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

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White households with children are the least likely of all household types to live in integrated neighborhoods, yet few researchers have questioned whether children themselves influence residential decision-making. Children may affect both residential preferences and constraints and in turn, household mobility decisions that shape patterns of segregation and integration. Following a cohort of household heads in the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, we find that white households whose oldest child is younger than six are more likely to move when the percentage of black residents and diversity in their neighborhoods is higher. However, when white households with children do move, they are not more likely than white households without children to move to neighborhoods with fewer blacks or less diversity. Young children may matter for segregation because they influence families to leave more diverse neighborhoods, and white movers generally move into neighborhoods with less diversity, whether or not they have children.

The segregation of blacks and whites in the United States remains high, despite moderate declines since 1970. Blacks and whites still generally do not live in the same neighborhoods. These patterns are even more pronounced among households with children (Ellen 2007; Iceland et al. 2010; Logan et al. 2001; Logan 2004). White households with children are less likely to live in integrated neighborhoods than are those without children (Ellen 2007; Iceland et al. 2010; Marsh and Iceland 2010). Though these patterns have been studied for decades, we still know little about the individual decisions that lead to these larger patterns. Why might white families choose to live in primarily white neighborhoods? In this paper, we explore whether children play some role in their decision-making.

For decades, researchers of segregation have tried to uncover how mobility and individual preferences are related and how preferences for specific locations contribute to racial residential segregation (e.g., Clark 1986, 1991). How do people choose where to live and how does that relate to the racial composition of neighborhoods? What influences

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households to move? In this research, we consider whether children might affect their preferences and behaviors. Although the choice to move may reflect a number of considerations, many of which are not within a household's control, the neighborhoods that families leave and the ones to which they move to some degree express their preferences (as well as their constraints). Although preferences are difficult to discern with our data, we explore whether whites with children move from more integrated or move to less integrated neighborhoods more than do whites without children. We also consider life course explanations for moving that suggest that the age of the children may matter. Those starting families may be searching for their ideal homes and neighborhoods, while those with older children may have already settled. Preferences for particular houses and neighborhoods may change across the life course (Rossi 1955). We also consider that there are constraints to preferences. Not every family can live in its ideal home and neighborhood. Families with more income or wealth have more choices, for example.

Do children affect segregation patterns? Are whites who have children more likely than white households who do not to move out of neighborhoods with greater proportions of blacks or with greater diversity? When whites become parents, are they more sensitive to the racial composition of their neighborhoods than they are when they do not have children? Alternatively, do whites move from black or diverse neighborhoods because of their socioeconomic status, other life course events that influence moving behavior (like getting married or becoming employed), or unobserved attitudes and beliefs that are also associated with having children? And, if indeed children do influence the mobility behaviors of their parents, are white 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, when they do move, do white households with children move *into* neighborhoods with a smaller proportion of blacks or with less diversity more often than do white households without children?

Understanding how children affect mobility can provide some insight into patterns of segregation and integration. Families of all races may consciously choose particular neighborhoods for their children that they believe are safe, have good amenities like parks and community centers, and, perhaps most importantly, that they perceive are associated with good schools. As resources become concentrated in these neighborhoods, housing in them becomes more expensive. Whites are better able to afford these homes than minorities. It could also be that whites are more likely to perceive neighborhoods with fewer blacks or less diversity as being associated with better amenities and thus more desirable (whether this is objectively true or not). White families may then leave less desirable neighborhoods and move to more desirable ones. If this is the case, then segregation between those whites with children and blacks may increase (or not decline) as quickly as it does among those white families without children. Integration may be harder to achieve among families with children as the resources associated with these whiter neighborhoods may be most important to those with younger children.

In this research, we use data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID), 1980–2005. We select a cohort of whites who were heads of households in 1980 and follow them through the moves they made until 2005. Using both random and fixed effects panel logistic regression models, we find that white households whose oldest child is younger than six are not only more likely to move overall, but also more likely to leave more integrated neighborhoods than other types of families. Families may begin thinking about neighborhood services and schools that their children may attend early

on, particularly when they are making decisions to invest in homes. Once children reach school age, which is about six, much "risk management," such as planning for schooling and the provisions of other services, has often already been done. They may move if they feel they have reached the wrong decision, but once older children are in schools and neighborhoods, it is often harder for families to move again. Previous research shows that families with older children are less likely to move than those with only children who are younger than six (Long 1972).

However, when we compare the racial compositions of the destination neighborhoods of white households that move using ordinary least squares regression, we find no significant differences between households with and without children.

These mobility patterns may very well contribute to overall patterns of segregation between blacks and whites, albeit in a limited way. They suggest that children may influence patterns of segregation in the United States, in that white parents with young children may flee integrated neighborhoods, and when white households move (regardless of whether or not they have children), they choose more segregated neighborhoods. These results provide some insight into the household-level decision-making that leads to larger patterns of racial residential segregation in the United States. White neighborhoods attract more whites, while integrated neighborhoods lose white families with young children who may have attended more integrated neighborhood schools.

WHY KIDS MATTER FOR WHITE RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Previous studies have shown 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 shows that the proportion of white households with children is lower in black-white and Hispanic-white communities as compared with predominantly white areas. Using 2000 Census data, Iceland et al. (2010) also find that white households with children are more segregated from and have less interaction with other racial and ethnic groups compared to other types of white households. Pais et al. (2012) report that the greater the number of children in a white family, the higher the percentage of non-Hispanic whites in that family's neighborhood. It is also true that black and Hispanic families with children live in neighborhoods with higher levels of poverty and crime and lower levels of school quality than otherwise similar white families (e.g., Massey et al. 1987; Sampson and Sharkey 2008; South and Deane 1993).

