
**THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF
HOUSING-RELATED TAX BENEFITS
IN THE UNITED STATES**

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ABSTRACT

Despite the considerable attention paid to the fact that owner-occupied housing is subsidized by the U.S. tax code, little is known about how the benefits are geographically distributed. In this paper, we estimate how tax benefits to owner-occupied housing are distributed spatially across the United States, calculating their value as the difference in taxes currently paid by home owners and the taxes owners would pay if there were no preference for investing in one's home relative to other assets.

Key conclusions of the analysis are:

- The tax benefit is large, amounting to \$164 billion nationally on an annual basis, based on 1990 data.
- The tax benefit is highly skewed spatially, with a few areas receiving large benefits and most areas receiving small ones. If the program were self-financed on a lump sum basis, less than 20 percent of states and 10 percent of metropolitan areas would have net positive benefits. These few metropolitan areas are situated almost exclusively along the California coast and in the Northeast from Washington, DC to Boston.
- Nationally, the tax preference for owner-occupied housing results in a net transfer of just over \$18 billion from central city areas to outlying areas of the country. This amounts to 11 percent of overall program costs.
- At the state level, California stands out because it receives 25 percent of the national aggregate benefit flow while being home to only 10 percent of the country's owners. California is by far the biggest net recipient of tax benefits in aggregate, receiving over \$22 billion from the rest of the nation – more than all the other net positive beneficiaries combined. Even given California's large population, this amounts to \$2,211 per household and \$3,953 per owner-occupied housing unit.
- At the metropolitan area level, owners in just three large Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs) receive over 75 percent of all positive net benefits. These three areas are the New York City-Northern New Jersey CMSA, the Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA, and the San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose CMSA.
- Finally, there is substantial evidence of spatial skewness in benefits within metropolitan areas, as the Census tracts with the top quarter of owners receive 40 percent or more of the total benefit flowing to the relevant area in most of the larger areas on the nation's two coasts.

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THE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING-RELATED TAX BENEFITS IN THE UNITED STATES

I. INTRODUCTION

With 65 percent of U.S. households owning their own homes at a given point in time and a higher percentage owning a house at some point during their lifetimes, the tax treatment of owner-occupied housing is one aspect of the tax code that affects many people's daily lives. Owner-occupied housing is favored by the current tax system because owner occupants are able to deduct certain expenses without having to declare any related income on the asset. Specifically, mortgage interest and local property taxes are deductible from taxable income for those who itemize, while no owner occupant has to include the rental value of the home as part of taxable income.

This favoritism shown owner-occupied housing has important economic effects. The mortgage interest and property tax deductions, in conjunction with the non-taxation of imputed rent, reduce the cost of owner-occupied housing relative to other investments [Hendershott and Slemrod (1983), Poterba (1984)], encourage home ownership and higher housing consumption [Rosen (1979), King (1980), Henderson and Ioannides (1989)], and perhaps even lead to overinvestment in the asset class [Mills (1987), Feldstein (1987)]. The benefit may raise house prices [Capozza, Green, and Hendershott (1996), Bruce and Holtz-Eakin (1998), Sinai (1998)] and encourage suburbanization [Gyourko and Voith (2000)]. The tax treatment of owner-occupied housing also favors high-income people or those who own expensive houses [Poterba (1992)].

Despite the considerable attention paid to the tax treatment of owner-occupied housing, little is known about the geographical distribution of this benefit. It is, however, important to consider the extent to which some areas of the country receive a greater share of the annual flow of tax code-related benefits to owner-occupied housing, both to see if resources are flowing from some locations to others and to determine if some elements of the tax code may be more sensitive to a policy change.

In this paper we document where the tax benefits flow spatially, both within and across states and within and across metropolitan areas. Benefit value is calculated as the difference in taxes currently paid by home owners and the taxes owners would pay if there were no preference for investing in one's home relative to other assets. Using 1990 Census tract-level data, we estimate the tax benefit to owner-occupied housing for the nation as a whole to be quite large - almost \$164 billion in 1989, corresponding to \$2,802 per home owner and \$1,815 per household. The bulk of the current benefits flow to relatively few owners. For example, in terms of benefit flows, the census tracts containing the top 10 percent of the country's owners receive 34 percent of the aggregate gross benefit and the top half of owners receive nearly 80 percent.

Tax benefits also turn out to be highly skewed spatially. In only 12 cases does a state's share of the gross benefit exceed its share of the nation's owner-occupied housing units. California alone reaps \$41.5 billion, or 25 percent, of the gross benefits under the program while being home to only 10 percent of the owner-occupied units in the country. The program also effectively transfers just

over \$18 billion from census tracts in cities to those outside cities. This aggregate result is driven by relatively few states, including California, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In fact, in over half the states, the transfers go the other direction – from suburban tracts to city tracts – albeit at much lower levels.

This spatial variation and distortion – often masked by the national aggregate numbers – becomes even more apparent when we analyze benefits across metropolitan areas. Ten percent of metropolitan areas receive more than the national average benefit per owner-occupier. Even among this small group of areas, benefit flows are highly concentrated. When program costs are accounted for by assuming the program is self-financed via lump sum payments made by each household, we find that owners in just three large Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs) – Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, New York-Northern New Jersey, and San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose – receive just over 75 percent of all positive net benefits measured at the metropolitan area level.

The spatial distribution of benefits within metropolitan areas can be skewed as well, although this varies considerably across areas. In many metropolitan areas (especially the smaller ones away from the two coasts) benefits tend to be relatively evenly distributed across owners. By contrast, in a number of the larger metropolitan areas the top quarter of owners receives 70 percent or more of the total benefit flowing to the area. The intra-metropolitan area spatial distribution of benefits also differs considerably across areas. In some places such as the Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City CMSA, the tracts receiving the highest benefit flows tend to be concentrated in a relatively few, almost exclusively suburban jurisdictions. In other areas, such as the Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County CMSA, the top benefit recipient tracts are more widely distributed across the region with a good number within the city of Los Angeles itself.

It is noteworthy that our findings are not simply a reflection of the progressivity of the tax code. One would expect benefits to be skewed towards high-income households under a progressive rate structure, and if these households live close to each other that could account for the spatial patterns we identify. However, high-income, high tax bracket owners tend to reside in disproportionately valuable homes so that the tax code is interacting with housing consumption to provide an extremely skewed benefit distribution. For example, the share of the national benefit received by the 17 percent of the nation's owners who reside in the top 10 percent of census tracts in terms of benefit flows was 1.6 times their share of national taxes paid. While richer owners certainly do pay a large share of taxes, they receive an even larger share of this program's benefit flows. Stated differently: in 1989 the tax benefit distribution was more regressive than the tax code is progressive – by a fairly wide margin.

The remainder of the paper proceeds as follows. Section Two reports our results beginning with an analysis of the aggregate distribution of the housing-related tax benefits, and how this tax program redistributes income across states, and concluding with an analysis of the distribution between and within metropolitan areas. Section Three provides an analysis of the factors generating

the spatial effects. Section Four is the conclusion and summary. An in-depth piece in which we describe in detail the tax benefit to owner-occupied housing and how we measure it can be found on the Brookings Urban Center web site (www.brookings.edu/urban).

II. DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSING-RELATED TAX BENEFITS

A. Aggregate Distribution

There were 90.2 million households in the nation in 1989, with over 61 million residing outside of central cities.¹ The propensity to own is high, with 58.4 million or 65 percent of all households being owner-occupiers – 71 percent of those living outside of central cities and 50 percent of those living inside of central cities.²

Table 1 reports aggregate, per owner-occupied housing unit, and per household values of the aggregate tax benefit for the U.S. The gross value to owners of all housing-related tax benefits for the country in 1989 was nearly \$164 billion (top panel). Sixty-two percent derives from the untaxed return on home equity. Nearly \$43 billion, or 26 percent of total tax benefits, is due to mortgage interest.³ One might expect a higher fraction of the tax benefits to be generated by mortgage interest deductions since 35 percent of aggregate house value is debt financed. However, not all owners itemize on their tax returns, and since one must itemize to reap the tax benefit from the mortgage interest deduction, this tax benefit is reduced. This particular issue underpins some of our results below in that the probability of itemizing increases with income, thereby skewing the benefits toward higher income owners.⁴ The remaining \$20 billion in housing-related tax benefits is generated from the deduction of local property taxes.

¹ This calculation is made based on central city designations of the Office of Management and Budget.

² The national homeownership rate has increased since 1989 to 67.7 percent in 2000.

³ Our \$43 billion estimate of the value of mortgage interest deductions overstates the value based on computations using the *Statistics of Income* (SOI) by about \$6 billion. One reason is that the SOI calculation will underestimate the true benefit value since it does not add back foregone equity as income. In addition, we suspect that some of the discrepancy is due to the fact that our deduction imputation procedure does not take account of the possibility that taxpayers who itemize tend to have deductions in multiple categories. Hence, we probably underestimate the total amount of deductions and therefore apply a higher tax rate to housing deductions than we do with the SOI, where we observe each taxpayer's actual deductions.

⁴ The annual benefit for the mortgage interest deduction increased during the 1990s. The U.S. Treasury estimates that in fiscal year 2000, the mortgage interest deduction provided a benefit to homeowners of \$55.1 billion while the annual benefit associated with the property tax deduction remained roughly the same: \$19.5 billion. However, the federal budget for fiscal year 2002 estimates the mortgage interest deduction at \$65.7 billion and the property tax deduction at \$25.6 billion.

**Table 1: The Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits—
Aggregate, Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit, and Per Household**

<i>Aggregate (\$billions)</i>			
Total \$163.8	Untaxed Equity Return \$101.7	Home Mortgage Interest \$42.6	Local Property Tax \$19.6
<i>Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit</i>			
Total \$2802	Untaxed Equity Return \$1739	Home Mortgage Interest \$728	Local Property Tax \$335
<i>Per Household</i>			
Total \$1815	Untaxed Equity Return \$1126	Home Mortgage Interest \$471	Local Property Tax \$217

This benefit is sizeable. Gross program benefits are \$2,802 per owner-occupied housing unit. This figure results from dividing the \$163.8 billion in aggregate benefits by the 58.4 million owned units in the nation.

All tax benefits must be paid in some way, of course. We assume the program is self-financing on a lump sum basis. This means that every household, including owners and renters, pays the same amount to fund the \$163.8 billion in aggregate tax benefits.⁵ The program can cover its costs if each household pays \$1,815. By definition, this equals aggregate tax benefits divided by the 90.2 million owner and renter households existing in 1990.

Under this assumption, net benefits to owners on average are only \$987 (\$2,802-\$1,815). Renters, who receive nothing from the tax benefit to owners, still have to help pay for the program. Thus, renters suffer a net outflow in the amount of the \$1,815 mean program cost.⁶

⁵ Although the government does not actually fund programs with lump sum taxes, this assumption allows us to isolate the distributional effects of this tax benefit separately from effects due to the progressivity of the tax code.

⁶ One might argue that the current code subsidizes renters because landlords are able to deduct various expenses and competition may force them to pass along some of the tax code-related benefits to their tenants. However, comparing the current tax system to our neutral one nets out any benefit to renters. Since the taxation of landlords is unchanged across the two tax systems, eliminating the benefit for owner-occupiers will not affect renters, other than by saving them the \$1,815 mean program cost. The current code would subsidize renters if landlords are allowed to depreciate income properties for tax purposes faster than true economic depreciation – and if that were passed along to renters in the form of lower rent. However, taxing owner-occupiers like landlords would not change the depreciation schedule and, therefore, would not affect the benefit to renters. We would overestimate the loss to *owner-occupiers* of “eliminating” their benefit since it would be replaced by another one – accelerated depreciation. However, while one could argue that the statutory depreciable life in 1981 (of 15 years) was shorter than true economic depreciation, the situation

Finally, it is clear that the benefit is not only large but is far from uniformly distributed across owners. Comparing the cumulative gross aggregate benefit against the cumulative percentage of owners in the nation indicates the distribution of benefit is skewed towards a relatively few owners. For example, the top 10 percent of owners receive 34 percent of all aggregate benefits, the top 25 percent of owners receive 59 percent of the total benefit, and the top 50 percent of owners reap 80 percent of aggregate program benefit.⁷ While the benefit clearly is skewed in aggregate, the remainder of this section focuses on whether the benefit also is spatially skewed.

B. Spatial Distribution: State-Level Results

Table 2 presents data on gross and net program benefits at the state level, with the latter being measured net of the \$1,815 program cost per household. The first column reports the value of total tax code-related benefits per owner-occupied housing unit for the fifty states and the District of Columbia. There is wide variation around the \$2,802 average value for the nation reported in Table 1. The state means range from a low of \$775 in South Dakota to \$9,181 in Hawaii. The aggregate value of gross tax benefits in each state is reported in column 2. This is the product of the per owner number in the first column and the number of owners in the state.

One way of characterizing the state-to-state differences in benefits is by comparing the state's share of the gross aggregate tax benefits to its share of the country's owners. Column 3, graphed in Figure 1, shows that only 11 states plus the District of Columbia have benefit ratios greater than one. California is a prime example: although it has only 10 percent of the country's owned units, it receives more than 25 percent of the country's aggregate tax code-related benefits to owners, for a benefit ratio of 2.6. Hawaii has the highest benefit ratio, with a tax benefit share of 1.1 percent but only 0.3 percent of owned units. South Dakota has the lowest benefit ratio, as its benefit share is only one quarter that of its share of the nation's home owners.

Columns 4 and 5 of Table 2 present net benefit figures – per owned unit and in aggregate, respectively – with the net benefit per owned unit equaling the total tax benefit per owned unit from the first column less the \$1,815 presumed program cost per household. Figure 2 plots the numbers in column 4, with states ordered from lowest to highest benefit level. The negative values reported for 26 states indicate that the per household lump-sum program cost exceeded the average tax benefit in these areas. However, there is not much variation in the net negative benefits per owned unit among those states, and the biggest negative transfer states do not have large populations. It also is clear from Figure 2 that the benefit to those states whose owners are net recipients is highly skewed, with home owners in Hawaii receiving much more benefit per household than owners in Pennsylvania, the state with the lowest positive net benefit.

post-1986 is more akin to one in which economic depreciation is not very different from statutory depreciation.

⁷ Because our underlying data are at the tract level, we ranked tracts in order of gross benefit flow and summed across the number of owners in those tracts.

Aggregate net benefits to owners are reported in column 5. The overall benefit to a state as a whole must take into account the program costs paid by renters. Renter household costs are reported in column 6 and are based on the assumption discussed above that each renter household pays \$1,815 to support the home ownership benefit program.⁸ Hence, each number in column 6 is negative.

Total net program benefits in each state are reported in column 7. These figures are the sum of columns 5 and 6, which are the net benefits to owners and renters, respectively. A positive number indicates the state receives a net transfer from other states under the program. There are only twelve states (including the District of Columbia) who are net recipients under the program once lump sum financing costs are taken into account. Figure 3 plots this state-level net transfer series and highlights how skewed the benefits are even among these dozen areas.

California is, by far, the biggest recipient in aggregate, receiving over \$22 billion from the rest of the nation – more than all the other net positive beneficiaries combined. Even given California's large population, this amounts to \$2,211 per household and \$3,953 per owner-occupied unit. Owners in Hawaii receive much bigger transfers of \$5,994 on average, but the smaller number of owners puts the state's net benefit at only \$1.1 billion. To put these numbers in perspective, the mean annual benefit paid to poor families nationwide on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) in 1995 was \$4,524. Other net recipients are: Delaware, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, the District of Columbia, Virginia, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York.

Texas clearly is the biggest loser on a statewide basis, suffering a negative net transfer of \$6 billion. This amounts to \$997 for each of the approximately six million households in the state. Other large aggregate losers include the high population states of Florida, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Michigan.

⁸ The number of rental households is computed as the difference between the total number of households reported in the census and the number of owned units.

Table 2: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by State, Gross and Net of Program Costs

State	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
	Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	Value of Net Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	Program Costs to Renter Households	Net Transfer by State {=[5]+[6]}
ALABAMA	\$1,158	\$1,229	0.41	-\$657	-\$696,592,352	-\$797,258,715	-\$1,493,851,067
ALASKA	\$2,015	\$213	0.72	\$200	\$21,123,613	-\$139,001,775	-\$117,878,162
ARIZONA	\$2,002	\$1,702	0.71	\$187	\$159,141,134	-\$875,710,275	-\$716,569,141
ARKANSAS	\$1,064	\$650	0.38	-\$751	-\$459,278,478	-\$320,394,690	-\$779,673,168
CALIFORNIA	\$7,198	\$41,465	2.56	\$5,383	\$31,009,129,124	-\$8,238,613,515	\$22,770,515,609
COLORADO	\$2,073	\$1,648	0.74	\$258	\$204,831,551	-\$861,085,005	-\$656,253,454
CONNECTICUT	\$6,200	\$4,981	2.21	\$4,385	\$3,523,096,557	-\$756,985,680	\$2,766,110,877
DELAWARE	\$2,985	\$519	1.06	\$1,170	\$203,314,038	-\$132,429,660	\$70,884,378
DIST. COLUMBIA	\$7,535	\$730	2.68	\$5,720	\$553,813,539	-\$266,282,280	\$287,531,259
FLORIDA	\$1,924	\$6,548	0.69	\$109	\$369,608,671	-\$3,015,105,225	-\$2,645,496,554
GEORGIA	\$1,987	\$3,049	0.71	\$172	\$264,254,055	-\$1,486,559,415	-\$1,222,305,360
HAWAII	\$9,181	\$1,742	3.27	\$7,366	\$1,397,511,926	-\$260,254,665	\$1,137,257,261
IDAHO	\$1,409	\$355	0.50	-\$406	-\$102,322,576	-\$194,070,690	-\$296,393,266
ILLINOIS	\$2,560	\$6,870	0.91	\$745	\$1,998,726,844	-\$2,632,220,085	-\$633,493,241
INDIANA	\$1,221	\$1,764	0.43	-\$594	-\$858,069,033	-\$1,098,519,675	-\$1,956,588,708
IOWA	\$1,247	\$915	0.44	-\$568	-\$416,739,821	-\$570,928,215	-\$987,668,036
KANSAS	\$1,234	\$779	0.44	-\$581	-\$366,913,385	-\$536,942,340	-\$903,855,725
KENTUCKY	\$1,220	\$903	0.43	-\$595	-\$440,360,566	-\$616,050,930	-\$1,056,411,496
LOUISIANA	\$1,100	\$1,082	0.39	-\$715	-\$702,989,515	-\$900,043,980	-\$1,603,033,495
MAINE	\$2,307	\$756	0.82	\$492	\$161,198,099	-\$249,103,305	-\$87,905,206
MARYLAND	\$3,990	\$4,530	1.42	\$2,175	\$2,469,363,795	-\$1,082,994,165	\$1,386,369,630
MASSACHUSETTS	\$4,930	\$6,552	1.76	\$3,115	\$4,139,778,960	-\$1,609,792,470	\$2,529,986,490
MICHIGAN	\$1,804	\$4,375	0.64	-\$11	-\$27,157,457	-\$1,774,855,830	-\$1,802,013,287
MINNESOTA	\$1,903	\$2,244	0.68	\$88	\$104,192,831	-\$831,044,940	-\$726,852,109
MISSISSIPPI	\$945	\$613	0.34	-\$870	-\$564,023,424	-\$462,033,660	-\$1,026,057,084
MISSOURI	\$1,470	\$1,965	0.52	-\$345	-\$460,780,863	-\$1,080,433,200	-\$1,541,214,063
MONTANA	\$1,211	\$249	0.43	-\$604	-\$124,091,305	-\$181,723,245	-\$305,814,550
NEBRASKA	\$1,207	\$474	0.43	-\$608	-\$238,670,924	-\$357,255,525	-\$595,926,449
NEVADA	\$1,982	\$290	0.71	\$167	\$24,360,718	-\$140,504,595	-\$116,143,877
NEW HAMPSHIRE	\$3,214	\$901	1.15	\$1,399	\$392,223,842	-\$237,619,800	\$154,604,042
NEW JERSEY	\$5,482	\$9,790	1.95	\$3,667	\$6,548,725,375	-\$1,734,139,935	\$4,814,585,440
NEW MEXICO	\$1,732	\$632	0.62	-\$83	-\$30,215,238	-\$316,336,350	-\$346,551,588
NEW YORK	\$5,264	\$17,921	1.88	\$3,449	\$11,742,557,228	-\$4,900,327,575	\$6,842,229,653
NORTH CAROLINA	\$1,736	\$2,960	0.62	-\$79	-\$134,979,918	-\$1,438,797,690	-\$1,573,777,608
NORTH DAKOTA	\$942	\$138	0.34	-\$873	-\$127,689,196	-\$140,504,595	-\$268,193,791
OHIO	\$1,512	\$4,161	0.54	-\$303	-\$835,063,531	-\$2,373,243,180	-\$3,208,306,711
OKLAHOMA	\$1,045	\$857	0.37	-\$770	-\$631,591,260	-\$696,976,335	-\$1,328,567,595
OREGON	\$2,026	\$1,405	0.72	\$211	\$146,204,094	-\$731,786,220	-\$585,582,126
PENNSYLVANIA	\$1,856	\$5,888	0.66	\$41	\$128,833,528	-\$2,366,801,745	-\$2,237,968,217
RHODE ISLAND	\$3,911	\$878	1.39	\$2,096	\$470,692,648	-\$274,074,075	\$196,618,573
SOUTH CAROLINA	\$1,547	\$1,358	0.55	-\$268	-\$235,119,238	-\$675,493,995	-\$910,613,233
SOUTH DAKOTA	\$775	\$126	0.28	-\$1,040	-\$168,948,464	-\$153,133,365	-\$322,081,829
TENNESSEE	\$1,187	\$1,496	0.42	-\$628	-\$790,659,507	-\$1,060,803,975	-\$1,851,463,482
TEXAS	\$1,334	\$4,922	0.48	-\$481	-\$1,773,174,716	-\$4,220,241,630	-\$5,993,416,346
UTAH	\$1,658	\$606	0.59	-\$157	-\$57,344,286	-\$302,103,120	-\$359,447,406
VERMONT	\$2,199	\$320	0.78	\$384	\$55,834,195	-\$118,459,605	-\$62,625,410
VIRGINIA	\$3,115	\$4,724	1.11	\$1,300	\$1,971,335,379	-\$1,373,867,880	\$597,467,499
WASHINGTON	\$2,380	\$2,782	0.85	\$565	\$660,853,593	-\$1,243,432,905	-\$582,579,312
WEST VIRGINIA	\$936	\$476	0.33	-\$879	-\$446,630,784	-\$321,725,085	-\$768,355,869
WISCONSIN	\$1,605	\$1,946	0.57	-\$210	-\$254,430,783	-\$1,092,557,400	-\$1,346,988,183
WYOMING	\$1,012	\$115	0.36	-\$803	-\$91,511,434	-\$98,376,630	-\$189,888,064

