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## Who Benefits Whom in the Neighborhood? Demographics and Retail Product Geography

Joel Waldfogel

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It is well understood that because of fixed costs, retail product provision requires agglomeration of consumers.<sup>1</sup> As a result, places with more people tend to have more retail outlets, while places with insufficient demand have none.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, additional people nearby confer a benefit on each other by helping to make more products available. Yet, because product preferences differ across groups of consumers, it is not simply the *amount* of nearby demand that determines what's available but the *mix* of consumers according to their preferences. If product preferences relate to consumer characteristics such as race, income, age, and ethnicity, then product availability will be stimulated by concentration of like individuals. Additional group members nearby benefit each other, while additional persons preferring other things do not.

The sensitivity of available products to the demographic mix of consumers has been documented for products whose market area is an entire metropolitan area, such as newspapers, radio, and television. The mechanism may also operate at the neighborhood level; Waldfogel (2008) documents that neighborhoods with large populations in particular groups (black, college educated, etc.) are more likely to have chain restaurant outlets appealing specifically to those groups. Based on evidence for the restaurant market, this indicates a product market benefit of agglomeration with persons of

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1. See, for example, Fujita and Thisse (2002) for an extensive discussion on the role of increasing returns in explaining agglomeration, as well as for many references.

2. This is one way to interpret much of the empirical work on firm entry. See Bresnahan and Reiss (1990) and a host of other studies.

like preferences. While it is conventional to think of publicly provided goods as the rationale for neighborhood sorting, privately provided goods may provide an additional benefit to agglomeration with like types. The goal of the present exercise is to revisit this question for a much broader group of local establishments.

The possibility that product markets reward agglomeration of like individuals has possible implications for residential segregation. A large volume of social scientific research documents a long legacy of residential segregation in the United States.<sup>3</sup> Other research shows that residential segregation by race is harmful to blacks.<sup>4</sup> Even as formal barriers to integration have declined, segregation has remained puzzlingly strong.

Notwithstanding the important negative effects of segregation for some groups, agglomeration of like individuals benefits them from helping to make the agglomerating groups' preferred products available nearby. It is a small instrumental leap to suggest that residential segregation persists in part because the agglomeration of like individuals provides them some benefit through product markets. Race is an important motivating example, but the product market motive for local agglomeration is not limited to race. Rather, agglomeration could provide product market benefits to any group with product preferences distinct from the remainder of the population.

The chapter addresses three empirical questions. First, how do "preferences" differ across groups (race, education, income)?<sup>5</sup> For this, we use the 2004 Consumer Expenditure Survey (CEX), which shows how households allocate their expenditures across narrow product categories. Second, using the 2000 Census and the 2000 ZIP Business Patterns, we ask how the availability of outlets in a category varies with the number of persons, by type, in local areas (five-digit zip codes). Finally, we ask whether the mix of products is sensitive to the mix of local preferences or whether people derive benefit through the product market from agglomerating with persons of similar preferences.

Section 6.1 provides a brief theoretical background. Section 6.2 describes the data used in the study, and section 6.3 presents results.

## 6.1 Theoretical Background

Our underlying question is whether the mix of nearby products affects the mix of available products and consumers' ensuing satisfaction from retail product markets. The following framework in the spirit of Hotelling (1929)

3. See Cutler, Glaeser, and Vigdor (1999) and Massey and Denton (1988) for two prominent examples.

4. See Cutler and Glaeser (1997).

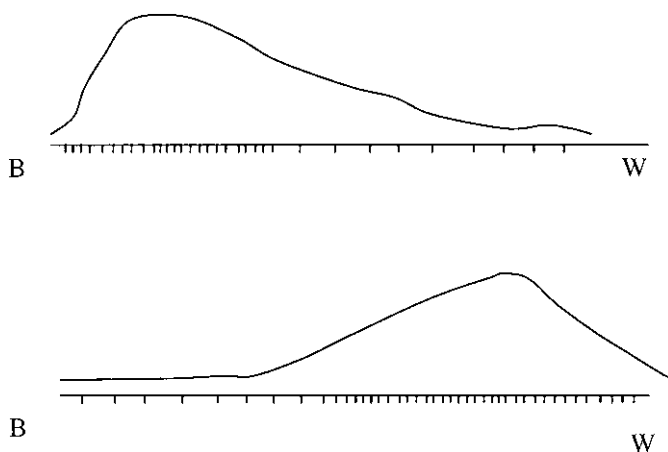
5. "Preferences" is in quotation marks because what matters to products that are brought forth is not what people want absent price and income constraints but rather what they are able and inclined to purchase.

is helpful for fixing ideas. Think of a one-dimensional retail product spectrum, where the dimension represents the relative appeal of the product to one group versus another. For example, if the groups are blacks and non-blacks, the dimension measures the relative appeal of the product to blacks as opposed to non-blacks. There is a large but finite number of possible retail outlets, such as shoe stores, fish markets, and so on. We have in mind the hundreds of different kinds of retail establishments in the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) coding system. Let's suppose that we have some way of measuring the extent to which a type of outlet is black targeted (I propose an approach to this in the following text). Then, the possible types of outlets can be arrayed in order along the spectrum.

Firms must choose whether to enter at each of the possible establishment types along the spectrum. Because of fixed costs, the number of outlets that can profitably operate is finite. And indeed, because of fixed costs, an outlet requires some density of nearby (in product space) consumers to make it viable. Places—corresponding to market areas—differ in their mix of consumers, who in turn differ by their preferences. Some places are heavily black; others are heavily white.

Consider figure 6.1. The top panel depicts the distribution of the most preferred varieties in a place where the distribution of tastes is skewed toward “black” products; the second panel depicts a place where tastes are skewed “white.” Suppose the consumers patronize the nearest outlet to their ideal. The market can support more outlets in regions of product space where demand is denser. As a result, the market in the top panel has more black-targeted products, while the market in the bottom panel supports more white-targeted products.

This setup then yields the unsurprising implication that places with



**Fig. 6.1** Consumer density and retail outlet availability

more people preferring a particular type of products are more likely to have outlets—or to have more outlets—offering that type of product. As a result, the welfare of consumers—at least from the standpoint of nearby product availability—is higher when they live among others sharing their preferences.

A few important caveats are in order. The forgoing discussion ignores issues of pricing that conventionally assume larger importance in the discussion of entry. As the large literature on entry makes clear, products isolated in product space generally fetch higher prices, allowing them to cover their fixed costs with less nearby consumer density. From the standpoint of product availability, pricing issues attenuate problems of relatively less provision in sparse regions of product space. At the same time, inclusion of prices also suggests notions of welfare reflecting product availability net of prices rather than availability alone. The only prediction we seek to derive from this setup, however, is that regions of product space with denser demand have more outlets; and it is difficult to imagine this not being true (especially in light of the following evidence).

Second, consumers do not literally patronize one sort of outlet. Rather, consumers patronize both clothing and food and auto parts stores. One can think of a spectrum specific to each category of products (e.g., new cars versus used cars).

Third, outlets are not literally mutually exclusive in their product coverage. Grocery stores sell many of the items available at meat markets, fruit and vegetable markets, and fish and seafood stores. Similarly, department stores sell many of the items available at stores specializing in women's apparel.

Notwithstanding these caveats, this framework can fruitfully guide our empirical work, which seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Do preferences for different kinds of retail outlets differ systematically across groups (race, income, age, etc.)?
2. Is the availability of outlets sensitive to the mix of consumers nearby?
3. By extension, do people derive benefit through the product market from dwelling with persons who share their retail product preferences?

## 6.2 Data

The basic data set for the study is a zip code-level cross-section with information on population and demographic characteristics, along with information on the number of retail outlets, by category. The establishment data exist for 1,082 distinct categories under the NAICS. These data are drawn from the 2000 Census and the 2000 ZIP Business Patterns. We seek to map these categories to groupings for which we have evidence on how preferences differ by groups.

Separately, we have calculations from the Consumer Expenditure Survey showing how expenditure is distributed across groups of people (for example, by race and income) and over categories of goods and services. We examine the following distinctions: race (black/non-black), Asian (Asian/non-Asian), Hispanic (Hispanic/non-Hispanic), income (low income/non-low income)<sup>6</sup>, education (college educated/not college educated), and age (over 65/not over 65).

Although the Economic Census and CEX data exist for different purposes, they contain many categories that correspond with one another. That is, many of the expenditure categories in the CEX correspond to categories—or groups of categories—of establishments in the NAICS coding system. For example, the expenditure category “food away from home” maps reasonably to the NAICS categories for full-service restaurants (722110), limited-service restaurants (722211), cafeterias (722212), snack and non-alcoholic bars (722213), mobile food services (722330), and drinking places (alcoholic beverages; 722410). Similarly, the CEX category for footwear maps to the NAICS category for shoe stores (448210). The CEX provides fairly detailed information on the categories of establishments included in each expenditure category at the CEX glossary of terms (available at: <http://www.bls.gov/cex/csxgloss.htm>). The appendix presents the mapping we create from this information in conjunction with the full NAICS list.

