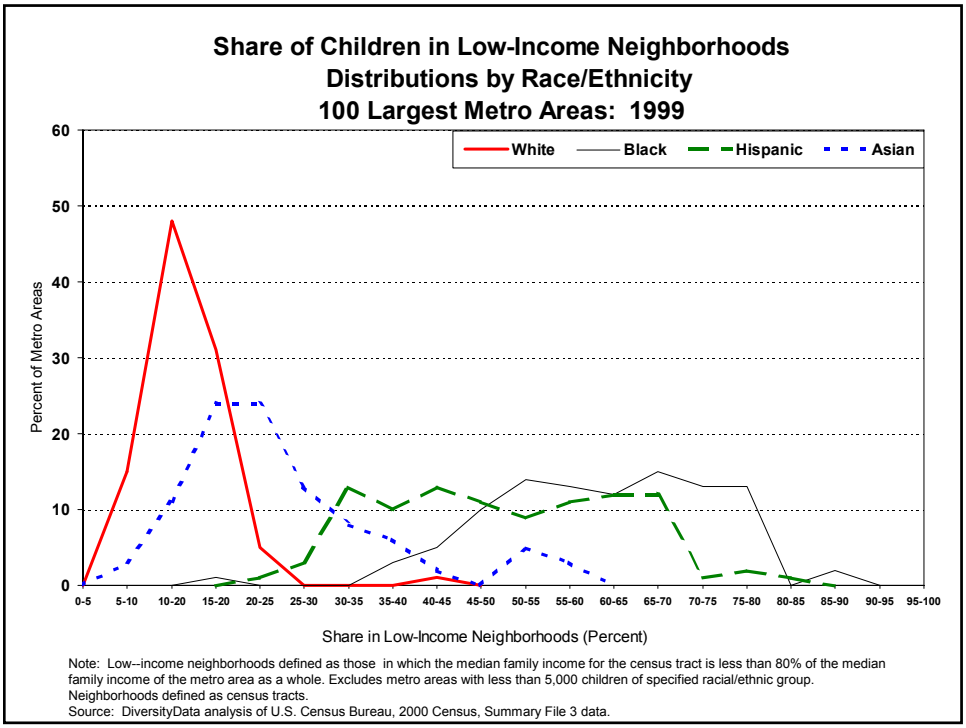
In this section, we examined the share of children living in low-income neighborhoods by race/ethnicity. Low-income neighborhoods (defined as census tracts[viii]) are those where the median family income for the neighborhood is less than 80% of the median family income for the metropolitan area as a whole.

As shown in **Figure 6.1**, much higher proportions of black and Hispanic children lived in low-income neighborhoods, i.e. the distributions for black and Hispanic children are clearly shifted to the right compared to the distributions for white and Asian children. In nearly half of the 100 largest metro areas, only between 10% and 15% of white children lived in low-income neighborhoods. In contrast, there were no metro areas in which only 10-15% of black or Hispanic children lived in low-income neighborhoods. In the majority of metro areas, the share of Hispanic children in low-income neighborhoods ranged between 30% and 70%, while in the majority of metros the share of black children in low-income neighborhoods ranged between 45% and 80%. In the majority of metros, between 10% and 30% of Asian children lived in low-income neighborhoods.

Black and Hispanic children are more likely to live in poor families than white children. However, this disparity in family income does not fully explain why black and Hispanic children are so much more likely to live in low-income neighborhoods than their white counterparts. When we focus our analysis on poor children, **Figure 6.2**, we observe that in 57% of the 100 largest metro areas, between 30% and 45% of poor white children lived in low-income neighborhoods. In only 4% of metros do the majority of poor white children lived in low-income neighborhoods. In about half of metros, the majority of poor Asian children lived in low-income neighborhoods. In contrast, in virtually all metros, the majority of poor black children lived in low-income neighborhoods, and in 86% of metros, the majority of poor Hispanic children lived in low-income neighborhoods. This means that in the majority of metros, the majority of poor black and poor Hispanic children, are at a double disadvantage, i.e. belonging to a family in poverty *and* living in a low-income neighborhood.

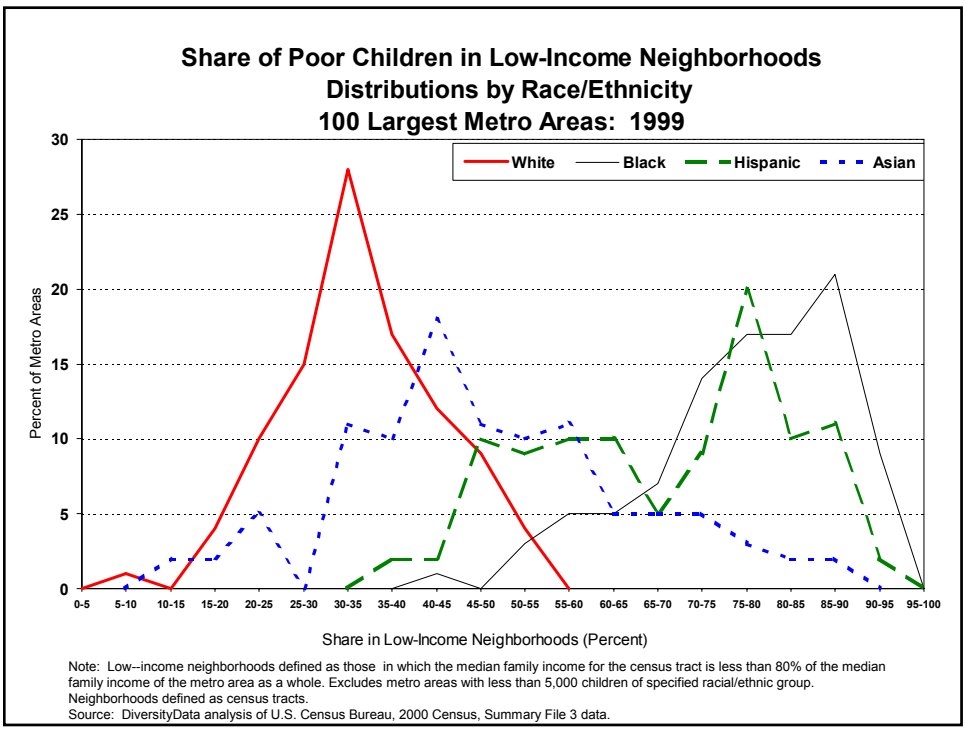
[viii] We included only tracts with at least 500 people and a group quarters population of not more than 50% of the total population, as per the Brookings Institution Report: "Where Did They Go? The Decline of Middle Income Neighborhoods in Metropolitan America." http://www.brookings.edu/metro/pubs/20060622_middleclass.htm)

Figure 6.1



Note: Low--income neighborhoods defined as those in which the median family income for the census tract is less than 80% of the median family income of the metro area as a whole. Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

Figure 6.2



Note: Low--income neighborhoods defined as those in which the median family income for the census tract is less than 80% of the median family income of the metro area as a whole. Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

Additionally, both non-poor and poor white children are much more likely to live in middle- and high-income neighborhoods than their black and Hispanic counterparts (Graphs G-11.1-G-11.2 and G-12.1G-12.2 in Chartbook).

Across metropolitan areas, a large proportion of black and Hispanic children live in low-income neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods tend to have higher poverty and unemployment rates, and lower homeownership and educational attainment rates than middle and high-income neighborhoods. Consequently, black and Hispanic children are more likely to experience socioeconomically disadvantaged neighborhoods than white and Asian children. We examined the neighborhood environment experienced by the average child of each racial/ethnic group across metro areas.[ix]

The data illustrate that, on average, the neighborhood environment experienced by black and Hispanic children is substantially worse than the neighborhood environment of white and Asian children. Poor children of all racial/ethnic groups are more likely to experience neighborhoods with unfavorable socioeconomic indicators than their non-poor peers. However, poor white children experience much better neighborhoods than poor black and Hispanic children.

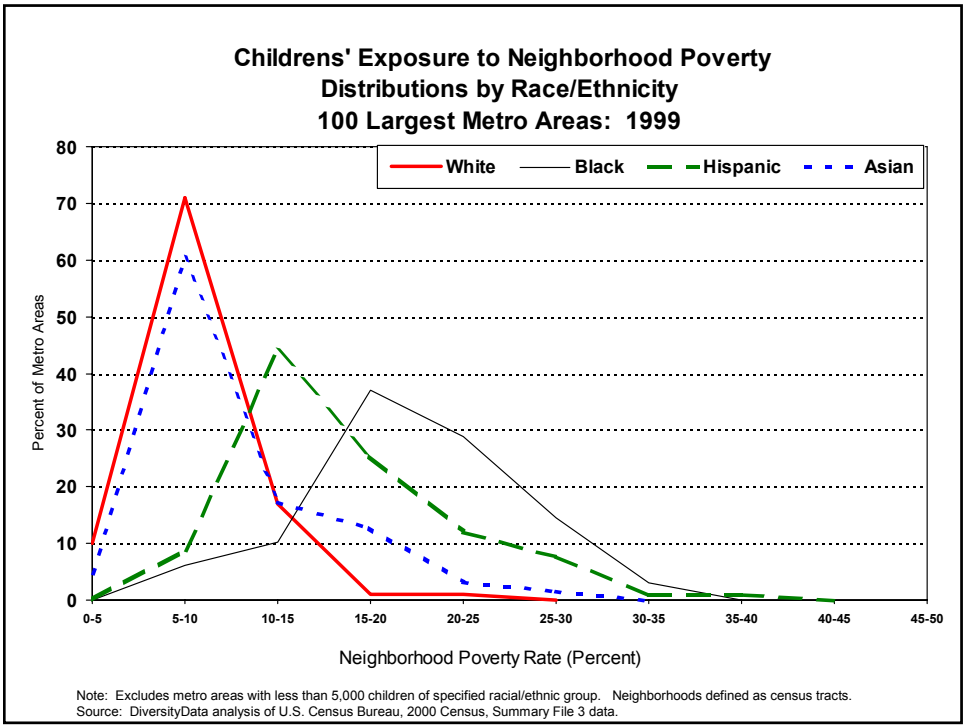
NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY ACROSS METROPOLITAN AREAS. According to the National Research Council, "growing up in poverty greatly increases the probability that a child will be exposed to environments and experiences that impose significant burdens on his or her well-being, thereby shifting the odds toward more adverse developmental outcomes."[1] For example, in Chicago, children (ages 5-11) living in neighborhoods characterized by concentrated disadvantage were significantly more likely to have mental health problems than comparable children living in better off neighborhoods [12].

