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Kin location and racial disparities in exiting and entering poor neighborhoods

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Abstract

Blacks and Latinos/as are less likely than Whites to move from a poor neighborhood to a non-poor neighborhood and are more likely to move in the reverse direction. Using individual-level data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (1980–2013) and neighborhood-level census data, this study explores the role that the spatial location of familial kin networks plays in explaining these racially and ethnically disparate mobility patterns. Blacks and Latinos/as live closer than Whites to nuclear kin, and they are also more likely than Whites to have kin members living in poor neighborhoods. Close geographic proximity to kin and higher levels of kin neighborhood poverty inhibit moving from a poor to a non-poor neighborhood, and increase the risk of moving from a non-poor to a poor tract. Racial/ethnic differences in kin proximity and kin neighborhood poverty explain a substantial portion of racial gaps in exiting and entering poor neighborhoods.

Keywords

Residential mobility; Neighborhoods; Race/ethnicity; Inequality

After a period of improvement during the 1990s, the geographic concentration of poverty has increased in recent decades, and racial and ethnic differences in exposure to neighborhood poverty remain stark (Kneebone et al., 2011; Sharkey, 2013). In comparison to Whites, Latinos/as are more than twice as likely, and Blacks are more than three times as likely, to live in a high-poverty neighborhood (Jargowsky, 2015). These patterns have strong implications for racial/ethnic differences in exposure to deleterious neighborhood conditions and access to institutions and social networks that facilitate socioeconomic mobility and well-being (Boustan, 2013; Bower et al., 2014; Crowder and Downey, 2010; Morello-Frosch and Lopez, 2006; Peterson and Krivo, 2010; Theall et al., 2012; Sampson, 2008; White, Haas, and Williams 2012).

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Appendix A. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssresearch.2019.102346.

Mobility is one way for individuals to exit disadvantaged neighborhoods. Indeed, policy experiments such as Moving to Opportunity (MTO) view residential mobility as a key means to alleviate exposure to poor neighborhoods (Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2003; Ludwig et al., 2008; Sampson, 2008). Residential mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods, however, is racially patterned. In comparison to Whites, Latinos/as and Blacks are much less likely to exit poor neighborhoods and are more likely to experience "downward" mobility from a non-poor into a poor neighborhood (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005). The existing theoretical literature provides an incomplete picture of the key micro-level processes explaining these racially disparate mobility patterns across neighborhoods. To be sure, racial differences in mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods are not fully explained by group differences in economic resources, and the contributions of other factors implicated in prevailing theoretical arguments (e.g., discrimination, preferences for same-race neighbors) are difficult to measure in most datasets.

More recent theoretical and empirical developments suggest that social processes play underappreciated roles in residential mobility and neighborhood attainment (Crowder and Krysan, 2016; Krysan and Crowder, 2017; Lareau and Goyette, 2014). In line with this literature, this study examines how the spatial location of family kin networks contribute to racial/ethnic differences in exiting and entering poor neighborhoods. Patterns of inter-neighborhood residential mobility are shaped by where family members live (McDonald and Richards, 2008; Mulder, 2018). Geographic proximity to familial kin members decreases the likelihood of moving, and movers are more likely to choose neighborhoods where kin members are living nearby (Spring et al., 2017). Previous analyses have not examined how the spatial location of kin relates to racial/ethnic differences in mobility across more and less disadvantaged neighborhoods.

To address this gap, we use the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (1980–2013) and data on neighborhood conditions from the decennial censuses to investigate the extent to which racial/ethnic differences in the likelihood of exiting or entering a poor neighborhood can be explained by the geographic location of kin members. We assess racial differences in proximity to family members and the concentration of poverty in neighborhoods occupied by these kin members and then evaluate how these features of kin location influence the likelihood of mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods. We quantify the extent to which differences in kin location characteristics explain residual racial/ethnic disparities in mobility across neighborhoods—gaps that have not been previously explained by other observable mobility-related factors such as economic resources. The results of the analysis indicate that the spatial location of kin, especially kin neighborhood poverty, contributes significantly to racially and ethnically disparate mobility patterns, which perpetuates racial/ethnic disparities in exposure to neighborhood poverty.

1. Racial/ethnic differences in neighborhood poverty and residential mobility

In comparison to Whites, Blacks and Latinos/as have substantially higher levels of exposure to neighborhood poverty and related contextual disadvantage (Jargowsky, 2015; Kneebone et al., 2011; Sharkey, 2013). Recent research has highlighted the role of these racial and ethnic disparities in exposure to neighborhood poverty as important drivers of persistent racial/ethnic differences in educational attainment, employment, income, wealth, health, and intergenerational mobility (Ananat, 2011; Chetty et al., 2014; De la Roca, Ellen, and O'Regan, 2014; Shapiro et al., 2013; Thomas and Moye, 2015; Williams, 2012). For these reasons, interest in explaining racial/ethnic disparities in exposure to neighborhood poverty has remained strong for decades (Crowder and South, 2005; Quillian, 2012; de Souza Briggs and Keys, 2009; Wilson, 1987).

Residential mobility serves as a key means for individuals and families to attain residence in more socioeconomically advantaged areas and to avoid the deleterious consequences of exposure to neighborhood poverty. Latinos/as and Blacks, however, are much less likely than Whites to avoid poor neighborhoods through the mobility process; they are both less likely to move from poor neighborhoods or to enter non-poor neighborhoods when they do move (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005). For example, South et al. (2005) find that, compared to Whites, Blacks in poor neighborhoods are one-third less likely, and Mexican-origin Latinos/as half as likely, to move into a non-poor neighborhood. And among those originating in non-poor neighborhoods, Blacks and Latinos/as are also at a greater risk than Whites of moving into a poor neighborhood (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997). As a result, in comparison to Whites, Black and Latino/a households tend to experience much longer spells in poor neighborhoods.

2. Spatial assimilation, place stratification, and preferences

Explanations for racial and ethnic differences in residential mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods, and for differences in neighborhood attainment more generally, tend to focus on some combination of economic considerations, discrimination, and preferences. According to the spatial assimilation model, residing in a poor rather than a non-poor neighborhood is primarily the result of disadvantaged individual and household socioeconomic circumstances. Individuals use their human capital and other endowments to purchase residence in the most desirable neighborhoods possible (Charles, 2003), which are often those with lower levels of poverty. From the spatial assimilation perspective, residential mobility from a poor to a non-poor neighborhood is considered to be a natural consequence of the more general processes of social and economic mobility, especially for minorities and immigrants (Alba and Nee, 2009; Massey and Denton, 1993), and racial differences in the ability to avoid poor neighborhoods are the result of group differences in economic resources.

Past research provides solid support for the assimilation perspective. Higher levels of education, income, and wealth are all negatively associated with the likelihood of residing in

a poor neighborhood, and are positively related to moving out of such an area (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005). Moreover, racial differences in these socioeconomic characteristics appear to be an important source of group differences in exposure to neighborhood poverty. Black and Latino/a households are more likely than Whites to remain in, and move to, poor neighborhoods in part because they tend to have lower levels of education, income, and wealth (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005) and in part because they do not receive the same locational returns to their socioeconomic resources as Whites (Logan and Alba, 1993).

Yet, importantly, substantial racial and ethnic differences in mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods persist even after controlling for family income and other socioeconomic resources. For example, Crowder and South (2005) find that Blacks have one-third the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood, and six times the odds of moving into a poor neighborhood from a non-poor neighborhood, than Whites with similar socioeconomic resources. In other words, racial and ethnic differences in socioeconomic resources alone do not fully explain racial differences in exposure to poor neighborhoods or the underlying mobility patterns that create these differentials.

