567 Seminar

中南财经政法大学
ZHONGNAN UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS AND LAW

Changing Opportunity
Sociological Mechanisms Underlying Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps in Economic Mobility

Quarterly Journal of Economics, May 2026

By Raj Chetty,Will Dobbie, Benjamin Goldman, Sonya R. Porter, Crystal Yang

Presentation: Juncheng Jiang

School of Public Finance and Taxation, ZUEL

June 4th 2026

Raj Chetty

Employment:

7/18 – William A. Ackman Professor of Economics, Harvard University

1/19 – Faculty Affiliate, Department of Sociology, Harvard University

EDUCATION

6/2003 Ph.D., Department of Economics, Harvard University

6/2000 B.A., summa cum laude in Economics, Harvard University



Raj Chetty is the William A. Ackman Professor of Economics at Harvard University and the Director of Opportunity Insights, which uses big data to study the science of economic opportunity: how we can give children from all backgrounds better chances of succeeding? Chetty's work has been widely cited in academia, media outlets, and policy discussions in the United States and beyond.

Will Dobbie

Appointments

Professor of Economics, Princeton University, 2026 – present

Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, 2019 – 2026

Assistant Professor of Economics and Public Affairs, Princeton University, 2013 – 2019

Education

Ph.D. in Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School, 2013

M.A. in Economics, University of Washington, 2007

B.A. in Economics, Kalamazoo College, 2004

Will Dobbie is a Professor of Economics at Princeton University and co-editor of the Review of Economics and Statistics. His research studies the causes and consequences of poverty in America to understand how we can give individuals from all backgrounds a better chance of success. His recent work has examined racial discrimination in the criminal justice system, the changing nature of economic mobility in the United States, and how to build more human-centered AI.



Benjamin Goldman

Appointments

2025- Assistant Professor of Economics and Public Policy, Cornell University

2026- Faculty Research Fellow, National Bureau of Economic Research

2025- Research Principal, Opportunity Insights

2016-2018 Predoctoral Fellow for Raj Chetty, John Friedman, & Nathan Hendren, Stanford

Education

2018–2024 Ph.D. Economics, Harvard University

2021 M.A. Economics, Harvard University

2016 B.A. Economics and Applied Math, cum laude, Macalester College



Who Marries Whom? TheRole of Segregation by Raceand Class
American Economic Review (Accepted)·Jamie Gracie, Sonya Porter

What Explains Temporal and Geographic Variation in the Early US Coronavirus Pandemic?
Review of Economic Design (2024)·HuntAllcott,LeviBoxell, Jacob Conway, Billy Ferguson, Matthew Gentzkow

Within-Industry Agglomeration of Occupations: Evidence From Census Microdata
Journal of Regional Science (2019)·Thomas Klier, Thomas Walstrum

Sonya R. Porter

Assistant Center Chief of Research, Center for Administrative Records Research and Applications at United States Census Bureau

Sonya R. Porter is the Assistant Center Chief of Research in the Center for Administrative Records Research and Applications at the U.S. Census Bureau. Her research focuses on racial and ethnic identification and identity and racial and ethnic inequality and mobility. Her current projects also include using linked administrative records and census data to study correlations and determinants of intergenerational mobility, to answer key questions related to educational policy, and to study social and economic pre- and post-incarceration experiences of ex-offenders.



Race and Economic Opportunity in the United States: an Intergenerational Perspective*

Raj Chetty · Nathaniel Hendren · Maggie R. Jones · Sonya R. Porter · Economics, Sociology ·

Quarterly Journal of Economics · 26 December 2019

We study the sources of racial disparities in income using anonymized longitudinal data covering nearly the entire U.S. population from 1989 to 2015. We document three results. First, black Americans… Expand

457 · 21 · PDF · PDF · Save · Alert · Cite

Creating High-Opportunity Neighborhoods: Evidence from the HOPE VI Program

Raj Chetty · Rebecca Diamond · +4 authors · Laura Tach · Sociology · 1 January 2026

Publisher · Save · Alert · Cite

The Geography of Lifecycle Human Capital Accumulation

Ben Sprung-Keyser · Sonya R. Porter · Geography, Economics · Social Science Research Network · 1 May 2026

We examine how place shapes the production of human capital across the lifecycle. We ask: do those places that most effectively produce human capital in childhood also have local labor markets that… Expand

Publisher · Save · Alert · Cite

NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES THE OPPORTUNITY ATLAS: MAPPING THE CHILDHOOD ROOTS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY

John N. Friedman · Nathaniel Hendren · Maggie Jones · Sonya R. Porter · Raj Chetty

Sociology, Economics · 2018

We construct a publicly available atlas of children's outcomes in adulthood by Census tract using anonymized longitudinal data covering nearly the entire U.S. population. For each tract, we estimate… Expand

Save · Alert · Cite

Changing Opportunity: Sociological Mechanisms Underlying Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps in Economic Mobility

Raj Chetty · Will Dobbie · Benjamin Goldman · Sonya R. Porter · Crystal Yang · Sociology ·

Social Science Research Network · 1 July 2024

We show that intergenerational mobility changed rapidly by race and class in recent decades in the U.S. and study the causal mechanisms underlying those changes. Between the 1978 and 1992 birth… Expand

Crystal S. Yang

Appointments

Bennett Boskey Professor of Law, Harvard Law School, 2022 – present

Affiliated Faculty, Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, 2019 – present

Affiliated Faculty, Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society, 2021 – present

Professor of Law, Harvard Law School, 2019 – 2022

Assistant Professor of Law, Harvard Law School, 2014 – 2019

Education

Ph.D. in Economics, Harvard University, 2013

J.D., magna cum laude, Harvard Law School, 2013

A.M. in Statistics, Harvard University, 2008

A.B. in Economics, summa cum laude, Harvard University, 2008

Crystal S. Yang is an economist and attorney studying the criminal justice system. She is the Bennett Boskey Professor of Law at Harvard Law School and a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, where she is co-director of the Crime Working Group.



Working Papers

Marcella Alsan and Crystal S. Yang. "Voluntary Accreditation and Healthcare Quality: Evidence from a Randomized Controlled Trial in U.S. Jails." [Working Paper]

Will Dobbie and Crystal S. Yang. "The Role of Beliefs in Driving Racial Discrimination: Experimental Evidence from the U.S. Pretrial System."

Peer-Reviewed Publications

Forthcoming

Raj Chetty, Will Dobbie, Benjamin Goldman, Sonya Porter, and Crystal S. Yang. "Changing Opportunity: Sociological Mechanisms Underlying Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps in Economic Mobility." Accepted, Quarterly Journal of Economics. [Working Paper]

Amanda Agan, Andrew Garin, Dmitri Koustas, Alex Mas, and Crystal S. Yang. "Can you Erase the Mark of a Criminal Record? Labor Market Impacts of Criminal Record Remediation." Accepted, American Economic Journal: Economic Policy. [Working Paper]

Victoria Angelova, Will Dobbie, and Crystal S. Yang. "Algorithmic Recommendations and Human Discretion." Accepted, Review of Economic Studies. [Working Paper]

2025

Marcella Alsan, Arkey Barnett, Peter Hull, and Crystal S. Yang. "*Something Works* in U.S. Jails: Misconduct and Recidivism Effects of the IGNITE Program." Quarterly Journal of Economics, 140, 2, Pp. 1367-1415. [Working Paper]

2024

Amanda Agan, Andrew Garin, Dmitri Koustas, Alex Mas, and Crystal S. Yang. "Labor Market Impacts of Reducing Felony Convictions." American Economic Review: Insights, 6, 3, Pp. 341-358. [Working Paper]

Marcella Alsan and Crystal S. Yang. "Fear and the Safety Net: Evidence From Secure Communities." Review of Economics and Statistics, 106, 6, Pp. 1427-1441. [Working Paper] [Online Appendix]

2023

Marcella Alsan, Crystal S. Yang, James R. Jolin, Lucy Tu, Josiah D. Rich. 2023. "Health Care in U.S. Correctional Facilities - A Limited and Threatened Constitutional Right." New England Journal of Medicine, 388, Pp. 847-852.

2019

Alma Cohen and Crystal S. Yang. 2019. "Judicial Politics and Sentencing Decisions." American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 11, 1, Pp. 160-191.

Changing Opportunity

Sociological Mechanisms Underlying Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps in Economic Mobility

Raj Chetty, Harvard and Opportunity Insights
Will Dobbie, Harvard and Opportunity Insights
Benjamin Goldman, Cornell and Opportunity Insights
Sonya R. Porter, U.S. Census Bureau
Crystal Yang, Harvard and Opportunity Insights

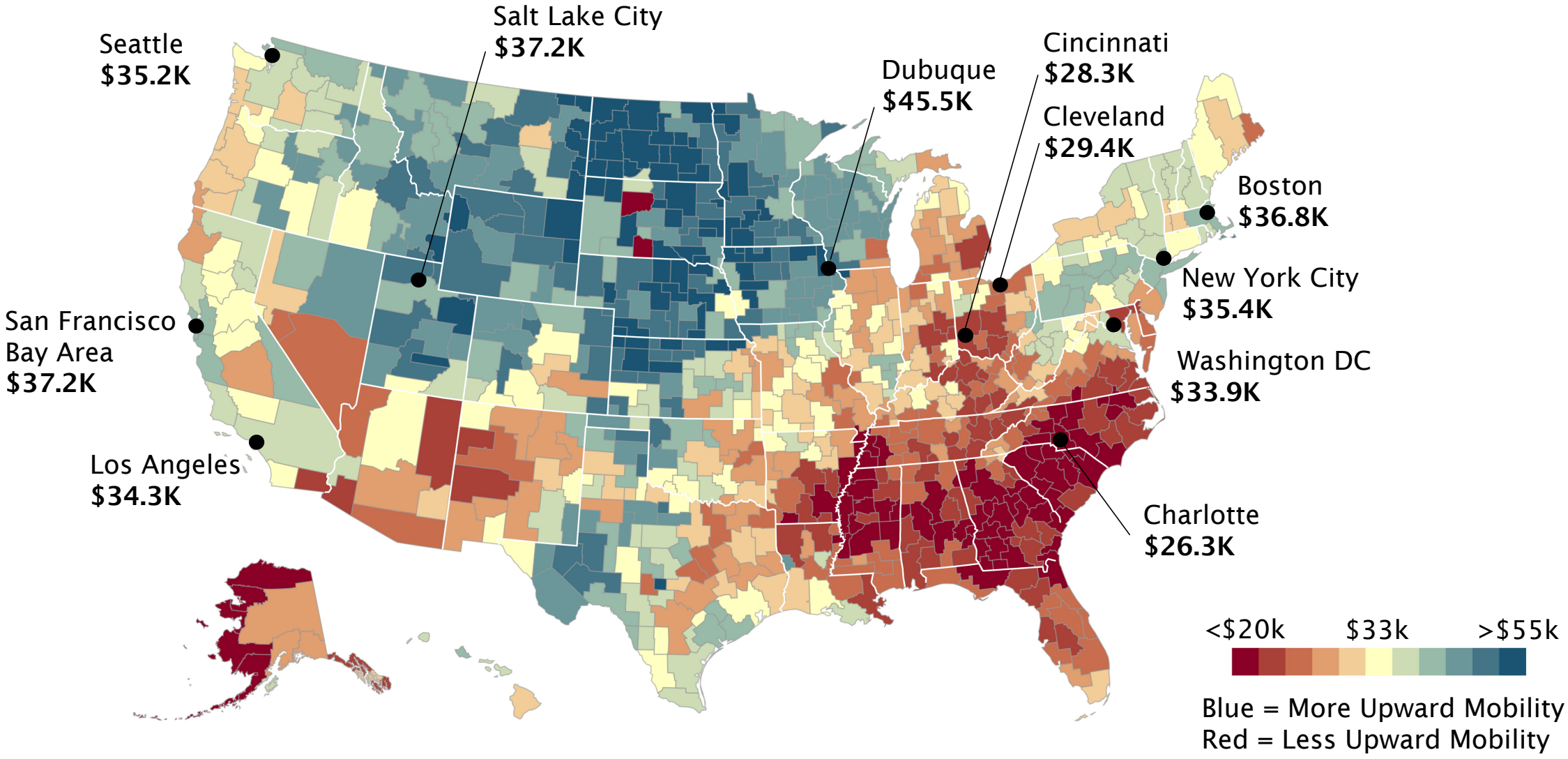
NBER: July 2024, Revised Dec 2025
QJE: Jan 2026 Online, May 2026 Publish

We are very grateful to Dhruv Gaur, Shipra Karan, Nico Rotundo, Austin Zheng, and other Opportunity Insights predoctoral fellows for outstanding research assistance. Any opinions and conclusions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not represent the views of the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Bureau has ensured appropriate access and use of confidential data and has reviewed these results for disclosure avoidance protection (Project 7519874:CBDRB-FY2022-CES010-004, CBDRB-FY2023-CES005-025, CBDRB- FY23- 0375, CBDRB-FY24-0007, CBDRB-FY24-0143, CBDRB- FY24- 0359). For simplicity, we use "race" to refer to race and ethnicity; "White" to refer to non-Hispanic white individuals, "Black" to refer to non-Hispanic Black individuals, and so on.

OPPORTUNITY INSIGHTS

The Geography of Upward Mobility in the United States

Average Household Income at Age 35 for Children born in 1980 whose Parents Earned $27K



Source: Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez (QJE 2014)

Call to Action on Improving Economic Mobility

Charlotte, NC



2018

The Charlotte Observer

Land of Opportunity? Not by a long shot.

"When the headline broke about the Harvard University/UC Berkeley study that ranked Charlotte-Mecklenburg 50th out of 50 in upward mobility for children born into our lowest income quintile, many in our community responded with disbelief. How, on the one hand, can we be such a vital and opportunity-rich community, and on the other, be ranked dead last in the odds that our lowest income children and youth will be able to move up the economic ladder as they become adults?"

2019

Leading on Opportunity

Our Children. Their Future. Our Commitment.

Leading on Opportunity is here to support Charlotte on its generations-long journey to improve economic mobility for all. Using strategy, policy and data, we help partners across Charlotte-Mecklenburg solve complex social challenges that no single person or organization can tackle on their own.

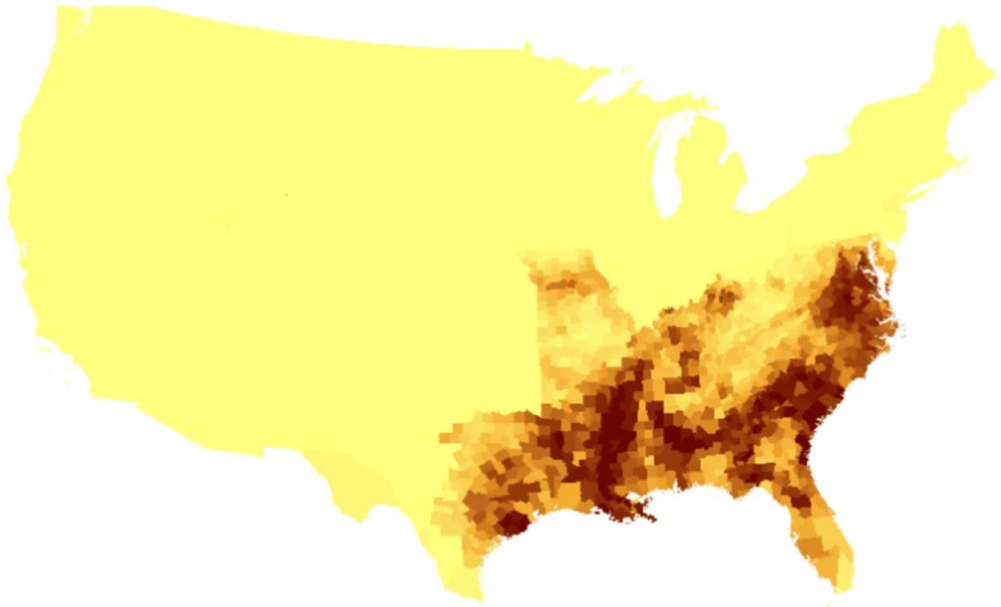
Powered by Zoom

Source: The Charlotte Observer (2018); https://leadingonopportunity.org

Rates of Slavery in the 1860s vs. Present-Day Upward Mobility

Rates of Slavery (1860)

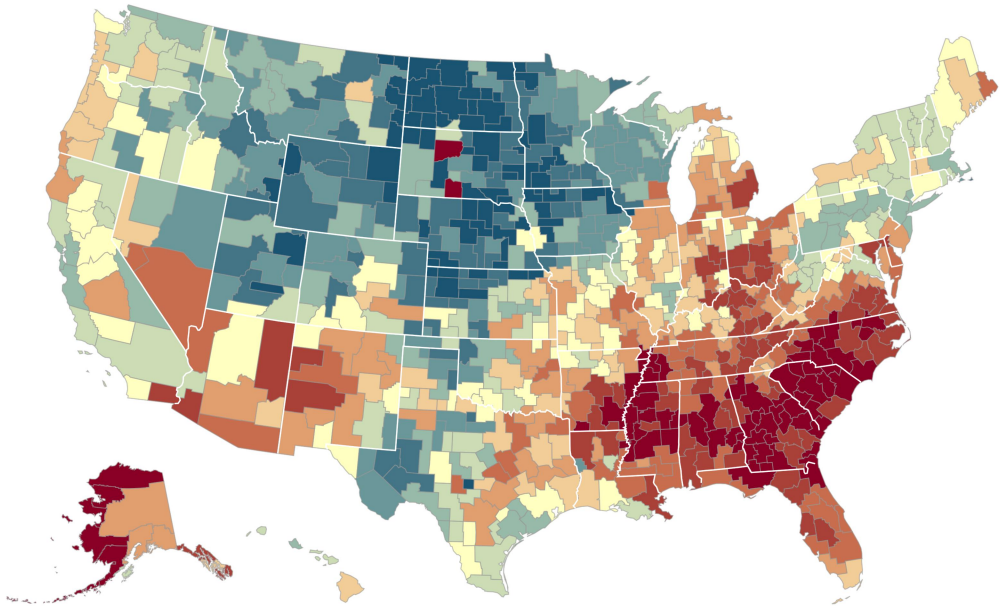
Share of the Population that Were Enumerated as Slaves in the 1860 Census



Yellow = Lower Share of Slaves
Brown = Higher Share of Slaves

Upward Mobility

Average Household Income at Age 35 for Children whose Parents Earned $27k (25th percentile)



Blue = More Upward Mobility
Red = Less Upward Mobility

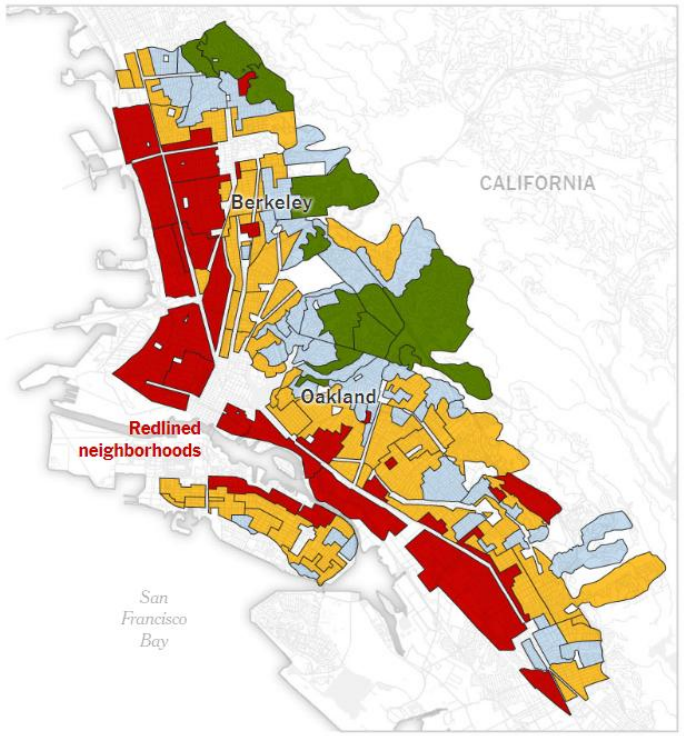
Source: Berger (2018); Chetty, Hendren, Kline, Saez (2014)

Redlining in the 1930s vs. Present-Day Upward Mobility

Oakland, CA

Redlining Boundaries (1930s)

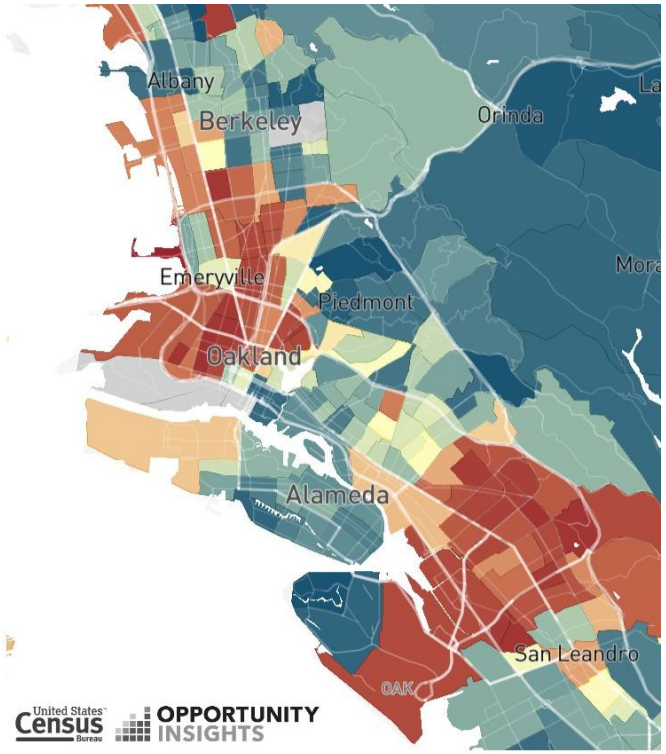
Neighborhood grade, 1930s



Green = “Best”
Blue = “Still Desirable”
Yellow = “Declining”
Red = “Hazardous”

Upward Mobility

Average Household Income at Age 35 for Children whose Parents Earned $27k (25th percentile)



Blue = More Upward Mobility
Red = Less Upward Mobility

Source: Lane, Morello-Frosch, Marshall, and Apte (2022); Chetty, Friedman, Hendren, Jones, Porter (2018)

Changing Opportunity

New Data Give us a Lens to Study Changes in Opportunity

- 2014 Opportunity Insights Land of Opportunity study focused on children born around 1980
- We use an additional decade of tax data to analyze changes in outcomes for children born in the **1978-1992 birth cohorts**
- First evidence on **changes** in economic mobility within places and mechanisms underlying changes in opportunity

Data

- Census data (2000, 2010, ACS) covering U.S. population linked to federal income tax returns from 1979-2019 [extending Chetty, Hendren, Jones, Porter 2020]

- Sample: children in 1978-92 birth cohorts, linked to parents via dependent claiming
  - 57.2 million children, 92% of those in 1978-92 birth cohorts in 2000 Census

Variable Definitions

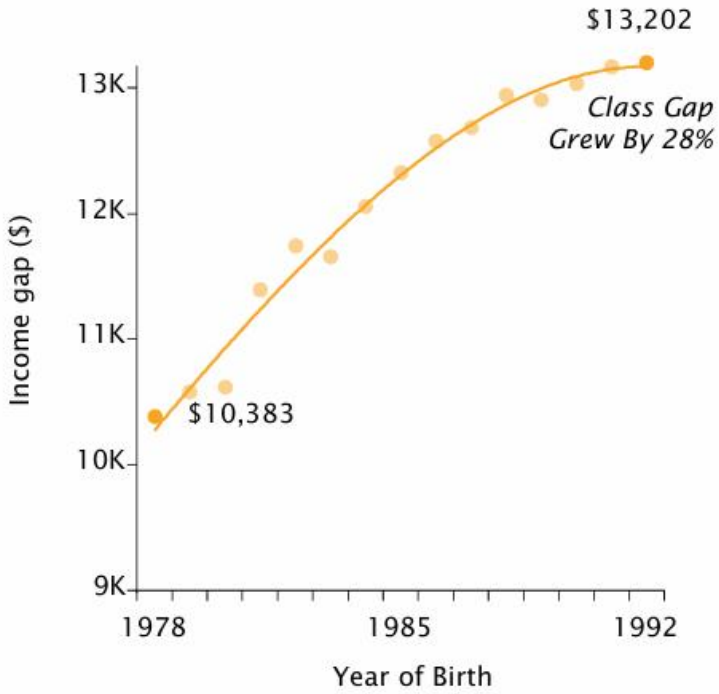
- Parents' pre-tax household incomes: mean Adjusted Gross Income when child is 13-17, assigning zeros to non-filers
- Children's pre-tax household incomes measured at age 27 (from 2005-2019)
- Translate to percentile ranks: rank children relative to others in their birth cohort and parents relative to other parents with children in that birth cohort
- Self-reported information on child's race/ethnicity from 2000 Census