Neighborhood poverty is higher for minority compared to white children. As shown in **Figure 7.1**, in 81% of metropolitan areas, the average white child lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate of 10% or less, i.e. a neighborhood where only 10% or less of families lived on an income lower than the federal poverty line. In 65% of metros, the average Asian child lived in a neighborhood with such a low poverty rate. In just 6% of metros did the average black child live in a neighborhood with such a low poverty rate and in just 8% of metros did the average Hispanic child. In contrast, in 69% of metros, the average Hispanic child lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate between 10% and 20%, and in 66% of metros the average black child lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate between 15% and 25%.

Even poor white children are likely to live in low-poverty neighborhoods (**Figure 7.2**). In 57% of metros the average poor white child lived in a neighborhood with a poverty rate of 10%-15%. The average poor white child experienced a high-poverty neighborhood (poverty rate of at least

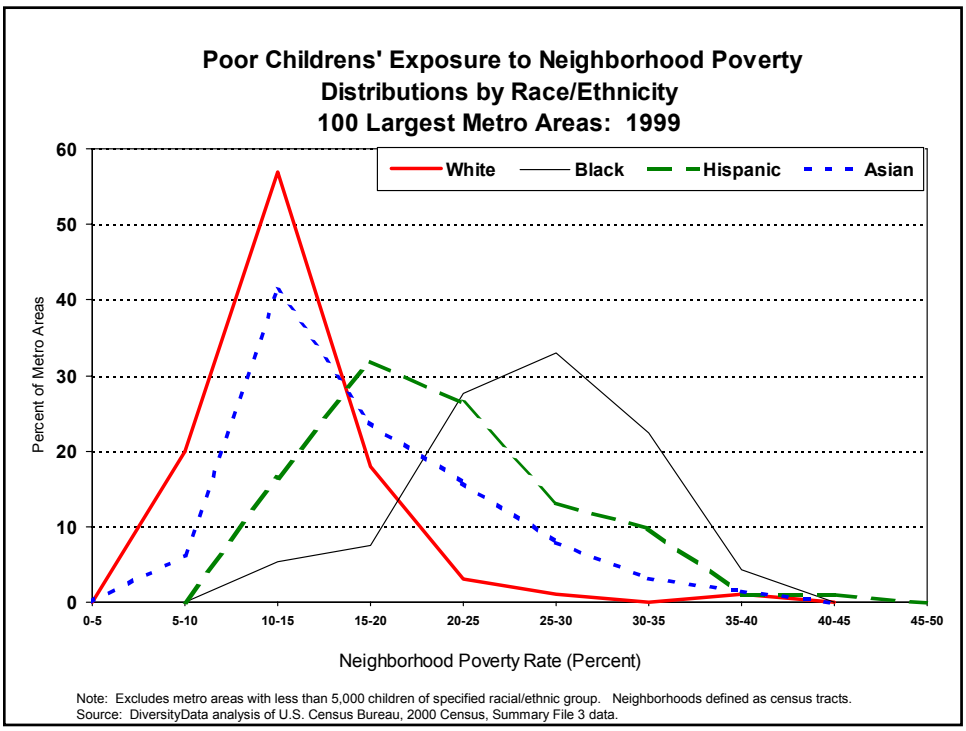
[ix] We used exposure indices, which are weighted averages of the distribution of socioeconomic conditions across neighborhoods within a given metropolitan for a given racial/ethnic group. The weight for each neighborhood (census tract) is the proportion of the child population of the racial/ethnic group of interest for the metro area that lives in that neighborhood. The "exposure" is the socioeconomic condition for that neighborhood, e.g. the neighborhood poverty rate.

Figure 7.1



Note: Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

Figure 7.2



Note: Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

20%) only in 5% of metro areas, the average poor Asian child in 29% of metros, the average poor Hispanic child in 52% of metros, and the average poor black child in 87% of metros.

Family income is not the main factor driving large racial disparities in exposure to neighborhood poverty. This is illustrated by comparing the distribution of neighborhood poverty for *poor* white children to the respective distribution for *all* black children (Figure 7.3). The most prevalent neighborhood poverty rate facing *poor* white children (10-15% in 57% of metros) is *lower* than the most prevalent neighborhood poverty rate facing all black children (poor and non-poor) (15-20% in 37% of metros).

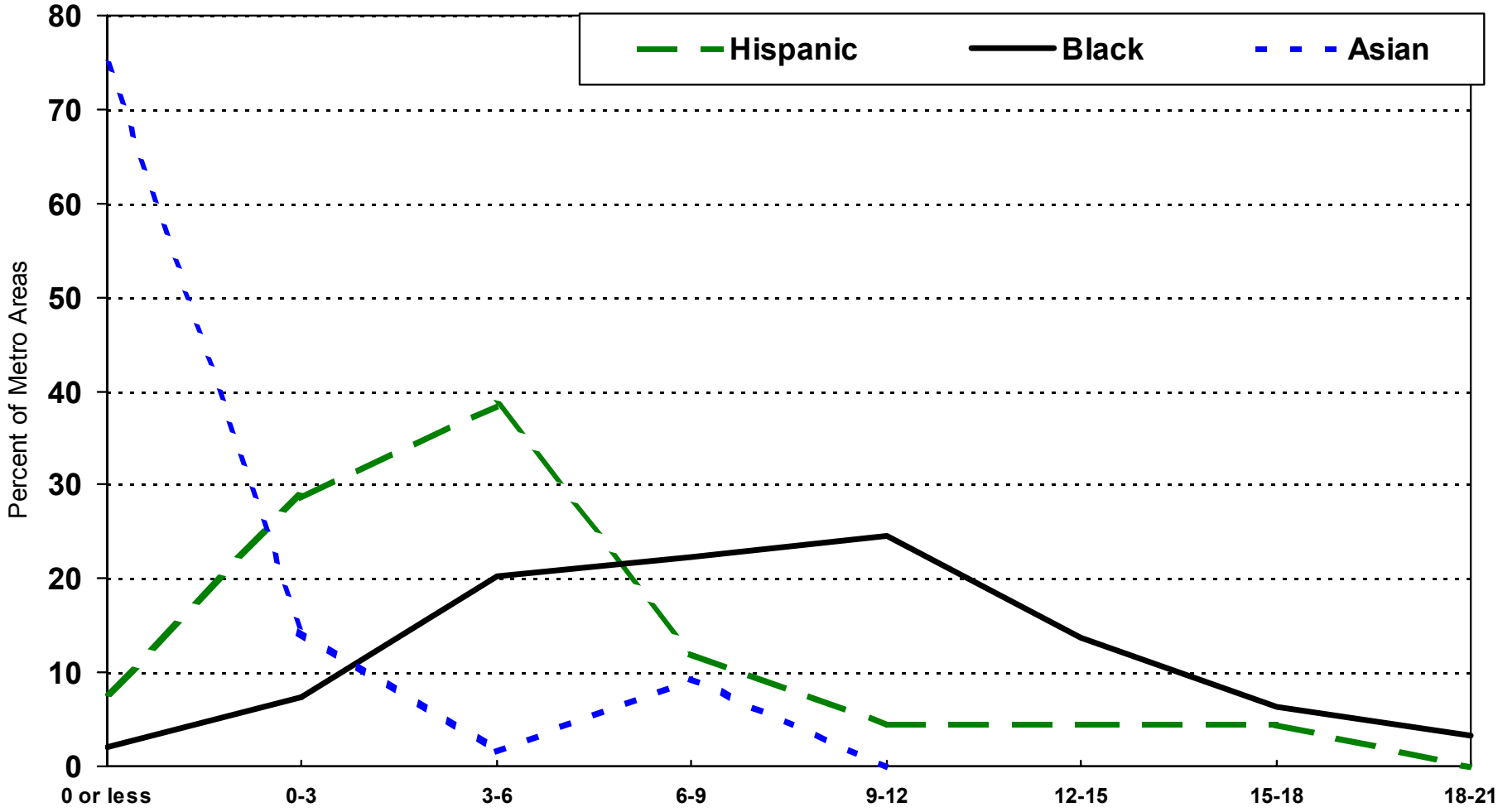
If there were no racial/ethnic nor income residential segregation in a given metro area, children would experience a neighborhood poverty rate similar to that of the metro area. The higher the level of segregation, the larger the discrepancy between the exposure to neighborhood poverty experienced by children of a particular racial/ethnic group and the metro area poverty rate. For instance, in Boston, the metro area poverty rate was 8.6% but, on average, black children experienced a neighborhood poverty rate of 18.4%, an *excess neighborhood poverty* of 9.8 percentage points (18.4-8.6). Black and Hispanic children experienced excess poverty in nearly all metros, while white children did not experience excess poverty in a single metropolitan area. Asian children experienced excess poverty in roughly a quarter of metros. As shown in **Figure 8**, black children experienced an excess poverty rate of at least three percentage points in 90% of metros, Hispanic children in 64%, and Asian children in 11%. White children did not experience excess poverty in any metro area.

NEIGHBORHOOD POVERTY IN THE TEN LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS. In this section we look more closely at the ten metropolitan areas with the largest child populations. They ranged from the Dallas area, with just under l million children, to the Los Angeles-Long Beach area, with 2.7 million children. The proportion of the child population that is black, Hispanic or Asian ranged from 37% in Detroit and Philadelphia, to 80% in Los Angeles. Together the ten largest metros comprised 21% of the child population in metropolitan areas, 14% of the white child population, 30% of the black child population, 35% of the Hispanic child population, and 33% of the Asian child population.

We look at the distribution of all children and poor children of various racial/ethnic groups across neighborhoods with different levels of poverty. The segregation and neighborhood income we presented earlier summarize the neighborhood environment experienced by the average child of a given racial/ethnic group across metropolitan areas. While the summary measures are important, we also need to consider the entire distribution of children across neighborhoods *within* specific metro areas. The distributions of children by neighborhood poverty level in the 10 largest metros are shown in Graphs G-16.1--G-16.10 in the Chartbook. The graphs indicate that across the ten largest metropolitan areas, the majority of white children lived in neighborhoods with poverty rates below 10%. Thus, in terms of the neighborhood conditions they face, most white children have a strong foundation for their development, health and well-being. On the other hand, a large proportion of black and Hispanic children lived in neighborhoods with much higher poverty rates than white children, which represents adverse conditions. The distributions

Figure 8

Excess Neighborhood Poverty For Children
Distributions by Race/Ethnicity
100 Largest Metro Areas: 1999



Note: Excess poverty defined as the difference between the poverty rate in the neighborhood where the average child of each race/ethnicity lives and the poverty rate of the metro area overall. White children are not shown because they do not experience "Excess poverty" in any metro area. Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

for Asian children are much closer to those of white children.[x] For instance in the Detroit area (Graph G-16.4 in Chartbook), 85% of white children and over 75% of Asian children lived in neighborhoods with poverty rates of 10% or less. In contrast, 46% of Hispanic children lived in such neighborhoods, and only 16% of black children did.