In two widely cited papers, South and Crowder (1998) and Crowder (2000) explore the effects of family composition, as well as other factors, on whites' moving behaviors. They find that the presence of children aged 0–5 and 6–17 overall had either a negative or an insignificant effect on the propensity to move out of a tract for both blacks and whites. Crowder (2000) finds no interaction between the presence of children aged 0–5 and 6–17 and the racial composition of the neighborhood. While this research finds that families with children do not appear to be more sensitive to the racial composition of their origin neighborhoods than are other types of households, other research by Harris (1997) suggests that families with children younger than 6 are more likely than families with no children to move from tracts with percentages of blacks that are 20 percent or more. In South and Crowder's (1998) research, for those families who do move, the

presence of children does not seem to influence the racial composition of the destination neighborhood.

Our research builds on this previous work in several ways. While South and Crowder (1998) and Crowder (2000) explore moving behaviors among household heads from 1979 to 1985, and Harris (1997) chooses household heads from 1980 to 1985, we analyze a cohort of household heads in 1980 and follow their moving behaviors for over 25 years. This allows us potentially to capture several transitions within families and relate them to their moving behavior. We include families who may transition from having no children to having only younger children, to having older children, and/or to having no children in the household again. This allows us to use fixed effects models to control for initial unobserved heterogeneity between families who have children at some point and those who do not. This longer span of years also captures more recent moves for this group.

We also consider the racial composition of the origin tract in two alternative ways. Crowder (2000) uses the percentage of minority (non-Anglo) residents as a measure of racial composition in interactions with presence of children. We look at how diversity, measured by the entropy score, might influence the moving behavior of families with and without children, and also how the percentage of blacks in a tract might influence moving behavior. Diversity may matter because families may be reacting to nonwhites more generally and not particular racial groups. Whites may prefer to live among whites for a number of reasons, including because they are more comfortable, because these areas have the highest status, and/or because white neighborhoods often have the best services and amenities. Diversity is measured by the entropy score, which captures the presence of non-Hispanic Asians, non-Hispanic blacks, non-Hispanic whites, non-Hispanic Native Americans, non-Hispanics of other races, and Hispanics. However, we also consider that families may be more sensitive to the presence of blacks compared to other racial or ethnic minority groups. In addition to diversity, we include a variable that measures percentage black in a neighborhood. A final way in which we build on South and Crowder's (1998) and Crowder's (2000) studies is to modify the variable representing the ages of the children in a household. While these studies measure the presence of children 0–5 and any children 6–17 in the house, we look only at the age of the oldest child, consistent with the earlier research of Long (1972). We suggest that if households are making decisions with their child/children in mind, they will be most likely to do so when their oldest child is young. Once these decisions are made for this child, there will be fewer reasons to change residences for additional children or as children grow older.

White families with children may choose to avoid minority families because of their prejudices, or "racial reasons," as Krysan (2002) refers to them. That is, these families may wish to maintain social distance from blacks and other minorities due to beliefs or fears they have about such groups. They may worry about safety, whether there are real or only perceived differences in crime rates in neighborhoods with increasing proportions of blacks (Quillian and Pager 2001). White families may also want to maintain the social distance between their children and the children of racial minorities to protect their social status.

It could also be that white families seek to avoid black and other minority neighborhoods for nonracial reasons. Families may search for neighborhoods with the lowest crime and best schools and amenities. While white families may not be explicitly concerned with the racial composition of their ideal neighborhoods, those neighborhoods that have the lowest crime, best amenities, and highest quality schools have lower

proportions of blacks. Krysan (2002) terms reasons that have to do with the qualities of housing and neighborhoods that are correlated with the racial composition of neighborhoods "race-associated" reasons for choosing particular neighborhoods (see also Swaroop and Krysan 2011). 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.

Families may choose homes strategically in order that their children may attend particular, high status neighborhood schools that have been judged to be "desirable," generally those 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, with whites avoiding 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 as a proxy for a variety of other unmeasured student or school quality attributes.

One categorical decision families may make is whether to live in urban or suburban neighborhoods. Suburban neighborhoods typically have less crime, more green spaces, larger homes, and better-funded schools. Suburbs also tend to have lower percentages of blacks and less diversity in general compared to the urban areas they surround (e.g., Farley et al. 1993). White families may make the decision to move to suburbs as they contemplate where they would like to raise their families and have their children attend school. White families with children may leave their more integrated urban neighborhoods for larger homes, better schools, and more desirable amenities for children in these proportionately whiter suburbs.

The motivations of whites and nonwhites for moving out of neighborhoods may differ in important ways. While nonwhite families may also want to minimize risk and maximize good services, amenities, and status for their children, minimizing risk may involve dealing with discrimination and threats of racial stereotyping, profiling, and alienation in schools that whites may not face in less diverse neighborhoods. Nonwhite families may seek diversity, and not wish to be pioneers in all white neighborhoods (Krysan and Farley 2002; Rosenbaum and Harris 2001).

OTHER REASONS WHY HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION MAY MATTER

Before we can reasonably argue that children influence parents' movement out of neighborhoods with blacks or diverse neighborhoods, we should consider three other explanations for why household composition may matter. First, we consider that families face constraints on enacting their preferences, and these may vary by household composition. Socioeconomic differences by household composition may allow white married-couple households with children, more so than other types of families, to move in order to enact their preferences for less integrated neighborhoods. It is important to recognize that not all families have the same sets of choices available to them. Poorer, and often single-parent, families have fewer options of places to move because there is often not affordable multi-family housing of the appropriate size, and for these families, mobility may be less a

choice than a necessity. Keels et al. (2005) point out that poor families may move because they have been displaced from their homes, rather than because they choose to move to a more desirable location. Consequently, poor families move to homes and neighborhoods similar to the ones they left, and not those that better match their ideals.