Residual racial differences in inter-neighborhood residential mobility and neighborhood attainment that remain after socioeconomic factors are held constant, as well as racial differences in the ability to translate economic resources into valued neighborhood contexts, are often interpreted as evidence of structural barriers facing some groups in the housing market and/or racial/ethnic differences in preferences for same-race neighbors. The place stratification model, developed largely in reaction to the shortcomings of the assimilation argument, holds that the relegation of Black and Latino/a households to the poorest neighborhoods is the result of discrimination, in the form of differential treatment at the individual level, institutionalized biases, and discriminatory public policy. Most notably, Whites' aversion to sharing residential space with minority neighbors is said to motivate discriminatory practices by real estate agents, landlords, mortgage lenders, and neighborhood residents that essentially block minority households from gaining access to the most stable, low-poverty areas and, more generally, from converting their socioeconomic resources into advantageous residential contexts. Similar forces allow for the maintenance of discriminatory zoning, policies related to the development and redevelopment of public housing, redlining, predatory lending, and other institutional and policy forces that limit residential options for minority households (Fischer and Massey, 2004; Galster, 1990; Galster and Keeney, 1988; Massey and Denton, 1993; Yinger, 1995).

Racial differences in residential outcomes may also stem from unobserved group differences in residential preferences for same-race neighbors. According to the preferences argument, members of different racial and ethnic groups choose to reside in areas dominated by their own group (Clark, 1986, 1992, 2009). Given the correspondence between neighborhood racial composition and poverty (Firebaugh and Farrell, 2016), the effort to satisfy preferences for racial/ethnic homophily increases the relative likelihood that Black and Latino/a households will choose poor neighborhoods. A major problem with the preferences perspective, however, is that preferences vary across racial groups, with Whites showing the lowest tolerance for neighborhoods with higher proportions of different-race neighbors

(Krysan et al., 2009; Krysan and Farley, 2002). Additionally, preferences can be difficult to translate into outcomes; Blacks and Whites who prefer to live in integrated neighborhoods often live in contexts with mostly same-race neighbors (Adelman, 2005).

3. The social structural sorting perspective

Discrimination and preferences for same-race neighbors are difficult to measure in datasets where actual mobility and neighborhood choice behaviors are observed. Yet, these two sets of arguments are often invoked when controls for observable factors such as economic resources fail to fully explain racially disparate patterns of mobility and neighborhood attainment. Even though discrimination and preferences likely contribute to racial differences in mobility into and out of poor neighborhoods, recent empirical and theoretical research suggests that racial/ethnic differences in social relations may also affect the residential sorting process.

Emerging approaches to the study of residential mobility suggest that decisions about when and where to move are rooted in a complex set of social relationships that develop over the life course (Coulter et al., 2015; Krysan et al., 2014). The “social structural sorting perspective” proposes that the isolation of Blacks and Latinos/as in poor neighborhoods is partially due to racialized neighborhood mobility, selection, and housing search processes (Crowder and Krysan, 2016; Krysan and Crowder, 2017). Specifically, racial/ethnic differences in knowledge and perceptions of communities may influence both the decision to move, as well as the types of neighborhoods that individuals are willing to consider when they do move. Knowledge and perceptions of communities are themselves influenced by racially patterned social processes, interactions, and networks.

As articulated by Mulder (2018), kin networks represent one important social factor shaping residential mobility and neighborhood choice decisions. A recent U.S. Census Bureau report shows that 30% of all individuals who moved in the previous year stated that family was the reason for their move, which was second only to housing (Ihrke, 2014). Recent research also indicates that neighborhood and housing choices are also heavily influenced by knowledge of residential options acquired passively through interactions with members of social networks (Holme, 2002; Lareau, 2014; Weininger, 2014). When they do move, householders tend to search for housing in neighborhoods with which they have some familiarity, and this familiarity is very likely to develop indirectly through the experiences of family and other members of the social network. We argue that kin networks play an important role in generating racially-disparate patterns of mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods. In this study, we focus on two dimensions of kin networks—proximity to kin and kin neighborhood poverty levels—that may be particularly salient for explaining racial/ethnic differences in exiting and entering poor neighborhoods.

3.1. Spatial location of kin networks and racial differences in mobility across neighborhoods

The spatial location of kin networks may affect racial/ethnic differences in residential mobility and neighborhood sorting processes through the geographic closeness of family members and the types of neighborhoods occupied by kin. Blacks and Latinos/as in poor

neighborhoods may be less likely to move because they live in closer geographic proximity to kin than Whites. Proximity to kin is associated with a lower likelihood of neighborhood out-mobility, and, among movers, a significant determinant of neighborhood choice (Spring et al., 2017).

The relationship between proximity to kin and residential mobility may be due to the ways in which kin networks provide mutual support for everyday life. This type of mutual support may be especially salient for residents of poor neighborhoods. The classic work of Stack (1975) showed that reciprocal exchanges among members of kin networks of Black residents in poor neighborhoods could serve to satisfy needs including monetary support, food, housing, transportation, and child care. Mutual support to and from kin members continues to be salient for multiple racial/ethnic groups (Sarkisian and Gerstel, 2004). For Latino/a immigrant families, proximity to kin may also facilitate assimilation and incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut 2006).

These influences of proximity to kin on mobility decisions are also consistent with mobility behaviors of participants in the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) intervention. One perplexing result of MTO was the frequent return of voucher recipients who had moved to more socioeconomically advantaged areas back to their poor neighborhoods of origin several years after the intervention (Clampet-Lundquist and Massey, 2008; Orr et al., 2003). In qualitative interviews, some MTO participants stated that the need for support from kin explained why they moved back to the neighborhood of origin after the intervention move (Comey, 2008). This general point is reinforced by Boyd et al. (2010) who find that the desire to be near kin is an important reason why program participants moved from lower-poverty “opportunity” areas back to poor neighborhoods.

In addition to proximity to kin, the neighborhood attributes of kin members may influence both residential mobility and neighborhood choice decisions. Because of racially-stratified patterns of poverty concentration, Blacks and Latinos/as are not only more likely than Whites to live in poor neighborhoods, but also much more likely to have kin networks that are concentrated in poor neighborhoods. These poor neighborhoods occupied by kin members may be the same neighborhoods as those occupied by Black and Latinos/a householders, or they may be nearby tracts, given that household and neighborhood poverty tends to be spatially clustered (Friedman and Lichter, 1998; Lichter et al., 2008; Lichter et al., 2012; Stretesky et al., 2004; Voss et al., 2006).

Black and Latino/a families’ attempts to maintain support from family members may tie them to poor neighborhoods given that, in the context of extant poverty concentrations, their kin are likely to be highly clustered in poor neighborhoods. Among Black and Latino/a movers, mobility to a kin-proximate neighborhood may also entail mobility to a relatively poor neighborhood. In other words, to the extent that their family members are circumscribed by neighborhood poverty, attempts to maintain close geographic proximity to kin (through staying in place or via residential mobility) will keep Blacks and Latinos/as rooted in poor neighborhoods.

Racial/ethnic differences in the concentration of kin members in poor neighborhoods may also create racial/ethnic variation in the types of neighborhoods that are considered to be viable residential options for movers. The social structural sorting perspective and evidence from studies of actual residential knowledge and choice behavior suggest that social networks, including kin networks, are important sources of knowledge of residential options (Crowder and Krysan, 2016; Krysan and Crowder, 2017; Lareau and Goyette, 2014). Individuals may be more likely to move into the types of neighborhoods where their kinship networks are concentrated, or that resemble those where kin members are living, in part because they are more likely to have knowledge of residential opportunities in such areas. Knowledge of existing neighborhood options within metropolitan areas varies by race/ethnicity (Krysan and Bader, 2007), which could partly be due to the geographic distribution of family and friendship networks. Simply by virtue of racial differences in the geographic concentration of poverty, Black and Latino/a households may have greater familiarity with residential options in poor neighborhoods, whereas Whites may be more likely to have knowledge of options in non-poor areas where their kin members tend to be located.

