Moving to Heterogeneity?: Sources of Individual Mobility to Integrated Neighborhoods for whites, blacks, and Hispanics

Seth A. Williams, Raymond R. Swisher, Jorge M. Chavez, Danielle C. Kuhl

Bowling Green State University

Introduction

Much research has established that residential segregation is associated with deleterious consequences for communities and individuals, particularly for blacks and other minorities (Charles 2003; Massey and Denton 1993). Patterns of residential segregation are linked to the unequal distribution of economic and institutional resources across urban space (Orfield and Lee 2007; Wilson 1996), and contribute to racial inequalities in health (Kramer and Hogue 2009; Acevedo-Garcia et al. 2008; Fitzpatrick and LaGory 2000), homeownership (Flippen 2001), and exposure to crime and environmental hazards (Shihadeh and Flynn 1996; Sampson et al. 2002; Crowder and Downey 2010; Klinenberg 2002). However, recent research has documented a potentially positive trend with the emergence of racially-heterogeneous neighborhoods in both urban and suburban residential contexts (Timberlake and Iceland 2007; Logan and Zhang 2010; Friedman 2008; Fasenfest, Booza and Metzger 2004).

That residential segregation versus integration is important is also strongly suggested by research on the locational attainments of individuals, a research tradition that treats characteristics of the neighborhoods in which people live as important attainments in themselves, much like educational or occupational attainment. Most relevant to segregation are studies of neighborhood racial-ethnic composition as an outcome of interest for individual mobility. Framed within the assumptions of the spatial assimilation model, which posits that members of minority groups seek to convert their human capital resources into locational attainments characterized by increased affluence and residential contacts with whites (Alba and Logan 1993), most studies have examined the percentage of white or black residents in the neighborhood as an outcome (e.g. Pais, South and Crowder 2012; Massey, Gross and Shibuya 1994; South and Crowder 1998; Quillian 2002), or used various indices of racial diversity (e.g. Farrell and Lee 2011). However, addressing only the percent white or black as a mobility outcome ignores the proliferation of more diverse neighborhoods over the past several decades. Previous studies have also tended to focus on relatively short-term changes in neighborhood characteristics in adulthood, and have not considered inter-generational changes over the life course occurring to more recent cohorts who may have greater exposure to growing diversity.

The present study aims to fill these gaps in the literature by studying sources of change in neighborhood racial and ethnic compositions for individuals between adolescence and early adulthood. It uses data from several waves of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adulothood Health, and applies a set of neighborhood racial typologies originally developed by Fasenfest et al. (2004). These typologies capture emergent patterns of residential integration and allow us to examine the role of individual and neighborhood-of-origin factors which may contribute to an individual's movement towards more integrated neighborhoods over the life

course. We build on past research by stratifying our analyses by individual race and ethnicity, providing insight into the factors salient not only to whites and blacks, but Hispanics as well.

Background

Though cities and neighborhoods in the United States continue to be defined by enduring patterns of racial-ethnic segregation, researchers have documented increases in the racial-ethnic diversity of urban neighborhoods, and a related decrease in white residential isolation. Logan and Zhang (2010) describe the emergence of "global neighborhoods," where all four of the major racial-ethnic groups in the United States (i.e., whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) live in the same communities. Lee and Wood (1991) find early evidence for the growth of these neighborhood types between 1970 and 1980, noting that the in-migration of Hispanics and Asians replacing whites in mixed black-white neighborhoods were driving this trend.

Other research has documented the decline of all-white neighborhoods. In a study of the New York metropolitan area from 1970 to 1990, Alba et al. (1995) find a decline in all-white neighborhoods coinciding with the rise of neighborhoods where sizeable proportions of Hispanics, Asians, and whites are represented. Likewise, in a study of change in major metropolises from 1980-2000, Friedman (2008) notes a decline in all-white tracts (those comprised of 80% white and no more than 10% of each non-white group) from 54% to 28% of tracts in the sample. The author notes these changes occurred along with an increase in mixed white-other (non-black) neighborhoods and multiethnic neighborhoods characterized by shares of each major racial group (Friedman 2008). With a more stringent operationalization of an all-white tract where no other group had a presence as high as 30 persons, Denton and Massey (1991) find that all-white tracts declined from 14% in 1970 to 7% in 1980. Researchers have noted that white segregation and black isolation continued to drop between the 2000-2010 period (Iceland and Sharp 2013).

Using the information theory index to assess changes in multi-group segregation from 1980-2000, Iceland (2004) finds that while multi-group segregation and black-white segregation declined over this period, Hispanic segregation changed little. As other researchers have noted, the reductions in black-white segregation and the stability of Hispanic segregation can be attributed to the growing concentration of new immigrants. The flow of new immigrants to urban areas increases overall diversity which is associated with lower black-white segregation, and buttresses existing ethnic enclaves, offsetting the degree to which Hispanic households are dispersed across residential contexts (Iceland 2004).

To better understand the sources of individual-mobility into integrated neighborhoods, we draw upon the locational attainment model (Alba and Logan 1993). Two primary theories have emerged in the locational attainment literature. The *spatial assimilation model* posits that the stock of human capital possessed by individuals (e.g. education, income, and occupational status) is the principle mechanism by which residents are sorted across neighborhoods which differ in stability, access to resources, safety, and amenities. From this perspective, geographic mobility and economic mobility are intertwined, as is cultural assimilation and spatial assimilation. Disparities in the ability of racial groups to secure neighborhood contexts desirable

in these respects then reflect their differential socioeconomic statuses (Massey 1985; Alba and Logan 1993; Alba et al., 1999; South, Crowder and Chavez 2005; Crowder and South 2005; South, Crowder and Pais 2008; Adelman et al. 2001). According to the spatial assimilation model, the human capital of minority groups should allow for migration out of racially-isolated neighborhoods and into more advantaged contexts characterized by increased stability, affluence, and contact with whites. However, many studies have found that racial groups differ in their ability to convert human capital resources into advantaged locational attainments (Adelman et al. 2001; Alba and Logan 1992, Logan and Alba 1993; Massey and Denton 1993; South and Crowder 1998).

An implicit assumption of the spatial assimilation model is that minority group members prefer to move to predominantly white neighborhoods. Research on the residential preferences of minority group members provides contradictory evidence. Blacks express a reluctance to be the extreme numerical minority in predominantly white neighborhoods (Krysan and Farley 2002) and prefer more racially-integrated neighborhoods compared to whites (Krysan and Farley 2002; Charles 2006). Whites prefer predominantly white neighborhoods compared to more integrated ones (Krysan and Bader 2007), and generally express an aversion to sharing residential spaces with a concentration of blacks, as do Asians and Hispanics to a lesser extent (Emerson, Chai and Yancey 2001; Charles 2006). However, the ability to act on individual residential preferences requires the socioeconomic resources to do so.

The *place stratification model* contends that barriers such as the discriminatory practices of real estate agents (Yinger 1995), local governments (Shlay and Rossi 1991), and lending institutions (Squires and Kim 1995; Roscigno, Karafin and Tester 2009; Ross and Turner 2005), in addition to racial stereotyping and hostility towards minority group members by whites (Farley et al. 1994), engenders a "dual-housing market," whereby the ability of blacks (and to a lesser extent, other minorities) to attain neighborhood contexts similar to that of their white counterparts is restricted (Massey and Denton 1993; Charles 2003; Logan and Molotch 1987; Alba and Logan 1991). Researchers have specified a "strong version" of the place stratification model, whereby minority group members are unable to convert their human capital into advantaged neighborhoods and even those who make the greatest gains still live in worse conditions compared to low-status whites (Logan and Alba 1993). The "weak version" of place stratification theory posits that minority group members pay a higher cost to secure advantaged neighborhood contexts, and gains are only gains relative to other minorities. Thus, the effect of minority individuals' socioeconomic resources is greater than that of whites, whose advantaged status ensure that few ever live in such disadvantaged contexts (Logan and Alba 1993; Pais, South and Crowder 2012; Swisher, Kuhl, and Chavez 2013).