In most cases, CEX expenditure categories include multiple types of NAICS establishments. In two cases, CEX categories are narrower than NAICS categories. For example, the CEX separately reports expenditure on beef, pork, poultry, and other meats. The NAICS includes only meat markets (445210). Our matching procedure yields thirty-six distinct categories.

Table 6.1 describes the entry (supply) data. The first column shows the mean number of category outlets in a zip code. The second column shows the share of zip codes with at least one outlet in the category. These are our two basic measures of product availability. As the table shows, some of the most commonly available categories are food at home, food away from home, gas stations, and health care (chiefly doctors and dentists offices). Less commonly available establishments are bakeries, apparel shops for children under age two, fruit and vegetable stores, fish and seafood markets, and tobacco stores. Of course, table 6.1 indicates the presence of establishments dedicated to the particular category. Many specialized items are available not only at specialized stores (such as bakeries and butcher shops) but also at more general grocery stores (which are included in the “food at home” category).

Table 6.2 shows basic demand characteristics. The mean (median) zip

6. The low-income group in the CEX includes households with income below \$20,000, and the most similar low-income household category in the Census includes households with income below \$25,000.

**Table 6.1** Establishment presence by category

Modified CEX categories	Mean	Presence (%)
Alcoholic beverages	0.97	38.42
Apparel and services	0.70	23.33
Bakery products	0.18	13.05
Cars and trucks, new	0.88	30.84
Cars and trucks, used	0.83	31.94
Children under two (apparel)	0.19	10.09
Drugstores	1.39	46.15
Fees and admissions	2.24	52.98
Fish and seafood	0.06	4.96
Floor coverings	0.54	26.10
Food at home	3.34	71.54
Food away from home	15.52	83.15
Footwear	1.01	24.10
Fruits and vegetables	0.11	8.02
Fuel oil and other fuels	0.18	11.83
Furniture	1.01	32.90
Gasoline and motor oil	4.06	75.75
Health care	14.50	61.67
Household textiles	0.08	6.46
Maintenance and repairs	7.01	69.18
Major appliances	0.33	20.08
Meat and poultry	0.22	15.03
Men and boys (apparel)	0.36	14.55
Miscellaneous household equipment	1.26	42.19
Other apparel products and services	2.32	38.58
Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services	1.49	40.01
Other household expenses	0.40	22.35
Other vehicles	0.21	14.32
Personal care products and services	3.18	46.28
Personal services	2.24	53.93
Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment	0.88	30.63
Postage and stationery	0.29	16.82
Reading	0.46	21.07
Television, radios, and sound equipment	0.93	29.48
Tobacco products and smoking supplies	0.19	12.81
Women and girls (apparel)	1.21	27.25

code population is 9,697 (3,472). The mean (median) percentage black is 7.8 (0.8), and the mean and median percentages with household income below \$25,000 are both 32. The mean (median) percentage Hispanic is 6.5 (1.6), and the mean (median) percent Asian is 1.5 (0.3). The mean (median) percent college educated is 13.3 (9.4), and the mean (median) percent over age sixty-five is 12.4 (11.9). On average, a zip code is eighty-eight (thirty-nine) square miles. The mean (median) radius is 4.1 (3.5) miles if they were circular. In addition, as table 6.2 indicates, there is substantial variation

**Table 6.2** Demand characteristics of five-digit zip codes

	Mean	Median	75th percentile	90th percentile
Population (000)	9,697	3,472	13,451	28,885
Square miles	88	39	94	193
Radius	4.1	3.5	5.5	7.8
Percent:				
Black	7.7	0.8	5.9	25.9
Hispanic	6.5	1.6	5.1	16.9
Asian	1.5	0.3	1.0	3.4
Low-income household	32.0	31.7	41.0	49.6
College educated	13.3	9.5	15.3	25.8
Over 65	12.4	11.9	14.8	18.1

across zip codes in their composition by age, race, and so forth, suggesting the possibility to separately measure the relationship of establishment availability to different populations.

### 6.3 Results

#### 6.3.1 Do Preferences Differ across Groups?

It is well known from other contexts that preferences for many products differ sharply by groups. For example, radio station formats attracting two-thirds of black listeners attract 2 to 3 percent of non-black listeners. Likewise, Spanish-language radio attracts half of U.S. Hispanics but less than 1 percent of non-Hispanic listeners.<sup>7</sup> Similarly sharp differences exist for other media products. With the exception of *Monday Night Football*, top-rated shows among whites tend to be bottom rated among blacks and vice versa.<sup>8</sup>

Demographic differences in product preferences are not limited to media products. In the restaurant market, blacks and non-blacks patronize chain restaurants offering systematically different cuisines. Even after accounting for income as well as zip code of residence, blacks patronize restaurants offering Southern cuisine far more heavily than non-blacks. Educated consumers patronize coffee/bagel restaurants, as well as more expensive chain restaurants, at elevated levels relative to their less-educated—and lower-income—counterparts.<sup>9</sup> While many products remain to be studied, it seems

7. See Waldfogel (2003) for evidence on how radio preferences differ by group.

8. Waldfogel (2004) provides data on television viewing by race and Hispanic status.

9. Waldfogel (2008) provides evidence on how chain restaurant patronage varies by race, Hispanic status, and education.



clear that preferences for food and cultural products differ sharply across groups.

The findings that preferences differ sharply across groups are derived from consumption data at the narrow product—brand—level. That is, the data indicate which radio station, television program, or chain restaurant consumers patronize. Our data for this study are at a far higher level of aggregation, and these data may obscure intergroup differences in preferences. To see this, consider a category such as food. Everyone eats food, so virtually everyone allocates a substantial share of expenditure to food. Two persons who share a willingness to eat none of the same particular foods might still allocate similar amounts of money to food. As the product categories grow narrower, their capacity to show differences grows. For example, devout Hindus, Moslems, and Orthodox Jews might spend similar amounts on meat; but their expenditures on beef, lamb, and pork would differ sharply. Here, I trade off precision for reach. I include many categories of expenditure and types of establishments, but my information on spending patterns are at a highly aggregative level.

Beyond this, the question of whether preferences differ across groups is more accurately rephrased as, do expenditure patterns differ across groups? I am not interested in underlying preferences—what people want, absent the constraints imposed by their means. Rather, I am interested in what people find useful and appealing, given both their preferences and their means. Table 6.3 presents data from the 2004 CEX table 2100, “Race of Reference Person: Average Annual Expenditure and Characteristics.”<sup>10</sup> As table 6.3 shows, the answer to the preceding question is yes—at least to some extent. The first column shows the ratio of black to non-black household expenditure. This is our measure of *relative preference* by group. The remaining columns show analogous relative preference measures for other groups relative to their complements: Asians (versus non-Asians), over age sixty-five, Hispanics, college educated, and low income (under \$20,000).

Some of the differences in expenditure patterns—relative preferences—between groups are striking. For example, blacks spend 32 percent less than non-blacks overall, reflecting their lower average income. We would therefore expect the viability of retail outlets to be less sensitive to the black population than to the white, since black households spend less. Despite black households’ lower overall expenditures, blacks actually spend absolutely more on some products, including footwear (167 percent as much) and fish and seafood (134 percent). Blacks also spend more than non-blacks on two subcategories of meat, included separately in the CEX but not listed separately in the table: poultry (124 percent) and pork (118 percent). At the other end of the spectrum, blacks spend substantially less than non-blacks on pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment (29 percent); health care