To summarize, the available research suggests that the geographic location of kinship networks and the attributes of kin neighborhoods might play an important role in maintaining racial disparities in exposure to poor neighborhoods. We hypothesize that Black and Latino/a households will be less likely to leave poor neighborhoods because they are tied to these areas by the presence of nearby family members. Because their social networks are more concentrated in poor neighborhoods—providing direct draws to, and information about housing in, such neighborhoods—we further hypothesize that mobile Black and Latino/a householders will be more likely than their White counterparts to move into poor neighborhoods, either from other poor neighborhoods or from non-poor neighborhoods.

3.2. Data

We test these hypotheses using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) in conjunction with tract-level decennial census data. Members of the initial PSID panel of approximately 5,000 families (about 18,000 individuals) were interviewed annually between 1968 (the initial year of the PSID) and 1997, and biennially since then. New families have been added to the panel as children and other members of original panel families form their own households. We take advantage of the multigenerational structure of the PSID and the supplemental “Parent Identification” file to link individual PSID respondents to members of their extended family. These identified relationships allow us to link individual PSID respondents to information on the location and conditions of the neighborhoods in which members of their kinship network resided at each interview. We restrict the analysis to data from PSID interviews between 1980 and 2013. Focusing on these latest years of data allows for the growth of kin networks as the members of original PSID households move out of the household of origin.[1]

We use the PSID’s supplemental Geospatial Match Files to link the addresses of individual PSID respondents at each annual (or biennial) interview to corresponding census codes for census tracts and other levels of geographic aggregation, using consistent census tract boundaries as defined in 2010. This information allows us to construct neighborhood-level

measures for both PSID respondents and their kin using data from the 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 censuses. We use linear interpolation to estimate tract-level characteristics for years between decennial censuses.

The analytical sample consists of Latino/a, non-Latino Black, and non-Latino White PSID household reference persons who were living in a metropolitan area at the time of the interview. Since mobility is a repeatable event, we structure the data in person-period format with each individual householder contributing multiple observations. Because the analysis focuses on patterns of mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods, we remove cases with missing information on mobility (approximately 0.9% of cases) or neighborhood poverty in the origin or destination (approximately 0.5% of cases). In order to allow for convergence of our multilevel models with metropolitan-level fixed effects, we also include only those observations in metropolitan areas that had at least 30 cases residing in poor tracts and/or 30 cases residing in non-poor tracts.[2] This results in a final sample of 6,986 Blacks (n = 55,691 person-periods), 3,316 Latinos/as (n = 13,732 person-periods), and 9,685 Whites (n = 87,865 person-periods). For a portion of the analysis we further exclude those observations in which neither the PSID household reference person nor the spouse has a living parent, sibling, or child in the PSID.[3]

Our dependent variables tap residential moves between poor and non-poor census tracts. Residential mobility is indicated by comparing the census tract of residence at sequential PSID interviews and both origin (time t) and destination (time t+1) tracts are categorized as "poor" or "non-poor" based on the tract-level poverty rate in each specific year. Following past research, poor neighborhoods are defined as census tracts that have at least 20% of their population living in families with incomes below the federal poverty level.

The main independent variables of interest are geographic proximity to kin, and average poverty levels of the census tracts occupied by kin, including parents, children, and siblings. These measures are based on kin members living in a metropolitan area and, in order to eliminate the possibility that both the kin member and the respondent were mobile during the same period of observation, remaining in the same census tract from period t to $t + 1$. Distance to each kin member (parent/s, child/ren, sibling/s) is calculated by measuring the distance (in miles) between the centroid of the census tracts occupied by the respondent and the centroid of the census tract occupied by her/his kin. In the analysis we focus on the median value of distance from all members of the nuclear kin network. Although the PSID also includes information on some extended kin, we focus on nuclear kin because ties to parents, siblings, and children should be theoretically more important for mobility and neighborhood choice decisions than ties to extended kin. A previous analysis of proximity to kin and mobility using PSID data also found that distance to nuclear kin was more strongly related to neighborhood out-mobility than distance to extended kin (Spring et al., 2017).

We use census data to characterize the poverty rate in the census tract occupied by each member of the nuclear kin in each observation period. For the full sample, we create a variable having the following categories: 1) Any kin living in a poor tract (i.e., the respondent had any identifiable nuclear kin member living in a poor tract); 2) No kin in a poor tract (the reference category; none of the identifiable nuclear kin members were living

in a poor tract), and; 3) Missing kin tract poverty (i.e., kin was not observed or kin was observed but tract poverty variables were missing).[4] For the subsample with identifiable nuclear kin, we utilize a continuous average poverty rate in neighborhoods occupied by kin (mean centered). All multivariate models include a control for the number of observed kin members used in the calculation of the kin-location measures.[5]

The multivariate analyses also control for a number of factors related to mobility and residential stratification. At the individual and household level, we control for respondent's sex, age, marital status, family size, years of education, employment status, logged adjusted family income (in $1000s of dollars, standardized to the year 2000), home ownership, and public housing or rental assistance.[6] We also control for the year of observation (centered on year 1995) as well as features of the metropolitan context that may impact mobility processes and shape opportunity structures for mobility between poor and non-poor neighborhoods: total population size (logged) and the total proportion of poor tracts in the metropolitan area (i.e. the proportion of tracts with 20% or more of residents in poverty). To control for time-invariant aspects of metropolitan areas that may affect mobility patterns, we also include metropolitan fixed effects. The means and standard errors of all variables used in the analysis are displayed in Appendix Table A1.

3.3. Analytic strategy

We begin by comparing patterns of mobility and kin location characteristics among Blacks, Latinos/as, and Whites, stratifying the sample by those originating in poor neighborhoods (n = 46,220 person-periods) and those originating in non-poor neighborhoods (n = 111,068 person-periods) at time t, prior to a potential move. We use person weights in all descriptive statistics. We then estimate multinomial logistic regression models to determine how distance to nuclear kin and average poverty in neighborhoods occupied by kin affect inter-neighborhood mobility patterns.[7] To adjust for the non-independence of observations related to the same PSID respondent, we cluster standard errors at the person level. These models are stratified by the poverty type (poor or non-poor) of the neighborhood of origin, prior to a potential move, and logistic regression models are estimated to assess the odds of: 1) staying in the neighborhood of origin; 2) moving to the same type of neighborhood; and 3) moving to the contrasting type of neighborhood.

Appendix Table A2 displays the average absolute change in neighborhood percent poverty from time t (prior to a potential move) and time $t + 1$ (after a potential move) by mobility status and race/ethnicity for poor and non-poor neighborhoods of origin. On average, staying in the neighborhood of origin or making lateral moves (poor to poor, non-poor to non-poor) are associated with minor changes in neighborhood poverty levels, whereas neighborhood poverty levels decrease by 19 percentage points for movers who exit poor neighborhoods and increase by 18 percentage points for movers who enter poor tracts.

A major goal of this analysis is to determine whether controlling for kin location characteristics significantly attenuates racial gaps in the likelihood of exiting or entering a poor neighborhood. To accomplish this task, we utilize the Karlson, Holm, and Breen (KHB) method to compare coefficients across nested multinomial logistic regression models (Breen et al., 2018; Kohler et al., 2011). The KHB method decomposes the change in a

coefficient from a nonlinear probability model without a potential mediator/confounding variable (the "reduced" model) to a model with a potential mediator or confounder (the "full" model), and determines whether this change is significant. Importantly, the KHB method is not affected by rescaling or attenuation bias in coefficients that occurs in nested-model comparisons across nonlinear models. Using the KHB method, we test whether attenuation of racial/ethnic gaps are significant across the nested models for the subsample of respondents with identifiable nuclear kin. In all instances where we discuss attenuation of racial/ethnic gaps with the addition of kin location variables as mediators, the degree of attenuation observed was significant based on the KHB method. The full KHB results are available upon request.

