Moving and Staying in Los Angeles Neighborhoods: Money Matters, but So Does Family Composition

William A.V. Clark
University of California, Los Angeles

Abstract

In this article, I use data from the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Study to examine the residential selections that households and individuals make when they change residences and, in particular, the relationship between their choices and their socioeconomic status. I evaluate outcomes across neighborhoods grouped into deciles and quintiles of advantage and disadvantage, where the neighborhoods are allocated to groupings of advantage and disadvantage based on the first factor of a principal components analysis.

Resources—income, homeownership, and education—play important roles in neighborhood selection and can also affect the decision to move. Commonly accepted, and as demonstrated in this study, households on the whole move short distances within cities, and, thus, where an individual originates has an important effect on his or her ability to positively change his or her neighborhood status. The research shows that family composition and ethnicity can constrain how much of a change in outcome is possible with a move and highlights the difficulty of neighborhood or household interventions intended to improve outcomes after a move. Modest evidence points to an increase in satisfaction when households move up the hierarchy of the sociospatial scale.

Introduction

Interest is increasing among researchers as to what role places can play in the outcomes of families and individuals. It seems reasonable to expect that where a person lives can influence a wide variety of outcomes such as access to schools, health care, and jobs, hence the continuing research interest in the role of neighborhoods and communities in the urban fabric. Although an extensive literature addresses mobility across low-income and poverty neighborhoods and whether or not households in poor neighborhoods can escape those environments, the broad spectrum of neighborhoods has received less attention. Often, the focus is on movers and less is known about stayers or those who move within similar kinds of neighborhoods. Thus, it is useful to put the mobility across low-income neighborhoods into a wider perspective, while at the same time not losing interest in the problems of low-income movers. The research in this article aims to broaden the interest from deprived neighborhoods to the whole range of socioeconomic statuses within the urban fabric, and to contrast the outcomes at the different ends of the spectrum of income and education.

A significant body of research has established that residential mobility is a function of age, tenure (homeowner or renter), family status (income level, education level), the demand for living space, and changes in household composition. Less developed is the outcome of residence change. Although it is generally assumed that people move to improve, in many cases mobility is not voluntary and people do not always gain from residential changes. These questions then arise: Which households make gains in neighborhood quality? Do families who move make, at the least, subjective gains after moving? Specifically, the article examines a set of questions about neighborhood outcomes and individual levels of satisfaction from the Los Angeles Family and Neighborhood Survey (LAFANS).

It is common knowledge that cities are divided by socioeconomic status and that the division has a spatial pattern. It is this pattern that is summarized in neighborhoods, leading to the question: How do people sort themselves into these spatial units? The research in this article is about that sorting process—about the outcomes of residential relocation within the structure of the city. The survey asks these questions: (1) Which of the families who move are able to locate to better neighborhoods and which are not? (2) What are the differences between those who stay in their neighborhood, those who move within a similar neighborhood type, and those who move to more or less advantaged neighborhoods? (3) Are families who move and make gains in neighborhood quality more satisfied than those who move but do not make neighborhood quality gains? (4) What evidence shows that moving improves neighborhood quality?

Previous Studies of Mobility and Neighborhoods

The research in this article is set within a rich body of previous investigations of mobility and neighborhood sorting. A limited review of what is now a very large literature can usefully be organized around studies of mobility and residential sorting, specific studies of entering and leaving deprived neighborhoods, and studies of household neighborhood intervention. Within the latter, the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program tried to measure the outcomes for individual families and provides an opportunity to view the difficult issue of translating findings into contributions to solving the problems of poverty.

Mobility and Sorting in the Urban Mosaic

The creation of neighborhoods is not a random process but is embedded in the preferences people reveal in their wish to live near similar households in terms of income, composition (presence of children, for example), and ethnicity. A set of analytic and simulation studies established the relevance of these sorting mechanisms and the grouping of like individuals into spatially defined areas (neighborhoods) from which similar behaviors and common outcomes are observed (Bruch and Mare, 2006; Clark, 1991, 1992; Clark and Fossett, 2009; Fossett, 2006; Schelling, 1971). The differential choices of movers and stayers are important, and these choices are an essential element of the creation of spatial stratification (Clark and Morrison, 2012; Sampson and Starkey, 2008). Then, if the residential sorting process leads to a widening of differences between neighborhoods, some places will experience a more rapid descent socioeconomically than others and generate characteristics that may initiate threshold effects on social behavior of the associated residents (Meen, 2006). At the same time, some neighborhoods may experience increases in socioeconomic status or, at the least, the maintenance of present levels of high socioeconomic status. In this sense, neighborhood outcomes (both positive and negative) can result directly from residential mobility, as extensive reviews of the literature show (Dietz, 2002; Durlauf, 2004).

Choices or the lack of choices have been related to family and household resource characteristics, especially income, assets as measured by home ownership, and social capital (education). The choices up the hierarchy of neighborhoods tend to be related to higher education levels, professional occupations, ownership, and income (Clark, 2007; Clark and Dieleman, 1996; Clark and Rivers, 2012; Sharygin, 2010). Measures of income and socioeconomic status are also associated with movements in and out of deprived neighborhoods, although race plays a role as well (Bolt et al., 2008; South et al., 2005). Whites are more likely to choose largely White tracts (Clark, 2009), but it is notable in a national study that more than one-fifth (21 percent) of African-American households, 51 percent of Asian households, and 23 percent of Hispanic households move to tracts that are 70 percent or more White (Clark and Rivers, 2012). Clearly, considerable fluidity exists in the choice processes and outcomes in terms of racial and ethnic composition. Many of these households that move to White areas are in fact moving to areas that overall are more advantaged, not because they are White per se, but because, in general, Whites have been able to secure more advantaged neighborhoods. Overall, the residential mobility studies clearly show that individuals do adjust their neighborhood location to fit with changes in income as well as to accommodate changing preferences for family and ethnic composition over the life course.

Research on mobility in the context of family behavior shows that, indeed, those families who can leave unsatisfactory locations are more satisfied. As part of the Making Connections initiative, Coulton et al. (2009) found that 30 percent of their movers were up-and-out movers who often became homeowners in better neighborhoods. At the same time, those households that cannot make such transitions are often vulnerable households that "need help along many dimensions" (Coulton, 2009: 28). Thus, as Cheshire et al. (2003) found, mobility often leads to an increase in the average level of deprivation of the area of exit. Mobility behavior is also intertwined with the composition of the household. When vulnerable households are affected by unforeseen changes, housing stress and downward housing career moves are often the outcome.

