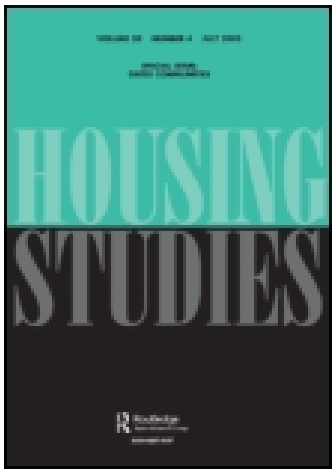

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Residential Attainment of Now-Adult Gautreaux Children: Do they Gain, Hold or Lose Ground in Neighborhood Ethnic and Economic Segregation?

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Residential Attainment of Now-Adult Gautreaux Children: Do they Gain, Hold or Lose Ground in Neighborhood Ethnic and Economic Segregation?

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ABSTRACT *This paper examines the extent to which Chicago's Gautreaux residential mobility program affected children's residential attainment. Low-income black families voluntarily relocated into mostly white or mostly black city and suburban neighborhoods. The paper integrates quantitative and qualitative data collected eight to 22 years after participants' initial move into their placement neighborhoods. The primary programmatic goal of desegregation was accomplished; now-adult children's origin, placement and current neighborhoods average 85.6, 29.9 and 44.5 per cent black residents respectively. Now-adult children's residential mobility decisions have located them, on average, in ethnically integrated, low-poverty neighborhoods; children placed in mostly black, high-poverty neighborhoods and those placed in mostly white, low-poverty neighborhoods have relocated to ethnically balanced low- to moderate-poverty neighborhoods. Suburban placement was key in determining the level of children's initial relocation and current neighborhood quality. Now-adult children currently residing in suburban cities live in higher quality neighborhoods compared to those currently residing in Chicago.*

KEY WORDS: Housing policy, residential mobility, Gautreaux

Introduction

The Gautreaux residential mobility program enabled low-income black families living in Chicago's public housing developments, or on the waiting list for public housing, to move to mostly white neighborhoods throughout the six-county Chicago and suburban area. Because the Gautreaux program was a desegregation remedy, participating families had to be willing to move to census tracts with 30 per cent or fewer black residents. Between 1976 and 1998, the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities relocated more than 7000 families.[1] The Gautreaux program gave participating families rent

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subsidies that allowed them to live in suburban or city apartments for the same cost as public housing, but did not provide employment, transportation, child-care or any other assistance.

What are the likely outcomes for the children of these families? Many of these children were preschoolers when their parents relocated, and as such have had a chance to spend the bulk of their childhoods with very limited exposure to segregated, poor, high crime, inner-city neighborhoods. The findings presented in this paper extend the work of Keels *et al.* (2005), which focused on the long-term residential attainment of the mothers of Gautreaux families. Did moving to better neighborhoods via the Gautreaux program create long-term improvements in the communities in which the children of participating families live? To study this, quantitative and qualitative methods were integrated utilizing administrative and Census data on the characteristics of children's current neighborhoods, and qualitative data gathered in 2002 and 2003 from in-depth follow-up interviews with the mothers of 25 families that participated in the Gautreaux program. Integrating these methods made it possible to accurately describe children's residential outcomes, examine participants' experiences of their placement communities, and get at the processes underlying whether initial gains in neighborhood quality were maintained.

Approximately half of Gautreaux program participants moved to neighborhoods within Chicago, the other half moved to suburban communities. Initial placement neighborhoods varied greatly in terms of ethnic composition and socio-economic resources. When the court ruling was finalized in 1981, it included a provision to allow up to one-third of participants to move to census tracts with more than 30 per cent black residents.[2] Therefore, despite the program's desegregation goal, a significant proportion of Gautreaux participants was placed in mostly black, low-income neighborhoods. At the other end of the spectrum, significant numbers moved to mostly white, middle and higher-income neighborhoods. The study exploits these variations in placement neighborhood characteristics to assess the relationship between the characteristics of children's initial placement neighborhoods and their long-term residential outcomes. By using Census information about the characteristics of now-adult Gautreaux children's 'current' neighborhoods (measured in 1995 or later), it is possible to gauge the extent to which the dramatic short-run improvements in neighborhood minority segregation and socio-economic status (SES) were maintained an average of 14 years after children relocated to their placement addresses.

Studies of residential mobility suggest that residential outcomes are determined by a multitude of household and metropolitan factors (Dielman, 2001; Kan, 1999; South & Crowder, 1997a). For example, the decision to move is affected by life-cycle changes such as job loss or promotion, marriage or divorce, and the birth of a child or a child leaving home. Additionally, metropolitan factors, such as the affordability of alternative dwellings and the accessibility of transportation, can also trigger a move. The follow-up interviews with Gautreaux participants revealed that all of these factors affected now-adult children, and triggered voluntary and involuntary moves in the years after moving to their placement address (Keels, 2003).

Because the focus of this paper is on the outcomes of now-adult children's residential mobility decisions, the effects of neighborhood change over time are unobserved. Although neighborhood change contributes to residential outcomes independent of an individual's mobility decisions, this is not a detrimental omission because residential mobility rather than neighborhood change accounts for the majority of people's exit and

entry into significantly different neighborhoods (Briggs & Keys, 2005; Quillian, 2003). Although a complete accounting of residential mobility is impossible with these data, the study documents the neighborhoods in which a representative sample of now-adult Gautreaux children currently reside and examines the association between placement and current neighborhood characteristics. In doing so, it is tested whether mobility out of high-poverty inner-city neighborhoods can be maintained when children mature and establish independent residences. Information gained from in-depth interviews with mothers is used to aid in interpreting potential processes behind now-adult children's long-term residential outcomes.

The findings presented in this paper broaden our understanding of mobility based deconcentration programs in three ways. First, persistence of mobility out of mostly-black, low-poverty, inner-city neighborhoods continues into the next generation as children mature and establish independent households. Second, exposure to residence in high quality neighborhoods positively affects people's future residential decisions. Third, suburban residence, on average, continues to be an important factor in determining neighborhood quality.

Literature Review

Residential Attainment of Black Families

High levels of education and income are more important in determining residential attainment for blacks than for whites. However, even after controlling for group differences in family composition and socio-economic resources, black families remain less likely than white families to live in high quality neighborhoods (Alba & Logan, 1993; Gramlich *et al.*, 1992; Logan *et al.*, 1996; Massey & Denton, 1993; Rosenbaum, 1996; South & Crowder, 1997b). Regardless of income and education, black families face institutional and informal barriers when trying to gain access to residence in better neighborhoods (Darden & Kamel, 2000; Massey & Lundy, 2001). Participation in the Gautreaux program broke the link between children's disadvantaged status and neighborhood characteristics, and it is possible that as children matured their experiences and information obtained from residing in particular placement neighborhoods may have had lasting effects on their residential attainment.

Why Placement Neighborhood Characteristics Might Matter

There are several aspects of children's placement neighborhoods that may affect the quality of the neighborhoods in which they currently reside. Based on neighborhood resources, collective socialization and contagion/epidemic models of neighborhood effects, placement in better neighborhoods and among better neighbors should be beneficial. It is also important to consider the implications of competition and relative deprivation models, which focus on comparisons of self to others, and how this may negatively influence low-income individuals living in higher SES neighborhoods (Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Turley, 2002). Gautreaux children's low social standing in affluent communities may be discouraging, and reduce their likelihood of maintaining long-term residence in higher SES neighborhoods. Ethnicity based social distance may also affect children's integration into their placement neighborhoods and the characteristics of current neighborhoods. All else

equal, black children moving to communities with higher percentages of black residents may adjust more easily and form stronger bonds with their new neighbors.