Growing Class Gaps, Shrinking Race Gaps - Changes Between Children Born in 1978 and 1992

Change in Average Income at Age 27

	Black Children	White Children
Low-income Parents	+ $1.4K Starting income: $21.5K	– $2.0K Starting income: $34.5K
High-income Parents	+ $1.2K Starting income: $30.6K	+ $770 Starting income: $44.9K

Change in White Class Gap



Change in Black – White Race Gap

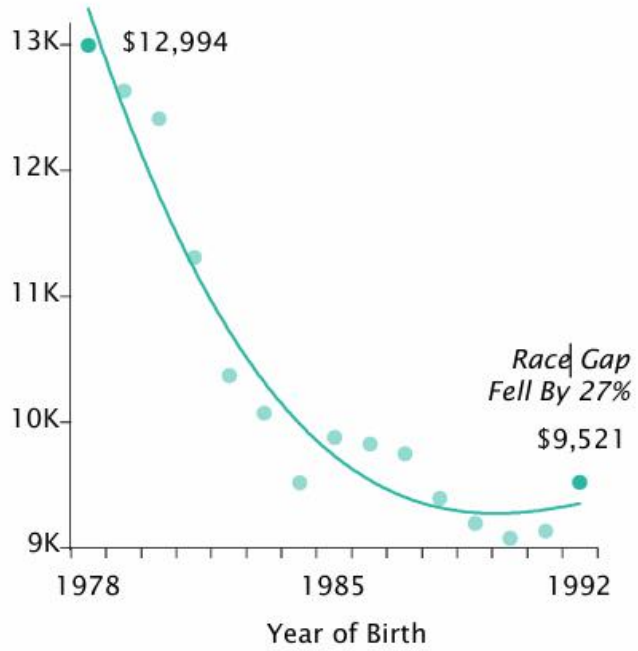
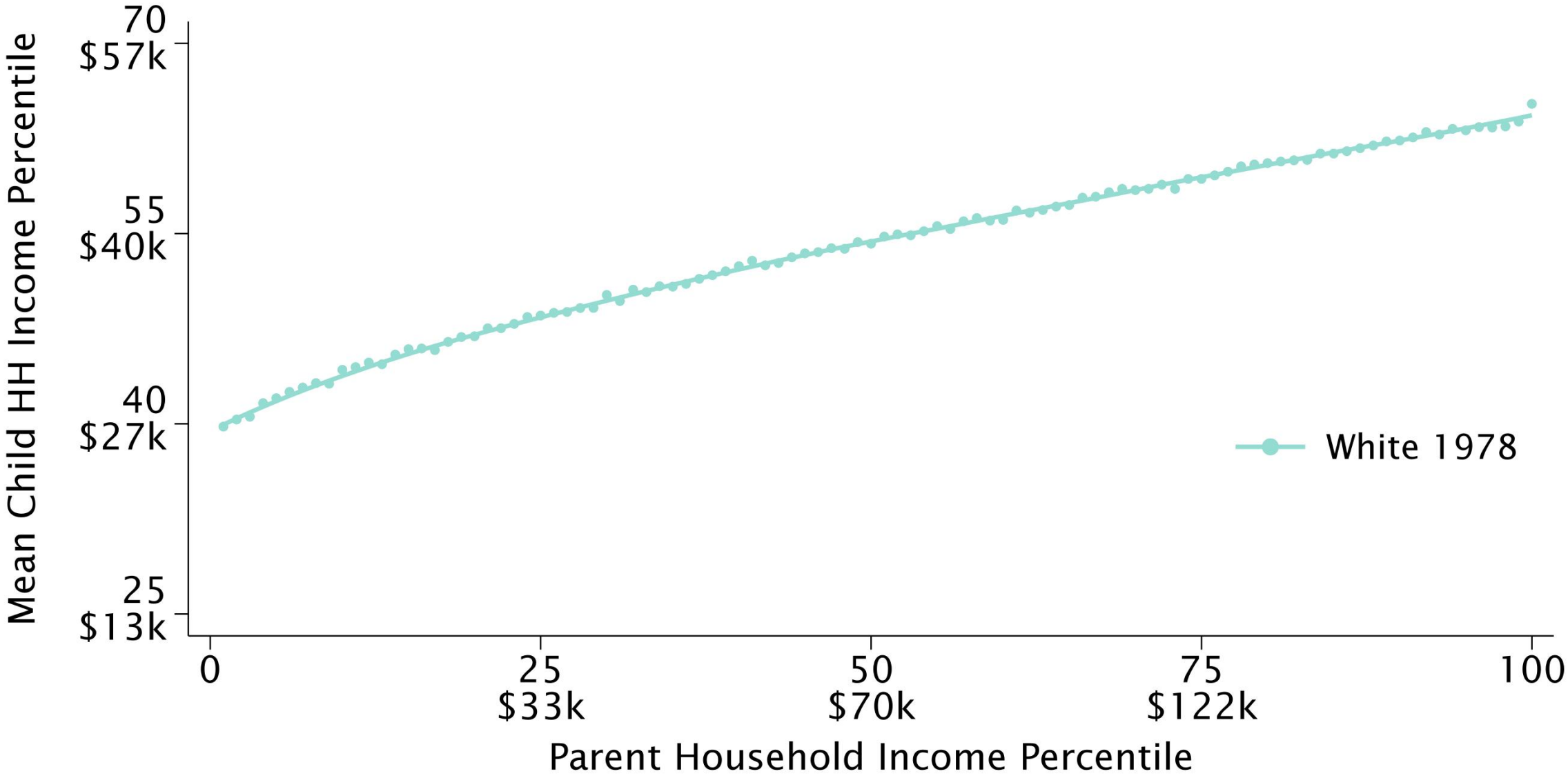


Figure Description
This figure shows 1) the change in average adult income for Black and white children born to high- and low-income parents in 1978 and 1992 along with the starting average incomes for children born in 1978 (left table), 2) the change in the income gap between white individuals who grew up in low- versus high-income families, or the class gap (center chart), and 3) the change in the income gap between Black and white individuals who grew up in low-income families, or the race gap (right chart).

Source: Chetty, Dobbie, Goldman, Porter, Yang.
Changing Opportunity: Sociological Mechanisms Underlying Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps in Economic Mobility (July 2024) | Nontechnical Summary

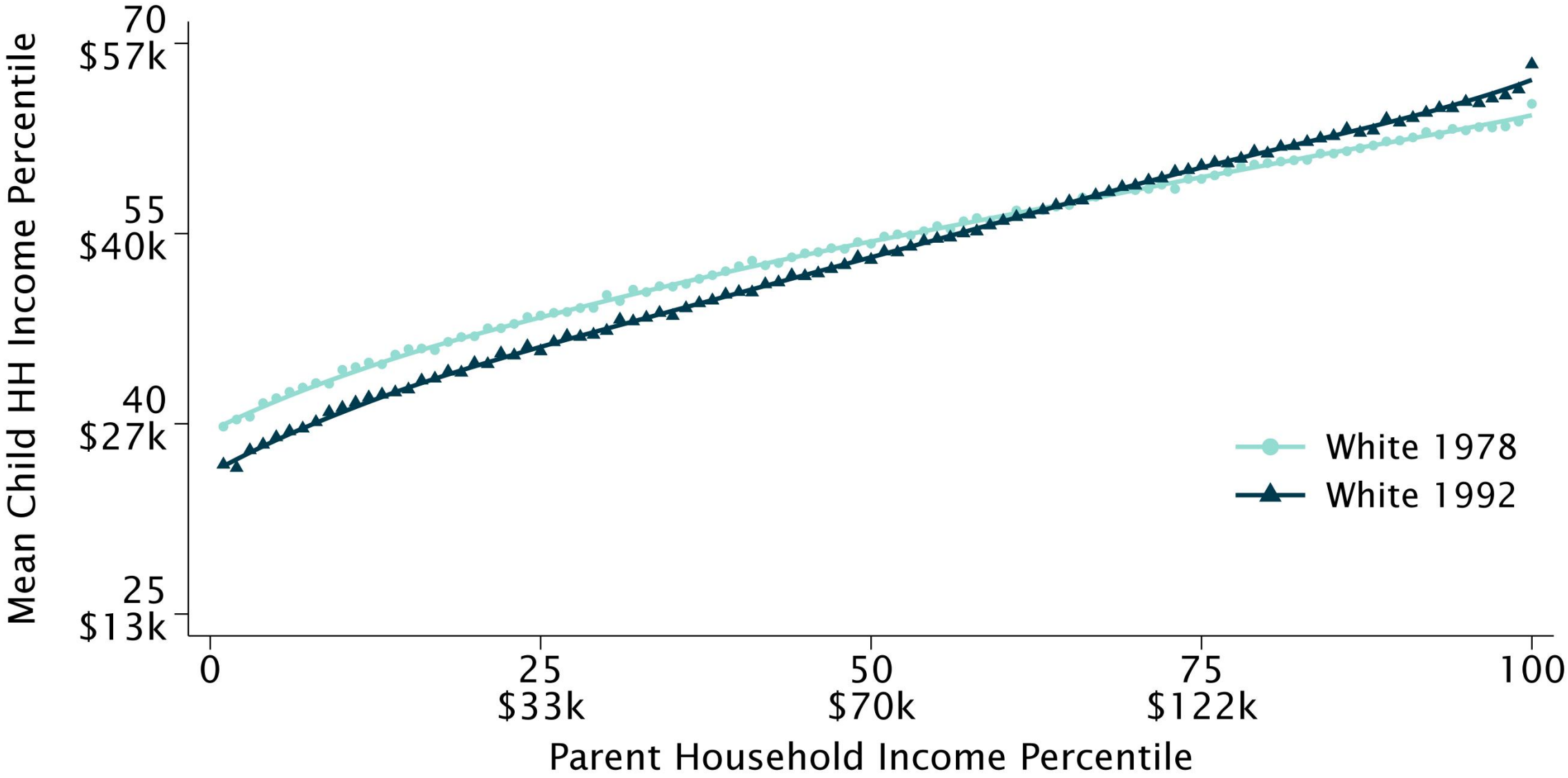
Intergenerational Mobility for the 1978 vs. 1992 Birth Cohorts, by Race and Class

Mean Child Household Income Percentile at Age 27 vs. Parent Household Income Percentile



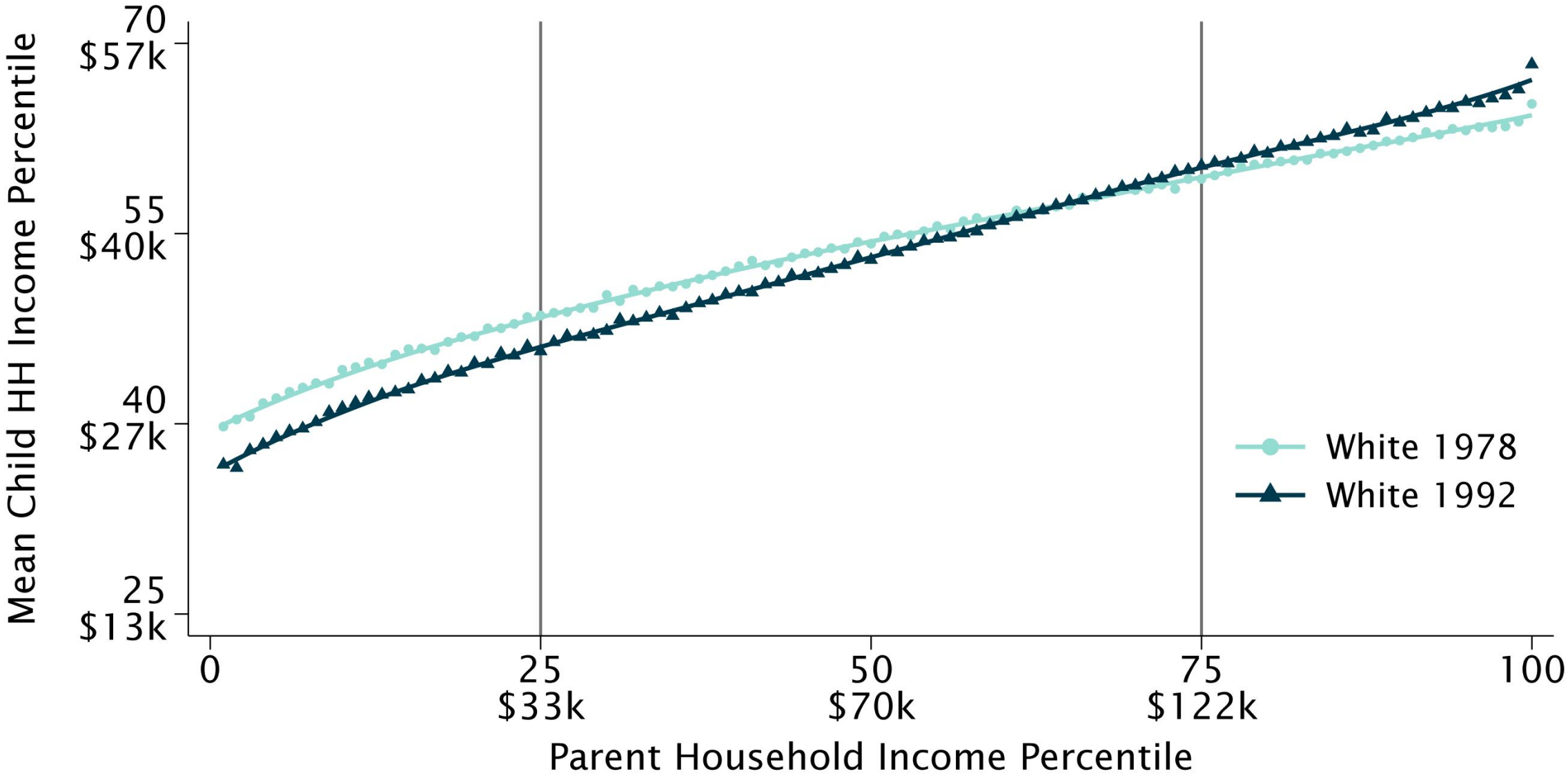
Intergenerational Mobility for the 1978 vs. 1992 Birth Cohorts, by Race and Class

Mean Child Household Income Percentile at Age 27 vs. Parent Household Income Percentile

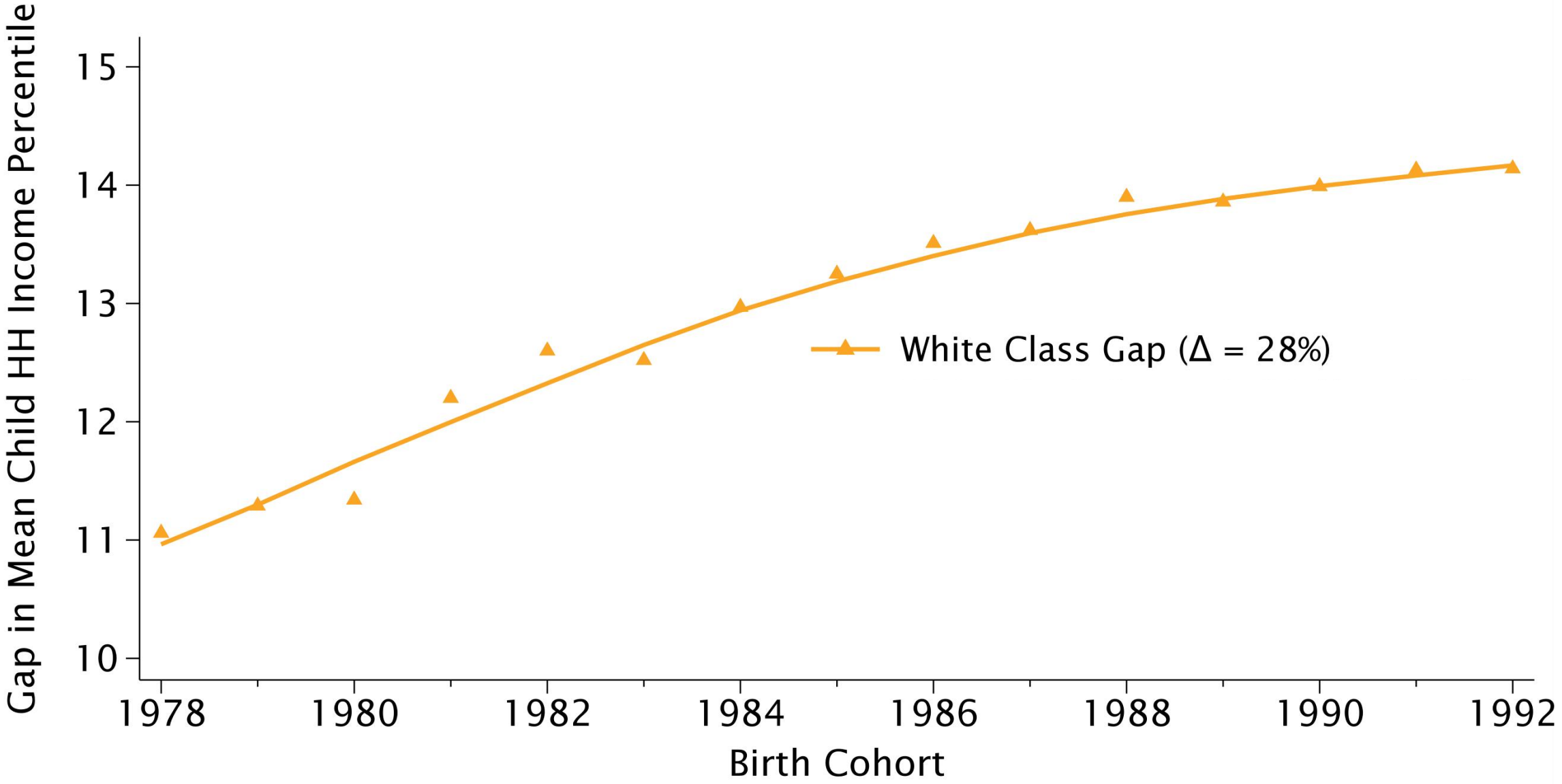


Intergenerational Mobility for the 1978 vs. 1992 Birth Cohorts, by Race and Class

Mean Child Household Income Percentile at Age 27 vs. Parent Household Income Percentile

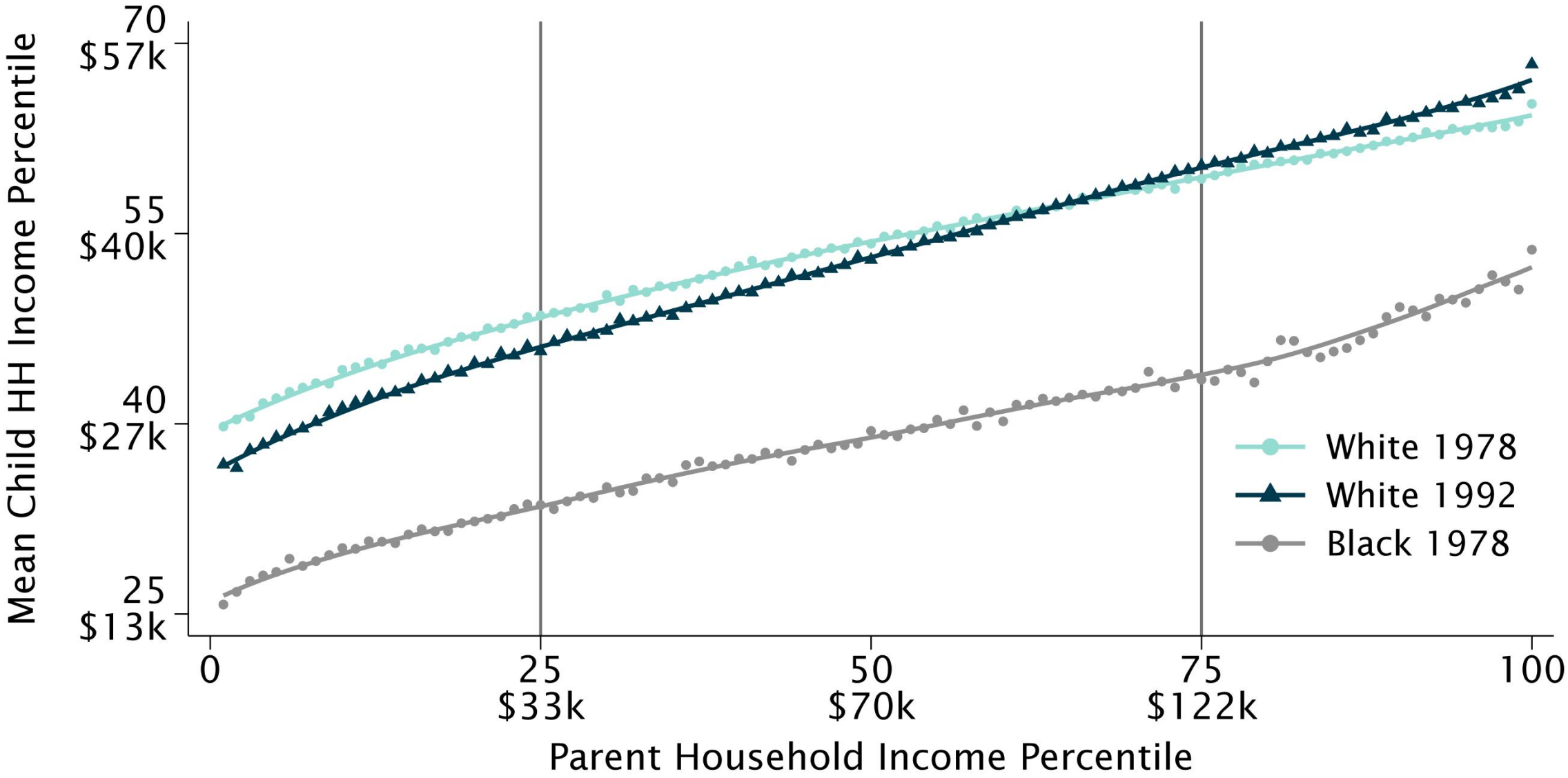


White Class Gap for Children with High vs. Low-Income Parents, by Birth Cohort



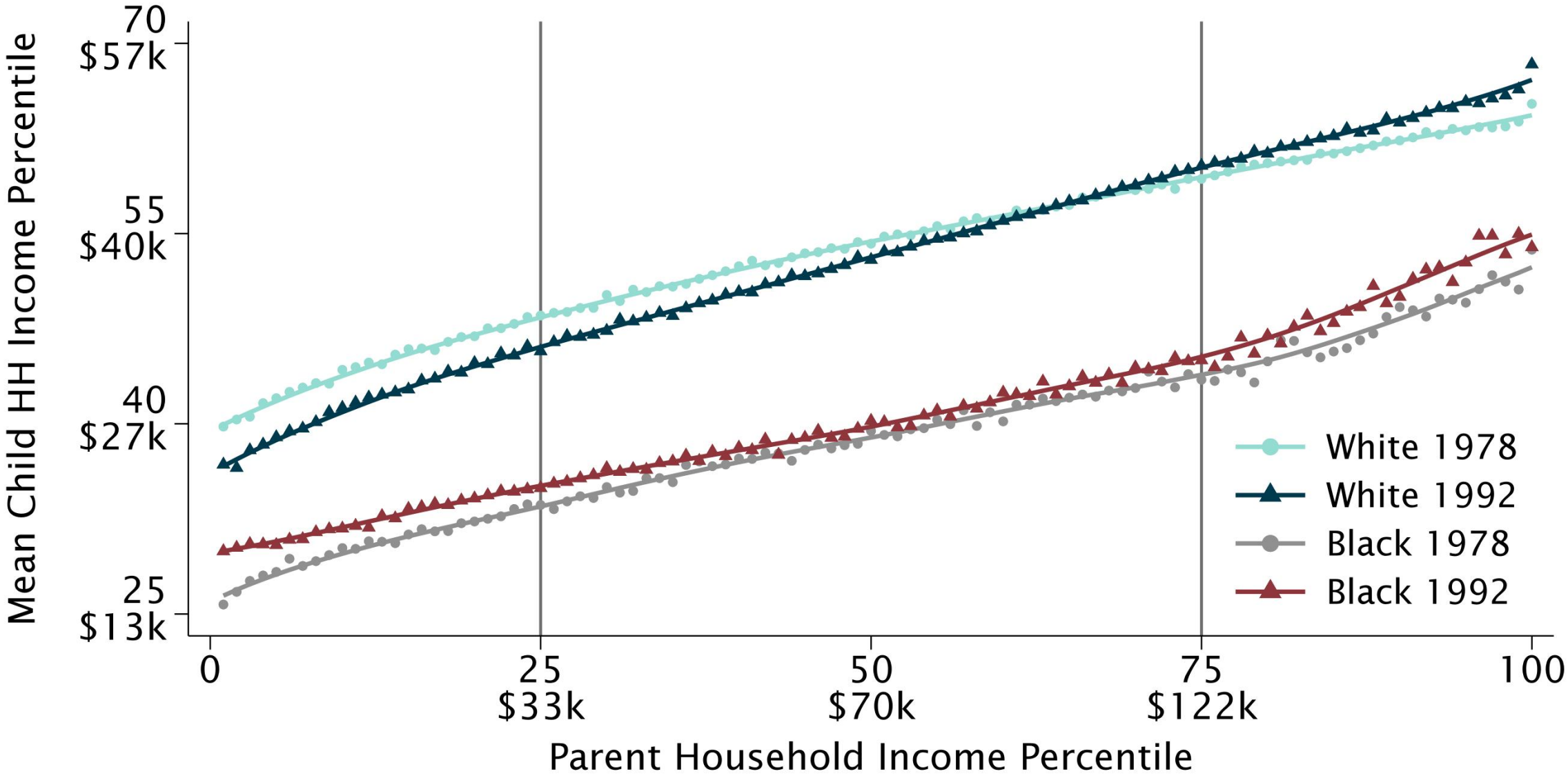
Intergenerational Mobility for the 1978 vs. 1992 Birth Cohorts, by Race and Class

