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Residential practices of middle classes in the field of parenthood

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6. Residential Mobility of Urban Middle Classes in the Field of Parenthood

This is the accepted version of:

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In the past decades, many Western cities have witnessed a remarkable transition from working-class dominated spaces of industrial production to middle-class dominated spaces of services and consumption. This transition is associated with a reorientation of both capital and people to the inner cities of most Western urban centres. Processes of gentrification go hand-in-hand with professionalisation and the internationalisation of the labour force (Hamnett, 1994b), the explosion of finance and international business, and changing patterns of consumption and class formation (Butler et al., 2008; Butler and Robson, 2003a; Ley, 1996; Smith, 1996a; Zukin, 1987).

Several scholars argue that gentrification constitutes part of the distinctive practices of 'new' middle classes that have alternative strategies of social reproduction than 'traditional' middle classes, as reflected in their consumption and residential choices. Living in the inner city is part of a particular life style and the fulfilment of the self-image of a specific fraction of the middle class (Bridge, 2006; Butler and Robson, 2003a, b; Ley, 1994, 1996). Gentrifiers are argued to typically have an urban habitus with a strong focus on the reproduction of cultural capital (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2003a). The urban geography of Western metropolises and the formation and reproduction of specific middle-class groups are hence intrinsically connected.

This specific urban orientation of some middle classes, however, is challenged by events in the life course. In demographic literature, the birth of a child is generally strongly associated with residential mobility, often from a city to a suburb (Rossi, 1955). This migration is explained by a greater need for space in and around the home and a desire to become a homeowner (Mulder, 2006) but is also related to changes in labour market position, the presence of kin networks and other social relations elsewhere, residential biographies (Feijten et al., 2008) and ideas about good parenting.

When urban middle classes have children, they may experience a collision or tension between their new roles and identities as parents and their experiences and identities as urbanites. Some studies have revealed that some middle-class family households choose the city as a way of life (Karsten, 2007). Although such families must compromise on public and private space, they tend to emphasise

the positive aspects of urban life for themselves (identity, work, and various forms of consumption) and for their children. Furthermore, having been urbanites for a long period, they have established extensive social networks in the city, which makes them prone to staying (Brun and Fagnani, 1994; Karsten, 2007). These studies have provided important insights into the experiences and relations of middle-class families with the city. However, by focusing on urban families alone, it remains largely unclear what factors differentiate these families from middle-class families that suburbanise.

In one of the few studies that specifically attempts to understand this differentiation of middle-class residential practices, Bridge (2006) suggested that different time-space trajectories over the life course are associated with various strategies for the reproduction of class that involve different types of capital (social, cultural, symbolic, and economic). Inspired by Bridge's Bourdieuvian perspective on gentrification and the life course, this study investigates the residential mobility of urban middle-classes becoming parents for the first time. Particularly, this study addresses the following question:

How can the residential mobility of urban middle-class households be explained by the orientation of their capital when they become parents for the first time?

This study investigates the differences in residential mobility between urban middle-class households having their first child. This paper draws on survey data from a longitudinal study of middle-class couples that have lived in the inner-city parts of Amsterdam and are expecting their first child. These couples were followed for a period of two years to determine whether or not they moved out of Amsterdam and what factors influenced their residential choices.

Amsterdam is characterised by a large social housing sector, mainly in the periphery, and by a relatively wealthy region that houses the majority of family households in the metropolitan area. Despite the regulated housing market, the processes of gentrification affect most parts of the central boroughs. Previous studies have established that the number of middle-class families is increasing in Amsterdam and that this increase is related to gentrification processes (Boterman et al., 2010).

This study offers a perspective based on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and field to explain what types of middle-class households stay in the city and which families leave when they become parents. By bringing together studies on gentrification and demographic literature on the life course and residential mobility, this study aims to conceptualise the transition to parenthood as a field in which the habituses of urban middle classes become articulated differently. The residential mobility of urban middle-class households is thus understood as the outcome of the confrontation of habitus and the various aspects of the field of parenthood.

Literature review and conceptualizations

Gentrification as distinction

Although gentrification is also clearly associated with demographic trends such as the postponement of marriage and child bearing (Bondi, 1999; Buzar et al., 2005), there is a common understanding that gentrification should be primarily be linked to changes in social class structure (Bridge, 1995; Butler, 1997; Butler and Hamnett, 2009; Lees et al., 2008; Savage et al., 1992). Whether the agents of gentrification, i.e., the urban middle classes, are actually 'new', as several scholars claim (Ley, 1996), is a subject of debate, but it is evident that changes in the structure of the economy, i.e., deindustrialisation and the transition to a service-based economy and the professionalisation of the work force, have contributed to the emergence of a new urban geography of class (Butler et al., 2008; Hamnett, 1994b).

Following the work of Bourdieu (1984, 1990) several scholars have described the urban orientation of gentrifiers as a distinctive set of practices through which they attempt to set themselves apart from the traditional middle classes in the suburbs (Bridge, 2001b; Butler and Robson, 2001, 2003b; May, 1996; Watt, 2005). These studies argue that urban middle classes have a particular urban lifestyle with specific patterns of consumption, types of employment, housing preferences and liberal political attitudes. Gentrification is, in this respect, conceptualised as a field in which specific middle-class groups seek to acquire symbolic capital (Ley, 2003) by deploying various forms of capital such as embodied taste and financial resources. The prior work connects these practices with structural class dispositions and strategies of social reproduction through the habitus (Bridge, 1995). In fact, it is argued that new middle classes have developed a metropolitan habitus, which makes them intrinsically urban (Butler, 1997; Butler and Robson, 2003a). Butler and Robson (2001, 2003a, b) explored the idea of an urban or metropolitan habitus even further by arguing that specific orientations of capital (what they call 'mini-habitus' 2003a: 67) are related to the various positions in the fields of housing, employment, education and consumption. These mini habitus (forms of capital) eventually produce different residential orientations.