The unequal racial/ethnic distribution of children across neighborhood is not only a function of their families' socioeconomic status. Certainly, in all racial/ethnic groups, poor children were less likely to live in neighborhoods with low (i.e. 10% or less) poverty rates. However, after taking into account poverty status, there remain substantial racial/ethnic disparities in access to low-poverty neighborhoods. Chicago (**Figure 9**) is an alarming example. Nearly 75% of poor white children lived in low-poverty neighborhoods. On the other hand, less than 10% of poor black children lived in low-poverty neighborhoods. In fact, the shape of the distribution for poor black children is inverted with respect to that for poor white children. A high share of white children live in low-poverty neighborhoods reflected by the wide base at the bottom of their half of the pyramid, while a large share of blacks live in higher poverty neighborhoods, reflected by the narrow base and wide top of their half of the pyramid. These differing shaped distributions signal dramatically different access to neighborhoods of opportunity.

The wide racial/ethnic disparities in access to low-poverty neighborhoods among poor children suggest that policies to reduce residential segregation of black and Hispanic children across these 10 metro areas, even in the absence of programs to address poverty, could improve the lives of minority children.

NEIGHBORHOOD FAMILY STRUCTURE. Black children are more likely to live in neighborhoods with larger proportions of households made up of single-mother families than do children in other racial/ethnic groups. Such households are significantly more at risk for poverty than married-couple households, because education levels, workforce participation and average wages for women all lag those of men. In 2005, the poverty rate for children in female-headed households was 43% compared to 9% for married-couple households.[13]

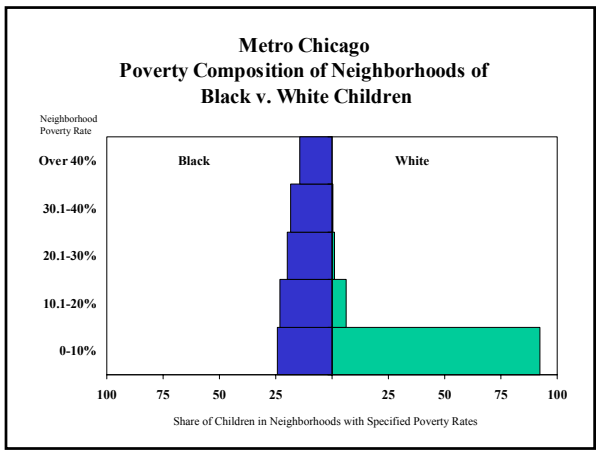
In 47% of metros, the average black child lived in a neighborhood where between 10% and 15% of households were headed by a single female with children. In 25% of metros, the average Hispanic child lived in a neighborhood with that proportion of households comprised of single-mother families, and in 13% of metros, the average Asian child did (Graph G-17.1 in Chartbook). There was not a single metro area where the average white child lived in a neighborhood with that proportion of single-mother families. Poor black, Hispanic and Asian children tended to experience neighborhoods with larger proportions of single-mother families than their non-poor counterparts (Graph G-17.2 in Chartbook). However, that was not the case for white children.

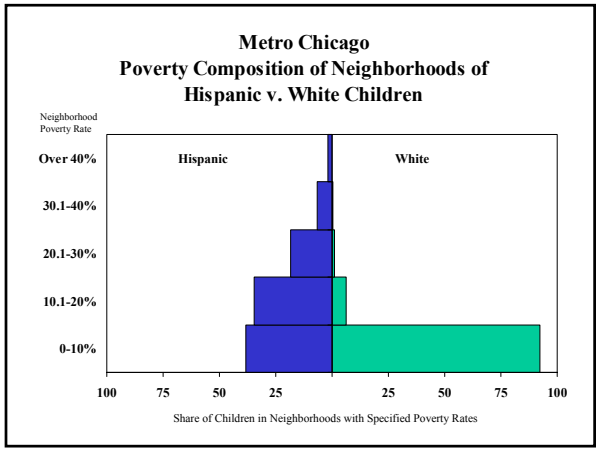
NEIGHBORHOOD HOMEOWNERSHIP. Some indicators weave a much worse tale of metro area performance. Not only do white children live in neighborhoods with much higher homeownership rates than minority children, but the distributions of neighborhood homeownership rates among black children and white children barely overlap. No metro area

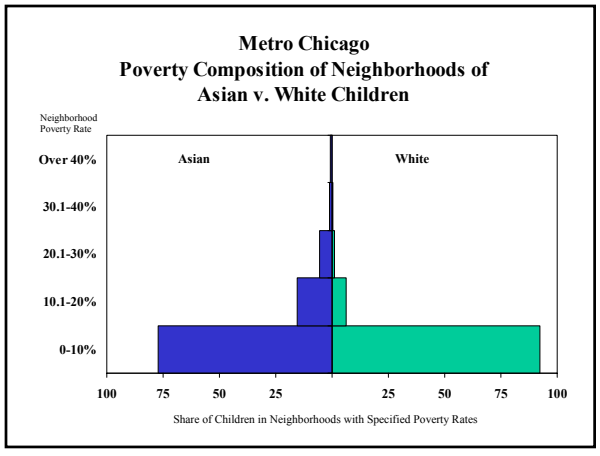
[x] This is not only a function of higher socioeconomic status of Asian families, since the distributions for poor Asian children are also closer to those for poor white children.

Figure 9
Chicago

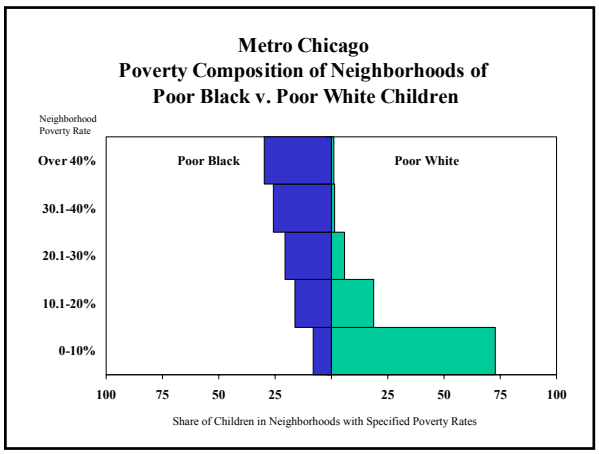
All Children

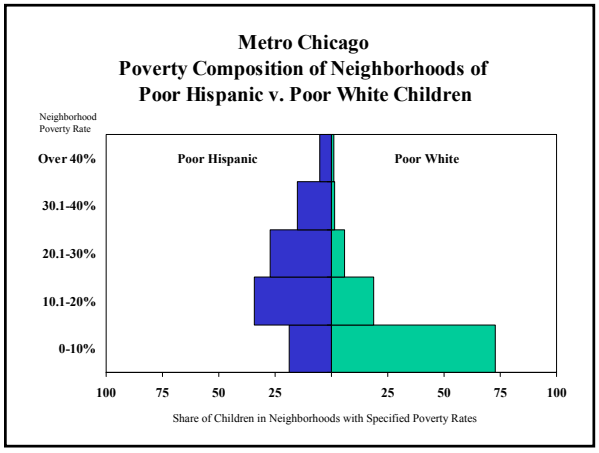


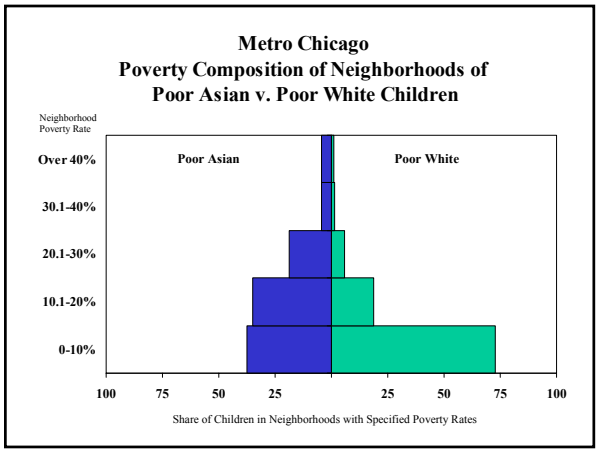




Poor Children







Source: DiversityData analysis of 2000 Census, Summary Files 1 and 3.

approached an equal home ownership rate between blacks and whites. Put a different way, even if all metro areas adopted the rates of the best-performing metro area for neighborhood homeownership rates for blacks (60-65%), the rate would remain well below the most prevalent rate for whites (75-80%). Thus the range of possibilities within existing neighborhood homeownership rates for black children is much more restricted than the corresponding distribution for white children. The distributions for Hispanic and Asian children are also worse than for white children but there is some degree of overlap (**Figure 10.1**).

