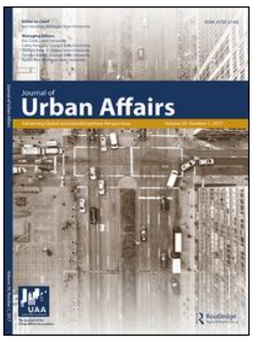

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Neighborhood selections by young adults: Evidence from a panel of U.S. adolescents

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ABSTRACT

The number of neighborhoods with diverse mixtures of the major ethnic and racial groups is increasing. There is also work that suggests that young adults are more open to integration and that they may be making more integrative choices. In this context, we use data on neighborhood residential mobility from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health to compare changes in neighborhood percentage own race from adolescence to young adulthood across race and ethnicity, paying specific attention to how factors in adolescence (parental educational attainment) and young adulthood (income, educational attainment) influence these changes. The focus is on residential selections in the period of most active relocation behavior, the years of leaving home, setting up families and careers, and entering the housing market. We find much more dynamism in the distribution of neighborhood selections than is suggested in previous studies that focus on average outcomes. Specifically, we show that though there is continued sorting into neighborhoods that are reflections of race and ethnicity there is also considerable individual variation. Moving into high and low percentage own-race neighborhoods can be explained by own and parental educational attainment and percentage own race in the adolescent neighborhood.

Introduction

As racial and ethnic patterns continue to evolve in U.S. cities, there is an ongoing debate about the pace and nature of the integration process. Whereas some see modest changes in the patterns and process of integration (Alba & Romalewski 2013; Logan, 2013), others point to the overall decline in levels of segregation in the past 2 decades (Glaeser & Vigdor, 2012) and emphasize the growing diversity of urban communities (Lichter, 2013). That research points to the increasing number of neighborhoods with diverse mixtures of major ethnic and racial groups (Farrell & Lee, 2011). The number of neighborhoods with diverse populations has increased and there has been an increase in the population of individuals who report mixed ethnicities (Clark, Andersson, Osth, & Malmberg, 2015). We are still some distance from an integrated society, but cities with growing numbers of Hispanics, Asians, and immigrants from the Middle East are creating greater diversity in those urban communities.

The evidence from 2 decades of Pew Research (2015) documents how the most recent cohort of young adults is more open to change than were previous cohorts, changes that include interracial dating, reception to immigrants, and acceptance of nontraditional family arrangements. This openness to change has the potential for increasing migration into more diverse residential environments, which includes migration into neighborhoods with a lower presence of own-race neighbors.

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To evaluate individual-level processes of neighborhood selection and differences in these processes by race/ethnicity, we examine the neighborhood racial and ethnic outcomes tied to the residential mobility behavior of young adults. We examine young adult selections into neighborhoods defined by the composition of similar race and ethnicity and also the overall composition of those neighborhoods, as they leave their parental homes and establish their own households. We do this by looking at the behaviors of the most recent cohort to enter the housing market: young adults born approximately in the last 2 decades of the 20th century, many of whom are now forming families, entering the housing market, and taking up jobs. As a demographic bridge between the largely White older generations and the more racially diverse younger generations (Frey, 2018), the young adult cohort captured in our analysis and their neighborhood selections provide a window into the future pathways to more or less integrated communities.

To explore the residential selections of young adults, we use data from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health (Harris, 2009). The data are from a detailed survey of the locations of individuals when they are living at home as adolescents (aged 11–18) and later when they are young adults (aged 24–32). We compare neighborhoods of origin in adolescence to neighborhoods in young adulthood, distinguishing between movers and those who stayed in their original neighborhoods. To reiterate, the article examines changes in individual exposure to same-race/ethnic neighbors across young adulthood by race/ethnicity and their associations with various life course characteristics. We examine the socioeconomic and life course predictors of neighborhood choice, specifically predictors measured during adolescence, including household income and parental educational attainment, and those measured during young adulthood, specifically own household income, educational attainment, employment status, union formation, homeownership, and childbearing. If the increasing openness and racial/ethnic diversity of younger generations are indications of a greater openness to more diverse residential settings, we expect that the choices of young adults will *likely* be different from the choices of their parents, that is, their residential locations when they were adolescents. That said, time will be the ultimate arbiter of this outcome, but this study will go some way toward determining how much change has already occurred.

Background and research questions

The examination of macro (aggregate) changes in levels of tract segregation generally supports the view that segregation is in decline, but whether within a decade or two we will have an integrated society is more contested. Glaeser and Vigdor (2012) perhaps prematurely declared the end of the segregated (20th) century based on their finding that the Black/non-Black dissimilarity index declined nationally from 0.80 in 1970 to approximately 0.55 in 2010. They concluded that in effect all-White neighborhoods are extinct. It is clear that neighborhoods are changing, and there is a substantial body of research that addresses the question of just how neighborhoods are changing and the extent to which these changes are simply sustaining current inequities or creating new patterns of diversity. Recent studies of neighborhoods using census data have demonstrated new pathways of neighborhood change (Hall, Tach, & Lee, 2016; Logan & Zhang, 2010), emphasized growing neighborhood diversity (Farrell & Lee, 2011), and shown that these changes unfold quite differently from place to place (Lichter, Parisi, & Tacquino, 2017). Furthermore, several studies have revealed important patterns of racial segregation by household structure (Iceland, Goyette, Nelson, & Chan, 2010) and age (Owens, 2017).

Paralleling the studies of neighborhood change and the discussion of increasing diversity is a well-developed literature that studies the individual mobility processes of urban residents. These studies focus on the individual moves between neighborhoods defined by their racial and ethnic composition, including analyses using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (Clark & Rivers, 2013; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005; South, Crowder, & Pais, 2008), the Houston Area Survey (Lewis, Emerson, & Klineberg, 2011), the Detroit Area Study (Krysan & Bader, 2007), and the Study of Urban Inequality (Clark, 2009). These studies, consistent with spatial assimilation, identified income

and education as factors in moving into less minority and more White neighborhoods but also that place stratification plays a role because Blacks still move into neighborhoods with fewer Whites. The studies in general looked at total populations and usually a single move over a 1-year event, whereas this article pursues a longer time frame and a specific cohort.