City versus suburban placement is also important because suburban locations resulted in a larger physical, cultural and resource disparity between children's origin and placement neighborhoods. In large metropolitan areas of the US, suburban communities are qualitatively different from demographically similar central city communities (Jargowsky *et al.*, 2005). Suburban communities tend to have fewer poor families and few areas of concentrated poverty; in central cities moderate and low-poverty tracts may be bordered by high-poverty tracts. Furthermore, residence in the suburban-ring is hypothesized to increase children's proximity to jobs and employment information which is likely to have a positive effect on now-adult children's willingness and ability to maintain residence in high resource communities (Ellwood, 1986; Holzer, 1991; Thompson, 1997; Wilson, 1987).

Effects of Public Housing Relocation on Neighborhood Quality

Housing policy, with an eye on the larger goal of fostering self-sufficiency, must assist families with adequate shelter in an adequate neighborhood. However, low-income black families receiving housing assistance reside in some of the most caustic neighborhoods, which make their chances of self-sufficiency less rather than more likely. There is great potential for families living in public housing developments to make substantial gains in neighborhood quality as public housing authorities increasingly move to voucher-based assistance. In support of this, some researchers have found that project-based housing assistance is more likely to produce racial and economic segregation compared to voucher assistance coupled with housing counseling (Van-Ryzin & Kamber, 2002; Varady & Walker, 1998, 2000). However, others have found that relocation via housing vouchers does little to improve the neighborhood conditions in which former public housing families live and raise their children (Goetz, 2002; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; Popkin & Cunningham, 2001; Quane *et al.*, 2002). These researchers found that, in general, the majority of families leaving distressed public housing developments continue to be clustered in ethnically and socio-economically segregated inner-city neighborhoods.

The experimental Moving to Opportunity (MTO) residential mobility demonstration program uses a carefully controlled experimental design to assess the effects of providing the offer to move to low-poverty communities (Goering, 2003). In comparison to the Gautreaux program, MTO's criterion for a qualifying neighborhood was based on class (census tract poverty rate under 10 per cent). Partly as a result, MTO families did not move as far away from their original neighborhoods as did Gautreaux's families (Keels *et al.*, 2005). Additionally, MTO experimental families were allowed to choose their own units, whereas housing counselors assigned Gautreaux families to units as they became available. Finally, MTO families, at enrollment, were much more disadvantaged than Gautreaux families, partially due to the fact that MTO families had longer generational histories of public housing residence, and unlike MTO the Gautreaux program included participant screening (DeLuca *et al.*, 2007; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000).[3]

The MTO interim report presents an evaluation of treatment/control differences four to seven years after baseline (Orr *et al.*, 2003). MTO's interim report showed that within four to seven years after their initial moves 66 per cent of experimental group families (participants required to move to low-poverty neighborhoods) have made subsequent moves and, on average, these subsequent moves were to higher poverty locations.

However, even with these subsequent moves, experimental group families continue to reside in neighborhoods with lower poverty rates than the standard Section 8 and control groups. However, since MTO began placing families only in the mid-1990s, we will have to wait for the 10-year follow-up to determine whether MTO enables families to reside long-term in safer more affluent neighborhoods.

Keels *et al.* (2005) present a detailed look at the long-term residential outcomes of the mothers of families participating in the Gautreaux program some eight to 22 years after their initial move via the program. Almost all mothers participating in the Gautreaux program have moved since placement, and all but a handful were able to escape long-term from the ethnic and socio-economic segregation of their inner-city origin neighborhoods. Furthermore, two-thirds of those initially moving to the suburbs continued to live in the suburbs. Keels *et al.* conclude that helping low-income families relocate into communities that are ethnically integrated, socio-economically prosperous and less plagued by crime appears beneficial in both the short- and long-run. However, there is considerable reason to doubt that the improvements in neighborhood quality experienced by Gautreaux and MTO experimental families would be maintained as children mature and establish independent residences. The information presented in this paper on Gautreaux children's residential outcomes, an average of 14 years after moving to their initial placement neighborhoods, provides a useful look at generational progress or regress. The data are now available to look long-term and examine whether improvements in neighborhood quality and mobility out of inner-city neighborhoods persisted into the second generation.

The Gautreaux Residential Mobility Program

The data used in this research come from participants of the Gautreaux residential mobility program who moved between 1977 and 1989. In 1966, Dorothy Gautreaux, a community organizer and activist, sued the Chicago Housing Authority and the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in the nation's first class action public housing desegregation lawsuit. One of the desegregation remedies authorized by the Supreme Court was the Gautreaux housing mobility program (see Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum (2000) for a more detailed description of the Gautreaux program).

An important element of a program like Gautreaux is take-up—the proportion of families offered housing that in fact took up the offer and moved.[4] Calculating take-up rates for Gautreaux is difficult since the Leadership Council intentionally enrolled more families than necessary to allow for attrition and the likelihood that larger families would have difficulty finding a unit (Peterson & Williams, 1995; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000). The low take-up rate of approximately 20 per cent primarily reflects the relatively few annually available certificates and vouchers, and effective take-up rate for the program may have been much higher (Keels *et al.*, 2005).[5]

Votruba & Kling (2004) examined the relationships between the origin and placement neighborhood characteristics of Gautreaux participants. They found that six of eight origin neighborhood characteristics were significant predictors of the corresponding placement neighborhood characteristics. This indicates that there is some degree of self-selection by Gautreaux participants into neighborhoods possessing characteristics they prefer. However, Votruba & Kling concluded that "while Gautreaux may not have been a quasi-random experiment, it does appear to have induced a wide variation in neighborhood characteristics for participating families" (p. 20).

In general, Gautreaux participants are demographically similar to public housing residents who were living in Chicago during the years in which the program operated (Rosenbaum *et al.*, 1991; Rusin-White, 1993).[6] However, despite demographic similarities, Gautreaux families clearly differ from other public housing families because they volunteered for the program. Thus, these findings generalize most readily to families voluntarily choosing to participate in residential mobility programs in which, as with Gautreaux, the final decision to move to a more integrated and more affluent community is left up to the family. As the transformation of distressed public housing developments continues, families are often 'involuntarily' moved to new communities.[7] Involuntarily relocating families may not result in the same outcomes that are found for Gautreaux participants.

Quantitative Data and Methods

Information on program participants comes from Gautreaux program records provided by the Leadership Council. A random half sample of all female-headed families ($n = 1506$) who moved prior to 1990 was selected.[8] These program records provide origin and placement address, mother's date of birth, number of children and AFDC receipt status at time of enrollment, and each child's birth date and gender. In total, 2668 children resided in 1348 families (158 families had no children). This paper focuses on the 1077 children who were aged 17 or younger when the move occurred, and aged 25 or older between 1995 and 2000. Only children aged 25 or older at follow-up are included to allow time for children to mature and begin establishing independent households. At follow-up, only nine of 273 now-adult children resided at the same address as their mother.