Yet another perspective builds from the locational attainment model and speaks directly to the racial-ethnic composition of destination neighborhoods as a distinct outcome. According to the *human capital perspective,* increases in human capital are associated with a broadening of residential options, which accounts for existing patterns of residential preference by race. Thus, increasing human capital would be associated with moves into predominantly white neighborhoods from more integrated neighborhoods by whites, and with moves from racially

isolated neighborhoods into more integrated neighborhoods for blacks (South and Crowder 1997).

There is mixed empirical support for the aforementioned theoretical models in studies examining the racial-ethnic composition of destination neighborhoods. Alba, Logan and Stults (2000) find that among black residents in Cleveland, Chicago, and Detroit, greater human capital resources are associated with mobility into neighborhoods with greater affluence and a higher presence of whites, though the socioeconomic characteristics of these destination neighborhoods do not match those of middle-class whites. The findings of Pais et al. (2012) seem to support both models. Consistent with the spatial assimilation model, the authors find that high-earning minorities attain neighborhood contexts which match those of high-earning whites in many metropolitan contexts. However, though high-earning blacks and Hispanics are able to translate their socioeconomic resources into moves closer to whites, they still tend to live in neighborhoods where the proportion of whites remains lower than that of the lowest-income whites, a finding consistent with the "weak version" of place stratification (Pais et al. 2012).

Adelman's (2005) study provides support for both spatial assimilation and place stratification models. In support of spatial assimilation, the author finds that higher socioeconomic status (i.e., higher education and income) translates into more integrated neighborhoods for blacks. However, these findings also offer support for the "weak version" of place stratification model. Though blacks do experience significant returns to their socioeconomic status, they still tend to live in more segregated neighborhoods (Adelman 2005). Adelman (2005) also finds that black homeowners seem to be forced to purchase homes in more segregated neighborhoods, despite their preference for more integrated neighborhoods, supporting the notion of the dual-housing market.

Crowder, Pais and South (2012) find that relative income and education increase the likelihood of moving into a more integrated neighborhood compared to an isolated neighborhood for blacks. The authors also find that the racial-ethnic composition of respondents' neighborhoods of origin predicted the composition of their destination neighborhoods, with those originating in integrated neighborhoods more likely to move into majority white neighborhoods (Crowder, Pais and South 2012). South and Crowder (1998) examine sources of mobility between predominantly black, predominantly white, and racially-mixed neighborhoods for black and white movers. They find especially low rates of movement from predominantly black and mixed neighborhoods to predominantly white neighborhoods among black respondents, with a very high probability (.917) of mobility to another predominantly black tract for those who originated in a predominantly black tract. Blacks had much higher rates of moves from predominantly white neighborhoods to predominantly black or mixed tracts. Whites had a much higher rate of mobility out of non-white neighborhoods, with predominantly white neighborhoods as the modal destination (South and Crowder 1998). Though these findings support the place stratification model, the authors also find that respondents who are highly educated and married are more likely to move to a white neighborhood than others (South and Crowder 1998).

Mobility over the Life Course: Though many of these studies have been longitudinal, few have examined changes in neighborhood racial and ethnic composition from a life course and inter-generational perspective. Thus we do not yet know the extent to which neighborhood contexts in adolescence, which reflect parental locational attainments, shape adult locational outcomes, particularly with respect to racial and ethnic integration. Nor do we fully understand the relative roles of the socioeconomic status of parents versus the achieved human capital of the next generation in facilitating changes in neighborhood integration. Older studies within this literature also fail to capture the influence of new locational trends such as the emergence of global neighborhoods (Logan and Zhang 2010), or increasing segregation by education (Domina 2006; Massey, Rothwell, and Domina 2009).

Studies of change within the life course often seek to identify transitions or turning points that might redirect previous life course trajectories. In studies focused more on neighborhood socioeconomic attainments (e.g., poverty), adult transitions such as post-secondary educational completion, or the simple fact of residential mobility have received attention (Sharkey 2008; Sharkey 2012; Swisher, Kuhl, and Chavez 2013). Less attention has been paid within contemporary research to the role of adult transitions such as family formation (e.g., marriage, childrearing), although several studies offer insights as to why this line of inquiry may be important. For example, Iceland et al. (2010) examined how household composition was related to metropolitan segregation. Using data from the 2000 census, the authors found that white households with children were more segregated from minority households than white households in general. Important life events in early adulthood such as partnering and childbearing are likely to influence neighborhood mobility, especially among whites with young children (Goyette et al. 2014). Thus, a task for researchers is to elucidate the mechanisms in adolescence and early adulthood which allow for both stable residence in integrated contexts and retreat into segregated neighborhoods.

The Present Study

The primary goal of the present study is to understand how human capital, family, and neighborhood-of-origin characteristics predict mobility into integrated neighborhoods among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Using data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health, we are able to analyze characteristics of individuals in both adolescence and early adulthood which bear on their mobility outcomes. Moving away from a simplistic white/black dichotomy, we use neighborhood typologies developed by Fasenfest et al. (2004) to capture the growing raical and ethnic diversity of neighborhoods in the United States. Consistent with the place stratification model, we hypothesize differential effects of human capital for individual mobility across racial groups. Among whites, it is expected that human capital characteristics are translated into moves away from racial integration and into advantaged, predominantly white neighborhoods.

For blacks and Hispanics, we expect increases in human capital to be associated with moves out of racially-isolated neighborhoods into more integrated contexts. In line with research that has provided evidence of a "dual-housing market" for blacks, we expect that homeownership will increase the likelihood that blacks move into, or stay in predominantly black tracts. In line

with previous evidence, we expect that the racial-ethnic composition of respondents' neighborhood of origin will be predictive of the composition of their destination neighborhoods, with the expectation that human capital for whites originating in integrated tracts will translate to mobility into predominantly white tracts, and that these resources will translate into more integrated residential contexts for blacks and Hispanics who originate in racially isolated neighborhoods (Crowder, Pais and South 2012).

Data and Methods

The data for the present study come from the in-home interviews and contextual databases of Waves I and IV of the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Add Health), a nationally-representative sample of 7th to 12th grade students in the United States beginning in 1995 (Bearman, Jones and Udry 1997). Apart from the benefits of its longitudinal design, Add Health affords us the advantage of a large sample of Hispanic respondents to include in our analyses, which is not possible in data sets routinely used in the locational attainment literature, such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (Swisher, Kuhl and Chavez 2013). The sampling frame included high schools and feeder middle schools (those that sent graduates to the high schools) stratified into 80 clusters by region, size, urbanicity, school type, race, grade span, and curriculum. At Wave I, 20,745 respondents in grades 7-12 were drawn from school rosters and completed in-home interviews in 1995. At Wave IV, 15,701 of the respondents who completed Wave I in-home interviews were re-interviewed in 2008-2009, at ages 24-32.