Mean Child Household Income Percentile at Age 27 vs. Parent Household Income Percentile



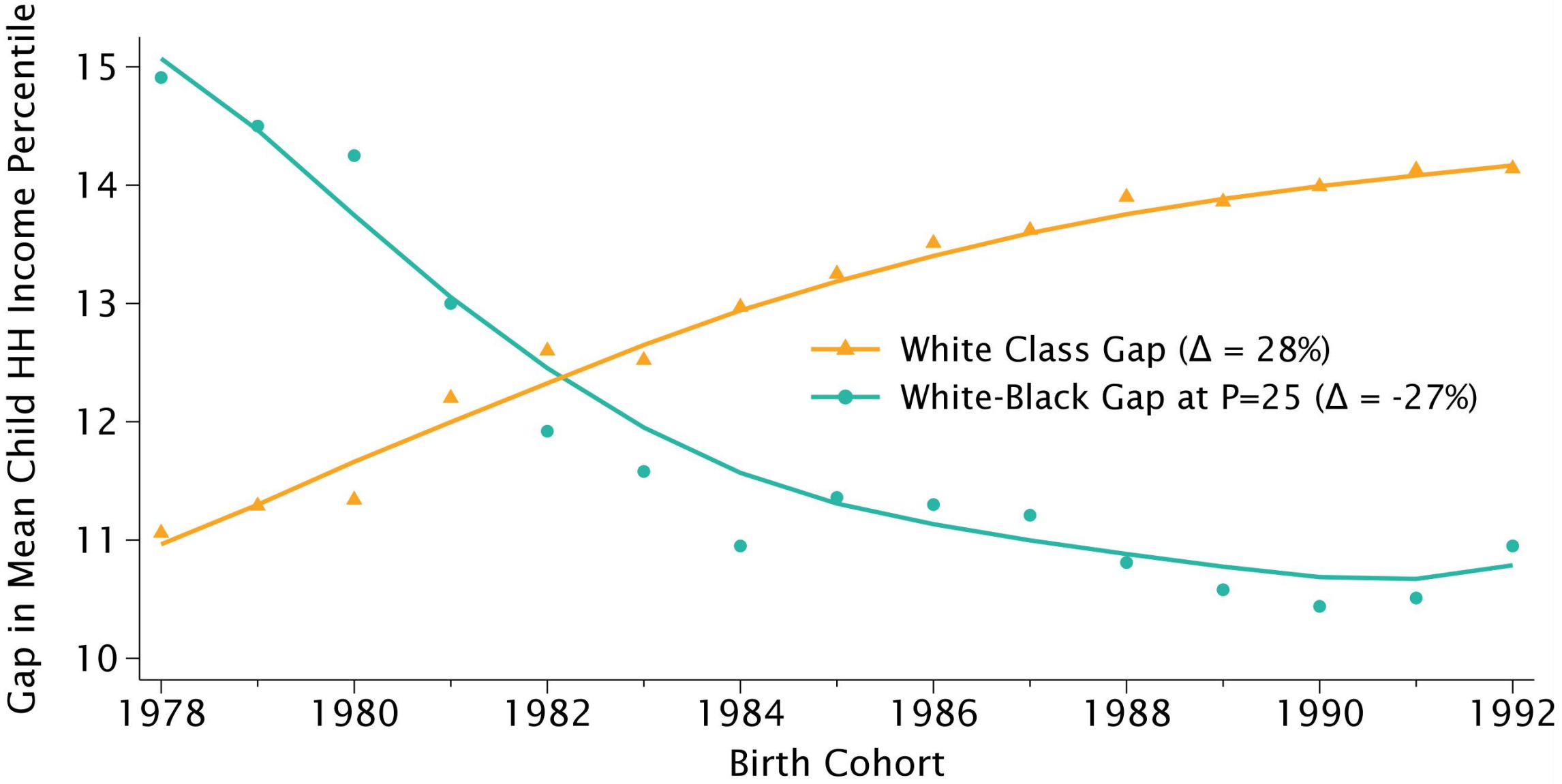
Intergenerational Mobility for the 1978 vs. 1992 Birth Cohorts, by Race and Class

Mean Child Household Income Percentile at Age 27 vs. Parent Household Income Percentile



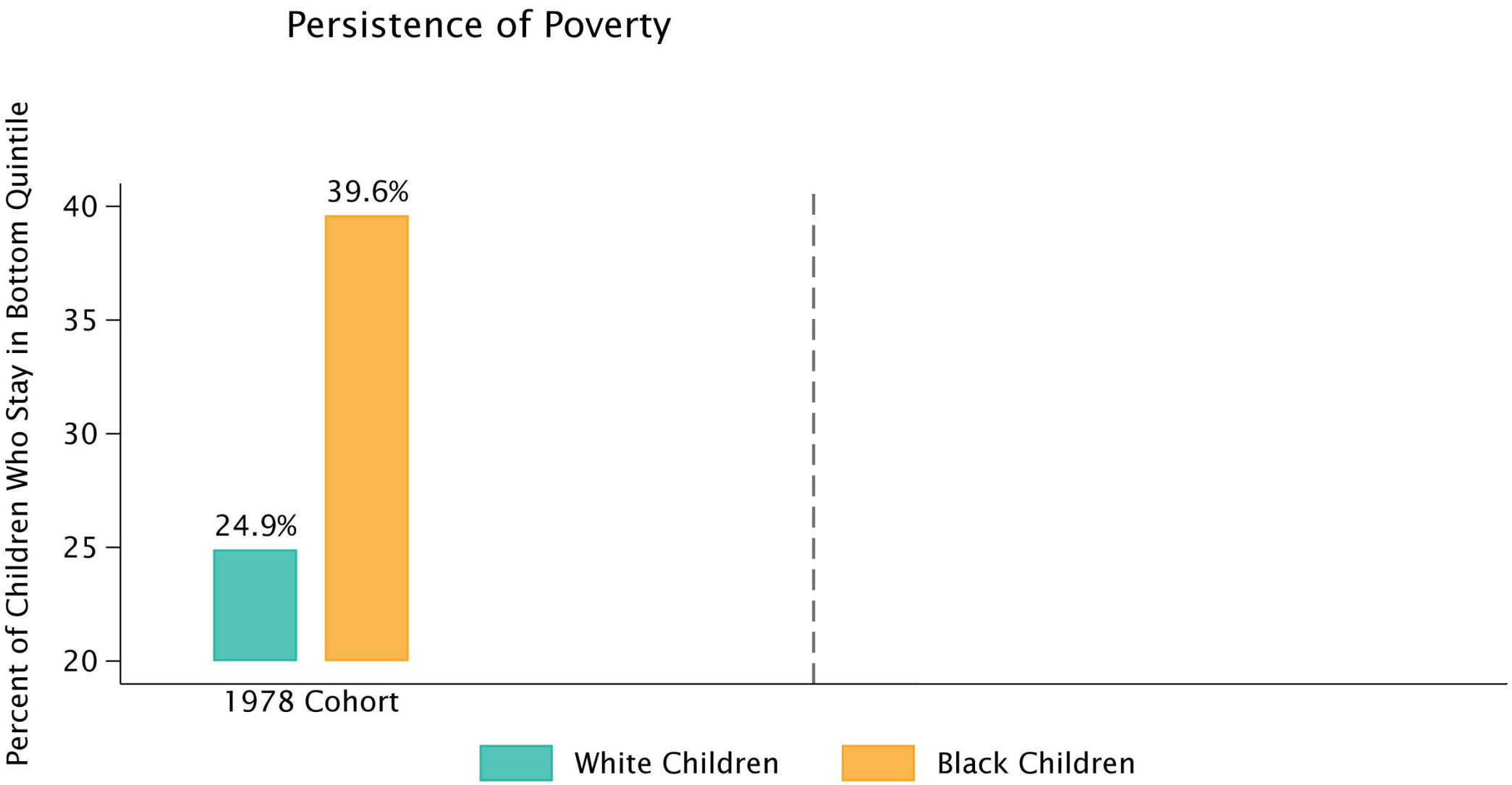
Growing Class Gaps, Shrinking Race Gaps

White-Black Gap for Children with Low-Income Parents vs. White Class Gap, by Birth Cohort



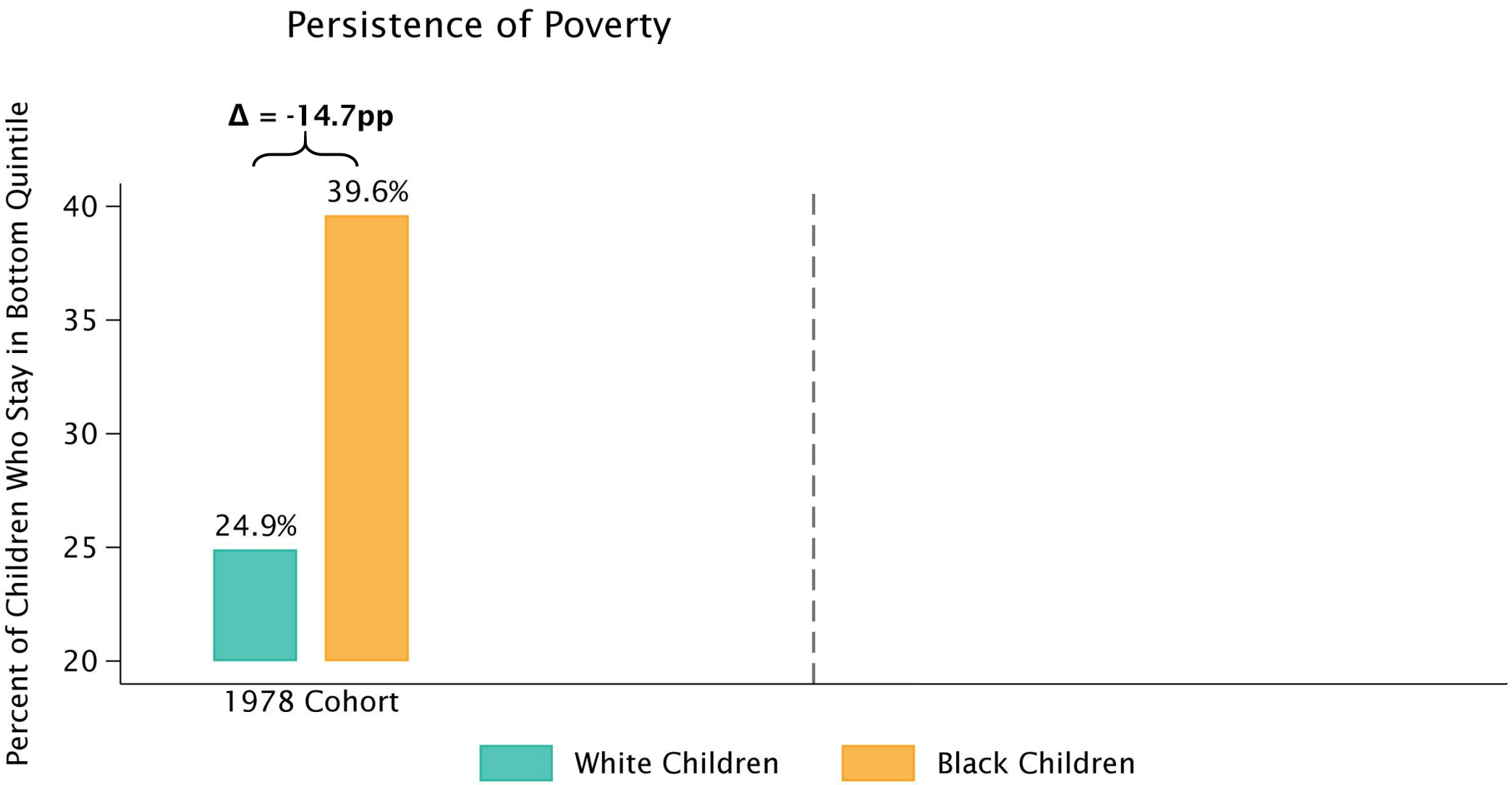
Race Gaps in Intergenerational Persistence of Poverty vs. Upper-Tail Mobility

Quintile Transition Probabilities for Children with Parents in Bottom Income Quintile



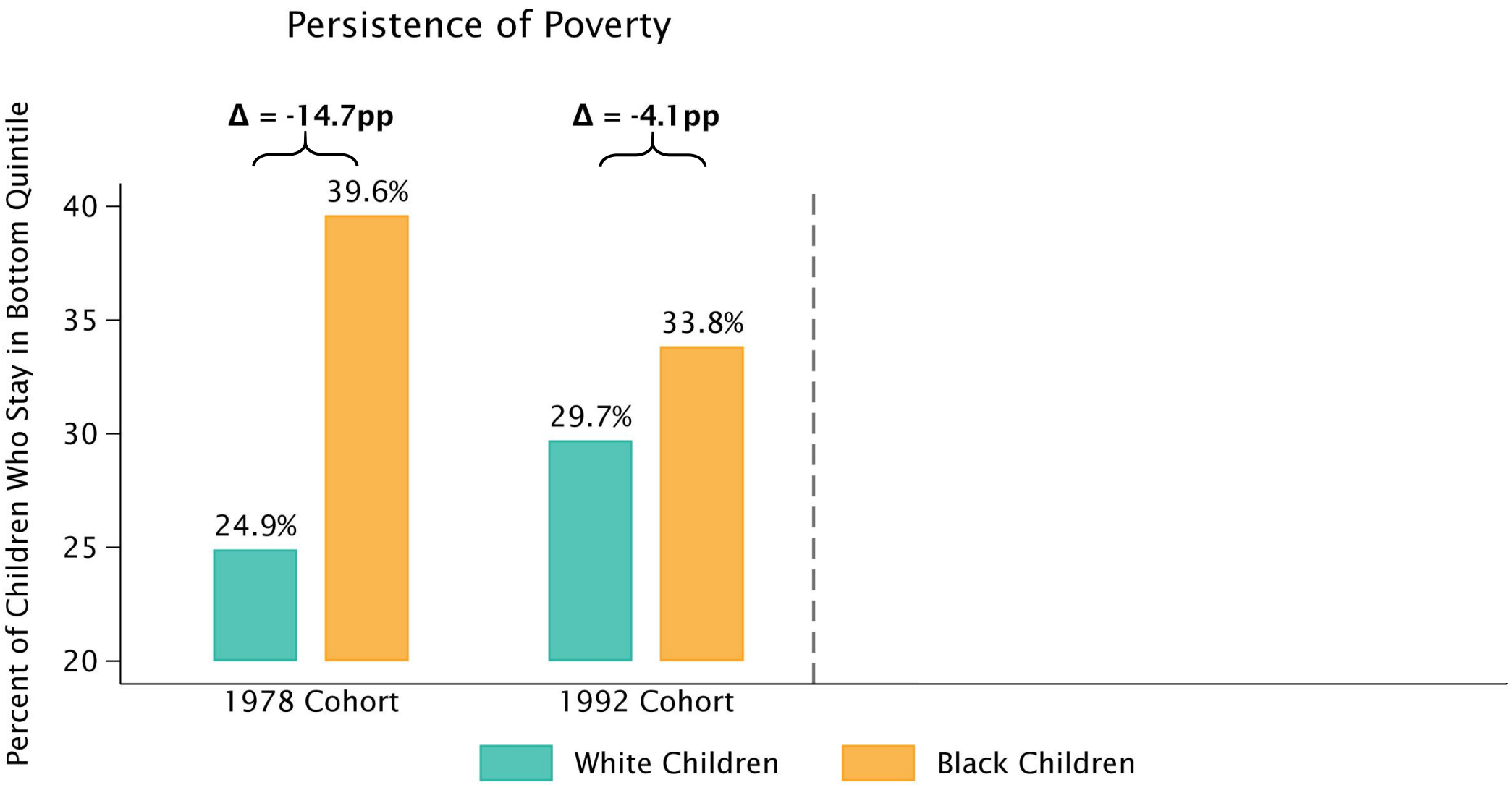
Race Gaps in Intergenerational Persistence of Poverty vs. Upper-Tail Mobility

Quintile Transition Probabilities for Children with Parents in Bottom Income Quintile



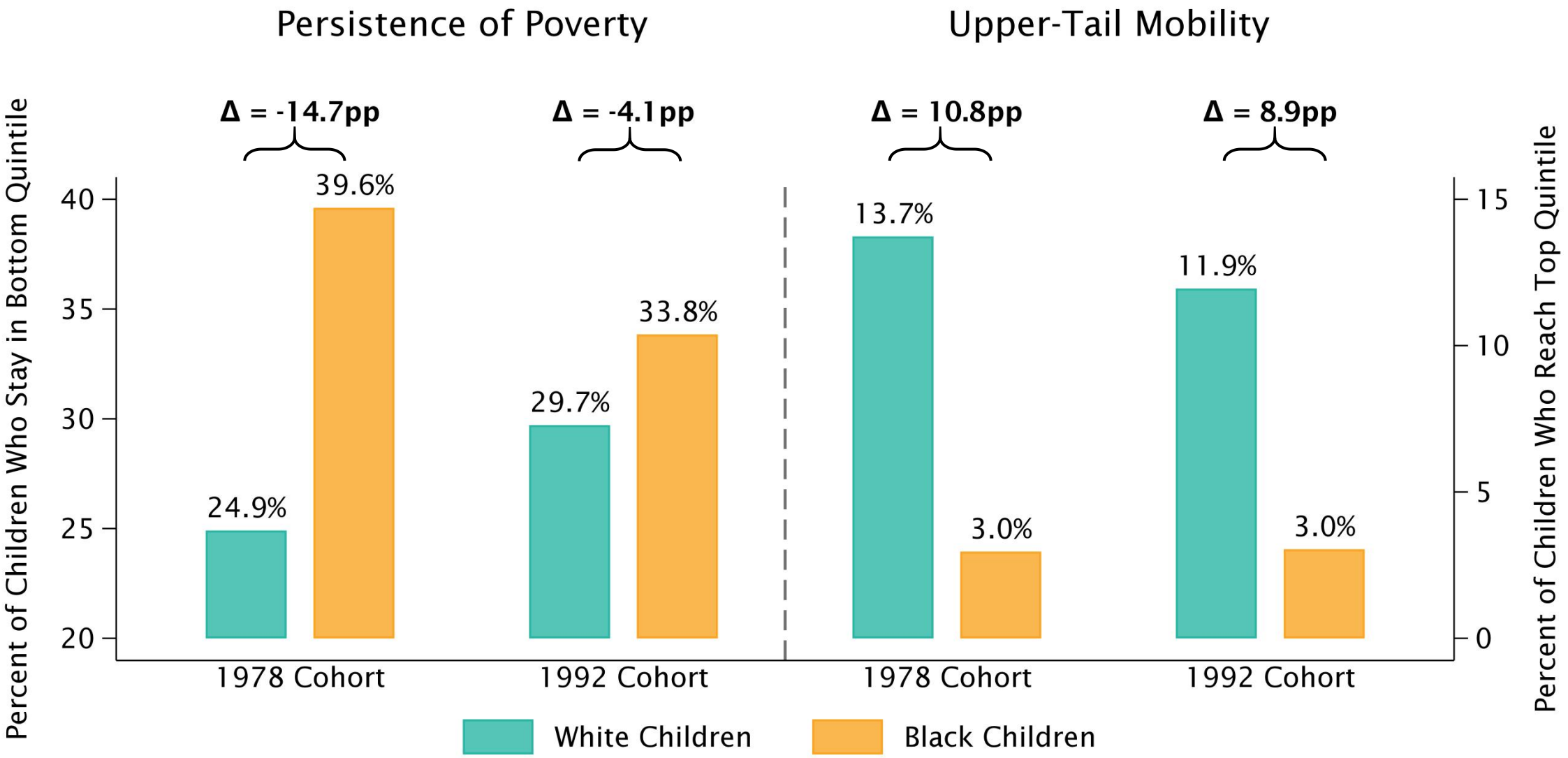
Race Gaps in Intergenerational Persistence of Poverty vs. Upper-Tail Mobility

Quintile Transition Probabilities for Children with Parents in Bottom Income Quintile



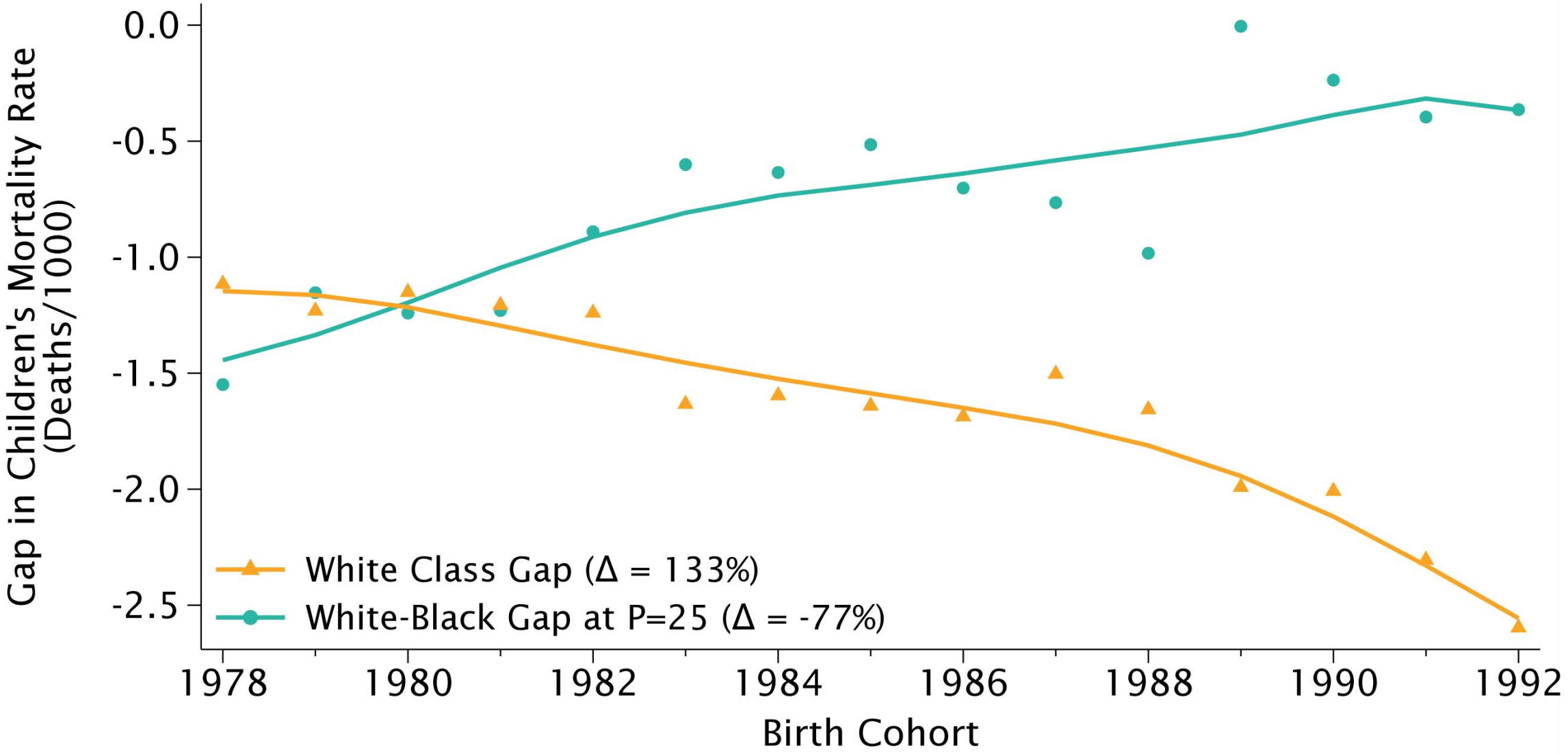
Race Gaps in Intergenerational Persistence of Poverty vs. Upper-Tail Mobility

Quintile Transition Probabilities for Children with Parents in Bottom Income Quintile