Figure 1: Benefit Ratio, by State

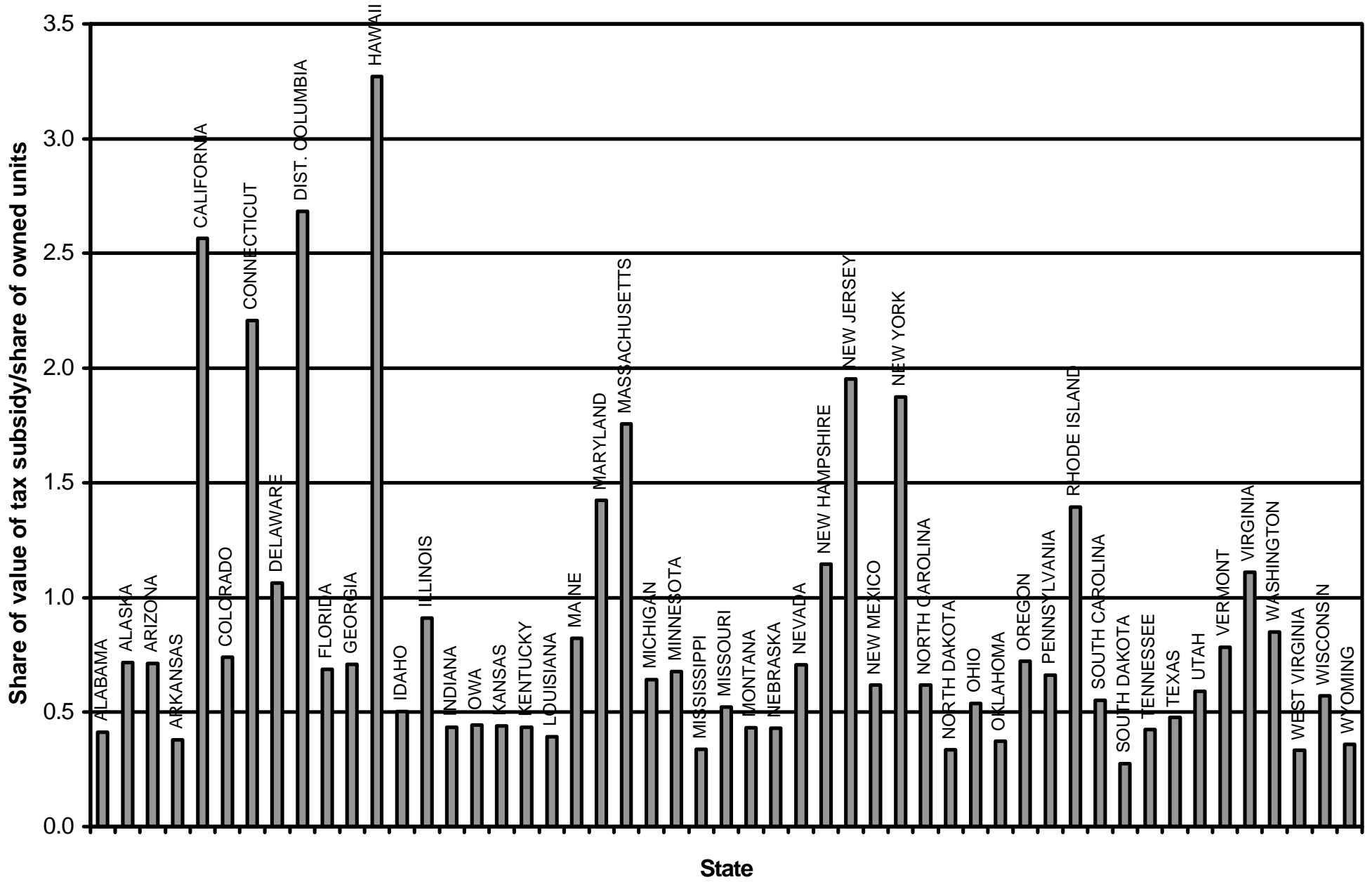


Figure 2: Value of Net Tax Benefits per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit, by State

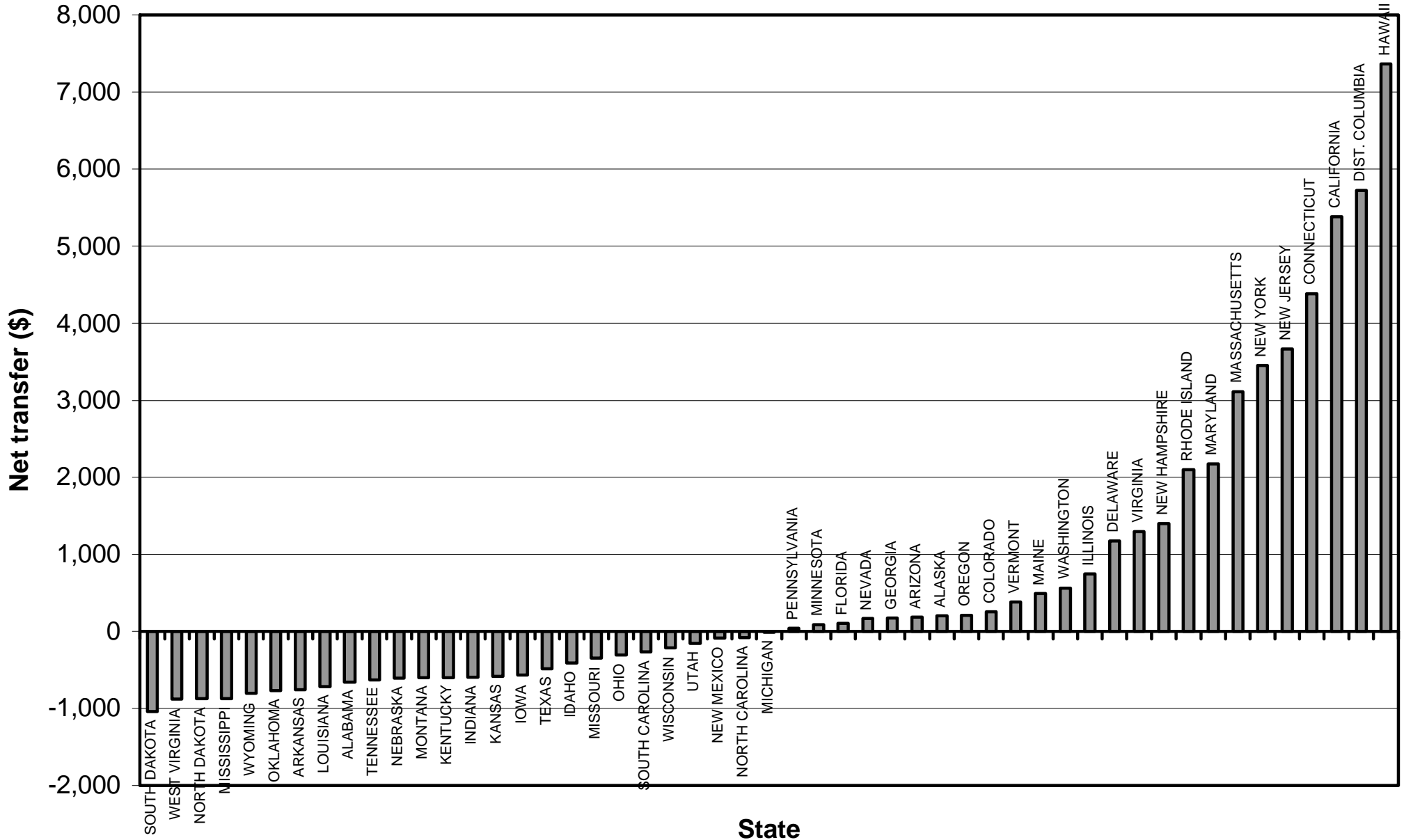
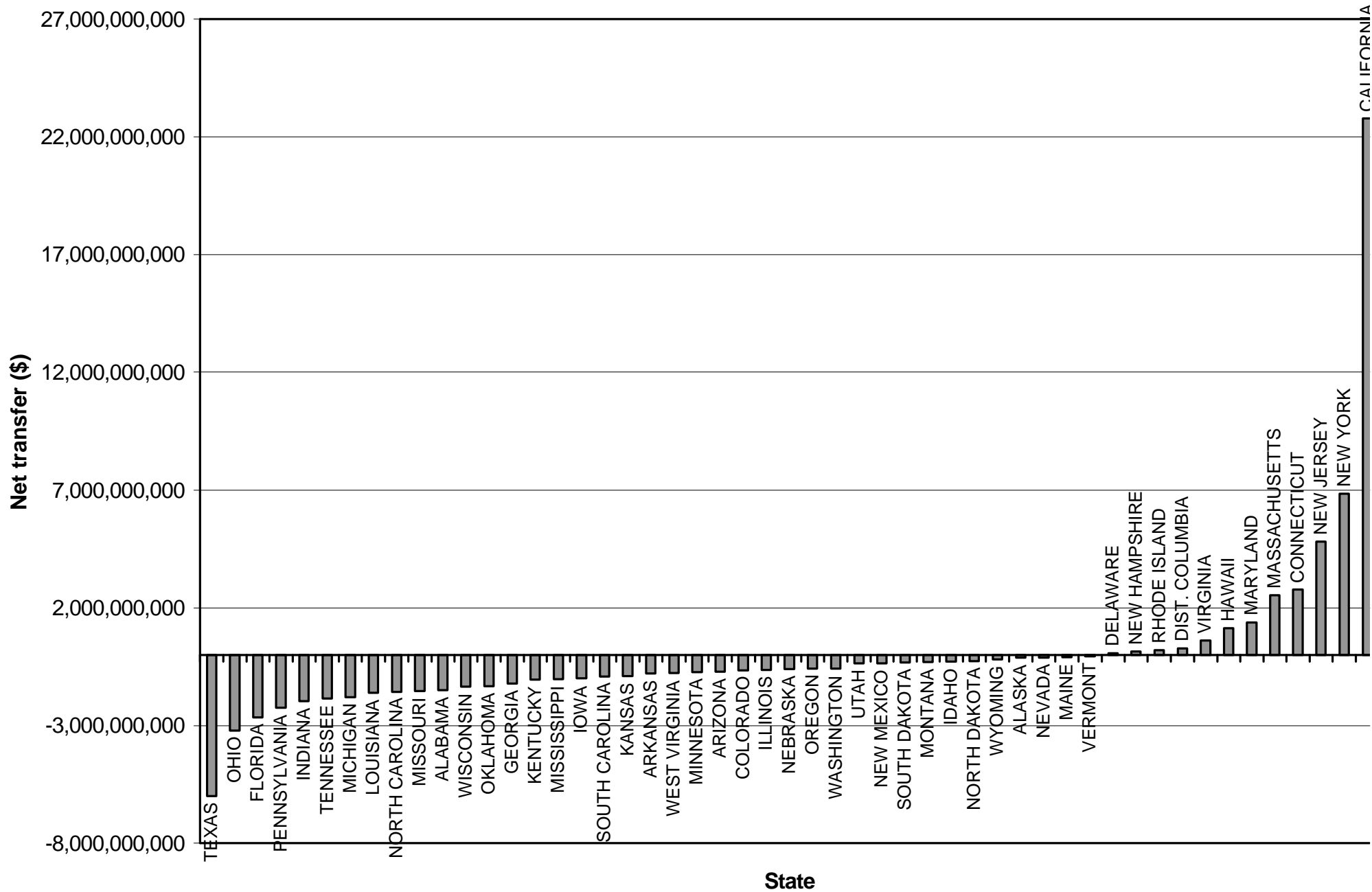


Figure 3: Net Transfer by State



C. Spatial Distribution: City-Suburban Results

transfers resources between tracts in central cities and those in outlying areas. For ease of exposition, we refer to any census tract not in a central city as being in the suburbs.⁹ Table 3 presents data on transfers to and from central city tracts using a measure we term the Suburban-City Benefit Gap (SCGAP). This is computed as follows for each census tract:

$$\text{SCGAP} = (\text{Aggregate Suburban Tax Benefit Value} - \text{Aggregate City Tax Benefit Value}) - (\$1,815 * [\text{Suburban Households} - \text{City Households}])$$

This is the difference in the value of aggregate tax benefits realized in each area, adjusted for the average program cost that each household is presumed to pay on a lump sum basis. If we divided each state into two areas, city and non-city, these data tell us the difference in benefits received by each area. A positive number indicates that suburban tracts benefit more than city tracts.¹⁰

Note that in only 17 states do outlying or suburban areas have a larger aggregate net benefit than do the cities. However, these include many of the most populous states so that nationally there is a net transfer from central cities to suburbs, as center cities pay \$18.2 billion more in lump-sum taxes than they get back in benefits. California accounts for well over half of the aggregate difference in net tax benefits between center cities and suburbs, with other large gaps occurring in New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maryland. In many more states, there are relatively small differences in net benefits between central cities and outlying tracts. Only in a relatively few, primarily southern states do city tracts benefit substantially more than non-city tracts.

⁹ We have performed the analysis restricting the data to tracts in metropolitan areas so as to cut down on the number of truly rural observations. None of our findings are materially affected by this change in sample.

¹⁰ We caution that this does not imply that, for example, California cities are transferring \$11.4 billion to outlying areas in California. It only indicates those outlying areas receive \$11.4 billion more in benefit flow than do California cities. And, since California is a net recipient under this program, that difference in benefit flow must be funded by non-California cities and suburbs.

Table 3: Suburban-City Benefit Gap (SCGAP), By State

State	SCGAP
Florida	-\$1,382,510,630
North Carolina	-\$1,006,267,930
South Carolina	-\$812,202,690
Mississippi	-\$797,552,950
Alabama	-\$728,446,945
Louisiana	-\$698,405,090
Georgia	-\$689,579,665
Tennessee	-\$662,333,020
Kentucky	-\$637,846,525
West Virginia	-\$613,796,155
Arkansas	-\$577,822,560
Ohio	-\$575,359,105
Missouri	-\$515,377,720
Oklahoma	-\$490,644,510
Iowa	-\$474,487,045
Indiana	-\$452,878,265
Kansas	-\$294,558,810
Texas	-\$257,559,075
Montana	-\$235,827,925
Idaho	-\$227,512,325
Nebraska	-\$222,822,120
Minnesota	-\$194,180,880
South Dakota	-\$193,159,265
Wisconsin	-\$179,453,995
North Dakota	-\$141,219,490
Utah	-\$135,196,050
Oregon	-\$130,155,690
New Mexico	-\$129,656,000
Wyoming	-\$129,024,250
Nevada	-\$108,553,530
Washington	-\$77,644,815
Vermont	-\$43,731,160
Alaska	-\$32,129,325
Maine	\$5,863,210
Hawaii	\$24,312,020
Colorado	\$41,347,550
Michigan	\$96,045,540
Delaware	\$99,554,045
Arizona	\$168,835,570
New Hampshire	\$221,743,305
Pennsylvania	\$283,699,150
Rhode Island	\$337,834,395
Virginia	\$1,018,649,870
Illinois	\$1,366,982,505
Maryland	\$2,015,710,670
Connecticut	\$2,305,668,315
Massachusetts	\$2,810,083,130
New York	\$4,281,883,575
New Jersey	\$5,532,981,925
California	\$11,433,520,405
Total	\$18,196,819,670

D. Spatial Distribution: Between-Metropolitan Area Results

Examining the distribution of the benefit across metropolitan areas further highlights how the spatial skewness of the program benefits increases as we move to more disaggregated geographies. Table 4 reports data analogous to that in Table 2, this time for metropolitan areas rather than states. All 262 metropolitan areas that were considered Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) or Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs) in 1990 are included. In addition, for each state we aggregated the census tracts that were not in government-defined MSAs or CMSAs and defined them as their own 'area' so that there are 312 total areas listed in the table. For example, in Alaska these tracts are termed the 'Non-MSA Alaska' area. Including the tracts in these areas allows us to see the distribution of the benefit inside and outside of metropolitan areas.

Table 4 reports our calculations for metropolitan areas in alphabetical order and Figures 4-7 depict the information sorted along various dimensions. Figure 4's plot of the benefit ratio is the analogue to Figure 1 for states. In this case, the benefit ratio is defined as the relevant metropolitan area's share of the value of the aggregate tax benefit over the area's share of the nation's stock of owned units. There are 30 metropolitan areas with benefit ratios in excess of one, compared with 12 states (including the District of Columbia) with ratios above one. Of the 30 areas, eight are in California, eight are in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, or New Hampshire and centered around the Boston area, two are in Hawaii, with the others scattered across the country in large population centers such as New York City, Washington, Chicago, Seattle, Philadelphia, and Atlanta. These 30 metropolitan areas are relatively populous, containing almost 30 percent of the nation's owner-occupied units.

Even when one scales the data to look at benefits per owned unit, there is a consistent pattern of highly spatially skewed benefits at the metropolitan area level. A relatively small (but not minuscule) fraction of owners in a few areas are doing very well under the current tax code, with a host of owners in the vast majority of metropolitan areas having benefit flow levels fairly close to the mean program cost. Figure 5 reports the value of net tax benefits per owned unit. These data are from column 4 of Table 4 and net out the mean program cost of \$1,815 from gross program benefits per owner. Ninety of the 312 areas, or 28.8 percent, have positive net benefit values for owners and contain roughly half of all owners nationwide. Nineteen areas receive gross benefits of at least \$3,600 (double the mean program cost). There are over 12.3 million owners in these areas, which amounts to 21 percent of all owners throughout the nation.

Figure 6's plot of the aggregate net transfer data from column 7 of Table 4 highlights just how spatially concentrated are overall program benefits. After netting out renter costs, only 28 of the 312 metropolitan areas (9.0 percent) have positive aggregate net benefits. Only five of these areas receive strictly more than \$1 billion per year in net benefit (although Honolulu is very close). Three CMSAs alone – San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, and New York City-New Jersey – receive \$36.5 billion of the total \$47.7 billion in positive net transfers nationwide. These three CMSAs are densely populated, containing 14 percent of the nation's owners

Figure 4: Benefit Ratio, by Metropolitan Area

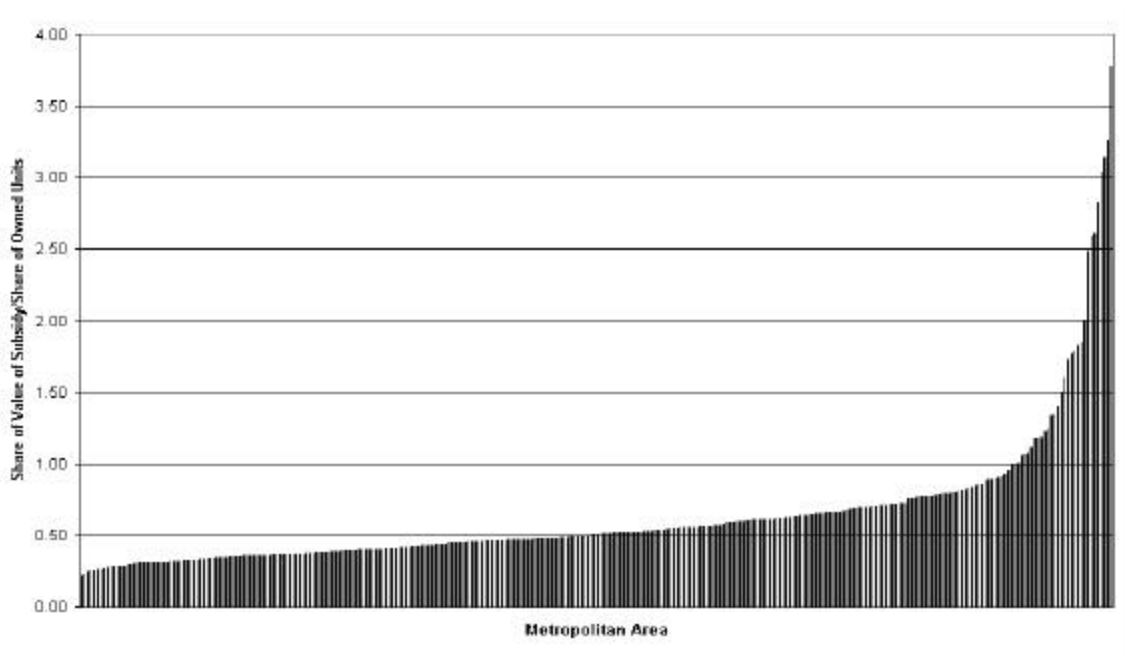


Figure 5: Value of Net Tax benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit, by Metropolitan Area

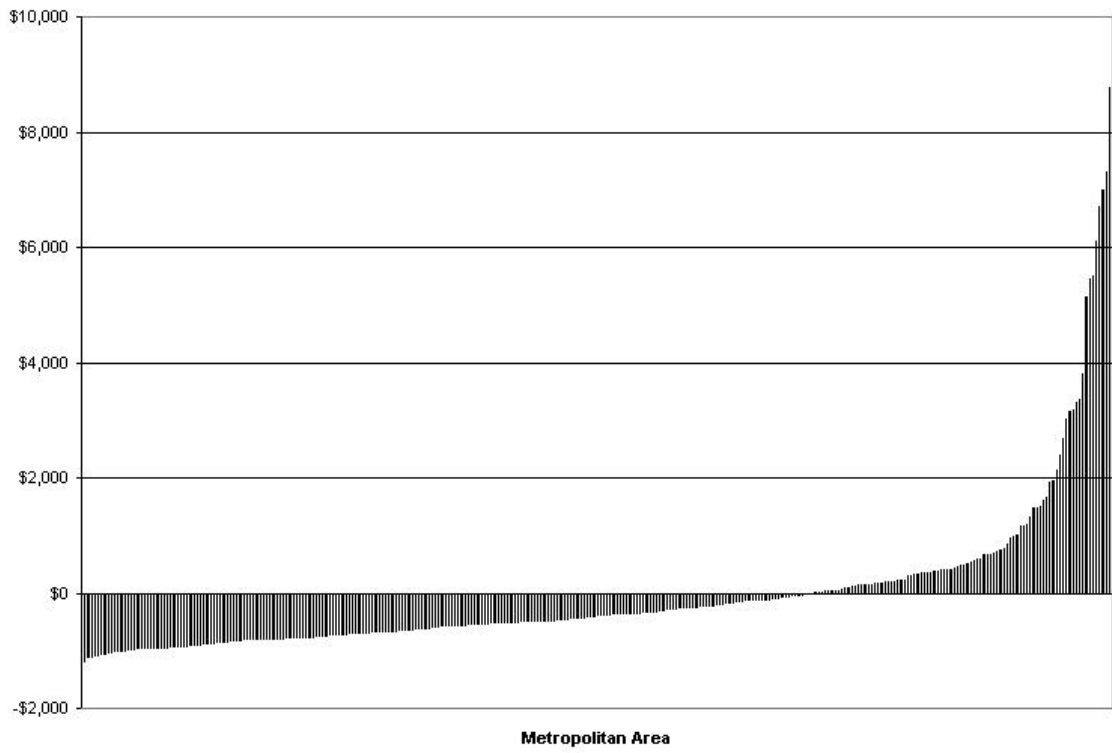
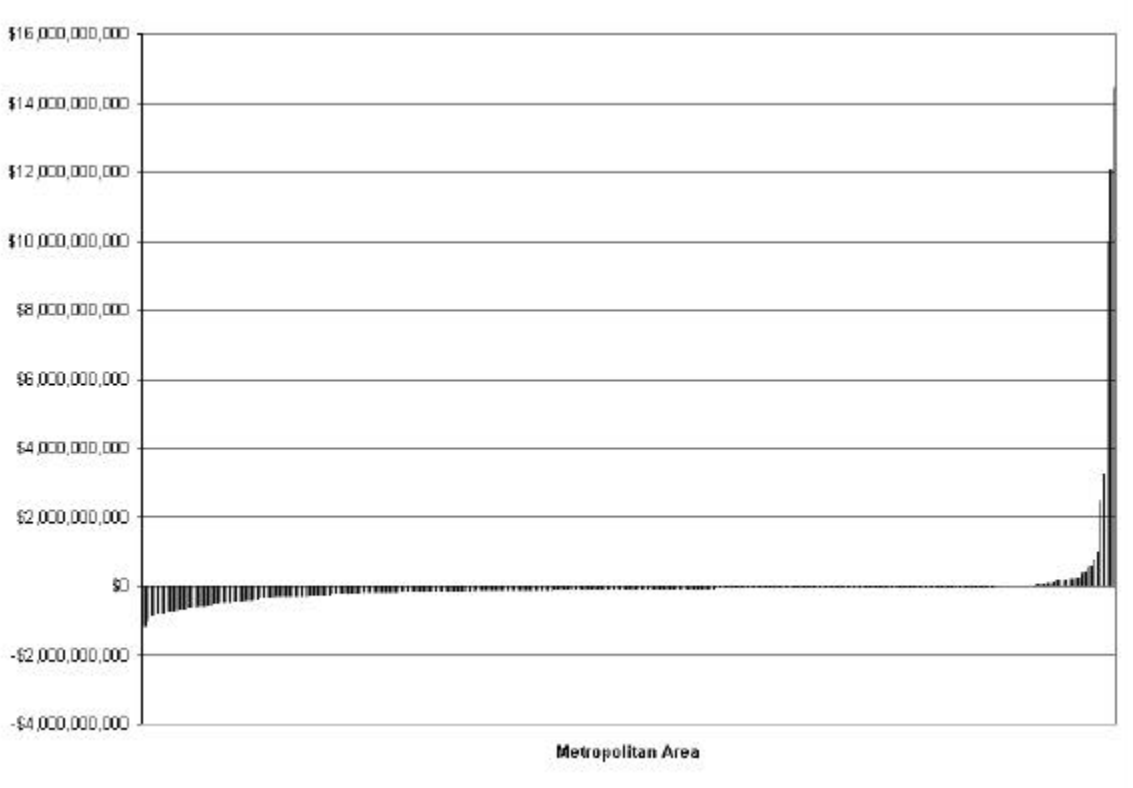


