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DETERMINANTS OF MOBILITY IN AN INNER-CITY COMMUNITY*

David P. Varady**

THE PROBLEM

Inner city neighborhoods have traditionally served as staging areas for members of different ethnic groups. These areas no longer exclusively serve this function [8]. Instead, poor people move around within the city in search of improved housing opportunities or for any housing at all (as occurs when a family is forced to move, [6]). The exceptionally high inner city mobility rates hinder the ability of planners to develop social welfare programs which can reach and serve low income individuals [2, 14]. Some individuals are not at any one location long enough to take advantage of particular programs. Others begin a program and then drop out when they move to another neighborhood. The lack of knowledge of the determinants of mobility in the inner city hinders the ability of planners to predict the mobility of different segments of the population and to develop remedial programs (e.g., housing, employment) to stabilize these areas [9, p.67].

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Previous mobility research has followed either a structural or a socio-psychological approach. Structural studies have examined the bivariate correlations between particular demographic characteristics (such as age) and mobility propensity. Socio-psychological studies have focused on the steps in the mobility process and the underlying forces affecting moving decisions (for examples of these two approaches, see [3, 5, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24, 30]).[1]

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**Graduate Department of Community Planning, University of Cincinnati

[1]Moore [13] provides a useful review of both structural and socio-psychological studies. He notes that mobility behavior involves two distinct steps: the decision to seek a new residence and the search for a new residence. Four broad factors influence the decision to seek a new residence: the individual's values, his expectations regarding life style and dwelling conditions, his evaluation of the present dwelling situation and his reaction to inertial forces. A household head may decide to move when his valuation of the present dwelling falls below his expectations and he is aware of obtainable homes with higher valuations at alternative locations.

This article attempts to combine these two approaches in order to identify the underlying factors affecting mobility in an inner city area. (For a discussion of the desirability and feasibility of combining these two approaches, see [21]).

The mobility model included in this article consists of three types of variables: (1) background demographic and attitudinal characteristics of the individual, (2) moving plans and (3) mobility behavior (between t_1 and t_2). We assume that these background characteristics are exogenous; that is, they are not determined by any other variable considered in the model and that both moving plans and mobility behavior are endogenous; that is, they are determined by these background characteristics.

This model incorporates the structural and socio-psychological approaches in two ways. Firstly, the background factors include attitudinal as well as demographic characteristics. Secondly, the demographic characteristics that are included in the model are utilized as indicators of broader socio-psychological variables. For example, home ownership is considered an indicator of one of the inertial forces affecting mobility.[2]

This article attempts to deal with two serious limitations in previous mobility research. Firstly, most previous mobility studies have relied upon moving plans as a proxy for mobility behavior. There is increasing consensus among researchers that these two variables (e.g., moving plans and mobility behavior) are distinctive; and that research relying upon plans as a proxy for behavior can provide only a limited understanding of the mobility process [27, p. 255-256]. Our approach is to view moving desires, plans and behavior as a set of interrelated decisions [4, p. 219]. Utilizing this conceptual framework, this article seeks to determine which background characteristics affect mobility indirectly (through their impact on moving plans which are then implemented) and which affect mobility directly (e.g., affect the decision to move without having any effect on moving plans).

A second weakness of previous mobility research is that studies of bivariate correlations (between background characteristics and mobility propensity) provide little insight into the relative importance of these characteristics, because these characteristics are highly intercorrelated (e.g., age with tenant status). This article is one of the first to use a multivariate technique (stepwise multiple

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[2]The relationships between other characteristics (e.g., age, education) and mobility are more tenuous and complex. As noted by Moore [13, p. 10] one must be particularly cautious in offering behavioral interpretations of the causes of residential mobility based on the correlations between characteristics such as age and education, with mobility propensity. While recognizing the validity of Moore's comment we have nonetheless included characteristics such as age in the model tested in this article because more direct (e.g., attitudinal) indicators were not included in the original survey. We would, therefore, emphasize that the conclusions in this article are, in many cases, tentative, and will hopefully provide a basis for future research.

regression analysis) to determine the independent contribution of different background characteristics toward explaining variations in mobility in an inner city area.[3]

METHODOLOGY

The analysis in this paper is based on a panel study of 509 respondents of the Cincinnati Model Neighborhood;[4] first interviewed in the summer of 1971 and then revisited in the spring of 1973. The respondents were originally selected as part of a probability sample of housing units in the area, using a multi-stage area sampling procedure (stratified by race).[5] This first set of interviews were conducted as part of a larger study seeking to measure the overall impact of Cincinnati's Model Neighborhood Program.

As part of the follow-up study, telephone interviews were sought with residents living at the addresses of 1971 interviews. Personal interviews were sought at those addresses where there were no telephones.[6] Interviewers first sought to determine whether the respondent had moved. If the respondent had moved, attempts were made (by talking to neighbors and landlords) to determine where the respondents had moved and why.[7] It was possible to obtain information

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[3]A recent report by Newman, [15] is an exception to this generalization. Newman utilized regression analysis to examine the determinants of the desire to move in a nationwide sample.

[4]The Cincinnati Model Neighborhood encompassed three adjacent communities in the inner part of the city: the West End, Over-the-Rhine, and Mt. Auburn. The majority (approximately 70%) of the residents of the Model Neighborhood are black but there is a significant white Appalachian minority -- particularly in the Over-the-Rhine section. A more detailed description of the methodology of the first survey is provided by Sherrill [23].