10. Available at: <http://www.bls.gov/cex/#tables>.

**Table 6.3 Household relative expenditures by group and category**

Modified CEX category	Black <sup>a</sup>	Asian <sup>b</sup>	Age <sup>c</sup>	Hispanic <sup>d</sup>	Education <sup>e</sup>	Income <sup>f</sup>
Alcoholic beverages	0.34	0.71	0.52	0.67	1.98	0.36
Apparel and services	0.97	1.04	0.45	1.00	1.65	0.39
Bakery products	0.74	0.93	0.88	1.03	1.16	0.56
Cars and trucks, new	0.42	1.32	0.57	0.91	1.35	0.18
Cars and trucks, used	0.58	0.86	0.50	1.18	1.09	0.33
Children under two (apparel)	0.61	1.04	0.22	2.03	1.38	0.53
Drugstores	0.48	0.71	2.26	0.54	1.21	0.69
Fees and admissions	0.32	1.16	0.63	0.56	3.18	0.20
Fish and seafood	1.27	2.38	0.77	1.28	1.36	0.50
Floor coverings	0.45	1.23	0.81	0.40	3.42	0.15
Food at home	0.80	1.10	0.78	1.18	1.19	0.56
Food away from home	0.59	1.25	0.56	0.82	1.68	0.33
Footwear	1.67	0.95	0.33	1.34	1.41	0.52
Fruits and vegetables	0.77	1.55	0.89	1.31	1.33	0.58
Fuel oil and other fuels	0.40	0.33	1.48	0.58	1.04	0.64
Furniture	0.76	1.23	0.51	0.83	2.00	0.27
Gasoline and motor oil	0.75	1.02	0.55	1.04	1.21	0.42
Health care	0.50	0.82	1.73	0.59	1.38	0.54
Household textiles	0.65	0.61	0.97	0.67	1.75	0.30
Maintenance and repairs	0.63	1.08	0.71	0.87	1.59	0.41
Major appliances	0.50	0.68	0.83	1.00	1.43	0.31
Meat and poultry	0.98	0.94	0.74	1.39	1.01	0.58
Men and boys (apparel)	0.80	1.35	0.45	1.02	1.70	0.32
Miscellaneous household equipment	0.38	0.81	0.58	0.73	2.14	0.26
Other apparel products and services	0.77	0.85	0.43	0.94	2.28	0.35
Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services	0.13	0.43	0.55	0.43	1.64	0.17
Other household expenses	0.46	0.96	1.11	0.51	2.64	0.31
Other vehicles	0.18	0.23	0.06	0.11	0.91	0.07
Personal care products and services	0.85	0.87	0.77	0.88	1.55	0.41
Personal services	0.78	1.50	0.62	1.12	1.99	0.32
Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment	0.29	0.41	0.48	0.60	1.55	0.33
Postage and stationery	0.60	0.90	0.95	0.58	1.85	0.44
Reading	0.38	0.86	1.15	0.38	2.49	0.39
Television, radios, and sound equipment	0.82	1.01	0.65	0.82	1.37	0.45
Tobacco products and smoking supplies	0.67	0.36	0.46	0.51	0.43	0.74
Women and girls (apparel)	0.89	0.97	0.53	0.77	1.56	0.39

<sup>a</sup>Black/non-black<sup>b</sup>Asian/all<sup>c</sup>Over 65/under 65<sup>d</sup>Hispanic/non-Hispanic<sup>e</sup>College educated/non-college educated<sup>f</sup>Household income < \$20,000/household income ≥ \$20,000

(50 percent); alcoholic beverages (34 percent); reading materials (38 percent); and new cars (42 percent).<sup>11</sup>

Other columns reveal similar differences in relative preferences between groups and their complements. For example, Asian households outspend non-Asian households on new cars (132 percent), fish and seafood (232 percent), and fruits and vegetables (155 percent). Asians spend about one-third as much as non-Asians on tobacco products.

The old outspend the young by more than double on drugs and medical supplies (at drugstores). Similarly, the old outspend the young by 73 percent on health care. On the other hand, the old spend much less than the young on clothing and footwear.

Hispanic and non-Hispanic households also spend differently. While Hispanic households spend 12 percent less than non-Hispanic households overall, Hispanic households outspend non-Hispanics on clothing for children under age two (203 percent), fish and seafood (128 percent), footwear (134 percent), fruits and vegetables (131 percent), and meat and poultry (139 percent). By contrast, Hispanic households spend much less than others on tobacco (51 percent); pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment (60 percent); and reading materials (38 percent).

College-educated households outspend their less-educated counterparts more than three to one on fees and admissions and floor coverings and more than double on furniture, reading materials, and various other household expenditures.

Low-income households (with household income under \$20,000) spend about two-thirds less than others overall and outspend higher-income households in no category. Still, the low-income households' expenditures are relatively high on tobacco (74 percent).

Even with these data, it appears that preferences differ across groups. Each of the two-way comparisons leaves open a large possibility that the difference along the dimension of comparison actually reflects other causes. For example, some of the racial differences may reflect income rather than race. Whatever their cause, however, it is clear that persons in different groups by race and income tend to allocate their expenditures across categories differently. As a result, different groups benefit from the availability of establishments offering different products for sale.

We can summarize the differences between groups' preferences systematically. One measure is the Euclidean distance between groups' expendi-

11. Using data on consumption choices as measures of preference runs the risk of confusing supply with demand. That is, different groups' differing consumption patterns may arise, because the different groups have access to (live near stores offering) different products. In unpublished work on restaurant patronage in New York City, the large differences between black and white chain patronage patterns remain, even when controlling for individuals' zip codes of residence. This suggests different consumption choices among people facing the same options.

**Table 6.4** Preferences and segregation

Group (complement)	Correlation of expenditures	Euclidean distance	Duncan dissimilarity index
Black	0.940	0.070	0.617
Hispanic	0.952	0.065	0.595
College educated	0.971	0.048	0.309
Asian	0.974	0.047	0.535
Over 65	0.834	0.130	0.171
Low income	0.934	0.080	0.256

ture shares. Define  $p_i^k$  as the share of group  $i$ 's expenditure on good  $k$ . The distance between groups  $k$  and  $j$  is then  $\sum_{i=1}^N (p_i^k - p_i^j)^2$ , which is bounded between 0 and 1. Alternatively, we can calculate the correlation between groups' expenditure share vectors. Table 6.4 reports these measures for groups (such as blacks, Asians, etc.) and their complements (non-blacks, non-Asians, etc.)

By both of these measures, the old (over age sixty-five) and the young have the most dissimilar preferences, followed by the low household income (under \$25,000) and higher income and then by blacks and Hispanics and their respective complements. Asians and non-Asians—and college-educated and non-college educated persons—have more similar preferences.

Using expenditure data as an indicator of preferences runs the risk of confusing what's available with what people actually want. People can more easily purchase what is available near them. Hence, their expenditure on items available nearby may increase mechanically with supply driving demand rather than the other way around. One response to this concern is independent evidence showing that items with high expenditure shares for a particular group are important to the group. The independent evidence might be of a historical or cultural nature for, say, food preferences by ethnic group. Or, it might relate to other features of group differences. (For example, do older people spend more on health care? If so, it would presumably be driven by heightened medical need rather than, say, proximity to doctors offices.)

Here, we see that older persons outspend younger persons on health care. Lower-income groups also spend relatively more on inferior goods (e.g., used cars as opposed to new), and higher-income college-educated persons outspend others on luxuries, such as fees and admissions. These patterns that are reflective of prior ideas about who wants what lend support to the idea that the direction of causality runs from consumer preferences to patterns of product availability rather than the other way around.

### 6.3.2 The Size of the Relevant Market

We treat population as a rudimentary measure of demand, and we ask how the number of establishments operating in a category relates to popu-

lation. The question is, what is the right level of geographic aggregation? Introspection suggests that the overwhelming majority of demand for, say, a typical restaurant in a large area is drawn from persons in that area. Three-digit zip codes contain an average (median) of 323,400 (200,000) persons and average 3,200 square miles. If they were circular, their radii would average twenty-seven miles. To the extent that population measures demand, the demand measure in the three-digit zip code regression is essentially measured without error. Hence, this regression of outlets on population gives an accurate estimate of the number of additional outlets that an additional person (or million persons) attracts. Call the coefficient on population  $\beta^3$ . Now, imagine examining the same relationship—between population and establishments—at finer levels of geographic disaggregation. At some level, the catchment area will be too small to support local supply. At that level, local population will become an erroneous measure of demand. Regressions of establishments on population will therefore yield  $\beta$  coefficients biased toward zero. To determine whether five-digit zip codes are a reasonable measure of the market area, we compare the coefficients from regressions of three-digit and five-digit zip code areas. Table 6.5 reports  $\beta^3$  and  $\beta^5$  as well as the ratio  $\beta^5/\beta^3$ . If the five-digit area is not too small, then the ratio will be close to 1. Inspection of table 6.1 shows that most of these ratios are close to 1. The two categories with the lowest estimates of  $\beta^5/\beta^3$  are fruits and vegetables and fish and seafood, which—see table 6.1—are the least prevalent categories included in the study. We retain these as separate categories for two reasons. First, while lower than other categories'  $\beta^5/\beta^3$  estimates, at roughly 0.85, they are still both absolutely rather close to 1. Second, these categories have large group differences in apparent preferences.

That the vast majority of the estimates of  $\beta^3$  are similar to the estimates of  $\beta^5$  provide some evidence that five-digit zip codes, in addition to being conveniently available, are also a reasonable geographic area for analysis.