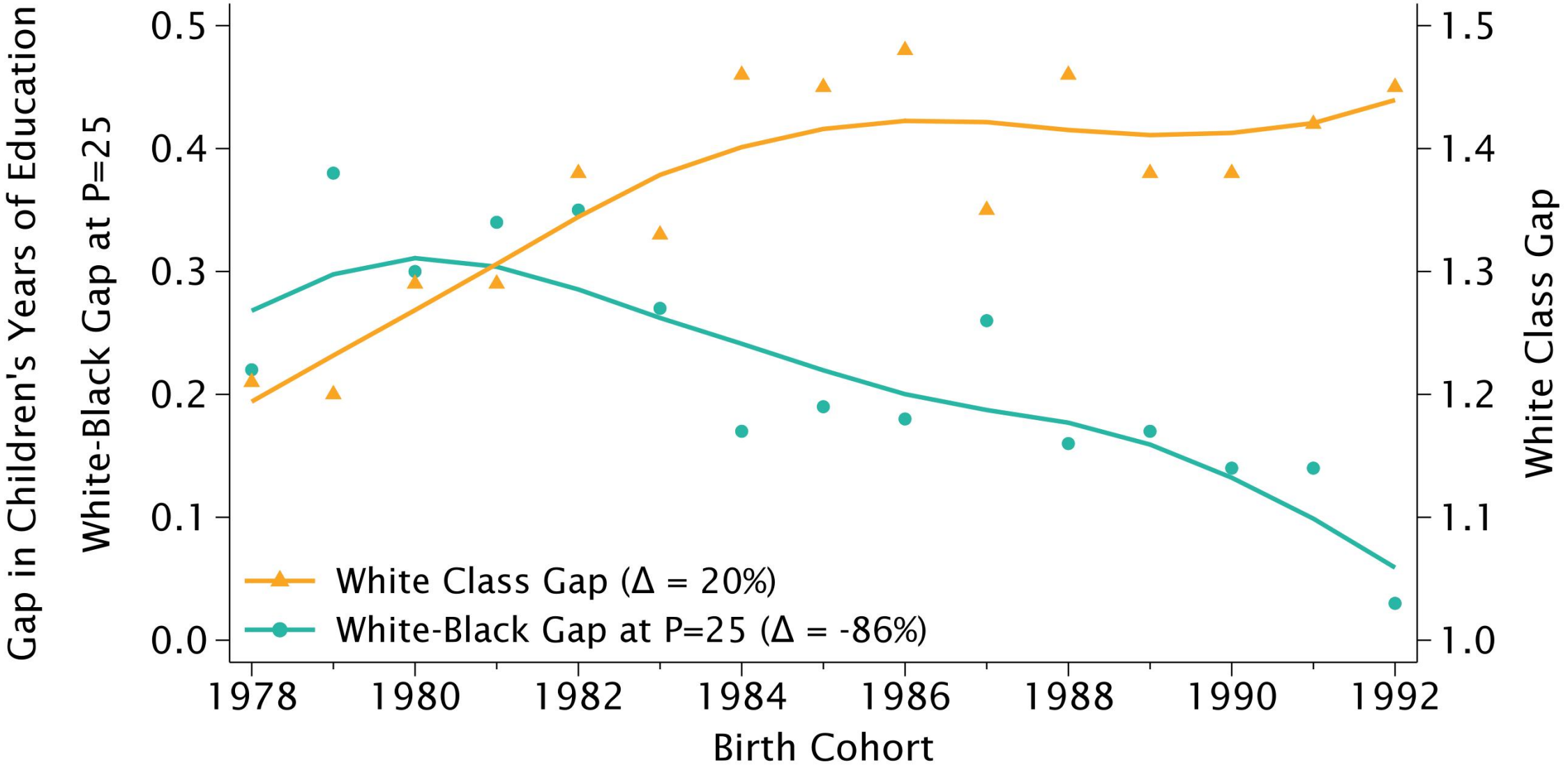
Growing Class Gaps, Shrinking Race Gaps in Mortality Rates between Ages 24-27

White-Black Gap for Children with Low-Income Parents vs. White Class Gap, by Birth Cohort



Growing Class Gaps, Shrinking Race Gaps in Educational Attainment at Age 27

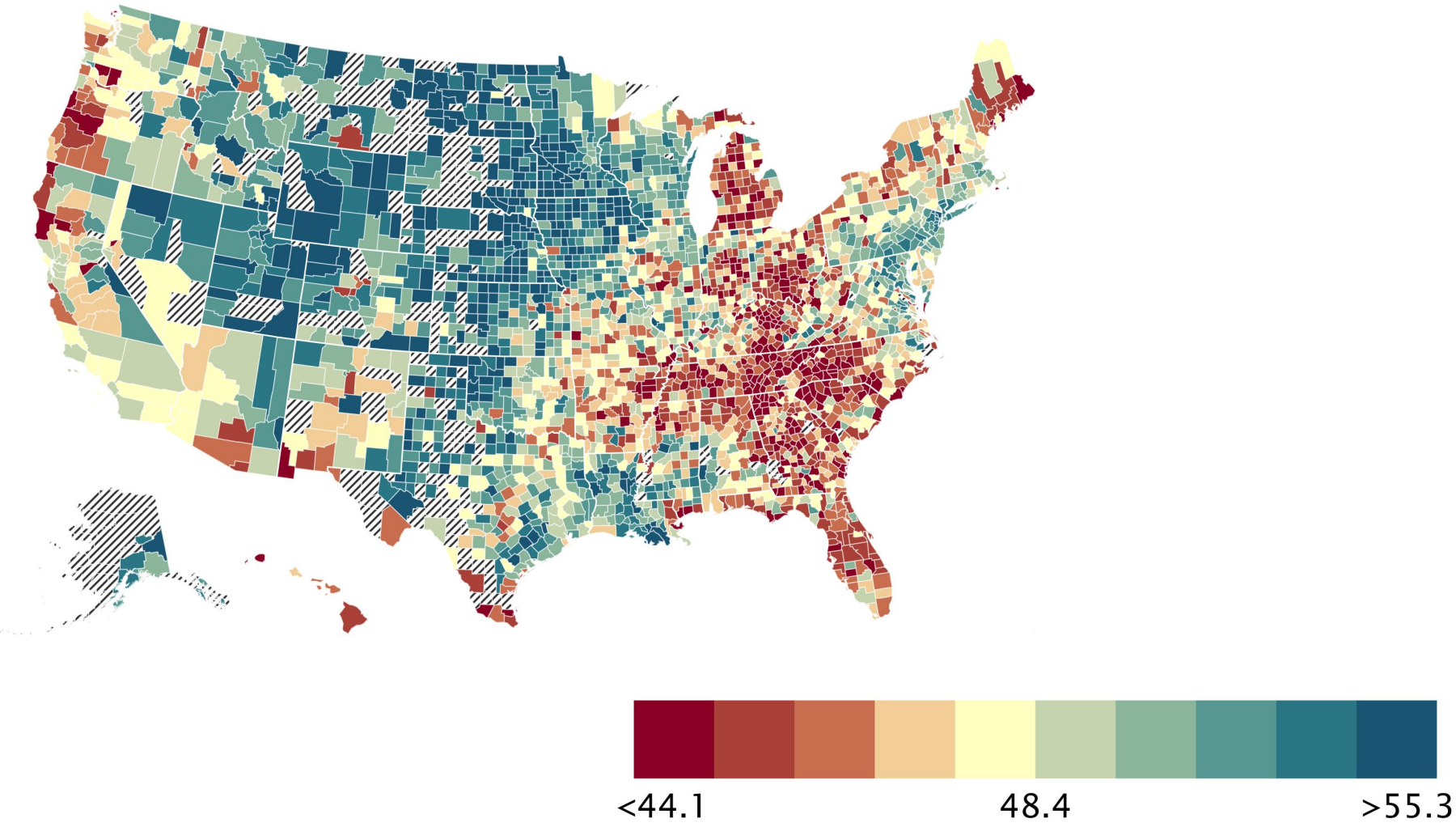
White-Black Gap for Children with Low-Income Parents vs. White Class Gap, by Birth Cohort



Changes in Economic Mobility for White Americans

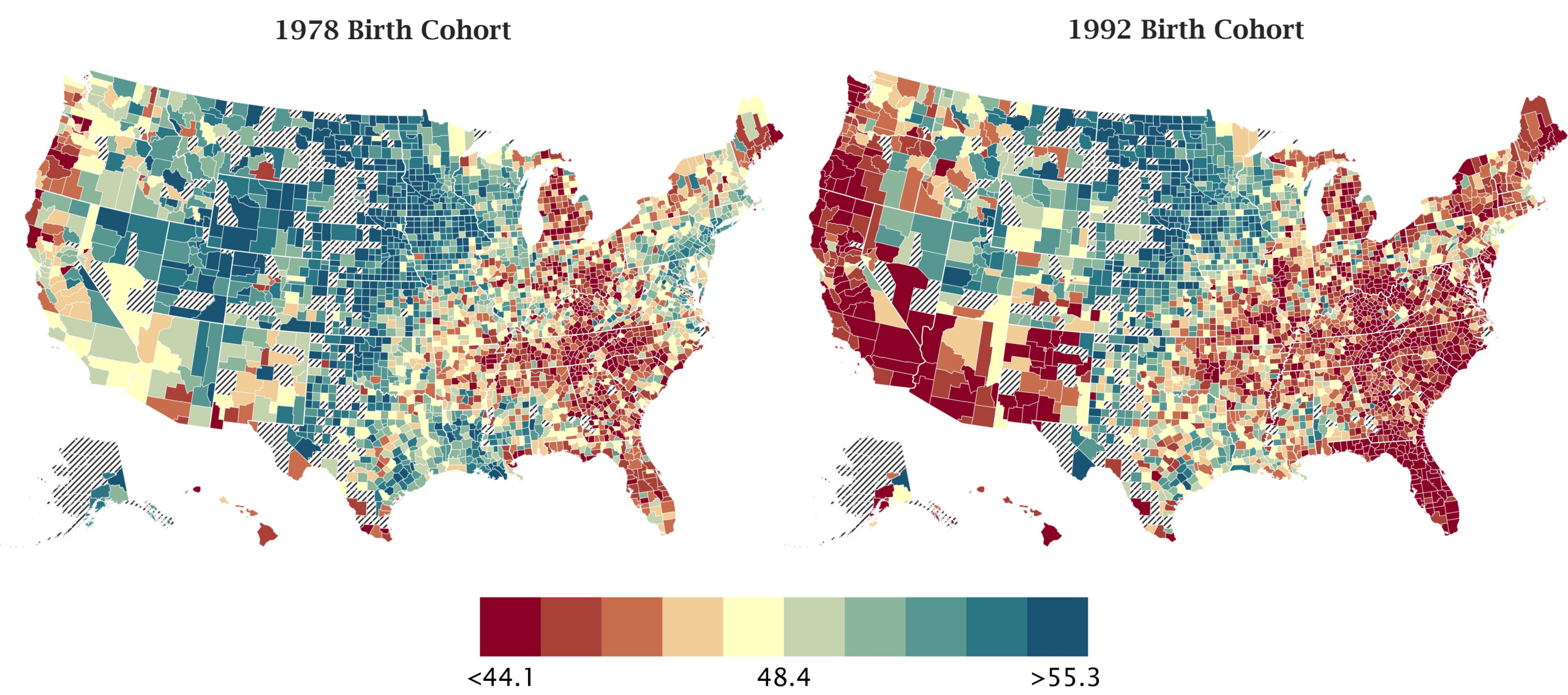
White Children with Low-Income Parents

1978 Birth Cohort



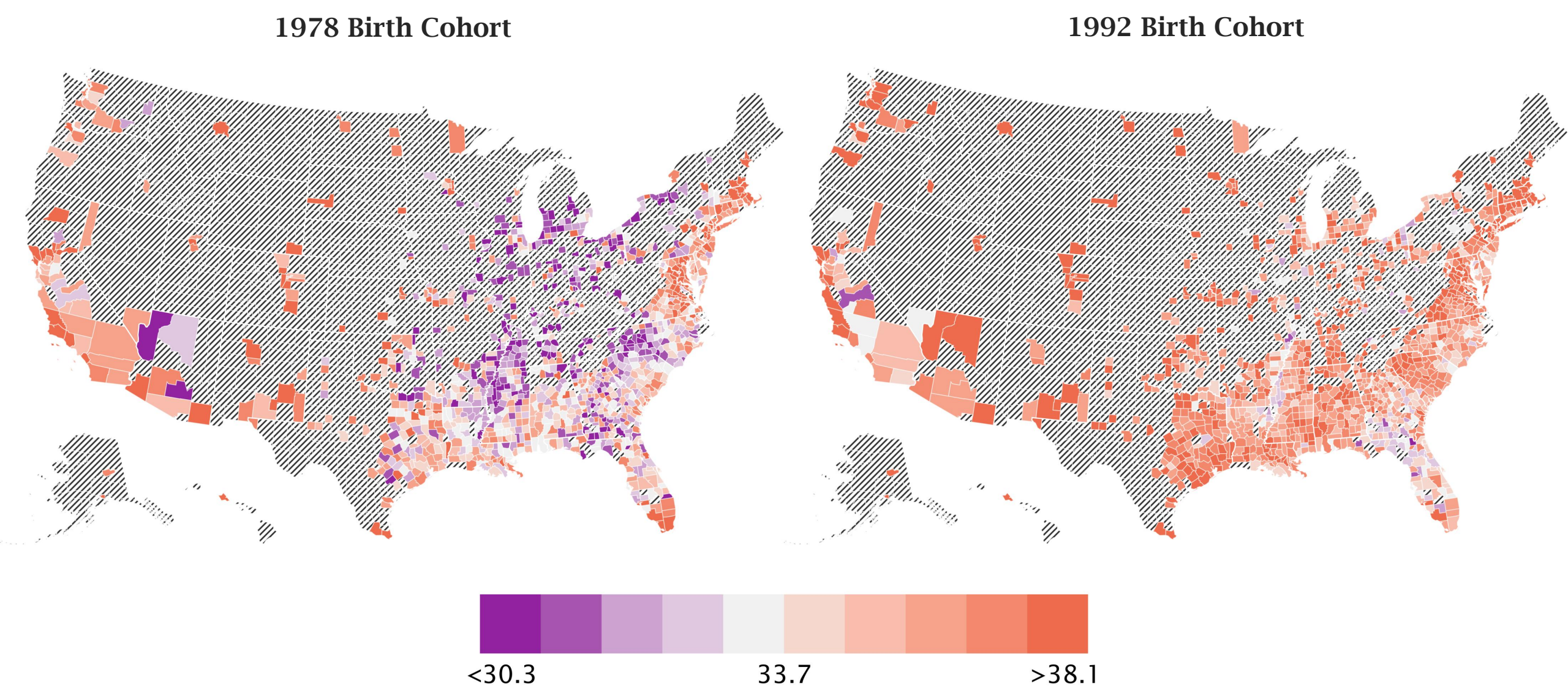
Changes in Economic Mobility for White Americans

White Children with Low-Income Parents



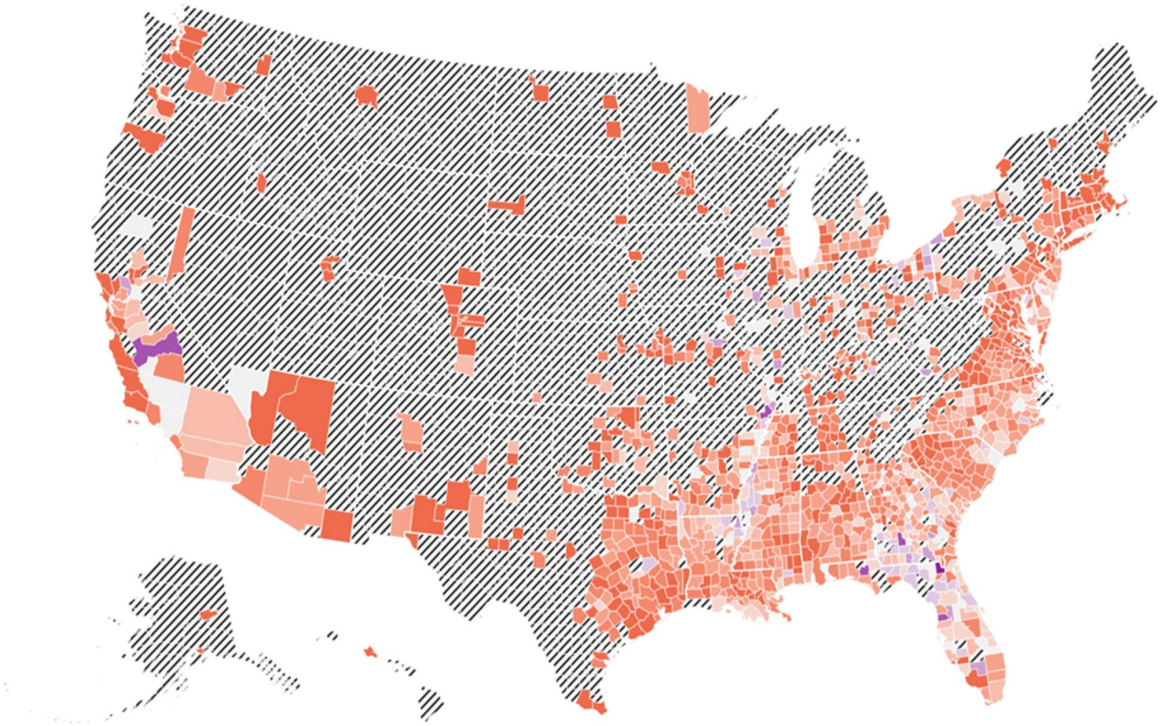
Changes in Economic Mobility for Black Americans

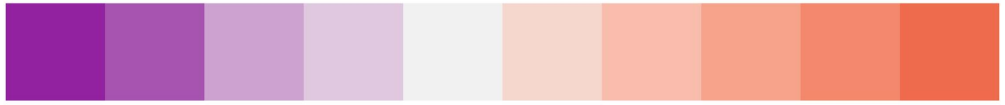
Black Children with Low-Income Parents



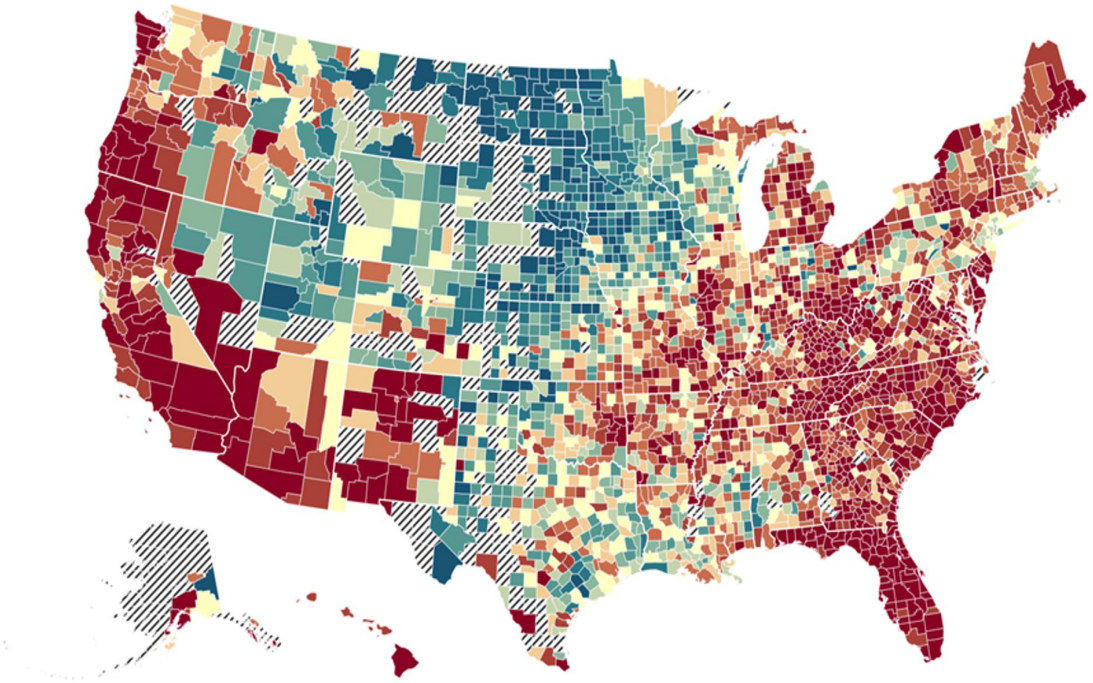
Economic Mobility for Black vs. White Children Born in 1992

Black Children





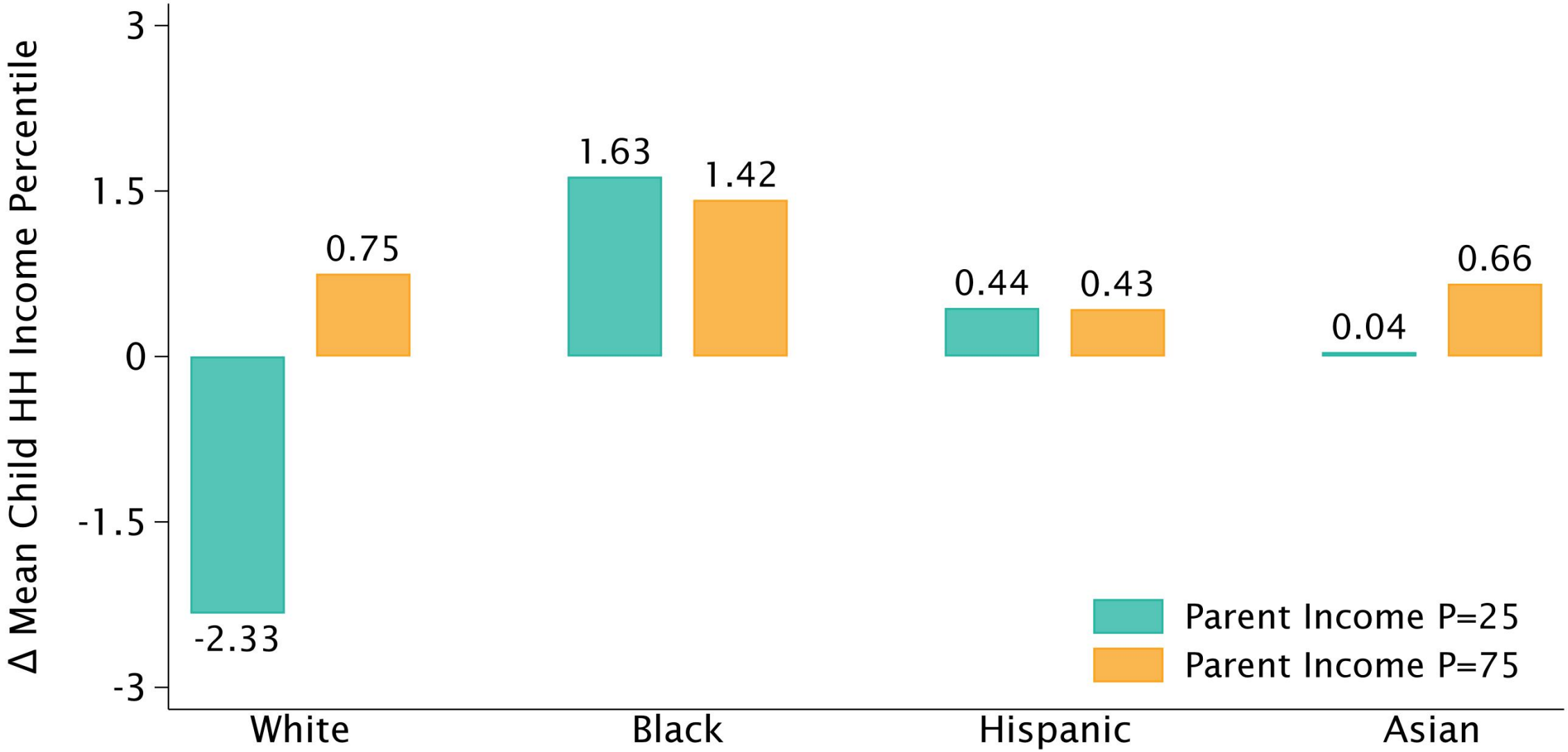
White Children





Change in Mean Child Household Income Percentile by Race and Class

Household Income Percentile at Age 27, 1992-1978 Cohort Difference



Mechanisms Underlying Trends in Mobility

Potential Explanations for Growing Class Gaps and Shrinking Race Gaps

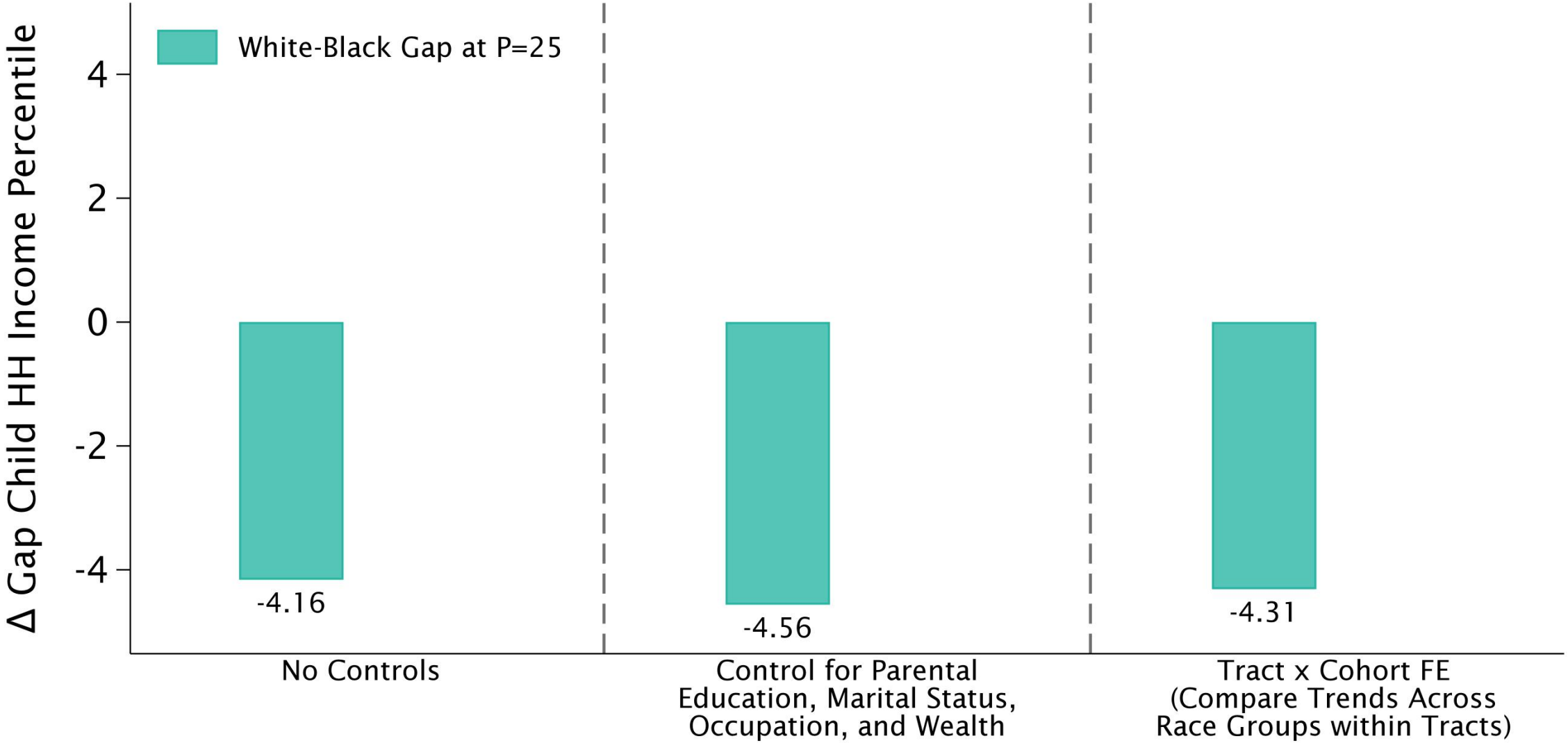
- Begin by considering two natural explanations for changes in intergenerational mobility by race and class:

1. Changes in family-level characteristics (e.g., education, marriage, wealth, occupation)

2. Differential shocks across areas (e.g., predominantly Black vs. White areas)

Can Family Characteristics or Neighborhoods Explain Changes in Gaps?

