Moving for the Kids: Examining the Influence of Children on Residential Segregation

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Abstract

White households with children are the least likely of all household types to be living in integrated neighborhoods, yet few researchers have questioned whether children themselves influence residential decision-making, or whether these patterns are due to other life course factors, changing socioeconomic circumstances, or unobserved heterogeneity that are related to having children. Using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, we find that white households who have children--and especially those with only young children--are more likely to move if the percentage of black residents in their neighborhoods is at or above the median for our sample than when they do not have children. These results suggest that when white families have children, particularly those with young children, they are more sensitive to the percentage of black residents in their neighborhoods than they are without children.

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The segregation of blacks and whites in the U.S. has been dramatic and persistent. Though there have been declines in the degree of this segregation since 1980, blacks and whites generally do not live in the same neighborhoods. These patterns are even more pronounced among households with children (Ellen 2007; Iceland, Goyette, Nelson, and Chan 2010; Logan et al. 2001; Logan 2004). White households with children are less likely to be living in integrated neighborhoods than are those without children (Ellen 2007; Iceland et al. 2010).

Although the finding that white households with children are the least integrated has been consistently documented, few researchers have questioned why this is the case. In order to investigate why, we explore three general questions: First, do children influence parents' mobility behavior? Are whites who become parents more sensitive to the racial composition of their neighborhoods than they are when they do not have children? Or, are changing socioeconomic status or other life course events that influence moving behavior, like getting married or becoming employed, that are also associated with having children, reasons for the high likelihood of whites moving from these neighborhoods? Second, if indeed children do influence the mobility behaviors of their parents, are parents reacting to the racial composition of their neighborhoods or to other related characteristics like the economic, educational, or homeownership profiles of those neighborhoods? Finally, are parents reacting to a particular racial group such as blacks or do they react to the diversity of their neighborhoods in general?

In this research, we use data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, 1980-2005. We select a cohort who were heads of households in 1980 and follow them through the moves they made until 2005. Using fixed effects panel logistic regression models, we find that white households who have children are either not significantly different from or are significantly less likely (in the case of those with older children) to move overall than when they do not have children, controlling for other characteristics. However, if the percentage of black households in a neighborhood is at or above the median for our sample (about 5.5%), then the situation reverses. White households who have children, and especially those with young children, are more likely to move if the percentage of black residents is moderate to

high than they are when they do not have children. This pattern does not change with the controls for other neighborhood characteristics. The same pattern is not found for non-white households, nor is it noted when we replace the percentage of blacks in the census tract with our measure of diversity, entropy. These results suggest that white households that have children, and particularly those with young children, are more sensitive to the percentage of black residents in their neighborhoods than when they do not have children, as reflected in their higher likelihood of moving out of neighborhoods with a higher proportion of blacks. These mobility patterns thus contribute to overall patterns of segregation between blacks and whites.

Background

Although it has been declining over the past decades, black-white segregation is pervasive (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz 2002). For example, the average black-white dissimilarity score averaged across all U.S. metropolitan areas declined from 0.727 in 1980 to 0.640 in 2000. The 0.640 figure can be interpreted as indicating that about 64 percent of blacks or whites would have to move for all neighborhoods in the metropolitan area to have an equal proportion of blacks and whites. The rule of thumb is that dissimilarity scores above 0.60 are considered quite high in absolute terms. While Hispanic-white and Asian-white segregation levels tend to be more modest, they did not decline over the past couple of decades. For example, Hispanic-White dissimilarity increased slightly from 0.502 to 0.509, while Asian-white dissimilarity likewise increased slightly from 0.405 to 0.411 between 1980 and 2000 (Iceland et al. 2002).

There are several theories that have attempted to explain why racial residential segregation persists in the United States. The first is termed spatial assimilation (Charles 2003). According to the spatial assimilation approach, differences between minority groups and whites in their socioeconomic status, and in acculturation for recent immigrant groups, explain their separation

in different neighborhoods. Minority group members may not be able to afford to live in the same neighborhoods as wealthier whites (Clark 2007). Although research has shown that people of different classes are segregated from one another, it is often only modestly so (Fischer et al. 2004; Iceland, Sharpe, and Steinmetz 2005; Iceland and Wilkes 2006; White 1987). Research weighing the independent contributions of race and income on segregation levels shows that although the importance of income is growing, race explains a greater proportion of segregation than class (Adelman 2005; Farley 2005; Fischer 2003). Thus, while economic differences may partially explain residential segregation between races, there appear to be other mechanisms at work.

The place stratification approach emphasizes the role of prejudice and discrimination at the institutional and individual levels in shaping residential patterns. Whites use segregation to maintain social distance from minorities (Charles 2003). Because the social distance between whites and blacks have historically been the greatest in the U.S., blacks are often perceived by whites as the least favorable neighbors (Bobo and Zubrinksky 1996; Farley, Steeh, Krysan, Jackson, and Reeves 1994; Charles 2000).

Segregation and discrimination have been institutionalized as part of housing policy. Prior to the 1968 Fair Housing Act, local laws existed prohibiting blacks and other minorities from moving to white neighborhoods. Banks discriminated in granting loans and mortgages, and real estate brokers "red-lined" particular areas where blacks were not shown houses. Even after these practices were recognized and determined illegal by the 1968 *Jones v. Mayer* Supreme Court decision, researchers continue to find evidence that blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are treated differently by banks and other lending agencies, and by realtors (Galster 1990; Goering and Wienk 1996; Massey and Denton 1993; Ross and Turner 2005; Shlay 1989; Squires 1994; Turner and Ross 2003; Turner, Ross, Galster, and Yinger 2002; Yinger 1995). However, changing attitudes in society, the rising economic status of minority customers, and the continuing effect of the Fair Housing Act and its enforcement on the real estate industry may have decreased the influence of institutional housing policies and practices on residential segregation (Ross and Turner 2005).

In addition to institutional practices, current levels of residential segregation may also exist due to individual preferences. Even as discriminatory behavior in the housing market decreases, discrepant neighborhood racial composition preferences among whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians lead individuals to make housing decisions that perpetuate residential segregation (Charles 2000; Charles 2005; Emerson, Yancey and Chai 2001; Farley et al. 1994; Krysan 2002; Krysan and Farley 2002; Quillian 2002; Squires and Kurbin 2006). Racial residential preferences are argued to derive from three main sources: in-group preferences, racial prejudice/out-group hostility, or perceived status differences.

According to the "in-group preferences" hypothesis, all race and ethnic groups have a strong preference for a significant proportion of co-ethnics in their neighborhoods, although these preferences vary by race (Clark 1986, 1991). Whites are more comfortable living with others who they perceive are like them. Though blacks, too, may have this preference, it is stronger among whites. Krysan and Farley (2002) find that blacks are willing to tolerate far higher proportions of whites than whites are willing to tolerate of blacks. They further find that it is not a preference for living near other blacks but rather fear of out-group hostility that motivates blacks' preferences.

"In-group" preferences do not explain why whites hold preferences for their own racial group more strongly than do blacks nor why whites react most strongly to neighborhoods composed of blacks as compared to Hispanics and Asians (Emerson et al. 2001). Researchers argue that it is whites' attitudes towards minorities, particularly blacks, which accounts for their preferences to live with other whites. Some argue that this is because whites hold unfavorable views of blacks and other minorities. Bobo and Zubrinsky (1996) label this the "prejudice" hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, prejudice could refer to out-group hostility toward members of all minority groups or the degree of hostility may fluctuate according to the social distance whites perceive between themselves and a particular minority group. Under the second version of this hypothesis, whites would least prefer black neighbors because historically in the U.S. the social distance between whites and blacks has been perceived to be the greatest.

Other researchers suggest that whites perceive socioeconomic differences between themselves and other racial groups, and that whites worry that the quality of their neighborhood services and the value of their homes will decline as those with lower socioeconomic standing move in (Clark 1992; Galster 1989). Whites say that as blacks and other minorities move in crime will go up, schools will be worse, and property values will decline (Farley et al. 1994; Krysan 2002). Some researchers (Harris 1999, 2001; Taub, Taylor, and Dunham 1984) argue that white preferences for more segregated neighborhoods have less to do with racial composition per se, but are more attributable to the unfavorable perceptions of structural characteristics that often accompany integration. Harris (1999) tests this "racial proxy hypothesis" using a hedonic price analysis and argues that "housing in neighborhoods with a high percentage of black residents is less valuable not because of an aversion to blacks per se, but rather because people prefer affluent, well-educated neighbors, and those traits are more common among whites than blacks" (476). However, Emerson, Yancey, and Chai (2001) find in a factorial experiment that even when public services, school quality, and housing values are held constant, whites prefer to buy houses in neighborhoods with proportionately fewer blacks, though not Asians or Hispanics. Similarly, Crowder (2000) finds that the racial composition of neighborhoods influences the likelihood of moving out of a neighborhood, net of the neighborhood social and economic conditions. Race, then, may play an independent role in the housing choices of whites, above and beyond the relationship between racial integration and neighborhood services.