### 6.3.3 Demand and Entry

One feature of table 6.5 that is difficult to miss is the uniformly positive relationship of the number of outlets in the zip code to demand. Similar patterns arise when the presence as opposed to the number of outlets serves as the dependent variable. This is, of course, not surprising, in light of both common sense and the industrial organization literature on entry.<sup>12</sup> Still, its meaning for us is that places with more people are more likely to have outlets nearby—and outlets in more categories—so that in general, additional people provide each other a benefit in helping to bring forth more nearby product outlets. But as the evidence of table 6.3 indicates, different people make use of different products, so people really only benefit from products they value.

12. See Bresnahan and Reiss (1990) or Berry (1992) for early studies. See Seim (2006) for recent work that takes location seriously.

**Table 6.5** Population and entry, five- and three-digit zip codes

Modified CEX category	Five-digit zip code population	Standard error	Three-digit zip code population	Standard error	$\beta^2/\beta^3$
Alcoholic beverages	93.55	0.63	95.74	2.38	0.98
Apparel and services	68.23	0.83	67.75	1.36	1.01
Bakery products	20.99	0.21	20.66	0.47	1.02
Cars and trucks, new	74.91	0.75	56.12	1.28	1.33
Cars and trucks, used	74.64	0.71	56.84	1.49	1.31
Children under two (apparel)	21.47	0.30	23.44	0.48	0.92
Drugstores	132.76	0.83	130.63	2.13	1.02
Fees and admissions	188.22	1.08	177.55	2.78	1.06
Fish and seafood	7.28	0.13	8.38	0.37	0.87
Floor coverings	51.57	0.45	46.32	0.80	1.11
Food at home	314.96	1.35	347.88	5.10	0.91
Food away from home	1,481.21	7.57	1,540.09	21.37	0.96
Footwear	116.36	1.10	109.14	1.69	1.07
Fruits and vegetables	13.31	0.20	15.87	0.67	0.84
Fuel oil and other fuels	9.55	0.25	8.08	1.05	1.18
Furniture	101.40	0.82	96.97	1.32	1.05
Gasoline and motor oil	307.48	1.61	264.22	5.27	1.16
Health care	1,565.14	10.75	1,606.53	20.79	0.97
Household textiles	8.70	0.13	9.34	0.22	0.93
Maintenance and repairs	676.79	3.36	615.01	6.16	1.10
Major appliances	30.66	0.31	22.18	0.48	1.38
Meat and poultry	24.05	0.27	28.96	0.88	0.83
Men and boys (apparel)	39.50	0.52	44.12	1.06	0.90
Miscellaneous household equipment	111.90	0.74	110.85	1.59	1.01
Other apparel products and services	253.02	2.01	277.08	4.85	0.91
Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services	130.97	1.11	126.02	2.85	1.04
Other household expenses	40.93	0.36	42.25	0.70	0.97
Other vehicles	17.61	0.24	12.68	0.41	1.39
Personal care products and services	339.92	1.96	347.32	6.06	0.98
Personal services	213.44	0.98	203.51	2.80	1.05
Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment	92.67	0.67	88.06	1.53	1.05
Postage and stationery	30.87	0.30	30.27	0.54	1.02
Reading	47.03	0.49	47.47	1.45	0.99
Television, radios, and sound equipment	104.75	0.74	99.84	1.35	1.05
Tobacco products and smoking supplies	19.17	0.23	18.82	0.53	1.02
Women and girls (apparel)	127.72	1.38	138.27	2.73	0.92

We have two measures of outlet availability, whether the zip code contains an outlet in the category and how many outlets. Both provide a measure of outlet availability; with the number of outlets, larger numbers suggest more outlets nearby.

Table 6.6 revisits the relationship between establishments and demand, dividing population into blacks and others (succinctly but inaccurately labeled “whites”). In each half of the table, each row represents a regression

**Table 6.6** Entry and group population by race

Modified CEX category	No controls			With controls				
	Black	Standard error	Non-black	Standard error	Black	Standard error	Non-black	Standard error
Alcoholic beverages	132.22	2.11	86.43	0.72	94.65	2.60	68.49	1.14
Apparel and services	21.09	2.81	76.91	0.97	15.37	2.06	53.82	1.49
Bakery products	9.71	0.72	23.07	0.25	4.84	0.49	16.31	0.42
Cars and trucks, new	26.44	2.52	83.84	0.86	20.37	1.94	61.11	1.32
Cars and trucks, used	64.83	2.42	76.45	0.83	27.38	1.73	65.55	2.12
Children under two (apparel)	8.01	1.02	23.95	0.35	13.58	1.73	31.84	0.95
Drugstores	137.27	2.81	131.93	0.96	62.16	1.86	77.89	1.13
Fees and admissions	10.66	3.51	220.92	1.21	53.12	4.28	222.60	2.39
Fish and seafood	17.52	0.45	5.39	0.15	9.89	0.76	9.65	0.55
Floor coverings	12.43	1.5	58.77	0.52	13.99	1.37	47.77	0.90
Food at home	455.5	4.52	289.08	1.55	202.92	3.49	185.97	1.95
Food away from home	633.28	25.17	1,637.35	8.64	450.99	20.08	1,271.08	14.72
Footwear	85.95	3.75	121.96	1.29	66.83	3.79	92.21	2.12
Fruits and vegetables	13.08	0.67	13.35	0.23	29.77	2.11	54.26	2.22
Fuel oil and other fuels	3.17	0.86	10.73	0.29	4.66	1.05	11.40	0.78
Furniture	61.02	2.78	108.83	0.95	43.52	2.34	78.31	1.48
Gasoline and motor oil	256.12	5.47	316.94	1.88	163.51	4.88	243.25	3.99
Health care	464.98	35.87	1,767.71	12.31	549.14	36.37	1,533.58	21.61
Household textiles	-0.56	0.45	10.41	0.16	0.47	0.59	11.51	0.35

Maintenance and repairs	466.26	11.35	715.56	3.89	336.79	11.81	679.53	11.87
Major appliances	4.18	1.04	35.54	0.36	1.73	0.55	21.13	0.47
Meat and poultry	30.22	0.92	22.92	0.31	20.01	1.17	30.87	1.14
Men and boys	35.33	1.75	40.27	0.6	22.87	1.65	32.12	0.99
Miscellaneous household equipment	12.42	2.45	130.21	0.84	24.03	2.46	116.56	1.57
Other apparel products and services	154.09	6.81	271.24	2.34	178.88	8.77	260.17	4.56
Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services	-9.97	3.67	156.93	1.26	7.01	3.81	144.11	2.40
Other household expenses	23.65	1.22	44.11	0.42	18.18	1.14	35.31	0.75
Other vehicles	3.23	0.81	20.26	0.28	1.40	0.46	12.80	0.39
Personal care products and services	81.03	6.48	387.59	2.22	140.55	7.91	401.70	4.40
Personal services	295.86	3.28	198.26	1.13	376.77	6.66	214.01	2.36
Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment	-7.79	2.18	111.17	0.75	15.24	3.42	135.51	1.89
Postage and stationery	5.59	1	35.53	0.34	8.45	1.06	31.34	0.67
Reading	16.56	1.67	52.64	0.57	12.93	1.38	40.99	0.99
Television, radios, and sound equipment	51.06	2.49	114.64	0.85	40.99	2.32	93.22	1.64
Tobacco products and smoking supplies	1.39	0.76	22.44	0.26	1.65	0.62	17.65	0.49
Women and girls	82.01	4.69	136.14	1.61	68.57	4.65	108.03	2.58

*Notes:* Regressions without controls are linear regressions of the number of establishments in the zip code on black and non-black population, respectively. Regressions with controls include zip code characteristics (income, age, education, and geographic size) entered multiplicatively.



of zip code entry in a category on population groups. Population is measured in millions, allowing the following interpretation of the no-controls specification in the first row. An additional million non-black persons bring forth 86 additional liquor stores, while an additional million blacks bring forth 132 additional liquor stores. In general, as with this first row, the non-black coefficients exceed the black coefficients. We expect this, given that whites have larger expenditures than blacks.

While the white coefficients are generally larger, the ratio of white to black coefficients is not constant. For example, some of the black coefficients (e.g., fish and seafood) are absolutely larger than white coefficients. Others are substantially lower (e.g., pets, toys, etc).

The regressions in the first half of table 6.6 are very parsimonious. The goal of the regressions is to determine what is experienced in zip codes that differ in their mix of, say, blacks and others. As an alternative strategy, we can add observables to the regression to control for the differences between, say, blacks and whites relevant to entry. Our goal is to determine whether entry patterns are responsive to preferences. If blacks were poor, then the mix of establishments could differ across neighborhoods simply because of differences in income rather than differences in preferences distinct from income. To address this—at least through observables—we repeat the exercises in table 6.6, adding zip code-level controls for education, income, age, and land area of the zip code.