[5]For a detailed discussion of the sampling method used, see [26, Section C].

[6]For a more detailed discussion of the methodology used in the follow-up study, see [28, p. 6-10].

[7]We did not expect to learn of the underlying causes of the moves utilizing this approach. We did, however, expect neighbors and landlords to provide some indication of the number of forced moves in the sample (e.g., resulting from evictions). We would have liked to have conducted follow-up interviews with those who moved from their 1971 addresses (asking them for their reasons for moving) and with those who remained (asking them for their reasons for remaining). Such a follow-up effort would have cost considerably more than the one which was used which was limited to determining whether the 1971 respondents had or had not moved.

on the moving behavior of 97% (484) of the 509 respondents.[8]

DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES AND HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS

Moving Behavior

Respondents were classified into two groups, moved and did not move, based on the 1971 and 1973 surveys.

Moving Plans

Previous research does not provide any clear-cut basis for predicting whether there would be close correlation between moving plans and mobility behavior in an inner city area. Rossi found a high correspondence between mobility plans and mobility behavior in a study of four Philadelphia communities in the late 1940's [19, 20]. However, Van Arsdol et. al. [27] in a more recent article, argues that moving intentions are not generally accurate predictors of future mobility. Although there has been little research on the strength of this correlation in inner city communities, one would expect that it would be a relatively weak one. Inner city areas have an exceptionally high incidence of forced moves (for example, moves resulting from fires, evictions due to code violations, etc. see [12, p. 452-454]--and consequently are likely to be severely hindered in their ability to foresee when they will next move. In order to measure moving intentions, respondents were asked: "Are you planning to move in the next month, next six months, or next year (or by implication, not at all)?" For the purposes of analysis, the results from this question were reclassified into two broader groupings: (1) those who planned to remain one year or less, and (2) those who intended to remain for more than one year.[9]

Age

Researchers have generally found that for the metropolitan area as a whole, the most important determinant of voluntary moves is housing needs generated by life cycle changes [24, p. 636]. Previous research has indicated that "for typical families, mobility propensity is highest during the family formation, child bearing and child launching phases (of the life cycle) and is least marked during the child rearing period--especially when the child is in school" [21, p. 92]. Researchers have frequently used age as an indicator for life cycle position--

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[8] In about one-fifth (17%) of the cases, the only information that was obtained was that the respondent had moved. This situation frequently arose with vacated apartments or abandoned structures, although there were cases when neighbors could not be sure when the person sought had moved from the residence, only that he had in fact moved.

[9] Unfortunately, the original interview schedule did not include a question to allow the distinction to be made between voluntary and forced moves.

and have found a negative association between age and mobility propensity.[10] On the basis of previous research, we expected younger respondents to be considerably more mobile than older ones.

Tenant Status

We anticipated that home ownership would constitute a formidable barrier to moving in the Model Neighborhood. Previous researchers have documented the higher mobility propensity of renters than owners [17, p. 287-88]. Moore [13] suggests that the higher mobility rate of renters is due to the greater economic, physical and psychological obstacles to moving facing owners.

Social and Locality Participation

There is considerable evidence that those who participate most actively in the neighborhood, develop the strongest ties to the location and in turn are the least likely to move [13, p. 10]. In this study, local participation was measured by two questions: one dealing with the number of times per week that the respondent spoke with neighbors and the second, the extent to which the respondent perceived that he contributed to neighborhood decision making. We expected that these two indicators of social participation would be negatively correlated with mobility.

Duration of Residence

We anticipated that duration of residence would contribute to residential mobility. Previous researchers have frequently found a negative association between duration of residence and moving propensity [13, 21]. This finding probably reflects the fact that over time, the habits of families become established at one location, and they become increasingly reluctant to initiate a new pattern of life elsewhere.

Employment Status

Previous studies have indicated that inter-metropolitan moves often result from the search for improved job opportunities [24, p. 622-3]. We expected unemployed respondents (e.g., those without a job but looking for one) to be more mobile than either those employed or those outside the labor force (e.g., those without a job, but who were not looking for one).

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[10] As part of the preliminary analysis, a new variable was computed to measure life cycle position from three separate characteristics: age, number of children and age of oldest child. The respondents were classified into four groups: (1) those under 45 with no children, (2) those with at least one child, where the child was of pre-school age (below 6 years old), (3) those with at least one child, where the child was of school age (above 6 years old), and (4) those over 45 with no children at home. This variable was not included in the regression equations reported on in this article because it was far less powerful than age in explaining moving behavior and because it was highly correlated with age.

Education

Rossi [20, p. 179] has emphasized the importance of social mobility in explaining intra-metropolitan moves. "Household heads use residential mobility to bring their residence into line with their prestige needs." In order to test Rossi's assertion, we used the level of formal educational attainment of the respondent as a surrogate for the probability that he improved his occupational position between 1971 and 1973 (e.g., by being promoted). We assumed that the more highly educated respondents were more likely to have been promoted, and that those who were promoted, used their higher earnings to move to a more desirable location.[11]

The Residential Environment

Previous mobility research--largely based on middle class areas--has indicated that dissatisfaction with the dwelling is more important than dissatisfaction with the neighborhood in mobility decisions. Furthermore, the most important sources of dissatisfaction with the dwelling affecting mobility are the size of the dwelling, the amount of space, crowding and lack of privacy [10]. Two indirect types of evidence suggest that unsanitary and hazardous conditions inside the home play a particularly important role in explaining inner city mobility. Firstly, there is a higher incidence of forced moves in the inner city than in the suburbs and these moves often result from unsanitary and hazardous housing conditions (e.g., moves resulting from fires, evictions due to code violations, etc.). Secondly, blacks have been found to have higher intra-metropolitan mobility rates than whites [12, 25]. These differences presumably result from the concentration of blacks in deteriorating inner city areas.

