

How Ethno-Racialized Residential Histories and Support Networks Shape Residential
Stratification for Housing Voucher Holders

Erin Carll

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Reading Committee:

Kyle Crowder, Chair

Jerald Herting

Hedwig Lee

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Abstract

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Erin Carll

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Kyle Crowder

Sociology

Within more than a century’s worth of literature on housing inequalities, a new wave of research has emerged on the residential mobility process, which scholars frame as a key mechanism for understanding racial/ethnic residential stratification. The social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) offers recent theoretical innovations that highlight the potential role of segregated social dynamics, especially residential histories (the homes and neighborhoods in which people have lived over time and their experiences there, including discrimination) and social networks, as under-examined contributors to mobility outcomes (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). The SSSP adds these new dimensions to traditionally theorized causes of racial/ethnic residential segregation—group differences in economic resources, exposure to racial discrimination (Alba & Logan, 1993), and preferences for same-race/ethnicity neighbors (Clark, 1986)—and reminds us that this

complex web of forces likely works together rather than in siloes to perpetuate residential inequalities.

In this work, I employ the SSSP to assess ethno-racial differences in the role of residential histories and social networks, as well as the more traditionally theorized socioeconomic status and residential preferences, in the residential mobility process for people using housing vouchers in King County, WA. This research site expands the geographic scope of the literature, which has much more established bodies of work related to older and more segregated midwestern and northeastern U.S. cities.

I also expand the SSSP in two ways. First, I incorporate the experience of migration, which may moderate the link between ethno-racialization and socioeconomic status, exposure to discrimination, and social networks, which in turn shape residential priorities, the housing search, and ultimately residential outcomes. Second, I incorporate the role of not only personal contacts within social networks, but also institutional actors who can shape the residential mobility process.

The primary data for this dissertation came from semi-structured interviews with 54 parents or grandparents living with at least one person under the age of 18 and using a housing voucher in King County. I also used administrative data from two local housing agencies, the King County Housing Authority and the Seattle Housing Authority, as well as neighborhood (tract) data from the U.S. Census. These data are helpful for analyzing residential dynamics for voucher users, as well as for identifying prospective interview participants and fleshing out their sociodemographic and residential backgrounds.

In Chapter 2, colleagues and I set the stage for the deeper, qualitative work by quantitatively analyzing the likelihood of moving and destination neighborhood ethno-racial

isolation and poverty rates. The results suggest that there are ethno-racialized residential disparities across these outcomes that persist despite the inclusion of controls, which is consistent with past literature about voucher holders and the broader U.S. population (e.g., Crowder & South, 2005; Logan, 2013; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005; Wang & Walter, 2018). We complemented the quantitative data with information from interviews, which helps clarify the impacts of discrimination, social networks, and lived experiences in shaping racial/ethnic disparities in locational attainment.

Chapter 3 delves into residential priorities (the home and neighborhood conditions people prefer, where they would like to live in the future, and what they anticipate will happen) and their connection to residential histories and social networks, as well as how policymakers understand “good” neighborhoods. Substantial research suggests that certain housing and socioeconomic neighborhood conditions, such as hazards or crowding within a home or a high neighborhood poverty rate, negatively impact families’ wellbeing, with particular emphasis on children’s health, socioeconomic, and other outcomes (e.g., Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006). This perhaps fuels the assumption that homes in neighborhoods without these characteristics are, or should be, universally preferred, and bolsters arguments for housing policies and programs that move people into these areas (e.g., Bergman, Chetty, DeLuca, Hendren, Katz, & Palmer, 2019; Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012).

However, there is reason to believe this assumption may not hold up across the board. As the SSSP suggests, communities have been segregated over time and it is likely that differences in the conditions they are exposed to throughout their residential histories correspond to differences in residential priorities. The geographic concentration of social networks may also matter, as people choose homes that are close or further away from people they know (e.g.,

Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017). Since the U.S.'s legacy of structural racism and ethnocentrism implies that residential histories and social networks are ethno-racialized, it stands to reason that the spaces that movers know and like will be ethno-racialized, too (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

Through interviews and supplemental administrative and census data, I find some consistency between policymakers' and researchers' understandings of "good" homes and neighborhoods and what residents prioritize, as well as key discrepancies that vary across ethno-racialized groups' residential histories. This incongruence appeared more pronounced for people of color when considering neighborhood destinations, which highlights the disproportionate burden they may face when mobility programs encourage them to move to lower-poverty areas. Housing program providers should take this seriously and revisit the extent to which moving to "better" neighborhoods should be prioritized over place-based initiatives that seek to increase resource equity across neighborhoods. Such attention could help maintain access to community ties and amenities in lower-income neighborhoods that are nonetheless desirable to some residents for the social benefits, familiarity, and other resources available.

In addition to shaping priorities, social networks can shape residential outcomes when family, friends, and other people we interact with may provide various forms of support through the moving process. Chapter 4 contributes to the literature by being among the first to examine ethno-racialized forms of help that households receive during the process of moving homes from personal (e.g., family, friends, acquaintances) and/or institutional contacts (e.g., a caseworker, a staff member at a doctor office). As expected, the results reveal racial/ ethnic differences in the help participants received and what it meant for neighborhood destinations. Further, it points to the importance of institutional support for shaping where some people move.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Housing is in widespread crisis in many cities around the U.S. and world, which has profound implications for our lives. The conditions of our homes and communities help shape our physical and mental health, educational opportunities, income, wealth, and more (Evans, 2006; Leventhal & Newman, 2010; Marcuse & Madden, 2016; Pattillo, 2013a). Therefore, it is concerning that over one-eighth of the world population (or more than one billion people), including in relatively wealthy cities, is facing housing-related issues and therefore likely numerous other challenges to their wellbeing.

Some attribute these housing troubles to the mismatch between housing as a commodity and housing as a right (e.g., Marcuse & Madden, 2016; Logan & Molotch, 2007; Pattillo, 2013b). That is, if housing is built and traded more for the purpose of making money than necessarily meeting housing needs, it is unsurprising that finding a suitable home would not be universally accessible. Indeed, the housing market is increasingly prominent in the world economy (Marcuse & Madden, 2016) and real estate (home equity, rental properties, etc.) is a primary avenue for wealth-building, with U.S. homeowners enjoying 80 times the net wealth of renters (Eggleston & Hays, 2019; Eggleston & Munk, 2019). And it is not just the New York City-born Rent is Too Damn High political party that recognizes housing affordability as a significant challenge. Leaders in many large cities frame their discussions of local housing crises as being related to affordability (e.g., Derrick, 2019; Los Angeles: Eric Garcetti@MayorOfLA, n.d.; NYC Housing, n.d.), indicating the seriousness of the issue.

Another important feature of the U.S. housing landscape is its strong legacy of unequal access to the benefits of the housing market, especially along ethno-racialized¹ lines. The very foundation of property ownership in the U.S. has been built on the forced removal and ongoing erasure of Indigenous peoples who had inhabited this land for millennia before European settlers arrived. Further, centuries of chattel slavery dispossessed Black individuals of their ancestral African lands and legally and practically treated them as another form of property. After the end of legalized slavery for non-institutionalized people, predominantly White people continued this subordination through formal and informal exclusion of people of color from White-designated states, cities, and neighborhoods, which they enforced through legal and vigilante violence and other mechanisms (Loewen, 2005). Public policies created property and homeownership programs to facilitate the widespread manifestation of the American Dream, primarily for White people. Many peoples of color were effectively excluded from related opportunities and left to pursue homeownership through precarious and predatory, high-risk pathways that have collectively produced a wider Black-White homeownership gap in 2017 than existed in 1960 when racial discrimination in the housing market was still legal (Rothstein, 2017; Taylor, 2019; Urban Institute, n.d.).

With this in mind, it is not surprising that people of color, and especially Black and Native peoples, now face substantial housing disadvantage and arguably bear the brunt of deleterious fallout from housing crises stemming from the Great Recession and the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2020). While Western research is relatively scant regarding Native populations, more than a century of sociological work has produced a substantial body of

¹ “Ethno-racialized” is a broad term to refer to those social processes and statuses that have come to have an explicitly or implicitly ethnic or racial character. In other words, these things vary by ethnicity and/or race.

literature detailing the residential subordination of Black people and communities (e.g., Du Bois, 1899; Massey & Denton, 1993; Wilson 1987). On average, they have a fraction of the largely homeownership-based wealth that White people have (Oliver & Shapiro, 2006), their homes are valued lower based on their race (Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2018), they move into poor neighborhoods more often and leave such areas less (South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005), and they more rarely see their residential expectations come to fruition (Crowder, 2001). Latine groups faced disproportionate levels of foreclosure following the collapse of the housing market in 2008 (Hall, Crowder, & Spring, 2015) and generally live in conditions closer to that of Black people (e.g., Crowder & South, 2005; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005; Wang & Walter, 2018). The residential context of Asian people overall tends to look more similar to that of White people (Logan, 2013), though there is substantial bifurcation in housing and other outcomes across Asian ethnicities with, for example, Vietnamese, Indian, and Filipino groups seeing much more disadvantage than East Asian groups (e.g., Logan & Alba, 1993).

The Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program and its predecessors facilitate access to housing for a subset of people who may not otherwise be able to afford rental housing in the private market. Policy makers developed the program partly in response to the class-action lawsuit, *Dorothy Gautreaux v. the Chicago Housing Authority*, in which the plaintiff argued that public housing projects in Chicago contributed to residential segregation, since they stood primarily in lower-income neighborhoods with large concentrations of people of color. Vouchers theoretically enable subsidy recipients to use their assistance toward rent in any neighborhood, therefore potentially helping to alleviate the concentration of poverty. However, while research suggests that vouchers make a big difference in the lives of people who receive them, particularly from the perspective of affordability (Fischer, 2015; Shinn & Khadduri, 2020), many

such people remain in relatively poor, segregated neighborhoods (e.g., DeLuca, Garboden, & Rosenblatt, 2013; McClure, 2008; McClure, Schwartz, & Taghavi, 2015).

It is also important to consider the extent to which vouchers provide equitable relief across ethno-racialized groups. A growing body of literature suggests that we see similar disparities in residential outcomes for voucher holders as we do in the broader population. If mobility programs like HCV facilitate moves into lower-poverty neighborhoods—which may contribute to long-term social class mobility for children in households making such moves (Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016)—more often for ethno-racially privileged individuals and families (i.e., especially for White people), voucher programs may lift more White people out of poverty and disproportionately leave groups of color behind, potentially helping maintain or even exacerbating ethno-racialized residential inequalities. This should make addressing any such disparities among voucher holders a priority.

Contributions

This research is among the first to test the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP), which offers recent theoretical innovations that highlight the potential role of segregated social dynamics, especially residential histories (the homes and neighborhoods in which people have lived over time and their experiences there, including discrimination) and social networks, as under-examined contributors to mobility outcomes (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). The SSSP adds these new dimensions to traditionally theorized causes of racial/ethnic residential segregation—group differences in economic resources, exposure to racial discrimination (Alba & Logan, 1993), and preferences for same-race/ethnicity neighbors (Clark, 1986)—and reminds us that this complex web of forces likely works together rather than in siloes to perpetuate residential inequalities.

I also expand the SSSP in two ways. First, I incorporate the experience of migration, which may moderate the link between ethno-racialization and socioeconomic status, exposure to discrimination, and social networks, which in turn shape residential priorities, the housing search, and ultimately residential outcomes. Second, I incorporate the role of not only personal contacts within social networks, but also institutional actors who can shape the residential mobility process.

This project provides information to local housing agencies about how HCV participants are experiencing their program. More broadly, it speaks to literature on the HCV program across the U.S. and the ethno-racialized residential stratification therein, and offers important clues about related inequalities across broader populations. In addition to helping to test the SSSP, this study explicitly problematizes how researchers and policymakers typically identify “good” residences and asks how this aligns with what individuals think about the homes and neighborhoods they have lived, where they would like to live, and where they expect to end up. It also applies Granovetter’s (1977) concept of weak ties to expand the SSSP’s consideration of social networks’ influence on residential attainment, and does so in an under-studied geographic context: a younger city with an expensive and tight housing market in the United States West.

In recent decades, the primary explanations for ethno-racialized residential stratification have focused on assessing the competing importance of group differences in economic resources (Alba & Logan, 1993), preferences for in-group neighbors (Clark, 1986), and ethno-racialized discrimination in the housing market (Alba & Logan, 1993). The SSSP integrates these forces, reminding readers that they likely work together rather than distinctly (Massey & Denton, 1993), and formally articulates the likely influence of broader segregated social processes (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Because the places we live, work, go to school, and relax tend to differ along

ethno-racialized lines, we also typically have segregated knowledge and experience-based perspectives of potential residential destinations. Not only might people's ethno-racial status influence where they have spent time, but it should also influence their experiences there, including whether they have experienced ethno-racial discrimination, and how positive their impression of certain neighborhoods are as a result. Further, social networks are largely same-race/ethnicity (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001), which means the knowledge and perceptions of many of our trusted contacts should also ethno-racially vary and potentially thus contribute to segregated outcomes.

The findings in this dissertation are consistent with the SSSP and thus help to establish that the ethno-racialization of the residential mobility process is broader than typically imagined within the literature of recent decades. Economic resources, preferences for same-race/ ethnicity neighbors, and differences in exposure to discrimination in the housing market interweave to shape the residential mobility experience ethno-racialized ways. They are also joined by forces that are less obviously ethno-racialized: e.g., a desire to live in a familiar place which points to the path-dependency of ethno-racialized residential histories, prioritizing living near friends or family who are disproportionately same-race/ethnicity, and differences in whether family, friends, or acquaintances helped movers find a home that map onto ethno-racialized residential patterns in King County. This is consistent with the SSSP and other frameworks like critical race theory and sociological conceptions of "colorblindness" (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Krysan & Crowder, 2017), which suggest that ethno-racialization thoroughly permeates social life in ways that are not easy to capture by studying race/ethnicity in a vacuum. As such, this research does not attempt to disentangle the effects of race/ethnicity from its correlates, but rather to help clarify the myriad pathways through which it operates.

I am able to do this, and more, by holding interviews in four languages: English, Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese, and examining a broader number of ethno-racialized groups than is typically included in research on ethno-racial residential stratification and/or the voucher program. Related research typically either does not explicitly examine the role of race/ethnicity (see DeLuca & Jang-Trettien for a review of literature that largely examines voucher holders as a whole) or considers broader or fewer groups than this study (e.g., Basolo & Nguyen, 2005). The resulting group of participants for the present research includes Black, White, Asian, and Latine people born in the U.S. and seven other countries. This allows me to consider substantial variation in residential histories—e.g., those born in or outside of the U.S., those taking different pathways into the U.S.—and, in the case of Black people, to consider such variation within the same racialized group.

Next, while much research on residential outcomes employs a similar set of widely-used measures—household crowding, neighborhood poverty, etc.—I examine outcomes based on these commonly used measures and movers' actual *residential priorities* (residential satisfaction or how participants rate the homes and neighborhoods in which they have lived, preferences for the homes and neighborhoods in which people would like to live and the related conditions they consider important, and expectations for where they will live/move in the future), as well as the extent to which these measures correspond. Residential satisfaction tells us how households assess the concrete conditions to which they have been exposed and offers clues about their quality of life, the metrics they might use when searching for housing and the likelihood they may seek a new home in the near future (Deane, 1990; Lu, 1999; Speare, 1974). Priorities incorporate both hypothetical desires and conditions households may prefer based on experience. Considering this along with residential satisfaction and residential histories allows me to better

understand which is which. Researchers have argued that expectations are assessments of what is achievable or likely to happen (see Crowder, 2001 for a summary of related work); it may also be informed by desire, which can reinforce positive expectations and motivation if it aligns with expectations. Considering all of these together can help elucidate actual residential priorities and how they may relate to ethno-racialized residential histories.

Another contribution of this project is I that expand how researchers assess the influence of social networks on residential outcomes, by considering not only strong ties like family and close friends, but also weaker ties like acquaintances and institutional actors providing ad hoc assistance. Granovetter's (1977) landmark study suggests that extended networks of weak ties can be crucial for job mobility. In this research, I consider how this may play out within the housing search process, and the possibility that not only might people move based on the location and suggestions of strong connections especially kin (e.g., Ackert, Spring, Crowder, & South, 2019; de Souza Briggs, Popkin, & Goering, 2010; Krysan & Crowder, 2017; Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017), but connections may also steer movers into specific homes or neighborhoods based on the leads of people they may or may not know well, including those they have met through networks of geographically specific weak ties.

Finally, research in King County, WA has the strong potential to provide insights into residential dynamics. Importantly, with some exceptions (e.g., Bruch & Swait, 2019), much of the research on residential preferences was conducted in more established and segregated cities in the U.S. Northeast and Midwest. This is important because attitudes toward voucher holders may depend on the market context. For example, some research suggests that discrimination *against* potential tenants with vouchers may become discrimination *for* such applicants in weaker, higher-poverty contexts (Rosen, 2014, 2020).

Data and Methods

Methodologically mixed, this study relies primarily on qualitative interviews, as well as administrative data from two public housing authorities (PHAs)—King County Housing Authority (KCHA) and Seattle Housing Authority (SHA)—in King County and information from the U.S. Census Bureau. Colleagues and I conducted 54 interviews of housing voucher users living with children in King County, WA between January 2019 and February 2020. I used 2008-2019 administrative data from KCHA and SHA to select prospective participants and, along with 2012-2016 Census data, to flesh out respondents' residential histories. Along with collaborators, I also used these quantitative data to analyze ethno-racialized differences in residential mobility outcomes for all voucher holders living in privately owned housing.

I designed the qualitative interviews to better understand respondents' residential priorities and how this may have been shaped by residential histories and the presence of social networks. This included asking about how much participants liked where they lived at the time of the interview and previously, what kinds of homes and neighborhoods they preferred when looking for the current home and where they would like to live in the future, and what they expected would come to fruition.²

Interview respondents almost always lived in households with at least one person under the age of 18³, spoke English, Somali, Spanish, or Vietnamese, and had been enrolled in the HCV program for at least one-and-a-half years at the time I selected them for a potential interview. I aimed for a stratified sample based on recent residential mobility, primary language of the householder, and whether the household lived in the City of Seattle or broader King

² For information about the coding scheme, please see the codebook in the Project Appendix.

³ By the time of one participant's interview, the child had passed away and was no longer present within the home.

County. I adjusted how I targeted the second and third samples based on who had agreed to participate to that point.

The sampling criteria come from my desire to contribute to important policy and scholarly conversations. First, because we know the importance of neighborhood context during childhood and adolescence, I sampled only those households in which at least one resident was under 18 years of age at the time I drew the sample. Second, to expand the range of housing experiences of voucher holders in King County, I sampled individuals who reported speaking English, Somali, Spanish, or Vietnamese as their primary language. The latter three are among the most commonly spoken languages among King County PHA residents who primarily speak a language other than English. Because of the high cost associated with each interview in Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese, I aimed for roughly five interviews per language. I began interviews before securing funding for interviews in non-English languages, so the first sample I pulled was entirely comprised of English-speakers. The second sample added Somali- and Spanish-speakers. The third incorporated Vietnamese-speakers as well.

When possible, I selected households based on whether they had moved in the prior two years. This facilitated research that focuses on differences in residential mobility. For the first sample of exclusively English-speakers, I also considered whether the move was within the same city or across municipal boundaries. I initially pursued a quota sampling technique based on residential mobility, aiming for about one-quarter non-movers and three-quarters intra- or inter-city movers. This level of mobility-related detail was not possible for all samples. During the second and third sample pulls, when identifying a list of prospective Somali-, Spanish-, and later Vietnamese-speaking participants, relatively small populations limited me to selecting

individuals based on whether a move had occurred at all in the past two years, without considering whether the move crossed city boundaries.

Fourth and finally, I aimed to recruit half of the sample from the City of Seattle and the other half from broader King County in order to speak to each housing agency's population. Likely because of differences in recruitment methods,⁴ however, the participant group skewed fairly significantly toward Seattle, with seven of ten people, including all of those conducting the interview in Somali, Spanish, or Vietnamese, living in the area's central city.

Recruitment began with KCHA and SHA sending informational letters to prospective participants letting them know about the voluntary opportunity.⁵ In the case of Seattle, colleagues and I followed up on this letter via phone call, email, and/or text, sometimes reaching out multiple times until we scheduled the interview, learned from the individual that they would not like to participate, or were ending that phase of the recruitment. We did not pressure individuals to participate if they declined the invitation. Based on prior experience with similar recruitment strategies in the area, I sampled six times my target of roughly 50 interviews and invited about 300 voucher-holding parents to participate.

Interviews averaged around two hours, and participants each received \$35 in compensation for their time. In 49 cases, participants consented to audio recording, and in the other five cases, I took written notes during the interview and recorded extensive audio notes immediately following the interview to retain as much detail as possible. Participants and I met

⁴ PHA staff sent informational letters to prospective participants requesting they directly contact the research team if they are interested in participating in an interview. For SHA households only, a research assistant or I followed up by calling, emailing, and/or texting householders to invite their participation. KCHA, on the other hand, conducted phone and email outreach on our behalf. Because of KCHA's limited staffing resources for recruiting in languages other than English, this meant that personalized recruitment of Somali-, Spanish-, and Vietnamese-speaking participants was not possible.

⁵ The letters stressed that participating, or not, in the interview was entirely voluntary and would not affect the recipients' voucher in any way.

at their homes or, if they preferred, in a public location (usually, a café, restaurant,⁶ or library, and—in one case—at the participant’s place of work).

In some cases, native Spanish- and native/fluent English-speaking colleagues conducted Spanish-language interviews entirely in Spanish, then transcribed in Spanish and translated into English. In other cases, we used on-the-spot interpretation between English and Somali/ Spanish/ Vietnamese. Those providing on-the-spot interpretation are native speakers of the target language and native or fluent English-speakers.

When participant’s consented (in 50 cases),⁷ I supplemented the interviews with administrative information from two local housing authorities for the years 2008-2019 and 2012-2016 U.S. Census American Community Survey data on tract-level poverty rates and ethno-racial composition. This allowed me to construct detailed residential histories and compare respondents’ accounts with census information about neighborhood ethno-racial and socioeconomic composition. I was therefore able to examine how neighborhood priorities correspond to actual conditions, including across moves. Colleagues and I also used the administrative and census data to empirically capture ethno-racialized disparities in residential mobility outcomes for all voucher holders living in privately owned rental housing in the PHAs’ service areas.⁸

⁶ The noise level in cafés and restaurants can be overwhelming. Libraries were generally more suitable for interviews, and it was often possible to get a private room on the spot to hold the interviews.

⁷ The four people who withheld consent for attaching administrative data to the interview data represent a very small proportion of participants, all of whom were born in the U.S. and were marginally younger, on average, than the sample overall (about 37 v. 42 for the full group). Racially, this group included one Black person, one White person, one person who identified as Multiracial and one who declined to claim an ethno-racialized status.

⁸ The data geographically covered all of King County except for the City of Renton, which has a separate housing authority that did not participate in this research.

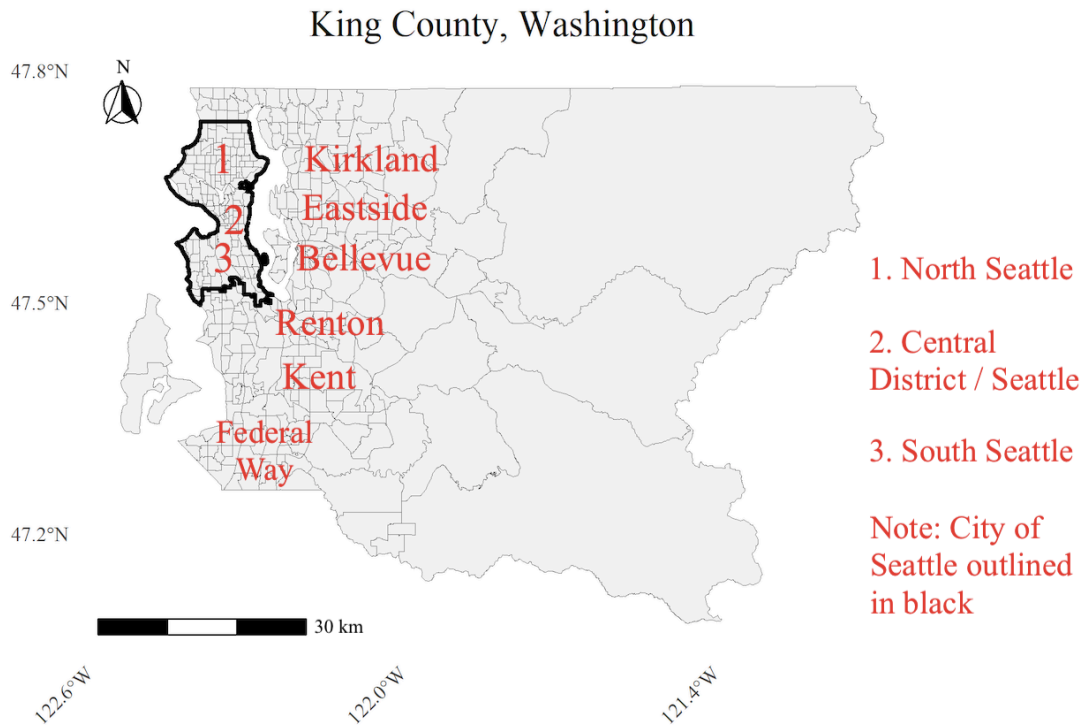
The administrative data come from the reporting fields on the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Form-50058, which households submit to PHAs at least once every 2-3 years. The 50058 data include demographic characteristics, household income, rent, and other financial information, housing conditions, geographic information (addresses), and administrative details (for example, whether a household lives in SHA's or KCHA's jurisdiction and how long they have been enrolled in the program). Because the raw housing data did not always have consistent household identifiers on which to match people across multiple records within and across agencies, the data were merged using a probabilistic "fuzzy matching" process (e.g., Dusetzina et al., 2014).

Research Site

Figure 1.1 shows the geographic scope of this research, which covered the City of Seattle and broader King County, WA, with the exception of Renton. It includes labels for the cities and regions of Seattle that I mention throughout this dissertation.

Like many other expensive U.S. cities, the Seattle area has witnessed increasing housing costs, stagnant wages, an increase in wealthier, childless residents, and its urban core declared a state of housing emergency within the past few years (Derrick, 2019; Greenblatt, 2015; Kotkin, 2014, 2015; NYC Housing, n.d.; Oyedele, 2018; Talton, 2018). It is currently one of the tightest housing markets in the country due in part to the high and until recently fast-growing cost of housing (Rosenberg, 2018). This is important because attitudes toward voucher holders may

Figure 1.1 Research Site Map



depend on the market context. For example, some research suggests that discrimination *against* potential tenants with vouchers may become discrimination *for* such applicants in weaker, higher-poverty contexts (Rosen, 2014, 2020). In the high-cost area in and around Seattle, voucher holders routinely report experiences of property owner and manager discrimination against their vouchers despite this having been illegal in Seattle for over 30 years, with several other nearby cities passing their own voucher-holder protections in the years since a statewide source-of-income discrimination ban going into effect in 2018 (Crowder, Carll, Herting, & Hess, 2018; Poverty and Race Research Action Council, 2020; Reosti 2020; The City of Seattle, 2016; The City of Seattle—Legislative Department, 1989). This may mean that voucher holders in King County face particularly restricted access to a broad array of housing and communities. As such, the influence of people of color’s experiences on residential priorities may be based on experience navigating multiple forms of discrimination (ethno-racialized and voucher-based).

Further, unlike highly segregated older cities in the U.S. Northeast, Midwest, and South, ethno-racialized residential segregation has declined in the Seattle area in recent decades to more moderate levels. And the racial composition of King County has important differences from the U.S. overall. About 7% of residents are (non-Hispanic) Black, which constitutes less than half the national average (Data USA, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). The Hispanic or Latine population, which is close to 10% is similarly lower in King County than in the U.S. overall (closer to 19%) (Data USA, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). On the other hand, non-Hispanic Asian householders comprise about 18% of the local population, which is about three times the national rate (Data USA, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019). The concentration of (non-Hispanic) White people is roughly the same in King County (about 59%) as across the country overall (60%). In sum, this may mean that all groups of color and especially Black and Latine households have few neighborhood options for living among large concentrations of same-race/ethnicity neighbors.

In terms of ethno-racialized residential segregation, Seattle has seen substantial shifts in recent decades, which may help drive group differences in residential priorities. As a legacy of ethno-racialized housing policies, including redlining, communities of color have predominantly lived in South Seattle. This is the case for other groups of color as well. There are some South Seattle neighborhoods with relatively large concentrations of Asian immigrants and their descendants. However, this residential spread has changed over time, with many long-time Black residents leaving the city by 2010 (Ishisaka, 2014). Many such people relocated to Renton, WA, the only city in King County that is not in the scope of this study. Black families leaving Seattle also resettled in Federal Way and Kent, areas that are included in this research. Today, Black people in Seattle are still more common in South Seattle than other parts of the city and

somewhat smaller immigrant communities remain in this area, with Somali and Vietnamese people among the most common voucher-holder groups in this area.

Dissertation Outline

In the following three chapters, I empirically explore the above themes in more depth. Chapter 2 quantitatively tests for ethno-racialized disparities in residential mobility outcomes for households using vouchers in King County (regardless of whether children are present), and uses qualitative interviews to examine group differences in how our segregated social worlds influence the inequalities we observe in the quantitative analyses. Chapter 3 dives further into ethno-racialized variation in residential priorities—how people think about where they have lived and where they would like to live in the future—and the extent to which this corresponds to variation in residential histories. It further asks whether residential priorities align with what researchers and policymakers consider “good” homes and neighborhoods. Chapter 4 takes a closer look at social networks and considers ethno-racialized differences in the involvement of the people we know in determining our residential outcomes and what this influence looks like.

In Chapter 2, colleagues and I contribute to the voluminous literature on the sources of racialized residential segregation by testing the SSSP and arguing that our ethno-racially stratified worlds imbue ethno-racialized disparities across many parts of the residential mobility process, including those that are not explicitly ethno-racial. While the literature on ethno-racial stratification in the HCV program is still relatively small, ethno-racial residential patterns appear similar among voucher recipients and the broader U.S. population. For example, relative to Black and Latine families, White movers tend to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods regardless of whether they have a voucher (Crowder & South, 2005; South, Crowder, & Chavez,

2005; Wang & Walter, 2018). This helps suggest that studying ethno-racialized aspects of the moving process for voucher holders can provide clues about broader stratification as well.

In this mixed methods paper, we start with quantitative analyses of a multi-agency set of longitudinal administrative data from KCHA and SHA. We test for ethno-racially disparate outcomes in the likelihood of moving and, for movers, destination neighborhoods' ethno-racial composition and poverty rate. Unsurprisingly, we find inequalities in all three outcomes, regardless of the inclusion of pre-move control variables. We complement these results with qualitative interviews that help clarify the impacts of group differences in residential histories, including exposure to discrimination, and social networks on disparities in locational attainment. This study finds support for the SSSP and the necessity of a more complex model for understanding residential stratification across the U.S.

In Chapter 3, I delve into interview respondents' residential priorities and how this relates to participants' residential histories and how researchers commonly understand "better" neighborhoods. A considerable body of research suggests that some housing and socioeconomic neighborhood conditions, such as crowding within a home or a high neighborhood poverty rate, negatively impact families' wellbeing, with particular emphasis on children's health, socioeconomic status, and other outcomes (e.g., Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006). This may reinforce the idea that homes in neighborhoods without these characteristics are, or should be, universally preferred, and that housing policies and programs should prioritize moving people into corresponding homes and neighborhoods (e.g., Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012). However, crowding and the local poverty rate may not be the main criteria households use to evaluate residential conditions, and this research seeks to unpack this.

The social structural sorting perspective (Krysan & Crowder, 2017) suggests that where people move depends on their residential histories: the kinds of places they have lived in the past and their experiences there. Movers consider a relatively limited set of geographic options based on places they know and consider achievable destinations. This can help maintain ethno-racial residential stratification, since the U.S.'s long legacy of structural racism has produced ethno-racial variation in residential histories and therefore the places people know and like.

In this chapter, I first find that respondents' residential histories provide important references against which they consider past, current, and prospective homes. People often mentioned residential ideals that aligned with places they remembered fondly and avoided places they associated with bad experiences. And the places in which respondents had lived varied by race/ethnicity: there was substantial overlap in the zip codes in which Black and Vietnamese participants had lived over time, especially for those born outside of the U.S. who spent almost all of their time in Seattle in a small set of zip codes. The White and Latine interview participants, on the other hand, appeared more spread out geographically.

With respect to respondents' residential priorities aligning with policymakers' and researchers' measures of "good" homes and neighborhoods, I find some consistency, as well as key discrepancies that vary across ethno-racialized groups' residential histories. For example, some participants raised issues related to crowding as salient for assessing where they had lived. However, these were only sometimes the people who lived in "crowded" homes, according to a common measure of this phenomenon. Further, some U.S.-born Black participants expressed nostalgia for communities in which they had previously lived that were more ethno-racially diverse and lower income than the local average, and foreign-born Black and Vietnamese respondents living in ethnic communities wanted to stay in such areas despite relatively high

poverty rates. Finally, U.S.-born Black householders frequently raised concerns about a lack of ethno-racial diversity in some higher-income areas as cause for concern or simply avoiding that space. This points to ethno-racialized disparities in terms of who can live in a lower-poverty area that has a substantial presence of same-race/ethnicity neighbors, and the disproportionate burden this implies for people of color, who more often have to choose between low-poverty and co-racial/ethnic communities in King County.

Chapter 4 takes a more detailed look at social networks, another aspect of the SSSP whose contribution to ethno-racialized residential mobility processes I help document in Chapter 2. Specifically, I consider ethno-racialized forms of support that households receive during the process of moving homes from personal (e.g., family, friends, acquaintances) and/or institutional contacts (e.g., a caseworker, a staff member at a doctor office). Such assistance may be particularly important for voucher holders who face significant barriers finding housing based on still-limited economic resources, stigma against people with vouchers, and other forces (e.g., DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020). Further, research suggests that supportive networks may matter differently based on race/ethnicity: research has found more elaborate systems of social support and a greater reliance on in-kind help among Black people and other communities of color relative to White people, who more often receive financial support (e.g., Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004; Stack, 1974).