Our basic notion is that entry is responsive to market size, and the basic measure of market size is population. We allow the other variables to enter multiplicatively via the following specification:

$$N_z = (\alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \text{bpop}_z + \alpha_2 \text{wpop}_z) \times \exp(\beta_1 \% \text{lowinc}_z + \beta_2 \% \text{college}_z + \beta_3 \% \text{old}_z + \beta_4 \text{sq\_miles}) + \varepsilon_z.$$

The latter half of table 6.6 reports partial results, the coefficients on black and white population. As before, entry depends—possibly—differently on black and non-black population. But here, variables like the share of households in the zip code with low income enter multiplicatively via the exponential function. If the black coefficient in the basic entry equations is lower simply because heavily black zip codes tend to be poor, then controlling for income directly lessens the effect of, say, income that is measure through race.

When we do this, the multiplicative controls are generally significant, often with economic importance. However, the resulting linear coefficients on black and white population are quite similar to the coefficients in the raw equation. If we create vectors of ratios of black/white coefficients across categories, the correlation of these vectors across the raw and with-controls equation is 0.78. Because the demographic controls do not change the results, we proceed with the parsimonious specifications in what follows.

Because blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are concentrated in particular

regions, we also estimated these models with Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) fixed effects. To avoid the possibility that the coefficients on these groups are picking up features of the areas where they live, we ran regressions including just MSA zip codes in the sample and including MSA fixed effects as regressors, with nearly identical results.

We repeat the exercise of the first half of table 6.6 for five additional breakdowns: Asians versus non-Asians, people under age sixty-five and those over age sixty-five, Hispanic status, college educated by non-college educated, and low versus high income. While these regressions produce too many numbers to easily examine directly, they reveal some interesting patterns. For example, the Asian coefficients on food away from home, fruits and vegetables, and fish and seafood far exceed the non-Asian coefficients. The over age sixty-five coefficients for health care, alcoholic beverages, drug-stores, fees and admissions, and food away from home far exceed younger persons' coefficients.

Finally, we also estimated each of the models previously described using the binary dependent variable indicating the presence of a category outlet in the zip code (as opposed to the number of establishments). For economy of exposition, they are not reported, but the results from these regressions will be incorporated next.

#### 6.3.4 Is Entry Sensitive to Preferences?

It is clear from the evidence like that in table 6.6 that entry patterns vary across zip codes with different mixes of population by age, race, and so on. The question of interest to us is whether entry is sensitive to preferences. That is, in places with large agglomerations of blacks, college-educated persons, or so forth, do the agglomerating groups get access to more of the products they prefer? We examine this by comparing our crude measure of relative preferences (relative expenditure) to a simple measure of relative entry sensitivity. To be clear, we measure *relative preference* as the ratio of a group's average household expenditure on this category to the average household category expenditure of the group's complement. We measure *relative entry sensitivity* as the ratio of the group's entry coefficient to the entry coefficient for the group's complement. Here, we have two possible measures of entry sensitivity based on numbers of outlets and on whether an outlet exists. We use the term *relative presence sensitivity* as opposed to *relative entry sensitivity* for the latter.

Figures 6.2 through 6.7 show how relative preferences relate to relative entry sensitivity, and figures 6.8 through 6.13 relate relative preferences to relative presence sensitivity. Many of these figures depict an unmistakably positive relationship. Table 6.7 reports measures of association between relative preferences and relative entry (and presence) sensitivity for each pair of groups. We report both the correlation and the Spearman rank correlation. Ranks are attractive, because the cardinal value of the relative