While it is instructive to consider whether or not race remains an important factor in neighborhood choice after perceptions of housing values and quality of neighborhood services are accounted for, teasing preferences apart in this way may underestimate the role of racial attitudes on housing preferences. Krysan (2002) distinguishes between "racial reasons" for white flight and "race-associated reasons" for white flight. "Racial reasons" for white flight involve direct antipathy or hostility toward members of another race resulting from negative stereotypes. Whites do not want to live around blacks because they distrust them or are uncomfortable around them, because they do not want to be in the minority, or because their status position is threatened by an influx of blacks into a neighborhood.

"Race-associated" reasons for wanting to flee integrated neighborhoods include worries that public services will degenerate, crime will go up, and property values will decline. Krysan (2002) maintains that race-associated reasons for white flight are not often empirically distinct from racial reasons because the prejudices of whites may inform their perceptions that services will decline, whether or not they actually do. Whites may perceive that crime has or will go up as black residents move in, even if the crime rate does not increase (Quillian and Pager 2001). Whites may perceive that housing values will decrease when black residents move in, whether they do immediately or not. Indeed, whites may use an increase in the presence of blacks as an indicator of whether their neighborhood quality and housing values will increase or decrease, whether or not other "objective" indicators of such changes may be present (Wolf 1963). The perception that this will occur may, in fact, lead it to occur – whites who perceive their property values will decrease may move out of neighborhoods in large proportions thus causing the property values to decrease.

While these general approaches to racial and ethnic residential segregation address its underlying social causes, they neglect to consider the individual-level processes through which residential segregation begins to take shape. In particular, we explore how the presence of children in families may influence residential segregation patterns. This is important to explore as a way of assessing why and how individual-level preferences, prejudices, and discrimination are manifested. The presence of children may intensify feelings of solidarity with one's racial or ethnic group, and/or feelings of animosity and mistrust of other racial and ethnic groups. Parents' worries about contact with minorities, neighborhood safety, and the provision of neighborhood public services, like schools, may be more pronounced for their children than they are for themselves. Families with children may prefer to leave integrated neighborhoods more than do families without children because they want better services and schools for their children or because they distrust or fear members of other racial and ethnic groups around their children. However, there may be other explanations for why white households with children are the most segregated.

Why Household Composition May Matter

The empirical evidence shows that white families with children tend to be modestly more segregated than other white households. For example, the black-white dissimilarity index averaged across U.S. metropolitan areas was 0.65 in 2000, but for children it was 0.68 (Logan et al. 2001). Ellen's (2007) descriptive work showed that the proportion of white households with children is lower in black-white and Hispanic-white communities as compared with predominantly white areas. South and Deane (1993), in an analysis of 1979-1980 residential mobility data, found that non-black families with children under 18 were less likely than such families without children to report living in bad neighborhoods. However, there was no such difference between families with and without children for black families. Using 2000 Census data, Iceland et al. (2010) also find that white households with children are more segregated than other types of white households and have less interaction with other racial and ethnic groups compared to other types of households. Many other studies have also found that black families live in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty and crime and lower levels of school quality than otherwise similar white families (e.g., Massey, Condran, and Denton 1987; Adelman et al. 2001; Rosenbaum and Friedman 2001).

There are two processes that may contribute to the higher segregation of white households with children: moving out and moving in. Segregation could increase because white households with children are more likely to leave neighborhoods with higher percentages of black respondents or higher levels of diversity than are those without children. Segregation could also increase because white families with children choose different types of neighborhoods than do those without children. White families with children may be choosing neighborhoods with a lower percentage of black residents or neighborhoods that are less diverse because they seek to avoid contact with other racial groups or because they are attracted to the better schools and public amenities that may accompany predominantly white, and generally wealthier, neighborhoods. While we know of little research that addresses the first process, moving out, results in an article by South and Crowder (1998) indicate that the presence of children did

not affect the likelihood of black or white households moving to a predominantly white tract vs. a move to a mixed or predominantly black census tract, controlling for other household characteristics.

Our research builds on the work of South and Crowder (1998). We look more closely at how children might influence the process of moving out of census tracts with moderate to high percentages of blacks and moderate to high diversity than is done in their study. While South and Crowder (1998) find that children are inversely related to the probability of moving out of one's census tract, we investigate whether the racial composition of the tract influences this probability. South and Crowder's (1998) research does not consider the possibility that there may be an interaction between the presence of children and the characteristics of the tract of origin. While families with children may be less likely to move overall, are they more likely to move from tracts with relatively more black residents? Are they more likely to move from tracts that are more diverse? In addition, in order to more closely focus on how children influence residential mobility, we use fixed effects models that account for unobserved heterogeneity between families that have children and those that do not. We ask: when families have children are they more likely to move out of neighborhoods with more black residents and/or neighborhoods that are more diverse?

There are at least three explanations for why household composition may be related to white's decisions to leave integrated neighborhoods. First, socioeconomic differences by household composition allow white households with children to move in order to enact their preferences for less integrated neighborhoods. White households with children have higher incomes and more wealth than other types of households, thus they are more easily able to exit neighborhoods they do not desire. Conversely, black families, which are more likely to be headed by lower-income single parents with less wealth, tend to be less able to afford to avoid low-amenity neighborhoods (Johnson 2006). Indeed, Harris (2001), using data collected in Chicago, reports that both black and white families preferred living in neighborhoods with fewer black residents because such neighborhoods were perceived to have less poverty, crime, and other social problems. However, whites, having higher socioeconomic status and more wealth, were better able to realize this preference. In support of this, Ellen (2007) reports that white

households living in neighborhoods with blacks and Hispanics tend to be less educated and affluent than their counterparts living in predominantly white environments. However, white households living with Asians are of higher socioeconomic status than those living in largely white neighborhoods.

Research by Iceland et al. (2010) suggests that socioeconomic status does not completely account for differences by race and household composition, however. Poor white households with children were more segregated from blacks than those white households with children who were not poor. In this paper, instead of documenting these compositional differences, we look for the dynamic effects of socioeconomic status on households. Because we use fixed effects models for our analyses, we can assess the influence that changing socioeconomic status has on household's moving decisions. We account for whether changes in employment status or income influence the propensity of a household to move. Socioeconomic differences across households are controlled in fixed effects models, so that the we can isolate the effect that having children has on moving behavior, net of these differences.

Second, life course events that are related to child-bearing like getting married, becoming employed, and buying a home could lead to changes in residence among those with children. Life course variables such as the presence of children, marital status, and age more generally may help shape both the tastes for different kinds of dwellings and neighborhoods and the likelihood of acting on those tastes (Landale and Guest 1985, Lee, Oropesa, and Kanan 1994; McHugh, Gober, and Reid 1990; South and Deane 1993). For example, married couples may desire more space than single individuals. Because households composed of just-married couples and families with small children are younger than the average household, they may be more likely to move than other types of households (though married couples and those with children are in general less likely to move after controlling for age) (South and Deane 1993). These life course events often occur close together and it is hard to disentangle which of them most affects white households' propensity to move from less desirable neighborhoods. Whether or not households have children, once these other life course events compel them to move, they may be more likely to move out of more diverse neighborhoods into less diverse ones. Neighborhoods of one's early years, when household heads are single and perhaps not settled into stable careers, may be viewed

as transitional, and thus household heads may be less likely to choose those they most prefer. As household heads begin to transition from rental homes to home ownership, neighborhood racial composition may become more important in their calculations of the neighborhoods in which they want to live and invest. Because of this, households with children may be more likely to move from those more diverse neighborhoods.

Third and finally, white households with children may wish to avoid minority neighborhoods for reasons that are specifically related to their children. Some literature suggests that white parents may avoid neighborhoods with a greater proportion of minority families, and black families in particular. Families with children may choose to avoid minority families from prejudice, or "racial reasons" for residential segregation, as Krysan (2002) refers to them. White families may wish to maintain social distance from blacks and other minorities due to unfounded beliefs or fears they have about such groups. It could also be that families seek to avoid black and other minority neighborhoods for what Krysan (2002) terms "race-associated" reasons. Harris (1999; 2001) terms these "race-proxy" reasons. Families with children are also likely concerned about particular kinds of neighborhood amenities, such as good schools, parks, and safe spaces (Rosenbaum and Friedman 2001). Whether it reflects reality or not, families may worry that black and other minority neighborhoods have fewer parks, safe areas to play, community centers, and, perhaps most importantly, high quality public schools. Residential outcomes may be affected regardless of whether these beliefs are based on unfounded stereotypes and racism or rooted in real differences in neighborhood quality.