Name, social security number and date of birth were needed to match participant records to administrative data sources. Unfortunately, more than half of all children had missing or incomplete social security numbers in the paper files. This meant that only 447 of the 1077 children could be included in these analyses. Appendix 1 presents the demographic, origin and placement neighborhood characteristics for the full sample and for those with and without social security numbers. Based on logit regressions (Appendix 1), year of move was the only factor significantly associated with whether children had complete social security number information. Families moving later in the program's operation were more likely to have provided children's social security number information, a result of the program's imposition of strict verification requirements in response to increasing demand for the program. Importantly, none of the origin or placement neighborhood census characteristics were significantly associated with whether social security information was missing.

Current addresses for eligible children were obtained from a credit reporting service and the Illinois Department of Human Services Integrated Client Database Records (AFDC, TANF, Medicaid, Food Stamps). The most recent address from these two sources was used. Now-adult children are identified as having a current address if the address obtained was from 1995 or later. A post-1994 address was located for 343 of the 447 now-adult children. However, 70 of these children were under age 25 when that address was last updated and therefore could not be included in these analyses. The analyses presented in this paper focus on the residential outcomes of this final sample of 273 now-adult children. Eighty-four per cent of these children continued to reside within Illinois. The average year of current address is 1998, ranging from 1995 to 2000.

To characterize origin and placement address census tract characteristics, the addresses were geocoded into census tracts and then matched to data from both the 1980 and 1990 Census, interpolated for year of relocation. The outcomes measure the long-run neighborhood-based success of now-adult Gautreaux children, obtained from Census 2000 data. Three key census variables are used as proxies for origin, placement and current neighborhood quality: percentage of residents that are black, non-elderly poverty rate, and percentage of adults with 16 or more years of education. Neighborhood percentage black is used because the stated goal of the Gautreaux program was to reduce minority racial segregation. Current neighborhood poverty and education level are used because several researchers have shown that these variables are associated with children's short- and long-term outcomes (Ainsworth, 2002; Duncan *et al.*, 1994; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). Additionally, there is a relatively low correlation between placement neighborhood poverty and education level (-0.44), particularly in comparison to the correlation between placement neighborhood poverty and percentage black (0.75) (see Appendix 2 for more details).

Qualitative Data and Methods

To help interpret the quantitative results, interviews were conducted with 25 mothers of families who participated in the Gautreaux program. Because there is no control group of participants that did not receive housing assistance, and there is a large time span between now-adult children's placement and current addresses, it is important to obtain in-depth information about participants' experiences in the years since placement. Information obtained from mothers' interviews was critical in interpreting the quantitative data, and suggesting potential processes behind children's residential outcomes.[9]

To draw the sample, Gautreaux program participants were categorized according to city versus suburban placement, and placement in a community that was greater than 75 per cent black versus a community that was less than 30 per cent black. A random sample of interviewees was selected from each of three placement categories: (1) suburban neighborhood; (2) mostly black city neighborhood; and (3) mostly European-American city neighborhood. Current addresses for potential interviewees were located using a three-step process: first, Internet phone book searches for the Chicago and surrounding suburban area using participant's name; second, US Search person finder website using name, birth date and last known address; and finally a comprehensive search by staff at the National Opinion Research Council using name, birth date and social security number.

The initial random selection resulted in 166 cases and letters were sent out to these participants. Approximately 30 per cent of these letters were returned by the post office as undeliverable. Thirty-five Gautreaux participants responded and said that they were willing to be interviewed. Only three potential respondents explicitly declined to participate. Although the response rate was not high, the use of multiple search methods made it possible to interview mothers of families who represent the full range of Gautreaux participants.[10] Telephone interviews were also conducted with participants who were residing outside of Illinois at the time of the interview. Three of the women interviewed resided outside of Illinois; one was in the Midwest and two were in Southern states. The wide range of participants interviewed decreases the potential bias that could result from interviewing only those that were the easiest to find.

Respondents had a varied history with regard to their experiences with public housing in Chicago before enrolling in the Gautreaux program. Most respondents grew up in public

housing and some even remembered a time when the developments were safe and had a strong sense of community. For three respondents, their first experience with public housing was during their early adulthood due to the birth of a child and the need for public housing to make ends meet. Five of the 25 respondents grew up in public housing but had moved out, into a private apartment or were doubled up with a friend or family for a few years before enrolling in the Gautreaux program.

All but one of the mothers interviewed were first generation Chicagoans, on one or both sides of their families, whose parents moved from the South (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana or Mississippi) trying to make a better life for their families. Respondents were between age 22 and 35 and had one to four children when they enrolled in the Gautreaux program. Twenty-one of the 25 interviewees were receiving AFDC when they enrolled in the program. At the time of enrollment, the children of mothers interviewed ranged in age from 1 to 15. When follow-up interviews were conducted in 2002 and 2003, these children were between ages 13 and 31.

Respondents' placement neighborhoods were diverse. The average year of move was 1984, with all interviewees moving between 1977 and 1989. City movers were placed in neighborhoods that ranged from 99 per cent black, 40 per cent poor, and two miles from the origin address to neighborhoods that were 8 per cent black, 9 per cent poor, and eight miles from the origin address. Suburban movers were placed in neighborhoods that ranged from 18 per cent black, 5 per cent poor and 13 miles away from the origin address to neighborhoods that were 0.5 per cent black, 2 per cent poor and 27 miles from the origin address. On average, interviewees remained at their placement address for seven years.[11] The placement neighborhoods of interviewees are representative of the full sample of program participants whose origin, placement and current neighborhood characteristics are detailed in Keels *et al.* (2005).

Results

The top half of Table 1 presents the family and individual characteristics of Gautreaux children. On average, children were 12.9 years old when they initially moved, had an average of 1.9 siblings, and approximately half were female. Mothers were approximately 33.4 years old and 73.6 per cent were receiving AFDC at the time of the move. Number of siblings and child's year of birth are the only demographic variables with significant differences between children placed in suburban versus city neighborhoods.

Why Families Moved

One theme throughout all of the interviews was that the decision to enroll in the Gautreaux program had little to do with the desire to live next to white families, but was due to the desire to raise their children in a better environment. Integration was viewed as the means to the objective, not as the objective itself. Without much prompting, all Gautreaux mothers stated that they participated in the program because they believed that it offered their children a chance of a better life. These mothers simply wanted better for themselves and their children. Gautreaux families were also attempting to escape deplorable living conditions; public housing developments were in disrepair, riddled with drugs and crime and were in an area of concentrated poverty. Gautreaux mothers clearly recognized the