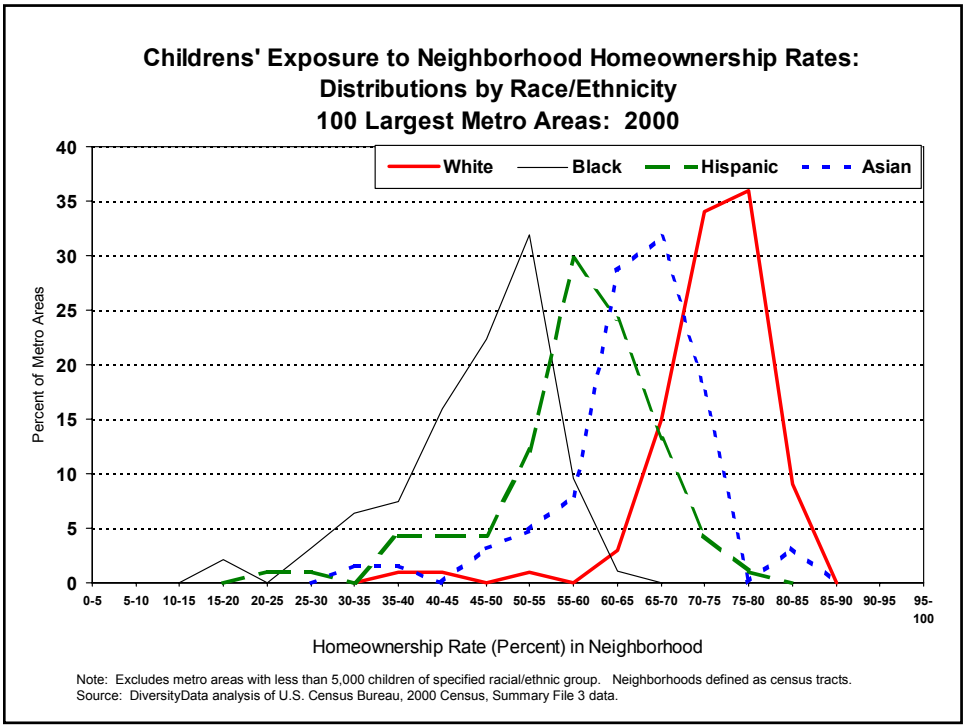
In 70% of metros, the average white child lives in a neighborhood where between 70% and 80% of households own their home. In 20% of metros, the average Asian child lives in a neighborhood with such high homeownership rates. There is not a single metro area where the average black child experiences a neighborhood with such homeownership rate, and in only 5% of metros the average Hispanic child does. Across metros, the most prevalent neighborhood homeownership rate experienced by the average child is 75-80% for whites (36% of metros), 50-55% for blacks (32% of metros), 55-60% for Hispanics (30% of metros), and 65-70% for Asians (32% of metros). The entire distribution of neighborhood homeownership rates is better, i.e. shifted to the right, for whites, followed by Asians, Hispanic and blacks, in that order.

Poor white children are also likely to experience neighborhoods with relatively high homeownership rates (**Figure 10.2**). Across metros, the most prevalent neighborhood homeownership rate experienced by the average poor child is 65-70% for whites (32% of metros), 50-55% for blacks (32% of metros) and for Hispanics (23% of metros), and 55-60% for Asians (27% of metros). Again the entire distribution of neighborhood homeownership rates is better, i.e. shifted to the right, for poor white children, followed by poor Asian, Hispanic and black children.

NEIGHBORHOOD EDUCATION LEVEL. Another aspect of a neighborhood's social environment is the proportion of adults without a high school diploma or equivalent, such as a GED. Social scientists have shown that local social networks shape youth perceptions of the opportunities available to them, and therefore, influence youth's decisionmaking.[14] For example, children in neighborhoods with large proportions of adults who did not complete their education may internalize that academic success is not a strong social norm in their neighborhood. In 55% of metros for whites and 41% for Asians, the average child of the respective racial group lived in a neighborhood where only 10-15% of adults did not have a diploma (Graph G-19.1 in Chartbook). The average black child experienced this low rate only in 3% of metros, and the average Hispanic child only in 6% of metros. In contrast, in 43% of metro areas for blacks and 22% for Hispanics, the average child experienced a neighborhood where 25-30% of adults did not have a diploma. As with the other indicators, we observe that the distribution for white and Asian children is shifted in a better direction (in this case, to the left) than the distributions for black and Hispanic children. The distributions for poor children show a similar pattern, i.e. although the neighborhood exposure to adults without diploma is higher for poor children of all racial/ethnic groups compared to their non-poor peers, the distributions for poor white and Asian children are better than for black and Hispanic children (Graph G-19.2 in Chartbook).

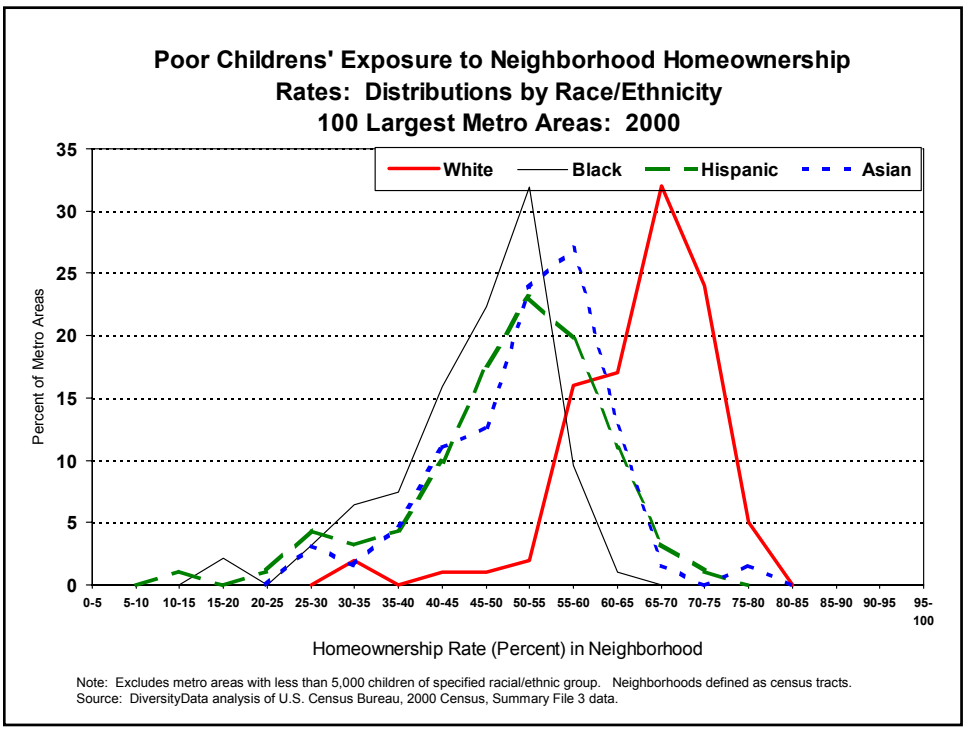
NEIGHBORHOOD UNEMPLOYMENT. The neighborhood unemployment rate may affect children's perceptions of their own future economic prospects, as well as access to social networks that can

Figure 10.1



Note: Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

Figure 10.2



Note: Excludes metro areas with less than 5,000 children of specified racial/ethnic group. Neighborhoods defined as census tracts.
Source: DiversityData analysis of U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census, Summary File 3 data.

help in the job seeking process.[14] For instance, if more neighborhood residents are employed, they are more likely to be sources of information about job vacancies. White and Asian children live in neighborhoods with lower unemployment rates than black and Hispanic children. Across metros, the most prevalent neighborhood unemployment rate experienced by the average child is 3-6% for whites (83% of metros), and Asians (67% of metros), and 6-9% for blacks (47% of metros) and Hispanics (44% of metros) (Graph G-20.1 in Chartbook). The entire distribution of neighborhood unemployment rates is better, i.e. shifted to the left, for whites, followed by Asians, Hispanic and blacks in that order. The distributions for poor children exhibit the same patterns, at higher unemployment rates (Graph G-20.2 in Chartbook).

SCHOOLS

The previous section documented differences in neighborhood environment by race/ethnicity for all children, and for poor children. In this section, we turn to differences in school segregation and school socioeconomic environment. A similar picture emerges. In the 100 largest metropolitan areas, children in public elementary school are highly segregated along racial/ethnic lines. School segregation is a consequence of neighborhood segregation given that in the U.S., public school assignments are primarily made based on students' neighborhood of residence. Similarly, differences in neighborhood socioeconomic environments are reflected in school socioeconomic environment.

SCHOOL SEGREGATION. The segregation of children in residential neighborhoods is mirrored by their segregation in public schools, and exacerbated by the fact that white children are twice as likely to attend private schools as are minority children. Racial data for public school enrollment is available for 97[xi] of the 100 largest metro areas in terms of the child population for the 2003-04 school year. Focusing on primary schools, 48% of the enrollment for these 97 metros overall was white, 20% black, 26% Hispanic, and 6% Asian. However, the enrollment varied dramatically across metro areas. Primary schools in McAllen, TX were 97% Hispanic, but just 2% white and less than 1% black or Asian. In contrast, public schools in Scranton, PA were 91% white; in New Orleans, LA, 64% black; and in Honolulu, HI, 72% Asian (Table T-2 in Chartbook).

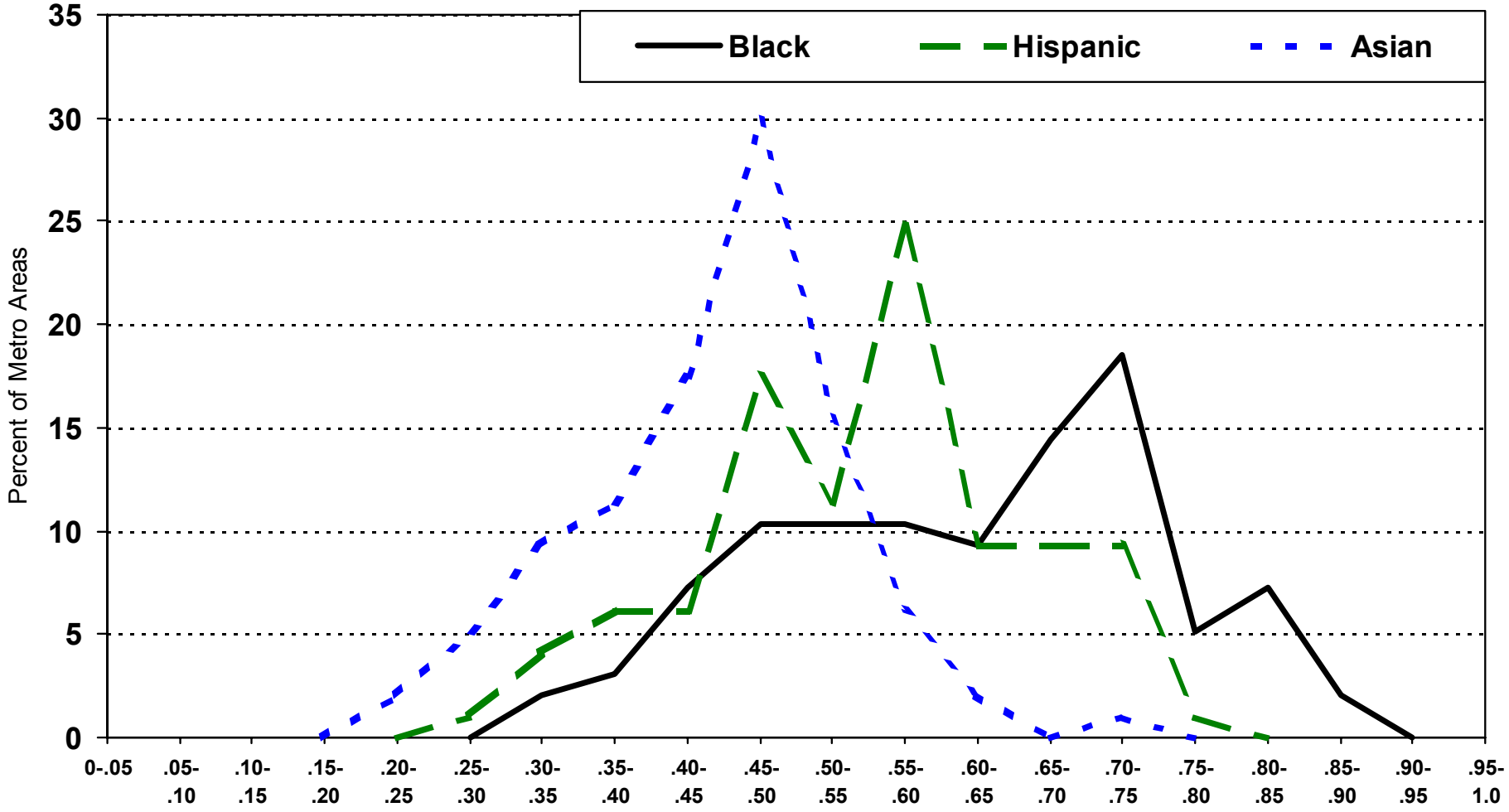
We used the same measures of segregation (dissimilarity and isolation) to characterize residential and school segregation. Black/white dissimilarity among children in public primary schools was high (above 0.60) in 57% of metros, indicating that in order to achieve school racial integration, more than 60% of black children would need to move to another school. Hispanic/white dissimilarity was high in 29% of metros, and Asian/white dissimilarity was high only in 3% of metros (**Figure 11**).