However, Sharkey (2012) has provided an analysis of individual selection behavior over a longer time frame using Chicago data from the Project on Human Development on Chicago Neighborhoods and national data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics. The study showed that individuals who initially move into less poor, less segregated neighborhoods eventually find themselves back in disadvantaged conditions because the neighborhoods they moved into were undergoing changes leading toward resegregation and higher poverty. We further extend that work by considering not just the average neighborhood outcomes of the moves but the distribution of outcomes for the major racial and ethnic groups—Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

We organize our analysis around three research questions:

(1) What is the average and distribution of neighborhood percentage own race by race and ethnicity for young adults staying in and leaving their adolescent neighborhoods?
(2) How are the neighborhood choices of young adult movers influenced by their life course events and individual socioeconomic resources—specifically, income and education?
(3) How are the neighborhood choices of young adult movers influenced by parental socioeconomic background and the characteristics of their adolescent neighborhoods?

Previous research on neighborhood ethnic and racial selection

The research examining neighborhood racial/ethnic patterns tends to adopt one of two perspectives: a focus on how neighborhoods change in the aggregate or a focus on how individuals select from among those neighborhoods and how race, ethnicity, and resources influence those selections. The two streams of literature are complex with multiple strands, but the nature of selection is central in understanding the evolving nature of segregation and/or mixing in the urban mosaic. In addition to the descriptive studies of residential diversity identified in the previous section, there are important studies of why the nature of racial boundaries and the levels of integration and segregation may or may not be changing (Clark et al., 2015; Johnson & Lichter, 2010; Lichter, 2013).

With respect to aggregate changes, there are contested views about the pace of this change and the relative roles of economic resources, preferences, and discriminatory actions as forces behind the levels of racial and ethnic separation (Adelman, 2005). Just how much racial and ethnic patterns will be changed by shifting levels of racial segregation in neighborhoods and whether the growing diversity will change the essential nature of society is extensively debated (Ellis, Holloway, Wright, & Fowler, 2012; Lee, Iceland, & Sharp, 2012). A central part of the way in which ethnic patterns will or can change is captured in the work of Schelling (1971) and developments by a range of authors (Clark & Fossett, 2008) that demonstrated that social distance is a fundamental force in the creation of separated residential patterns. The Schelling model provided a theoretical basis for invoking differences in residential preferences as fundamental to the outcomes that we observe in the ethnic patterns of our metropolitan areas. The focus on social distance invoked the role of own-race preferences and other race avoidance and a now extensive literature has shown how choices are both embedded in preferences and modified by structural constraints.

Studies that focus on individual mobility behavior show that the residential selection process is influenced by the geography of kinship and social networks (Belot & Ermisch, 2009; Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017), as well as prior residential locations and experiences (Feijten & van Ham, 2009). Ideas of *homophily* suggest that people prefer neighbors like themselves, perhaps in part

because living in diverse neighborhoods is associated with lower social capital and lower community cohesion (Finney & Jivraj, 2013). It is also likely that preferences for similar neighbors, whether class or race based, influence some level of ethnic residential sorting (Clark & Fossett, 2008).

But selecting where to live and with whom is influenced by more than preferences. Individual and household determinants such as education and income play important roles (Clark & Ledwith, 2007; South et al., 2008). Still, there is a long history of discussions of just how much residential choice takes race into account (Bader & Krysan, 2015; Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997; Krysan & Bader, 2007; Lewis et al., 2011). These studies tend to downplay the role of socioeconomic status and that Whites are very unlikely to consider communities where they are anything but the strong majority (Krysan & Bader, 2007). The role of relative persistence in racial segregation has recently been attributed to a process in which where people search is a critical factor in the residential sorting process (Bader & Krysan, 2015; Havekes, Bader, & Krysan, 2016), a finding that speaks back to general research on the geographical role of search (Clark & Smith, 1982).

There are also important studies that focus on how discriminatory practices and prejudice continue to support patterns of racial and ethnic separation (Charles, 2003; Krysan, Couper, Farley, & Forman, 2009; Farley & Krysan, 2002). These studies conclude that small changes in the levels of segregation are due to continued racial prejudice, the existence of housing market discrimination, and the persistence of residential segregation among Black and White households with similar characteristics (Dawkins, 2004). These ideas underlie the notion of continuing racial resilience (Crowder & Krysan, 2016; Sharkey, 2012) and the idea that Blacks find it very difficult to escape their neighborhoods of origin. That is also the theme in recent studies of neighborhood disadvantage during the transition to adulthood (Sharkey, 2014; Swisher, Kuhl, & Chavez, 2013) that emphasize durable inequalities in neighborhood poverty during this period, particularly for Blacks and Hispanic-origin subgroups. Even with the benefits of education, racial and ethnic minorities remain more likely to live in considerably more disadvantaged neighborhoods in young adulthood than Whites.

There is a small body of research, however, that has drawn attention to the dynamism of upward and downward moves in socioeconomic status during young adulthood (Lui, Chung, Wallace, & Aneshensel, 2014). They note that the transition from adolescence to adulthood is a critical time for status attainment and show that there are large groups of upward and downward shifts in attainment. Similar to individual socioeconomic attainment, when we shift away from exclusively studying moves into and out of poor neighborhoods and examine the full distribution of neighborhood attainment, we capture more of the dynamism in the whole system (Brazil & Clark, 2017). For example, unpacking the catchall category of nonpoor into affluent, middle-class, and lower-class neighborhoods and studying the flows between these neighborhoods reveals greater movement than just by focusing on poor neighborhoods alone (Brazil & Clark, 2018). Though indeed there is stickiness in flows and about a third to a half of movers are unlikely to change their deprivation level, when people do move they circulate among all categories of neighborhoods (Bailey & Livingston, 2007; Clark, van Ham, & Coulter, 2014; Clark & Maas, 2016; Clark & Morrison, 2012). This evidence, however, focuses on neighborhood socioeconomic status and not racial composition. Tracking a cohort from young adulthood to older ages using data from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics, South, Huang, Spring, and Crowder (2016) found that the difference in neighborhood percentage non-Hispanic White between White and Black residents narrowed with age. There is research that suggests that race and class are intertwined, with higher-status Blacks generally living in more integrated neighborhoods (Sharp & Iceland, 2013). Firebaugh and Farrell (2016) found that although the difference in Black–White neighborhood conditions remains quite large, it has narrowed from 1980 to 2010 because Whites now live in poorer neighborhoods and Blacks live in less-poor neighborhoods. We can conclude that although there is still evidence that supports social distance, there is also evidence that the forces for separation may be gradually weakening.