The Role of Selective Mobility

A small, important literature looks specifically at the propensity to enter and to leave areas ranked by levels of deprivation. These studies are variants of the question posed in the previous section—who gets on and moves out and who moves in to replace the households that are able to relocate. Although, in most cases, the focus is on only the most deprived neighborhoods, several studies, in both the United States and Europe, documented that selectivity matters in the ability to escape deprivation and, even though resources matter, minority status increases the difficulty of leaving (Bolt and Von Kempen, 2003; South and Crowder, 1997; South, Crowder, and Pais, 2011). Other research also documents that selection occurs across communities even when a policy commitment to social integration exists; for example, the planning process in the Netherlands. Studies show people leave some neighborhoods and choose others, with the mobility decision often being triggered by the presence of minority populations (Bolt et al., 2008; Van Ham and Feijten, 2008). Obviously, the response to neighborhood composition is then embedded in the selectivity process.

The focus on deprived neighborhoods draws on the notion that social networks and place attachment in such situations shape young people's attitudes toward education and work opportunities. Thus, the notion that deprived areas serve as conditioning communities in creating an underclass population becomes a basis for intervention to either help disadvantaged populations to selectively move, or to provide place-based assistance to improve the neighborhood. Given the selective nature of mobility, however, it is difficult to affect these place-based interventions Evidence reveals that, "net migration flows act to maintain the gap between deprived areas and the average and, as a result, work to undermine efforts to regenerate deprived neighborhoods" (Bailey and Livingston, 2008: 948). In addition, Sharkey (2012) showed that unselected change (that is, a change in neighborhood conditions after a move into a new neighborhood) can undo the gains of moving up.

Clearly this process is complicated. It is a process in which mobility occurs against a changing backdrop and with changes in the household and family as well. The changes in the backdrop have been examined recently in the context of the decline in housing values, the foreclosure crisis, and the implications for mobility. On the one hand, foreclosure may have stimulated mobility and created neighborhood changes (Sharygin, Ellen, and Lacoe, 2010), while on the other hand, the sudden decline in home values has locked homeowners into their locations and made moves that much more difficult (Ferreira, Gyourko, and Tracy, 2010). They show that about a 12-percent decline exists in mobility with every $1,000 increase in negative equity. This finding is especially troubling for African-American households that often stretched their finances to become homeowners in the middle of the 2000s (Clark, 2011). All of these findings raise the issue of how to intervene to bring about substantive change for families, and what is the probability of success if some manner of intervention is made.

Mobility and Policy

Interest in using mobility to provide opportunities for disadvantaged households has existed for two decades. Some research suggested that vouchers to aid relocation to suburban areas would increase job opportunities for low-income populations and solve some of issues of residence in inner-city neighborhoods with problems of substance abuse, poor schools, and crime. Beginning with the Gautreaux studies, some researchers suggested that vouchers to move out to suburban

locations have provided gains for families who can successfully relocate (Rosenbaum, 1993, 1995). The MTO studies also argued for real gains from relocation (Goering, 2005; Briggs, 2005; Orr et al., 2003). Others suggest more caution on the outcomes of these interventions (Clark, 2008; Imbrocsio, 2012; Varady, 2003). Although it may be possible to disperse some individual households, whether using voucher programs as a policy intervention to change the distribution of poverty is successful is far from clear (Sampson, 2008). Overall, it is likely to take a lot of individual moves and money to affect any substantial deconcentration of the poor (Goetz, 2003).

When examining the mobility of the households between those who received help to move and those who were the control group (received no help to move), this study found that the unaided groups in some cities achieved residence in low-income neighborhoods to the same extent as those who had help. Moreover, those who moved with help often moved to neighborhoods like the ones they came from and, in some cases, moved back to their old neighborhoods. Households vote with their feet, so to speak, and decisions by governments are always embedded in the dynamic demography of the city (Tiebout, 1956). Income and asset levels are central elements of the choice process and, as will become clear in the empirical section of the article, it is difficult to determine how to change the choice process without fundamentally changing income levels.

This critique is not designed to ignore the fact that some households benefited from the MTO intervention. Overall, initial gains were made for nearly all moving households in the MTO program; these gains, however, could simply not be sustained for most households (Clark, 2008). The intervention takes place, as mentioned previously, in the context of the sociospatial structure of the city, which is a moving target because cities continue to change when new immigrants arrive and when established households leave. More change probably occurs in Los Angeles neighborhoods from immigration than could be influenced by government intervention. Behavioral changes will continue to affect the metropolitan structure. Understanding the bases for choice and selection may provide the environment for creating the connections to community and providing the gains for disadvantaged households.

Analysis Format, Data, and Methods

This study draws the data for analysis from the LAFANS and an analysis of census data of neighborhood characteristics. It uses the data from the first wave of interviews and examines the 994 mover households from the LAFANS data in the context of all households in the survey. It is possible to track the movers across tracts in Los Angeles County and to match the households and families to their neighborhoods, identified in this study as census tracts. It is possible to assess their progress across neighborhoods that are defined by levels of advantage and disadvantage. This specific analysis uses matrices of neighborhoods that are grouped into deciles and quintiles of advantage and disadvantage and examines the mobility behavior of families and individuals across these combinations of geographic units.

The deciles and quintiles of advantage and disadvantage are created from census tract data for Los Angeles County. Tracts are assigned to deciles based on their factor scores from the first factor of a principal components analysis that uses nine variables from the 2000 census. The variables used to create the scores are broadly similar to those used in other studies of neighborhood advantage and disadvantage, including studies in the United Kingdom (Noble et al., 2004) and New Zealand

(White et al., 2008). These measures are designed to capture the demography of the underlying urban structure, the levels of poverty and deprivation, and the socioeconomic status of the tracts.[1] Thus, this study measures the proportion of single-headed families, the levels of education, levels of unemployment, and whether they had access to vehicles, among other variables.[2] Experiments that use other sets of variables and a more parsimonious list do not materially alter the position of tracts across the first principal component. The underlying assumption of creating a neighborhood index is that these areas provide varying contexts, from good to not so good, for individual households that live in these areas and that may try to use their resources to improve their level of advantage by moving and by moving up the hierarchy. This index, however, does not capture either the larger picture of urban sustainability or the externalities of crime and disorder, although it is likely that these externalities are associated with the index as it has been constructed here.