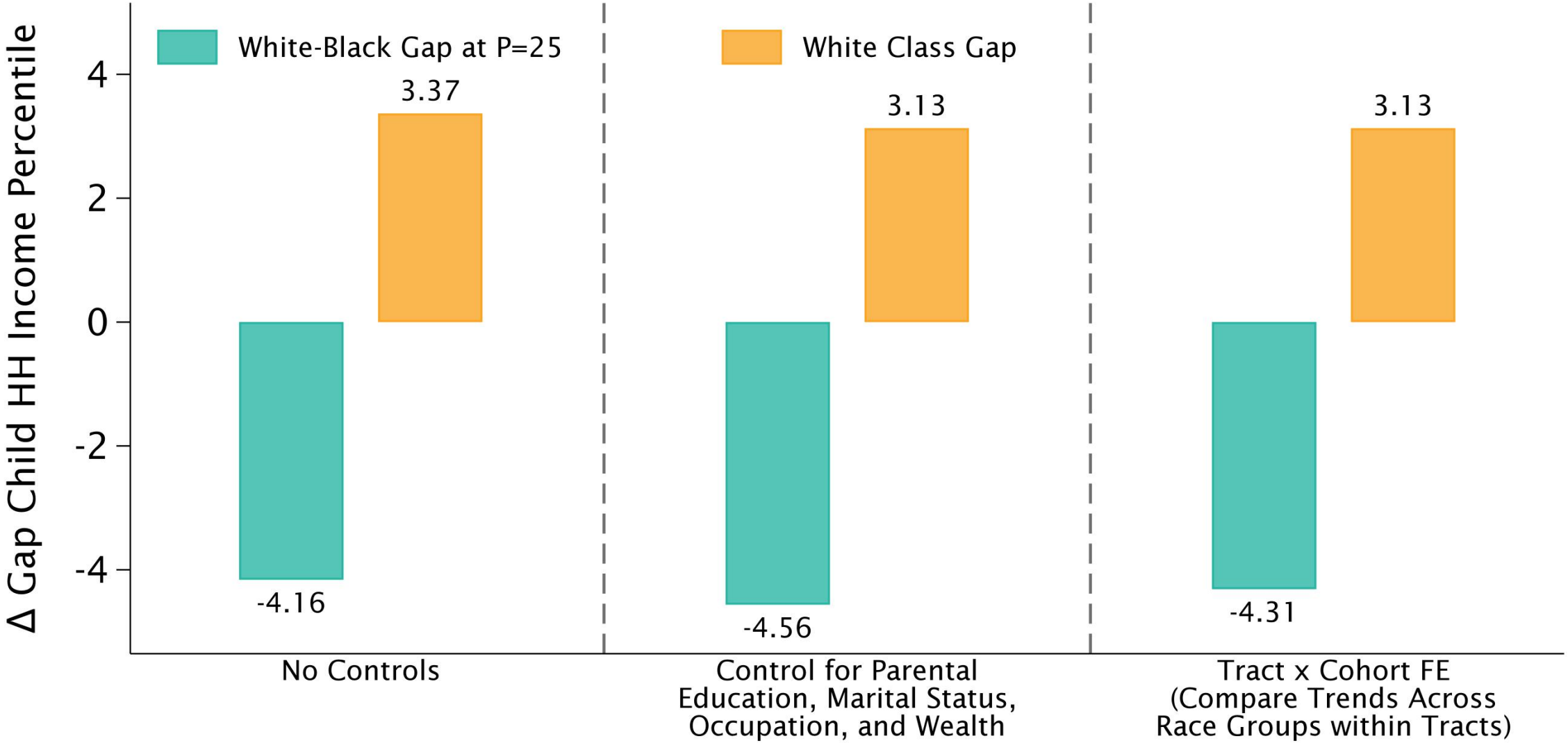
Household Income Percentile at Age 27, 1992-1978 Cohort Difference



$$Y = \beta_1 White + \beta_2 Cohort + \beta_3 White \times Cohort + \alpha_{nw} + \alpha_{nc} + \varepsilon$$

Can Family Characteristics or Neighborhoods Explain Changes in Gaps?

Household Income Percentile at Age 27, 1992-1978 Cohort Difference



What Drives the Divergence in Outcomes by Race and Class?

- Changes in intergenerational mobility by race and class must be driven by differential trends **within areas**
- One hypothesis for such changes emphasized in prior ethnographic work: changes in **employment rates**
- Can differential changes in parental employment by race and class explain within-area divergence?

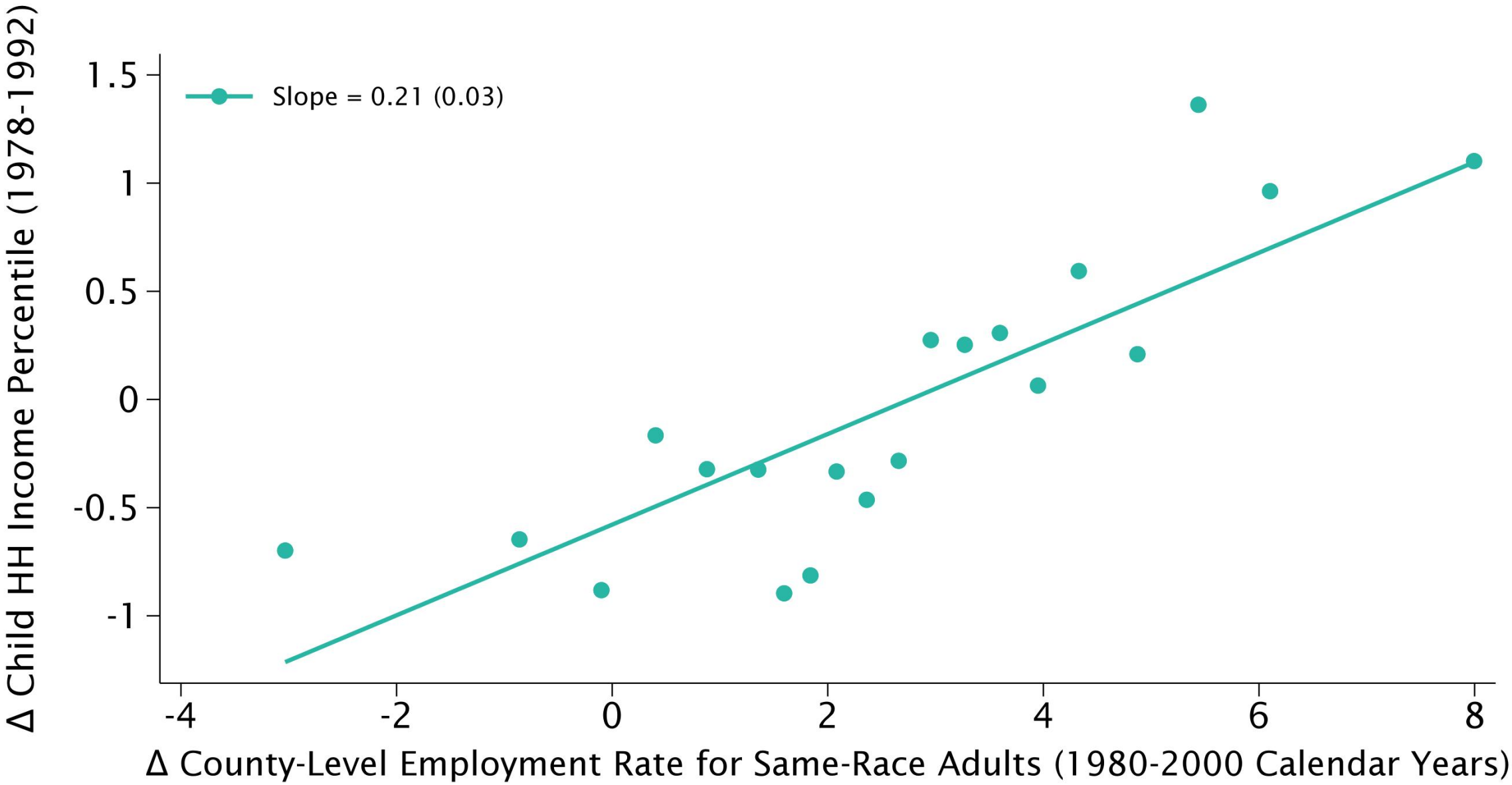
> *Many of today's problems…crime, family dissolution, welfare, low levels of social organization, and so on…are fundamentally a consequence of the disappearance of work.*
>
> - William Julius Wilson
> *When Work Disappears (1996)*

Changes in Economic Mobility vs. Changes in Employment Rates

- Examine link between changes in **employment rates** and economic mobility across areas
  - Measure race-specific change in parental employment rates across counties as change in adults' employment rates from 1980 to 2000 Census
  - Use employment rates as a proxy for community-level environmental conditions more broadly, as in Wilson (1996)

Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Adult Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County and Race

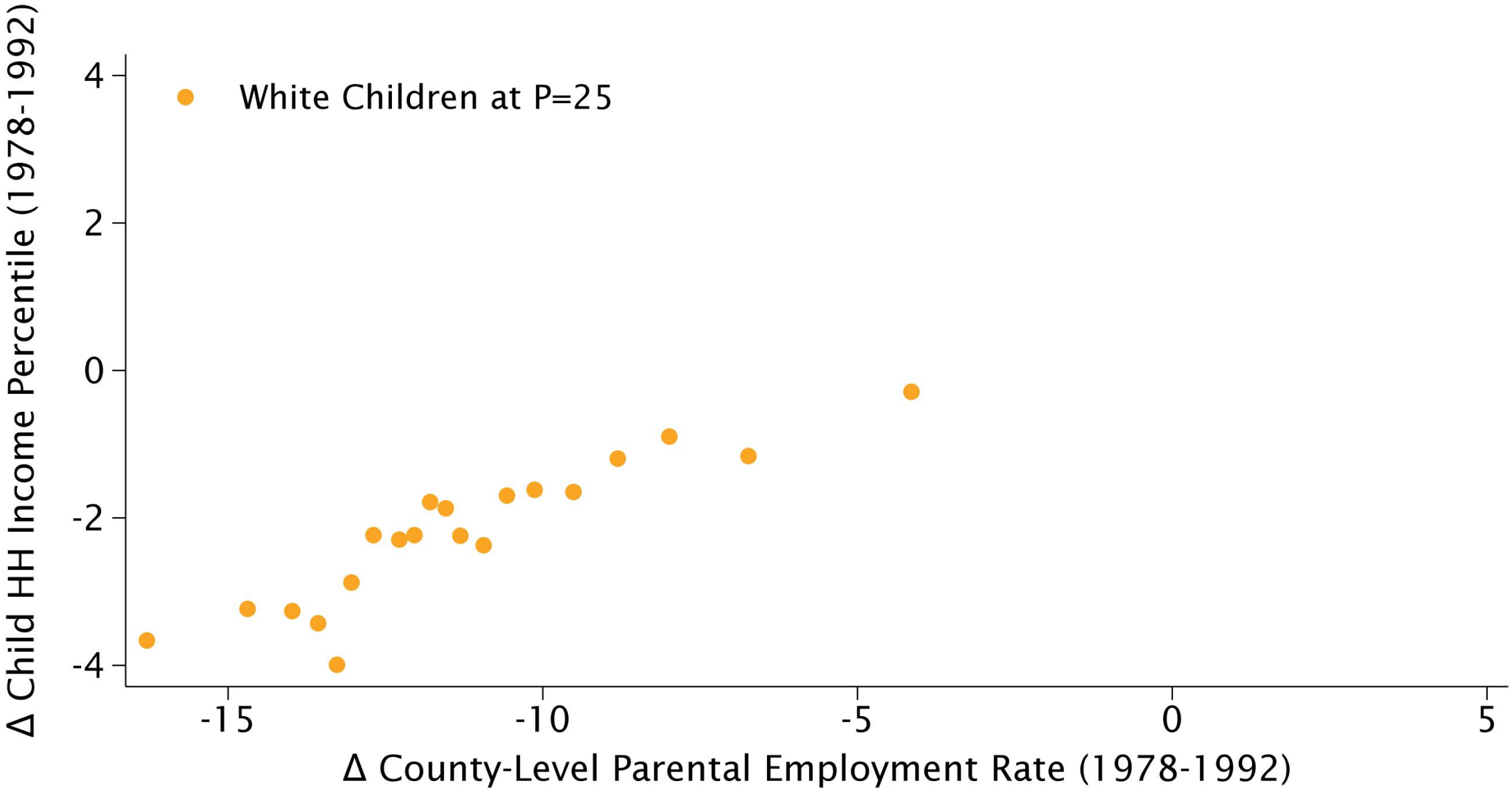


Explaining Divergence in Outcomes by Race and Class

- To explain divergence by race and class, need to measure employment rates not just by race and county but also by class
- Measure county-level changes in parental employment rates by race and class from 1978 to 1992 birth cohorts
- Because we define "class" as parent's income percentile during childhood (ages 13-17), need to measure employment after child is 18
  - In baseline analysis, measure parental employment rates when child is 27
  - Results insensitive to alternative points of measurement because variation in employment rates is primarily across cohorts rather than calendar years

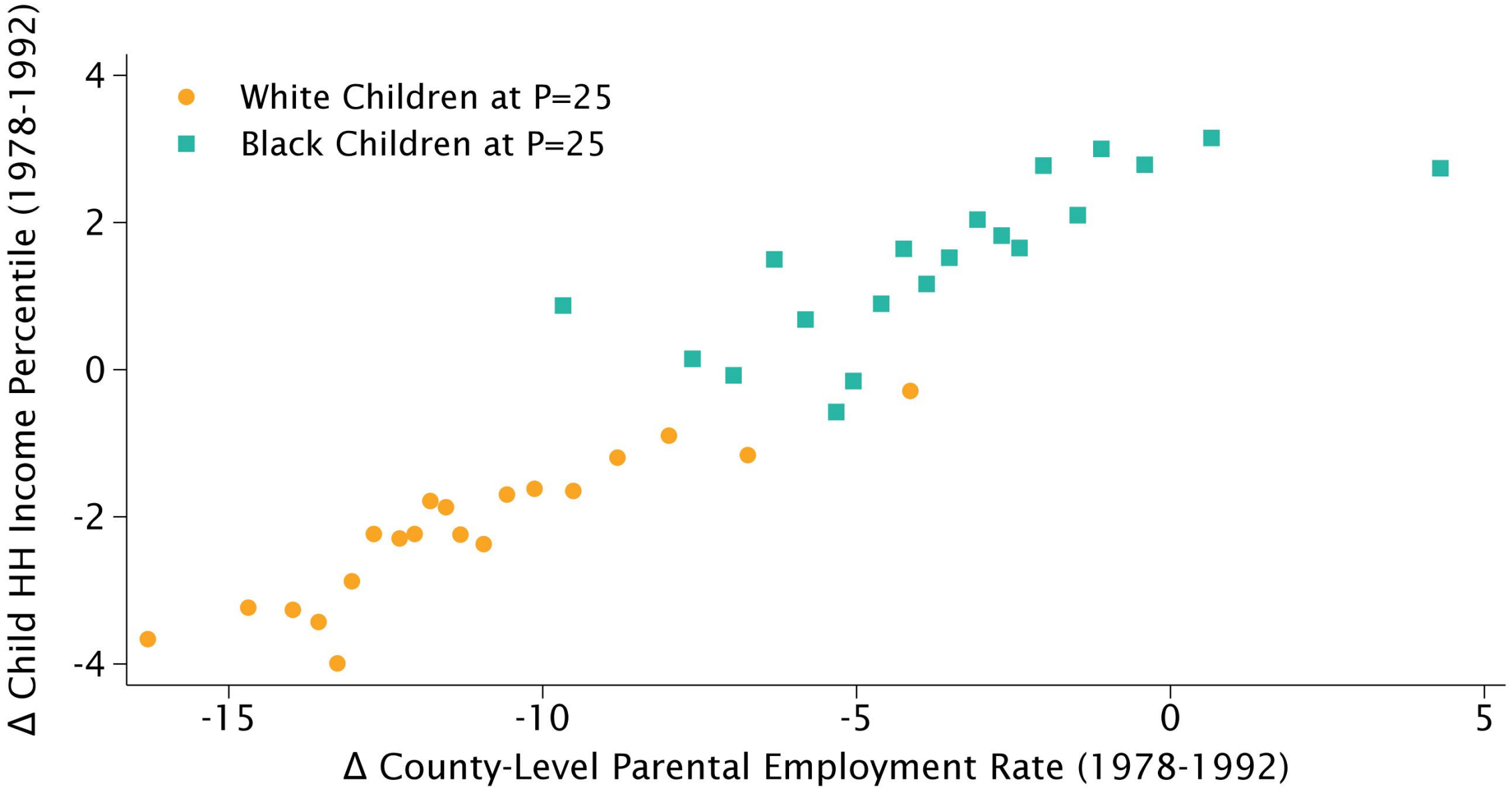
Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Parent Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class



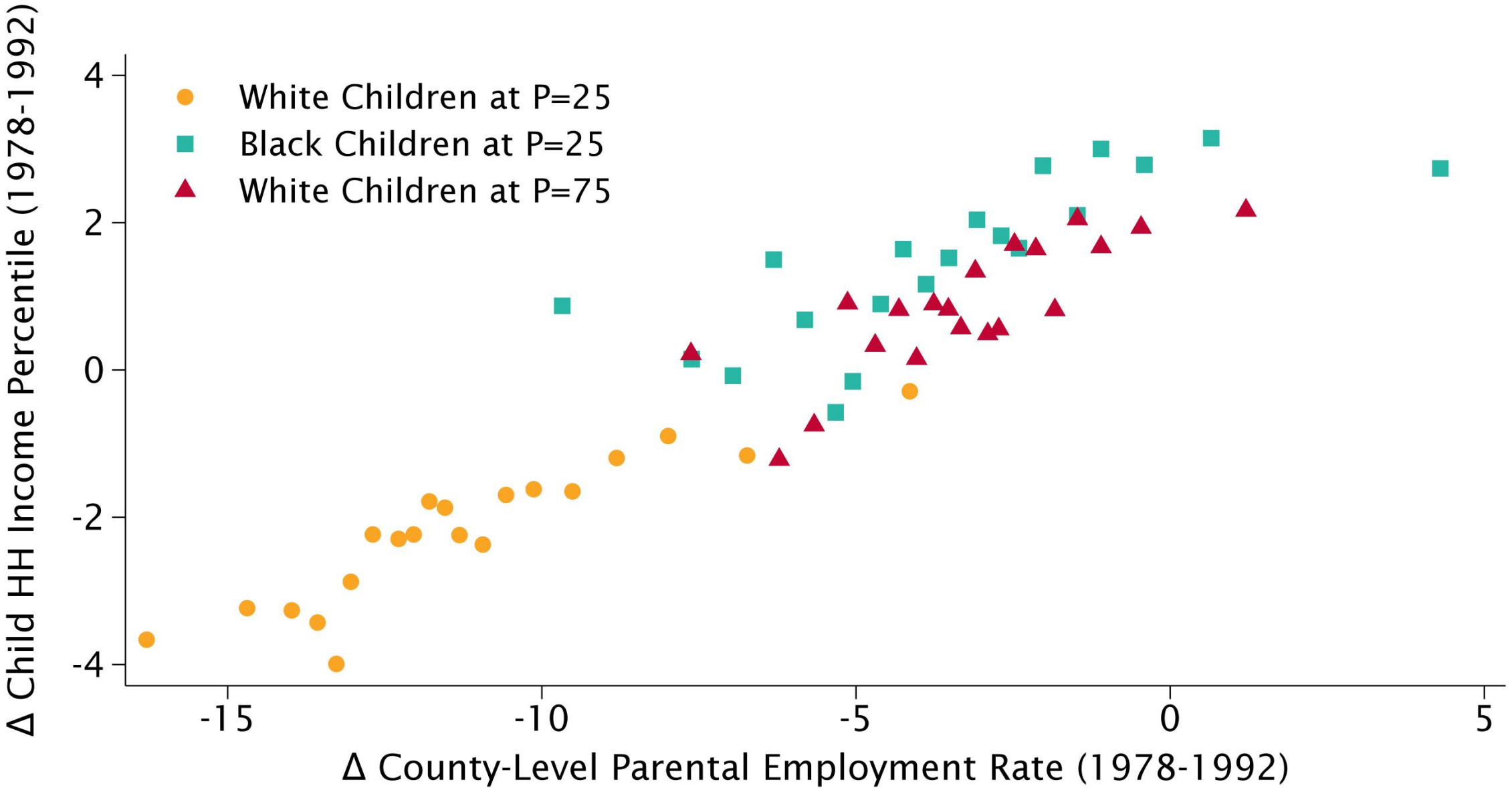
Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Parent Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class