In line with the locational attainment literature, we define the respondents' neighborhood as the census tract in which they live. Neighborhood data from the Add Health Wave I contextual database (Billy, Wenzlow and William Grady 1997) links 1990 decennial Census data to in-home interviews. Neighborhood data at Wave IV comes from the US Census Bureau's 2009 American Community Survey (Morales and Monbureau 2013). We limit our analyses to those respondents with in-home interviews at both Waves I and IV, and those who are not missing on geographical identifiers. We further restrict our sample to include only movers – those who no longer live in the tract they lived in during adolescence, and those who do not live with their parents at Wave IV. Analyses are weighted to account for the design of Add Health. Missing data is dealt with using chained multiple imputation in Stata, and results are combined across 25 imputations. Our final analytical sample size is 10,619.

Measurement

Neighborhood typologies: We use a set of neighborhood racial-ethnic composition typologies developed by Fasenfest et al. (2004) to capture emergent patterns of residential integration as our outcome at Wave IV, and to facilitate descriptive statistics and to serve as a control at Wave I. As most researchers who have used these typologies have used only data up to 2000, we modify the thresholds for each racial group to accommodate the presence of additional groups in the 2009 ACS (i.e., American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2 or more races). The original formulation of these typologies includes seven separate types, though we collapse these down to five, in a manner similar to that of Crowder, Pais and South (2012).

The seven types include *predominantly white,* comprised of 65% or more whites, with no other racial group over 10%. *Predominantly black* tracts are those where blacks comprise at least 50% of the tract, and no other minority group represents more than 10% of the tract. *Predominantly other* tracts are those where either Hispanics or Asians constitute at least 50% of the tract, and the share of blacks is no greater than 10%. *Mixed white-other* tracts are those in which Hispanics, Asians, or other (non-black) races represent between 10% and 50% of the tract, and blacks constitute no more than 10%. *Mixed black-white* tracts are those in which the share of blacks is between 10%-50%, the share of whites is at least 30%, and no single other minority group represents more than 10% of the tract. *Mixed black-other* tracts include at least 10% black, at least 10% other non-white groups, and less than 40% white. Finally, *mixed multiethnic* tracts are those in which there are at least 10% black, at least 10% Hispanic, Asian or other races, and at least 40% white. We exclude cases where the *predominantly* other category includes a proportion of Native Americans greater than or equal to 50%, as these represent a unique residential context of their own and there are too few to analyze independently (N=5).

In analyzing the actual proportions of each of these typologies, and their quality according to a range of indicators of neighborhood disadvantage/advantage, we found it beneficial to collapse several similar categories. In line with the modifications of Crowder, Pais and South (2012) we collapse *predominantly white* with *mixed white-other* tracts (*white/white-other* henceforth), and we collapse *mixed black-other* with *mixed multiethnic* (*black-other/multi* henceforth). Unlike Crowder, Pais and South (2012), we retain the *predominantly other* category as a distinct neighborhood type, both because our sample provides enough statistical power to do so, and because this type of neighborhood appears to be distinct from others when indicators of disadvantage/advantage are taken into account. Figures 1 and 2 show the mean proportions of each race in each typology in the sample at Wave IV and illustrates the effect of collapsing categories.

We control for several neighborhood characteristics measured at Wave I. *Neighborhood poverty* is taken as the proportion of persons in the respondents' tract with income below the 1989 official poverty level. *Urbanicity* is the proportion inside an urbanized area and *rural* is the proportion rural in the respondents' census tract. Given the relative lack of diversity in the distribution of adolescents across neighborhood types at Wave I (particularly among whites), we include a dummy variable, *Racial-ethnic composition* coded 0 for neighborhoods that are predominantly the respondents' own race, and 1 for all other neighborhood types.

We control for several individual demographic characteristics. *Age* is the respondents age at Wave I, *Female* is a dummy where 0 equals male, *Foreign Born* indicates the nativity of the respondent where a value of 1 indicates the respondent was born outside of the US. We also include variables which tap the family characteristics of respondents at Wave I. *Family SES* combines parent's occupational level and parent's education in a single scale (Ford, Bearman and Moody 1999). Parent's education was measured by parent reports, with categories from "never went to school" to "professional training beyond a 4-year college" which are then converted into years of completed schooling. Parent's occupational level was a categorical variable of the parent's type of employment, collapsed into categories that include professional,

managerial or technical, and service. We also include a measure of family structure, *Two Biological Parents,* which is a dummy where a value of 1 indicates the respondent lived with both biological parents at Wave I, and a value of 0 represents all other family types. We measure the respondents' race-ethnicity with self-reports from the Wave I in-home interviews. Mutually exclusive categories include *non-Hispanic white* (N= 8,566)*, non-Hispanic black* (N=3,433)*, and Hispanic* (N=2,498)*.* Asians, Native Americans, and those of other races are excluded due to small sample sizes.

Several independent variables are derived from the in-home interviews at Wave IV. We capture the respondents' educational attainment with a set of dummy variables: *no high school, some college, college plus.* Here, the reference category indicates the respondent has completed a high school education. *Some college* includes associates degrees, vocational degrees, and some college education. *College plus* includes respondents who have attained a bachelor's degree or more. *Homeowner* is a dummy variable where a value of 1 indicates the respondent owns their home. *Welfare* is a dummy indicating the respondent receives some form of public assistance. *Income* is a measure of household income from the previous year, measured as a quasi-continuous variable where the midpoints of each income category were converted to continuous incomes. For example, less than $5000 is converted to 2500.

To capture family structure at Wave IV, we include the dummy variables *married, cohabiting,* and *has children.* The reference category for marital status is being single, and the reference category for *has children* indicates the respondent does not have children. We include dummy measures of the distance, in miles, the respondent lives from their home in Wave I, measured at Wave IV. These include *6-10 mi, 11-25 mi, 26-100 mi, 101-300 mi,* and *300 mi,* where the reference category is a distance of 1-5 miles.

Analytic Strategy

We estimate the likelihood of residence in *white/white other, predominantly black, predominantly other, mixed black-white, black-other/multiethnic* neighborhoods at Wave IV when respondents are in early adulthood, between the ages of 24 and 32. To parse out the differential effects of our independent variables for residential outcomes by race, we use multinomial logit models stratified by individuals' race-ethnicity (i.e. White, black, and Hispanic), where the base outcome for each group is the neighborhood type that is predominantly the respondents' own race. We present only the full models, which also control for age, gender, and tract proportion urban/rural as there is little change in either the magnitude or significance of effects across models. Results are presented as odds ratios to aid interpretation.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive tables are provided in the Appendix. Table 1 provides a mobility matrix showing the distribution of respondents across Wave IV neighborhood types by neighborhood of origin at Wave I. These descriptive findings suggest that in the overall sample of movers, respondents largely reproduce the racial-ethnic composition of their adolescent neighborhoods in

early adulthood, consistent with much of Sharkey's (2008; 2012) work on the intergenerational transmission of residential contexts.

Table 2 shows indicators of neighborhood (dis)advantage by neighborhood type at Wave IV. These findings reflect those of other studies (e.g. Peterson and Krivo 2010), which find that predominantly black neighborhoods have the highest levels of disadvantage, white neighborhoods have the highest levels of advantage, and mixed or multiethnic neighborhoods fall somewhere in between. Here it is also important to note the utility of retaining the *predominantly other* neighborhood type as high shares of foreign-born individuals (47%) and linguistic isolation (28.5%) align with what we could consider an ethnic enclave.