Using the index, the movements of individuals and households are tracked through the levels of advantage and disadvantage. The moves are in the interval 2000 to 2002, which is close to the time of the 2000 census measures. The second wave of LAFANS data will require attention to change in these neighborhoods over time, but, for this analysis, any single change in an individual neighborhood is unlikely to change that neighborhood's ranking. The map of the neighborhoods illustrates the common urban distribution of advantaged neighborhoods in more suburban locations and a greater distribution of deprivation in the inner-city neighborhoods of Los Angeles (exhibit 1). The map is presented in quintiles with a gray scale, but a decile map in color is accessible on the *Cityscape* website at http://www.huduser.org. The population flows across the levels of deciles and quintiles are presented in a series of matrices, and then these population flows are modeled using multinomial logit models pertaining to choice on the diagonal line, either above the diagonal line (more advantaged) or below the diagonal line (less advantaged).

The findings use a framework from a national study of household moves across tracts using the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (Clark and Rivers, 2012). In that study, and in this specific city study, the aim is to build a picture of exactly how much dynamism is in neighborhood selection and where movers end up as a result of their move. Also relevant is not simply who moves, but who stays in a similar neighborhood, and how households and individuals who move, locally and otherwise, compare with those who do not move. Unlike the national study, this study measures the extent to which households and individuals express varying levels of satisfaction with their move.

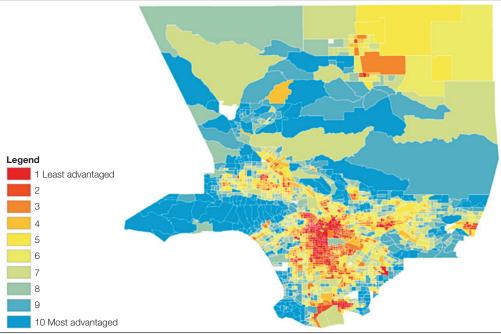This article presents findings on the following variables:

1. Matrices of movement across neighborhood deciles and quintiles.

2. The intersection of income, education, and tenure for movers across quintiles.

3. The intersection of expressed satisfaction levels by mobility outcomes.

4. Models of mover choices across quintiles.

---

[1] To clarify, I use the word *neighborhood* for the tract in which the respondents live and use U.S. Bureau of the Census data for census tracts to create the deciles and quintiles of advantage and disadvantage.

[2] The variables in the factor score index are percent single family, percent linguistically isolated, percent high school, percent unemployed, percent public assistance, percent below poverty, percent high-density housing occupation, percent no vehicle, and percent median household income.

Exhibit 1

Advantaged and Disadvantaged Neighborhoods in Los Angeles County, 2000

Source: 2000 Census

The use of both deciles and quintiles for presentation and analysis is necessitated by sample size constraints and the opportunity to provide more details in some aspects of the presentation.

Findings

To build the picture of how people and households choose within a complex urban structure and to illustrate how these choices create and perpetuate residential patterns of advantage and disadvantage, the article examines both aggregate movements and movements by race and ethnicity. It also examines the intersection of the choices and the underlying resources available to the household.

1. Matrices of Choice

The matrix of choices across the matrix of deciles of advantage and disadvantage shows both concentration and dispersal (exhibit 2). As expected, there is a significant probability of moving on the diagonal line (that is, within the same decile) or to deciles that are one cell above or below the diagonal line. Slightly more than 38 percent of all movers remain on the diagonal line. Overall, 37.4 percent of movers make gains in status and 24.3 percent lose a level in the hierarchy when they move. The mobility behavior and selection in Los Angeles reflect the overall likelihood of moving very short distances. In general, in residential mobility, the moves are short, often not

Exhibit 2

Matrix of Changes in Neighborhood Decile for Household Moves
(weighted responses)

		Least			Advantage Status Destination Decile Wave					Most		Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	1	42.8	20.3	15.2	4.3	7.2	5.3	1.1	.8	1.3	0	98.3
	2	12.0	44.8	16.5	12.7	2.0	2.8	.9	1.5	.5	9.9	103.5
	3	1.6	11.5	61.4	1.2	6.9	8.0	10.1	4.7	6.2	7.3	118.8
Origin decile	4	4.5	1.2	10.7	27.1	1.7	5.2	1.6	14.7	6.1	4.3	77.1
	5	1.5	11.7	18.5	3.9	25.4	10.2	12.0	7.3	1.4	10.2	102.0
	6	3.6	1.8	10.7	10.5	4.0	27.8	13.6	21.3	22.2	0	115.0
	7	.5	.6	2.0	11.4	10.2	2.3	42.0	11.5	16.7	10.6	107.8
	8	.1	1.6	4.0	3.1	1.5	6.7	25.5	28.4	3.8	22.3	97.0
	9	.8	0	0	0	4.6	4.1	1.6	12.5	26.6	28.2	78.5
	10	0	0	.3	.4	2.7	5.2	8.9	17.5	5.3	55.6	95.8
Total		67.4	93.6	139.2	75.6	66.3	77.5	117.3	120.2	90.2	148.3	994.4

Note: Because the numerical values sum to about 1,000, they can also be interpreted as percentages.

breaking neighborhood ties, but the moves in Los Angeles appear to be even more limited. Nearly 20 percent moved within the same census tract; overall, 36 percent of the moves were less than 1 mile away, and another 13 percent were less than 2 miles away. Such short-distance moves are unlikely to break the ties with the decile of origin, and considerable continuity can be expected in neighborhood outcomes.

The results for the mobility data at the quintile level naturally show a greater concentration directly on the diagonal line (exhibits 3–6). For all movers, 51.3 percent begin and end in the same quintile on the diagonal line, 30 percent gain a level, and 19 percent lose a level. The conditional row probabilities emphasize the likelihood of staying in the highest and lowest quartiles, but it is the breakdown of moves across ethnic and racial groups that add to understanding relocation behavior. The data samples are modest for some groups, but it is significant that, across all groups, if a mover is in the highest quintile, he or she has an extremely high probability of staying in that quintile.

Overall, White households have the highest probability of moving up in status. Less than 50 percent of White households remain on the diagonal line, nearly 33 percent gain a level, and 20 percent lose a level. In contrast, more than 52 percent of Hispanic households stay on the diagonal line, 29 percent gain a level, and only 17 percent lose a level. The fact that Hispanic households either maintain or gain status is testimony to their increasing gains in socioeconomic status, in general. This type of move is significantly different from the moves by African-American households, where more than 56 percent remain on the diagonal line, only 19 percent gain a level, and more households are moving down in quintile status than are moving up. White households, even those with their origin in the lowest quintile, show significant probabilities of being able to access higher level quintiles, but this probability is much less for Hispanic and African-American households; more than 70 percent of African-American households and 64 percent of Hispanic households that began in the lowest quintile remained there after their move. In addition, although nearly one-third of White households are able to move from the lowest to the highest quintile, nearly no Hispanic or African-American households can experience this outcome.