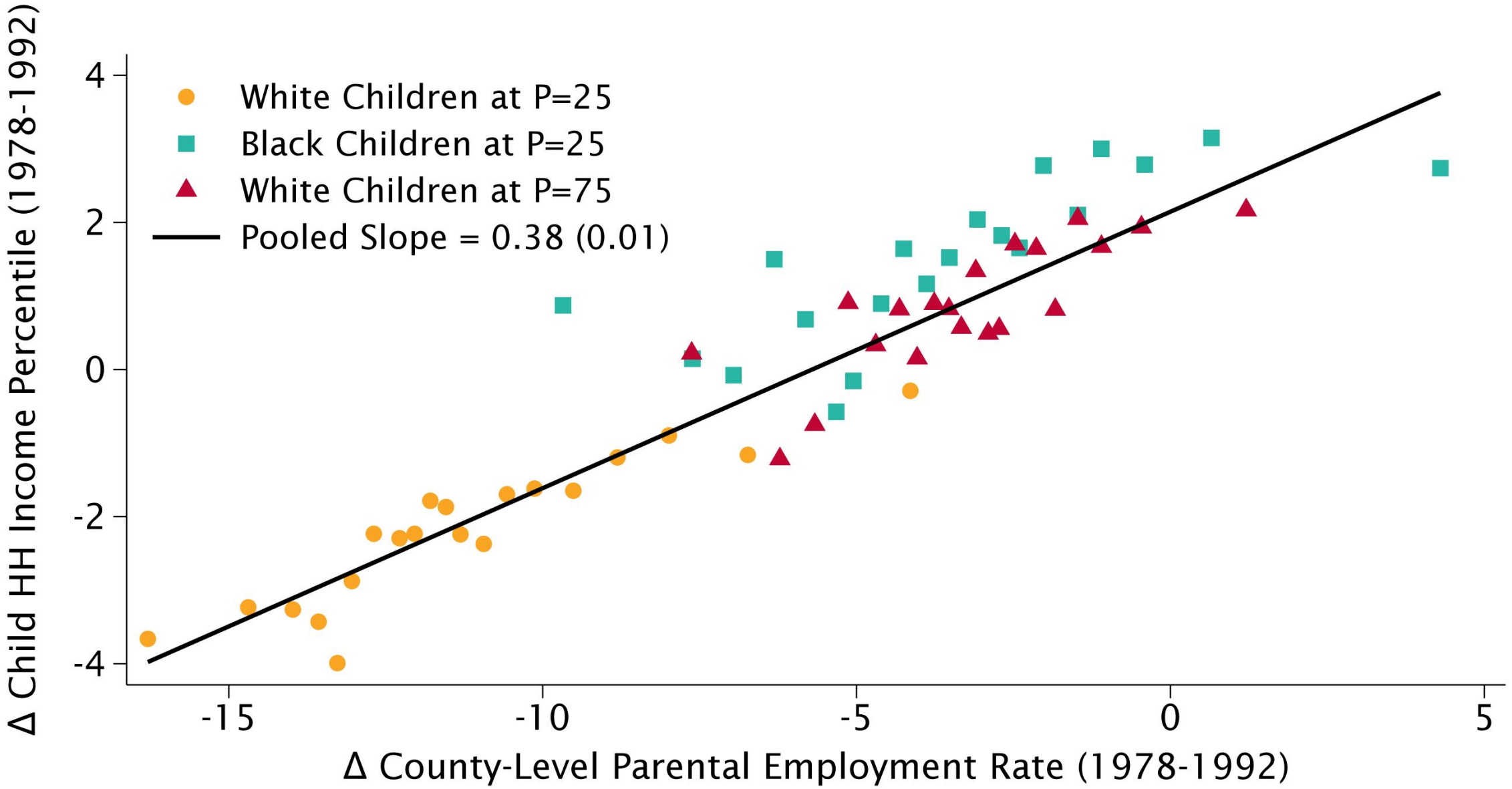
Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Parent Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class

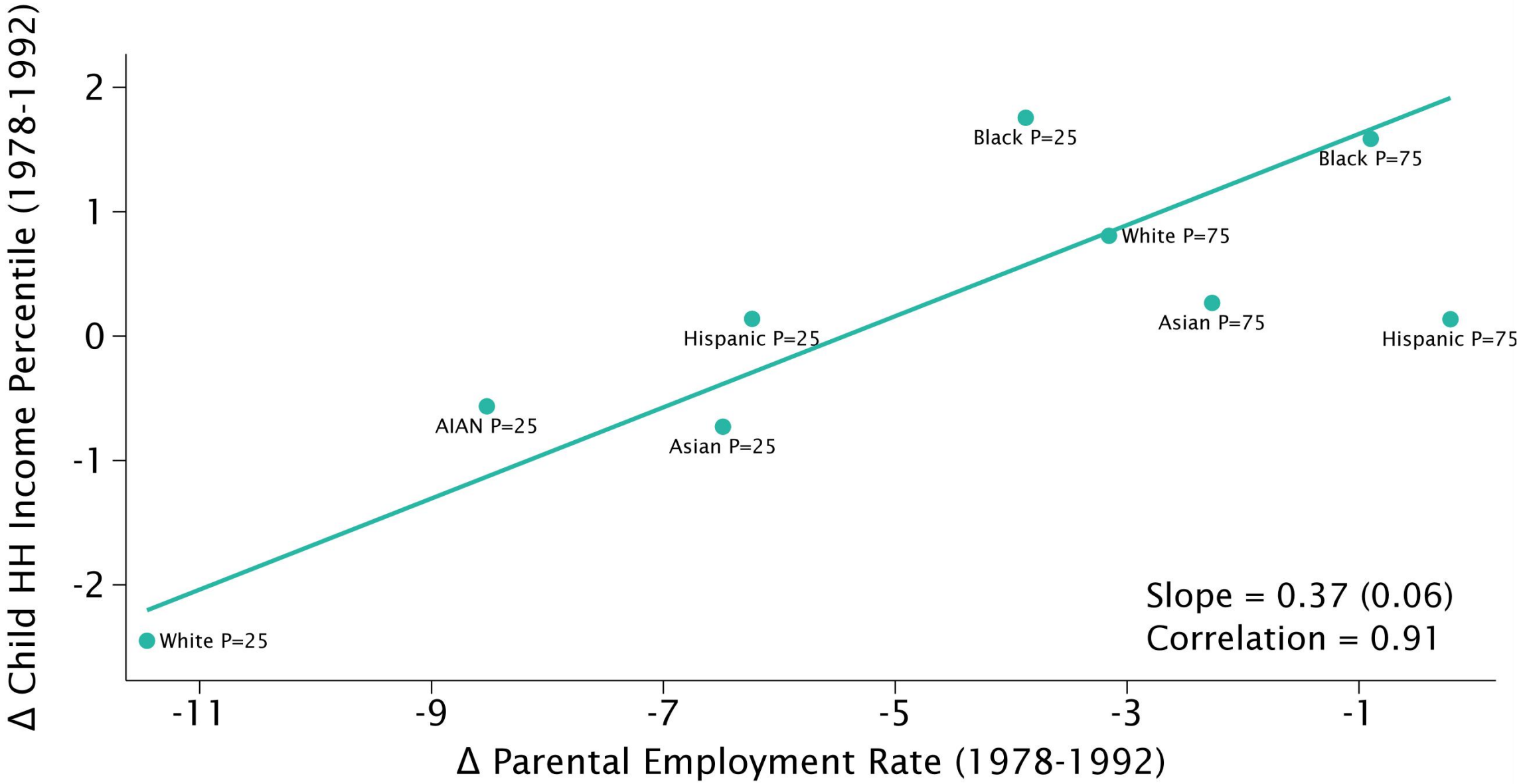


Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Parent Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class

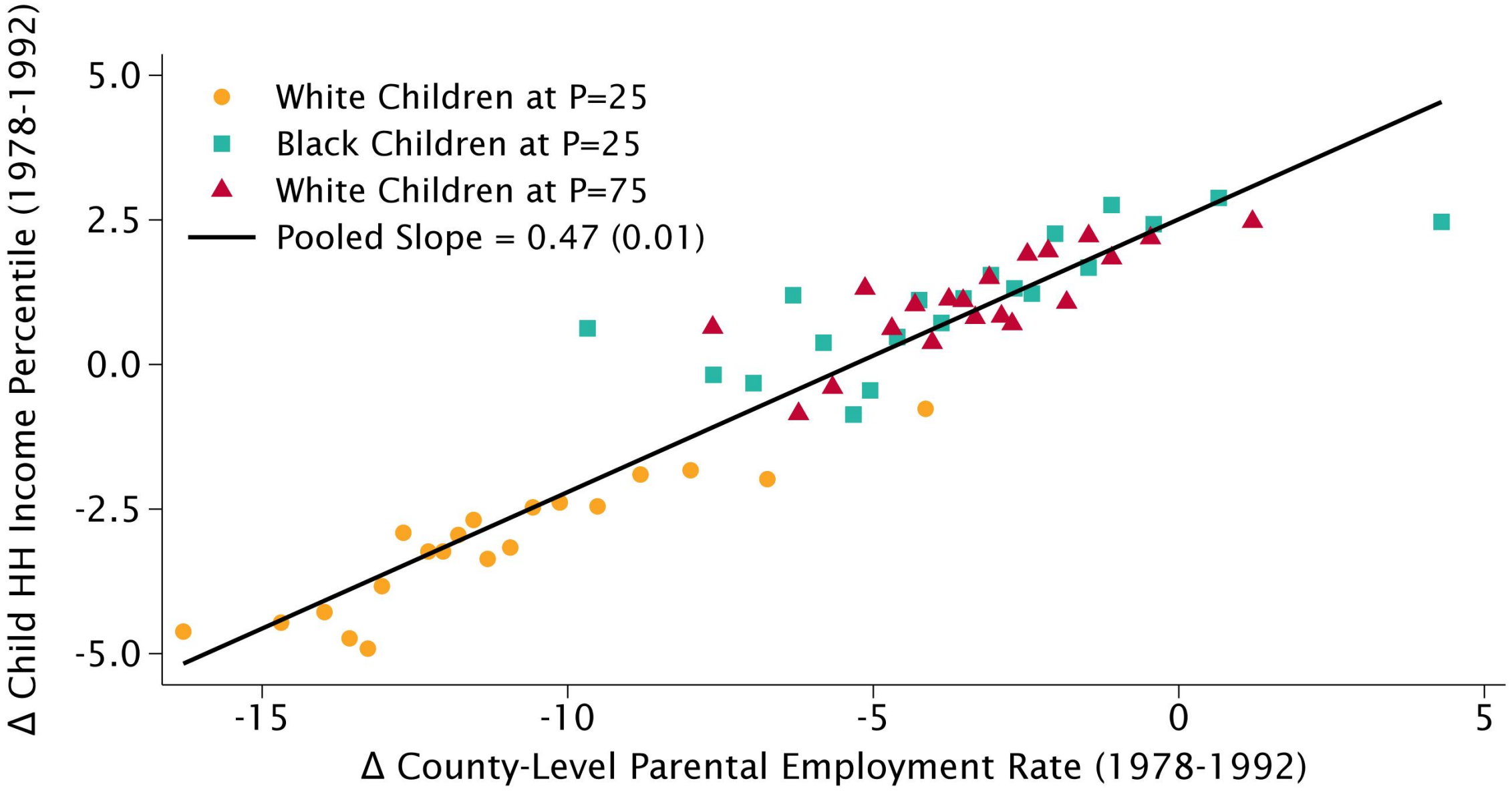


Explaining National Trends in Intergenerational Mobility Gaps by Race and Class



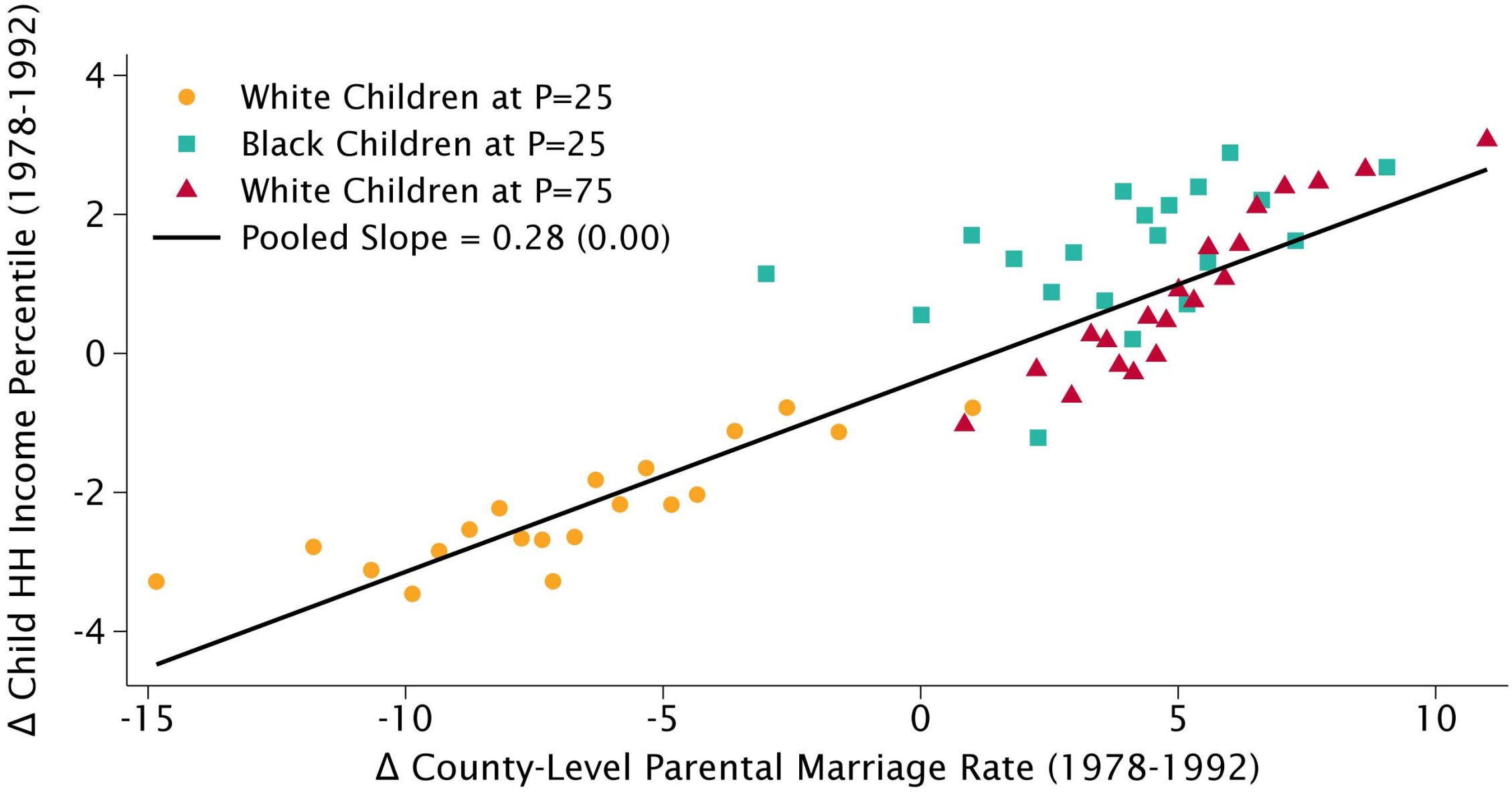
Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Parent Employment Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class for Children whose Own Parents Remain Employed



Changes in Children's Income Percentiles vs. Mother's Marriage Rates, 1978-92 Cohorts

By County, Race, and Class



Why are Changes in Mobility Related to Changes in Parent Employment Rates?

Why Are Changes in Parental Outcomes Correlated with Children's Outcomes?

[Correlated Shocks]

Changes in labor demand affect both parents and children directly

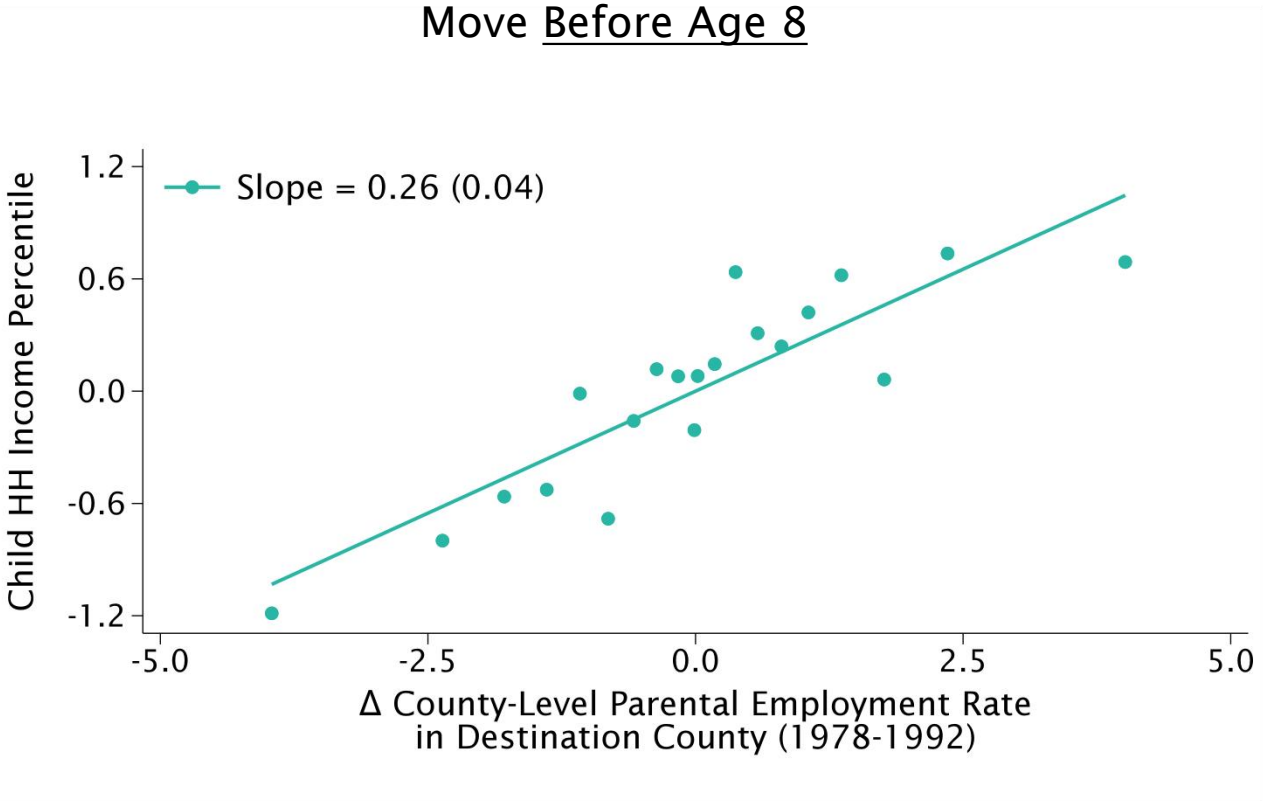
[Environmental Exposure Effect]

Changes in childhood environment have a causal effect on children's outcomes

Test between these explanations by studying children who **moved** to improving vs. declining areas

Causal Effects of Childhood Environment Changes: Evidence from Movers

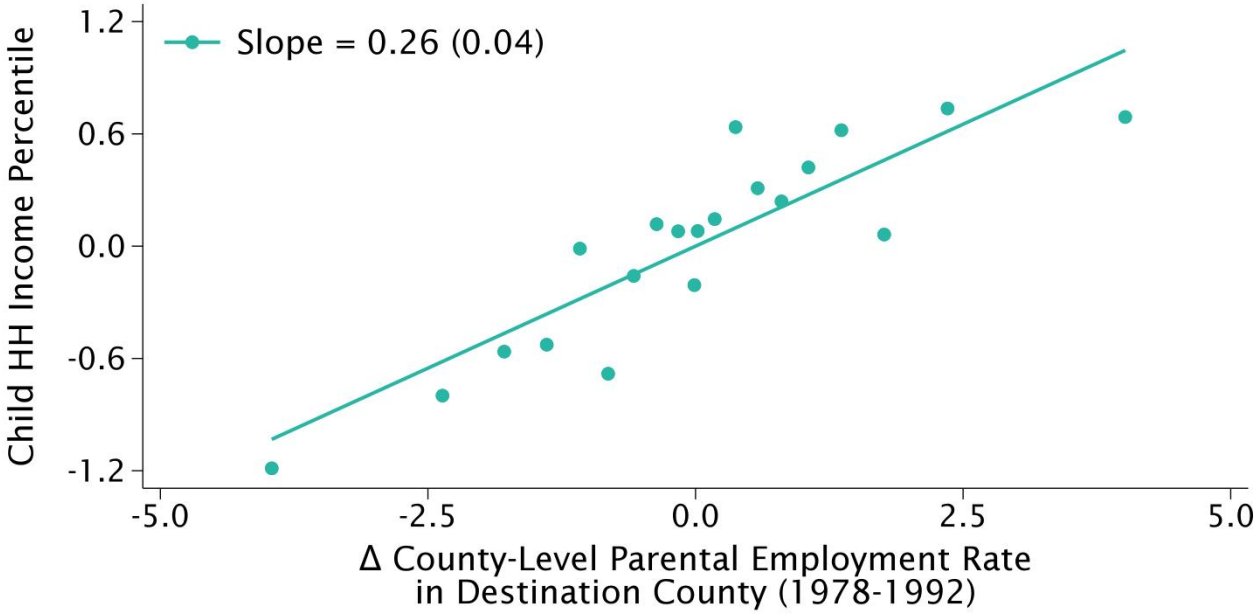
Children's Incomes vs. Trends in Parental Employment in Destination, 1992 Birth Cohort



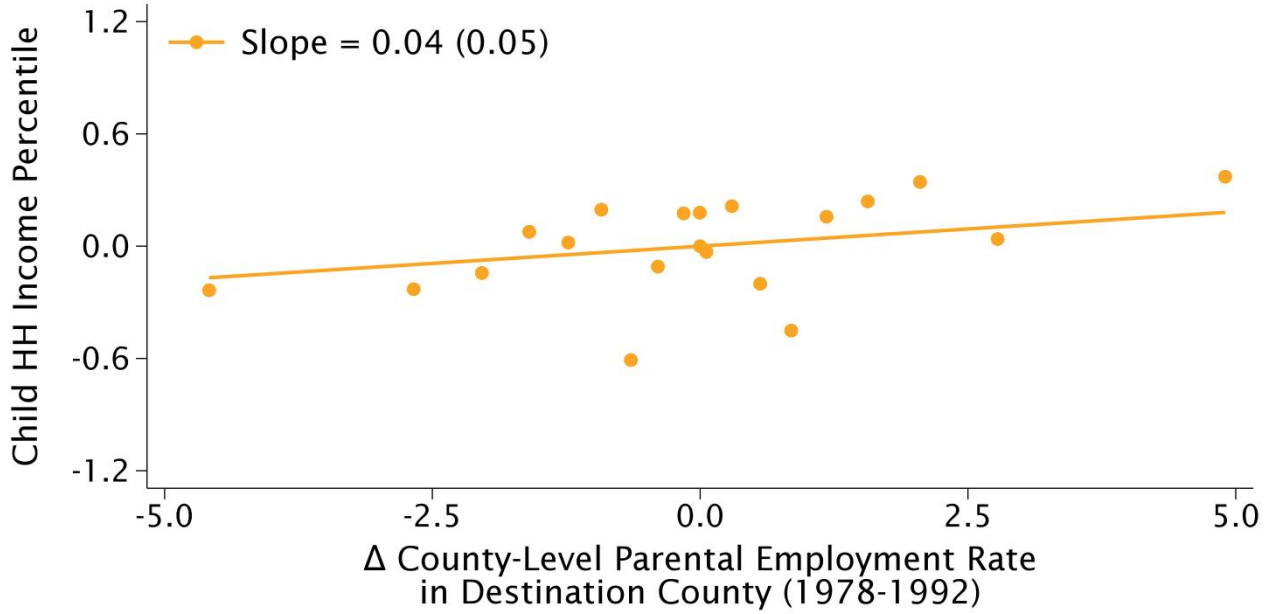
Causal Effects of Childhood Environment Changes: Evidence from Movers

Children's Incomes vs. Trends in Parental Employment in Destination, 1992 Birth Cohort