Children of most racial and ethnic backgrounds attend schools with other children who disproportionately share their background, as shown by the school isolation indicator depicted in **Figure 12**. Although less than half (48%) of primary students in the largest metros are white, in close to nine out of ten of the largest metros, the average white student attends a majority-white school. In a third of the metros, the average white student attends a school that is 80% or more

[xi] Data is not available for metro areas that are entirely or partially located in Tennessee.

Figure 11

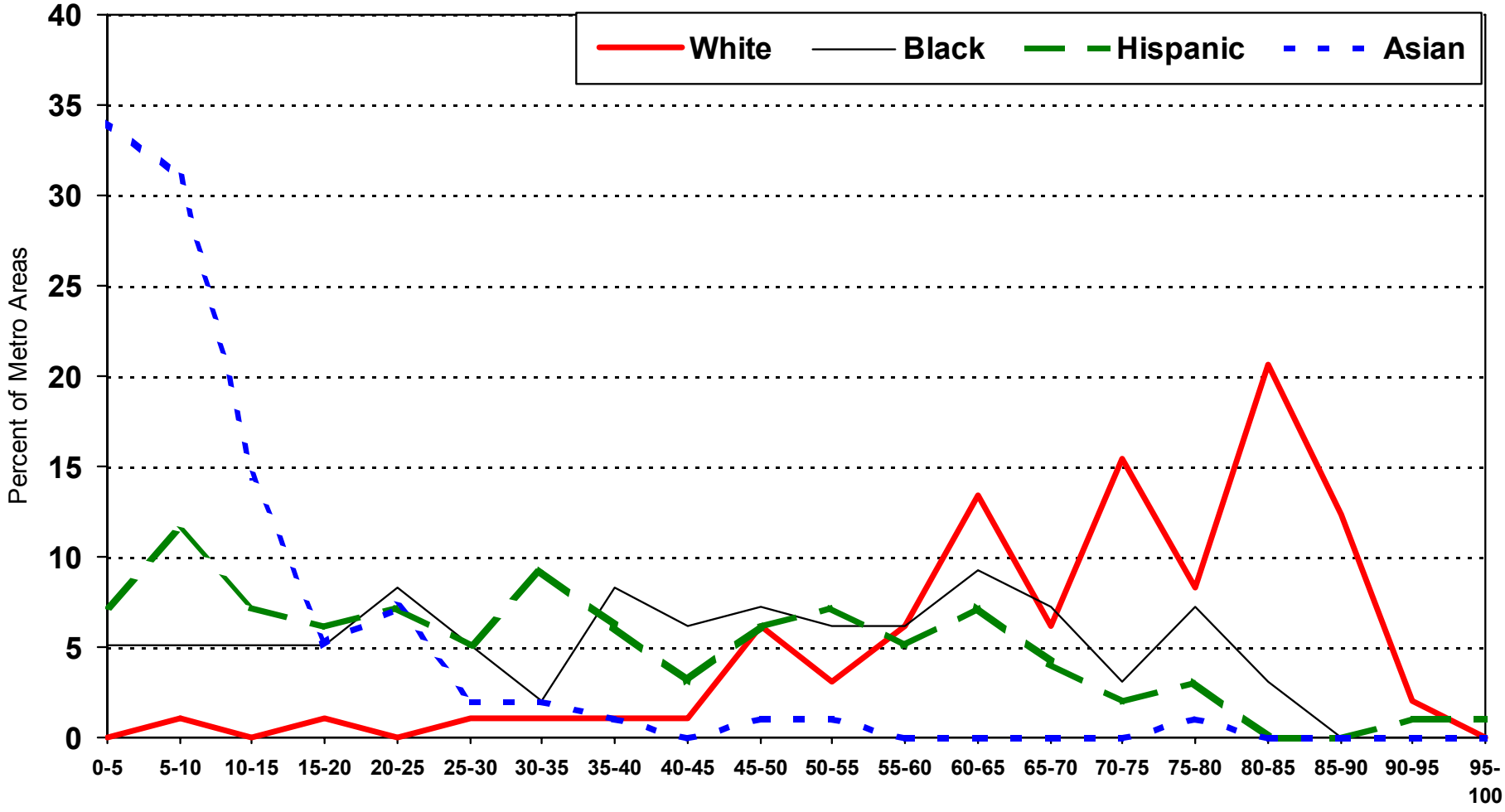
Dissimilarity of Primary School Students with Respect to Whites: Distributions by Race/Ethnicity 100 Largest Metro Areas: 2003-2004



Source: DiversityData analysis of National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Figure 12

Isolation of Primary School Students
Distributions by Race/Ethnicity
100 Largest Metro Areas: 2003-2004



Share of Students of Own Race/Ethnicity in School Typical Student Attends (Percent)

Source: DiversityData analysis of National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

white. Similarly, although just a fifth of primary students in the largest metros are black, in 40% of metros, the average black student attends a school that is majority-black. Hispanics are also over-represented in high-Hispanic (and high black) schools. Of all groups, Asian students tend to be the most integrated and to attend schools that most closely mirror the composition of students in the metro areas where they live.

SCHOOL POVERTY. Across metro areas there is a range of public schools with various socioeconomic profiles, including different poverty levels. The proportion of children eligible for free or reduced/price school lunch is used as a marker for school poverty (or the proportion of school children who are poor). For a given metro area, the school exposure to poverty for a given racial/ethnic group tells us the school poverty rate experienced by the average child of that racial/ethnic group. High residential segregation along with lower income among black and Hispanic families act together to create very high levels of school poverty for black and Hispanic children. Many studies over four decades have found a strong relationship between concentrated school poverty and low achievement. High poverty schools also tend to have a less stable and less qualified teaching staff , students who are often subject to negative peer influences; less active parents, and fewer financial resources.[15, 16]

Across metros, the most prevalent school poverty rate experienced by the average child was 25-30% for white (23% of metros) and Asian (16% of metros) children (**Figure 13**). On the other hand, the most prevalent school poverty rate was 60-65% for the average black child (in 21% of metros), and 55-60% for the average Hispanic child (in 19% of metros). This means that in about one-fifth of metros, the average black child attended a school where 60-65% of children were poor, while the average Hispanic child attended a school where 55-60% of children were poor. As with the neighborhood distributions shown earlier, the school distributions for whites and Asians are clearly shifted to the left with respect to the distributions for black and Asian children.

METROPOLITAN AREA RANKINGS

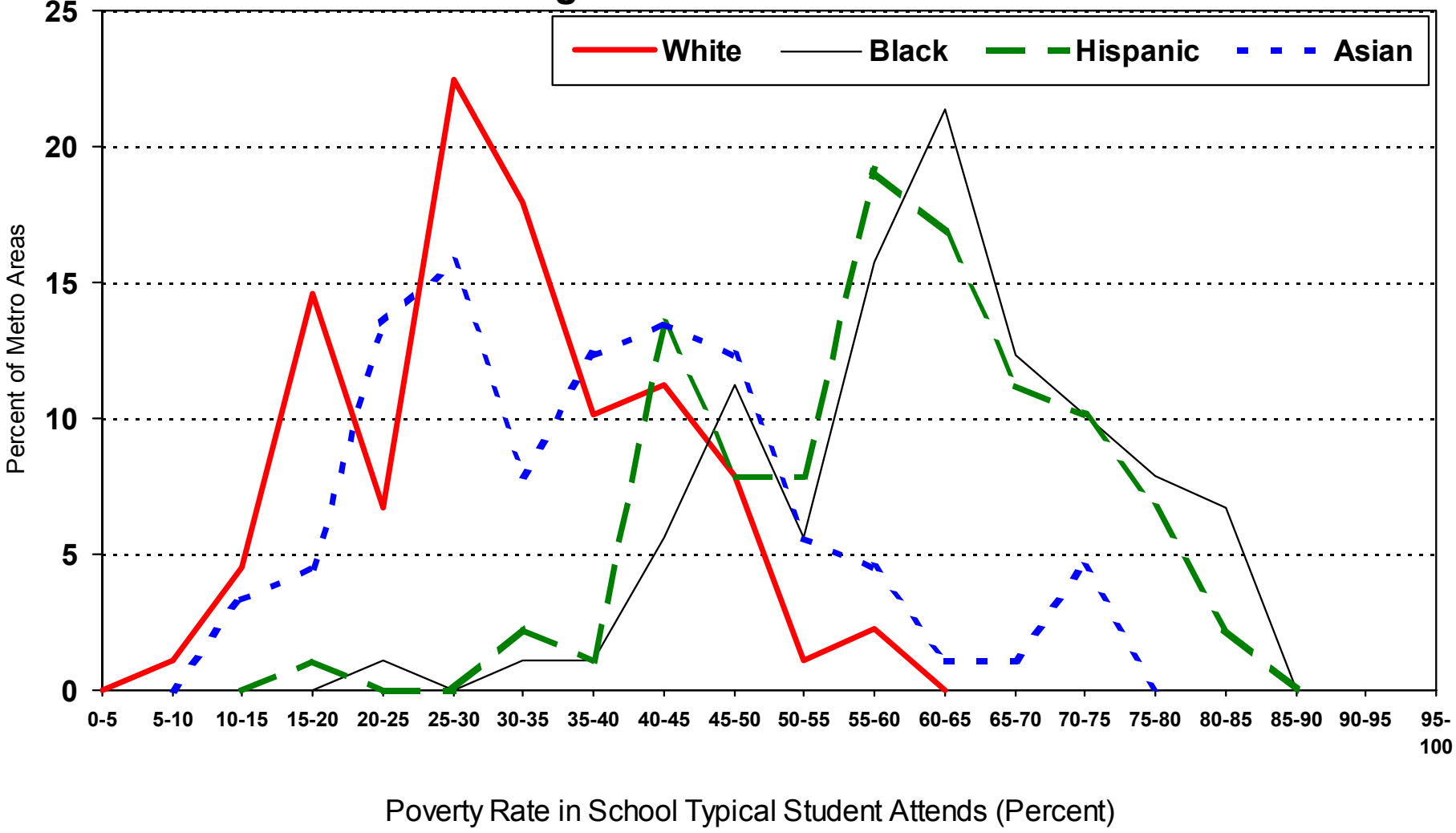
While many of the inequality patterns are quite consistent across metros, there is also variation between metros: some do better than others. In this section, we show that metropolitan areas vary in their performance regarding the opportunities they offer to children, and also in the magnitude of the disparities between non-Hispanic white children and other children. The variation in performance across metros suggests that there is room both for improving the living conditions of children, and for reducing disparities.