Exhibit 3

Weighted Distribution (a) and Conditional Row Probabilities (b) of All Household Choices Across Quintiles (low/high)

(a)	Destination					Total	(b)	Destination					Total
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5	
Origin quintile 1	120	49	17	4	12	202	Origin quintile 1	.594	.242	.086	.021	.058	100.0
2	19	100	22	31	24	196	2	.096	.512	.111	.158	.122	100.0
3	19	44	67	54	34	218	3	.085	.200	.310	.249	.156	100.0
4	3	20	21	107	53	205	4	.014	.100	.101	.524	.261	100.0
5	1	1	17	41	116	174	5	.005	.004	.095	.233	.664	100.0
Total	161	214	144	237	238	994	Total	.162	.215	.145	.239	.240	100.0

Exhibit 4

Weighted Distribution (a) and Conditional Row Probabilities (b) of White Household Choices Across Quintiles (low/high)

(a)	Destination					Total	(b)	Destination					Total
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5	
Origin quintile 1	7	2	9	1	9	27	Origin quintile 1	.259	.088	.325	.009	.319	100.0
2	4	7	4	9	13	37	2	.097	.191	.102	.255	.355	100.0
3	6	8	48	35	21	118	3	.052	.064	.407	.296	.182	100.0
4	1	5	10	63	36	114	4	.005	.041	.085	.551	.312	100.0
5	0	1	11	36	76	174	5	.000	.003	.090	.290	.616	100.0
Total	18	22	81	143	156	419	Total	.004	.005	.194	.342	.371	100.0

Exhibit 5

Weighted Distribution (a) and Conditional Row Probabilities (b) of Hispanic Household Choices Across Quintiles (low/high)

(a)	Destination					Total	(b)	Destination					Total
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5	
Origin quintile 1	72	29	6	2	3	111	Origin quintile 1	.642	.263	.054	.017	.026	100.0
2	9	68	10	11	2	100	2	.092	.680	.103	.106	.019	100.0
3	7	22	8	9	9	55	3	.133	.391	.154	.165	.157	100.0
4	0	6	8	12	8	35	4	.006	.175	.239	.348	.233	100.0
5	0	0	0	0	6	6	5	.000	.000	.000	.006	.933	100.0
Total	88	125	33	34	27	307	Total	.287	.406	.108	.112	.088	100.0

Exhibit 6

Weighted Distribution (a) and Conditional Row Probabilities (b) of African-American Household Choices Across Quintiles (low/high)

(a)	Destination					Total	(b)	Destination					Total
	1	2	3	4	5			1	2	3	4	5	
Origin quintile 1	28	9	1	1	1	40	Origin quintile 1	.717	.225	.024	.023	.011	100.0
2	6	12	6	0	3	27	2	.218	.462	.213	.000	.023	100.0
3	1	11	4	1	1	18	3	.075	.605	.203	.057	.060	100.0
4	2	9	1	10	1	23	4	.087	.373	.047	.447	.046	100.0
5	1	0	0	0	16	17	5	.046	.000	.000	.000	.954	100.0
Total	38	41	11	12	22	125	Total						100.0

An examination of the two top quintiles as a measure of continuing concentration of outcomes provides a real contrast between the White sample, where approximately 50 percent of households moved into or within the top quintiles, and the Hispanic (8.5 percent) and African-American (21.6 percent) samples. To put these selections into context, the national data suggest that only 31.0 percent of White households, 5.3 percent of African-American households, and 9.9 percent of Hispanic households move within the top quartiles (Clark and Rivers, 2012). White households clearly are concentrating more in their selections in Los Angeles than they do nationally, but African-American households are nearly four times more likely to be in, or moving into, the top deciles than African-American households nationally. Hispanic households in Los Angeles are similar to their national averages. How can these numbers be interpreted? The numbers suggest that two forces are competing in Los Angeles: one is creating greater concentration and another is reflecting the greater fluidity for minorities who have greater resources. The finding is consistent with previous research that showed very different results (from the data for Baltimore, Chicago, and New York) for the MTO sample that moved in the Los Angeles metropolitan area (Clark, 2008).

The focus of this study, however, is not only about the ethnic makeup of those who gain and lose; it is also about their associated socioeconomic characteristics. This analysis was conducted for movers within quintiles, stayers within quintiles, and movers who were above and below the diagonal line and who were disaggregated by the nature and direction of the move.

2. The Intersection of Race and Socioeconomic Status and the Implications for Mobility

Movers and stayers within quintiles are not that different in lower status neighborhoods, although, in general, movers have higher incomes, are more likely to have college degrees or attended college, and are more likely to be homeowners (exhibit 7).

Of course, the differences in outcomes are greatest when a household moves up the status quintiles, which is expected (median income is one of the variables in the index). Indeed, incomes are nearly five times higher for movers in the most advantaged quintiles, and they have a nearly linear increase across the distribution of quintiles. This pattern holds fairly well across all racial and ethnic groups. The outcomes in homeownership reflect, of course, the differences in income. Differences in education levels, specifically the proportion with some college or a complete college education, demonstrate the importance of education in creating the basis for homeownership and upward mobility. Overall, the differences are much more striking over the distribution of quintiles than they are over the differences in race and ethnicity (exhibit 8).

It is important to note that the small sample sizes do not negate the overall conclusion—that socioeconomic status for households is closely associated with the place of residence and movement into more advantaged areas. Overall, homeowners prevail in high-status areas and renters dominate low-status areas. Demonstrated in the quintile matrices, White households dominate the higher status quintile, but some Hispanic and African-American households do live in these most favored areas.[3] Still, the number of households is a very small fraction of the populations in those high-status areas.

---

[3] In the quintile matrices, the data are reported as weighted results. The data for the socioeconomic characteristics are unweighted. The weighting produced unreliable estimates on income and homeownership.
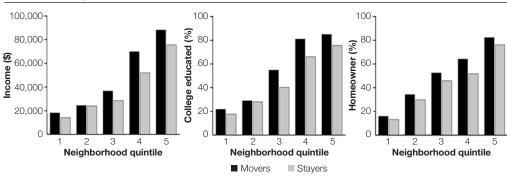
Exhibit 7

Stayers and Movers Within Quintiles, by Race and Ethnicity (unweighted)