Move Before Age 8

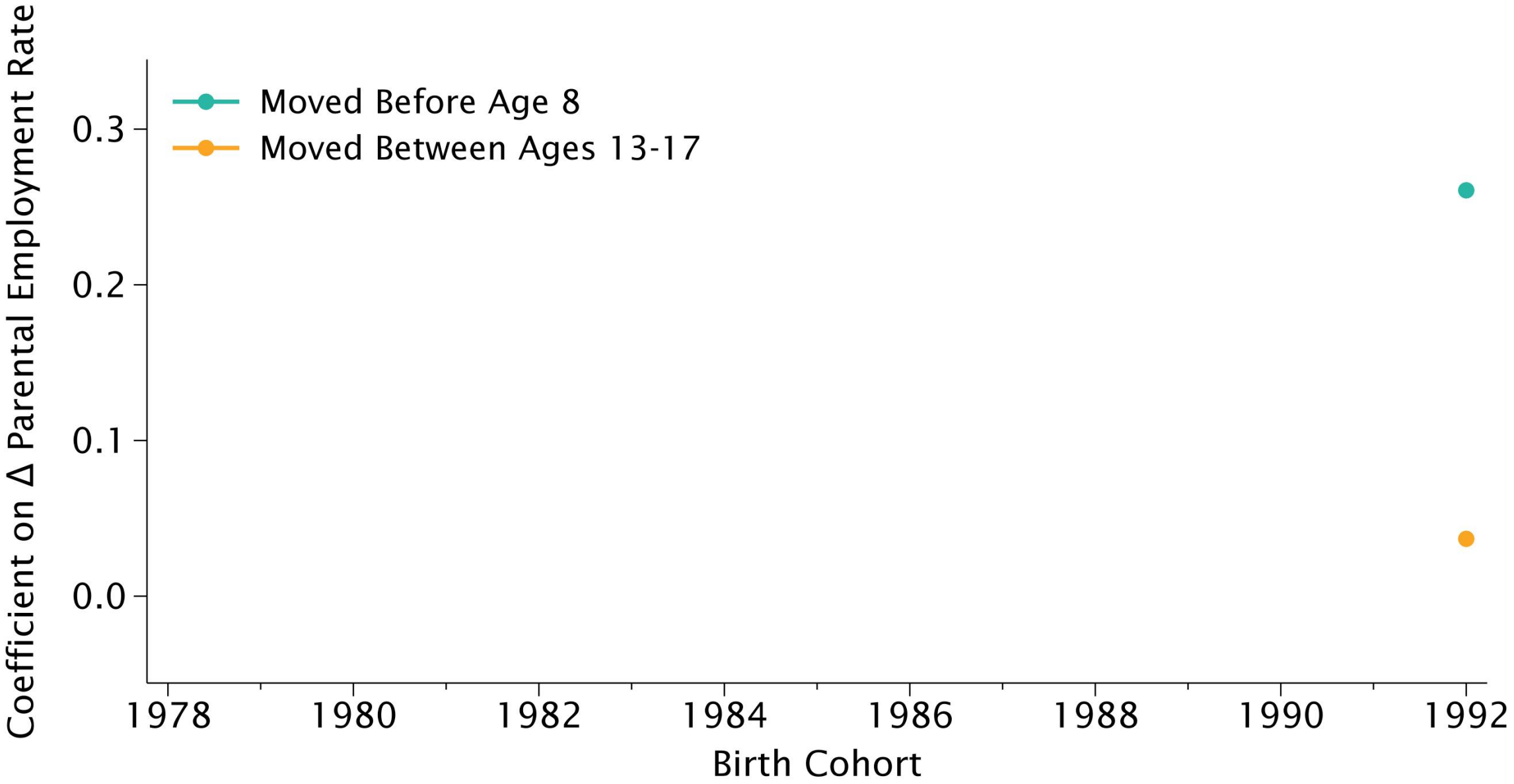


Move Between Ages 13-17



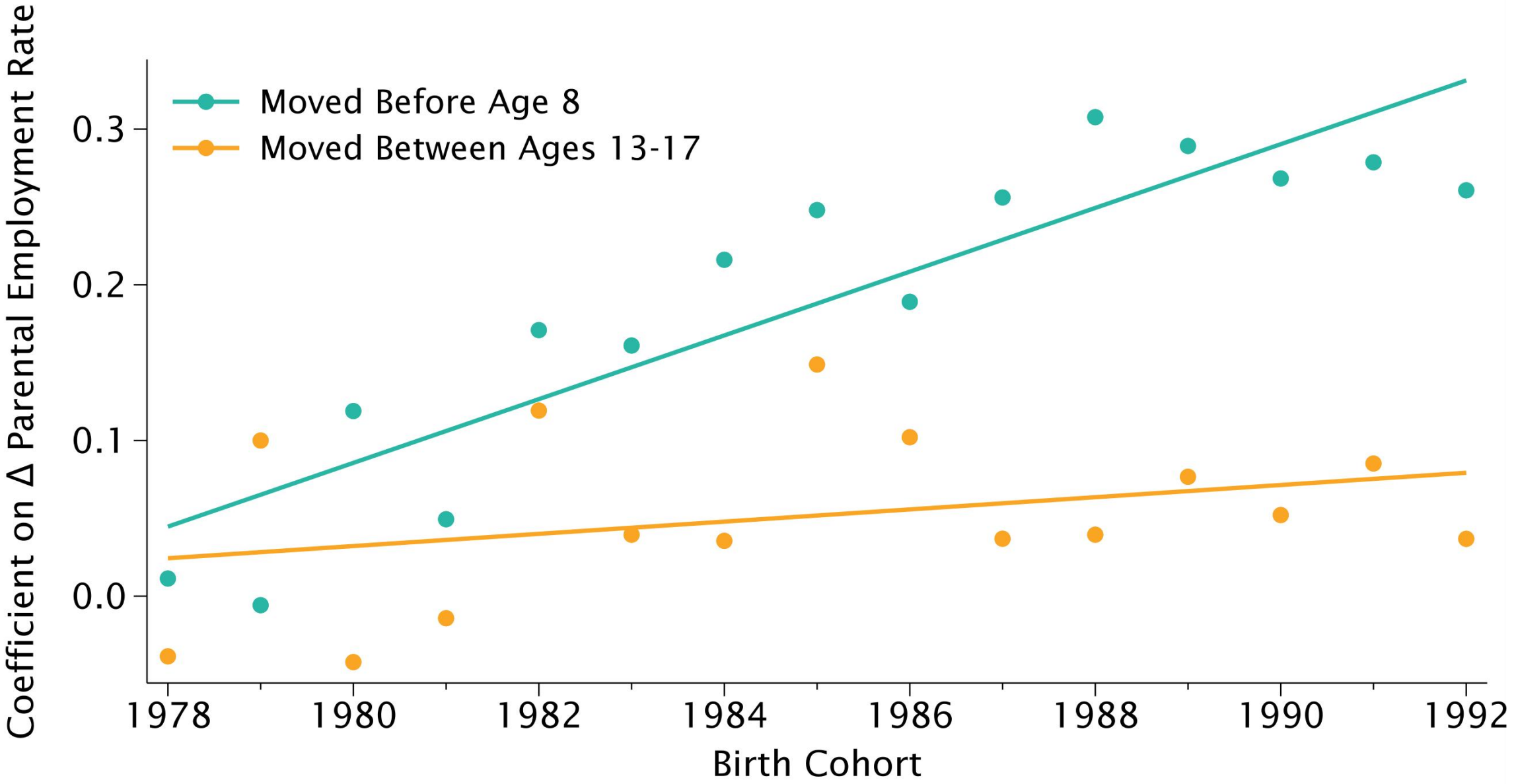
Effect of Trends in Parent Employment Rate in Destination

By Move Age and Cohort

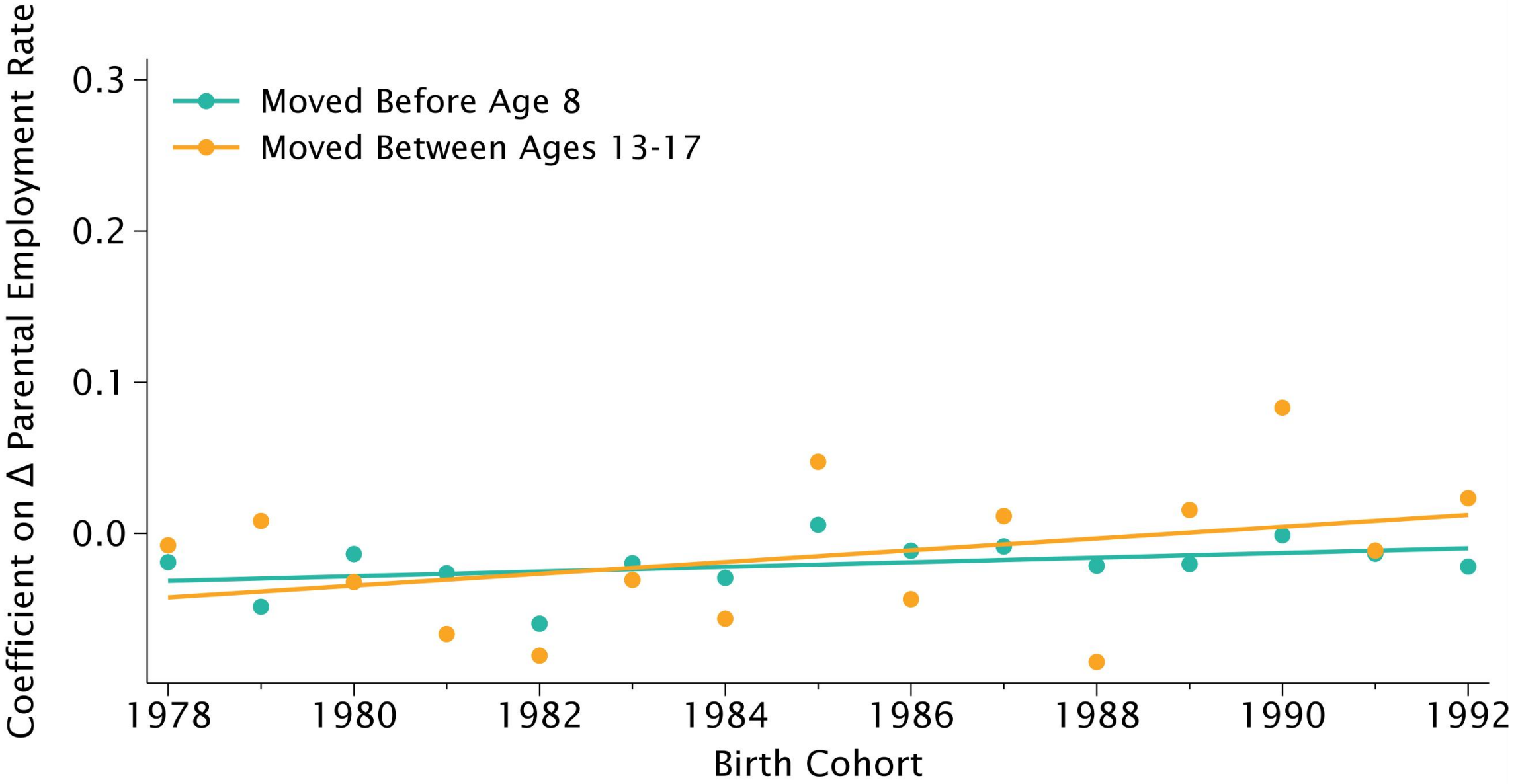


Effect of Trends in Parent Employment Rate in Destination

By Move Age and Cohort

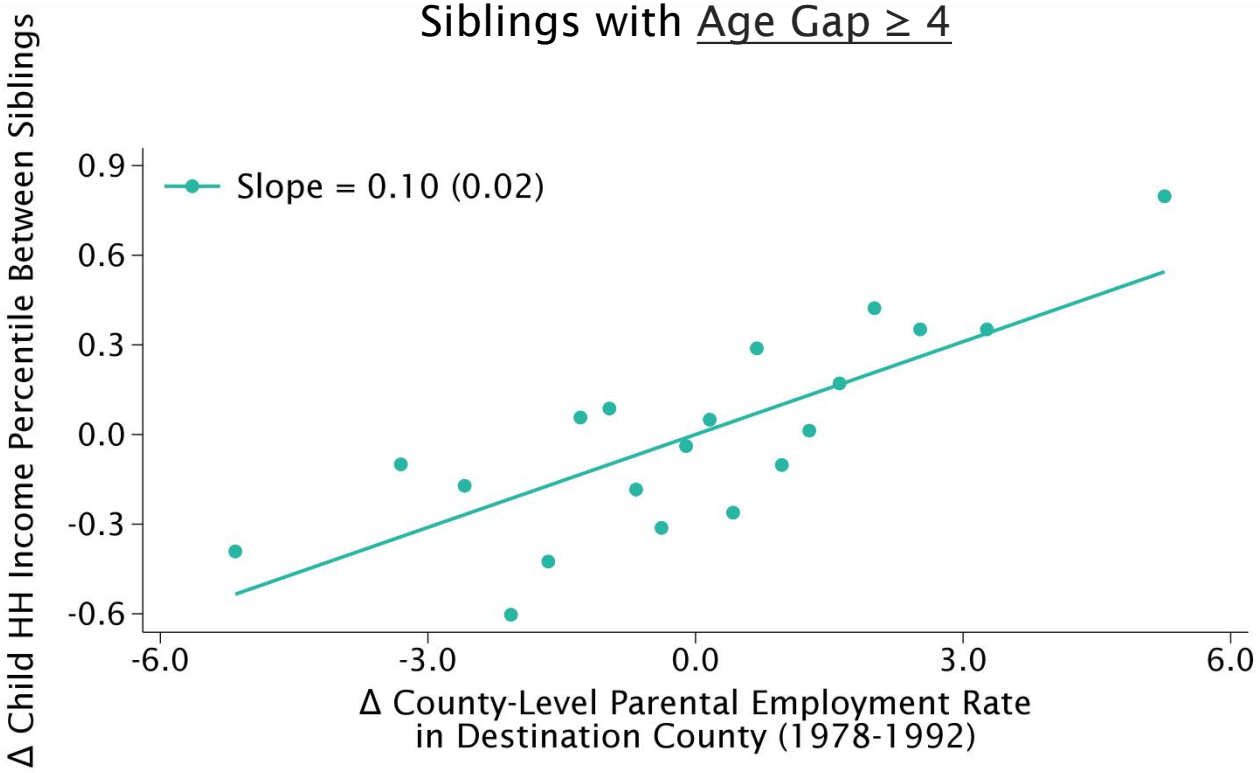


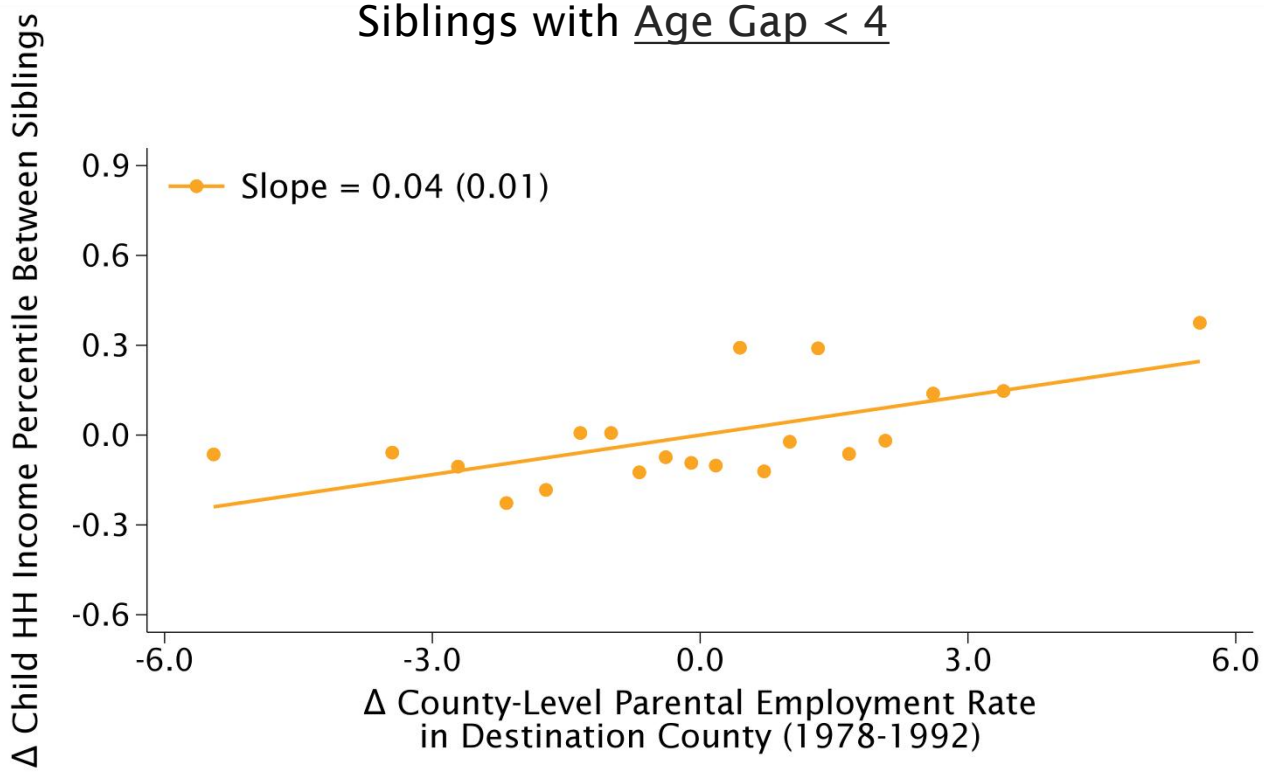
Balance Test Using Predicted Outcomes Based on Parent Characteristics



Differences in Siblings' Outcomes vs. Trend in Parent Employment Rates

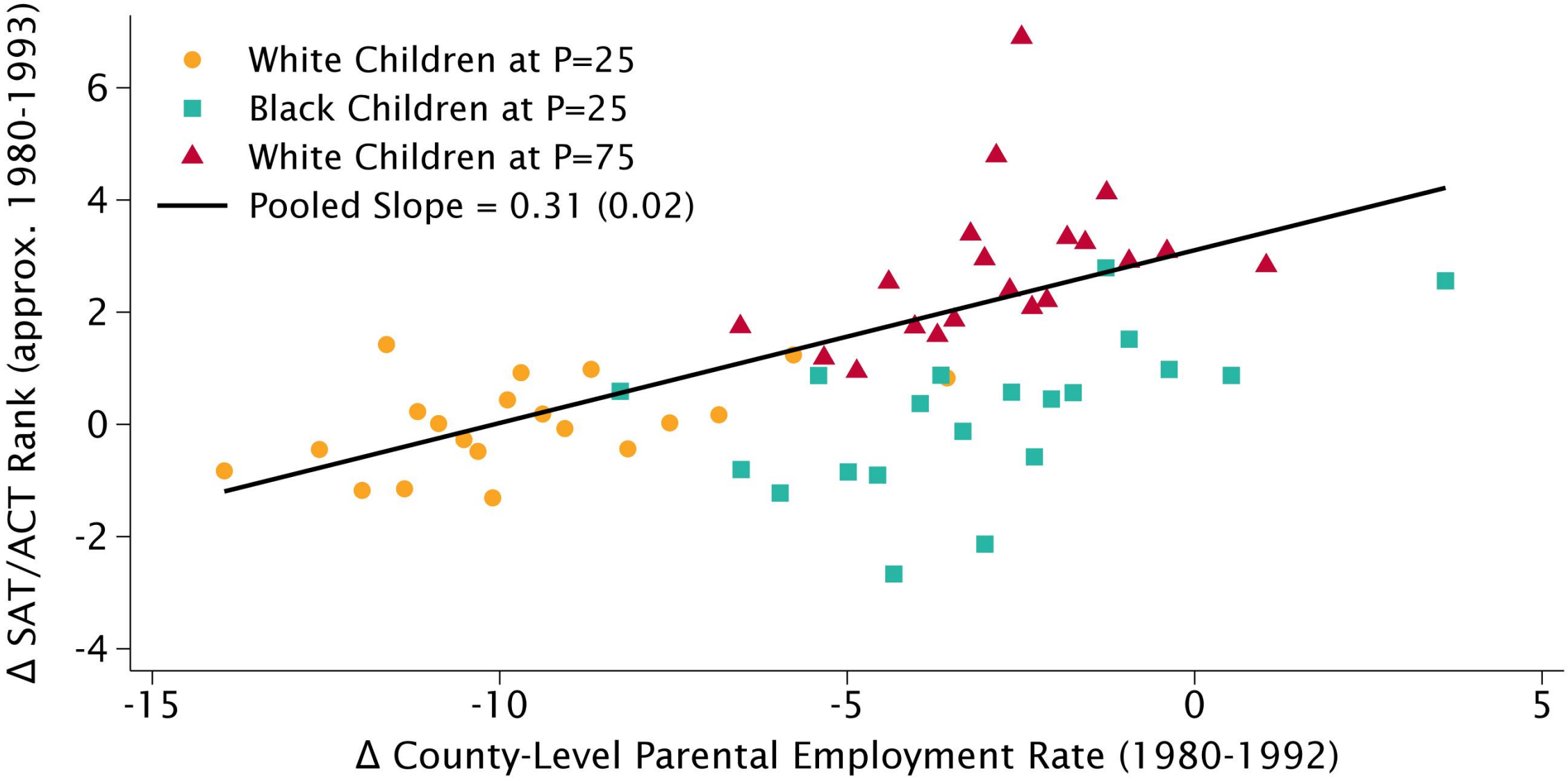
Younger Sibling's Minus Older Sibling's Income Percentile in Destination County





Changes in Children's SAT/ACT Scores vs. Parent Employment Rates

By County, Race, and Class



Why Does Childhood Exposure to Higher Parent Employment Improve Outcomes?

Why Does Growing Up in a Community With Higher Parent Employment Rates Improve Children's Outcomes?

[Social Interaction]

Higher parental employment improves children's outcomes via social interactions (job referrals, aspirations)

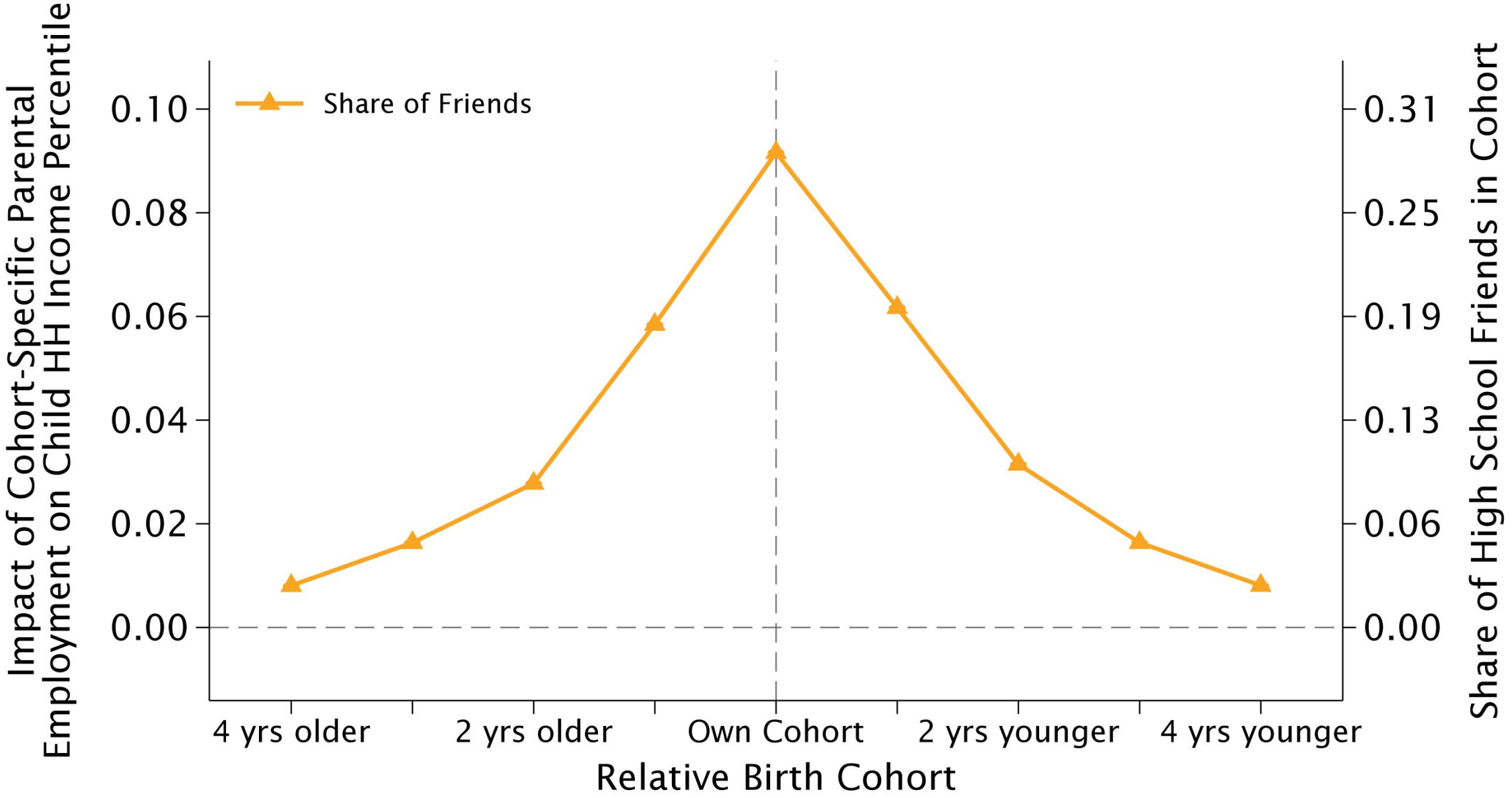
[Economic Resources]

Higher parental employment expands financial resources at community level (schools, local programs)

Test between these explanations by exploiting differences in **friendship patterns** across groups