However, many gentrifiers only temporarily have an urban orientation. When gentrifiers have children, various aspects of their habitus may become articulated differently.

Residential Mobility and the Field of Parenthood

There is a wide range of demographic studies demonstrating that events in the life course are associated with residential mobility (Fischer and Malmberg, 2001; Rossi, 1955). Although it has been argued that there is no common life course, rather, there are multiple life courses and hence various mobility patterns (Warnes, 1992) there is a common understanding that the birth of a child changes the demand for housing, which often leads to residential mobility.

It has been argued that newly formed families in general tend to shift their priorities from locational aspects of their place of residence (*situation*) to the characteristics of the dwelling (size and tenure) and of the neighbourhood (social composition) (*site*) (Broek, 1966; Green, 1997). Rossi (1955), for example, established that families primarily prioritise more space in and outside of their home. Other studies have argued that families aspire to become homeowners as they seek greater financial security and a greater sense of control over both the home and its surroundings (Clark et al., 1984; Mulder, 2006).

Other studies have emphasised that aspects of the residential environment are also important for family households (Baldassare, 1992), regarding both the physical and social aspects of the area. Various scholars have argued that families seek social homogeneity, that is, the presence of other families who are preferably of the same class and ethnicity or race (Ray et al., 1997). Such homogeneity also fosters the formation of social support networks and the perception of social safety (Karsten, 2007). To a large extent, place of residence (neighbourhood or town) structures the social milieus in which children grow up. Together with the circuits of education, the social environment in which people are brought up constitutes the framework for the accumulation of social experiences.

Decisions concerning residential relocation, however, are not only informed by aspects of housing and the neighbourhood. Housing careers are closely aligned with developments in other 'careers' such as labour-market and educational careers (Mulder and Hooimeijer, 1999). Decisions about residential relocation involve trade-offs between the site and situation characteristics of the dwelling and neighbourhood. For families, location as it structures time-space paths (Hägerstrand, 1970) matters in various ways; place of residence, for example, has direct consequences for the amounts of time spent on paid work and commuting (Van Ham, 2002), spare time and time spent together with the family (Hochschild and Machung, 1989) and thus indirectly affects the division of paid labour between partners (De Meester and Van Ham, 2009). The location of a home is also important regarding the distances to family and friends and the role these networks play in the organisation of child care. Additionally, location also determines access to other amenities that are important to both parents and children such as stores for daily groceries, sport clubs, playgrounds and formal child-care facilities (De Meester et al., 2007; Van Ham and Mulder, 2005). Spatial contexts that offer such a rich opportunity structure facilitate a more efficient use of time-space budgets.

Although almost all households experience a changing demand for housing when they become parents, family households respond differently to this transition to parenthood. To some extent this is linked to the resources available to households for the realisation of their housing aspirations. However, how the demand for housing changes also differs among family households. This variation is strongly connected to the position these households assume in the various social worlds in which they take part, not only in a practical sense but also emotionally

and symbolically. Where people want to live is also very strongly informed by ideas about what constitutes good parenting (Jarvis, 2005). Bringing these aspects together, this study proposes to examine the transition to parenthood as a field. The field of parenthood is a social arena wherein trade-offs are required among social networks, labour-market position, housing demands and various forms of consumption. Furthermore, the field of parenthood is the arena wherein the concept of good parenting is negotiated. It is argued that the impacts of entering the field of parenthood differ for households with different habituses.

Urban Middle Classes in the Field of Parenthood

When urban middle classes have children, the entire set of historically embodied experiences, their habitus, becomes articulated in a new social world: parenthood. For many, this implies residential relocation out of the city, but some middle-class families stay in the city, and this phenomenon appears to be growing in several urban contexts, including Amsterdam (Boterman et al., 2010; Brun and Fagnani, 1994; Butler and Robson, 2003a; Karsten, 2007).

Karsten (2007) reported that urban middle-class families have three main reasons to live in the city: they are economically tied to the city through dual careers, they have invested in local social networks (see also (Van Diepen and Musterd, 2009)), and living in the city is part of their identity, which is based on a rejection of the presumed homogeneity and dullness of the suburbs and a corresponding celebration of urban diversity and tolerance. These findings are supported by studies that demonstrate that some family households remain urban because of their 'strong attachment to urban values' (Brun and Fagnani, 1994) and other studies showing that inner-city areas offer a particular opportunity structure that appeals to dual-income families with particular work and consumption patterns who require high flexibility in the organisation of their everyday lives, particularly in managing their work-life balances (Boterman et al., 2010; De Meester et al., 2007; Jarvis, 1999, 2005; Karsten, 2003).