Quintile	Households (n)		Family Income ($)		Have College Degree (%)		Homeowner (%)	
	Movers	Stayers	Movers	Stayers	Movers	Stayers	Movers	Stayers
All Households								
1	253	627	18,119	14,109	21.7	17.7	15.8	13.0
2	90	432	24,384	23,964	28.9	28.0	34.1	29.7
3	42	276	36,620	28,577	54.8	40.2	52.4	45.8
4	79	251	69,823	52,008	81.0	66.1	64.1	51.7
5	73	213	88,100	75,568	84.9	75.6	82.2	76.1
White								
1	9	39	21,358	16,149	66.7	59.0	0.0	14.3
2	5	42	35,500	44,329	60.0	76.2	60.0	55.0
3	21	82	41,710	30,966	61.9	53.7	52.4	54.4
4	56	122	78,730	63,667	85.7	76.2	64.3	60.2
5	49	147	92,581	77,236	95.9	78.9	85.7	78.3
Hispanic								
1	193	500	18,929	14,136	10.9	9.0	15.0	11.0
2	75	317	23,654	20,368	24.0	15.1	29.7	23.5
3	11	147	28,273	24,850	27.3	23.1	63.6	46.0
4	11	68	63,750	35,789	63.6	50.0	63.6	51.5
5	6	24	82,717	63,242	50.0	58.3	66.7	60.9
African American								
1	42	65	10,603	12,213	54.8	52.3	19.0	26.7
2	5	44	33,333	33,032	80.0	65.9	75.0	45.2
3	5	15	*	30,357	*	93.3	*	33.3
4	3	21	*	40,308	*	81.0	*	26.3
5	4	8	*	37,500	*	62.5	*	42.9

* Small sample sizes.

Exhibit 8

Mover-to-Stayer Differences Across Quintiles

Movers ■   Stayers ■

An analysis of the movers who change quintiles provides greater detail about the role resources play in making gains or suffering losses in neighborhood quality. The study examines all gains (moves from the lowest quintile to quintiles 3 to 5, from quintile 2 to quintiles 3 to 5, from quintile 3 to quintiles 4 to 5, and from quintile 4 to quintile 5) and all losses (moves from quintile 2 to quintile 1 and from quintiles 3 to 5 to quintiles 1 to 2). In effect, the study does not consider the very lowest exchanges; it examines income, education levels, and homeownership status for White, Hispanic, and African-American households that gain or lose a level, defined in the previous section. Does socio-economic status matter in the available choices, especially for minority households? Clearly, it does (exhibit 9).

Across all income, education, and homeownership levels, the number of moves made from lower to higher quintiles are about twice the moves made from higher to lower quintiles (exhibit 10). The exceptions to this observation are education levels for White households and homeownership levels for African-American households. The biggest contrasts are for Hispanic households—those moving up are nearly five times more likely to have a college education and four times more likely to be homeowners. White households that make the transition to the highest quintile, in general, are likely to be homeowners, have higher levels of college education, and have significantly higher incomes.
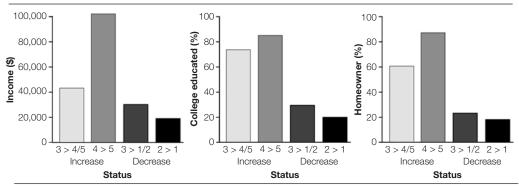
Exhibit 9

Aggregate Moves to More and Less Advantaged Quintiles

Race or Ethnicity	Advantage Moves				Disadvantage Moves			
	House-holds (n)	Family Income ($)	Have College Degree (%)	Home-owner (%)	House-holds (n)	Family Income ($)	Have College Degree (%)	Home-owner (%)
All	189	61,513	71.4	69.1	124	28,119	30.6	26.2
White	89	72,204	75.3	71.9	15	43,400	70.0	33.3
Hispanic	59	49,595	55.9	71.2	78	25,586	10.3	18.4
African American	14	43,846	78.6	38.5	23	19,762	56.5	39.1

Note: Advantage moves are defined as from the lowest quintile to quintiles 3 to 5, from quintile 2 to quintiles 3 to 5, from quintile 3 to quintiles 4 to 5, and from quintile 4 to quintile 5. Disadvantage moves are defined as from quintile 2 to quintile 1 and from quintiles 3 to 5 to quintiles 1 to 2.

Exhibit 10

Characteristics of Households That Move Up and Move Down Across Neighborhoods in Los Angeles

A specific analysis of moves made up and down from the middle quintiles provides some of the most useful data for understanding the selection process and its outcomes. The moves from the 4th quintile to the 5th quintile typically involve high-earner homeowners with college educations. The moves into the bottom quintile are composed of low-income and less educated homeowners and renters (exhibit 11). When the data are graphed, the differences between the uniformly high values on income, education, and tenure for those who gain a level and the much more varied outcomes for those who lose a level are striking (exhibit 12). In one way, this outcome parallels the structure of the quintiles, which reflect income differences as well as other socioeconomic characteristics. A detailed decomposition of the movers provides further understanding of what underlies a household's move up, and especially, a household's move down the hierarchy. What is the composition of the movers, especially of those moving at the bottom of the advantage and disadvantage structure?
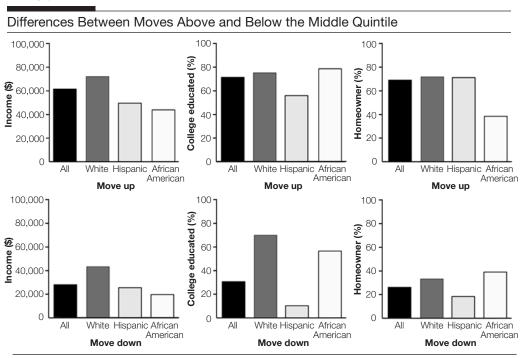
Exhibit 11

Moves Up or Down From the Middle Quintiles to More and Less Advantaged Quintiles

Move[a]	Households (n)	Family Income ($)	Have College Degree (%)	Homeowner (%)
Advantage moves				
3 to 4–5	57	43,245	73.7	66.7
4 to 5	47	101,650	95.1	87.2
Disadvantage moves				
3 to 1–2	61	30,166	29.5	23.3
2 to 1	45	18,992	20.0	18.2

[a] Among quintiles.

Exhibit 12

Differences Between Moves Above and Below the Middle Quintile

The decomposition of movers into their family structures and additional details on their socioeconomic characteristics help reveal the processes of choice and who is likely to choose or be constrained to lose a level in the neighborhood hierarchy (exhibit 13). The results add considerable detail to the focus on resources, per se. Nearly one-half of those individuals who drop from quintile 2 to 1 are divorced, are divorced with children, or have never been married or had children; nearly all are renters; and only a few have some college education. It is a similar story for moves from quintile 3 to 1. The structure of the table is striking, with increasing numbers with incomes of more than $50,000—the resource effect; a changing distribution of age—the life-cycle effect; and the role of education—the knowledge effect, knowing how to negotiate in an increasingly complicated world, as the moves to more advantaged neighborhoods take place. The analysis reveals that marginal households with only tenuous links to their communities suffer from downward mobility. For the moves made to the highest quintile, lower incidences of household dissolution and children in never-married households exists. The breakdown of household structure is being played out in neighborhood choice at the lower end of the advantage and disadvantage scale.