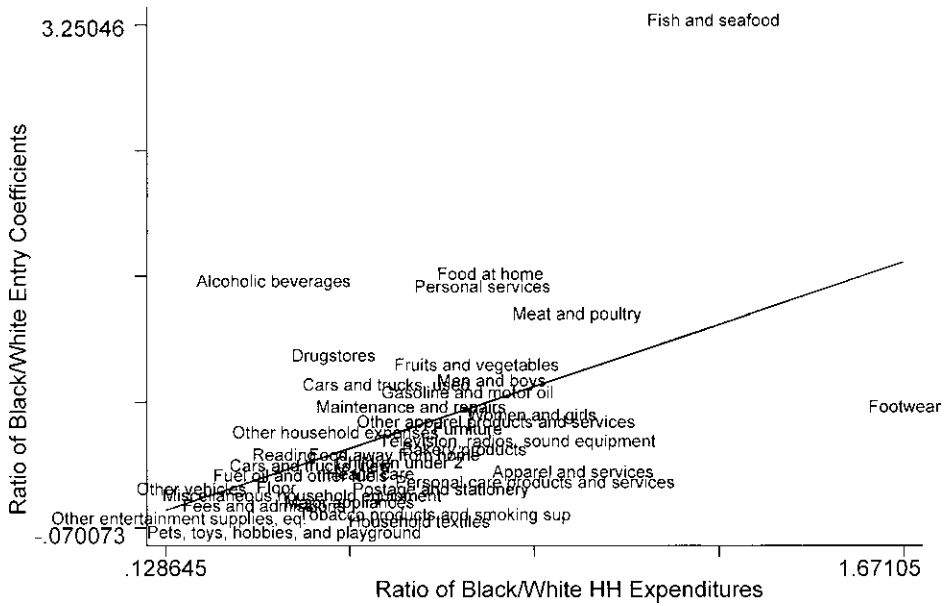


Fig. 6.2 Relative entry versus relative preference

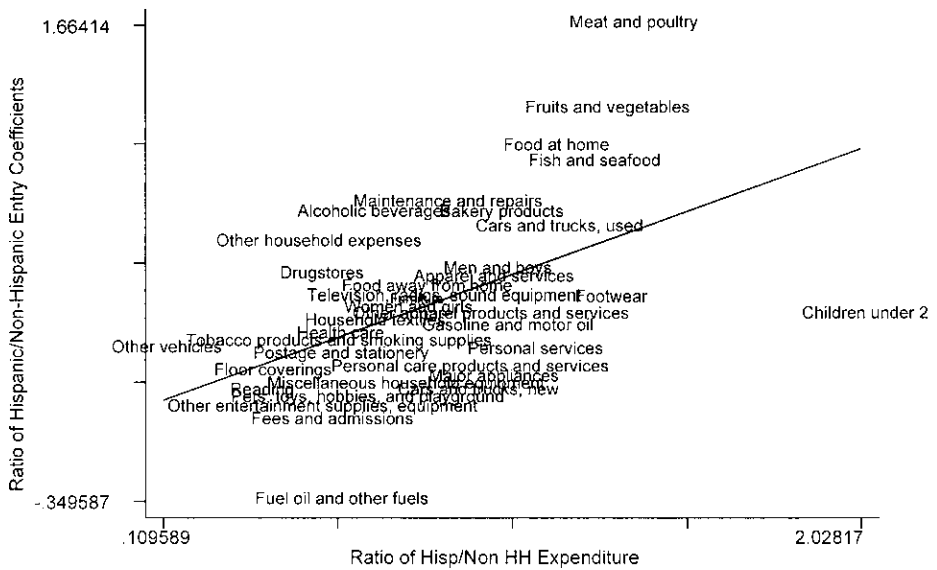


Fig. 6.3 Relative entry versus relative preference

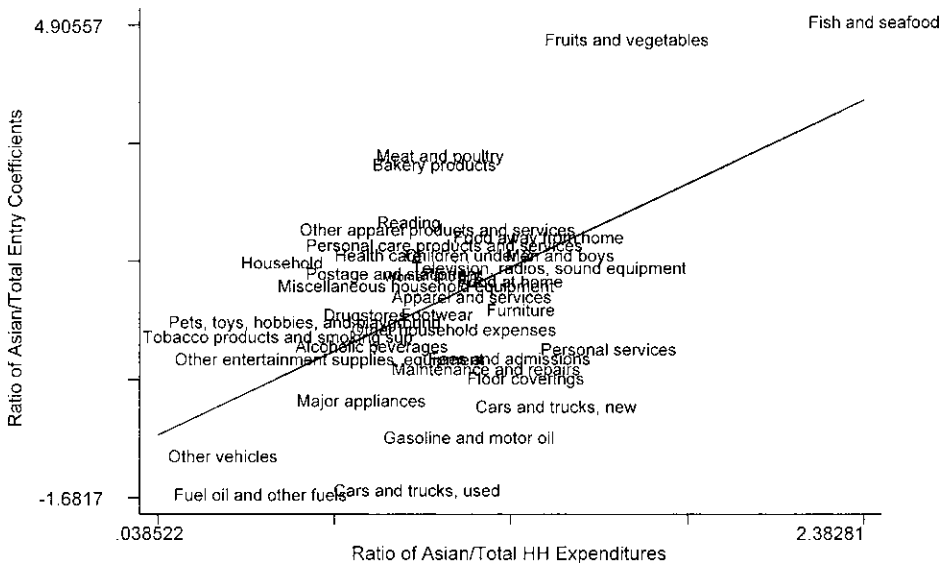


Fig. 6.4 Relative entry versus relative preference

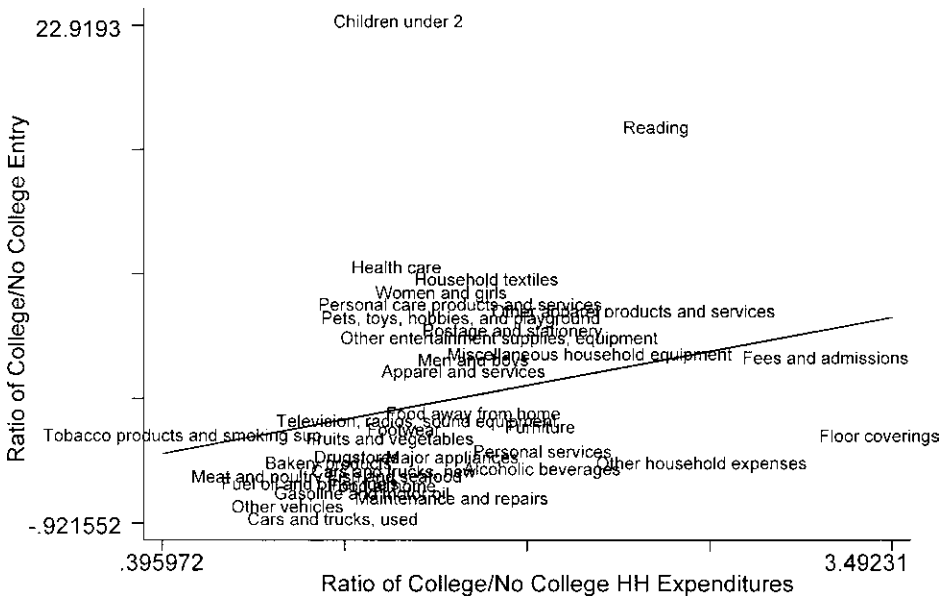
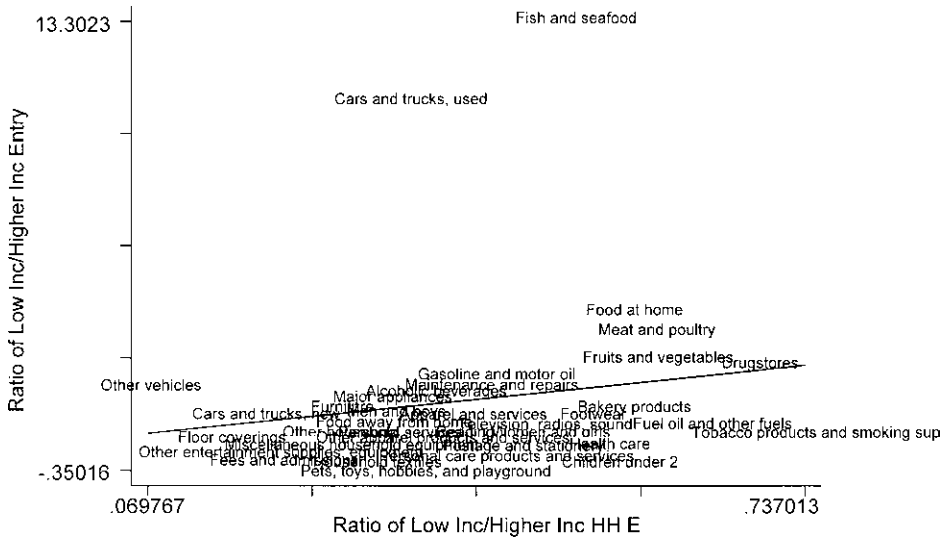
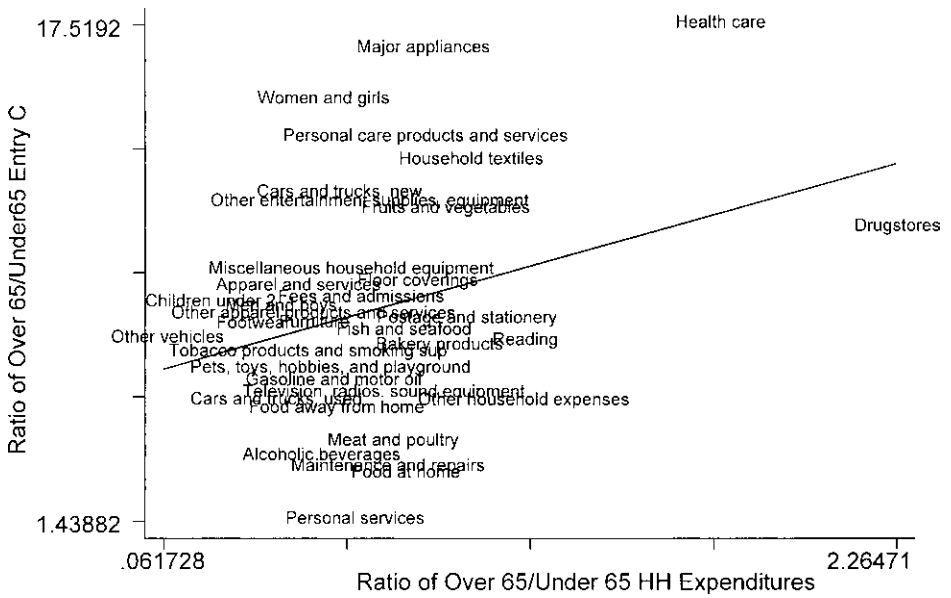