Support for this position is found in the literature examining "white flight" from urban schools and neighborhoods. Beginning with research examining the consequences of mandatory school desegregation, researchers have found that as public schools integrate, white enrollment decreases (Bankston and Caldas 2000; Clark 1987; Clotfelter 1976; Coleman, Kelly, and Moore 1975; Farley, Richards, and Wurdock 1980; Giles 1978; Giles, Cataldo, and Gatlin 1975; Smock and Wilson 1991; Wrinkle, Stewart, and Polinard 1999). Whites originally had two main options for avoiding integrating public schools. They could either avoid the public school system by utilizing private schools, or they

could move to more racially homogenous neighborhoods (typically in the suburbs) that have similarly homogenous public schools. Whites may continue to use these strategies to avoid schools with proportionately more black students, though it is unclear whether families' decisions are reactions to the racial composition of schools or to other characteristics that are associated with the racial composition of schools, such as school quality and safety.

Families may choose homes strategically in order so that their children may attend particular, desirable neighborhood schools with proportionately fewer minority children (Holme 2002). In a study of school choice and residential location decisions of white families in eight New York metropolitan areas, Langford and Wyckoff (2006) find that the racial composition of schools and neighborhoods are very important in school choice and residential location decisions, where whites avoid other minority groups, even controlling for many individual peer, school quality, and local government characteristics. The authors note that the findings are consistent with a number of explanations, including prejudice against blacks and Hispanics, and the notion that race is being used a proxy for a variety of other unmeasured student or school quality attributes.

The three explanations described above for why household composition may affect white residential decisions differently offer alternative conceptual models of why household composition is related to racial and ethnic segregation. According to the first two explanations, children in and of themselves do not influence residential preferences. Rather, white households with children experience increasing incomes and occupational opportunities that enable them to move out of more diverse neighborhoods. According to this perspective, we expect to find that, controlling for changing socioeconomic circumstances, families who have children will be no more likely to move out of less diverse neighborhoods than when they do not have children. A complementary explanation is that the stage in the life course during which people move most (after they leave the parental home) is often closely followed by events like becoming employed, marrying, buying a home, and/or having children. Recent (white) movers may be more likely to leave less desirable neighborhoods as they make these transitions.

According to the third explanation, children influence racial and ethnic residential segregation patterns, and this effect should be strongest among white households. White households with children may avoid more integrated neighborhoods due to either prejudice (racial factors) or notions of neighborhood quality associated with race ("racial proxy" factors). It is also possible that nonwhite households are more likely to move out of integrated neighborhoods because perhaps they too are drawn to the better amenities of whiter neighborhoods, particularly for the sake of their kids. If this is the case, then we would expect to see a significant interaction between the presence of children and the racial composition of the neighborhood for white households, and perhaps a weaker one among non-white households. We expect this sensitivity to racial composition of the neighborhood to be greatest for those who have young children, particularly those whose children have yet to reach school age. Once children reach school age, much planning for schooling and the provisions of other services has often already been done.

In addition to assessing whether or not children increase white and non-white households' likelihood of moving out of integrated neighborhoods, we also explore two possibilities why this may be so. First, we control for other neighborhood characteristics for which households may be using race as a "proxy." Households may wish to avoid neighborhoods that are less advantaged and stable. To account for this, we include neighborhood socioeconomic variables – median income of the tract and the percentage of residents with a bachelor's degree or above – and two measures of neighborhood stability, the percentage of homeowners in the tract and the percentage of household with children under 18.

We also investigate whether white and non-white families leave neighborhoods that are diverse, in general, or, if they react most strongly to the racial group in the U.S. that is perceived most negatively, blacks. Although there is much regional variation in race relations, the divide between blacks and whites, and the structural disadvantages faced by blacks in the U.S. have been the most persistent and stark.

Data and Methods

This research uses data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics or PSID. The PSID started in 1968 with a sample of 4,800 households, and it has followed these households and their members for

about 40 years. The last wave of data collection was in 2009. We use data from 1980 until 2005. The PSID not only follows household heads over time, but also includes "split-off" families. When children of the original households leave their homes and when spouses separate, divorce, and/or remarry, the PSID absorbs these households into its sample. Following the practice of other researchers (South and Crowder 2005), we choose a cohort of household heads at a given point in time. We select a sample of those who were household heads in 1980 and follow their households for 25 years. The youngest of these household heads, those who were 18 in 1980, are likely to have formed families by this time. These household heads are 43 years old in 2005. We include 4,902 households in 1980, 1,401 of which were followed for all 25 years. Even with sample attrition, the PSID data are still considered to be reasonably representative of the U.S. population (Hill 1992). Of these 4,902 original households in the sample, 2,406 were represented in at least two survey waves and had moved at least once. The total number of observations (household-years) for our analysis is 19,793. Our data are unweighted. The longitudinal nature of the data permits one to look at the dynamics of mobility in a much more refined way than when using cross-sectional data (e.g. South and Crowder 2005). This provides us with considerable leverage for understanding the extent to which the mobility decisions of households may be affected by the presence of children.

The PSID allows us to match respondents to the Census tracts in which they lived throughout the 25 years they were followed. We merged internal PSID geographic identifiers to neighborhood-level (i.e., census tract) data on racial and socioeconomic composition from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses to household records. We used linear interpolation to approximate neighborhood characteristics in non-decennial census years between 1980-1990, and 1990-2000. For the years 2001 and 2003, we use non-interpolated data from the 2000 Census.

Our main method of analysis is fixed effects panel logistic regression models. We examine the propensity of a household to move out of a particular neighborhood during two-year intervals. A household in considered to have exited a neighborhood if it moved from one census tract to another. (Thus, households that moved within census tracts are not considered to have moved out of their

neighborhoods for this research.) A move is coded as a "1" when the census tract in which the household is located at the end of the two-year interval is different from the origin census tract. Although census tracts may not be the best ways to capture neighborhoods, they are the smallest areas from which we can collect information on racial composition and socioeconomic characteristics. We choose two rather than one-year intervals to maintain (mostly) consistent time intervals. While PSID had been collecting data at one-year intervals from 1968 to 1997, in 1997, the data collection started occurring at two-year intervals. We collect data over eleven two-year intervals, and one three-year interval (from 1996-1999, because of the timing of the shift from one-year to two-year data collection). Data are arrayed such that every line represents one household-interval.

We choose fixed effects models for several reasons. Fixed effects models show variation in the propensity to move within households, not across them. In this way, it controls for unobserved heterogeneity across households. While random effects models use both within- and across-household variation to derive parameter estimates, fixed effects models only model variation within households. Although random effects estimators are typically more efficient with lower standard errors, our models did not meet the assumptions required to use random effects models. Hausman tests showed that the estimates obtained from the less constrained random effects models were significantly different than those that came from the fixed effects models. It is important to note, though, that our main findings are the same in both types of models.

We use two variables to capture racial integration. First, we include the percentage of black households in the census tract. Given past research (e.g. Emerson et al. 2001), it is possible that, in general, white residents react more to black neighbors than neighbors of other racial or ethnic groups. The next measure we employ captures the diversity of census tracts. The entropy score is calculated as the percentage of each ethnic group within a tract multiplied by the log of one divided by that percentage for each ethnic group in the tract and then summed across ethnic groups. The higher the score, the more diverse the tract is. In our research, we have six ethnic groups (whites, blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics, and others) so the maximum entropy score is log 6 or 1.792. This score would occur if all

groups were equally represented in the area, in this case, with each group achieving about 17% representation.

It is important to consider the possibility of non-linear or "threshold" effects when looking at measures of the racial composition of a neighborhood (Crowder 2001). Small percentages of back or other minority residents may not be as noticeable to white neighborhood residents as larger proportions. Because most white households live in neighborhoods with a small percentage of blacks, this effect dominates a linear measure. However, at higher percentages of black or other minority composition, whites may become more sensitive. This effect has been observed in both research examining whites' attitudes (Farley et al. 1994) and also their moving behaviors (Crowder 2001). We compared several non-linear measures of these variables, including quadratic terms, quartiles, terciles, and a measure comparing those above and below the median to the linear measure. In our models, we use a comparison of those who lived in neighborhoods at the median or above in percentage black or entropy score to those who are below because it improves the model fit, is parsimonious, and easy to interpret.[1]

We use three variables to capture the presence of children in the household. First, we include a simple measure of whether or not the household includes any children. Children are considered as those below age 18. Fixed effects models capture only those variables that change over time, so this variable captures those who experience a transition from either zero to one or more children, or from one or more to no children. When a child is born, adopted, or fostered into a household that previously did not have

[1] The linear specifications of both percent black in tract and entropy scores are the most straightforward and easy to interpret. However, because most whites live in tracts that are predominantly white, the linear measure does not capture differences between those living in moderate to high percentage black tracts and those living in these predominantly white tracts. In these models, the interaction terms between those who have children, and percentage black in the tract and tract entropy score are not significant. A quadratic term to account for nonlinearity did not improve the fit of the models, and it was also not significant. When we disaggregated the measures into quartiles, significant coefficients were observed for the interactions of having children with the 3rd quartile of percent black and the fourth quartile of the entropy score. Model fit was also improved. Terciles produced no significant coefficients for either the interactions of having children with percent black or entropy score; however, the dichotomous measure of above or below the median showed significant effects for percent black and is not a significantly worse model fit than the measure using quartiles.

children, this variable changes from a code of "0" to a code of "1." One or more children could also be added to a household without children through marriage or remarriage. Children could be "lost" from a household when they all move away or through a divorce or separation.