White married-couple households with children have higher incomes and more wealth than single-parent white households and those without children, and thus they are more easily able to exit neighborhoods they do not desire (Ellen 2007; Palumbo 2010). However, research by Iceland et al. (2010) suggests that socioeconomic status does not completely account for differences in white segregation by household composition. Poor white households with children are more segregated from blacks than those white households with children who are not poor.

Second, life course events like getting married, becoming employed, and buying a home could lead to changes in residence (Rossi 1955). These are often associated with having children and may occur during the time in the life course when households most commonly have 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 et al. 1994; McHugh et al. 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). As white household heads begin to transition from rental homes to home ownership, neighborhood racial composition may become more important in their residential decisions. Racial composition of a neighborhood may not only affect white households' preferences to live in particular places, but also influence the types of dwellings that are built in particular neighborhoods. Predominantly white neighborhoods may have fewer multi-family housing units and more single-family homes, for instance. 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 neighborhoods that they do not find ideal.

Third and finally, white households that have children sometime during their lives may be different in unmeasured ways from those who do not. White households who do not have children may be less conventional or traditional than those who eventually have children. White households that are less conventional may choose diverse neighborhoods.

The explanations described above offer alternative conceptual models of why household composition is related to racial and ethnic segregation. According to several of these, children in and of themselves do not influence residential preferences. However, if children do directly affect moving behavior, we expect this sensitivity to racial composition of the neighborhood to be greatest for those whose children have yet to reach school age.

In addition to assessing whether young children increase white households' likelihood of moving out of integrated neighborhoods, we also explore some reasons why this may be so. We control for other neighborhood characteristics that may be important to families and related to neighborhood racial composition. Households may wish to avoid neighborhoods that are less advantaged and stable. We include neighborhood socioeconomic variables—percentage of the tract that falls below the poverty line and the percentage of

residents with a bachelor's degree or above—and one measure of neighborhood stability, the percentage of homeowners in the tract.

A central question we investigate is whether white families leave neighborhoods that are diverse, in general, or if they react most strongly to the racial group in the United States 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 United States, have been the most persistent and stark. Finally, following South and Crowder (1998), we again look at whether white households with children move to different types of neighborhoods. Unlike South and Crowder (1998), we explore whether the age of the oldest child matters for neighborhood destinations. We consider here whether the age of the oldest child might affect a household's propensity to move to a neighborhood with fewer blacks or one that is less diverse.

DATA AND METHODS

This research uses data from the 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. 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.

There are several ways that a sample could be chosen for this research. One way is to choose those who were household heads at any point during the observation period and follow them for the years they were in the sample. This would allow for a large sample, with younger household heads in later periods. Another way is to create a "synthetic cohort" of those who split off from families (at any point during the observation period) and follow them over time. This method would allow us to follow those who were at the same life course stage. While these samples offer advantages, we chose a third way: to follow a cohort of household heads over a long period of time (Crowder and South 2005). By choosing to follow one cohort of household heads early in the observation period (1980) over 25 years, we maximize the number of observations and transitions we have for each household. We include many households with a large number of observations over time, and limit those with only a few observations (those who became household heads in 1999, for example, may experience few transitions). The mean number of observation periods for the households in our sample is 7.3. We also can include multiple transitions across the life course. The youngest of the household heads were 18 years old in 1980 and about 43 in 2005. For some of these households, we can potentially observe transitions from not having children to having an oldest child younger than six, to having a child six or older, to not having children in the household again. Fixed effects models are most informative when we observe many transitions within households.

We include 2,783 white households in 1980, which allows for 20,257 observations in the 25 years. Even with sample attrition, the PSID data are still considered to be reasonably representative of the U.S. population (Fitzgerald 2011; Hill 1992). Of these 2,783 original white households, about half were represented in at least two survey waves and had moved at least once, and thus were among our "movers." Our data are unweighted.

The PSID allows us to match respondents to the Census tracts in which they lived throughout the 25 years they were followed. We used internal PSID geographic identifiers to merge household records with neighborhood-level (i.e., census tract) data on racial and socioeconomic composition from the 1980, 1990, and 2000 censuses. Because these boundaries change over time, we used the 2000 census tract boundaries across all of the decades. We employed linear interpolation to approximate neighborhood characteristics in nondecennial census years between 1980–1990 and 1990–2000. For the years 2001 and 2003, we used noninterpolated data from the 2000 Census.

Our main methods of analyses are random and fixed effects panel logistic regression models, and ordinary least squares regression models. First, we examine the propensity of households to move out of a particular neighborhood during two-year intervals. 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-year rather than one-year intervals to maintain (mostly) consistent time intervals. While the PSID had been collecting data at one-year intervals from 1968 to 1997, in 1997, it switched to two-year intervals. We combine data over 11 two-year intervals, and one three-year interval (from 1996 to 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 both random and fixed effects models to look at moving out for several reasons. While random effects models use both within- and across-household variation to derive parameter estimates, fixed effects models only model variation within households. With random effects models, we can answer the research question: Do white families who have children behave differently from those who do not? In these models, we look for differences between families who have children and those that do not at any given point in time.

Fixed effects models allow us to answer a different type of question. Because fixed effects models account only for variation within and not across households, we can even more conservatively capture the effects of children. Fixed effects models provide answers to the question: Within the same household, do white families behave differently when they have children compared to when they do not? That is, does a white family's moving behavior differ based on whether or not it has children? Fixed effects compare families before, during, and after they have children because they model change in variables across time. Fixed effects models only consider changes in variables within households and how those changes may affect the likelihood of movement.