RANKING BY NEIGHBORHOOD INDICATORS. First, we ranked 100 largest metropolitan areas according to the neighborhood environment they offer to children of different racial/ethnic groups. We focused on five indicators of neighborhood environment, i.e. neighborhood poverty, proportion of households headed by single mothers, homeownership, proportion of adults without a diploma, and unemployment.[xii]

[xii] In this section we rank metropolitan areas according to the opportunities they offer to children of different racial/ethnic groups. first, we focused on five indicators of neighborhood environment, i.e. exposure to poverty, exposure to single female-headed households, exposure to homeownership, exposure to adults without a diploma,

Figure 13

School Poverty Rates for Public Primary School Students Distributions by Race/Ethnicity 100 Largest Metro Areas: 2003-2004



Note: Poverty defined as being eligible for free or reduced lunch.
Source: DiversityData analysis of National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

The metro area rankings highlight greater risk for children of particular groups in certain locations. For instance, in Chicago, the average black child experienced a neighborhood where 24.4% of families lived in poverty, the unemployment rate was 16%, 29% of adults did not have a diploma, 18% of households were single females with children, and only 48.8% of households owned their home. In the same metro area, the typical neighborhood for a white child had a poverty rate of only 4.6%, unemployment rate of 3.8%, 12.1% of adults did not have a diploma, 4.3% of households were single females with children, and 79.2% of households owned their home. In Springfield, MA, which ranked as one of the worst areas for Hispanic children, the typical neighborhood experienced by a Hispanic child had a poverty rate of 30.3%, an unemployment rate of 10.3%, 34.9% of adults did not have a diploma, 18.8% of households were single females with children, and the homeownership rate was only 36.4%. In Sacramento, CA, the typical Asian child experienced a neighborhood where 12.9% of families lived in poverty, the unemployment rate was 6.6%, 16.9% of adults did not have a diploma, 18% of households were single females with children, and 64.3% of households owned their home (see complete data rankings in Tables T-3.1—T-3.4 in Chartbook).

---

and exposure to unemployment. For the 100 largest metro areas, we sorted each neighborhood environment indicator values from best to worst, e.g. we sorted exposure to poverty from lowest to highest exposure to poverty. We grouped the sorted indicator values into four groups, i.e. quartiles, with the top quartile comprising metro areas with the best indicators, the two middle quartile comprising intermediate values of the indicator, and the bottom quartile comprising metro areas with the worst indicators. Tables T-3.1 to T-3.4 in the Chartbook show for children of each racial/ethnic group, the largest metropolitan areas in alphabetical order (first column). Columns 2-6 show values of the five indicators for each metro area and the ranking for that metro area (in parenthesis). For instance, for non-Hispanic white children in Akron, Ohio, exposure to neighborhood poverty was 7.7%, and that metro area ranked 55 among the 100 largest metro areas. For each indicator, we highlighted in blue those metro areas with the best values (top quartile), in gray those metro areas with intermediate values (middle quartiles), and in red those metro areas with the worst values (bottom quartile). We classified metro areas with 4-5 red cells, i.e. in the bottom quartile for 4-5 indicators, as the metro areas with the worst neighborhood environment for children of a given racial/ethnic group. Conversely, we classified metro areas with 4-5 blue cells, i.e. in the top quartile for 4-5 indicators, as the metro areas with the best neighborhood environment for children of a given racial/ethnic group.

Table 1. Metropolitan areas with the worst indicators of neighborhood environment for children

Non-Hispanic white	*Non-Hispanic black*	*Non-Hispanic Asian*	*Hispanic*
Bakersfield, CA	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY	Bakersfield, CA	Bakersfield, CA
El Paso, TX	Chicago, IL	Fresno, CA	Buffalo-Niagara Falls, NY
Fresno, CA	Cleveland-Lorain-Elyria, OH	Jersey City, NJ	El Paso, TX
Jersey City, NJ	Fresno, CA	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	Fresno, CA
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	Jersey City, NJ	Miami, FL	Hartford, CT
Miami, FL	Louisville, KY	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA
Mobile, AL	Miami, FL	Modesto, CA	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI
Modesto, CA	Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	New Orleans, LA	New York, NY
New York, NY	Mobile, AL	New York, NY	Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA
Riverside-San Bernardino, CA	New Orleans, LA	Philadelphia, PA-NJ	Rochester, NY
Stockton-Lodi, CA	New York, NY	Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	Springfield, MA
	Rochester, NY	Sacramento, CA	Syracuse, NY
		Stockton-Lodi, CA	
		Tacoma, WA	

Notes: See complete data rankings in Tables T-3.1—T-3.4 in Chartbook. Metros with the worst indicators for each racial/ethnic group ranked in the bottom 25% for at least four out of five indicators of neighborhood environment.

As shown in **Table 1**, those metro areas with the worst neighborhood environment for children of a given racial/ethnic group are not necessarily the same areas with the worst indicators for children of another group. For instance, Chicago and Cleveland, have some of the worst neighborhood environments for non-Hispanic black children, but not for children of other racial/ethnic groups. Riverside performed poorly for white children; Philadelphia and Tacoma for Asian children; and Hartford, Rochester, Springfield and Syracuse for Hispanic children.

However, some areas performed poorly for children of several racial/ethnic groups. New York performed poorly for children of all racial/ethnic groups. Jersey City, Los Angeles, Miami and Milwaukee, performed poorly for most groups. Although these areas performed poorly for white as well as for racial/ethnic minority kids, within those metros the neighborhood environment experienced by minority children was much worse than that experienced by non-Hispanic white children, as indicated by the absolute values of the indicators (see complete data rankings in Tables T-3.1--T-3.4 in Chartbook).

Table 2 shows the metro areas with the top ranking indicators of neighborhood environment. Some areas performed well for children of several racial/ethnic groups. For example, Nassau-Suffolk ranked highly for all groups, and Washington, DC ranked highly for white, Asian and Hispanic children. Other metros were particularly good for a given group; for instance, Boston for white children, Raleigh for black children, Baltimore for Asian children, and Seattle for Hispanic children.

As highlighted by the different metro areas that perform well (or poorly) for various racial/ethnic groups, the performance of metro areas in regard to neighborhood environment is not only a function of their overall economic performance. It is also a function of the distribution of children of different racial/ethnic groups across neighborhoods within a given metro. Chicago offers some of the best neighborhood environments to white children, but at the same time offers some of the worst neighborhood environments to black children. Similarly, Milwaukee is one of the best ranking areas for white children, but one of the worst ranking areas for black, Asian and Hispanic children.

Table 2. Metropolitan areas with the best indicators of neighborhood environment for children

Non-Hispanic white	*Non-Hispanic black*	*Non-Hispanic Asian*	*Hispanic*
Ann Arbor, MI	Colorado Springs,CO	Austin-San Marcos, TX	Ann Arbor, MI
Boston, MA	Denver, CO	Baltimore, MD	Cincinnatti, OH-
Chicago, IL	Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ	Colorado Springs,CO
Denver, CO	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	Nassau-Suffolk, NY	Fort Lauderdale, FL
Middlesex-Somerset-Hunterdon, NJ	Portland-Vancouver, OR-WA	Newark, NJ	Jacksonville, FL
Milwaukee-Waukesha, WI	Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV	Monmouth-Ocean, NJ
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MI-WI	San Antonio, TX		Nassau-Suffolk, NY
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	San Jose, CA		Seattle-Bellevue-Everett, WA
Newark, NJ	Tucson, AZ		Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV
San Francisco, CA	Vallejo-Fairfield-Napa, CA		
San Jose, CA			
Washington, DC-MD-VA-WV			

Notes: See complete data rankings in Tables T-3.1—T-3.4 in Chartbook. Metros with the best indicators for each racial/ethnic group ranked in the top 25% for at least four out of five indicators of neighborhood environment.

RANKING BY RACIAL/ETHNIC DISPARITIES. There is also a large variation across metro areas in the extent of racial/ethnic disparities among children. Tables T-4.1—T-4.3 (in Chartbook) show the metro areas with the worst inequality between black and white children, Hispanic and white children, and Asian and white children for a subset of the indicators shown earlier. For black and

Hispanic kids, not only do the absolute levels of disadvantage vary across metropolitan areas, but also the extent of the disparity with respect to white children. Here we discuss some examples. For instance, the extent of primary school segregation of black children with respect to white children (measured by the dissimilarity index) was greatest in Gary, Detroit and Chicago. The areas with the worst school segregation for Hispanic kids were Providence-Fall River-Warwick, Springfield and Hartford.

The metro areas with the largest black/white disparity in the share of children living in low-income neighborhoods were Mobile, Detroit and Chicago. In all these areas, the share of black children living in low-income neighborhoods was more than 10 times larger than the share of white children living in low-income neighborhoods. For the same indicator, the metros with the largest Hispanic/white disparity were Chicago, Hartford and Milwaukee-Wausheka. The metros with the largest Asian/white disparity were Milwaukee-Wausheka and Minneapolis-St. Paul.