As expected, the results reveal racial/ ethnic differences in the assistance participants relied on and how this helped contribute to disparities in outcomes. For example, the experience of staying with family, friends, or acquaintances between homes was reportedly common among many U.S.-born Black participants, which suggests that moving includes two stops the individuals. Also, ethno-racialized patterns emerged among those who received help finding a

particular home or neighborhood. Whether the advice came from a personal or institutional contact seemed to relate to race/ethnicity/ whether-U.S.-born as well as how far the participant moved. A small number of people received advice about where to move and this especially included Black and Vietnamese respondents. Those receiving input from an institutional contact often moved farther than those who learned about leads from personal connections, except for U.S.-born Black respondents who sometimes moved greater distances based on input from family. This maps onto broader residential dynamics within King County, in which neighborhood change has meant previous communities of especially U.S.-born Black households have dispersed to more distant parts of the county, and strong presences of Black and Asian immigrant communities remain in South Seattle. Overall, the findings from this chapter suggest that context-specific, ethno-racialized support network dynamics differentially contribute to unequal residential outcomes.

In Chapter 5, I summarize my findings, and discuss the scholarly and policy implications in more depth. As a whole, this manuscript provides early support for the SSSP, and also expands it. Additionally, I find that voucher holders' residential priorities do not always align with what research prioritizes as "better" conditions. This incongruence appeared more pronounced for people of color when considering neighborhood destinations, which highlights the disproportionate burden they face when mobility programs encourage them to move to lower-poverty areas. Housing program providers should take this seriously and revisit the extent to which moving to "better" neighborhoods should be prioritized over place-based initiatives that seek to increase resource equity across neighborhoods. Such attention could help households maintain access to community ties and amenities in relatively poor neighborhoods that are nonetheless desirable to some residents for their social benefits, familiarity and other resources.

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Chapter 2: Patterns and Mechanisms of Racially/Ethnically Disparate Neighborhood

Access among Housing Choice Voucher Holders

Erin Carll,¹ Hannah Lee,¹ Chris Hess,² and Kyle Crowder¹

¹ University of Washington

² Cornell University

Abstract

Traditional theories of racial/ethnic residential segregation offer a limited set of distinct explanations for this phenomenon, about which a debate remains in the literature. In this work, we employ the social structural sorting perspective to assess ethno-racial differences in the likelihood of moving and the neighborhood destinations of movers who are using housing vouchers in King County, WA. To do so, we analyze a unique, multi-agency set of longitudinal administrative data from the Seattle and King County Housing Authorities. We complement quantitative results with qualitative interviews that help clarify the impacts of discrimination, social networks, and lived experiences in shaping racial/ethnic disparities in locational attainment. This study helps map out ethno-racialized processes that help perpetuate residential stratification, which we observe across the U.S. regardless of voucher status.

Introduction

Ethno-racialized⁹ disparities in housing and neighborhood outcomes may be an important source of persistent racial differences in health and wellbeing. Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV), the largest form of public housing assistance in the United States, theoretically mitigate differences in residential attainment related to variation in income, a common explanation for ethno-

⁹ “Ethno-racialized” is a broad term to refer to those social processes and statuses that have come to have an explicitly or implicitly ethnic or racial character. In other words, these things vary by ethnicity and/or race.

racialized residential stratification (e.g., Alba and Logan 1993). However, a growing body of related research finds that neighborhood outcomes among HCV holders are still stratified by race and ethnicity, and these disparities cannot be explained by factors highlighted in traditional theoretical arguments like socioeconomic status (Walter, Li, & Atherwood, 2015; Wang & Walter, 2018). These unexplained differences call for a deeper examination of both well-established theories and a more integrated set of social processes that underpin patterns of residential mobility, the destinations of those who move, and racial and ethnic differences therein (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

In this paper, we contribute new evidence about how low-income households navigate the housing market, and how these mobility processes contribute to broader patterns of residential stratification. To do so, we investigate ethno-racialized mobility patterns and processes among housing voucher recipients in King County, WA, which includes the city of Seattle and is part of the Seattle metropolitan area, a tight and fast-growing U.S. market with declining racial/ ethnic residential segregation (Krysan & Crowder, 2017; Rosenberg, 2018; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019a). To consider both traditional and more recent theories of ethno-racialized residential stratification, we employ a unique mixed-methods analytic framework, combining longitudinal administrative data from two neighboring housing agencies and interviews with voucher holders across a range of ethno-racialized backgrounds. While voucher recipients represent a small percentage of all U.S. households, their mobility patterns and processes may inform theories about broader ethno-racial residential stratification, as well as housing policy. This is possible through demonstrating how mobility constraints related to the voucher itself can interact with existing ethno-racialized differences in neighborhood knowledge and exposure to discrimination to reinforce residential inequalities. This research also offers hints about the

effectiveness of voucher programs in improving residential stability and access to more socioeconomically advantaged neighborhoods.

King County voucher recipients as a group are relatively socioeconomically homogenous and ethno-racially heterogeneous. Their similar incomes and exposure to anti-voucher discrimination in the rental market, as well as different levels of exposure to racism and ethnocentrism, mean that we can better isolate the features of their housing experiences that are tied to their ethno-racialized status. As such, the mobility patterns and processes of this relatively small proportion of the overall U.S. population can inform not only related housing policy, but also theories about broader patterns of residential stratification.

Background

The rapid pace of population growth in Seattle and King County, WA¹⁰ in recent years has been matched by meteoric increases in rents in recent years. Seattle rents rank in the top ten of the country's largest metros, and housing costs continue to creep up despite a frantic pace of construction (Zillow, 2019). Accordingly, we see growth in the percentage of households that is cost-burdened and the population of households eligible for housing assistance (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 2007-2011 and 2012-2016); about one-quarter such households receive federal housing assistance (Turner & Kingsley, 2008).¹¹ Voucher programs were primarily designed to facilitate households' ability to *pay* for housing, and research suggests the program is fairly successful in this endeavor, making a substantial difference in many people's lives (e.g., Fischer, 2015; Rosen, 2020; Shinn & Khadduri, 2020).

¹⁰ Seattle is located within King County, WA. While Seattle Housing Authority serves households within the limits of the City of Seattle, King County Housing Authority works with households living in the rest of King County, except for Renton, WA.

¹¹ Households with incomes below 80% of the area's median income (AMI) are eligible for assistance but those earning less than 30% of AMI are typically prioritized.

HCVs were primarily designed to facilitate households' ability to *pay* for housing, and the program largely succeeds in this respect, making a substantial difference in recipients' lives (Fischer 2015; Shinn and Khadduri 2020). HCVs are also often touted as a remedy to the concentration of poverty associated with place-based housing assistance (e.g., Rosen 2020). The presumption is that vouchers enable greater housing choice across a broader set of neighborhoods and therefore facilitate mobility into lower-poverty and potentially more integrated areas. Despite the potential for addressing locational inequalities, voucher recipients in most metropolitan areas still tend to be clustered in higher-poverty, more segregated neighborhoods (e.g., DeLuca, Garboden, & Rosenblatt, 2013; McClure et al., 2015). Important mechanisms for this may include discrimination against people using vouchers, which still appears common in Seattle despite being illegal (Reosti 2020), as well mismatches between the coverage of the voucher and local rents and other barriers (e.g., DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020).

Residential patterns among voucher recipients appear to be highly stratified by race and ethnicity in ways that mirror broader residential stratification. In comparison to Black and Latine families, White movers with or without a voucher tend to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods (Crowder & South, 2005; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005; Walter & Wang, 2018). These similar residential inequalities across populations underscore the usefulness of studying voucher recipients to understand general stratification processes. Moreover, many studies of ethno-racial residential dynamics tend to focus on older, more segregated cities in the Northeast and Midwest, making research in a western-U.S. metropolis advantageous for the literature.

Traditional explanations for ethno-racial residential stratification typically reference three central factors: economic resources, preferences, and discrimination (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). The first suggests that racial differences in mobility outcomes reflect racial differences in income

and other resources that allow access to more advantaged neighborhoods (Alba & Logan, 1993). Explanations based on residential preferences argue that a desire for same-race/ ethnicity neighbors leads individuals to choose neighborhoods dominated by their own group (Charles, 2006; Clark, 2009). Finally, the discrimination argument suggests that residential options for households of color are limited by structural racism within the housing market (Hogan & Berry, 2011; Ross, 2017).

Recent theoretical arguments identify and respond to the shortcomings of traditional perspectives by highlighting social factors that drive ethno-racial differences in neighborhood mobility and, by extension, broad patterns of residential stratification. Krysan and Crowder's (2017) Social Structural Sorting Perspective (SSSP) reminds us that traditional theories work in tandem rather than separately. For example, experiencing racial discrimination can influence the property values that shape home-based wealth (e.g., Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2018) or fuel a desire to live in more diverse areas (e.g., Krysan & Farley, 2002). Further, the SSSP suggests that members of different ethno-racialized groups draw on knowledge of neighborhood opportunities that emerge from racially distinct residential histories (the homes and neighborhoods in which individuals have lived over time and their experiences there, including ethno-racial and other forms of discrimination) and ethno-racially circumscribed social networks. Importantly, the SSSP fundamentally argues for a structural analysis of racial inequalities. While it relies on individual residential histories, social networks, and housing search processes as contributing to racial/ethnic residential stratification, it also emphasizes that these individual-level dynamics do not develop in a vacuum, but are influenced by the larger set of structural forces among which they develop.

Evidence for these social processes remains scant, in part because much of the research tests survey or administrative data that do not contain in-depth information about respondents' social conditions. Greater insight requires multiple methodologies that incorporate longitudinal data about residential histories and the social processes guiding residential decision-making. Our primary research question thus asks whether and how ethno-racialized variation in patterns of mobility are affected by racial differences in economic resources and other household characteristics, residential histories, and social network dynamics. Specifically, through our interviews, we study ethno-racialized differences in residential histories, information flows through social networks, patterns of neighborhood knowledge and perceptions, and the residential search patterns and mobility outcomes they shape.

Data and Methods

This study relies on longitudinal administrative data and in-depth interviews. The Seattle Housing Authority (SHA) and King County Housing Authority (KCHA)¹² collected socio-demographic, address, and other data between January 2008 and December 2019, requiring updates at least every three years or when a household changes composition, income, or residence. These data allow us to make comparisons across several self-reported ethno-racialized categories: non-Latine Black, non-Latine White, non-Latine Asian, Latine of any race, non-Latine American Indian / Alaska Native, non-Latine Native Hawaiian / Other Pacific Islander, and non-Latine Multiracial.

To make full use of the longitudinal data and examine multiple moves for each household, we structured the data in household-month format: each observation represents a

¹² Seattle is located within King County, WA. While SHA serves households within the limits of the city of Seattle, KCHA works with households living in the rest of King County, except for City of Renton, WA. Renton has its own public housing authority and did not participate in this project.

voucher-receiving household in a given month. After listwise deletion, our analytic sample includes 955,950 household-months and represents 14,283 individual heads of household.¹³ We used the full sample to study the probability of moving in a given month. To examine neighborhood outcomes, we limited the sample to the 10,091 household-months following a move. We consistently clustered standard errors to account for dependence within households.

Our analysis consists of three dependent variables. The first measures whether a household changed address since the prior month. We do not count moves into one of these service areas from outside of King County or moves that occurred before receiving a voucher or when leaving the program, because in these cases we are unable to identify either the origin or destination neighborhood. The second and third are neighborhood destination characteristics for mobile households: ethno-racial isolation and the poverty rate. We include these measures given the literature's emphasis on the possible deleterious effects of ethno-racialized segregation and concentrated poverty. For ethno-racial isolation, we take the percentage of the neighborhood that reports the same race as the voucher holder, and measure how much this deviates from the county average in terms of standard deviations (z-scores). The second destination tract outcome is the poverty rate, or the percent of households with incomes below the poverty level. For both neighborhood outcomes, we use 2012-2016 5-year tract-level data from the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (2019a).

To better isolate the focal relationships in our models, we include individual, household, and origin-neighborhood controls: respondent age and sex; household size and composition; the presence of disabled, work-able and elderly individuals; total annual household income; rent; year housing was built; number of months in the program; number of moves since 2008; changes

¹³ Listwise deletion excluded roughly 55% of the total observations in the data, and a sensitivity analysis revealed that the two samples are similar across the variables in our model.

in household size, household income, and rent since the household moved into the most recent home; and origin-neighborhood ethno-racial isolation and the poverty rate.

Because the administrative data contain information on only a small subset of the factors implicated in our theoretical arguments, we incorporated data from semi-structured interviews with 50 voucher holders with children living within KCHA's or SHA's service areas since at least 2017.¹⁴ We conducted 2-hour long interviews in English, Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese and provided each participant \$35 in compensation for their time. We examined transcripts for respondents' accounts of their: 1) residential histories; 2) housing search process related to their most recent move; 3) reports of potentially influential external forces like the experience or anticipation of discrimination, and interactions with landlords and members of movers' social networks; and 4) current and most recent residential conditions and residential satisfaction.

The interview participants identified with numerous races and ethnicities and were born in multiple countries. Just over half of the participants identified as Black or African American (including two men), and about one-fifth of this group was born outside of the U.S. in Somalia or a nation in the Caribbean Sea. Ten women in the sample identified as White or Caucasian and were born in the U.S. Four women were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1990s. Four women and two men claimed Latino, Latina, or Hispanic ethnicity (collectively referred to as "Latine"): one was born in the U.S. and is also a member of a Midwestern Native tribe, while the other five were born in Latin America. Finally, three individuals identified as Multiracial and one declined to claim a race or ethnicity.

¹⁴ We limited these interviews to households with kids as part of a broader project with such a focus.

Results

We start by describing racial and ethnic differences in the likelihood of moving among HCV households in the Seattle area, and—for those who moved—disparities in the racial composition and poverty level of destination neighborhoods. We limit the presentation of our findings to predicted values based on fully specified models that incorporate pre-move individual, household, and neighborhood controls.¹⁵ We then discuss the qualitative findings, which document ethno-racialized mechanisms that shape the residential mobility process.

We do not discuss descriptive statistics¹⁶ at length, though we note how interview participants deviate from voucher participant observations overall in the valid quantitative sample. First, there are some differences in racial/ethnic representation which are predictable given the sampling approach for the interviews: the set of qualitative participants has an underrepresentation of Black people, and an over-representation of White, Latine, and Multiracial participants.

Further, with the exception of Multiracial and perhaps Asian people, the interview participants are generally somewhat younger than we see in the overall program data. This makes sense, because we conducted interviews specifically with parents or guardians, while the overall administrative data includes many older voucher holders without children. With the exception of the Latine group, women are overrepresented, as are single parents or grandparents.

The results from our interviews will help uncover ethno-racialized mechanisms that inform the residential mobility process. However, it is not a goal of the qualitative data to claim representativeness for broader populations, which additional research should examine closely. We further want to avoid conflating ethnicity and immigration status. We therefore emphasize

¹⁵ See Appendix Tables A.2.3-A.2.5 for regression results across model-specifications.

¹⁶ See Appendix Table A.2.1 and A.2.2 for descriptive statistics.

that immigration is not part of all Latine, Somali, and Vietnamese people’s residential histories, as many people from these groups were born *in* the U.S. (Budiman, Ciluffo, and Ruiz 2019; Dunbar 2010; Flores 2017; Gambino, Trevelyan, and Fitzwater 2014).

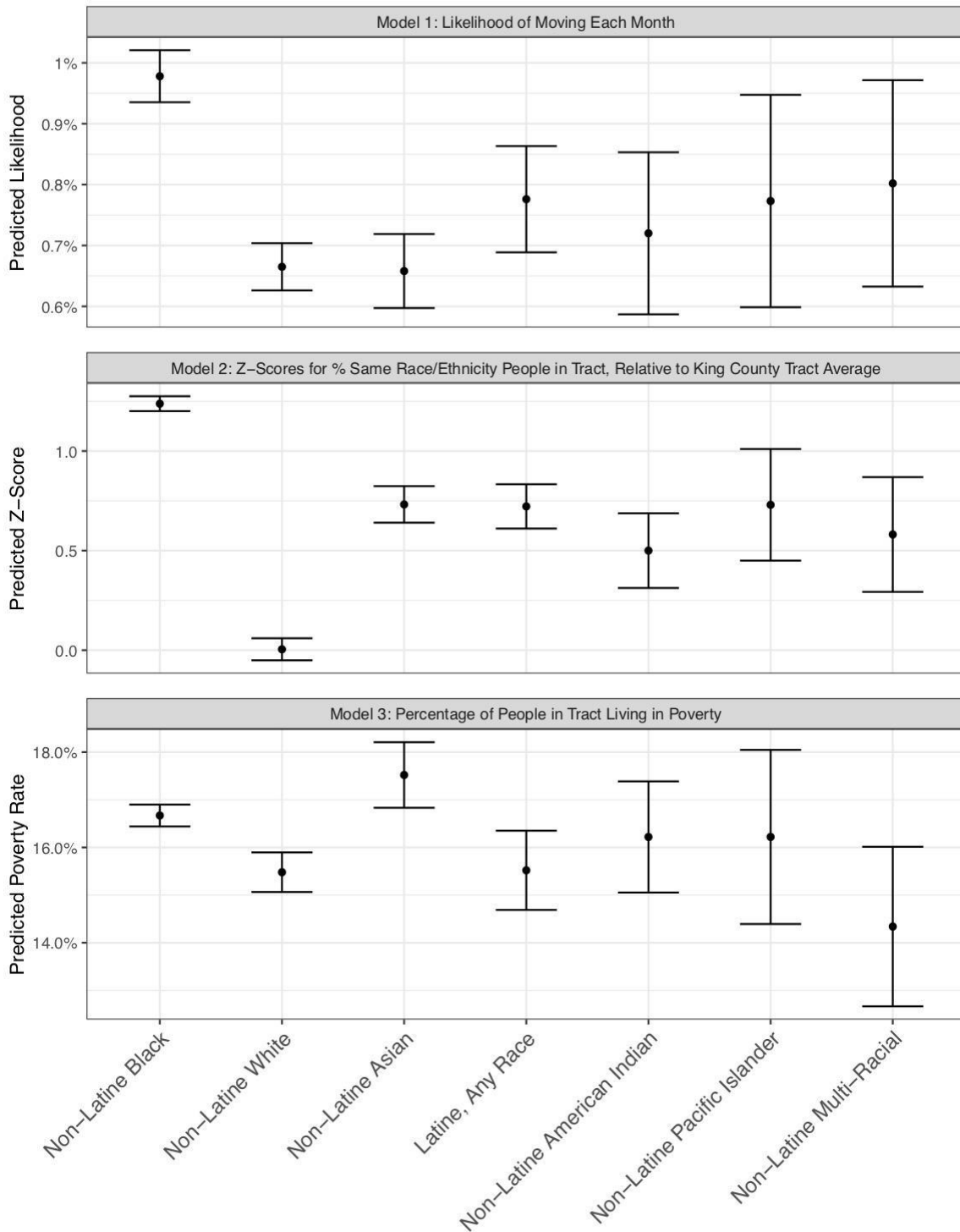
In order to understand ethno-racialized differences in residential stability, it is important to consider how often people move. Figure 2.1’s Model 1 presents the predicted probability, based on logistic regression, of having moved in the past month for each ethno-racialized group. Black voucher participants have roughly a 1% probability of having moved, significantly greater than the values of 0.7% or 0.8% for other groups.¹⁷ Nearly 8 of every 1,000 Latine participants moved in the past month, while this number is significantly lower for White and Asian householders. These ethno-racial differences in the likelihood of moving persist despite the inclusion of controls. This suggests there are outstanding factors that help explain ethno-racial differences in mobility patterns.

The results of our semi-structured interviews provide insight into other factors that may help explain these differences. Consistent with past research, many voucher holders were “pushed” into moving by external factors (e.g., DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020). Respondents cited multiple reasons for moving, including a desire to avoid health or safety hazards, new ownership of the building, the high cost of housing/an increase in rent, a change in household composition, and/or being directly or indirectly asked to leave.

Some reasons for moving came up in ethno-racialized ways that point to particular disadvantage among Black and other participants of color. First, primarily U.S.-born Black

¹⁷ The prediction for one group is statistically significantly different, at the $\alpha=0.05$ level, from the value for another group if the error bars for one prediction do not overlap with the point estimate for the other.

Figure 2.1 Predicted Outcomes for Residential Mobility and Destination Neighborhood Outcomes, By Race/Ethnicity, Models with Individual, Household, and Neighborhood Controls



householders often moved for safety and health hazards: to avoid violence on the part of an intimate partner or within the neighborhood, toxins in the home (e.g., rodents, mold), or excessive noise. Second, some Black, Vietnamese, and Multiracial participants reported moving because ownership of their homes changed hands. These households originated in South Seattle or, to a lesser extent, the Central District, which are two areas that are experiencing or have recently experienced substantial displacement of especially Black and other peoples of color.

Some participants reported having to vacate homes in Central and South Seattle because new owners either intentionally ended the participants' tenancy or increased the rent. For example, Michelle¹⁸ is an African American woman in her mid-30s who had moved out of her last home in South Seattle, in which she had lived for more than a decade, because the landlords changed and the new owners increased the rent by about over 90%. Though she requested more time, she was given less than two months before she had to move out. She found a place just before the deadline arrived, reporting that she experienced substantial anxiety as a result. Neighborhood change in South Seattle, where Michelle had lived, and the Central District may imply more frequent property sales and therefore more moves for the voucher families of color that more often live in these areas.

Raising the rent also sometimes happened without an accompanying change in ownership. Some participants, especially Black householders, moved because of a dramatic increase in housing costs or because they found housing costs unmanageable or unexpectedly high after moving in. For example, Mia is a Black woman in her mid 30s who was born in the U.S. She had to move after her unit incrementally became too expensive for her voucher. Sunshine is a Black woman in her late 20s who was born in the Caribbean and moved out of her

¹⁸ All participant names are pseudonyms.

last home directly after property management issued her a utilities bill that she considered so high it was thievery: “I’m not gonna stay there, because they steal too much money from me.”

Many of the above scenarios involved moving based on external factors or the decisions of others. Research suggests such “constrained” and often unexpected moves, which are more common among Black than White householders, can lead to neighborhoods that movers qualify as “worse” than where they left (Krysan et al., 2018). Our results show that the pressure to move comes up especially among Black individuals and other people of color living in South Seattle, which may help explain differences in the mobility outcomes that we see.

Next, Figure 2.1’s Model 2 presents results from an ordinary least squares regression predicting the destination neighborhood’s ethno-racial isolation. Ethno-racialized disparities are clearly evident: all groups, except White householders, tend to move to neighborhoods in which their own racial/ethnic group is overrepresented. This remains true regardless of model specification (see Table A.2.4 in the Appendix for more details). Black voucher recipients typically move to neighborhoods that are 1.25 standard deviations ($SD = 7\%$) above the King County average Black share of 6%, with the average destination neighborhood about 15% Black. Latine, Asian, and Multiracial voucher holders are also likely to move to neighborhoods that have a higher concentration of other same-race/ ethnicity households than the King County tract average. In contrast, White voucher holders end up in neighborhoods where the percent White is equal to the county average percent White of about 63%, the highest levels of same-race neighbors among all groups. These neighborhood disparities highlight the tendency for mobility processes to perpetuate residential segregation.

As a final step of our quantitative analysis, we also examined racial differences in poverty rate in the destination neighborhood. Model 3 of Figure 2.1 shows results from an

ordinary least squares regression predicting the percent of households in poverty in movers' destination neighborhoods. Asian people are predicted to live in neighborhoods with the highest poverty rate (17.5%), followed by Black people (16.8%). White and Latine householders live in tracts with similar levels of poverty (15.5%), and Multiracial voucher holders live in areas with the lowest rates of poverty (14.3%). It is important to note that all groups' average destination neighborhoods have roughly double the King County average neighborhood poverty rate (7.7%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019c). These ethno-racialized differences are consistent with research indicating that Black, Latine, and Asian voucher-recipients are more likely to move to higher-poverty neighborhoods than their White counterparts (Basolo and Nguyen 2005; Walter and Wang 2018). That Asian people stand out as living in the highest-poverty neighborhoods may reflect the composition of the Asian population in Seattle, which has more relatively disadvantaged Asian groups than the U.S. as a whole.

These findings show that ethno-racialized neighborhood inequalities persist even after controlling for pre-move sociodemographic and origin-neighborhood characteristics. This suggests additional factors are at play. The interviews provide evidence that such factors include racial/ ethnic variation in 1) neighborhood preferences and 2) the role of social networks in determining where a household moved, both of which connect to ethno-racially circumscribed residential histories.

To start, some people of color said they purposely sought out areas with greater ethno-racialized diversity or concentrations of in-group neighbors, which were often also higher-poverty areas. Some were also hesitant or avoidant of areas with more White people, despite a draw to the schools in some of these areas, which also have lower poverty rates. Many foreign-born Somali and Vietnamese individuals preferred areas in which their co-ethnic communities

also lived, despite the relatively high poverty rate in the area. Somali women emphasized the importance of the people in their lives rather than the characteristics of the home or neighborhood, and proximity to the institutions and amenities they frequented. For example, Nasra is a Somali woman in her 30s who lived with her husband and five children in a house in Seattle. She moved to the U.S. more than a decade ago, after having spent several years in a refugee community in Kenya. She suggested that the home and the neighborhood are not particularly important to her. Instead, she would prefer to live among people who share her language and religion and who frequently visit and drink tea together. Similar sentiments were common among Somali participants, who lived in tracts with 19-30% of people in poverty¹⁹ and 13-31% Black people. This finding may result partly from the residential histories of the Somali participants, many of whom left their home country to escape civil war and spent time in a temporary residence in refugee communities on their way to the U.S. Perhaps after such significant challenges, a preference for particular housing and neighborhood conditions may be less salient than proximity to community that is familiar to their lives prior to displacement.

The Vietnamese women we spoke with highlighted proximity to amenities. Annie, Nancy, and Tam are three Vietnamese women in their 40s who have lived in South Seattle since arriving in the U.S., or shortly thereafter. They live across two census tracts in which over one in four people are Asian and more than one in five are in poverty. While Nancy also raised proximity to a mutual aid network as a preference, all three prioritized the convenience of the areas in which they lived, being close to markets and doctor's offices, including those where the respondents could conduct their business in Vietnamese.

¹⁹ Most areas in which voucher participants live are not considered high-poverty based on the threshold of 30% that some literature employs (e.g., South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005). Overall, the Seattle area is relatively low-poverty and less than 8% of total observations list residences in tracts with more than 30% of people in income poverty.

In addition to those groups who expressed a preference for areas with higher concentrations of co-ethnic neighbors, some U.S.-born Black participants said they avoided or were conflicted about predominantly White areas that were also lower-poverty because of the potential of racial and source-of-income discrimination in those spaces. For example, Latiya is a Black woman in her early 30s who would not search for housing in a nearby, predominantly White city with only 2% Black people. The location, she reported, is convenient because her daughter's father lives there and her daughter goes to school there. However, the racial climate is not comfortable. This aligns with research that finds Black avoidance of White areas to be motivated by fear of potential discrimination (Krysan & Farley, 2002).

In addition, our findings suggest that avoidance of White spaces arises differently based on participants' residential backgrounds. Black Americans who grew up in segregated King County communities, and witnessed substantial violence there, reported feeling geographically stuck and expecting racial- or voucher-based exclusion in predominantly White and affluent areas of the county. Importantly, this shaped *where* some participants searched for housing, leading individuals to avoid certain neighborhoods or towns. With rare exception, this pattern did not arise within other groups. For example, White participants sometimes expressed feeling limited in their housing choices due to voucher-based discrimination, but they did not link this exclusion to particular neighborhoods, towns, or cities.

Jennifer is an African American woman in her 50s who has spent her life in Seattle and broader King County, and reports experiencing a variety of forms of residential exclusion. When asked what she looks for in a neighborhood beyond proximity to her church, she said the following:

Jennifer: No drugs. I wanted it to be no drugs and no violence and that's all you have up here on this hill. Is you have so much... I don't know the word for it... So

much crap. Once you go up to [a nearby city] it's a lot better. But right here on this hill? I don't want to raise my son over here...

Interviewer: *Did you look in [that nearby city?]*

Jennifer: *...I didn't look in [that city], because I already knew... that there wasn't gonna be no doors open.*

Interviewer: *Can you say more about that?*

Jennifer: *I knew that no one was going to rent to an African American woman and her single self with her son and her Section 8 voucher. I just didn't even take myself there. Why? Why get disappointed on purpose?*

We also see that residential histories shape where U.S.-born Black participants would be open to living. Some participants who grew up in the rural deep South explicitly compared racism in King County to sustained and overt racism they experienced growing up in Louisiana or Mississippi, and preferred King County in terms of the racial environment. Race remained salient for these individuals in determining where to live, but sometimes meant geographic restrictions outside of, rather than within, King County. For example, Shirley is a Black woman in her 40s who grew up in the U.S. South and worked in the late 1990s in a “sundown town” that she had to be sure to leave before sunset in order to avoid possible vigilante enforcement on the part of White people. She reported having been pleasantly surprised to see openly inter-racial couples in public in Washington when the military brought her there, which may speak to the areas of King County in which she has lived. That is, during her time using a voucher since 2008, Shirley has lived in tracts that are about half White with substantial presences of Latine, Asian, and Black people. After living in Washington and abroad, she returned to her home base in the South for a visit. She recounted experiencing socially enforced racial segregation while with her child at a playground, which motivated her to avoid raising her kids in that environment. The racial climate of an area was clearly important for Shirley, and she preferred King County

for its related benefits. Perhaps the relatively explicit nature of racism in the South—and the relative diversity in her King County neighborhoods—prevented her from focusing on the possibility of local racism when considering places to live.

Consistent with past research, we also see ethno-racial variation in how racial composition may matter for neighborhood preferences (Krysan & Farley, 2002). For example, some White interview participants talked about wanting to avoid areas that have historically been predominantly Black (for example, Rainier Beach in South Seattle and the Central District prior to recent gentrification), though they typically raised reasons other than race for not wanting to live there. Such reasons include being too far from their current lives (e.g., their kid's school) and justifications that may be racially coded, such as having too much violence (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Perhaps given the consistently high representation of White people across most King County neighborhoods, White respondents did not raise living among enough same-race neighbors as a salient concern. Explicit anti-Black sentiment came up on several occasions, especially among Latine and Vietnamese immigrants, some of whom suggested that they might avoid a neighborhood because of the presence of many Black people there. Further, in-group affinity was explicitly salient for some Latine people in terms of their level of satisfaction within the neighborhood. Perhaps as a result of their being relatively spread out across Seattle, some Latine people expressed a desire to live among more co-ethnic neighbors than they did at the time of the interview.

Social network dynamics contributed to neighborhood outcomes in ethno-racialized ways for the individuals we interviewed. A small number of especially Black and Vietnamese participants reportedly found their homes through a personal connection. Somali and Vietnamese movers received successful leads from a friend, family member, or acquaintance that helped

them find a home within the same zip code in which they had already been living. For example, Leylo, a Somali woman in her 20s who had come to the U.S. as a child, moved within the same zip code, into a home after her mother moved out of it. Tam, whose last five moves had been spurred by the sale of her homes in South Seattle, felt so pressured to find a place that she asked everyone she knew, as well as people she did not know—for example, people she passed on the street—about whether they knew of a place she might move into. Eventually, somebody she asked referred her to the landlord of the apartment she moved into, a mile from her last home.

The U.S.-born Black respondents generally moved across zip codes when they learned about a home or neighborhood through a personal connection. Each of these contacts had a residential or professional connection to the place they recommended. This may reflect the geographic splintering of the local Black community that has occurred in recent decades and the possibility that the networks of Black individuals may now be more dispersed in King County. The conditions of the destination neighborhoods for those finding a place through a personal contact varied for this group. Mia and Mz. C are Black women in their 30s and 50s, whose family members pointed them to areas that are either higher-poverty and/or have a disproportionately Black population. In contrast, Sam is a Black man in his 60s who found an apartment in a very low-poverty area with a disproportionately White population because he had a professional connection to the property manager there. Despite differences in neighborhood outcomes, respondents' networks were important in facilitating each of these moves. Overall, these findings suggest that the SSSP, specifically knowledge and information from social networks, helps explain ethno-racial differences in residential outcomes for voucher recipients.

Discussion

The results of the mixed-method analysis suggest that—even in the fast-growing, relatively integrated Seattle metropolitan area with two high-performing public housing authorities—significant racial and ethnic stratification in residential mobility and neighborhood outcomes remains for housing voucher households. In comparison to members of other ethno-racialized groups, Black and Multiracial householders are more likely to move. Pointing to the segregative impact of these mobility processes, peoples of color tend to move to neighborhoods in which their own group is overrepresented relative to the King County average. Moreover, Asian and Black householders are likely to end up in relatively poor neighborhoods.

Our interviews point to possible sources of these ethno-racialized patterns. Consistent with the SSSP, we find evidence that residential stratification emerges out of racially differentiated residential histories, social networks, and related social dynamics. Further, the differences we see among Black people based on residential histories (e.g., whether U.S.-born or whether they have lived in the U.S. South) align with research emphasizing heterogeneity within ethno-racialized groups (e.g., Hamilton, 2019). Specifically, it suggests that efforts to explain emerging patterns of residential stratification, especially in increasingly diverse metropolitan areas, will need to extend beyond the common focus on broad racial groups and examine intra-group variation as well. We hope the findings of this research will be valuable to housing agencies and community organizations aiming to improve neighborhood equity through residential mobility and/or community development programs. Yet, we encourage readers to exercise caution in applying these specific findings to other metros, given the peculiarities of Seattle and the non-representative interview data.

It is arguably unsurprising that addressing ethno-racialized disparities requires a systematic approach. Critical race theory contends that racism is ubiquitous within society, and since social institutions, structures, and rules have been built within a legacy of racial discrimination, laws and policies that purport to be “colorblind” cannot be so (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013). As such, “race-neutral” programs are not sufficient to address racial inequalities because they do not directly address racial bias within their focal system (in this case, housing) or across society more broadly. Yet, federal law requires ostensible “colorblindness” in its housing and other programs. Given that voucher programs were developed partly in response to the racially segregative effects of the middle 20th century’s housing projects, it is crucial to question the appropriateness of “race-neutral” approaches.