We use two variables to capture racial composition of the tract.[1] 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 data, we have six ethnic groups (whites, blacks, Asians, Native Americans, Hispanics of any race, and others, with multiracial individuals assigned to the minority race group), 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 percent representation.[2] Percent black and entropy are not highly correlated ($r = 0.08$). This suggests that blacks live in neighborhoods that do not consist of many groups, but rather blacks live mostly among other blacks. Entropy is fairly highly correlated with percent Hispanic ($r = 0.54$), which we do not include in the same model. Entropy captures the presence of many groups—a mixture of different race/ethnic groups; whereas percent black focuses on one specific group. Whites may wish to live among other whites and avoid diverse areas, and/or they may wish to avoid blacks particularly, due to historical and contemporary relationships between these groups. Because percent black and entropy measure two different concepts, we include them in the same model.

We capture both the age and presence of children in the household in one measure. If families are making decisions about neighborhood amenities, particularly schools, with their children in mind, they may make these choices when their oldest child is less than school age (Long 1972).[3] We include a variable that captures whether the household includes no children, the oldest child in the household is younger than six, or the oldest child is aged 6–18 in order to account for this possible variation.[4] In order to assess whether white families with children are more likely to move because of the racial composition of their neighborhoods, we include an interaction between the age of the oldest child and our measures of racial composition (percentage black or the entropy score).

To rule out other possible explanations for the effects of children on the likelihood of moving out of racially diverse neighborhoods, we include variables that capture the socioeconomic status of the household. 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. Marital status captures whether the respondent is unmarried (never married, divorced, or widowed) or married. This varies over time. Employment also varies across waves and is measured as to whether the household head is unemployed or out of the labor force, or employed. We also include a variable measuring homeownership. This variable compares household heads who rent their homes to those who own them.[5]

Our models account for other variables at particular points in time that may change over waves. Many of these could 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 nonlinearity in the influence of age over time. We take into account how "crowded" a household is, measured as the number of people in the household per number of rooms in the home (Clark et al. 2002). Finally, we also include the total number of children in the household in our models.[6]

To separate the effects of racial composition from other neighborhood characteristics, we include measures of the general socioeconomic profiles of the neighborhoods. We measure the percentage of residents in poverty, the percentage who have attained a bachelor's degree or more, and the percentage who own their homes. Previous versions of our models included a variable for the median household income and the percentage of households with children under 18 in the neighborhood. Median household income is highly collinear with percentage of households with a bachelor's degree (alpha > 0.64), so we excluded this variable, and we dropped percentage of households with children in the tract because the coefficient was consistently insignificant and its addition did not change our findings.

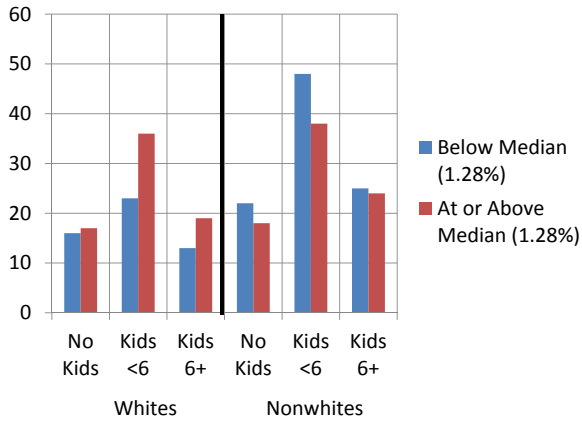

FIG. 1. The percentage of moves for white and nonwhite households if tract is above or below the median percentage black by age of oldest child, 1980–2005.

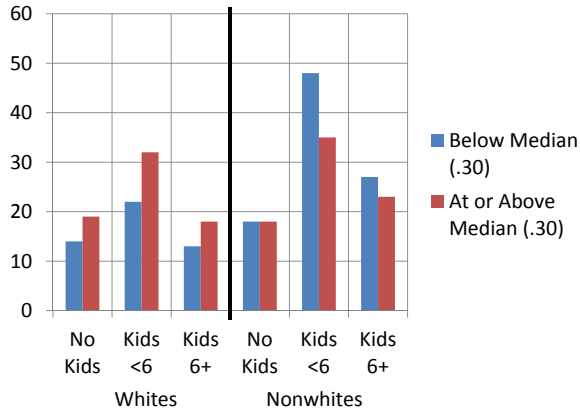

FIG. 2. The percentage of moves for white and nonwhite households if tract is above or below the median entropy by age of oldest child, 1980–2005.

RESULTS

The bivariate results shown in Figures 1 and 2 provide reason to suspect that the racial composition of a tract affects white families with children differently from those without. When we compare families of different types living in neighborhoods at or above to those below the median percentage black and the median entropy score, we see in Figure 1 that white families with children, but particularly those younger than six, are more likely to move overall. Those white families whose oldest child is younger than six are much more likely to move from tracts that are at or above the median percentage black (36 percent) than they are from tracts that are below the median percentage black (23 percent). When families have children that are six or older, they are also more likely to move from tracts with the median percentage of blacks or above (19 percent) than when they live in tracts

below the median (14 percent), but this gap is much smaller than among those with only children younger than six. The median percentage black of census tracts across all years is about 1.28, while median entropy is generally around 0.30.

The same patterns are observed when we compare white families according to whether they live in neighborhoods at or above the median entropy score or below it, but the differences within family types are smaller. White families whose oldest child is younger than six are still especially more likely to move if they live in tracts at or above the median entropy score, but the difference in the likelihood of moving between those who live in high entropy compared to low entropy tracts is not as great as the corresponding difference between those who live in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of blacks compared to a lower proportion of blacks.