The metros with the greatest disparity in terms of the poverty rate in the neighborhood of the average black and white child were Milwaukee-Waukesha, Chicago and Newark. The magnitude of the disparity is stark. In Milwaukee, the poverty rate in the neighborhood of the average black child was six times larger than the poverty rate in the neighborhood of the average white child. The metros with the largest Hispanic/white child disparity in the neighborhood poverty were Hartford, Philadelphia and Milwaukee-Wausheka. Those with the largest Asian/white disparity were Milwaukee-Wausheka, Minneapolis and Providence.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Neighborhoods with opportunities do exist in metropolitan areas. But not all children have access to them. For most indicators, opportunities are considerably greater for non-Hispanic white children than for blacks and Hispanics, with Asian children tending to fall in the middle. Black and Hispanic children are more likely to live in poor families than other children. Additionally, they experience neighborhoods and schools with unfavorable socioeconomic environments–a kind of double, or triple, jeopardy.

Moreover, not only are the average values of most indicators worse for black and Hispanic children, but both across metros and within metros, *the entire distribution is shifted in a worse direction for blacks and Hispanics*. In very few instances do the very best metro areas for black and Hispanic children perform close to the average rates for white children. Within metros, black and Hispanic children are concentrated at the worst end of the neighborhood distribution (neighborhoods with the highest poverty rates), while white children are concentrated at the best end of the neighborhood distribution (neighborhoods with the lowest poverty rates).

Given that minority children represent the fastest-growing segment of the child population everywhere and the majority of all children in many metropolitan areas, the disparities they face have implications not just for their well-being but for the entire regions' well-being. For example, in the New York metropolitan area, about 60% of children are black or Hispanic. About 21% of black children and 23% of Hispanic children live in very high poverty neighborhoods (poverty rate greater than 40%).

How will these facts influence the future economic development of the region and its social landscape? How will they affect the social mobility of these children and the extent of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic inequality among New Yorkers as these children become adults? How will they affect race/ethnic relations?

While the data in this report present a bleak picture of inequality, the good news is that there are some possible solutions. The differences among metropolitan areas, and among neighborhoods within metro areas, suggest that there is room for improvement. But concentrated effort at all levels –federal, state, local, and public/private partnerships– is needed to secure the future of America's kids. First we present an overview of some of the levers for action at multiple levels, and then we focus on several models that appear to offer promise for reducing disparities in opportunity across neighborhoods in metropolitan areas.

LEVERS FOR ACTION

No discussion of child well-being would be complete without acknowledging the fundamental role of poverty and income inequality, which are inextricably linked to race/ethnicity. While there are important steps to alleviate poverty at the state, local and community level, the federal government wields by far the greatest levers, including increased eligibility and benefits under the Transitional Aid for Needy Families program, Medicaid and the State Child Health Insurance Program.

According to UNICEF's Innocenti Research Centre, the U.S. has the second highest child poverty rate among developed countries. With nearly 22% of its kids in poverty, this nation is second only to Mexico and higher than the 24 other OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries with data available. Moreover, the U.S. makes less use of government transfers to mitigate child poverty than most other countries: Such assistance comprises less than 3% of GDP here. UNICEF does not prescribe a specific level, but notes that "no OECD country devoting 10% or more of GDP to social spending …has a child poverty rate higher than 10%".[17] When coupled with broader economic policies such as an increase in the minimum wage, expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit and tax progressivity more generally, the opportunities for improvement are great.

The federal government can also remove barriers and provide incentives to homeownership, affordable housing and desegregation, and change the way No Child Left Behind and other educational efforts are funded.

States can reduce disparities in education by increasing funding for schools and equalizing expenditures across local jurisdictions, as well as support efforts to reduce residential segregation by requiring that local governments implement inclusionary zoning.

Counties and municipalities can support many of the same actions as their states, but it is also important to note that the focus of this report is metropolitan areas, which cut across traditional jurisdictions that may vary widely in tax base and resources. Regional equity policies try to

address the disparities arising from residential segregation by improving access to neighborhoods and schools with resources across jurisdictions in the entire metropolitan area.[18] Improving residential choice may be best accomplished by pursuing strategies across jurisdictions such as promoting fair housing at the local level, increasing the availability of rental and affordable housing in suburban municipalities, and allowing children to attend quality schools throughout the region. Local government fragmentation poses challenges to regional strategies to equalize opportunities.[3] Thus regional solutions are needed to enhance access to better neighborhoods and schools. Metropolitan area planning, including a child impact statement for proposed actions, offers an opportunity to enhance equality of opportunity.

Public/private partnerships involving foundations, non-profit institutions and the business sector can help communities in many mutually advantageous ways -- firms locating in a particular area can put money into transportation and schools, develop workforce housing; and sponsor vocational training and job placement programs; hospitals and educational institutions can participate in community-based health and nutrition efforts; foundations can support alternative schools and child development programs.

MODELS THAT WORK

While we cannot present an exhaustive list of remedies, there are some successful models that can help inform areas looking for ways to increase opportunities for diverse populations. Policy remedies can address the vast inequalities in the distribution of opportunity across neighborhoods and schools (anti-segregation remedies), improve conditions *within* disadvantaged neighborhoods and schools, and target children who experience multiple risks such as living in poor families and neighborhoods.

Pediatricians, developmental psychologists, educators and economists agree that investing in early childhood has exceptional economic returns, by ensuring that children, especially those who live in the most vulnerable families and neighborhoods, become healthy, happy and productive adults. Yet some children experience formidable challenges that continue to affect them throughout the life cycle. Black children are more likely than other children to be low birthweight, and then to grow up in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and attend disadvantaged schools. Hispanic children have better health at birth but, like black children, they are exposed to disadvantaged neighborhoods and schools. Early childhood programs for at-risk children do work and should be expanded, but as a society we should also take prevention a step further by improving neighborhood and educational opportunities for all children.

EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT. There is strong scientific evidence as well as increasing policy consensus that comprehensive early childhood development programs substantially improve educational and social outcomes not only during childhood but also into adulthood. Head Start has been proven effective in the early years but it has been criticized because, unlike more comprehensive programs, its effects seem to dissipate as children go on through the regular education system.[19] On the other hand, such comprehensive efforts as the Perry Preschool and Abecedarian programs have been shown to have significant measurable benefits that well exceed their cost [20-22]. The programs have included a high-quality, active learning preschool (and

school) program, as well as a wide range of supports for at-risk families, including parent training and home visits. These programs have increased achievement on test scores, decreased grade retention and the need for special education, decreased crime and delinquency, and increased high school graduation rates, translating into measurable economic benefits. For instance, economists at the Minneapolis Federal Reserve [2] looked at the trajectory of children enrolled in the Perry Preschool program through age 27 and estimated the rate of return for the kids themselves at 16% and for society at 12%. By comparison, they said, many investments in economic development yielded little or no return to their communities.

The Perry and Abecedarian programs, and other modeled after them, have focused on children who experience multiple risk factors. Increased funding for more comprehensive and earlier activities within Head Start programs, many of which have been forced over time to concentrate more narrowly on traditional educational services, could be an excellent way to reach high-risk children.[19] Another possibility would provide support for all-day pre-schools and kindergartens in selected areas.

HOUSING CHOICE, MOBILITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD IMPROVEMENT. Black and Hispanic children are more likely to live in families that experience housing affordability problems.[23] They are also more likely to live in families that have limited neighborhood choices because of housing discrimination [24]. According to the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, minority households are more likely to be low-income renters, and, thus, more likely to live in high-poverty areas in central cities, since the availability of affordable housing is limited in the suburbs [23].

Our report shows substantial differences in the quality of the neighborhood environment experienced by black and Hispanic children vis-à-vis the neighborhoods experienced by white and Asian children. These disparities also exist among poor children, which suggests that segregation of families by income is not the only explanation.

Housing policy experts suggest that increasing the supply of affordable housing in suburban jurisdictions, as well as diminishing discriminatory barriers that limit the presence of minority families in those communities, would contribute to alleviating poverty concentration [23]. Black and Hispanic children will continue to experience poor neighborhood environments if their families cannot have access to affordable housing in suburban communities. Policies to reduce residential segregation include expanding neighborhood choice in the HUD Section 8 Voucher program, fair housing enforcement, inclusionary zoning, and increased availability of rental housing.[25, 26]

Mobility programs throughout the country have tried to provide low-income families who receive housing assistance with pre- and post move information, counseling and support services to ease their transition to neighborhoods of opportunity. [27] Examples of these initiatives include the Gautreaux program in Chicago, the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) policy demonstration in five metropolitan areas (Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York), and regional housing mobility programs in Baltimore, Dallas and Westchester County.

One promising approach to integration grew out of a successful lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of 14,000 Black tenants and potential beneficiaries of public housing in Baltimore. In January 2005, the District Court found the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in violation of the Fair Housing Act and liable for failing to implement an effective regional plan for desegregation.[28] "Baltimore City," said the judge, "should not be viewed as an island reservation" to contain all of the region's poor. john powell of the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity designed a remedy accepted by the plaintiffs which involves identifying and ranking "Communities of Opportunity" across the Baltimore metropolitan area based on school performance, employment, transportation, child care, health care and institutions facilitating civic and political activity. The plan is a voluntary process that can be used in conjunction with established programs such as "Fair Share" and workforce housing, which involves municipalities and major employers in developing affordable housing for employees.[29]

In addition to diminishing residential segregation in order to diffuse the concentration of socioeconomic ills that keeps minority kids at such a disadvantage, we also need efforts that directly improve conditions within problem areas [30], and tap into the potential of urban markets.[31] Investing in aspects of neighborhoods that could exert a great impact on children, such as affordable, well-designed inner city housing, public safety, recreational space, availability of healthy food and consumer goods and accessibility of high quality primary and preventive health care, can reduce exposure to stressful environments. Doing so while involving and empowering the residents themselves acknowledges community pride, builds on cohesiveness and helps ensure success.

EDUCATION. Education has high economic returns. Before 1983, the wages of a worker with an undergraduate degree exceeded those of a worker with a high school degree by 40%. Currently, that difference is close to 60% [2]. Contrast the importance of education with the fact that a public school that enrolls mostly well-off white kids has a one in four chance of producing consistently high test scores, while a school with mostly poor minority children has one chance in 300.[32] The difference is extreme and the failure of inner city schools demands drastic solutions.