We therefore argue that equalizing access *into* lower-poverty spaces will require raising awareness about unfamiliar neighborhoods and explicitly redressing other social-structural forces that perpetuate residential stratification like disparate exposure to discrimination. It will also likely necessitate directly addressing such discrimination in all other spheres of life. If ethno-racial inequalities remain within economic, health, and other systems, it is unlikely that housing, which is intimately tied to these other systems, could be radically reformed.

Finally, the results indicate that addressing residential stratification through ethno-racial integration and moving into lower-poverty areas may not be an appropriate goal for every household, since some may want to remain where they are, perhaps among co-ethnic communities, even if the areas may have higher levels of poverty. People of color more often have to choose between living among many same-race neighbors and lower poverty rates, which limits choices for groups that have been historically marginalized within the housing market.

This underscores the need to continue studying effective place-based approaches that expand resources in higher-poverty neighborhoods.

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Chapter 2 Appendix

Table A.2.1 HCV Households by Race/ Ethnicity, Household-months, 2008-2019

	Total Mean/(SD)	NL Black Mean/(SD)	NL White Mean/(SD)	NL Asian Mean/(SD)	Latine, Any Race Mean/(SD)	NL Amer.Ind. Mean/(SD)	NL Pac.Isl. Mean/(SD)	NL Multiracial Mean/(SD)
Whether Moved Since Last Month	0.011 (0.103)	0.013 (0.113)	0.008 (0.089)	0.007 (0.084)	0.011 (0.105)	0.010 (0.098)	0.011 (0.105)	0.017 (0.128)
Standardized Measure of Pct Own Race in Tract	0.866 (1.586)	1.731 (1.510)	-0.318 (0.947)	0.861 (1.252)	0.355 (1.086)	0.215 (1.036)	0.277 (1.036)	0.172 (1.050)
Pct of HHs below poverty, Trct	16.588 (8.601)	17.662 (8.663)	14.386 (7.817)	18.876 (9.121)	15.633 (9.046)	16.104 (7.853)	17.052 (8.271)	14.766 (6.893)
Age in Years	50.128 (15.790)	45.811 (14.499)	54.697 (15.269)	58.568 (16.438)	46.895 (14.959)	50.156 (15.235)	43.985 (13.232)	44.388 (15.304)
Female	0.721 (0.448)	0.782 (0.413)	0.639 (0.480)	0.672 (0.470)	0.740 (0.439)	0.756 (0.430)	0.758 (0.429)	0.757 (0.429)
HH w/ Chld/ 1 Adlt	0.263 (0.440)	0.337 (0.473)	0.163 (0.369)	0.169 (0.375)	0.350 (0.477)	0.287 (0.452)	0.352 (0.478)	0.333 (0.471)
HH w/ Chld/ 2+Adlts	0.185 (0.388)	0.239 (0.426)	0.095 (0.293)	0.191 (0.393)	0.213 (0.409)	0.140 (0.346)	0.350 (0.477)	0.167 (0.373)
1+ Elder in HH	0.264 (0.441)	0.175 (0.380)	0.349 (0.477)	0.470 (0.499)	0.184 (0.388)	0.269 (0.444)	0.193 (0.395)	0.180 (0.384)
1+ in HH w/ Disability	0.502 (0.500)	0.386 (0.487)	0.670 (0.470)	0.568 (0.495)	0.430 (0.495)	0.590 (0.492)	0.278 (0.448)	0.373 (0.484)
1+ Work-Able in HH	0.567 (0.496)	0.706 (0.455)	0.356 (0.479)	0.500 (0.500)	0.640 (0.480)	0.536 (0.499)	0.844 (0.363)	0.735 (0.441)
HH inc, in 1000s	14.741 (11.742)	16.328 (13.018)	12.786 (9.167)	13.138 (11.360)	15.294 (11.846)	12.667 (9.417)	18.543 (13.720)	15.031 (12.749)
Raw Change in HH Income, in 1000s, Since First Obs of Address	3.025 (11.398)	2.863 (12.683)	3.165 (9.105)	3.551 (11.011)	2.854 (11.683)	3.089 (9.970)	2.793 (14.470)	1.268 (14.023)
Proportion Inc from Wages	0.340 (0.474)	0.426 (0.494)	0.209 (0.407)	0.338 (0.473)	0.358 (0.479)	0.225 (0.417)	0.485 (0.500)	0.364 (0.481)
Proportion Inc from Bnfts	0.689 (0.463)	0.606 (0.489)	0.807 (0.395)	0.739 (0.439)	0.629 (0.483)	0.768 (0.422)	0.531 (0.499)	0.648 (0.478)
Proportion Othr Inc Srce	0.144 (0.351)	0.165 (0.372)	0.119 (0.324)	0.101 (0.301)	0.186 (0.389)	0.131 (0.337)	0.203 (0.402)	0.158 (0.365)
Tenant Rent	28.233 (107.561)	27.415 (104.732)	30.153 (109.476)	26.011 (104.320)	28.075 (116.910)	16.150 (78.017)	29.828 (129.407)	60.530 (193.700)
Change in Rent Since First Obs of Address	-34.330 (106.388)	-27.185 (100.849)	-41.964 (106.813)	-51.577 (124.095)	-24.089 (104.410)	-35.947 (89.618)	-34.844 (121.166)	12.425 (141.040)
Num Bedrms in Unit	2.072 (1.057)	2.308 (1.079)	1.671 (0.895)	2.139 (1.085)	2.165 (0.995)	1.930 (0.972)	2.556 (1.068)	2.165 (0.973)
Num People in HH	2.452 (1.785)	2.886 (1.994)	1.780 (1.278)	2.327 (1.454)	2.671 (1.712)	2.270 (1.542)	3.405 (1.859)	2.652 (1.692)
Change in HH Size Since First Obs of Address	-0.036 (0.689)	-0.020 (0.771)	-0.028 (0.497)	-0.151 (0.765)	-0.024 (0.705)	-0.072 (0.706)	-0.015 (0.578)	0.149 (0.775)
Year Building Built	1977.001 (26.382)	1980.159 (25.514)	1973.655 (26.973)	1974.457 (26.267)	1974.070 (27.870)	1971.775 (28.309)	1975.024 (25.861)	1981.326 (17.022)
Count of Months Since First Record (2008-2019)	88.414 (46.392)	89.653 (46.484)	86.315 (45.979)	90.581 (45.635)	85.062 (47.168)	86.645 (47.020)	71.382 (46.392)	107.495 (50.722)
Num Mvs 1/2008-Last Mnth	0.725 (1.145)	0.898 (1.290)	0.528 (0.921)	0.499 (0.893)	0.763 (1.151)	0.652 (1.000)	0.625 (0.968)	1.052 (1.317)
Observations	955950	471896	308016	100990	43623	17627	6742	7056

Table A.2.2 Interview Participants by Race/ Ethnicity/ Whether Born in U.S.

	Total People	Age in Years	Female	Single-Adult Households w/ Kids
Overall	50	42	0.92	0.80
Black or African American	26	39	0.92	0.77
Born in U.S.	21	40	0.90	0.81
Born outside U.S.	5	33	1.00	0.60
White (Born in U.S.)	10	46	1.00	0.80
Vietnamese (Born in Vietnam)	4	47	1.00	1.00
Latine (Born in and outside U.S.)	6	44	0.67	0.83
Multiracial/ No Race (Born in U.S.)	4	44.5	1.00	0.75

Table A.2.3 Logistic Regression: Whether HCV Households Moved in Last Month, Odds Ratio, 2008-2019

	(1)	(2)	(3)
NL White	0.605*** (-17.00)	0.728*** (-10.60)	0.678*** (-11.36)
NL Asian	0.534*** (-12.61)	0.693*** (-7.61)	0.671*** (-8.13)
Latine, Any Race	0.835** (-3.03)	0.827*** (-3.33)	0.792*** (-4.01)
NL Amer.Ind.	0.765** (-2.71)	0.773** (-2.73)	0.734** (-3.23)
NL Pac.Isl.	0.886 (-1.02)	0.830 (-1.63)	0.789* (-2.05)
NL Multiracial	0.813 (-1.79)	0.858 (-1.42)	0.818 (-1.85)
Age in Years		0.980*** (-15.59)	0.980*** (-15.47)
Female		1.375*** (9.79)	1.375*** (9.80)
HH w/ Chld/ 1 Adlt		1.165*** (4.10)	1.162*** (4.03)
HH w/ Chld/ 2+Adlts		1.093 (1.92)	1.089 (1.84)
1+ Elder in HH		1.026 (0.59)	1.029 (0.65)
1+ in HH w/ Disability		1.184*** (4.55)	1.184*** (4.55)
1+ Work-Able in HH		1.151*** (3.38)	1.148*** (3.33)
HH inc, in 1000s		0.995** (-3.16)	0.995** (-3.20)
Raw Change in HH Income, in 1000s, Since First Obs of Address		1.001 (0.45)	1.001 (0.48)

Table A.2.3 continued

Proportion Inc from Wages	0.929*	0.933*	
	(-2.18)	(-2.07)	
Proportion Inc from Bnfts	1.122***	1.121***	
	(3.68)	(3.66)	
Proportion Othr Inc Srce	0.973	0.970	
	(-0.90)	(-0.98)	
Tenant Rent	1.000**	1.000*	
	(2.81)	(2.48)	
Change in Rent Since First Obs of Address	1.000**	1.000**	
	(2.66)	(2.63)	
Num Bedrms in Unit	1.014	1.018	
	(0.72)	(0.89)	
Num People in HH	1.009	1.009	
	(0.65)	(0.68)	
Change in HH Size Since First Obs of Address	0.997	0.999	
	(-0.13)	(-0.02)	
Year Building Built	0.995***	0.995***	
	(-12.76)	(-12.59)	
Count of Months Since First Record (2008-2019)	0.998***	0.998***	
	(-8.41)	(-8.64)	
Num Mvs 1/2008-Last Mnth	1.042**	1.043**	
	(3.14)	(3.19)	
Pct of HHs below poverty, Trct		1.000	
		(0.33)	
Standardized Measure of Pct Own Race in Tract		0.965***	
		(-4.03)	
Constant	0.467***	0.294***	0.288***
	(-16.29)	(-10.61)	(-10.52)
Observations	955950	955950	955950
<i>BIC</i>	111101.3	110019.3	110029.7

Exponentiated coefficients; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.2.4 OLS Regression: Standardized Percent Own Race in Destination Neighborhood, HCV Household Moves, 2008-2019

	(1)	(2)	(3)
NL White	-1.898*** (-56.42)	-1.919*** (-53.41)	-1.233*** (-32.97)
NL Asian	-0.696*** (-11.38)	-0.767*** (-12.64)	-0.506*** (-9.88)
Latine, Any Race	-0.879*** (-11.74)	-0.879*** (-11.68)	-0.516*** (-8.51)
NL Amer.Ind.	-1.173*** (-10.43)	-1.188*** (-10.08)	-0.738*** (-7.51)
NL Pac.Isl.	-0.853*** (-5.86)	-0.939*** (-6.10)	-0.508*** (-3.52)
NL Multiracial	-1.147*** (-7.11)	-1.088*** (-6.73)	-0.656*** (-4.41)
Age in Years		0.00405* (2.32)	0.00265 (1.82)
Female		-0.00280 (-0.07)	0.00963 (0.27)
HH w/ Chld/ 1 Adlt		-0.0847 (-1.70)	-0.0522 (-1.22)
HH w/ Chld/ 2+Adlts		-0.0649 (-1.02)	-0.0215 (-0.39)
1+ Elder in HH		0.0312 (0.54)	0.0188 (0.38)
1+ in HH w/ Disability		-0.0504 (-1.08)	-0.0556 (-1.38)
1+ Work-Able in HH		-0.0543 (-1.09)	-0.0461 (-1.07)
HH inc, in 1000s		-0.00349 (-1.78)	-0.00263 (-1.52)
Raw Change in HH Income, in 1000s, Since First Obs of Address		0.00261 (1.62)	0.00236 (1.56)

Table A.2.4 continued

Proportion Inc from Wages		0.166*** (3.74)	0.105** (2.61)
Proportion Inc from Bnfts		0.0570 (1.39)	0.0607 (1.68)
Proportion Othr Inc Srce		-0.0196 (-0.48)	-0.0134 (-0.37)
Tenant Rent		-0.000807*** (-6.80)	-0.000530*** (-5.75)
Change in Rent Since First Obs of Address		-0.000413* (-2.38)	-0.000205 (-1.28)
Num Bedrms in Unit		0.0445 (1.86)	0.0179 (0.84)
Num People in HH		0.0115 (0.58)	0.00452 (0.28)
Change in HH Size Since First Obs of Address		0.0439* (2.03)	0.0176 (0.87)
Year Building Built		-0.00118 (-1.96)	-0.00104 (-1.86)
Count of Months Since First Record (2008-2019)		-0.00321*** (-5.88)	-0.00250*** (-5.90)
Num Mvs 1/2008-Last Mnth		0.0188 (0.66)	0.0200 (0.97)
Pct of HHs below poverty, Trct			0.00138 (0.83)
Standardized Measure of Pct Own Race in Tract			0.323*** (26.83)
Constant	1.442*** (59.83)	3.776** (3.18)	3.004** (2.71)
Observations	10091	10091	10091
<i>BIC</i>	34241.5	34188.0	33087.9

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A.2.5 OLS Regression: Percent Households in Poverty in Destination Neighborhood, HCV Household Moves, 2008-2019

	(1)	(2)	(3)
NL White	-2.180*** (-9.41)	-2.533*** (-10.67)	-1.185*** (-4.56)
NL Asian	1.044* (2.57)	0.632 (1.55)	0.849* (2.28)
Latine, Any Race	-1.850*** (-3.73)	-1.926*** (-3.97)	-1.150** (-2.61)
NL Amer.Ind.	-1.171 (-1.76)	-1.363* (-2.06)	-0.448 (-0.73)
NL Pac.Isl.	-0.604 (-0.59)	-0.801 (-0.80)	-0.447 (-0.48)
NL Multiracial	-3.431*** (-3.61)	-3.252*** (-3.44)	-2.334** (-2.71)
Age in Years		0.0153 (1.40)	0.0122 (1.23)
Female		-0.696** (-2.66)	-0.610* (-2.54)
HH w/ Chld/ 1 Adlt		-0.167 (-0.51)	-0.0898 (-0.29)
HH w/ Chld/ 2+Adlts		0.343 (0.86)	0.389 (1.07)
1+ Elder in HH		0.470 (1.31)	0.423 (1.27)
1+ in HH w/ Disability		0.149 (0.50)	0.0832 (0.29)
1+ Work-Able in HH		-0.0391 (-0.13)	0.00401 (0.01)
HH inc, in 1000s		-0.0424*** (-3.34)	-0.0368** (-3.06)
Raw Change in HH Income, in 1000s, Since First Obs of Address		0.0270* (2.46)	0.0239* (2.17)

Table A.2.5 continued

Proportion Inc from Wages	0.790**	0.640*	
	(2.81)	(2.40)	
Proportion Inc from Bnfts	0.368	0.416	
	(1.42)	(1.70)	
Proportion Othr Inc Srce	-0.0865	-0.0934	
	(-0.33)	(-0.38)	
Tenant Rent	-0.00277***	-0.00170*	
	(-3.63)	(-2.56)	
Change in Rent Since First Obs of Address	-0.000251	0.0000466	
	(-0.21)	(0.04)	
Num Bedrms in Unit	-0.254	-0.273*	
	(-1.74)	(-1.96)	
Num People in HH	0.0694	0.0483	
	(0.58)	(0.45)	
Change in HH Size Since First Obs of Address	-0.0767	-0.156	
	(-0.58)	(-1.21)	
Year Building Built	0.00143	-0.00104	
	(0.38)	(-0.29)	
Count of Months Since First Record (2008-2019)	-0.0160***	-0.0127***	
	(-4.72)	(-4.14)	
Num Mvs 1/2008-Last Mnth	0.326	0.296*	
	(1.91)	(1.97)	
Pct of HHs below poverty, Trct		0.181***	
		(12.87)	
Standardized Measure of Pct Own Race in Tract		0.404***	
		(5.62)	
Constant	16.95***	15.52*	16.44*
	(122.04)	(2.08)	(2.30)
Observations	10091	10091	10091
<i>BIC</i>	71606.2	71629.9	71215.9

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Chapter 3: What We Think About Where We Live & How This Shapes Residential Outcomes

Abstract

Substantial research suggests that certain housing and socioeconomic neighborhood conditions, such as hazards or crowding within a home or a high neighborhood poverty rate, negatively impact families' wellbeing, with particular emphasis on children's health, socioeconomic, and other outcomes (e.g., Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006). This perhaps fuels the assumption that homes in neighborhoods without these characteristics are, or should be, universally preferred, as well as arguments for housing policies and programs that move people into these areas (e.g., Bergman, Chetty, DeLuca, Hendren, Katz, & Palmer, 2019; Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012).

However, there is reason to believe this assumption may not hold up across the board. Indeed, the social structural sorting perspective (Krysan & Crowder, 2017) suggests that where people move depends on the kinds of places they have lived in the past and their experiences there (i.e., their *residential histories*). The U.S. has a long legacy of structural racism, which has manifested across social systems and created and maintained residential segregation.

Accordingly, the SSSP suggests that because residential histories are systematically ethno-racialized, people are likely to prioritize spaces that are ethno-racialized in familiar ways. That is, since individuals and communities often grow up in segregated neighborhoods, they are exposed to ethno-racially different residential spaces. They likely also have more knowledge of available homes in these ethno-racialized areas and may prioritize them as well, because they are familiar and their communities live there.

In this work, I dive into participants' *residential priorities*, which I define as a set of factors that include housing and neighborhood preferences (the features of the home and neighborhood that people seek out when searching for homes or report that they would like to have), as well as the residential satisfaction (the housing and neighborhood characteristics that they do/ do not like about where they live) and residential expectations (what people think is likely to happen) that may shape preferences.

To examine this still under-tested theoretical framework, this study incorporates interviews with 54 housing voucher users living with children in King County, WA. I find some consistency between policymakers' and researchers' understandings of "good" homes and neighborhoods and what residents prioritize, as well as key discrepancies that vary across ethno-racialized groups residential histories. As such, this research contributes to our understanding of the various mechanisms through which structural ethnocentrism and racism operate to maintain residential segregation.

Introduction

Substantial research suggests that certain housing and socioeconomic neighborhood conditions, such as hazards or crowding within a home or a high neighborhood poverty rate, negatively impact families' wellbeing, with particular emphasis on children's health, socioeconomic, and other outcomes (e.g., Burdick-Will et al., 2011; Chetty & Hendren, 2018a; Chetty & Hendren, 2018b; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006; Galster et al., 2007; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Leventhal & Newman, 2010; Ludwig et al. 2012). This perhaps fuels the assumption that homes in neighborhoods without these characteristics are, or should be, universally preferred, as well as arguments for housing policies and programs that

move people into these areas (e.g., Bergman, Chetty, DeLuca, Hendren, Katz, & Palmer, 2019; Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012).

However, there is reason to believe this assumption may not hold up across the board. Indeed, the social structural sorting perspective (Krysan & Crowder, 2017) suggests that where people seek new homes depends on the kinds of places they have lived in the past and their experiences there (i.e., their *residential histories*). The U.S. has a long legacy of structural racism, which has manifested across social systems and created and maintained residential segregation. Accordingly, the SSSP suggests that because residential histories are systematically ethno-racialized,²⁰ people are likely to prioritize spaces that are ethno-racialized in familiar ways. That is, since individuals and communities often grow up in segregated neighborhoods, they are exposed to ethno-racially different residential spaces. They likely also have more knowledge of available homes in these ethno-racialized areas and may prioritize them as well, because they are familiar and their communities live there.

While quantitative research has considered how different factors influence choice sets and qualitative research has studied residential preferences from multiple angles, little research has connected those preferences to actual residential conditions. Yet, understanding the nuances of these dynamics can expand the literature on residential preferences and help refine the attunement of housing programs to participants' varying priorities, therefore ideally making them more effective at facilitating successful moves.

This study examines how ethno-racialized *residential priorities* form among Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) holders living with children in King County, WA, as well as how this in

²⁰ “Ethno-racialized” is a broad term to refer to those social processes and statuses that have come to have an explicitly or implicitly ethnic or racial character. In other words, these things vary by ethnicity and/or race.

turn may influence their residential mobility processes. I define residential priorities as a set of factors that include housing and neighborhood preferences (the features of the home and neighborhood that people seek out when searching for homes or report that they would like to have), as well as the residential satisfaction (the housing and neighborhood characteristics that they do/ do not like about where they live) and residential expectations (what people think is likely to happen) that may shape preferences.

I situate this research within the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) (Krysan & Crowder, 2017), which suggests that preferences arise partly from residential histories: the homes, neighborhoods, and broader location in which people have lived in the past and what their experiences were like there. These and other factors operate in part by setting households on path-dependent trajectories that disproportionately expose them to a relatively small set of neighborhoods. The neighborhoods we know and feel comfortable in depend on those spaces we have lived in the past and our experiences and resulting residential satisfaction there. And because our social networks often live in similar spaces—and the location of our close connections may be an important determinant of residential destinations (e.g., Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017)—their presence in these spaces may also pull us into neighborhoods that look similar to those we have lived in the past, perhaps in part because we expect these areas to be accessible to us (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

Importantly, the SSSP was designed to help us understand ethno-racialized²¹ residential stratification, which was built intentionally through written and unwritten rules that especially restricted the residential options for Black, Indigenous, Latine, Asian, and additional groups of

²¹ I define “ethno-racialized” as a broad term that indicates that a social status or process has a racial or ethnic character to it. I use the past participle *ethno-racialized* to emphasize that these statuses and processes are not accidental but developed and continue to exist because of the actions of individual people, groups, institutions, and systems within society that re(create) them.

color (Rothstein, 2017), and is maintained through ongoing practices of exclusion (e.g., Korver-Glenn, 2018; Sewell, 2016). The SSSP posits that ethno-racialized understandings of spaces (e.g., Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016) and resulting preferences (e.g., Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997) do not develop in a vacuum but are rather shaped by the stratified social worlds that long standing residential segregation has created in the U.S. (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Our residential histories and social networks are ethno-racialized and therefore our residential priorities—what we think of where we live and have spent time in the past, as well as the spaces we see ourselves living and would like to be in the future—are likely informed by our racial and ethnic socialization as well.

Within the realm of our residential experiences, differential exposure to ethno-racialized and other forms of discrimination likely constitutes a source of group differences in neighborhood priorities (Edin, DeLuca, & Owens, 2012; Krysan, 2002; Krysan & Farley, 2002). This makes studying residential mobility dynamics specifically for voucher holders perhaps particularly revealing. Considering a racially/ ethnically diverse but relatively socioeconomically homogenous group that generally faces at least one form of discrimination in the rental housing market, source-of-income or voucher-based discrimination (Crowder, Carll, Herting, & Hess, 2018; Moore, 2018; Reosti, 2020), allows me to tease out whether and how facing ethno-racialized bias may shape preferences differently from source-of-income or other forms of discrimination. I am also able to dive into this more fully by including people who migrated to the U.S. from other countries. This can introduce greater variation in residential histories within a single ethno-racialized group (in this case, Black individuals), including regarding potentially different relationships to racial discrimination.

The SSSP makes an informed intervention in a long-established literature, though there is relatively little direct evidence of the mechanisms it highlights. As such, I focus on three research questions: 1) How do voucher program participants assess where they live and what are their priorities for the type of home and community in which they reside?, 2) Does the answer to this question vary based on participants' race, ethnicity, and whether they were born in the U.S.?, and 3) How might differences in residential priorities by race, ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born-based be attributable to group differences in residential backgrounds and social networks?

To address these questions, I rely primarily on qualitative interviews with 54 parents or grandparents, as well as supplementary housing program data and information about the neighborhoods in which participants reside. As expected, findings suggest that neighborhood preferences are shaped by ethno-racialization, and residential histories including the experiences of immigration and racial/ethnic discrimination. This maps onto local patterns of residential stratification and has potential implications for better understanding how these dynamics work.

Background

Research that aims to better understand movers' decision-making processes (e.g., Bruch & Mare, 2006, 2009; Bruch & Swait, 2019) is important because of the influence of families' residential conditions on their long-term health, subjective wellbeing, educational opportunities, and financial resources (Burdick-Will et al., 2011; Chetty & Hendren, 2018a; Chetty & Hendren, 2018b; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006; Galster et al., 2007; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Leventhal & Newman, 2010; Ludwig et al. 2012). Much related research focuses on factors like hazards or crowding within the home, and high rates of neighborhood poverty (e.g., Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000). This includes recent work that revealed the long-term socioeconomic benefits and family formation outcomes of the Moving to

Opportunity demonstration program, which moved some families to non-poor neighborhoods to test for benefits (Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016).

Given the strong evidence for the importance of homes and neighborhoods in shaping lives, disparities in residential conditions are concerning. HCV holders as a group face disadvantage face substantial anti-voucher prejudice in the rental housing market (Crowder, Carll, Herting, & Hess, 2018; Reosti, 2020). Research from other sites suggests that such source-of-income discrimination is a common and pressing barrier for families with children using vouchers (e.g., Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012), and that residential choices for this group are particularly constrained, with voucher holders moving relatively frequently and often reactively based on external factors (DeLuca, Wood, & Rosenblatt, 2019; Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012). At the same time, however, variation in residential outcomes among voucher holders (e.g., Walter, Li, & Atherwood, 2015; Wang & Walter, 2018) suggests that voucher holders do not have just one unified experience within the rental housing market and leaves open the possibility that socially circumscribed residential priorities and decision-making may contribute to such variation.

There are important ethno-racialized gaps in the homes and neighborhoods that families land in, and this is true for those with and without vouchers. Given the history of policies that facilitate property ownership for White people, redlining, “predatory inclusion” and other especially anti-Black policies, and absent comprehensive, national efforts to undo this racism, it is unsurprising that we find White people faring “better” than Black people in many corners of the residential experience (e.g., Rothstein, 2017; Taylor, 2020). Black people on average move into, live in, and cycle through higher-poverty neighborhoods, move residences more frequently—including as a result of eviction—and have their mobility expectations materialize

less often than their White counterparts (see Chapter 2 of this dissertation as well as Alba & Logan, 1991; Crowder, 2001; Crowder & South, 2005; Desmond, 2016; Sharkey, 2013; South & Crowder, 1997). Research has typically found that Asian households overall have residential outcomes similar to White people and Latine households are more similar to their Black counterparts (e.g., Krivo & Kaufman, 2004; Painter, Gabriel, & Myers, 2001).

Among voucher users, destination neighborhood conditions differ for Black and Latine participants on one hand and White participants on the other. This variation is similar to ethno-racialized differences among the general population: Black and Latine individuals are more likely to move into lower-poverty, more racially diverse neighborhoods than are White people (DeLuca et al., 2013; Julian & Daniel, 2009; McClure, 2008; Owens, 2013; Wang & Walter, 2018). This suggests that by studying the processes that lead to these outcomes for voucher recipients, we may also glean important insights about broader patterns of stratification.

While the overall ethno-racialized gaps that we see tend to be similar among the general and voucher-holding populations in the U.S., recent local research suggests some exceptions to this. For example, Asian people using vouchers may be more likely than any other ethno-racialized groups to move into high-poverty neighborhoods (see Chapter 2 of this dissertation). This may reflect the socioeconomic diversity we see among peoples ethno-racialized as “Asian,” and specifically the relatively high concentrations of especially lower-income Asian people in immigrant enclaves in Seattle (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000; Yin, 2001).

In recent decades, there have been three main explanations for racial residential stratification in the U.S. These include ethno-racialized differences in economic resources that result in access to more/less expensive homes and areas, exposure to ethno-racialized

discrimination and exclusion within more expensive segments of the housing market (Logan & Alba, 1993), and preferences for same race neighbors (Clark, 1992). While these traditional explanations have often been analyzed as distinct and sometimes competing forces, Krysan and Crowder (2017) developed the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) in part to remind us of the interrelation of these dynamics, which likely work together and reinforce one another. They also formally conceptualize the influence of our ethno-racialized social worlds on persistent ethno-racialized segregation. That is, people generally spend their lives in somewhat segregated spaces: homes, neighborhoods, jobs, social circles, etc. (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). This can in turn shape the location of future homes by narrowing the field of possible destinations based on familiarity with and affinity for certain places (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Knowing and liking different areas based on past experiences in ethno-racialized areas will likely facilitate the prioritization of new homes in similarly ethno-racialized communities, thus helping maintain segregation (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

There is significant research that considers ethno-racialized differences in the preference for neighbors of the same race/ethnicity (e.g., Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Clark, 1992; Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997). Further, a growing body of work outlining how we associate certain neighborhood characteristics with different races (e.g., Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016; Bonam, Yantis, & Taylor, 2020; Kennedy, Hess, Paullada, Chasins, 2020). The former outlines *explicit* ways that people include neighborhood racial composition in their consideration of a neighborhood, while the latter suggests that people can do so *implicitly*.

Within the literature on explicit preferences for racial composition, research has suggested that individuals prefer to live among members of their own race or ethnicity because of an affinity for same-race/ ethnicity neighbors and/or to avoid ethno-racialized “others” (Bobo

& Zubrinsky, 1996). At the same time, studies have revealed differences in the extent to which this is the case and that motivations for preferences can also differ. For example, research has documented that Black people, when compared to their Asian, Latine, and White counterparts, are most open to living among other groups (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996; Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997). They also tend to prefer more diverse neighborhoods than White people. In a study focused on Black and White residents, Black people often preferred more equal concentrations of both groups and avoided being one of few Black people in an area; White people on the other hand preferred areas with no more than a few Black neighbors (Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997). In terms of positive preferences, Asian, Latine, and Black people were generally most open to living among White people, relative to other out-groups, and White people were more open to Asian and then Latine neighbors relative to Black people (Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996). Further, research suggests some foreign-born individuals prefer immigrant communities (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002).

Regarding motivations for ethno-racialized preferences, Krysan and Farley (Krysan, 2002; Krysan & Farley, 2002) report differences among Black and White people: Black people more often avoid predominantly White neighborhoods due to fears of racial discrimination, and White people tend to avoid neighborhoods with more than a few Black people due to racial prejudice.

Researchers have also documented that social networks and ethnic neighborhoods are an important part of the immigrant experience for many people moving to the United States, likely given the presence of social ties and the concentrated level of culturally familiar community resources in such areas (Garip & Asad, 2016; Logan, Alba, & Zhang, 2002; Logan & Molotch, 1987). However, there is little work that assesses the mechanisms behind immigrants' residential

priorities or how these forces may matter—in ethno-racialized ways—for residential mobility among those born within the U.S. and outside of it.

Recent research outlines the ways that, in some cases, preferences for neighbors of particular races or ethnicities has become more implicit, enshrined in what Fields and Fields (2014) call “sumptuary codes,” or rules that designate social value to visible characteristics and thereby clearly and indirectly communicate social hierarchies. Stereotypical adjectives research participants associate with Black neighborhoods included things like “impoverished,” “overpopulated,” “low-income housing,” and “failing schools” (Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016). Such ethno-racialized neighborhood stereotypes may even be more difficult to address for Black neighborhoods than individual-level ethno-racialized stereotypes are for Black individuals (Bonam, Yantis, & Taylor, 2020). Sewell (2016) argues that neighborhood racialization was developed through longstanding policy and social practice and that institutional actors (of which property managers would be an example) help harden ethno-racialized stereotypes about space when they recognize and act upon related sumptuary codes.

A related way that residential priorities may be ethno-racialized likely includes the presence of family and friends and differential levels of desire to live near or even with support networks, which often predominantly include members of individuals’ ethno-racialized groups (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). With respect to housing, ethno-racialized groups that more commonly live in homes with extended family may consider what research calls “crowded” homes to be fine or even perhaps preferable—e.g., convenient, community-oriented—to living spread out across multiple homes within an area (e.g., Myers, Baer, & Choi, 1996). Networks may also influence the geographic priorities for voucher holders, because of a desire for community and/or to have close access to networks of support, which may be

particularly necessary for those with limited financial means. Research indeed suggests that lower-income households tend to move near extended kin (Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017).

Related processes may also be ethno-racialized. Research has long found more complex systems of mutual support and a greater reliance on in-kind help among Black people and other communities of color (e.g., Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004; Stack, 1974). Somewhat recent evidence also suggests that Black- and Latine-headed households are more likely to live close to nuclear kin than their White counterparts (Ackert, Spring, Crowder, & South, 2019). Similarly, that some foreign-born individuals prefer immigrant enclaves may reflect a desire to be around social support networks, language services, and other amenities that are often included in such areas (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). These suggest that, beyond the negative, ethno-racially coded stereotypes I described in the paragraph just above, individuals may have *positive* ethno-racialized stereotypes. For example, immigrants may consider an area “convenient” and thus a place they could see themselves happily living, because it has many co-ethnic neighbors and culturally familiar amenities as a result. Black people may prefer a “friendly” area with more than a few Black people. They may associate such areas with friendliness because of the racial composition and the presence of Black people, who may indeed be more friendly because of a shared in-group bond.

In summary, research argues for but has not yet thoroughly tested the premise that residential priorities correspond to residential histories and social networks in ethno-racialized ways, and that these differing priorities may help perpetuate ethno-racialized stratification. In response, this research seeks to answer the following questions: 1) Do the residential priorities of voucher program participants with children correspond with those housing subsidy providers and

previous scholars typically emphasize?, 2) Does the answer to this question vary based on householders' race, ethnicity, and whether they were born in the U.S.?, and 3) To what extent do differences in residential priorities by race, ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born correspond to group differences in residential backgrounds and the locations of their social networks? Through this work, I help policy and academic audiences refine their understanding of residential stratification, thereby also providing clues about how to improve residential equity in the future.

Data and Methods

To answer the above research questions, colleagues and I conducted 54 interviews of housing voucher users in King County WA between January 2019 and February 2020. Respondents lived in households with children and spoke English, Somali, Spanish, or Vietnamese during our interviews. We asked parents and grandparents about the places they have lived, their experiences there, how they liked where they lived, where they would like to be in the future, and what they expected to happen. I combined this qualitative data with administrative information from two local housing authorities for the years 2008-2019 and U.S. Census (2012-2016) data about neighborhood context. In doing so, I was able to construct detailed outlines of participants' residential histories and compare respondents' accounts with census information about neighborhood socioeconomic and ethno-racialized conditions.

Interview participants had been enrolled in the HCV program for at least one-and-a-half years as of the time I pulled the sample in which they were included. Based on prior experience with similar recruitment strategies in the area, I sampled six times my target of roughly 50 interviews and invited about 300 voucher-holding parents to participate.