Another notable difference in these figures is between white and nonwhite households. The PSID only makes distinctions between white and nonwhite respondents in its earlier waves, so we are unable to provide more detailed information by race. While white families with children who live in more racially diverse neighborhoods appear to be more likely to move overall than those in less diverse ones, nonwhite families appear to be most likely to move from neighborhoods with fewer blacks and lower entropy, even though these neighborhoods are probably more likely to have better services, amenities, and possibly, schools. Differences between the moving behaviors of white and nonwhite families is an important and interesting question that we felt we could not address well with our PSID sample. In 1980, PSID classified respondents as either white or nonwhite. Further, the sample drawn in 1968 was not refreshed until 1997. From PSID data, we cannot distinguish blacks from Hispanics, nor is the sample representative of the Hispanic and Asian population until 1997. Because of these data limitations and the potentially very different decision-making processes of nonwhites, in this work we choose to focus on only whites.

In the Appendix Table, we show the moving behavior of our 1980 white household heads over two-year intervals according to their individual, household, and neighborhood characteristics. The table shows that during any one two-year interval, about 16 percent of the sample moved. To answer the question of whether children influence the moving behaviors of white families, we present three tables of multivariate results from panel data. These panel data consist of observations repeated in the same households over time. The first one shows coefficients and standard errors from logistic panel regression random effects models. This table includes interactions between whether the oldest child in the household is younger than six or older than six compared to having no children in the household and percentage black (Model 2), as well as interacted with the entropy score (Model 3). The second multivariate table presents logistic panel regression fixed effects models, using these same two interactions. Finally, the third multivariate table shows the results of ordinary least square regression models on the percentage black and entropy score of the *destination* neighborhoods for those households who moved. Table 1 presents the first of these analyses.

The main variables of interest in Table 1 are the main effects and then the interactions between the age of the oldest child in the household and neighborhood composition. Model 1 shows only the effects of the household-level variables, before interactions with the neighborhood composition variables. Controlling for other household characteristics, those with children are no more or less likely to move than those without children, regardless of the age of the oldest child. The intra-class correlation in this model is 0.189,

TABLE 1. Random Effects of Percent Black and Entropy in Tract on Propensity to Move for White Families

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Coeff.	(s.e.)	Coeff.	(s.e.)	Coeff.	(s.e.)
Constant	1.611***	(0.293)	2.465***	(0.359)	2.534***	(0.360)
Education (in years)	0.041***	(0.012)	0.024	(0.013)	0.024	(0.012)
Sex of Household Head (Male = excluded)						
Female	−0.032	(0.077)	−0.067	(0.078)	−0.069	(0.078)
Age	−0.092***	(0.010)	−0.101***	(0.010)	−0.102***	(0.010)
Age Squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried = excluded)						
Married	−0.188*	(0.073)	−0.177*	(0.073)	−0.181*	(0.073)
Employment Status (Not employed = excluded)						
Employed	−0.081	(0.070)	−0.099	(0.070)	−0.097	(0.070
Income in tens of thousands	0.001*	(0.000)	0.001*	(0.000)	0.001*	(0.000)
Own Home (Rent = excluded)						
Own	−1.441***	(0.061)	−1.338***	(0.063)	−1.331***	(0.063)
Persons Per Room	0.121	(0.109)	0.123	(0.110)	0.135	(0.110)
Number of Children	−0.101*	(0.040)	−0.097*	(0.040)	−0.100*	(0.040)
Parental Status (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6	0.077	(0.103)	−0.027	(0.111)	−0.186	(0.152)
Oldest child age 6 or older	−0.044	(0.089)	−0.035	(0.093)	−0.138	(0.116)
Percent Black in Tract			−0.002	(0.003)	0.000	(0.003)
Children/Percent Black Interactions (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6 * percent black		0.018**	(0.007)			
Oldest child age 6 or older * percent black		0.001	(0.005)			
Entropy			0.393***	(0.109)	0.256*	(0.125)
Children/Entropy Interactions (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6 * entropy				0.668*	(0.283)	
Oldest child age 6 or older * entropy				0.277	(0.186)	
Percent Poverty in Tract			−0.004	(0.003)	−0.004	(0.003)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.003	(0.002)	0.003	(0.002)
Percent Own Home in Tract			−0.008***	(0.002)	−0.008***	(0.002)
Sigma−u	0.876	(0.038)	0.884	(0.038)	0.881	(0.038)
Rho	0.189	(0.013)	0.192	(0.013)	0.191	(0.013)

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
20,257 observations, 2,783 households, Wald chi−square for 13 df = 1354.29; for 20 df = 1376.10 (Model 2) and 1378.22 (Model 3)

meaning that about 19 percent of the variance is due to variation across households. Model 2 adds tract-level characteristics to the model, and the interaction between age of the oldest child in the household and the percentage black in the tract. The main effect of age of the oldest child is still not significant, but the interaction between those who have oldest children younger than six is significantly different from those without children in the household. The greater the percentage black in a neighborhood, the more likely these families are to move compared to those with no children. The main effect of percentage black in the neighborhood is not significantly related to the propensity to move for families without children, nor for families whose oldest child is six or older. Entropy of the tract is significant in this model, suggesting that households are more likely to move from more diverse neighborhoods in general. Neither percentage in poverty in the census tract nor the percentage of residents with bachelor's degrees is significantly

TABLE 2. Fixed Effects of Percent Black and Entropy in Tract on Propensity to Move for White Families