In order to measure the respondent's overall level of satisfaction with his home, he was asked: "Is the home you are living in satisfactory for your family's needs?" The questionnaire also included five separate questions dealing with perceived problems inside the home (e.g., insects, rodents, lack of heating, lack of privacy, noise).[12] The response categories for these questions were: no problem, some problem, or serious problem. The number of responses indicating a "serious problem" were summed to form a scale. We anticipated that the number of complaints with conditions inside the home would contribute to residential mobility. The number of rooms in the home was utilized as an objective indicator

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[11]Unfortunately, the 1971 interview schedule did not include a direct indicator of occupational mobility expectations. For example, it would have been desirable to ask respondents to estimate the likelihood of their being promoted or of obtaining a new and better paying job during the next three years.

[12]It would have been desirable as part of the original 1971 survey to have interviewers objectively rate the adequacy of the homes and to use this information along with the more subjective information provided by respondents. Unfortunately, this was beyond the scope of the 1971 survey.

of the adequacy of the dwelling space.[13] We expected a negative correlation between the number of rooms and residential mobility.

A separate scale was used to measure complaints with physical conditions in the neighborhood, based on two separate questions dealing with the number of trash pick-ups and upkeep by neighbors. (The same response categories were used for these questions as for the questions dealing with interior housing conditions). In addition, respondents were asked: "In general, how good a job do you think schools in your neighborhood are doing?" We anticipated that complaints about the neighborhood's physical condition and dissatisfaction with neighborhood schools would have a bearing on the likelihood of moving.

Race

Earlier, we noted that previous mobility research has generally indicated that blacks have higher intra-metropolitan mobility rates than whites. These differences are probably attributable to the concentration of blacks in deteriorating inner city areas (where there is a particularly high incidence of forced moves). There have been few studies comparing the mobility rates of blacks and whites living in the same inner city neighborhoods. The Cincinnati Model Neighborhood provides a unique opportunity to examine this question, since blacks and whites live in comparable housing in the Over-the-Rhine section. We anticipated that blacks would be less mobile than comparable white families, due to the fact that blacks generally have a smaller number and variety of housing available to them (because of a variety of discriminatory housing practices). As a result of their exposure to a smaller number and variety of housing opportunities, blacks would be less likely to develop plans to move and also would be less able to implement pre-existing plans.

In order to measure the impact of discriminatory housing practices on black mobility, black respondents were asked: "Do you feel a black family is discriminated against when they go to find a house in the Cincinnati area? (If yes) Do you feel this happens seldom, sometimes or often?" We anticipated that blacks who felt that discrimination occurred often would be less mobile than those who thought it happened less frequently.

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[13]The key limitation of this variable is that it does not take into account the size of the family. As part of the preliminary analysis, a new variable "household density" was computed by dividing the total number of children in the family by the total number of rooms. (The number of children was utilized because there was no question on the survey dealing with the total number of individuals in the household). The coding for "number of children" was "1" for families with no children, "2" for families with one child, etc. This computed variable was not included in the regression equations discussed in this article because it was far less powerful than "number of rooms" in explaining mobility and because it was highly correlated with number of rooms.

Appalachian Origin[14]

Journalists and social scientists have emphasized the high turnover rates in inner city Appalachian communities [6, 29]. These high turnover rates may reflect the tendency of Appalachians to move to the suburbs as soon as the household head obtains a secure job [2]. Alternatively, these high mobility rates may reflect the propensity of certain types of Appalachians (e.g., the retired skilled worker, the unskilled worker who has been unable to find a job) to return to their rural points of origin [16]. We anticipated that a respondent's "Appalachian origin" would contribute to residential mobility because members of other ethnic groups in the Model Neighborhood generally did not have the option of "returning home" when economic conditions worsened.

Financial Resources

Previous research suggests that the most well-to-do and the poorest residents of the Model Neighborhood would be the most mobile while those with middle incomes (in terms of the Model Neighborhood) would be the most stable. Our hypothesis regarding the well-to-do is based upon previous research showing available financial resources to be an important prerequisite for implementing moving plans [21, p. 94]. We assumed that the poorest families would be particularly mobile because: (1) they would be concentrated in the most substandard housing (and would face the likelihood of being forced to move as a result of these conditions) and (2) they would experience the most severe financial pressures (and, thus might be forced to move to avoid rent payments and creditors). We utilized family income and welfare status (e.g., the fact that the family received welfare assistance) as indicators for the family's available financial resources.

ANALYSIS

In order to explain variations in mobility behavior among Model Neighborhood residents, regressions were run using moving plans, then moving behavior, as the dependent variables and the background characteristics discussed in the previous section as the independent variables. Separate regressions were run for blacks and whites and for the sample as a whole.