I sampled voucher holders based on four factors across three waves of recruitment (identifying prospective participants in December 2018 and July and December 2019): 1) the

presence of children/adolescents in the home, 2) residential mobility, 3) primary language the householder reported speaking, and 4) whether the household lived in the City of Seattle or broader King County. I adjusted how I targeted the second and third samples based on who had agreed to participate to that point.

The four sampling criteria are derived from my desire to contribute to important policy and scholarly conversations. First, because we know the importance of neighborhood context during childhood and adolescence (e.g., Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016), I sampled only those households in which at least one resident was under 18 years of age at the time I drew the sample.

Second, to expand the range of housing experiences of voucher holders in King County, I sampled individuals who reported speaking English, Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese as their primary language. The latter three are among the most commonly spoken languages among King County public housing authority (PHA) residents who primarily speak a language other than English. Because of the high cost associated with each interview in Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese, I aimed for roughly five interviews per language. I began interviews before securing funding for interviews in non-English languages, so the first sample I pulled was entirely comprised of English-speakers. The second sample added Somali- and Spanish-speakers. The third incorporated Vietnamese-speakers as well.

The last two criteria for sampling were not priorities for this paper, but helped facilitate aspects of the broader research project. When possible, I selected households based on whether they had moved in the prior two years. This facilitated research that focuses on differences in residential mobility. For the first sample of exclusively English-speakers, I also considered whether the move was within the same city or across municipal boundaries. I initially pursued a

quota sampling technique based on residential mobility, aiming for about one-quarter non-movers and three-quarters intra- or inter-city movers. This level of mobility-related detail was not possible for all samples. During the second and third sample pulls, when identifying a list of prospective Somali-, Spanish-, and later Vietnamese-speaking participants, relatively small populations limited me to selecting based on whether a move had occurred at all in the past two years, without considering whether the move crossed city boundaries.

Fourth and finally, I aimed to recruit half of the sample from the City of Seattle and the other half from broader King County in order to speak to each housing agency's population. Likely because of differences in recruitment methods,²² however, the participant group skewed fairly significantly toward Seattle, with seven of ten people, including all of those speaking a non-English language, living in the area's central city.

Interviews averaged around two hours, and participants each received \$35 in compensation for their time. In 49 cases, participants consented to audio recording. For all others, I took extensive notes during and after the interview to retain as much information as possible. We met at the participants' homes or, if the participant preferred, in a public location (usually, a café, restaurant,²³ or library, and—in one case—at the participant's place of work). In some cases, native Spanish and native/fluent English speakers conducted Spanish-language interviews entirely in Spanish, then transcribed in Spanish and translated into English. In other cases, including those in Somali and Vietnamese, we used on-the-spot interpretation between

²² PHA staff sent informational letters to prospective participants requesting they directly contact the research team if they are interested in participating in an interview. For Seattle Housing Authority households only, a research assistant or I followed up by calling, emailing, and/or texting householders to invite their participation. The King County Housing Authority, on the other hand, conducted phone and email outreach on our behalf. This meant that personalized recruitment of Somali-, Spanish-, and Vietnamese-speaking participants was not possible.

²³ The noise level in cafés and restaurants can be overwhelming. Libraries were generally more suitable for interviews, and it was often possible to get a private room on the spot to hold the interviews.

English and Somali/Spanish/Vietnamese. Those providing on-the-spot interpretation are native speakers of the target language and native or fluent English-speakers.

I designed the qualitative interviews to better understand respondents' residential priorities and how this may have been shaped by residential histories and the presence of social networks. This included asking about how much participants liked where they lived at the time of the interview and previously, what kinds of homes and neighborhoods they preferred when looking for the current home and where they would like to live in the future, and what they expected would come to fruition.²⁴ Each of these provided a somewhat different clue into how individuals are thinking about their residential priorities.

Residential satisfaction tells us how households assess the concrete conditions to which they have been exposed and offers clues about their quality of life, the metrics they might use when searching for housing and the likelihood they may seek a new home in the near future (Deane, 1990; Lu, 1999; Speare, 1974). Preferences incorporate both hypothetical desires and conditions households may prioritize based on experience, and considering this along with residential satisfaction and residential histories can allow me to better understand which is which. Researchers have argued that expectations are assessments of what is achievable or likely to happen (see Crowder, 2001 for a summary of related work); it may also be informed by desire, which can reinforce positive expectations and motivation if it aligns with expectations. Considering all of these together can help elucidate residential priorities from multiple angles.

When participant's consented (in 50 cases),²⁵ I was able to incorporate additional data to fill out participants' residential histories and how that corresponded with residential priorities.

²⁴ For information about the coding scheme, please see the codebook in the Project Appendix.

²⁵ The four people who withheld consent for attaching administrative data to the interview data represent a very small proportion of participants, all of whom were born in the U.S. and were marginally younger, on average, than the sample overall (about 37 v. 42 for the full group). Racially, this group included one

First, administrative data from the PHAs temporally cover 2008-2019 and geographically represent all of King County except for Renton, WA. Because the raw housing data did not always have consistent household identifiers on which to match people across multiple records within the same agency, the data were merged using a probabilistic “fuzzy matching” process (e.g., Dusetzina et al., 2014). These data were derived from the reporting fields on the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Form-50058, which households submit to PHAs at least once every 2-3 years. The 50058 data include demographic characteristics, household income, rent, and other financial information, housing conditions, geographic information (addresses), and administrative details (for example, whether a household lives in Seattle Housing Authority’s (SHA) or King County Housing Authority’s (KCHA) service area).

Incorporating tract-level data allowed me to examine how neighborhood priorities correspond to actual conditions, including across moves. I specifically used measures of neighborhood socioeconomic and racial composition from the U.S. Census 2012-2016 American Community Survey.

Research in King County, WA has the strong potential to provide insights into residential dynamics. Importantly, with some exceptions (e.g., Bruch & Swait, 2019), much of the research on residential preferences was conducted in more established and segregated cities in the U.S. Northeast and Midwest. This underscores the usefulness of considering related processes in the Seattle context.

Results

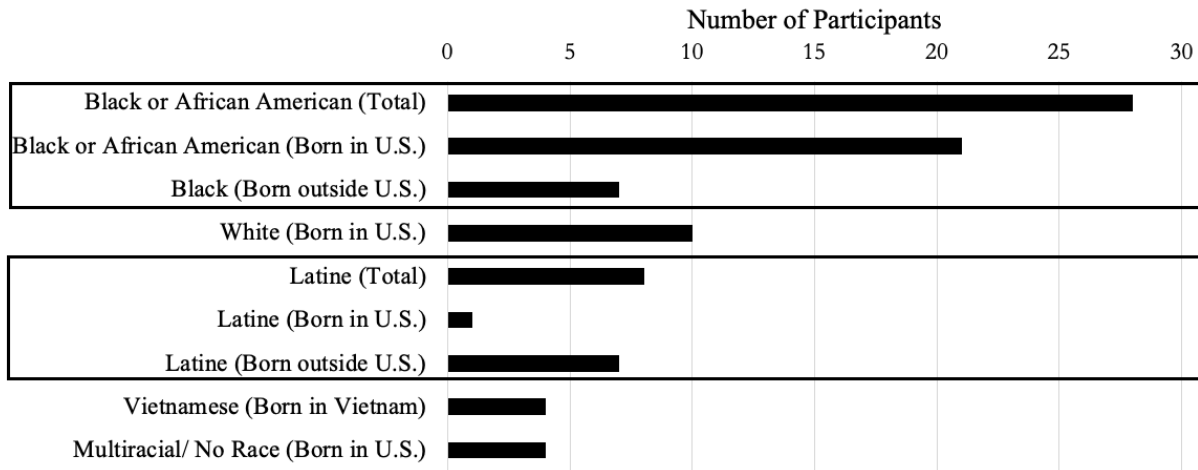
I begin by describing the participants demographically, and then discuss how their responses address the following research questions: 1) Do voucher program participants’ assessments of

Black person, one White person, one person who identified as Multiracial and one who declined to claim an ethno-racialized status.

where they live and priorities for the type of home and community in which they reside align with the residential outcomes housing subsidy providers and previous scholars identify as “good”?, 2) Does the answer to this question vary based on householders’ racialization, ethnicity, and whether they were born in the U.S.?, and 3) To what extent do differences in residential priorities by race, ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born correspond to group differences in residential backgrounds and the locations of their social networks?

As Figure 3.1 shows, the interview participants identify with a range of races and ethnicities and were born in a number of countries. Twenty women and two men identify as Black or African American and were born in the U.S. One Black U.S.-born woman also claimed Indian identity (Native American, no tribe specified). Five women identify as Black or African and were not born in the U.S. (four were born in Somalia and one was born on a Caribbean island). Ten women in the sample identify as White or Caucasian and were born in the U.S. Eight people identify as Latino, Latina, or Hispanic (two men and six women, collectively referred to as “Latine”). Of the eight Latine individuals, one man was born in the U.S. and also identifies as a member of a Midwestern Native tribe, and six women and one man immigrated from five different Latin American countries. Four women were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1990s. Finally, I count four U.S.-born women as Multiracial/ No Race: one who reported being Black and Indian (Native American), two women who identified as Multiracial, and one who declined to claim an ethno-racial status.

Figure 3.1 Counts of Interview Participants by Race/ Ethnicity/ Whether U.S.-Born



Past research indicates that socio-demographic factors shape residential mobility outcomes (e.g., Fischer, 2002), so understanding ethno-racialized differences in priorities requires an understanding of group differences based on these variables. Accordingly, Table 3.1 presents descriptive information for the individuals who participated in interviews along with comparative information for the overall population of King County voucher households with children in 2019, the year most interviews took place. While I do not claim the relatively small set of interviews to be representative of participants’ broader racial/ ethnic group or whether-U.S.-born groups, or voucher holders with children overall, it is helpful to consider how they relate to the overall quantitative picture we get from the administrative data. This can help clarify conditions in which the specific way any observed ethno-racialized mobility mechanisms may operate similarly or differently across socio-geographic contexts.

Table 3.1 Interview Participants and All Voucher Households with Kids for 2019 (Counts or Means/ Proportions)

	Total People		Age in Years		Proportion		Proportion		Total Moves	
	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs
Overall	54	5894	41.83	40.75	0.93	0.85	0.81	0.55	0.63	0.39
Black or African American	26 (0.48)	3657 (0.62)	38.88	40.41	0.92	0.86	0.77	0.55	0.85	0.42
Born in U.S.	21 (0.39)	---	39.33	---	0.90	---	0.81	---	0.86	---
Born outside U.S.	7 (0.13)	---	37.00	---	1.00	---	0.60	---	0.80	---
White (Born in U.S.)	10 (0.19)	1304 (0.22)	43.83	41.89	1.00	0.82	0.89	0.53	0.60	0.33
Vietnamese (Born in Vietnam)	4 (0.07)	317 (0.05)	45.70	44.90	1.00	0.76	1.00	0.44	0.20	0.22
Latine (Born in and outside U.S.)	8 (0.15)	445 (0.08)	47.25	38.48	0.67	0.93	0.83	0.65	0.25	0.34
Multiracial/ No Race (Born in U.S.)	4 (0.07)	171 (0.03)	44.25	37.55	1.00	0.89	0.75	0.70	0.75	0.47

We see that the two samples are fairly consistent, considering how few interview participants make up some of the ethno-racialized groups. Black people are somewhat underrepresented among the interview participants. Some discrepancy along ethno-racialized lines is likely attributable to the targeted recruitment based on language, which can correspond to specific ethnic/racial groups. The average age is generally similar across groups, though “outliers” within these small groups make the Latine and Multiracial participants somewhat older than the broader voucher population with kids. The gender breakdown is overwhelmingly women across groups, and mobility rates generally appear somewhat higher for interview participants. This is also not surprising given mobility-related sampling.

Relative to the typical *interview* participant overall, Black participants were relatively young, in their late 30s. In comparison, Latine, Vietnamese, and White people were, on average, in their mid-to-late 40s. White and especially Vietnamese and Latine groups had lower-than-average rates of mobility while all others moved slightly more than average. Four of the participants—2 foreign-born Black and 2 foreign-born Latine—were living in PHA-owned housing units, and these individuals brought average mobility rates down within their small groups.

I now dive into the core findings from this research, which contributes to the literature on the residential processes that perpetuate ethno-racialized stratification in housing and neighborhood conditions. As the SSSP suggests, however, these processes are multifaceted and do not easily reduce to isolated mechanisms. Therefore, the findings section is built around the rich stories of three individuals whose experiences are particularly illustrative of the key trends I observe: Tam, Daisy, and Michelle.²⁶

I start with the story of Tam, a Vietnamese woman in her mid-40s. She moved to the U.S. in the early 1990s through an immigration program established for people who had, like her, been fathered by U.S. soldiers during the Vietnam war. Like others who had moved through this program, Tam had faced substantial social isolation and ridicule in Vietnam because she was part-American. She had been shunned by some of her family members, including an uncle who had wished her dead. She did not go to school because of the racist environment. Further, Tam suggested her family was poor. Like others who had been born in Vietnam, Tam grew up in a single room home with bamboo walls and a roof made from leaves. She slept on a mat on the floor and bathed in a nearby lake, where her family also retrieved water for cooking. Though there were no stores nearby, people would sell things (meat, vegetables, etc.) outside of their homes, on the street. However, despite the social and economic challenges Tam experienced, she recalled her childhood as being happy: she reportedly enjoyed hanging out with friends in the neighborhood and her neighbors were friendly.

Tam had not moved homes at all during childhood and, since moving to the U.S. she had spent roughly three decades living in a small geographic area in south Seattle. Since 2004, which is the earliest address information I have for Tam, the farthest she had lived from the home in

²⁶ All participant names are pseudonyms.

which we met was less than three miles away. The homes she had spent time in were in three separate tracts that had roughly one- to two-fifths of the population facing income poverty and similar proportions of Asian people.²⁷

Tam's reported her dream home as a big, beautiful single-family house like one of those she had cleaned by Lake Washington, with multiple bedrooms per resident. She suggested she thought most people ideally wanted something like that. Though she considered that unattainable, she also had priorities that were better aligned with spaces she had lived in the past. For example, Tam wanted to stay local, because she found the area convenient with many restaurants, public transit, and other amenities nearby. She also expressed that she did not know which other areas to avoid in and around Seattle, because she had only spent time in her current area. Ideally, she would stay close by, perhaps near a Vietnamese market that is not far from her current home and is in a tract where just under two-fifths of the residents are in income poverty and a similar proportion is Asian.

Tam wanted to live locally but she did not think she had the luxury of being selective, so she looked for homes broadly in the Seattle area, searching online and inquiring about porting out to King County where rents are cheaper. She searched most diligently in her neighborhood, asking for leads from anyone whose path she crossed. She remarked, "I honestly tell you that I don't need to know anyone. This market, this restaurant, this café [...] Everywhere, I asked them all."²⁸ One person Tam spoke with had connected her to the landlord for the home she lived in when we met. Tam reported that both of these contacts were also Vietnamese.

²⁷ In the City of Seattle, about one in ten people face income poverty and 14% are Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019a).

²⁸ This and other quotes from Tam have been translated from Vietnamese.

Tam searched for and found her current home after her landlord sold the place she had lived in less than a mile away. Neither Tam nor her children had wanted to move from their last place, her favorite place that she had lived: a single-family house with a fenced-in yard that provided her kids a safe place to play. It was on a block she regarded as quiet, safe, and calm. She also found the housing search really challenging: she suggested that the stress had brought her to tears and made her depressed. A doctor recommended she find a counselor. She described finding her home by saying, “God, you were like running to heaven from hell.”

When we spoke, Tam expressed a strong desire to avoid moving again. Instead, she preferred to stay in her home as long as possible. This is perhaps surprising, since she described this apartment as her least favorite home—loud with the noise of neighbors on the other side of thin walls (she could only sleep when they slept) and shootings on her block every two or three weeks. However, Tam wanted to stay put because moving was difficult, and she had been forced to move several times because the ownership of the buildings in which she had lived changed hands. Yet, the experience there was marred by having been forced to leave on short notice. This repetitive experience shaped Tam’s reported hope of staying put and of any further moves being to a nearby public housing development, where she would be able to stay put, safe from the unpredictability of the private market.

Tam’s story is reflective of several threads that were fairly common among the people I spoke with, helping to answer the three research questions and therefore refine the related literature. To start, many participants regardless of ethno-racialization expressed a desire to ideally live in a single-family home in a safe environment with good schools. This suggests that people tend to have at least some similar residential ideals that align with policymakers’ and researchers’ understandings of “good” homes and neighborhoods, and this is so regardless of

ethno-racialization. However, participants did not always set residential priorities that we would expect and this typically varied by ethno-racialization. For example, policymakers and researchers often prioritize low-poverty neighborhoods, but this was not a universal priority among interview participants, especially not for those who had been born outside of the U.S. and who lived in immigrant communities at the time of the interview. Many of these individuals had consistently lived and moved within a couple of Seattle zip codes, possibly suggesting a strong prioritization of these areas, the importance of co-ethnic support in successfully finding a new home, or both. Such participants remarked that their lives—social networks, stores, medical care with language services, etc.—were in their current neighborhoods and they would prefer to stay there. This is consistent with the longstanding observation that some foreign-born individuals prefer to live in ethnic neighborhoods, and this can occur across income levels (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002). It is noteworthy that a preference for ethnic communities is sometimes the case for immigrant households with enough financial resources to exercise more residential “choice” than voucher-holders can often access (DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020; Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002).

For especially Somali women, this preference for co-ethnic neighbors seemed to reflect respondents’ suggestion that the residential context per se was not particularly important—that it was social relationships that mattered more. Several praised the close social ties they reported Somali people have, citing a preference for living near their communities and having frequent interaction with them. For example, Nasra is a Somali woman in her 30s who had moved to the U.S. over a decade before we spoke, coming from a refugee community in Kenya in which she lived for several years after leaving Somalia. She suggested that if she could live anywhere, it would be back in Somalia but without the violence she suggests is there. At the same time, she stressed that the people she lived among were the draw: she preferred Somalia because people

frequently visited to share tea and check on each other, but that was not common in the U.S.

Tam's and Nasra's stories also suggest that residential histories have strong connections to residential priorities and that this connection varies based on ethno-racialization. On one hand, Tam discusses wanting to live in her current area—which is a neighborhood with levels of same-race neighbors and people in income poverty—the only part of Seattle that she knows. Many of the Vietnam-born women experienced poverty in childhood, as did many of the Somali women when they stayed in a refugee community on their way to the U.S. Finding a low-poverty area may not have been a salient priority for these participants because of the arguably extreme conditions they had experienced and therefore had as a basis of comparison. Further, they likely had limited familiarity of the Seattle metropolitan area upon arrival and perhaps found comfort in living among co-ethnic neighbors after the upheaval of migrating. The residential spaces that Tam, Nasra, and other foreign-born participants are familiar with are ethno-racially circumscribed. This familiarity helps shape residential priorities that are similarly ethno-racialized, as the SSSP suggests.

Compromise is an important final component of Tam's story that helps clarify the complexity of residential priorities. She had loved her last home, but her fear that she would be displaced because her landlord decided to sell came true and inspired her to prioritize stability over a good night's sleep, safety from neighborhood violence, and other home and neighborhood features she liked. In some ways, this is not news, since research has already established that especially low-income renters can adjust their priorities based on deciding from among a set of limited options that do not include their ideal (DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020). At the same time, it is important to emphasize here how this may connect to ethno-racialized residential stratification. All of the participants I spoke with who had left their last home because of a

change in ownership had left homes in South or Central Seattle, parts of the city in which large numbers of foreign-born people had resided, though neighborhood change had been displacing people of color over the past several decades. Tam is among a small number of foreign-born participants in the area who had suggested a desire to move to a public housing complex to avoid the challenges of the private market.

Most Somali and Vietnamese participants had nearly exclusively resided in South Seattle during their tenure in the city. The Somali families had consistently reported that, when living in Somalia, they had lived in big homes with large families in neighborhoods with everything they needed. They also had higher incomes and lived in somewhat larger and/or newer homes in lower-poverty tracts than most of their Vietnamese counterparts in Seattle, suggesting continuity in residential histories over time. Both Vietnamese and Somali participants reported wanting to remain where they were because their lives and community connections are there.

Next, I turn to the story of Daisy, a woman in her mid-40s who identified as Multiracial. She grew up in the King County area after having moved during mid-childhood from a state in the southern part of the U.S. Midwest. She described her Midwestern home as having been “really pretty hard core,” and outlined how her family left at least partly to escape harassment after a family member witnessed a violent crime. However, she did recall positive influential experiences there with her great-grandmother, which she suggested shaped the way she thinks about where she had lived and would have liked to live in the future. She described in detail how her residential history shaped her priorities:

Throughout my life, the best memories that I have, which is why I went back home to [Midwestern state] to visit was because I had a great-grandmother who adored me and her great-great-granddaughter, who was actually two years older than me. She reared us. She had something about her wit that structured us to be young ladies, structured us to be hard workers, structured us to know about her hard work and her story that kept us in awe and kept us from wanting to be

around a group that had the low-down blues because it's not getting you anywhere but downstream. My best memories were there...

...Then as a grown woman, being independent, I always wanted that. I always wanted a neighborhood. I always wanted a home. Someone, even when we lived in the mobile home [where she stayed with an acquaintance recently], asked me, "Do you like it in there? You act like you like it in there." I said, "It's my home." Whatever it was, we made it our home. We ended up making it so inviting that others were like ... They wanted that same peace but that comes from something deeper than just an item. You can have a mansion, you still might not make it a home. You've got to know things in order to be okay with yourself to believe in something greater than just what's around you...

...Just for fun I guess, but also for information, I would go to these homeowner classes. I pictured this home, maybe a two or three-bedroom or a two-bedroom home with an office or something and a yard, somewhere I can go outside and challenge myself to be more interactive with others and maybe find something in common with others when you come out of your home. Sometimes we could spend too much time inside whether we're doing great things or not. I pictured this home being something I could add to, something I could work on, something I can decide and select what attributes it will have. I fantasize about making something that's a part of my home a reflection of something that has made me who I am over the years...

...I've always been fond of a foyer, or some people call it I guess a mudroom or something. But I think a beautiful foyer where I'd have a little bench seat or something I could just come in and sit on there and take my shoes off or just hang my coat up on my hook. Maybe my hook has a hand on it or something. No carpet unless I wanted carpet because I want to polish the floor or something.

Daisy goes on to describe other specific features she would like in her ideal home, perhaps a table she had converted from a fallen tree, a chandelier with dried hibiscus flowers, and a special window frame. Later, I asked her how long she had imagined a place like this and where she got the inspiration:

Interviewer: ...We talked a little bit about this ideal place where you have a nice foyer and the mud room. Would you say that your ideal has always kind of been this way?

Daisy: Pretty much, yeah. [...]

Interviewer: Is there a place that you've lived either in childhood or adulthood that felt like close to this?

Daisy: *Yeah, it was just my great-grandmother's home.*

When we spoke, Daisy reported that she had lost her last home when her landlord got ill and a power of attorney took over. Though not without a fight on Daisy's part and a local legal services organization, the new owners evicted her because the pet her last landlord had verbally approved had not been included on their lease. After several months between homes, during which time Daisy stayed in her car as well as with an acquaintance from church, Daisy and her teenage son had moved into a new home about six months before our meeting. She expressed gratitude for her home and described some characteristics she likes: "I'm in a home now where I feel it's safe, it's warm, it's gone through some upgrades as far as pretty much out with the old in with the new." She expressed that "the neighborhood is great" because it is welcoming and she thinks people are working to make the space a "home":

I was totally welcomed by people just saying hello, looking at you, and wanting to recognize you. A lady offered me tomatoes out of her garden once and shook my hand. I said, "I'm your neighbor around the corner." She's like, "Really? Which street?" I'm like, "I'm over here on [street name]." She's like, "Wow, well welcome." I think a little fear at first. My neighborhood has pretty much helped me to overcome some doubts, and to maybe restore my faith a little bit in finding a common ground. Sometimes people just feel a good energy about the possibilities of adding more things in common, and you know, turning a place to stay into a home, and living that life. Sometimes it shows on you more than what you wear, or what you look like.

When I asked Daisy to elaborate about the doubts she had, she relayed that she had spent time in the neighborhood before moving there and felt it was different from her last neighborhood, which she described as "a rough place" when she had moved there in the early 2000s. She said:

It was rough to get to and from my door. It was rough who I had to pass to get from the sidewalk to the porch. I stood out like a sore thumb being different no matter if I looked like everyone around or not. I was different, and I got a lot of sort of trouble from that. Like, no we don't need that, that reminds of something bad in our life, let's just say, or something unrecognizable. Maybe [I] was too straight and narrow for the timing that I moved in with my family.

[The current neighborhood] seemed as if that area was more familiar with one another neighbor-to-neighbor. I felt more like an outsider when I was more stable [at her previous home]. I mean I had lived in my place more than 16 years at that time, and thought, "We have things in common," but it was a different thing. Conversations like, "I'm still from over there." Just the unknown, just feeling doubted because of previous experiences that made me feel like it's because of the way I look, it's because of what I wear or don't wear.

Daisy had moved from a tract with more than 20% of people living in income poverty to an area with less than 8% in poverty, below the Seattle average of about 11%. Just under one-fifth of residents are Black in both tracts. Among those who I spoke with, very few lived in a Seattle area with a sizable Black population and low poverty rate. Similar to the home she imagined based on her past experiences, Daisy later said of her ideal neighborhood: "It looks sort of like the place where I'm at now, sort of." She talked about a view to at least see the seasons change. She expressed wanting a place for her pet to socialize. She again emphasized the importance of community and people can "thrive":

I like neighborhoods like [where I live] where you can make a difference, it changes people, and now all of a sudden, they see me and they're not forced to say "Hi" but something in them is like, "Hi." They say "Hi" with their eyes. A place where I don't feel like I'm a threat to you or you're a threat to me. Those are all gonna be around but when those ones show that we're not a threat to each other in our own neighborhood where we've established our home and done something unique. I'm like, hey, that's cool and we can go on. A place where differences make a difference.

Daisy also expressed wanting transportation and amenities nearby so that elderly people, including herself when she is older, can maintain their independence, even without a car of their own.

Because Daisy's and Michelle's stories complement each other, I now share insights from Michelle's interview before reflecting on their experiences. At the time of the interview, Michelle identified as an African American woman. She was in her mid-30s raising her grandson

in a two-bedroom apartment that Michelle described as follows:

Well, first of all, I'm grateful. So as a whole, I just like the fact that I have a home. The downside to this is that it is, as you can see, it's very small. Even if you take and compared it to one-bedroom apartments or even two-bedroom apartments for the amount of money, this is small. I would have liked to have found something a little bigger. Just more so, because my grandson is young, just having that extra room and space that's needed. So that would be the negative.

After ownership of her last home in South Seattle had changed hands and her new owners nearly doubled the rent, Michelle had to move. It took her several months to find a new home, and numerous past experiences of homelessness, which had started in childhood, gave her a frame of reference for what might happen if she could not find a home: "I mean, like, it got so bad, I woke up literally throwing up in my sleep. I could not tolerate anxiety, because I'm having that fear again of being homeless."

Beyond her experiences with homelessness, Michelle also described another feature of her residential history that was influential: her experiences living in a Seattle neighborhood where she had suffered losses associated with substantial community violence. Michelle worked in a public-facing job going into communities and working with kids. She talked about the challenges from working in her broader prior community:

I lost a lot of my [work] kids. A lot... one particular year was pretty bad. Lost about six or seven kids. But prison or death, it's nothing there. They don't stand a chance cause nobody cares. All I'll wait to hear is, "Ms. [Michelle], can I have a job? Can I come work with you? Mom is in prison. We don't have no money." Family is in the house on drugs. Babies running around and they don't even care. And then you get a call. You go to this apartment complex where you've been coming for months on years every Sunday. And next thing you know you're taking the whole pile of kids like this [holding her arms out as though she is hugging multiple kids]. It's an issue. Or you're so used to seeing the mom or the father when you come and a kid comes out, if the parents aren't there and they break down on you and they say, "Somebody killed my daddy last night." It's still an unsolved homicide for the city.

When talking later about the kind of place in which she hopes to live moving forward,

she emphasized wanting to avoid segregated places with a lot of crime:

I know where I wouldn't want to go, but I would hope to be able to stay out here. I would hope to be able to stay here just because it's peaceful and it's different. And, you know, I enjoy it. You know, you get away from all the other stuff, you know, there's not as much worry. I mean, there's going to be worry, but there's not as much worry, you know, as opposed to over there. And my daughters still live on that side of town, so I'm always on the edge, you know. One of my daughters, she lives in [a South Seattle neighborhood ...] its crime is super bad. She lives in an actual low-income complex, but even still, just demographically, you know, people need that. Don't just everybody just cluster and put it here and then sit back and wait and watch and see what happens.

While Michelle expressed wanting to stay in her current area, she also recounted multiple times she had faced explicit racialization in her neighborhood, where less than 2% of the residents are African American or Black and the overwhelming majority of people are White. For example, one man approached her at a nearby park to welcome Michelle and her family to the neighborhood:

... A gentlemen came, they were over in the park, came in behind me, and he was like, "Hi." And I thought at first that they were gonna come and say something to us, you know. I didn't know, but I just thought my instinct was that they're gonna come and say something, whatever it is, you know. So I instantly, I just turned around and smiled and was like "Hi." And he was like, "Is this your family and stuff?" And I was like, "yeah." So I made a joke, "You want some food?" You know, and he was like, "No, no, no," He said, "But I just wanted to come over and let you guys know that you're welcome. You're welcome to be here." And it threw me off because I wasn't expecting that. And, you know, we moved out here. So, we have [a large multi-colored work vehicle]. That's our vehicle, our multipurpose car. And so we were getting a lot of stares, a lot of laughs, a lot of stuff. When we first started going to the stores and stuff, a lot of rudeness, a little unkindness and so when the family when they said that, I was like "Whoa!" And he said, "Some of our neighbors might not like you, but we're not those kind of neighbors." And it meant a lot. And I was like, you know, And he said, "You guys could come over. My fireworks are the best." And I'm like, "Oh wow, they're lighting fireworks, too." So I'm thinking, should something happen, we're safe. Like, if the police come or anything [...] we are safe, because they're lighting fireworks, too. And they have our back. I'm making humor of this in my head. But the reality of it is that if we were somewhere else, this situation would have been different. We would have gotten a different response and a different outcome. That kind of just opened up that welcoming [...]

Michelle suggested that experiences like the above helped make her feel a little more at ease. However, her initial wariness about the exchange and her reflection of the experience helped convey the complicated nature of the interaction, and the racialized basis on which it stood, pointing to her vulnerability and racial subordination. She suggested that the presence of her family might be having a positive effect on the community:

I definitely can tell that there is not a large visual of seeing African American people not in a negative sense, but more so the how to react or how to interact. And my grandson is very open. He's always, everything [...] is always diverse. So you probably would think one way when in all actuality, he's like, "This is right up my alley!" You know, I like, you know, hey. And so, his personality is opening up a lot of doors. And I think a lot of kids as well as adults at his school are kind of learning, you know, which is good.

While she framed this in a positive light, she also highlighted the work that it takes to navigate these dynamics and highlighted the risk it could present for her young grandson teaching “adults at school” about the humanity of Black people. She weighs this against what she considered dangers in their last community:

I have to make sure that for the sake of my grandson, that I kind of, you know, keep [the lack of Black people in the area] in mind. He has been teased about his hair, but he keeps it braided and stuff. But just the little differences. But nothing that is something that is like, actually affecting him. Because again, kids are kids and it's just all in what I teach him. I can't speak for what others teach others or allow, but I can speak for what I teach him. So as long as I teach him and explain to him should be or if it be or may it or if you never. As long as you have that knowledge of self-awareness: who you are, where you come from and you're grounded in what you believe in. Don't let any of that alter who you are. You continue to play with who you want to. Continue to put yourself in circles where you feel comfortable. And believe it or not a lot, we don't want to just be clustered. We don't want to be stuck in the Rainier Valley [in South Seattle]. We don't want to just be stuck around so much negatively unpositive things and hardships.

Despite the challenges Michelle suggests that she wants to avoid, she still misses the community in her old space, which she credits to the diversity as well as her longer tenure there.

[...] in the [Rainier Valley] neighborhood [in South Seattle], and it could be because of where we lived. Very similar here, because we lived in a quieter part [...] it was real quiet. I mean, you kind of get settled in with that just sense of feeling like you belong. Neighborhood-wise, I miss it. I miss the accessibility. There's a different sense of welcoming, you know, the diversity. So it's like there's not as much diversity around here, and over there it is. There's more access to, there's more—things are a little bit more accessible, but then as opposed to out here, there's more resources and a different type of opportunity, which is good. I like that. I think I just dislike having to be so distant. And a lot of that comes from my grandson. He misses the space, and the park was across the street. You know, everybody at the grocery store, they knew him from the time my daughter was pregnant. Just that, that feeling that you kind of fit in and belong. And then out here, the experience is now having to re-establish that [...]

Michelle further suggested that despite feeling safer, she thinks that more police shootings had been occurring in her predominantly White neighborhood, which she suggested may have to do with recent tensions in the area.

There are many ways Daisy's and Michelle's stories demonstrate connections between residential histories and priorities and reflect broader, ethno-racially circumscribed narratives that I heard in interviews. Before diving into this, I reflect on incongruities between how respondents and researchers are defining "good" homes. Though Michelle consistently emphasized that having a home at all is her priority, Michelle was one of several participants who did not live in "crowded" homes (as commonly measured by people per room), but who had challenges with space nonetheless, often because people with big age differences were sharing a room.²⁹ At the same time, some people in "crowded" homes did not raise crowding as an issue. Overall, this calls into question the consistency with which residents and researchers define a home without enough space.