Table 1. Mean and standard deviations of demographic and neighborhood measures

Variable	Full sample $n=273$	Placed in city $n=145$	Placed in suburb $n=128$	p level of city–suburb difference
Demographic variables				
Year of move	1984 (2.25)	1984 (1.87)	1984 (2.62)	0.313
Mother's age at move	33.42 (5.43)	33.79 (5.97)	33.02 (4.76)	0.253
Mother received AFDC at move	73.63 (44.15)	74.48 (43.75)	72.66 (44.75)	0.734
Child year of birth	1971 (2.59)	1971 (2.52)	1971 (2.64)	0.023
Child age at move	12.93 (2.66)	13.13 (2.42)	12.70 (2.89)	0.177
Number of siblings	1.90 (1.26)	1.74 (1.13)	2.07 (1.38)	0.033
Female	56.78 (49.63)	58.62 (49.42)	54.69 (49.98)	0.515
Origin neighborhood variables				
Per cent origin address was public housing	53.70 (49.94)	53.79 (50.03)	53.91 (50.04)	0.985
Per cent black	85.60 (24.66)	85.62 (25.77)	85.58 (23.45)	0.990
Non-elderly poverty rate	47.33 (22.66)	46.15 (21.73)	48.68 (23.68)	0.359
Per cent adults with 16 +years of school	8.27 (12.14)	7.52 (9.86)	9.12 (14.29)	0.277
Placement neighborhood variables				
Per cent black	29.94 (37.32)	50.33 (40.05)	6.47 (11.09)	0.000
Non-elderly poverty rate	19.37 (17.08)	31.62 (13.98)	5.37 (5.81)	0.000
Per cent adults with 16 +years of school	18.76 (14.93)	16.96 (16.26)	20.82 (12.98)	0.034
Current neighborhood variables				
Per cent black	44.48 (39.65)	49.63 (38.64)	38.60 (40.12)	0.022
Non-elderly poverty rate	17.85 (15.62)	18.91 (14.48)	16.63 (16.80)	0.233
Per cent adults with 16 +years of school	23.71 (19.48)	25.85 (21.69)	21.27 (16.34)	0.054

threats of their origin inner-city communities and believed that moving away from the physical, moral, and social dangers was critical.

Origin and Placement Neighborhood Characteristics

Approximately half of all children were living in a public housing development when their families enrolled in the program. Origin neighborhoods averaged 85.6 per cent black and 47.3 per cent poor residents, and 8.3 per cent of adults with a college degree (see Table 1 for more details). On average, Gautreaux children moved with their families to placement neighborhoods that were less ethnically, socially and economically isolated than their origin neighborhoods. Children of families placed within Chicago moved to placement neighborhoods that averaged 50.3 per cent black, 31.6 per cent poor and 17.0 per cent of adults with 16 or more years of schooling. In comparison, children of families placed in the suburbs moved to placement neighborhoods that averaged 6.5 per cent black, 5.4 per cent poor and 20.8 per cent of adults with 16 or more years of schooling.

For the majority of participants, the Gautreaux program was successful in meeting its court ordered goal of placing families in neighborhoods with 30 per cent or fewer black residents. Nearly all children moving to the suburbs were placed in such neighborhoods. In comparison, only about half of placements within Chicago met this goal. Chicago placements tended to follow a bimodal distribution, with 44 per cent placed in census tracts with 30 per cent or fewer black residents and 38 per cent placed in census tracts with 95 per cent or more black residents.

Among now-adult children whose current neighborhoods were determined in 1995 or later, none resided in the same apartment or house into which they were initially placed. Furthermore, as stated earlier, of the 273 now-adult children only nine continued to reside at the same address as their mother. But where did they go? If the majority moved back to neighborhoods like their original ones, the Gautreaux program would have failed to meet its ambitious goal of permanently improving the neighborhood conditions in which these now-adult children live and will raise the next generation.

Current Neighborhood Ethnic Composition

Neighborhood average percentage black increased substantially from placement to current addresses, but continued to be significantly less black than origin addresses. The proportion of black neighbors increased from an average of 29.9 per cent in placement neighborhoods to an average of 44.5 per cent in now-adult children's current neighborhoods. However, this is substantially less black segregated than children's origin neighborhoods. It is also important to note that Gautreaux children have, in moving from placement to current neighborhoods, moved to more ethnically balanced neighborhoods (Figure 1). Children placed in mostly black neighborhoods (average 97.7 per cent black) currently reside in neighborhoods that average 61.0 per cent black residents, compared to children placed in mostly white neighborhoods (average 0.94 per cent black), who currently reside in neighborhoods that average 49.2 per cent black residents. The census tract racial composition for the average black individual in Chicago and the surrounding suburbs provides context for these findings. In 1990, the average black individual in Chicago resided in a neighborhood that was 78 per cent black, and in 2000 resided in a neighborhood that was 73 per cent black (The Mumford Center, 2001a). In 1990, the average black individual

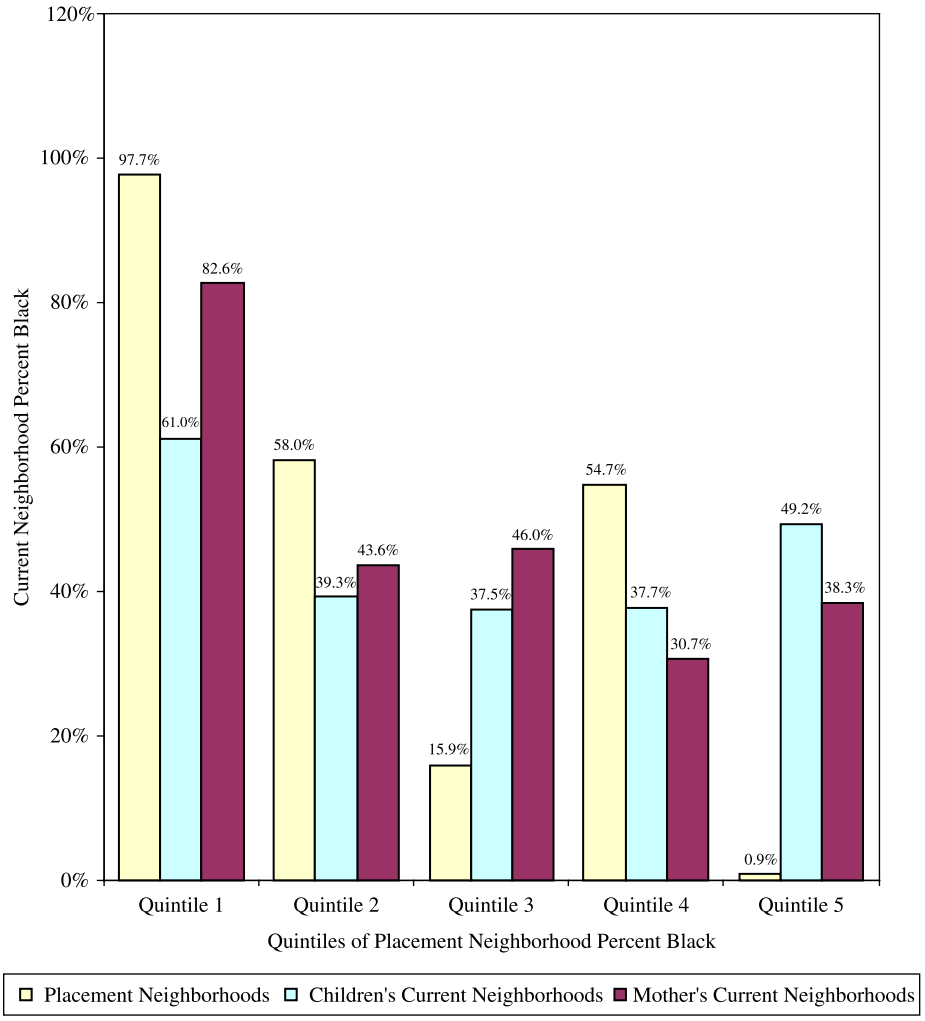

Figure 1. Now-adult children and mother's placement and current neighborhood per cent black

in Chicago's suburbs resided in a neighborhood that was 50 per cent black, and in 2000 resided in a neighborhood that was 51 per cent black (The Mumford Center, 2001b).