Evidence from European studies also shows how economically successful minorities are able to use their resources to obtain the valued residential attributes of good schools, quality environments, and access to urban amenities (Catney & Simpson, 2010; van Ham & Feijten, 2008). In other words, patterns change when resources are available to meet the costs of moving to "better" neighborhoods. The residential mobility literature also draws attention to the neighborhood outcomes of selections by different racial and ethnic groups (Clark, van Ham, & Coulter, 2014; Crowder, Pais, & South, 2012; Clark & Coulter, 2015). The summary argument is that places matter and that residential mobility is configured by the changing ethnic composition of neighborhoods, which in turn affects the sorting outcomes. Places experiencing an influx of minorities may be perceived to be less-desirable places to live (Kaufmann & Harris, 2013) and people tend to seek to leave neighborhoods with a high proportion of ethnic minorities (Permentier, van Ham, & Bolt, 2009; van Ham & Feijten, 2008). At the same time, these neighborhoods often provide lower cost housing for both new migrants and the native born.

The research literature in general has developed these positions based on total populations and on analyses of average selections. We ask whether these findings are also true for current young adults. Our questions posed earlier ask about the distribution of selections of young adults and what they tell us about the changing patterns of racial and ethnic separation of those who are making initial selections in the urban housing market. Thus, drawing on the above review, we reiterate our questions: What is the neighborhood distribution of percentage own-race residents across individual race/ethnicity and how is the adolescent neighborhood environment and parental and individual resources, broadly defined to include measures of both economic and social status, associated with these neighborhood selections? In sum, what are the selections of the proportion own race by Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians and to what extent do their incomes and education levels in the context of family status and parental resources including their neighborhood choices help us understand the selections?

Data and analyses

The data from Add Health are a nationally representative sample of adolescents enrolled in 7th to 12th grades in 1994–1995 (Harris, 2009). These respondents represent the first cohorts of the millennial generation (Pew, 2015). Following an in-home interview at wave 1, respondents were re-interviewed the following year (wave 2). In 2001–2002 they were interviewed again (wave 3) when they were aged 18–26 and in 2008 when they were aged 24–32 (wave 4). The survey has information on individuals making residential moves from wave to wave, which we defined as having a geocoded residence that differs from the previous wave. We limited our sample to individuals with valid sampling weights and Global Positioning System–based residential matches in waves 1 and 4. We also excluded prison detainees, active military personnel and respondents living in military barracks, respondents living in college dormitories at wave 4, and individuals over 18 years old at wave 1. We focused on the final wave because our research objective is to understand where young adults find themselves at or near the end of the transition to adulthood and to control for highly selective residential mobility processes that typically occur in early young adulthood such as attending college. The final analytic sample is 8,892 movers and 1,788 stayers from wave 1 to wave 4. Census tracts are used to approximate neighborhood boundaries. Data from the 1990 Census and the 2005–2009 American Community Survey are appended to the individual sample data and are used to capture neighborhood conditions at waves 1 and 4, respectively.

The analysis has four components. We first created box plot distributions of the wave 1 and 4 neighborhood locations of respondents who have moved away from their wave 1 neighborhoods and those who still live in their wave 1 neighborhoods. The outcome measure is the percentage own race conditional on being non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, non-Hispanic Asian (hereafter White, Black, and Asian), or Hispanic. In this way we captured selections following separation from the adolescent residence into neighborhoods containing residents of similar race/ethnicity. For

each box plot, the bottom and top arrows represent the 10th and 90th percentiles, respectively, and the bottom, middle, and top of the box represent the 25th, 50th (median), and 75th percentiles, respectively. Because wave 1 distributions for future movers or stayers did not significantly differ, we present wave 1 box plots for the total sample.

A second-stage analysis examined the interaction between neighborhood percentage own race and individual socioeconomic status defined by income and education. Specifically, we examined the distribution of neighborhood percentage own race for the top and bottom quartiles of wave 4 income and educational attainment (college graduate and non-high school graduate). A third analysis estimated multinomial logit models of the selection of most own race (top quartile on neighborhood percentage own race) versus the selection of least own race (bottom quartile) for movers, where the middle two quartiles are the reference category. For the multivariate analysis, we restricted the sample to movers to focus attention to those separating from the parental residence. The quartile cutoffs are based on the distribution of neighborhood percentage own race for each separate race/ethnic group. We organized the selection of explanatory variables around our research questions. We included wave 4 income, education, and important life course characteristics to examine the association between individual resources and neighborhood percentage own race at wave 4. Specifically, we tested wave 4 educational attainment (no high school degree, high school degree, attending college, and college degree), log household income, family status (married or cohabiting), living with a biological parent, homeownership, job status, and presence of own child in the household. We also included measures of wave 1 parental educational status (no high school degree, high school degree, and college degree) and log household income to test the influence of parental socioeconomic background. We then included wave 1 neighborhood percentage own race to examine the association between neighborhood own-race composition during adolescence—the places they were living with their parents, which in effect are their parents' residential choices—and young adulthood.

We also controlled for several individual background characteristics and wave 1 household and neighborhood characteristics. We included household structure (living with a biological parent), gender, age, nativity, an indicator of whether a parent is on income assistance, residential stability (years living in wave 1 residence), and neighborhood poverty and advantage. Neighborhood advantage is the first factor score of a principal components analysis of the following variables: proportion of households that are married with children, median household income adjusted for inflation, proportion of owner-occupied housing units, proportion of households receiving public assistance, proportion of 25+-year-olds with a college degree, and unemployment rate. We used multiple imputation on 10 multiply imputed data sets to replace missing data on any of the covariates. The summary statistics for the variables used in the analyses are shown in Table 1.

Results

Distributions of own race selections

Figure 1 shows box plots of neighborhood percentage own race by race/ethnicity at wave 1 for the total sample and wave 4 separated by movers and stayers. We do not provide the bar chart for the origins of movers because it is indistinguishable from the distribution for the total population at the origin. With these diagrams, we can measure changes that occur to those in situ and those who choose new neighborhoods. What we see is considerable variation in the selection outcomes. The means and medians do not fully capture the complexity of the distributions, though the mean combined with the variance does go some way to capturing this complexity. The patterns of neighborhood percentage own race for movers and stayers across the adolescence to young adulthood transition capture the changing complexity of urban neighborhoods (for the stayers) and the choices of new neighborhoods by the movers.

Table 1. Summary statistics of variables used in analyses for the total sample.