Multivariate Mobility Models: Whites

The models for whites are presented in Table 3, where the base outcome is residence in a *white/white-other* tract. Though family background characteristics are not significant, features of white respondents' neighborhoods in adolescence are predictive of neighborhood racial-ethnic composition in adulthood. As neighborhood poverty at Wave I increases, the odds of living in a *black/white* tract increases by a factor of 1.056 compared to a *white/white-other* tract. In addition, whites who lived in a tract with a racial-ethnic composition of any type other than *white/white-other* at Wave I have a much greater likelihood of living in any type of non-white tract at Wave IV, compared to those whose neighborhood-of-origin was a *white/white-other* tract. For example, residence in any non-white neighborhood type at Wave 1 is associated with a 2.617 increase in the odds of living in a *multiethnic* neighborhood at Wave IV, and a 4.744 increase in the odds of residence in a *predominantly other* neighborhood at Wave IV.

Table 1.
Multinomial Logistic Model of Neighborhood Racial Composition at Wave IV: Whites
Base outcome = *White/White-other*

	Pred. Black	Pred. Other	Black / White	Black-Other / Multiethnic
Family Variables (W1)				
Two Bio Parents	0.879	1.512 †	1.074	0.925
Family SES	1.030	1.026	1.034	0.984
Neighborhood Poverty	1.051	0.956	1.056 **	0.993
Racial Composition	3.860 ***	4.744 ***	4.139 ***	2.617 ***
Human Capital (W4)				
< High School	2.700 **	1.982	1.020	0.879
Some College	1.064	2.273 †	0.965	0.934
College or more	1.613	2.542 *	0.953	0.872
Income	0.996	1.002	0.997 *	1.001
Emerging Adult Statuses (W4)				
Married	0.919	1.451	0.896	0.752 †
Cohabiting	1.014	1.080	0.952	0.969
Has Child	0.901	0.488 *	0.802 *	0.904
Homeowner	0.910	0.812	1.153	0.848
Welfare Receipt	1.167	1.989	1.211	1.309 †
W1 to W4 Distance Moved (miles)				
26-100mi	1.296	0.808	1.116	1.008
101-300mi	1.054	1.499	0.966	1.508 †
300+ mi	1.529	3.178 **	1.028	2.198 ***
Constant	0.001 ***	0.019 *	0.115 **	0.051 ***

*** p < .001 ** p < .01 * p < .05 †p < .10
Note: Model controls for age, gender, urban / rural. Odds Ratios presented.
N = 6,741

Human capital characteristics are somewhat predictive of residence in non-white neighborhoods among whites. First, each thousand dollar increase in household income for whites reduce the odds of living in a *black-white* tract compared to a *white/white other* tract at Wave IV (OR = -0.997, p < .05). This finding is in line with hypotheses derived from the human capital perspective, in that increasing income for whites reduces their likelihood of sharing neighborhoods with blacks, compared to more segregated, majority-white neighborhoods. Whites with less than a high school education are more likely than high school educated whites to live in predominantly black neighborhoods (OR = 2.7, p < .01). Whites with a college degree or higher are more likely to live in a *predominantly other* neighborhood at Wave IV (OR 2.542, p < .05) compared to those with a high school education alone.

Family structure variables which capture emerging adulthood statuses seem to matter little for whites, aside from having a child. Respondents with children at Wave IV have lower

odds of living in *predominantly other* (OR = 0.488, p < .05) and *black/white* (OR = 0.802, p < .05) neighborhoods compared to *white/white-other* neighborhoods. Apart from a marginally significant negative effect of marriage on mobility into *multiethnic* neighborhoods, relationship status is not a predictor of mobility for whites. Likewise, homeownership and welfare receipt did not emerge as significant predictors of white neighborhood mobility. The distance between Wave I and Wave IV residences seems to matter for whites, with moves of 300 or more miles positively associated with increased odds of white residence in both *predominantly other* (OR = 3.178, p <.001) and *black-other/multiethnic* tracts (OR = 2.198, p <.001) compared to *white/white-other* tracts.

Multivariate Mobility Models: Blacks

The results for blacks can be found in Table 2. Net of human capital, demographic, and adult status characteristics, neighborhood-of-origin contexts are particularly salient for blacks. As neighborhood poverty at Wave I increases, the odds of residence in any neighborhood type other than *predominantly black* at Wave IV decreases significantly, though the effect of neighborhood poverty on moves into *predominantly other* tracts is not statistically significant. As with whites, living in any neighborhood type other than *predominantly black* at Wave I dramatically increases the odds of moves into more integrated neighborhoods, apart from *predominantly other* tracts.

Table 2.

Multinomial Logistic Model of Neighborhood Racial Composition at Wave IV: Blacks

Base outcome = *Predominantly black*

	Pred. Other	White / White-Other	Black / White	Black-Other / Multiethnic
Background & Family Variables				
Two Bio Parents	2.881	1.820 **	1.557 †	1.009
Family SES	0.987	0.968	0.964	0.982
Neighborhood Characteristics (W1)				
Neighborhood Poverty	0.956	0.892 **	0.910 ***	0.878 ***
Racial Composition	3.940 †	2.849 **	1.611 *	2.301 **
Human Capital (W4)				
< High School	0.626	1.190	0.684	0.641
Some College	2.803	1.885 *	1.068	1.444
College or more	5.259	2.275 *	0.965	2.055 *
Income	1.010	1.003	1.003	1.005
Emerging Adult Statuses (W4)				
Married	1.992	2.336 *	1.444 †	1.477
Cohabiting	1.327	1.120	0.777	1.052
Has Child	1.046	0.725	0.986	1.131
Homeowner	0.132 **	0.737	0.917	0.595 *
Welfare Receipt	0.731	1.361	1.239	1.309
W1 to W4 Distance Moved (miles)				
26-100mi	0.520	2.598 *	2.026 *	1.632
101-300mi	0.527	3.906 **	2.917 **	5.265 **
300+ mi	1.517	3.183 **	1.527	4.305 **
Constant	0.001 *	0.171	15.725 *	5.038

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$ †$p < .10$

Note: Model controls for age, gender, urban/rural. Odds Ratios Presented.

N = 2,246

Similar to whites, the human capital characteristics of black respondents do little to predict the racial-ethnic composition of their destination neighborhoods at Wave IV. However, in line with the spatial assimilation and human capital perspectives, those with some college and a college degree or more are more likely to live in *white/white other* neighborhoods (OR = 1.885, 2.275, respectively; $p < .05$). Additionally, blacks with a college degree or higher are more likely than those with a high school education alone to reside in *multiethnic* tracts (OR = 2.055, $p < .05$).

Among black respondents, family structure characteristics at both waves are predictive of residence in *white/white-other* tracts and *black/white* neighborhoods. Blacks who grew up with two biological parents in the home at Wave I have higher odds than those in other family types to live in *white/white-other* tracts at Wave IV (OR = 1.820, $p < .01$), and those who were married by Wave IV are more likely than others to move into *white/white-other* tracts compared to

predominantly black tracts (OR = 2.336, p < .05). Note that these effects are mirrored (though of a smaller magnitude and only marginally significant) in the equations predicting residence in *black/white* tracts.

Consistent with the notion of the dual-housing market, homeownership decreases the odds of living in tract types other than *predominantly black*, though this negative association is only significant as a predictor of residence in *predominantly other* and *multiethnic* tracts (OR = 0.132; 0.595, respectively). Model estimates indicate that moves of any distance (where the reference is 25 miles or less) from the adolescent home is associated with an increase in the odds of residence in any tract type other than *predominantly black,* apart from *predominantly other* tracts. Thus, the model for blacks provide some support for locational attainment perspectives.