According to Butler and Robson (2003a), the variation in residential practices among middle-class families can be explained by how their various forms of capital (economic, cultural, and social) are used in the fields of work, housing, consumption and education, arguing that residential environments have specific characteristics that create a particular profile that is more or less attractive for specific social groups (habituses). Although their work did not specifically investigate middle-class family households, they have suggested that priorities of family households tend to shift from the field of consumption and employment to the fields of housing and, especially, education. They argue that the social reproduction of middle classes through education (for example, by retreating into circuits of private education or the process of colonising public schools) is crucial for understanding which of the middle classes move out of the inner city and which families stay (Bridge, 2006; Butler and Hamnett, 2007; Byrne, 2009).

Although these findings may be relevant for explaining differences in residential practices between middle classes, none of the previous studies have compared middle-class families in urban and non-urban contexts and examined how they are positioned in the various fields. Moreover, prior research has not offered a longitudinal perspective that allows for the analysis of changes in the residential practices of households during key life-course events. It remains largely unclear which urban middle-class households stay and which leave and how the various fields are compared and evaluated.

Based on previous studies on the role of various forms of capital (e.g., Bridge, 1995, 2001, 2006; Butler & Robson 2003a), it is hypothesised that middle-class families that have made large investments in social and cultural (symbolic) capital through practices in the fields of employment, culture and housing consumption tend to stay in the inner city. In other words, those households that have extensive social networks (family and friends) in the city and for which the symbolic meaning of an urban lifestyle is very important are expected to compromise on their housing position and be less inclined to leave the city.

Correspondingly, households that tend to emphasise the accumulation of economic capital more than cultural capital are expected to leave the central city and settle in more suburban locations. Not only can these households be expected to prioritise the field of housing, their positions in the fields of employment and consumption are also less likely to bind them to the city.

Middle-class households that possess relatively little economic and cultural capital can be expected to assume an intermediate position. Finally, those households that tend to have high shares of both economic and cultural capital are likely to stay in the city because they have invested in the city in a symbolic sense but also have the financial means to make relatively few compromises in terms of housing.

Data and Methods

This study builds on a set of two waves of longitudinal data that were collected in the period 2008–2010 from urban middle-class couples that were expecting their first child. The sample is highly representative, as it consists of randomly selected pregnant women from 12 midwife clinics¹⁴ that were situated within the inner-ring road in Amsterdam. The total number of respondents represents approximately half of all middle-class¹⁵ women that were pregnant with their first child in

14 Midwife clinics are the principal system in the Netherlands for overseeing pregnancies. Nearly all pregnant women attend a midwife from the early stages of pregnancy. As practices have a particular catchment area, it is possible to make a selection of the majority of the women that lived inside the inner-ring road. The questionnaires were distributed via 12 of the 14 midwife clinics in central Amsterdam.

15 Middle class is defined as: at least one of parents is higher educated (HBO or University) and the gross annual household income is between 30,000 and 200,000.

Amsterdam during the research period¹⁶.

The data set consists of two questionnaires filled out by the mothers, one from the summer of 2008 (n=291) and a second from the autumn of 2010 (n=234). The first questionnaire was distributed at the midwife clinics, and some questionnaires were completed through snowballing. Almost all respondents were approached personally by the researcher or one of his assistants for the first questionnaire, and less than 5% refused to participate. The second questionnaire was filled out by the same set of respondents via an electronic internet-based survey. For the second round, 254 respondents were approached via a working email address, of which 234 eventually complied (92%)¹⁷. No bias was identified for the non-response.

The longitudinal data acquired from the questionnaires were supplemented with data at the neighbourhood level and data at the borough level (from Netherlands Statistics and the Statistical Office of Amsterdam). The data set that was thus obtained had a nested structure. To account for the statistical problems of overestimating significance at the neighbourhood and borough level, a multilevel analysis was used in the MLWin program.

The dependent variable in the analysis is residential mobility in the field of parenthood. Although residential mobility theoretically encompasses more than only moving behaviour, this study defined the dependent variable as **moving out of the inner city of Amsterdam**. There are two reasons for this: first, the inner-ring road of Amsterdam is the central area of the metropolitan region; it represents a factual boundary between pre-war and post-war urban development and between relatively high- and low-density housing. Second, this boundary is also an imagined boundary on the mental maps of people living both inside and outside of Amsterdam. Many perceive Amsterdam outside the ring as not actually being a part of the city. Often, when people look for a home and post inquiries, they specifically state *within the ring road*.

To accommodate for moving behaviour after the study period (2008–2010), a second model was run with a dependent variable that measures intention to move out of the city of Amsterdam in the next two years (2010–2012). Hence, this only includes households that did not move out of Amsterdam during the first period (n=176). Although some discrepancies between the respondents' intentions and their actual behaviours may be expected¹⁸, this variable measures residential mobility during a second key phase in which parents make crucial decisions regarding their first-born's primary education.

¹⁶ In Amsterdam, 5,459 first children were born in 2008. Approximately 30–40% of these children were born in middle-class families in central parts of Amsterdam. My sample, which was collected during three months in 2008, hence contains a considerable share of the mothers that were pregnant with these children. CBS, 2008, <http://statline.cbs.nl/statweb/?LA=en>.

¹⁷ Total response was 80.4%.

¹⁸ From 2008–2010, approximately 70% of all households that intended to move in 2008 had moved by 2010. Although housing-market conditions had changed, the economic possibilities of the majority of the respondents enabled them to be relatively residentially mobile.