Variables	Mean	*SD*
Neighborhood percentage own race		
Wave 1	0.75	0.02
Wave 4	0.67	0.01
Race/ethnicity		
White	0.70	0.03
Black	0.15	0.02
Hispanic	0.11	0.02
Asian	0.03	0.01
Female	0.51	0.01
Foreign born	0.05	0.01
Wave 4 characteristics		
Household income ($1,000)	34.93	0.93
Educational attainment		
No high school degree	0.07	0.01
High school degree	0.52	0.01
Attending college	0.10	0.00
College degree	0.31	0.02
Has full-time job	0.64	0.01
Own child in household	0.45	0.01
Married	0.40	0.01
In cohabiting relationship	0.19	0.01
Living with parent	0.17	0.01
Owns home	0.42	0.01
Wave 1 characteristics		
Age	15.42	0.11
Lives with both parents	0.55	0.01
Highest parental education		
No high school degree	0.11	0.01
High school degree	0.56	0.01
College degree	0.32	0.02
A parent on income assistance	0.10	0.01
Household income ($1,000)	47.04	1.58
Number of years lived in neighborhood	7.19	0.14
Neighborhood poverty	0.14	0.01
Neighborhood quality	0.05	0.07

We find that Whites tend to be in neighborhoods with a greater presence of own-race neighbors than Blacks, Hispanics, or Asians, and they tend to have narrower distributions. However, White young adults who move are by and large in less-White neighborhoods than those they grew up in. The mean White percentage own race was about 90% at adolescence and about 78% after they moved. White movers who lived in neighborhoods that were between 60% and 86% own race now live in neighborhoods that are between 40% and 68% own race. Certainly, this descriptive finding is supportive of the thesis that White young adults are choosing more integrated settings. However, the interquartile range (IQR), which is the difference in the 25th and 75th percentiles, for White movers (24.4) is much smaller relative to Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, which suggests that there is still considerable own-race resilience. It is notable that the stayers also experienced changes in their neighborhood composition of similar neighbors. What this box plot is capturing is the tendency for changing White neighborhoods as other ethnic groups enter these locations. In the past 3 decades, immigration has brought nearly 35 million new residents from Central and South America, Asia, and the Middle East. Overall, a focus on the least own-race selections emphasizes both the impact of changing neighborhoods and the impact of individual selections.

We find that the increased likelihood of being in a lower percentage own-race neighborhood is specific to non-White young adults. We find a lower mean neighborhood percentage own race for Black and Asian movers and little change for Hispanic movers. The mean neighborhood percentage own race for Blacks is 45%, for Hispanics it is 37%, and for Asians it is less than 20%. The averages,

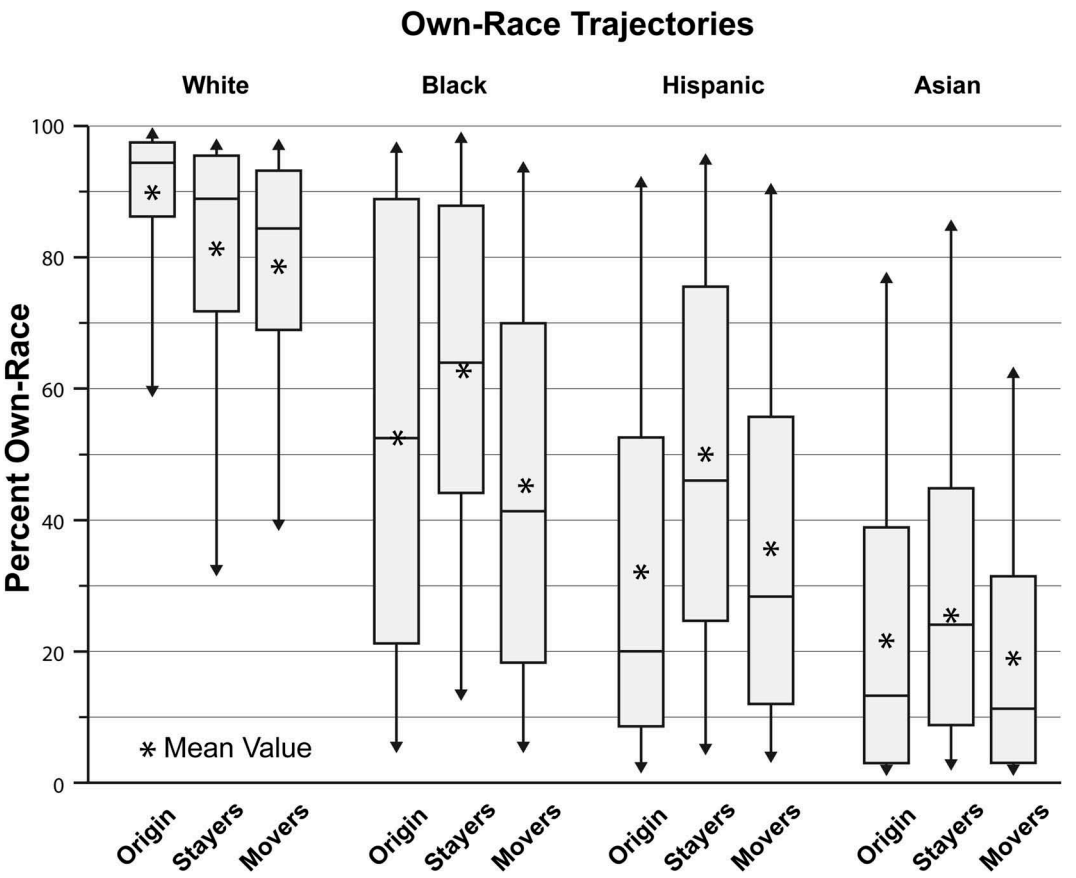

Figure 1. Box plots of neighborhood percentage own race by race/ethnicity at wave 1 (origin) for the total sample and at wave 4 (destination) for stayers and movers. Plots show 90th percentile, 75th percentile, mean, 50th percentile, 25th percentile, and 10th percentile.

as we expected, hide a great deal of variation in selections. In other words, many respondents are indeed in neighborhoods with a large presence of own-race residents but many are not. This variability is best captured by the IQR. Blacks could reasonably find themselves in neighborhoods with as low as 19% Black to as high as 70% Black. Hispanic young adults live in neighborhoods in the range of 12% to 56% Hispanic, and Asian young adults live in neighborhoods in the range of 4% to 32% Asian. In contrast to Blacks and Hispanics, Whites, with an IQR range of 70 to 93, are still much more likely to move into neighborhoods with a greater percentage own race.

At this descriptive level, the distributional findings show that Hispanics are living in neighborhoods with few other Hispanics at one level and in majority-Hispanic neighborhoods at another level. Similarly, Blacks have a range of neighborhood percentage own race from less than 10% to more than 90%. Many of these neighborhoods are shared with Black populations and with smaller numbers of Whites. Asians are living in neighborhoods that can be as high as 60% own race but the majority are living in "other race/ethnic" neighborhoods. In sum, the box plots reveal diversity and mixing as well as concentrations. Averages do not capture these highly variable distributions. By using a distributional approach, we capture the complexity of racial and ethnic patterns at local levels, patterns that are not well served by summary measures or aggregate indices, and our data are a concise demonstration of the growing fluidity of ethnicity across the neighborhoods of American cities.