4. Results

4.1. Racial/ethnic differences in mobility patterns

We begin by describing mobility patterns and kin location characteristics by race/ethnicity and neighborhood of origin socioeconomic status. The sample sizes in Table 1 illustrate pervasive racial and ethnic differences in exposure to neighborhood poverty. Among the total sample of person-periods for White sample members (n = 87,865), only 9.4% of the person-periods are observed in a poor neighborhood. In contrast, 50.0% of Latino/a person-periods and 55.8% of Black person-periods originate in a poor neighborhood. These results confirm that Latinos/as and Blacks are much more likely than Whites to be exposed to neighborhood poverty.

The results in Table 1 also highlight racial/ethnic disparities in the likelihood of moving between poor and non-poor neighborhoods. Blacks are less likely than Latinos/as and Whites to stay in both poor and non-poor neighborhoods of origin. Blacks and Latinos/as initially residing in poor neighborhoods are significantly less likely than Whites to move into non-poor neighborhoods. Among Whites originating in poor neighborhoods, 14.8% move into non-poor tracts, whereas 10.5% of Blacks and 8.6% of Latinos/as originating in poor neighborhoods move to a non-poor neighborhood. Blacks and Latinos/as are significantly more likely than Whites to make lateral, poor-to-poor neighborhood moves (a difference with Whites of 8.9 and 5.6 percentage points, respectively). Thus, the most common destinations for White movers originating in poor tracts are non-poor neighborhoods, whereas Blacks and Latinos/as in poor tracts are more likely to move to other poor tracts rather than to non-poor tracts. Table 1 also illustrates striking racial/ethnic disparities in "downward" mobility from non-poor into poor neighborhoods. Very few Whites (1.8%) experience mobility out of a non-poor neighborhood and into a poor neighborhood, whereas 5.6% of Latinos/as and 10.3% of Blacks experience these types of moves.

4.2. Racial/ethnic differences in kin location characteristics

Regardless of the neighborhood poverty status of individual householders, there are striking racial/ethnic differences in proximity to kin and the neighborhood poverty levels of kin. Table 1 shows that, across both poor and non-poor neighborhoods, Blacks and Latinos/as tend to live closer to kin and are more likely to have kin networks that are concentrated in poor neighborhoods. Panel A of Fig. 1 illustrates that, among those originating in poor

neighborhoods, the average median distance to members of the kin network is 3.2 miles for Blacks and 3.8 miles for Latinos/as, whereas the average median distance to nuclear kin for Whites in poor neighborhoods is 11.6 miles—almost four times the median distance to nuclear kin networks among Blacks and Latinos/as. Moreover, Panel B of Fig. 1 shows that almost half of Black and Latino/a residents in poor neighborhoods, but only about one-third of Whites living in poor neighborhoods, have at least one nuclear kin member living within one mile of the tract of origin. Thus, Black and Latino/a residents of poor neighborhoods have non-residential nuclear family members living in closer proximity than Whites in poor neighborhoods.

Fig. 1 also shows that Blacks and Latinos/as residing in non-poor neighborhoods live farther from kin than their racial/ethnic counterparts in poor neighborhoods, but they live closer to their nuclear kin networks than Whites in non-poor neighborhoods. Specifically, Panel A shows that, among those living in non-poor neighborhoods, the gap in median distance to kin is 21.8 miles between Blacks and Whites and 19.5 miles between Latinos/as and Whites.

In addition to these racial/ethnic differences in geographic proximity to kin, Blacks and Latinos/as are much more likely than Whites to have nuclear kin networks that are spatially concentrated in poor neighborhoods. Panel A of Fig. 2 shows that the average poverty rate of neighborhoods occupied by the nuclear kin of Blacks and Latinos/as originating in poor tracts is around 10 percentage points higher than that for Whites starting in poor areas. Panel B of Fig. 2 shows that the vast majority of Blacks (81.2%) and Latinos/as (74.1%) in poor neighborhoods have at least one other nuclear family member living in a poor neighborhood, whereas half of Whites in poor neighborhoods have at least one nuclear kin member living in a poor tract. Notably, the results in Fig. 2 show that Blacks and Latinos/as in non-poor neighborhoods are also more likely than their White counterparts to have nuclear kin members living in poor neighborhoods. In fact, half of Blacks and over one-quarter of Latinos/as living in non-poor neighborhoods have at least one nuclear kin member living in a poor neighborhood, compared to only 1-in-10 Whites in non-poor neighborhoods of origin. Thus, even in non-poor neighborhoods, Blacks and Latinos/as are much likely than Whites to have ties to family members living in poor tracts.

4.3. Kin location characteristics and the likelihood of exiting a poor neighborhood

We next explore how proximity to kin and kin neighborhood poverty relate to mobility across poor and non-poor neighborhoods. Tables 2 and 3 display the results of multinomial logistic regression models estimating the odds of moving to a non-poor neighborhood and the odds of making a lateral move into another poor neighborhood versus staying in a poor neighborhood of origin. These models are estimated for the full sample of Blacks, Latinos/as, and Whites originating in a poor tract (Table 2; n = 46,220 person-periods) and for the subsample of those with identifiable nuclear kin (Table 3; n = 30,238). Consistent with prior research (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005), Model 1 in Tables 2 and 3 both show that Blacks and Latinos/as originating in poor areas are significantly less likely than Whites to move to a non-poor neighborhood and more likely to move to another poor neighborhood.

These racial/ethnic disparities cannot be fully explained by traditional predictors of mobility, including socioeconomic resources, demographic characteristics, housing status, and metropolitan variables controlled in the analysis. Model 2 in Tables 2 and 3 both show that, even after controlling for this host of mobility-related variables, Blacks and Latinos/as remain significantly less likely than Whites to exit poor neighborhoods. Holding constant other mobility-related factors, the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood for Blacks (odds ratio = 0.481 in Table 2; 0.465 in Table 3) and Latinos/as (odds ratio = 0.358 in Table 2; 0.360 in Table 3) are less than half of those for Whites. Blacks in poor neighborhoods are also significantly more likely than Whites in poor neighborhoods to make lateral poor-to-poor moves versus staying in the origin tract (Model 1 in Tables 2 and 3) and these differences remain large and statistically significant after adjusting for group differences in standard individual-, family-, and metropolitan-level controls (Model 2 in Tables 2 and 3).

Our key analytic question deals with the extent to which these large group differences in the likelihood of moving out of a poor neighborhood can be explained by the residential characteristics of kin. Models 3 and 4 in Table 2 add two measures of kin neighborhood attributes as predictors of mobility across neighborhoods: an indicator of any nuclear kin living within 1 mile and an indicator of any nuclear kin living in a poor tract. Models 3 and 4 in Table 3 explore two similar measures, but for the subsample of respondents with identifiable nuclear kin: average distance to nuclear kin (logged) and average kin tract poverty (percent). Model 5 in Tables 2 and 3 control for both distance to kin and kin tract poverty attributes.

The substantive results for distance to kin and mobility for those originating in poor neighborhoods are consistent for both samples (with and without observable kin). For those living in a poor neighborhood, having kin living in closer proximity significantly decreases the odds of exiting the poor neighborhood relative to staying in the neighborhood. For example, Model 3 of Table 2 shows that having any nuclear kin member living within 1 mile of the origin tract significantly decreases the odds of moving into a non-poor neighborhood (odds ratio = 0.487). Living in closer proximity to kin also inhibits poor-to-poor moves (Model 3 in Tables 2 and 3), which suggests that geographic closeness to kin serves as a rooting force for all residents in poor neighborhoods. This mobility-inhibiting effect of proximity to kin is particularly salient for Black and Latino/a residents of poor neighborhoods given that, in comparison to their White counterparts, they are much more likely to have kin living nearby (see Table 1).