The central relationship that is tested in the model is that between the orientation of economic and cultural capital and moving behaviour. In this model, three household types with various orientations of capital are tested with respect to a reference category (see Figure 1). The cultural and economic capital scores of all respondents are higher than those of average Amsterdam citizens. It should be stressed that the shares of capital are relative and that they represent different social positions within the (upper) middle class.

Cultural capital is defined by binary scores on several questionnaire items (see Table 6.1), with a maximum total score of 14 points. The study group was divided into two equal parts. Households scoring 6–14 points on the scale were classified as having high cultural capital (50%); those scoring below 0–5 points were defined as having low cultural capital (50%).

Items included	Possible score	
University degree female spouse	1	0
University degree male spouse	1	0
University degree mother of female spouse	1	0
University degree father of female spouse	1	0
Humanities, arts and social science female spouse	1	0
Humanities, arts and social science male spouse	1	0
Knowledge or creative job female spouse	1	0
Knowledge or creative job male spouse	1	0
Frequently visit classical concerts	1	0
Frequently visit museums	1	0
Frequently visit galleries	1	0
Frequently visit theatre plays	1	0
Subscription to high standard newspaper (NRC, Volkskrant)	1	0
Supports liberal political parties (D66, Groenlinks)	1	0
Total	0-14	

Economic capital is defined by self-reported annual household income, whereby an income between 90,000 and 200,000 euro is defined as high economic capital, and an income below 90,000 euro is defined as low economic capital. This division was again chosen to divide the group into two equal subgroups.

FIGURE 6.1. Types of orientation of capital

Economic capital high Cultural capital low =1 (31%)	Economic capital high Cultural capital high =2 (34%)
Economic capital low Cultural capital low =3 (19%)	Economic capital low Cultural capital high =4 (17%)

The category ‘high economic low cultural’ is chosen as a reference category because it is hypothesised that this household type will be most likely to move out of the central city. It is further expected that Type 4 will be most likely to stay and that the other two occupy intermediate positions. Although the orientation of capital is expected to correlate with other variables such as tenure and social and economic connectedness to Amsterdam, possibly reducing its effect, the model controls for a range of variables that are expected to influence the propensity to leave.

Five blocks of independent variables are introduced into the model. The first block consists of household characteristics, the second block of individual variables measures embeddedness in the city, the third block adds aspects of the dwelling, the fourth incorporates characteristics of the neighbourhood, and the fifth takes in variables at the borough level. The majority of the independent variables included in the second model measure the same things but for 2010 rather than 2008. Variables that did not change or changed linearly were included unaltered (age, age difference, etc.); see Table 6.2.

The dichotomous character of the two dependent variables and the nested structure of the data were accounted for in a binary logistic three-level model. The following formula describes the model (Figure 6.2):

FIGURE 6.2. Formula that describes models 1 and 2

$$\begin{aligned}
 y_{ijk} &\sim \text{Binomial}(n_{ijk}, \pi_{ijk}) \\
 \text{logit}(\pi_{ijk}) &= \beta_{0jk} x_0 \\
 \beta_{0jk} &= \beta_0 + v_{0k} + u_{0jk} \\
 \begin{bmatrix} v_{0k} \end{bmatrix} &\sim N(0, \Omega_v) : \Omega_v = \begin{bmatrix} \sigma_v^2 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix} \\
 \begin{bmatrix} u_{0jk} \end{bmatrix} &\sim N(0, \Omega_u) : \Omega_u = \begin{bmatrix} \sigma_u^2 & 0 \\ 0 & 0 \end{bmatrix} \\
 \text{var}(y_{ijk} | \pi_{ijk}) &= \pi_{ijk}(1 - \pi_{ijk})/n_{ijk}
 \end{aligned}$$

wherein y is the dependent variable (moving/not moving), i represents level 1 variables, j represents the variables at level 2 (the neighbourhood), and k represents the variables at the borough level (level 3). β_{0j} consist of a fixed part (β_0) and two random parts, u_{0jk} at the level of the neighbourhood and v_{0k} at the level of the borough.

Variables	Average	Standard deviation	Valid n	Model 1	Model 2
Dependent Variable 1:					
Moved out of central Amsterdam 2008-2010	0.24	X	233	*	
Dependent Variable 2:					
Intends to move within two years	0.21	X	176		*
Block 1: Household characteristics					
Age mother 2008	32.3	3.7	233	*	*
Age difference between mother and partner	-2.2	4.4	233	*	*
(expecting) more than one child	0.49	X	233	*	*
Block 2: Embeddedness in the city					
Urbanites	0.33	X	230	*	*
Family in Amsterdam	0.27	X	225	*	*
Best friends in Amsterdam	0.64	X	225	*	*
Work in central Amsterdam mother	0.54	X	233	*	*
Work in central Amsterdam partner	0.59	X	233	*	*
Block 3: Housing characteristics					
Homeowner in 2008	0.54	X	231	*	
Homeowner in 2010	0.67	X	174		*
Ground floor + private outdoor space in 2008	0.23	X	231	*	
Ground floor + private outdoor space in 2010	0.31	X	174		*
Square meters in 2008	86.9	30.8	231	*	
Square meters in 2010	98.6	34.8	172		*
Block 4: Neighbourhood characteristics					
Share middle-class family households 2008	8	5	56	*	
Share middle-class family households 2010	8	5	51		*
Share owner-occupied dwellings 2008	26	15	56	*	
Share owner-occupied dwellings 2010	26	12	51		*
Block 5: Borough characteristics					
% 'black' schools	37	28	10	*	*

Several of the included control variables are quite straightforward; others may require some explanation:

(Expecting) more than one child

This is a dichotomous variable; families with one child are compared with families that are pregnant with the second child or already have a second child.