In contrast with where they lived as adolescents, Black and Hispanic young adults are moving into neighborhoods that are in general more widely dispersed in racial and ethnic complexity. The stayers are also experiencing changes. We find that the neighborhoods for Black adolescent stayers have on average a larger percentage Black 10 years later. A similar process occurred for Hispanic and Asian young adult stayers. We view this as a function of the changing demographics of American cities because the total population of Hispanics and Asians has increased in the decades that are tracked in our data. The increase in own-race concentration for Black neighborhoods is likely the selective outmigration of Black young adults to less-Black neighborhoods, which we see in the mover box plot and does not reflect an increase in the Black population per se.

The graphical presentation focuses on percentage own race, but it is also important to know who else resides in the neighborhoods; what are the race and ethnic combinations and what are their proportions? Are there integrated neighborhoods, and how many of them are there? We construct a table that examines the racial/ethnic composition—percentage White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian—for each of the quartiles of percentage own race by the race/ethnicity of young adult movers (Table 2). We answer the question of who each of the young adult groups are living with and how it varies by the neighborhood proportion of own race.

We find that Blacks who have moved to tracts in the middle two quartiles of percentage own race are living on average with large proportions of Whites and smaller proportions of Hispanics. Moreover, Blacks in the top quartile are living in neighborhoods with on average 70% Whites and 14% Hispanics. The most own-race Black tracts are still strongly Black. For Hispanics, the neighborhoods in the middle two quartiles are on average between 34% and 56% White or between 12% and 14% Black and have nontrivial percentages of Asians. For Asians, those living in middle quartile neighborhoods are effectively living in integrated neighborhoods with large percentages of Whites, around 20% Hispanics, and smaller percentages of Blacks.

We also show changes in neighborhood racial composition for each percentage own race quartile from waves 1 to 4. For both Hispanics and Blacks, we find large reductions in percentage own race and significant increases in percentage White for the lowest quartiles. The reverse occurs in the highest quartiles. There are large increases in percentage own race and large decreases in percentage White for the top percentage own-race quartiles for Blacks and Hispanics. Although the changes are less pronounced for Asians, the highest Asian quartile experienced a similar percentage point decrease in percentage White from wave 1 to wave 4 (19.4) as the top Black and Hispanic quartiles. The "mixed" middle quartile neighborhoods for Asians have become more Hispanic over the period of waves 1 and 4, again reflecting the power of the Hispanic transformation of U.S. urban neighborhoods. For Whites, we find that the bottom percentage own-race quartile experienced a significant decrease (31 percentage points) in percentage White and increases in percentage Black (11.8 percentage points) and percentage Hispanic (12.5 percentage points). In contrast to the top quartiles for Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, the top quartiles for Whites experienced little change. This result reinforces findings from prior sections: Whites relative to Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians continue to exhibit resilience to neighborhood racial change, especially those originating from significantly White adolescent neighborhoods.

In sum, indeed there is selection into more diverse neighborhoods by young adults who move. This diversity is highlighted by the neighborhood racial compositions of those moving into neighborhoods where they are not a majority but still a significant presence in the neighborhood population. The highlighted selections for least percentage own-race neighborhoods (row 1 in Table 2) show that Whites are moving into neighborhoods where there are about equal percentages of Blacks and Hispanics on average and Blacks are moving into majority-White neighborhoods. Hispanics in the lowest quartile are also moving into majority-White neighborhoods though with nearly 20% Hispanic and Black. As we noted, there are integrated outcomes across neighborhoods in the middle two quartiles for Blacks and Hispanics. For example, Blacks in the 25th–50th quartiles are residing in neighborhoods that are 53.3% White, 29.0% Black, and 12.0% Hispanic. Change is happening, and though we can ask whether these patterns will continue,

Table 2. Neighborhood racial and ethnic composition in wave 4 and change from wave 1 to wave 4 by percentage own-race quartile for movers by race/ethnicity.[a]

	% White		% Black		% Hispanic		% Asian	
% Own race quartile	Wave 4	ΔW1–W4	Wave 4	ΔW1–W4	Wave 4	ΔW1–W4	Wave 4	ΔW1–W4
Black								
Least Black	70.1	17.0	8.5	−29.7	14.2	8.4	4.9	2.7
25–50	53.3	6.3	29.0	−18.4	12.0	8.2	3.0	1.7
50–75	33.1	−6.3	55.5	0.2	7.7	4.4	1.5	0.0
Most Black	7.7	−19.5	88.2	19.2	2.3	−0.2	0.5	−0.2
Hispanic								
Least Hispanic	72.9	1.8	13.5	2.4	5.6	−8.5	5.6	2.5
25–50	56.4	−2.3	13.8	5.1	19.2	−7.8	7.9	3.1
50–75	34.2	−13.8	11.9	1.0	41.8	10.1	8.4	1.9
Most Hispanic	13.0	−19.6	5.1	−1.0	78.0	23.2	2.9	−2.4
Asian								
Least Asian	59.0	−6.0	22.5	8.4	14.8	3.1	1.5	−7.6
25–50	63.1	3.6	8.7	−0.4	19.1	3.4	6.1	−9.8
50–75	53.2	−5.6	6.4	1.2	18.8	3.9	17.6	−4.2
Most Asian	22.6	−19.4	4.2	0.0	18.9	2.2	48.5	9.7
White								
Least White	50.8	−31.0	20.6	11.8	18.7	12.5	6.7	4.2
25–50	77.9	−10.1	8.4	1.9	7.6	4.1	3.6	2.1
50–75	89.6	−3.0	3.3	−0.6	3.3	1.3	1.8	0.9
Most White	96.6	1.3	0.8	−1.8	1.1	0.1	0.5	0.0

Note. Based on quartiles of percentage own race in census tract at wave 4 calculated separately for each race/ethnicity. Lower quartiles indicate lower percent own race/ethnicity.

[a]ΔW1–W4 indicates percentage point change from wave 1 to wave 4.

they are strong evidence of more diverse selections for the early moves of young adults. Again, we reiterate that the change is being driven largely by the choices of Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians.