Figure 1 also includes the characteristics of mothers' current neighborhoods to provide a simple comparison of children's to their mothers' current neighborhoods—a useful benchmark to gauge generational progress or regress. This comparison reveals that, on average, there has been virtually no generational regress; both mothers and children currently reside in ethnically integrated neighborhoods. Because the interview protocol did not include questions concerning the role of ethnic preferences in residential mobility decisions in the years since placement, it is difficult to determine whether now-adult children prefer the balanced ethnic composition of their current neighborhoods, or whether they are residing in integrated neighborhoods because integrated low-poverty neighborhoods are more affordable than mostly white low-poverty neighborhoods.

Effects of Gautreaux on Residential Preferences

Considering the finding that the majority of Gautreaux children, both those placed in mostly black and mostly white neighborhoods, currently reside in ethnically balanced neighborhoods, it is important to examine the extent to which Gautreaux mothers simply preferred white neighbors, and passed this preference onto their children. Based on the interviews, Gautreaux mothers did not prefer white neighbors, except to the extent that they believed that white neighborhoods would also be safer neighborhoods with better schools and community resources. Consistent with this, other researchers have found that people use neighborhood racial composition as a signal for the current and future resource capacity of a neighborhood, in which fewer black residents is a signal for higher quality neighborhoods (Charles, 2005; Ellen, 2000; Quillian & Pager, 2001; Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004).

It was the safety of participants' placement neighborhoods and the quality of the units that they were offered that was the deciding factor on whether to move and then stay at their placement address. Almost unanimously, the mothers' plan when enrolling in the program was to live in the required neighborhood for one year and then move back closer to the communities that they were leaving. Prior to the Gautreaux program most participating families lived, since birth, in segregated neighborhoods in the inner city or on the South Side of Chicago. The schools, community centers and churches that they attended were in segregated neighborhoods. These participants believed that they would not be 'allowed' to live in white neighborhoods and therefore were very reluctant to move.

Bertha, who moved to a suburban location approximately 27 miles away from her public housing development, commented on the importance of the quality of the placement unit. She moved from a neighborhood that was 96 per cent black and 48 per cent poor to a suburban neighborhood that was 0 per cent black and 5 per cent poor.

> The reason that I moved is because I needed a better place. I needed to understand what it was to get a better life, and I wasn't scared of a new horizon. Although when I moved, there were a lot of days when I said, I can't do it. But for the most part what kept me focused was that beautiful apartment.

Gautreaux families never received wholesale acceptance from their neighbors, but did establish one or two close friendships with neighbors of varying ethnic backgrounds. This is consistent with previous findings that inner-city public housing families moving to lower poverty neighborhoods receive enough acceptance from their new neighbors to feel comfortable, but few form strong relationships with their new neighbors (Kleit, 2001; Popkin *et al.*, 2004; Rosenbaum *et al.*, 1991; Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2000). Gautreaux mothers' new friendships were among other working-class families, and involved reciprocal sharing of household resources, child-care and emotional support. These relationships provided the support social capital necessary for participants to survive in their new neighborhoods. Mothers' reported that their children had few problems making friends in the new community; many stated that the children in their new neighborhoods were rarely unfriendly, even when their parents were not welcoming.

As stated earlier, respondents remained in their placement neighborhoods for an average of seven years, and this enabled children time to adjust and develop social relationships with their new peers. For children, early social interaction with other racial groups is important

in shaping their ease and quality of interactions in interracial situations. Studies of desegregation indicate that black children educated in desegregated schools have more white friends and are employed in more integrated workplaces (Crain & Wells, 1994). Consistent with this, mothers reported that one of the benefits of relocating to mostly white neighborhoods is that their children are comfortable interacting and working with white individuals. This is reflected in the comments of the daughter of one respondent. Darlene and her six children moved from a neighborhood that was 99 per cent black and 80 per cent poor to a suburban community that was 19 per cent black and 5 per cent poor.

> [Her daughter said.] It's like you know we talk like this, but then you get around your environment, you talk different. Like me, I guess I'm coached on both sides, so I know when I'm going to apply for a job, I'm in a different environment, besides my color. Oh I know how to talk just like you all know how to talk. I can speak the same language, the same grammar that you all have. I can speak that. But when I'm around, some people call it the hood, yeah, I can speak that slang and be comfortable in my language. It's like we borrow from both sides.

Another benefit is that participants now exhibit a strong sense of rights with respect to their prerogative to live in any neighborhood. This can be seen in Sharon's remarks regarding the racial comments from some neighbors when, in 2001, she moved into her current apartment in a mostly white neighborhood.

> Somebody screamed there's a nigger in the building and [eventually] moved out of the building. … She's going to leave because of [me]. Let her go then. I think I just have a right to be here as well as anyone else. I'm not destructive, or anything and I'm productive. And I'm showing my productivity in the community by attending this church, by worshipping with these people.

In 1981 Sharon initially moved from a neighborhood that was 100 per cent black and 72 per cent poor, to a Chicago placement neighborhood that was 3 per cent black and 19 per cent poor. She was very reluctant to participate in the Gautreaux program because she did not think that they were 'letting' blacks live in white neighborhoods. Now she believes that she should choose her neighborhood based on whether it meets her needs, such as proximity to work, safety and amenities. Respondents stated that one of the key benefits of the Gautreaux program was experiencing and making concrete what it meant to live in a safe, high resource neighborhood and internalizing the belief that their residential options should not be restricted by artificial boundaries.

Current Neighborhood SES Composition

Overall, current neighborhood conditions, particularly socio-economic conditions, are much better than now-adult children's origin neighborhoods and, on average, are similar to placement neighborhoods (Table 1). The proportion of poor residents is 17.9 per cent for current neighborhoods, which is slightly less poor than placement neighborhoods (19.4 per cent poor), both of which are substantially less poor than origin neighborhoods (47.3 per cent poor). As with neighborhood ethnic composition, there is substantial difference in the post placement mobility of children placed in the top and bottom quintiles

of placement neighborhood SES. Figure 2 shows that children placed in the poorest neighborhoods (average 44.8 per cent poor) currently reside in neighborhoods that average 19.4 per cent poor residents. Compared to children placed in the least poor neighborhoods (average 2.6 per cent poor), who currently reside in neighborhoods that average 15.0 per cent poor residents. Figure 3 shows that the same pattern holds for neighborhood education level. Again, comparing the SES characteristics of children's and their mothers' current neighborhoods shows that there has been no generational regress in neighborhood SES.