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	Coeff.	(s.e.)	Coeff.	(s.e.)	Coeff.	(s.e.)
Age	−0.093***	(0.014)	−0.106***	(0.015)	−0.107***	(0.015)
Age Squared	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)	0.001***	(0.000)
Marital Status (Unmarried = excluded)						
Married	−0.322**	(0.097)	−0.297**	(0.097)	−0.296***	(0.097)
Employment Status (Not employed = excluded)						
Employed	0.082	(0.083)	0.080	(0.084)	0.082	(0.084)
Income in tens of thousands	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)
Own Home (Rent = excluded)						
Own	−1.150***	(0.078)	−1.061***	(0.080)	−1.055***	(0.080)
Persons Per Room	0.252	(0.131)	0.212	(0.132)	0.220	(0.131)
Number of Children	−0.123*	(0.048)	−0.108*	(0.048)	−0.114*	(0.048)
Parental Status (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6	0.029	(0.116)	−0.083	(0.125)	−0.193	(0.174)
Oldest child age 6 or older	−0.082	(0.102)	−0.078	(0.109)	−0.121	(0.136)
Percent Black in Tract			0.003	(0.004)	0.004	(0.004)
Children/Percent Black Interactions (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6 * percent black		0.016*	(0.008)			
Oldest child age 6 or older * percent black		−0.003	(0.006)			
Entropy			0.073	(0.168)	−0.009	(0.184)
Children/Entropy Interactions (No children = excluded)						
Oldest child under age 6 * entropy				0.516	(0.327)	
Oldest child age 6 or older * entropy				0.084	(0.226)	
Percent Poverty in Tract			0.004	(0.005)	0.004	(0.005)
Percent BA or Above in Tract			0.006	(0.003)	0.006*	(0.003)
Percent Own Home in Tract			−0.011***	(0.002)	−0.011***	(0.002)

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
12,230 observations, 1,412 households, Likelihood ratio chi-square for 10 df = 560.23; for 17 df = 611.39 (Model 2) and 607.92 (Model 3).

related to moving. However, the more homeowners in a neighborhood, the less likely the household is to move.[7]

In Model 3, we substitute the interaction of age of oldest child and entropy for the interaction of age of oldest child and percentage black in the previous model. Again, we see that families who have oldest children younger than six are more likely to move the greater the entropy of a neighborhood compared to those without children. Again, in this model, we control for other tract-level characteristics, including the percentage black in the tract with the same results as in Model 2.

In the next table, Table 2, we switch to fixed effects models. Since education and sex of the household head do not vary across waves, we do not include these variables in this model. Although theoretically, respondents could increase their education over the observed time period, education of the head was only asked when the head entered the sample, and was not updated by PSID over time. The coefficients for age of oldest child reflect only those who changed status over the observed time period.

In Table 2, we again show results from a model that includes only the individual-level characteristics in Model 1. These are similar to the results from Table 1, as we see that the presence and age of children has no effect on the likelihood of a move overall.

TABLE 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression on Percent Black and Entropy in Destination Tract among White Households Who Moved

	Percent Black		Entropy	
	Coeff.	(s.e.)	Coeff.	(s.e.)
Constant	7.685**	(2.210)	0.149*	(0.059)
Age	0.111	(0.078)	0.007**	(0.002)
Age Squared	−0.001	(0.001)	−0.001**	(0.000)
Education (in years)	−0.304**	(0.089)	0.012***	(0.002)
Sex (Male = excluded)				
Female	0.088	(0.529)	0.008	(0.014)
Marital Status (Unmarried = excluded)				
Married	−0.689	(0.563)	−0.031*	(0.015)
Employment Status (Not employed = excluded)				
Employed	−0.667	(0.620)	0.023	(0.017)
Income in tens of thousands	−0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.000)
Own Home (Rent = excluded)				
Own	−1.008*	(0.489)	−0.076***	(0.013)
Persons Per Room	1.384	(0.901)	0.080**	(0.024)
Number of Children	0.360	(0.357)	−0.013	(0.010)
Parental Status (No children = excluded)				
Children under age 6	0.231	(0.856)	0.000	(0.023)
Children age 6 and older	0.041	(0.798)	0.008	(0.021)
R^2	0.015	0.035		

*p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001.
N = 2,882.

In Model 2, we add the tract-level characteristics and the interaction between age of the oldest child and percentage black in the neighborhood. Even controlling for the socioeconomic profile of the neighborhood and the diversity of the neighborhood, families whose oldest child is younger than six are significantly more likely than families with no children to move, the greater the percentage of blacks in the neighborhood. For families whose oldest child is six or more years, percentage black in the neighborhood does not significantly influence the likelihood of moving, and neither does the entropy, poverty, or percentage of other household heads who hold bachelor's degrees in the neighborhood. In this model, as in Table 1, when families live in tracts with high home-ownership rates, they are less likely to move. Indeed, in neighborhoods where there is more housing stock—where greater proportions of families are able to buy their own homes, individual families are more likely to remain.

In Model 3, we substitute the entropy measure for percentage black and estimate an interaction with age of the oldest child. Unlike Table 1, here we find no significant interactions. Diversity of the neighborhood appears not to influence families' movement out of neighborhoods, regardless of the age of their oldest child. The comparison of results from Model 3 of the random effects models and the fixed effects models suggests that there may be unobserved heterogeneity between those who have only young children and those without children, which may account for the greater "tolerance" of such white households to remain in neighborhoods with more entropy.[8]

While Tables 1 and 2 present the results showing the propensity of different types of families to move out of neighborhoods, Table 3 looks at the characteristics of the neigh-