Proximity to others also came up regarding nearby neighbors, outside of the specific housing unit, particularly with respect to families with small children within multi-family

²⁹ Some research has measured crowding based on square-footage rather than a number of rooms, but a measure of square-footage is often unavailable.

buildings. Several participants described negative consequences they had faced (pressure from a landlord, a visit from the police, eviction, etc.) when a neighbor frequently complained about children's noise-levels within respondents' homes, and a small number of participants with older kids remarked that they had avoided places with a lot of kids, due to concerns about noise levels. Heather, for example is a White woman in her early 30s. She says the following about the home she lived in at the time of the interview:

I like this place in the sense that I am on a third floor, so I feel safe. And then the neighbors haven't had, like I live on a third floor with two dogs and a kid. Usually you'd get a complaint at this point in life about noise. It's just how apartments are. My neighbors aren't like that. It's more like, you know, we actually have exchanged numbers, you know, and if it's late or whatever, I say, "Hey, just send me a text message. If my dogs are loud, I'll shut them up or you know, whatever." So, I like that. Whereas my last house was not like that. The people below, I mean, to the point where she called the police on me one time and said that my son and his friend were like screaming and the police get there and they're like, put their gloves on and it's very uncomfortable. And they're like, "Well, can we come in?" And I'm like, "Sure." And he's like, "Well, why are kids screaming here" And I'm like, "No." And I'm like, "[son's name]" and I opened the bedroom, they're jumping on the bed is what was actually going on. And then the two kids popped their heads out and they're like, scared the police are there, you know, they're like, "Umm," and I'm like, "It's okay, you guys, they just wanted to make sure everyone's safe." You know, and they leave. But I don't think that would ever happen where I'm at now.

Navigating racism primarily came up among U.S.-born Black and Multiracial participants, all of the latter of whom expressed some connection to Black or African ancestry, if only externally imposed. While Daisy focused on possible exclusion based on what she looked like and how she dressed, it is possible this is partly because racialized exclusion in higher-income areas is less salient for her because she had spent nearly two decades or longer in two socioeconomically distinct areas with sizable Black populations. More commonly, U.S.-born Black participants expressed a tension between diversity and access to community on one hand and more socioeconomic resources and safety on another, complicating their assessments of

higher-income communities and hampering their ability to find an ideal community. Michelle discussed the work she had to do to protect her grandson against racism. Multiple additional African American or Black moms were reportedly thinking about moving to the “Eastside” (Bellevue, Kirkland, etc.), remarking that they had heard the schools were good there, but the lack of “diversity” there concerned them. It is not entirely clear what the participants mean when they reference a lack of diversity. On one hand, Bellevue is arguably diverse in some ways: White people comprise less than half the population and over a third of the population is Asian; nearly two-fifths were born outside of the U.S. On the other hand, Bellevue and Kirkland have very small Black populations (2.7% and 1.4%, respectively). Given that anti-Blackness is common among many non-Black peoples of color (e.g., Bobo & Zubrinsky, 1996) and that Black people may avoid being one of few Black people in an area (Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997), sufficient neighborhood “diversity” for some Black people may imply the inclusion of same-race residents.

Indeed, while some people like Michelle had moved to predominantly White spaces, and others were not opposed to the idea despite their concern about limited “diversity,” some U.S.-born Black people reported that concerns about racism or other forms of discrimination led them to adjust the geographic area within which they searched, sometimes entirely avoiding areas in which they expected exclusion. For example, Latiya is a Black woman in her 30s who was born in the U.S. and had spent her life in low-income communities in which she often did not feel safe. Latiya suggested that she would prefer the schools and better safety in a neighboring city, which is predominantly White and has just over two Black people for every 100 residents. However, Latiya would avoid that area and described why:

No. I won't live in [that nearby city]. Not at all. I mean, even when I'm out there, I feel out of place, which is crazy cause I typically get along with anybody...

Something about the atmosphere is different. Something about when I step outside, I feel different and I don't know if it's the color of my skin. I don't know if it's the way I dress. I don't know if it's the way I wear my hair. I don't know if it's that I like to sing with the windows open. I don't know if it's the music I like to listen to. I don't know if it's my car that makes me stick out. I don't know what it is, but I know that I don't even go to the Dollar Tree there and I'm a Dollar Tree lover, you know? I prefer to go to the dollar tree in my neighborhood strangely. So, I find myself looking for other people like me when I go out, like oh there's one. Woo. I was hoping I would find one, you know, and that's kind of strange when you are looking for people that look like you, you know, or you're just looking for that familiar—how you say, familiarity. You know, and when you have to search for it, I think that's the problem.

Many respondents of color explicitly or implicitly suggested they wanted to live in spaces that were welcoming and supportive. Latiya's comment reflected an example of an explicit discussion, which came up more often among U.S.-born Black participants. Daisy and Michelle expressed similar interests. Many foreign-born Black and Vietnamese respondents living in ethnic communities primarily couched their related priorities in terms of prioritizing the types of spaces they had lived—which included many co-ethnic neighbors—without mentioning much consideration for neighborhoods outside of their sphere of reference, unless otherwise prompted.

In contrast, as Farley, Fielding, and Krysan (1997) suggest would be the case, many of the U.S.-born Black respondents discussing recent moves and priorities, centered ethno-racialized neighborhood preferences within a concern about a lack of diversity, suggesting an avoidance of unfamiliar spaces with few Black residents. This may reflect the fact that the displacement of Black people from especially Central Seattle had begun decades prior and substantial splintering of this community to other parts of the region had already occurred. Indeed, several Black people who had grown up in predominantly Black and/or lower-income spaces reminisced about the positive community there and their desire for something similar in the future. For example, Tasha is a Black woman in her 40s who was living in Federal Way at the time of the interview. She discussed her fond memories of an area that may not fit a

dominant understanding of “good” neighborhood, but for which she had a strong affinity nonetheless because the people there made her feel loved:

And you know, being that we, I was raised in [a public housing complex] and at that time it was not a very good area people would say. But I mean, [my mother] did awesome. Like I could not tell that we struggled. I couldn't tell that we lived in the projects. I couldn't, you know, I mean I knew that, but my mother didn't make it feel that way. You know what I'm saying? And then even the people around us was just, it was love. It was, you know, it was good time. So I really appreciate growing up [there]. And so I love [that part of] Seattle. Like [that area] I will ride for all the time.

Many U.S.-born Black participants recounted experiencing racialized prejudice and likely ties to the higher salience for these participants of finding a racially welcoming environment. The fact that the foreign-born participants did not focus much on avoiding racism may partly be due to their residential histories growing up outside of the U.S. For example, research suggests that first-generation Mexican immigrants experience less ethno-racialized “othering” than their second-generation offspring, perhaps because the first generation spend substantial time in socially familiar co-ethnic communities and experienced less exposure to other groups during childhood, like in schools (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). It may also be the case that if they do experience “othering” within society, their immigration status may be more salient for them.

While affinity for community and hesitance or aversion to predominantly White areas was common for many Black respondents depending on their residential histories, non-Black groups often reported wanting to avoid areas associated with Black people, particularly in South Seattle. To start, White people often cited reasons for avoiding these spaces that may be implicitly racialized, like a higher level of violence in the area (Hurwitz & Peffley, 2005). Vietnamese respondents sometimes explicitly expressed not wanting to live or spend time in areas with many Black people. Some Latine respondents born outside of the U.S., especially when asked about specific neighborhoods with a reputation for poverty and crime (e.g., Rainier

Beach in South Seattle), also suggested an avoidance or disapproval of this or similar neighborhoods, citing the presence of many Black people there. The Latine population in Rainier Beach is large relative to many other Seattle neighborhoods (14%) and some of the same participants wanting to avoid Rainier Beach also expressed a wish to live among more Latine neighbors. Here, outgroup avoidance may be stronger than ingroup affinity, or it could reflect ignorance about the full racial composition of the area in question. A final possibility is that—as Bonam, Bergsieker, and Eberhardt’s (2016) work would suggest—the relatively high rate of poverty (27%) in Rainier Beach and areas like it may be reductively racialized as Black for some people.

Discussion

Overall, I find that residential priorities vary both within and across ethno-racialized groups, with some desirable residential characteristics that seem to come up across groups: an emphasis on good schools and other amenities and supports for kids. However, other preferences also emerged that reflected different levels of congruence between understandings of “good” neighborhoods and what matters to residents, and some of these are structured by social categories including race and immigration experience. Notably, members of some groups prioritize community over other aspects of their residential contexts, a phenomenon that is particularly evident among immigrants and Black people born in the U.S. While immigrants tended to praise the benefits of living among community, several U.S.-born Black people described the tension between community on one hand and accessing socioeconomic resources for their families. Further, especially U.S.-born Black people I interviewed were unique in their explicit concern with navigating racism in areas with few Black people. This highlights the

continued importance of racial discrimination and the need for strategies that directly address this.

These results suggest that as policymakers and housing programs facilitate lower-income families to move into specific areas, they must consider whether their goals require more sacrifice on the part of some participants, based on the ethno-racialized priorities they have developed through their ethno-racially circumscribed residential histories, which especially for U.S.-born Black people has included residential exclusion.

A key difference between actual priorities and those that policymakers and researchers expect is that U.S.-born Black people and Somali and Vietnamese women less often prioritized lower-poverty areas, at least without caution, especially when those areas have few residents of the same race/ ethnicity. This research contributes to a growing literature on the role of psychosocial mechanisms of the residential mobility process in perpetuating systemic residential stratification (e.g., DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020; Krysan & Crowder, 2017). It also helps further critical discussions about the racialization of space and its role in reproducing residential disparities and the unequal outcomes that accompany them (e.g., Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016; Bonam, Yantis, & Taylor, 2020; Sewell, 2016).

Certainly, this study is not without its limitations. While I intend the results of this qualitative research to elucidate mechanisms rather than generalizable trends, it is important be cautious when considering the implications of foreign-born Black, Latine, and Vietnamese individuals overall. Among the participants of this study, each of these groups contains few cases from a small number of places from which Black, Latine, and Vietnamese people originate. It is also important to avoid conflating immigration status and ethnicity, as many Latine (about 2/3), Somali (perhaps over 2/5), and Vietnamese (about 1/3) individuals in the U.S. were born *in* this

country (Budiman, Ciluffo, & Ruiz, 2019; Dunbar, 2010; Flores 2017; Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). I therefore emphasize that the experience of immigrating to the U.S. is not a feature of the residential histories of all people of Latine, Somali, or Vietnamese ethnicity, despite this being the case for most of such interview participants for this study.

Future research may of course consider generalizable designs that allow researchers to more confidently speak to broader trends. However, in the spirit of this paper and the SSSP on which the study is situated, I expect that the precise forms of group differences will vary based on geographic location. In fact, this is a key implication of this paper, since it suggests that how residential spaces are ethno-racialized and what this means for different groups' priorities depends on residential histories which will be different in different contexts. As a result, I argue that similar research in additional cities and suburban and rural areas will help to more fully elucidate the various forms ethno-racialized residential priorities can take.

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Chapter 4: The Roles of Social Network Ties and Institutional Service Providers in the Ethno-racialized Residential Mobility Process for Housing Choice Voucher Holders

Abstract

Within more than a century's worth of literature on housing inequalities, a new wave of research has emerged on the residential mobility process, which scholars frame as a key mechanism for understanding racial/ethnic residential stratification. Further, the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) offers recent theoretical innovations that highlight the potential role of segregated social dynamics, including through social networks, as under-examined contributors to moving outcomes (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). This paper contributes to this literature by being among the first to examine ethno-racialized³⁰ forms of support that households receive during the process of moving homes from personal (e.g., family, friends, acquaintances) and/or institutional contacts (e.g., a caseworker, a staff member at a doctor office). In addition to highlighting various forms of ethno-racialized social support, this research also incorporates the experience of immigration, which introduces substantial variation in residential histories (the homes, neighborhoods, cities, etc. in which people have lived and their experiences there), including within a single ethno-racialized group. The research relies on 50 in-depth interviews in four languages with parents or grandparents living with children and using a Housing Choice Voucher in King County, WA, as well as supplementary data from two local housing authorities and the U.S. Census. As expected, the results reveal racial/ ethnic differences in the help participants received and what it meant for neighborhood destinations. Also, among those who received help finding a particular home or neighborhood, whether the advice led to a home that

³⁰ "Ethno-racialized" is a broad term to refer to those social processes and statuses that have come to have an explicitly or implicitly ethnic or racial character. In other words, these things vary by ethnicity and/or race.

is nearby or farther away aligned with whether the input came from a personal or institutional contact and the respondents' race/ ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born. Ethno-racialized differences, as well as those related to whether-U.S.-born, mapped onto broader residential dynamics within King County and suggested that other locations may also see similar, though context-specific, ethno-racialized dynamics in the role of support networks for residential movers. As such, this research helps clarify the mechanisms that contribute to the perpetuation of racial/ ethnic residential segregation. It also extends the SSSP by focusing on the role of institutional contacts in shaping housing outcomes.

Introduction

This paper examines ethno-racialized forms of support that households using housing vouchers in King County, WA receive from personal (e.g., family, friends, acquaintances) and/or institutional contacts (e.g., a caseworker, a staff member at a doctor office) when moving homes. Such assistance may be important for households given the challenges they face finding an affordable home. In recent years, especially following the 2008 market crash, rental housing “crises” have become commonplace across the U.S. as affordability has replaced inadequate housing conditions as a primary barrier to housing justice goals (e.g., Derrick, 2019; Greenblatt, 2015; Kotkin, 2014, 2015; NYC.gov, 2016; Oyedele, 2018; Talton, 2018). Given the centrality of our homes to our lives, but with no legal guarantee to housing in this country, the broadening of housing access challenges for a wider swath of the population can exacerbate competition in the rental housing market and make finding and keeping housing particularly daunting for households with relatively low incomes. It may not be manageable for many low-income households to do so without assistance from people and institutions outside of the home.

Federal housing voucher programs provide rent relief for over two million lower-income households nationwide (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2019). Yet research suggests that program participation often implies new barriers as, perhaps especially in expensive, competitive housing markets,³¹ voucher-related stigma and rent limits severely constrain the available units such housing searchers can choose from (Reosti, 2020; Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012). And while voucher users are fairly similar from a socioeconomic perspective, recent research highlights that broader patterns of ethno-racialized stratification are also present among this group relying on housing subsidies (e.g., Walter, Li, & Atherwood, 2015; Wang & Walter, 2018 and Chapter 2 of this dissertation), which may therefore ultimately exacerbate ethno-racialized housing inequalities.

Within more than a century's worth of literature on housing inequalities, a new wave of research has emerged on the residential mobility process, which scholars frame as a key mechanism for understanding racial residential stratification (e.g., Krysan & Crowder, 2017). This body of literature, which few scholars have empirically tested, emphasizes ethno-racialized residential histories (the homes, neighborhoods, etc. in which they have lived and their experiences there) as ongoing processes that perpetuate themselves by situating people in ethno-racialized communities (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Because people live, go to school, shop, and socialize in segregated spaces, their knowledge and perceptions of spaces is also segregated, which makes them more likely to seek out and find housing in familiar communities that are ethno-racialized in similar ways to the neighborhoods they know and like (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Further, and more central to this paper, the ethno-racialization of our housing experience is far-reaching since it extends to our broader social environment. As such, the people we know

³¹ See Rosen (2014) for an example of voucher holders holding an advantage relative to other low-income prospective renters in a lower-demand, higher-poverty market.

and interact with are in communities that look racially similar to our own, if they are not the same communities to start (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). In other words, the networks we rely on for support—like information about possible homes—are situated in communities that mirror and reinforce the U.S.’s ongoing legacy of ethno-racialized residential segregation. Given the local context of widespread housing unaffordability and additional barriers that voucher program participants face finding housing—like rent caps, a limited timeline to find new housing before the voucher expires, and discrimination from property owners (DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020; Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012)—voucher users may have a particularly strong need for support from others during the housing search process. As such, results indicating that the support movers need, pursue, and receive comes in ethno-racialized packages would suggest that these actors may play an underappreciated role in perpetuating residential segregation.

Within this broader context, the present research examines how support networks help shape the residential mobility process for households with children that use Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV) to pay for a portion of their rent in Seattle and broader King County, Washington. I consider whether householders relied on assistance from personal or institutional contacts when searching for housing and, if so, what this has meant for housing outcomes. I examine patterns that emerged among the entire set of cases and consider results by race/ethnicity and whether individuals were born in the U.S. I incorporate this last stratifier, because it allows me to leverage substantial variation in residential history, including within race.

The primary data for this work come from interviews with 50 parents or grandparents living with children and using a housing voucher in King County, WA. Colleagues and I spoke with participants between January 2019 to February 2020. I also used administrative information from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development’s (HUD) Form-50058 and tract-

level data from the U.S. Census' (2019a) American Community Survey 5-year files. The HUD and census data are supplementary and help flesh out participants' residential histories and outcomes as they reveal them during interviews.

As a result, this work reveals several pathways through which personal and institutional support networks may influence housing search outcomes in ethno-racialized ways. It also offers evidence to support the utility of the social structural sorting perspective for understanding ethno-racialized residential stratification (Krysan & Crowder, 2017), particularly by highlighting how individual connections outside of the household shape where households end up when they move, doing so in ways that reflect social status based on race/ ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born. As such, it provides insight into the importance of these dynamics for maintaining ethno-racialized residential stratification, within and beyond housing voucher programs, and possible ways to address this persistent form of inequality and forum for perpetuating other social disparities.

Background

The housing and community conditions in which families live are holistically influential, shaping long-term health, educational opportunities, and financial resources, among other markers of wellbeing (Burdick-Will et al., 2011; Chetty & Hendren, 2018a; Chetty & Hendren, 2018b; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2016; Evans, 2006; Galster, Marcotte, Mandell, Wolman, & Augustine, 2007; Jencks & Mayer, 1990; Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Leventhal & Newman, 2010; Ludwig et al. 2012; Oliver & Shapiro, 2006). Further, the literature has spent more than a century documenting that the conditions in which people live have long been stratified by many of the same inequalities that residential stratification perpetuates, particularly along the lines of socioeconomic status and race and ethnicity (e.g., Burgess, 1928; Du Bois,

1899; Logan, 2013; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011; Riis, 1890). For example, stratifying social forces fueled by racism are self-reinforcing within the housing system, much like other systems within society. Consider the linkages between residential context and incarceration. Residents in lower-income, segregated Black neighborhoods are particularly vulnerable to incarceration (Roberts, 2003). Incarceration in turn may shape subsequent housing, neighborhood, and other outcomes for the individuals incarcerated and the families they left behind (Geller & Franklin, 2014; Geller, Garfinkel, Cooper, & Mincy, 2009; Leibbrand, Carll, Bruns, & Lee, 2019). This may be because, as researchers have documented, incarceration can reduce an individual's and their family's socioeconomic resources by removing income during incarceration and limiting job and housing opportunities after release (e.g., Edin, Nelson, & Paranal, 2004; Reosti, 2020). These outcomes could again yield greater exposure to future incarceration for the individual who spent time behind bars and their family, potentially re-initiating the cycle.

Not only is there a web of systems working together to maintain inequalities across numerous domains, but there is reason to believe there is a complex set of forces reinforcing ethno-racialized disparities *within* the housing system as well. Krysan and Crowder (2017) formalized the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) to conceptualize the influence of our ethno-racialized social worlds on the perpetuation of residential segregation. This work intervenes in decades of research that three explanations for continued stratification have dominated. These include a socioeconomic resources argument that suggests that racial residential stratification is a function of ethno-racialized differences in socioeconomic status, the place stratification hypothesis, which highlights systematic racial discrimination in the housing market (Alba & Logan, 1993), and the preferences perspective, which posits that racial homophily yields racially homogenous neighborhoods (Clark, 1992).

The SSSP, on the other hand, reminds us that these forces operate together rather than distinctly, and are further bolstered by the influence of the segregated social spaces in which we live. That is, because of historically persistent ethno-racialized segregation in the U.S., many have spent their lives in somewhat segregated spaces—homes, neighborhoods, jobs, social circles, etc. (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). This can in turn shape the location of future homes, since searchers likely narrow their field of possible destinations based on the places they know and like or which their social networks know and like (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). That is, they do not simply select from all housing options available, but likely begin by determining the specific geographic areas within which to search and eliminate all options outside of those boundaries. Selecting the geographic limits of a housing search is likely shaped by any relevant knowledge and perceptions movers may have of specific areas, which are themselves influenced by experiences they have or have not had in those areas or assessments of the spaces that they have heard from others. If searchers and many of their family, friends, and acquaintances have largely lived and moved within racially segregated spaces, their networks likely have racially disparate sets of knowledge and assessments of particular neighborhoods. This in turn may narrow movers' housing searches to relatively segregated communities that align with what searchers and their communities know and like, helping to perpetuate segregation (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

Earlier rational choice models of the residential mobility process emphasized simpler benefit-maximizing and risk-minimizing economics in the determination of when and where to move (Greenwood, 2016; Lee, 1966; Ravenstein, 1885). In such narratives, the process of moving homes begins when households' perceived residential needs are unmet by their residential conditions (e.g., Speare, Goldstein, & Frey, 1975). Common examples include

deciding to move to be closer to a new job, for a bigger home to accommodate an expanding family when a child is on the way, or when a household is fulfilling the American Dream and “upgrading” as they work their way up the socioeconomic ladder. Within this literature, the residential mobility process typically ends when movers assess all of their options and identify the home that maximizes the household’s benefit and minimizes their risks (e.g., Lee, 1966).

Complicating these rational choice perspectives, a growing body of literature has acknowledged the constraints with which many people decide to move and search for and find new housing (e.g., Krysan & Crowder, 2017; DeLuca, Garboden, & Rosenblatt, 2013; Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015; Desmond, 2016), which are likely particularly strong for those facing residential disadvantage, including lower-income households and people of color (e.g., Krysan & Crowder, 2017; Desmond, 2016). For example, limited financial resources and source-of-income and racial discrimination can mean disproportionate exposure to unplanned or forced moves, including through eviction (Krysan, Crowder, Scott, Hedman, Adeeyo, Diby, & Latham, 2018; DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020; Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015; Desmond, 2016). This can induce a more stressful moving experience with greater time-pressure that limits how choosy households can be in selecting their new homes (Krysan & Crowder, 2017; DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020; Desmond & Shollenberger, 2015). Tighter economic conditions and discrimination may again have deleterious effects, as they bar housing searchers from large swaths of the available housing stock, especially more expensive homes and those with exclusionary tenant-selection criteria.

While housing vouchers address some economic challenges in accessing housing, participating in the voucher program also induces some mobility constraints of its own. To start, voucher programs set a maximum rent that can be subsidized, and these limits are often below

the market rate. As such, they can drastically limit the available options for voucher holders (Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012). Beyond this, in many markets, voucher holders face discrimination within the private rental system, which adds an additional barrier to program participants who have to find a property manager willing to rent to them (Moore, 2017; Reosti, 2020). Further, research suggests that many moves are “reactive” for people with vouchers (DeLuca & Jang-Trettien, 2020). Along with the limit public housing authorities (PHAs) typically place on how long voucher holders can seek new housing before the subsidy expires, needing to move based on the perhaps unexpected decision of a landlord, a home failing a housing authority inspection, or other external factors can shorten the amount of time families have to look for new housing, potentially requiring more compromise that leads to less-than-ideal outcomes and adding another layer of stress (Rosenblatt & DeLuca, 2012). All of this suggests that the moving process may be quite fraught for voucher holders. As such, supportive networks may be crucial for shaping this process. As such, households using vouchers may be a strong starting point for examining the role personal and institutional help plays in shaping residential mobility outcomes.

Supportive networks may matter for a variety of reasons, particularly for low-income households. This group has higher rates of participation in government programs that provide direct financial and in-kind support, relative to the overall population, though such programs often do not provide enough support for families to “make ends meet” and recipients often rely on additional sources of assistance (Edin & Lein, 1997; Gilliom, 2001). As an example of the scale of need among lower-income households, a policy brief from 2012 reported that, at the height of the Great Recession, nearly four-fifths of Detroit households with kids and incomes up to 200% of the poverty level received public benefits and three-fifths of this lower-income group

relied on both public benefits and support from private individuals and charities (Allard, Danziger, & Wathen, 2012).³² Lower-income households may rely on a broad range of assistance that includes things like financial support, transportation, childcare, access to job opportunities, etc. (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Stack, 1974). While the present study focuses on a narrow slice of support that households may receive—specifically, assistance related to moving from one home to another—there are many forms such help can take. For example, family, friends, and organizations may provide cash or various forms of in-kind support like a place to stay between homes, material resources like a moving truck or furniture, help searching for a home or navigating the administrative process of securing a new place, etc. These myriad types of help will likely shape mobility outcomes in different ways.

In addition to supportive networks being particularly important for lower-income households, ethno-racialization may also shape the importance of support and the form that it takes (e.g., Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004). To start, the proportion of Black-headed households with incomes below 200% the poverty level that receive direct public and private benefits was higher in 2009-2010 than it was for their White counterparts; the researchers of the related policy brief attributed this to these Black-headed households having much lower incomes on average than their White comparison group (Allard, Danziger, & Wathen, 2012). Further, research has found more elaborate systems of social support and a greater reliance on in-kind help among Black people and other communities of color (e.g., Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004; Stack, 1974). This may reflect a greater need for support given historical patterns of discrimination and resulting material inequalities. Regardless of the precise form of the disparity, I expect race and ethnicity

³² Since the median income of voucher holders in 2013 was at or below the federal poverty line, we might expect that a relatively large portion of housing voucher recipients also receive private support (Eggers, 2013; Office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, 2013).

to emerge as key axes of socially produced difference in the role of external support for those moving homes.

Networks may also influence the geographic location of a new home for voucher holders, since lower-income households tend to move closer to extended kin (Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017), and related processes may differ by race/ ethnicity. Research suggests that Black- and Latine-headed households are more likely to live close to nuclear kin than their White counterparts (Ackert, Spring, Crowder, & South, 2019), though the latter tend to move close to parents and children when making kin-motivated moves (Spring, Ackert, Crowder, & South, 2017).

It is also important to consider the possible influence of institutional support on residential outcomes. Whereas personal networks may mean moving shorter distances for those who already live around their kin, help from institutional contacts within care- or assistance-providing institutions like the PHA administering a mover's voucher or a doctor's office ("institutional support") may place households in more far-off areas. As the SSSP suggests, such contacts may have different sets of community knowledge, based on their residential and/or professional exposure to other areas, which reaches beyond that of the householder's personal network. If so, it may be the case that the input of institutional actors overrides the more informal influence of our personal social connections. At the same time, we may also see that institutional actors who work with geographically clustered communities may sometimes place households within these communities. Following the logic of the SSSP, this may be because these institutional actors have built contacts in such communities and may know them well (Krysan & Crowder, 2017); they may also prefer to facilitate placements in areas with resources they perceive to align with housing searchers' ethno-racialized, and/or migrant backgrounds.

For those who migrate to the U.S., the experience is a significant event within their residential histories that also likely shapes relationships to support networks. Research suggests that family and close non-familial connections can play key roles in the migration experience, drawing migrants to specific destinations and providing substantial material, informational, professional, and other assistance throughout the process (Ebaugh & Curry, 2000). Depending on the pathway into the country, migrants may also rely on governmental support to help them transition to life in the U.S. (Menjivar, 1997). That is, refugee program participants typically have access to public assistance during and following their move to the U.S., which can in turn help facilitate personal support through the development of ethnic clustering—this helps make the exchange of instrumental support like babysitting more feasible (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004)—and by infusing more material resources within these communities among the individuals to whom people might turn for support (Menjivar, 1997). Migrants coming to the U.S. for economic reasons, however, often do not have the same access to governmental aid as those who come through refugee programs, so without a strong informal infrastructure of support to make up for this lack of governmental assistance, long-term help from family and friends may be less accessible for economic migrants (Menjivar, 1997).

As such, I expect to see differences in the programs and benefits available to those who move to the U.S. through formalized refugee programs, relative to those who migrate through less formal or supportive channels. Indeed scholars of the “spatial assimilation” perspective of residential segregation suggest that the immigration experience is segmented: those migrants who settle in ethnic enclaves often maintain stronger ties to their co-ethnic communities and are less likely to move into whiter, less segregated communities (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005). These scholars suggest that the supportive role of these

communities facilitate cultural continuity in their new countries and provide an alternative to “assimilating” into a White U.S. mainstream, which is more common among those who do not live among as many co-ethnic neighbors (Logan, Zhang, & Alba, 2002; South, Crowder, & Chavez, 2005).

The experience of immigration likely moderates ethno-racialized social support processes, as those who have moved from another country likely have a different set of needs and potentially a different set of governmental and community resources than those who have been in the U.S. for their entire lives and/or for multiple generations. Similarly, ethnicity also shapes the support network experience for those who migrate across national boundaries, since those who provide individual-level support are typically members of a co-ethnic community (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). As such, it is possible that exchanges of social support differ among migrants based on ethnicity or country of origin.

With all this in mind, this research relies on interviews with 50 heads of household using housing vouchers in King County, WA between January 2019 and February 2020, as well as administrative and census data. It does so to answer three questions that test underexplored features of the SSSP and therefore help elucidate the social dynamics circumscribing residential mobility: 1) What kinds of support do households receive during residential moves? 2) How does this help shape mobility outcomes? and 3) Do these processes and outcomes differ based on race, ethnicity, and/or whether-U.S.-born?

The findings from this research indeed demonstrate the importance of support for voucher holders moving homes and that the forms and implications of assistance are ethno-racialized in ways that likely contribute to the maintenance of ethno-racial residential hierarchies. First, most people receive help with some aspect of the moving process. The most

common form of such assistance came was a place to stay between homes, and this came up particularly often for Black householders who were born in the U.S. Relatedly, only a small number of especially U.S.-born Black respondents reported having received financial help, other than housing agency support, during the most recent move. Those receiving support were experiencing homelessness at the time, and the support usually came from a local service-providing organization, often in the form of move-in costs. Finally, some respondents reported receiving help finding the specific home or neighborhood they lived in at the time of the interview. This was especially the case among Vietnamese and Black interview participants.

While the form of moving assistance itself represents one way that the influence of individual connections on housing outcomes may be ethno-racialized, how this manifested represents additional disparate pathways to housing. Specifically, U.S.-born Black participants who learned about a place through a family member, friend, or acquaintance sometimes moved *out* of the origin community, to another zip code. Likewise, individuals who found homes through institutional connections (e.g., a caseworker or doctor's office staff) moved to a different area. In contrast, foreign-born Black and Vietnamese householders who found a place through a personal connection moved *within* the same area. These results may have important theoretical and practical implications for ethno-racialized residential stratification, within and beyond housing voucher programs, as I discuss further below.

Data and Methods

In order to examine residential mobility pathways and support received during this process, the primary data for this report come from open-ended interviews with 50 voucher holding parents and grandparents renting housing within King County's private rental market. These interviews took place between January 2019 and February 2020. I analyzed the resulting transcripts for

insights about participants' residential mobility processes during the most recent move, regardless of how long ago the move occurred,³³ especially with respect to the assistance that participants received during the moving process. To examine how this influences households' residential histories, I also considered where participants had lived in the past and where they ended up when they moved. Centrally for this paper, I considered these trends based on race, ethnicity, and whether the participant is born in the U.S. To facilitate this, colleagues and I conducted interviews in English, Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese. Of particular note, this in turn allowed me to disaggregate findings for Black participants by whether they were born in the U.S. and to assess how their experiences of racialization may differ based on the conditions of their or their ancestors' stories of arrival to this country (e.g., Hamilton, 2020). Finally, conducting interviews across these four languages also made possible the inclusion of a broader range of voices than research of this kind typically portrays.

The interviews each lasted an average of about two hours and took place in the participant's home or a public location convenient for the respondent (café, library, etc.). With the help of the PHAs, several Somali-, Spanish-, and Vietnamese-speaking colleagues and I recruited participants in three phases over 14 months. In order to reach the rough target of 50 interviews, the PHAs facilitated recruitment by sending introductory letters to 300 prospective respondents and sometimes making follow-up phone calls and sending emails in English.³⁴

³³ This means I include people whose most recent move took place up to 13 years prior to the interview. Though findings based on such interviews could run the risk of reflecting housing dynamics that are no longer relevant, I argue that they can still be instructive, given the persistence of ethno-racialized residential patterns in the U.S. (e.g., Korver-Glenn, 2018; Logan, 2013). Further, while recall may be less reliable for those who moved longer ago, many such participants still shared fairly detailed residential mobility stories, indicating that this significant life event (i.e., moving) may be more memorable than the average event.

³⁴ To protect participants' confidentiality vis-à-vis the housing agencies, this follow-up correspondence was informational in nature and encouraged participants, if interested, to reach out to me directly.

In order to meet the needs of the broader project, I sampled voucher holders based on four factors: 1) the presence of children/adolescents in the home, 2) the primary language the householder reported speaking, 3) recent residential mobility, and 4) whether the household lived in the City of Seattle or broader King County. These priorities derived from my desire to contribute to important policy and scholarly conversations. Because we know the importance of neighborhood context during childhood and adolescence, I sampled only those households in which at least one resident was under 18 years of age at the time I drew the sample. Second, to expand the range of voices I could include in this study, and to delve into how immigrating to the U.S. can complicate ethno-racialized housing experiences here, I sampled individuals who reported speaking English, Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese as their primary language. The latter three are among the most commonly spoken languages among King County PHA residents who primarily speak a language other than English. Because of the high cost associated with each interview in Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese, I aimed for roughly five interviews per language. Third, though I do not disaggregate results based on this in the current paper, I selected based on varying residential mobility histories, including those who had stayed in the same home for at least two years, those that moved within the same city in the two years prior to the interview, and those that had moved across cities during this time. I pursued a quota sampling technique based on residential mobility among English speakers, aiming for about one-quarter non-movers and three-quarters intra- or inter-city movers. Because of smaller populations to choose from, I was not always able to recruit so granularly with respect to mobility, so I relaxed those criteria to various extents for the Somali, Spanish, and Vietnamese speakers. Finally, though not an important variable in this paper, I aimed to recruit half of the sample from the City

of Seattle and the other half from broader King County in order to speak to both Seattle Housing Authority's (SHA) and King County Housing Authority's (KCHA) populations.

The interview participants identify with a range of races and ethnicities and were born in several countries. They also speak a variety of languages. Nineteen women and two men identify as Black or African American and were born in the U.S. Five women identify as Black or African and were not born in the U.S. (four were born in Somalia and one was born on a Caribbean island). Six people identify as Latino, Latina, or Hispanic (two men and four women; hereafter, I collectively refer to them as "Latine"). Of these, one man was born in the U.S. and also identifies as a member of a midwestern Native tribe, one woman was born on a Caribbean island, and one man and three woman were born in three Central American nations. Four women were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the U.S. in the early 1990s. All immigrants from Somalia, Central America, or Vietnam live in Seattle and respectively speak Somali, Spanish, or Vietnamese. Ten women in the sample identify as White or Caucasian and were born in the U.S. Finally, I count four U.S.-born individuals as Multiracial/ no race: one who suggested she was Black and Indian (Native American, no tribe specified), two who explicitly identified as Multiracial, and one who declined to claim a racial status.