Urbanites

Urbanites are defined as individuals that grew up in Amsterdam or in another major city in the Netherlands or abroad.

Share middle-class family households

This is the share of households with an above-average income with at least one higher-educated adult living together with at least one dependent child (<18).

Percentage 'black' schools

Although in the Netherlands, no clear relation exists between ethnic composition and school quality, both Dutch and international literature demonstrates that parents use the ethnic or racial compositions of schools as indicators of the quality of a school, both in terms of performances measures in scores and especially in terms of the social 'atmosphere' of the school. 'Black' schools, as they are referred to in the Amsterdam context, are defined as schools where more than 75% of the pupils have non-Western backgrounds.

Results

Table 6.3 presents the descriptive statistics for all the variables included in the model. It appears that almost half of the households moved in the period 2008–2010, which is high compared with the Dutch average (See for instance: De Groot et al., 2011). The high-cultural- and high-economic-capital types moved the least (37%), and the low-economic and low-cultural-capital types moved the most (47%) during the study period. The locations where the groups moved to, however, are more differentiated. Among the high-cultural types only 15–16% moved out of central Amsterdam; among the high-economic, low-cultural group 38% moved out.

For all four types, residential mobility is associated with a transition from renting to homeownership, from upper-level apartments to ground-level dwellings with gardens, and from smaller to larger homes. However, the housing conditions differ among the various household types: high-economic-capital types live in larger apartments and own their homes much more often and also more often live in a ground-level home with a garden. To disentangle several of the interrelated aspects of residential mobility, the next section will present and discuss the results of the logistic regression analyses.

TABLE 6.3. Descriptive statistics per capital orientation type				
Capital orientation	cc-/ec-	cc-/ec+	cc+/ec-	cc+/ec+
moved 2008-2010	49	47	39	37
: of which moved within central Amsterdam	21	9	24	23
: of which moved to suburbs within the municipality	9	7	3	3
: of which moved to suburbs in region	19	31	13	12
Dependent Variable 1				
moved out of central amsterdam 2008-2010	28	38	15	14
Dependent Variable 2				
intends to move out of central amsterdam 2010-2012	13	39	12	16
Block 1: Household characteristics				
Age	31,4	32,3	32,4	32,7
age partner	33,1	34,9	34,6	34,9
two children or pregnant of second	37	51	49	59
Block 2: Embeddedness in the city				
Urbanites	42	30	36	28
works in Amsterdam	67	52	62	59
works in Amsterdam partner	56	41	67	60
family in Amsterdam	35	24	42	18
best friends in Amsterdam	70	55	74	67
Block 3: Housing characteristics				
m2 2008	71	93	76	95
m2 2010	91	121	88	117
homeowner 2008	28	77	33	70
homeowner 2010	44	90	41	86
Ground floor + private outdoor space in 2008	14	31	18	22
Ground floor + private outdoor space in 2010	40	56	33	38
Block 4: Neighbourhood characteristics				
% middle class kids in neighbourhood	8	9	8	11
% owner occupied in neighbourhood 2008	24	27	25	30
Block 5: Borough characteristics				
% 'black' schools in the borough	26	28	30	25

TABLE 6.4 : Estimates from two longitudinal models that describe change to move out of the city (model 1) and intend to move out (model 2)

	empty model 1		model 1		empty model 2		model 2	
Constant	-1.145	***	5.080	***	-1.364	***	8.706	***
low cc low ec (ref=cc low; ec high)			-0.908				-2.093	**
high cc low ec (ref=cc low; ec high)			-1.752	***			-2.023	**
high cc high ec (ref=cc low; ec high)			-1.485	***			-1.215	**
two children			0.954	***			0.224	
age			-0.072				-0.138	**
age difference			0.022				0.031	
work in central Amsterdam			-1.318	***			-0.714	
work in central Amsterdam partner			-0.990	**			-0.842	
work in central Amsterdam * work in central Amsterdam partner			1.161				1.213	
family in Amsterdam			0.082				-1.302	**
best friends in Amsterdam			-1.308	***			-0.684	
urbanites			-0.385				-0.632	
homeowner 2008/2010			0.013				0.742	
square meters 2008/2010			-0.024	***			-0.039	***
ground level + garden 2008/2010			-0.704				-0.452	
% owner-occupied in neighbourhood			0.022				0.024	
% middle class families in neighbourhood			-0.030				-0.068	
% 'black' schools in borough			0.000				-0.000	
Random Part								
Borough level (L3)	0.000		0.000		0.002		0.000	
Neighbourhood level (L2)	0.000		0.000		0.059		0.000	
Individual level (L1)	1.000		1.000		1.000		1.000	
N L3=			10				10	
N L2=			54				49	
N L1=			213				159	
	** significant at the 0.05 level							
	*** significant at the 0.01 level							

Model 1

Of all middle-class households, one-quarter moved out of the central part of Amsterdam within the first two years after the birth of their first child. The data in Table 6.4 reveal that when controlling for a range of factors, the four types of middle-class households with various capital orientations display significantly different residential practices when they become parents. Compared with households with high economic and relatively low cultural capital, other orientations have smaller chances of moving out. The first type (low cultural and low economic capital) has no significant other practice; the second (low economic and high cultural) has a smaller chance of moving out. The households that have high shares of both capital types also have a smaller chance of moving out of central Amsterdam.