Another variable we include accounts for the age of the oldest child. If families are making decisions about neighborhood amenities, particularly schools, with their children in mind, they may be in the best position to make these choices if their oldest child is less than school age. Those who have children older than five may already be settled into their desired neighborhoods. We include a variable that captures whether the oldest child in the household is younger than six to account for this possible variation. Finally, we include as a control variable, the number of children in the household. Families with more children may find it more difficult to move because of the many ties children form in neighborhoods.

Another key variable is race. Race of the 1980 household heads was measured in 1972. Our race measure is limited in that there was not a large percentage of either Asians or Hispanics the original 1968 sample (PSID was updated in 1997 to include a more representative sample of these groups). We use a dichotomous measure that compares whites to non-whites. It was not updated for those who answered in 1972, and it does not change over time. Race of the household head is a "fixed" effect, so we cannot assess the main effect of race on moving behavior using our models. However, fixed effects models allow these unchanging variables to be interacted with those that do change over time, like neighborhood racial composition and the presence of children in the household.

In order to assess whether white and non-white families are more likely to move because of the racial composition of their neighborhoods due to their children, we include a three-way interaction between race of the household head, a measure of racial composition (either at or above or below the median percentage black, or at or above or below the median entropy score), and the presence of children. We interact race and racial composition of the neighborhood with both the presence of any age children and whether or not the oldest child in the household is under six years old.

To rule out other possible explanations for the effects of children on the likelihood of moving out of more racially diverse neighborhoods, we include variables that capture changes in the socioeconomic status of the household. We control for the time-varying measure of income to assess whether it is changes in income that influence the propensity to move out of diverse neighborhoods. Income is measured as the total taxable income of the head and his or her spouse, and it is standardized to dollars in the year 2000. We also explore the influence of other life course events. We measure whether changes in the household head's marital status or employment influence the propensity to move. Changes in marital status capture whether the respondent made a transition from unmarried (either never married, divorced, or widowed) to married, or married to unmarried (through divorce, separation, or death). Employment changes are measured as whether the household head goes from being unemployed or out of the labor force to being employed, or whether the head moves from being employed to being unemployed or out of the labor force. We also include a variable measuring changes in homeownership. This variable compares when household heads rent their homes to when they own them.[2]

Our models also account for other characteristics that may vary over time and could also be related to the presence or absence of children in the home. We consider the age of the household head and a squared term to account for non-linearity in the influence of age over time. We take into account how "crowded" the household is and the time since the household's last move. "Crowding" is measured as the number of people in the household per number of rooms in the household (Clark, Deurloo, and Dieleman 2002). Finally, to take account of potential period effects in the propensity to move we include a measure of the year at the beginning of each interval.

[2] Homeownership is an important variable that is strongly correlated with moving behavior. It reduces the influence of many of the control variables in our models. However, it does not affect the interactions between race, the presence of children, and whether families reside in census tracts above or below the median percentage black, and race, the presence of children, and whether families reside in census tracts above or below the median entropy score. Models that did not include a control for homeownership showed the same pattern of results and significant coefficients.

To assess whether racial composition is a "proxy" for other desirable neighborhood characteristics, we also include measures of the general socioeconomic profiles of the neighborhoods. We include the median household income of the census tract (adjusted to dollars in the year 2000), the percentage of the tract that has attained a bachelor's degree or more, the percentage of households that own their homes, and the percentage of households in the tract with children under age 18. Previous versions of our models included a variable for the percentage of the neighborhood in poverty, but this variable is highly collinear with percentage of the neighborhood that is black (alpha > 0 .60), so we decided not to include it in our final models.

Results

Table 1 contains unweighted statistics of the cohort of heads of households in 1980. On average, they were about 44 years old. More than half are men, and about 60% are white. They completed an average of almost twelve years of education. About half were married and 70% were employed. The total taxable income for the head and spouse (if present) was about $34,000 (in constant 2000 dollars). In 1980, more than half of the sample owned their home, and they lived in households that averaged about one person to every two rooms. On average, each household had about one child. A little over half the sample had no children, 13% had a child under the age of six, and about a third had children between the ages of six and eighteen.

Table 1 also describes the characteristics of the census tracts in which the 1980 households were located. The median percentage black for the sample was 5.5% and the median entropy score for the tracts was .342. The average median household income across all tracts was $37,429 (in 2000 dollars). The 1980 household heads lived in neighborhoods where about 14% of their neighbors had bachelor's degrees, 79% were homeowners, and almost 40% had children. Of the 1980 household heads, about 8% were missing information in 1980, but contributed complete information for later waves of the PSID.

Table 1 about here.

In Table 2, we explore the moving behavior of our 1980 household heads according to their individual, household, and neighborhood characteristics. Here we crudely describe whether they moved

one or more times during the twenty-five years from 1980-2005. About half of the sample had moved during the twenty-five year interval and half had not. Women and younger heads of households were more likely to move. Those who moved had more education, were not married in 1980, and were renters in 1980. Movers were also more likely to have been employed in 1980. Those with young children in 1980 were more likely to have moved over the course of the twenty-five years. Household heads living in census tracts in 1980 with higher percentages of black residents, higher entropy, and lower home ownership rates were also more likely to have moved by 2005.

Table 2 about here.

Measuring the influence of characteristics that change over the life course at a single time point provides very limited information, however. During twenty-five years, it is likely that household heads get married and divorce, have children, experience their children leaving home, get jobs and are unemployed or leave the labor force. In addition, neighborhoods change over time. Some neighborhoods integrate at faster rates than others, for example. Others age as children grow up and new families with young children do not replace them. In Table 3, we describe how individual, household, and neighborhood characteristics that change over time influence the likelihood of moving within a two-year interval. This table also captures the number of times households moved during the twenty-five years. While some households may have moved only once, others made multiple moves. Data for this table are arrayed in person-years, instead of one line per household head.

Table 3 about here.

Table 3 shows that during any one two-year interval, about 18% of the sample moved. There was some variation in this movement across years, but not much. Household heads were more likely to move in the 1980's and again in the 2000's. This likely has to do with aging of the sample. When the cohort is younger, they are more likely to move, and then again as some of the oldest respondents in the sample enter retirement and old age. The high rate of movement from 1996-1999 is because this interval captures three years, rather than two, when the PSID switched to biannual data collection. Indeed, the table does show that across all intervals, movers are younger than stayers. Similar to the patterns in

Table 2, women are more likely to move than men, and unmarried household heads are more likely to move than married ones. In this table it appears that non-whites are more likely to move during the two-year intervals as well, likely reflecting that non-whites are more likely than whites to make multiple moves. Again, similar to Table 2, movers have more education. However, they have lower incomes and are more likely to be renters. Typically, movers have more crowded homes, and larger and younger families. They have not been in their homes as long as those who do not move. Those who move during a two-year interval are more likely to be living in neighborhoods that are at or above the median percentage black and the median entropy score. The average median household income is typically lower in these neighborhoods, as is the rate of home ownership.

Our main research question is whether or not households who have children are more likely to move out of neighborhoods with higher concentrations of black residents and more racial diversity than are households when they do not have children. To explore these question descriptively, we provide the percentages of white and non-white households that moved within a two-year interval, with and without children and by age of children, according to whether or not they lived in a neighborhood that was at or above or below the median percent black, and at or above or below the median entropy score. Figures 1 and 2 present these results. The bars show the likelihood of moving within a two-year interval. These are shown for whites and non-whites, with and without children.

Figures 1 and 2 about here.