Given the richness of the data, I anticipate the research can help us understand ethno-racialized mechanisms that contribute to broader patterns of residential stratification. However, it is not a goal of this research to claim that the set of interview cases are representative of the broader local housing voucher population with children. Still, it is important to discuss ways that the sample may or not reflect larger populations. Appendix Table A.4.1 shows some basic descriptive statistics for the interview participants as compared to the 2019 broader voucher population with kids and indicates that the groups are fairly consistent, considering how few

interview participants make up some of the ethno-racialized groups. Black people are somewhat underrepresented among the interview participants. Some discrepancy along ethno-racialized lines is likely attributable to the targeted recruitment based on language, which can correspond to specific ethnic/racial groups. The average age is generally similar across groups, though “outliers” within these small groups make the Latine and Multiracial participants somewhat younger than the broader voucher population with kids. The proportion female is fairly similar across groups, though mobility rates appear somewhat higher for interview participants. This is also not surprising given that, to the extent possible, I intentionally sought a majority of participants who had moved in the past two years.

Finally, I encourage caution when considering the implications that might be drawn from the experiences of foreign-born Black, Latine, and Vietnamese individuals. Each group contains few cases from a small number of places and cannot be considered applicable to the experiences for foreign-born Black, Latine, or Asian peoples overall. It is also important to avoid conflating immigration status and ethnicity, as many Latine (about 2/3), Somali (perhaps over 2/5), and Vietnamese (about 1/3) individuals in the U.S. were born *in* this country (Budiman, Ciluffo, & Ruiz, 2019; Dunbar, 2010; Flores 2017; Gambino, Trevelyan, & Fitzwater, 2014). Therefore, I emphasize that the experience of immigrating to the U.S. is not a feature of the residential histories of all people of Latine, Somali, or Vietnamese ethnicity, despite this being the case for most of these interview participants for this study.

Data from HUD Form 50058 were also necessary for this project to identify and recruit prospective research participants, all of whom had been in the voucher program for at least one-and-a-half years at the time of their interviews, and to fill out their residential histories and their backgrounds more generally. These data included key sociodemographic and residential

information over time, from 2008-2019, like self-identified race/ ethnicity, household composition, and place of residence. The U.S. Census' 5-Year 2012-2016 tract-level files on racial composition and poverty rates were also helpful for deepening our understanding of participants' community contexts.

I use race, ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born to approximate differences in racialization. The ethno-racialized categories generally align with those on the HUD Form-50058 and privilege the reports that the interview participants provide during their interview. I consult their administrative information when their responses are ambiguous (unless they indicate a preference to remain ambiguous). I include a category of African American or Black participants. Because several members of this broader group immigrated to the U.S., primarily from Somalia, I break this group up according to whether they were born in the U.S. I count anyone who only identified as White or Caucasian as White. I consider anyone who identifies as Latina, Latino, or Hispanic as Latine, regardless of whether they also identify with another group. One person from this group was born in the U.S., while all others immigrated. Because only one Latine participant was born in the U.S., I discuss results related to Latine participants overall. Though multiple Vietnamese participants suggested that they had a Black American father, they also expressed that they identify largely with their Vietnamese heritage. Further, they only identified as Asian on their 50058 forms, so I count them as such here. I use the category "Multiracial or No Race" for anyone who does not identify as Latine but does identify multiple ethno-racialized identities, or who specifically specifies "Multiracial" or declines to be categorized.

It is important to contextualize the study site to facilitate the identification of ways the results may be different in other U.S. cities. The research takes place in King County, a central

county in the Puget Sound Region of western Washington State. Seattle is the central city and SHA provides most housing vouchers in this area. KCHA covers most of the rest of King County, with the exception of Renton, which has a separate PHA that did not participate in this research. Like many other high-cost metros in the country, the Seattle area has witnessed increasing housing costs, stagnant wages, an increase in wealthier, childless residents, and its urban core declared a state of housing emergency within the past few years (Derrick, 2019; Greenblatt, 2015; Kotkin, 2014, 2015; NYC.gov, 2016; Oyedele, 2018; Talton, 2018).

At the same time, King County, WA has some important features to keep in mind when considering the generalizability of the findings. It is one of the “hottest” housing markets in the country in recent years, which is partly due to the particularly high and until recently fast-growing cost of housing (Rosenberg, 2018). This is important because voucher-related stigma may be particularly strong in competitive housing markets, in which property owners and managers have a broader pool of non-stigmatized prospective tenants to choose from (Rosen, 2020). Indeed, research suggests that it remains common in spaces like Seattle in which anti-voucher discrimination has been illegal for decades (Moore, 2018; Reosti, 2020; The City of Seattle—Legislative Department, 1989). On the other hand, voucher holders in some lower-demand, higher-poverty markets may see advantages in the housing market, in part because a voucher provides security to property managers that they will at least receive a large portion of the rent (Rosen, 2014, 2020). Further, unlike highly segregated older cities in the northeastern, midwestern, and southern part of the U.S., King County has moderate levels of racial residential segregation. Given the research that suggests variation in residential dynamics based on segregation levels, this will be another important feature of the research site to keep in mind (e.g., Farley, Fielding, & Krysan, 1997).

While some features of an ethno-racialized housing market may not be as extreme as in more segregated cities, Black and Latine groups are fairly underrepresented in Seattle and therefore may have fewer neighborhoods in which there is a substantial presence of same-race/ethnicity residents. Only about 7% of residents are (non-Hispanic) Black, which constitutes less than half the national average (Data U.S.A., n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019b). The Hispanic or Latino population, which is close to 10% is similarly lower in King County than in the U.S. overall (closer to 19%) (Data USA, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019b). On the other hand, non-Hispanic Asian householders comprise about 18% of the local population, which is about three times the national rate (Data USA, n.d.; U.S. Census Bureau, 2019b).

Results

The findings from this research suggest that the involvement and influence of personal and institutional connections in facilitating the residential mobility process is ethno-racialized in key ways that may shape ongoing processes of ethno-racialized residential stratification. I start with the first question, which asks what kinds of social and institutional support households receive during residential moves. The overwhelming majority of individuals received some form of help during the moving process. A place to stay between homes was by far the most common form of support movers received, which was an important resource for those facing homelessness because they were struggling to find and/or afford housing within a timely manner. A fair number of people received support looking for a new home and fewer than half of the individuals receiving this form of help directly attributed finding a home or neighborhood at the suggestion of a personal or institutional connection. Some people received financial help, especially with move-in costs, and this often came from institutional rather than personal connections. Finally, a small number of people also received physical help moving belongings. Because the source and

type of support movers received was differentiated by race, ethnicity, and whether-U.S.-born, I elaborate on the various forms of help in subsequent paragraphs, as I help answer my second related research question.

To start, about half of U.S.-born Black movers reported periods of homelessness prior to moving into their current homes and almost all of these individuals spent some time staying temporarily, or “doubling up,” with family, friends, or acquaintances (i.e., “personal connections”) in between homes within King County. This commonly lasted extended periods of time of several weeks to several months and, on rare occasions, even multiple years while participants searched for housing.³⁵ For example, Shari³⁶ is a Black woman in her 30s with two teenage sons. She had to move out of her last place after she received 30-days notice that her rent was doubling, an increase that Shari suggested was legal because her rental agreement transitioned to a month-to-month structure following her first year of residence. Shari spent about 1.5-2 years staying with family while she searched for a place. She suggests she had difficulty finding a place where the landlord would accept vouchers.

Among those Black householders who had *not* reported doubling up between homes, many were living, at the time of the interview, with a family member or romantic partner on a long-term basis. In other words, they had access to in-kind and/or financial support from another cohabiting adult, who perhaps minimized the need to draw on additional resources through their broader personal network. Thinking beyond the most recent move, several more U.S.-born Black individuals reported doubling up at some point in their residential histories, which meant that the

³⁵ This may be rare at least partly because the participating housing agencies have time limits on how long a householder can remain unhoused and stay on the voucher program. As such, there may be relatively few instances in which participants are granted enough extensions to stay doubled-up and on the voucher program for multiple years.

³⁶ All participant names are pseudonyms.

overwhelming majority of U.S.-born Black participants had doubled up at some point throughout their lives.

It was rare during the most recent move for foreign-born participants to report homelessness. However, many Latine, Vietnamese, and foreign-born Black respondents reported having, at some point, lived with family members when making bigger transitions, especially during the immigration process or when moving between states. Gabriela is a Latine woman in her 50s who stayed with her brother for several months when migrating to the U.S. and initially moving to Alaska. Annie, a Vietnamese woman in her 40s moved in with her then-husband's family for a time upon arrival.

In addition to sharing the common migration story of moving in with family upon arrival to a new country, some foreign-born Black respondents also reported doubling up as necessary because of challenges securing a home in the Seattle area. Nasra is a Somali woman in her 30s who stayed with family and friends in multiple states during transitions between places. She discussed staying with friends when moving back to Seattle from the Midwest and made a point of discussing the challenge of finding a place in Seattle. Sunshine is a Black woman in her 20s who was born on a Caribbean island. She moved to the U.S. to join her fiancé's family and became homeless after her now-ex-husband became abusive. During a long transition with multiple bouts of homelessness and hotel and shelter stays, Sunshine doubled up with an acquaintance from church for a time while unable to afford moving into and renting a home.

Living with personal connections during the most recent move occurred rarely among the White participants I spoke with. Heather is a White woman in her 30s who spent one-and-a-half months "couch-surfing" with her partner and child while waiting to take over the lease of the friend she was staying with. She moved into a hotel after the apartment failed inspection due to a

mold issue. Lisa is in her 60s and is a rare example of a White person who reported spending a longer length of time staying with a friend or family member—she stayed with her daughter for about six months—before being able to move into the home she lived in at the time of the interview. However, her Multiracial family may have shaped her more challenging experience: Lisa reported encountering landlords who expressed anti-Blackness, which was personal for her and her Black children, and that there were ethnic tensions between her and the owners of her most recent prior home.

Many White people I spoke with reported having been homeless at some point in their lives. Beyond the limited number who reportedly stayed with a personal connection during the most recent move, some also reported having spent a single occasion staying with a friend in decades past. For example, Ronnie is in her 70s and suggested she had only doubled up once, staying with a friend while pregnant in the 1960s. However, the experience of doubling up was typically reported as a one-time thing for White respondents, rather than a routine feature of the moving process, like it seemed among many U.S.-born Black participants.

The experience of homelessness corresponded with multiple forms of institutional support, including covering temporary motel stays and move-in costs. During the most recent move, a small number of especially U.S.-born Black and White individuals spent time in motels or shelters. Almost all of the U.S.-born Black householders who had stayed in a motel or shelter had also stayed with a personal connection during the same move. Susie is a U.S.-born Black woman in her 30s who spent six months homeless while looking for a place. She reported her situation as follows: “I stayed at [a shelter] and half of three months I was on my friend's couch. And then for the majority of the time I was in [the shelter] at night. And then my best friend's sister lived in Seattle so I could be at her place in the day.” Like several especially U.S.-born

Black women, Susie pieced together places to stay from multiple sources, which may reflect the longer-term nature of being without a permanent home for some members of this group. While it is possible to stay with personal connections, living in somebody else's space can be challenging and there may be a limit to how long participants are able to do so (Bush & Shinn, 2017).

Some especially U.S.-born Black respondents reported having received financial help, other than housing agency support, during the most recent move. The support usually came from an institution, often in the form of move-in costs. Nashelle is a Black woman in her 40s who has spent her entire life in King County. Her most recent move arose when the property owners decided to sell the house Nashelle had been living in with her children. While looking for a new home, Nashelle was homeless for nine months. She began this period by staying with her mother before moving on to stay in hotels. During the housing search, Nashelle met frequently with a caseworker from a local organization supporting unhoused people. The caseworker provided a variety of support, including move-in costs. Nashelle says the following of the experience:

Awesome... Case management, somewhat, which would mean someone came and met with me at a library, like you and I, we had a conversation, I told her my story and then we just kept in contact while I was homeless. I also, they referred me to go sign up to get into this homeless database or whatnot. And just kept in contact until I found a place. They're like, did you find a place yet? They gave me lists of places to go and once I got into place they made sure they had the first and last month's rent and everything. They made it smooth for me...

Only on very few occasions did respondents report having received financial help from a personal connection specifically for the current home. As a rare example, Joseph is in his 20s, was born in the U.S., and identifies as Mexican and a member of a Midwestern Native tribe. He has spent multiple months homeless on two occasions, including during his most recent move. During both spells, he stayed in two places: with his grandmother and a friend's family. When

moving into the apartment Joseph lived in at the time of the interview, the friend Joseph had stayed with gave him \$200-300 to help cover the deposit.

Most people found their current homes themselves without assistance, or with help from another member of the household. Yet, some respondents reportedly received unsuccessful help with the housing search, and a slightly smaller number of householders learned about their current home, apartment complex, or neighborhood through non-resident personal or institutional connections. This was especially the case among Vietnamese and Black householders, among whom we see some interesting patterns emerge. To start, U.S.-born Black individuals who found a place through a personal connection often moved out of their origin community, to another zip code or town, though their foreign-born Black and Vietnamese counterparts received personal support that led them to live within the same general area that they had already been living in.

Jenn is a Black woman in her 30s who was living in East King County when we spoke. She had been interested in the area over time, and made the move to transition there after hearing her cousin's glowing endorsement of her neighborhood. She said of the area: "It's always been a part of my dream scheme, just to live on the Eastside, 'cause it's so much nicer over here and it's quiet, you don't have to deal with all the inner-city problems, so much. I mean, I know they're still out there, but they're not in my face, they're not in my kids' face." Jenn moved to avoid an ex-boyfriend who she reported had been stalking her. When I asked how she learned about the area, she said the following, "So, I actually had a cousin that lived down here for two years. And she loved it, same as me, she just was elated being out here. And so when I brought her out, and she was telling me all the things that the community does, and how it's nice, and it's just a great place to be when you're coming out of a situation."

The finding that U.S.-born Black individuals who found a place through a personal connection often moved out of their communities is at odds with research that suggests that leveraging input from personal connections implies moving *shorter* distances (e.g., Goodman, 1978, cited in Krysan & Crowder, 2017), and it may reflect contextual factors and/or this group's long-standing exposure to geographically varying levels of racial discrimination and their resulting use of folk insight about whether an area is relatively safe for Black people (e.g., Green, 1940; Krysan, Couper, Farley, & Forman, 2009; Krysan & Farley, 2002). With respect to the former, the long-term change in the local residential patterns of African Americans and thus also the racial climate may be at play. In recent decades, an influx of higher-income, White households has corresponded with the hollowing out and splintering of the Black community, which had been concentrated in the Central District and South Seattle during most of the 1900s. As such, the family and friends of U.S.-born Black movers may now be more likely to have and share information about a range of places outside of this core.

If the association holds between Black displacement and personal connections supporting longer-distance moves, this could mean that the process looks different in counties with less displacement and greater concentrations of Black people. In such locations, consistent with the SSSP, I might expect findings similar to those I observed for the Vietnamese and foreign-born Black participants who lived in ethnic enclaves at the time of the interview and, if a personal connection helped them find a place, it was within the same zip code.

Further, given that avoiding racial discrimination is likely a particularly salient consideration for Black movers (e.g., Chapter 2 of this dissertation; Krysan et al., 2009; Krysan & Farley, 2002), these householders may be less likely to move to these locations without a trusted source facilitating the move. As the SSSP implies that residential priorities for

marginalized groups, especially Black people, may be at least partly based on avoiding discrimination. Accordingly, Black people living in a broader range of contexts within Seattle across space and time may be self-reinforcing, as individuals experience new places and share positive assessments, perhaps leading more Black members of their networks to follow suit.

Rhee's residential mobility story may be instructive here. As a Black and Native American woman in her 60s, who had spent her entire life in King County and the past several decades in the Central District, Rhee suggested that her current residence in a neighborhood that was majority White when Rhee was a young adult "is the farthest out [she] ever moved" (University of Washington Civil Rights & Labor History Consortium, n.d.). She prefers the Central District, which she attributed to its historically higher numbers of same-race Black and Native neighbors in the area and its relative safety from the racism she equates with North Seattle and the strained racial dynamics she discussed in the neighborhood she lived in at the time of the interview. In addition to suggesting "...it seems like there's nothing close around" in North Seattle, she says the following about the area: "I haven't been there a long time. Since I was born, no I'm joking. But yeah, growing up, like I said, the north end was always prejudiced, you know, "[anti-Black epithet 1]," "you [anti-Black epithet 2]," "hey, come here you little," you know, "little n-word," You know. So that's one reason why I have a mental block, you know." However, her co-resident daughter,³⁷ who arguably grew up in a less overtly racist Seattle than Rhee, managed the housing search for the current home, and may have employed a broader geographic search than Rhee would have preferred. This is consistent with research that suggests neighborhood assessments can vary by cohort (e.g., Small, 2004).

³⁷ As a co-resident daughter, I do not include Rhee as one of the householders who used their social networks to find their current home. Nonetheless, I share her relevant, illustrative story here.

Unlike U.S.-born Black householders, foreign-born Black and Vietnamese householders who found their current homes through a personal connection moved much shorter distances. Among those who participated, these groups had especially consistent residence in the same two Seattle zip codes throughout their time in King County. They also stressed their preference for these areas because of the presence of their social networks there, proximity to amenities and services, and their familiarity with the areas (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation).

In contrast to Jenn's longer-distance move to a neighborhood suggested by a cousin, Nancy is a Vietnamese woman in her late 40s who moved just a mile when she found a new place through a personal connection. When we spoke, Nancy was in a very small minority of people living in their ideal homes in their ideal neighborhoods. She reported that she would have liked to stay where she was since the house is everything she wants and the neighborhood is like being in Vietnam in that she can speak Vietnamese with people and can go to neighbors if she needs something. Nancy learned about her place because she patronized a nearby business owned by an individual who had also owned the home Nancy moved into. This acquaintance had recently sold the home and was helping the new owners rent it out. Similarly, Leylo is a Black woman in her 20s who was born in Somalia. She moved within the same zip code to the house that her mother was moving out of. Though her 3-bedroom home was arguably too small for her and her five kids, she wanted to stay in the area in which she lived, where she was close to her mother and brother who helped out with childcare and running errands that can be challenging to navigate with five children in tow.

We also see that the interview participants who found a home through an institutional connection (e.g., a case worker or doctor office employee) consistently moved out of their origin zip code, to another neighborhood or town. Participants often credited these individuals with

raising their awareness of options they might have come across themselves. Nashelle's story continues to be illustrative here. Recall that she learned about her most recent home from a caseworker with an agency that supports homeless people. The home was close to 15 miles and a town away from her prior home. She did not like the home or neighborhood she was in when we spoke, though she did appreciate that it is the most affordable place she had ever lived. She was hoping to leave the neighborhood due to recent violence in an area her son spends time. She would also like to move closer to work, which is even farther from her apartment than her prior home.

As another example, Susie is a 32-year-old Black woman who was born in the U.S. She is a survivor of domestic violence and spent roughly six months at a homeless shelter prior to the home she lived in at the time of the interview. She received a KCHA voucher though she had never lived in the area. She describes the process of finding her home as follows:

It was almost really six months. Okay. And I had three months to find a place. And I got an extension. And so that's when I ... asked them, like, what do I do? I don't know, I can't get over this hump... And that's when... I just... Don't be afraid to ask for help. Reach out. Because if I wouldn't have said nothing, I probably would have lost my voucher. And I just, you know, that's it. And I, you know, I called her and I told her that, you know, how I'm feeling. And she was like, "Okay, well I've been doing some, you know, research," and she gave me some numbers to apartment buildings that might help me... And so I did that and I found that spot.

This is in line with expectations based on the SSSP, given that such connections likely have knowledge about a different set of neighborhoods than the individuals they are helping. Along with reports from some Vietnamese householders that they had lived in the same area of Seattle since initially placed there by supportive services, this highlights the possible importance of institutional actors in producing and/or maintaining residential patterns, including the

concentration of immigrants in local ethnic communities.³⁸ For example, Annie—who had moved in with her husband’s family when she moved to the U.S.—reportedly lived in the same South Seattle neighborhood since a Vietnamese women’s organization placed her there when she was fleeing domestic abuse. Tam, a Vietnamese woman in her 40s, reported that she had also lived in one South Seattle neighborhood since immigration services had placed her there upon arrival in the country. Such placements may be for arguably good reasons, like those that mirror the reasons many migrants in these neighborhoods reported wanting to remain there: proximity to co-ethnic neighbors and culturally responsive amenities and services. At the same time, some of these individuals also cited their exclusive familiarity with these neighborhoods as a reason to stay put. These findings therefore suggest that institutional actors can influence the residential trajectories of migrants who receive residential placement services upon arrival in the United States.

Discussion

This research uses data from interviews in four languages and supplementary data from the HUD Form-50058 and the Census to answer three questions: 1) What kinds of support do households receive during residential moves? 2) How does this help shape mobility outcomes? and 3) Do these processes and outcomes differ based on race, ethnicity, and/or whether-U.S.-born? I find that most people receive help with some aspect of the moving process and that the sources, forms, and influence of this support differs by race, ethnicity, and whether U.S.-born.

³⁸ The foreign-born Latine individuals who participated in interviews generally did not move to the United States through formal immigration programs, as most Vietnamese and Somali immigrants did. That the Latine respondents were much more spread out throughout Seattle and sometimes lamented a dearth of other Latine people in their neighborhoods, while Vietnamese and Somali householders continuously lived in areas with many co-ethnic neighbors, may partly reflect the role of institutional actors.

The most common form of such assistance came was a place to stay between homes, and this came up particularly often for Black householders who were born in the U.S., who most commonly raised experiences of homelessness during a move. Relatedly, only a small number of especially U.S.-born Black respondents reported having received financial help, other than the housing voucher support, during the most recent move. Those receiving support were experiencing homelessness at the time, and the support usually came from a local service-providing organization, often in the form of move-in costs. Finally, some respondents reported receiving help finding the specific home or neighborhood they lived in at the time of the interview. This was especially the case among Vietnamese and Black interview participants. As I explain below, while this itself represents one way that the influence of individual connections on housing outcomes was ethno-racialized, how this manifested represents additional disparate pathways to housing.

First, many U.S.-born Black householders who learned about a place through a family member, friend, or acquaintance moved *out* of the origin community. This finding is at odds with research that suggests that leveraging input from personal connections implies moving shorter distances (e.g., Goodman, 1978, cited in Krysan & Crowder, 2017), and it may reflect contextual factors like the splintering of this group from its formerly more centralized community in Central and South Seattle.

Similarly, individuals who found homes through institutional connections (e.g., a caseworker or doctor's office staff) consistently moved to a different zip code. This aligns with SSSP-inspired expectations about people with different residential backgrounds having varying sets of information and perspectives about a given area. The average commute to work in the U.S. is nearly half-an-hour, meaning many people live and work in different areas (U.S. Census

Bureau, 2017). As such, institutional connections likely have knowledge about a different set of neighborhoods than the individuals they are helping (Krysan & Crowder, 2017).

While many people who found a home with the help of another moved to another zip code, foreign-born Black and Vietnamese householders who found a place through a personal connection moved *within* the same area. This likely reflects these individuals' long-term residence within ethnic enclaves and the concentration of their social networks within these communities. As the SSSP-suggests, if these individuals' social networks reside within movers' neighborhoods, these contacts are also perhaps most likely to know of opportunities in the same spaces. These participants' residential histories involved being embedded among many co-ethnic neighbors who facilitated them staying close.

Along with reports from some foreign-born householders that they had lived in the same area of Seattle since initially placed there by immigration or other support services, these findings highlight the possible importance of institutional actors in producing and/or maintaining residential patterns, including the concentration of immigrants in local ethnic communities. Such placements may be for arguably good reasons, like those that mirror the reasons many migrants in these neighborhoods reported wanting to remain there: proximity to co-ethnic neighbors and culturally responsive amenities and services. At the same time, some respondents also cited their exclusive familiarity with these neighborhoods as a reason to stay put. As such, this research highlights the potentially important role of institutional actors in shaping path dependent residential trajectories.

Now that this study has identified several ethno-racialized forms of moving support that housing voucher holders in King County rely on, the literature would benefit from research that considers a broader and more representative set of movers overall. To start, future research might

consider more spaces across the U.S. and beyond it. This study is geographically limited to a single urban county in the U.S. and there may be considerable variation across metros in the precise way support networks may matter differently across race/ ethnicity. However, there are reasons to believe that even if the disparities look different, there are likely context-specific disparities nonetheless. Additional work in this area could help flesh this out.

Further, while greater reliance on support networks within Black communities may simply be an adaptive response to greater levels of need, selective forces may also be at play. That is, these more elaborate networks may reflect greater access to such support networks among Black groups. Members of other races/ ethnicities who need the same kind of support may not have the connections to provide such help and may therefore face negative outcomes like the loss of a voucher. If so, such individuals would not be captured in this study, which I limit to people using vouchers at the time of the interview. This selection effect may also work in a somewhat contradictory manner, in which members of other, arguably more privileged ethno-racialized groups who *do* have access to support receive sufficient help that they do not need a housing voucher and are not represented in the study for that reason. Analysis that captures a more comprehensive set of participants could provide insight into the way that ethno-racialization and support networks work together to shape differences in the need for and experiences within the housing voucher program.

Overall, this research contributes to the literature on residential stratification, mobility, and housing subsidies. By identifying ways that ethno-racialized patterns of residential histories and neighborhood knowledge correspond with the residential distribution of different groups within King County, this research provides important evidence to support the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP) (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Further, by emphasizing the role of

institutional actors in supporting the residential mobility process for households with housing subsidies, I further the SSSP's reach and include this perhaps underappreciated influence on residential mobility outcomes. In doing so, I help clarify how engagement with actors beyond personal networks can perhaps serve as a bridge to additional sets of residential knowledge.

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Chapter 4 Appendix

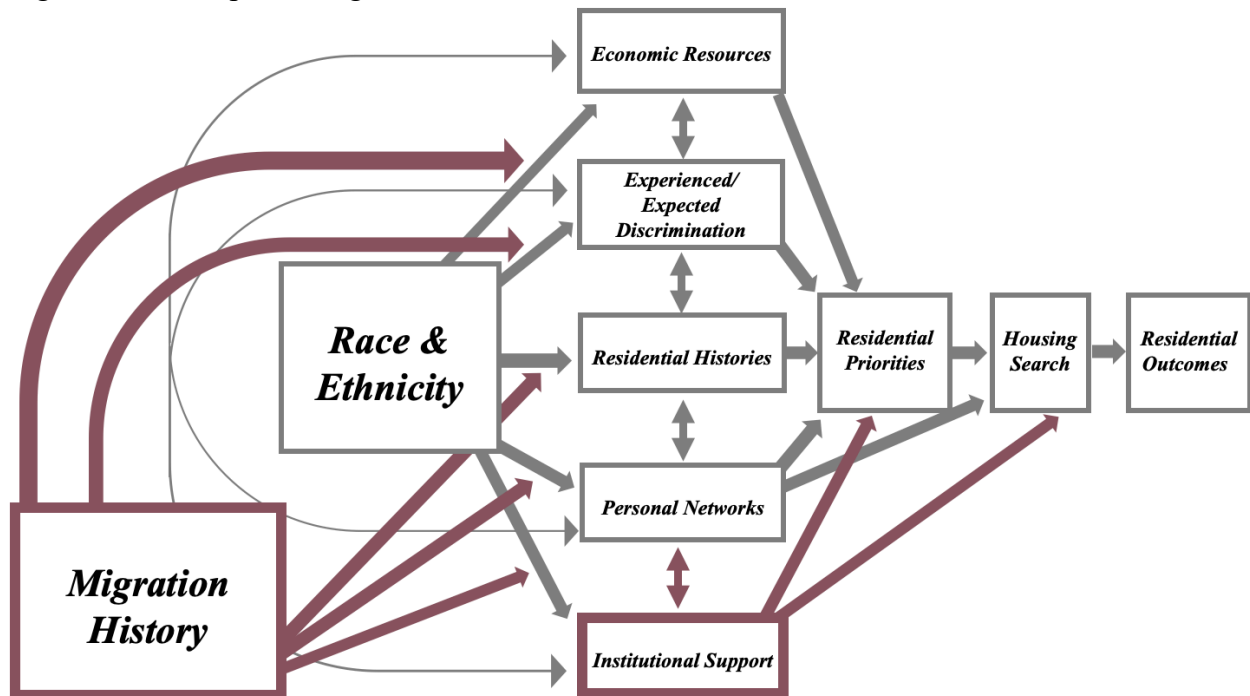
Table A.4.1 Interview Participants & All Voucher Households with Kids for 2019 (Counts or Means/ Proportions)

	Total People (Proportion of Total)		Age in Years		Proportion Female		Proportion Single-Adult HHs w/ Kids		Total Moves 2017-2019	
	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs	Qual	All HHs
Overall	50	5894	42.00	40.75	0.92	0.85	0.80	0.55	0.66	0.39
Black or African American	26 (0.52)	3657 (0.62)	39.00	40.41	0.92	0.86	0.77	0.55	0.85	0.42
Born in U.S.	21 (0.42)	---	40.00	---	0.90	---	0.81	---	0.86	---
Born outside U.S.	5 (0.1)	---	33.00	---	1.00	---	0.60	---	0.81	---
White (Born in U.S.)	10 (0.2)	1304 (0.22)	46.00	41.89	1.00	0.82	0.80	0.53	0.60	0.33
Vietnamese (Born in Vietnam)	4 (0.08)	317 (0.05)	47.00	44.90	1.00	0.76	1.00	0.44	0.25	0.22
Latine (Born in and outside U.S.)	6 (0.12)	445 (0.08)	44.00	38.48	0.67	0.93	0.83	0.65	0.17	0.34
Multiracial/ No Race (Born in U.S.)	4 (0.08)	171 (0.03)	44.50	37.55	1.00	0.89	0.75	0.70	0.75	0.47

Chapter 5: Conclusion

As a whole, this project examines ethno-racialized³⁹ social processes that may contribute to disparities in residential outcomes for voucher holders living with children in King County, WA. This work is important because of the central and influential role of our housing (or lack thereof) in shaping our lives. Figure 5.1 presents the conceptual diagram that the findings from this project imply. It shows in gray ways that this research adds to the literature as one of the first studies to empirically test the social structural sorting perspective (SSSP). It further shows in pink ways that this study extends the reach of the SSSP.⁴⁰

Figure 5.1 Conceptual Diagram



First, this research provides early evidence for the SSSP, which argues for a more complicated understanding of the sources of ethno-racialized residential stratification than much

³⁹ “Ethno-racialized” is a broad term to refer to those social processes and statuses that have come to have an explicitly or implicitly ethnic or racial character. In other words, these things vary by ethnicity and/or race.

⁴⁰ This specifically includes the boxes marked “Migration History” and “Institutional Support”, as well as the arrows flowing away from these boxes.

of the research from the past three decades has presented (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Instead of pitting against each other potentially stratifying forces—ethno-racialized disparities in economic resources, exposure to discrimination, and preferences for in-group neighbors—researchers and policymakers can have more productive conversations about how these threads come together to produce inequitable outcomes.

Second, this research expands the SSSP in two ways. This study raises the importance of institutional contact and support as a mechanism for differences in ethno-racialized residential priorities and housing searches. It also demonstrates the importance of migration in moderating the ways that ethno-racialized groups have different levels of economic resources, residential histories, etc.

A final way that the research adds to the literature, which is not captured in Figure 5.1, is that it considers residential dynamics in King County, which is situated within a lesser-studied metropolis with different population and housing trajectories than areas like Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia, which have been studied more extensively (e.g., Du Bois, 1899; Riis, 1890; Sampson, 2012).

In Chapter 2, colleagues and I quantitatively test disparities in terms of residential mobility and neighborhood ethno-racial composition and poverty, and predictably (e.g., Wang & Walter, 2018) find that household factors like pre-move household income sometimes attenuate bivariate inequalities. However, these disparities remain regardless of the controls we include, even past residential mobility behavior and pre-move neighborhood context. Differences in economic resources matter, but they are not the entire story. Interview data suggests that ethno-racialized differences in exposure to discrimination and preferences for same-race/ ethnicity neighbors played a role in the residential process for respondents. This adds to the literature on

preferences for same-race neighbors, which has often asked about hypothetical neighborhoods (e.g., Clark, 1992; Krysan, Couper, Farley, & Forman; 2009), by drawing on interview participants' actual residential experiences in real neighborhoods. As the SSSP emphasizes, these forces are related: past experiences of discrimination can shape preferences regarding neighborhood composition (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Further, these dynamics are part of a broader web of social processes—including ethno-racially segregated residential histories and support networks—that may not all be explicitly circumscribed by race/ ethnicity, but are nonetheless rooted in the United States' legacy of White Supremacy. Residential trajectories look different across race/ ethnicity and are path dependent, the forces leading to moves differ by group and ethno-racially circumscribed locations, and the specific help received from support networks and its consequences vary along these lines.

In Chapter 3, I delve into interview respondents' *residential priorities* (level of residential satisfaction, home and/or neighborhood characteristics they prefer, and their expected and ideal housing for the future). Past research has examined the extent to which psychosocial conditions like residential satisfaction and/or expectations help shape outcomes (e.g., Crowder, 2001; Speare, 1974). This work builds on this literature to study how these threads are stratified across a broad range of races/ ethnicities and how they connect to individuals' ethno-racially circumscribed residential histories.

I find that while there are some residential priorities that are popular across race/ethnicity (e.g., a preference for a house rather than an apartment, good schools, safety), priorities sometimes differed by race/ ethnicity in ways that corresponded to ethno-racially segregated residential histories. These differences corresponded with variation in how well researchers' and policymakers' understandings of "good" neighborhoods mapped onto respondents' reported

priorities. Some Black and Vietnamese participants preferred higher-poverty neighborhoods for the familiarity, social benefits, and amenities they offer and some U.S.-born Black householders reported avoiding lower-poverty areas that have few Black people because they anticipated exclusion there. Some of these U.S.-born Black respondents explicitly reported that it was *racialized* discrimination they anticipated, and sometimes *source-of-income* discrimination was a perceived potential barrier to moving into lower-poverty areas with few Black people. These expectations are both ethno-racialized and classed among the respondents I spoke with, since individuals from other ethno-racial groups rarely raised similar concerns about potential race- or class-based exclusion from specific neighborhoods or cities. The overlap we see here in the role of race and class speaks to the potential futility of attempting to disentangle these forces and of debating which more powerfully induces ethno-racialized residential segregation.