Figure 6: Net Transfer of Program Benefits, by Metropolitan Area

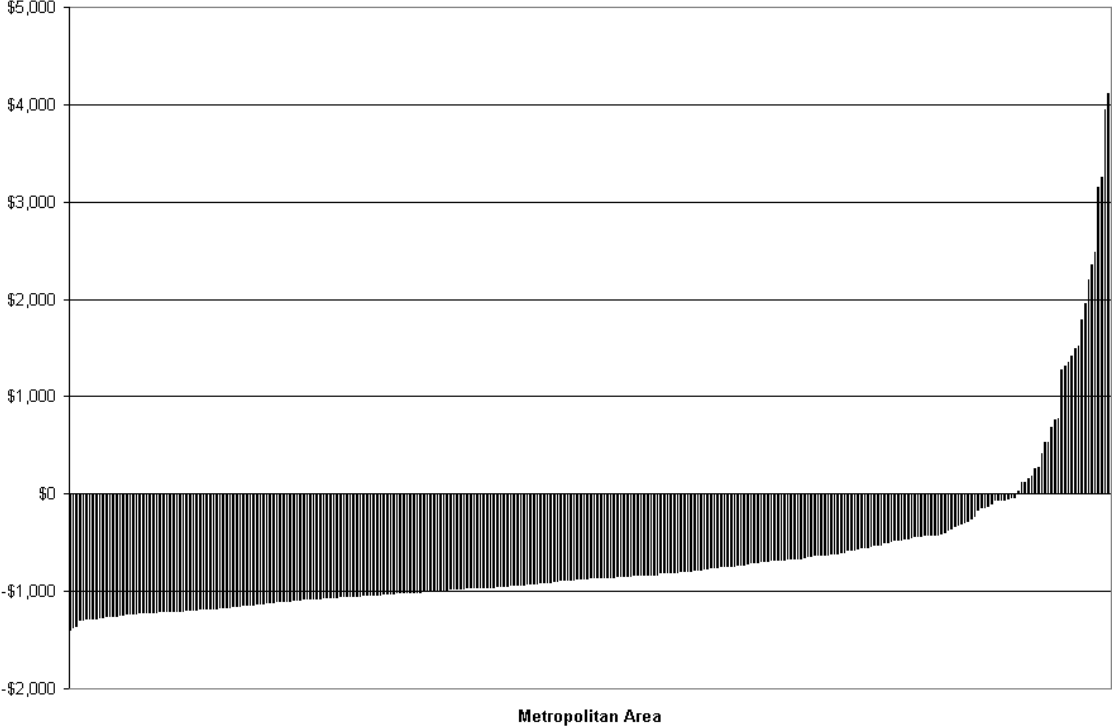


and 16 percent of the nation’s households. However, the figure makes clear just how spatially tight program benefits are targeted across metropolitan areas.

Figure 7 plots the net transfer data on a per household basis for each metropolitan area. As expected, scaling by population reduces the skewness somewhat. However, transfers still are highly skewed across metropolitan areas, with the bulk of areas experiencing small to modest net negative benefit flows and a very few areas receiving very large transfers.

Finally, Figure 8 presents a national picture of mean gross benefit levels per household for all 262 government-designated metropolitan areas (as of 1990.) In this figure, the MSAs are divided into quartiles based on mean benefit per household, with the top 5 percent of areas separately identified. The darker the shading, the greater the benefit per household. This national plot highlights the fact that the largest benefit recipients are concentrated in coastal California and along Amtrak’s Northeast Corridor running from Washington, DC, to Boston. Beyond these very high benefit areas there are virtually no above average benefit areas in the interior of the country. Nationally, the benefit is disproportionately targeted spatially towards select areas of the east and west coasts.

Figure 7: Net Transfer of Program Benefits per Household, by Metropolitan Area



E. Spatial Distribution: Within-Metropolitan Area Results – Philadelphia Case Study

We now ask whether one sees the same kind of spatial skewness in the value of the housing benefit when we focus *within* metropolitan areas. To accomplish this, we take a closer look at a single metropolitan area to see how tax benefits are distributed across political jurisdictions. More specifically, we calculate the spatial distribution of tax benefits for the Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area (PMSA).¹¹ While the computational effort required would be significant, the underlying census tract-level data could be aggregated to the jurisdiction level to provide similar information for cities and suburbs in the other metropolitan areas.

Home ownership throughout the Philadelphia metropolitan area generated \$2.7 billion in benefit value in 1989. Of that amount, 84 percent, or nearly \$2.3 billion, accrued to suburban owners. Table 5 then reports a variety of information at the jurisdiction level, with the data provided in descending order by value of per owned unit benefits.¹² The first column highlights the stark differences in gross benefits per owner household across jurisdictions within the PMSA. For example, owners in the suburban communities of Rose Valley and Woodside receive over \$9,000 per owner in housing-related benefit value, while owners in four low-income, low housing value communities (Chester, Darby, Colwyn, and Marcus Hook) receive less than \$1,000 per owner in benefits. In the city of Philadelphia, the per owned unit figure is \$1,166. The second column then subtracts the mean \$1,815 national program cost to produce net benefits to owners in each jurisdiction.

The net benefit flow to each community is captured in the third column. These numbers account for the full cost of the program, as they assume that all households (i.e., owners and renters) in the community must pay \$1,815 in order for the program to be self-financing at the national level. As expected, accounting for the cost of the program heightens its regressiveness since renters and low house value home owners pay more than they receive in benefits.¹³

¹¹ This includes five counties, all of which are in Pennsylvania: Bucks County, Chester County, Delaware County, Philadelphia County (which is coterminous with the city of Philadelphia), and Montgomery County. There were nearly 1.4 million households in the five county region in 1989, with approximately 780,000 of them residing in the four suburban counties. In addition, only the city of Philadelphia is considered the 'Central City'. All tracts outside the Philadelphia city limits are considered the 'Suburbs'. Chester and Norristown are considered central cities by the Bureau of the Census. To focus on distinctions with the much larger central city of Philadelphia, we group together all areas outside the Philadelphia city limits. Where appropriate, we make comments on other designated central cities such as Chester.

¹² The 161 named jurisdictions in the table are all the Census-designated places in the five county area. To receive such a designation generally requires having over 2,000 residents. Many small suburban communities do not meet this size threshold. They are grouped together under the Non-Census Designated Places category. As the table indicates, nearly 400,000 households live in such places - all of them outside the city of Philadelphia.

¹³ More specifically, the \$2.31 million net positive transfer received by Rose Valley residents is computed as follows. The 307 households that are owners each receive a net benefit of \$7,671 (\$9,486-\$1,815). This works out to a net benefit flow to Rose Valley owners of \$2.35 million (\$7,671*307). The 25 renter households in the community each pay the average program cost of \$1,815 for a total of \$45,375. The \$2.31

Of the 161 Census-designated places in the five county region (plus one line in Table 5 for all Non Census-designated places), the typical owners in 117 of these communities receive benefits in excess of the \$1,815 national average program cost. There are 504,217 owned units in these jurisdictions, representing 53 percent of the owned units in the PMSA. While the cities of Philadelphia and Chester have the largest net negative benefits in aggregate terms, it also is interesting to note that many suburban communities are in a similar position. In fact, the typical owner in 44 smaller communities, mostly suburbs in southern Delaware and Bucks counties, pays out more than he or she receives under the program.

It is not surprising that the largest net negative benefit flow is to the city of Philadelphia. Its households, including renters and owners, pay nearly \$650 million more in program costs than they receive in tax benefits. However, Philadelphia's deficit under the program is not the largest on a per household basis. There are a number of inner ring suburbs in which owners are estimated to receive a lower average tax benefit value than owners in Philadelphia. For example, in Darby owners have a mean gross tax benefit value of only \$851 (versus \$1,166 for Philadelphia owners). And, the nearly 30 percent of households in Darby that rent are assumed to pay the full \$1,815 average program cost needed to finance the tax benefit to owners.

We close this section with a graphical presentation of the data down to the census tract level, in Figures 9-11. Figure 9 plots the aggregate value of the tax benefits by census tract in the city of Philadelphia and the four Pennsylvania suburban collar counties. In this and all other figures, the thickest bold outline marks the Philadelphia city boundary. The medium thick lines mark the boundaries between the suburban counties, while the thinnest black lines identify census tract boundaries. The tracts with the highest benefits have the darkest shading. The suburban tracts reap most of the value of aggregate tax benefits. Obviously, the aggregate totals are driven not just by the benefit value per owner household, but by the number of owners. Both tend to be low in Philadelphia city, as the vast majority of the city's census tracts receive well under \$1.25 million per year in housing-related tax benefits. The darkest shaded tracts to the west of the city constitute the so-called Main Line in suburban Montgomery and Delaware Counties. These tracts, along with a large swath of tracts in western Bucks County, reap over \$10 million per year in aggregate tax benefit values.

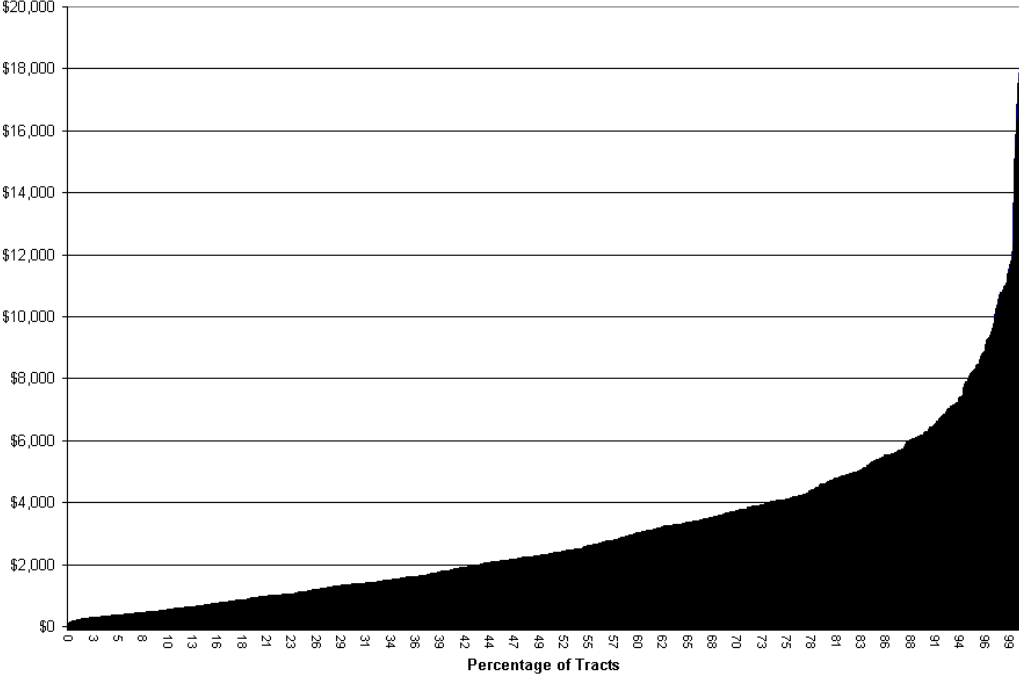
Tax benefit values in Philadelphia tend to be relatively low even though the home ownership rate is high compared to many other large central cities. Two related factors explain this. First, many of the owners in Philadelphia do not itemize. Second, house values tend to be low, which not only helps account for the low level of itemization in the city, but also means that the benefit value arising from the untaxed return on home equity is relatively small.

million net benefit flow to the community subtracts off the program costs paid by renters from the net benefits received by owners (i.e., \$2.35 million less \$44,125 in this case).

Controlling for population, the significant disparities in tax benefits per owner-occupied housing unit can be seen in Figure 10. Only a handful of tracts in Philadelphia have mean per owner benefit values above \$3,000. The suburbs to the west of Philadelphia in Delaware County also tend to have low tax benefit levels, as is the case for areas in far southern Bucks County. It also is apparent that tax benefits are small on the metropolitan fringe in Chester, Montgomery, and Bucks counties. Average benefits per owner tend to be above \$6,000 in a broad swath of middle-ring suburban areas stretching across the entire metropolitan area. A handful of tracts along the Main Line in suburban Montgomery County average over \$12,000 per owned unit.

While a simple visual inspection of these figures shows how spatially concentrated are program benefit flows, Figure 11 highlights how skewed the distribution of the benefits are. Figure 11 plots the percentage of tracts achieving different levels of tax benefit value per owner. Roughly 10 percent of all tracts have per owner tax benefit levels above \$6,000 while about 45 percent of all tracts have benefits below \$2,000. Finally, in terms of cumulative aggregate tax expenditures in the Philadelphia PMSA, the top 5 percent of tracts receives roughly the same amount of aggregate benefit as the bottom 60 percent: about \$500 million in tax expenditure, or nearly 20 percent of the \$2.7 billion total.

Figure 11: Per-Owner-Occupied Unit Tax Benefit Values in Philadelphia PMSA, by Tract



III. WHAT IS BEHIND THE SPATIAL VARIATION OF HOUSING-RELATED TAX BENEFITS?

Our analysis shows that the tax benefit to owner-occupied housing is considerably skewed spatially. However, it is not precisely clear what drives these findings. Given the progressivity of the tax code, one would expect the benefit to be positively correlated with income, a factor that could go a long way toward accounting for much of what we have found so far. Hence, a natural question to ask is whether the spatial benefit distribution merely reflects the higher marginal tax rates associated with higher income.

The answer is no, as the benefit distribution is materially more regressive than the tax code is progressive. For example, we can rank tracts by mean household income and concentrate on the tracts containing the top 10 percent of households by mean income in the tract. We estimate the households in these tracts pay 28 percent of all taxes paid nationally,¹⁴ yet they (i.e., the owners among them) receive 38 percent of the nationwide benefit. Thus, the program appears more regressive than the tax code is progressive.¹⁵

This suggests that house value, not just income (or marginal tax rate), plays an important role in accounting for the spatial variance in benefit flows. Because these variables are so strongly correlated it is difficult to establish the precise fraction of variance in benefit across tracts that each accounts for. However, the benefit distribution is not merely a reflection of the progressivity in marginal tax rates. High-income, high tax bracket owners tend to reside in disproportionately valuable houses so that the tax code is interacting with housing prices to generate an extremely skewed tax benefit distribution – both across the income scale and across locations within the country.

¹⁴ The estimate of taxes paid is an output from the National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.'s (NBER) TAXSIM program. The calculation is made at the tract level analogously to how benefit estimates are made. See the web version on the Brookings Urban Center web site (www.brookings.edu/urban) for details.

¹⁵ The same conclusion is reached if one looks at the top quarter of households and so forth. That said, it should be mentioned that we underestimate the progressivity of the income tax code. In the *Statistics of Income (SOI)* data, the 10 percent of tax filers with the highest adjusted gross incomes paid 55 percent of all taxes. While there are several possible reasons for this discrepancy, one major reason almost certainly has to do with the fact that we average across households within each tract. Our highest mean income at the tract level is \$225,000. The *SOI* data show that households with incomes of \$250,000 or more paid 17.5% of all taxes in 1989. Effectively, by averaging across households within a tract, we reduce the observed skewness in income. Because very high-income households pay a relatively large share of total taxes, this results in our underestimating the progressivity of tax payments. In general, the more heterogeneity in incomes within tracts, the greater our underestimate of the progressivity of the tax code. A second likely contributing factor is that the Census does not collect some income items that would contribute to the skewness of income at the high end, such as capital gains. We do not think the differences in progressivity matter much for our analysis because even if by using the tract as our unit of observation we reduce the apparent skewness in taxes paid and benefits received, we think the *difference* between the two is robust. Consequently, our statement that the regressivity of the housing benefit is greater than the progressivity of the tax code would still apply.

IV. CONCLUSION

The value of the tax benefit to owners of homes is very large. In aggregate, the figure was nearly \$164 billion in 1989. It has long been known that these benefits are skewed towards owners with high incomes and high house prices. This paper produces the first detailed analysis of how this program plays out spatially - both across and within states, and across and within metropolitan areas.

The benefit distribution was also found to be highly skewed across metropolitan areas with the bulk of them contributing small to modest negative transfers on average, and a few areas receiving very large net transfers under the program. In the aggregate, only 30 metropolitan areas (less than 10 percent) are net winners of the tax benefits. These areas are relatively populous, containing 29 percent of all owners nationwide. Even within this small group, owners in three CMSAs (San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, and New York City-Northern New Jersey) received a bit more than 75 percent of all aggregate net positive transfers.

How the benefit is distributed within individual metropolitan areas also varies widely. In many smaller MSAs, especially those in the interior of the country, program benefits tend to be distributed evenly. This is not the case in most larger, more populous areas. In these places benefits tend to be skewed towards a relatively small fraction of owners. The spatial pattern of how these benefits are distributed also differs considerably across areas. Residential segregation by income – where those with the highest incomes, marginal tax rates, and house values tend to live close to one another – is evident in virtually all metropolitan areas. However, benefits generally are much more evenly spatially distributed within some metropolitan areas (e.g., Madison and Terre Haute) than in others (e.g., Philadelphia).

Finally, the spatial distribution of this major benefit program is not merely a reflection of a rising marginal tax rate structure. While it certainly is true that the tax benefit increases with household income (and tax bracket), the program itself is more regressive than the tax code is progressive – and possibly by a fairly wide margin, although our averaging across owners in a tract does result in an underestimate of the progressivity of the income tax code. Still, it almost certainly is the case that the spatial distribution of benefits we find is the result of a progressive tax structure interacting with a pattern of housing consumption in which high income households tend to own disproportionately highly valued homes in a relatively few locations.

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Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Abilene, TX	\$884	\$24	0.32	-\$931	-\$25,051,958	-\$27,791,280	-\$52,843,238
Albany, GA	\$1,457	\$308	0.52	-\$358	-\$75,665,198	-\$215,077,500	-\$290,742,698
Albany, NY	\$2,774	\$61	0.99	\$959	\$20,934,219	-\$30,833,220	-\$9,899,001
Albuquerque, NM	\$2,035	\$290	0.73	\$220	\$31,360,919	-\$141,649,860	-\$110,288,941
Alexandria, LA	\$923	\$28	0.33	-\$892	-\$27,148,420	-\$26,684,130	-\$53,832,550
Allentown, PA	\$2,347	\$381	0.84	\$532	\$86,352,011	-\$113,878,545	-\$27,526,534
Altoona, PA	\$855	\$31	0.31	-\$960	-\$35,030,641	-\$25,056,075	-\$60,086,716
Anchorage, AK	\$2,403	\$105	0.86	\$588	\$25,687,619	-\$68,516,250	-\$42,828,631
Anniston, AL	\$973	\$29	0.35	-\$842	-\$25,375,522	-\$22,634,865	-\$48,010,387
Appleton, WI	\$1,589	\$129	0.57	-\$226	-\$18,304,344	-\$62,434,185	-\$80,738,529
Asheville, NC	\$1,608	\$88	0.57	-\$207	-\$11,306,698	-\$39,850,140	-\$51,156,838
Athens, GA	\$1,685	\$43	0.60	-\$130	-\$3,361,962	-\$38,497,965	-\$41,859,927
Atlanta, GA	\$2,802	\$1,936	1.00	\$987	\$681,744,876	-\$739,576,200	-\$57,831,324
Austin, TX	\$1,710	\$285	0.61	-\$105	-\$17,569,235	-\$285,405,120	-\$302,974,355
Bakersfield, CA	\$2,028	\$218	0.72	\$213	\$22,852,940	-\$131,696,400	-\$108,843,460
Bangor, ME	\$1,570	\$231	0.56	-\$245	-\$36,030,289	-\$121,869,990	-\$157,900,279
Barnstable, MA	\$4,956	\$278	1.77	\$3,141	\$175,892,416	-\$37,940,766	\$137,940,766
Baton Rouge, LA	\$1,305	\$160	0.47	-\$510	-\$62,481,387	-\$112,426,545	-\$174,907,932
Beaumont, TX	\$810	\$76	0.29	-\$1,005	-\$93,820,546	-\$73,703,520	-\$167,524,066
Bellingham, WA	\$2,002	\$63	0.71	\$187	\$5,850,503	-\$31,061,910	-\$25,211,407
Benton Harbor, MI	\$1,451	\$62	0.52	-\$364	-\$15,437,401	-\$34,145,595	-\$49,582,996
Billings, MT	\$1,379	\$40	0.49	-\$436	-\$12,801,795	-\$28,147,020	-\$40,948,815
Biloxi, MS	\$1,141	\$86	0.41	-\$674	-\$50,693,804	-\$63,604,860	-\$114,298,664
Binghamton, NY	\$1,962	\$134	0.70	\$147	\$10,045,376	-\$58,239,545	-\$48,239,169
Birmingham, AL	\$1,543	\$336	0.55	-\$272	-\$59,092,209	-\$182,273,190	-\$241,365,399
Bismarck, ND	\$1,115	\$23	0.40	-\$700	-\$14,309,997	-\$18,885,075	-\$33,195,072
Bloomington, IL	\$1,566	\$34	0.56	-\$249	-\$5,346,242	-\$30,586,380	-\$35,932,622
Bloomington, IN	\$1,460	\$43	0.52	-\$355	-\$10,522,151	-\$30,758,805	-\$41,280,956
Boise City, ID	\$1,570	\$118	0.56	-\$245	-\$18,373,670	-\$61,042,080	-\$79,415,750
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	\$5,126	\$5,994	1.83	\$3,311	\$3,871,964,038	-\$1,401,214,485	\$2,470,749,553
Brownsville, TX	\$707	\$33	0.25	-\$1,108	-\$52,197,963	-\$47,868,810	-\$100,066,773
Bryan, TX	\$1,272	\$23	0.45	-\$543	-\$9,898,774	-\$43,387,575	-\$53,286,349
Buffalo, NY	\$1,851	\$549	0.66	\$36	\$10,618,816	-\$295,746,990	-\$285,128,174
Burlington, VT	\$2,677	\$115	0.96	\$862	\$37,131,815	-\$39,376,425	-\$2,244,610
Canton, OH	\$1,208	\$127	0.43	-\$607	-\$63,957,511	-\$78,916,200	-\$142,873,711
Casper, WY	\$871	\$14	0.31	-\$944	-\$15,478,288	-\$13,167,825	-\$28,646,113
Cedar Rapids, IA	\$1,697	\$78	0.61	-\$118	-\$5,452,828	-\$34,394,250	-\$39,847,078
Champaign, IL	\$1,638	\$57	0.58	-\$177	-\$6,184,566	-\$51,388,095	-\$57,572,661
Charleston, WV	\$1,199	\$133	0.43	-\$616	-\$68,388,606	-\$112,234,155	-\$180,622,761
Charleston, SC	\$1,951	\$138	0.70	\$136	\$9,632,800	-\$52,564,215	-\$42,931,415
Charlotte, NC-SC	\$2,156	\$634	0.77	\$341	\$100,315,368	-\$261,897,240	-\$161,581,872
Charlottesville, VA	\$2,814	\$81	1.00	\$999	\$28,870,731	-\$35,757,315	-\$6,886,584
Chattanooga, TN-GA	\$1,249	\$139	0.45	-\$566	-\$82,871,837	-\$88,831,545	-\$151,703,382
Cheyenne, WY	\$1,132	\$21	0.40	-\$683	-\$12,533,102	-\$17,912,235	-\$30,445,337
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	\$3,314	\$5,938	1.18	\$1,499	\$2,686,164,724	-\$1,953,442,755	\$732,721,969
Chico-Paradise, CA	\$2,231	\$98	0.80	\$416	\$18,181,401	-\$50,694,765	-\$32,513,364
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	\$1,858	\$807	0.66	\$43	\$18,523,965	-\$423,555,660	-\$405,031,695
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY	\$966	\$32	0.34	-\$849	-\$27,660,391	-\$40,383,750	-\$68,044,141
Cleveland-Akron, OH	\$1,769	\$1,297	0.63	-\$46	-\$33,496,143	-\$643,136,175	-\$676,632,318
Colorado Springs, CO	\$1,976	\$166	0.71	\$161	\$13,480,812	-\$108,673,125	-\$95,192,313
Columbia, MO	\$1,530	\$164	0.55	-\$285	-\$30,412,320	-\$100,734,315	-\$131,146,635
Columbia, SC	\$1,938	\$44	0.69	\$123	\$2,806,327	-\$33,947,760	-\$31,141,433
Columbus, GA-AL	\$1,430	\$438	0.51	-\$385	-\$117,985,065	-\$364,664,355	-\$482,649,420