This surprising finding that children placed in both high and low SES placement neighborhoods currently reside in neighborhoods with somewhat similar levels of SES (comparing quintiles 1 and 2 with quintiles 4 and 5 of Figures 2 and 3), is consistent with the fact that Gautreaux participants enrolled in the program, and were willing to move

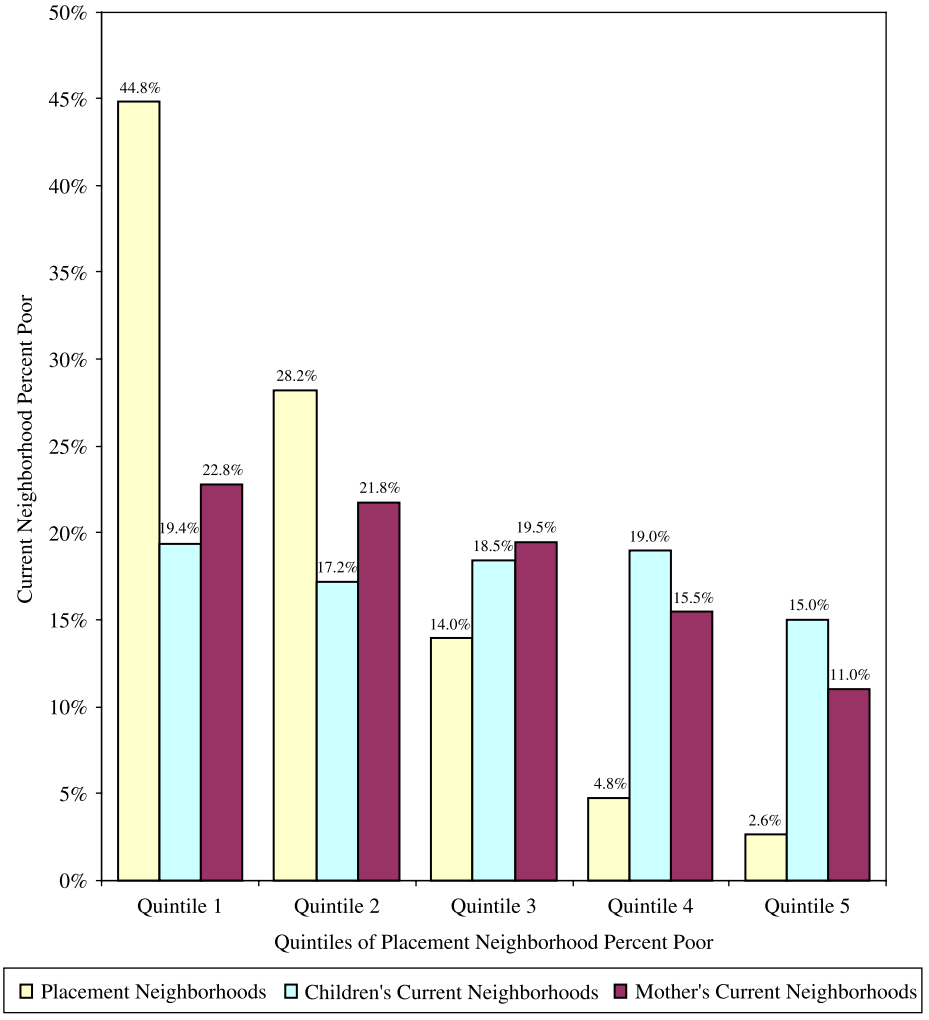

Figure 2. Now-adult children and mother's placement and current neighborhood per cent poor

to unknown neighborhoods because they were determined to live in higher quality neighborhoods.

This is exemplified by Sabrina's experiences. She moved with her three children from a downtown Chicago neighborhood that was 83.1 per cent black and 42.1 per cent poor to a South Side Chicago placement neighborhood that was 98.9 per cent black and 44.6 per cent poor. Sabrina believed that although her placement community was demographically similar to her origin neighborhood, it was a move out of public housing and a new start. She perceived her placement neighborhood as having a better class of people and many more employed neighbors. Based on census records, her origin and placement neighborhoods had unemployment rates of 45 per cent and 34 per cent, respectively.

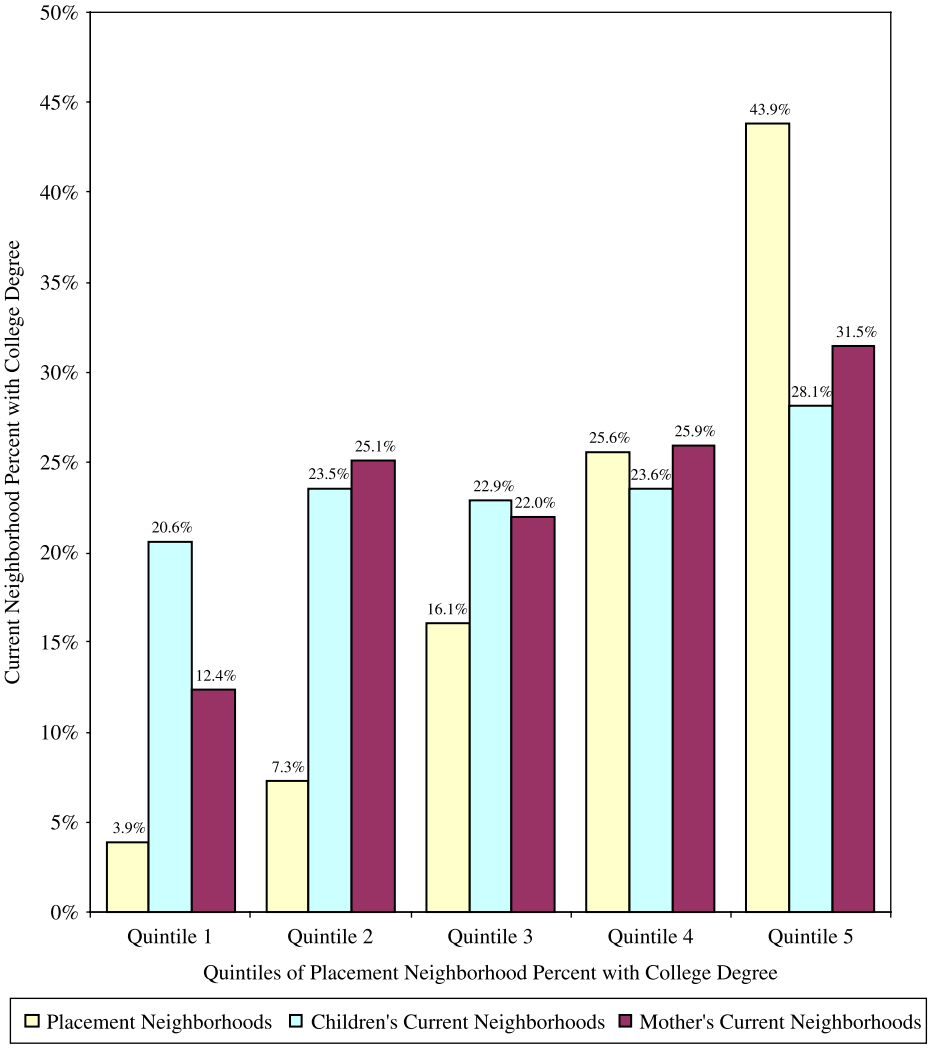

Figure 3. Now-adult children and mother's placement and current neighborhood per cent with college degree

Sabrina lived at her placement address for 11 years and then moved within Chicago to a neighborhood that was 24 per cent black and 19 per cent poor. She did not move until she was able to purchase a home.

> [The placement neighborhood] wasn't much better, but looking back I realize that everything was a steppingstone. It was better than where I was. I didn't know these people and they didn't know me, so it was a new start. And at that point in time it was better than where I was. … It was a better place at that point for me. It was a better place for me and for my children, and it allowed, it changed me because it took me away from the environment that I had, I was used to. It took me away from some of the people that I needed to get away from.