Hispanics: The results for Hispanics can be found in Table 3, where the base outcome is residence in *predominantly other* neighborhoods. The model for Hispanics indicates a different set of characteristics predicting residence in more diverse neighborhoods. Neighborhood poverty seems less important for Hispanic respondents, though it is positively associated with living in a *predominantly black* tract at Wave IV (OR = 1.136; p < .05), and marginally reduces the odds of living in a *white/white-other* tract at Wave IV though this coefficient is only marginally significant (OR = 0.936, p <.1). As with whites and blacks, living in any type of neighborhood besides *predominantly other* at Wave I increases the odds of living in a more diverse neighborhood at Wave IV.

Table 3.
Multinomial Logistic Model of Neighborhood Racial Composition at Wave IV: Hispanics
Base outcome = *Predominantly other*

	Pred. Black	White / White-Other	Black / White	Black-Other / Multiethnic
Background & Family Variables				
Foreign Born	0.132 *	0.487 *	0.729	0.733
Two Bio Parents	0.442	0.801	0.457 †	0.789
Family SES	1.239	1.114 *	1.181 *	1.098 †
Neighborhood Characteristics (W1)				
Neighborhood Poverty	1.136 *	0.936 †	0.987	0.980
Racial Composition	6.052 *	3.509 ***	9.233 **	2.032 *
Human Capital (W4)				
< High School	0.000 ***	1.582	0.713	1.268
Some College	9.756 *	2.124 **	1.437	2.024 *
College or more	19.239 *	1.894 †	2.508	1.891 †
Income	0.961 ***	1.000	0.999	1.000
Emerging Adult Statuses (W4)				
Married	5.282	1.184	0.845	0.910
Cohabiting	3.013	1.485	2.218	1.503
Has Child	0.271	0.717	0.902	0.956
Homeowner	11.545 *	1.380	5.004 ***	1.458
Welfare Receipt	0.409	0.794	1.306	0.562 †
W1 to W4 Distance Moved (miles)				
26-100mi	1.728	2.290	0.922	2.597 †
101-300mi	6.586	3.096 **	3.323	3.604 **
300+ mi	0.331	2.603 *	4.391 **	1.993
Constant	0.000 **	1.040	0.027	0.592

*** p < .001 ** p < .01 * p < .05 †p < .10
Note: Model controls for age, gender, urban/rural. Odds Ratios presented.
N = 1,632

We include an indicator for nativity, *foreign born,* in the model for Hispanics. Foreign born Hispanics are less likely than native-born Hispanics to move to a *predominantly black* tract (OR = 0.132, p < .05) or a *white/white-other* tract (OR = 0.487, p < .05) compared to a *predominantly other* tract. Though the estimates of the effect of foreign born status on residence in *black-white* or *multiethnic* neighborhoods is not statistically significant, the effect is in the theoretically expected negative direction. Unlike the models for whites and blacks, family SES is a significant predictor of mobility outcomes for Hispanics, a finding consistent with the spatial assimilation perspective. Increasing family SES increases the odds of residence in *white/white-other* tracts (OR = 1.114, p < .05), *black/white* tracts (OR = 1.181, p < .05), and *multiethnic* tracts (OR = 1.098, p < .1).

Also consistent with spatial assimilation is the finding that educational attainment is a salient factor for Hispanics. Educational attainment above that of a high school education is positively associated with residence in more diverse neighborhoods in adulthood, with the exception of *black/white* neighborhoods. Here we find support for the human capital perspective, where gains in educational attainment for Hispanics are associated with a greater likelihood of living in more integrated areas in adulthood. Specifically, having some college or a college degree is associated with an increase in the odds of residence in *predominantly black* tracts by a factor of 9.756 and 19.239, respectively. Having some college is a significant and positive predictor of residence in *white/white-other* (OR = 2.124, p<.01) and *multiethnic* tracts (OR = 2.024, p<.01). Income is largely inconsequential among Hispanics, though increases in income are associated with a decrease in the odds of Hispanic residence in *predominantly black* tracts (OR = 0.961, p<.001). Homeownership appears to increase the likelihood of living in any tract that is not predominantly other, though the effect is only significant for entry into *black-white* tracts (OR = 5.004, p<.05) and *predominantly black* neighborhoods (OR = 11.545, p<.001). Moves of long distances predict residence in *white/white-other, black/white,* and *multiethnic* tracts.

Discussion and Conclusion

This paper has contributed to the locational attainment literature by employing a life course perspective to examine changes in neighborhood racial-ethnic compositions between adolescence and young adulthood, and assessing hypotheses drawn from the spatial assimilation and place stratification perspectives. Altogether, these findings provide partial support for both perspectives. By applying the locational attainment framework to the study of neighborhood racial-ethnic contexts, we make clearer the factors which bear on individual mobility and contribute to broader patterns of neighborhood racial-ethnic composition. Our findings also indicate the importance of considering how life course characteristics influence mobility. Indeed, adolescent neighborhood contexts, family resources, and life course transitions in early adulthood emerge as significant predictors of mobility for young adults. While our study in many ways serves to further substantiate Sharkey's (2012) claims of the durability of neighborhood inequality, our study design allows insight into the mechanisms which foster mobility out of racially-isolated contexts among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Developing a more nuanced understanding of these factors is crucial, given the social consequences of residential segregation.

Support for Spatial Assimilation/Human Capital Perspectives: Our findings regarding human capital among Hispanics and blacks provide some support for the spatial assimilation perspective. For Hispanics, increasing educational attainment is associated with residence in all neighborhood types apart from *black-white* compared to *predominantly other,* and increasing income reduces the likelihood that Hispanics will live in *predominantly black* tracts in adulthood. For blacks, higher educational attainments are predictive of residence in both *white/white-other* and *multiethnic* compared to *black* neighborhoods. Among white respondents, we find support for the human capital perspective, which applies the propositions of the spatial assimilation model to residential sorting by racial-ethnic composition. For example, increasing income among

whites reduces the likelihood of residence in *black/white* neighborhoods, and those with less than a high school education are more likely to reside in *black* neighborhoods. In sum, forms of advantage predict residence in more diverse neighborhoods for blacks and Hispanics, while it is largely disadvantage which predicts residence in these neighborhoods for whites.

Support for Place Stratification: We find support for the place stratification perspective in the models for blacks. In contrast to previous studies (e.g. Crowder, Pais and South 2012), socioeconomic characteristics appear to matter little for the mobility of blacks as income and welfare receipt did not emerge as significant predictors of mobility into more diverse neighborhoods. Additionally, we find that homeownership among blacks reduces the likelihood of living in non-black neighborhoods, with statistically significant associations for residence in *predominantly other* and *multiethnic* neighborhoods. This finding is consistent with the notion of the dual-housing market, where discriminatory practices inhibit the ability of blacks to attain residential contexts similar to that of their white counterparts. It is interesting to note that this association was present for blacks but not Hispanics, whose homeownership is actually associated with an increase in the likelihood of residence in more diverse neighborhoods.

Life Course Perspective: Our findings indicate that adolescent residential contexts as well as family and life course transition variables are associated with residence in diverse neighborhoods across racial-ethnic groups. Family SES in adolescence emerged as a significant predictor among Hispanics, where increasing SES is associated with an increased likelihood of residence in all neighborhood types apart from *predominantly black* compared to *predominantly other.* We find that advantage in the form of having grown up with two biological parents present and being married in early adulthood is predictive of residence in more diverse neighborhoods among blacks. For whites, having children in early adulthood decreases the likelihood of residence in both *predominantly other* and *black/white* tracts, a finding similar to that of other recent studies (e.g. Iceland et al 2010; Goyette et al 2014).