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Columbus, OH	\$1,860	\$98	0.66	\$45	\$2,400,091	-\$68,741,310	-\$66,341,219
Corpus Christi, TX	\$1,022	\$72	0.36	-\$793	-\$56,159,736	-\$85,985,625	-\$142,145,361
Cumberland, MD-WV	\$1,020	\$29	0.36	-\$795	-\$22,445,446	-\$20,014,005	-\$42,459,451
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX	\$1,949	\$1,688	0.70	\$134	\$115,866,848	-\$1,103,932,005	-\$988,065,157
Danville, VA	\$1,039	\$30	0.37	-\$776	-\$22,730,529	-\$23,558,700	-\$46,289,229
Davenport-Moline, IA-IL	\$1,257	\$116	0.45	-\$558	-\$51,501,340	-\$78,616,725	-\$130,118,065
Daytona Beach, FL	\$1,346	\$160	0.48	-\$469	-\$55,792,736	-\$82,435,485	-\$138,228,221
Dayton-Springfield, OH	\$1,566	\$374	0.56	-\$249	-\$59,542,734	-\$224,608,065	-\$284,150,799
Decatur, AL	\$1,140	\$37	0.41	-\$675	-\$21,753,323	-\$46,796,693	-\$46,796,693
Decatur, IL	\$1,088	\$40	0.39	-\$727	-\$26,459,138	-\$23,164,845	-\$49,623,983
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	\$2,288	\$1,099	0.82	\$473	\$227,076,091	-\$535,372,365	-\$308,296,274
Des Moines, IA	\$1,716	\$175	0.61	-\$99	-\$10,116,133	-\$91,492,335	-\$101,608,468
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI	\$2,162	\$2,865	0.77	\$347	\$459,758,702	-\$1,050,906,780	-\$591,148,078
Dothan, AL	\$950	\$10	0.34	-\$865	-\$9,234,837	-\$9,595,905	-\$18,830,742
Dover, DE	\$2,015	\$55	0.72	\$200	\$5,477,715	-\$21,832,635	-\$16,354,920
Dubuque, IA	\$1,428	\$31	0.51	-\$387	-\$8,378,864	-\$15,828,615	-\$24,207,479
Duluth-Superior, MN-WI	\$1,034	\$72	0.37	-\$781	-\$54,446,440	-\$44,142,615	-\$98,589,055
Eau Claire, WI	\$1,061	\$15	0.38	-\$754	-\$10,676,635	-\$8,949,765	-\$19,626,400
El Paso, TX	\$1,018	\$106	0.36	-\$797	-\$83,280,133	-\$127,349,475	-\$210,629,608
Elkhart-Goshen, IN	\$1,328	\$54	0.47	-\$487	-\$19,842,540	-\$28,686,075	-\$48,528,615
Elmira, NY	\$1,406	\$34	0.50	-\$409	-\$9,851,996	-\$20,097,495	-\$29,949,491
Enid, OK	\$864	\$13	0.31	-\$951	-\$14,747,790	-\$12,891,945	-\$27,639,735
Erie, PA	\$1,152	\$80	0.41	-\$663	-\$46,116,660	-\$55,987,305	-\$102,103,965
Eugene-Springfield, OR	\$1,880	\$127	0.67	\$65	\$4,406,791	-\$78,999,690	-\$74,592,899
Evansville-Springfield, IN-KY	\$1,224	\$92	0.44	-\$591	-\$44,231,860	-\$61,209,060	-\$105,440,920
Fargo-Moorhead, ND-MN	\$1,360	\$46	0.49	-\$455	-\$15,287,821	-\$42,438,330	-\$57,726,151
Fayetteville, NC	\$1,455	\$77	0.52	-\$360	-\$19,018,046	-\$69,690,555	-\$88,708,601
Fayetteville-Springdale, AR	\$1,325	\$71	0.47	-\$490	-\$26,296,848	-\$48,585,735	-\$74,882,583
Florence, AL	\$1,040	\$39	0.37	-\$775	-\$29,289,063	-\$23,531,475	-\$52,820,538
Florence, SC	\$1,260	\$36	0.45	-\$555	-\$15,711,877	-\$21,072,150	-\$36,784,027
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	\$1,966	\$87	0.70	\$151	\$6,686,517	-\$47,346,090	-\$40,659,573
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL	\$2,125	\$210	0.76	\$310	\$30,600,876	-\$69,042,600	-\$38,441,724
Fort Pierce, FL	\$2,403	\$166	0.86	\$588	\$40,618,127	-\$46,275,240	-\$5,657,114
Fort Smith, AR-OK	\$1,033	\$48	0.37	-\$782	-\$36,089,661	-\$37,261,950	-\$73,351,611
Fort Walton Beach, FL	\$1,410	\$47	0.50	-\$405	-\$13,410,402	-\$36,109,425	-\$49,519,827
Fort Wayne, IN	\$1,280	\$158	0.46	-\$535	-\$66,095,387	-\$81,680,445	-\$147,775,832
Fresno, CA	\$2,162	\$298	0.77	\$347	\$47,910,056	-\$200,771,670	-\$152,861,614
Gadsden, AL	\$871	\$25	0.31	-\$944	-\$26,983,637	-\$17,661,765	-\$44,645,402
Gainesville, FL	\$1,267	\$48	0.45	-\$548	-\$20,853,720	-\$56,811,315	-\$77,665,035
Glens Falls, NY	\$2,315	\$71	0.83	\$500	\$15,304,109	-\$22,219,230	-\$6,915,121
Goldsboro, NC	\$1,293	\$30	0.46	-\$522	-\$12,067,976	-\$24,778,380	-\$36,846,356
Grand Forks, ND-MN	\$1,144	\$24	0.41	-\$671	-\$14,168,120	-\$27,128,805	-\$41,296,925
Grand Rapids-Meskegon, MI	\$1,719	\$422	0.61	-\$96	-\$23,585,453	-\$159,970,470	-\$183,555,923
Great Falls, MT	\$1,283	\$25	0.46	-\$532	-\$10,203,126	-\$19,095,615	-\$29,298,741
Green Bay, WI	\$1,581	\$75	0.56	-\$234	-\$11,091,696	-\$44,364,045	-\$55,455,741
Greensboro-Winston-Salem, NC	\$1,900	\$532	0.68	\$85	\$23,703,722	-\$241,171,755	-\$217,468,033
Greenville, NC	\$1,644	\$39	0.59	-\$171	-\$3,997,490	-\$30,531,930	-\$34,529,420
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	\$1,457	\$319	0.52	-\$358	-\$78,291,175	-\$170,123,580	-\$248,414,755
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA	\$1,620	\$252	0.58	-\$195	-\$30,330,144	-\$128,071,845	-\$158,401,989
Hartford, CT	\$5,177	\$1,199	1.85	\$3,362	\$778,660,887	-\$236,309,370	\$542,351,517
Hickory-Morganton, NC	\$1,434	\$120	0.51	-\$381	-\$31,772,759	-\$51,034,170	-\$82,806,929
Honolulu, HI	\$10,590	\$1,440	3.78	\$8,775	\$1,193,279,612	-\$193,680,465	\$999,599,147
Houma, LA	\$897	\$40	0.32	-\$918	-\$41,344,986	-\$28,825,830	-\$70,170,816

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$Millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Houston-Galveston, TX	\$1,666	\$1,252	0.59	-\$149	-\$111,768,348	-\$1,044,625,065	-\$1,156,393,413
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH	\$950	\$82	0.34	-\$865	-\$74,435,002	-\$60,742,605	-\$135,177,607
Huntsville, AL	\$1,698	\$126	0.61	-\$117	-\$8,688,656	-\$66,120,450	-\$74,809,106
Indianapolis, IN	\$1,582	\$542	0.56	-\$233	-\$79,658,793	-\$338,272,440	-\$417,931,233
Iowa City, IA	\$2,230	\$42	0.80	\$415	\$7,782,466	-\$30,410,325	-\$22,627,859
Jackson, TN	\$1,008	\$20	0.36	-\$807	-\$15,615,639	-\$18,463,995	-\$34,079,634
Jackson, MI	\$1,288	\$118	0.46	-\$527	-\$48,466,169	-\$85,923,915	-\$134,390,084
Jackson, MS	\$1,430	\$57	0.51	-\$385	-\$15,206,129	-\$26,065,215	-\$41,271,344
Jacksonville, NC	\$1,302	\$28	0.46	-\$513	-\$11,118,745	-\$28,479,165	-\$39,597,910
Jacksonville, FL	\$1,456	\$324	0.52	-\$359	-\$79,879,711	-\$217,780,035	-\$297,659,746
Jamestown, NY	\$1,211	\$45	0.43	-\$604	-\$22,246,310	-\$30,577,305	-\$52,823,615
Janesville-Beloit, WI	\$1,306	\$46	0.47	-\$509	-\$18,095,455	-\$30,207,045	-\$48,302,500
Johnston City-Kingsport, TN-VA	\$948	\$119	0.34	-\$867	-\$108,735,490	-\$81,330,150	-\$190,065,640
Johnstown, PA	\$793	\$54	0.28	-\$1,022	-\$69,718,955	-\$42,363,915	-\$112,082,870
Joplin, MO	\$899	\$34	0.32	-\$916	-\$34,707,072	-\$27,284,895	-\$61,991,967
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI	\$1,441	\$159	0.51	-\$374	-\$41,120,698	-\$92,071,320	-\$133,192,018
Kansas City, MO-KS	\$1,670	\$664	0.60	-\$145	-\$57,467,297	-\$369,499,515	-\$426,966,812
Killeen-Temple, TX	\$994	\$35	0.35	-\$821	-\$28,756,957	-\$59,023,800	-\$87,780,757
Knoxville, TN	\$1,260	\$199	0.45	-\$555	-\$87,569,379	-\$130,676,370	-\$218,245,749
Kokomo, IN	\$1,089	\$29	0.39	-\$726	-\$19,084,117	-\$16,590,915	-\$35,675,032
La Crosse, WI-MN	\$1,380	\$39	0.49	-\$435	-\$12,383,648	-\$27,036,240	-\$39,419,888
Lafayette, LA	\$927	\$76	0.33	-\$888	-\$72,651,535	-\$71,313,165	-\$143,964,700
Lafayette, IN	\$1,385	\$44	0.49	-\$430	-\$13,743,575	-\$38,704,875	-\$52,448,450
Lake Charles, LA	\$1,045	\$44	0.37	-\$770	-\$32,635,727	-\$32,234,400	-\$64,870,127
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	\$1,120	\$122	0.40	-\$695	-\$75,466,553	-\$82,609,725	-\$158,076,278
Lancaster, PA	\$1,987	\$208	0.71	\$172	\$17,992,778	-\$84,161,550	-\$66,168,772
Lansing-E. Lansing, MI	\$1,737	\$176	0.62	-\$78	-\$7,866,887	-\$97,706,895	-\$105,573,782
Laredo, TX	\$857	\$18	0.35	-\$958	-\$19,988,044	-\$24,707,595	-\$44,695,639
Las Cruces, NM	\$1,504	\$44	0.54	-\$311	-\$9,034,672	-\$27,820,320	-\$36,854,992
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	\$1,853	\$332	0.66	\$38	\$6,859,282	-\$264,187,770	-\$257,328,488
Lawrence, KS	\$1,462	\$23	0.52	-\$353	-\$5,558,004	-\$25,876,455	-\$31,434,459
Lawton, OK	\$1,069	\$24	0.38	-\$746	-\$16,860,907	-\$27,192,820	-\$44,060,497
Lewiston-Auburn, ME	\$1,918	\$48	0.68	\$103	\$2,570,673	-\$27,716,865	-\$25,146,192
Lexington, KY	\$1,758	\$139	0.63	-\$57	-\$4,506,148	-\$106,705,665	-\$111,211,813
Lima, OH	\$1,159	\$47	0.41	-\$656	-\$26,564,622	-\$26,912,820	-\$53,477,442
Lincoln, NE	\$1,586	\$79	0.57	-\$229	-\$11,448,458	-\$58,862,265	-\$70,310,723
Little Rock, AR	\$1,497	\$188	0.53	-\$318	-\$39,947,920	-\$122,648,625	-\$162,596,545
Longview, TX	\$856	\$43	0.31	-\$959	-\$47,910,435	-\$40,394,640	-\$88,305,075
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	\$7,915	\$20,891	2.82	\$6,100	\$16,100,318,671	-\$4,022,201,535	\$12,078,117,136
Louisville, KY-IN	\$1,451	\$346	0.52	-\$364	-\$86,777,700	-\$209,369,325	-\$296,147,025
Lubbock, TX	\$1,038	\$49	0.37	-\$777	-\$36,877,400	-\$61,552,095	-\$98,429,495
Lynchburg, VA	\$1,477	\$78	0.53	-\$338	-\$17,778,536	-\$35,858,955	-\$53,637,491
Macon, GA	\$1,484	\$100	0.53	-\$331	-\$22,221,857	-\$70,162,455	-\$92,384,312
Madison, WI	\$2,195	\$172	0.78	\$380	\$29,707,640	-\$109,566,105	-\$79,858,465
Mansfield, OH	\$1,015	\$47	0.36	-\$800	-\$37,272,255	-\$35,200,110	-\$72,472,365
McAllen-Edinburg, TX	\$625	\$45	0.22	-\$1,190	-\$86,492,512	-\$55,789,470	-\$142,281,982
Medford-Ashland, OR	\$2,217	\$84	0.79	\$402	\$15,184,204	-\$35,330,790	-\$20,146,586
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL	\$1,706	\$190	0.61	-\$109	-\$12,109,131	-\$89,112,870	-\$101,222,001
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	\$1,544	\$348	0.55	-\$271	-\$61,147,305	-\$250,266,720	-\$311,414,025
Merced, CA	\$2,186	\$66	0.78	\$371	\$11,149,906	-\$46,202,640	-\$35,052,734
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL	\$2,470	\$1,801	0.88	\$655	\$477,691,890	-\$868,905,840	-\$391,213,950
Milwaukee-Racine, WI	\$2,115	\$767	0.75	\$300	\$108,806,037	-\$429,198,495	-\$320,392,458
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	\$2,528	\$1,669	0.90	\$713	\$470,607,766	-\$534,484,830	-\$63,877,064

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Mobile, AL	\$1,232	\$148	0.44	-\$583	-\$70,191,428	-\$96,142,365	-\$166,333,793
Modesto, CA	\$3,299	\$251	1.18	\$1,484	\$112,727,000	-\$89,813,460	\$22,913,540
Monroe, LA	\$1,013	\$33	0.36	-\$802	-\$26,248,057	-\$32,238,030	-\$58,486,087
Montgomery, AL	\$1,389	\$98	0.50	-\$426	-\$30,114,558	-\$62,094,780	-\$92,209,338
Muncie, IN	\$912	\$27	0.33	-\$903	-\$27,132,452	-\$26,408,250	-\$53,540,702
Myrtle Beach, SC	\$1,824	\$70	0.65	\$9	\$343,197	-\$31,419,465	-\$31,076,268
Naples, FL	\$4,495	\$194	1.60	\$2,680	\$115,881,504	-\$32,737,155	\$83,144,349
Nashville, TN	\$1,811	\$430	0.65	-\$4	-\$938,403	-\$249,587,910	-\$250,526,313
New London-Norwich, CT-RI	\$3,934	\$335	1.40	\$2,119	\$180,648,695	-\$81,811,125	\$98,837,570
New Orleans, LA	\$1,496	\$411	0.53	-\$319	-\$87,799,038	-\$338,807,865	-\$426,606,903
New York-N. New Jersey, NY-NJ-CT-PA	\$7,260	\$26,330	2.59	\$5,445	\$19,747,904,428	-\$5,314,732,005	\$14,433,172,423
Non-MSA Alabama	\$832	\$323	0.30	-\$983	-\$382,284,233	-\$245,289,990	-\$627,574,223
Non-MSA Alaska	\$1,741	\$108	0.62	-\$74	-\$4,564,040	-\$75,049,525	-\$75,049,565
Non-MSA Arizona	\$1,422	\$183	0.51	-\$393	-\$50,541,021	-\$101,757,975	-\$152,298,996
Non-MSA Arkansas	\$872	\$309	0.31	-\$943	-\$334,597,205	-\$245,388,000	-\$579,985,205
Non-MSA California	\$2,587	\$578	0.92	\$772	\$172,315,684	-\$221,705,880	-\$49,390,196
Non-MSA Colorado	\$1,701	\$263	0.61	-\$114	-\$17,702,574	-\$141,980,190	-\$159,682,764
Non-MSA Delaware	\$2,248	\$77	0.80	\$433	\$14,867,452	-\$16,487,460	-\$1,620,008
Non-MSA Florida	\$1,314	\$353	0.47	-\$501	-\$134,594,074	-\$148,884,450	-\$283,478,524
Non-MSA Georgia	\$1,186	\$635	0.42	-\$629	-\$336,671,853	-\$404,441,895	-\$741,113,748
Non-MSA Hawaii	\$5,615	\$302	2.00	\$3,800	\$204,232,075	-\$66,574,200	\$137,657,875
Non-MSA Idaho	\$1,341	\$238	0.48	-\$474	-\$83,948,837	-\$133,028,610	-\$216,977,447
Non-MSA Illinois	\$870	\$448	0.31	-\$945	-\$486,519,413	-\$347,686,845	-\$834,206,258
Non-MSA Indiana	\$990	\$475	0.35	-\$825	-\$395,569,749	-\$273,598,545	-\$669,168,294
Non-MSA Iowa	\$1,012	\$434	0.36	-\$803	-\$344,465,741	-\$298,405,965	-\$642,871,706
Non-MSA Kansas	\$782	\$234	0.28	-\$1,033	-\$309,508,483	-\$223,653,375	-\$533,161,858
Non-MSA Kentucky	\$834	\$270	0.30	-\$981	-\$317,682,391	-\$209,196,900	-\$526,879,291
Non-MSA Louisiana	\$724	\$189	0.26	-\$1,091	-\$285,252,100	-\$173,900,595	-\$459,152,695
Non-MSA Maine	\$1,774	\$266	0.63	-\$41	-\$6,129,153	-\$94,788,375	-\$100,917,528
Non-MSA Maryland	\$2,489	\$220	0.89	\$674	\$59,590,058	-\$66,986,205	-\$7,396,147
Non-MSA Massachusetts	\$8,523	\$44	3.04	\$6,708	\$34,954,174	-\$4,530,240	\$30,423,934
Non-MSA Michigan	\$1,100	\$497	0.39	-\$715	-\$322,766,670	-\$243,233,595	-\$566,000,265
Non-MSA Minnesota	\$1,061	\$414	0.38	-\$754	-\$294,469,298	-\$211,062,720	-\$505,532,018
Non-MSA Mississippi	\$796	\$368	0.28	-\$1,019	-\$471,625,151	-\$304,651,380	-\$776,276,531
Non-MSA Missouri	\$804	\$350	0.29	-\$1,011	-\$440,327,305	-\$296,434,875	-\$736,762,180
Non-MSA Montana	\$1,171	\$184	0.42	-\$644	-\$101,086,272	-\$134,480,610	-\$235,566,882
Non-MSA Nebraska	\$856	\$176	0.31	-\$959	-\$197,298,585	-\$159,019,410	-\$356,317,995
Non-MSA Nevada	\$1,700	\$78	0.61	-\$115	-\$5,290,314	-\$43,258,710	-\$48,549,024
Non-MSA New Hampshire	\$2,491	\$202	0.89	\$676	\$54,774,594	-\$61,775,340	-\$7,000,746
Non-MSA New Jersey	\$4,845	\$377	1.73	\$3,030	\$235,553,922	-\$70,712,400	\$164,841,522
Non-MSA New Mexico	\$1,121	\$182	0.40	-\$694	-\$112,741,574	-\$121,501,545	-\$234,243,119
Non-MSA New York	\$1,820	\$664	0.65	\$5	\$1,994,184	-\$292,167,810	-\$290,173,626
Non-MSA North Carolina	\$1,332	\$828	0.48	-\$483	-\$300,190,607	-\$405,933,825	-\$706,124,432
Non-MSA North Dakota	\$748	\$69	0.27	-\$1,067	-\$97,993,655	-\$67,292,940	-\$165,286,595
Non-MSA Ohio	\$1,036	\$558	0.37	-\$779	-\$419,637,185	-\$345,405,390	-\$765,042,575
Non-MSA Oklahoma	\$756	\$268	0.27	-\$1,059	-\$376,115,788	-\$240,576,435	-\$616,692,223
Non-MSA Oregon	\$1,647	\$362	0.59	-\$168	-\$36,904,292	-\$206,276,565	-\$243,180,857
Non-MSA Pennsylvania	\$1,027	\$556	0.37	-\$788	-\$426,924,580	-\$318,376,410	-\$745,300,990
Non-MSA South Carolina	\$1,299	\$365	0.46	-\$516	-\$145,128,404	-\$172,247,130	-\$317,375,534
Non-MSA South Dakota	\$628	\$69	0.22	-\$1,187	-\$130,732,345	-\$98,158,830	-\$228,891,175
Non-MSA Tennessee	\$711	\$317	0.25	-\$1,104	-\$491,206,555	-\$271,028,505	-\$762,235,060
Non-MSA Texas	\$739	\$588	0.26	-\$1,076	-\$855,566,502	-\$559,829,490	-\$1,415,395,992
Non-MSA Utah	\$1,331	\$117	0.48	-\$484	-\$42,465,536	-\$57,156,165	-\$99,621,701