Fig. 6.5 Relative entry versus relative preference



**Fig. 6.6** Relative entry versus relative preference



**Fig. 6.7** Relative entry versus relative preference

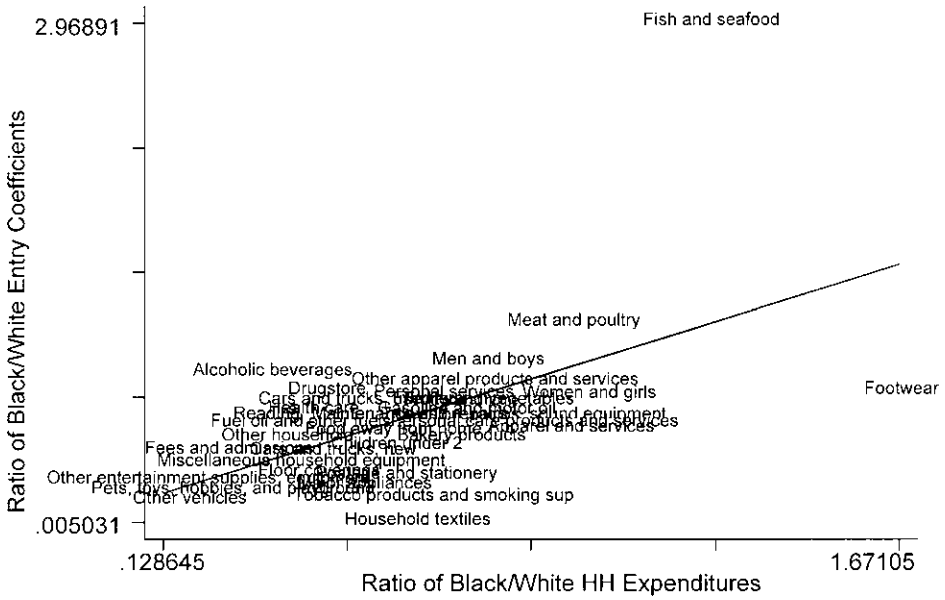


Fig. 6.8 Relative presence versus relative preference

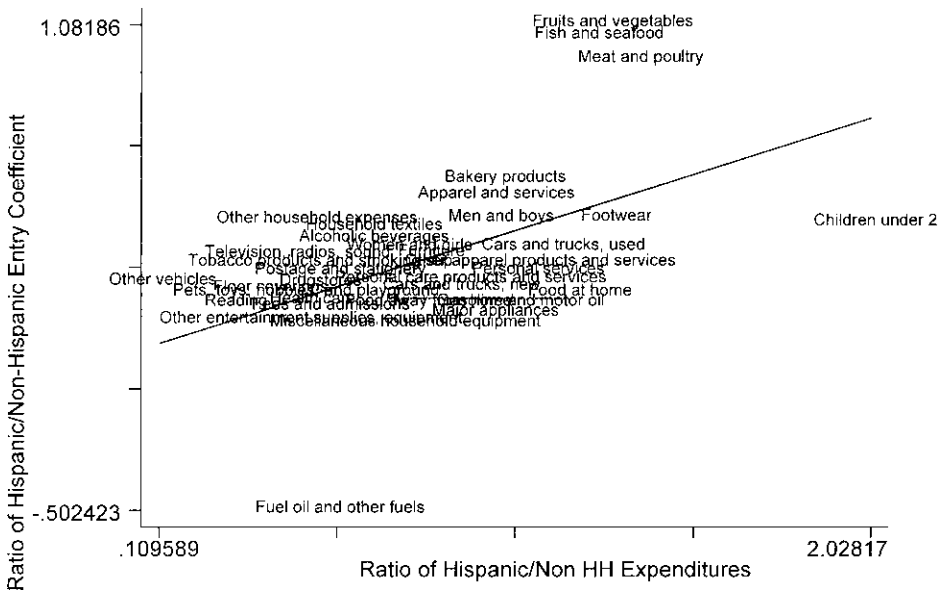


Fig. 6.9 Relative presence versus relative preference

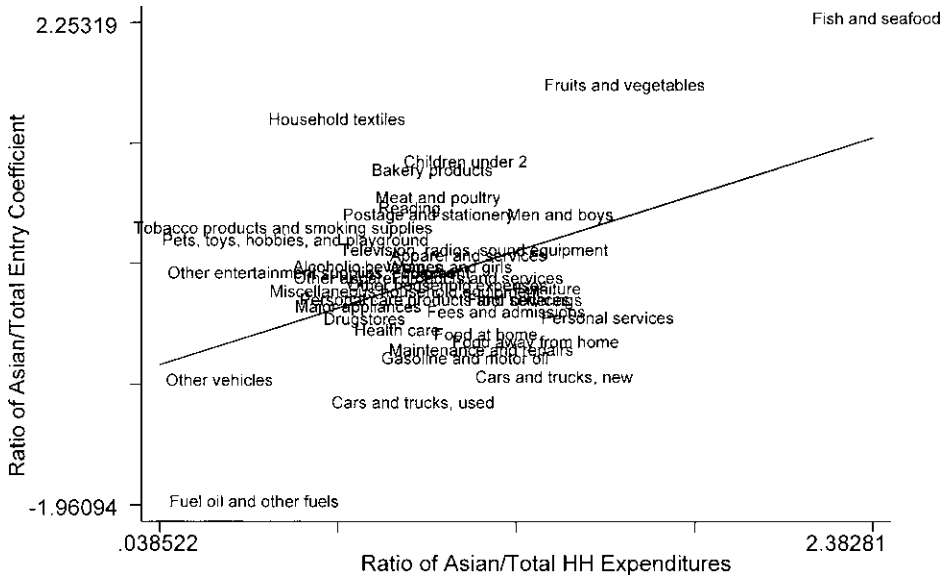


Fig. 6.10 Relative presence versus relative preference

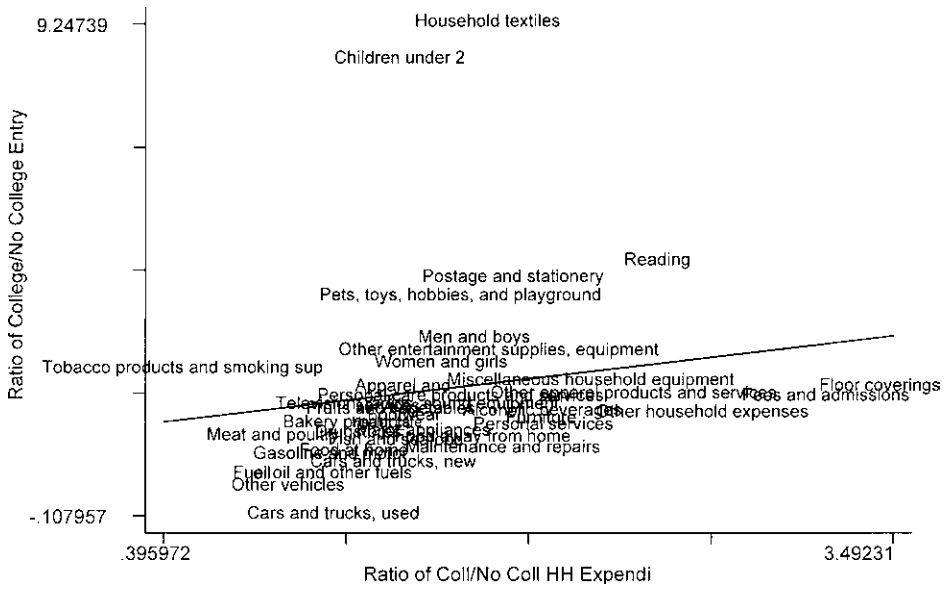
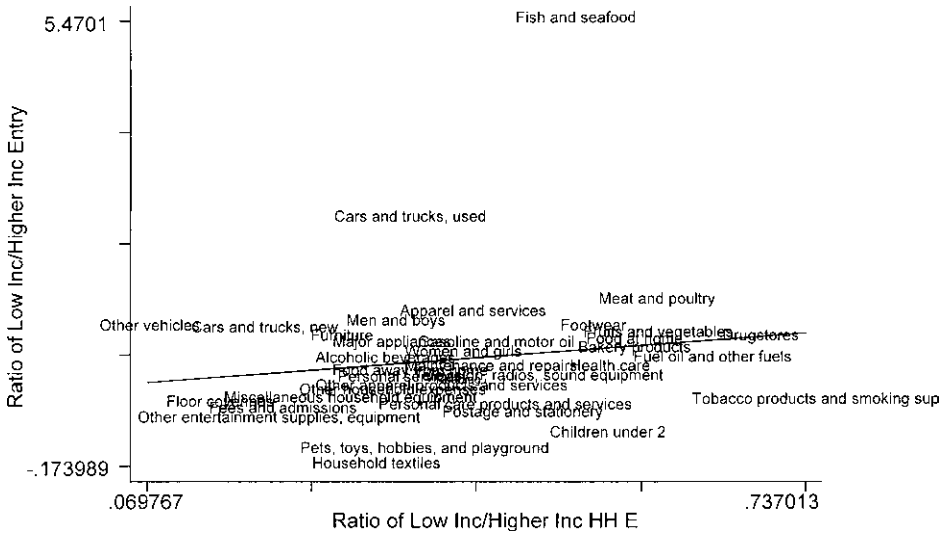
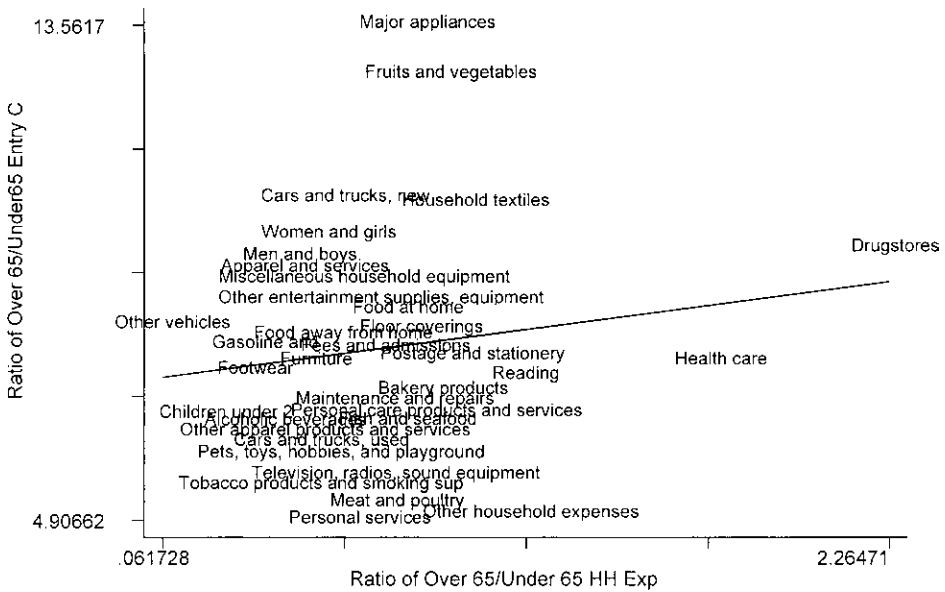


Fig. 6.11 Relative presence versus relative preference



**Fig. 6.12 Relative presence versus relative preference**



**Fig. 6.13 Relative presence versus relative preference**



**Table 6.7** Correlation of relative preferences and relative entry/presence sensitivity

	Entry				Presence			
	Correlation	<i>p</i> -value	Spearman rank correlation	<i>p</i> -value	Correlation	<i>p</i> -value	Spearman rank correlation	<i>p</i> -value
	Black/non-black	0.49	0.0022	0.53	0.0004	0.56	0.0004	0.59
Hispanic/non-Hispanic	0.51	0.0017	0.54	0.0006	0.51	0.0016	0.51	0.001
Asian/non-Asian	0.55	0.0005	0.27	0.114	0.42	0.010	0.08	0.083
Over 65/under 65	0.36	0.03	0.22	0.219	0.32	0.059	0.19	0.269
College/non-college	0.25	0.14	0.51	0.0015	0.17	0.330	0.52	0.001
Low income/higher income	0.17	0.31	0.28	0.101	0.16	0.363	0.22	0.192

entry sensitivity measure (constructed from the ratio of regression coefficients) is somewhat sensitive to small (and sometimes negative) coefficient estimates.