The adolescent neighborhood context proved to be an important predictor for all groups. Growing up in impoverished neighborhoods reduces the likelihood that blacks live in diverse contexts in early adulthood, supporting the notion of an intergenerational transmission of disadvantaged residential contexts (Sharkey 2008). For Hispanics and whites, neighborhood poverty in adolescence increases the likelihood of residence in neighborhoods with large proportions of black residents, perhaps reflecting the economic disadvantage of these neighborhoods relative to other types. Additionally, neighborhood poverty reduces the likelihood Hispanics will live in *white/white-other* neighborhoods, though the association is only marginally significant. We also find that the racial-ethnic composition of respondents' adolescent neighborhood is a strong predictor across groups, as those who grew up in neighborhoods that were not predominantly their own race were more likely to live in diverse contexts in early adulthood. Finally, we find that simply moving greater distances from origin neighborhoods increases the likelihood that young adults live in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods in later life.

In sum, these findings provide some support for the locational attainment model and indicate the importance of considering both life course characteristics and the adolescent

neighborhood context in longitudinal studies of individual neighborhood mobility. The magnitude and significance of the effect of the racial-ethnic composition of Wave I tracts on mobility outcomes across groups and outcomes indicates that residential racial isolation in adolescence is particularly detrimental to the likelihood that individuals move to more racially- and ethnically-heterogeneous contexts in adulthood. Future research should examine how exposure to racially- and ethnically-diverse contexts influences future sorting into neighborhoods of more or less integration.

Though other research has demonstrated the importance of metropolitan area characteristics in shaping individual-level mobility outcomes (e.g. Crowder, Pais and South 2012), the present study could not examine these factors, though we do control for the proportion urban or rural at Wave IV. Future research should examine how the factors considered in this study influence mobility within the context of place-based opportunity and constraint. Given the few predictors which distinguish residence in white versus non-white neighborhoods among white respondents, future research should examine other factors which may influence white residence in contexts which are racially-integrated or comprised mostly of other groups. Future research should also seek to understand the mechanisms by which moves of greater geographic distance increase the likelihood that individuals live in neighborhoods not dominated by residents of their own race-ethnicity.
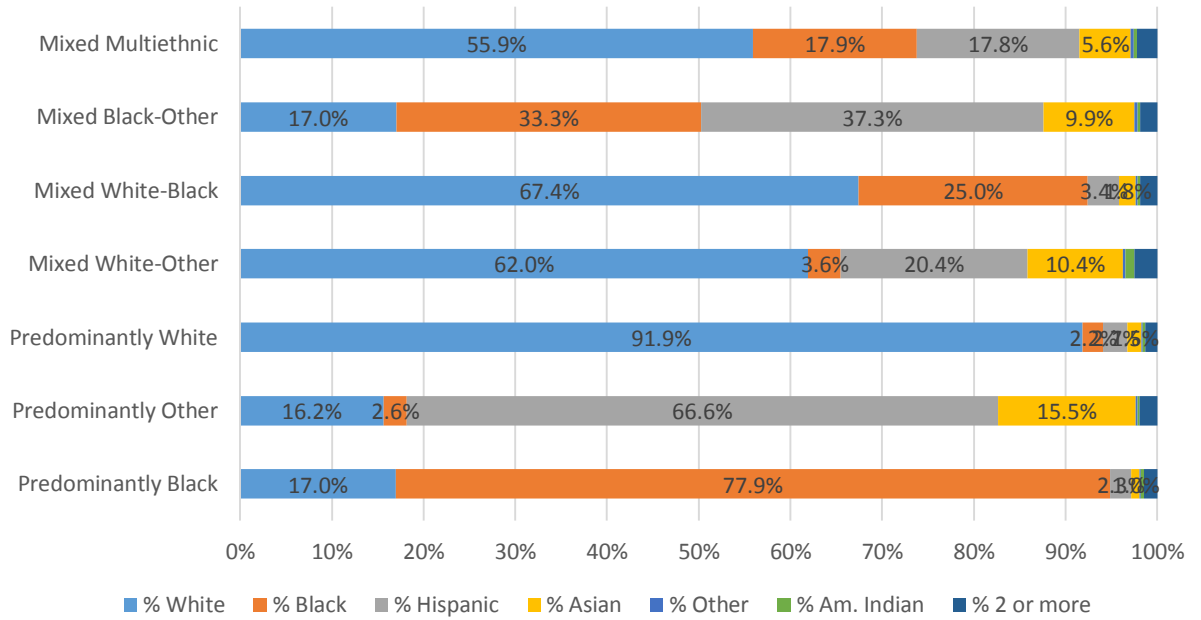
Appendix.

Figure 1. Wave IV Original Typologies
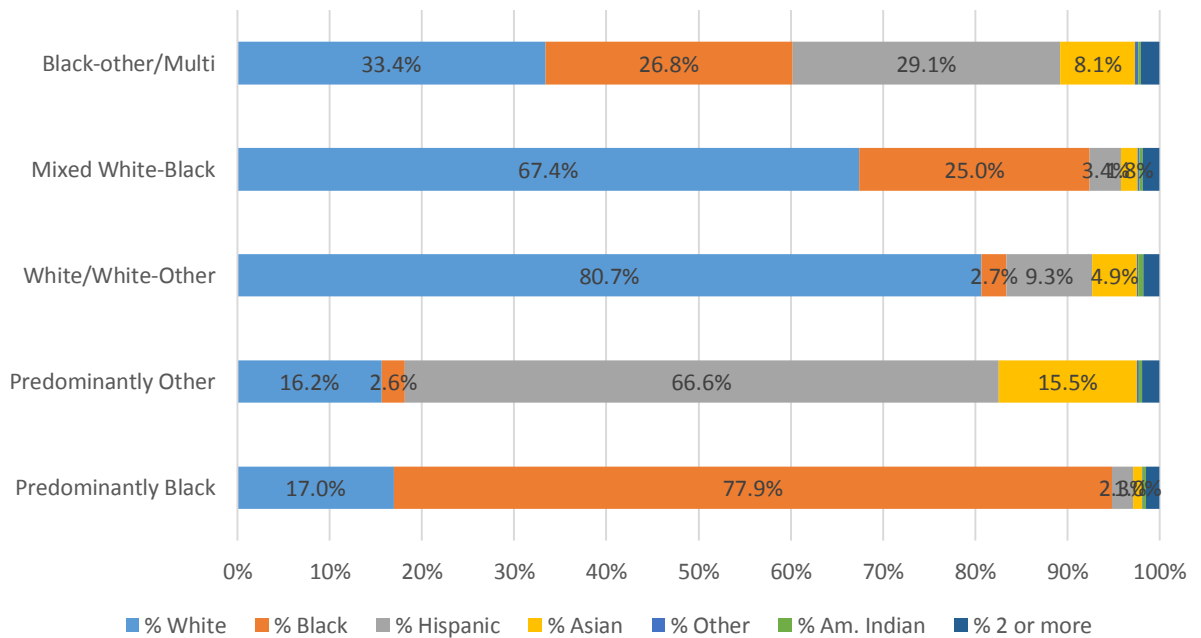

Figure 1. Wave IV Original Typologies

Category	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	% Other	% Am. Indian	% 2 or more
Mixed Multiethnic	55.9%	17.9%	17.8%	5.6%			
Mixed Black-Other	17.0%	33.3%	37.3%	9.9%			
Mixed White-Black	67.4%	25.0%	3.4%	1.8%			
Mixed White-Other	62.0%	3.6%	20.4%	10.4%			
Predominantly White	91.9%	2.2%	2.1%	1.5%			
Predominantly Other	16.2%	2.6%	66.6%	15.5%			
Predominantly Black	17.0%	77.9%	2.3%	1.7%			