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Non-MSA Vermont	\$1,998	\$204	0.71	\$183	\$18,702,462	-\$79,083,180	-\$60,380,718
Non-MSA Virginia	\$1,330	\$517	0.47	-\$485	-\$188,360,114	-\$252,793,200	-\$441,153,314
Non-MSA Washington	\$1,207	\$257	0.43	-\$608	-\$129,520,837	-\$190,506,030	-\$320,026,867
Non-MSA West Virginia	\$798	\$238	0.28	-\$1,017	-\$303,916,576	-\$172,826,115	-\$476,742,691
Non-MSA Wisconsin	\$1,172	\$524	0.42	-\$643	-\$287,633,919	-\$293,643,405	-\$581,277,324
Non-MSA Wyoming	\$1,014	\$80	0.36	-\$801	-\$63,500,031	-\$67,296,570	-\$130,796,601
Norfolk-VA Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	\$2,302	\$701	0.82	\$487	\$148,190,351	-\$360,344,655	-\$212,154,304
Ocala, FL	\$1,068	\$63	0.38	-\$747	-\$44,148,682	-\$35,294,490	-\$79,443,172
Odessa-Midland, TX	\$1,021	\$54	0.36	-\$794	-\$42,329,875	-\$50,304,540	-\$92,634,415
Oklahoma City, OK	\$1,262	\$298	0.45	-\$553	-\$130,654,561	-\$239,048,205	-\$369,702,766
Omaha, NE	\$1,560	\$242	0.56	-\$255	-\$39,429,462	-\$152,167,785	-\$191,597,247
Orlando, FL	\$1,804	\$534	0.64	-\$11	-\$3,293,191	-\$297,313,335	-\$300,606,526
Owensboro, KY	\$1,135	\$26	0.41	-\$680	-\$15,452,341	-\$18,807,030	-\$34,259,371
Panama City, FL	\$1,137	\$36	0.41	-\$678	-\$21,729,165	-\$28,112,535	-\$49,841,700
Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH	\$1,014	\$43	0.36	-\$801	-\$34,064,795	-\$27,201,405	-\$61,266,200
Pensacola, FL	\$1,110	\$96	0.40	-\$705	-\$60,818,023	-\$76,113,840	-\$136,931,863
Peoria-Pekin, IL	\$1,262	\$110	0.45	-\$553	-\$48,409,973	-\$74,505,050	-\$123,315,023
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	\$3,002	\$4,492	1.07	\$1,187	\$1,776,155,080	-\$1,181,859,030	\$594,296,050
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	\$2,233	\$1,151	0.80	\$418	\$215,216,850	-\$553,743,795	-\$338,526,945
Pine Bluff, AR	\$1,009	\$20	0.36	-\$806	-\$16,107,096	-\$17,563,755	-\$33,670,851
Pittsburg, PA	\$1,319	\$873	0.47	-\$496	-\$328,672,314	-\$509,076,645	-\$837,748,959
Pittsfield, MA	\$2,970	\$105	1.06	\$1,155	\$40,893,753	-\$34,699,170	\$6,194,583
Portland, ME	\$3,486	\$366	1.24	\$1,671	\$175,484,270	-\$93,316,410	\$82,167,860
Portland-Salem, OR-WA	\$2,150	\$915	0.77	\$335	\$142,691,190	-\$468,658,410	-\$325,967,220
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	\$3,745	\$1,256	1.34	\$1,930	\$647,241,284	-\$412,039,485	\$235,201,799
Provo-Orem, UT	\$1,613	\$71	0.58	-\$202	-\$8,879,228	-\$44,149,875	-\$53,029,103
Pueblo, CO	\$1,036	\$33	0.37	-\$779	-\$24,709,472	-\$27,713,235	-\$52,422,707
Punta Gorda, FL	\$1,594	\$61	0.57	-\$221	-\$8,442,007	-\$18,137,295	-\$26,579,302
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	\$2,506	\$508	0.89	\$691	\$140,003,988	-\$235,877,400	-\$95,873,412
Rapid City, IA	\$1,010	\$19	0.36	-\$805	-\$14,950,384	-\$20,072,085	-\$35,022,469
Reading, PA	\$1,834	\$173	0.65	\$19	\$1,820,765	-\$60,766,200	-\$58,945,435
Redding, CA	\$2,130	\$77	0.76	\$315	\$11,356,763	-\$35,953,335	-\$24,596,572
Reno, NV	\$2,547	\$140	0.91	\$732	\$40,329,523	-\$84,319,455	-\$43,989,932
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA	\$1,176	\$40	0.42	-\$639	-\$21,605,698	-\$37,536,015	-\$59,141,713
Richmond-Petersburg, VA	\$2,264	\$487	0.81	\$449	\$96,717,765	-\$206,427,210	-\$109,709,445
Roanoke, VA	\$1,734	\$105	0.62	-\$81	-\$4,906,663	-\$52,408,125	-\$57,314,788
Rochester, MN	\$2,045	\$550	0.73	\$230	\$61,946,145	-\$229,205,460	-\$167,259,315
Rochester, NY	\$2,380	\$69	0.85	\$565	\$16,375,056	-\$20,206,395	-\$3,831,339
Rockford, IL	\$1,395	\$119	0.50	-\$420	-\$35,860,185	-\$70,383,885	-\$106,244,070
Rocky Mount, NC	\$1,319	\$41	0.47	-\$496	-\$15,434,692	-\$32,909,580	-\$48,344,272
Sacramento-Yolo, CA	\$4,201	\$1,378	1.50	\$2,386	\$782,689,245	-\$406,774,170	\$375,915,075
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI	\$1,308	\$143	0.47	-\$507	-\$55,291,972	-\$70,755,960	-\$126,047,932
Salinas, CA	\$7,317	\$418	2.61	\$5,502	\$314,526,845	-\$97,681,485	\$216,845,360
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	\$1,789	\$418	0.64	-\$26	-\$5,999,770	-\$200,797,080	-\$206,796,850
San Angelo, TX	\$914	\$20	0.33	-\$901	-\$19,849,818	-\$24,656,775	-\$44,506,593
San Antonio, TX	\$1,243	\$339	0.44	-\$572	-\$156,096,855	-\$332,553,375	-\$488,650,230
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	\$8,799	\$15,754	3.14	\$6,984	\$12,504,466,766	-\$2,509,233,870	\$9,995,232,896
San Luis Obispo, CA	\$6,963	\$333	2.49	\$5,148	\$246,060,896	-\$58,116,300	\$187,944,596
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA	\$9,123	\$644	3.26	\$7,308	\$516,112,847	-\$102,828,825	\$413,284,022
Santa Fe, NM	\$3,768	\$116	1.34	\$1,953	\$60,199,941	-\$25,364,625	\$34,835,316
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	\$2,155	\$340	0.77	\$340	\$53,720,397	-\$102,687,255	-\$48,966,858
Savannah, GA	\$1,782	\$104	0.64	-\$33	-\$1,944,056	-\$62,849,820	-\$64,793,876
Scranton-Wilkes Barre-Hazleton, PA	\$1,294	\$220	0.46	-\$521	-\$88,597,909	-\$134,556,840	-\$223,154,749

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	\$3,131	\$2,199	1.12	\$1,316	\$924,043,960	-\$794,077,020	\$129,966,940
Sharon, PA	\$1,485	\$40	0.53	-\$330	-\$8,953,940	-\$20,934,210	-\$29,888,150
Sherman-Denison, TX	\$882	\$22	0.31	-\$933	-\$23,807,956	-\$20,302,590	-\$44,110,546
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA	\$1,083	\$100	0.39	-\$732	-\$67,427,792	-\$83,613,420	-\$151,041,212
Sioux City, IA-NE	\$1,143	\$33	0.41	-\$672	-\$19,632,831	-\$24,587,805	-\$44,220,636
Sioux Falls, SD	\$1,125	\$38	0.40	-\$690	-\$23,265,726	-\$34,902,450	-\$58,168,176
South Bend, IN	\$1,199	\$79	0.43	-\$616	-\$40,748,524	-\$44,295,075	-\$85,043,599
Spokane, WA	\$1,132	\$102	0.40	-\$683	-\$61,554,803	-\$88,483,065	-\$150,037,868
Springfield, MO	\$1,269	\$65	0.45	-\$546	-\$27,770,359	-\$45,112,000	-\$72,782,359
Springfield, IL	\$1,461	\$99	0.52	-\$354	-\$23,903,029	-\$62,062,110	-\$85,965,139
Springfield, MA	\$2,982	\$452	1.06	\$1,167	\$176,976,021	-\$169,275,975	\$7,700,046
St. Cloud, MN	\$1,343	\$48	0.48	-\$472	-\$16,835,971	-\$26,548,005	-\$43,383,976
St. Joseph, MO	\$967	\$25	0.35	-\$848	-\$22,299,506	-\$20,168,280	-\$42,467,786
St. Louis, MO	\$1,937	\$1,263	0.69	\$122	\$79,249,328	-\$516,986,415	-\$437,737,087
State College, PA	\$1,564	\$40	0.56	-\$251	-\$6,392,614	-\$28,165,170	-\$34,557,784
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV	\$863	\$36	0.31	-\$952	-\$39,595,640	-\$24,498,870	-\$64,094,510
Stockton-Lodi, CA	\$3,432	\$312	1.23	\$1,617	\$146,893,172	-\$122,303,775	\$24,589,397
Sumter, SC	\$1,105	\$24	0.39	-\$710	-\$15,139,745	-\$20,807,160	-\$35,946,905
Syracuse, NY	\$2,007	\$365	0.72	\$192	\$34,951,582	-\$160,887,045	-\$125,935,463
Tallahassee, FL	\$1,366	\$72	0.49	-\$449	-\$23,671,519	-\$64,608,555	-\$88,280,074
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	\$1,544	\$915	0.55	-\$271	-\$160,457,939	-\$480,906,030	-\$641,363,969
Terre Haute, IN	\$825	\$33	0.29	-\$990	-\$39,905,385	-\$27,789,465	-\$67,694,850
Texarkana, TX-AR	\$882	\$28	0.31	-\$933	-\$29,218,973	-\$24,101,385	-\$53,320,358
Toledo, OH	\$1,508	\$232	0.54	-\$307	-\$47,167,322	-\$138,194,100	-\$185,361,422
Topeka, KS	\$1,288	\$55	0.46	-\$527	-\$22,377,642	-\$38,321,910	-\$60,699,552
Tucson, AZ	\$1,855	\$289	0.66	\$40	\$6,173,171	-\$182,227,815	-\$176,054,644
Tulsa, OK	\$1,360	\$247	0.49	-\$455	-\$82,646,879	-\$171,375,930	-\$254,022,809
Tuscaloosa, AL	\$1,238	\$42	0.44	-\$577	-\$19,601,303	-\$37,677,585	-\$57,278,888
Tyler, TX	\$1,176	\$44	0.42	-\$639	-\$24,101,400	-\$34,532,190	-\$58,633,590
Utica-Rome, NY	\$1,688	\$132	0.60	-\$127	-\$9,940,816	-\$68,770,350	-\$78,711,166
Victoria, TX	\$997	\$17	0.36	-\$818	-\$13,857,954	-\$16,908,540	-\$30,766,494
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	\$1,783	\$104	0.64	-\$32	-\$1,843,150	-\$70,554,495	-\$72,397,645
Waco, TX	\$992	\$41	0.35	-\$823	-\$34,070,243	-\$52,085,055	-\$86,155,298
Washington D.C.-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV	\$4,992	\$7,716	1.78	\$3,177	\$4,910,461,641	-\$1,664,095,455	\$3,246,366,186
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA	\$1,242	\$39	0.44	-\$573	-\$18,058,459	-\$28,205,100	-\$46,263,559
Wausau, WI	\$1,314	\$41	0.47	-\$501	-\$15,546,322	-\$19,030,275	-\$34,576,597
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	\$3,292	\$815	1.17	\$1,477	\$365,762,849	-\$181,227,750	\$184,535,099
Wheeling, WV-OH	\$910	\$41	0.32	-\$905	-\$41,106,775	-\$30,982,050	-\$72,088,825
Wichita, KS	\$1,324	\$161	0.47	-\$491	-\$59,579,616	-\$118,720,965	-\$178,300,581
Wichita Falls, TX	\$884	\$27	0.32	-\$931	-\$28,934,327	-\$31,310,565	-\$60,244,892
Williamsport, PA	\$1,083	\$34	0.39	-\$732	-\$22,918,697	-\$24,794,715	-\$47,713,412
Wilmington, NC	\$2,019	\$94	0.72	\$204	\$9,486,358	-\$38,300,130	-\$28,813,772
Yakima, WA	\$958	\$40	0.34	-\$857	-\$35,533,406	-\$49,823,036	-\$79,823,036
York, PA	\$1,670	\$160	0.60	-\$145	-\$13,914,273	-\$59,982,120	-\$73,896,393
Youngstown-Warren, OH	\$1,051	\$174	0.37	-\$764	-\$126,814,393	-\$111,874,785	-\$238,689,178
Yuba City, CA	\$1,958	\$47	0.70	\$143	\$3,406,116	-\$31,237,965	-\$27,831,849
Yuma, AZ	\$1,333	\$31	0.48	-\$482	-\$11,369,507	-\$19,623,780	-\$30,993,287

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Rose Valley	\$9,486	\$7,671	\$2,309,669	\$83,800	\$281,400	332	92.5
Woodside	\$9,106	\$7,291	\$5,669,027	\$95,878	\$306,926	800	97.8
Radnor Township	\$8,718	\$6,903	\$36,196,998	\$55,285	\$263,799	10,029	62.2
Spring House	\$8,262	\$6,447	\$5,267,327	\$71,982	\$233,440	917	91.5
Blue Bell	\$7,626	\$5,811	\$9,768,095	\$72,717	\$243,194	2,290	79.7
Fort Washington	\$7,432	\$5,617	\$5,674,445	\$82,078	\$243,494	1,087	94.7
Woodbourne	\$6,682	\$4,867	\$3,708,424	\$68,511	\$225,903	847	92.7
Bryn Athyn	\$6,631	\$4,816	\$966,612	\$47,109	\$189,300	315	73.7
Swarthmore	\$6,432	\$4,617	\$5,526,446	\$54,965	\$195,700	2,037	70.4
Penn Wynne	\$6,408	\$4,593	\$8,817,374	\$55,492	\$215,541	2,224	90.2
Devon-Berwyn	\$6,113	\$4,298	\$5,421,839	\$48,370	\$210,500	1,900	76.4
Upper Providence Township	\$6,083	\$4,268	\$10,058,506	\$49,632	\$202,170	3,729	74.2
Churchville	\$6,042	\$4,227	\$4,764,028	\$67,159	\$210,600	1,177	97.0
Richboro	\$6,032	\$4,217	\$6,150,153	\$64,875	\$206,514	1,480	99.0
Chesterbrook	\$5,475	\$3,660	\$5,729,477	\$61,925	\$181,600	2,279	79.1
Wyncote	\$5,224	\$3,409	\$1,870,020	\$51,953	\$180,302	1,091	67.6
Maple Glen	\$5,142	\$3,327	\$4,864,971	\$59,249	\$189,057	1,827	87.1
Newtown Grant	\$5,115	\$3,300	\$2,361,800	\$61,356	\$167,400	784	94.4
Village Shires	\$5,001	\$3,186	\$3,160,611	\$52,330	\$195,288	1,642	74.8
New Hope	\$4,980	\$3,165	\$704,094	\$38,024	\$168,800	811	53.9
Narberth	\$4,924	\$3,109	\$1,898,321	\$41,823	\$169,600	1,971	56.4
Langhorne Manor	\$4,851	\$3,036	\$658,996	\$50,398	\$178,500	281	85.8
Non-Census Designated Places	\$4,790	\$2,975	\$778,123,032	\$50,138	\$172,377	392,996	79.2
Plymouth Meeting	\$4,758	\$2,943	\$4,344,501	\$48,361	\$166,989	2,338	77.2
Wyndmoor	\$4,739	\$2,924	\$4,866,452	\$55,572	\$158,348	2,039	88.7
Newtown	\$4,716	\$2,901	\$850,989	\$36,553	\$186,000	1,103	54.9
Montgomeryville	\$4,698	\$2,883	\$7,514,263	\$57,683	\$173,926	3,198	88.6
Bryn Mawr	\$4,597	\$2,782	\$78,112	\$36,147	\$122,969	1,360	40.7
Nether Providence Township	\$4,529	\$2,714	\$10,253,937	\$53,609	\$160,391	4,796	87.3
Ardmore	\$4,481	\$2,666	\$5,631,575	\$41,342	\$167,438	5,296	64.2
Lima	\$4,480	\$2,665	\$744,088	\$42,738	\$143,900	602	68.1
Chester Heights	\$4,296	\$2,481	\$925,289	\$51,989	\$121,100	953	64.8
Flourtown	\$4,179	\$2,364	\$3,281,157	\$51,869	\$165,298	1,715	89.2
West Goshen	\$4,113	\$2,298	\$2,751,437	\$49,204	\$156,899	3,266	64.6
Collegeville	\$4,108	\$2,293	\$1,167,398	\$45,194	\$160,100	1,233	67.2
Exton	\$4,077	\$2,262	-\$303,464	\$43,071	\$147,100	1,178	38.2
Doylestown	\$4,013	\$2,198	\$227,608	\$32,900	\$157,382	3,907	46.7
Paoli	\$3,949	\$2,134	\$2,310,780	\$42,437	\$156,270	2,121	73.6
Jenkintown	\$3,895	\$2,080	\$1,465,600	\$40,270	\$144,200	1,965	65.8
Lionville-Marchwood	\$3,890	\$2,075	\$1,585,682	\$48,318	\$152,800	2,416	63.5
New Britain	\$3,771	\$1,956	\$1,381,036	\$49,145	\$149,000	758	96.4
Audubon	\$3,771	\$1,956	\$1,370,858	\$48,896	\$156,070	2,303	63.9
Chalfont	\$3,740	\$1,925	\$1,389,915	\$46,305	\$159,200	1,099	82.3
Springfield	\$3,676	\$1,861	\$13,320,004	\$49,061	\$151,012	8,414	92.4
East Norriton	\$3,618	\$1,803	\$4,897,983	\$46,992	\$145,529	4,892	77.8
Evansburg	\$3,591	\$1,776	\$409,427	\$34,027	\$140,645	370	81.4
Broomall	\$3,572	\$1,757	\$4,741,127	\$44,392	\$155,423	4,121	83.0
Langhorne	\$3,563	\$1,748	\$367,585	\$36,000	\$139,000	518	70.8
Harleysville	\$3,554	\$1,739	\$1,348,396	\$44,155	\$151,473	2,506	66.2
Ivyland	\$3,554	\$1,739	\$207,763	\$41,250	\$123,900	189	82.0
King of Prussia	\$3,529	\$1,714	\$2,496,370	\$46,387	\$147,129	7,833	60.5
Brittany Farms-Highlands	\$3,499	\$1,684	\$1,169,337	\$48,056	\$146,200	1,108	82.0
Yardley	\$3,484	\$1,669	\$640,819	\$38,958	\$152,900	1,029	70.0
Skippack	\$3,426	\$1,611	\$873,681	\$50,936	\$139,000	821	84.0
Trooper	\$3,412	\$1,597	\$2,121,673	\$47,412	\$140,581	1,775	88.2
Horsham	\$3,189	\$1,374	\$1,939,686	\$43,710	\$137,514	5,802	67.4
Trappe	\$3,176	\$1,361	\$584,409	\$45,052	\$133,400	826	79.4
Oreland	\$3,175	\$1,360	\$1,614,402	\$40,949	\$141,041	2,111	81.2
Silverdale	\$3,145	\$1,330	\$159,989	\$41,429	\$142,200	300	74.7
West Norriton	\$3,141	\$1,326	\$3,338,561	\$44,323	\$130,289	6,297	74.7
Eagleville	\$3,066	\$1,251	-\$142,297	\$43,517	\$135,273	1,053	54.8
Pottsgrove	\$3,043	\$1,228	\$1,136,038	\$44,769	\$129,400	1,106	93.4
Kulpsville	\$3,001	\$1,186	\$772,914	\$46,288	\$131,688	1,947	73.7
Malvern	\$2,884	\$1,069	-\$108,599	\$40,082	\$118,300	1,247	59.9
Perkasie	\$2,815	\$1,000	\$486,743	\$39,193	\$127,900	2,938	70.4
Drexel Hill	\$2,805	\$990	\$815,635	\$39,609	\$127,226	11,732	67.2
Glenside	\$2,792	\$977	\$401,965	\$39,303	\$121,078	3,121	69.6
West Chester	\$2,792	\$977	-\$4,419,595	\$30,562	\$117,040	6,134	39.2
Hulmeville	\$2,785	\$970	\$101,912	\$37,381	\$116,700	306	77.1
Willow Grove	\$2,687	\$872	-\$160,878	\$41,616	\$127,196	6,445	66.6
Kenilworth	\$2,687	\$872	-\$49,276	\$38,749	\$127,615	714	65.0