Gautreaux participants were willing to move to unknown neighborhoods because it offered a new start and a chance at a better life. In the years since moving to their placement communities, respondents held onto this desire for residence in good neighborhoods, and it can be inferred from their children's outcomes that this preference for high resource neighborhoods was passed to their children. Therefore, even though children placed in mostly black neighborhoods, in comparison to children placed in mostly white neighborhoods currently live in neighborhoods with significantly higher percentages of black residents, they do not live in higher poverty neighborhoods. Children placed in mostly black neighborhoods (averaging 97.7 per cent black) currently live in neighborhoods that average 61.0 per cent black and 18.6 per cent poor residents and children placed in mostly white neighborhoods (averaging 0.9 per cent black) currently live in neighborhoods that average 49.1 per cent black and 19.2 per cent poor residents.

Ethnic Resegregation without Economic Resegregation

The ethnic resegregation observed among children placed in mostly white neighborhoods is not associated with economic resegregation, as evidenced by the fact that Gautreaux children have maintained their placement neighborhood SES. So, while Gautreaux children may prefer ethnically mixed neighborhoods, they appear unwilling to move to them if they are associated with a low neighborhood SES. The importance that respondents placed on maintaining the Gautreaux program induced improvements in neighborhood quality are reflected in Sharon's statements with regard to moving back to public housing after losing her Section 8 certificate. She lost her Section 8 certificate after less than two years due to falling behind on her share of the rent. When asked why she did not move back to public housing she said:

> That point on I knew I didn't want to go back to the projects. And from that point on I always lived in nice surroundings, had nice apartments. … It's a certain type of living that I like. I like living where it's clean and quiet. … Because I love the ghetto, but I just can't live there. That's just too much noise for me. You know, too much, they're too busy. … I'd just rather live where I feel safe and comfortable …

Sharon stated that it has been difficult to pay market rent, she works multiple jobs and learned to budget, but going back to public housing or an inner-city neighborhood was not an option. Most of the respondents interviewed work full-time at relatively low-wage jobs

but earn too much to qualify for housing assistance, and because of the high cost of living in high resource neighborhoods they are struggling to meet their financial needs. They maintain residence in higher SES neighborhoods only by working multiple jobs, borrowing from family and friends and living check to check.

These findings with regard to Gautreaux participants' strong desire to maintain residence in safe, high resource neighborhoods provide some clarification for Vale's (1997) findings concerning public housing residents' profound ambivalence regarding satisfaction with residence in public housing and their desire to relocate. Vale found that despite the dominance of negative feelings about the negative effects of gangs, guns and drug-related violence in and around public housing developments, the majority of public housing residents expressed the wish to stay. The findings presented in this paper show that former public housing residents can maintain residence in high quality neighborhoods, and that exposure to the benefits of residence in higher quality neighborhoods is critical for people's residential decisions.

City-Suburban Divide

As stated earlier, the magnitude of the change in neighborhood ethnicity and SES composition depended on whether children initially relocated to city or suburban locations. Suburban communities were much more uniformly white and moderate or higher SES. The continued benefit of suburban residence can be seen in the finding that now-adult children currently residing in the suburbs reside in higher quality neighborhoods than those currently residing in Chicago. Gautreaux children currently residing in the suburbs live in neighborhoods that average 28.5 per cent black and 10.6 per cent poor residents; in comparison, the neighborhoods of now-adult children currently residing in Chicago average 61.5 per cent black, 23.5 per cent poor residents.

The importance of exposure is evident—mothers placed in the suburbs reported that their children continue to live in the suburbs because that is what they know, and they believe that their children are more comfortable in the suburbs than in Chicago.

The role of exposure is exemplified in the experiences of Lois and her children. Lois moved to the suburbs when her son was two years old and three years after moving to the suburbs she had a daughter. All three continue to reside in the suburbs, in separate residence, more than 21 years after moving via the Gautreaux program.

> I didn't even know [the suburbs] existed until I saw Blue Ridge. I wanted to raise my kids out here. I thought this would be better for them, a better education, a better environment. They didn't have to deal with all the ducking and dodging of bullets. [The suburbs] is all they know … he doesn't know anything about Chicago. All they know is the suburbs.

Mothers originally resided in poor inner-city neighborhoods and it is likely that children grew up contrasting residence in safe high resource suburban neighborhoods compared to residence in dangerous and disadvantaged Chicago neighborhoods.

The quantitative and qualitative data indicate that Gautreaux children placed in the suburbs were likely to stay, but without that exposure they were unlikely to move to the suburbs on their own. Half of Gautreaux participants were placed in suburban neighborhoods, and 60 per cent of now-adult children placed in the suburbs continue

to reside in suburban communities. However, only 22 per cent of children placed within Chicago currently reside in the suburbs.

Conclusion

This research has relevance for the HUD's assisted housing policies as debate continues on the importance and benefits of relocating voucher recipients into ethnically and economically integrated neighborhoods. The current study has found no support for the argument that the current clustering of black housing voucher recipients in ethnically and economically isolated inner-city neighborhoods is due to their preferences for those neighborhoods, since very few Gautreaux mothers and their now-adult children returned to neighborhoods similar to the ethnically and economically isolated ones that they left behind.[12]

The study found that segregated neighborhoods are not preferred. The Gautreaux program was designed to give low-income, black, public housing families access and the means to obtain residence in mostly white communities. Placement neighborhoods averaged 29.9 per cent black residents and current neighborhoods averaged 44.5 per cent black residents. This represents lasting change since based on the 2000 Census the average black person in Chicago resided in a neighborhood that was 78 per cent black. The ethnically balanced composition of now-adult children's current neighborhoods is in line with previous research, indicating that black families prefer to reside in integrated neighborhoods (Clark, 1992; Patterson, 1997; Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997; Ihlanfeldt & Scafidi, 2002).

Gautreaux children also currently reside in neighborhoods with substantially lower levels of poverty than their origin neighborhoods, origin, placement, and current neighborhoods averaged 47.3 per cent, 19.4 per cent and 17.9 per cent poor respectively. This lasting reduction in neighborhood poverty is particularly important, because concentrated poverty has a strong negative relationship with children's successful development. Consequently, future generations will probably benefit from the decision to participate in the Gautreaux program.

For Gautreaux's housing counselors to meet their goals they emphasized moving participants into Chicago's overwhelmingly white suburban communities. Suburban placement meant dramatic improvements in neighborhood minority and SES segregation, safety and public resources. Gautreaux children placed in suburban communities, compared to those placed within Chicago, experienced larger improvements in neighborhood quality, and Gautreaux children continuing to reside in suburban communities currently reside in higher quality neighborhoods than those currently residing in Chicago. Among children placed in the suburbs, there is a relatively high likelihood of continued suburban residence, but without that exposure Gautreaux children were unlikely to move to the suburbs. Sixty per cent of now-adult children placed in the suburbs continue to reside in suburban communities, whereas, only 22 per cent of now-adult children placed within Chicago relocated to suburban communities.