Among the control variables, several also have significant effects. Having or expecting a second or third child increases the propensity to move. Social and economic connectedness through friends and work also negatively affect the chance of leaving. Finally, the larger the dwelling the less likely a household is to move out of the central parts of Amsterdam. Other characteristics of the home and neighbourhood characteristics do not appear to have significant effects. The latter finding is also reflected in the estimated variances for the second and third levels (both: 0.000) compared with the first level.

Model 2

Among those families that stayed in the inner city, approximately one-fifth intended to move out in the second period. The second model demonstrates that for those households that did not move out of the city in the first two years of parenthood, the orientation of capital also affects their intentions of leaving Amsterdam. When compared with households with high volumes of economic capital and low shares of cultural capital, households that have little of either type have a much smaller chance of moving out of the city. The second type (high cultural, low economic) also has a lower propensity to leave. The third type, with relatively high volumes of both types of capital, also has a smaller chance of moving out of central Amsterdam, albeit only at significance level of 0.1.

Among the variables that were controlled for in the second model, several have effects. Age and having family in Amsterdam negatively affect the intention to leave. Finally, the size of the dwelling in 2010 also matters: a larger current home leads to a smaller chance of moving out. Neighbourhood characteristics have no significant effects, as reflected in the estimated variance for the second (0.059) and third levels (0.002) compared with the first level.

Comparison of the two models

Although the orientation of capital has similar effects in both models, the effect of the control variables differs. Apparently, having a second child is more relevant

in making the decision to move out of the city in the first two years of parenthood than in the two following years. Perhaps connected to this variable, the age of the mother has a negative effect in the second model but not in the first. Another effect that only appears in the first model is the location of work. Apparently, decisions to move out because of work are more likely to be made in the first two years of parenthood. In the first model, having friends in the city is a strong predictor for moving behaviour; in the second model, friends do not have a significant effect. Having family in the city, however, does have an effect in the second model.

Interpretations

The analysis reveals that the orientation of capital of the various middle-class groups is a predictor for moving behaviour in the field of parenthood. The results demonstrate that households with high economic capital and low cultural capital are more likely to leave the inner city in the first two years and are also most likely to leave in the second period. In both periods, households with high shares of cultural capital and low economic capital are most likely to stay. This appears to confirm the hypotheses formulated at the beginning of this study. Nonetheless, some caveats apply. Firstly, several households previously anticipated their parenthood and moved out of the city before they fell pregnant. It may thus be expected that these 'anticipators' have a stronger non-urban residential orientation than those that (initially) stayed. Consequently, the effects of different orientations of capital may be underestimated. Another reason why the effects may be stronger than demonstrated here is that the variation of the households in this study is relatively limited. All the households are highly educated and have relatively high incomes and thus belong to the upper parts of the middle class. If middle and higher vocational education had been included as variables, the variation to be explained would probably have been larger. Furthermore, the models controlled for a range of variables that were expected to have impacts on residential mobility. This control also reduced some of the effects of the orientation of capital.

The control variables also had effect of their own. For example the size and tenure of the dwelling correlate with household type (data not shown), but the size of the dwelling also has an independent effect: families who lived in a small apartment in 2008 are more likely to have moved out. For households that stayed in the city in the first two years, the size of the dwelling is an even stronger incentive to move out of the central city in the second period. Apparently, the issue of space becomes even more acute. This effect may be associated with the fact that their children become much more mobile and active, which makes indoor space more important. Interestingly, living at ground level with access to private outdoor space does not have a significant effect on moving behaviour or intentions, mainly due to the fact that square meters, owner-occupancy and ground-floor housing are interrelated. When tenure is excluded, ground level does have a significant negative effect.

The results on social connectedness to the city confirm findings from the literature that social networks in the city constitute a reason to stay (Karsten, 2003, 2007). In the first two years, having best friends in the city decreases the chances of leaving; however, in the second model, this effect is no longer significant. Apparently, households that do not have their best friends in Amsterdam make the decision to leave in the first two years; after that time, this factor does not play an important role. For family relations, the opposite effect appears. Family in Amsterdam does not influence the decision to leave in the first two years, whereas in the second period, having family in Amsterdam significantly decreases the likelihood of leaving. Perhaps many households that have family in Amsterdam have developed new support relationships with the family. Grandparents may, for example, take on child care, which makes these families dependent on grandparental support. Additional analyses demonstrated that for households with family in the city, 38% rely on grandparental child care for at least one day per week, whereas for households with no family in the city, this rate is 20% (data not shown).

In addition to social networks, economic ties also play a part. Having a job in the central city leads to a smaller chance of leaving the central part of the city, with respect to both partners' jobs. It appears that having a job in Amsterdam primarily affects the decision to move out in the first two years. In the second model, having an Amsterdam-based job does not have a significant effect. One might expect that having a job in the creative industries would correlate with the location of that job; however, additional analysis revealed that this is not the case. Generally, creative and cultural sectors are overrepresented in Amsterdam; however, in this study, there is no significant difference in the locations of the respondents' jobs in creative and other sectors.