Own race distributions by income and education

The research suggests that there is general evidence of the role of income and education in creating patterns of integration. In those studies, minorities with more resources live in less segregated neighborhoods on the whole. More income enlarges the neighborhood opportunity set and higher levels of education can signify greater tolerance and a willingness to live in more diverse settings. Money buys more advantaged neighborhoods, which are often White neighborhoods, and indeed the Add Health data show that average Black incomes are almost $12,000 greater in the neighborhoods where Blacks are a minority compared to those in which they are the majority. In addition, both Blacks and Hispanics are more likely on average to have a college education in neighborhoods where they are in the minority. We construct distributions of young adult neighborhood percentage own race for movers by individual and household income and education to descriptively unpack what underlies mobility into more or less percentage own-race neighborhoods. We present these distributions in Figure 2, which shows box plots for young adult movers in the highest and lowest quartiles of the wave 4 household income distribution and holding a college degree and not holding a high school degree at wave 4.

The box plots in Figure 2 show that there is much more to the story of how resources matter in residential selection than is conveyed by average outcomes on percentage own race, at least with respect to young adults. The plots capture the large variation in selections across these contrasting categories of high- and low-income quartiles and less than high school and college education for Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. There are three notable points to be derived from the visual box plot presentations. First, the range of neighborhood percentage own race has significant overlap across the race/ethnic groups. High-income Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics are moving into

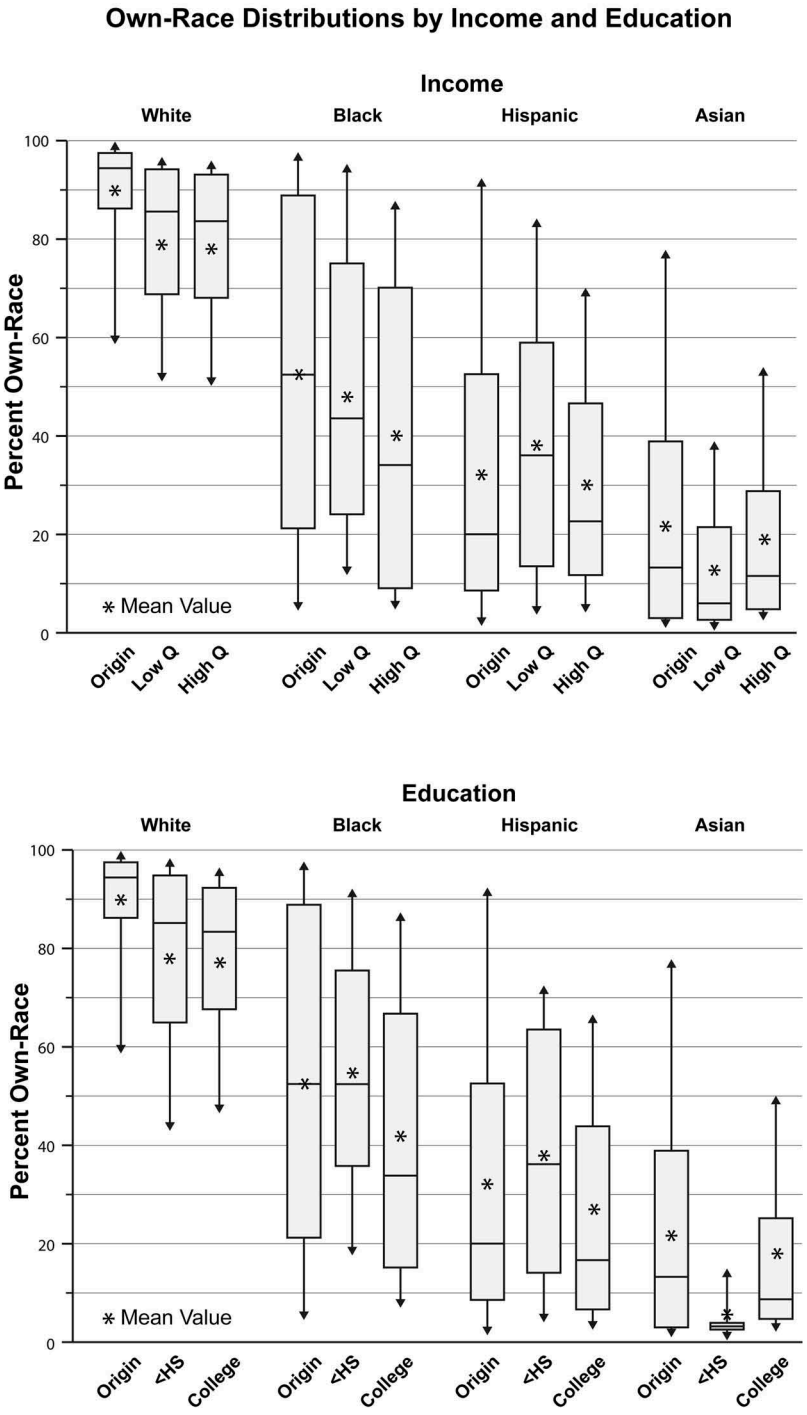

Figure 2. Box plots of neighborhood percentage own race by race/ethnicity, income, and education at wave 1 (origin) for the total sample and at wave 4 (destination) for movers. Plots show 90th percentile, 75th percentile, mean, 50th percentile, 25th percentile, and 10th percentile.

neighborhoods with a considerable range of percentage own race, as are low-income Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics. The same is true across education. Resources matter, but the range of neighborhood percentage own race varies remarkably. The outcome, though different for Asians, is also capturing the complexity of the residential choices of young adults. Here we see a tendency for higher income and college-educated young Asians to move into neighborhoods with a somewhat larger percentage own race, an outcome that is consistent with the preference literature. Still, the neighborhoods by and large are all below 50% Asian.

Second, even though a quarter of high- and low-income Whites are moving into neighborhoods that have substantial numbers of diverse residents, there is still a marked contrast between the distributions for Whites and the minority populations, as was found in Figure 1. The selections of White low and high income and less than high school and college are virtually overlapping distributions. In contrast, the own-race selections for Blacks and Hispanics shift downward; that is, toward less own-race selections as income and education increases. Again, to complicate the interpretations we see the opposite tendency among Asian movers. Third, the median selections by Blacks and Hispanics show that 50% of those groups with high incomes and college education, though still overlapping with neighborhoods with lower income and less education, are modestly more likely to be selections in non-own-race neighborhoods.

Figure 2 adds to the story of change being driven by the choices of ethnic and minority groups. Whites on average are not making strongly non-own-race choices, but their neighborhoods are changing as the outcomes of in-migration by Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks. What is most intriguing and will be of substantial interest in following waves is the evidence of Asian young adult selections. Though they lived in very low Asian percentage neighborhoods when they were in high school, they are selecting into a wide range of neighborhood diversities in young adulthood including highly Asian neighborhoods.