Overall, the bar charts show that in general, non-whites are more likely to move than whites. Households with children are more likely to move than those without children. For whites, both with and without children, living in a neighborhood that is at or above the median percentage black influences moving behavior. Those who live at or above the median are more likely to move. The same is not true for non-whites. Non-whites who live in neighborhoods at or above the median percent black are less likely to move than those living in neighborhoods below the median. When we compare those who live below the median percent black with those who live at or above the median within each of these categories, we see that the percentage black in a neighborhood influences the moving behavior of whites

with children most. The difference between the likelihood of moving if a household is in a neighborhood with below the median percent black or is at or above the median percentage of blacks is greatest for white households with children. For non-whites, households with children are more likely to move out of moderate to high percentage black neighborhoods than are households without children.

The second bar chart shows these patterns disaggregated by age of children in the household. Those white households with only children under the age of six are most affected by living in a neighborhood with a moderate to high percentage of blacks. White households with older children are also more affected by the percentage of blacks in the neighborhood than are white households without children. The difference in the likelihood of moving between those living in neighborhoods below and those in neighborhoods at or above the median percent black is greater than the difference in the likelihood of moving for whites without children. For non-whites, it seems that the difference in moving behavior by neighborhood racial composition is greatest for those with young children. These families are very likely to move, but much less so if they are living in neighborhoods with moderate to high concentrations of blacks.

In Figure 2, the third and fourth bar chart replicate the first two bar charts but replace median percentage black with median entropy score. In these bar charts, the differences in propensity to move between those below and those at or above the median entropy score by household type are not as dramatic. The gap in the likelihood of moving between whites with kids who live below or at or above the median is only slightly greater than it is for those without kids. The gaps between non-whites without children and non-whites with children are also smaller. In the fourth chart, when we break down household by age of child, the patterns are similar to those in bar chart two, but again less dramatic. White households with only young children are still the most likely to be affected by moderate to high entropy; however, whites with older kids seem to be as affected as white households without children. For non-whites with young children, those in moderate to high entropy areas are less likely to move than those in low entropy neighborhoods.

Take together, the bar charts in Figures 1 and 2 suggest that (1) neighborhood racial composition does influence household moving behavior, (2) that it does so differently for whites and non-whites, and (3) that is has greater or lesser influence depending on whether or not there are children in the household and the ages of those children. These descriptive results do not help us answer our main research question, though, which is: Are families with children more sensitive to the racial composition of their neighborhoods because they have children? In order to address this question, we have to account for several sources of heterogeneity. First, we consider the possibility that having children varies with other life course events in such a way that those with children are more likely to move out of neighborhoods with greater percentages of blacks and/or greater diversity not because they have children but because of other life changes that vary with having children. Many of the influences of the above individual, household, and neighborhood characteristics are likely confounding. Young household heads may become employed, get married, have children, and/or buy homes in a relatively short span of time. Because life course transitions may occur together, we turn to multivariate panel logistic regression fixed effects models to sort out their separate influences on moving behavior.

It may also be that families with children are not reacting to the racial composition of their neighborhoods, but rather to the socioeconomic profiles of these neighborhoods. Socioeconomic characteristics of neighborhoods vary by racial composition. Our multivariate models account for some of these characteristics.

Finally, unobserved heterogeneity across households may influence the likelihood of both having children and tolerating diversity in neighborhoods, particularly for whites. Those families that may be more conservative or traditional in orientation may be more likely to have children and also have less desire to live in (or more aversion to) neighborhoods in which there are high percentages of blacks and/or high diversity. With fixed effects models, we explicitly account for changes within households. Thus, with fixed effects models, we show the changes in moving behavior within families when children enter or leave the household. Table 4 presents the first of these analyses.

Table 4 about here.

Table 4 shows whether or not changes in individual or household characteristics influence the propensity of the household head to change neighborhoods. The lack of significance of the coefficients for year suggest that there do not seem to be significant period effects. However, age matters. As respondents age, they are less likely to move. The squared term, though, shows that this trend attenuates at older ages, perhaps when some of the oldest household heads in the sample may be moving to homes after retiring from the labor force. When respondents are married, they are significantly less likely to move than when they are not married. Employment and income are not significantly related to moving. There appears to be no difference in household head's propensity to move whether she or he is employed or not, nor when household income increases or decreases. When household heads own their home they are significantly less likely to move than when they are renters. The more people per room in a home, the more likely the household is to move, but the more children in the household, the less likely the household is to move. People who have been in their homes for a longer time are more likely to move than those who have recently moved.

The main variables of interest in Table 4 are those measuring the presence of children in the household and neighborhood composition, along with the interactions between these terms and an indicator of the household head's race. Because fixed effects models only estimate coefficients for characteristics of individuals that change, they cannot estimate the effect of being non-white on the likelihood of a move. Fixed effects models do, though, allow fixed characteristics to be interacted with changing characteristics. The coefficient for "non-white" heads of households without children then is used to estimate the effects of the variables that do change – presence of children in the household and whether the household is located in a neighborhood at or above or below the median percentage of blacks – for whites and non-whites. It is not independently interpretable.

Table 4 shows that white families who have children are not significantly different from white families when they do not have children when they live in neighborhoods that are below the median percentage black. However, if white families with children live in neighborhoods at or above the median percentage black then they are significantly more likely to move than when they do not have children.

When we take the exponent of the coefficient for white families with children, it suggests that white families with children are about one and a half times as likely as when they are without children to move when they are located in neighborhoods with moderate to high percentages of blacks. Though the coefficients suggest that non-whites, and particularly those with children, may be less likely to move out of neighborhoods with moderate to high percentages of blacks than are whites without children, these differences are not significant.

In Model 2, we add neighborhood characteristics to see if they decrease the influence of the interaction between the presence of children and neighborhood racial composition for whites. Neither median household income of the neighborhood nor the percentage of residents with bachelor's degrees are significantly related to moving. However, the percentage of homeowners is significantly and negatively related to the likelihood of a move. The more homeowners in a neighborhood, the less likely the household is to move. The same is true for children in the neighborhood. The higher the percentage of households with children in a neighborhood, the less likely a family is to move. Accounting for these factors, though, there is little change in the interaction term representing the likelihood of moving for white households with children that live in a neighborhood with the median or more percentage of blacks. There is still a significant relationship between the racial composition of the neighborhood and the likelihood of moving among white households with children.

In the next table, Table 5, we show results from models that consider whether the age of the oldest child matters. If parents are choosing to leave neighborhoods with their children's schooling or other neighborhood public services in mind, they may be most likely to make these choices before their children are school-aged. In these models, we consider the interaction between race of the household head, households where the oldest child is younger than six years old, and the racial composition of the neighborhood. In these models, the results for those with young children are even stronger than they are for those with older children. Again taking the exponent of the coefficients, white households with only children who are younger than six are about two times more likely to move out of neighborhoods that are at or above the median percentage black than are white families when they do not have children. White

families with children older than six in the household are a little less than one and a half times more likely to move than are white households when they are without children. And, similar to the Table 4, when the neighborhood context variables are added in Model 2, the coefficients of the interactions do not change much. Controlling for other neighborhood variables, households with children are more likely to move when they live in neighborhoods that are at or above the median percentage black, particularly those with only young children.

Table 5 about here.

For Tables 6 and 7, we replicate the models from Tables 4 and 5 with once change: we replace the dichotomous measure at or above, or below the median percentage black with a measure of whether the household is located in a neighborhood in which entropy is at or above, or below the median. We present the first of these models in Table 6.

Table 6 about here.

In many ways, the results from Table 6 are similar to those in Table 4. There are no significant period effects. Age is generally negatively related to moving, though, again, the effect is attenuated at older ages. Whether the household head is married and owns his or her own home significantly decrease the likelihood of a move. Households with more people generally move more, while those with larger numbers of children move less. The longer a family has been in their home, the more likely they are to move.

In contrast to Table 4, though, in these models, the interactions between race, presence of children in the household, and racial composition of the neighborhood are not significant. Increasing entropy does not differentially affect white households with children. In fact, living in a neighborhood with at or above the median level of entropy seems to have little significant effect on a household's moving behavior across all types of households, when controlling for other individual and household characteristics.

To be thorough, in Table 7, we also look at whether or not moderate to high levels of entropy may affect those who have young children differently from when they have older children or are without

children. Again, in contrast to the results when we use at or above the median percentage black in our models, we see no significant interaction between race, presence of younger children, and whether or not the household is located in a neighborhood with at or above the median entropy. It seems that white households with children are primarily responding to the presence of black households in their neighborhoods, and not to increasing diversity overall.

Table 7 about here.

Discussion and Conclusion

Our research is motivated by several questions. The first and most important of these is do kids matter for white and non-white families' movement out of relatively integrated neighborhoods? In other words, net of other life course characteristics and changing socioeconomic circumstances that may accompany having children, are white and non-white families more likely to move out of less desirable neighborhoods because of their children? Expanding the research of South and Crowder (1998) to investigate interactions between the presence of children and the racial composition of the census tract of origin, we find that the effect of children on mobility is indeed conditional on the neighborhood that a family lives in as well as the race of the respondent. Fixed effects models that account for unobserved heterogeneity between households that have children and those that do not show that when white families make the transition from not having children to having children, they are more likely to move away from neighborhoods with a moderate to high percentage of blacks. This effect is even stronger for those who have only young children. Families who have only children who are younger than six in the home are even more likely to leave neighborhoods with the median or greater percentage of blacks. Even after controlling for age, changes in the life course like marriage and buying a home, and changes in socioeconomic status such as changing income and/or employment, children in the home influence the likelihood that a white family will move from a neighborhood with the median or higher percentage of blacks.

However, non-white families with children do not react to the racial composition of the neighborhood in the same ways as white families do. In fact, non-whites who have young children are the

least likely to move from neighborhoods with the median or above percentage of blacks, after controlling for other, related factors. It could be that these families find social support in these neighborhoods or it may be that it becomes more difficult to relocate from a familiar neighborhood once a family has children. While this research focuses mostly on how children affect the moving behavior of whites, much more work could be done to understand how children influence the moving behavior of non-whites.

We also investigate whether households with children are reacting to the racial composition of their neighborhoods when deciding to move out or to other indicators of neighborhood socioeconomic status and stability that vary with neighborhood racial composition. Even when we control for the median household income of the neighborhood, the percentage of residents with bachelor's degrees, the percentage of homeowners, and the percentage of households with children, the effect of children on the likelihood of moving from moderate to high percentage black neighborhoods for whites does not disappear. Even accounting for these characteristics of neighborhoods, white families with children are more sensitive to racial composition in making decisions to move than are those white families when they do not have children.

A final question concerns whether it is racial diversity per se that white families are reacting to or whether it is a reaction to particular racial group. Our results show that white households with children are reacting more to having black neighbors than they are to living in neighborhoods with racial minorities in general. Racial diversity, as measured by entropy scores, does not seem to influence the moving decisions of white households with children to any greater extent than it does white households when they do not have children.

There are several questions we cannot answer with our analyses, however. Although our research suggests that children do heighten awareness of and sensitivity to neighborhood racial composition, at least when deciding whether or not to leave neighborhoods, we do not know exactly why this is the case. It could be that families are concerned about school quality in integrated neighborhoods. Families may, whether correctly or incorrectly, judge schools with a large or growing percentage of minorities as lower quality. Similarly, families may be worried about other community services. Integrated neighborhoods

may have fewer and/or less well-kept parks. Families may perceive that integrated neighborhoods are less safe than whiter neighborhoods (Quillian and Pager 2001). Although these beliefs may be informed by racial stereotypes or prejudices, parents may use race as a proxy to judge other neighborhood services, quality, and safety (Krysan 2002; Harris 1999, 2001). Although we have tried to account for the socioeconomic profile and stability of neighborhoods, we have likely left out many neighborhood characteristics that families consider and that may be related to racial composition of the neighborhood.

It could also be that parents wish to maintain greater social distance or perceive a greater threat from minorities for their children than they do for themselves. While parents may feel comfortable about their own beliefs, social positions, and safety, they may feel less certain of their children's. So, racial stereotypes, prejudices, and animosity may be heightened in parents' concerns for their children. This may lead households who have children to leave neighborhoods with a moderate to high percentage of blacks who would not otherwise move from them. Why and how children influence families' sensitivity to the racial composition of a neighborhood is a question that remains unanswered.

This research also does not address the types of neighborhoods that families move into when they leave their integrated neighborhoods. It could be that families with children that leave more integrated neighborhoods seek whiter neighborhoods to move into than other types of families that move. Research has found, though, that this is not necessarily the case (South and Crowder 1998). Families with and without children may be choosing similar neighborhoods once they make the decision to move based on maximizing the neighborhood services and property values that they can manage with their resources. Families with children can further exacerbate segregation by moving out of integrating neighborhoods at higher rates than other types of households, by moving into less integrated neighborhoods than other types of households, or both. Here we only look at the first process and leave a thorough comparison of the types of neighborhoods white and non-white families with and without children move into for future research.

Kids do influence white families' moving behavior. Although many questions remain as to why and how, this research shows that white families with children contribute to patterns of black-white

segregation through their higher propensity to leave neighborhoods with moderate to high percentages of blacks. Although it has not previously been fully explored in the literature on residential segregation, our study strongly suggests that families' concerns for their children are yet another explanation for patterns of segregation.

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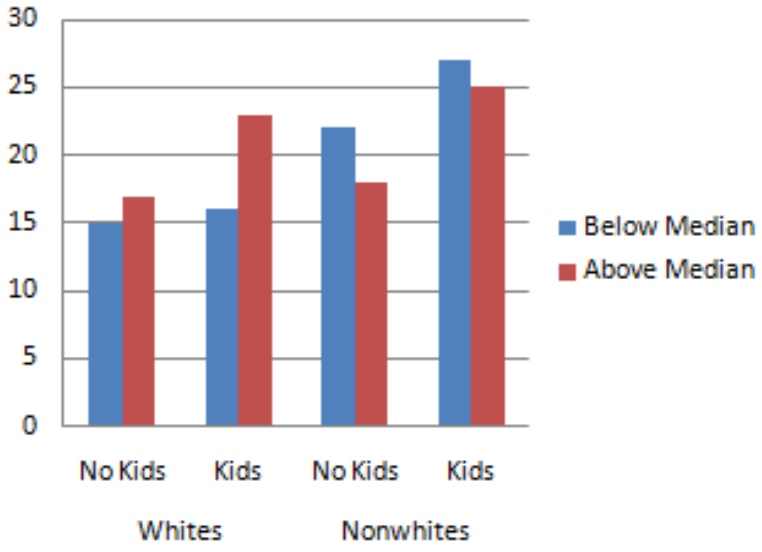
Figure 1: Propensity to Move for White and Non-white Families by Median Percent Black, With and Without Children



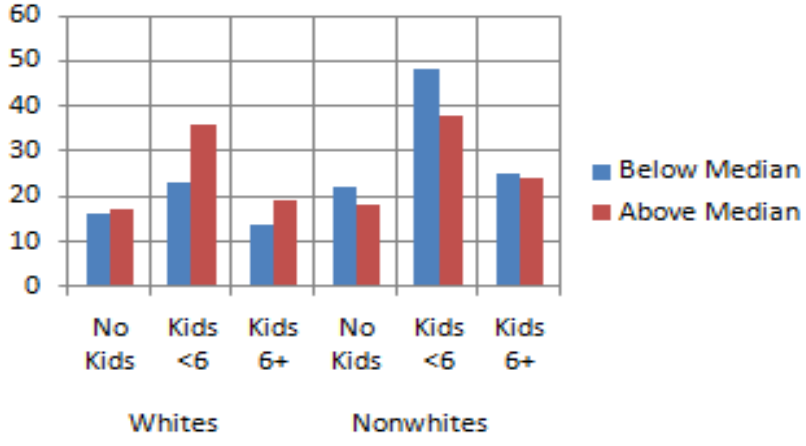
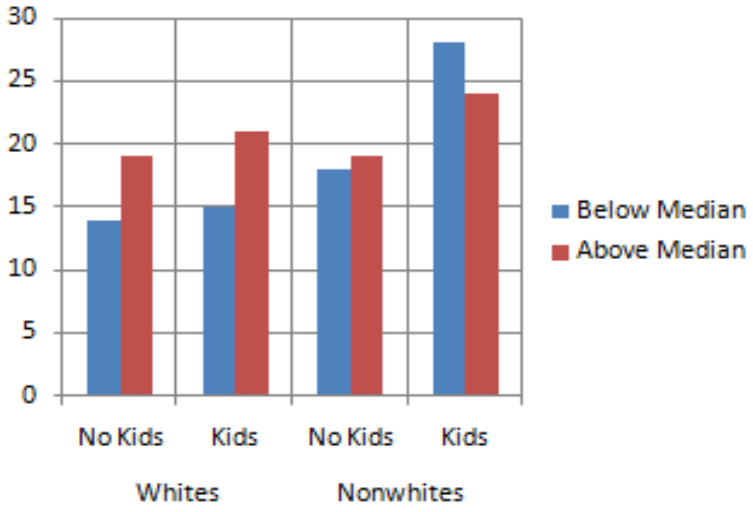


Figure 2: Propensity to Move for White and Non-white Families by Median Percent Entropy, With and Without Children