The program-induced neighborhood changes for Gautreaux participants are drastically different from the neighborhood changes experienced by MTO participants. The MTO program determined placement neighborhoods based on poverty not ethnicity. MTO experimental group families who moved to low poverty neighborhoods made short distance moves and continued to reside in overwhelmingly minority urban neighborhoods. MTO participants' origin neighborhoods averaged 89 per cent minority residents and placement neighborhoods averaged 85 per cent minority residents. This lack of change

in ethnic segregation for MTO participants is in stark contrast to the reduction in minority segregation experienced by Gautreaux participants. It appears as though targeting on neighborhood ethnic composition is necessary to change residential segregation.

Future housing policy must carefully consider the importance of targeting on neighborhood ethnic composition since it appears as though ethnic integration brings economic integration, but economic integration does not bring ethnic integration. Additionally, researchers have shown that receiving neighborhoods are not negatively affected, and there are positive social interaction benefits for participants and surrounding neighbors (Briggs *et al.*, 1999; Freeman & Rohe, 1999; Galster *et al.*, 1999). That said, the study here agrees with Briggs & Turner (2006), who argue that census tract ethnic and poverty composition are unreliable proxies for neighborhood quality. They advocate that relocation programs should explicitly identify the resources and opportunities available in potential placement neighborhoods.

The principal limitation of these data is that the Gautreaux program was the result of a court-ordered desegregation ruling and not a research experiment. The findings presented in this paper may therefore be biased by the extent to which program participants were self-selected and the program staff steered participants into particular placement neighborhoods. Additionally, Gautreaux participants were highly motivated, as evidenced by the fact that they were willing to be racial pioneers, and persisted for many years in their placement communities despite not being welcomed by many of their neighbors and substantial cultural isolation. However, this does not change the conclusion that most poor black families and their children originally residing in very disadvantaged neighborhoods are able to translate the opportunity to move into higher quality neighborhoods into long-term residential improvement.

Notes

[1] The Leadership Council was founded as the result of a campaign for open housing led by Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1966. The Leadership Council's mission was to eliminate discrimination and segregation in metropolitan Chicago housing markets.

[2] When the Gautreaux court ruling was finalized in 1981, it included a provision to allow up to one-third of participants to move to census tracts with more than 30 per cent black residents as long as they could demonstrate that it was a 'revitalizing community'. A neighborhood is considered 'revitalizing' if there is enough development activity underway or planned so that economic integration is likely in the short run and ethnic integration might follow in the long run. Therefore, despite the program's desegregation goal, a significant proportion of Gautreaux participants were placed in predominantly black neighborhoods.

[3] The Gautreaux program included three selection criteria: specifically, not admitting families with more than four children, large debts or unacceptable housekeeping (Rosenbaum, 1994). All three criteria reduced the eligible pool by less than 30 per cent.

[4] Housing counselors notified families as apartments became available, counseled them about the advantages and disadvantages of these moves, and took them to visit the units and communities. Counselors offered units based on participants' order of enrollment into the program. Very few clients refused an offer because of the high quality of the units, and the knowledge that they were unlikely to get another offer due to the large number of families on the wait-list (Popkin *et al.*, 1993).

[5] The effective take-up rate would be based on the percentage of enrolled families that were also offered a housing voucher or certificate that were able to lease a unit.

[6] Compared with families currently living in Chicago's distressed public housing developments, Gautreaux families are demographically somewhat more advantaged (Popkin & Cunningham, 2001).

[7] Involuntary relocation is mobility into private market housing due to public housing redevelopment, coupled with substantial time pressures and minimal mobility counseling. Under most current public housing redevelopment plans, fewer units are rebuilt and many residents will not meet the eligibility criteria for return (Goetz, 2002; Popkin & Cunningham, 2005).

[8] Beginning in the 1990s, families were also given the opportunity to search for their own units. By 1990 the rental market was strong enough to allow the Leadership Council to eliminate its real-estate staff. Given this, and the fact that beginning in the 1990s housing choices offered to participating families were limited to only suburban addresses, these analyses are confined to families moving between 1976 and 1989 (Rubinowitz & Rosenbaum, 2001).

[9] Although it would have been ideal to interview now-adult children directly, this was not attempted because many Gautreaux mothers did not discuss participation in the Gautreaux program with their children. Only interviewing children whose mothers first gave approval would have led to a biased sample.

[10] An index of neighborhood disadvantage based on mother's current address, crime and poverty was used to select the 25 respondents interviewed. The 25 respondents had an index of disadvantage that ranged from two to eight, representing almost the full range of the index of current neighborhood disadvantage. At the low end, respondents' current neighborhoods ranged from a high of 32 per cent poor, and at the high end respondents' current neighborhoods ranged from a low of 2 per cent poor.

[11] Thompson (2007) reported that public housing families reside in assisted housing for an average of 7.5 years, and multiple program participants, who moved between public housing and housing voucher programs, resided in assisted housing for an average of 6.3 years.

[12] It is important to remind readers that Gautreaux families relocated because of the 'pull' of potential destination neighborhoods. Current public housing residents in developments undergoing substantial redevelopment are relocating because of the 'push' of public housing authorities.

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Appendix

Table A1. Key characteristics of participants with and without SSN information

Variable	All Participants $n = 1077$	Participants Without SSN Information $n = 630$	Participants with SSN Information $n = 447$	p level of Whether Have SSN	Logit Predicting Whether Have Social Security Number
D*emorgraphic variables*					
Year of move	1982 (2.94)	1980 (2.25)	1984 (2.31)	0.000	0.727*** (.068)
Mother's age at move	32.26 (6.03)	31.69 (6.29)	33.07 (5.55)	0.000	0.009 (.019)
Mother eeceived AFDC at move	70.01 (45.84)	68.41 (46.52)	72.26 (44.82)	0.175	0.286 (.217)
Child year of birth	1971 (3.26)	1970 (3.49)	1972 (2.74)	0.000	
Child age at move	11.05 (3.55)	10.01 (3.67)	12.50 (2.79)	0.000	0.067 (.035)
Number of siblings	1.86 (1.43)	1.90 (1.52)	1.81 (1.29)	0.296	0.076 (.083)
Female	52.65 (49.95)	50.70 (50.03)	55.26 (49.78)	0.149	0.287 (.167)
Origin neighborhood variables					
Per cent of origin address in public housing	43.36 (49.58)	41.75 (49.35)	45.64 (49.87)	0.205	0.552 (.293)
Per cent black	83.93 (25.36)	82.16 (25.99)	86.42 (24.25)	0.007	0.002 (.004)
Non-elderly poverty rate	44.48 (21.66)	42.80 (21.25)	46.84 (22.04)	0.003	−0.005 (.007)
Placement neighborhood variables					
Per cent black	30.17 (37.43)	29.25 (36.61)	31.25 (38.38)	0.419	−0.002 (.004)
Non-elderly poverty rate	17.43 (16.29)	15.85 (15.69)	19.29 (16.79)	0.001	0.012 (.011)
Suburban placement	46.50 (49.90)	40.37 (49.10)	55.07 (49.79)	0.000	−0.057 (.290)

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.
Note: In the Logit column the first entry for each variable is the raw-score regression coefficient. The second entry is the standard error of that coefficient.

Table A2. Correlations between placement neighborhood variables

	Per cent Black	Non-elderly poverty rate	Per cent adults with 16 + years of school	Suburban placement address
Per cent black	–			
Non-elderly poverty rate	0.750***	–		
Per cent adults with 16 + years of school	−0.436***	−0.485***	–	
Suburban placement address	−0.587***	−0.768***	0.129*	–

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.