First, more, not less, school integration is needed. Perhaps the most pernicious effect of residential segregation on children is its direct relationship to segregated schooling. School assignment plans are most commonly based on where students live, so children who live in high-minority, high-poverty neighborhoods attend schools with students who share similar characteristics. Many of these students also have parents with relatively low levels of education, ability to speak English and employment experience. "Research shows that students from families with higher socioeconomic status typically bring educational advantages that improve the achievement of all students in the classroom. Because poor black and Hispanic students are statistically more likely to attend a school of concentrated poverty than poor white students, racially segregated minority schools are less likely to have students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds than schools with higher percentages of white students[xiii]." In essence, the

[xiii] Brief of 553 Social Scientists as *amici curiae* in Support of Respondents in *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle Scholl District No. 1, et al.,* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, et al.* U.S. Supreme Court (No. 05-908 and No. 05-915.)

educational disadvantages of the students' own poverty are exacerbated by classroom settings in which large shares of their classmates share the same disadvantages.

Segregated minority schools face not only the disadvantages of concentrated poverty, but also a number of other resource challenges, including high teacher turnover, less experienced and qualified teachers, larger class sizes, inadequate facilities, lower per-pupil spending, and fewer honors and Advanced Placement courses [15].

Some school districts, such as Louisville KY and Lynn MA, have attempted to sever the connection between living in segregated, high poverty neighborhoods and attending segregated, high poverty schools by adopting voluntary school integration plans, which allow schools to take race into account when making student-to-school assignments. These plans have aimed to overcome the vestiges of historical school segregation, take advantage of the benefits of integrated learning for all children, and achieve more equitable educational opportunities in an environment when residential segregation persists. Such voluntary integration tools however, are currently in jeopardy as the U.S. Supreme Court deliberates their constitutionality in the context of two cases currently before it[xiv]. If these voluntary integration plans are overturned, a return to attendance zones based on residence will almost certainly fuel further re-segregation and its harmful consequences. Some school districts are experimenting with economic-based integration plans. Depending on the correlation between poverty and race between and within certain school districts, these plans may or may not achieve the benefits of racial integration. As shown throughout this study, patterns of disadvantage for blacks and Hispanics go beyond what can be explained by income alone. The neighborhoods of black and Hispanic children differ from those of white children to a remarkable degree, even after controlling for income. The loss of school districts' ability to institute voluntary school integration plans means that these inequities will spill over into school environments to an even greater extent than they currently do.

Second, better, not worse, schools are needed in poor and minority neighborhoods. There are still many places where school systems and their resources are notoriously underfunded, because they are supported mainly by local property taxes and their communities have low tax bases. Within a given metropolitan area, counties and municipalities may have widely varying tax bases and structures. In most states, school districts attended by poor and minority children receive far less resources than districts that serve more affluent and white children. This is exacerbated by the fact that the federal government provides education funds to states on a matching basis, so that children in states with paltry spending levels get less federal money as well.[30,31] In order to reduce racial/ethnic educational achievement gaps, some innovative schools have adopted new approaches. One of the most influential school models is the Knowledge is Power Program (KIPP) for inner-city public schools, shown by independent evaluations to boost performance on standardized tests in multiple schools throughout the country. [32] While observers warn that there is no single answer to the gulf dividing race and class, these programs appear to help by emphasizing strong principals with the power to remove unproductive teachers, extensive teacher training, team building, evaluation and retraining, and frequent testing. They set strict rules of

[xiv] *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle Scholl District No. 1, et al.,* and *Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education, et al.*

conduct and offer both tutoring and extended day and extended year – that is, 60% more time in school per year than most public school students.[33] The bottom line is that while the country has some models of stronger educational systems to improve levels of achievement for poor minority students, it has not yet demonstrated the commitment to bring them to scale.

CONCLUSION

Disparities in opportunity within metropolitan areas have devastating consequences for the present and future of millions of children in America. Disadvantaged conditions within families, neighborhoods and schools disproportionately hurt black and Hispanic children, and hinder their life chances and economic potential. From different perspectives, experts in metropolitan inequality have voiced the need to find regional solutions to ameliorate disparities in metropolitan areas.[3, 34, 35] Our hope is that by highlighting the implications of such disparities for children, this report will contribute to a discussion of possible solutions. Such action is essential, not only because protecting children is morally compelling, but also because the present and future circumstances of children will have implications for labor productivity, economic competitiveness, health care costs, and social harmony in a nation that by 2050 will be 50% "minority" (up from 31% minority in 2000).[36]. The distribution of opportunities for children in U.S. metropolitan areas is anything but "color blind". Therefore, in order to promote better opportunities for all children, we need to reduce child poverty, improve conditions, and deal with the present high levels of neighborhood and school segregation.

REFERENCES

1. Shonkoff JP, Phillips DA, Committee on Integrating the Science of Early Childhood Development, Institute of Medicine, National Research Council. From Neurons to Neighborhoods: The Science of Early Childhood Development. Washington, DC: National Academies Press; 2000.

2. Rolnick A, Grunewald R. Early Childhood Development: Economic Development with a High Public Return. Minneapolis, MN: Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis; 2003.

3. Altshuler A, Morrill W, Wolman H, Mitchell F, Committee on Improving the Future of U.S. Cities Through Improved Metropolitan Area Governance. Governance and Opportunity in Metropolitan America. Washington, DC: National Academy Press; 1999.

4. Committee on Evaluation of Children's Health, National Research Council, Institute of Medicine. Children's Health, the Nation's Wealth: Assessing and Improving Child Health. Washington, DC: National Academies Press; 2004.

5. Kington RS, Nickens HW. Racial and Ethnic Differences in Health: Recent Trends, Current Patterns, Future Directions. In: Smelser NJ, Wilson WJ, Mitchell F, National Research Council, eds. *America Becoming: Racial Trends and Their Consequences, Vol II*. Washington DC: National Academy Press; 2001.

6. US Department of Health and Human Services. Healthy People 2010: Understanding and Improving Health. Washington, DC, Government Printing Office: US Department of Health and Human Services; 2000.

7. Behrman RE, Butler AS, Committee on Understanding Premature Birth and Assuring Healthy Outcomes. *Preterm Birth: Causes, Consequences, and Prevention*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press; 2006.

8. US Department of Health and Human Services. Healthy People 2010, Volume II (second edition). Washington, DC: US Department of Health and Human Services; 2003.

9. Fuentes-Afflick E, Lurie P. Low birth weight and Latino ethnicity. Examining the epidemiologic paradox. *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*. 1997;151(7):665-74.

10. Belsky E, Prakken J. Housing Wealth Effects: Housing's Impact on Wealth Accumulation, Wealth Distribution and Consumer Spending. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University; Macroeconomic Advisers; The National Association of REALTORS, National Center for Real Estate Research; 2004.

11. Hao L. Wealth of immigrant and native-born Americans. *International Migration Review*. 2004;8(2):518-546.

12. Xue Y, Leventhal T, Brooks-Gunn J, Earls F. Neighborhood residence and mental health problems of 5- to 11-year-olds. *Archives of General Psychiatry*. 2005;62(5):554-563.

13. De Navas-Walt C, Proctor BD, Lee CH. Income, Poverty and Health Insurance in the United States: 2005. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau; 2006.

14. Galster GC, Killen SP. The geography of metropolitan opportunity: a reconnaissance and conceptual framework. *Housing Policy Debate*. 1995;6(1):7-43.

15. Orfield G, Lee C. Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Educational Inequality. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University; 2005.

16. Kahlenberg R. *All Together Now. Creating Middle Class Schools Through Public School Choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; 2001.

17. UNICEF. Child Poverty in Rich Countries, 2005. Florence, Italy]: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre; 2005.

18. Briggs X de S. The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; 2005.

19. Haskins R, Sawhill I. The Future of Head Start. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution; 2003.

20. Barnett WS, Belfield CR. Early Childhood Development and Social Mobility. *The Future of Children*. 2006;16(2):73-98.

21. Schweinhart LJ, Weikart DP. High/Scope Perry Preschool Program Effects at Age Twenty-Seven. In: Crane J, ed. *Social programs that work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; 1998.

22. Ramey CT, Campbell FA, Blair C. Enhancing the Life Course for High Risk Children: Results from the Abecedarian Project. In: Crane J, ed. *Social programs that work*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation; 1998.

23. Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University. America's Rental Housing: Homes for a Diverse Nation. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University; 2006.

24. Turner MA, Ross SL, Galster GC, Yinger J. Discrimination in metropolitan housing markets: Phase 1. Washington, DC: Urban Institute; 2002.

25. Pendall R. Local land use regulation and the chain of exclusion. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 2000;66(2):125-142.

26. Goering J, Feins JD, Richardson TM. What have we learned about housing mobility and poverty deconcentration? In: Goering J, Feins JD, eds. *Choosing a Better Life? Evaluating the Moving to Opportunity Social Experiment*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press; 2003.

27. Rizor G. Essential elements of successful mobility counseling programs. In: Tegeler P, Cunningham M, Turner MA, eds. *Keeping the Promise: Preserving and Enhancing Housing*

Mobility in the Section 8 Housing Choice Voucher Program. Conference Report of theThird National Conference on Housing Mobility. Washington, DC: Poverty & Race Research Action Council; 2005.

28. Poverty & Race Research Action Council. Metropolitan housing desegregation in Greater Baltimore: An agenda for action. Washington, DC: Poverty & Race Research Action Council; 2005.

29. powell j. Expert remedial report in Thompson v. HUD. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race & Ethnicity; 2005.

30. Katz B. Neighborhoods of Choice and Connection: The Evolution of American Neighborhood Policy and What It Means for the United Kingdom. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, Metropolitan Policy Program; 2004.

31. Sabety P, Carlson V. Using Information to Drive Change: New Ways of Moving Markets. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution; 2004.

32. Educational Policy Institute. Focus on Results: An Academic Impact Analysis of the Knowledge Is Powerful Program (KIPP). Virginia Beach, VA: Educational Policy Institute; 2005.

33. Tough P. What It Takes To Make a Student. *New York Times Magazine*;

34. Briggs X de S. Politics and Policy: Changing the Geography of Opportunity. In: Briggs X de S, ed. *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press; 2005.

35. powell j. Racism and Metropolitan Dynamics: The Civil Rights Challenge of the 21st Century. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Race and Poverty; 2002.

36. U.S. Census Bureau. U.S. Interim Projections by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin. Table 1a. Projected Population of the United States, by Race and Hispanic Origin: 2000 to 2050: U.S. Census Bureau; 2004.