We originally ran the regressions with all the background characteristics discussed in the previous section as the independent variables. These results are presented in Table 1. We then reran the regressions, excluding those variables that did not meaningfully contribute to explaining variations in

[14]We defined an Appalachian as an individual whose previous residence before moving to Cincinnati was in a county defined as Appalachia by the Appalachian Regional Commission [1, p. 93-99].

TABLE 1: Results of Regression Analyses Relating Moving Plans and Mobility Behavior with Various Household Characteristics

	Total Sample		Blacks		Whites	
Household Characteristics	Moving Plans	Mobility Behavior	Moving Plans	Mobility Behavior	Moving Plans	Mobility Behavior
Moving Plans	-----	.2421[b]	-----	.2314[b]	-----	.2044[b]
Age	-.2164[b]	-.1591[b]	-.1640[b]	-.1736[b]	-.3545[b]	-.1377
Number of Children	.0701	.0528	.0350	.0500	.1597	-.0240
Tenant Status	a	-.0169	-.0181	-.0214	-.0208	-.1551
Talk to Neighbors	-.0076	.0585	-.0110	.0527	.0328	-.0158
Fit into Neighborhood	.0453	-.0290	.0209	-.0820[b]	.0789	-.0230
Years at Address	-.0896[b]	-.0513	-.0917[b]	-.0279	-.0860	-.1038
Employment Status	.0706	-.0546	.0658	-.0276	.0975	-.1211
Education	.0410	-.0073	.0791	-.1461[b]	-.0487	.2630[b]
Satisfaction with Home	.3082[b]	-.0708	.3317[b]	.1134[b]	.2472[b]	a
Complaints about Home	.2025[b]	.0652	.2168[b]	-.0255	.1183	.1713[b]
Number of Rooms	-.1025[b]	-.1277[b]	-.1536[b]	-.1310[b]	-.0337	-.2882[b]
Complaints about Neighborhood	.0085	-.0241	.0206	.0273	-.0164	-.2182[b]
Schools	.0458	-.0266	.0080	-.0637	.1215	.1402
Race	.0303	.1882[b]	-----	-----	-----	-----
Racial Discrimination	-.0169	-.0179	.0253	-.0770	-----	-----
Appalachian Origin	.0295	-.0764	-----	-----	.0419	-.1392
Family Income	.0632	.0617	-.0121	.0286	.1437	.1393
Welfare Status	-.0431	.0309	-.0866	-.0199	.0647	.1897[b]
Constant	0.3248	1.3472	0.6163	2.4210	-.0581	1.8061
DF	306	306	144	144	66	66
R^2	.3567	.2078	.3400	.1687	.4587	.4191
F Ratio	9.4600[b]	3.9767[b]	7.1809[b]	2.6497[b]	3.2073[b]	2.2989[b]

[a]Variables not included in the regression equation because the F level or the tolerance level was insuffcient for further computation.

[b]F value significant at .05 level.

TABLE 1 - Continued

Definitions of Variables

Moving Plans - amount of time intend to remain at current address
(1) Less than 1 year, (2) 1 year or more

Mobility Behavior - whether the respondent moved between 1971 and 1973
(1) Yes (2) No

Age - age of respondent in numbers of years

Number of Children - number of children under 21
(1) Three or more (2) Two or less

Tenant Status - (1) Own (2) Rent

Talk to Neighbors - number of times per week that the respondent talked with any of the neighbors (categories reflect an increasing number of contacts per week with neighbors)

Fit into Neighborhood - extent to which the respondent perceived that he fit into neighborhood decision making (categories are in descending degrees of participation)

Years at Address - number of years respondent has lived at current address

Employment Status - (1) Employed or not looking for work (2) Unemployed (e.g., looking for a job)

Education - level of formal education completed by respondent (categories reflect increasing educational levels)

Satisfaction with Home - whether the home is adequate for the family's needs
(1) Yes (2) No

Complaints about Home - the number of perceived problems with the physical condition of the home (heating, noise, privacy, insects, rodents)

Number of Rooms - number of rooms in the dwelling (categories reflect an increasing number of rooms)

Complaints about Neighborhood - the number of perceived problems with the physical condition of the neighborhood (trash pick-ups, upkeep by neighbors)

Schools - perceived adequacy of schools in the neighborhood (categories reflect a decreasing level of satisfaction with the job done by neighborhood schools)

TABLE 1 - Definitions of Variables (Continued)

Race - (1) Black (2) White

Racial Discrimination - extent to which blacks were discriminated against when they went to find a home in the Cincinnati area (1) Often (2) Never, seldom, or sometimes

Appalachian Origin - whether the respondent was of Appalachian origin (1) No (2) Yes

Family Income - (categories reflect increasing income levels)

Welfare Status - whether the respondent's family received welfare assistance (1) No (2) Yes

mobility behavior.[15] These latter regression results are represented by path diagrams (Figures 1-3).[16] The hypothesized causal relationships are represented by unidirectional arrows extending from each determining variable to each variable depending on it. Residual variables are represented by vertical unidirectional arrows leading from the residual variable to the dependent variable. Standardized regression coefficients are placed alongside the unidirectional arrows (with an indication of whether the coefficients are statistically significant). Since the coefficients are standardized, the two paths leading to the same variable can be compared by order of magnitude to indicate which variable has the most powerful direct effect.