Figure 2. Wave IV Collapsed Typologies

Figure 2. Wave IV Collapsed Typologies

Category	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian	% Other	% Am. Indian	% 2 or more
Black-other/Multi	33.4%	26.8%	29.1%	8.1%			
Mixed White-Black	67.4%	25.0%	3.4%	1.8%			
White/White-Other	80.7%	2.7%	9.3%	4.9%			
Predominantly Other	16.2%	2.6%	66.6%	15.5%			
Predominantly Black	17.0%	77.9%	2.3%	1.7%			

Table 1. Overall Mobility between Waves I & IV

		Wave IV Destination Neighborhood				
		Predominantly black	Predominantly Other	white/ white-Other	Mixed black-white	black-Other/ Multi
Wave I Origin Neighborhood	Predominantly black	808 *47.0%*	24 *1.4%*	166 *9.7%*	366 *21.3%*	356 *20.7%*
	Predominantly Other	8 *1.0%*	438 *54.3%*	176 *21.8%*	16 *2.0%*	169 *20.9%*
	white/ white-Other	146 *1.6%*	414 *4.6%*	6,394 *71.5%*	991 *11.1%*	1,000 *11.2%*
	black-white	234 *12.8%*	12 *0.7%*	437 *24.0%*	790 *43.4%*	349 *19.2%*
	black-Other/ Multi	98 *8.2%*	110 *9.1%*	313 *26.0%*	105 *8.7%*	577 *48.0%*
	Total	1294	998	7486	2268	2451

Note: Numbers are cell counts and percentages are row percentages

Table 2. Wave IV Disadvantage/Advantage Indicators by Neighborhood Type

	Predominantly black	Predominantly Other	white/ white-Other	Mixed black-white	black-Other/ Multiethnic
<High School	22.0%	34.9%	12.2%	15.0%	21.1%
Unemployment	15.3%	11.4%	6.4%	8.5%	9.0%
Public Income Receipt	4.1%	6.5%	2.0%	2.6%	3.3%
Homeownership	56.2%	58.3%	69.9%	64.9%	51.8%
Foreign Born	3.9%	47.0%	9.1%	4.6%	22.2%
Ling. Isolation	1.1%	28.5%	3.0%	1.4%	9.7%
Median HH Inc	35945.89	53251.08	58842.12	45861.32	48651.06
College +	17.0%	22.5%	29.1%	24.3%	22.2%

Note: Entries are mean Census tract percentages

References

Acevedo-Garcia, D., Osypuk, T. L., McArdle, N., & Williams, D. R. (2008). Toward a policy-relevant analysis of geographic and racial/ethnic disparities in child health. *Health Affairs (Project Hope), 27*(2), 321-333. doi: 10.1377/hlthaff.27.2.321

Adelman, R. M. (2005). The roles of race, class, and residential preferences in the neighborhood racial composition of middle-class blacks and whites. *Social Science Quarterly, 86*(1), 209-228.

Adelman, R. M., Hui-Shien, T., & Tolnay, S. E. (2001). Neighborhood Disadvantage Among Racial and Ethnic Groups: Residential Location in 1970 and 1980. *Sociological Quarterly, 42*(4), 603.

Alba, R. D., Denton, N. A., Leung, S. Y. J., & Logan, J. R. (1995). Neighborhood change under conditions of mass immigration: the New York City region, 1970-1990. *The International Migration Review, 29*(111), 625-656.

Alba, R. D., & Logan, J. R. (1991). Variations on Two Themes: Racial and Ethnic Patterns in the Attainment of Suburban Residence. *Demography, 28*(3), 431-454.

Alba, R. D., and J. R. Logan. 1992. Analyzing Locational Attainments: Constructing Individual-Level Regressions Using Aggregate Data. *Sociological Methods and Research 20*:367–97.

Alba, R. D., & Logan, J. R. (1993). Minority Proximity to whites in Suburbs: An individual-Level Analysis of Segregation. *American Journal of Sociology, 98*(6), 1388.

Alba, R. D., Logan, J. R., & Stults, B. J. (2000). How segregated are middle-class African Americans? *Social Problems, 47*(4), 543-558.

Bearman, P., Jones, J. & Udry, J.R. 1997. The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health: Research Design [WWW document]. Available at: http://www.cpc.unc.edu/projects/addhealth/design.html.

Billy, J., Wenzlow, A. & Grady, W. 1997. User Documentation for the Add Health Contextual Database. Seattle, WA: Battelle.

Bruch, E. E. (2014). How Population Structure Shapes Neighborhood Segregation. *American Journal of Sociology, 119*(5), 1221-1278. doi: 10.1086/675411

Charles, C.Z. (2003). The dynamics of racial residential segregation. *American Sociological Review, 29*, 167-207.

Charles, C.Z. 2006. *Won't You Be My Neighbor? Race, Class, and Residence in Los Angeles.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Cort, D. A. (2011). Reexamining the ethnic hierarchy of locational attainment: Evidence from Los Angeles. *Social Science Research, 40*, 1521-1533.

Crowder, K., Chavez, E., & South, S. J. (2006). Wealth, race, and inter-neighborhood migration. *American Sociological Review, 71*(February), 72-94.

Crowder, K., & Downey, L. (2010). Interneighborhood Migration, Race, and Environmental Hazards: Modeling Microlevel Processes of Environmental Inequality. *American Journal of Sociology, 115*(4), 1110-1149.

Crowder, K., Hall, M., & Tolnay, S. E. (2011). Neighborhood Immigration and Native Out-Migration. *American Sociological Review, 76*(1), 25-47.

Crowder, K., Pais, J., & South, S. J. (2012). Neighborhood diversity, metropolitan constraints, and household migration. *American Sociological Review, 77*(3), 325-353.

Crowder, K. D. (2001). Racial stratification in the actuation of mobility expectations : Microlevel impacts of racially restrictive housing markets. *Social Forces, 79*(4), 1377-1396.

Dawkins, C. J. (2005). Evidence on the intergenerational persistence of residential segregation by race. *Urban Studies, 42*(3), 545-555.

Denton, N. A., & Massey, D. S. (1991). Patterns of Neighborhood. Transition in a Multiethnic World: U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1980. *Demography, 28*(1), 41-63.

Domina, T. (2006). What Clean Break?: Education and Nonmetropolitan Migration Patterns, 1989-2004. *Rural Sociology, 71*(3), 373-398.

Emerson, M. O., Chai, K. J., & Yancey, G. (2001). Does race matter in residential segregation? Exploring the preferences of white Americans. *American Journal of Sociology, 66*(6), 922-935.

Farley, R., Steeh, C., Krysan, M., Jackson, T., & Reeves, K. (1994). Stereotypes and Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area. *American Journal of Sociology, 100*(3), 750.

Farrell, C. R., & Lee, B. E. (2011). Racial diversity and change in metropolitan neighborhoods. *Social Science Research, 40*, 1108-1123.

Fasenfest, David, Jason Booza, and Kurt Metzger. 2004. *Living Together: A New Look at Racial and Ethnic Integration in Metropolitan Neighborhoods, 1990–2000.* Washington, DC: Brookings.

Fitzpatrick, Kevin, LaGory, Mark, 2000. Unhealthy Places: The Ecology of Risk in the Urban Landscape. Routledge, London.

Flippen, C. A. (2001). Residential Segregation and Minority Home Ownership. *Social Science Research, 30*(3), 337-362. doi: 10.1006/ssre.2001.0701

Ford, C. A., Bearman, P. S., & Moody, J. (1999). Foregone health care among adolescents. I282, 2227–2234.

Freeman, L. (2008). Is class becoming a more important determinant of neighborhood attainment for African-Americans? *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(1), 3-26.