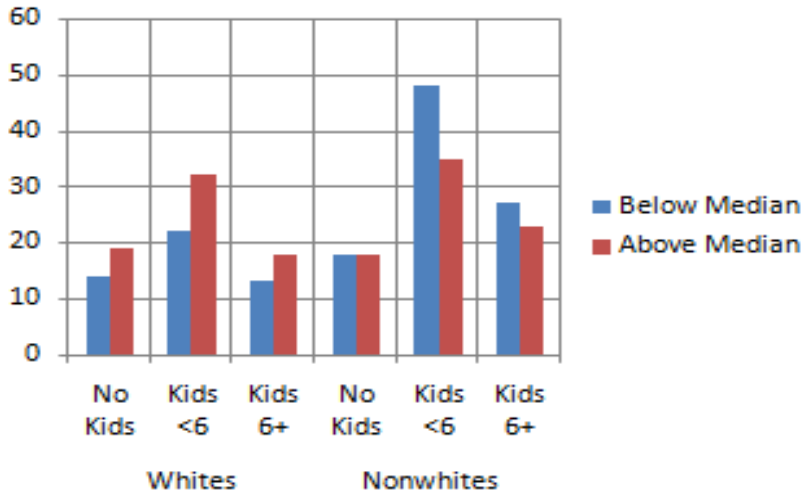


Table 1: Descriptive Characteristics of Household Heads in 1980

Age	43.6
(std. dev.)	(17.3)
Sex	
Men	65.0%
Women	35.0%
Race	
White	59.8%
Nonwhite	40.0%
Education	11.73
(std. dev.)	(6.30)
Marital Status	
Not married	49.0%
Married	51.0%
Employment Status	
Not employed	30.0%
Employed	70.0%
Income (in 2000 dollars)	$34,038
(std. dev.)	($36,202)
Own Home	
Rent	44.6%
Own	55.4%
Persons Per Room	0.590
(std. dev.)	(0.354)
Number of Children in Household	0.973
(std. dev.)	(1.289)
Age of Children in Household	
No children	53.4%
Children under six	13.2%
Children six and over	33.5%
Median Percent Black	5.52%
Median Entropy	0.342
Median Household Income in Tract (in 2000 dollars)	$37,429
(std. dev.)	($15,206)
Percent BA or Above in Tract	14.0
(std. dev.)	(11.6)
Percent Own Home in Tract	78.6
(std. dev.)	(13.4)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract	38.5
(std. dev.)	(11.7)
Missing Information in 1980	7.8%

N=4,902, statistics are unweighted.

Table 2: Moving Behavior of 1980 Household Heads

	Moved One or More Times	Did Not Move
Whole Sample	51.2%	48.8%
Age	38.9	48.5
(std. dev.)	(0.335)	(0.357)
Sex		
Men	47.3%	52.7%
Women	58.0%	42.0%
Race		
White	50.0%	50.0%
Nonwhite	52.7%	47.3%
Education	12.05	11.38
(std. dev.)	(5.62)	(6.92)
Marital Status		
Not married	59.0%	41.0%
Married	43.5%	56.5%
Employment Status		
Not employed	45.6%	54.4%
Employed	53.4%	46.6%
Income	$33,514	$34,585
(std. dev.)	($35,229)	($37,111)
Own Home		
Rent	67.4%	32.6%
Own	38.0%	62.0%
Persons Per Room	0.581	0.598
(std. dev.)	(0.368)	(0.339)
Number of Children in Household	0.95	0.99
(std. dev.)	(1.28)	(1.30)
Age of Children in the Household		
No children	49.6%	50.4%
Children under six	62.5%	37.5%
Children six and over	48.8%	51.2%
Median Percent Black	6.00	5.01
Median Entropy	0.372	0.315
Median Household Income in Tract	$37,561	$37,292
(std. dev.)	($15,808)	($14,553)
Percent BA or Above in Tract	14.6	13.5
(std. dev.)	(12.1)	(11.1)
Percent Own Home in Tract	77.3	79.9
(std. dev.)	(13.8)	(12.9)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract	38.1	38.9
(std. dev.)	(12.2)	(11.1)
N	2,510	2,392

N=4,902

Table 3: Likelihood of Moving During a Two-Year Interval, 1980-2005

	Moved	Did Not Move
Whole Sample	18.3%	82.7%
Interval Years		
1980-1982	22.3%	77.7%
1982-1984	19.3%	80.7%
1984-1986	19.4%	80.6%
1986-1988	18.4%	81.6%
1988-1990	17.9%	82.1%
1990-1992	17.0%	83.0%
1992-1994	14.0%	86.0%
1994-1996	15.6%	84.4%
1996-1999	21.0%	79.0%
1999-2001	15.4%	84.6%
2001-2003	16.5%	83.5%
2003-2005	18.0%	82.0%
Age	42.8	51.4
(std. dev.)	(16.4)	(15.9)
Sex		
Men	15.7%	84.3%
Women	23.2%	76.8%
Race		
White	16.3%	83.7%
Nonwhite	21.9%	78.1%
Education	12.0	11.7
(std. dev.)	(2.7)	(3.0)
Marital Status		
Not married	25.1%	74.9%
Married	13.7%	86.3%
Employment Status		
Not employed	17.3%	82.7%
Employed	18.9%	81.1%
Income	$33,002	$40,196
(std. dev.)	($39,474)	($58,030)
Own Home		
Rent	35.2%	64.8%
Own	9.9%	90.1%
Persons Per Room	0.56	0.49
(std. dev.)	(0.37)	(0.30)
Time Since Last move	3.21	6.27
(std. dev.)	(4.57)	(5.81)
Number of Children in Household	0.92	0.78
(std. dev.)	(1.24)	(1.15)
Age of Children in the Household		
No children	16.6%	83.4%
Children under six	30.1%	69.9%
Children six and over	18.9%	81.1%
Median Percent Black		
Below	16.0%	84.0%
Above	20.8%	79.2%

Median Entropy		
Below	16.2%	83.8%
Above	20.5%	79.5%
Median Household Income in Tract	$37,770	$39,459
(std. dev.)	($18,597)	($19,821)
Percent BA or Above in Tract	17.7	17.5
(std. dev.)	(14.1)	(14.0)
Percent Own Home in Tract	65.3	70.7
(std. dev.)	(20.1)	(18.2)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract	35.6	36.1
(std. dev.)	(11.8)	(10.4)

Table 4: Fixed Effects of Percent Black on Propensity to Move for Families With Any Children versus Those Without

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	s.e.	Coeff.	s.e.
Year (1980=excluded)				
1982	-0.120	(0.108)	-0.151	(0.108)
1984	-0.011	(0.182)	-0.078	(0.182)
1986	-0.007	(0.262)	-0.108	(0.262)
1988	0.034	(0.346)	-0.089	(0.346)
1990	0.015	(0.429)	-0.133	(0.429)
1992	-0.186	(0.515)	-0.338	(0.515)
1994	-0.021	(0.600)	-0.171	(0.600)
1996	0.497	(0.674)	0.343	(0.674)
1999	0.122	(0.804)	-0.037	(0.804)
2001	0.142	(0.891)	-0.009	(0.891)
2003	0.272	(0.974)	0.135	(0.974)
Age	-0.119**	(0.044)	-0.121**	(0.044)
Age squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried=excluded)				
Married	-0.292***	(0.077)	-0.276***	(0.077)
Employment Status (Not employed=excluded)				
Employed	-0.009	(0.062)	-0.009	(0.062)
Income in tens of thousands	-0.009	(0.006)	-0.008	(0.006)
Own Home (Rent=excluded)				
Own	-1.396***	(0.066)	-1.320***	(0.068)
Persons Per Room	0.225*	(0.094)	0.203*	(0.095)
Years Since Last Move	0.139***	(0.006)	0.139***	(0.006)
Number of Kids in Household	-0.126***	(0.036)	-0.118**	(0.036)
Race and Parental Status (White, no children=excluded)				
Whites with children	-0.062	(0.097)	-0.058	(0.098)
Nonwhites without children*	0.045		0.041	
Nonwhites with children	0.223	(0.284)	0.236	(0.285)
Above Median Percent Black	0.052	(0.097)	-0.000	(0.099)
Race/Any Children/Percent Black Interactions (White, with no children=excluded)				
Whites with children*above median % black	0.375**	(0.139)	0.369**	(0.140)
Nonwhites without children *above median % black	-0.363	(0.236)	-0.363	(0.237)
Nonwhites with children*above median % black	-0.415	(0.312)	-0.416	(0.313)
Median Household Income in Tract (in ten thousands)			0.045	(0.213)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.003	(0.003)
Percent Own Home in Tract			-0.008***	(0.002)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract			-0.006*	(0.003)

*Because race does not change over time, this coefficient is only included as an estimate to use in conjunction with the interactions. It is not interpretable in the fixed effects model.