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Dublin	\$2,682	\$867	-\$583,867	\$33,450	\$135,800	799	40.4
Feasterville-Trevoise	\$2,657	\$842	-\$498,284	\$36,815	\$126,500	2,621	61.2
Spring Mount	\$2,654	\$839	\$217,122	\$50,085	\$116,000	474	85.7
Media	\$2,648	\$833	-\$2,118,749	\$32,796	\$114,110	2,876	40.7
Village Green-Green Ridge	\$2,561	\$746	\$1,074,895	\$42,965	\$124,764	3,091	84.4
Rutledge	\$2,490	\$675	\$66,027	\$40,208	\$127,200	319	81.2
Riegelsville	\$2,478	\$663	\$5,153	\$33,646	\$121,600	378	73.8
Kennett Square	\$2,457	\$642	-\$779,042	\$33,789	\$113,497	1,917	57.3
Green Lane	\$2,451	\$636	\$34,991	\$36,736	\$120,265	159	83.0
Ambler	\$2,408	\$593	-\$1,100,830	\$35,777	\$116,920	2,565	57.5
Ridley Park	\$2,397	\$582	-\$924,793	\$37,199	\$114,077	3,090	63.2
Gilbertsville	\$2,392	\$577	-\$148,290	\$42,347	\$126,500	1,442	71.6
Brookhaven	\$2,389	\$574	\$444,992	\$39,359	\$116,993	3,524	81.3
Morton	\$2,377	\$562	-\$572,911	\$33,605	\$103,349	1,150	55.4
Boothwyn	\$2,365	\$550	-\$429,253	\$40,652	\$114,799	1,868	67.0
Elverson	\$2,358	\$543	\$10,296	\$37,115	\$97,500	158	79.7
Telford	\$2,357	\$542	-\$823,914	\$34,594	\$125,810	1,720	56.7
Sellersville	\$2,352	\$537	-\$378,532	\$37,851	\$112,100	1,661	67.5
Lansdale	\$2,343	\$528	-\$2,816,087	\$35,015	\$112,916	6,645	59.4
Toughkenamon	\$2,341	\$526	-\$246,389	\$24,489	\$114,800	355	47.9
North Wales	\$2,329	\$514	-\$600,479	\$38,917	\$115,000	1,510	60.9
Trumbauersville	\$2,312	\$497	-\$28,467	\$40,792	\$113,000	301	74.9
Thorndale	\$2,293	\$478	-\$513,982	\$38,403	\$122,700	1,299	61.9
Hatboro	\$2,282	\$467	-\$916,941	\$34,044	\$118,457	2,985	66.1
Pennndel	\$2,264	\$449	-\$511,498	\$33,015	\$111,300	969	56.9
Halfway House	\$2,252	\$437	\$126,449	\$42,250	\$99,500	459	92.8
Souderton	\$2,206	\$391	-\$1,084,262	\$33,918	\$114,470	2,344	61.3
West Grove	\$2,183	\$368	-\$153,504	\$35,417	\$100,000	770	74.0
Morrisville	\$2,181	\$366	-\$2,323,015	\$33,645	\$103,399	3,958	56.3
Aldan	\$2,172	\$357	-\$327,983	\$40,453	\$111,600	1,769	75.0
Schwenksville	\$2,143	\$328	-\$261,385	\$34,828	\$105,200	510	60.8
Cornwells Heights-Eddington	\$2,139	\$324	\$11,637	\$36,627	\$112,600	1,166	85.3
Warminster Heights	\$2,107	\$292	-\$1,969,164	\$25,316	\$127,700	1,490	23.4
Hatfield	\$2,097	\$282	-\$1,029,054	\$32,879	\$119,400	1,147	43.8
Lansdowne	\$2,086	\$271	-\$2,389,289	\$36,218	\$103,843	4,952	63.9
Folsom	\$2,076	\$261	-\$236,836	\$36,775	\$106,750	3,077	83.7
Sanatoga	\$2,071	\$256	-\$474,908	\$39,279	\$111,900	1,931	75.8
Rockledge	\$2,020	\$205	-\$484,874	\$32,824	\$108,600	1,072	67.4
Red Hill	\$2,020	\$205	-\$314,367	\$33,893	\$107,031	693	67.4
Downingtown	\$2,012	\$197	-\$2,135,412	\$34,856	\$101,243	3,069	55.6
Quakertown	\$1,966	\$151	-\$2,137,691	\$31,640	\$100,384	3,455	60.8
Levittown	\$1,936	\$121	-\$2,143,712	\$42,021	\$104,782	18,023	87.6
South Pottstown	\$1,895	\$80	-\$878,351	\$31,360	\$93,797	886	43.5
Fairless Hills	\$1,876	\$61	-\$1,212,746	\$37,396	\$106,500	3,385	77.6
West Conshohocken	\$1,845	\$30	-\$235,270	\$33,600	\$90,400	464	70.9
Phoenixville	\$1,827	\$12	-\$4,822,922	\$32,182	\$94,763	6,287	57.3
Tullytown	\$1,825	\$10	-\$411,397	\$38,104	\$98,014	839	72.6
Atglen	\$1,795	-\$20	-\$201,396	\$37,961	\$92,700	291	62.5
Honey Brook	\$1,795	-\$20	-\$260,314	\$33,884	\$100,600	455	69.2
Avondale	\$1,790	-\$25	-\$214,380	\$30,815	\$95,400	339	66.1
Parkesburg	\$1,759	-\$56	-\$654,250	\$32,231	\$90,400	1,098	69.3
Royersford	\$1,758	-\$57	-\$1,586,082	\$32,081	\$95,073	1,856	54.6
Glenolden	\$1,722	-\$93	-\$1,935,064	\$31,902	\$90,254	2,871	66.2
Richlandtown	\$1,720	-\$95	-\$222,160	\$31,154	\$96,300	364	70.1
Woodlyn	\$1,680	-\$135	-\$2,520,955	\$31,449	\$97,760	3,945	70.0
Conshohocken	\$1,660	-\$155	-\$2,470,142	\$29,257	\$99,258	3,271	63.8
East Greenville	\$1,643	-\$172	-\$828,116	\$35,389	\$90,900	1,080	63.8
Pennsburg	\$1,643	-\$172	-\$645,571	\$31,729	\$96,400	877	65.7
Oxford	\$1,612	-\$203	-\$1,551,657	\$22,671	\$88,600	1,497	48.3
Norwood	\$1,572	-\$243	-\$1,387,971	\$36,963	\$89,646	2,205	75.4
Yeadon	\$1,531	-\$284	-\$3,792,978	\$35,954	\$77,217	4,678	65.6
Stowe	\$1,525	-\$290	-\$1,030,403	\$32,707	\$84,109	1,401	70.8
Spring City	\$1,514	-\$301	-\$1,343,217	\$31,034	\$88,800	1,388	56.0
Tinicum Township	\$1,506	-\$309	-\$1,345,352	\$33,405	\$82,832	1,742	69.2
Prospect Park	\$1,506	-\$309	-\$2,321,609	\$33,886	\$90,700	2,630	61.9
Bridgeport	\$1,451	-\$364	-\$1,820,750	\$26,291	\$86,200	1,816	56.0
Croydon	\$1,438	-\$377	-\$2,696,924	\$32,377	\$89,628	3,535	73.2
Norristown	\$1,431	-\$384	-\$12,469,243	\$28,658	\$78,448	12,151	55.1
Parkside	\$1,424	-\$391	-\$643,878	\$34,948	\$88,000	933	79.0
East Lansdowne	\$1,412	-\$403	-\$787,609	\$31,321	\$80,200	962	70.6
South Coatesville	\$1,398	-\$417	-\$369,167	\$22,135	\$70,100	389	62.0

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Bristol	\$1,380	-\$435	-\$3,832,635	\$26,478	\$80,504	3,905	60.4
Clifton Heights	\$1,362	-\$453	-\$2,621,009	\$30,587	\$84,800	2,772	63.8
Pottstown	\$1,360	-\$455	-\$8,820,958	\$28,805	\$80,292	8,860	60.3
Folcroft	\$1,352	-\$463	-\$1,820,415	\$35,416	\$75,592	2,534	81.1
Modena	\$1,346	-\$469	-\$216,984	\$24,375	\$57,700	190	50.0
Collingdale	\$1,220	-\$595	-\$2,957,515	\$32,128	\$73,246	3,323	75.8
Sharon Hill	\$1,184	-\$631	-\$2,035,814	\$30,285	\$73,000	2,184	74.5
Philadelphia	\$1,166	-\$649	-\$649,655,365	\$25,319	\$58,031	598,048	62.5
Coatesville	\$1,141	-\$674	-\$5,089,503	\$24,324	\$66,981	4,105	50.4
Darby Township	\$1,132	-\$683	-\$3,555,691	\$29,844	\$74,538	3,807	77.8
Linwood	\$1,115	-\$700	-\$1,172,239	\$32,484	\$69,000	1,191	74.5
Chester Township	\$1,065	-\$750	-\$2,042,880	\$28,752	\$56,729	1,791	63.3
Upland	\$1,059	-\$756	-\$1,349,034	\$29,016	\$60,200	1,190	64.4
Millbourne	\$1,053	-\$762	-\$547,547	\$21,759	\$67,100	380	35.5
Eddystone	\$1,017	-\$798	-\$1,028,870	\$28,269	\$69,500	940	70.9
Trainer	\$1,014	-\$801	-\$910,627	\$28,164	\$71,300	879	76.8
Marcus Hook	\$939	-\$876	-\$1,146,870	\$22,723	\$60,900	931	62.1
Colwyn	\$912	-\$903	-\$1,063,464	\$30,482	\$55,700	932	73.9
Darby	\$851	-\$964	-\$4,374,096	\$26,225	\$47,904	3,642	72.1
Chester	\$673	-\$1,142	-\$21,527,480	\$20,515	\$37,921	14,424	48.0

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Abilene, TX	\$884	\$24	0.32	-\$931	-\$25,051,958	-\$27,791,280	-\$52,843,238
Albany, GA	\$1,457	\$308	0.52	-\$358	-\$75,665,198	-\$215,077,500	-\$290,742,698
Albany, NY	\$2,774	\$61	0.99	\$959	\$20,934,219	-\$30,833,220	-\$9,899,001
Albuquerque, NM	\$2,035	\$290	0.73	\$220	\$31,360,919	-\$141,649,860	-\$110,288,941
Alexandria, LA	\$923	\$28	0.33	-\$892	-\$27,148,420	-\$26,684,130	-\$53,832,550
Allentown, PA	\$2,347	\$381	0.84	\$532	\$86,352,011	-\$113,878,545	-\$27,526,534
Altoona, PA	\$855	\$31	0.31	-\$960	-\$35,030,641	-\$25,056,075	-\$60,086,716
Anchorage, AK	\$2,403	\$105	0.86	\$588	\$25,687,619	-\$68,516,250	-\$42,828,631
Anniston, AL	\$973	\$29	0.35	-\$842	-\$25,375,522	-\$22,634,865	-\$48,010,387
Appleton, WI	\$1,589	\$129	0.57	-\$226	-\$18,304,344	-\$62,434,185	-\$80,738,529
Asheville, NC	\$1,608	\$88	0.57	-\$207	-\$11,306,698	-\$39,850,140	-\$51,156,838
Athens, GA	\$1,685	\$43	0.60	-\$130	-\$3,361,962	-\$38,497,965	-\$41,859,927
Atlanta, GA	\$2,802	\$1,936	1.00	\$987	\$681,744,876	-\$739,576,200	-\$57,831,324
Austin, TX	\$1,710	\$285	0.61	-\$105	-\$17,569,235	-\$285,405,120	-\$302,974,355
Bakersfield, CA	\$2,028	\$218	0.72	\$213	\$22,852,940	-\$131,696,400	-\$108,843,460
Bangor, ME	\$1,570	\$231	0.56	-\$245	-\$36,030,289	-\$121,869,990	-\$157,900,279
Barnstable, MA	\$4,956	\$278	1.77	\$3,141	\$175,892,416	-\$37,940,766	\$137,940,766
Baton Rouge, LA	\$1,305	\$160	0.47	-\$510	-\$62,481,387	-\$112,426,545	-\$174,907,932
Beaumont, TX	\$810	\$76	0.29	-\$1,005	-\$93,820,546	-\$73,703,520	-\$167,524,066
Bellingham, WA	\$2,002	\$63	0.71	\$187	\$5,850,503	-\$31,061,910	-\$25,211,407
Benton Harbor, MI	\$1,451	\$62	0.52	-\$364	-\$15,437,401	-\$34,145,595	-\$49,582,996
Billings, MT	\$1,379	\$40	0.49	-\$436	-\$12,801,795	-\$28,147,020	-\$40,948,815
Biloxi, MS	\$1,141	\$86	0.41	-\$674	-\$50,693,804	-\$63,604,860	-\$114,298,664
Binghamton, NY	\$1,962	\$134	0.70	\$147	\$10,045,376	-\$58,239,545	-\$48,239,169
Birmingham, AL	\$1,543	\$336	0.55	-\$272	-\$59,092,209	-\$182,273,190	-\$241,365,399
Bismarck, ND	\$1,115	\$23	0.40	-\$700	-\$14,309,997	-\$18,885,075	-\$33,195,072
Bloomington, IL	\$1,566	\$34	0.56	-\$249	-\$5,346,242	-\$30,586,380	-\$35,932,622
Bloomington, IN	\$1,460	\$43	0.52	-\$355	-\$10,522,151	-\$30,758,805	-\$41,280,956
Boise City, ID	\$1,570	\$118	0.56	-\$245	-\$18,373,670	-\$61,042,080	-\$79,415,750
Boston-Worcester-Lawrence, MA-NH-ME-CT	\$5,126	\$5,994	1.83	\$3,311	\$3,871,964,038	-\$1,401,214,485	\$2,470,749,553
Brownsville, TX	\$707	\$33	0.25	-\$1,108	-\$52,197,963	-\$47,868,810	-\$100,066,773
Bryan, TX	\$1,272	\$23	0.45	-\$543	-\$9,898,774	-\$43,387,575	-\$53,286,349
Buffalo, NY	\$1,851	\$549	0.66	\$36	\$10,618,816	-\$295,746,990	-\$285,128,174
Burlington, VT	\$2,677	\$115	0.96	\$862	\$37,131,815	-\$39,376,425	-\$2,244,610
Canton, OH	\$1,208	\$127	0.43	-\$607	-\$63,957,511	-\$78,916,200	-\$142,873,711
Casper, WY	\$871	\$14	0.31	-\$944	-\$15,478,288	-\$13,167,825	-\$28,646,113
Cedar Rapids, IA	\$1,697	\$78	0.61	-\$118	-\$5,452,828	-\$34,394,250	-\$39,847,078
Champaign, IL	\$1,638	\$57	0.58	-\$177	-\$6,184,566	-\$51,388,095	-\$57,572,661
Charleston, WV	\$1,199	\$133	0.43	-\$616	-\$68,388,606	-\$112,234,155	-\$180,622,761
Charleston, SC	\$1,951	\$138	0.70	\$136	\$9,632,800	-\$52,564,215	-\$42,931,415
Charlotte, NC-SC	\$2,156	\$634	0.77	\$341	\$100,315,368	-\$261,897,240	-\$161,581,872
Charlottesville, VA	\$2,814	\$81	1.00	\$999	\$28,870,731	-\$35,757,315	-\$6,886,584
Chattanooga, TN-GA	\$1,249	\$139	0.45	-\$566	-\$82,871,837	-\$88,831,545	-\$151,703,382
Cheyenne, WY	\$1,132	\$21	0.40	-\$683	-\$12,533,102	-\$17,912,235	-\$30,445,337
Chicago-Gary-Kenosha, IL-IN-WI	\$3,314	\$5,938	1.18	\$1,499	\$2,686,164,724	-\$1,953,442,755	\$732,721,969
Chico-Paradise, CA	\$2,231	\$98	0.80	\$416	\$18,181,401	-\$50,694,765	-\$32,513,364
Cincinnati-Hamilton, OH-KY-IN	\$1,858	\$807	0.66	\$43	\$18,523,965	-\$423,555,660	-\$405,031,695
Clarksville-Hopkinsville, TN-KY	\$966	\$32	0.34	-\$849	-\$27,660,391	-\$40,383,750	-\$68,044,141
Cleveland-Akron, OH	\$1,769	\$1,297	0.63	-\$46	-\$33,496,143	-\$643,136,175	-\$676,632,318
Colorado Springs, CO	\$1,976	\$166	0.71	\$161	\$13,480,812	-\$108,673,125	-\$95,192,313
Columbia, MO	\$1,530	\$164	0.55	-\$285	-\$30,412,320	-\$100,734,315	-\$131,146,635
Columbia, SC	\$1,938	\$44	0.69	\$123	\$2,806,327	-\$33,947,760	-\$31,141,433
Columbus, GA-AL	\$1,430	\$438	0.51	-\$385	-\$117,985,065	-\$364,664,355	-\$482,649,420

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Columbus, OH	\$1,860	\$98	0.66	\$45	\$2,400,091	-\$68,741,310	-\$66,341,219
Corpus Christi, TX	\$1,022	\$72	0.36	-\$793	-\$56,159,736	-\$85,985,625	-\$142,145,361
Cumberland, MD-WV	\$1,020	\$29	0.36	-\$795	-\$22,445,446	-\$20,014,005	-\$42,459,451
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX	\$1,949	\$1,688	0.70	\$134	\$115,866,848	-\$1,103,932,005	-\$988,065,157
Danville, VA	\$1,039	\$30	0.37	-\$776	-\$22,730,529	-\$23,558,700	-\$46,289,229
Davenport-Moline, IA-IL	\$1,257	\$116	0.45	-\$558	-\$51,501,340	-\$78,616,725	-\$130,118,065
Daytona Beach, FL	\$1,346	\$160	0.48	-\$469	-\$55,792,736	-\$82,435,485	-\$138,228,221
Dayton-Springfield, OH	\$1,566	\$374	0.56	-\$249	-\$59,542,734	-\$224,608,065	-\$284,150,799
Decatur, AL	\$1,140	\$37	0.41	-\$675	-\$21,753,323	-\$46,796,693	-\$46,796,693
Decatur, IL	\$1,088	\$40	0.39	-\$727	-\$26,459,138	-\$23,164,845	-\$49,623,983
Denver-Boulder-Greeley, CO	\$2,288	\$1,099	0.82	\$473	\$227,076,091	-\$535,372,365	-\$308,296,274
Des Moines, IA	\$1,716	\$175	0.61	-\$99	-\$10,116,133	-\$91,492,335	-\$101,608,468
Detroit-Ann Arbor-Flint, MI	\$2,162	\$2,865	0.77	\$347	\$459,758,702	-\$1,050,906,780	-\$591,148,078
Dothan, AL	\$950	\$10	0.34	-\$865	-\$9,234,837	-\$9,595,905	-\$18,830,742
Dover, DE	\$2,015	\$55	0.72	\$200	\$5,477,715	-\$21,832,635	-\$16,354,920
Dubuque, IA	\$1,428	\$31	0.51	-\$387	-\$8,378,864	-\$15,828,615	-\$24,207,479
Duluth-Superior, MN-WI	\$1,034	\$72	0.37	-\$781	-\$54,446,440	-\$44,142,615	-\$98,589,055
Eau Claire, WI	\$1,061	\$15	0.38	-\$754	-\$10,676,635	-\$8,949,765	-\$19,626,400
El Paso, TX	\$1,018	\$106	0.36	-\$797	-\$83,280,133	-\$127,349,475	-\$210,629,608
Elkhart-Goshen, IN	\$1,328	\$54	0.47	-\$487	-\$19,842,540	-\$28,686,075	-\$48,528,615
Elmira, NY	\$1,406	\$34	0.50	-\$409	-\$9,851,996	-\$20,097,495	-\$29,949,491
Enid, OK	\$864	\$13	0.31	-\$951	-\$14,747,790	-\$12,891,945	-\$27,639,735
Erie, PA	\$1,152	\$80	0.41	-\$663	-\$46,116,660	-\$55,987,305	-\$102,103,965
Eugene-Springfield, OR	\$1,880	\$127	0.67	\$65	\$4,406,791	-\$78,999,690	-\$74,592,899
Evansville-Springfield, IN-KY	\$1,224	\$92	0.44	-\$591	-\$44,231,860	-\$61,209,060	-\$105,440,920
Fargo-Moorhead, ND-MN	\$1,360	\$46	0.49	-\$455	-\$15,287,821	-\$42,438,330	-\$57,726,151
Fayetteville, NC	\$1,455	\$77	0.52	-\$360	-\$19,018,046	-\$69,690,555	-\$88,708,601
Fayetteville-Springdale, AR	\$1,325	\$71	0.47	-\$490	-\$26,296,848	-\$48,585,735	-\$74,882,583
Florence, AL	\$1,040	\$39	0.37	-\$775	-\$29,289,063	-\$23,531,475	-\$52,820,538
Florence, SC	\$1,260	\$36	0.45	-\$555	-\$15,711,877	-\$21,072,150	-\$36,784,027
Fort Collins-Loveland, CO	\$1,966	\$87	0.70	\$151	\$6,686,517	-\$47,346,090	-\$40,659,573
Fort Myers-Cape Coral, FL	\$2,125	\$210	0.76	\$310	\$30,600,876	-\$69,042,600	-\$38,441,724
Fort Pierce, FL	\$2,403	\$166	0.86	\$588	\$40,618,127	-\$46,275,240	-\$5,657,114
Fort Smith, AR-OK	\$1,033	\$48	0.37	-\$782	-\$36,089,661	-\$37,261,950	-\$73,351,611
Fort Walton Beach, FL	\$1,410	\$47	0.50	-\$405	-\$13,410,402	-\$36,109,425	-\$49,519,827
Fort Wayne, IN	\$1,280	\$158	0.46	-\$535	-\$66,095,387	-\$81,680,445	-\$147,775,832
Fresno, CA	\$2,162	\$298	0.77	\$347	\$47,910,056	-\$200,771,670	-\$152,861,614
Gadsden, AL	\$871	\$25	0.31	-\$944	-\$26,983,637	-\$17,661,765	-\$44,645,402
Gainesville, FL	\$1,267	\$48	0.45	-\$548	-\$20,853,720	-\$56,811,315	-\$77,665,035
Glens Falls, NY	\$2,315	\$71	0.83	\$500	\$15,304,109	-\$22,219,230	-\$6,915,121
Goldensboro, NC	\$1,293	\$30	0.46	-\$522	-\$12,067,976	-\$24,778,380	-\$36,846,356
Grand Forks, ND-MN	\$1,144	\$24	0.41	-\$671	-\$14,168,120	-\$27,128,805	-\$41,296,925
Grand Rapids-Meskegon, MI	\$1,719	\$422	0.61	-\$96	-\$23,585,453	-\$159,970,470	-\$183,555,923
Great Falls, MT	\$1,283	\$25	0.46	-\$532	-\$10,203,126	-\$19,095,615	-\$29,298,741
Green Bay, WI	\$1,581	\$75	0.56	-\$234	-\$11,091,696	-\$44,364,045	-\$55,455,741
Greensboro-Winston-Salem, NC	\$1,900	\$532	0.68	\$85	\$23,703,722	-\$241,171,755	-\$217,468,033
Greenville, NC	\$1,644	\$39	0.59	-\$171	-\$3,997,490	-\$30,531,930	-\$34,529,420
Greenville-Spartanburg, SC	\$1,457	\$319	0.52	-\$358	-\$78,291,175	-\$170,123,580	-\$248,414,755
Harrisburg-Lebanon-Carlisle, PA	\$1,620	\$252	0.58	-\$195	-\$30,330,144	-\$128,071,845	-\$158,401,989
Hartford, CT	\$5,177	\$1,199	1.85	\$3,362	\$778,660,887	-\$236,309,370	\$542,351,517
Hickory-Morganton, NC	\$1,434	\$120	0.51	-\$381	-\$31,772,759	-\$51,034,170	-\$82,806,929
Honolulu, HI	\$10,590	\$1,440	3.78	\$8,775	\$1,193,279,612	-\$193,680,465	\$999,599,147
Houma, LA	\$897	\$40	0.32	-\$918	-\$41,344,986	-\$28,825,830	-\$70,170,816