Controlling for distance to kin slightly attenuates racial/ethnic gaps in the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood. Holding constant an indicator of any kin connections within one mile and controls for other mobility-related predictors (Model 3 in Table 2), Blacks have approximately 48% lower odds of exiting a poor neighborhood than do Whites, and Latinos/as have approximately 60% lower odds than do Whites. A similar pattern is observed for the subsample of household reference persons with nuclear kin information (Model 3 in Table 3).

Model 4 in Tables 2 and 3 incorporate measures of kin neighborhood poverty status—whether any nuclear kin member is living in a poor tract (Table 2) and the average poverty

level of tracts occupied by kin (Table 3). When kin members are more spatially concentrated in poor neighborhoods, the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood are reduced. For instance, Model 4 in Table 2 shows that having any kin member living in a poor tract reduces the odds of moving from a poor to a non-poor neighborhood by 52% (odds ratio = 0.484) relative to having no nuclear kin members living in poor tracts. Notably, kin neighborhood poverty is not a significant predictor of lateral poor-to-poor moves, suggesting that kin neighborhood poverty specifically limits upward neighborhood mobility rather than mobility in general.

Relative to controlling only for typical mobility-related factors (Model 2 in Tables 2 and 3), accounting for differences in kin neighborhood poverty attenuates racial/ethnic gaps in the likelihood of exiting a poor neighborhood by a sizable amount (Model 4 in Tables 2 and 3). Recall that the Black-White gaps in the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood were over 50%, and Latino-White gaps over 60%, in Model 2 of both Tables 2 and 3 In Model 4 of Table 2, which controls for an indicator of having any kin in a poor tract in addition to mobility-related covariates, the Black-White gap in the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood is reduced to 34% and the Latino-White gap to 57%. Similarly, in Model 4 of Table 3, the Black-White gap in the odds of exiting a poor neighborhood is reduced to 34% and the Latino-White gap to 47%. The results of KHB tests confirm that these attenuations are statistically significant. Although racial/ethnic differences persist, variation in kin neighborhood poverty thus constitutes an important and heretofore unobserved factor that helps to explain the pronounced racial/ethnic gaps in the likelihood of exiting poor neighborhoods.

Model 5 in Tables 2 and 3 takes both proximity to kin and kin neighborhood poverty measures into account. Even holding constant kin tract poverty levels, proximity to kin is a significant and positive predictor of mobility out of poor neighborhoods and mobility from poor-to-poor neighborhoods. For example, in Table 3, Model 5, the odds of making a poor to non-poor move increase by approximately 7%, and of making a poor to poor move by 10%, for a doubling in average distance to kin. Regardless of whether nuclear kin members have high or low levels of neighborhood poverty, individuals whose kin live further away are more likely to exit poor neighborhoods for non-poor neighborhoods, but they are also more likely to make poor-to-poor neighborhood moves. When distance to kin is held constant, having kin living in poorer neighborhoods reduces the likelihood of exiting poor neighborhoods, but also increases the likelihood of making a move to another poor neighborhood (Model 5 in Tables 2 and 3). Overall, the results suggest that, net of distance to kin, having nuclear kin in poor neighborhoods may prevent individuals from leaving their own poor neighborhoods, and may pull them into other poor neighborhoods.

Controlling for both kin proximity and the poverty level of neighborhoods occupied by kin helps to explain a substantial share of the overall racial differences in the likelihood of leaving a poor neighborhood (Model 5 versus Model 2 in Tables 2 and 3). To quantify this attenuation in terms of probability, average partial effects for racial status and confounding estimates were calculated using the KHB method, using the models for the subsample of household reference persons with identifiable nuclear kin information (Table 3). As shown in Panel A of Fig. 3, the difference in the predicted probability of exiting a poor neighborhood between Blacks and Whites on average is −8.4 percentage points with the

controls in Model 2 (Table 3), but is reduced to −4.8 percentage points after the additional controls for distance to kin and kin tract poverty rates. A similar degree of attenuation is observed for the Latino-White gap in the probability of exiting a poor neighborhood. Thus, racial/ethnic differences in the location of kin explain about 40 percent of group differences in the likelihood of moving from a poor to a non-poor neighborhood.

Both distance to kin and kin tract poverty contribute to attenuation of racial/ethnic differences in exiting poor neighborhoods. The KHB results estimate that 9.1% of the Black-White difference in mobility from poor to non-poor neighborhoods is due to racial differences in distance to kin, and 34.5% is due to racial differences in kin tract poverty status. Differences in distance to kin between Latinos/as and Whites explain 16.2% of their gap in mobility from poor to non-poor neighborhoods, and differences in kin tract poverty explain 21.2% of this gap. Thus, Blacks and Latino/as are less likely than Whites to leave poor neighborhoods in part because they are more likely to have family members who also live in poor neighborhoods and in close spatial proximity.

4.4. Kin location characteristics and the likelihood of entering a poor neighborhood

Tables 4 and 5 present a parallel analysis for the sample of household reference persons initially residing in non-poor neighborhoods. Models are again estimated for the sample with and without identifiable nuclear kin (Table 4; $n = 111,068$) and the subsample with identifiable nuclear kin (Table 5; $n = 81,452$). These models speak to how kin location characteristics influence the likelihood of entering a poor neighborhood from a non-poor neighborhood and how racial/ethnic differences in kin location might explain racial/ethnic differences in downward neighborhood mobility. The results in Model 2 in Tables 4 and 5 confirm that Blacks and Latinos/as are significantly more likely than Whites to experience downward neighborhood mobility, even after other predictors of mobility are held constant. Relative to Whites, Blacks have over three times the odds, and Latinos/as nearly twice the odds, of moving from a non-poor to a poor neighborhood.

Similar to the results for individuals in poor neighborhoods of origin, living closer to kin tends to impede mobility—both mobility from non-poor into poor neighborhoods and lateral moves across non-poor neighborhoods (Model 3 in Tables 4 and 5). Having any kin member living within 1 mile reduces the odds of both types of mobility by approximately 53% (Model 3, Table 4). However, controlling for distance to nuclear kin does not appreciably diminish the significant racial/ethnic disparities in the likelihood of experiencing downward mobility into a poor neighborhood (Model 3 versus Model 2 in Tables 4 and 5). For residents of non-poor neighborhoods, having nuclear kin members living in impoverished neighborhoods also increases the risk of experiencing downward tract mobility (Model 4 in Tables 4 and 5).

These overall relationships persist in the full models controlling for both proximity to nuclear kin and kin neighborhood poverty (Model 5 in Tables 4 and 5). Net of kin tract poverty status and other mobility-related predictors, mobility across non-poor neighborhoods or into a poor neighborhood from a non-poor neighborhood increases with increasing distance to kin. Regardless of how far away the nuclear kin network is located

and net of other covariates, the presence of kin in poor neighborhoods increases the likelihood of moving into a poor tract.

Most important for our purposes is the fact that taking kin neighborhood poverty and kin distance into account reduces racial/ethnic disparities in the odds of moving from a non-poor to a poor neighborhood, though more so for Blacks than for Latinos/as. In terms of average partial effects for the subsample with identifiable nuclear kin (Table 5), Fig. 3, panel B, shows that the Black-White gap in the probability of entering a poor neighborhood shrinks by 21% with the addition of kin location variables, and the Latino-White gap shrinks by 16%. A greater share of the racial/ethnic differences in mobility from non-poor to poor tracts is explained by group differences in kin tract poverty than by differences in distance to kin. In fact, distance to kin has a small suppressor effect—when this variable is taken into account without also controlling for kin tract poverty (Table 5, Model 3 versus Model 2), Black-White and Latino-White differences in entering poor neighborhoods increase slightly. The KHB results show that approximately 26% of the attenuation in the Black-White gap, and 31% of Latino-White attenuation of the gap, in the likelihood of moving into a poor tract is due to group differences in kin tract poverty. This result is consistent with the argument that the presence of kin members in poor neighborhoods may be “pulling” Blacks and Latinos/as from non-poor neighborhoods into poor neighborhoods.

