

EXPLORING THE DIVERSITY OF GENTRIFICATION IN THREE CHICAGO CULTURAL
DISTRICTS - DIFFERENCES IN THE ARTIST CLASS AS FIRST WAVE GENTRIFIERS

By

Cristina Ramona Benton

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Geography – Doctor of Philosophy

2014

ABSTRACT

EXPLORING THE DIVERSITY OF GENTRIFICATION IN THREE CHICAGO CULTURAL DISTRICTS - DIFFERENCES IN THE ARTIST CLASS AS FIRST WAVE GENTRIFIERS

By

Cristina Ramona Benton

The paper explores the diversity of gentrification that exists in three cultural districts that are the recipients of the public investment in the city of Chicago between the years 1970 and 2000. The research advances a broader analysis of gentrification consistent with the approaches advanced by Rose (1984), Beauregard (1990), Clark (2005), and Podagrosi, Vojnovic, and Pigozzi (2011). A principal components analysis and k-means cluster analysis generated a grouping of 123 census tracts in Chicago experiencing similar upgrading trajectories. A qualitative analysis was conducted on three neighborhoods captured from this one cluster, with all three neighborhoods being nodes of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago. The three case studies experienced similar trajectories of gentrification, but with considerable internal diversity. The paper suggests that the specific characteristics in the diversity of cultural professionals, and the diversity in their 'artistic-infused' districts, can provide insight into the nature of subsequent gentrifiers. Within this context, the study also explores the role of the public sector in driving gentrification in Chicago's arts and cultural districts.

Copyright by
CRISTINA RAMONA BENTON
2014

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	x
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Theoretical Background	9
2.1. Gentrification	9
2.1.1. Supply versus Demand Side Approaches to Gentrification	9
2.1.2. The Diversity of Gentrification	12
2.1.3. Defining the Two Key Elements of Gentrification	17
2.1.3.1. The Nature of Capital Investment and Physical Upgrading	18
2.1.3.2. The Role of Government in Capital Reinvestment	20
2.1.3.3. Displacement and Social Upgrading	23
2.1.4. The Diversity of the Gentrifier	26
2.1.5. Commentary on Gentrification Theory	29
2.2. Arts, Culture, Entertainment, and Gentrification	29
2.2.1. The Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play	29
2.2.2. The Role of Artists and Cultural Professionals in Gentrification	32
2.2.3. Summary on Arts, Culture, Entertainment and Gentrification	34
2.3. The Profile of Chicago, IL	34
2.4. Concluding Commentary	39
Chapter 3. Research Problem, Data, and Quantitative Analysis	42
3.1. Statement of Problem and Research	42
3.2. Research Questions, Objectives, Hypotheses, and Research Methods	44
3.2.1. Hypothesis	45
3.2.2. Methods of Analysis	45
3.3. Quantitative Analysis and Research Data	47
3.3.1. Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play	48
3.3.2. Gentrification Data	50
3.3.3. Study Census Tracts and Boundary Standardization	54
3.3.4. Data Processing: Census Variables	61
3.4. Overview of Chicago's Physical and Social Upgrading Between 1970 and 2000	66
3.5. Quantitative Analysis: Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and K-means Clustering	75
3.5.1. Principal Component Analysis (PCA)	76
3.5.2. K-means Clustering Analysis	79
3.6. Concluding Commentary	83
Chapter 4. Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play	85
4.1. Introduction	85
4.2. The Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Chicago	86
4.2.1. Overview of the Infrastructure of Play in Chicago	86
4.2.2. The Public Investment in the City's Infrastructure of Play	88

4.3. The Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play	92
4.3.1. General Overview.....	92
4.3.2. The Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play Aggregated at the Census Tract Level of Analysis.....	97
4.3.3. Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play Aggregated at the Community Area Level of Analysis.....	102
4.4. The Selection of the Three Cultural Districts for Qualitative Analysis	108
4.5. Concluding Commentary	111
Chapter 5. Wicker Park.....	116
5.1. Introduction	116
5.2. West Town Gentrification and Arts and Culture	118
5.3. Gentrification and the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Wicker Park ..	126
5.4. Wicker Park Socioeconomic and Housing Profile, 1970 - 2000.....	145
5.5. Concluding Comments.....	150
Chapter 6. Central Lakeview	155
6.1. Introduction	155
6.2. Overview of the Infrastructure of Play and Gentrification in Lakeview.....	156
6.3. Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play and Gentrification in Central Lakeview	167
6.4. The Socioeconomic Profile of Central Lakeview, 1970 - 2000	177
6.5. Concluding Comments.....	182
Chapter 7. Pilsen East	186
7.1. Introduction	186
7.2. Gentrification and the Public Investment in Culture in the Lower West Side.....	187
7.3. Gentrification and the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Pilsen East.....	202
7.4. The Socioeconomic and Housing Profile of Pilsen East, 1970-2000	213
7.5. Concluding Comments.....	217
Chapter 8. Conclusions	223
8.1. The Three Neighborhoods.....	232
APPENDICES	244
APPENDIX A. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index	245
APPENDIX B. The List of the Study Census Tracts and Excluded Census Tracts	246
APPENDIX C. The Map of the Study Census Tracts	249
APPENDIX D. Standardization Rules Used in the Normalization of Census Tracts, 1970-2000	250
APPENDIX E. The Definitions of Census Variables and Discussion of Comparability Issues, Decennial Census Data, 1970-2000.....	252
E.1. Occupation Codes for Each Decade	265
APPENDIX F. Principal Component Analysis Results.....	270
APPENDIX G. PCA Dimensions Mapped.....	274
APPENDIX H. The results of the calculation of the Incremental F-value	282
REFERENCES	283

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1. Chicago Profile, 2000-2010 (U.S. Census, data compiled by author).....	35
Table 3.1. List of Study Variables on Gentrification.....	51
Table 3.2. Example of Population-based Census Tract Relationship Files, 1990 – 2000.	59
Table 3.3. Census variables calculated for each census tract and for each decade.....	63
Table 3.4. Comparison of the values of variables aggregated for the city and cluster #4.	82
Table 4.1. The public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, 1970-1999 (monetary values were adjusted for inflation to 1999).....	96
Table 4.2. Top recipient cultural organizations, Chicago, 1970-1999 (monetary values were adjusted for inflation to 1999).....	96
Table 4.3. The first 20 census tracts ranked by the number of recipient organizations located within (organizations organized by administrative address).	99
Table 4.4. The first 10 census tracts, sorted by the total frequency of grants, 1970-1999, (organizations geocoded by their administrative address).....	99
Table 4.5. The first 10 census tracts, sorted by the total amount of grants, 1970-1999, (organizations geocoded by their administrative address).....	102
Table 4.6. Community areas in the top quintile which are home to recipient cultural organizations geocoded by their administrative address.	105
Table 4.7. Total frequency of grants aggregated by community area (recipient organizations geocoded by their administrative address) (only the fifth quintile displayed).....	105
Table 4.8. Community areas in the top quintile, ranked by the amount of public investment (data aggregated by administrative address, monetary values were adjusted for inflation).	108
Table 5.1: Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	125
Table 5.2: Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	125
Table 5.3: Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.	125
Table 5.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	126

Table 5.5. Change in professionals and the professionals ratio, 1970-2000.....	126
Table 5.6: Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	148
Table 5.7: Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	149
Table 5.8: Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner- occupied housing, 1970-2000.	149
Table 5.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	149
Table 5.10. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.	150
Table 6.1. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).	164
Table 6.2. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).....	164
Table 6.3. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner- occupied housing, 1970-2000.	164
Table 6.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	165
Table 6.5. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.	165
Table 6.6. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).	180
Table 6.7. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).....	180
Table 6.8. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner- occupied housing, 1970-2000.	181
Table 6.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	181
Table 6.10. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.	181
Table 7.1. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	192
Table 7.2. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).....	192
Table 7.3. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner- occupied housing, 1970-2000.	193

Table 7.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	193
Table 7.5. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.	194
Table 7.6. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).	216
Table 7.7. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).	216
Table 7.8. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner- occupied housing, 1970-2000.	216
Table 7.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.	217
Table 7.10. Change in professionals and the professionals ratio, 1970-2000.	217
Table 8.1. Changes in the number and percentage of professionals in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	228
Table 8.2. Changes in the number and percentage of college graduates in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	229
Table 8.3. Changes in poverty levels in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	230
Table 8.4. Changes in the number and percentage of employed residents in manufacturing in three neighborhoods, cluster#4, and Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	230
Table 8.5. Summary of socioeconomic characteristics in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	231
Table 8.6. Summary of socioeconomic characteristics in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.	231
Table A.1 Consumer Price Index used to bring monetary values to 1999, the reference year for this study.	245
Table B.1. Census tracts used in the study, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois.	246
Table D.1. Rules used to standardize the census tracts for decades 1970, 1980, and 1990 to 2000, the base year for this analysis.	250
Table E.1. Discussion of how census variables were calculated and comparability issues.	252
Table F.1. Latent Roots (Eigenvalues)	270
Table F.2. Component Loadings.	270

Table F.3. Variance Explained by Components	271
Table F.4. Percent of Total Variance Explained.....	271
Table F.5. Rotated Loading Matrix (VARIMAX, Gamma = 1.000000).....	272
Table F.6. Variance Explained by Rotated Components.....	273
Table F.7. Percent of Total Variance Explained.....	273
Table H.1. Calculation of the Incremental F-value to determine the number of groups in the K-means cluster analysis.....	282

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1. ArcGIS image of census tract #2314.....	55
Figure 3.2. Google aerial photo of census tract #2314.	56
Figure 3.3. Overlay of Chicago Census Tracts, 1970 – 2000.	57
Figure 3.4. Close up example of revisions of census boundary changes, 1990-2000.	58
Figure 3.5. Percentage change in median housing values, 1970 -2000, Chicago (5 quintiles). ..	67
Figure 3.6. Percentage change in median household income, 1970-2000 (5 quintiles).	68
Figure 3.7. Percentage change in median gross rent, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).....	69
Figure 3.8. Percentage change in per capita income, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).....	70
Figure 3.9. Percentage change in number of professionals, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).....	71
Figure 3.10. Change in percentage change in number of families below the poverty level, 1970 - 2000, (5 quintiles).	72
Figure 3.11. Percentage change in white population, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).	73
Figure 3.12. Percentage change in black population, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).....	74
Figure 3.13. Census tracts included in cluster #4.	81
Figure 4.1. Spatial distribution of the recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 1999 (geocoded by their administrative location).	94
Figure 4.2. Spatial Distribution of the recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 1999 (geocoded by their performance location).	95
Figure 4.3. Spatial distribution of the total frequency of grants awarded between 1970 and 1999 in Chicago (aggregated at the census tract level based on the administrative address of the recipient organizations) (mapped by five quintiles).	100

Figure 4.4. Spatial distribution of the total amount of funds awarded between 1970 and 1999 in Chicago (aggregated at the census tract level based on the administrative address of the recipient organizations) (mapped by five quintiles).	101
Figure 4.5. Total frequency of grants aggregated at the community area level of analysis (mapped by 5 quintiles) (recipients aggregated by the administrative address).	106
Figure 4.6. Total amount of funding aggregated at the community area level of analysis (mapped by 5 quintiles) (data aggregated by the administrative address).	107
Figure 5.1. Wicker Park and West Town.	117
Figure 5.2. The infrastructures of play in West Town (non-profit organizations geocoded by their administrative address).	119
Figure 5.3. Rehabilitated mansions in Wicker Park (Benton, 2009).	129
Figure 5.4. Flat Iron Building, corner of Damen, North, and Milwaukee St. (Benton, 2012). ..	131
Figure 5.5. 2029 W Pierce Ave. a condominium conversion, (Benton, 2013).	133
Figure 5.6. Condominium construction in the late 1980s (Benton, 2012).	134
Figure 5.7. Theater Chopin (Benton, 2012).	136
Figure 5.8. The building refurbished on Bob Vila's 'Home Again' (Benton, 2013).	138
Figure 5.9. A condominium, built after 2010, is located next to single-family cottages (Benton, 2012).	144
Figure 6.1. Central Lakeview and Lakeview community area.	156
Figure 6.2. Theater Building (currently Stage 773) and Theater Wit (Benton, 2012).	158
Figure 6.3. Spatial distribution of cultural organizations that received public investment, organizations mapped by their administrative address.	162
Figure 6.4. Historic buildings renovated in Central Lakeview (Benton, 2012).	170
Figure 6.5. New three-flat townhouses in Central Lakeview (Benton, 2012).	172

Figure 6.6. New and old housing in Central Lakeview. The building on the left in the photo was built in 2006 while the house in the center was built in the late 1800s (Benton, 2012).	174
Figure 6.7. The house to be torn down and replaced by a larger and more customized home (Benton, 2012).	176
Figure 7.1. The Pilsen East neighborhood and the Lower West Side community.	187
Figure 7.2. The Infrastructure of Play in the Lower West Side (cultural organizations geo-coded by their administrative address).	190
Figure 7.3. University Village, immediately north of Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).	197
Figure 7.4. Anti gentrification mural on the walls of Casa Aztlán, Lower West Side (Benton, 2012).	199
Figure 7.5. Traditional homes in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).	202
Figure 7.6. Gallery storefront owned by Podmajersky in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).	204
Figure 7.7. The new condominium building at 953 W. 18 th St. (Benton, 2013).	207
Figure 7.8. New condominium Projects in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).	209
Figure 7.9. New residential buildings in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).	210
Figure 7.10. Lacuna Artist Lofts + Studios, at 2150 S. Canalport St. (Benton, 2012).	211
Figure C.1. Chicago Census Tracts (2000 census tract boundaries).	249
Figure G.1. PCA Factor 1 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	274
Figure G.2. PCA Factor 2 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	275
Figure G.3. PCA Factor 3 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	276
Figure G.4. PCA Factor 4 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	277
Figure G.5. PCA Factor 5 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	278
Figure G.6. PCA Factor 6 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).	279

Figure G.7. PCA Factor 7 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).....	280
Figure G.8. PCA Factor 8 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).....	281

Chapter 1. Introduction

Since the 1960s, amid considerable residential, commercial, and industrial decentralization taking place throughout America, a number of U.S. inner-cities, and particularly those with a growing service economy, began to experience an influx of upper-income residents (Gale, 1984; Nelson, 1988). The return of the wealthy into the cities was coupled with increased urban reinvestment and a physical upgrading of the built environment visible with new construction and renovations (Smith, 1996). Marketed by many as beneficial to the local community, these redevelopment processes have come at considerable social cost, evident with the displacement of the poorer, traditional residents who originally occupied these neighborhoods (LeGates & Hartman, 1986; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Podagrosi, Vojnovic, & Pigozzi, 2011; Powell & Spencer, 2003). Gentrification has been an extensively researched process in urban geography. Theoretical approaches have conceptualized gentrification as being driven by either the cultural preferences of the gentrifiers or by the economic rationales of private sector developers (Ley, 1996; Smith, 1996). However, the literature has generally been silent until recently on the role of the public sector in affecting both investment decisions driving physical upgrading and the consumption patterns of gentrifiers themselves.

Classical gentrification is understood as the rehabilitation of central city dilapidated working-class housing by middle-class affluent gentrifiers and the consequent displacement of the poorer, working-class residents from the neighborhood. More recently, research has revealed the diversity of gentrification with differences in the nature of reinvestment, upgrading, and displacement. Examples of the internal variation of gentrification include supergentrification, state-led gentrification, studentification, tourism gentrification, arts driven gentrification,

gayification, with the spatial variability of gentrification evident even in the same city (Beauregard, 1990; Castells, 1983; Gotham, 2005; Lees, 2003; Ley, 1996; Smith, 1996; Smith & Holt, 2007; Zukin, 1989).

Researchers have highlighted the two conditions that define gentrification, despite the many different possible outcomes, which are evident with, first, the capital reinvestment, (the physical upgrading), and second, the displacement of the traditional population of the neighborhood (the social upgrading) (Clark, 2005; Davidson & Lees, 2005). Consistent with Rose (1984), Beauregard (1986, 1990), and Clark's (2005) approaches, Podagrosi, Vojnovic, and Pigozzi (2011) advance a technique that enables the broader analysis of gentrification and across a whole city. Their study explored the diversity of gentrification in the city of Houston, TX, involving varying types of agents and processes. With the exception of this study, little has been said on the diversity of gentrification processes across an entire city, the result of the combinations of various actors, agencies, and redevelopment tools.

Into the 21st century, central cities in the U.S. have engaged in active redevelopment initiatives to rebuild their urban cores and recapture their lost population, and especially wealthy residents and what are considered 'mobile professionals' (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1991; Teaford, 1990). Local governments have also been increasingly reacting to inter-municipal competition and new demands at becoming entrepreneurial in the global economy. In the late 20th century, investing in arts, culture, sports, and entertainment ('the infrastructure of play') has emerged as a significant local economic development strategy (Judd, 2003; Judd & Fainstein, 1999). Local, state, and the federal governments began to subsidize cultural activities, professional sports, and entertainment in an effort to enhance the attractiveness of their particular location. This public investment for arts and entertainment is substantial, with hundreds of millions of dollars being

spent annually in building museums and sports stadiums, and in providing grants for developing cultural activities across U.S. cities (Judd, 2003).

While the literature on the ‘infrastructure of play’ has focused on exploring the economic impacts of these infrastructure projects (Cameron & Coafee, 2005; Judd, 2003; Strom, 2002), there is limited research on how the various public support for the infrastructure of play affects local residents and the physical built environment. While research has highlighted the growing and substantial role of government in the development of the infrastructure of play, studies have not analyzed thoroughly the spatial patterns and the impact of the public investment in the infrastructure of play on cultural activities and arts districts, and on redevelopment processes and associated displacement. Little is known about how public investment in the infrastructure of play shapes gentrification processes in the inner-city.

In a few seminal works (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1989), researchers have explored artists-driven gentrification. Studies have shown how cultural professionals create a place and artistic-infused ambiance, which is attractive to the new middle-class and spurs capital reinvestment (Ley, 2003; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1989). Artists are seen as first stage gentrifiers, who are then followed by successive stages of middle- and upper-class gentrifiers, who then displace the artists to cheaper districts. However, the research on the diversity and internal variation of cultural districts, and especially the nodes of public investment in the infrastructure of play, is very limited. Several studies (Ley, 1996; Scott, 2000) have highlighted the diversity of the artist class and how this cultural professional group has been diversifying in the late 20th century with the rise of the service economy. Little has been said about how this diverse group has been affecting the built environment. In particular, the literature has not explored the nuances of gentrification taking place in different cultural districts affected by the infrastructure of play

investment and what cultural activities and professionals are best associated with social and physical upgrading.

Chicago is the ideal case study for the exploration of gentrification. The city experienced significant black and Hispanic migration, middle-class suburbanization, and since the 1970s, disinvestment, the restructuring of its manufacturing sector (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Bennett, 1989) and the growth of the advanced service economy (Sassen, 2001, 2004). In addition, into the 21st century, Chicago has increasingly engaged in the ambitious construction and upgrading of the city's infrastructure of play, including building or renovating sports arenas, cultural districts, museums, and other entertainment facilities (Bennet & Spirou, 2006; Spirou, 2006).

This study will explore how the diversity of cultural districts is shaped, in part, by the public investment in the infrastructure of play, and in the process, the research will explore the role of cultural professionals as facilitators and possible victims of the subsequent physical and 'social upgrading.' Through these goals, this dissertation will provide an analysis into the relationship between public investment in the infrastructure of play and gentrification, with the focus on cultural districts in Chicago.

The research, within this context, focuses on the question, "Is there a diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago; the districts that are the nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments?" The research objective of this research is to examine the temporal and spatial patterns of different processes of gentrification in the cultural districts of Chicago between the years 1970 and 2000. It is hypothesized that there is diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts districts and the artistic class in Chicago; with the focus being the districts that are the major nodes of public funding for the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 2000. During these three decades, cultural districts—and their artists and other

cultural professionals residing there —are affecting gentrification in different neighborhoods of the city of Chicago in different ways. The diversity in the physical and social upgrading processes is driven by different agents within the cultural community, involving different reinvestment processes, and leading to the displacement of a range of different income groups and social classes.

Both quantitative and qualitative data are used to explore the diversity of gentrification in Chicago. Two types of quantitative data are used in the analysis. First, socioeconomic, demographic, and housing census data compiled for the 1970 through 2000 decennial censuses are used to explore potential neighborhood upgrading. Second, data on the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, compiled for the 1970-1999 period, enable the identification of cultural districts that are the major recipients of public financial support in the city. In addition, a qualitative analysis, focused on historical and contextual information, was also used in this research since quantitative analysis alone cannot reveal the nature of redevelopment and reinvestment taking place within neighborhoods. The qualitative analysis involves observations in the field, and the review of government and archive reports, newspaper articles, academic articles, books, and dissertations, all documenting the social and physical transformation of Chicago.

With regard to the quantitative analyses, the Principal Component Analysis was performed on the census demographic, socioeconomic, and housing variables. This was followed by the K-means clustering analysis on the factor scores, where the focus was placed on capturing neighborhood upgrading. The quantitative analyses enabled the selection of three case studies from a grouping of tracts showing similar degrees of upgrading. On ground site surveys, a review of census tracts, and the results from the spatial patterns of public investment in the

infrastructure of play were used to determine the neighborhoods for the more detailed qualitative analysis. The analysis focused on districts that are the nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments between the years 1970 and 1999.

In terms of the study contributions and implications, this study will explore the spatial patterns and the impact of the government funding for the infrastructure of play on cultural activities and arts districts, and on redevelopment processes and associated displacement. These topics have received limited research in the literature. This study will result in an enhanced understanding of the gentrification processes and illustrates that there is even a more fine-tuned diversity in gentrification processes than what has been revealed in the existing literature. This is evident with the diversity of gentrification among a specific social sub-class and occupation category, the arts and cultural professionals. The dissertation suggests that the specific characteristics in the diversity of cultural professionals, and the diversity in their 'artistic-infused' districts, can provide insight into the nature of subsequent gentrifiers. This study also contributes to the growing literature on the role of government in improving the attractiveness of place, and inducing investment through public subsidies. The results of this research have implications on the extensive public funding programs for cultural and entertainment facilities, which affects indirectly housing affordability and housing supply, the attraction of creative professionals, and more, broadly the local built environment.

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. The next chapter, Chapter 2, will introduce the theoretical background of the research, with an exploration into gentrification. This chapter will examine the history and transformation of the city of Chicago, the study area for the proposed research, from an industrial to a service-based economy. The chapter will also present a

review of the infrastructure of play and examine the role of artists and cultural professionals in the gentrification process.

The third chapter of this dissertation provides the statement of the problem, the research question, research hypothesis, and the methods of analysis. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are used to explore the diversity of gentrification in cultural districts in Chicago between 1970 and 2000. The chapter also introduces the infrastructure of play data that have been collected and used in this dissertation. Chapter 3 ends with a discussion of the results of the Principal Component and K-means clustering analyses, which are used as the basis for the selection of the three case studies for the qualitative analysis.

The fourth chapter describes the results of the analysis of the public investment in the infrastructure of play. This analysis enables the selection of the three case studies for the qualitative analysis. The fifth through seventh chapters explore the diversity of gentrification in the three selected cultural districts, which were major recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, Wicker Park, Central Lakeview, and Pilsen East. The qualitative analysis in these case studies includes the analysis of the socioeconomic and housing changes between the years 1970 and 2000 for the cultural neighborhoods, the nature of redevelopment and capital reinvestment, displacement, and the exploration of the roles of artists within these cultural districts in the gentrification of these neighborhoods.

Chapter eight wraps-up the entire research and provides the conclusion of this dissertation. The neighborhoods revealed the diversity in gentrification processes among the artist and cultural class, and resulting impacts in the production of urban spaces, with the creation of very distinct arts districts. In all three neighborhoods, early gentrification was initiated by the artist community. The research shows that the diversity among cultural

professionals, and the resulting diversity in their distinct ‘artistic-infused’ neighborhoods, attracted a very different socio-economic and demographic composition in the second wave of gentrifiers. The study contributions and policy implications of this research are discussed in this concluding chapter.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Background

This chapter introduces the theoretical background of the research, with an exploration into gentrification. The chapter begins with a theoretical discussion of the concept of gentrification and explanatory approaches to gentrification. It then delves into the notion of the diversity of gentrification and a discussion of the two main components of gentrification (capital reinvestment and social upgrading). The chapter will explore the history and transformation of the city of Chicago, the study area for the proposed research, from an industrial to a service-based economy. The chapter will also present a review of the infrastructure of play. It will provide a definition of the infrastructure of play and examine the role of artists in gentrification.

2.1. Gentrification

Since the term was coined in the 1960s, gentrification has been defined as a process in which disinvested or physically deteriorated neighborhoods undergo physical renovation, redevelopment, or upgrading, accompanied by an influx of middle-class or wealthier residents who displace the original, poorer residents. In this section of the chapter, I will first review the explanatory approaches to gentrification.

2.1.1. Supply versus Demand Side Approaches to Gentrification

Within the gentrification literature, many factors and theories were advanced to explain this phenomenon. In general, these explanatory theories could be grouped into two broad sets that delineate two approaches to examining gentrification (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). One approach centers on a production theory, which focuses on supply side explanations of physical and social upgrading. The second approach centers on a consumption theory, which focuses on

the characteristics of the individuals moving into urban neighborhoods, and their cultural values and consumption patterns.

1. Supply-side explanations. Drawing on structuralism and Marxism, Smith (1979, 1986, 1996) argues that gentrification is the re-differentiation of geographical space to support processes of accumulation and expansion of capital. Setting his argument into a Marxist critique of capitalism, Smith argues that gentrification is dependent on the movement of capital. This approach revolves around the housing and land market, and the mortgage and real estate industry. Key actors are the ones who produce or upgrade the new built environment (e.g., builders, developers, landlords, mortgage lenders, real estate agents, and government agencies), driven by landscape production and profit.

Smith (1996) argues that the 'rent gap' explains why gentrification occurs in certain areas of the city and at particular times. The 'rent gap' refers to the difference between the actual ground rent, obtained from the present use of land in the inner-city, and the potential rent that could be obtained from a 'higher and better' use of the land given its location. This gap provides the opportunity for capital investment and profits on parcels that have been devalored by disinvestment, obsolete land uses, and suburbanization, along with the resulting urban decline. Gentrification is viewed as one way of closing this rent gap; its occurrence being triggered by the creation of economic opportunities for landowners to increase the financial return on their property. Federal, state, and local government programs may affect the relative attractiveness of the land and hence affect the rent gap. The public assistance may involve clearing existing land through urban renewal, upgrading public infrastructures, and providing financial incentives for developers or residents. The 'Rent Gap' theory had been modified to reflect contemporary processes of urban physical regeneration (Hackworth & Smith, 2001).

While the rent gap explains many aspects of reinvestment and redevelopment, it has also been extensively criticized, especially for its ability to be employed in practice. There are challenges to operationalizing and measuring ground rent (e.g., lack of data and resources), as well as determining accurately the location of gentrification. This theoretical approach has also shown little interest for the motivations of the gentrifiers and the relations between gentrifiers and the market (Hamnett, 1991; Savage, Warde, & Ward, 2003). In addition, some researchers have argued that gentrification does not occur in the worst disinvested areas, but in a relatively depressed working-class area, not far from the downtown and middle-class enclaves of the central city (Hammel, 1999). In these cases, neighborhood effects, such as social institutions and physical characteristics, mediate the creation and the closing of the rent gap.

2. Demand-side explanations bring a socio-cultural perspective to the study of gentrification by focusing on values, attitudes, choices, and beliefs to explain human behavior. Shifts in individuals' tastes, values, and lifestyle are viewed as critical factors contributing to the migration of the new middle-class back to the inner-city. From a liberal-humanist perspective, Ley strongly emphasizes the importance of choice, cultural consumption, and consumer demand as the driving forces behind gentrification (1987, 1992, 1996, 2003). Gentrification is explained as a consequence of changes in the industrial and occupational structure of advanced capitalist cities.

According to Ley (1996), with the emergence of the postindustrial city, the rise of professional and managerial employment led to the expansion of middle-class professionals with a disposition towards central city living. Gentrification is viewed as the expression of the identity of the new middle-class, apart from the mainstream suburban middle-class, and a liberating and emancipatory experience for certain marginalized groups. With the attention placed on demand-

side variables, this approach has been criticized for focusing too extensively on the life and values of the gentrifiers (Curran, 2004; Slater, Curran, & Lees, 2004; Smith, 1996). At the same time, less emphasis is placed on the production of space by real estate developers, mortgage lenders, the state, and the populations displaced (Slater et al., 2004).

Currently, most researchers recognize the relevance of both theories in explaining, understanding, and dealing with the spatial manifestations of gentrification (Beauregard, 2003; Clark, 2005; Ley, 2003; Savage et al., 2003; Smith, 2002). Clark (2005, p. 261) argues that “neither side is comprehensible without the other and all present theories of gentrification touch bottom in these basic conditions for the existence of the phenomenon.” Thus, contemporary research has moved beyond the simplistic and limited dichotomy to explore a broader meaning of gentrification and its varied trajectories. Both theories still provide important and different ways of understanding the diverse dimensions of past and current gentrification processes. Moreover, in light of the evolving nature of gentrification, both theories are becoming more sophisticated, nuanced, and updated. Reconsidering his theory, Ley (2003, p. 2542) argues, “it is not a matter of whether economic or cultural arguments prevail, but rather how they work together to produce gentrification as an outcome.”

2.1.2. The Diversity of Gentrification

In this section of the chapter, the notion of the diversity of gentrification will be explored, an important concept in the analysis of gentrification within this dissertation. Gentrification was initially understood as the rehabilitation of central city, dilapidated, lower, working-class housing by middle-class investors. Gentrification was coined by sociologist Ruth Glass in 1964 to refer to upgrading processes in London’s housing stock, in which low-cost disinvested neighborhoods, with unique architectural quality, underwent physical renovation. This process was accompanied

by an influx of middle-class residents—who rehabilitated the housing—and the displacement of the poorer working-class residents who originally occupied the neighborhood. This is considered classical gentrification, where working-class housing becomes middle-class housing, and capital reinvestment is realized through renovation processes by pioneer gentrifiers, while indigenous residents are displaced (Lees et al., 2008).

A review of the gentrification literature, however, reveals an extensive variability of gentrification processes taking place since the 1960s. Specific forms of reinvestment, physical appearance, or architectural style, as well as the actors involved, can vary widely in a gentrification process. The interactions between different types of individuals and diverse processes result in considerable differences in the nature of reinvestment, upgrading, and displacement. Research has revealed the internal variation of gentrification, such as super-gentrification (Lees, 2003), state-led gentrification (Smith, 1979), new-build gentrification (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Zukin, 1991), infill development, studentification (Smith & Holt, 2007), rural gentrification (Darling, 2005), tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005), arts driven gentrification (Ley, 1996; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1989), gay and lesbian driven gentrification (Castells, 1983; Lauria & Knopp, 1985), and the spatial variability of gentrification even in the same city (Beauregard, 1990). These processes are all different from Glass's definition. Some of these variations will be discussed in more detail below.

A distinct process of gentrification involves the transformation of already prosperous middle-class neighborhoods into exclusive and expensive enclaves for the superrich (Buttler & Lees, 2006; Lees, 2003; Podagrosi, Vojnovic, & Pigozzi, 2011). Super-gentrification takes place mostly in select neighborhoods in London, New York City, and other global financial and economic centers, driven in part by the growing numbers of wealthy financial and managerial

professionals. This gentrification entails expensive renovations or teardowns of non-deteriorated houses, followed by the construction of upscale large houses and the displacement of some of the original middle-class gentrifiers. This process reveals the possibility of a historical continuity of gentrification in mature, and potentially already gentrified, neighborhoods.

Studentification, coined by D. Smith (2002), refers to the process of social, environmental, cultural, and economic changes, driven by the large number of students in particular neighborhoods, and in close proximity to university campuses. Researchers have shown how large, higher education institutions and students have transformed neighborhoods in British and U.S. university towns (Smith & Holt, 2007). This process involves the in-migration of a transient group of individuals, usually singles and childless young adults, with limited economic capital and middle-class family backgrounds. Depending on the local specifics, studentification often leads to inflated housing prices and the displacement or exclusion of established working-class or middle-class residents (Smith D., 2005). These studentified locations may in themselves be seen as a factory of gentrifiers, with the graduating students emerging as potential gentrifiers.

In some U.S. cities, the federal urban renewal program helped build residential projects mostly for the white upper- and middle-class. In Philadelphia, an urban renewal project enabled the redevelopment of historic row houses in Society Hill (Smith, 1979). More recently, the federally driven HOPE VI program has reformed public housing across the U.S. and has led to the redevelopment of certain public housing projects into mixed-income residences with fewer low-income residents (Crump, 2003; Keating, 2000). HOPE VI is seen as a facilitator of gentrification since it allows municipal governments to remove public housing units without one-for-one replacement.

New-build gentrification involves newly constructed townhouses, condominiums, and other forms of luxury homes on mostly inner-city reclaimed industrial land or brownfields (Davidson & Lees, 2005; Mills, 1998). New-built gentrification emerged in the 1980s and intensified during the 1990s with the increasing support of the state. While some researchers grappled with the question of whether new-built processes are gentrification (Lambert & Boddy, 2002), Davidson and Lees (2005) argue that similar to the classical notion of gentrification, this process involves capital being reinvested in disinvested central city locations, accompanied by the construction of housing built for the new middle-classes.

Based on his exploration of the socio-spatial transformations of the Vieux Carre neighborhood in New Orleans, Gotham (2005) suggests a tourism gentrification, which involves the transformation of a neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive community where corporate entertainment and tourism venues are concentrated. In recent decades, tourism has brought consumption oriented activities into cities, and as such, encouraged residential gentrification. Gotham highlights the central role of corporate capital as well as multi-national businesses, and connects gentrification in New Orleans to broader global socioeconomic transformations.

Similarly, Gladstone and Préau (2008) conducted an investigation of eight New Orleans tourist neighborhoods between 1970 and 2000. They argue that tourism-oriented redevelopment resulted in direct and indirect impacts on residential development. Tourism redevelopment projects, cultural facilities, and historic preservation serve indirectly to increase land values in the surrounding areas and attract developers. Gentrified areas attract more visitors, further increasing land values and leading to even more gentrification, which leads to sweeping changes in the demographic composition of these neighborhoods (Gladstone & Préau, 2008).

The seminal study that revealed the scale of diversity within gentrification processes that can be evident in just one city is attributed to Robert Beauregard. Beauregard (1990) illustrated the inner-city variability of gentrification in a study of four Philadelphia neighborhoods, which were all experiencing gentrification, but in different ways and to different degrees. With substantial government support, Society Hill transformed from a lower-income neighborhood into an upscale enclave. Spring Garden, a working-class Hispanic neighborhood started to gentrify, initially led by small scale reinvestment by professionals moving into the neighborhood, and later by developers aided by federal historic tax credits. Northern Liberties, in contrast, experienced very slow gentrification over many decades, as government and developers were not significantly involved in this redevelopment process. Finally, Fishtown maintained a stronger neighborhood identity which hindered, alongside location and the characteristics of the housing stock, any significant reinvestment and redevelopment efforts.

Inner cities have experienced gentrification in different waves. Literature has shown different levels of government involvement and a diverse combination of processes, agents, and physical and socioeconomic characteristics with regard to the redevelopment outcome (Podagrosi et al., 2011). In many cases, the processes through which gentrification occurs are shaped by the specific characteristics of the gentrifiers, the condition and uniqueness of the available housing stock, the ethnic make-up of the original neighborhoods, and the overall neighborhood quality, which result in unique reinvestment and displacement processes (Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008).

This considerable variability in gentrification made Rose (1984) and Beauregard (1986) argue that gentrification is chaotic and diverse, with many themes, issues, and a multiplicity of explanatory factors. Moreover, Rose (1984) suggested researchers to explore the actual

gentrification processes through which gentrifiers are produced because there are no typical gentrifiers or typical gentrified neighborhoods. Similarly, Beauregard (1986, p. 40) asks researchers to recognize the diversity of gentrification rather than conflate its diverse aspects under a single phenomenon.

Because of the variability in how gentrification unfolds, Clark (2005) calls for a broader and simpler definition, and operationalization, of gentrification. Similarly, Davidson and Lees (2005, p. 1187) argue for allowing gentrification more elasticity in order to reflect increasingly diverse processes, while holding onto its core elements. The “elastic yet targeted” approach to gentrification (Clark, 2005, p. 258) would maintain essential elements; including the social and physical upgrading patterns and the critical views of class struggle (Smith, 1996; Wyly & Hammel, 2001). These two essential elements of gentrification are discussed in greater detail below. Consistent with Rose (1984), Beauregard (1986, 1990), and Clark’s (2005) approaches, Podagrosi et al. (2011) advanced a technique that enables a broader analysis of gentrification. The study explores the diversity gentrification in the city of Houston, TX, involving varying types of agents and processes. The study explores the variety of redevelopment initiatives, used in different combinations throughout the city by different types of agents, in driving reinvestment and displacement throughout Houston’s urban core and surrounding neighborhoods. The qualitative analysis of three case study neighborhoods, which experienced similar degrees of gentrification, but with varying types of agents and processes, shows the internal diversity of the process.

2.1.3. Defining the Two Key Elements of Gentrification

The two conditions that define gentrification, despite the many different possible outcomes, are evident with, first, the capital reinvestment, which results in physical changes in

the urban landscape (the physical upgrading), and second, the displacement of the traditional population of the neighborhood (the social upgrading), (Clark, 2005; Davidson & Lees, 2005).

Both of these elements are discussed in more detail below.

2.1.3.1. The Nature of Capital Investment and Physical Upgrading

The gentrification processes described above are all characterized by capital reinvestment, and this is evident in the resulting physical upgrading of the neighborhood. In many of these processes, much of the redeveloped land is subject to systemic disinvestment due to suburbanization and sometimes white flight, which brings economic decline, de-valorization, physical deterioration, and residential abandonment. Neighborhoods do not need to experience decline and disinvestment to encourage reinvestment and gentrification. Researchers have shown that rising property values in the surrounding areas can provide an incentive for capital reinvestment (Lees, 2003; Podagrosi et al., 2011). The diversity of capital reinvestment has also been explored historically within the context of real estate cycles in urban neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Lees, 2003; Wyly & Hammel, 2001). In addition, Podagrosi and Vojnovic's (2008) study of Houston's social and physical upgrading processes illustrates how built environment and demographic characteristics are critical in influencing how gentrifiers, developers, and public officials approach reinvestment, redevelopment, and displacement.

In general, physical upgrading includes the rehabilitation of architecturally attractive but dilapidated buildings (Jager, 1986), loft conversions of waterfront or industrial warehouses and shipyards (Zukin, 1989), and teardowns of buildings deemed 'not interesting,' followed by the infilling of new-built developments, including apartments, condos or townhomes (Zukin, 1991; Davidson & Lees, 2005). It has been recently accepted that these processes can occur in central cities as well as in rural areas (Clark, 2005).

In his research of gentrification in Melbourne, Jager (1986) highlighted the interest of gentrifiers in architectural and internal decorative aesthetics of buildings and neighborhoods. Jager (1986, p. 79) introduced the notion of the ‘gentrification aesthetic’ to define the creation of easily identifiable gentrified neighborhoods where housing becomes a cultural investment and a visible sign of the gentrifier social ascension. This gentrification aesthetic is also visible in new-built gentrification (Mills, 1988), which can display a mixture of past and present architectural forms, and in loft conversion processes in former industrial warehouses (Zukin, 1989). In many cases, this interest has eventually led to imitation and to infill new development in otherwise gentrified neighborhoods (Smith, 1996). The valorization of the cultural aesthetic has led to an increase in property values and authentic trendy places have quickly become commodified and mass produced for higher earning households.

Another form of physical upgrading that has been documented is the loft conversion of warehouses in former industrial districts (Zukin, 1989). Zukin explored the transformation of New York City’s Soho neighborhood from a former industrial manufacturing district into an artists’ district, and later, into an up-scale and upper-income neighborhood. Zukin recognizes the gentrifiers’ demand for loft living, which indicates the emergence of the gentrification aesthetic during the 1970s. The new middle-class found an interest in the living habits and the ambiance of the artists, or of other cultural professionals’ sites of artistic production (Zukin, 1989, p. 14). The author advanced the notion of the ‘artistic mode of production’, which represents the use of culture by investors to attract capital in the built environment.

Encountered in many physical upgrading processes, blockbusting is a practice in which agents or developers seek to stimulate turnover in a neighborhood. Blockbusting has been evident as early as 1900 (Keating, 1994; Hirsch, 1998; Seligman, 2005). In the 1950s and 1960s,

blockbusting depended upon a high degree of residential segregation and provided the means for facilitating the movement of blacks into all-white neighborhoods at a time when blacks were experiencing a very discriminatory housing market (Hirsch, 1998). Tactics were used to encourage white property owners to sell by giving the impression that the black population was moving into the neighborhood. This included hiring black women to push baby carriages in exclusive white neighborhoods, sending out information on houses for sale or leaving houses empty (Keating, 1994; Hirsch, 1998; Seligman, 2005).

Into the 21st century, private sector blockbusting is still present in many high demand housing inner-city markets. It generally involves large-scale redevelopment projects, in which land assembly is an important but difficult part of the reinvestment process. A recent example of block-busting was highlighted in the study of Houston's Freedmen's Town by Podagrosi and Vojnovic (2008). Developers pressured property owners to sell by threatening them with eminent domain. Acquired properties were either boarded up and fenced or torn down, and the land poorly maintained. These actions would instill an appearance of decline and abandonment in the neighborhood, which would negatively affect property values, encouraging the remaining residents to leave before property values further declined.

2.1.3.2. The Role of Government in Capital Reinvestment

The gentrification literature shows that reinvestment is funded by private capital from individual owners, sweat equity, capital outlays from real estate developers and multi-national development corporations, and government support through tax incentives, historic preservation incentives, and federal, state, and local housing and economic development programs. In the U.S., examples of economic development programs include the federal urban renewal program, the Urban Development Action Grant, the Community Development Block Grant, the Housing

Ownership for People Everywhere (HOPE VI), and enterprise zones. Many state and local programs were designed to support the construction of housing in the inner city.

Several studies have highlighted the critical role of government in enabling, directly and indirectly, gentrification in certain neighborhoods (Hackworth & Smith, 2001; Ley, 2003; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Smith, 1996; Squires, 1992; Wyly & Hammel, 1999; Vojnovic, 2003a, 2003b). The federal, state, and local government involvement takes the form of zoning changes, eminent domain, incentive programs, public policies (sweat equity loans, homesteading, landmark conservancy status, and historic designation), and targeted public investment in urban infrastructure and private projects. All these actions alter the relative attractiveness of a place and encourage private sector investment in targeted locations (Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Vojnovic, 2000a, 2000b, 2003a, 2003b, 2007). For instance, Podagrosi and Vojnovic's (2008) study reveals how public intervention, in the form of local public subsidies and local public investment programs, has been significant in displacing physical and social 'blight and disorder,' and has enabled the gentrification of Houston's urban core. The extensive public subsidies and investments had altered local prices and encouraged private sector interest in Houston's downtown and selected surrounding neighborhoods.

The diverse and numerous locally driven urban renewal initiatives point to the diverse nature of capital reinvestment. Facing increasing inter-municipal competition and the decline in federal aid since the late 1970s, central cities have increasingly engaged in locally-driven land clearance projects (Hackworth, 2001, 2007; Smith, 1986; Wilson, 2004; Wyly & Hammel, 1999). In order to encourage and direct private residential and commercial investment in certain neighborhoods, cities have applied a series of programs, policies, and redevelopment tools. Local governments have used the power of eminent domain, the ability to float bonds, financial

incentives, such as tax increment financing, tax abatements, demolition subsidies, historical preservation grants and credits, and zoning changes, all to encourage redevelopment in targeted neighborhoods. These efforts enable public authorities to make local development attractive in select areas by lowering the costs of private development.

The power of eminent domain represents the power of the state, enforced in the 5th amendment to the U.S. Constitution, to take private property without the owner's consent for a public use or purpose (Mandelker, Payne, Salsich, & Stroud, 2005). Eminent domain is an essential tool for municipal governments, used commonly to enable the construction of public utilities, highways, urban renewal projects, and even to allow the implementation of broader economic development strategies. Its broad interpretations have resulted in highly criticized condemnations involving the displacement of existing residents and businesses for economic purposes. For example, in 2005 the U.S. Supreme Court agreed with the city of New London, CT to use eminent domain to take non-blighted private property and sell it to a private developer to further economic development (*Kelo v. City of New London*, 545 U.S. 469 (2005)).

In the last two decades, Tax Increment Financing (TIF) has emerged as the most important municipal financing mechanism in community redevelopment (Brueckner, 2000; Johnson & Man, 2001). As new development takes place in a TIF district, the city would capture all new property taxes generated in the district for a 20-30-year period and re-invest it within the district to further encourage private redevelopment through land acquisition, site preparation, demolition, and public infrastructure improvements.

Another public policy that attracts reinvestment is historical designation, which offers home-owners prestige, tax benefits, low-interest loans, or grants (Wilson, 2004). During the late 20th century, cities and developers engaged actively in tearing down blighted structures (Fine &

Lindberg, 2002; Weber, Doussard, Bhatta, & McGrath, 2006), and especially those lacking architectural quality, where rehabilitation is considered unfeasible or unworthy. Cities are increasingly providing demolition subsidies, zoning code incentives, and a fast tract approval process to encourage the replacement of the old built environment with new residential developments (Demissie, 2006; Suchar, 2006).

2.1.3.3. Displacement and Social Upgrading

Underlying the gentrification theory is the concept of class struggle, derived from Marx (Clark, 2005; Hackworth, 2007; Smith, 1996). Gentrification is seen as a process that displaces indigenous residents. In some cases, conflicts between the original resisting residents and the gentrifiers over competing visions of the neighborhood have resulted in protest and violence (Smith, 1996). The form and the extent of gentrification are shaped by power relations within the conflicts that arise between residents and gentrifiers (Abu-Lughod, 1994). This section will discuss displacement, while the diversity of the gentrifier will be explored in the following section of the chapter.

Generally marketed by policy makers and media as beneficial to the local community, gentrification has brought social distress and displacement of the poorer, traditional inner-city residents (LeGates & Hartman, 1986; Padilla, 1987; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Powell & Spencer, 2003). Since the late 1980s, a series of articles aimed at informing public policy have praised the positive benefits of social and physical upgrading (Duany, 2001). These works have argued that gentrification is “good in balance for the poor and ethnic communities” (Byrne, 2003; p. 406). Some recent studies have also suggested that gentrification is not actually displacing low-income renters (Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Vigdor, 2002). Freeman and Braconi (2004) surveyed individuals who recently moved into new units in New York City during the

1990s and found that “improving housing and neighborhood conditions appear to encourage the housing stability of low-income households.” Similarly, Vigdor (2002) argues that gentrification accelerated socioeconomic integration of the metropolitan area, and that no evidence was found to support that gentrification displaced the poor. This recent shift in the academics interests toward public policy and the positive impacts of gentrifiers made Slater (2006) point to “the eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research.”

Research has shown that gentrification negatively impacts the traditional residents in many different ways, including: direct displacement and eviction, indirect displacement, psychological stress, shrinkage of affordable housing, disruption of community, homelessness, resentment and conflict, increased costs, changes to local services, and loss of social diversity (Atkinson & Bridge, 2005; Betancur, 2002; Padilla, 1987; Powell & Spencer, 2003; Smith, 1996). Ultimately, the main negative outcome of gentrification is displacement, defined as the dislocation of households, including lower-income white and non-white households, the elderly, female-headed households, and blue-collar working-class occupational groups (LeGates & Hartman, 1986; London & Palen, 1984). Moreover, research has shown that the powerless, lower income group is not the only socioeconomic group being displaced. In certain cases, artists or middle income households, who have higher levels of economic and political power, are also being displaced in super-gentrification and other forms of upgrading processes (Lees, 2003).

Often indirect and gradual, displacement manifests as a recurrent chain of events as the neighborhood upgrades. Given the investment in property and the influx of wealthier residents into gentrified neighborhoods, property values, property taxes, and rents increase resulting in the pricing out of the existing residents, poorer families, working-class renters, and minority residents (Gale, 1984; Nelson, 1988; LeGates & Hartman, 1986; Smith & Williams, 1986; Wylie

& Hammel, 2004). Direct displacement occurs when an influx of residents displace poorer residents by occupying renovated buildings that formerly provided low cost rentals. As redevelopment advances in a neighborhood, active displacement occurs as landlords, speculators, and developers, eager to capitalize on increased market potential, harass tenants to move out (Wyly & Hammel, 2001).

Studies have documented the traumatic experiences of displacement, which brings tenant hardship and alienation (Curran, 2004; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Slater, 2004). Research has also shown the difficulty of resistance, loss of place, and the destruction of community or ethnic/racial identity in a neighborhood (Abu-Lughod, 1994; Betancur, 2002; Padilla, 1987). Studies overwhelmingly show that as neighborhoods revitalize, low- and moderate-income households become unable to access property in these neighborhoods, resulting in 'exclusionary displacement' (Marcuse, 1985; Freeman, 2005).

Another documented negative impact of gentrification is homelessness as a result of a shortage of affordable housing coupled with other broader economic factors (Mitchell, 1997). Mitchell (1997) has shown that in cities experiencing a growing homeless population and gentrification, laws that penalize the homeless have been enacted. These include curfews or banning homeless-specific activities, and regular sweeps of homeless during major sports or cultural events and around tourist destinations. Cities concerned with making urban centers attractive to footloose capital and upper-income earners have actively engaged in removing 'undesirable people' from the streets, and penalizing behavior that seems offensive or unpleasant to the highly mobile professional elite and the new middle-class (Mitchell, 1997, 2003).

2.1.4. The Diversity of the Gentrifier

The many accounts of gentrification in the U.S. indicate that there are many types of gentrifiers and different reasons for gentrifying. Research has shown that the gentrifiers moving into the inner-city are a very diverse sub-population, consisting of moderate-, middle-, and upper-income groups, with distinct, yet diverse, consumption preferences (Warde, 1991). Gentrifiers are in many cases white-collar, upper-income earners, with college degrees, and some are childless households (Ley, 1996; Nelson, 1978). The increase of dual-earner couples has resulted in the increase of discretionary household income for urban amenities and urban lifestyles. Empty nesters of greater affluence also seek to benefit from the multitude of cultural and entertainment amenities available in urban centers. Amenity-rich cities have seen a growth in downtown and urban residents who want to take advantage of cultural and entertainment venues and festivals. Ley (1996), for instance, sees many members of the new middle-class opposing the mass organization of postwar fordism, suburbia, and its crushing of individualism and difference. Ley (1986, 1996, 2003) argues that in the late 1960s, the central city became the arena of countercultural awareness, tolerance, diversity and liberation, in the context of a rapidly changing industrial and occupational structure, welfare retrenchment, and conspicuous consumption. Inner-city neighborhoods started to attract youth reaction against political conservatism, modernist planning, and suburban ideologies.

Contrary to this assertion of upper-income gentrifiers, Rose (1984) had revealed how more moderate-income gentrifiers were putting pressure on older neighborhoods, and predominated among those renovating properties in older neighborhoods during the early stages of the gentrification process. Moreover, Rose (1984) argued that marginally employed professionals with lower-middle incomes, among which were women, single parents, those

receiving moderate incomes (e.g., low level white collar, essential services, workers with less job security), were attracted to central city neighborhoods due to a range of support services not available in the suburbs.

Artists are included in this group of marginal gentrifiers. Requiring cheap and large working spaces, artists have been attracted by the available industrial warehouses located in central city neighborhoods, such as East Village and Soho in New York City (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1989). Artists transformed the multi-story industrial buildings and warehouses into live-in studios for both work and residence, emphasizing thus the economic and aesthetic benefits of urban loft living. In this process, artists are participating in a process of urban transformation marked by subsequent reinvestment and displacement (Cole, 1987). In many cases, artists are forced by higher rents to leave the very places that they initially gentrified (Cole, 1987; Marcuse, 1986; Zukin, 1989).

Sexuality and the role of gays and lesbians were also found to be important in explaining gentrification. Castell's account (1983) of the formation of the gay community in San Francisco shows how the spatial concentration of gays enabled the gay liberation movement and the gentrification of certain neighborhoods. Similarly, Lauria and Knopp (1985) argued that in certain places gentrification has been largely triggered by affluent gay professionals renovating inexpensive properties. Gays and lesbians find urban locations attractive because of the cultural diversity and greater tolerance. San Francisco and Chicago have a high concentration of gays and lesbians who have benefited from the expansion of professional and artistic jobs in the late 20th century (Baim, Kelley, Harper, 2008; Castells, 1983; Rothenberg, 1995). In addition, gender aspects are important in understanding gentrification because of the increasing participation of women in the workforce, as single women professionals and dual-earner couples.

A few studies have also emphasized the role of the new middle class, non-white gentrifiers. Studies have revealed that black gentrifiers (Schaffer & Smith 1986; Taylor, 1992) were involved in the rehabilitation in Harlem, New York City and in Chicago's neighborhoods of Bronzeville and Douglas/Grand Boulevard (Boyd, 2000, 2005; Freeman, 2006). In some cases, as in Harlem, the black gentrification was seen as a trigger for accelerated gentrification by the wealthy, white, upper income class (Schaffer & Smith, 1986). As already noted, higher education institutions have also been the drivers of gentrification. In such instances, students in large numbers could trigger the gentrification of college towns, as evident in Britain and the U.S.. Research has also shown that studentifiers "represent a potential grouping of future gentrifiers" (D. Smith, 2005, p. 86) or "apprentice gentrifiers" (Smith & Holt, 2007).

Super-gentrifiers are usually wealthy, upper-income professionals, who are globally connected workers employed in financial centers and who maintain distinct lifestyles, values and consumption preferences, different from those of the traditional gentrifiers (Lees, 2003). This group includes the new class of financial, accounting, legal, and information technology professionals employed, in general, in the financial and corporate service industries. Their housing includes customized, large, and expensive homes in already gentrified neighborhoods.

Accounts of gentrification processes have shown that there is sometimes a progression of different processes and gentrifier groups in a neighborhood, along with successive cohorts of professionals who enter inner-city neighborhoods with ever-higher economic capital (Ley, 2003). For instance, when artists or gay middle-class professionals are the earliest gentrifiers in an area, speculators and developers follow, hence accelerating gentrification. In the case of Manhattan's Soho neighborhood, loft residences, initially housing bohemian artists, are now the homes of wealthy professionals (Zukin, 1989). Similarly, Ley (2003) views artists and cultural

professionals as first stage gentrifiers,” the first to establish a presence in the inner-city,” who are then followed by successive stages of gentrifiers. In many cases, the result is the displacement of earlier stage gentrifiers to cheaper neighborhoods, which they proceed to gentrify all over again.

2.1.5. Commentary on Gentrification Theory

Within the gentrification literature, explanatory theories could be grouped into two broad sets that delineate two approaches to examining and explaining gentrification: supply side (centered on production theory) and demand-side (based on consumption theory). The classical gentrification is understood as the rehabilitation of central city dilapidated working-class housing by middle-class affluent gentrifiers and the consequent displacement of the poorer working-class residents from the neighborhood. More recently, research has revealed the diversity of gentrification with considerable differences in the nature of reinvestment, upgrading, and displacement. Examples of the internal variation of gentrification include super-gentrification, state-led gentrification, studentification, tourism gentrification, arts driven gentrification, gayification, and the spatial variability of gentrification even in the same city. However, the two conditions that define gentrification, despite the many different possible outcomes, are evident with, first, the capital reinvestment (the physical upgrading), and second, the displacement of the traditional population of the neighborhood (the social upgrading).

2.2. Arts, Culture, Entertainment, and Gentrification

2.2.1. The Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play

In the late 20th century, facing decentralization and the physical deterioration of the inner-city--combined with an eroded economic and fiscal base from deindustrialization, and increasing inter-municipal competition--central cities have engaged in active redevelopment

initiatives to rebuild their urban cores and recapture some of their lost population (Harvey, 1989; Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Teaford, 1990). As discussed above, public policy and government programs have played a central role in driving local development and redevelopment (Ley, 1996; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Smith, 1996; Vojnovic, 2003a, 2003b, 2006). Public subsidies have been important drivers of redevelopment since they alter the price of development and change the relative attractiveness of place, encouraging private reinvestment in targeted locations (Vojnovic, 2000a, 2000b).

In this context, investing in arts, culture, sports, and entertainment has emerged as an important local economic development strategy over the last four decades (Judd & Fainstein, 1999; Harvey, 1989; Judd, 2003; Ley, 1996; Mathews, 2010; Strom, 2002). The federal, state, and local governments have shown increasing public support for culture and the public consumption of art and entertainment through the financing of cultural activities and landmark physical facilities; subsidizing the infrastructure of play. The infrastructure of play includes a whole array of facilities involved in the support or production of entertainment, leisure, and cultural activities, including sport stadiums and arenas, renovated waterfronts, festival malls, entertainment districts, museums, theaters, performing arts centers, and convention centers (Eisinger, 2000; Judd, 2003; Petersen, 2001).

Aimed at supporting arts and creativity, and enhancing the attractiveness of place, government support for professional sports, entertainment, and cultural centers in the U.S. has been considerable in the second half of the 20th century. Cities began to support privately-driven festival malls, riverfront developments, and urban entertainment districts (Eisinger, 2000; Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Hannigan, 1988; Judd, 2003; Ley, 1996). In the last four decades, more than 37 convention centers, 60 major league sports facilities, 71 performing arts centers

and museums, and at least 20 theaters were built in large cities across the U.S. (Noll & Zimbalist, 1997; Rosentraub, 1998; Petersen, 2001; Strom, 2002). For 2002 alone, more than \$10.1 billion were spent by state and local governments on recreational large-scale facilities (Judd, 2003). Surveys of local governments across the U.S. have shown the amazing pervasiveness of public subsidies devoted to entertainment (Judd, 2003). Convention centers, stadiums, performing arts centers, and museums are the most preferred investment priorities.

For arts and cultural organizations alone, federal, state, and local support is extensive and provided through diverse means. The most common source of public support for museums, performing art centers, theaters, and dance and music ensembles--most of which are nonprofit entities--comes in the form of forgone taxes from 501(c)(3) organizations and their donors. In addition, grants, appropriations, and Congressional earmarks support many arts and cultural organizations for general operation, programming and capital improvements. The main federal support agencies are the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), and the National Science Foundation (NSF).

NSF, NEH, and NEA strive to support programmatic efforts to improve the understanding of sciences, humanities, and arts, respectively, while IMLS provides competitive grant support to museums. The NEA has encouraged creativity through support of performances, exhibitions, festivals, artist residencies, and other arts projects since 1965. Just in FY 2010, NEA invested nearly \$139 million through more than 2,700 grants across the country (NEA, 2011). NEA also supports state arts agencies which, in turn, support arts organizations within the states. NEH, which was created in 1965, supports research, education, and preservation programs in the humanities. In 2011 alone, NEH awarded \$40 million in grants for 249 humanities projects.

At the state and local levels, there is significant variation in the amount of public dollars available, and the mechanisms for the delivery of these funds to cultural organizations vary considerably. At the local level, the most common forms of support for capital projects and operations of the infrastructure of play are taxes (e.g., lodging taxes, property taxes, and sales taxes) and grants (Frieden & Sagalyn, 1989; Judd, 2003; Petersen, 2001).

2.2.2. The Role of Artists and Cultural Professionals in Gentrification

Recent research has begun exploring the relationship between the arts and economic development (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010), with a particular focus on the cultural industries and the role of artists in the regional economy (Currid, 2007; Markusen & Schrock, 2006). The rise in cultural funding described above enabled the development and diversification of cultural venues and activities (Warren, 2004). With the rise in cultural activities and a growing cultural economy (Scott, 2000; Scott & Power, 2004), central cities have seen an increasing influx of cultural or creative professionals (Sassen & Roost, 1999), clustered in inner-city locations, such as downtowns and specifically targeted neighborhoods (Currid & Connolly, 2008; Ley, 1996).

In the exploration of gentrification, artists have been recognized as having an important role in the physical and social upgrading of neighborhoods. In her seminal work, Zukin (1989) provides an ethnographic description of the interactions between artists, arts, and residential real estate development in Manhattan, New York City. The author introduces the concept of “artistic mode of production,” which represents the use of culture by investors to attract real estate capital (Zukin, 1989 p. 176). Zukin’s work reveals the transformation of the Soho neighborhood from a former industrial manufacturing district into an artists’ district. Later, the district transformed into an upper-income neighborhood, while artists were displaced from the very places that they

had initially gentrified. The arts-driven gentrification in New York City has influenced public policy across urban America.

As discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, diverse types of agents are involved in gentrification. Zukin (1989), Bridge (2001), and Ley (2003) have argued that cultural professionals are also critical agents in the gentrification processes. Place making enabled by cultural workers in cultural districts can facilitate physical and social upgrading processes (Scott, 2000; Soja, 2000). Studies have shown how cultural professionals (artists, musicians, dancers, and performers) create a place and artistic infused ambiance, which is attractive to the new middle-class and spurs new private investment (Ley, 2003; Smith, 1996; Zukin, 1989).

Analyzing empirical data from Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, Ley (2003) positions artists as first stage gentrifiers, the first to establish a presence in the inner-city, who are then followed by successive stages of middle-class gentrifiers. Ley argues that western society puts value on the cultural competencies of the artist and on artistic places, which appeal to middle-class professionals, “particularly those who are also higher in cultural capital than in economic capital and who share something of the artist’s antipathy towards commerce and convention” (Ley, 2003, p. 2540). The long post-war boom and the movement of the ‘baby boom’ group into higher education have enabled the development of the aesthetic disposition, and have resulted in a heightened valorization of cultural capital (Ley, 2003).

The outcome of this economic valorization is the influx of middle-class professionals, coupled with an increase in property values, which leads to the displacement of the artists to cheaper districts (Cole, 1987; Ley, 2003; Marcuse, 1986; Zukin, 1989). Researchers have recognized that the location of artists in inner-city neighborhoods is highly unstable temporally and spatially (Ley, 2003). Betancur (2002) analyzes similar processes in Wicker Park, Chicago,

where the area's transition from an 'alternative' to an acceptable neighborhood for the middle-class professionals was driven by the concentration of art galleries and artists.

Researchers have also pointed to the role of government in supporting the gentrification of cultural districts. Efforts to redevelop districts include building live-work or artists' lofts (Ley, 2003), changes in zoning regulations (Zukin, 1989), heavy public investment in infrastructure and beautification, arts and cultural festivals, and cultural programming funding (Betancur, 2002; Ley, 1996; Cameron & Coafee, 2005). As this dissertation will illustrate, the role of the public sector has been extensive in the development of Chicago's art and cultural districts.

2.2.3. Summary on Arts, Culture, Entertainment and Gentrification

Since the 1970s, the federal, state, and local governments have shown increasing public support for arts and the public consumption of culture and entertainment. The infrastructure of play includes facilities involved in the production of entertainment, leisure, and cultural-related activities, including sport stadiums, festival malls, museums, performing arts centers, and convention centers. Artists and cultural professionals have been shown to be critical agents in gentrification. Studies have shown how cultural professionals create a place and artistic-infused ambiance, which is attractive to the new middle-class and spurs capital reinvestment. Artists are seen as first stage gentrifiers, who are then followed by successive stages of middle-class gentrifiers, generally leading to the displacement of the artists to cheaper districts. The location of artists in inner-city neighborhoods is highly unstable, temporally and spatially.

2.3. The Profile of Chicago, IL

This section explores the history and transformation of the city of Chicago, the study area for this research, from an industrial to a service-based economy. It discusses the transformation

of the city's built environment and the state's role in facilitating this transformation. This section of the chapter also discusses why Chicago is the ideal case study in the exploration of gentrification. Chicago is the third largest city in the U.S.--after New York City and Los Angeles--and has experienced complex demographic, economic, social, and physical transformations over the last three decades. Chicago was founded in 1833, and by the late 19th century, the city became a center of trade and industrial production. The city was one of the fastest growing cities in the world, as the city population grew from 4,470 in 1840 to a peak of 3,620,962 in 1950. Currently, Chicago is home to 2,695,598 residents and has a density of 1,864.4 residents per square mile (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Table 2.1. Chicago Profile, 2000-2010 (U.S. Census, data compiled by author).

Chicago Profile	2000	2010
Population	2,896, 016	2,695,598
White Population	42.00%	45.00%
Black Population	36.80%	32.90%
Hispanic Population	26.00%	28.90%
Housing Units	1,152,868	1,194,337
Occupancy Status	92.10%	87.50%
Vacancy Rate	7.90%	12.50%

Throughout the 20th century, the evolution of Chicago parallels the development of other large, traditionally industrial American cities. The city experienced significant black migration and middle-class suburbanization. Since the 1960s, the city had been struggling with a declining tax base, disinvestment, aging and decaying neighborhoods, shrinking downtown business activity, and the restructuring of its manufacturing sector (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Bennett, 1989;

Demissie, 2006). The rapid growth in the early 20th century and the stagnation of the city that followed in the mid 20th century reflected, in part, the rise and the decline of the manufacturing sector (Abu-Lughod, 1999). Starting in the early 20th century and continuing after WWI, industrial expansion and the availability of jobs in the city attracted African Americans with an immense impact on the development of Chicago. More recently, the city has become the home of a growing Hispanic population while continuing to be home to diverse ethnic groups.

After becoming the second largest manufacturing center in the U.S. in the early 20th century (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Miller, 1996), the city started to lose manufacturing jobs amidst the restructuring of the manufacturing sector (Bennett, 1989; Demissie, 2006; Sassen, 2004). The shifting geography of manufacturing employment produced devastating effects on the low-skilled blacks and Hispanic workers (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Demissie, 2006; Giloth & Betancur, 1988). It transformed the working-class African American and Latino neighborhoods, which were already experiencing racial segregation and marginalization, into slums of concentrated poverty (Wilson, 1996). Latino and black families lost manufacturing jobs for lower-paid and lower quality jobs in the service sectors, making housing affordability a serious social problem in the Chicago metro area (Giloth & Betancur, 1988). The economic restructuring is manifested physically in the abandoned industrial warehouses and sites along the river and the Loop.

With the city's integration into the global economy, Chicago has become increasingly service-based (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Beaverstock et al., 1999; Nelson, 2006; Sassen, 2001, 2004). The economic trajectory of Chicago entails the remaking of Chicago as a major global business and financial center, a center of advanced producer services (e.g., accountancy, insurance, banking, finance, and law), a center of arts, entertainment, and upscale retailing, and an

important tourism destination. The growth in the headquarters of transnational corporations, advanced producer services, and information industries has increased the number of high-skilled, high-paid jobs in the city.

Into the 21st century, paralleling the rise of the city's service-based economy--and amid the ongoing suburbanization of metropolitan Chicago--an increasing number of the Chicago's neighborhoods have experienced redevelopment. This profound transformation of Chicago's economy has manifested in the physical transformation of its downtown, as housing, office, and cultural redevelopment projects were focused on revitalizing the declining Loop and adjacent areas (Demissie, 2006). This physical and 'social' upgrading was evident through several reinvestment processes, such as urban renewal, locally-driven land clearance, new construction, loft conversions, renovations, and private sector block-busting (Betancur, 2002; Demissie, 2006; Teaford, 1990; Wilson, 2004). Many of these upgrading processes have brought along significant negative effects, including the direct or indirect displacement of the existing, often poorer residents (Betancur, 2002; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004).

The city has been actively engaged in the redevelopment of the downtown and of several targeted neighborhoods through a series of different development initiatives, including investment in public infrastructure, the development of strategic plans, and public housing reform (Demissie, 2006; Bennett, 1989; Bennet and Sirou, 2006; Ferman and Grimshaw, 1992; Hirsch, 1998; Pelissero, Henschen, & Sidlow, 1992; Teaford, 1990; Wyly & Hammel, 1990, 2000; Weber et al., 2006). The rebuilding of Chicago has focused disproportionately on the central area and a few neighborhoods (Demissie 2006; Bennet 2006). Redevelopment plans, such as the 'Development Plan for the Central Area of Chicago' of 1958, 'Chicago 21: A Plan for Central Area Communities' of 1973, and later revisions of the plan, were designed to diversify

Chicago's core functions from a transportation hub, the government seat, and a business center to a cultural and entertainment center (Demissie, 2006). The revitalization of the city's central area (which includes the downtown and the surrounding neighborhoods) entailed support for high-density office, retail, and residential developments, cultural and entertainment venues, alongside physical beautification projects (Bennet, 2006).

The federal urban renewal program in Chicago took place during the 1950s and 1960s and involved extensive land clearance of slums and blighted areas, which was then followed by the physical and social upgrading of the cleared land. The role of the city was central because of the power of eminent domain to acquire the land; however, decisions over the location and the new land uses were influenced by business interests and racial and class segregation. Redevelopment involved the construction of massive highways and public housing projects, upscale residential housing, and public and commercial buildings (Hirsch, 1998; Lane, 1995; Wyly & Hammel 2000).

Since 1990, facing mounting poverty, unemployment, rising crime rates, and considerable physical deterioration, Chicago's public housing stock has been undergoing significant redevelopment (Wyly & Hammel, 1999; Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), n.d.). The selection of public housing projects to be torn down has been affected by patterns of investment and reinvestment in the city (Wyly & Hammel, 1999). Thus, public housing located near gentrifying neighborhoods or in areas of vibrant growth (e.g.; University of Illinois at Chicago), are being torn down and replaced with mixed-income communities.

The city has encouraged redevelopment through demolitions and small-scale land clearance activities have intensified considerably in Chicago (Weber et al., 2006). Tax Increment Financing has emerged as the city's main economic development tool, with more than 130 TIF

districts being in place in Chicago (City of Chicago, n.d.). TIF districts encourage redevelopment in specific neighborhoods facilitated by improved public infrastructure and tax breaks to attract businesses.

Zoning regulations have also been important tools for controlling growth, development and redevelopment in Chicago. Aldermen have the power to up-zone properties for higher density redevelopment projects, which allows them to select the type of development that can proceed on the site (Joravsky, 2007). The resulting effect is spot zoning (Joravsky, 2003a), which results in developers building residential units in certain neighborhoods in a spotted pattern and at a higher density.

These redevelopment tools and processes have been critical in facilitating the capital reinvestment and ‘social upgrading’ within targeted neighborhoods in the city of Chicago. They have also been viewed as an essentially by-product and complement to the rise of the service economy, including tourism. This is perhaps most effectively illustrated in the growing use of arts, culture and entertainment in local economic development and as a driver of gentrification.

2.4. Concluding Commentary

Within the gentrification literature, many factors and theories were advanced to explain this phenomenon. In general, these explanatory theories can be grouped into two broad sets that delineate two approaches to examining gentrification: supply side (centered in a production theory) and demand-side (based on a consumption theory) explanations of physical and ‘social upgrading’. The classical gentrification is understood as the rehabilitation of central city dilapidated working-class housing by middle-class affluent gentrifiers and the consequent displacement of the poorer working-class residents from the neighborhood. More recently,

research has revealed the diversity of gentrification with considerable differences in the nature of capital reinvestment, the actors involved, and displacement. Examples of the internal variation of gentrification include arts driven gentrification, supergentrification, state-led gentrification, studentification, gayification, tourism gentrification, and the spatial variability of gentrification even in the same city. The two conditions that define gentrification, despite the many different possible outcomes, are the capital reinvestment, which results in physical changes in the urban landscape (the physical upgrading), and the displacement of the traditional population of the neighborhood (the social upgrading).

The chapter also presents a review of the infrastructure of play and examined the role of artists and cultural professionals in gentrification. Since the 1970s, the federal, state, and local governments have shown increasing public support for arts and the public consumption of culture and entertainment through the financing of cultural activities and landmark physical facilities. The infrastructure of play includes facilities involved in the production of entertainment, leisure, and cultural-related activities. Recent research has begun exploring the relationship between the arts and economic development with a particular focus on the role of artists in the regional economy.

Artists and cultural professionals have been shown to be critical agents in gentrification. Studies have shown how cultural professionals (artists, musicians, dancers, and performers) create a place and artistic-infused ambiance, which is attractive to the new middle-class and spurs capital reinvestment. Artists are seen as first stage gentrifiers, who are then followed by successive stages of gentrifiers, as the artists themselves are displaced to cheaper districts. The location of artists in inner-city neighborhoods is highly unstable temporally and spatially.

The chapter also presents an overview of the city of Chicago's transformation from a manufacturing to a service-based economy. The city experienced significant black and Hispanic migration, middle-class suburbanization, the decline of its manufacturing sector and the integration into the global economy. Chicago became a major global business and financial center, a center of advanced producer services, a center of arts, entertainment, and upscale retailing, and an important tourism destination. The city has been actively engaged in the redevelopment of the downtown and of several targeted neighborhoods through a series of different development initiatives. The following chapter will discuss the statement of problem, the goal, objective, and hypothesis of this research, as well as describe the methodology used to explore the stated hypothesis.

Chapter 3. Research Problem, Data, and Quantitative Analysis

3.1. Statement of Problem and Research

This chapter starts with the statement of problem, followed by the study's research question, objective, hypothesis and methods of analysis. Quantitative and qualitative analyses are used in this research to explore the diversity of gentrification in cultural districts in Chicago between 1970 and 2000. The chapter introduces and reviews the infrastructure of play data collected and used in this dissertation. It then provides an overview of the socioeconomic and housing census data used to explore gentrification in Chicago. The chapter ends with a discussion of the results of the Principal Component and K-means clustering analyses, which are used as the basis for the selection of the three case studies for the qualitative analysis.

While theoretical approaches have conceptualized social and physical upgrading as being driven by either the cultural preferences of the gentrifiers or by the economic rationales of private sector developers, the literature has been generally silent until recently on the role of the public sector in affecting both investment decisions driving physical upgrading and the consumption patterns of gentrifiers themselves. Moreover, little has been said on the diversity of gentrification processes even in the same city, the result of combinations of various actors and redevelopment tools (Beauregard, 1986, 1990; Clark, 2005; Rose, 1985; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008; Podagrosi et al., 2011).

The research on the infrastructure of play has focused on exploring the development processes, the tourism and entertainment industry, the economic impact of convention centers and stadiums (Judd, 2003, Perry, 2003; Petersen, 2001; Sanders, 2002; Vojnovic, 2006), cultural flagships developments (Grodach, 2010), and the creation of tourist bubbles and middle-class

spaces in the central city (Judd & Fainstein, 1999). While research has highlighted the growing and extensive role of government in the development of the infrastructure of play, studies have not analyzed thoroughly the spatial patterns and the impact of the public investment in the infrastructure of play on cultural and arts activities and cultural districts, and on redevelopment processes and associated displacement. Little is known about how public investment in the infrastructure of play shapes gentrification processes in the inner-city.

In a few seminal works (Ley, 2003; Zukin, 1989), researchers have explored artists-driven gentrification. However, the research on the diversity and internal variation of arts and cultural districts established since 1960s, and especially the nodes of public investment in the infrastructure of play, is absent. Several studies (Ley, 1996; Scott, 2000) have highlighted the complexity of the artist class and how the cultural professional group has been diversifying in the late 20th century with the rise of the service economy. Little has been said about how this diverse group has been affecting the built environment. In particular, the literature has not explored the nuances of gentrification taking place in different cultural districts affected by the infrastructure of play investment and what cultural activities and professionals are best associated with social and physical upgrading.

With regard to gentrification in Chicago, while there are several in-depth neighborhood studies (Betancur, 2002; Wyly & Hammel, 2000), and market-based studies focused on upgrading processes of the 1990s decade (Immergluck & Smith, 2001), there is no overall analysis of the spatial patterns and variability of gentrification in the whole city of Chicago, and covering the extensive temporal period analyzed here. Previous studies have not analyzed in detail and broadly all factors driving gentrification in Chicago, including the various government actions in driving development, especially the extensive public investment in the infrastructure

of play. This analysis into the diversity of upgrading processes throughout Chicago will involve a much more comprehensive approach to the study of gentrification. A stronger focus on the role of government and cultural districts will enhance our understanding of the gentrification processes in Chicago.

The research will focus on the diversity of gentrification, cultural districts, and government support for the infrastructure of play, analyzed in the context of Chicago, IL between 1970 and 2000. The proposed dissertation fits into the broader literature on gentrification, the infrastructure of play, arts and culture, and urban redevelopment. The research intends to examine the interplay between gentrification processes and the public investment in the infrastructures of play, with a particular focus on the diversity of gentrification, gentrifying cultural districts, class struggle, and the role of the artist class in gentrification. The proposed methodology will follow the quantitative and qualitative analyses exploring the diversity of gentrification within a whole city as proposed by Podagrosi et al., (2011).

3.2. Research Questions, Objectives, Hypotheses, and Research Methods

Drawing on the literature of Rose (1985), Beauregard (1986, 1990), and Clark (2005), and especially the technique advanced recently by Podagrosi et al., (2011), the study pursues a broader analysis of social and physical upgrading in Chicago by exploring the diversity of gentrification in Chicago's cultural districts. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses are used in this research. The research question, research objective, hypothesis, and methods of analysis are introduced below.

The research topic focuses on analyzing the diversity of gentrification in the cultural and arts districts of Chicago that have received public investment in the infrastructure of play. The

research question posed in the study asks whether there is a diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago; the districts that are the nodes of public funding for the infrastructure of play investments? The research objective is to examine the temporal and spatial patterns of different processes of gentrification in the cultural districts of Chicago between 1970 and 2000.

3.2.1. Hypothesis: There is diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago; with the focus being the districts that are the major nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments between 1970 and 2000. During these three decades, cultural and arts districts—and their residents—are affecting gentrification in different parts of the city of Chicago in different ways. The study reveals a significant diversity in one occupational class, with a diversity in physical and social upgrading processes driven by different agents within the cultural community, involving different reinvestment processes, and leading to the displacement of a range of different income groups and social classes.

3.2.2. Methods of Analysis: Principal Component Analysis was performed on the demographic, socioeconomic, and housing variables. This was followed by the K-means clustering analysis on the factor scores which grouped census tracts in Chicago which experienced similar degrees of gentrification. Based on the results of the clustering process, three case studies were selected from a grouping of tracts showing upgrading. A particular interest was placed on neighborhoods experiencing similar degrees of change as Wicker Park. The Wicker Park neighborhood has been recognized as an area experiencing gentrification, and as this research will show it has been facilitated by the growth of an artist community and the public investment in the infrastructure of play. These neighborhoods were selected in order to effectively illustrate the diversity of gentrification within the arts and cultural community. On

ground site surveys, a review of census tracts, and the results from the spatial pattern of public investment in the infrastructure of play were used to determine the neighborhoods for the more detailed qualitative analysis. The analysis focused on districts that are the nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments between the years 1970 and 1999. It was expected that these case studies would reveal similar degrees of gentrification but diverse and unique social compositions, physical characteristics, and a general variation in redevelopment processes and the actors involved.

For these three neighborhoods, in addition to a quantitative analysis of the socioeconomic and physical upgrading, a detailed qualitative analysis that focused on upgrading processes and the different types of gentrifiers and displaced populations was undertaken. The qualitative analysis focused on the interplay between the artists, public investment in the infrastructure of play, redevelopment processes, and the role of government in the transformation of these neighborhoods. In each case study, I explored the various mechanisms of redevelopment in driving upgrading. Qualitative analysis was used to explore the history of development of the neighborhoods in order to illustrate the diversity of gentrification processes. The case studies identified existing space and class struggles, and the opposition and resistance to capital reinvestment. This research focused on the cultural aspects of the neighborhoods (e.g., cultural activities, the composition of the cultural districts) and the role of artists in transforming the city. The analysis, therefore, focused on the interplay between cultural professionals, cultural districts, and redevelopment processes identifying the role of artists as facilitators of gentrification and/or victims displaced from the gentrifying neighborhoods.