In Chapter 4, I also find ethno-racialized differences in terms of whether and how support networks shape residential outcomes during the most recent move preceding the interview. Relying on a family member, friend, or acquaintance for a place to stay between homes was the most common form of support respondents reported and this came up particularly often among Black and Multiracial participants. This aligns with past research that lower-income Black households sometimes rely on elaborate social support networks and that people of color receive more instrumental and in-kind support than do White people (Sarkisian & Gerstel, 2004; Stack, 1974).

A fairly small number of especially Black and Vietnamese people received help finding the particular home, apartment complex, or neighborhood they moved into. Support from personal networks manifested in ethno-racialized ways that mapped onto local residential dynamics. For example, Somali and Vietnamese participants who received help from a family

member, friend, or acquaintance were guided to homes within the zip codes in which they already lived and, importantly, where they had social resources. U.S.-born Black participants' personal contacts, however, sometimes pointed them to homes or neighborhoods in more distant locations. This may reflect the gentrification of areas like the Central District, which had predominantly Black populations for much of the 20th century, and the subsequent splintering of U.S.-born Black households to more distant communities across the county. As their networks have spread out, those providing advice have personally experienced a broader range of places to share with participants.

Through this chapter, I also add to the SSSP by pointing to supportive contacts beyond personal connections: institutional actors, whose jobs may include residential mobility counseling but often do not. Participants reported receiving this help on an ad hoc basis during their most recent move. For example, a doctor's office staff person helped Linda⁴¹ search for a place during a medical visit, a rental office representative refused to accept Heather's voucher but provided her a list of other places to try, and Susie, after feeling unsupported by her assigned Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program contact, arbitrarily selected another public housing authority (PHA) staffer and cold-called them to request help. Importantly, ad hoc institutional help meant moving to a different zip code for the respondents I spoke with.

Linda, Heather, and Susie were in the right place at the right time to receive their support, which manifested differently from the more systematic housing placements we have seen in residential mobility programs like the ongoing Creating Moves to Opportunity demonstration, which provides counselors to help participants identify and access prospective homes in "higher-opportunity" areas. Looking further back in time, a small number of foreign-born participants

⁴¹ All participant names are pseudonyms.

had reported receiving more intentional support—they had been living in the same, relatively high-poverty South Seattle area since they had been placed there by organizations decades prior (and many others reported having been in the area throughout their time in Seattle without mentioning immigration services).⁴² These institutional actors may have placed respondents in these areas for arguably good reasons like the social benefits of living in ethnic communities. At the same time, this emphasizes that these institutional actions can be significantly consequential in these participants' lives, and that they may be at odds with the residential goals of different institutional actors decades later.

This research has a number of policy implications. First, it suggests that if institutional actors want to facilitate access into particular neighborhoods, it is important to acknowledge and work to address differences in knowledge and perceptions that differ based on ethno-racially segregated residential histories and social networks. For example, Somali and Vietnamese participants often emphasized the benefits of their South Seattle neighborhoods, which are areas some U.S.-born Black and many White participants aimed to avoid. Ethno-racist ideologies also need to change so that neighborhoods with few Black people are more welcoming and put up fewer barriers to these racialized individuals. This likely requires addressing racism across all systems in society, which will arguably need more than a single targeted policy.

The results also point us back to the question of how much selective residential steering is appropriate, when, and for whom. For example, moving a lower-income White family into a higher-income neighborhood, particularly in areas like King County, which has a strong overlap between low-poverty neighborhoods and predominant Whiteness, comes with fewer ethno-racial

⁴² The interview protocol did not include questions about how participants found their first home in King County, unless it was the home in which they lived at the time of the interview. This means more participants may have been placed in their neighborhoods by organizational actors, but this is unclear.

challenges than such a move implies for lower-income families of color. Moving a Black family into higher-income spaces with few Black people can elevate their risk of facing racism, which corresponds to a slew of deleterious effects including potentially hastening biological aging and shortening lifespans (e.g., Lu et al., 2019). As I find in Chapter 3, some U.S.-born Black people seek to make such moves regardless, given what they consider the urgency of violence and other issues facing the communities they left, even if those origin-neighborhoods were more welcoming from a diversity perspective. However, this desire is not universal and, regardless, it should go without saying that they should not have to make such a high-stakes tradeoff.

More initiatives that make access to resources more equitable across space are necessary so that those who seek to maintain their place-based community bonds do not have to choose between that and dangerous or otherwise non-ideal conditions, like the presence of gun violence or unsupportive schools. This can also help address the truth that moving a minority of residents from higher-poverty to lower-poverty neighborhoods without addressing disparities across communities means more resources flow out of the areas they leave. Instead, we should not just use housing dollars to further enrich higher-income neighborhoods, but also to invest in spaces that currently have higher poverty rates.

This research adds to an already rich literature on ethno-racialization in residential mobility, housing assistance programs, neighborhoods, and residential preferences. As a steppingstone to further elucidation, it implies several pathways for additional research to continue this work. First, studies should examine whether the ethno-racialized mechanisms I find matter (differently) across a broader range of races/ ethnicities, and in other cities with varying housing markets, ethno-racial composition over time, and histories of residential stratification. Based on the findings from this project that align with local dynamics, the tenets of the SSSP that

emphasize context-specific residential processes, and critical race theory which identifies the ubiquity of racism, I anticipate that there may be differences in precisely how ethno-racialized residential mobility forces play out across groups and contexts, but that these forces will be consistently ethno-racialized in context-specific ways.

Further, work can examine the possibility of overlapping oppressions or intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1990) by studying ethno-racialized dynamics across classes, home buying and rental markets, and housing program participation; and across genders and sexualities, ages, numbers of adults and kids within the home, and whether disabled. That is, how do ethno-racialized statuses shape residential processes differently for people who are relatively advantaged or disadvantaged based on other statuses?

Qualitative data, like the interviews I use, are arguably crucial for examining the veracity of a complex model like the SSSP. Understanding the generalizability of the present set of findings is an important next step. As such, future projects should use more representative samples to test dynamics in broader populations. This can include city-specific research, as well as studies at the state, regional, national, and international levels.

Finally, more work should closely consider the varying roles of institutional actors in shaping residential outcomes for households, sometimes on an ad hoc basis. For example, to what extent does interaction with specific actors, who may have varying goals and incentives, differ across housing program participation and socioeconomic class? And what kinds of tensions arise among different kinds of institutional actors? If housing brokers are steering higher-income households into more “exclusive” (i.e., socioeconomically and ethno-racially exclusionary) neighborhoods and homeowners in such spaces are working to maintain the same exclusivity that residential mobility counselors seek to eliminate (McCabe, 2016), this creates

conflict to address. Certainly, we see some of this playing out on a policy level between, for example, tenants' rights organizations and property owner associations may take adversarial positions that require concessions from one or both parties (e.g., Seattle.gov, 2019). But how do these actors' institutional activities happen on the ground and shape those policy battles and people's lived realities? Answers to these questions can help us further understand and address the sources of residential stratification.

Overall, this research takes an important step in helping to test the boundaries of the SSSP as a framework for understanding ethno-racialized residential stratification among low-income housing voucher users in an expensive and competitive housing market in the U.S. West. It helps us better understand the myriad considerations people face when looking for housing, which may differ based on individual ethno-racialized statuses and differing contexts within a continually ethno-racially stratified society. In turn, it provides insights to policy, programmatic, and academic audiences to help in the important work of uncovering and addressing additional facets of ethno-racism within society.

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Project Appendix

Table A.1 Interview Analysis Codebook

Code	Code Description	Code Group 1
Age	This code is used to identify how old a person is, in years. We just need one code per person (unless there is contradictory information).	Background
Disabled	This flag should be used to identify any discussion of disability throughout the interview and/or an affirmative answer to the question about whether anyone in the home has a disability. This should NOT be used to code answers to this question that indicate the ABSENCE of disabilities within the home.	Background
Education	This code should highlight a discussion of P's schooling, including whether P was in school at the time of the interview, how far they went in school (a question asked towards the end of the interview), whether they plan to return to school, etc.	Background
Employment Co-habiting Adults	This code should be used to flag 1) whether co-habiting adults are employed and 2) a discussion of what they do for work/ how much they work, if employed.	Background
Employment Participant	This code should be used to flag 1) whether P is employed and 2) a discussion of what P does for work/ how much P works, if employed.	Background
Gender	This code should highlight the response P provides during the end-of-interview survey to the question "What gender do you identify with?" This can be the only code for this, but any contradictory codes should also be highlighted with "gender" (and "contradictory information").	Background
Household Income	This code should highlight the total income the entire household makes, including any discussion of how this breaks down, has changed recently, varies, will change in the near future, etc.	Background

Jail / Prison	This flag should be used to identify any discussion of incarceration throughout the interview and/or an affirmative answer to the question about whether anyone in the home has been incarcerated. This should NOT be used to code answers to this question that indicate the ABSENCE of incarceration for the people in the home. This question was rarely asked as part of the survey, so will likely come up rarely.	Background
Language	This code should be placed in an early part of the interview to highlight which language it is conducted in.	Background
Whether born in the US	This code should be placed in an early part of the interview to highlight whether P was born in the U.S.	Background
Personal Income	This code should highlight the total income P makes, including any discussion of how this breaks down, has changed recently, varies, will change in the near future, etc.	Background
Race / Ethnicity	This code is used to identify how the person refers to their own race/ ethnicity. Highlight each new label the first time it comes up in conversation. Regardless, it is important to ALSO highlight the response to the question at the end of the interview "What race(s)/ethnicity (ies) do you identify with?" since sometimes people will refer to their background throughout the interview and then say something different in response to this question. We use whatever they tell us in response to this question for their "race/ ethnicity."	Background
Relationship Status	This code is used to identify whether P is in a relationship and if so, whether that relationship has been legally bound. Sometimes people say they're single, but they may also be divorced. Single is often understood in demography to mean "never-married", so we should make sure to include information about marriage history, too, if that's available.	Background

Total Kids	This code is used to identify the total number of children P has, regardless of whether they're adult children and/or whether they live with P. The children don't have to be biological children, but they should not be people who are "like" their children. (e.g., "I raised him. He's my nephew, but I consider him my son." would count in this tally, but "I love her. She's like a daughter to me." would not). It can be a number or a description.	Background
Disc. ANTICIPATED	This code should be used to highlight ALL discussions of discrimination that are ANTICIPATED. This can be discrimination somebody anticipated in the past (when looking for housing, in a particular neighborhood, discrimination they're kids might face, etc.) or discrimination they currently (or hypothetically would) anticipate in the future.	Discrimination
Disc. EXPERIENCED	This flag should be used to highlight ALL discussions of discrimination that have been EXPERIENCED by P or someone else in family.	Discrimination
Disc. Type DISABILITY	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is related to a DISABILITY that P and/or a family member has.	Discrimination
Disc. Type FAMILY SIZE	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is related to P's FAMILY SIZE (often the number of kids).	Discrimination
Disc. Type COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is related to COUNTRY OF ORIGIN.	Discrimination
Disc. Type OTHER	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is related to something OTHER than P's race/ ethnicity, migration status, family size, voucher, or disability.	Discrimination
Disc. Type RACE/ETHNICITY	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) RACIAL/ ETHNIC discrimination.	Discrimination
Disc. Type VOUCHER	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is voucher-related. This includes refusing	Discrimination

	to rent to someone because of a voucher, regardless of legality of refusal.	
Disc. Type LANGUAGE	This code should highlight any discussion of (anticipated OR experienced) discrimination that is related to WHAT LANGUAGE P SPEAKS	Discrimination
Feels Good about Moving in Future	This code should highlight POSITIVE sentiment about the possibility of moving in the future. This can mean clear praise (e.g., "It'll be great for all of us. We all really love that neighborhood.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "It would be good."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think the move will be good in some ways and bad in others, or they think the move will be good for some people and bad for others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It'll be fine. Everyone will do well there." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It'll be fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)	Expectations
Feels Neutral about Moving in Future	This code should highlight NEUTRAL sentiment about the possibility of moving in the future. This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It'll be fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It'll be good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think the move will be good in some ways and bad in others, or they think the move will be good for some people and bad for others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It'll be fine. Everyone will do well there." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It'll be fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)	Expectations

Feels Poorly about Moving in Future	This code should highlight NEGATIVE sentiment about the possibility of moving in the future. This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "We really don't want to move, but we have to." or "I'm really scared about when I may have to leave this place. Which can be any time.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It won't be good/the best/great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think the move will be good in some ways and bad in others, or they think the move will be good for some people and bad for others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It'll be fine. Everyone will do well there." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It'll be fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)	Expectations
Home Might Move Into	This code should highlight any discussion of the HOME (physical structure, housing unit, building, yard, etc.) P anticipates moving into in the future.	Expectations
Other Expectations	This code should highlight any other expectations that are not covered by other flags. They do not have to be related to residential context.	Expectations
When Might Move	This code should highlight a discussion of when P anticipates moving in the future.	Expectations
Where Might Move	This code should highlight a discussion of WHERE P anticipates moving in the future. A neighborhood? State? Country?	Expectations
Hazard Tp - Lead Paint	Use this code to highlight discussion of lead paint being a problem within a home. Each mention of a hazard should have a present/absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	Home
Hazard Tp - Mold	Use this code to highlight discussion of mold being a problem within a home. Each mention of a hazard should have a present/absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times,	Home

	it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	
Hazard Tp - Other	Use this code to highlight discussion of OTHER issues being a problem within a home (anything other than rodents/ insects, mold, lead paint, structural issues). Each mention of a hazard should have a present/ absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	Home
Hazard Tp - Rodents / Insect Infestation	Use this code to highlight discussion of rodents/ insects being a problem within a home. Each mention of a hazard should have a present/ absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	Home
Hazard Tp - Structural Issues	Use this code to highlight discussion of structural issues (leaks, issues with walls/ ceilings / floors) being a problem within a home. Each mention of a hazard should have a present/ absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	Home
Hazards - Absent	Use this code to highlight discussion of a hazard (mold, rodents, etc.) being NOT BEING PRESENT within the home. This may come up in context to comparing homes. For example, P might say "I like it here. No rodents like the last place." Each mention of a hazard should have a present/ absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	Home
Hazards - Present	Use this code to highlight discussion of a hazard (mold, rodents, etc.) being present within the home. Each mention of a hazard should have a present/ absent code and a type (if P repeats the same issue within the same home multiple times, it's not necessary to	Home

	highlight each one, but try to get ones that may be good quotes).	
Home - Good Size	Use this code to highlight discussion of a home being of a sufficient size. P may say the space is a good size or they may say it is "roomy," "spacious," etc.	Home
Home - Too Small	Use this code to highlight discussion of a home not being big enough. Perhaps there are not enough bedrooms or the rooms are cramped.	Home
Home Description	This code should highlight P's description of a home, regardless of whether it is a current or past home, or a future home P knows they will move into. (It should also be coded with whether it is a current, past, or future home.)	Home
Home Type - Accessory dwelling unit	This code should accompany a discussion of an accessory dwelling unit (ADU): a home that is built on the property of another home, which can be attached to or detached from the main home.	Home
Home Type - Apartment Building	This code should accompany a discussion of an "apartment" or a home in a building with four or more units.	Home
Home Type - Duplex	This code should accompany any discussion of a duplex: typically a building divided into two units with separate entrances.	Home
Home Type - House	This code should accompany any discussion of a house that is unconnected to any other homes.	Home
Home Type - Manufactured Home/ Trailer	This code should accompany a discussion of an manufactured home or trailer.	Home
Home Type - Room in someone else's home (permanent)	This code should accompany a discussion of P renting a room from another person on a permanent basis (not temporary between homes).	Home
Home Type - Townhouse/ Rowhouse	This code should accompany any discussion of a townhome: typically a tall home built in a row with other homes that are connected horizontally but not vertically, and which typically has at least 3 floors.	Home
Home Type - Triplex	This code should accompany any discussion of a triplex: typically a building divided into three units with separate entrances.	Home

Homelessness	This code should accompany any discussion of P's homelessness, however temporary. This includes doubling up, staying in a shelter, hotel, or car, sleeping on the streets, etc.)	Home
Key Appliances - Absent	Use this code to highlight discussion of key appliances NOT BEING PRESENT within a home. "Key appliances" refers to appliances that P considers important (perhaps they say they don't have a washer/ dryer, which makes their life more difficult, or they wish they had a dishwasher but do not.)	Home
Key Appliances - Present	Use this code to highlight discussion of key appliances being present within a home. "Key appliances" refers to appliances that P considers important (perhaps they say they have a washer/ dryer, which is a must, etc.)	Home
Noise-Level - Bad	Use this code to highlight discussion of the noise level around P's home being unsatisfactory. P might say it is noisy, for example. This can refer to the neighborhood and/or the apartment building, or the area immediately outside the home otherwise.	Home
Noise-Level - Good	Use this code to highlight discussion of the noise level around P's home being satisfactory. P might say it is quiet, for example. This can refer to the neighborhood and/or the apartment building, or the area immediately outside the home otherwise.	Home
Privacy - Insufficient	Use this code to highlight discussion of P feeling like they have insufficient privacy. They may directly say they have limited/ no privacy or they may hint at it, saying for example that they don't like living in an apartment building because people often complain about their kids making noise. Or they may say their neighbors are too close, etc.	Home
Privacy - Sufficient	Use this code to highlight discussion of P feeling like they have sufficient privacy. They may directly say they have privacy or they may hint at it, saying for example that they like living in a house because there's nobody around to complain about their kids making noise. Or they may say there are no neighbors close by.	Home

Size of Home	This code is used to highlight the size of a home. This can be the number of bedrooms, the number of square feet, or a description of the size (e.g., "it's really spacious" or "it's really small").	Home
Tenant Portion Rent	This code should indicate how much P pays in rent every month. This should not include the total rent or the amount the housing authority covers, but just the amount that P is responsible for/ pays.	Home
Total Adults in Home	This code is used to identify the total number of adults, other than P, who lives in the home. It can be a number or a description (e.g., "well, my 35-year-old son lives with me and my daughter is 18" or "My mom lives with me.")	Home
Total People Under 18 in Home	This code is used to identify the total number of legal minors who live in the home. This includes P's children (who are under 18 years old) AND anyone else under the age of 18 who lives with P (niece/ grandkid/ friend's kid / etc.). It can be a number or a description.	Home
Total Rent	This code should indicate the TOTAL market rent for P's home. This means tenant portion + PHA portion.	Home
Utilities / Other Bills	This code should highlight any other bills that P discusses. Water/sewage/garbage & electricity are the most common, but internet, phone, and others can also be highlighted.	Home
Yard / Green Space - Accessible	Use this code to highlight discussion of a yard or green space being accessible. For example, P may say they have a yard or a playground for their kids to play on the property they live on. They may say there's a park nearby that they go to. Etc.	Home
Yard / Green Space - Inaccessible	Use this code to highlight discussion of a yard or green space being inaccessible. For example, P may say they do not have a yard or anywhere for their kids to play. They may say there's a park but it's too far to get to. Etc.	Home

AFTER ENTIRE Voucher Tenure Flag	This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH that a participant lived in AFTER THEY CAME OFF THE VOUCHER PROGRAM. With respect to a MOVE, this WOULD APPLY if the P started with a voucher and then moved into a new place after leaving the voucher program. If P stays in one place across voucher status, use all relevant codes (prior, during, following voucher tenure).	Housing Program Participation
BEFORE ENTIRE Voucher Tenure Flag	This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH that a participant lived in BEFORE THEY INITIALLY GOT THEIR VOUCHER. With respect to a MOVE, this WOULD NOT APPLY if the P started without a voucher and then moved into a new place to use the voucher. It would, however, accompany codes about the origin home/ NH. If P stays in one place across voucher status, use all relevant codes (prior, during, following voucher tenure). DO NOT USE for a period prior to regaining the voucher if person temporarily goes off the program (in that case, use Temp. Left Program Flag).	Housing Program Participation
PHA - Negative	This code should highlight a NEGATIVE assessment about working with a PHA. This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "We really don't want to move, but we have to." or "I'm really scared about when I may have to leave this place. Which can be any time.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It won't be good/the best/great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or their experience has been good in some ways and bad in others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. They're helpful." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It's fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)	Housing Program Participation

<p>PHA - Neutral</p>	<p>This code should highlight a NEUTRAL assessment about working with a PHA. This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It's. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It's good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or their experience has been good in some ways and bad in others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. They're helpful." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It's fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)</p>	<p>Housing Program Participation</p>
<p>PHA - Positive</p>	<p>This code should highlight a POSITIVE assessment about working with a PHA. This can mean clear praise (e.g., "It's been great. They're always really helpful.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "It's."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or their experience has been good in some ways and bad in others, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. They're helpful." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "It's fine." as neutral and the rest as positive.)</p>	<p>Housing Program Participation</p>
<p>Public Housing</p>	<p>This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE into/ out of a home owned by a PHA ("public housing"). This code should also accompany any discussion of an associated HOME/ NH (e.g., they may discuss the NH they lived in when they lived in public housing).</p>	<p>Housing Program Participation</p>
<p>Temp. Left Program Flag</p>	<p>This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH that a participant lived in DURING A PERIOD THAT PARTICIPANT IS OFFICIALLY/ TEMPORARILY OUT OF VOUCHER PROGRAM. With respect to a MOVE, this</p>	<p>Housing Program Participation</p>

	WOULD APPLY if the P started with a voucher and then moved into a new place, after having given up the program, but before returning to the program. If P stays in one place across voucher status, use all relevant codes (prior, during, following voucher tenure).	
USING Voucher Flag	This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH that a participant lived in WHILE THEY HAVE THEIR VOUCHER. With respect to a MOVE, this applies whether P had the voucher at the origin home, or whether P got the voucher while living at the origin home and then moved into a new place with the voucher. However, in that case, this code would only accompany the move and not the home/ neighborhood that they were in at the beginning of the move. If P stays in one place across voucher status, use all relevant codes (prior, during, following voucher tenure). DO NOT USE for a place that a person stays in, in between homes while on the program, but in which P is not using the voucher (for that, use Voucher on Hold Flag)	Housing Program Participation
Voucher Impact	Use this code to highlight any discussion of how the voucher has impacted P's life or the life of P's kids.	Housing Program Participation
Voucher on Hold Flag	This code should accompany any other code that refers to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH that a participant lived in WHILE THE VOUCHER PROGRAM IS ON HOLD. This can include a period doubling up, living without shelter, etc. With respect to a MOVE, this WOULD APPLY if the P started with a voucher and then moved into a new place (doubling up or possibly giving up the program but HAS NOT OFFICIALLY given up the program) with the voucher on hold. If P stays in one place across voucher status, use all relevant codes (prior, during, following voucher tenure).	Housing Program Participation
Do NOT Expect to Live in Ideal	This code should highlight a statement that P DOES NOT expect to live in ideal living	Ideal

	conditions (home / NH / neighbors/ location) someday.	
DOES Expect to Live in Ideal	This code should highlight a statement that P DOES expect to live in ideal living conditions (home / NH / neighbors/ location) someday.	Ideal
Has NOT Spent Time in Ideal	This code should be used if the person says they have never been around their ideal living conditions (home / NH / neighbors/ location).	Ideal
Ideal Home	This code should highlight P's description of an ideal home and what it would have inside and directly outside (e.g., a 3-bedroom house, washer/dryer, walk-in closet, big windows, a view, big yard, garden).	Ideal
Ideal Location	This code should highlight P's description of an ideal location (e.g., somewhere sunny, Atlanta, the South).	Ideal
Ideal Neighborhood	This code should highlight P's description of an ideal neighborhood - the area surrounding the property that the home sits on (e.g., quiet, stores close by, safe).	Ideal
Ideal Neighbors	This code should highlight P's description of what ideal neighbors would be like (e.g., friendly, people who keep to themselves, people who look like me).	Ideal
Lived in Ideal	This code should flag people who have lived in a place that they consider ideal (home / NH / neighbors/ location), or something like it. Can be used with "Spent Time in Ideal" if some features they have only witnessed and other features they have lived among.	Ideal
Spent Time in Ideal	This code should flag people who have spent time in a place (home / NH / neighbors/ location) that they consider ideal, or something like it, BUT THEY HAVE NEVER LIVED in such a place. Can be used with "Lived in Ideal" if some features they have only witnessed and other features they have lived amongst.	Ideal
Current Move	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a move that is currently underway, meaning they are searching for a place or have a place that they will move into on a specific date within the next 3-4 months.	Move

Future MOVE Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a move that will or may happen in the future. This should be LIMITED TO THE ACT OF MOVING. This can be used, for example, if a person talks about a move that will happen (e.g., "The move will happen on March 1, 2020." or "I'll rent a truck and my kids will help me move."). If discussion relates to multiple moves, use all relevant flags (for example, if they say "Well in the past, I did X and in the future, I'll do Y" we should code that as both past & future moves). This code can include expectations and pretty strong certainties. In this way, it is unlike Future Home / NH, which should be limited to futures that are more definite (e.g., a lease is in place).	Move
Most Recent Move	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to the most recent completed move. This code should not be applied to a move that is currently underway, meaning the participant is searching for a place or has a place that they will move into on a specific date within the next 3-4 months.	Move
Move Type - Across Cities	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a move across cities.	Move
Move Type - Across Zip Codes	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a move across zip codes.	Move
Move Type - Port-In	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to porting across PHA service areas. For example, a participant may have lived in KCHA's service area and then moved to Tacoma HA's service area, and then to Seattle. Each of these moves would be counted.	Move
Move Type - Within City	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a move within the same city.	Move
Move Type - Within NH	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a very short distance move. It is unlikely that the respondent will mention being in the same neighborhood by name, but they are more	Move

	likely to mention that they moved "right down the street" or "a few blocks away." If we have the addresses, we can also check for whether they're in the same neighborhood.	
Past Move (NOT most recent)	This code should accompany any other move-related code that refers to a past/completed move that is NOT the most recent completed move.	Move
Reason for moving - any reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses any reason(s) they moved.	Move
Reason for moving - main reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses why they moved and they EITHER discuss only one reason OR they specifically say that one reason is the main reason they moved. If they mention MULTIPLE main reasons, each of them should be coded.	Move
Reason for which city/state/country - any reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses any reason(s) they ended up in a new city/state/country (or town, county, etc. - anything that is bigger than moving neighborhoods within the same town/ city). This is used to flag discussions of what motivates people to make longer distance moves.	Move
Reason for which city/state/country - main reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses they ended up in a new city/state/country (or town, county, etc. - anything that is bigger than moving neighborhoods within the same town/ city) and they EITHER discuss only one reason OR they specifically say that one reason is the main reason they made this move. If they mention MULTIPLE main reasons, each of them should be coded. A home is the housing unit or the specific house/ apartment / town home/ trailer / etc. that a person moved into. This is used to flag discussions of what motivates people to make longer distance moves.	Move
Reason for which home - any reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses any reason(s) they ended up in the home they did. A home is the housing unit or the specific house/ apartment	Move

	/ town home/ trailer / etc. that a person moved into.	
Reason for which home - main reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses why they moved into the home they moved into and they EITHER discuss only one reason OR they specifically say that one reason is the main reason they moved into this home. If they mention MULTIPLE main reasons, each of them should be coded. A home is the housing unit or the specific house/ apartment / town home/ trailer / etc. that a person moved into.	Move
Reason for which NH - any reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses any reason(s) they ended up in the NH they did. A neighborhood can be named (e.g., Rainier Valley, Ballard) or it can just be a part of a town, city, etc..	Move
Reason for which NH - main reason	This code should be used any time a participant discusses why they moved into the NH they moved into and they EITHER discuss only one reason OR they specifically say that one reason is the main reason they moved into this NH. If they mention MULTIPLE main reasons, each of them should be coded. A neighborhood can be named (e.g., Rainier Valley, Ballard) or it can just be a part of a town, city, etc..	Move
Adulthood Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH lived in that occurred during ADULTHOOD.	Move/ Residential History
Childhood Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a MOVE that occurred or a HOME/NH lived in that occurred during CHILDHOOD.	Move/ Residential History
Adulthood Moves Total	This should be used to flag the estimate that P gives for how many times they moved during adulthood, when asked towards the end of the interview. Sometimes, the interviewer will say something like "based on my notes, it sounds like you've moved six times since you moved out of your mom's house when you were 19. Is that right?" and the P may just agree. All of that should be coded. However, we shouldn't attempt to tally based on description in the first part.	Moves

	There is a separate move code that can be used for that.	
Childhood Moves Total	This should be used to flag the estimate that P gives for how many times they moved during childhood, when asked towards the end of the interview. Sometimes, the interviewer will say something like "based on my notes, it sounds like you didn't move at all during childhood. Is that right?" and the P may just agree. All of that should be coded. However, we shouldn't attempt to tally based on description in the first part. There is a separate move code that can be used for that.	Moves
Contradictory Information	This flag should be used to identify any places that have contradictory information. In this case, at least one mention for each contradictory "side" should be flagged.	Narrative
Demographic Reference - Neutral	Use this code to highlight any discussion of "demographics" within a neighborhood or school of which P has a neutral assessment. For example, P may say that a school has a particular "demographic" make-up and this is fine. This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. The term "demographic" or its derivatives MUST be used. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the "demographics", or the demographics are both good and bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "The demographics are different from past schools. I don't think it negatively affects my kid, at least as far as I can tell. But I worry that it's going to be a problem." Code this ONLY as negative rather than coding part as neutral and others as negative.)	NH
Demographics Explanation	Use this code to highlight any discussion of what P means when they say "demographics" if this comes up. For example, P may make a comment about the "demographics" at the school and may elaborate what they mean when they say "demographics." They may mean that a lot of students come from low-income households, or that there are a lot of White students, etc. It is specifically the	NH

	<p>explanation of what "demographics" means that should be coded here.</p>	
<p>Demographics Reference - Negative</p>	<p>Use this code to highlight any discussion of "demographics" within a neighborhood or school of which P has a negative assessment. For example, P may say that they don't like a school and the problem is the "demographics." This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. The term "demographic" or its derivatives MUST be used. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the "demographics", or the demographics are both good and bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "The demographics are different from past schools. I don't think it negatively affects my kid, at least as far as I can tell. But I worry that it's going to be a problem." Code this ONLY as negative rather than coding part as neutral and others as negative.)</p>	<p>NH</p>
<p>Demographics Reference - Positive</p>	<p>Use this code to highlight any discussion of "demographics" within a neighborhood or school of which P has a positive assessment. For example, P may say that they like a school and part of the reason for this is the "demographics." This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. The term "demographic" or its derivatives MUST be used. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the "demographics", or the demographics are both good and bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "The demographics are different from past schools. I don't think it negatively affects my kid, at least as far as I can tell. But I worry that it's going to be a problem." Code this ONLY as negative rather than</p>	<p>NH</p>

	coding part as neutral and others as negative.)	
Diversity - About Right	Use this code to highlight a discussion of the level of diversity within a neighborhood or school being about right. For example, P may say that a school or area is "diverse", and this is good. This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. Should either use the word "diverse" or its derivatives, or otherwise point to there being an appropriate racial composition.	NH
Diversity - Not Enough	Use this code to highlight any discussion of a lack of diversity within a neighborhood or school. This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. Should either use the word "diverse" or its derivatives, or point to there "only being White kids" or "not having any Black kids," etc.	NH
Diversity - Too Much	Use this code to highlight any discussion of too much diversity within a neighborhood or school. For example, P may say that a school or area is "diverse", which presents them/ their kids with issues. This can be double-coded with other applicable codes. Should either use the word "diverse" or its derivatives or otherwise point to too many different groups being represented.	NH
Job - Close	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living close to their work. They may use words like "close" or "close enough" or suggest that it's "not bad" or "easy enough" to get to. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Job - Far	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living far from their work. They may explicitly say it's far or suggest it's a pain or not easy to get to, etc. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH

Key Amenities - Close	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living sufficiently close to key amenities / services (stores, hospital, or other amenities/ services that P finds important). They may use words like "close" or "close enough" or suggest that it's "not bad" or "easy enough" to get to. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Key Amenities - Far	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living far from key amenities / services (stores, hospital, or other amenities/ services that P finds important). They may explicitly say it's far or suggest it's a pain or not easy to get to, etc. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Neighborhood Conditions - Drugs	This code should highlight any discussion of the presence of drugs/people who do drugs in a NH, in the area outside of the building, within a large building, etc.	NH
Neighborhood Conditions - Homelessness	This code should highlight any discussion of the presence of homelessness in a NH, in the area outside of the building, within a large building, etc.	NH
Neighborhood Conditions - Presence of Police	This code should highlight any discussion of the presence of police in a NH, in the area outside of the building, within a large building, etc.	NH
Neighborhood Conditions - Violence Nearby	This code should highlight any discussion of the presence of violence in a NH, in the area outside of the building, within a large building, etc.	NH
Neighbors - Issues	Use this code to highlight discussion of complaints that P has about neighbors and/or issues they are experiencing or have experienced relative to their neighbors.	NH
Neighbors - Supports	Use this code to highlight discussion of supports that P gets/ has gotten from neighbors. This can be direct help (e.g., babysitting, watching the home) or clear communication/ responsiveness to P's feedback, etc.	NH

NH Description	This code should highlight P's description of a NH, regardless of whether it is a current or past home. (It should also be coded with whether it is a current or past NH.)	NH
Pcvd Tension Between School Opportunity & Student Composition	Use this code to highlight discussions about any perceived tension between school "opportunity" and diversity. This is to identify cases of a trend that has been identified in the data, which is that some parents will discuss areas as having "better schools," but they worry about racial isolation for their child(ren) of color.	NH
Support Network - Close	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living close to personal support network (family / friends).	NH
Support Network - Far	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living far from personal support network (family / friends). They may explicitly say they're far or suggest it's a pain or not easy to get to them, etc. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Transit - Close	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living close to transit. They may use words like "close" or "close enough" or suggest that it's "not bad" or "easy enough" to get to. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Transit - Far	Use this code to highlight discussion of P living far from transit. They may explicitly say it's far or suggest it's a pain or not easy to get to, etc. We should use their assessment of whether it's far or close, and should not use these codes if all P says is that it's X minutes or Y miles away.	NH
Walkability - Bad	Use this code to highlight discussion of P finding their neighborhood not walkable (e.g., it's difficult to walk around, there aren't sidewalks, there's nothing/ little to walk to).	NH
Walkability - Good	Use this code to highlight discussion of P finding their neighborhood walkable (e.g., it's easy to walk around - there are sidewalks, things to walk to).	NH