borhoods *to* which white households move. The two characteristics we are most interested in are the percentage black and the entropy of the destination tract.[9] Analyzing only those white households who reported moving during the observation period, we look at whether moving families in general differ in the characteristics of their destination tracts by age of their oldest child. From our calculations using these data (not shown), we find that generally, white families move to neighborhoods with lower percentage of blacks and less entropy overall. The mean percentage black in the tract for these movers declines from about 6.2 to 5.8, and entropy scores decline from 0.44 to 0.43, on average. Using ordinary least squares regression, we find that the percentage black and entropy of the destination neighborhood do not differ significantly by age of the oldest child. Those with more education and those who are already home-owners move to neighborhoods where there are significantly fewer blacks, while married people and home-owners move to less diverse neighborhoods. On the contrary, older and more educated white household heads tend to move to significantly *more* diverse areas, with other individual-level characteristics controlled. Again, though, children, regardless of their ages, seem not to matter for families' destination neighborhoods, consistent with what was found by South and Crowder (1998). White families with children do not seem to move to significantly whiter tracts than those without.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Past research (Crowder 2000; South and Crowder 1998) suggests that families with children do not react differently from those without them to the racial composition of their neighborhoods when making mobility decisions. However, using a longer time window and more detailed indicators of the age and presence of children, we find that the effect of the racial composition of the origin neighborhood on the likelihood of moving out is conditional on the age of the oldest child in the family. Random effects models show that families whose oldest child is younger than six are more likely to move out than are families without children, the more black residents and the more diversity (as measured by the entropy score) in a tract. Fixed effects models show that when white families have an oldest child who is younger than six, they are more likely to move away from neighborhoods with more blacks than when they do not. 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, having only young children in the home influences the likelihood that a white family will move from a neighborhood with more blacks.

We also investigate whether white 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 racial composition. Even when we control for the poverty rate of the neighborhood, the percentage of residents with bachelor's degrees, and the percentage of homeowners (and interact these indicators with the presence of an oldest child who is younger than six), the effect on white households of having only young children on the likelihood of moving from neighborhoods with more blacks does not disappear. Even accounting for these characteristics of neighborhoods, white families with young children only are more sensitive to racial com-

position in making decisions to move out than are those white families without children or with older children who are school age.

Another question concerns whether it is racial diversity per se that white families are reacting to or whether it is a reaction to a particular racial group. Our results consistently show that white households with only young children react to having black neighbors. Results from random effects models show that white families whose oldest children are younger than six are also more likely than are white families without such children to move away from neighborhoods with more diversity. These results are not reproduced in the fixed effects models, suggesting that perhaps unobserved heterogeneity across families who have children and those who decide not to may exist.

Though the above results suggest that the behaviors of white families with only young children may increase segregation because these families are more likely to move from neighborhoods with greater percentages of blacks and greater diversity than are families with no children or with older children, these effects should not be overstated. When all white households move, they appear to move to less diverse and more segregated neighborhoods, regardless of the presence and age of children, consistent with what has been found in previous research (South and Crowder 1998). White 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.

There are several questions we cannot answer with our analyses. Although our research suggests that young children do heighten white parents' awareness of and sensitivity to neighborhood racial composition, at least when deciding whether to leave neighborhoods, we do not know exactly why this is the case. It could be that families are concerned about school quality, crime, or neighborhood amenities in integrated neighborhoods. It could also be that parents wish to maintain greater social distance or perceive a greater threat from minorities for their young children than they do for themselves. Perceiving the need to manage risk for their children, parents may be less willing to tolerate minority presence, worried that their children will be unsafe, pick up undesired practices from their peers, or lose social status. While white parents may feel comfortable about their own beliefs, social positions, and safety, they may feel less certain of their children's. In response, racial stereotypes, prejudices, and animosity may be heightened in white parents' concerns for their children.

The most important consideration for parents with children younger than six may be where their children go to school. Families may decide where to live or settle in for much of their children's youth with an idea of where they would like their children to attend school. They may, in fact, purposely choose neighborhoods because of their schools, and the racial composition, perceived school quality, and status of a school may influence their decisions about where to live (Goyette 2008; Holme 2002). Ideally, we would like to match data on school racial composition and other school characteristics to the neighborhoods in which families live. This is very difficult to do, as school catchment zones and school districts are not easily matched to census tracts, especially over time. Data from school catchment zones are not yet available for all of the United States. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) began collecting data from school districts in 1986—six years after we begin following our sample. Our research is designed to answer the question "is the moving behavior of families influenced by their children (and their children's ages) above and beyond other related life-course events?" Since the an-

swer to this question seems to be a qualified "yes," the next step is to explore more fully why this is the case using richer data that match families, schools, and neighborhoods.

Understanding whether and in what ways children affect the moving behavior of whites provides some insight into what it is about neighborhoods that matters for parents. In contrast to the earlier research of South and Crowder (1998) and Crowder (2000), we find that the mobility decisions of families with young children are affected by the racial composition of their neighborhoods. This research is consistent with early "white flight" literature that suggests that families with young children are more likely to flee neighborhoods with higher percentages of blacks. Something about these neighborhoods is less desirable for white families with younger children, regardless of their means to move out of these neighborhoods.

What we do not know and cannot discern with data from the PSID is exactly what it is about these neighborhoods with high percentages of blacks that white families wish to avoid. Future research that looks at preferences in innovative ways (see, for example, Krysan and Bader 2007) should consider whether families with children express different preferences or aversions from those without children. Once we better understand these attitudes, policy could be crafted to address this mechanism contributing to segregation. For example, if white families are choosing neighborhoods for particular schools because they have better resources and reputations, loosening the connections between residence and schools through increased school choice policies or explicitly encompassing more diverse neighborhoods within school attendance boundaries may allow all families greater choice of residences that reduce segregation. It could also make it more difficult for prejudiced white families to escape interaction with blacks.

Children do influence white families' moving behavior and consequently, larger patterns of segregation, though in a limited way. Although many questions remain as to why and how, this research shows that white families with young children contribute to patterns of black–white segregation through their higher propensity to leave neighborhoods with greater percentages of blacks. The literature on residential segregation should consider our study's implication that white families' concerns for their children provide some explanation for selective patterns of segregation by family composition. Those concerns may provide some insight into why families leave neighborhoods with more blacks. Though more research needs to be done, this study contributes to our understanding of the individual-level decision-making that produces broader patterns of racial segregation in the United States.