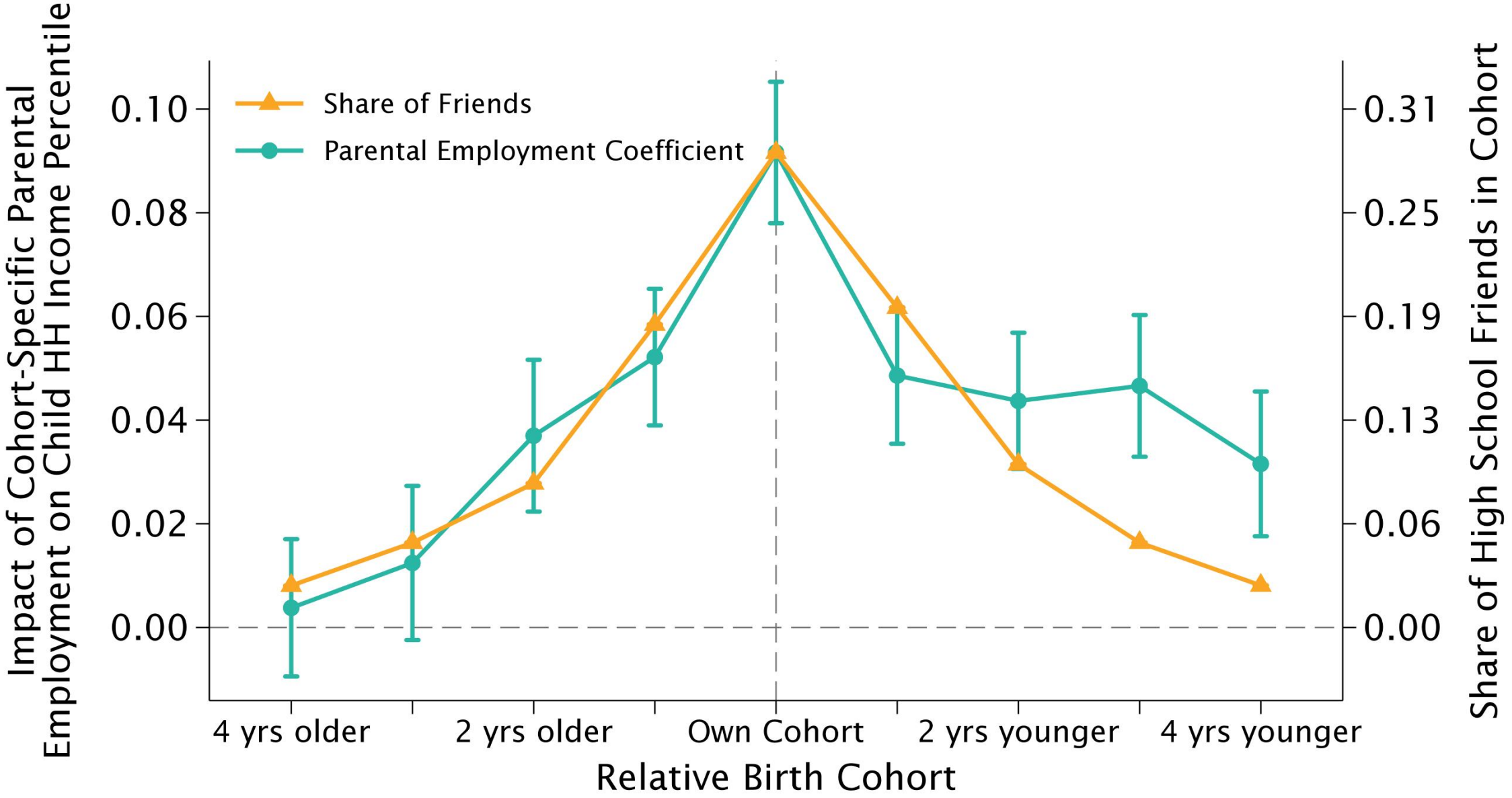
Effect of Changes in Parental Employment Rates Across Cohorts

Friendship Rates and Parent Employment Effects in Own Cohort vs. Adjacent Cohorts

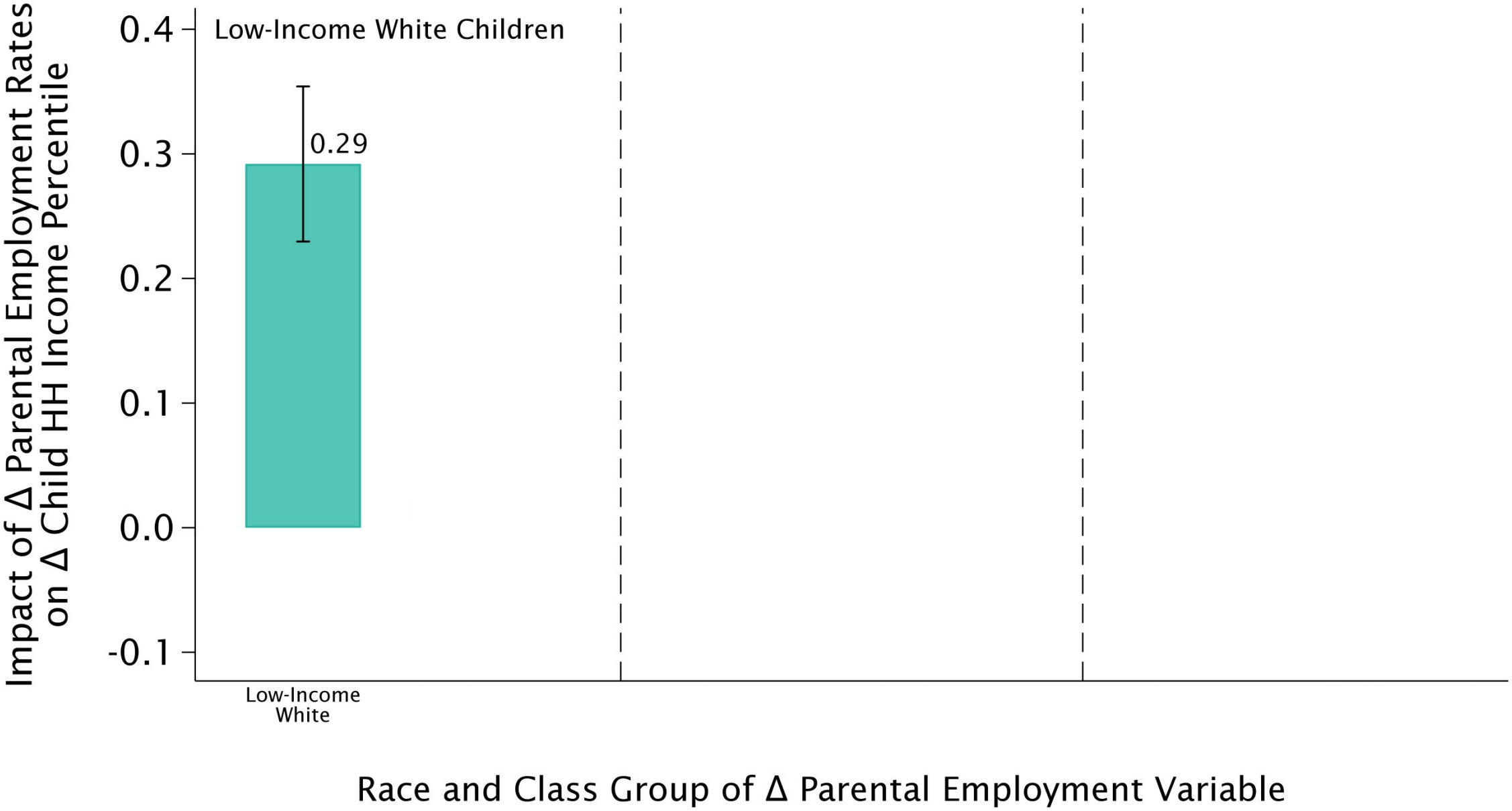


Effect of Changes in Parental Employment Rates Across Cohorts

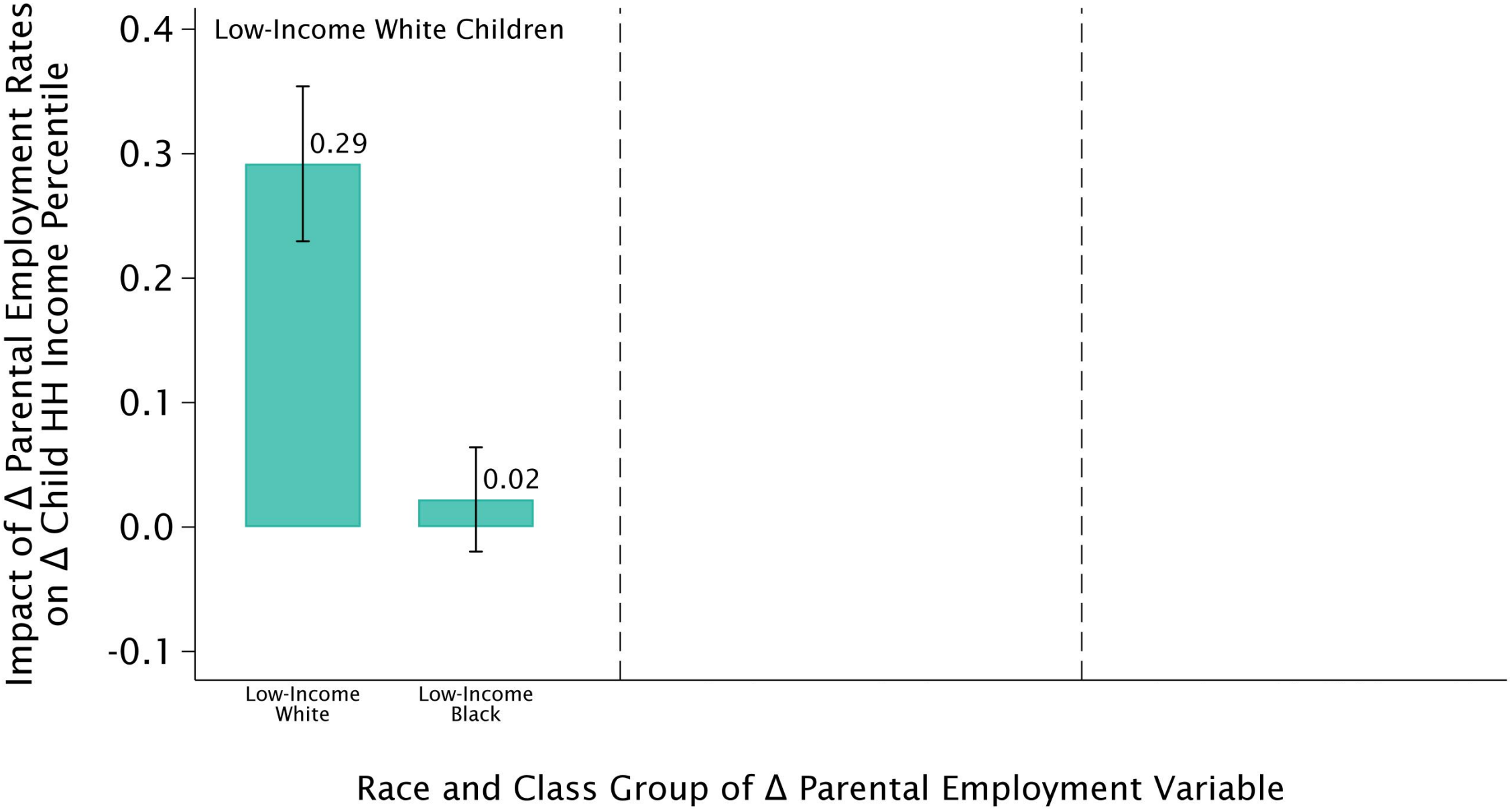
Friendship Rates and Parent Employment Effects in Own Cohort vs. Adjacent Cohorts



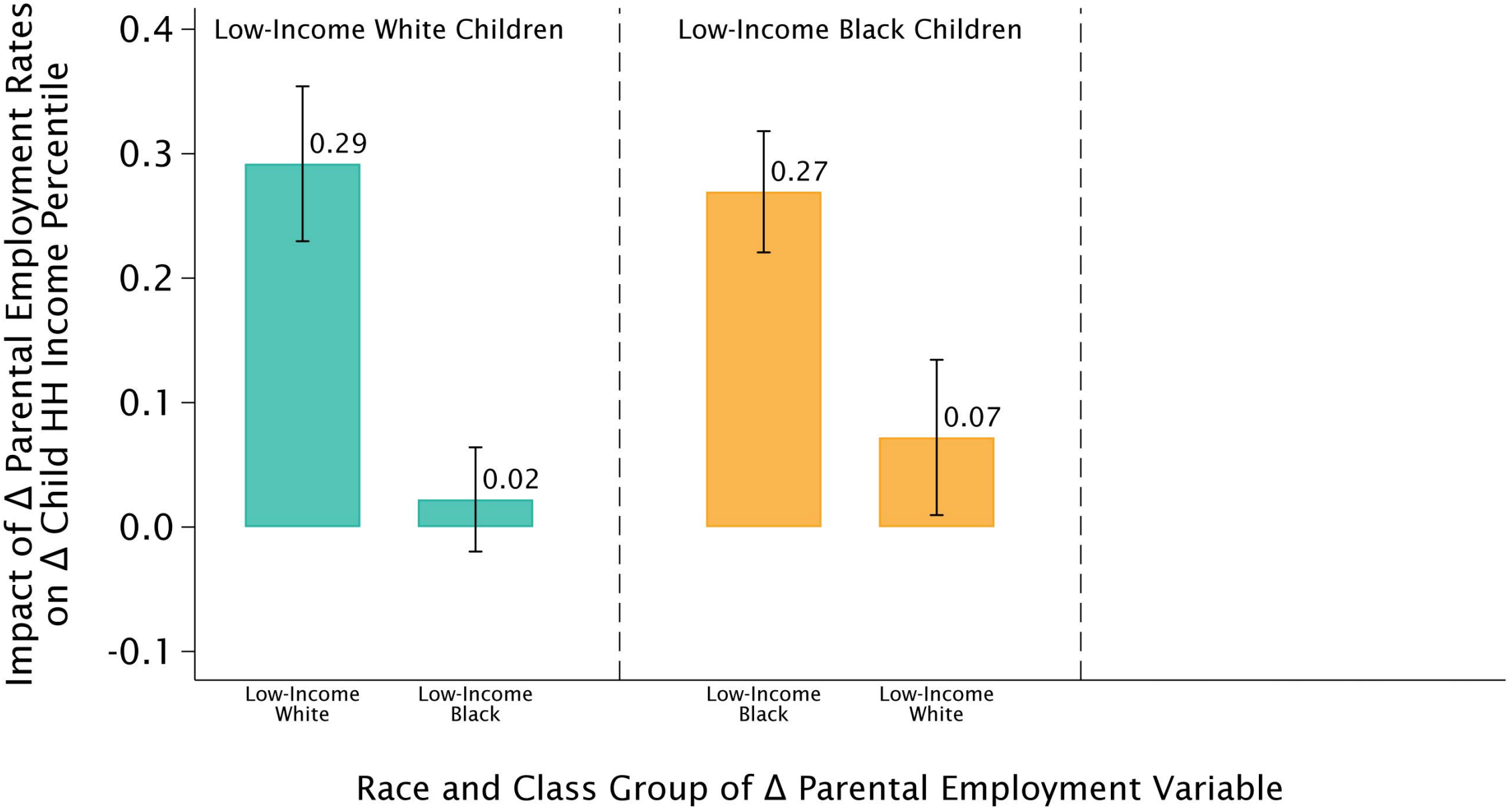
Effect of Group-Specific Changes in Parent Employment Rates



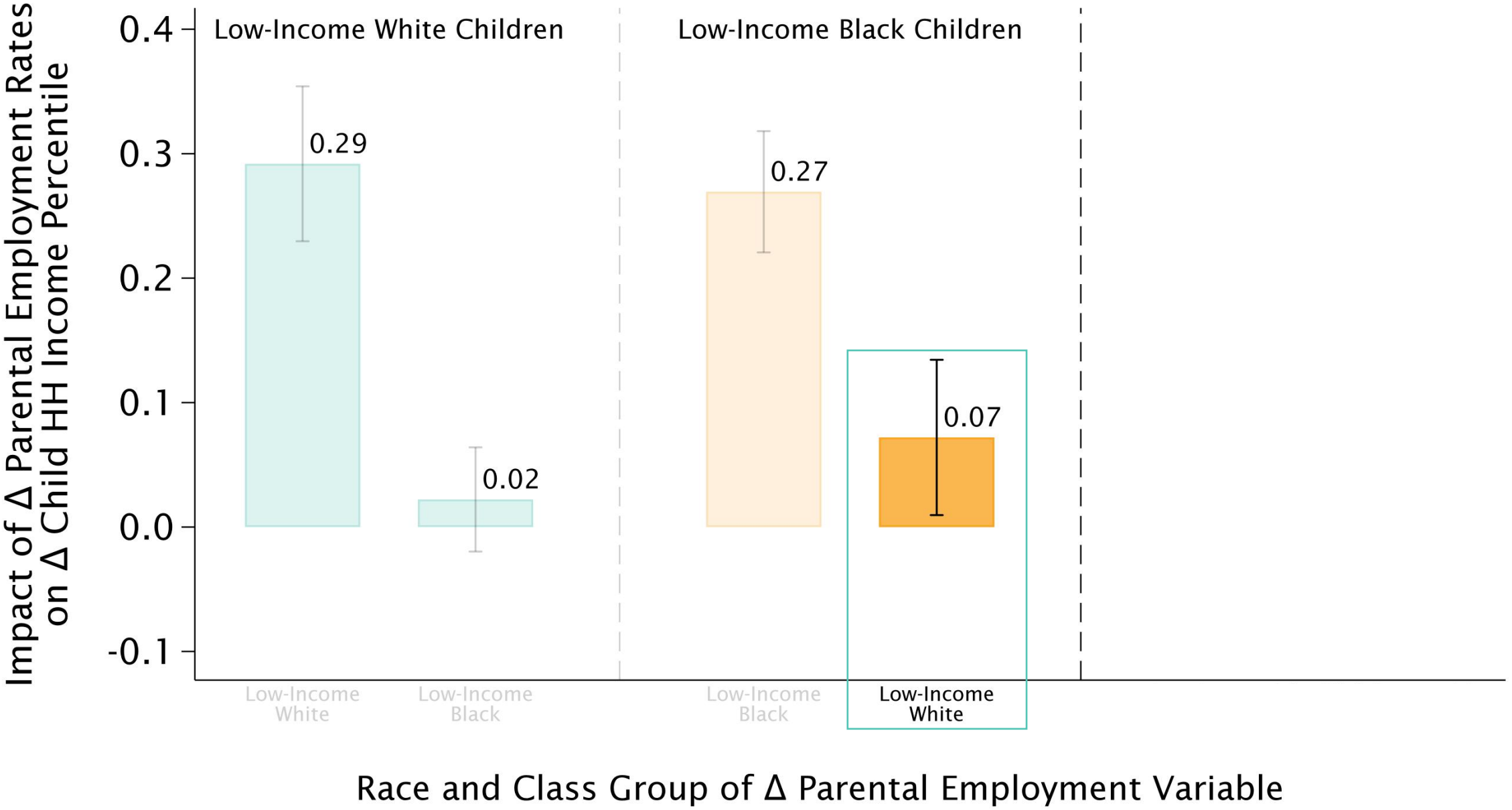
Effect of Group-Specific Changes in Parent Employment Rates



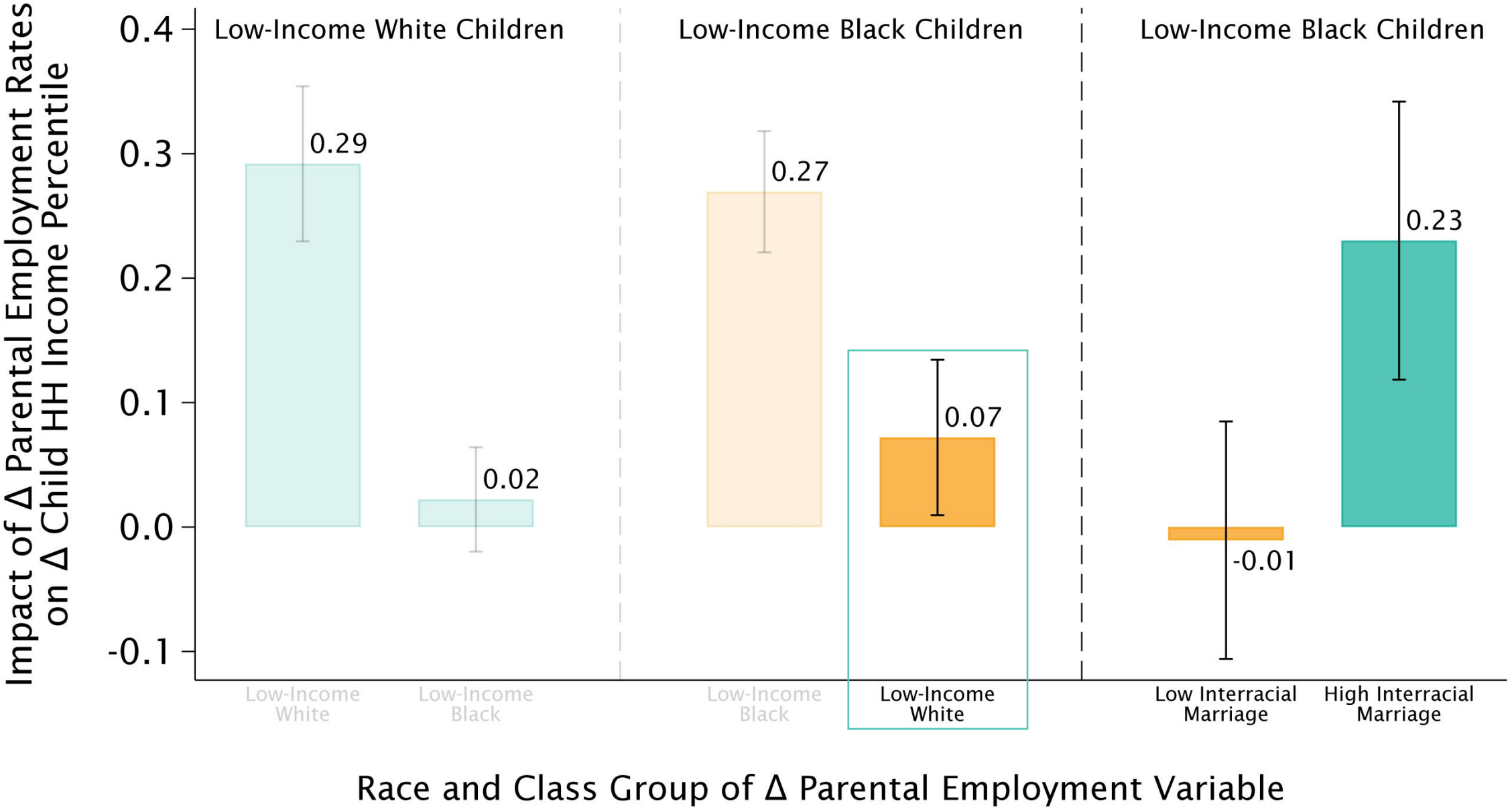
Effect of Group-Specific Changes in Parent Employment Rates



Effect of Group-Specific Changes in Parent Employment Rates



Effect of Group-Specific Changes in Parent Employment Rates



Implications for Increasing Mobility

Policy Implications

- Most important takeaway: **opportunity can change** in short timeframes

- What do these findings imply for efforts to increase mobility going forward?

  1. Support **next generation** in communities where parents' employment rates are currently falling (not just current generation)

  2. Focus on **social communities** within neighborhoods – not just neighborhoods as a whole – as unit of change

  3. Provide **social capital** in addition to financial and human capital

New Data on Changes in Opportunity

- Key open question: what interventions can create changes in social communities that increase mobility?
- To support the field in making progress on answering this question, we have released **new data on changes in economic mobility**
- Visit the Opportunity Atlas (www.opportunityatlas.org) to see data for your own county and download data by race, parental income, gender, cohort, and county

Changes in Economic Mobility Across Areas

50 Largest Metro Areas (Commuting Zones)

Top 5 Most Improved

	LOCATION	INCOME AT AGE 27 1978 BIRTH YEAR	INCOME AT AGE 27 1992 BIRTH YEAR	% CHANGE
1	Brownsville, TX	$31.4K	$33.5K	6.7%
2	Austin, TX	$29.6K	$31.6K	6.4%
3	Charlotte, NC	$26.7K	$28.1K	5.0%
4	Nashville, TN	$28.7K	$30.1K	4.7%
5	Grand Rapids, MI	$30.1K	$31.4K	4.3%

Bottom 5: Least Improved

	LOCATION	INCOME AT AGE 27 1978 BIRTH YEAR	INCOME AT AGE 27 1992 BIRTH YEAR	% CHANGE
46	Tampa, FL	$29.8K	$27.1K	-9.1%
47	Washington, DC	$33.2K	$30.2K	-9.1%
48	San Diego, CA	$33.8K	$30.7K	-9.2%
49	Las Vegas, NV	$32.3K	$28.8K	-10.6%
50	Philadelphia, PA	$31.2K	$27.2K	-12.7%