RESULTS

Figures 1-3 show that age is one of the most important predictors of residential mobility. Age has both an indirect and a direct bearing on the likelihood of moving among whites and blacks. That is, young adults were more likely than older ones, to formulate, and then implement moving plans and also were more likely to make rapid moving decisions. Given the fact that age is often used by researchers as an indicator of family life cycle position, the results suggest that many of the moves in the Model Neighborhood were attributable to the life cycle factor. That is, many moves resulted from the need for more space by young, growing families.

Family size did play a role in explaining variations in mobility but this variable was of considerably less explanatory importance than age. The presence of three or more children in the family increased the likelihood of remaining among white (but not black) households. This finding probably reflects the fact that larger families tended to be in stable stages of the life cycle (e.g., child rearing) when they had little interest in moving, and also that larger families, interested in moving, experienced more difficulty than smaller ones in finding adequate quarters.

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[15] We excluded those variables whose F values were statistically insignificant at the .05 level and whose unstandardized regression coefficients were considerably less than the standard error. The initial regression runs indicated that some background characteristics made a meaningful contribution toward explaining white mobility only. Consequently, these variables were included in later regression runs for whites only.

[16] This discussion of path diagrams is drawn from [11]. It is customary to represent the hypothesized non-causal relationships between the exogenous variables in the system by two headed curvilinear arrows. These non-causal relationships are not included in the path diagram in this paper. The reason is that in multivariate path models having a large number of exogenous variables (as in this article) there are many non-causal relationships to represent. If all these were represented, the path diagrams would have been hard to read. These correlations are therefore deleted in the interest of neatness of presentation. This same information (the correlations among the non-causal variables) can be obtained from the correlation matrices presented in Appendices I-III.

FIGURE 1: Path Analysis of the Effects of Background Characteristics and Moving Plans on Residential Mobility (Likelihood of Moving) Total Sample = 306 Respondents

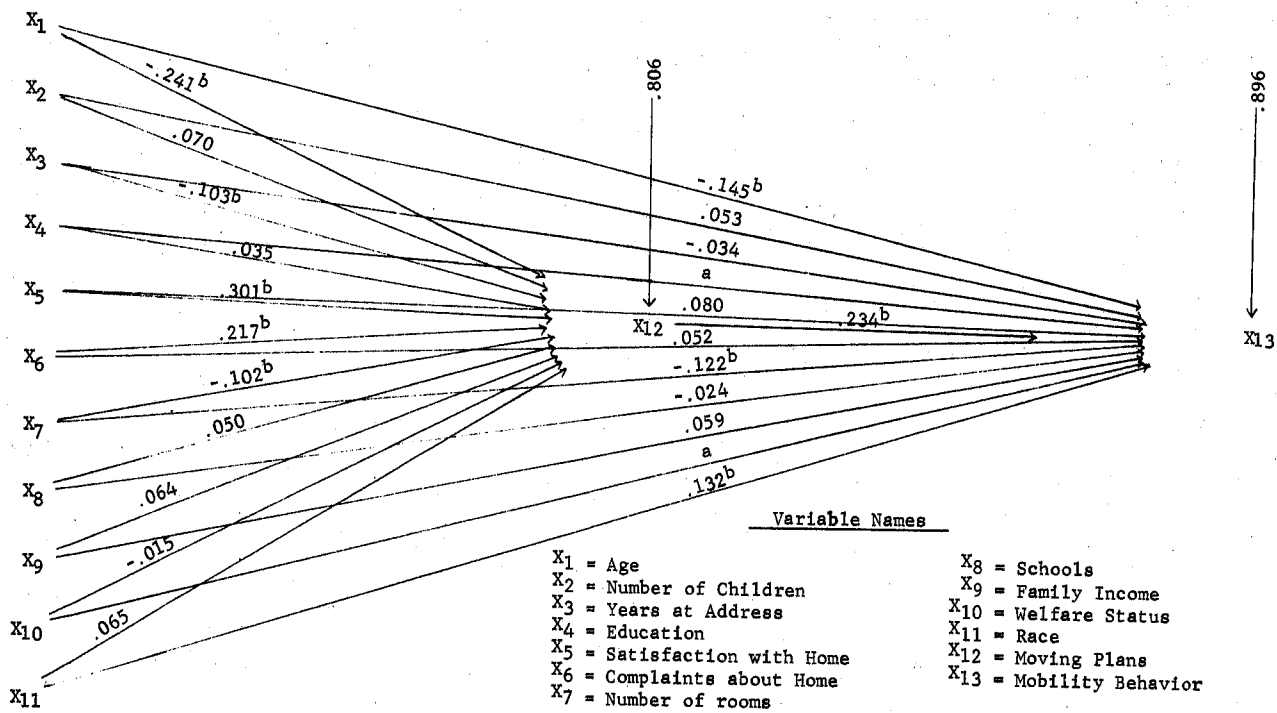
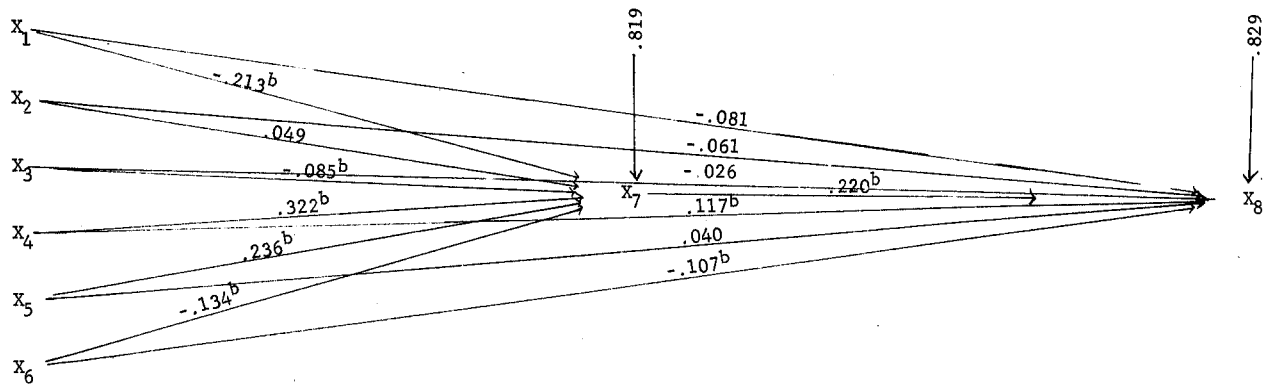