Houses - Easier to Qualify For/ Get Into	Use this code to highlight discussion of houses ("single-family homes") being easier to get into.	POM
Housing Complexes - Easier to Qualify For/ Get Into	Use this code to highlight discussion of housing complexes - apartments, apartment complexes, etc. - being easier to get into.	POM
Issue - Change Owner	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager selling the property that P lives in. This doesn't need to be something that P laments, but should be coded if it occurs. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Issue - Formal Eviction	This code should highlight any discussion of a formal eviction that took place. A formal eviction might involve a 3- or 10-day notice, an eviction proceeding, or a legal procedure. We would code it as a formal eviction if P says that they were evicted, without elaborating. However, if they say that they were evicted, but it is clear from the description that the POM asked P to move out, or indirectly evicted them by doubling the rent, that is an INFORMAL eviction.	POM
Issue - Informal Eviction	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner / manager directly or indirectly asking P to move out, or acts that P perceives as the POM pushing P out. This should not include a formal eviction (3- or 10-day notices, eviction notice, legal proceedings), unless they try multiple approaches that include both informal and formal eviction proceedings. Formal evictions are legal processes. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Issue - Long Wait for Repairs	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner / manager taking a long time to do doing repairs. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Issue - No Repairs	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner / manager not doing repairs and refusing to cover the cost of a repair. If P does it themselves, this would be coded ONLY if POM also refuses to pay for the	POM

	repair. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	
Issue - Quick to Evict	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager being quick to evict people they rent to. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Issue - Quick to Involve Police / Towing	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager being quick to call the police or tow companies on their tenants. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Issue - Raise Rent	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager raising the rent. This should include ALL rent increases, regardless of amount. All "issues" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Private Landlords - Easier to Deal With / Get Into their Homes	Use this code to highlight discussion of private landlords being easier (than whatever other comparison group) to work with to get into homes. For example, they might not have very strict criteria, or might be more likely to convince to break their own rules. This doesn't have to be restricted to conversations related to the housing search.	POM
Property Management Companies - Easier to Deal With / Get Into their Homes	Use this code to highlight discussion of property management companies being easier (than whatever other comparison group) to work with to get into homes. For example, they might be more likely to take Section 8. This doesn't have to be restricted to conversations related to the housing search.	POM
Support - Good Relationship	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager and P having a good relationship. This does not have to mean they don't have any "issues" with the POM. All "supports" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Support - Quick Repairs	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager being quick to do repairs. This does not have to mean they don't have any "issues" with the POM. All	POM

	"supports" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	
Support - Took Chance on P	This code should highlight any discussion of a property owner/ manager taking a chance on P. This does not have to mean they don't have any "issues" with the POM. All "supports" present should be coded. They are not expected to be mutually exclusive.	POM
Prioritized Home	This code should highlight prioritized home qualities, including in general and what they were searching for during a search. Prioritized home qualities can include what is inside and directly outside of the home (e.g., 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms, washer/dryer, a big yard, no neighbors above/ below).	Priorities
Prioritized Location	This code should highlight prioritized locations, including in general and what they were searching for during a search (e.g., I want to live in Ballard / I want to move to Bellevue someday/ I tried to find a place in north Seattle, but I couldn't).	Priorities
Prioritized Neighborhood	This code should highlight prioritized NHs & NH qualities, including in general and what they were searching for during a search (e.g., I want to live in Ballard, or I want a safe place, I want a hospital nearby).	Priorities
Prioritized Neighbors	This code should highlight prioritized neighbor qualities, including in general and what they were searching for during a search (e.g., I want people who are quiet, I want people you can rely on).	Priorities
Current Home Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses the CURRENT HOME.	Residential History
Current NH Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses the CURRENT HOME. (If they have lived in one neighborhood multiple times, use all relevant NH codes (past, most recent, current, future).)	Residential History
Future Home Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses a HOME that the participant WILL BE MOVING INTO BUT HAS NOT YET MOVED INTO. It should ALSO be coded as a Home Might Move Into. For the Future Home Flag, P	Residential History

	should be pretty confident they will move to this place (e.g., a lease is in place). Things that are not as certain should ONLY be coded as expectations. This code will likely be applied rarely.	
Future NH Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses a HOME that the participant WILL BE MOVING INTO BUT HAS NOT YET MOVED INTO. It should ALSO be coded as Where Might Move. For the Future NH Flag, P should be pretty confident they will move to this place (e.g., a lease is in place). Things that are not as certain should ONLY be coded as expectations. This code will likely be applied rarely. (If they have lived in one neighborhood multiple times, use all relevant NH codes (past, most recent, current, future).)	Residential History
Homelessness - Hotel	This code should highlight any discussion of a period of homelessness that involves staying in a hotel or motel, however temporarily. Multiple homelessness tabs should be used for the same discussion, if applicable.	Residential History
Homelessness - Street/ car/ shelter	This code should highlight any discussion of a period of homelessness that involves living on the street, in a car, in a shelter, or in other conditions that do not mean staying in a hotel or somebody else's permanent place of residence. Multiple homelessness tabs should be used for the same discussion, if applicable.	Residential History
Most Recent Home Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses the MOST RECENT HOME that they lived in and have since moved out of.	Residential History
Most recent NH Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses the MOST RECENT HOME that they lived in and have since moved out of. (If they have lived in one neighborhood multiple times, use all relevant NH codes (past, most recent, current, future).)	Residential History

Past Home (NOT most recent) Flag	This code should accompany any other home-related code that discusses a past home, that the participant lived in PRIOR TO the most recent home. This code should note accompany the most recent home that a person lived in.	Residential History
Past Neighborhood (NOT most recent) Flag	This code should accompany any other NH-related code that discusses a past NH, that the participant lived in PRIOR TO the most recent home. This code should note accompany the most recent NH that a person lived in. (If they have lived in one neighborhood multiple times, use all relevant NH codes (past, most recent, current, future).)	Residential History
Personal Safety - Emotional Abuse Other	Use this code to highlight any discussion of emotional abuse that SOMEBODY OTHER THAN P experienced within a home that P lived in. Emotional abuse can either be identified as such by P or be described in a way consistent with a definition of emotional abuse that includes manipulative behavior, threats, talking down to another person, name-calling, etc.	Residential History
Personal Safety - Emotional Abuse Self	Use this code to highlight any discussion of emotional abuse that P experienced within a home that P lived in. Emotional abuse can either be identified as such by P or be described in a way consistent with a definition of emotional abuse that includes manipulative behavior, threats, talking down to another person, name-calling, etc.	Residential History
Personal Safety - Non-Resident Stalk / Threat / Abuse	Use this code to highlight any discussion of abuse (including stalking, emotional/ physical abuse, financial abuse, etc.), threat of abuse, or fear of abuse by somebody who does not live with P. This abuse/ threat/ fear can be experienced by anyone in the home.	Residential History
Personal Safety - Physical Abuse Other	Use this code to highlight any discussion of PHYSICAL abuse that SOMEBODY OTHER THAN P experienced within a home that P lived in. Physical abuse can either be identified as such by P or be described in a way consistent with a definition of abuse that includes hitting, kicking, pushing, spitting on, etc.	Residential History

Personal Safety - Physical Abuse Self	Use this code to highlight any discussion of PHYSICAL abuse that P experienced within a home that P lived in. Physical abuse can either be identified as such by P or be described in a way consistent with a definition of abuse that includes hitting, kicking, pushing, spitting on, etc.	Residential History
Place of Birth	This code should be used to identify the place of birth, if that information is provided.	Residential History
Academic Experience - Negative	This code should highlight negative assessments of a kid's academic experience at school (e.g., whether they're excelling/struggling academically, whether they are challenged). This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "He has such a hard time. He's pretty far behind.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It's not good/not the best/ not great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They do well in all their subjects." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/guardian's school.	Satisfaction
Academic Experience - Neutral	This code should highlight neutral discussion about a kid's academic experience at school (e.g., whether they're excelling/ struggling academically, whether they are challenged). This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It's fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It's good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall	Satisfaction

	<p>tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They do well in all their subjects." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	
<p>Academic Experience - Positive</p>	<p>This code should highlight praise about a kid's academic experience at school (e.g., whether they're excelling/ struggling academically, whether they are challenged). This can mean clear praise (e.g., "They're doing so well. I have no complaints. They're just off the charts smart.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "They're doing good."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They do well in all their subjects." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Current school Flag</p>	<p>This code flags discussion of a current school. This includes a school that a student is currently attending or will be attending if the interview takes place while the kid is NOT attending ANY school (e.g., during a break) and will be going to the discussed school as their next school. This code should NOT be used for a school that a kid has graduated from, even if the graduation was very recent. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Home DISsatisfaction</p>	<p>This code should highlight any discussion of what P DISLIKES about a home either in general or for themselves. This is regardless of</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

	whether P is making comparisons to other homes.	
Home Kid Dissatisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P DISLIKES about a home as it relates to kids who live in the home. This can be P's own opinion or an opinion that P suggests belongs the one or more kids. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other homes.	Satisfaction
Home Kid Satisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P LIKES about a home as it relates to kids who live in the home. This can be P's own opinion or an opinion that P suggests belongs the one or more kids. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other homes.	Satisfaction
Home Satisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P LIKES about a home either in general or for themselves. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other homes.	Satisfaction
Kid 1	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the first in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 1 should be the oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	Satisfaction
Kid 2	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the second in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 2 should be the second oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these	Satisfaction

	codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	
Kid 3	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the third in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 3 should be the third oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	Satisfaction
Kid 4	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the fourth in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 4 should be the fourth oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	Satisfaction
Kid 5	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the fifth in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 5 should be the fifth oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	Satisfaction

Kid 6	When flagging conversations about kids' schools or kids' satisfaction / dissatisfaction AND there are multiple kids, use this to list the sixth in the birth order for the kids who live with P OR the oldest kid in a relevant discussion (e.g., if the oldest kid doesn't live with P, they should not be counted, unless there are relevant codes for that kid). Kid 6 should be the sixth oldest kid. Kids should have the same code designation throughout the entire interview, even if the conversation topic changes. There is no need to use these codes if there is just one kid for whom data are coded.	Satisfaction
Less Satisfied Current Home	COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT HOME system is LESS satisfying than the most recent HOME. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, or the home is better for some people and worse for others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, or they think is good for some people and bad for other people, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They were both fine. But I liked the old one better" Code this ONLY as LESS SATISFIED rather than coding "They were both fine." as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as LESS SATISFIED.)	Satisfaction
Less Satisfied Current NH	COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT NH system is LESS satisfying than the most recent NH. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, or the NH is better for some people and worse for others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, or they think is good for some people and bad for other people, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They were both fine. But I liked the old one	Satisfaction

	better" Code this ONLY as LESS SATISFIED rather than coding "They were both fine." as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as LESS SATISFIED.)	
Less Satisfied Current School	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT SCHOOL system is LESS satisfying than the most recent school system. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, and some are the same. Or things are better/worse/the same for some kids and not others. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school, or they think some features of it are better/worse/the same, or the answer differs depending on the kid, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They're about the same. But there's something I like better about the current school" Code this ONLY as MORE SATISFIED rather than coding "They're about the same" as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as MORE SATISFIED.)</p>	Satisfaction
More Satisfied Current Home	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT HOME system is MORE satisfying than the MOST RECENT HOME. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, or the NH is better for some people and worse for others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, or they think is good for some people and bad for other people, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They were both fine. But I liked the old one better" Code this ONLY as LESS SATISFIED rather than coding "They were both fine." as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as LESS SATISFIED.)</p>	Satisfaction

<p>More Satisfied Current NH</p>	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT NH system is MORE satisfying than the MOST RECENT NH. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, or the NH is better for some people and worse for others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, or they think is good for some people and bad for other people, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They were both fine. But I liked the old one better" Code this ONLY as LESS SATISFIED rather than coding "They were both fine." as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as LESS SATISFIED.)</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>More Satisfied Current School</p>	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the kids' CURRENT SCHOOL system is MORE satisfying than the most recent school system. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, and some are the same. Or things are better/worse/the same for some kids and not others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school, or they think some features of it are better/worse/the same, or the answer differs depending on the kid, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They're about the same. But there's something I like better about the current school" Code this ONLY as MORE SATISFIED rather than coding "They're about the same" as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as MORE SATISFIED.)</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Most recent school - no district change Flag</p>	<p>This code flags discussion of the most recent past school that a student attended because they were in a lower grade (e.g., this would be a school that a kid has graduated from (if it's the most recent school they attend); as another example, if they're in middle school now, but haven't changed school systems, the</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

	elementary school they attended in the same system would have this flag). This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school	
Most recent school - parent change schools Flag	This code flags discussion of the most recent past school that a student left because of a parent decision (e.g., the parent didn't like one school, so "choiced" them into another school). This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school	Satisfaction
NH DISsatisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P DISLIKES about a NH either in general or for themselves. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other NHs.	Satisfaction
NH Kid Dissatisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P DISLIKES about a NH as it relates to kids who live in the NH. This can be P's own opinion or an opinion that P suggests belongs to the one or more kids. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other NHs.	Satisfaction
NH Kid Satisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P LIKES about a NH as it relates to kids who live in the NH. This can be P's own opinion or an opinion that P suggests belongs to the one or more kids. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other NHs.	Satisfaction
NH Satisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of what P LIKES about a NH either in general or for themselves. This is regardless of whether P is making comparisons to other NHs.	Satisfaction
No Difference Home Satisfaction	COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT HOME system IS ABOUT THE SAME LEVEL OF SATISFYING as the most recent home. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, and some are the same. Or things are better/worse/the same for some household members and not others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the home, or they think some features of it are better/worse/the same, or the answer differs depending on the person in the home, try to pick only	Satisfaction

	<p>one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They're about the same. But there's something I like better about the current place" Code this ONLY as MORE SATISFIED rather than coding "They're about the same" as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as MORE SATISFIED.)</p>	
<p>No Difference NH Satisfaction</p>	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the CURRENT NH system IS ABOUT THE SAME LEVEL OF SATISFYING as the most recent NH. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, and some are the same. Or things are better/worse/the same for some household members and not others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the NH, or they think some features of it are better/worse/the same, or the answer differs depending on the person in the home, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They're about the same. But there's something I like better about the current place" Code this ONLY as MORE SATISFIED rather than coding "They're about the same" as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as MORE SATISFIED.)</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>No Difference School Satisfaction</p>	<p>COMPARISONS ONLY. This flag should be used if the kids' CURRENT SCHOOL system IS ABOUT THE SAME LEVEL OF SATISFYING as the most recent school system. Can use multiple codes, if they feel some things are better and some are worse, and some are the same. Or things are better/worse/the same for some kids and not others. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school, or they think some features of it are better/worse/the same, or the answer differs depending on the kid, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "They're about the same. But there's something I like better about the</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

	current school" Code this ONLY as MORE SATISFIED rather than coding "They're about the same" as NO DIFFERENCE and the rest as MORE SATISFIED.)	
Other School - Negative	This code should highlight negative discussion about a kid's school/ experience at school that is not captured by any other codes. This can mean complaints that are NOT clearly about a particular feature of the school experience (e.g., "It's not going so great.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It's not good/not the best/ not great."), or which is about a feature other than the four code options. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They do well in all their subjects." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	Satisfaction
Other School - Neutral	This code should highlight neutral discussion about a kid's school/ experience at school that is not captured by any other codes. This can mean a discussion that is neutral and NOT clearly about a particular feature of the school experience (e.g., "They're in football. They're a junior. So, they're doing fine."), or which is about a feature other than the four code options. This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It's fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It's good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of	Satisfaction

	<p>this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They do well in all their subjects." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	
<p>Other School - Positive</p>	<p>This code should highlight praise about a kid's school/ experience at school that is not captured by any other codes. This can mean clear praise that is NOT clearly about a particular feature of the school experience (e.g., "They're in football. They're a junior. So, they're doing really well."), or which is about a feature other than the four code options. Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about academic experience, or they think some features of this are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They're doing well." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Past school (not most recent) - District Change Flag</p>	<p>This code flags a past school OTHER than the most recent school, and one that the student left because of a RESIDENTIAL MOVE and a change in school districts. If a student leaves a school and returns to it, we would use BOTH this code and Current School Flag. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the the parent's/guardian's school</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

<p>Past school (not most recent) - NO District Change Flag</p>	<p>This code flags a past school OTHER than the most recent school, and one that a student left because they moved up to the next level of schooling (e.g., they moved from elementary to middle school, they graduated (but it's not the most recent school they went to)). Use THIS code if there is no district change between schools, EVEN if there was a district change after that. If a student leaves a school and returns to it, we would use BOTH this code and Current School Flag. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Past school (not most recent) - parent change schools Flag</p>	<p>This code flags a past school OTHER than the recent past school, and one that a student left because of a parent decision (e.g., the parent didn't like one school, so "choiced" them into another school). This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>School Envir - Negative</p>	<p>This code should highlight negative assessments of the school environment at a kid's school (e.g., class size, enough time for lunch/ recess, whether the focus on the curriculum is good/bad). This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "It's terrible. There are at least 35 kids in every class and they only have 15 minutes to eat lunch") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It's not good/not the best/ not great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school environment, or they think some features of the school environment are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They seem to feel free in their classroom and they have a lot of recess time." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

<p>School Envir - Neutral</p>	<p>This code should highlight neutral discussion about the school environment at a kid's school (e.g., class size, enough time for lunch/ recess, whether the focus on the curriculum is good/bad). This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It's fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It's good, I guess. I don't know.").</p> <p>Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school environment, or they think some features of the school environment are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They seem to feel free in their classroom and they have a lot of recess time." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>School Envir - Positive</p>	<p>This code should highlight praise about the school/ learning environment at a kids school (e.g., class size, enough time for lunch/ recess, whether the focus on the curriculum is good/bad). This can mean clear praise (e.g., "They're great. I have no complaints. It seems like the small class sizes are very good for my kid.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "They're good.").</p> <p>Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school environment, or they think some features of the school environment are good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. They seem to feel free in their classroom and they have a lot of recess time." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

	and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	
School Kid Dissatisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of P's KID DISLIKING a school they do attend or have attended in the past.	Satisfaction
School Kid Satisfaction	This code should highlight any discussion of P's KID LIKING a school they do attend or have attended in the past.	Satisfaction
Social Experience - Negative	This code should highlight negative assessments about the social environment at a kid's school (whether they have friends, whether they feel comfortable around other kids, whether they are bullied, whether there are lots of fights or the behavior of other kids stresses them out, etc.). This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "My kid hates going to school because he gets bullied.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It's not good/ not the best/ not great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they consider some features of the social environment good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. My kid seems to get along with everyone." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	Satisfaction

<p>Social Experience - Neutral</p>	<p>This code should highlight neutral assessments of the social environment at a kid's school (whether they have friends, whether they feel comfortable around other kids, whether they are bullied, whether there are lots of fights or the behavior of other kids stresses them out, etc.). This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "It's fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "It's good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they consider some features of the social environment good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. My kid seems to get along with everyone." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>
<p>Social Experience - Positive</p>	<p>This code should highlight praise about the social environment at a kids school (whether they have friends, whether they feel comfortable around other kids, whether they are bullied, whether there are lots of fights or the behavior of other kids stresses them out, etc.). This can mean clear praise (e.g., "They're great. They have a lot of friends. They're really social.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "It's good."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective, or they consider some features of the social environment good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment (e.g., in the sentence "It's fine. No complaints. My kid seems to get along with everyone." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as</p>	<p>Satisfaction</p>

	neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	
Teachers / staff - negative	This code should highlight negative assessments about the teachers and/or staff (including regular volunteers) at a kid's school. This can mean clear complaints (e.g., "My kid has an IEP and they don't even try to follow it. My kid hates going to school because they're lost." or "It seems like the teacher has a personal issue with my kid.") or a limited but unqualified negative response (e.g., "It's not good/ not the best/ not great."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the teacher/staff, or they consider some staff at the school to be good and some bad, or they think some aspects of one teacher/ staff person is good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment of the teacher/staff (e.g., in the sentence "They're fine. No complaints. I think they support my kid. My kid seems to really like them." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	Satisfaction
Teachers / staff - neutral	This code should highlight neutral discussion about the teachers and/or staff (including regular volunteers) at a kid's school. This might mean they use weak language like "okay," "fine," etc. without additional information suggesting a positive or a negative orientation (e.g., "They're fine. No complaints."), or they suggest ambivalence that is not accompanied by strong clarifying language (e.g., "He's good, I guess. I don't know."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the school, or they consider some staff at the school to be good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment of the teacher/staff. This code should not be used	Satisfaction

	to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	
Teachers / staff - positive	This code should highlight praise about the teachers and/or staff (including regular volunteers) at a kid's school. This can mean clear praise (e.g., "They're great. I have no complaints. My kid loves her teacher." or "Everyone's good. They give my kids the challenge she needs.") or a limited but unqualified positive response (e.g., "They're good."). Unless they are very clearly changing their perspective about the teacher/staff, or they consider some staff at the school to be good and some bad, or they think some aspects of one teacher/ staff person is good and some bad, try to pick only one code that best reflects the overall tenor of their assessment of the teacher/staff (e.g., in the sentence "They're fine. No complaints. I think they support my kid. My kid seems to really like them." Code this ONLY as positive rather than coding "They're fine. No complaints" as neutral and the rest as positive.) This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school.	Satisfaction
Most Recent School (Pre-Move)	This code flags discussion of the most recent past school that a student attended because of a RESIDENTIAL MOVE and a change in school districts.	Satisfaction
Difficult Transition	Use this code to highlight discussion of a difficult transition that P or one of P's kids went through. This should be clear as a discussion about how something changed and how the change was challenging. If the conversation is about how P/ P's kids don't like the new home/school/NH, then that would not be specifically about the transition.	School
Home School	This code should flag any discussion about home schooling that a kid is experiencing. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school	School

School As Part of Day	Use this code to highlight discussion of how KIDS' schools factors into P's day. If they talk about how much time they spend getting their kids to school or how their day revolves around getting the kids to school, that should be included.	School
School Hints	This code should highlight hints about which schools P's kids go to. It should only be used if the school is not identified by name elsewhere in the interview. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school	School
School Influence on Moving	Use this code to highlight discussion of how kids' schools factored into any of P's decisions regarding making a residential move (the decision to move/ not move, deciding WHERE to move, deciding WHEN to move).	School
School Name(s)	This code should highlight school names that kids have attended. This code should not be used to flag discussion of the parent's/ guardian's school	School
School Narrative	Use this code to highlight a narrative that P shares regarding kid(s)' school - how they should approach it, what it means, etc.	School
Application Fees	This code should be used to identify any place a person discusses an application fee-- the amount they paid, whether they paid any fee, how much they paid, etc. This may be double-coded with the corresponding "barrier," but not necessarily.	Search
Asks Immediately	Use this code to highlight any discussion P shares regarding asking immediately (or quickly) whether the POM accepts housing vouchers. Some people say they ask about this first / second (often after asking whether anything is available).	Search
Barrier Tp - Application Fees	This code should highlight any discussion of the application fees presenting P as a hardship/ struggle, and/or preventing them from applying to a home, even if that barrier is temporary. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Credit	This code should highlight any discussion of the Ps credit history making it difficult/ impossible for P to qualify for a home. This	Search

	barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	
Barrier Tp - Discrimination	This code should highlight any discussion of discrimination toward P making it difficult/ impossible for P to qualify for a home. If information is available, we should also code for type of discrimination. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Income	This code should highlight any discussion of income requirements making it difficult / impossible for P to qualify for a home (e.g., some POMs require income that is 2-3 times the rent and this either means, or is taken by P to mean, that the applicant needs 2-3 times the full market rent rather than their rent portion). In some contexts, this may constitute, or correspond with a type of voucher discrimination, but it should be coded separately from discrimination, unless P explicitly identifies it as discrimination. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Limited Time to Search	This code should highlight any discussion of the P finding it difficult / impossible to find the time to search for/ get a new home. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Moving/ Move-in Costs	This code should highlight any discussion of moving/ move-in costs making it difficult/ impossible for P to get a new home. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Other	This code should highlight any discussion of a barrier to finding housing that is not covered by the other codes (application fee, credit, discrimination, income, property owner/ manager, rental history, moving/ move-in costs, PHA policies/practices, limited time to search). This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - PHA Admin Process	This code should highlight any discussion of the PHA admin process making it difficult/ impossible for P to get a new home. This	Search

	barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	
Barrier Tp - PHA Inspections	This code should highlight any discussion of PHA inspections making it difficult/ impossible for P to get a new home. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - PHA Voucher Expiration	This code should highlight any discussion of PHA voucher expiration timelines making it difficult/ impossible for P to get a new home. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Property Owner/ Manager	This code should highlight any discussion of the POM making it difficult/ impossible for P to get a new home. For example, the P may be slow to respond or do something wrong during the administrative process with the PHA. This does not need to be double coded with discrimination, which is typically on the part of a POM. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Rent	This code should highlight any discussion of rent amounts making it difficult / impossible for P to qualify for a home. This can come up in discussions about having difficulty finding places with rents within their voucher standard. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Barrier Tp - Rental History	This code should highlight any discussion of the Ps rental history making it difficult/ impossible for P to qualify for a home. Rental history can include an eviction, or a reference from a prior POM, etc. This barrier may be only anticipated or it may have been experienced.	Search
Call / text FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place by calling/ texting a POM during a housing search. This can include taking down numbers of places while driving, even if they don't explicitly suggest they are driving for only that reason. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
Call / text NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT calling/ texting any property owners or managers (or other staff people) as	Search

	a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	
Call / text USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions calling/ texting a property owner or manager (or other staff person) as a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	Search
Current SEARCH Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a search that is current underway. If discussion relates to multiple searches, use all relevant flags.	Search
Driving/ Walking FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place by driving/ walking around searching for housing during a housing search. This can include taking down numbers of places while driving, even if they don't explicitly suggest they are driving for only that reason. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
Driving/ Walking NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT driving/ walking around searching for housing during a housing search. This can include taking down numbers of places while driving, even if they don't explicitly suggest they are driving for only that reason.	Search
Driving/ Walking USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions driving/ walking around searching for housing during a housing search. This can include taking down numbers of places while driving, even if they don't explicitly suggest they are driving for only that reason.	Search
Email FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place by emailing a POM during a housing search. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
Email NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT emailing any property owners or managers (or other staff people) as a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	Search
Email USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions emailing a property owner or manager (or other staff person) as a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	Search

Future SEARCH Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a search that will or may happen in the future. This can be used, for example, if a person talks about what they'll do in the future, perhaps differently, or the same as what they've done in the past. If discussion relates to multiple searches, use all relevant flags (for example, if they say "Well in the past, I did X and in the future, I'll do Y" we should code that as both past & future searches). In this way, it is unlike Future Home / NH, which should be limited to futures that are more definite (e.g., a lease is in place).	Search
Length of Search	This code should be used to identify how long an individual suggests they spent/are spending searching for housing overall, during any move (should be accompanied by a code re: which move(s) it refers to). This code SHOULD refer to the length of time (e.g., weeks or months) between deciding to move and moving. The code should NOT be used to identify how much time the P searches on a regular basis (e.g., an hour per day).	Search
Most recent SEARCH Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to the most recent search that took place. If discussion relates to multiple searches, use all relevant flags.	Search
NHs Avoided	This code should highlight any discussion of NHs that P has avoided or would avoid during a housing search and why.	Search
NHs Searched	This code should highlight any discussion of NHs that P has searched in or would search in during a housing search and why.	Search
ONLY/ Mainly Section 8 OK Listings	Use this code to highlight any discussion of a P who ONLY or mainly searches for housing in listings that are explicitly okay with vouchers. This can mean that they only look at places that say something like "section 8 okay" on a rental ad and/or they use the lists of section 8 approved housing on the PHAs listings.	Search
Past SEARCH (NOT most recent) Flag	This code should accompany any other code related to a past housing search that took place. This does not include the MOST	Search

	RECENT SEARCH, unless they specify that their experience applies to BOTH the most recent AND other past searches. Then use both codes (past & most recent search flag).	
PHA List FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place using the list of affordable homes a PHA has provided during a housing search. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
PHA List NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT using the list of affordable homes a PHA has provided during a housing search.	Search
PHA List USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions using the list of affordable homes a PHA has provided during a housing search.	Search
Responses to Barriers	Use this code to highlight any changes in housing search practices that were described as being in response to barriers. For example, P may have decided to not search in a NH because they have experienced racism there, or they anticipate experiencing racism there. Or they may have decided to only search in places that explicitly state "Section 8 OK" in their rental ads. Etc.	Search
Search Strategy - Other	Use this code to highlight a search strategy not covered by another code.	Search
Search Tool Flag	Use this code to indicate that a search tool is mentioned, the FIRST TIME it is mentioned in the document.	Search
Time Regularly Searching	This code should be used to identify how much time an individual suggests they spent/spend searching for housing ON A REGULAR BASIS, during any move (should be accompanied by a code re: which move(s) it refers to). The code SHOULD be used to identify how much time the P searches on a regular basis (e.g., an hour per day). This code should NOT refer to the length of time (e.g., weeks or months) between deciding to move and moving.	Search
Waits to Ask	Use this code to highlight any discussion P shares regarding WAITING to ask whether the POM accepts housing vouchers. Some people say they wait until they meet the POM before asking.	Search

Walk-in FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place by walking into a property/ property management office during a housing search. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
Walk-in NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT walking into a property or property management company as a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	Search
Walk-in USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions walking into a property or property management company as a method for pursuing housing during a housing search.	Search
Website/ App FOUND Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a place using a website or an app during a housing search. There can be multiple tools/resources that P credits with finding a place.	Search
Website/ App NOT Used Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT using any website or apps during a housing search.	Search
Website/ App USED Search Flag	Use this code to flag whenever P mentions using a website or an app during a housing search.	Search
Why Asks Like They Do	Use this code to highlight any discussion about WHY P asks about voucher acceptance when/ how they do. This may be a double code with "responses to barriers"	Search
Word of Mouth	Use this code to flag whenever P FOUND a home that they moved into through the recommendation of another person other than a live-in contact who is moving with P	Search
Word of Mouth NOT USED	Use this code to flag whenever P explicitly mentions NOT finding a home that they moved into through word of mouth.	Search
Help Does/ Can Access	Use this code to highlight any discussion of help P does/ can access now, regardless of whether they could have/ did receive it in the past.	Support Network
Help Doesn't/ Cannot Access	Use this code to highlight any discussion of help P doesn't/ cannot access now, regardless of whether they could have/ did receive it in the past.	Support Network
Help Not Received	Use this code to highlight any discussion of help P has not received in the past, regardless of whether they can access it now. They may	Support Network

	have asked for it and been denied or they discussed how they did not have it.	
Support Network - Acquaintance	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from an ACQUAINTANCE (friend of friend/family, contact from church (unless specifically identify as FRIEND or FAMILY), etc.), regardless of whether during a move.	Support Network
Support Network - Co-parent	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from somebody who is in a parental role with one or more of P's children.	Support Network
Support Network - Doubling Up	This code should highlight any discussion of a period of homelessness that involves staying in another person's permanent place of residence, however temporarily.	Support Network
Support Network - Family	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from a FAMILY member (parent, grandparent, cousin, aunt/uncle, etc.), , regardless of whether during a move.	Support Network
Support Network - Friend	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from a FRIEND, regardless of whether during a move. Should specifically refer as a "friend" or something that indicates this ("my girl," "bestie," etc.) and does NOT indicate a CURRENT romantic or sexual relationship. Can include an ex-partner.	Support Network
Support Network - Help UNRELATED to move	This code should accompany any discussion of HELP NOT RELATED TO a MOVE, which P received from another person	Support Network
Support Network - Helped find	This code should highlight any discussion of having received help from another person looking for a home/ neighborhood, and this lead DID ultimately lead to P moving into a recommended home/ neighborhood.	Support Network
Support Network - Institutional contact	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from an INSTITUTIONAL CONTACT: an employee of a service-providing organization (housing agency, homeless shelter, doctor's office, etc.) that P interacts with through accessing that institution's services.	Support Network
Support Network - Live-in contact	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from a LIVE-	Support Network

	IN CONTACT: anyone who lived with P, at least part of the time, at the time P received their help.	
Support Network - Money	This code should highlight any discussion of having received help from another person with PAYING for any part of the moving process (application fees, security deposit, first/last month's rent, moving truck fees, money to stay in a hotel, etc.)	Support Network
Support Network - Move-related help	This code should accompany any discussion of HELP P received from another person during a move	Support Network
Support Network - Moving	This code should highlight any discussion of having received help from another person with the PHYSICAL PROCESS OF MOVING (packing, move-related cleaning, physically moving, etc.)	Support Network
Support Network - Romantic/ Sexual Partner	This code should highlight any discussion of moving-related help received from a CURRENT ROMANTIC/ SEXUAL PARTNER. Ex-partners should be tagged as a FRIEND instead, unless P clearly states that the partnership is ongoing.	Support Network
Support Network - Unsuccessful help searching	This code should highlight any discussion of having received help from another person looking for a home/ neighborhood, but this lead did NOT ultimately lead to P moving into a recommended home/ neighborhood.	Support Network
Help Received	Use this code to highlight any discussion P of has received in the past, regardless of whether they can access that help now.	Support Network

Vita

Erin Carll grew up in Florida and Connecticut and has since lived in New York and Washington. She has attended several higher-education institutions, receiving an associate of arts (AA) degree in liberal arts and sciences from Three Rivers Community College in Norwich, CT (2004), a bachelor of arts (BA) degree in Slavic studies and political science from Central Connecticut State University (2007), a master of arts (MA) degree in Regional Studies: Russia, East Europe, Eurasia from Columbia University in the City of New York (2010), and a master of arts (MA) degree in Sociology from the University of Washington (UW) (2015). At the time of submitting this dissertation, Carll was working as a research scientist at the Center for Evaluation & Research for STEM Equity (CERSE) and a predoctoral instructor in the Department of Sociology, both at UW.