Multinomial models of own-race residential selections

Though income and education have some explanatory power at a descriptive level, it is also clear that there is a more complex dynamic in the nature of neighborhood selection of young adults. The great range in neighborhood percentage own race across income and education shown in Figure 2 testifies to this. To capture this complexity and put our results into a broader context, we construct multinomial models of the selections of most and least percentage own-race neighborhoods with the reference group being the middle two quartiles. Table 3 shows regression results for these models separated by race/ethnicity. The presentation of the results is structured around the main research questions of this study: Do adolescent characteristics—wave 1 neighborhood context and parental resources—influence young adult mobility into high or low neighborhood percentage own race? Do own income, education, and life course status influence young adult mobility into high or low neighborhood percentage own race?

Neighborhood poverty and neighborhood advantage at wave 1 are not strongly associated with movement into neighborhoods with low or high presence of own-race neighbors with the exception of neighborhood poverty for Whites and Asians. In contrast, adolescent neighborhood percentage own race is significantly associated with movement into high and low percentage own-race neighbors for all race/ethnic groups. The coefficients indicate that greater percentage own race in the adolescent neighborhood is positively associated with moving into a high percentage own-race neighborhood at young adulthood and negatively associated with residential mobility into a low percentage own-race neighborhood. Moreover, statistical tests comparing coefficients across race/ethnicity indicate that the negative coefficient for the White bottom quartile is significantly lower relative to the bottom quartile coefficients for Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. The positive top quartile coefficient for Whites is significantly higher compared to that for Blacks but not that for Hispanics and Asians. These results show that on average own-race and ethnic neighborhood

composition is linked across the transition to adulthood period as a result of earlier parental residential choices, especially for White young adults.

Wave 1 parental household income is not associated with mobility into neighborhoods with a high or low presence of own-race neighbors for all race/ethnic groups. Parental college degree attainment is associated with moving into a low percentage own-race neighborhood for Blacks and Hispanics but a high percentage own-race neighborhood for Asians. For Whites, parental college degree attainment is associated with a lower likelihood of moving into a high percentage White neighborhood.

Shifting to individual resources measured at wave 4, we find that similar to parental household income, own household income is not a predictor of moves into low or high percentage own-race neighborhoods. Statistical tests comparing the Black, Hispanic, and Asian coefficients against the White coefficient indicate no statistically significant differences with the exception of a greater association between log income and residing in a top quartile own-race neighborhood for Asians. We find that education is a significant predictor for Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians. Earning a college degree is associated with moves into a low percentage own-race neighborhood for Blacks and Hispanics but a high percentage own-race neighborhood for Asians. Attending college is also associated with moving into a low percentage own-race neighborhood for Blacks but is associated with a lower likelihood of moving into a high percentage own-race neighborhood for Hispanics. The latter result may be a result of college going Hispanics living in Hispanic enclaves as adolescents (Britton & Goldsmith, 2013). In contrast to Hispanics, Asians attending college are more likely to move into a high percentage own-race neighborhood. Statistical comparisons of Black, Hispanic, and Asian coefficients to the White coefficients indicate that earning a high school degree, attending college, and earning a college degree have greater associations with residing in a bottom percentage own-race quartile neighborhood for Blacks compared to Whites. We also find that the association between all educational attainment categories and residing in a top percentage own-race quartile neighborhood is greater for Asians compared to Whites.

The life course status variables do not provide consistent results across race/ethnicity. For White and Asian young adults, their neighborhood selection of high own-race composition is a function of living with parents and owning a home. Marriage is associated with a lower likelihood of living in a low percentage own-race neighborhood for Whites but a higher likelihood for Blacks and Hispanics. We find no significant effects for full-time employment and living with a cohabiting partner.

The results from the multinomial models confirm and elaborate the descriptive findings from the descriptive box plots and tables. Young adults are in a process of finding their way with relationships, with education, and with where and how they will live. Though own educational attainment is associated with mobility into lower percentage own-race neighborhoods for Blacks and Hispanics, parental educational attainment and previous residential experiences are clearly important factors in the selection process for all race/ethnic groups.

Conclusion

The analysis in this article addressed three research questions regarding young adult mobility into neighborhoods with same-race neighbors. First, we asked what is the relationship between individual race/ethnicity and neighborhood percentage own race/ethnicity for young adult movers. The findings show that though on average young adults reside in neighborhoods that contain a significant percentage of own-race neighbors, particularly for Whites, the outcomes are much broader than is suggested by studies that emphasize the concentrated ethnic and racial selections of the population as a whole. By using distributions, we descriptively show how much previous work masks the dynamism of racial and ethnic selection process. A quarter of all Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics are moving into neighborhoods in which they are a minority—and a substantial minority at that. The changes are being driven more by Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians than by young adult Whites,

Table 3. Coefficients from multinomial model estimates of selection into the top or bottom quartiles of neighborhood percentage own race for movers.[a]

	White		Black		Hispanic		Asian	
Variable	Bottom quartile	Top quartile	Bottom quartile	Top quartile	Bottom quartile	Top quartile	Bottom quartile	Top quartile
Wave 4 socioeconomic characteristics								
Log household income	−0.03	−0.03	0.03	0.03	−0.01	−0.03	0.04	0.12
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Educational attainment[b]								
High school degree	0.10	0.08	0.56	0.08	−0.39	−0.41	−1.99	0.94
	(0.17)	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.36)	(0.40)	(1.08)	(0.85)
Attending college	−0.14	−0.20	0.97*	−0.14	−0.08	−1.46*	−1.70	2.07**
	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.37)	(0.35)	(0.39)	(0.60)	(1.41)	(0.63)
College degree	0.17	−0.27	0.78*	−0.06	0.20*	−0.93	−2.82*	0.94
	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.09)	(0.52)	(1.13)	(0.94)
Wave 4 life course characteristics								
Has full-time job	0.01	0.20	0.29	0.13	0.09	−0.01	0.32	0.43
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.57)	(0.41)
Own child in household	−0.19	0.12	−0.25	0.01	−0.06	0.37	−1.04	−0.41
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.20)	(0.61)	(0.35)
Married	−0.24*	−0.02	0.47*	−0.09	0.50*	−0.28	0.17	1.04
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.22)	(0.19)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.71)	(0.54)
In cohabiting relationship	0.04	−0.06	0.08	0.05	0.12	−0.23	0.68	−0.77
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.32)	(0.70)	(0.52)
Living with parent	−0.19	0.44**	−0.25	0.13	−0.12	0.44	0.09	1.17**
	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.68)	(0.39)
Owns home	−0.14	0.38***	−0.28	0.09	0.21	−0.46	0.66	1.14**
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.57)	(0.40)
Wave 1 parental/household socioeconomic characteristics								
Log household income at Wave 1	−0.02	−0.003	0.02	−0.05	0.05	−0.03	0.001	0.02
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.21)	(0.16)
Highest parental education[b]								
High school degree	−0.23	−0.13	0.91**	0.39	0.73**	−0.36	−0.99	0.90
	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.31)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.23)	(0.77)	(0.73)
College degree	−0.28	−0.45*	0.90*	0.38	0.64*	−0.66	−0.24	0.60*
	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.31)	(0.38)	(0.70)	(0.28)
Wave 1 neighborhood characteristics								
Wave 1 neighborhood quality	0.17	0.04	−0.24	−0.21	−0.38	0.17	0.61	−0.28
	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.31)	(0.37)
Wave 1 neighborhood poverty	−2.68*	3.76*	−0.85	−1.71	−1.74	−0.71	9.70**	−5.87
	(1.04)	(1.44)	(1.14)	(2.11)	(2.21)	(1.89)	(3.29)	(3.77)
Wave 1 neighborhood percentage own race	−4.96***	8.64***	−1.47***	1.75***	−3.65*	3.54***	−3.77**	4.16***
	(0.44)	(1.47)	(0.39)	(0.42)	(1.58)	(0.56)	(1.30)	(0.77)
Intercept	4.18***	−9.35***	−1.63	−1.02	−0.75	0.02	−0.85	−6.80**
	(0.72)	(1.64)	(1.03)	(1.22)	(1.36)	(1.21)	(2.52)	(2.21)