5. Conclusion

Blacks and Latinos/as are significantly more likely than Whites to live in poor neighborhoods (Jargowsky, 2015; Kneebone et al., 2011; Sharkey, 2013), and this differential exposure to neighborhood poverty has long-term implications for racial/ethnic disparities in a range of social and economic outcomes (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993; Flippen, 2004; Galster et al., 2007; Holloway and Mulherin, 2004; Klebanov et al., 1994; Leventhal and Brooks-Gunn, 2000, 2003; Ludwig et al., 2012; South and Crowder, 2000; Theall et al., 2012; Thomas et al., 2014). Residential mobility represents a key means for individuals to attain residence in better neighborhoods. However, past research indicates that, even when variations in socioeconomic resources are taken into account, Blacks and Latinos/as are significantly less likely than Whites to exit poor neighborhoods and more likely than Whites to enter poor neighborhoods from non-poor neighborhoods (Crowder and South, 2005; South and Crowder, 1997; South et al., 2005).

Drawing on social structural sorting perspectives of residential mobility and neighborhood choice (Crowder and Krysan, 2016; Krysan and Crowder, 2017), we assess how two aspects of kin networks—geographic proximity and neighborhood poverty—contribute to racial/ethnic disparities in entering and exiting poor neighborhoods. The results presented here show that racial/ethnic differences in kin location explain a sizeable portion of Black-White and Latino-White gaps in exiting and entering poor neighborhoods. We find that, regardless of their own location, Blacks and Latinos/as are more likely than Whites to have nuclear kin members living in close geographic proximity and for these kin to be located in poor neighborhoods. Consonant with previous work (Spring et al., 2017), close geographic proximity to kin appears to root individuals to their neighborhoods of origin, regardless of neighborhood socioeconomic status. More importantly, having kin living in poor

neighborhoods also substantially reduces the likelihood of exiting a poor neighborhood and substantially increases the likelihood of experiencing downward neighborhood mobility from a non-poor to poor neighborhood. Moreover, differences between Blacks and Latinos/as, on the one hand, and Whites, on the other, in the locational characteristics of kin help to explain substantial portions of the pronounced racial/ethnic differences in the likelihood of both leaving poor neighborhoods and averting moving into them.

These results have key implications for theories of residential stratification. Our study contributes to a growing body of evidence that social relationships inform both decisions to move and neighborhood destination choices among movers (Boyd, 2008; Dahl and Sorenson 2010; Dawkins, 2006; Geist and McManus, 2008; Kan, 2007; Lareau and Goyette, 2014; Long, 1988; Spring et al., 2017). The three major explanations for racial/ethnic disparities in neighborhood attainment—economic resources, discrimination, and preferences—largely overlook social ties to kin as influences on mobility decisions, including the choice of a destination neighborhood. Our findings do not deny the salience of economic resources, discrimination, or differential preferences for same-race neighbors as contributors to racial/ethnic gaps in neighborhood attainment, but rather suggest that the some of the unobserved portions of these gaps may be due to social dynamics of residential mobility. In this way, our work provides evidence to support a social structural sorting theory of racial/ethnic residential stratification (Crowder and Krysan, 2016; Krysan and Crowder, 2017).

Our work also has implications for policy interventions that seek to promote mobility out of poor neighborhoods and/or to eliminate racial/ethnic differences in exposure to neighborhood poverty. Many large-scale housing interventions such as public housing or voucher programs typically target only members of a household unit. Our analysis suggests that broader non-resident kin networks are important to mobility decisions and may bind or draw households to poor neighborhoods. Given the significant connection between kin location and patterns of residential mobility, policymakers should anticipate the ways in which the location of kin members may influence housing-choice policies. Mobility interventions that target broader kin networks, and/or interventions focused on alleviating poverty at the neighborhood level, may be the most successful at eliminating racial/ethnic differences in exposure to neighborhood poverty while allowing individuals to stay close to kin.

This work points to several potential avenues for future research. More quantitative and qualitative research is needed to identify the mechanisms by which kin networks shape decisions about mobility and neighborhood choice. One area in need of additional attention is how patterns of kin dependence, emotional closeness, and feelings towards kin may influence the relationship between kin location and racial/ethnic differences in mobility across neighborhoods. Our analysis focuses on kin proximity and neighborhood characteristics, but cannot speak to the actual nature of social and emotional bonds among kin networks in the PSID. It is likely that the impact of kin on racial/ethnic differences in neighborhood attainment depends on the strength of the bonds between the individual and particular members of her/his kin network. Qualitative research may be better able to elucidate the conditions under which racial/ethnic groups incorporate ties to kin in their decisions to move and their choice of destination.

Racial/ethnic inequality in neighborhood attainment is likely to persist if racial/ethnic differences in levels of individual and kin neighborhood poverty endure. Our study suggests that mobility and neighborhood choices may involve trade-offs for racial/ethnic minorities whose kin networks are circumscribed by neighborhood poverty. Blacks and Latinos/as may aspire to more socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods, but they may also find value in staying in poor neighborhoods because of the benefits of living close to kin networks. Residents of poor neighborhoods may also have limited access to information about more advantaged neighborhoods because their social networks are largely confined to poor neighborhoods. While Whites are also influenced by kin location, they do not face the same type of trade-off between neighborhood advantage and kin proximity because their kin networks are less likely to be located in poor neighborhoods. The potential trade-offs between neighborhood quality and maintaining valued social ties merit further attention in future research on racial/ethnic residential stratification.

5.1. Notes

1. PSID data contain information on kin location for only the member(s) of the household connected to an original PSID "root" family. In all multivariate analyses we control for whether the kin information was obtained from the household reference person or the spouse's family. Sensitivity checks with separate models for couple households versus non-couple (single) households, and for couple households with kin information from the household reference person versus couple households with kin information from the spouse support the same substantive conclusions reported in the main analyses.
2. This restriction reduced the sample by 4.1%. Supplemental analyses without fixed effects indicate that the restriction results in slightly conservative, but substantively similar, estimates of racial differences in mobility between poor and non-poor areas and the role of kin location in this mobility.
3. This restricted subsample with observable nuclear kin information includes 5,539 Black household reference persons (n = 41,110 person-periods), 1,156 Latino/a household reference persons (n = 4,268 person-periods), and 7,946 White household reference persons (n = 66,312 person-periods). This restriction has the largest impact on the effective size of the Latino/a subsample, reflecting the fact that many Latinos/as were added to the PSID panel in the 1990s and are not linked via kin ties to an original PSID family. We include Latinos/as for purposes of comparison here, with the caveat that this group exhibits the highest degree of censoring of nuclear kin data relative to Blacks and Whites.
4. We do not include a parallel measure of the presence of any nuclear kin in a non-poor tract because in our sample this variable is highly correlated with the presence of any nuclear kin in a poor tract (r = −0.63).
5. We explored several potential measures of distance to kin as determinants of mobility across neighborhoods. The substantive results are the same regardless of the strategy to measure distance to kin, but the "logged average distance to nuclear kin" and "any nuclear kin within 1 mile" measures provided the best

model fit based on BIC values. Similarly, we explored several potential measures of kin neighborhood poverty, but the average nuclear kin poverty and any kin living in poverty measures provided the best model fit based on BIC values.

6. Public housing or rental assistance is not available until 1985, so years prior to 1985 are flagged with a separate category for this variable. There were also missing values for several variables, including educational attainment (2.1% of cases), employment status (0.02% of cases), home ownership (0.003% of cases), and public housing or rental assistance (0.04% of cases). Missing values for these variables are flagged using dummy variables.