Exhibit 13

Individual Relocation Moves Between Quintiles

Move[a]	Percent Minority	Percent College Educated	Percent Renter	Percent Income ≥ $50,000	Percent Divorced	Percent Never Married	Percent Age < 35
2 to 1	98.4	19.0	81.0	6.3	17.5	27.0	55.6
3 to 1	87.1	35.5	83.9	12.9	16.1	22.6	38.7
3 to 2	86.7	24.0	62.2	20.0	8.8	13.3	35.6
3 to 4–5	53.4	72.6	37.0	45.6	13.7	17.8	24.7
4 to 5	35.0	88.0	10.0	86.8	10.0	3.3	18.3

[a] *Among quintiles.*

Some national data reveal that younger households lose a level in the hierarchy to enter the homeowner market, but this trend does not appear in this Los Angeles study. It is clear that younger renters are the movers in the lowest quintiles, but, in general, they are not entering the homeowner market. That being said, some African-American households become homeowners in the lowest deciles. This trend may be an outcome of the push to homeownership created when the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development required Fannie Mae to dedicate 50 percent of its business to low- and moderate-income families. Certainly this allotment increased homeownership for lower income households, although they now are dealing with the associated debt burdens and declining house values. In general, however, the moves from the middle quintile to the lowest quintiles exhibit traces of family breakup or instability often associated with lower education levels. It is important not to stereotype these processes, as recently occurred with the Coming Apart study (Murray, 2012). Still, the issue of household composition and the difficulty in sustaining family stability, and consequently improving residential locations, are clear. As in the Coulton et al. (2009) study, households that run into social problems have higher likelihoods of slipping down the social scale.

3. Satisfaction With Mobility

For those households that gain a level in status and have better outcomes, what is the intersection with levels of satisfaction for moving above the diagonal line versus remaining on the diagonal

line or moving below the diagonal line? Data from the LAFANS enable us to look at the cross-classification of several characteristics of neighborhoods in contrast with the neighborhood gains that were observed from the mobility behavior. The data enable cross-classification of overall satisfaction and neighborhood safety, and they reveal whether the neighborhood is close knit and whether the neighbors share the same values. Each of these outcomes can be ranked by where gain intersects satisfaction on a four-point scale. For example, it is possible to examine overall satisfaction, when analyzed in terms of those who make a gain, those who stay the same (but have no change in satisfaction), or those who make a selection that puts them below the diagonal, and to examine their outcomes on whether or not they were very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the outcome (exhibit 14).

Exhibit 14

Mobility Outcomes and Responses to Neighborhood Characteristics

(a) Overall Satisfaction[a]

Moves	Very Satisfied		Satisfied		Dissatisfied		Very Dissatisfied	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Advantage	126	43.2	149	50.9	16	5.5	1	0.3
Same	139	27.9	274	54.9	58	11.6	10	2.0
Disadvantage	27	15.0	118	65.6	26	14.4	6	3.3

(b) Neighborhood Safety[b]

Moves	Completely Safe		Fairly Safe		Somewhat Dangerous		Dangerous	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Advantage	109	37.2	143	48.8	27	9.2	14	4.8
Same	125	25.0	258	51.7	94	18.8	23	4.6
Disadvantage	31	17.2	92	51.0	40	22.2	17	9.4

(c) Close-Knit Neighborhood[c]

Moves	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Advantage	42	14.3	147	50.2	79	27.0	9	3.1
Same	44	8.8	260	52.1	154	30.9	33	6.6
Disadvantage	4	2.2	92	51.1	74	41.1	1	0.6

(d) Neighbors Share Same Values[d]

Moves	Strongly Agree		Agree		Disagree		Strongly Disagree	
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Advantage	21	7.2	156	53.2	57	19.5	19	6.5
Same	19	3.8	245	49.1	157	31.5	14	2.8
Disadvantage	1	0.6	60	33.3	92	51.1	6	3.3

[a] *Chi square for 3x3 table (collapse dissatisfied) 49.8 pr > .0001.*

[b] *Chi square for 3x3 table (collapse dangerous) 35.1 pr > .0001.*

[c] *Chi square for 3x3 table (collapse disagree) 22.9 p > .0001.*

[d] *Chi square for 3x3 table (collapse disagree) 47.5 pr > .0001.*

Notes: Advantage (n = 293) is a move above the diagonal, same (n = 499) is a move on the diagonal, and disadvantage (n = 180) is a move below the diagonal of the matrix of moves. The response "unsure or neutral" is omitted for overall satisfaction, close-knit neighborhood, and neighbors share same values, but the number can be computed by subtraction from the total.

The four matrices of gains, when cross-referenced with satisfaction, safety, neighborhood connections, and neighborhood values, provide convincing evidence that those who move above the diagonal line (that is, those households that make gains) are also significantly more satisfied, feel safer, and agree that they live in close-knit neighborhoods with people who have similar values, versus those who move below the diagonal line (exhibit 14). Regarding overall satisfaction, those households that moved above the diagonal line are nearly three times more likely to be very satisfied than those that moved below the diagonal line and are even more satisfied than those that moved on the diagonal line. This powerful evidence makes a connection among moving, improving outcomes, and outcomes of satisfaction. Similarly, those households that made gains are twice as likely to feel completely safe and many more times as likely to agree that they live in a close-knit neighborhood and one that shares the same values than those households that do not. Collapsing those tables to the simple 3-by-3 gain and loss versus satisfaction generates statistically significant results. The chi-square values are all greater than 0.001.

What are the conclusions from this analysis of mobility behavior and neighborhood satisfaction outcomes? Moving matters, and moving brings gains in general life satisfaction for many movers. Those who stay often are not especially dissatisfied, but the movers who lose a level are less satisfied. It is a reiteration of the general view that those who can move, move out and move up, which of course leaves those who are less advantage behind. Still, many households that move below the diagonal line are still somewhat satisfied or feel that they are fairly safe. Of course, their satisfaction is not totally unexpected because, in many cases, the household will have chosen that neighborhood. It will be only with the second wave of data that longer term satisfaction can be evaluated.