Variables at the neighbourhood level do not have a significant effect in either model. Therefore, the results cannot confirm studies that have emphasised the importance of the neighbourhood. This appears to be associated with the fact that the differentiation among the inner-city neighbourhoods is not sufficiently important to produce significant effects. Furthermore, the household characteristics and the aspects of the dwelling account for much (all) of the variation at the neighbourhood level. The selective migration from and to neighbourhoods is associated with many factors that act simultaneously and are interconnected. In this study, controlling for the majority of the variables that also determine residential choice and constraints on the housing market removes the independent effect of neighbourhood characteristics. Of course, this is not to say that neighbourhood qualities do not matter. Based on other studies, it is evident that the neighbourhood context, as it provides access to various amenities—particularly schools—is very important. Furthermore, tenure, size, quality and price of housing are unequally spatially distributed. Choosing housing thus also involves choosing particular neighbourhoods and vice versa.

Conclusions

In dialogue with research about time-space trajectories of gentrifiers (Bridge, 2006) and the suggested urban habitus of new middle classes (Butler and Robson, 2003a), this study proposed to examine parenthood as a field in which middle-class households are faced with a new reality, with repercussions for various aspects of their lives. In the field of parenthood, the historically accumulated experiences that are rooted in the habitus are confronted with each other. This collision of practices and identities results in a differentiation of residential mobility among households with various social networks, ideas about good parenting and residential biographies as well as different positions in the fields of employment, consumption, housing and education.

Building on ideas about the habitus and forms of capital, this study demonstrates that the residential mobility of urban middle classes is differentiated by the orientation of capital: the reproduction of a class through economic capital appears to be more associated with suburbanisation, whereas households that have invested highly in cultural capital tend to remain urban. Furthermore, it was demonstrated that 'classic' variables in residential mobility research such as dwelling size, household size, and location of work are still useful for explaining the practices of middle-class families. However, many of these variables, notably dwelling size, are also correlated with the orientation of capital and tend to strengthen the relationship found between the orientation of capital and residential practices. These findings lend support to the idea that residential mobility should be understood as part of broader time-space trajectories that are associated with historical practices throughout the life course.

These time-space trajectories of middle classes, however, should not only be related to demand but should also be linked to the supply side of the metropolitan housing market. As Butler and Robson (2003a) report for London, the residential mobility of middle-class households is connected to the structure of the metropolitan housing market. As Bridge (2006) argues for Bristol, the local housing-market conditions of smaller cities may hinder middle-class mobility, causing households to remain urban when they become parents. In Amsterdam, the large social rent sector and the scarcity of larger dwellings in the private sector makes it difficult for Amsterdam middle-class households to find suitable family housing within the inner city. On the other hand, many suburban locations within Amsterdam and throughout the region may not be considered suitable carriers of 'good taste' (cultural capital).

These findings show that the majority of middle-class families initially stayed in central Amsterdam, but a considerable number moved out or reconsidered their residential location. For all households, residential location involves trade-offs among various fields. Family households that have large shares of economic capital and relatively less cultural capital appear to prioritise housing

and suburbanise relatively often, although they could afford family housing in the city. Households that have high shares of both economic and cultural capital do not need to compromise much on housing and appear to be connected to the city socially, economically and culturally and remain relatively often. Nonetheless, households with low shares of economic capital and high cultural capital are most urban in their orientation. They may live in the relatively smallest dwellings and often in lower-status neighbourhoods but they are attached to the city in symbolic and social ways.

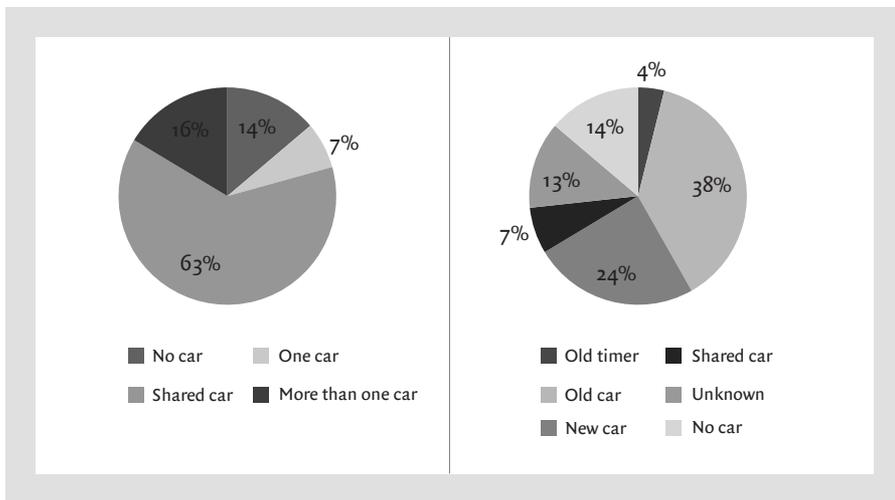
The presence and residential mobility of middle-class families in the city of Amsterdam is a complex interplay of local housing-market conditions and a variety of practices of various middle-class habituses in the field of parenthood. Although all middle-class households in this study could be considered gentrifiers before they had children, this study demonstrates that gentrification should be connected with events in the life course. For some gentrifiers, the city is only temporarily a part of their time-space trajectory, whereas other households may continue living in the city and become 'family gentrifiers' in various parts of the city.