Regardless of the measures used, there are statistically significant relationships between what's available and what's desired for blacks and Hispanics. Across other dimensions, the relationships are less clear. Two of four correlation measures are significant for age and college education. None are significant by income.

## 6.4 Conclusion

In a context with highly aggregated expenditure patterns—and therefore one biased against revealing effects—we document a sensitivity of the nearby availability of products to preferences, measured along multiple dimensions. This evidence indicates that agglomeration rewards members of agglomerating groups via the availability of products in the local market. This in turn may provide part of the explanation for residential segregation. To be sure, our mechanism of product availability is no more than part of the answer. Schools and other publicly provided amenities certainly loom large. But the evidence in this chapter shows that the economics of retail distribution in the presence of substantial fixed costs too may help explain who lives with whom.

Residential segregation by race rose over time in the United States until the 1960s and today stands nearly at its peak. Using zip codes as the unit of analysis, the Duncan “dissimilarity index” (Duncan and Duncan 1955) of black/non-black dissimilarity for 2000 was 0.62, meaning that 62 percent of blacks would have to move in order for the share of the black population to be equal across zip codes. Interestingly, the index is not only high for blacks compared to non-blacks; it is similarly high for Hispanics versus non-Hispanics (0.60) and for Asians versus non-Asians (0.54). Along other dimensions also explored in this chapter, the index is smaller: college versus non-college educated (0.31), over age sixty-five versus under age sixty-five (0.17), and household income below \$25,000 (0.26). While we provide no evidence that product availability causes residential segregation patterns, it is nevertheless interesting that the groups whose sorting seems most demonstrably to produce targeted entry are the most segregated.

Public economists typically think of government-provided goods such as schools and police services as the determinants of residential sorting. Another strand of literature has people choosing neighborhoods on the basis of housing, and some more recent work has individuals choosing neighborhoods based on peers. All of these factors are likely to be important. But goods provided through private markets are important as well.

To the extent that goods and services provided by local governments determine the nature of neighborhoods, individuals can be thought to find

communities appropriate to their preferences by finding jurisdictions where the median voter shares their preferences over government-provided goods. The market-provided goods discussed in this chapter suggest that in their quest for satisfaction, consumers need to agglomerate with consumers as well as citizens who share their preferences.

The ideas explored in this chapter have additional implications that would be useful to pursue in subsequent research. First, it is important to note that this chapter provides only a first step toward assessing the impact of private goods and the tendency to agglomerate. That is, we show that persons of similar preferences who agglomerate experience greater availability of goods targeted to their tastes. While we provide evidence that such agglomeration rewards like-minded agglomerators, we provide no direct evidence that this mechanism *causes* the agglomeration. Second, the idea that agglomeration benefits consumers through supply-side nonconvexities suggests a possibility of nonlinear effects of group size on welfare. That is, if an important good or service is produced with fixed costs, then it will be available when a group's local population passes a threshold, suggesting that subsequent work on agglomeration may focus on tipping and discontinuities. Of course, the threshold differs across goods and services due to different minimum scales, so such effects may be difficult to identify.

## Appendix

### *CEX-NAICS Mapping*

NAICS	NAICS category name	CEX category
441110	New car dealers	Cars and trucks, new
441120	Used car dealers	Cars and trucks, used
441210	Recreational vehicle dealers	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
441221	Motorcycle dealers	Other vehicles
441222	Boat dealers	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
441229	All other motor vehicle dealers	Other vehicles
441310	Automotive parts, accessories, and tire stores	Maintenance and repairs
441320	Tire dealers	Maintenance and repairs
442110	Furniture stores	Furniture
442210	Floor covering stores	Floor coverings
442291	Window treatment stores	Household textiles
443111	Household appliance stores	Major appliances
443112	Radio, television, and other electronics stores	Television, radios, sound equipment
443120	Computer and software stores	Miscellaneous household equipment

NAICS	NAICS category name	CEX category
443130	Camera and photographic supplies stores	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
445110	Grocery (except convenience) stores	Food at home
445120	Convenience stores	Food at home
445210	Meat markets	Beef
445210	Meat markets	Other meats
445210	Meat markets	Pork
445210	Meat markets	Poultry
445220	Fish and seafood markets	Fish and seafood
445230	Fruit and vegetable markets	Fruits and vegetables
445291	Baked goods stores	Bakery products
445310	Beer, wine, and liquor stores	Alcoholic beverages
446110	Pharmacies and drug stores	Drugs
446110	Pharmacies and drug stores	Medical supplies
446120	Cosmetics, beauty supplies, and perfume stores	Personal care products and services
447110	Gasoline stations with convenience stores	Gasoline and motor oil
447190	Other gasoline stations	Gasoline and motor oil
448110	Men's clothing stores	Men and boys
448120	Women's clothing stores	Women and girls
448130	Children's and infants' clothing stores	Children under two
448140	Family clothing stores	Apparel and services
448190	Other clothing stores	Other apparel products and services
448210	Shoe stores	Footwear
448310	Jewelry stores	Other apparel products and services
451110	Sporting goods stores	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
451120	Hobby, toy, and game stores	Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment
451211	Book stores	Reading
451212	News dealers and newsstands	Reading
451220	Prerecorded tape, CD, and record stores	Television, radios, sound equipment
453110	Florists	Miscellaneous household equipment
453210	Office supplies and stationery stores	Postage and stationery
453910	Pet and pet supplies stores	Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment
453991	Tobacco stores	Tobacco products and smoking supplies
454311	Heating oil dealers	Fuel oil and other fuels
512131	Motion picture theaters (except drive-ins)	Fees and admissions
512132	Drive-in motion picture theaters	Fees and admissions
532230	Video tape and disc rental	Fees and admissions
621111	Offices of physicians (except mental health)	Health care
621112	Offices of physicians, mental health	Health care
621210	Offices of dentists	Health care

(continued)

NAICS	NAICS category name	CEX category
621310	Offices of chiropractors	Health care
621320	Offices of optometrists	Health care
621330	Offices of other mental health practitioners	Health care
621340	Offices of PT, OT, speech therapy, and audiology	Health care
621391	Offices of podiatrists	Health care
621399	Offices of all other miscellaneous health practitioners	Health care
621410	Family planning centers	Health care
621420	Outpatient mental health, substance abuse centers	Health care
621491	HMO medical centers	Health care
621492	Kidney dialysis centers	Health care
621493	Freestanding ambulatory surgery, emergency centers	Health care
621498	All other outpatient care centers	Health care
624410	Child day care services	Personal services
713110	Amusement and theme parks	Fees and admissions
713910	Golf courses and country clubs	Fees and admissions
713920	Skiing facilities	Fees and admissions
713930	Marinas	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
713940	Fitness and recreational sports centers	Fees and admissions
713950	Bowling centers	Fees and admissions
722110	Full-service restaurants	Food away from home
722211	Limited-service restaurants	Food away from home
722212	Cafeterias	Food away from home
722213	Snack and nonalcoholic beverage bars	Food away from home
722330	Mobile food services	Food away from home
722410	Drinking places (alcoholic beverages)	Food away from home
811111	General automotive repair	Maintenance and repairs
811112	Automotive exhaust system repair	Maintenance and repairs
811113	Automotive transmission repair	Maintenance and repairs
811118	Other automotive mechanical and electrical R&M	Maintenance and repairs
811121	Automotive body, paint, and interior R&M	Maintenance and repairs
811122	Automotive glass replacement shops	Maintenance and repairs
811191	Automotive oil change and lubrication shops	Maintenance and repairs
811412	Appliance repair and maintenance	Other household expenses
811420	Reupholstery and furniture repair	Other household expenses
812111	Barber shops	Personal care products and services
812112	Beauty salons	Personal care products and services
812113	Nail salons	Personal care products and services
812320	Drycleaning and laundry services (except coin-operated)	Other apparel products and services
812910	Pet care (except veterinary) services	Pets, toys, hobbies, and playground equipment

NAICS	NAICS category name	CEX category
812921	Photofinishing laboratories (except one-hour)	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services
812922	One-hour photofinishing	Other entertainment supplies, equipment, and services

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