FIGURE 2: Path Analysis of the Effects of Background Characteristics and Moving Plans on Residential Mobility (Likelihood of Moving) Black Respondents Only, N = 238



Variable Names

X_1 = Age

X_2 = Number of Children

X_3 = Years at Address

X_4 = Satisfaction with Home

X_5 = Complaints about Home

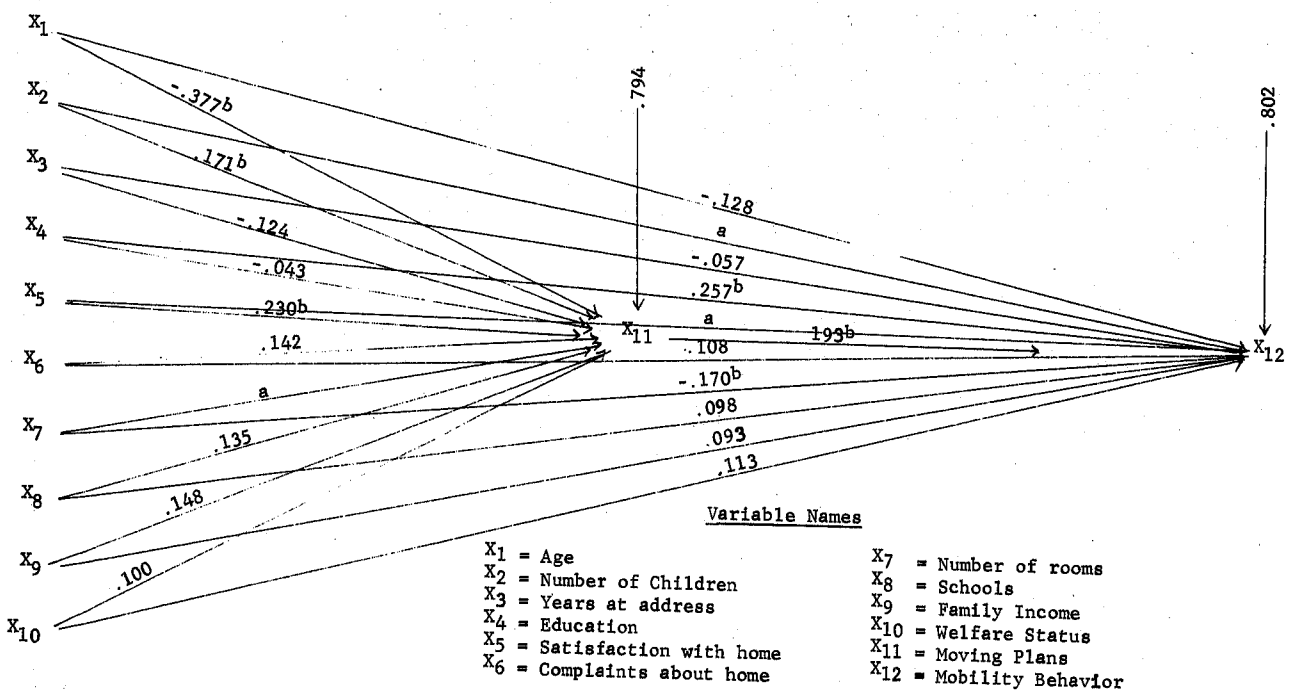
X_6 = Number of rooms

X_7 = Moving Plans

X_8 = Mobility Behavior

Notes and Definitions of Variables: See TABLE 1

FIGURE 3: Path Analysis of the Effects of Background Characteristics and Moving Plans on Residential Mobility (Likelihood of Moving) White Respondents Only, N = 66



Contrary to what had been anticipated, home ownership and strong neighborhood social ties did not constitute strong obstacles to moving in the Model Neighborhood. Table 1 shows that home ownership and the two indicators of active neighborhood participation (the fact that the respondent spoke to his neighbors relatively frequently, and the respondent's perception that he contributed to neighborhood decision making) did not increase the likelihood of staying. In fact, home ownership (among whites) and the perception of contributing to neighborhood decision making (among blacks) increased the likelihood of moving; whereas the opposite results had been expected.