It is only for the response to the question of whether households feel they are in a neighborhood where neighbors share the same values that we see strong discrepancies in feelings about their neighborhood. These results matter, because they reveal something about how people are reacting to the outcomes from the mobility behavior. In essence, mobility does not always work out. In these instances, people make the best of the situation. However, in the end, the matching of values may be one of the most important indicators of future mobility. If individuals and households can find places where they feel at home, sharing the same values is certainly a presumption of a lower probability of future mobility.

4. Models of Choice

A series of multinomial logit models were constructed to further explore the associations with census tract choice that can be observed in the matrices of moves. The study examines the variables that are associated with moves above and below the diagonal line, using the diagonal line as the reference category. It examines total number of moves made and the choices made by White, African-American, and Hispanic households, each analyzed separately.

The model for all moves, including variables that measure the tract proportion of African-American and Hispanic households, is significant and confirms the discussion of the roles of income, education, and tenure in the quintile outcomes (exhibit 15). Age is significant, as are education and tenure, but clearly tenure is substituting for income, because when income is used as an independent measure, it is not significant. The race and ethnic variables are not significant. When the same model is examined for moves above and below the diagonal line, with the diagonal line being used as a reference

category for White, African-American, and Hispanic movers, education dominates in influence over outcomes (exhibit 16). Indeed, it is the only variable that is significant across all three groups. In addition, for Hispanic households, tenure is a significant measure of moving above the diagonal line and marital status is marginally significant at level .10 for both White and African-American households, as is income for African-American households.

A preliminary interpretation of the findings from the advantage and disadvantage moves suggests that status, as measured by education, is a critically important measure of the choices that matter across neighborhoods in metropolitan Los Angeles. Income lurks in the background for African-American and Hispanic households, although it is only marginally significant in both cases. Family status is also a background variable for White and African-American households' ability to make more positive moves. That tenure is not important when the data are broken down by ethnicity emphasizes the much lower ownership levels of African-American and Hispanic households overall. The results reveal two forces that were discussed in previous sections. First, the income effect seems to be greatest for the higher quintiles—that is, the increase in income across quintiles is not linear but increases rapidly in the two highest quintiles. Second, the strong findings on the influence of education level achieved upon positive outcome, reflect and include the status differences that are highlighted for families who are moving down the neighborhood hierarchy because of family trauma.

Exhibit 15

Multinomial Models of Advantage and Disadvantage Moves Across the Mobility Matrix

Variable	Chi Square	Pr > Chi Square
Intercept	24.14	.0001
Age	7.21	.0272
Married family	3.21	.2004
Family income	2.35	.3095
College educated	7.65	.0219
Homeowner	16.16	.0003
African American	0.25	.8808
Hispanic	4.37	.1127

Notes: An advantage move is a move above the diagonal, and a disadvantage move is a move below the diagonal of the matrix of moves. The diagonal is the reference category.

Exhibit 16

Multinomial Models of Advantage and Disadvantage Moves Across the Mobility Matrix by Race and Ethnicity

Variable	White		African American		Hispanic	
	Chi Square	Pr > Chi Square	Chi Square	Pr > Chi Square	Chi Square	Pr > Chi Square
Intercept	3.74	.1539	0.49	.7811	23.62	< .0001
Age	5.34	.0692	0.05	.9740	2.37	.3065
Married family	5.25	.0724	5.22	.0736	1.65	.4377
Family income	0.69	.7067	4.88	.0870	4.45	.1081
College educated	9.50	.0087	15.45	.0004	12.83	.0016
Homeowner	2.35	.3089	2.43	.2960	6.07	.0482

Observations and Conclusions

A great deal of selectivity is occurring across neighborhoods in metropolitan Los Angeles, and that selectivity is tending to reinforce patterns of separation—patterns that have long been in place in neighborhoods across the urban area. The evidence of the tendency to reinforce patterns comes from the robust probabilities of selection on the diagonal line and across all levels of socioeconomic status, but—and it is a very important caveat—at the same time, there is substantial fluidity in the mobility outcomes in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and there is considerable evidence from this study of people moving to improve. The proportions of households that move up vary by race and ethnicity but, among Whites and Hispanics, one-third and one-fifth of movers, respectively, make gains in their neighborhood status. It is a positive view of opportunities in the urban mosaic, a view that there are opportunities to access better neighborhoods and that those with resources are able to do so. Moreover, the levels of satisfaction for those households that can access high-quality neighborhoods are greater than for those that find themselves below the diagonal line of the matrix of moves. In particular, substantial numbers of Hispanic movers are able to increase both their socioeconomic status and, by extension, their greater levels of residential integration, defined as living in census tracts with larger proportions of White residents.

To the extent that education and income are intertwined (that is, that people with a higher level of education are more likely to have higher incomes), a persuasive argument can be made that money matters in the choices that are available to households in Los Angeles neighborhoods. Money and resources matter more than most people want to acknowledge. Given that money matters so much, what are the available options to bring policy to bear on the mobility and moving patterns in large urban areas?

As others have noted, it would take a lot of money and a lot of moves to solve poverty. This assumption returns the debate to—How is it possible to intervene in society and the urban fabric? As Coulton and colleagues (2009) noted, the critical challenge may be to figure out how to help those who are falling down the hierarchy. In this sense, it picks up an issue that was discussed previously in this article, regarding moves to the lowest status quintiles. Social issues are clearly an important part of solving the problems for households that run into the problems of surviving and improving in modern urban society. Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the downward urban mobility is the negative outcomes for children. Those movers and their children who move to inner-city, challenged neighborhoods have fewer resources, and their children are not doing as well as those leaving inner-city areas in Los Angeles.

Can places or people's outcomes, or both, be improved? Recent discussions of this exact problem again juxtapose the very different approaches of groups with different agendas and juxtapose those who have place effects at the forefront of their approach to the problem with those who are more interested in individual outcomes. Nearly two decades ago, a vigorous debate ensued about whether to invest in places or people—the place prosperity versus the people prosperity debate. This debate may now be subsumed by the increasing importance of issues of equity and fairness and by the question of whether a developed society can continue to ignore the high levels of inequality that are at the heart of the issues and outcomes that this article reveals in microcosm.

Author

William A.V. Clark is distinguished research professor at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Acknowledgments

References

Bailey, Nick, and Mark Livingston. 2008. "Selective Migration and Area Deprivation: Evidence From 2001 Census Migration Data for England and Scotland," *Urban Studies* 45 (4): 943–961.

Bolt, Gideon, et al. 2008. "Minority Ethnic Groups in the Dutch Housing Market: Spatial Segregation, Relocation Dynamics and Housing Policy," *Urban Studies* 45: 1359–1384.

Briggs, Xavier, ed. 2005. *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Bruch, Elizabeth, and Robert Mare. 2006. "Neighborhood Choice and Neighborhood Change," *American Journal of Sociology* 112: 667–709.