19,612 observations, 2,377 households, LR chi-square for 26 df=1418.45; for 30 df=1453.93

Table 5: Fixed Effects of Percent Black on Propensity to Move for Families With Young Children versus Those With Older Children and Those Without

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	s.e.	Coeff.	s.e.
Year (1980=excluded)				
1982	-0.123	(0.108)	-0.154	(0.108)
1984	-0.020	(0.182)	-0.088	(0.182)
1986	-0.022	(0.262)	-0.124	(0.263)
1988	0.016	(0.346)	-0.108	(0.346)
1990	-0.004	(0.429)	-0.154	(0.429)
1992	-0.211	(0.515)	-0.365	(0.516)
1994	-0.047	(0.601)	-0.198	(0.601)
1996	0.469	(0.675)	0.314	(0.675)
1999	0.097	(0.805)	-0.065	(0.804)
2001	0.111	(0.891)	-0.043	(0.892)
2003	0.234	(0.974)	0.094	(0.974)
Age	-0.115**	(0.044)	-0.116**	(0.044)
Age squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried=excluded)				
Married	-0.303***	(0.078)	-0.287***	(0.078)
Employment Status (Not employed=excluded)				
Employed	-0.006	(0.062)	-0.005	(0.062)
Income in tens of thousands	-0.008	(0.006)	-0.007	(0.006)
Own Home (Rent=excluded)				
Own	-1.400***	(0.066)	-1.325***	(0.068)
Persons Per Room	0.230*	(0.094)	0.207*	(0.095)
Years Since Last Move	0.140***	(0.006)	0.140***	(0.006)
Number of Kids in Household	-0.087**	(0.032)	-0.080*	(0.032)
Race and Parental Status (White, no children=excluded)				
Whites with children under six	-0.087	(0.120)	-0.081	(0.121)
Whites with children six and older	-0.239*	(0.096)	-0.231*	(0.096)
Nonwhites without children*	0.032		0.023	
Nonwhites with children under six	0.673	(0.521)	0.741	(0.511)
Nonwhites with children six and older	0.270	(0.294)	0.298	(0.294)
Above Median Percent Black	0.031	(0.097)	-0.021	(0.099)
Race/ Children in Age Ranges/Percent Black Interactions (White, with no children=excluded)				
Whites with children under six*above median % black	0.714**	(0.216)	0.705**	(0.217)
Whites with children six and older*above median % black	0.323*	(0.150)	0.319*	(0.151)
Nonwhite without children*above median % black	-0.305	(0.225)	(-0.299)	(0.226)
Nonwhites with children under six*above median % black	-1.415*	(0.555)	-1.451**	(0.554)
Nonwhites with children six and older*above median % black	-0.329	(0.326)	-0.347	(0.327)
Median Household Income in Tract (in ten thousands)			0.045	(0.214)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.003	(0.003)
Percent Own Home in Tract			-0.007***	(0.002)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract			-0.006*	(0.003)

*Because race does not change over time, this coefficient is only included as an estimate to use in conjunction with the interactions. It is not interpretable in the fixed effects model.

19,612 observations, 2,377 households, LR chi-square for 30 df=1432.48; for 34 df=1467.43

Table 6: Fixed Effects of Entropy on Propensity to Move for Families With Any Children versus Those Without

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	s.e.	Coeff.	s.e.
Year (1980=excluded)				
1982	-0.122	(0.107)	-0.152	(0.107)
1984	-0.012	(0.182)	-0.079	(0.182)
1986	-0.009	(0.261)	-0.110	(0.262)
1988	0.037	(0.345)	-0.087	(0.345)
1990	0.021	(0.428)	-0.129	(0.428)
1992	-0.180	(0.514)	-0.330	(0.514)
1994	-0.014	(0.599)	-0.161	(0.599)
1996	0.497	(0.673)	0.347	(0.673)
1999	0.126	(0.802)	-0.028	(0.802)
2001	0.139	(0.889)	-0.015	(0.889)
2003	0.275	(0.972)	0.145	(0.972)
Age	-0.119**	(0.044)	-0.121**	(0.044)
Age squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried=excluded)				
Married	-0.286***	(0.077)	-0.269***	(0.077)
Employment Status (Not employed=excluded)				
Employed	-0.008	(0.062)	-0.008	(0.062)
Income in tens of thousands	-0.009	(0.006)	-0.008	(0.006)
Own Home (Rent=excluded)				
Own	-1.400***	(0.066)	-1.321***	(0.068)
Persons Per Room	0.229*	(0.095)	0.206*	(0.095)
Years Since Last Move	0.138***	(0.006)	0.138***	(0.006)
Number of Kids in Household	-0.127***	(0.036)	-0.119**	(0.036)
Race and Parental Status (White, no children=excluded)				
Whites with children	0.054	(0.105)	0.050	(0.105)
Nonwhites without children*	-0.269		-0.272	
Nonwhites with children	0.154	(0.167)	0.142	(0.167)
Above Median Entropy	0.199	(0.086)	0.063	(0.088)
Race/Any Children/Entropy Interactions (White, with no children=excluded)				
Whites with children*above median entropy	-0.055	(0.121)	-0.045	(0.122)
Nonwhites without children*above median entropy	-0.240	(0.158)	-0.237	(0.159)
Nonwhites with children*above median entropy	-0.079	(0.199)	-0.053	(0.200)
Median Household Income in Tract (in ten thousands)			0.078	(0.213)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.004	(0.003)
Percent Own Home in Tract			-0.008***	(0.002)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract			-0.006*	(0.003)

*Because race does not change over time, this coefficient is only included as an estimate to use in conjunction with the interactions. It is not interpretable in the fixed effects model.

19,612 observations, 2,377 households, LR chi-square for 26 df=1408.82; for 30 df=1445.42

Table 7: Fixed Effects of Entropy on Propensity to Move for Families With Young Children versus Those With Older Children and Those Without

	Model 1		Model 2	
	Coeff.	s.e.	Coeff.	s.e.
Year (1980=excluded)				
1982	-0.124	(0.107)	-0.153	(0.108)
1984	-0.019	(0.182)	-0.186	(0.182)
1986	-0.023	(0.262)	-0.124	(0.262)
1988	0.016	(0.345)	-0.107	(0.346)
1990	-0.003	(0.428)	-0.152	(0.429)
1992	-0.209	(0.515)	-0.360	(0.515)
1994	-0.049	(0.600)	-0.197	(0.600)
1996	0.462	(0.674)	0.310	(0.673)
1999	0.093	(0.803)	-0.064	(0.803)
2001	0.103	(0.890)	-0.052	(0.890)
2003	0.228	(0.973)	0.095	(0.972)
Age	-0.114**	(0.044)	-0.116**	(0.044)
Age squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried=excluded)				
Married	-0.291***	(0.078)	-0.275***	(0.078)
Employment Status (Not employed=excluded)				
Employed	-0.003	(0.062)	-0.003	(0.062)
Income in tens of thousands	-0.009	(0.006)	-0.008	(0.006)
Own Home (Rent=excluded)				
Own	-1.397***	(0.066)	-1.323***	(0.068)
Persons Per Room	0.234*	(0.094)	0.210*	(0.095)
Years Since Last Move	0.139***	(0.006)	0.139***	(0.006)
Number of Kids in Household	-0.089**	(0.032)	-0.081*	(0.032)
Race and Parental Status (White, no children=excluded)				
Whites with children under six	0.056	(0.132)	0.052	(0.133)
Whites with children six and older	-0.152	(0.104)	-0.151	(0.104)
Nonwhites without children*	-0.274		-0.277	
Nonwhites with children under six	0.131	(0.258)	0.138	(0.258)
Nonwhites with children six and older	0.199	(0.175)	0.195	(0.175)
Above Median Entropy	0.097	(0.086)	0.041	(0.088)
Race/ Children in Age Ranges/Entropy Interactions (White, with no children=excluded)				
Whites with children under six*above median entropy	0.044	(0.183)	0.061	(0.183)
Whites with children six and older*above median entropy	-0.016	(0.132)	-0.007	(0.132)
Nonwhites without children*above median entropy	-0.238	(0.155)	-0.229	(0.156)
Nonwhites with children under six*above median entropy	-0.450	(0.314)	-0.431	(0.315)
Nonwhites with children six and older*above median entropy	-0.016	(0.212)	-0.001	(0.212)
Median Household Income in Tract (in ten thousands)			0.070	(0.213)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.004	(0.003)
Percent Own Home in Tract			-0.008***	(0.002)
Percent with Children Under 18 in Tract			-0.006*	(0.003)

*Because race does not change over time, this coefficient is only included as an estimate to use in conjunction with the interactions. It is not interpretable in the fixed effects model.

19,612 observations, 2,377 households, LR chi-square for 30 df=1417.84; for 34 df=1453.96