APPENDIX TABLE:

Likelihood of Moving During a Two-Year Interval for Whites, 1980–2005

	Moved	Did Not Move
Whole Sample	16.2%	83.8%
Age	45.1	52.6
(std. dev.)	(16.7)	(15.7)
Sex		
Men	14.8%	85.2%
Women	20.5%	79.5%
Education	12.7	12.5
(std. dev.)	(2.5)	(2.7)
Marital Status		
Not married	23.7%	76.3%
Married	13.3%	86.7%
Employment Status		
Not employed	14.0%	86.0%
Employed	17.3%	82.7%
Income	$47,693.66	$52,743.26
(std. dev.)	($60,121.65)	($67,091.87)
Own Home		
Rent	37.3%	62.7%
Own	10.4%	89.6%
Persons Per Room	0.48	0.44
(std. dev.)	(0.29)	(0.25)
Number of Kids	0.67	0.65
(std. dev.)	(1.04)	(1.04)
Age of Oldest Child in the Household		
No children	15.9%	84.1%
Oldest Child under six	25.3%	74.8%
Oldest Child six or over	14.7%	85.3%
Percent Black in Tract	6.2	5.4
(std. dev.)	(12.4)	(11.0)
Entropy in Tract	0.44	0.37
(std. dev.)	(0.31)	(0.28)
Percent Poverty in Tract	12.1	11.3
(std. dev.)	(10.3)	(9.0)
Percent BA or Above in Tract	21.6	20.7
(std. dev.)	(14.6)	(14.8)
Percent Own Home in Tract	70.5	74.8
(std. dev.)	(17.3)	(14.9)

N = 20,257 observations across 2,783 households.
Mean observations across households = 7.3.

Notes

[1]In previous analyses, we included a measure of the pace of racial change of the census tracts. Because we rely on census data, this variable measured the change in the percentage black and in the entropy scores between census years, 1980 and 1990, and 1990 and 2000. We found that the present racial composition was a stronger predictor of movement out of the census tract.

[2]It is important to consider the possibility of nonlinear or "threshold" effects when looking at measures of the racial composition of a neighborhood (Crowder 2001). Quadratic terms (percentage black squared and

entropy squared), however, were not themselves significant nor did they significantly improve the fit of the models.

[3]We experimented with several different age groupings for this variable. We separated teenagers into a group (13–18) to see if families might be concerned about high schools or teenagers' socialization in particular types of neighborhoods. This interaction coefficient was not significant. We also looked at children younger than five, as well as those younger than 12. The category that showed the most difference in behavior was the comparison of when children were younger than six (traditional school-age) compared to any other age grouping. Whether or not this category is dichotomous (has an oldest child less than six compared or not) or is compared to two other categories (no children, has children six or older) does not affect the substantive findings.

[4]We also explored the effect of the transition to having a child from having no children, with both lags of two and four years and leads of two and four years. Although the directions of the coefficients were similar to the results we present here, we suspect that significance was hard to achieve due to a smaller number of cases.

[5]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 relationships between the age of children and percentage black or entropy score. Models that did not include a control for homeownership showed the same pattern of results and significant coefficients.

[6]We explored interactions between number of children and percentage black and entropy on the likelihood of moving, but they were not significant.

[7]We also included interactions between the age of the oldest child and other tract-level characteristics such as the percentage poverty in the neighborhood, percentage of residents with a BA, and the percentage of homeowners in the tract. None of the coefficients were significant. More importantly, the interaction term between white households with children under six and the percentage of blacks in the neighborhood retained significance. From this result, it appears that parents with young children are responding to the racial composition of the neighborhood and not necessarily the poverty profile.

[8]In models not shown here but available from the authors, we substituted the percentage Hispanic in the tract for the percentage black in the neighborhood and got different results. Though the coefficients were smaller in magnitude than those for percentage black, we found that those whose oldest child was six or older were significantly more likely to move the more Hispanics there were in the neighborhood, compared to those without children, in both the random effects and fixed effects models. The same was not true of those whose oldest child was younger than six. The coefficient for these families was not significantly different from those without children. Families appear to have different motivations for moving from neighborhoods with greater proportions of blacks compared to greater proportions of Hispanics. For neighborhoods with increasing percentages of blacks, perhaps families are worried that lower quality schools and neighborhood services are associated with integrated black neighborhoods, while perhaps families worry about the socialization of older children with their Hispanic peers. Unfortunately, with PSID data we are unable to determine the motivations of families for moving out of particular neighborhoods.

[9]We also used the natural log of percent black and entropy in destination tracts as dependent variables to account for their skewed distributions. The interpretation of the results is the same, so we choose the nonnormalized variable for ease of interpretation.

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Mudándose por lo Niños: Examinando la Influencia de los Niños en la Segregación Residencial de Familias Blancas

Resumen
Hogares blancos con niños son los tipos de hogares menos propensos de todos los tipos de hogares a vivir en barrios integrados; sin embargo pocos investigadores han preguntado si son los niños quienes influyen en la decisión del lugar de vivienda. Los niños pueden afectar tanto las preferencias y limitaciones residenciales, así como decisiones de mudanza de vivienda que forman los patrones de segregación e integración. Siguiendo una cohorte de cabezas de hogares en Estudio de Panel de Dinámicas de Ingreso, encontramos que son los hogares blancos cuyo hijo mayor es menor de seis años los más propensos a mudarse cuando el porcentaje de residentes negros y la diversidad en sus barrios son altos. Sin embargo, cuando las familias blancas con niños se mudan, no son más propensas que familias blancas sin niños a mudarse a barrios con menor población negra y menor diversidad. Los niños menores pueden importar para entender la segregación porque influyen en sus familias para dejar barrios más diversos, pero los blancos generalmente se mudan a barrios con menor diversidad, sea que tengan o no tengan niños.