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$Millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Houston-Galveston, TX	\$1,666	\$1,252	0.59	-\$149	-\$111,768,348	-\$1,044,625,065	-\$1,156,393,413
Huntington-Ashland, WV-KY-OH	\$950	\$82	0.34	-\$865	-\$74,435,002	-\$60,742,605	-\$135,177,607
Huntsville, AL	\$1,698	\$126	0.61	-\$117	-\$8,688,656	-\$66,120,450	-\$74,809,106
Indianapolis, IN	\$1,582	\$542	0.56	-\$233	-\$79,658,793	-\$338,272,440	-\$417,931,233
Iowa City, IA	\$2,230	\$42	0.80	\$415	\$7,782,466	-\$30,410,325	-\$22,627,859
Jackson, TN	\$1,008	\$20	0.36	-\$807	-\$15,615,639	-\$18,463,995	-\$34,079,634
Jackson, MI	\$1,288	\$118	0.46	-\$527	-\$48,466,169	-\$85,923,915	-\$134,390,084
Jackson, MS	\$1,430	\$57	0.51	-\$385	-\$15,206,129	-\$26,065,215	-\$41,271,344
Jacksonville, NC	\$1,302	\$28	0.46	-\$513	-\$11,118,745	-\$28,479,165	-\$39,597,910
Jacksonville, FL	\$1,456	\$324	0.52	-\$359	-\$79,879,711	-\$217,780,035	-\$297,659,746
Jamestown, NY	\$1,211	\$45	0.43	-\$604	-\$22,246,310	-\$30,577,305	-\$52,823,615
Janesville-Beloit, WI	\$1,306	\$46	0.47	-\$509	-\$18,095,455	-\$30,207,045	-\$48,302,500
Johnston City-Kingsport, TN-VA	\$948	\$119	0.34	-\$867	-\$108,735,490	-\$81,330,150	-\$190,065,640
Johnstown, PA	\$793	\$54	0.28	-\$1,022	-\$69,718,955	-\$42,363,915	-\$112,082,870
Joplin, MO	\$899	\$34	0.32	-\$916	-\$34,707,072	-\$27,284,895	-\$61,991,967
Kalamazoo-Battle Creek, MI	\$1,441	\$159	0.51	-\$374	-\$41,120,698	-\$92,071,320	-\$133,192,018
Kansas City, MO-KS	\$1,670	\$664	0.60	-\$145	-\$57,467,297	-\$369,499,515	-\$426,966,812
Killeen-Temple, TX	\$994	\$35	0.35	-\$821	-\$28,756,957	-\$59,023,800	-\$87,780,757
Knoxville, TN	\$1,260	\$199	0.45	-\$555	-\$87,569,379	-\$130,676,370	-\$218,245,749
Kokomo, IN	\$1,089	\$29	0.39	-\$726	-\$19,084,117	-\$16,590,915	-\$35,675,032
La Crosse, WI-MN	\$1,380	\$39	0.49	-\$435	-\$12,383,648	-\$27,036,240	-\$39,419,888
Lafayette, LA	\$927	\$76	0.33	-\$888	-\$72,651,535	-\$71,313,165	-\$143,964,700
Lafayette, IN	\$1,385	\$44	0.49	-\$430	-\$13,743,575	-\$38,704,875	-\$52,448,450
Lake Charles, LA	\$1,045	\$44	0.37	-\$770	-\$32,635,727	-\$32,234,400	-\$64,870,127
Lakeland-Winter Haven, FL	\$1,120	\$122	0.40	-\$695	-\$75,466,553	-\$82,609,725	-\$158,076,278
Lancaster, PA	\$1,987	\$208	0.71	\$172	\$17,992,778	-\$84,161,550	-\$66,168,772
Lansing-E. Lansing, MI	\$1,737	\$176	0.62	-\$78	-\$7,866,887	-\$97,706,895	-\$105,573,782
Laredo, TX	\$857	\$18	0.35	-\$958	-\$19,988,044	-\$24,707,595	-\$44,695,639
Las Cruces, NM	\$1,504	\$44	0.54	-\$311	-\$9,034,672	-\$27,820,320	-\$36,854,992
Las Vegas, NV-AZ	\$1,853	\$332	0.66	\$38	\$6,859,282	-\$264,187,770	-\$257,328,488
Lawrence, KS	\$1,462	\$23	0.52	-\$353	-\$5,558,004	-\$25,876,455	-\$31,434,459
Lawton, OK	\$1,069	\$24	0.38	-\$746	-\$16,860,907	-\$27,912,820	-\$44,060,497
Lewiston-Auburn, ME	\$1,918	\$48	0.68	\$103	\$2,570,673	-\$27,716,865	-\$25,146,192
Lexington, KY	\$1,758	\$139	0.63	-\$57	-\$4,506,148	-\$106,705,665	-\$111,211,813
Lima, OH	\$1,159	\$47	0.41	-\$656	-\$26,564,622	-\$26,912,820	-\$53,477,442
Lincoln, NE	\$1,586	\$79	0.57	-\$229	-\$11,448,458	-\$58,862,265	-\$70,310,723
Little Rock, AR	\$1,497	\$188	0.53	-\$318	-\$39,947,920	-\$122,648,625	-\$162,596,545
Longview, TX	\$856	\$43	0.31	-\$959	-\$47,910,435	-\$40,394,640	-\$88,305,075
Los Angeles-Riverside-Orange County, CA	\$7,915	\$20,891	2.82	\$6,100	\$16,100,318,671	-\$4,022,201,535	\$12,078,117,136
Louisville, KY-IN	\$1,451	\$346	0.52	-\$364	-\$86,777,700	-\$209,369,325	-\$296,147,025
Lubbock, TX	\$1,038	\$49	0.37	-\$777	-\$36,877,400	-\$61,552,095	-\$98,429,495
Lynchburg, VA	\$1,477	\$78	0.53	-\$338	-\$17,778,536	-\$35,858,955	-\$53,637,491
Macon, GA	\$1,484	\$100	0.53	-\$331	-\$22,221,857	-\$70,162,455	-\$92,384,312
Madison, WI	\$2,195	\$172	0.78	\$380	\$29,707,640	-\$109,566,105	-\$79,858,465
Mansfield, OH	\$1,015	\$47	0.36	-\$800	-\$37,272,255	-\$35,200,110	-\$72,472,365
McAllen-Edinburg, TX	\$625	\$45	0.22	-\$1,190	-\$86,492,512	-\$55,789,470	-\$142,281,982
Medford-Ashland, OR	\$2,217	\$84	0.79	\$402	\$15,184,204	-\$35,330,790	-\$20,146,586
Melbourne-Titusville-Palm Bay, FL	\$1,706	\$190	0.61	-\$109	-\$12,109,131	-\$89,112,870	-\$101,222,001
Memphis, TN-AR-MS	\$1,544	\$348	0.55	-\$271	-\$61,147,305	-\$250,266,720	-\$311,414,025
Merced, CA	\$2,186	\$66	0.78	\$371	\$11,149,906	-\$46,202,640	-\$35,052,734
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL	\$2,470	\$1,801	0.88	\$655	\$477,691,890	-\$868,905,840	-\$391,213,950
Milwaukee-Racine, WI	\$2,115	\$767	0.75	\$300	\$108,806,037	-\$429,198,495	-\$320,392,458
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI	\$2,528	\$1,669	0.90	\$713	\$470,607,766	-\$534,484,830	-\$63,877,064

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MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units				Rental Households		
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Mobile, AL	\$1,232	\$148	0.44	-\$583	-\$70,191,428	-\$96,142,365	-\$166,333,793
Modesto, CA	\$3,299	\$251	1.18	\$1,484	\$112,727,000	-\$89,813,460	\$22,913,540
Monroe, LA	\$1,013	\$33	0.36	-\$802	-\$26,248,057	-\$32,238,030	-\$58,486,087
Montgomery, AL	\$1,389	\$98	0.50	-\$426	-\$30,114,558	-\$62,094,780	-\$92,209,338
Muncie, IN	\$912	\$27	0.33	-\$903	-\$27,132,452	-\$26,408,250	-\$53,540,702
Myrtle Beach, SC	\$1,824	\$70	0.65	\$9	\$343,197	-\$31,419,465	-\$31,076,268
Naples, FL	\$4,495	\$194	1.60	\$2,680	\$115,881,504	-\$32,737,155	\$83,144,349
Nashville, TN	\$1,811	\$430	0.65	-\$4	-\$938,403	-\$249,587,910	-\$250,526,313
New London-Norwich, CT-RI	\$3,934	\$335	1.40	\$2,119	\$180,648,695	-\$81,811,125	\$98,837,570
New Orleans, LA	\$1,496	\$411	0.53	-\$319	-\$87,799,038	-\$338,807,865	-\$426,606,903
New York-N. New Jersey, NY-NJ-CT-PA	\$7,260	\$26,330	2.59	\$5,445	\$19,747,904,428	-\$5,314,732,005	\$14,433,172,423
Non-MSA Alabama	\$832	\$323	0.30	-\$983	-\$382,284,233	-\$245,289,990	-\$627,574,223
Non-MSA Alaska	\$1,741	\$108	0.62	-\$74	-\$4,564,040	-\$74,485,525	-\$75,049,565
Non-MSA Arizona	\$1,422	\$183	0.51	-\$393	-\$50,541,021	-\$101,757,975	-\$152,298,996
Non-MSA Arkansas	\$872	\$309	0.31	-\$943	-\$334,597,205	-\$245,388,000	-\$579,985,205
Non-MSA California	\$2,587	\$578	0.92	\$772	\$172,315,684	-\$221,705,880	-\$49,390,196
Non-MSA Colorado	\$1,701	\$263	0.61	-\$114	-\$17,702,574	-\$141,980,190	-\$159,682,764
Non-MSA Delaware	\$2,248	\$77	0.80	\$433	\$14,867,452	-\$16,487,460	-\$1,620,008
Non-MSA Florida	\$1,314	\$353	0.47	-\$501	-\$134,594,074	-\$148,884,450	-\$283,478,524
Non-MSA Georgia	\$1,186	\$635	0.42	-\$629	-\$336,671,853	-\$404,441,895	-\$741,113,748
Non-MSA Hawaii	\$5,615	\$302	2.00	\$3,800	\$204,232,075	-\$66,574,200	\$137,657,875
Non-MSA Idaho	\$1,341	\$238	0.48	-\$474	-\$83,948,837	-\$133,028,610	-\$216,977,447
Non-MSA Illinois	\$870	\$448	0.31	-\$945	-\$486,519,413	-\$347,686,845	-\$834,206,258
Non-MSA Indiana	\$990	\$475	0.35	-\$825	-\$395,569,749	-\$273,598,545	-\$669,168,294
Non-MSA Iowa	\$1,012	\$434	0.36	-\$803	-\$344,465,741	-\$298,405,965	-\$642,871,706
Non-MSA Kansas	\$782	\$234	0.28	-\$1,033	-\$309,508,483	-\$223,653,375	-\$533,161,858
Non-MSA Kentucky	\$834	\$270	0.30	-\$981	-\$317,682,391	-\$209,196,900	-\$526,879,291
Non-MSA Louisiana	\$724	\$189	0.26	-\$1,091	-\$285,252,100	-\$173,900,595	-\$459,152,695
Non-MSA Maine	\$1,774	\$266	0.63	-\$41	-\$6,129,153	-\$94,788,375	-\$100,917,528
Non-MSA Maryland	\$2,489	\$220	0.89	\$674	\$59,590,058	-\$66,986,205	-\$7,396,147
Non-MSA Massachusetts	\$8,523	\$44	3.04	\$6,708	\$34,954,174	-\$4,530,240	\$30,423,934
Non-MSA Michigan	\$1,100	\$497	0.39	-\$715	-\$322,766,670	-\$243,233,595	-\$566,000,265
Non-MSA Minnesota	\$1,061	\$414	0.38	-\$754	-\$294,469,298	-\$211,062,720	-\$505,532,018
Non-MSA Mississippi	\$796	\$368	0.28	-\$1,019	-\$471,625,151	-\$304,651,380	-\$776,276,531
Non-MSA Missouri	\$804	\$350	0.29	-\$1,011	-\$440,327,305	-\$296,434,875	-\$736,762,180
Non-MSA Montana	\$1,171	\$184	0.42	-\$644	-\$101,086,272	-\$134,480,610	-\$235,566,882
Non-MSA Nebraska	\$856	\$176	0.31	-\$959	-\$197,298,585	-\$159,019,410	-\$356,317,995
Non-MSA Nevada	\$1,700	\$78	0.61	-\$115	-\$5,290,314	-\$43,258,710	-\$48,549,024
Non-MSA New Hampshire	\$2,491	\$202	0.89	\$676	\$54,774,594	-\$61,775,340	-\$7,000,746
Non-MSA New Jersey	\$4,845	\$377	1.73	\$3,030	\$235,553,922	-\$70,712,400	\$164,841,522
Non-MSA New Mexico	\$1,121	\$182	0.40	-\$694	-\$112,741,574	-\$121,501,545	-\$234,243,119
Non-MSA New York	\$1,820	\$664	0.65	\$5	\$1,994,184	-\$292,167,810	-\$290,173,626
Non-MSA North Carolina	\$1,332	\$828	0.48	-\$483	-\$300,190,607	-\$405,933,825	-\$706,124,432
Non-MSA North Dakota	\$748	\$69	0.27	-\$1,067	-\$97,993,655	-\$67,292,940	-\$165,286,595
Non-MSA Ohio	\$1,036	\$558	0.37	-\$779	-\$419,637,185	-\$345,405,390	-\$765,042,575
Non-MSA Oklahoma	\$756	\$268	0.27	-\$1,059	-\$376,115,788	-\$240,576,435	-\$616,692,223
Non-MSA Oregon	\$1,647	\$362	0.59	-\$168	-\$36,904,292	-\$206,276,565	-\$243,180,857
Non-MSA Pennsylvania	\$1,027	\$556	0.37	-\$788	-\$426,924,580	-\$318,376,410	-\$745,300,990
Non-MSA South Carolina	\$1,299	\$365	0.46	-\$516	-\$145,128,404	-\$172,247,130	-\$317,375,534
Non-MSA South Dakota	\$628	\$69	0.22	-\$1,187	-\$130,732,345	-\$98,158,830	-\$228,891,175
Non-MSA Tennessee	\$711	\$317	0.25	-\$1,104	-\$491,206,555	-\$271,028,505	-\$762,235,060
Non-MSA Texas	\$739	\$588	0.26	-\$1,076	-\$855,566,502	-\$559,829,490	-\$1,415,395,992
Non-MSA Utah	\$1,331	\$117	0.48	-\$484	-\$42,465,536	-\$57,156,165	-\$99,621,701

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Non-MSA Vermont	\$1,998	\$204	0.71	\$183	\$18,702,462	-\$79,083,180	-\$60,380,718
Non-MSA Virginia	\$1,330	\$517	0.47	-\$485	-\$188,360,114	-\$252,793,200	-\$441,153,314
Non-MSA Washington	\$1,207	\$257	0.43	-\$608	-\$129,520,837	-\$190,506,030	-\$320,026,867
Non-MSA West Virginia	\$798	\$238	0.28	-\$1,017	-\$303,916,576	-\$172,826,115	-\$476,742,691
Non-MSA Wisconsin	\$1,172	\$524	0.42	-\$643	-\$287,633,919	-\$293,643,405	-\$581,277,324
Non-MSA Wyoming	\$1,014	\$80	0.36	-\$801	-\$63,500,031	-\$67,296,570	-\$130,796,601
Norfolk-VA Beach-Newport News, VA-NC	\$2,302	\$701	0.82	\$487	\$148,190,351	-\$360,344,655	-\$212,154,304
Ocala, FL	\$1,068	\$63	0.38	-\$747	-\$44,148,682	-\$35,294,490	-\$79,443,172
Odessa-Midland, TX	\$1,021	\$54	0.36	-\$794	-\$42,329,875	-\$50,304,540	-\$92,634,415
Oklahoma City, OK	\$1,262	\$298	0.45	-\$553	-\$130,654,561	-\$239,048,205	-\$369,702,766
Omaha, NE	\$1,560	\$242	0.56	-\$255	-\$39,429,462	-\$152,167,785	-\$191,597,247
Orlando, FL	\$1,804	\$534	0.64	-\$11	-\$3,293,191	-\$297,313,335	-\$300,606,526
Owensboro, KY	\$1,135	\$26	0.41	-\$680	-\$15,452,341	-\$18,807,030	-\$34,259,371
Panama City, FL	\$1,137	\$36	0.41	-\$678	-\$21,729,165	-\$28,112,535	-\$49,841,700
Parkersburg-Marietta, WV-OH	\$1,014	\$43	0.36	-\$801	-\$34,064,795	-\$27,201,405	-\$61,266,200
Pensacola, FL	\$1,110	\$96	0.40	-\$705	-\$60,818,023	-\$76,113,840	-\$136,931,863
Peoria-Pekin, IL	\$1,262	\$110	0.45	-\$553	-\$48,409,973	-\$74,505,050	-\$123,315,023
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City, PA-NJ-DE-MD	\$3,002	\$4,492	1.07	\$1,187	\$1,776,155,080	-\$1,181,859,030	\$594,296,050
Phoenix-Mesa, AZ	\$2,233	\$1,151	0.80	\$418	\$215,216,850	-\$553,743,795	-\$338,526,945
Pine Bluff, AR	\$1,009	\$20	0.36	-\$806	-\$16,107,096	-\$17,563,755	-\$33,670,851
Pittsburg, PA	\$1,319	\$873	0.47	-\$496	-\$328,672,314	-\$509,076,645	-\$837,748,959
Pittsfield, MA	\$2,970	\$105	1.06	\$1,155	\$40,893,753	-\$34,699,170	\$6,194,583
Portland, ME	\$3,486	\$366	1.24	\$1,671	\$175,484,270	-\$93,316,410	\$82,167,860
Portland-Salem, OR-WA	\$2,150	\$915	0.77	\$335	\$142,691,190	-\$468,658,410	-\$325,967,220
Providence-Fall River-Warwick, RI-MA	\$3,745	\$1,256	1.34	\$1,930	\$647,241,284	-\$412,039,485	\$235,201,799
Provo-Orem, UT	\$1,613	\$71	0.58	-\$202	-\$8,879,228	-\$44,149,875	-\$53,029,103
Pueblo, CO	\$1,036	\$33	0.37	-\$779	-\$24,709,472	-\$27,713,235	-\$52,422,707
Punta Gorda, FL	\$1,594	\$61	0.57	-\$221	-\$8,442,007	-\$18,137,295	-\$26,579,302
Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill, NC	\$2,506	\$508	0.89	\$691	\$140,003,988	-\$235,877,400	-\$95,873,412
Rapid City, IA	\$1,010	\$19	0.36	-\$805	-\$14,950,384	-\$20,072,085	-\$35,022,469
Reading, PA	\$1,834	\$173	0.65	\$19	\$1,820,765	-\$60,766,200	-\$58,945,435
Redding, CA	\$2,130	\$77	0.76	\$315	\$11,356,763	-\$35,953,335	-\$24,596,572
Reno, NV	\$2,547	\$140	0.91	\$732	\$40,329,523	-\$84,319,455	-\$43,989,932
Richland-Kennewick-Pasco, WA	\$1,176	\$40	0.42	-\$639	-\$21,605,698	-\$37,536,015	-\$59,141,713
Richmond-Petersburg, VA	\$2,264	\$487	0.81	\$449	\$96,717,765	-\$206,427,210	-\$109,709,445
Roanoke, VA	\$1,734	\$105	0.62	-\$81	-\$4,906,663	-\$52,408,125	-\$57,314,788
Rochester, MN	\$2,045	\$550	0.73	\$230	\$61,946,145	-\$229,205,460	-\$167,259,315
Rochester, NY	\$2,380	\$69	0.85	\$565	\$16,375,056	-\$20,206,395	-\$3,831,339
Rockford, IL	\$1,395	\$119	0.50	-\$420	-\$35,860,185	-\$70,383,885	-\$106,244,070
Rocky Mount, NC	\$1,319	\$41	0.47	-\$496	-\$15,434,692	-\$32,909,580	-\$48,344,272
Sacramento-Yolo, CA	\$4,201	\$1,378	1.50	\$2,386	\$782,689,245	-\$406,774,170	\$375,915,075
Saginaw-Bay City-Midland, MI	\$1,308	\$143	0.47	-\$507	-\$55,291,972	-\$70,755,960	-\$126,047,932
Salinas, CA	\$7,317	\$418	2.61	\$5,502	\$314,526,845	-\$97,681,485	\$216,845,360
Salt Lake City-Ogden, UT	\$1,789	\$418	0.64	-\$26	-\$5,999,770	-\$200,797,080	-\$206,796,850
San Angelo, TX	\$914	\$20	0.33	-\$901	-\$19,849,818	-\$24,656,775	-\$44,506,593
San Antonio, TX	\$1,243	\$339	0.44	-\$572	-\$156,096,855	-\$332,553,375	-\$488,650,230
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA	\$8,799	\$15,754	3.14	\$6,984	\$12,504,466,766	-\$2,509,233,870	\$9,995,232,896
San Luis Obispo, CA	\$6,963	\$333	2.49	\$5,148	\$246,060,896	-\$58,116,300	\$187,944,596
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA	\$9,123	\$644	3.26	\$7,308	\$516,112,847	-\$102,828,825	\$413,284,022
Santa Fe, NM	\$3,768	\$116	1.34	\$1,953	\$60,199,941	-\$25,364,625	\$34,835,316
Sarasota-Bradenton, FL	\$2,155	\$340	0.77	\$340	\$53,720,397	-\$102,687,255	-\$48,966,858
Savannah, GA	\$1,782	\$104	0.64	-\$33	-\$1,944,056	-\$62,849,820	-\$64,793,876
Scranton-Wilkes Barre-Hazleton, PA	\$1,294	\$220	0.46	-\$521	-\$88,597,909	-\$134,556,840	-\$223,154,749

Table 4: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits by Metropolitan Areas, Gross and Net of Mean Program Costs