As anticipated, the duration of residence had an indirect bearing on the likelihood of remaining for both black and white respondents (see Figures 1-3). These findings probably reflect the fact that long term residents had an established pattern of living at their current address which they were unwilling to alter by moving.

Table 1 provides no support for our hypothesis that unemployed respondents would be more mobile than either those employed or those out of the labor force. Employment status had no bearing on the likelihood of moving for either whites or blacks. Since job related moves are typically interstate (or intermetropolitan) in nature, the results imply that few of the 1971 respondents made such interstate moves.

As anticipated, educational attainment had a direct bearing on the probability of moving among white (but not black) respondents (see Table 1 and Figure 3). This finding is probably attributable to the fact that many of the more highly educated white household heads advanced on the job during this two year period, and used their increased income to purchase (or rent) a better dwelling in another neighborhood. The lack of explanatory power of this variable among blacks may be due to the fact that relatively highly educated blacks were less likely to be promoted than comparable whites (as a result of discriminatory employment practices). Alternatively, this finding may reflect the fact that upwardly mobile black families were exposed to fewer highly attractive homes than comparable whites--and as a result, were less likely to make rapid decisions to move. Unfortunately, with the limited data available from the surveys, it is not possible to test for the validity of these two alternative explanations.

Dissatisfaction with the home was one of the two most important indirect determinants of black and white mobility (Figures 1-3). One of the most important sources of dissatisfaction with the dwelling affecting mobility, was the adequacy of space. This is shown by the fact that the number of rooms in the dwelling (a relatively gross indicator of the adequacy of the amount of space) had both a direct and an indirect bearing on the likelihood of remaining among blacks and it had a direct bearing (only) on the likelihood of remaining among whites. A second source of dissatisfaction affecting mobility was the presence of unsanitary and hazardous conditions inside the home (e.g., bugs, rodents, lack of heat). The housing complaints scale had both an indirect and direct bearing on the likelihood of moving among whites and had an indirect bearing (only) on the likelihood of moving among blacks.

Housing problems may have contributed to both voluntary and involuntary moves.

Those who were strongly dissatisfied with their home (because it was not big enough or because it posed a threat to their family's health) may have moved in order to attempt to improve their family's housing conditions.[17] Others may have been forced to move as a result of the existence of unsanitary conditions (e.g., forced moves resulting from code enforcement activities).

In contrast to the important role played by housing problems, dissatisfaction with the neighborhood played an extremely limited role in explaining residential mobility. Table 1 shows that the neighborhood complaints scale did not affect the likelihood of moving. In fact, the number of complaints with neighborhood environmental problems was negatively correlated with mobility (among whites)--whereas a positive correlation had been anticipated. In contrast, dissatisfaction with neighborhood schools did play a limited role in explaining white (but not black) mobility (Figure 3). This variable had both a direct and an indirect effect on white moving decisions. This finding probably reflects the fact that schools in the Model Neighborhood were overwhelmingly black and that some white parents were reluctant to have their children be part of a racial minority at school.[18] Parents who felt this way (and who were able to move) probably relocated to another section of the city (or to the suburbs) where a majority of the student body in the local public schools were white.

As hypothesized, race (the fact that the respondent was white) had a direct bearing on the likelihood of moving (Figure 1). This finding stands in a sharp contrast to previous research which has emphasized the higher intra-metropolitan mobility rates of blacks than whites. This finding may reflect the fact that a disproportionately large number of blacks who had plans to move, could not find a suitable home as a result of housing discrimination. Another likely explanation for the higher mobility rates of whites; is that they typically were exposed to a larger number and variety of homes; and this exposure led to a greater propensity to make rapid decisions to move. The results provide no support, however, for the hypothesized role of perceived housing discrimination in predicting residential mobility. The perception that housing discrimination occurs frequently did not (directly or indirectly) contribute to the likelihood of remaining, among blacks (Table 1).

Contrary to what had been anticipated, Appalachian whites were somewhat less mobile than comparable white families (Table 1). This finding does not refute previous research pointing to the high turnover rates in inner city Appalachian communities. However, this finding does suggest that these high turnover rates

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[17]This discussion raises two additional questions: To what extent were families successful in improving their housing conditions by moving? What types of families were most successful in moving to improved housing? Unfortunately, it was beyond the scope of the surveys to attempt to answer these questions. This would seem to be a fertile area for future research.

[18]This interpretation is based on Downs' "Law" of Dominance [7].

are attributable to characteristics that Appalachians share with other inner city residents (e.g., poor housing conditions, low incomes) rather than any ethnic characteristics of Appalachians per se (e.g., their ability to easily return to their rural points of origin).

As expected, both family income and welfare status (e.g., the fact that the family received welfare assistance) contributed to explaining residential mobility--but these variables were significant among white respondents only (Table 1 and Figure 3). These results imply that the relatively well-to-do and the poorest residents of the Model Neighborhood (e.g., those on welfare) were the most mobile. The positive correlation between family income and mobility suggests that adequate incomes were important in implementing white moving plans. The positive correlation between welfare status and mobility probably reflects a high incidence of forced moves among those in greatest financial need. These forced moves may have been attributable to substandard housing conditions or may have resulted from an attempt to avoid creditors or rent payments.