6b. Box 4: Consumption

In the preceding chapter the analysis was partly based on a definition of cultural capital, which was measured through education, employment, political orientation and consumption. In this dissertation no empirical chapter deals exclusively with patterns of consumption and how they had become altered by the transition to parenthood. This box will give a brief overview of some aspects of consumption of the households in the sample.

FIGURE 6B.1. **Car Ownership, (n=219)**

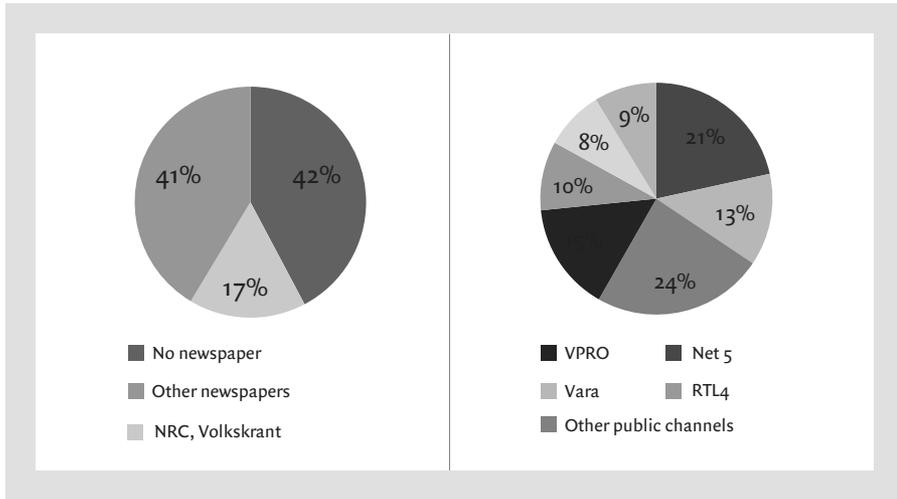
FIGURE 6B.2. **Type of Car, (n=219)**



Source: source: own data.

Contrary to what one might expect, a vast majority of the households in this study own a car. Considering that all households lived in the inner-city of Amsterdam, the fact that 15% has two cars is even more remarkable. Most car-owners drive a relatively old car, but about a quarter of all households drives a new car. Another form of cultural consumption, which plays a role for distinction is the subscription to a newspaper. Although printed media are struggling, a majority of the households in this study was subscribed to one or more newspapers. Figure 6b.3 shows that 42% of all households were subscribed to daily newspapers De Volkskrant and/or NRC Handelsblad, which are generally considered the quality newspapers in the Netherlands. Furthermore, Figure 6b.4 shows that a high share of respondents prefer to watch public television channels and in particular VPRO, which is also generally recognised as broadcaster for intellectuals (Kuipers, 2006).

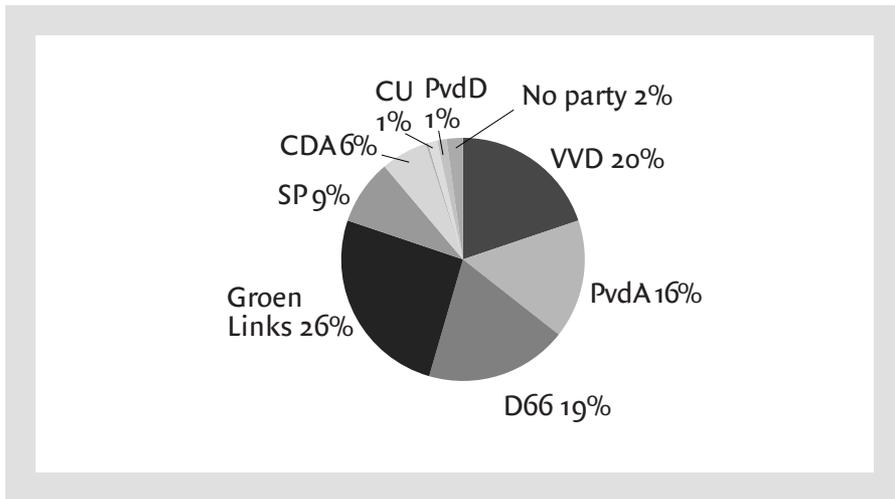
FIGURE 6B.3. Newspaper Subscription, (n=232) FIGURE 6B.4. TV preferences, (n=232)



Source: source: own data.

Although political orientation is not consumption per se, voting behaviour is strongly connected to life style and an important marker of identity and distinctive practices (Bourdieu, 1984; Ley, 1994). In the Dutch context middle classes tend to vote relatively often for progressive parties and tend to lean toward the left of the political spectrum. The participants of this research confirm this. Figure 6b.5 shows that Greens (Groen Links), a relatively marginal party (6.7% of national vote in 2010), has the strongest support among middle-class families, followed by the right-wing liberals VVD and the social liberals D66.

FIGURE 6B.5. Political Parties (multiple answers), (n=323)



Source: source: own data.

Most of the consumption patterns discussed in this Box have not been altered because of becoming parents. Other forms of consumption that are more related to spare time and use of space, however, were changed significantly. Visiting theatres, bars, restaurants, concerts and exhibitions were all much less frequent for the young parents than they used to be. Also the use of space changed. Most parents indicated that much of their spare time activities took place in the neighbourhood and were often geared to the interests of the child. Among the top activities for the new parents were the Artis Amsterdam zoo, playgrounds in the neighbourhood, the goat's farm in the *Amsterdamse Bos* and also outings in the Amsterdam region.