7. In addition to investigating additive associations between proximity to kin and kin neighborhood poverty as predictors of mobility across neighborhoods, we incorporated interactions between these two kin variables. In models for the samples with observable kin (Tables 3 and 5), these interactions were significant for predicting poor-to-poor neighborhood moves and non-poor to non-poor and non-poor to poor neighborhood moves. Incorporating these interactions, however, did not substantially attenuate racial/ethnic differences in mobility across neighborhoods, which is a focal point of our analysis. For this reason, interaction results have been omitted from the final results, but are available upon request.

Supplementary Material

Refer to Web version on PubMed Central for supplementary material.

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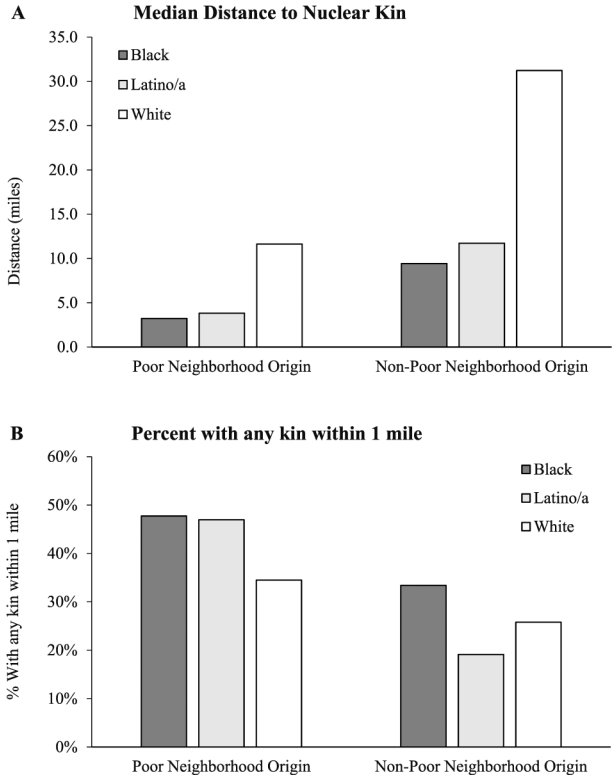

Fig. 1.

Distance to nuclear kin among Blacks, Whites, and Latinos/as originating in poor and non-poor neighborhoods, PSID 1980–2013.

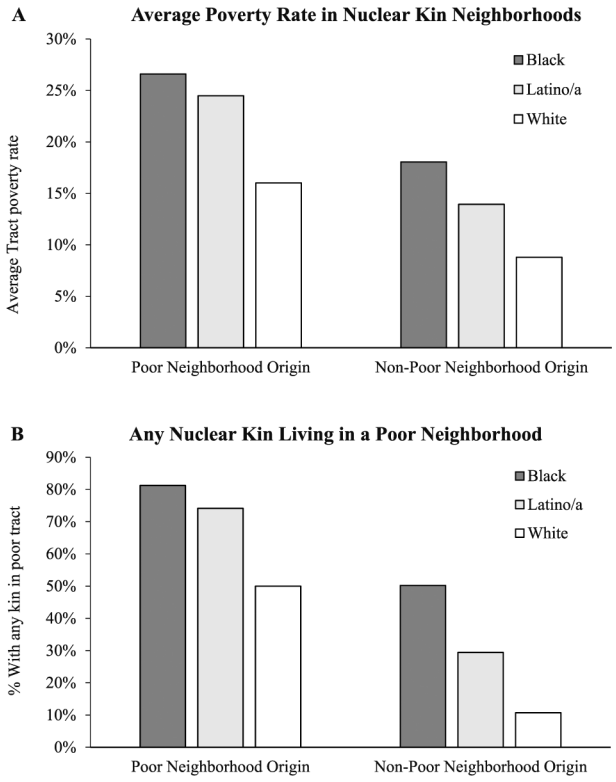

Fig. 2.

Nuclear kin neighborhood poverty levels for Blacks, Whites, and Latinos/as originating in poor and non-poor neighborhoods, PSID 1980–2013.

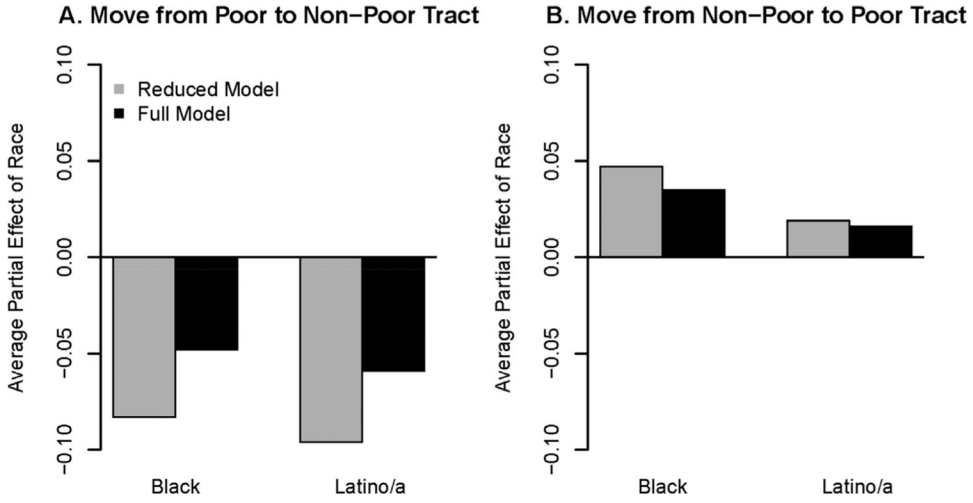

Fig. 3.

Attenuation of average partial effect of Black and Latino/a racial status on mobility across poor and non-poor tracts with controls for distance to kin and kin tract poverty rates, PSID 1980–2013.

Table 1

Mobility and kin location characteristics by race/ethnicity and neighborhood poverty, PSID 1980–2013.

	Originating in Poor Neighborhood						Originating in Non-Poor Neighborhood					
	Black		Latino/a		White		Black		Latino/a		White	
	Mean		Mean		Mean		Mean		Mean		Mean	
Mobility Patterns												
Stayed in Neighborhood	74.9% *	(0.5%)	80.1%	(1.0%)	79.3%	(0.6%)	74.9% *	(0.6%)	78.7% *	(0.9%)	82.7%	(0.2%)
Moved to Poor Neighborhood	14.7% *	(0.4%)	11.4% *	(0.8%)	5.8%	(0.3%)	10.3% *	(0.4%)	5.6% *	(0.5%)	1.8%	(0.1%)
Moved to Non-Poor Neighborhood	10.5% *	(0.4%)	8.6% *	(0.7%)	14.8%	(0.5%)	14.9%	(0.5%)	15.7%	(0.8%)	15.5%	(0.2%)
n (person-periods, full sample)	31,057		6,867		8,296		24,634		6,865		79,569	
Proximity to Kin												
Avg. Distance to Nuclear Kin (Miles)	63.1 *	(3.0)	77.3 *	(8.7)	170.2	(6.1)	145.6 *	(5.1)	219.1 *	(12.4)	258.9	2.5
Avg. Dist To Nuclear Kin-Median (Miles)	3.2		3.8		11.6		9.4		11.7		31.2	
Any Nuclear Kin Live within 1 Mile	47.7% *	(0.7%)	46.9% *	(2.0%)	34.5%	(0.8%)	33.4% *	(0.7%)	19.1% *	(1.1%)	25.8%	(0.2%)
Kin Neighborhood Poverty												
Avg. Poverty Rate in Nuclear Kin Neighborhoods	26.6% *	(0.2%)	24.5% *	(0.4%)	16.0%	(0.2%)	18.1% *	(0.2%)	13.9% *	(0.3%)	8.8%	(0.0%)
Any Nuclear Kin Living in Poor Neighborhood	81.2% *	(0.6%)	74.1% *	(1.8%)	50.0%	(0.8%)	50.2% *	(0.7%)	29.4% *	(1.5%)	10.7%	(0.2%)
Number of Identifiable Nuclear Kin	3.0 *	(0.0)	2.6	(0.1)	2.6	(0.0)	3.2 *	(0.0)	2.9	(0.1)	2.9	(0.0)
n (person-periods, subsample with kin measures)	22,478		1,846		5,914		18,632		2,422		60,398	