Friedman, S. (2008). Do declines in residential segregation mean stable neighborhood racial integration in metropolitan America? A research note. *Social Science Research, 37*(3), 920-933.

Iceland, J. (2004). Beyond black and white: Metropolitan residential segregation in multi-ethnic America. *Social Science Research, 33,* 248-271.

Iceland, J., & Nelson, K.A. (2008). Hispanic segregation in metropolitan America: Exploring the multiple forms of spatial assimilation. *American Sociological Review, 73*(5), 741-765.

Iceland, J., Goyette, K.A., Nelson, K.A., & Chan, C. (2010). Racial and ethnic residential segregation and household structure: A research note. *Social Science Research, 39*(1), 39.

Iceland, J. & Sharp, G. (2013). White residential segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas: Conceptual issues, patterns, and trends from the U.S. Census, 1980 to 2010. *Population Research and Police Review, 32*(5), 663-686.

Keels, M. (2008). Residential attainment of now-adult Gautreaux children: Do they gain, hold or lose ground in neighborhood ethnic and economic segregation? *Housing Studies, 23*(4), 541-564.

Klinenberg, Eric, 2002. Heat Wave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Kramer, M. R., & Hogue, C. R. (2009). Is Segregation Bad for Your Health? *Epidemiologic reviews, 31*, 178-194.

Krivo, L. J., Peterson, R. D., & Kuhl, D. C. (2009). Segregation, racial structure, and neighborhood violent crime. *American Journal of Sociology, 114*(6), 1765–1802.

Krysan, M., & Bader, M. (2007). Perceiving the Metropolis: Seeing the City Through a Prism of Race. *Social Forces, 86*(2), 699-733.

Krysan, M., & Farley, R. (2002). The Residential Preferences of blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation? *Social Forces, 80*(3), 937-980.

Lee, B. A., & Wood, P. B. (1991). Is Neighborhood Racial Succession Place-Specific? *Demography, 28*(1), 21-40.

Logan, J.R., & Molotch, H.L. 1987. *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place.* University of California Press.

Logan, J. R., Alba, R. D., & Leung, S.-Y. (1996). Minority access to white suburbs: A multiregional comparison. *Social Forces, 74*(3), 851-881.

Logan, J. R., & Zhang, C. (2010). Global neighborhoods: New pathways to diversity and separation. *American Journal of Sociology, 115*(4).

Massey, D. S. (1985). Ethnic Residential Segregation: A Theoretical Synthesis and Empirical Review. *Sociology & Social Research, 69*(3), 315-350.

Massey, D. S., & Fong, E. (1990). Segregation and Neighborhood Quality: blacks, Hispanics, and Asians in the San Francisco Metropolitan Area. *Social Forces, 69*(1), 15-32.

Massey, D. S., Gross, A. B., & Eggers, M. L. (1991). Segregation, the Concentration of Poverty, and the Life Chances of Individuals. *Social Science Research, 20*(4), 397-420.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Massey, D. S., Gross, A. B., & Shibuya, K. (1994). Migration, Segregation, and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty. *American Sociological Review, 59*(3), 425-445.

Massey, D. S., Rothwell, J., & Domina, T. (2009). The changing bases of segregation in the United States. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 626*(1), 74-90.

Orfield, Gary, Lee, Chungmei, 2007. Historic Reversals, Accelerating Resegregation, and the Need for New Integration Strategies. The Civil Rights Project, UCLA. <http://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/deseg/reversals_reseg_need.pdf> (retrieved 14.22.06).

Pais, J., South, S. J., & Crowder, K. (2012). Metropolitan heterogeneity and minority neighborhood attainment: Spatial assimilation or place stratification? *Social Problems, 59*(2), 258-281.

Richard, J. R., & Alba, L. D. (1993). Locational Returns to Human Capital: Minority Access to Suburban Community Resources. *Demography, 30*(2), 243-268.

Roscigno, V. J., Karafin, D. L., & Tester, G. (2009). The Complexities and Processes of Racial Housing Discrimination. *Social Problems, 56*(1), 49-69.

Ross, S. L., & Turner, M. A. (2005). Housing discrimination in metropolitan America : Explaining changes between 1989 and 2000. *Social Problems, 52*(2), 152-180.

Sampson, R. J., Morenoff, J. D., & Gannon-Rowley, T. (2002). Assessing "neighborhood effects:" Social processes and new directions in research. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 443-478.

Sampson, R. J., & Sharkey, P. (2008). Neighborhood selection and the social reproduction of concentrated racial inequality. *Demography, 45*(1), 1-29.

Sharkey, P. (2008).The intergenerational transmission of context. *American Journal of Sociology, 113*(4), 931-969.

Sharkey, P. (2012). Temporary integration, resilient inequality: Race and neighborhood change in the transition to adulthood. *Demography, 49*(3), 889-912.

Shihadeh, E. S., & Flynn, N. (1996). Segregation and Crime: The Effect of black Social Isolation on the Rates of black Urban Violence. *Social Forces, 74*(4), 1325-1352.

Shlay, A. B., & Rossi, P. H. (1981). Keeping Up the Neighborhood: Estimating Net Effects of Zoning. *American Sociological Review, 46*(6), 703-719.

South, S. J., Crowder, K., & Chavez, E. (2005). Exiting and Entering High-Poverty Neighborhoods: Latinos, blacks and Anglos Compared. *Social Forces, 84*(2), 873-900.

South, S. J., Crowder, K., & Pais, J. (2011). Metropolitan structure and neighborhood attainment: Exploring intermetropolitan variation in racial residential segregation. *Demography, 48*, 1263-1292.

South, S. J., & Crowder, K. D. (1997). Escaping Distressed Neighborhoods: Individual, Community, and Metropolitan Influences. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(4), 1040.

South, S. J., & Crowder, K. D. (1998). Leaving the 'hood: Residential mobility between black, white, and integrated neighborhoods. *American Sociological Review, 63*, 17-26.

South, S. J., & Deane, G. D. (1993). Race and residential mobility: individual determinants and structural constraints. *Social Forces, 72*(1), 147-167.

Squires, G. D., & Kim, S. (1995). Does Anybody Who Works Here Look Like Me: Mortgage Lending, Race, and Lender Employment. *Social Science Quarterly (University of Texas Press), 76*(4), 823-838.

Swisher, R. R., Kuhl, D. C., & Chavez, J. M. (2013). Racial and ethnic differences in neighborhood attainments in the transition to adulthood. *Social Forces, 91*(4), 1399-1428.

Tienda, M., & Fuentes, N. (2014). Hispanics in metropolitan America: New realities and old debates. *Annual Review of Sociology, 40*, 499-520.

Timberlake, J. M., & Iceland, J. (2007). Change in Racial and Ethnic Residential Inequality in American Cities, 1970–2000. *City & Community, 6*(4), 335-365. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6040.2007.00231.x

white, M. J., & Sassler, S. (2000). Judging not only by color: Ethnicity, nativity, and neighborhood attainment. *Social Science Quarterly, 81*(4), 997-1013.

Wilson, William Julius, 1996. *When Work Disappears.* Vintage Books, New York.

Woldoff, R. A. (2008). Wealth, human capital and family across racial/ethnic groups: Integrating models of wealth and locational attainment. *Urban Studies, 45*, 527-551.

Woldoff, R. A., & Ovadia, S. (2009). Not getting their money's worth: African-American disadvantages in converting income,wealth, and education into residential quality. *Urban Affairs Review, 45*(1), 66-91.

Yinger, J. 1995. *Closed Doors, Opportunities Lost.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation.