

**Mixed-Income, Mixed Motivations:
Drivers of Socioeconomic Diversity
in Rogers Park, Chicago
and North Hollywood, Los Angeles**

By Alexander Stern

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:
BACHELOR OF ARTS
IN ENVIRONMENTAL AND URBAN STUDIES
at THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Faculty Advisor: Evan Carver

Environmental and Urban Studies Preceptor: Derick Anderson

Acknowledgments

Thank you to **Professor Evan Carver** for advising my thesis. I know you were juggling a lot this year— including many other theses— but you never dropped my ball. I committed to a lot with this project and you helped me tackle it. You could flippantly rubber-stamp my work and hand it back, but you truly engage with what I do. You're unafraid to respectfully question and critique my work. In turn, my ideas become better and the thoughts on the top of my tongue finally land on the page. You've taught me that what I care about is valuable and that I should share my quiet loves with people.

To **Professors Yue Lin** and **Pedro Amaral** for meeting with me to discuss my spatial work. I hope to match your GIS and statistical expertise one day.

To **Derick Anderson, Adam Light, Chloe Thompson, and Professor Kindell**. For the incisive feedback, the open-mindedness toward a project in evolution, and for rounding up my ramblings to reason.

To **my parents**. For asking minimal questions when I'd leave during winter break to conduct my surveys, and for never kiboshing my adventures or self-purported "vision." For the sacrifices you've made toward my positive development and education. For instilling in me a deep understanding that I am and can be many things at once. For celebrating the diversity within me, our family, and our hometown. And for teaching me to buckle down and put my best foot forward since the world won't always give me the benefit of the doubt.

To **the participants**. For being generous with your time, relatively trusting and kind, and curious, above all.

To **my friends** and most specifically to—

Cooper Komatsu. For sitting down with me before I'd ever run a spatial cluster analysis and walking me through it, for letting me pick your mathematical brain and giving me inspiration for figures and visualizations, and—most incomparably— for making me stupidly happy in life's tougher moments. I'm grateful to have known you.

Daisy Ortiz, and to Daisy's parents and mother's friends. For keeping open ears to my roommate soliloquies and for letting me open my ears to yours. For, in the context of this project, collaborating with me on the Spanish translation of the FIIND survey. For bringing your loved ones into a focus group to make something that I cared about more perfect.

Jonathan García. For sending messages of encouragement when the process of conducting my surveys was (unsurprisingly) unglamorous and quite difficult. For taking interest in my work with familiar and admiring eyes. For making me proud to be from the Valley.

Maybe it's incidental but each of these friends was born and raised in the vast city of Los Angeles. Yet, within the city, they come from distinct communities and backgrounds. It's gratifying to unite people in supporting research on a place that holds significance for them *collectively* but for very *different reasons*. The dynamic found here ends up being a central finding of my thesis too.

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I. Abstract

In Chicago and Los Angeles— and just about every pre-war American city— deep socioeconomic inequality often takes the form of residential income segregation. Yet, in these two deeply unequal cities, *income-diverse* areas exist— large, contiguous, and stable neighborhoods where residents of all income brackets live amongst each other. Though their effects have been overstated in the past, research consistently shows that mixed-income neighborhoods offer consequential economic and social benefits for low-income residents. By comparing two long-standing income-diverse neighborhoods— Chicago’s Rogers Park and Los Angeles’ North Hollywood— this paper seeks to better understand how neighborhood income diversity arises. To make the comparison, I look at two potential spatial and demographic motivators of income diversity in the two neighborhoods (and their accompanying metropolises when possible): 1) multi-ethnic enclavism and 2) inner-ring attraction to the central city. Using a mixed methods approach that includes data analysis, mapping, and questionnaire responses, this paper demonstrates the unique ability of “inner-ring” areas, transition zones between the city center and suburbs, to attract ethnically and socioeconomically diverse movers. Multi-ethnic enclavism positively influences clustered income diversity in both cities, though the effect is stronger in Chicago than in Los Angeles. These results emphasize that while cities can lay bare striking inequality, they are also often optimal spaces for organic social cohesion.

II. Introduction

Research Question

How do multi-ethnic enclavism and inner-ring attraction contribute to the emergence of income-diverse neighborhoods in Chicago's Rogers Park and Los Angeles' North Hollywood— and these urban areas more broadly?

It’s not wholly sensational to narrate big American cities as binary tales of urban wealth and poverty. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, de-industrialization dissolved millions of pensioned and

unionized jobs supporting working-class families in American cities. Many urban economies pursued the emerging technology sector as an economic buoy (Doussard, Peck, and Theodore 2009, 185). New information-age jobs, which required advanced degrees and sourced from tight talent pipelines, offered middle-class and upper-class citizens a chance at the incomes and benefits that some thought had died along with the American factory. Yet, amidst this economic realignment, many urban householders without college educations and advantageous connections were left behind. It's no wonder that in the vast majority of American metropolitan areas, strong economic growth did little to reduce rates of socioeconomic exclusion (Florida 2017, 91).

A true *urban* crisis has befallen us. Seventy percent of large American cities exhibit income inequality worse than the national average (Florida 2017, 88). The consequence of this heightened inequality appears in how our cities separate and cluster. Large under-resourced swathes of cities have solidified where residents are offered few prospects for social mobility. Meanwhile, prosperous enclaves have taken root. Rich with opportunities and amenities, wealth continuously accumulates in these neighborhoods and seldom leaves.

Income-diverse areas disrupt this urban dichotomy by providing more democratic access to neighborhood-level public and institutional amenities. Since the late twentieth century, the government has recognized the potential merits of income-diverse areas as a remediation for income inequality by exposing low-income residents to the greater economic opportunity present in higher-income areas. This recognition has taken the form of voucher programs such as Moving to Opportunity (MTO) which offered low-income participants housing stipends provided that they moved to a higher-income area (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2008, 117). Other approaches include developing housing projects for tenants from across the income spectrum, such as the Chicago Housing Authority's Plan for Transformation (Joseph & Chaskin 2010). Yet, government attempts at mobility in the form of residential income diversity have long been troubled by the transience of participants and a lack of social cohesion between residents (Ibid). In response, this paper suggests that we look beyond past common strategies that

innovate based on theoretical assumptions of how income diversity manifests. Instead, we must turn to our cities to see how income diversity emerges in practice. By engaging in a more holistic study of long-standing areas of income diversity, we may be able to not only increase the incidence of income-diversity at the community level but also the incidence of interpersonal income-diverse interactions within these neighborhoods.

In the following Background & Literature Review sections, I situate the reader in my subject cities and in the social theory surrounding multi-ethnic enclavism and inner-ring attraction as drivers of socioeconomic diversity. In my Conceptual Framework and Data & Methods sections, I describe how I will analyze and measure these two drivers. Finally, I present figures and analyses in the Results & Conclusion sections.

III. Background & Context

North Hollywood: Variegated Skin Over Ivory Bones

North Hollywood and Rogers Park trace back divergent lineages. North Hollywood proves a classic case of Greater Los Angeles' urban evolution. Once land for crops and cattle, the neighborhood first passed through the hands of investor Issac Lankershim. In 1887, he formed the Lankershim Ranch Land and Water Company, cutting and paving roads from wheat fields, and subdividing his land into ranches (Bearchell and Fried 1988, 122). For decades, the area, then called Toluca, existed as a sparse and growing collective of ranchers (Bearchell and Fried 1988, 123). Toluca took its capitalist progenitor's name in 1896 and became Lankershim. Its landscape, lined with fruit trees and prosperous farm estates, produced one million tons of stone fruits a year (Bearchell and Fried 1988, 124). However, development pressures from Los Angeles were knocking on Lankershim's door. In 1911, the Southern Pacific Railroad hung the final wires on its route to Lankershim, connecting the area to central Los Angeles for only 25

cents (Bearchell and Fried 1988, 44). By the 1920s, ranchers in the area were instructed to put numbered addresses on their houses, and Lankershim was finally annexed to the city of Los Angeles in 1923 (Bearchell and Fried 1988, 124). Four years later, Lankershim, which sat on the other side of the mountains that bounded Hollywood to the north, was reborn as *North Hollywood* (Ibid). In the aftermath of World War II, North Hollywood was filled in with tract homes for middle-class White suburbanites (Davis 1999). Yet as the twentieth century progressed, Los Angeles quickly emerged as urban America's new great receiver of international immigrants (Singer 2013). By the 1980s, North Hollywood's first generation of householders, White American GIs and aircraft workers, had been replaced or integrated with more diverse newcomers. North Hollywood's changing residents remade the neighborhood's economic and urban form by any means necessary, legal and clandestine, variegated skin over ivory bones.

Today, North Hollywood is a mosaic where thriving Mexican, Central American, West Asian, East European, and Jewish communities have made their homes (US Census Bureau, 2021). The Census Bureau's 2021 American Community Survey found that 53 percent of North Hollywood's residents speak a language other than English at home (US Census Bureau, 2021). The neighborhood's population has steadily grown due to parallel migrations: large multigenerational immigrant families modifying historic single-family housing stock and young professionals seeking cheaper rents in North Hollywood's new apartment complexes near clubs, studios, and restaurants (Schwada 1989; City of Los Angeles 1996; Covarrubias 2005; Vincent 2019). The most germane result of these simultaneous migrations is economic diversity.

In many ways, North Hollywood's internal socioeconomic diversity is made possible by its infrastructural growth. As demand for housing in Los Angeles increases, North Hollywood's mass residential construction has allowed supply to more closely trace demand than other areas of Los Angeles. In the neighborhood, this has prevented the kind of housing scarcity that allows landlords to raise rents exorbitantly (Morrow 2013; 158, 218) Another consequence of this residential growth is compounding

urbanization. North Hollywood clocks a higher population density than the city of Boston, with nearly 14,000 residents per square mile (US Census Bureau, 2021). Since the 1990s, North Hollywood has gentrified around a northern extension of the busiest subway west of the Mississippi, Los Angeles Metro’s Red (or B) Line (Barder & Warkertien 2016). In 2000, when an extension to North Hollywood opened, ridership on the 15-mile Red Line doubled (Torribio-Bond 2000). Needless to say, connections between North Hollywood and Central Los Angeles run deep. In many ways, North Hollywood represents a microcosm of the larger region it is contained within, Los Angeles’ San Fernando Valley— known locally as “The Valley.” Once a canonical American suburb, many of the Valley’s well-connected neighborhoods have morphed into dynamic appendages of Los Angeles’ urban and cosmopolitan core (Roderick 2001, 187). For example, nearly 40 percent of San Fernando Valley residents are international immigrants, a proportion surpassed only by Queens and San Jose among urban divisions with over one million residents (US Census Bureau 2021).

A picture of a residential street in North Hollywood. *(December 2023)*



Rogers Park: Chicago in a Neighborhood

At the turn of the twentieth century, Chicago remained a magnet for newcomers. The city continued to take in Europeans, as well as a burgeoning community of free Black Americans from the antebellum South (Lewinnek 2014, 22). In the far northern reaches of mid-19th-century Chicago, Philip Rogers, an entrepreneurial Irish immigrant, acquired a square of land for just \$1.25 an acre. At the time, the property was a cold commodity (Day Archer & Wirsbinski Santoro 2007, 19). As a newspaper excerpt remarks, “Rogers Park’s land was the last thing that anyone wanted” (Ibid). In 1873, Rogers’ son-in-law Patrick Touhy sold his land to the Rogers Park Building and Land Company, a cadre of barons. Today, six east-west streets bisect Rogers Park: (north to south) Estes, Greenleaf, Lunt, Morse, Farwell, Pratt, named after these historic landowners (Ibid 20). Soon after Touhy transferred his parcels to the Rogers Park Land Company, the property market in northern Chicago heated up.

The 1871 Great Chicago Fire charred four square miles of Chicago’s historic core, before finally extinguishing somewhere at Fullerton Avenue. The Fire forced many residents north, toward Touhy’s territory (Day Archer & Wirsbinski Santoro 2007, 21). Speculation of the land increased. Seven years after the Fire, Rogers Park was officially incorporated as a village in Illinois (Ibid). To connect the north-flung village to Chicago, the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railway Company laid track through present-day Rogers Park, establishing the current Red Line right-of-way (Ibid 21-22). Rogers Park, accessible to high-paying jobs in Chicago’s core, began to emerge as a well-to-do commuter village. At the end of the 19th century, Rogers Park was prepared to make its relationship with Chicago official. In 1893, the Village of Rogers Park voted to annex itself to the City (Ibid 28).

Unlike North Hollywood, Rogers Park’s development was intended to house an economically diverse populace from early on. At the turn of the century, 48 percent of Chicago’s population was born outside of America, a higher proportion than any other city in America (Paral 2003). In Rogers Park, multifamily blocks were constructed to house an influx of Ashkenazi Jews, Poles, Germans, and other immigrants from Europe. However, as these Chicagoans built wealth and assimilated, many chose to

cross Chicago's northern border into emergent suburban areas. In 1960, Rogers Park was still over 99 percent White, but in the coming decades, dual migrations occurred. Many European immigrants and their descendants left Rogers Park as Chicagoans of color flocked to the neighborhood, variegating the neighborhood ethnically but also economically (Ibid 105). During the 1980s, Rogers Park's Black population tripled while its Latino population nearly doubled (Maly & Leechman 1998, 136). By the 1990s, Rogers Park became a "majority-minority" area of Chicago (Day Archer & Wirsbinski Santoro 117). Though today's Rogers Park shows signs of gradual gentrification and depletion of affordable housing stock, its contemporary demographic shifts have compelled many an urban ethnographer to deem the neighborhood Chicago's most diverse when it comes to ethnicity and income (Doering 2020, 9, 12; Day Archer & Wirsbinski Santoro 117).



A picture of a residential street in Rogers Park. (April 2024, Alexander Stern)

IV. Literature Review

Outline

I begin this literature review by providing a theoretical basis for income diversity as a method of social development through government-backed programs such as the Moving to Opportunity program and integrated public housing. Based on conclusions from these programs and research on existing income-diverse areas, I postulate that income diversity *does* have positive effects on economic and social mobility for low-income residents.

However, I qualify this postulate by asserting that these positive effects are achieved mostly at the community level in stable income-diverse neighborhoods (as opposed to the fluctuating residential conditions associated with temporary government studies). Next, I explore two motivators that may drive stable income diversity: 1) multi-ethnic enclavism and 2) inner-ring attraction to the central city. I share broad theory and evidence explaining why these motivators spur spatial clustering of residents from across the income spectrum while relating each motivator to the unique structural and demographic characteristics of Los Angeles and Chicago.

The Effects of Income Diversity: Fact from Fiction

Income diversity has long been proposed as a means of poverty alleviation. The theory goes that income-diverse neighborhoods, places where low-income residents and high-income residents live cospatially, provide novel opportunities for social mobility through *interpersonal* and *community*-level interactions. At the interpersonal level (resident-to-resident), proponents argue that higher-income residents in income-diverse neighborhoods may be able to refer low-income residents to jobs (or even hire them) and point their poorer neighbors to lesser-known forms of social support (Chaskin et al. 2007). Unfortunately, previous case studies reveal that even in income-diverse neighborhoods (see: Boston's South End and Washington D.C.'s Shaw neighborhood), interactions remain relatively income-segregated

at the interpersonal level (Tach 2014, 38; Hyra 2015, 785-786). Oftentimes, too, the incongruous skillsets between low-income and high-income workers in income-diverse neighborhoods discourage high-income residents from recruiting and referring their low-income neighborhoods (Turney et al. 2006, 156). More promising yet indirect effects of income-diverse neighborhoods arise at the community level.

Income-diverse communities also consistently prove economically resilient. They safeguard job prospects for low-income residents during economic recessions compared to segregated low-income neighborhoods, and historically, income-diverse areas have outperformed segregated high-income neighborhoods during boom times (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2008, 120). Additionally, income-diverse neighbors often share public institutions— schools, hospitals, and law enforcement. Along those lines, low-income residents in income-integrated neighborhoods might benefit from better education, healthcare, and reduced stress from perceptions of relative community safety (Chaskin 2007, 392; Tach 2014, 26). A survey of public housing residents in Chicago found that among low-income residents who relocated from segregated low-income public housing to income-diverse developments, seventy-five percent reported “psychological benefits” in terms of “stress, feelings of self-esteem and motivation, concerns about safety and security, or feelings of stigma” (Joseph 2010).

A longitudinal analysis of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) program sees that these hypothesized effects are in fact realized. Through MTO, low-income public housing residents in large American cities (including Chicago and Los Angeles) were given experimental housing vouchers under the condition that they used them to move from “poor” neighborhoods to low-poverty (“non-poor”) neighborhoods (poverty rate < 20%) (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2008, 117). Regression models of Baltimore’s MTO data, which were controlled for selection biases unaccounted for in previous studies, predicted that on average program participants would see a 1.1% increase in the odds of holding a job with each additional month of residence in a low-poverty neighborhood (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2008, 133). On average, too, these jobs were more likely to provide health insurance (Ibid, 150). A more minimal but evident increase in weekly earnings and a decrease in food stamp usage was observed too

(Ibid, 133-134). Notably, these effects were magnified for participants who moved to racially diverse low-poverty neighborhoods compared to those who moved to racially homogeneous low-poverty neighborhoods (Ibid, 133).

These gains are only made and maintained so long as income-diverse areas are sustained. Yet, government attempts at mobility in the form of residential income diversity have long been troubled by the transience of participants. The MTO program provides a striking example. By the time researchers revisited participants for qualitative interviews, only 12 percent of those who had first used their vouchers to move to low-poverty neighborhoods remained at the address from their initial move. Many participants had moved back to high-poverty neighborhoods (Ibid, 145-146).

Here, the idea of income-diverse neighborhoods that both house great socioeconomic diversity and provide social mobility for residents may seem contradictory. If a neighborhood is meant to lift low-income residents out of poverty, then if it's successful, won't the neighborhood begin to lose its low-income demographic? In reality, this is likely not how population flows in income-diverse neighborhoods work because the residents who experience the most meaningful benefits of economic mobility are not entire families, but developing children. Recent research points to low-income children reaping better long-term outcomes from growing up in mixed-income areas including higher rates of college attendance and future earnings (Chyn & Kaz 2021, Chetty et al. 2016). The economic and quality-of-life benefits of income-diverse neighborhoods often look less like a series of a parent's series of promotions culminating in a move to a hoity-toity suburb. Instead, income-diverse areas offer opportunities in the form of a child graduating from high school and becoming the first in their family to graduate college. The positive effects of these areas are passed down between generations gradually. Again, this is why their income-diverse neighborhoods' ability to retain residents for long periods is essential.

With this challenge in mind, I hope to ascertain neighborhood features that attract and serve people of all income strata by analyzing areas where income diversity has persisted for decades.

Multi-ethnic Enclaves: Where Cultural Groups Share the Stage

The “ethnic enclave hypothesis” has been hotly contested by urban theorists since it was first proposed by Alejandro Portes and Robert Bach. Based on ethnographic work from Cuban immigrant communities in Miami, the hypothesis states that in contemporary America, ethnic enclaves have emerged: “distinctive economic formations characterized by the spatial concentration of immigrants who organize a variety of enterprises to serve their own ethnic market *and* the general population” (Portes & Bach 1985, 203). Portes and Bach emphasize that one of the stipulations for a successful ethnic enclave is sufficient capital amongst the entrepreneurs of a diaspora since money is necessary to establish an enterprise (Ibid). In ethnic enclaves, immigrant entrepreneurs profit from a niche market and cheap labor, while immigrants with less capital benefit from access to jobs that do not demand prohibitive skills, such as the ability to speak English or citizenship (Ibid). As a result, Portes and Bach theorize that ethnic enclaves afford economic mobility to coethnics across an economic spectrum. Though, emerging evidence challenges these claims. The ethnic enclave’s social mobility property appears to skew disproportionately toward immigrant entrepreneurs, as more vulnerable immigrant employees continue to be exploited (Gold 2015). Though, ultimately, the natural result of ethnic enclavism is neighborhoods with deep cultural roots and diverse incomes.

In my thesis, I’d like to push this hypothesis a bit further. Almost four decades after Portes and Bach’s initial book, cities like Los Angeles have experienced hyperdiverse flows of newcomers, and multi-ethnic enclaves have become exceedingly common— places where high concentrations of immigrants from multiple places live and work together (Light et al. 1994; Gold 1994; Waldinger et al 1996). For example, based on my preliminary analysis, 22 percent of Los Angeles County residents live in multi-ethnic enclaves. This begs an important line of inquiry that few researchers have explored: in some diverse neighborhoods, might the multi-ethnic enclave supplant the mono-ethnic enclave? And in

this supplanting, might the multi-ethnic enclave replicate the effects of economic resiliency and mobility despite marginalization previously ascribed solely to mono-ethnic enclaves?

Critically, ethnic enclave entrepreneurs must “serve their own ethnic market” *and* “the general population.” In North Hollywood (a multi-Central American and West Asian ethnic enclave), 3 in 10 adults speak Spanish. Despite the neighborhood’s ethnic diversity, the general populace is plurality Latino. For this reason, an Armenian grocery owner might employ her Guatemalan immigrant neighbor instead of another Armenian. In neighborhoods where one significant immigrant group has the capital to establish businesses and another significant immigrant group tends to possess niche qualities and skills that these employers desire (such as Spanish fluency), the (original mono-) ethnic enclave may function as a multi-ethnic one (Kim 1999, Gold 2015).

Recent fieldwork in Central Los Angeles confirms what has been suspected for a long time. Urban residents, particularly those who live in multi-ethnic enclaves, are conscious of the intricate ethnic, economic, and social dynamics of their neighborhoods, and in particular, how labor stratifies based on ethnic lines (Collins 2020). For example, in multi-ethnic Koreatown, Los Angeles, non-Latino restaurant service and grocery store workers will learn conversational Spanish to interact with their coworkers who they know will disproportionately be Spanish-speaking Latinos (Sanchez 2012). Many of these non-Latino residents are immigrants themselves—modulating between their native tongue, basic Spanish, and developing English. Two Korean-owned supermarkets in the area maintain a large and diverse inventory of Latin-American products because they are aware that their neighborhood is plurality Latino and majority immigrant. Oftentimes, multi-ethnic enclave residents figure themselves as part of a niche local economy mediated by identity and fortified by diversity.

Inner-ring attraction: A Suburban-Urban Middle Ground

Inner-ring suburbs, occupying the periphery of America’s legacy cities, were communities that developed away from the historic core before the widespread suburbanization of the mid-twentieth

century (Hanlon 2009, 221). Rogers Park and North Hollywood both represent de-facto inner-ring areas of their principal cities, though their high population densities contradict the “suburb” label. Rogers Park and North Hollywood were late annexations for the cities of Chicago and Los Angeles, and today, they sit in the northern stretches of their respective city limits requiring substantial commutes to their city centers. Rogers Park is over eight miles north of The Loop and North Hollywood ten miles northwest of Downtown Los Angeles. Both areas serve as transition zones between inner-city and more suburban areas in their metropolitan areas. For these reasons, though not definitional inner-ring suburbs (since they are jurisdictionally part of the principal city)—in several qualitative ways, they meet traditional inner-ring criteria. In this project, I term such areas “inner ring.”

Within America’s urban areas, the inner ring of development tends to house the most stable racial and socioeconomic diversity (Talen 2010, 488). This is the case for several converging reasons. Crucially, inner-ring areas often have cheaper rent than areas with commensurate amenities in the immediate central city, a characteristic that holds for both Rogers Park and North Hollywood (Rutan et al. 2023, 105). Social theorists ascribe this to inner-ring areas’ ability to preserve available historic housing stock while maintaining affordable rents through inclusive land use and rental construction (Talen 2010, 488; Pendall 2000, 138-139). Over the past half-century, as housing costs skyrocket in desirable urban neighborhoods, inner-ring suburbs are increasingly viewed as aspirational areas for upwardly mobile young families and professionals (Teitz & Chapple 1998, 53; Abu-Lughod 1994). This has led to a wave of gentrification in many inner-ring areas, including both in Rogers Park and North Hollywood. This wave has been countervailed, however, by new patterns of migration among immigrants and other urban residents of color. Inner-ring suburbs are increasingly receiving communities for minorities who prefer to settle outside of inner-city areas but are wary of spatial disconnection from the cultural ties and employment opportunities contained in the core (Hanlon 2009). For instance, in the MTO program, low-income participants who moved to low-poverty neighborhoods (and stayed after the study ended) often opted to settle in the outskirts of central cities or inner suburbs, an average of 5.8 miles from their original housing projects (Clampet-Lundquist et al. 2008, 163). Magnets for economically divergent groups, inner-ring

areas such as Rogers Park and North Hollywood come out as shared spaces between low, middle, and high-income populations.

Overview

Both factors— multi-ethnic enclavism and inner-ring attraction to the central city— generally help income-diverse areas attract and sustain residents of all incomes because they simultaneously provide discrete identity-based support systems for marginal urban residents while broadly maximizing the breadth of economic choices available to the entire population. As niche formations of co-ethnic economic partnerships between entrepreneurs and employees, successful ethnic enclaves are often innately income-diverse. However, the ubiquity of multi-ethnic enclaves in American cities and the demonstrated preferences of many immigrants to hire outside of their ethnicity presupposes a multi-ethnic economic tide. This tide may help lift all boats, even among broadly vulnerable, persistently disadvantaged diasporas without an established entrepreneur class. Through the preservation of historic housing stock and inclusive land use, inner-ring suburbs occupy fertile ground for income diversity. Although many inner-ring areas gentrify as city cores become sites for exclusive redevelopment, they also draw lower-income residents leaving the inner-city who want to avoid complete disconnection from the community networks and employment cities have to offer.

V. Conceptual Framework

In this paper, I hypothesize that income-diverse areas stand out as integrated enclaves for multiple ethnic groups and receiving areas for a socioeconomically diverse set of movers. Both of these factors (multi-ethnic enclavism and inner-ring attraction to the central city) generally help income-diverse areas attract and sustain residents of all incomes because they simultaneously provide discrete identity-based support systems for marginal urban residents while broadly maximizing the breadth of economic choices available to the entire population. However, due to the unique characteristics of Rogers Park and North

Hollywood (and Chicago and Los Angeles, more broadly), the significance of these effects differs between the two case neighborhoods. For example, I hypothesize that in Los Angeles, a city with a larger and more diffusely distributed immigrant population than Chicago, the theorized economic benefits of ethnic enclaves are less potent. Consequently, I predict that multi-ethnic enclaves in Los Angeles are less associated with income diversity than they are in Chicago.

I will borrow a loose framework from Robert Sampson's multi-study research on neighborhood inequality in Chicago and Los Angeles, taking special inspiration from his paper on urban income inequality in the Sunbelt. In it, Sampson pulls data from the Los Angeles Neighborhood and Family Survey into an analysis investigating realized income gains from residential moves and the effect of ethnic and racial enclaves on their residents' longitudinal incomes (Sampson, Schachner, & Mare 2017). Here, Sampson takes phenomena grounded in theory, creatively finds data to model these phenomena, and then analyzes it quantitatively. Finally, Sampson applies social theory to explain his findings. This is the process that I hope to replicate for my analyses of each of my two factors.

Like Sampson, in this comparative case study of North Hollywood and Rogers Park, I view Chicago's and Los Angeles' foundational differences as a sociological control. Though Cook County and Los Angeles County are both socioeconomically diverse places— they are quite different with regard to ethnicity and urban structure. Essentially, if I determine that a respective factor meaningfully shapes income diversity in *both* North Hollywood and Rogers Park, then I can more confidently establish a causal relationship between the factor and income diversity, rather than a merely correlative one.

VI. Methods & Data

In this project, I explore two motivators that may drive stable income diversity: 1) multi-ethnic enclavism and 2) inner-ring attraction to the central city. I present supporting evidence that elucidates the reasons behind the spatial clustering of residents from various income levels. In uncovering this evidence, this thesis takes a mixed-methods approach to data collection and analysis, drawing on statistical and

spatial analysis and questionnaire responses. In the literature review, I outline the theories behind three proposed motivators of income diversity. In this section, I detail the methodology behind my quantitative approximations of the theories, metrics and indices, inspired by Robert Sampson's comparative case-study framework from his multi-study research on neighborhood inequality in Chicago and Los Angeles (Sampson, Schachner, & Mare 2017). In the subsequent discussion section, I will analyze these metrics to determine their spatial autocorrelation with my income-diverse neighborhoods of study and comment on my results, explaining why drivers may be broadly effective, wholly ineffective, or show strong effects in one city and minimal effects in another.

Identifying income diversity and my subject areas

To limit the scope of my background research and tighten the survey area for my questionnaire, I decided to conceive of this project as a comparative case study. Consequently, I sought out two neighborhood-sized areas, one in Los Angeles County and one in Cook County, with significantly high levels of socioeconomic diversity. To circumscribe these areas, I performed the statistical and spatial analysis detailed below:

First, I pulled and cleaned the data from S1901 "INCOME IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (IN 2021 INFLATION-ADJUSTED DOLLARS)" of the 2021 5-Year American Community Survey dataset. This variable gave me the annual income distribution of households (see: Figure 1.1) within Cook and Los Angeles Counties overall (see: Figure 1.1) *and* for each Census tract contained within each Los Angeles or Cook Counties (see: Figure 1.2 as an example of a tract-level data). Cook County contained 1228 populated Census tracts, and Los Angeles County contained 2471 populated Census tracts. The Census-defined household income distribution falls across 10 income brackets.

	Los Angeles County	Cook County
Total number of households	3,342,811	2,044,658
Less than \$10,000	5.4%	6.8%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	4.3%	3.7%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	7.0%	7.6%
\$25,000 to \$34,999	7.2%	7.7%
\$35,000 to \$49,999	10.0%	10.3%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	15.4%	15.5%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	12.4%	12.4%
\$100,000 to \$149,999	16.8%	16.1%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	9.0%	8.5%
\$200,000 or more	12.5%	11.4%
Median annual income	\$76,367	\$72,121
Average household size	2.94	2.53

Figure 1.1: Annual household income distributions in Los Angeles and Cook Counties

	Census Tract 8237.05, Cook County IL
Less than \$10,000	6.7%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	3.4%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	9.1%
\$25,000 to \$34,999	8.1%
\$35,000 to \$49,999	15.2%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	14.0%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	10.7%
\$100,000 to \$149,999	16.0%
\$150,000 to \$199,999	6.5%
\$200,000 or more	10.3%

Figure 1.2: An example of the annual household income distribution for an individual Census tract.

As you can see, this tract (located in the Chicago suburb of Hickory Hills) proves very socioeconomically diverse.

Next, I wanted to measure how representative each Census tract was of the county household income distribution overall. To do this, I thought about the problem in the negative. Instead of trying to identify the Census tracts that were the *most similar* to the county's overall household income distribution, I identified the Census tracts that were the *least dissimilar*. I did this by calculating the magnitude of the difference between each Census tract's household income bracket distribution and the county-wide household income bracket distribution using the following formula:

<i>The income diversity index formulation</i>
$-\ln\left[\frac{\sum(x_i - \bar{x})}{n}\right]$
<i>where</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • x_i = the tract-level proportion = the proportion that a respective household income bracket makes up of an individual Census tract's population (see: Figure 1.2) • \bar{x} = the county-wide proportion = the proportion that a respective household income bracket makes up of all populated Census tracts within a county (see: Figure 1.1) • $n = 10$, the number of income brackets that the American Community Survey delimits

The result is an **income diversity index**, an approximation of how well the household income distribution of an individual Census tract represents the overall household income distribution of the county it is located within. The higher a tract's income diversity index, the more representative it is. The lower a tract's income diversity index, the less representative it is. I emphasize here that my income diversity index reflects how closely the household income distribution of a Census tract reflects the county as a whole. It does *not* reflect how equally distributed incomes are in a neighborhood— a more

idealistic approach. In this way, my index favors areas whose economic profiles most closely mirror the entrenched economic makeups of larger urban regions. They are microcosms of unequal places. A benefit of calculating the metric this way is that, by and large, existing and future mixed-income neighborhoods will be populated by local residents paid a distribution of wages. Following this logic, a socioeconomically diverse neighborhood should pull from and integrate these residents randomly, not be a hypothetical economically restructured utopia. My method also averts the statistical conundrum of basing a formula on the arbitrary income brackets that the Census delimits.

In the United States, income is relatively normally distributed. A low proportion of Americans experience extreme poverty or wealth, while many American households earn around the median income for their area. Consequently, if I were to calculate an index that benefitted tracts with a more equal distribution of income bins, it would boost areas with disproportionately many very rich and very poor residents, and much fewer lower to upper-middle-class residents than average. For example, Westwood nestled in the Santa Monica Mountains, is home to the University of California, Los Angeles, and thus, thousands of students with little to no annual income. The campus, however, is surrounded by mansions occupied by some of America's wealthiest residents. Using a method that simply looked at the equal distribution of income bins, a neighborhood to determine income diversity would mischaracterize the area as a cluster of socioeconomic diversity.

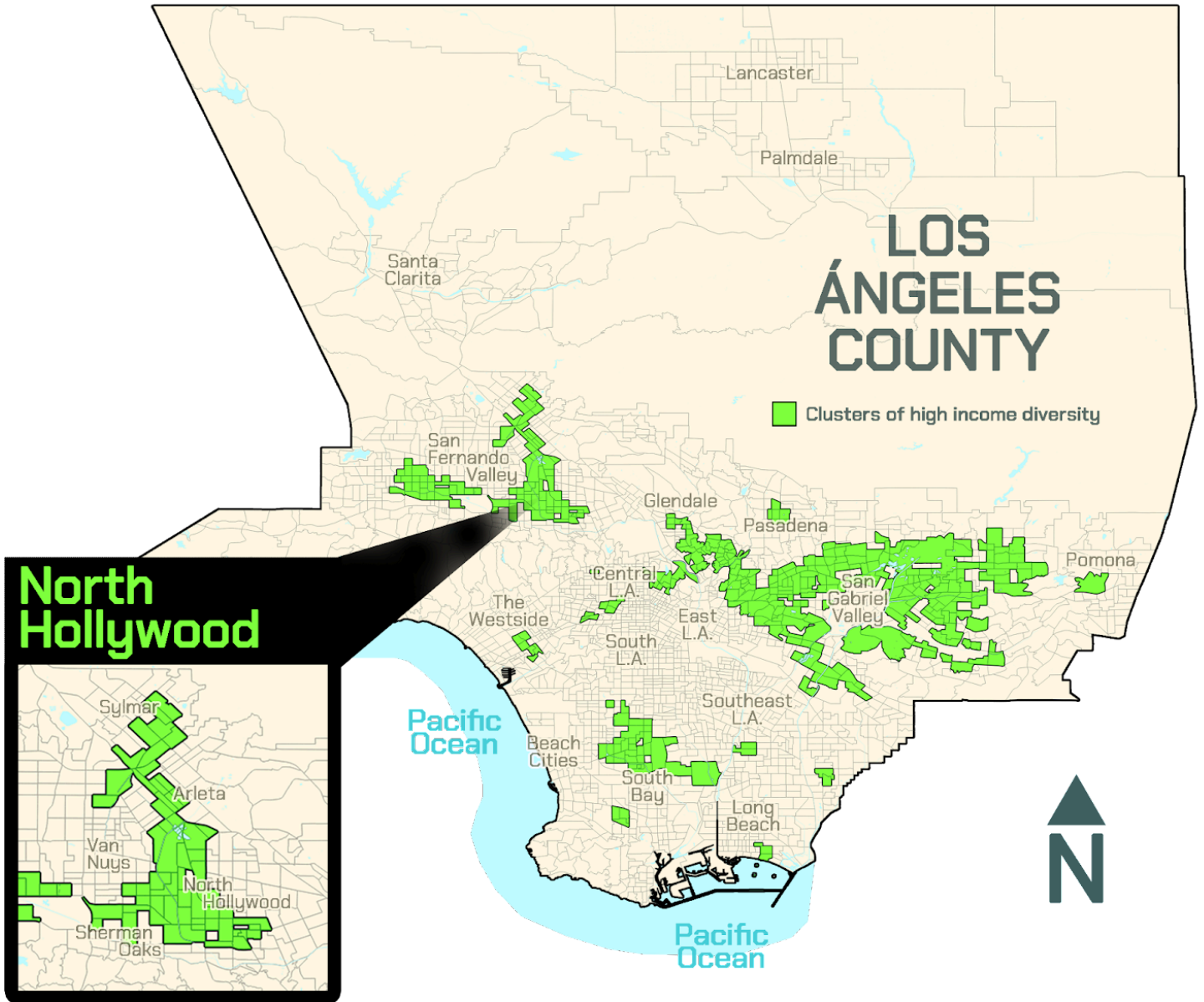
After calculating income diversity indices for each populated Census tract, I exported the table and joined it with shapefiles of all Census tracts within Cook and Los Angeles counties using QGIS and toggle-removed any geographically abnormal Census tracts. From here, I wanted to identify potential geographic clusters of income diversity. Thus, I conducted a distance-based spatial weight for cluster analysis in GeoDa. Here, I set Census tracts as my spatial unit and the distance for clustering as one mile from the centroid of a Census tract. This choice nullified geographically large, sparsely populated Census tracts. This strengthens my analysis since the realized neighborhood effects of income diversity are less relevant where technical neighbors live very far from each other. Finally, I performed a Univariate Local Moran's I cluster analysis, setting my income diversity index as my subject variable. This statistical

technique allowed me to identify localized clusters of Census Tracts with significantly high socioeconomic diversity. Below are the maps produced from the cluster analysis.

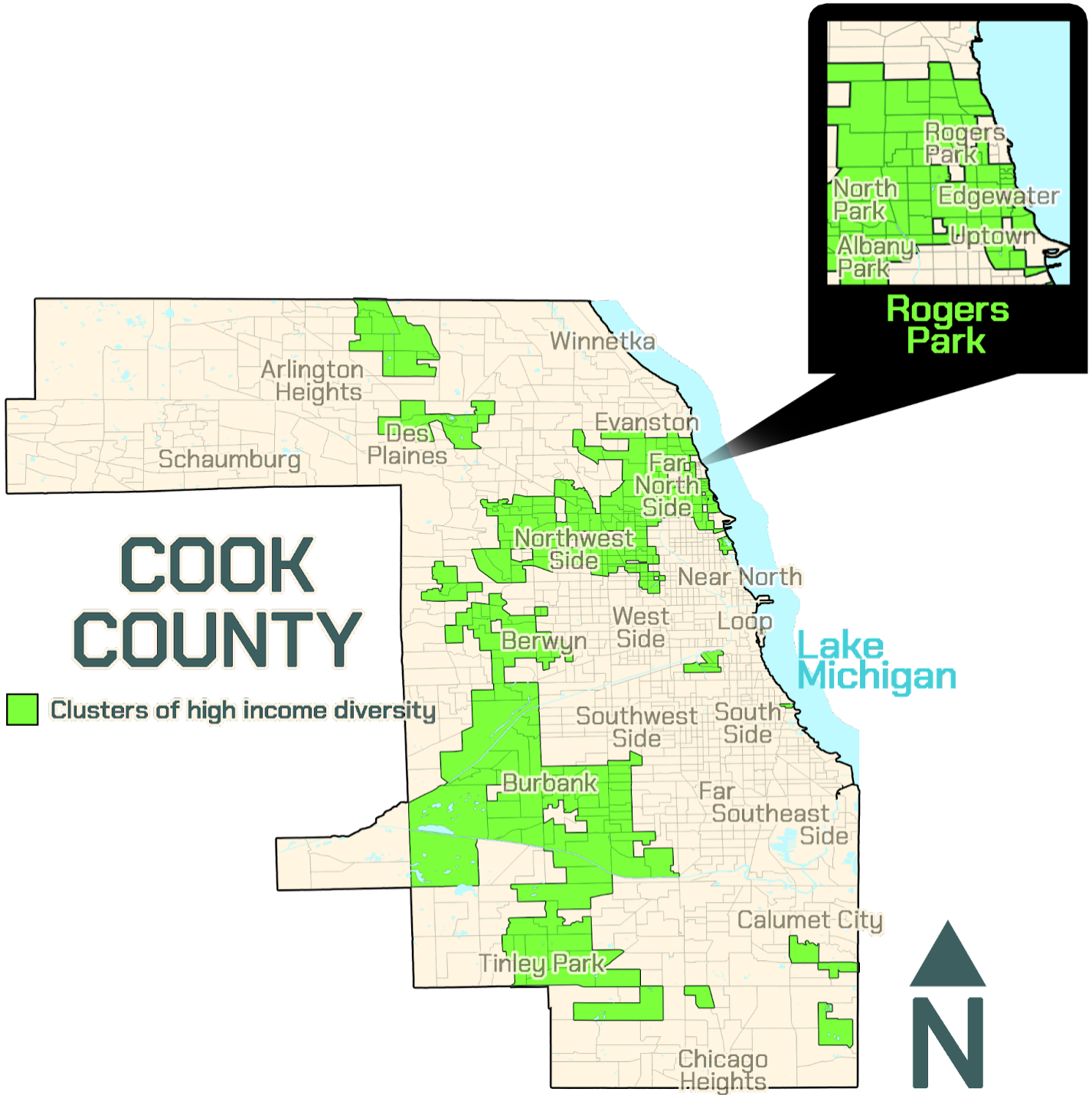
For my comparative case study on income-diverse areas, I've focused on two subject cities: Chicago and Los Angeles. To get a more concrete picture of where the income-diverse areas are in these cities, I conducted a Census-tract level analysis of *income diversity* using a multigroup entropy index of bracketed household incomes. In the simplest terms, the index "measure[s] ...how evenly families are distributed across the various income groups" (Galster et al. 2008). Subsequently, I ran my data through a spatial clustering model to identify contiguous areas of significant income diversity. Based on the results of the index, I selected the two areas in my subject cities: Chicago's Far North Side neighborhood of Rogers Park and Los Angeles' East San Fernando Valley neighborhood of North Hollywood.

The reference maps are included on the following pages:

Map 1: Socioeconomically diverse neighborhood clusters in Los Angeles County



Map 2: Socioeconomically diverse neighborhood clusters in Cook County



Green areas represent localized clusters of Census Tracts with significantly high socioeconomic diversity. Based on my analysis, North Hollywood and Rogers Park are relatively uncontroversial neighborhood candidates for my project based on the motivators that drive socioeconomic diversity. In both counties, *by far*, most residential moves occur within the county. For example, in the last year, a Los Angeles resident was 2.5 times more likely to have moved from one Los Angeles address to another Los Angeles address than they were to have moved in from anywhere outside the county (US Census Bureau 2022). Therefore, my project presupposes that for residents of Los Angeles and Cook, their home counties are predominantly self-contained. These neighborhoods' local reputations for socioeconomic diversity allow me to more confidently test complex theories on them. At the same time, since my subject neighborhoods are rather canonical, conclusions drawn from my case study may not be broadly applicable to more idiosyncratic socioeconomically diverse areas.

Data Collection: Census data and the FIIND Survey

The data used in the metrics was collected from two sources: 1. Census demographics on country of origin and ethnicity —and— 2. the Factors Influencing Income-Based Neighborhood Diversity Survey (FIIND), a bilingual (English & Spanish) pen-and-paper questionnaire that I conducted in both North Hollywood and Rogers Park. Respondents were approached on the street— at parks, waiting for the bus, standing in lines— and offered three dollars in cash to complete the survey, which asks residents to give qualitative ratings for ethnic and housing dynamics in their neighborhoods. It was exempted from further IRB review. Taking cues from past surveys in Los Angeles and Chicago, the FIIND survey seeks out personal data that national censuses do not solicit such as what informal modifications residents have made to their homes to better accommodate their families and how residents perceive their neighborhood's demographic diversity (Pebley & Sastry 2008; Sampson, Kirk, and Bucci 2022; Joseph & Chaskin 2010).

Responses from the questionnaire build an evidential basis for the theorized migration pull factors behind inner-ring attraction. Survey data from Angelenos and Chicagoans faces many of the same biases as previous neighborhood questionnaires: low response rates, especially among undocumented and (non-Spanish-speaking) linguistically isolated members of the local community. Additionally, the format of the survey begs innately subjective answers. Results are dependent upon a participant’s interpretation of a question’s phrasing. For example, participants asked whether the question was being posed in geographic or social terms, in response to the first question, “I feel connected to (Los Angeles or Chicago).” These respondents were then encouraged to answer based on their initial interpretation of the word “connected.”

FACTORS INFLUENCING INCOME-BASED NEIGHBORHOOD DIVERSITY FIIND SURVEY NO:

The following survey is strictly voluntary, and your identity will remain anonymous. You may stop at any point while taking the survey.

1. I feel connected to Los Angeles. Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree No preference Somewhat agree Strongly agree

2. If a resident of Los Angeles were to ask you which neighborhood you belong to, how would you respond? Ex: Van Nuys, Koreatown

3. Why did you choose to live in your neighborhood? What do you like about it? Ex: To live close to work, good schools Not applicable

4. My neighborhood is diverse in terms of ethnic background. Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree No preference Somewhat agree Strongly agree

5. My neighborhood is diverse in terms of income. Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree No preference Somewhat agree Strongly agree

6. I feel like I belong in my neighborhood. Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree No preference Somewhat agree Strongly agree

7. What proportion of all of your neighbors do you estimate that you have met? None Very few Some About Half Most All

8. What proportion of all of your neighbors do you estimate belong to the same ethnic background as you? None Very few Some About Half Most All

Okay, now, think about the neighbors who you regularly interact with...

9. Of the neighbors you regularly interact with, estimate how many belong to the same ethnic background as you? None Very few Some About Half Most All

10. Housing in my neighborhood is affordable. Strongly disagree Somewhat disagree No preference Somewhat agree Strongly agree

11. Does your home include any of the following?
 Yes No
 1. Garage adapted to house people, rather than cars
 2. A single-family house subdivided into multiple units
 3. An "accessory" dwelling unit, either added to the main residence or independent in the yard

12. Please indicate your ethnic background.

13. Please indicate your zip code (Ex: 9XXXX).

Study Number: IRB23-1796 with approval from the University of Chicago




Figure 1.3: A completed Factors Influencing Income-Based Neighborhood Diversity Survey (English version)

The Ethnic Enclave Index

Included ethnic/racial region	Example countries of origin from the region
Northern Europe	<i>United Kingdom, Ireland, Sweden</i>
Western Europe	<i>Germany, France, The Netherlands</i>
Southern Europe	<i>Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece</i>
Eastern Europe	<i>Russia, Poland, Ukraine</i>
Eastern Asia	<i>China, Japan, Korea</i>
South Central Asia	<i>India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Iran</i>
Western Asia	<i>Armenia, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria</i>
Southeast Asian	<i>Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand</i>
East African	<i>Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia</i>
Middle Africa	<i>the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon</i>
Northern Africa	<i>Egypt, Morocco, Sudan</i>
Western Africa	<i>Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal</i>
Oceania	<i>Australia, Fiji, Micronesia</i>
Caribbean	<i>Cuba, Haiti, Dominican Republic</i>
Mexico	
Central America	<i>El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras</i>
South America	<i>Brazil, Peru, Ecuador</i>
North America	<i>Canada</i>
Black American	
Puerto Rican	

Figure 1.4: Ethnic/racial regions included in the ethnic enclave index.

The ethnic enclave index formulation

The mathematical explanation:

If $(x_i - \bar{x})/\sigma > 1$ and $x_i > 0.05$ for any included ethnic/racial group, then a Census tract is an **ethnic enclave**, either monoethnic or multi-ethnic.

If $(x_i - \bar{x})/\sigma > 1$ and $x_i > 0.05$ for one included ethnic/racial group, then a Census tract is a **monoethnic enclave**.

If $(x_i - \bar{x})/\sigma > 1$ and $x_i > 0.05$ for more than one included ethnic/racial group, then a Census tract is a **multi-ethnic enclave**.

If $(x_i - \bar{x})/\sigma < 1$ and/or $x_i < 0.05$ for all included ethnic/racial groups, then a Census tract is **not an ethnic enclave**.

where

- x_i = the tract-level proportion = the proportion that a respective ethnic/racial group makes up of an individual Census tract's population
- \bar{x} = the county-wide proportion = the proportion that a respective ethnic/racial group makes up of all populated Census tracts within a county
- σ , the standard deviation of all tract-level proportions for an included racial/ethnic group

The theoretical rationale

A tract is defined as an ethnic enclave if it meets two conditions:

1. The tract houses a high proportion of an included ethnic/racial group relative to other tracts [$(x_i - \bar{x})/\sigma > 1$]
2. The included ethnic/racial group makes up a sufficient proportion of the local population such that concentrated culturally-specific enterprise is possible and practicable. ($x_i > 0.05$)¹

¹ Since the typical Census tract is a geographically small unit home to thousands of people, this stipulation guarantees that hundreds of members of an ethnic/racial group live in a neighborhood to define it as an ethnic enclave. For example, let's assume that a tract narrowly meets this criteria—six percent of a tract of 2,000 residents was born in West Africa. Then the tract contains 120 West African immigrants. When we consider that many of these immigrants have families and the median family size in the United States hovers around three people, we can assume that hundreds of residents live with someone from West Africa within an aerial unit containing no more than several blocks. Therefore, even though five percent might seem like a low threshold for the second condition, when considering real-world context, we see that it manages to pull out areas that have a substantial local presence for an ethnicity. This condition is important because it disqualifies tracts with very small raw populations of ethnic/racial group members that have to be high relative to the county. For example, without the second condition, some tracts with no more than a dozen residents born in Oceania would be coded as ethnic enclaves in Cook County because immigrants from Oceania are very uncommon overall.

The ethnic enclave rationale

Using data from the Census American Community Survey's *Place of Birth For Foreign-Born Population* obtained through IPUMS NHGIS requests and R's *tidycensus* package, this index identifies tracts where a relatively high proportion of residents born in an included ethnic region (ex: Eastern Europe, West Africa, South America).

I also manually added Black Americans and Puerto Ricans to my dataset since both groups have historically clustered in the type of “distinctive economic formations” that Portes and Bach describe. In Alejandro Portes' more recent work discussing ethnicity and second-generation immigrant outcomes, he implicitly supports the definition of Black Americans as a distinct ethnic group, deeming them “unmeltable ethnics” (Portes 2013, 204). Here, Portes borrows philosopher Michael Novak's term used to describe the alienation and cultural resentment he believes Catholic immigrants faced in the mid-century United States. I assume Portes' “unmeltable” characterization of Black Americans references the persistent ethnic exclusion that they experience despite their status as one of America's foundational ethnic groups. For Puerto Ricans, the rationale for inclusion in my metric is similar. Though most living Puerto Ricans have possessed American citizenship since birth, once Puerto Ricans move to the continental United States, they tend to cluster residentially and form niche local economies in the same way that international immigrants do.

I've generally limited data in this metric to first-generation immigrants—bar Black Americans and Puerto Ricans. My choice not to code ethnic enclave status based on second-generation immigration and beyond is supported by a few reasons. Portes and Bach (the originators of the ethnic enclave hypothesis) emphasize that ethnic enclaves are *not* simply ethnic neighborhoods (Portes & Bach 1985, 203). They are strategic opportunity zones borne out of social marginalization from the host society. Second-generation Americans often disrupt the generational marginality of their parents. For example, Portes notes, among a body of growing ethnographic research, that second-generation Americans tend to have better educational outcomes and “higher aspirations” than children of domestic-born Americans

(Portes 2003, 50; Crosnoe & Turley 2011). Along these lines, for many children of immigrants, ethnic enclaves no longer serve their strategic economic purpose from a worker or consumer perspective. For example, the perceived benefits of hiring co-ethnics— such as non-English language fluency and the ability to exploit vulnerable citizenship statuses paying below the fair wage— no longer apply to most second-generation job seekers (Manning & Portes 204, 2013). For Portes, an ethnic enclave's limiting reactant is its prevalence of first-generation immigrants since these residents pose the greatest foil to natural acculturation. Portes contends that “without a supporting ethnic community, the second generation... becomes thoroughly steeped in the ways of the host society” (Manning & Portes 211-212, 2013).

All people have ethnicities, and in counties like Los Angeles and Cook, the majority of residents belong to ethnicities traditionally thought of as minority groups. In reality, the median Los Angeles resident is a Mexican-American woman. It's no surprise that non-claves, very mainstream American economic formations, are often patronized and staffed by ethnic minorities. Herein lies another essential clarification, non-clave status need not be conflated with Whiteness. For example, cities like Santa Clarita or Whittier in Los Angeles County are non-claves. Home to large middle-class Asian and Latino American populations, many residents of these non-claves may hold the same ethnicities as prominent ethnic entrepreneurs, but for the most part non-claves function economically as typical American suburbs, albeit visibly diverse ones. Local economies tend to be based around more homogeneous enterprises since residents demand common services. Conversely, local businesses do *not* cater to specific consumers' cultural tastes, language, or skills. Finally, if an area is classified as a non-clave, that does *not* mean that its residents lack an ethnicity. Portes' definition of an ethnic enclave, and transitively, mine, are focused on ethnicity-informed *economies* that require a concentration of workers and consumers of shared ethnic backgrounds. Consequently, many ethnically-diverse areas such as Hyde Park, Chicago demonstrate insignificant ethnic enclave character.

From my index, I've classified all areas in Cook County and Los Angeles County as belonging to one of four categories based on the ethnic enclave index.

Four Ethnic Enclave Classifications

- I. A **monoethnic enclave** is an area where clustered Census tracts house a significantly high proportion of people from the *same* ethnic/immigrant group.
 - A. For example, in Los Angeles, Monterey Park is an East Asian mono-ethnic enclave. In Chicago, Bronzeville is a Black-American mono-ethnic enclave.
- II. A **multi-ethnic enclave** is an area where clustered Census tracts house multiple discrete significantly high proportions of people from the *same* ethnic/immigrant group.
 - A. For example: South-Central Los Angeles is a multi-ethnic enclave— an area that's home to a particularly high proportion of both Central American and Black American residents. In Chicago, McKinley and Brighton Park community areas are multi-ethnic enclaves for Mexican and East Asian residents.)
- III. A **non-clave** is an area where clustered Census tracts are *not* home to *any* significantly high proportions of people from the same ethnic/immigrant group.²
- IV. A **non-significant area** is an area with **no significant clustering** of any kind. This includes neighborhoods that are interspersed with Census tracts classified as any of the above categories.

VII. **Results**

Outline

Following Robert Sampson's comparative case-study framework from his multi-study research on neighborhood inequality in Chicago and Los Angeles, (Sampson, Schachner, & Mare 2017), in this section, I will analyze the metrics I have developed to determine their spatial autocorrelation with income-diverse neighborhoods and comment on my results. In the subsequent discussion section, I will explain why drivers may be broadly effective, wholly ineffective, or show strong effects in one city and minimal effects in another.

² I understand initially why the utility of a non-clave metric might be questionable. Yet while it may seem like a "non-clave" would be the default classification for a Census tract in an American city, in both Los Angeles and Chicago, diverse and segregated cities, only around 1 in 3 residents live in a Census tract that is *not* an enclave for any ethnic/immigrant group. In this case, non-claves, significant contiguous areas of non-enclave status stand out as outliers.

Multi-ethnic enclavism

A. Introduction

First, I will share the results of my quantitative circumscription of ethnic enclaves in Cook and Los Angeles counties. Then, I will explain whether these ethnic enclaves correlate to income-diverse neighborhoods in the respective counties. Finally, I will examine, with more granularity, the types of ethnic groups that live co-spatially in the income-diverse areas in Chicago and Los Angeles. Later, in my discussion section, I will comment on how these distinct ethnic pairings may contribute to a reimagined multi-ethnic enclave hypothesis— one where members of discrete ethnicities and classes work together to build local prosperity, expanding on Portes’ and Bach’s seminal work.

B. Mapping Enclaves in Cook and Los Angeles Counties

My first result is a set of two maps depicting the geographic distribution of ethnic enclaves in Cook and Los Angeles counties. The map is obtained by passing each Census tract through the ethnic enclave index, giving each tract a score, where 0 denotes that a tract is “not an enclave” (since the number of significant ethnic groups of interest is zero), 1 for mono-ethnic tracts, and 2 for multi-ethnic tracts. Quantitative criteria for these three designations are outlined in the Methods section of this project. Qualitative descriptions are as follows:

A monoethnic enclave is an area where clustered Census tracts house a significantly- high proportion of people from the same ethnic/immigrant group.

A multi-ethnic enclave is an area where clustered Census tracts house multiple discrete significantly high proportions of people from the same ethnic/immigrant group.

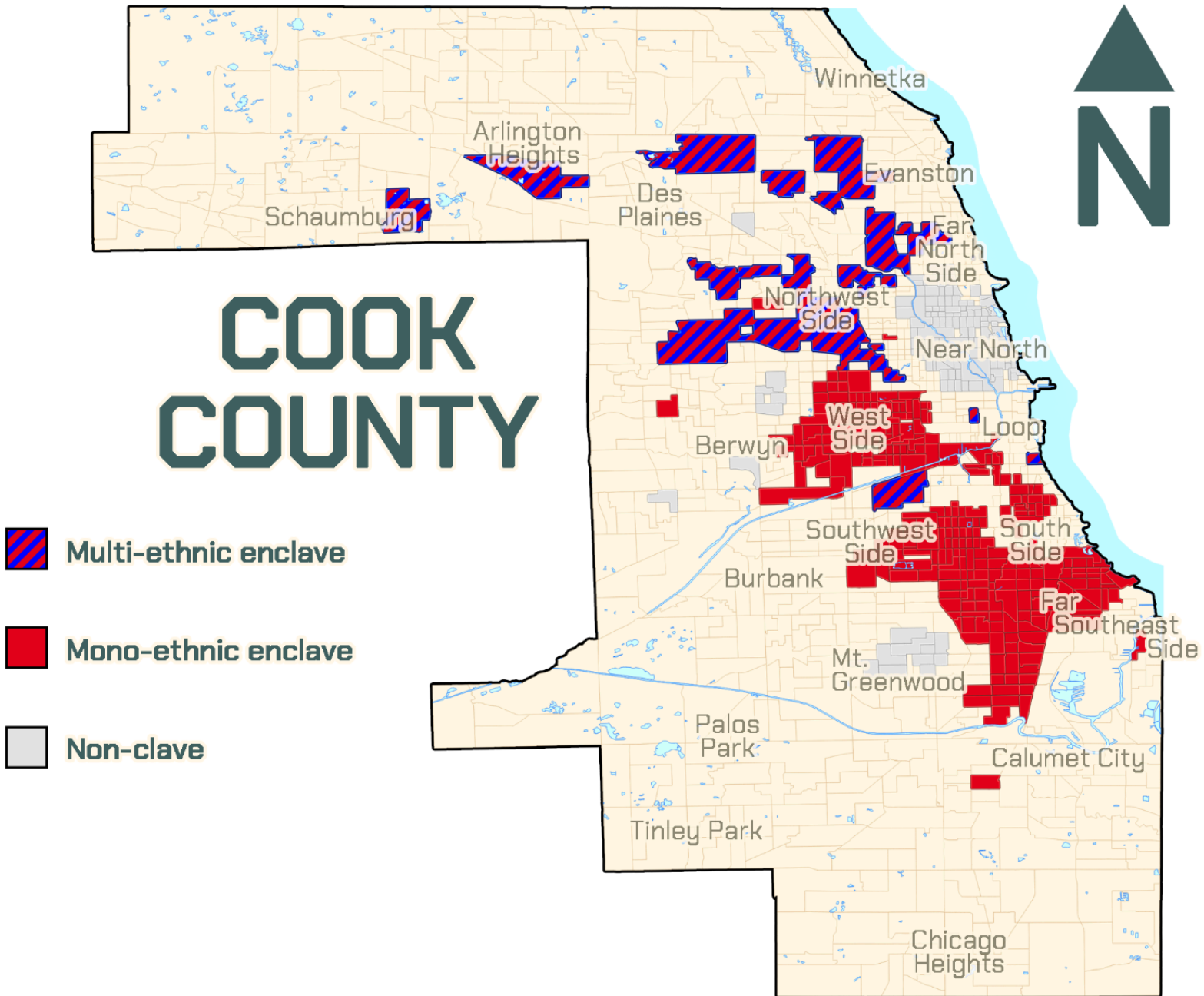
A non-clave is an area where clustered Census tracts are not home to any significantly high proportions of people from the same ethnic/immigrant group.

After classifying each tract as one of these three designations, I performed a Local Morans I Cluster analysis to determine clusters of multi-ethnicity— what I term “multi-ethnic enclaves.”

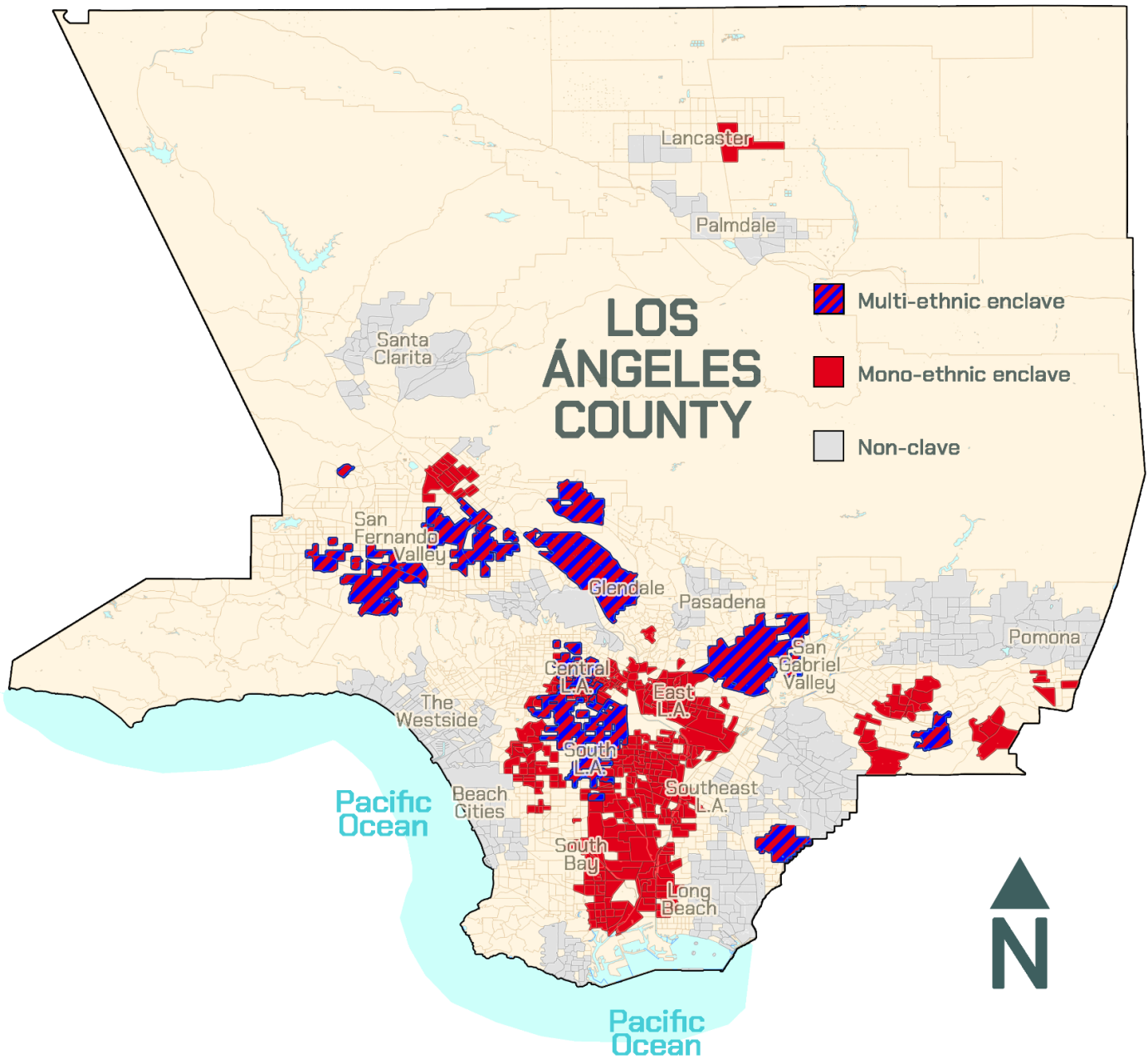
Looking at the first two maps, we notice large multi-ethnic enclaves in variegated Chicago's Far North Side, Northwest Side, and Northwest suburbs. Mono-ethnic enclaves splay across the West and South Sides where concentrated segregated populations of Mexican immigrants and Black Americans live. Non-claves appear north of Chicago's Loop in high-income areas like Lincoln Park and Lakeview and around Mount Greenwood, an area known for its nearly all-White, ancestrally Irish population. In my analysis, Mount Greenwood is not considered an ethnic enclave because it does not house a socially marginal population that forms a culturally specific enterprise to serve local consumers. Much of the neighborhood's growth arose from the dissolution of Irish ethnic enclaves in the twentieth century, as Irish-Americans in Chicago's interior assimilated and suburbanized.

In Los Angeles, multi-ethnic enclaves appear more diffusely, across the San Fernando Valley, the San Gabriel Valley, and snaking down from Central Los Angeles to South Los Angeles. Like Cook County, mono-ethnic enclaves concentrate across the south side of the city, in South Los Angeles, where Latino immigrants and Black Americans live, often separated at a tract level. East Los Angeles also stands out as a monoethnic area characterized by a dominant Mexican demographic. Non-claves appear along the Pacific coastline, in some foothill areas encircling mixed-income Valleys, and in the second and third-generation Latino and Asian suburbs of Southeast Los Angeles.

Per Portes and Bach's original definition, an ethnic enclave is a place where co-ethnics live and work. Unfortunately, the Census only reports immigrant and ancestral data geocoded to places of residence, not places of employment. Consequently, interpretations of my results should note that areas of concentrated ethnic commerce (for example, the Palestinian strip malls in Bridgeview) are not captured by my metric. Additionally, residents who live in one designated enclave may work and spend most of their waking hours in another designated enclave, or outside of an enclave at all.



Map 3: Ethnic enclave neighborhood clusters in Cook County



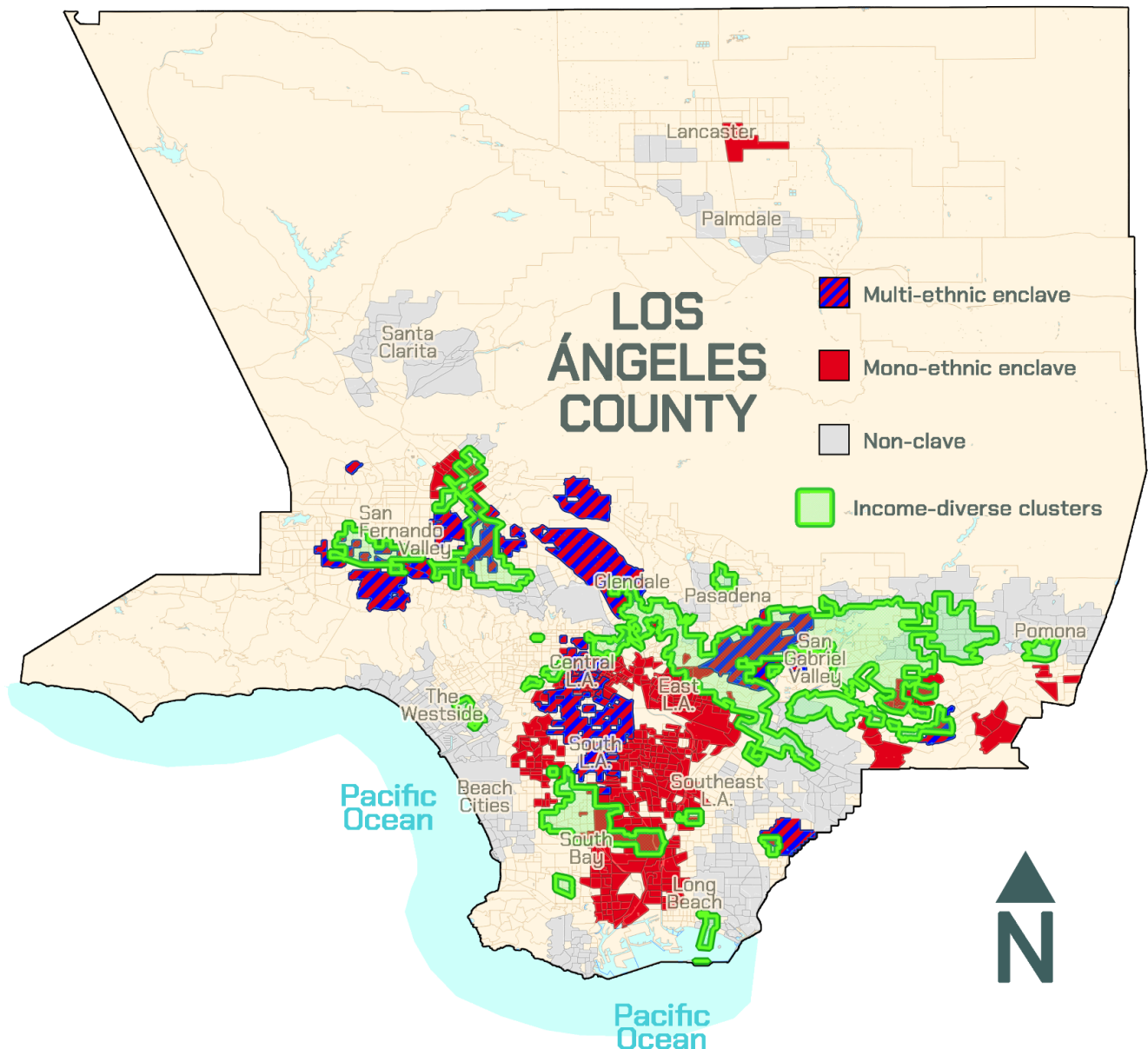
Map 4: Ethnic enclave neighborhood clusters in Los Angeles County

C. Comparing Multi-ethnic Enclaves with Income-Diverse Areas

My second result is a set of two maps depicting the geographic distribution of ethnic enclaves in Cook and Los Angeles counties, overlaid with the income-diverse clusters that I establish in my Data & Methods section.

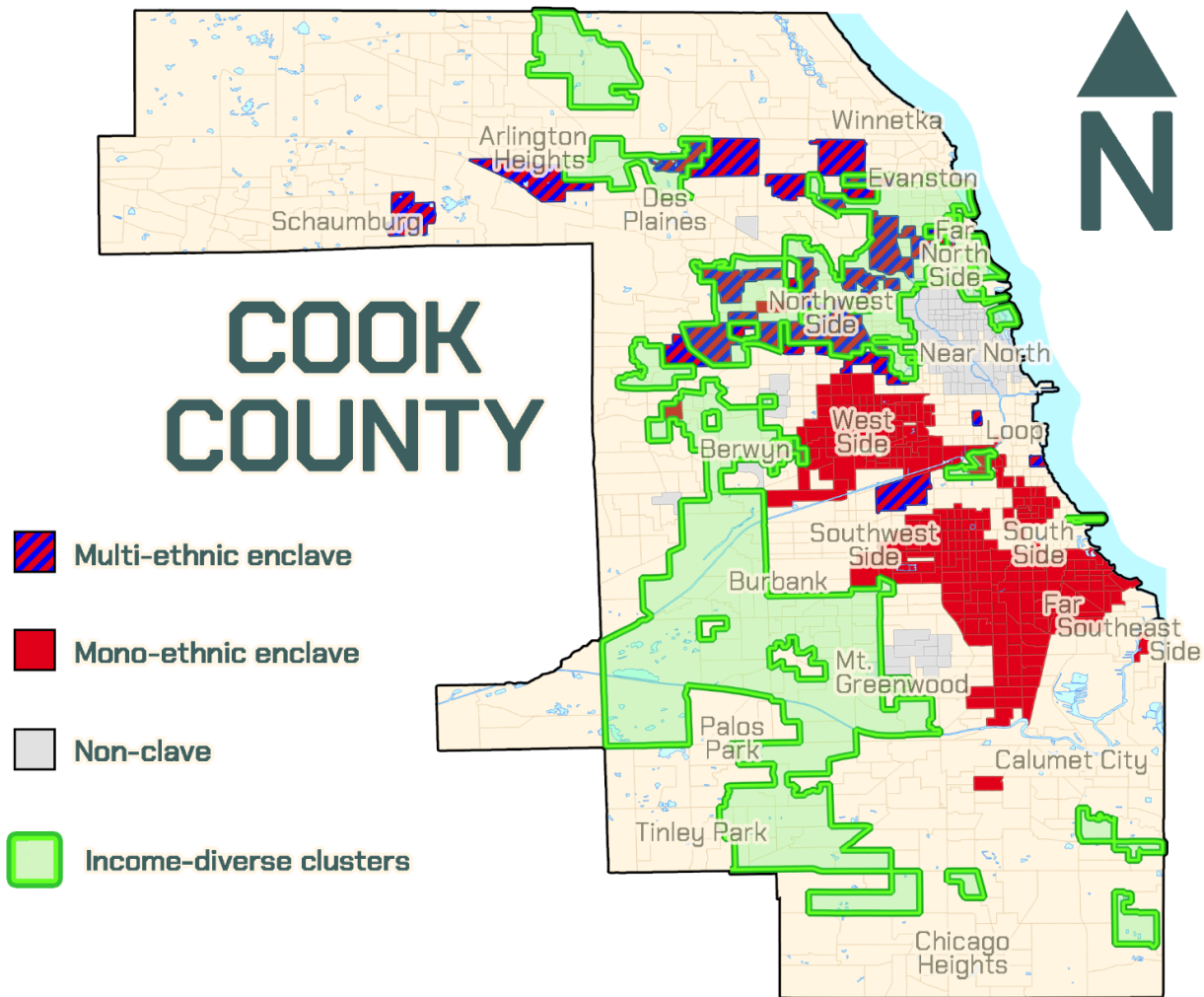
At the eye level, in Los Angeles, there does not seem to be a significant correlation between where multi-ethnic enclaves and income-diverse neighborhoods lie, though some overlap occurs in the San Fernando and San Gabriel Valleys.

Map 5: Ethnic enclave clusters in Los Angeles County overlaid with socioeconomically diverse clusters



In Cook County, a high proportion of multi-ethnic enclaves appear to also be income-diverse clusters. Income-diverse multi-ethnic enclaves are most likely to be found in the northwest quadrant of the county. Still, many income-diverse neighborhoods are not multi-ethnic.

Map 6: Ethnic enclave clusters in Cook County overlaid with socioeconomically diverse clusters

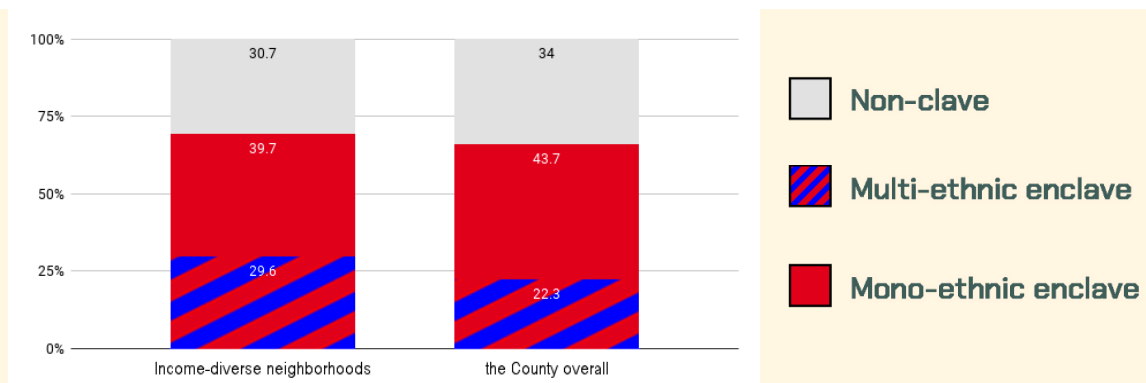


D. The Enclave Status of Income-Diverse Neighborhoods

Next, we take the data behind these visualizations and test their significance. Below are two charts showing the distribution of the three enclave designations amongst tracts in Cook and Los Angeles counties: overall and those contained within income-diverse neighborhoods.

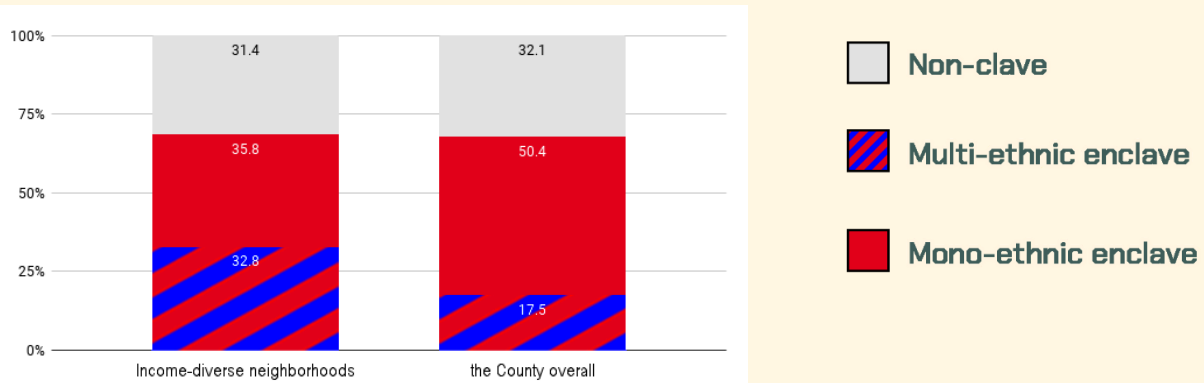
In both Cook and Los Angeles counties, mono-ethnic tracts make up the plurality of enclave types— a narrow majority in Cook. In both counties, the second-most common enclave type was a non-clave. While multi-ethnic enclaves were the least common enclave type in both counties, they were generally more common in Los Angeles County than in Cook County.

Figure 2.1: *The breakdown of ethnic enclave designation among Los Angeles County Census tracts*



In Los Angeles County, income-diverse neighborhoods were 33 percent more likely to be multi-ethnic than the county as a whole. A Two-Sample Independent Proportion test reveals this difference is statistically significant ($\alpha = 0.01$). In Los Angeles County, it seems that there is a correlation between income diversity and multi-ethnicity. Though, comparing accepted significance levels of their hypothesis tests, the effect of multi-ethnicity on income diversity appears to be less strong in Los Angeles than in Cook.

Figure 2.2: *The breakdown of ethnic enclave designation among Cook County Census tracts*



In Cook County, income-diverse neighborhoods were nearly twice as likely to be multi-ethnic as the county baseline. A Two-Sample Independent Proportion test reveals that this difference is highly statistically significant ($\alpha = 0.001$). In Cook County, we can say that there seems to be a correlation between income diversity and multi-ethnicity.

Bridging multi-ethnic enclavism with inner-ring attraction

Here, I set out to visualize the spatial convergence of multi-ethnicity and inner-ring character that may give way to sustainable income-diverse areas. To achieve this, I first deduced a city center coordinate for Los Angeles County and another for Cook County. Due to Los Angeles County's diffuse urban form, I wanted to determine a city center as objectively as possible. I did this by finding the centroid, the geographic center point, of each Census tract in Los Angeles County, then found the mean of all of these points. This tract-weighted center for Los Angeles County fell slightly northeast of Downtown Los Angeles, one of many centers of Los Angeles' economy and the county's largest employment center.

In Cook County, I selected Clark and Lake Station in the Loop as the city center, a major transportation hub. The Loop is the undisputed center of activity in Cook County amongst many significant nodes.

Next, I calculated the shortest distance between each Census tract's centroid and the respective city center coordinate, rounding each distance to the nearest mile, and sorted all tracts by these distances. It's important to point out here that the choice to calculate distance this way obfuscates feelings of separation or increased travel times induced by unique topography and transportation networks. For example, as noted before, Los Angeles County comprises a handful of valleys hemmed by mountains, populated by millions of Angelenos.

Finally, I matched average tract-level ethnic enclave designations for each distance bin. The y-value of a bin represents the number of tracts that it contains— a rough estimate of the population. The x-value represents the bin's distance ring. For example, a bar where $x=8$ contains data for tracts that lie eight miles from the city center. The stacked colors on each bar represent the ethnic enclave designation for the ring. For example, seventeen miles from Los Angeles County's city center roughly 21% of tracts are multi-ethnic enclaves, 41% are mono-ethnic enclaves, and 38% are non-ethnic enclaves. The result is a graph that shows both the incidence and probability of each ethnic enclave designation based on distance from the city center.

The general curves show us that inner-ring areas are quite common geographic neighborhood types within their counties' urban fabrics. This makes sense since as the distance radius increases, the circumference of interest increases too. However, once the distance from the city center reaches a certain suburban threshold, further out than inner-ring suburbs, low residential densities counteract this effect, and we see the curves dip.

The color-coded stacked bars for each bin and percentage labels reveal two findings. First, Los Angeles and Cook counties reach their peak multi-ethnic proportions in their inner-ring suburban areas. In Cook County, this inner ring is narrower. This makes sense because Los Angeles County's density gradient is more gradual and Los Angeles demonstrates more multi-ethnic character than Cook overall. Second, highlighted with the green box, Rogers Park and North Hollywood both fall within inner rings at proportional peaks for multi-ethnic enclave character. In the next section, I analyze the results of my

FIIND survey and discuss potential qualitative effects at play in long-standing socioeconomically diverse and ethnically diverse multi-ethnic inner-ring areas.

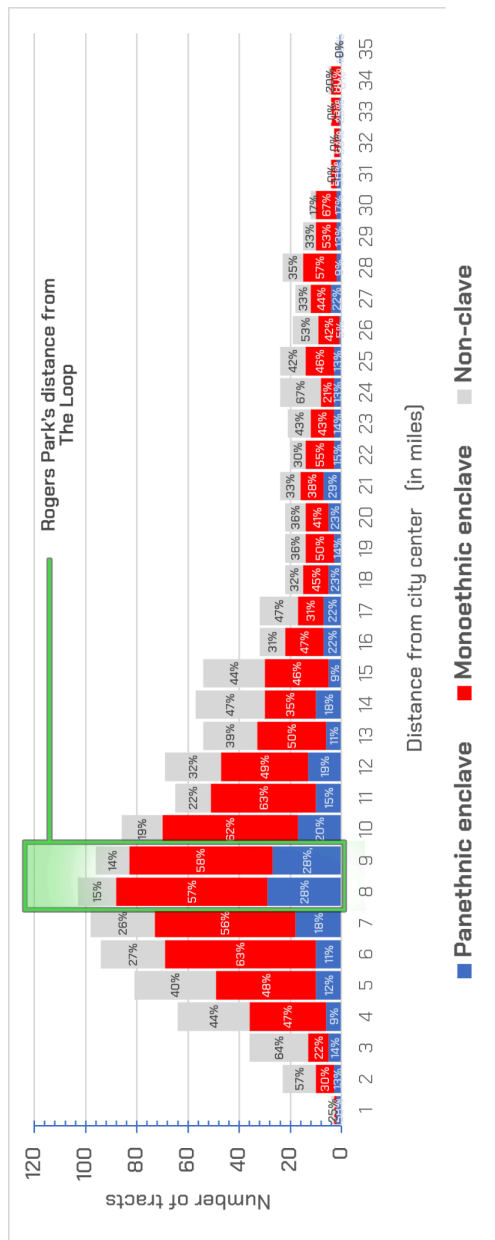


Figure 2.3: The breakdown of ethnic enclave designation based on distance from the city center

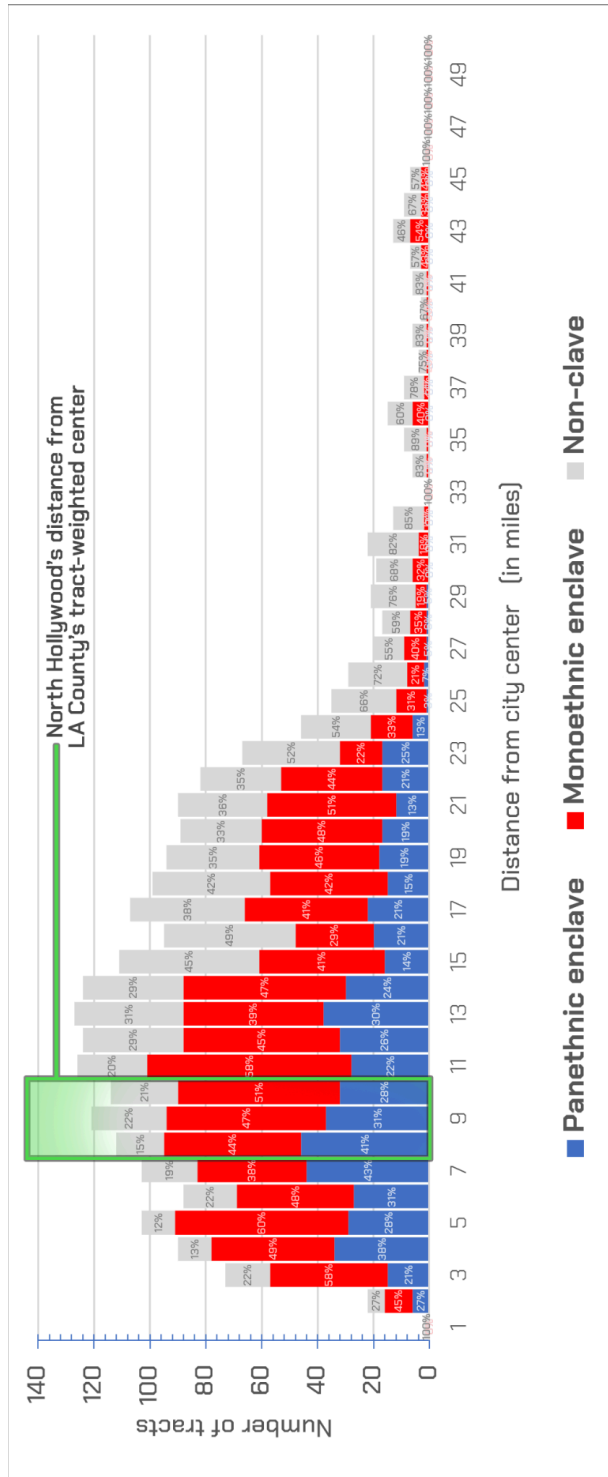


Figure 2.4: The breakdown of ethnic enclave designation based on distance from the city center

Inner-ring attraction

A. Introduction

I begin this section by mapping the geographic distribution of where my respondents live, centered on my subject neighborhoods. Next, I explain my approach to categorizing response data based on the two migration flows that urban scholars have theorized contribute to the socioeconomic diversity in inner-ring areas: upwardly mobile professionals and “suburbanizing” minorities from the central city. Finally, I tabulate these results, average them, and share what realities come into the frame based on the data.

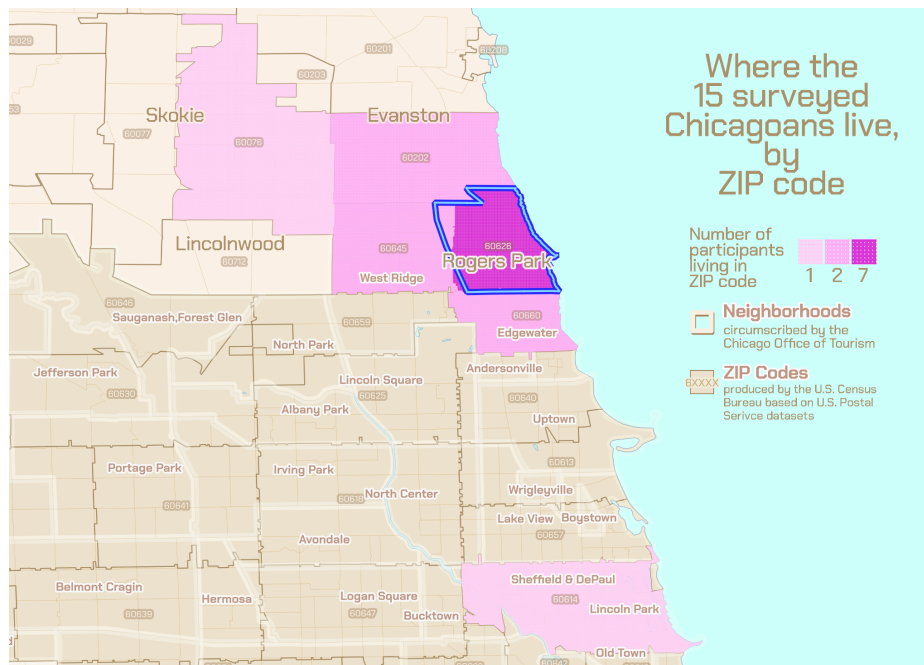
B. Sorting, Tabulating, and Interpreting the Survey Data

I surveyed residents at various sites (see: Figure 2.3) around North Hollywood and Rogers Park. and was able to collect 20 completed surveys in the North Hollywood area and 15 completed surveys in the Rogers Park area. Notably, living in a specific ZIP code was *not* a stipulation for taking the survey. The result is a geographic distribution of residents with a nucleus at ZIP codes contained within the quasi-proper boundaries of Rogers Park (the neighborhood) and North Hollywood, fanning outward. For example, seven respondents in Chicago live in the 60626 ZIP code, co-located with Rogers Park, while six live in adjacent areas. Consequently, while participant data may not be directly applicable to Rogers Park or North Hollywood, in most cases, the subject neighborhoods are surrounded by similar areas— and crucially similarly socioeconomically diverse areas. I’ve overlaid my polygon of socioeconomically diverse neighborhoods to demonstrate this.

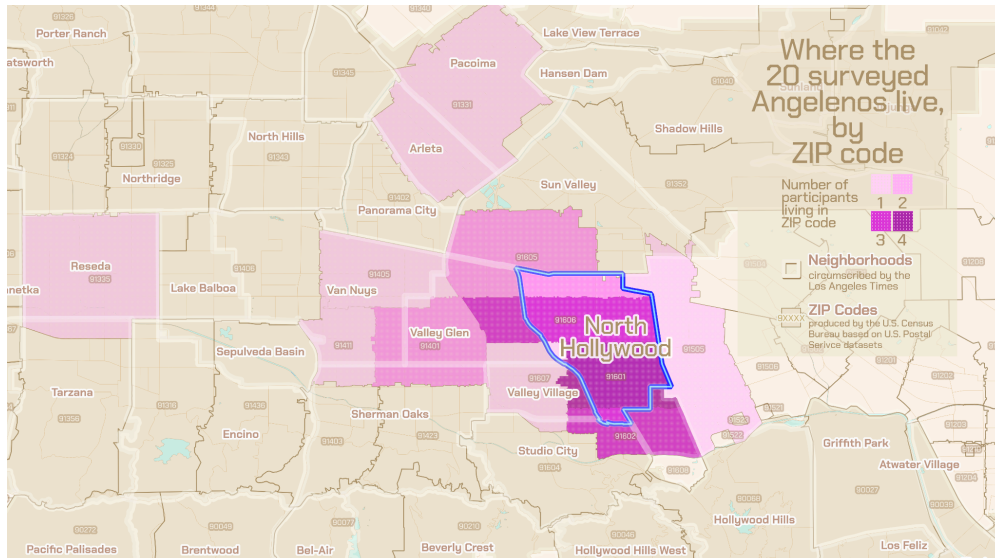
Figure 2.5: Various locations where I conducted the FIIND survey

North Hollywood Locations	Rogers Park Locations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● JONS International Marketplace #16: 12122 Magnolia Blvd, Valley Village, CA 91607 ● North Hollywood Park: 5015 Tujunga Ave, North Hollywood, CA 91601 ● Victory Vineland Recreation Center: 11117 Victory Blvd, North Hollywood, CA 91606 ● Ralphs: 10900 Magnolia Blvd, North Hollywood, CA 91601 ● The strip mall at the corner of Lankershim Boulevard & Erwin Street containing North Hollywood Market and Superior Grocers ● In-N-Out: 5864 Lankershim Blvd, North Hollywood, CA 91605 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Jewel Osco: 1763 W Howard St, Chicago, IL 60626 ● Loyola Park: 1230 W Greenleaf Ave, Chicago, IL 60626 ● Morse Fresh Market: 1430 W Morse Ave, Chicago, IL 60626 ● Howard Beach ● Devon Market: 1440 W Devon Ave, Chicago, IL 60660 ● Loyola, Morse, Jarvis “L” stations ● Willye White Park: 1610 W Howard St, Chicago, IL 60626

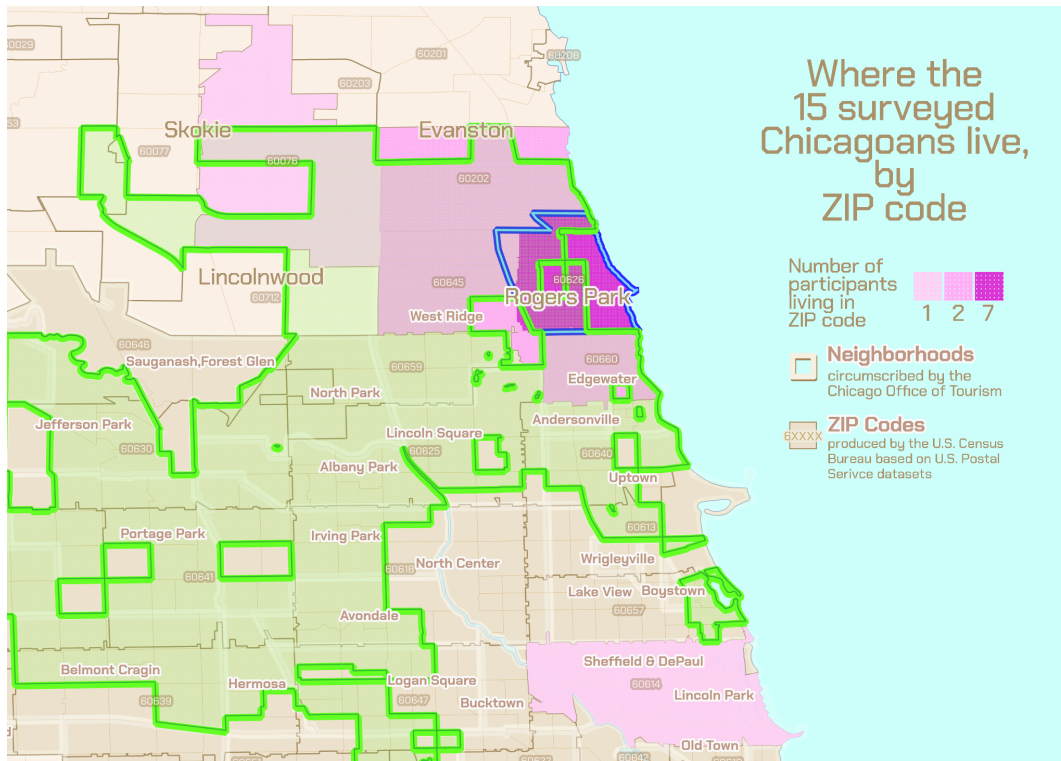
Map 7: The geographic distribution of respondents’ residences in Chicago, by ZIP Code



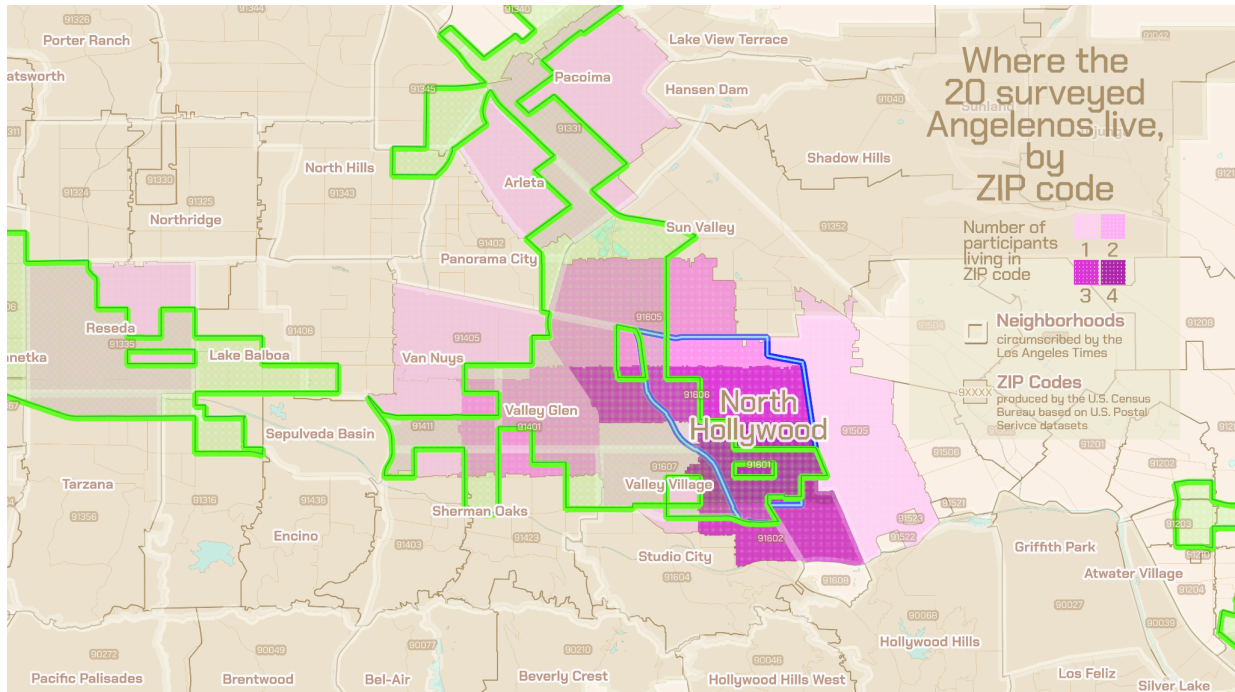
Map 8: The geographic distribution of respondents' residences in Los Angeles, by ZIP Code



Map 9: The geographic distribution of respondents' residences in Chicago, by ZIP Code, overlaid with clusters of socioeconomic diversity



Map 10: The geographic distribution of respondents' residences in Los Angeles, by ZIP Code, overlaid with clusters of socioeconomic diversity



Next, I sorted participant data based on the third survey question, “Why did you choose to live in your neighborhood?” into three bins: *Born-and-Raised*, *Familial*, and *Professional*. One response from North Hollywood that did not reasonably fall into one of these three categories was excluded. This coding step depends on my discretion and adds another layer of subjectivity to these results. Respondents who were born and raised either selected the “not applicable” option in response to the third survey question or wrote as such in the box. In both Los Angeles and Chicago, a plurality of respondents were born and raised in the neighborhood. Examples of *familial* respondents include people who moved to the neighborhood with their children (including internationally immigrating) and people who live in the neighborhood because it is proximate to family. Examples of *professional* respondents include people who moved to the neighborhood upon the assumption of a new job (including domestic migrants) or people who live in the neighborhood because it is proximate to work or specific concentrations of industry.

Finally, I assigned numerical values to each qualitative choice (ex: “Strongly Agree” = 1), averaged them, and then converted them back to qualitative bar charts. The result is a series of graphs that display broadly how different inner-ring migration flows in North Hollywood and Rogers Park responded to key questions from the FIIND survey.

In aggregate, residents of North Hollywood and Rogers Park feel like their neighborhoods are at least somewhat diverse, both ethnically and socioeconomically. This finding supports one of this project’s main postulates— that North Hollywood and Rogers Park *are* locally understood as neighborhood clusters of income diversity. When breaking down the data by migration type, we see that residents who were born and raised in a neighborhood or moved for familial reasons report stronger feelings of connection and belonging than their neighbors who moved for professional reasons— not only to their specific diverse neighborhood but also to the larger city that it falls within. Between the two cities, residents of Rogers Park are significantly more likely to report feeling connected to Chicago than North Hollywood residents are to report feeling connected to Los Angeles. This suggests that factors beyond bird's eye distance from the central city influence residents’ feelings of connection to the larger urban center. In the case of North Hollywood, the topographic barrier of the Santa Monica Mountains may cause residents of the neighborhood to feel less connected to Los Angeles, though commute patterns suggest otherwise. Residents in the San Fernando Valley were more likely to identify their neighborhood as “The Valley,” an area of nearly two million people, than Chicagoans who opted for specific neighborhood names. This response disparity suggests that North Hollywood and the East San Fernando Valley residents may not figure their neighborhood as a discrete space within a ring surrounding a central urban node (as the inner-ring suburban theory suggests) but rather as a discrete city-sized part of a larger Los Angeles conurbation.

Notably too, in both North Hollywood and Rogers Park, participants who moved to the neighborhood for professional reasons report more mixed responses when it comes to the self-description of their neighborhoods as socioeconomically-diverse, especially when compared to both born-and-raised

residents and familial movers who, on average, at least somewhat agreed with the statement. Respondents in both North Hollywood and Rogers Park more strongly agreed with the statement that their neighborhoods were ethnically diverse than with the statement that they were socioeconomically diverse.

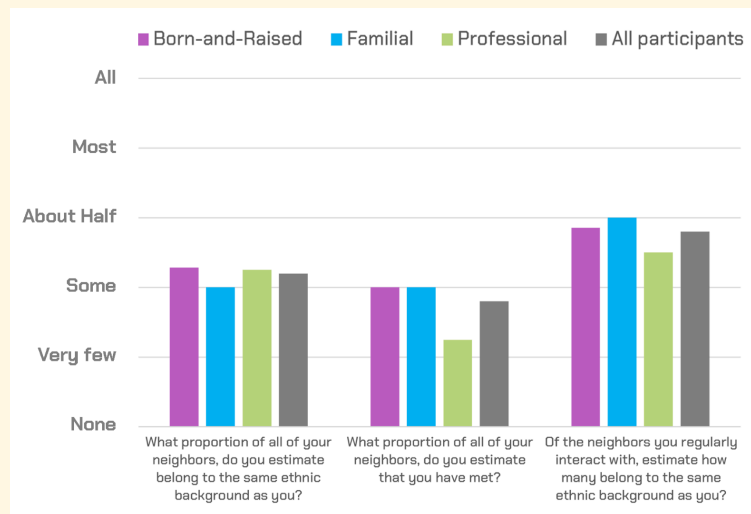
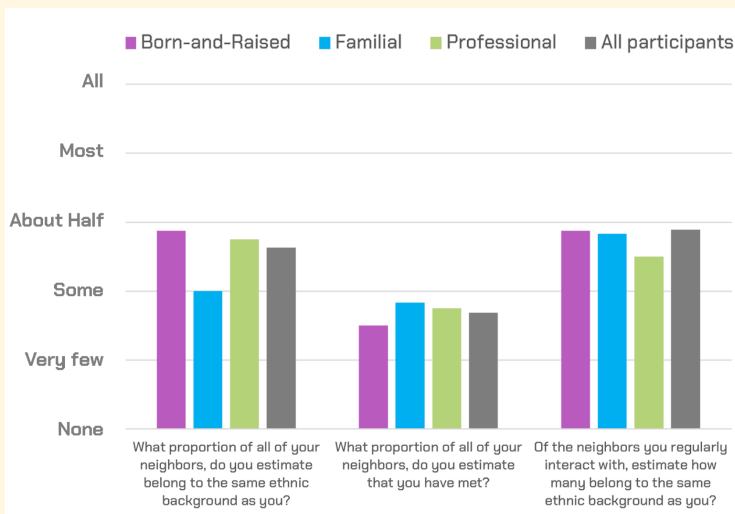
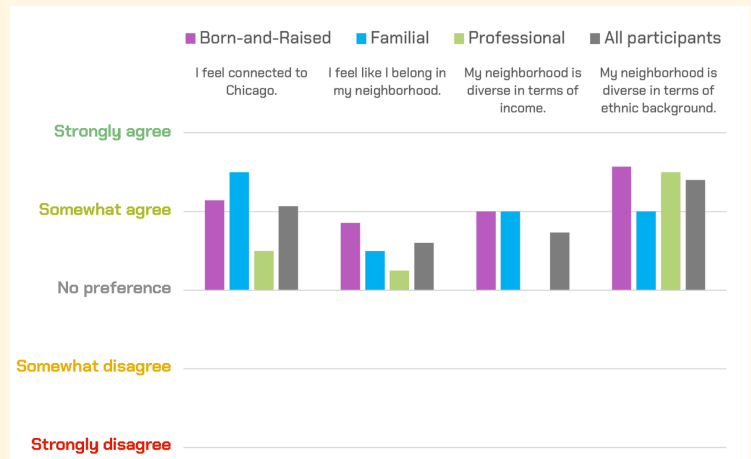
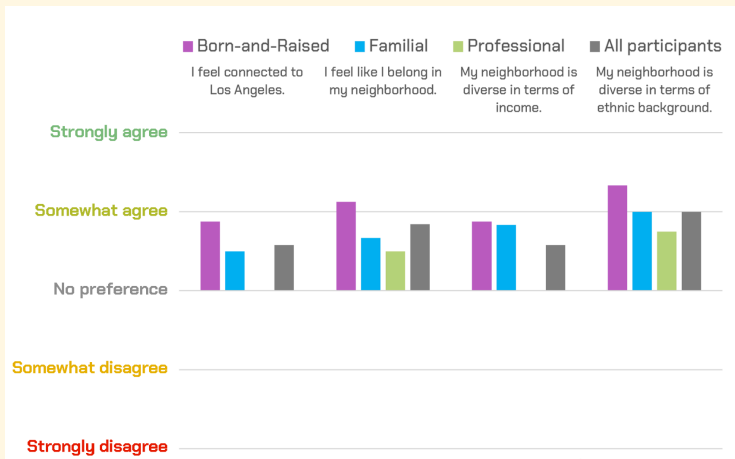
In both cities, residents reported relatively limited scopes when it came to their neighborhood social networks. In response to the FIIND survey's question "How many of your neighbors do you estimate you have met?" average ratings fell between "very few" and "some." As observed in fieldwork by Hyra and Tach, even in diverse neighborhoods, microsegregation seems to materialize to some extent. Most respondents estimated that their circles of neighbors whom they regularly interacted with skewed toward their ethnic background. At the same time, in no aggregated mover type did this ethnic average exceed "over half." However, when we break out respondents by ethnic background, we see how these aggregated mover types might obfuscate crucial interpersonal dynamics in the neighborhood. For example, on average, FIIND respondents in North Hollywood who belonged to Latino ethnicities reported that between "about half" and "most" of members in the neighborhood social circles were members of their ethnic community. When we look at more granular Census data in income-diverse neighborhoods, we see that socioeconomic and ethnic segregation exists down to the block. Yet, in integrated areas, it seems that residents went out of their way to interact with people like them. The survey data suggests that even members of ethnic groups without large ethnic communities in North Hollywood and Rogers Park disproportionately reported interacting with neighbors who belonged to their ethnic group—a logical derivative of the ethnic enclave hypothesis.

Finally, results from the survey question "Housing in my neighborhood is affordable" reveal an affordability crisis in Los Angeles and a burgeoning one in Chicago that may threaten the resiliency of socioeconomic diversity in these neighborhoods. In North Hollywood, the average response value for this question fell between "somewhat disagree" and "strongly disagree." In Rogers Park, the value between "somewhat disagree" and "no preference," leaning toward "no preference." Perhaps most saliently, in Rogers Park, movers for professional reasons indicated that the neighborhood was "somewhat affordable"

while born-and-raised and familial movers were more likely to describe it as slightly unaffordable. This suggests that, as time goes on, higher-income residents may be pulled toward the neighborhood while current residents may be pushed by rising housing prices.

Figures 2.6 & 2.7: Average rating among distinct mover groups in North Hollywood for key questions from FIIND survey

Figures 2.8 & 2.9: Average rating among distinct mover groups in Rogers Park for key questions from FIIND survey



VIII. Conclusion

This project set out to define social phenomena quantitatively, determine the correlation between those phenomena and income diversity, and support these correlations with social theory. The approach, however, produces results without much reliability. Further research on existing income-diverse neighborhoods should go beyond correlation and try to further draw out casual relationships between income diversity and potential drivers of it. For example, researchers might take a page out of Steven Gold's ethnographic work in the San Fernando Valley and interview business owners and workers in multi-ethnic enclaves to determine the perceived gravity of multi-ethnic enterprise on their personal economic and social condition. I would be personally interested in producing a new IRB application and returning to my income-diverse subject neighborhoods to do long-form interviews instead of surveys. In this way, I may be able to gather deeper insight into the forces attracting residents to areas like North Hollywood and Rogers Park.

Overall, there appear to be strong urban phenomena that exert significant effects on income diversity in Chicago and Los Angeles. That should be of little surprise given that income inequality arises from strong urban phenomena too. These results, while far from conclusive, highlight that while large American cities share similar problems of economic inequality, they are also distinct urban ecosystems. For example, Chicago, by many metrics, is the most segregated large city in America which might increase the salience of multi-ethnic neighborhoods. This likely explains why income integration in Chicago correlates much more significantly with the integration of social identifiers— in this case, of ethnic enclave character.

My tallying of questionnaires reveals that inner-ring suburbs do seem to attract movers of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, though interpersonal segregation persists between these population flows. Disparate perceptions of neighborhood affordability also indicate that in the long term, gentrification may threaten the stability of North Hollywood and Rogers Park as income-diverse neighborhoods.

As stated before, in the MTO program, only 12 percent of low-income residents who moved to higher-income neighborhoods through the program remained in these areas by the end of the study period. While it's not possible to affirmatively conclude why these residents didn't stay, it's reasonable to assume that people want to feel welcome where they live. Perhaps, MTO participants didn't feel connected to their new higher-income neighborhoods. Rogers Park and North Hollywood are neighborhoods that have been socioeconomically diverse for decades, and thus, have managed to retain low, middle, and high income residents for a long time. Based on my research investigating the convergence of income diversity, multi-ethnic enclaves, and inner-ring migration patterns, they seem to be areas that many different kinds of people feel comfortable calling "home"—for some groups of people worthy of local status as the ultimate home—an ethnic enclave. It would be an overstatement to say that residents of North Hollywood and Rogers Park lead interpersonal lives that are radically more diverse than the median American. Across ethnicities in both Los Angeles and Chicago, participants were significantly more likely to interact with members of their shared ethnic group than those of other ethnicities. Participants *did*, however, seem to have a *heightened awareness and tolerance* of their neighborhoods as sites of diversity. On average, in both Los Angeles and Chicago, participants somewhat and even strongly agreed that their neighborhoods were diverse in terms of income and ethnicity.

I propose that in longstanding income-diverse neighborhoods like Rogers Park and North Hollywood two things seem to be true at once. First, although these areas are often ethnic enclaves with dominant local groups, unlike past mixed-income subsidized housing projects, these different groups don't simply live in close proximity, they meaningfully coexist with each other. Multi-ethnic economic formations force financial interdependence between people who would otherwise work separately. Additionally, because multiple cultural groups share the stage in these neighborhoods, residents understand interacting with members of other groups to be an intrinsic part of life.

At the same time, the immense diversity of these neighborhoods increases the likelihood that the most marginalized residents can access community and socioeconomically and culturally specific

amenities. Across all ethnicities, survey participants indicated that at least some of their neighbors shared their ethnic identity and broadly residents felt like they belonged— even minorities relative to the neighborhood. As a result, compared to residential relocation programs like MTO, low-income residents living in income-diverse neighborhoods may feel a greater sense of agency over their communities, positively influencing the probability that they stay in the neighborhood. For these reasons, further research into fostering self-sustaining income diversity as a means of poverty alleviation should avoid pursuing a high-income tide that lifts all boats, but rather focus on cultivating a collection of waves billowed by diverse actors and communities.

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