MSA Name	Owner-Occupied Housing Units					Rental Households	
	(1) Value of Tax Benefits: Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(2) Value of Tax Benefits: Aggregate (\$millions)	(3) State's Share of Aggregate Tax Benefits Over Share of Owners	(4) Tax Benefits Per Owner-Occupied Housing Unit	(5) Value of Net Tax Benefit: Aggregate	(6) Program Costs to Renter Households	(7) Net Transfer by MSA (=(6)-(7))
Seattle-Tacoma-Bremerton, WA	\$3,131	\$2,199	1.12	\$1,316	\$924,043,960	-\$794,077,020	\$129,966,940
Sharon, PA	\$1,485	\$40	0.53	-\$330	-\$8,953,940	-\$20,934,210	-\$29,888,150
Sherman-Denison, TX	\$882	\$22	0.31	-\$933	-\$23,807,956	-\$20,302,590	-\$44,110,546
Shreveport-Bossier City, LA	\$1,083	\$100	0.39	-\$732	-\$67,427,792	-\$83,613,420	-\$151,041,212
Sioux City, IA-NE	\$1,143	\$33	0.41	-\$672	-\$19,632,831	-\$24,587,805	-\$44,220,636
Sioux Falls, SD	\$1,125	\$38	0.40	-\$690	-\$23,265,726	-\$34,902,450	-\$58,168,176
South Bend, IN	\$1,199	\$79	0.43	-\$616	-\$40,748,524	-\$44,295,075	-\$85,043,599
Spokane, WA	\$1,132	\$102	0.40	-\$683	-\$61,554,803	-\$88,483,065	-\$150,037,868
Springfield, MO	\$1,269	\$65	0.45	-\$546	-\$27,770,359	-\$45,112,000	-\$72,782,359
Springfield, IL	\$1,461	\$99	0.52	-\$354	-\$23,903,029	-\$62,062,110	-\$85,965,139
Springfield, MA	\$2,982	\$452	1.06	\$1,167	\$176,976,021	-\$169,275,975	\$7,700,046
St. Cloud, MN	\$1,343	\$48	0.48	-\$472	-\$16,835,971	-\$26,548,005	-\$43,383,976
St. Joseph, MO	\$967	\$25	0.35	-\$848	-\$22,299,506	-\$20,168,280	-\$42,467,786
St. Louis, MO	\$1,937	\$1,263	0.69	\$122	\$79,249,328	-\$516,986,415	-\$437,737,087
State College, PA	\$1,564	\$40	0.56	-\$251	-\$6,392,614	-\$28,165,170	-\$34,557,784
Steubenville-Weirton, OH-WV	\$863	\$36	0.31	-\$952	-\$39,595,640	-\$24,498,870	-\$64,094,510
Stockton-Lodi, CA	\$3,432	\$312	1.23	\$1,617	\$146,893,172	-\$122,303,775	\$24,589,397
Sumter, SC	\$1,105	\$24	0.39	-\$710	-\$15,139,745	-\$20,807,160	-\$35,946,905
Syracuse, NY	\$2,007	\$365	0.72	\$192	\$34,951,582	-\$160,887,045	-\$125,935,463
Tallahassee, FL	\$1,366	\$72	0.49	-\$449	-\$23,671,519	-\$64,608,555	-\$88,280,074
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	\$1,544	\$915	0.55	-\$271	-\$160,457,939	-\$480,906,030	-\$641,363,969
Terre Haute, IN	\$825	\$33	0.29	-\$990	-\$39,905,385	-\$27,789,465	-\$67,694,850
Texarkana, TX-AR	\$882	\$28	0.31	-\$933	-\$29,218,973	-\$24,101,385	-\$53,320,358
Toledo, OH	\$1,508	\$232	0.54	-\$307	-\$47,167,322	-\$138,194,100	-\$185,361,422
Topeka, KS	\$1,288	\$55	0.46	-\$527	-\$22,377,642	-\$38,321,910	-\$60,699,552
Tucson, AZ	\$1,855	\$289	0.66	\$40	\$6,173,171	-\$182,227,815	-\$176,054,644
Tulsa, OK	\$1,360	\$247	0.49	-\$455	-\$82,646,879	-\$171,375,930	-\$254,022,809
Tuscaloosa, AL	\$1,238	\$42	0.44	-\$577	-\$19,601,303	-\$37,677,585	-\$57,278,888
Tyler, TX	\$1,176	\$44	0.42	-\$639	-\$24,101,400	-\$34,532,190	-\$58,633,590
Utica-Rome, NY	\$1,688	\$132	0.60	-\$127	-\$9,940,816	-\$68,770,350	-\$78,711,166
Victoria, TX	\$997	\$17	0.36	-\$818	-\$13,857,954	-\$16,908,540	-\$30,766,494
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	\$1,783	\$104	0.64	-\$32	-\$1,843,150	-\$70,554,495	-\$72,397,645
Waco, TX	\$992	\$41	0.35	-\$823	-\$34,070,243	-\$52,085,055	-\$86,155,298
Washington D.C.-Baltimore, DC-MD-VA-WV	\$4,992	\$7,716	1.78	\$3,177	\$4,910,461,641	-\$1,664,095,455	\$3,246,366,186
Waterloo-Cedar Falls, IA	\$1,242	\$39	0.44	-\$573	-\$18,058,459	-\$28,205,100	-\$46,263,559
Wausau, WI	\$1,314	\$41	0.47	-\$501	-\$15,546,322	-\$19,030,275	-\$34,576,597
West Palm Beach-Boca Raton, FL	\$3,292	\$815	1.17	\$1,477	\$365,762,849	-\$181,227,750	\$184,535,099
Wheeling, WV-OH	\$910	\$41	0.32	-\$905	-\$41,106,775	-\$30,982,050	-\$72,088,825
Wichita, KS	\$1,324	\$161	0.47	-\$491	-\$59,579,616	-\$118,720,965	-\$178,300,581
Wichita Falls, TX	\$884	\$27	0.32	-\$931	-\$28,934,327	-\$31,310,565	-\$60,244,892
Williamsport, PA	\$1,083	\$34	0.39	-\$732	-\$22,918,697	-\$24,794,715	-\$47,713,412
Wilmington, NC	\$2,019	\$94	0.72	\$204	\$9,486,358	-\$38,300,130	-\$28,813,772
Yakima, WA	\$958	\$40	0.34	-\$857	-\$35,533,406	-\$49,823,630	-\$79,823,036
York, PA	\$1,670	\$160	0.60	-\$145	-\$13,914,273	-\$59,982,120	-\$73,896,393
Youngstown-Warren, OH	\$1,051	\$174	0.37	-\$764	-\$126,814,393	-\$111,874,785	-\$238,689,178
Yuba City, CA	\$1,958	\$47	0.70	\$143	\$3,406,116	-\$31,237,965	-\$27,831,849
Yuma, AZ	\$1,333	\$31	0.48	-\$482	-\$11,369,507	-\$19,623,780	-\$30,993,287

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Rose Valley	\$9,486	\$7,671	\$2,309,669	\$83,800	\$281,400	332	92.5
Woodside	\$9,106	\$7,291	\$5,669,027	\$95,878	\$306,926	800	97.8
Radnor Township	\$8,718	\$6,903	\$36,196,998	\$55,285	\$263,799	10,029	62.2
Spring House	\$8,262	\$6,447	\$5,267,327	\$71,982	\$233,440	917	91.5
Blue Bell	\$7,626	\$5,811	\$9,768,095	\$72,717	\$243,194	2,290	79.7
Fort Washington	\$7,432	\$5,617	\$5,674,445	\$82,078	\$243,494	1,087	94.7
Woodbourne	\$6,682	\$4,867	\$3,708,424	\$68,511	\$225,903	847	92.7
Bryn Athyn	\$6,631	\$4,816	\$966,612	\$47,109	\$189,300	315	73.7
Swarthmore	\$6,432	\$4,617	\$5,526,446	\$54,965	\$195,700	2,037	70.4
Penn Wynne	\$6,408	\$4,593	\$8,817,374	\$55,492	\$215,541	2,224	90.2
Devon-Berwyn	\$6,113	\$4,298	\$5,421,839	\$48,370	\$210,500	1,900	76.4
Upper Providence Township	\$6,083	\$4,268	\$10,058,506	\$49,632	\$202,170	3,729	74.2
Churchville	\$6,042	\$4,227	\$4,764,028	\$67,159	\$210,600	1,177	97.0
Richboro	\$6,032	\$4,217	\$6,150,153	\$64,875	\$206,514	1,480	99.0
Chesterbrook	\$5,475	\$3,660	\$5,729,477	\$61,925	\$181,600	2,279	79.1
Wyncote	\$5,224	\$3,409	\$1,870,020	\$51,953	\$180,302	1,091	67.6
Maple Glen	\$5,142	\$3,327	\$4,864,971	\$59,249	\$189,057	1,827	87.1
Newtown Grant	\$5,115	\$3,300	\$2,361,800	\$61,356	\$167,400	784	94.4
Village Shires	\$5,001	\$3,186	\$3,160,611	\$52,330	\$195,288	1,642	74.8
New Hope	\$4,980	\$3,165	\$704,094	\$38,024	\$168,800	811	53.9
Narberth	\$4,924	\$3,109	\$1,898,321	\$41,823	\$169,600	1,971	56.4
Langhorne Manor	\$4,851	\$3,036	\$658,996	\$50,398	\$178,500	281	85.8
Non-Census Designated Places	\$4,790	\$2,975	\$778,123,032	\$50,138	\$172,377	392,996	79.2
Plymouth Meeting	\$4,758	\$2,943	\$4,344,501	\$48,361	\$166,989	2,338	77.2
Wyndmoor	\$4,739	\$2,924	\$4,866,452	\$55,572	\$158,348	2,039	88.7
Newtown	\$4,716	\$2,901	\$850,989	\$36,553	\$186,000	1,103	54.9
Montgomeryville	\$4,698	\$2,883	\$7,514,263	\$57,683	\$173,926	3,198	88.6
Bryn Mawr	\$4,597	\$2,782	\$78,112	\$36,147	\$122,969	1,360	40.7
Nether Providence Township	\$4,529	\$2,714	\$10,253,937	\$53,609	\$160,391	4,796	87.3
Ardmore	\$4,481	\$2,666	\$5,631,575	\$41,342	\$167,438	5,296	64.2
Lima	\$4,480	\$2,665	\$744,088	\$42,738	\$143,900	602	68.1
Chester Heights	\$4,296	\$2,481	\$925,289	\$51,989	\$121,100	953	64.8
Flourtown	\$4,179	\$2,364	\$3,281,157	\$51,869	\$165,298	1,715	89.2
West Goshen	\$4,113	\$2,298	\$2,751,437	\$49,204	\$156,899	3,266	64.6
Collegeville	\$4,108	\$2,293	\$1,167,398	\$45,194	\$160,100	1,233	67.2
Exton	\$4,077	\$2,262	-\$303,464	\$43,071	\$147,100	1,178	38.2
Doylestown	\$4,013	\$2,198	\$227,608	\$32,900	\$157,382	3,907	46.7
Paoli	\$3,949	\$2,134	\$2,310,780	\$42,437	\$156,270	2,121	73.6
Jenkintown	\$3,895	\$2,080	\$1,465,600	\$40,270	\$144,200	1,965	65.8
Lionville-Marchwood	\$3,890	\$2,075	\$1,585,682	\$48,318	\$152,800	2,416	63.5
New Britain	\$3,771	\$1,956	\$1,381,036	\$49,145	\$149,000	758	96.4
Audubon	\$3,771	\$1,956	\$1,370,858	\$48,896	\$156,070	2,303	63.9
Chalfont	\$3,740	\$1,925	\$1,389,915	\$46,305	\$159,200	1,099	82.3
Springfield	\$3,676	\$1,861	\$13,320,004	\$49,061	\$151,012	8,414	92.4
East Norriton	\$3,618	\$1,803	\$4,897,983	\$46,992	\$145,529	4,892	77.8
Evansburg	\$3,591	\$1,776	\$409,427	\$34,027	\$140,645	370	81.4
Broomall	\$3,572	\$1,757	\$4,741,127	\$44,392	\$155,423	4,121	83.0
Langhorne	\$3,563	\$1,748	\$367,585	\$36,000	\$139,000	518	70.8
Harleysville	\$3,554	\$1,739	\$1,348,396	\$44,155	\$151,473	2,506	66.2
Ivyland	\$3,554	\$1,739	\$207,763	\$41,250	\$123,900	189	82.0
King of Prussia	\$3,529	\$1,714	\$2,496,370	\$46,387	\$147,129	7,833	60.5
Brittany Farms-Highlands	\$3,499	\$1,684	\$1,169,337	\$48,056	\$146,200	1,108	82.0
Yardley	\$3,484	\$1,669	\$640,819	\$38,958	\$152,900	1,029	70.0
Skippack	\$3,426	\$1,611	\$873,681	\$50,936	\$139,000	821	84.0
Trooper	\$3,412	\$1,597	\$2,121,673	\$47,412	\$140,581	1,775	88.2
Horsham	\$3,189	\$1,374	\$1,939,686	\$43,710	\$137,514	5,802	67.4
Trappe	\$3,176	\$1,361	\$584,409	\$45,052	\$133,400	826	79.4
Oreland	\$3,175	\$1,360	\$1,614,402	\$40,949	\$141,041	2,111	81.2
Silverdale	\$3,145	\$1,330	\$159,989	\$41,429	\$142,200	300	74.7
West Norriton	\$3,141	\$1,326	\$3,338,561	\$44,323	\$130,289	6,297	74.7
Eagleville	\$3,066	\$1,251	-\$142,297	\$43,517	\$135,273	1,053	54.8
Pottsgrove	\$3,043	\$1,228	\$1,136,038	\$44,769	\$129,400	1,106	93.4
Kulpsville	\$3,001	\$1,186	\$772,914	\$46,288	\$131,688	1,947	73.7
Malvern	\$2,884	\$1,069	-\$108,599	\$40,082	\$118,300	1,247	59.9
Perkasie	\$2,815	\$1,000	\$486,743	\$39,193	\$127,900	2,938	70.4
Drexel Hill	\$2,805	\$990	\$815,635	\$39,609	\$127,226	11,732	67.2
Glenside	\$2,792	\$977	\$401,965	\$39,303	\$121,078	3,121	69.6
West Chester	\$2,792	\$977	-\$4,419,595	\$30,562	\$117,040	6,134	39.2
Hulmeville	\$2,785	\$970	\$101,912	\$37,381	\$116,700	306	77.1
Willow Grove	\$2,687	\$872	-\$160,878	\$41,616	\$127,196	6,445	66.6
Kenilworth	\$2,687	\$872	-\$49,276	\$38,749	\$127,615	714	65.0

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Dublin	\$2,682	\$867	-\$583,867	\$33,450	\$135,800	799	40.4
Feasterville-Trevoise	\$2,657	\$842	-\$498,284	\$36,815	\$126,500	2,621	61.2
Spring Mount	\$2,654	\$839	\$217,122	\$50,085	\$116,000	474	85.7
Media	\$2,648	\$833	-\$2,118,749	\$32,796	\$114,110	2,876	40.7
Village Green-Green Ridge	\$2,561	\$746	\$1,074,895	\$42,965	\$124,764	3,091	84.4
Rutledge	\$2,490	\$675	\$66,027	\$40,208	\$127,200	319	81.2
Riegelsville	\$2,478	\$663	\$5,153	\$33,646	\$121,600	378	73.8
Kennett Square	\$2,457	\$642	-\$779,042	\$33,789	\$113,497	1,917	57.3
Green Lane	\$2,451	\$636	\$34,991	\$36,736	\$120,265	159	83.0
Ambler	\$2,408	\$593	-\$1,100,830	\$35,777	\$116,920	2,565	57.5
Ridley Park	\$2,397	\$582	-\$924,793	\$37,199	\$114,077	3,090	63.2
Gilbertsville	\$2,392	\$577	-\$148,290	\$42,347	\$126,500	1,442	71.6
Brookhaven	\$2,389	\$574	\$444,992	\$39,359	\$116,993	3,524	81.3
Morton	\$2,377	\$562	-\$572,911	\$33,605	\$103,349	1,150	55.4
Boothwyn	\$2,365	\$550	-\$429,253	\$40,652	\$114,799	1,868	67.0
Elverson	\$2,358	\$543	\$10,296	\$37,115	\$97,500	158	79.7
Telford	\$2,357	\$542	-\$823,914	\$34,594	\$125,810	1,720	56.7
Sellersville	\$2,352	\$537	-\$378,532	\$37,851	\$112,100	1,661	67.5
Lansdale	\$2,343	\$528	-\$2,816,087	\$35,015	\$112,916	6,645	59.4
Toughkenamon	\$2,341	\$526	-\$246,389	\$24,489	\$114,800	355	47.9
North Wales	\$2,329	\$514	-\$600,479	\$38,917	\$115,000	1,510	60.9
Trumbauersville	\$2,312	\$497	-\$28,467	\$40,792	\$113,000	301	74.9
Thorndale	\$2,293	\$478	-\$513,982	\$38,403	\$122,700	1,299	61.9
Hatboro	\$2,282	\$467	-\$916,941	\$34,044	\$118,457	2,985	66.1
Pennndel	\$2,264	\$449	-\$511,498	\$33,015	\$111,300	969	56.9
Halfway House	\$2,252	\$437	\$126,449	\$42,250	\$99,500	459	92.8
Souderton	\$2,206	\$391	-\$1,084,262	\$33,918	\$114,470	2,344	61.3
West Grove	\$2,183	\$368	-\$153,504	\$35,417	\$100,000	770	74.0
Morrisville	\$2,181	\$366	-\$2,323,015	\$33,645	\$103,399	3,958	56.3
Aldan	\$2,172	\$357	-\$327,983	\$40,453	\$111,600	1,769	75.0
Schwenksville	\$2,143	\$328	-\$261,385	\$34,828	\$105,200	510	60.8
Cornwells Heights-Eddington	\$2,139	\$324	\$11,637	\$36,627	\$112,600	1,166	85.3
Warminster Heights	\$2,107	\$292	-\$1,969,164	\$25,316	\$127,700	1,490	23.4
Hatfield	\$2,097	\$282	-\$1,029,054	\$32,879	\$119,400	1,147	43.8
Lansdowne	\$2,086	\$271	-\$2,389,289	\$36,218	\$103,843	4,952	63.9
Folsom	\$2,076	\$261	-\$236,836	\$36,775	\$106,750	3,077	83.7
Sanatoga	\$2,071	\$256	-\$474,908	\$39,279	\$111,900	1,931	75.8
Rockledge	\$2,020	\$205	-\$484,874	\$32,824	\$108,600	1,072	67.4
Red Hill	\$2,020	\$205	-\$314,367	\$33,893	\$107,031	693	67.4
Downingtown	\$2,012	\$197	-\$2,135,412	\$34,856	\$101,243	3,069	55.6
Quakertown	\$1,966	\$151	-\$2,137,691	\$31,640	\$100,384	3,455	60.8
Levittown	\$1,936	\$121	-\$2,143,712	\$42,021	\$104,782	18,023	87.6
South Pottstown	\$1,895	\$80	-\$878,351	\$31,360	\$93,797	886	43.5
Fairless Hills	\$1,876	\$61	-\$1,212,746	\$37,396	\$106,500	3,385	77.6
West Conshohocken	\$1,845	\$30	-\$235,270	\$33,600	\$90,400	464	70.9
Phoenixville	\$1,827	\$12	-\$4,822,922	\$32,182	\$94,763	6,287	57.3
Tullytown	\$1,825	\$10	-\$411,397	\$38,104	\$98,014	839	72.6
Atglen	\$1,795	-\$20	-\$201,396	\$37,961	\$92,700	291	62.5
Honey Brook	\$1,795	-\$20	-\$260,314	\$33,884	\$100,600	455	69.2
Avondale	\$1,790	-\$25	-\$214,380	\$30,815	\$95,400	339	66.1
Parkeburg	\$1,759	-\$56	-\$654,250	\$32,231	\$90,400	1,098	69.3
Royersford	\$1,758	-\$57	-\$1,586,082	\$32,081	\$95,073	1,856	54.6
Glenolden	\$1,722	-\$93	-\$1,935,064	\$31,902	\$90,254	2,871	66.2
Richlandtown	\$1,720	-\$95	-\$222,160	\$31,154	\$96,300	364	70.1
Woodlyn	\$1,680	-\$135	-\$2,520,955	\$31,449	\$97,760	3,945	70.0
Conshohocken	\$1,660	-\$155	-\$2,470,142	\$29,257	\$99,258	3,271	63.8
East Greenville	\$1,643	-\$172	-\$828,116	\$35,389	\$90,900	1,080	63.8
Pennsburg	\$1,643	-\$172	-\$645,571	\$31,729	\$96,400	877	65.7
Oxford	\$1,612	-\$203	-\$1,551,657	\$22,671	\$88,600	1,497	48.3
Norwood	\$1,572	-\$243	-\$1,387,971	\$36,963	\$89,646	2,205	75.4
Yeadon	\$1,531	-\$284	-\$3,792,978	\$35,954	\$77,217	4,678	65.6
Stowe	\$1,525	-\$290	-\$1,030,403	\$32,707	\$84,109	1,401	70.8
Spring City	\$1,514	-\$301	-\$1,343,217	\$31,034	\$88,800	1,388	56.0
Tinicum Township	\$1,506	-\$309	-\$1,345,352	\$33,405	\$82,832	1,742	69.2
Prospect Park	\$1,506	-\$309	-\$2,321,609	\$33,886	\$90,700	2,630	61.9
Bridgeport	\$1,451	-\$364	-\$1,820,750	\$26,291	\$86,200	1,816	56.0
Croydon	\$1,438	-\$377	-\$2,696,924	\$32,377	\$89,628	3,535	73.2
Norristown	\$1,431	-\$384	-\$12,469,243	\$28,658	\$78,448	12,151	55.1
Parkside	\$1,424	-\$391	-\$643,878	\$34,948	\$88,000	933	79.0
East Lansdowne	\$1,412	-\$403	-\$787,609	\$31,321	\$80,200	962	70.6
South Coatesville	\$1,398	-\$417	-\$369,167	\$22,135	\$70,100	389	62.0

Table 5: Value of Housing-Related Tax Benefits - Philadelphia Primary Metropolitan Statistical Area: Pennsylvania Portion

Jurisdiction	Gross Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow Per Owned Unit	Net Benefit Flow To/From Jurisdiction	Mean Household Income	Mean House Value	Number of Households	Ownership Rate
Bristol	\$1,380	-\$435	-\$3,832,635	\$26,478	\$80,504	3,905	60.4
Clifton Heights	\$1,362	-\$453	-\$2,621,009	\$30,587	\$84,800	2,772	63.8
Pottstown	\$1,360	-\$455	-\$8,820,958	\$28,805	\$80,292	8,860	60.3
Folcroft	\$1,352	-\$463	-\$1,820,415	\$35,416	\$75,592	2,534	81.1
Modena	\$1,346	-\$469	-\$216,984	\$24,375	\$57,700	190	50.0
Collingdale	\$1,220	-\$595	-\$2,957,515	\$32,128	\$73,246	3,323	75.8
Sharon Hill	\$1,184	-\$631	-\$2,035,814	\$30,285	\$73,000	2,184	74.5
Philadelphia	\$1,166	-\$649	-\$649,655,365	\$25,319	\$58,031	598,048	62.5
Coatesville	\$1,141	-\$674	-\$5,089,503	\$24,324	\$66,981	4,105	50.4
Darby Township	\$1,132	-\$683	-\$3,555,691	\$29,844	\$74,538	3,807	77.8
Linwood	\$1,115	-\$700	-\$1,172,239	\$32,484	\$69,000	1,191	74.5
Chester Township	\$1,065	-\$750	-\$2,042,880	\$28,752	\$56,729	1,791	63.3
Upland	\$1,059	-\$756	-\$1,349,034	\$29,016	\$60,200	1,190	64.4
Millbourne	\$1,053	-\$762	-\$547,547	\$21,759	\$67,100	380	35.5
Eddystone	\$1,017	-\$798	-\$1,028,870	\$28,269	\$69,500	940	70.9
Trainer	\$1,014	-\$801	-\$910,627	\$28,164	\$71,300	879	76.8
Marcus Hook	\$939	-\$876	-\$1,146,870	\$22,723	\$60,900	931	62.1
Colwyn	\$912	-\$903	-\$1,063,464	\$30,482	\$55,700	932	73.9
Darby	\$851	-\$964	-\$4,374,096	\$26,225	\$47,904	3,642	72.1
Chester	\$673	-\$1,142	-\$21,527,480	\$20,515	\$37,921	14,424	48.0