Note. All models are weighted to adjust for survey design effects. Coefficients are presented as log odds. We used multiple imputation on 10 multiply imputed data sets to replace missing data on any of the covariates. All models control for age, gender, nativity, wave 1 household structure, whether either parent was on income assistance at wave 1, and number of years lived in wave 1 residence.

[a]Reference group is middle two quartiles in neighborhood percentage own race. Top quartile is most own race and bottom quartile is least own race.

[b]Reference group is no high school degree.

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

which may reflect persistence in own-race neighborhood preferences for Whites relative to racial/ethnic minorities. This finding is true for all Whites and Whites disaggregated by high/low income and education. We do not know whether the findings for young adults are a precursor of new patterns of integration and greater diversity or simply expressions of first moves into the housing market. With the next wave of Add Health data we will gain some insights on the stability of these

selections. In the meantime, we can point to how younger Black, Hispanic, and Asian cohorts are moving into neighborhoods that are at the least different from the neighborhoods of their parents.

Second, we asked what are the individual socioeconomic and life course determinants of movement into significantly high and low percentage own-race neighborhoods. The descriptive plots and multivariate models demonstrate that income plays a modest role. This finding reiterates the importance of examining both the behavior of cohorts and their distribution of neighborhood outcomes. The lack of association also points to the transitional nature of young adulthood. Young adults are entering the labor market and are still renters—they have not yet fully entered the housing owner market and are likely to be in various transition stages. The results re-emphasize the fluidity of selections by these younger adults who may be choosing places—inner city, youthful, and lively settings—rather than status. We did find evidence, however, of the influence of educational attainment on neighborhood selections. In particular, we find that college degree attainment is associated with migration into low percentage own-race neighborhoods for Blacks and Hispanics and high percentage own-race neighborhoods for Asians. This result emphasizes that at the early stages of young adulthood, educational attainment is the means by which individuals move up and down the same-race neighborhood hierarchy. The influence of income may come at a later stage when careers, household formation, and housing capital are established.

Third, we asked whether parental socioeconomic resources and adolescent neighborhood characteristics influence young adult neighborhood percentage own race. Similar to own household income and educational attainment, parental income has no influence on migration into high or low neighborhood percentage own race, but parental educational attainment does. Adolescent neighborhood percentage own race—which reflects parental choices—shows a strong influence on young adult neighborhood percentage own race for all race/ethnic groups, revealing that despite the range and variety displayed by the descriptive box plots, the influence of parental neighborhood choices continues to persist as adolescents transition out of the parental household.

We recognize that there is a tension in the results from our descriptive analysis and the results from our models. The dynamism of the distributions; the evidence of greater mixed-race selections, mainly by Hispanics, Asians, and Blacks; and the contextual effects of education and income are not simply captured in the models of neighborhood own-race selection. There are status effects (education) and roles of parents' education, but the expected direct impact of income is not captured in the models. The box plots show that young adults are moving into more diverse settings, but adolescent neighborhoods still have a strong association: if you live in a high percentage own-race neighborhood during adolescence you will likely live in a high percentage own-race neighborhood during young adulthood. Some are moving to more integrated settings and on average there is an increase in less own-race selections but the initial location still matters. We view this as an outcome of the complex decision making that occurs in this process of young adult transitions. The descriptive and regression results combined suggest that where individuals come from has a powerful effect on where they are likely to seek new neighborhoods and the composition of same-race residents in these neighborhoods, but change, even if it is, so to speak at the margins, is occurring. The findings in this article are a first step in an ambitious investigation of just how changes will occur in neighborhood selections as ethnic diversity continues to evolve in equally evolving metropolitan structures.

A caveat to the findings is that Add Health does not have information on moves between metropolitan areas or cities and across counties. This means that we cannot address the issue of whether long-distance moves lead to different neighborhood own-race compositions. That said, we know that the majority of residential moves are short distance and so we have captured the preponderance of move outcomes. The question of the difference in neighborhood selections between young adult long- and short-distance moves is an interesting one but will require an alternative data set.

The present article extends previous work by enlarging the lens of neighborhood outcomes. We provide means and medians but we also report the distribution of neighborhood percentage own race, and these show the considerable variation in selections. Nevertheless, parental neighborhood

choices continue to persist, a finding that is strong and robust across all race/ethnic groups. We also extend previous work by shifting from the analysis of selections by the total population to selections by an important younger cohort—millennials. The major implication of our findings is that the own-race neighborhood selection process of current young adults is complex. Sorting takes place within considerable individual variation. At the same time, there is persistence of adolescent neighborhood characteristics combined with the nontrivial percentages of racial and ethnic minorities moving into lower percentage own-race neighborhoods, along with the muted influence of socioeconomic resources. These results reflect the transitional nature of young adulthood and, more broadly, the racial, economic, and political complexity of the millennial generation (Frey, 2018). The work in this article suggests that we need to pay more attention to the distributional characteristics of neighborhood race/ethnicity and socioeconomic outcomes and how they vary across cohorts. This study is a first step in that direction.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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