The large path coefficients between moving plans and behavior in Figures 1-3 indicate that plans independently contribute toward explaining variations in mobility behavior even when all other background characteristics are taken into account. This finding (that moving plans play an independent role in explaining mobility behavior) is probably attributable to the fact that moving plans were affected by personality characteristics and external factors not measured on the survey (e.g., chronic restlessness, financial pressures from creditors). Had more of these personality characteristics and external factors been measured in the original survey, and included in the regression equation, the independent effects of plans on behavior would have decreased.

The relatively large path coefficients between moving intentions and behavior, may seem surprising in lieu of previous research which has indicated a high incidence of forced moves in inner city areas. Earlier, we presumed that such moves are totally unexpected and as a result, hinder the individual's ability to predict future behavior. Perhaps forced moves are not as unexpected as we presumed. Many forced moves are a result of governmental programs (e.g., evictions due to code enforcement programs). If these programs are well publicized, individuals may know when they will be forced to move. Other forced moves may result from evictions due to non-payment of rent. Here too, individuals may be able to anticipate when they will need to move so as to avoid being evicted.

SUMMARY

This article has been addressed to two limitations in previous mobility research: (1) the reliance upon moving plans as a surrogate for actual mobility behavior and (2) the lack of attention to the relative importance of different background demographic and attitudinal characteristics in explaining mobility. Using the results of a panel study of the Cincinnati Model Neighborhood, this article has examined the flow of influence from different background characteristics through moving plans to actual mobility behavior.

Two of the most important determinants of mobility for the black majority

and the white predominantly Appalachian minority, were family life cycle position (indicated by age) and dissatisfaction with the dwelling. The most important sources of dissatisfaction with the home affecting mobility, were the adequacy of the dwelling space and the existence of unsanitary and hazardous conditions (e.g., rodents and the lack of heat).

Race (the fact that the respondent was white) had a direct bearing on the likelihood of moving. Education contributed to the probability of moving of white, but not black, respondents. The more rapid mobility of whites probably resulted from their exposure to a wider variety of housing opportunities. Finally, in contrast to much of previous research, white Appalachians were not shown to be more mobile than members of other ethnic groups, when all other background characteristics were controlled.

APPENDIX I

Intercorrelations for Total Sample

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}	X_{13}
X_1		.329	.375	-.528	-.219	-.166	-.063	-.101	-.306	-.290	.099	-.385	-.252
X_2			.148	-.073	-.252	-.206	-.256	-.069	-.066	-.312	.109	-.117	-.015
X_3				-.036	-.154	-.099	.209	-.052	-.018	-.191	.109	-.267	-.173
X_4					.039	.022	.149	.127	.311	.012	.046	.192	.127
X_5						.362	-.046	-.010	-.013	.165	-.127	.425	.211
X_6							-.001	.017	-.048	.120	-.057	.355	.171
X_7								-.106	.205	-.026	-.111	-.133	-.169
X_8									.033	.008	.239	.108	.060
X_9										-.249	.163	.126	.122
X_{10}											-.140	.106	.050
X_{11}												.024	.129
X_{12}													.370

X_1 = Age
X_2 = Number of Children
X_3 = Years at Address
X_4 = Education
X_5 = Satisfaction with Home
X_6 = Complaints about Home
X_7 = Number of Rooms
X_8 = Schools
X_9 = Family Income
X_{10} = Welfare Status
X_{11} = Race
X_{12} = Moving Plans
X_{13} = Mobility Behavior

See Table 1 for Definitions of Variables

APPENDIX II

Intercorrelations for Black Sample

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8
X_1		.333	.344	-.154	-.165	-.116	-.299	-.148
X_2			.187	-.213	-.174	-.294	-.108	.005
X_3				-.129	-.096	.109	-.228	-.123
X_4					.333	-.039	.440	.234
X_5						-.008	.379	.169
X_6							-.147	-.156
X_7								.326

X_1 = Age
X_2 = Number of Children
X_3 = Years at Address
X_4 = Satisfaction with Home
X_5 = Complaints about Home
X_6 = Number of Rooms
X_7 = Moving Plans
X_8 = Mobility Behavior

See Table 1 for Definitions of Variables

APPENDIX III

Intercorrelations for White Sample

	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8	X_9	X_{10}	X_{11}	X_{12}
X_1		.310	.418	-.455	-.343	-.166	.070	-.246	-.415	-.142	-.567	-.487
X_2			.101	.111	-.338	-.299	-.122	-.297	-.015	-.400	-.165	-.136
X_3				.001	-.186	-.109	.376	-.055	-.017	-.163	-.350	-.279
X_4					-.035	-.122	.173	.105	.337	-.136	.172	.332
X_5						.448	-.115	.075	.017	.227	.425	.226
X_6							-.009	.068	-.026	.219	.302	.194
X_7								-.062	.259	-.028	-.103	-.162
X_8									-.020	.075	.210	.225
X_9										-.249	.262	.207
X_{10}											.168	.151
X_{11}												.444

X_1 = Age
X_2 = Number of Children
X_3 = Years at Address
X_4 = Education
X_5 = Satisfaction with Home
X_6 = Complaints about Home
X_7 = Number of Rooms
X_8 = Schools
X_9 = Family Income
X_{10} = Welfare Status
X_{11} = Moving Plans
X_{12} = Mobility Behavior

See Table 1 for Definitions of Variables

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