Note:

* Significant difference with Whites in same originating neighborhood at $p < .05$, based on weighted OLS regression. Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 2

Relative odds of mobility into non-poor and poor neighborhoods among individuals originating in poor neighborhoods, PSID 1980–2013.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Move to Non-Poor	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**
Race/ Ethnicity										
Black	0.614*** (0.031)	2.578*** (0.171)	0.481*** (0.032)	1.579*** (0.134)	0.514*** (0.034)	1.660*** (0.139)	0.590*** (0.041)	1.581*** (0.136)	0.581*** (0.040)	1.526*** (0.129)
Latino	0.387*** (0.027)	1.272** (0.106)	0.358*** (0.033)	0.926 (0.099)	0.402*** (0.038)	0.996 (0.108)	0.430*** (0.041)	0.914 (0.100)	0.438*** (0.042)	0.932 (0.101)
(Ref. White)										
Kin Location Characteristics										
Any kin within 1 mile					0.487*** (0.024)	0.489*** (0.022)			0.572*** (0.031)	0.436*** (0.020)
No observable kin					0.790*** (0.050)	0.793*** (0.049)	0.614*** (0.044)	0.957 (0.075)	0.614*** (0.044)	0.979 (0.077)
(Ref. No kin within 1 mile.)										
Any kin in poor tract							0.484*** (0.026)	1.024 (0.061)	0.635*** (0.037)	1.496*** (0.092)
Missing kin tract poverty							0.689*** (0.054)	1.072 (0.089)	0.692*** (0.054)	1.103 (0.091)
(Ref. No kin in poor tract)										
Covariates	No		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Constant	0.192*** (0.008)	0.080*** (0.005)	0.010* (0.019)	0.766 (1.215)	0.010** (0.018)	1.039 (1.630)	0.016* (0.030)	0.820 (1.298)	0.013* (0.024)	0.765 (1.195)
n (person-periods)	46,220		46,220		46,220		46,220		46,220	
BIC	59,919		56,315		55,848		56,169		55,718	

Note:

* p < .05,

** p < .01,

*** p < .001.

Standard errors in parentheses. All models control for year (centered at 1995).

Table 3

Relative odds of mobility into non-poor and poor neighborhoods among individuals originating in poor neighborhoods with observable nuclear kin, PSID 1980–2013.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Move to Non-Poor	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**
Race/ Ethnicity										
Black	0.586*** (0.033)	2.546*** (0.192)	0.465*** (0.035)	1.715*** (0.175)	0.531*** (0.041)	1.883*** (0.189)	0.655*** (0.052)	1.708*** (0.179)	0.661*** (0.052)	1.725*** (0.177)
Latino	0.534*** (0.056)	1.833*** (0.224)	0.360*** (0.046)	1.114 (0.159)	0.467*** (0.059)	1.372* (0.191)	0.475*** (0.060)	1.104 (0.158)	0.533*** (0.067)	1.298 (0.182)
(Ref. White)										
Kin Location Characteristics										
Average distance to kin (log, miles)					1.108*** (0.009)	1.090*** (0.008)			1.073*** (0.009)	1.102*** (0.009)
Kin Tract Poverty (%)							0.968*** (0.002)	1.001 (0.002)	0.976*** (0.002)	1.009*** (0.002)
Covariates	No		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Constant	0.213*** (0.010)	0.083*** (0.006)	0.005* (0.011)	1.828 (3.379)	0.006* (0.013)	2.907 (5.285)	0.008* (0.017)	1.826 (3.371)	0.008* (0.017)	2.393 (4.348)
n (person-periods)	30,238		30,238		30,238		30,238		30,238	
BIC	41,874		40,223		39,950		40,015		39,802	

Note:

* $p < .05$,

** $p < .01$,

*** $p < .001$.

Exponentiated coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All models control for year (centered at 1995).

Table 4

Relative odds of mobility into non-poor and poor neighborhoods among individuals originating in non-poor neighborhoods, PSID 1980–2013.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Move to Non-Poor	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**
Race/Ethnicity										
Black	1.011 (0.031)	5.578*** (0.243)	0.657*** (0.022)	3.484*** (0.201)	0.661*** (0.022)	3.473*** (0.199)	0.660*** (0.023)	2.629*** (0.155)	0.686*** (0.024)	2.701*** (0.159)
Latino	0.845*** (0.040)	2.948*** (0.205)	0.562*** (0.029)	1.613*** (0.146)	0.576*** (0.031)	1.653*** (0.153)	0.572*** (0.031)	1.419*** (0.131)	0.583*** (0.031)	1.450*** (0.134)
(Ref. White)										
Kin Location Characteristics										
Any kin within 1 mile					0.473*** (0.015)	0.474*** (0.026)			0.466*** (0.015)	0.555*** (0.031)
No observable kin					0.832*** (0.030)	0.783*** (0.052)	0.928 (0.036)	1.130 (0.082)	0.812*** (0.031)	0.988 (0.072)
(Ref. No kin within 1 mile.)										
Any kin in poor tract							0.977 (0.031)	2.424*** (0.120)	0.887*** (0.028)	2.195*** (0.110)
Missing kin tract poverty							1.108* (0.050)	1.355*** (0.105)	0.957 (0.043)	1.184* (0.093)
(Ref. No kin in poor tract)										
Covariates	No		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Constant	0.198*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.218 (0.195)	0.128 (0.220)	0.268 (0.239)	0.175 (0.298)	0.226 (0.203)	0.139 (0.236)	0.271 (0.241)	0.163 (0.277)
n (person-periods)	111,068		111,068		111,068		111,068		111,068	
BIC	125,750		114,927		114,072		114,610		113,773	

Note:

* $p < .05$,

** $p < .01$,

*** $p < .001$.

Exponentiated coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All models control for year (centered at 1995).

Table 5

Relative odds of mobility into non-poor and poor neighborhoods among individuals originating in non-poor neighborhoods with observable nuclear kin, PSID 1980–2013.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	Move to Non-Poor	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**	**Move to Non-Poor**	**Move to Poor**
Race/Ethnicity										
Black	0.969 (0.033)	5.711*** (0.280)	0.644*** (0.025)	3.597*** (0.241)	0.695*** (0.026)	3.810*** (0.251)	0.672*** (0.028)	2.446*** (0.176)	0.744*** (0.031)	2.642*** (0.188)
Latino	1.074 (0.075)	4.125*** (0.427)	0.594*** (0.043)	1.826*** (0.227)	0.657*** (0.047)	2.026*** (0.253)	0.610*** (0.044)	1.458** (0.181)	0.683*** (0.050)	1.619*** (0.201)
(Ref. White)										
Kin Location Characteristics										
Average distance to kin (log, miles)					1.086*** (0.005)	1.092*** (0.008)			1.087*** (0.005)	1.080*** (0.009)
Kin Tract Poverty (%)							0.996* (0.002)	1.034*** (0.003)	0.993*** (0.002)	1.031*** (0.003)
Covariates	No		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Constant	0.210*** (0.004)	0.022*** (0.001)	0.154 (0.167)	0.126 (0.260)	0.176 (0.191)	0.182 (0.375)	0.160 (0.173)	0.079 (0.167)	0.182 (0.198)	0.100 (0.212)
n	81,452		81,452		81,452		81,452		81,452	
BIC	95,353		88,369		87,867		88,141		87,617	

Note:

* $p < .05$,

** $p < .01$,

*** $p < .001$.

Exponentiated coefficients. Standard errors in parentheses. All models control for year (centered at 1995).