Cheshire, Paul C., et al. 2003. "Income Inequality and Residential Segregation: Labour Market Sorting and the Demand for Positional Goods." In *Geographies of Labour Market Inequality*, edited by Ron Martin and Phillip S. Morrison. London, United Kingdom: Routledge: 83–109.

Clark, William A.V. 2011. "Prices, Expectations and the Changing Housing Market: A Commentary and Discussion," *Housing Theory and Society* 28: 262–275.

———. 2009. "Changing Residential Preferences Across Income, Education, and Age: Findings From the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality," *Urban Affairs Review* 44: 334–355.

———. 2008. "Re-examining the Moving to Opportunity Study and Its Contribution to Changing the Distribution of Poverty and Ethnic Concentration," *Demography* 45: 515–535.

———. 2007. "Race, Class and Place: Evaluating Mobility Outcomes for African Americans," *Urban Affairs Review* 42: 295–314.

Clark, William A.V., and Phillip Morrison. 2012. "Socio-Spatial Mobility and Residential Sorting: Evidence From a Large Scale Survey," *Urban Studies* 49: 3253–3270.

Clark, William A.V., and Natasha Rivers. 2012. "Community Choice in Large Cities: Selectivity and Ethnic Sorting Across Neighborhoods." In *Understanding Neighbourhood Dynamics: New Insights for Neighbourhood Effects Research*, edited by Maarten Van Ham, David Manley, Nick Bailey, Ludi Simpson, and Duncan Maclennan. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Springer: 253–277.

Coulton, Claudia, Brett Theodos, and Margery Turner. 2009. "Family Mobility and Neighborhood Change: New Evidence and Implications for Community Initiatives." In *Making Connections Research Series*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Coulton, Claudia, Margery Turner, and Brett Theodos. 2010. "What Drives People To Leave and Stay in Poor Neighborhoods?" Paper presented at the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management Research Conference, Boston.

Dietz, Robert. 2002. "The Estimation of Neighborhood Effects in the Social Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *Social Science Research* 31: 539–575.

Durlauf, Steven. 2004. "Neighborhood Effects." In *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics, Volume 4,* edited by John V. Henderson and Jacque F. Thisse. Amsterdam: North-Holland: 2173–2242.

Ellen, Ingrid G., and Margery Turner. 1997. "Does Neighborhood Matter? Assessing Recent Evidence," *Housing Policy Debate* 8: 833–866.

Ferriera, Fernando, Joseph Gyourko, and Joseph Tracey. 2010. "Housing Busts and Household Mobility," *Journal of Urban Economics* 68: 34–45.

Goering, John. 2005. "Expanding Housing Choice and Integrating Neighborhoods: The MTO Experiment." In *The Geography of Opportunity: Race and Housing Choice in Metropolitan America*, edited by Xavier Briggs. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution: 128–149.

Goetz, Edward. 2003. *Clearing the Way: Deconcentrating the Poor in Urban America*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press.

Imbroscio, David. 2011. "Beyond Mobility: The Limits of Liberal Urban Policy," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34: 1–20.

Meen, Geoffrey. 2006. *Modelling Local Spatial Poverty Traps in England*. Report prepared for the International Centre for Housing and Urban Economics. Reading, United Kingdom: University of Reading.

Murray, Charles. 2012. *Coming Apart: The State of White America*. New York: Crown Forum.

Noble, Mark, et al. 2004. *The English Indices of Deprivation 2004*. London, United Kingdom: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

Orr, Larry, Judith Feins, Robin Jacob, and Erik Beecroft. 2003. *Moving to Opportunity: Interim Impacts Evaluation: Final Report*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of Policy Development and Research.

Quillian, Lincoln. 2003. "How Long Are Exposures to Poor Neighbourhoods? The Long-Term Dynamics of Entry and Exit From Poor Neighbourhoods," *Population Research and Policy Review* 22 (3): 221–249.

Rabe, Birgitta, and Mark Taylor. 2010. "Residential Mobility, Quality of Neighbourhood and Life Course Events," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A* 173: 531–555.

Sampson, Robert J. 2008. "Moving to Inequality: Neighbourhood Effects and Experiments Meet Social Structure," *American Journal of Sociology* 114: 189–231.

———. 2006. "Durable Inequality: Spatial Dynamics, Social Processes and the Persistence of Poverty in Chicago Neighborhoods." In *Poverty Traps*, edited by Samuel Bowles, Steven N. Durlauf, and Karla Hoff. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 176–203.

Sampson, Robert J., and Patrick Sharkey. 2008. "Neighborhood Selection and the Social Reproduction of Concentrated Inequality," *Demography* 45: 1–29.

Sharkey, Patrick. 2012. "Temporary Integration, Resilient Inequality: Race and Neighborhood Change in the Transition to Adulthood," *Demography* 49: 889–912.

Sharygin, Claudia. 2010. "Discussion of 'Entering and Exiting Neighborhoods: How Does Sorting Structure Neighborhoods and a Good Place To Live? Low-Income Homeownership and Neighbourhood Quality.'" Paper presented at the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management Research Conference, Boston.

Sharygin, Claudia, Ingrid Ellen, and John Lacoe. 2010. "Impact of Foreclosures on Neighbourhood Crime." Paper presented at the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management Research Conference, Boston.

South, Scott J., et al. 2005. "Exiting and Entering High-Poverty Neighbourhoods: Latinos, Blacks and Anglos Compared," *Social Forces* 84 (2): 873–900.

South, Scott J., and Kyle D. Crowder. 1997. "Escaping Distressed Neighbourhoods: Individual, Community, and Metropolitan Influences," *American Journal of Sociology* 102 (4): 1040–1084.

VanHam, Maarten, and William A.V. Clark. 2009. "Neighborhood Mobility in Context: Household Moves and Changing Neighbourhoods in the Netherlands," *Environment and Planning A* 41: 1442–1459.

VanHam, Maarten, and Peteke Feijten. 2008. "Who Wants To Leave the Neighbourhood? The Effects of Being Different From the Neighbourhood Population on Wishes To Move," *Environment and Planning A* 40 (5): 1151–1170.

Varady, David, and Carole C. Walker. 2003. "Using Housing Vouchers To Move to the Suburbs: How Do Families Fare?" *Housing Policy Debate* 14: 347–382.

White, Paul, Jinny Gunston, Clare Salmond, June Atkinson, and Peter Crampton. 2008. *Atlas of Socioeconomic Deprivation in New Zealand.* NZDep2006. Wellington, New Zealand: Wellington Ministry of Health.