The qualitative analysis employed observations in the field, government and archive reports, newspaper articles, academic articles, books, and dissertations, all documenting the

social and physical transformation of Chicago. Historical and contextual information was used in this analysis because quantitative data do not fully reveal the nature of redevelopment and reinvestment processes taking place. For instance, the Census Bureau has no variable showing capital reinvestment or the agents driving redevelopment. Field surveying involved the author's assessment of the extent of capital investment in the neighborhood and the degree of upkeep of residential properties in the neighborhood (e.g., amount of newly built housing units, of renovated and well-kept residential properties). This involved walking or driving through the neighborhoods with the purpose of examining whether capital reinvestment—such as refurbishment or new builds—were evident within the neighborhoods. In addition, the variety of architectural styles, especially the contrast between new and old buildings, was identified in the three neighborhoods. This qualitative analysis involved a more detailed assessment into capital reinvestment patterns, the timing of investment, the nature of the government intervention, the agents initiating the gentrification process, and displaced sub-populations.

3.3. Quantitative Analysis and Research Data

In order to explore the diversity of gentrification in the cultural districts that received public investment in the infrastructure of play, and explore the research hypothesis stated above, quantitative and qualitative analyses were employed in this study. Two types of quantitative data were used. First, the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, compiled for the 1970-1999 period—and discussed in detail in the next section of this chapter—enables the identification of cultural districts that are the cultural recipients of public financial support in Chicago. The second data set is the socioeconomic and housing census data compiled for the 1970 through 2000 decennial censuses. This data set enables the exploration of social and

physical upgrading in Chicago and it will be discussed in detail following the review of the infrastructure of play data.

3.3.1. Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play

The spatial patterns of the public investment in the infrastructure of play and the selection of the three case studies was accomplished using the public investment in the infrastructure of play data set which includes information on public grants allocated for cultural and entertainment activities in Chicago. The database includes three types of variables: frequency of grants, total dollar amount of grants, and frequency of recipients, each aggregated at the census tract level and at the community area by decade and over the 1970-1999 period.

The database used in this dissertation is compiled by the author and includes information on the public investment awarded for Chicago's infrastructure of play, with the name of the grantee, the amount of public investment by year, and source of funding. The following funding sources for Chicago's arts and cultural organizations were included in the public investment database. At the local level, the database includes grants provided by the City of Chicago Cultural Affairs Department, Tax Increment Financing (TIF) funds allocated by the City of Chicago TIF Districts, and annual appropriations through the Chicago Park District. Cultural grants from the Illinois Arts Council are included at the state level. Four federal agencies have also provided support, through grants for arts and culture and are included in the database. They include the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for Humanities, the Institute for Museum and Library Services, and the National Science Foundation.

Because in many cases the office location is different than the cultural venue where the grantee performs the artistic activity, both addresses were collected and recorded. Funding data were obtained from public records issued by all of the above organizations. Between 1970 and

1999, more than 1,000 art and cultural organizations received grants from these government entities. Monetary values of the grants awarded between 1970 and 1999 were adjusted for inflation, using the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics consumer price index, with all monetary values standardized to 1999 values (Appendix A). This dataset was not broken down by source of funding because of the large variability in the number of recipients and specific statutory funding priorities of the granting agencies.

The data were aggregated at the census tract level by decade (1970-1979, 1980-1989, and 1990-1999) and total over the 1970-1999 period, and based on both the administrative and the performance locations of the grant recipients. The public investment in the infrastructure of play data were also aggregated by a total of 77 community areas in Chicago for the 1970-1999 period. This aggregation allowed for the identification of the main neighborhoods in Chicago receiving public investment in the infrastructure of play, the results of which facilitated the selection of the three case studies. The public investment in the infrastructure of play was explored by the identification of the top ranking census tracts and community areas receiving public funding for the infrastructure of play. The upper quintile and the top recipient census tracts and Chicago community areas were identified. The next chapter includes the results of this investigation. This approach enabled the identification of the hot spots and secondary clusters of the public investment into the infrastructure of play in Chicago between 1970 and 1999, and facilitated the selection of the three case studies for the more textured qualitative analysis.

The public investment in the infrastructure of play database is unique. There is no other comprehensive and publicly available source of information with regard to the public support for arts and culture, or a database that covers multiple decades, in Chicago or in the U.S. The dataset does have a few limitations, including possible human error (typos) and a focus on just one city.

It is not absolutely complete because of the difficulty to locate all grantees and granting agencies, and therefore it is biased toward the largest and medium-sized cultural organizations. Organizations more established that perform in easily identifiable or permanent locations are better represented in this database. For small-size non-profits, particularly theater, music, and dance groups, it is sometimes challenging to identify their performance or office location. Because of these dataset limitations, data were not broken down by cultural activity. Another possible bias lies in the fact that established non-profit organizations with larger budgets are consistently more competitive in receiving local, state, and federal grants.

3.3.2. Gentrification Data

The diversity of gentrification taking place in Chicago was explored using population, socioeconomic, and housing decennial census variables at the census tract level for 1970 through 2000. These variables were collected by the U.S. Census Bureau through the decennial censuses and obtained from the National Historical Geographic Information System (NHGIS) (Minnesota Population Center, 2004).

Following the gentrification literature (Atkinson, 2000; Bourne, 1993; Hammel & Wyly, 1996; Heidkamp & Lucas, 2006; Ley, 1986, 1992; Podagrosi & Vojnovic, 2008) and especially Podagrosi et al. (2011), the proposed study used 41 change variables, instead of baseline variables, in order to explore the diversity of gentrification. Change variables allow for different types of upgrading to be captured by the analysis and enable the identification of tracts that are experiencing similar degrees of upgrading regardless of original socioeconomic or ethnic composition. The study used ‘percentage change’ and ‘change in the percentage of’ values for four time intervals: the decades of 1970-1980, 1980-1990, and 1990-2000, and overall, 1970-2000. In Chicago, gentrification began to manifest visibly during the 1970s, and the public

investment in the infrastructure of play has intensified since the 1970s. The analysis of these 4 time intervals allowed the identification of the spatial and temporal evolution of socioeconomic and housing transformations that have taken place throughout Chicago.

The Principal Component Analysis used the 1970-2000 change variables, while the change variables for the intermediate decades (1970-1980, 1980-1990, and 1990-2000) were used to explore the diversity of gentrification in the three qualitative case studies. Table 3.1 below includes the list of gentrification variables used in this study's analyses and the relevant references that employed these census variables in research on gentrification. These variables are explained in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

Table 3.1. List of Study Variables on Gentrification

Variables	Change 1970-1980	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-2000	Change 1970-2000
Population Variables				
% change in total population of the census tract (1) (2) (3) (6) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12)	70_80_Pop	80_90_Pop	90_00_Pop	70_00_Pop
% change in white population (1) (4) (5) (9) (10)	70_80_WP op	80_90_WP op	90_00_W Pop	70_00_WP op
Change in the % of census tract that is white (1)	70_80_pW Pop	80_90_pW Pop	90_00_p WPop	70_00_pW Pop
% change in black population (1) (4) (5) (8) (9) (10)	70_80_BPo p	80_90_BPo p	90_00_BP op	70_00_BPo p
Change in the % of census tract that is black (1)	70_80_pBP op	80_90_pBP op	90_00_pB Pop	70_00_pBP op
% change in Hispanic population (1) (4) (8)	70_80_HP op	80_90_HP op	90_00_HP op	70_00_HP op
Change in the % of census tract that is Hispanic (1)	70_80_pH Pop	80_90_pH Pop	90_00_pH Pop	70_00_pH Pop
% change in total population age 25 and older (1) (10) (7) (13)	70_80_25y r	80_90_25y r	90_00_25 yr	70_00_25y r

Table 3.1. (cont'd)

Socioeconomic Variables	Change 1970-1980	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-2000	Change 1970-2000
% change in the total number of high school graduates (1) (2) (6) (10) (7) (11)	70_80_HS Grd	80_90_HS Grd	90_00_HS Grd	70_00_HS Grd
Change in the % of census tract that are high school graduates (1)	70_80_pH SGrd	80_90_pH SGrd	90_00_pH SGrd	70_00_pH SGrd
% change in total number of college graduates (1) (2) (5) (6) (7) (10) (11)	70_80_Co Grd	80_90_Co Grd	90_00_Co Grd	70_00_Co Grd
Change in the % of census tracts that are college graduates (1) (2) (6)	70_80_pCo Grd	80_90_pCo Grd	90_00_pC oGrd	70_00_pCo Grd
% change in total number of families below poverty level (1) (5) (8) (9)	70_80_Pov	80_90_Pov	90_00_Po v	70_00_Pov
Change in the % of families below the poverty level (1) (2)	70_80_pPo v	80_90_pPo v	90_00_pP ov	70_00_pPo v
% change in the total number of female-headed households (1)	70_80_FeH ld	80_90_FeH ld	90_00_Fe Hld	70_00_FeH ld
Change in the % of households that are female-headed (1)	70_80_pFe Hld	80_90_pFe Hld	90_00_pF eHld	70_00_pFe Hld
% change of total number of households receiving with public assistance income PAI (1)	70_80_PIA	80_90_PIA	90_00_P A	70_00_PIA
Change in the % of households receiving PAI (1)	70_80_pP A	80_90_pP A	90_00_pP IA	70_00_pP A
% change in total number of employed civilian population 16 years and over (1) (6) (7) (10) (14) (15)	70_80_Em p	80_90_Em p	90_00_E mp	70_00_Em p
% change in total number of employees whose occupation is considered a professional activity (1) (5) (6) (10)	70_80_Prof	80_90_Prof	90_00_Pr of	70_00_Prof
Change in the % of professionals (1) (6) (7)	70_80_pPr of	80_90_pPr of	90_00_pP rof	70_00_pPr of
% change in total number of employees in manufacturing	70_80_Ma nuf	80_90_Ma nuf	90_00_Ma nuf	70_00_Ma nuf

Table 3.1. (cont'd)

Variables	Change 1970-1980	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-2000	Change 1970-2000
% change in median household income (adjusted for inflation) (1) (2) (3) (6) (9) (10) (12) (13) (16)	70_80_MdInc	80_90_MdInc	90_00_MdInc	70_00_MdInc
% change in per capita income (adjusted for inflation) (1) (2) (3) (10) (12)(13) (16)	70_80_PCInc	80_90_PCInc	90_00_PCInc	70_00_PCInc
% change in median gross rent (specified units) (adjusted for inflation) (1) (3) (6) (9) (10) (11) (13)	70_80_Rent	80_90_Rent	90_00_Rent	70_00_Rent
% change in median value of owner-occ. units (adjusted for inflation) (10) (1) (3) (4) (6) (11) (12) (13)	70_80_Value	80_90_Value	90_00_Value	70_00_Value
Housing Variables				
% change in total number of families (1) (10)	70_80_Fam	80_90_Fam	90_00_Fam	70_00_Fam
% change in total number of households (1) (10) (13)	70_80_Hlds	80_90_Hlds	90_00_Hlds	70_00_Hlds
% change in total number of housing units (1) (6) (8) (10) (12) (13)	70_80_Uni	80_90_Uni	90_00_Uni	70_00_Uni
% change in total number of occupied housing units (1)	70_80_OUni	80_90_OUni	90_00_OUni	70_00_OUni
% change in total number of vacant housing units (1) (8) (9) (10)	70_80_VacUni	80_90_VacUni	90_00_VacUni	70_00_VacUni
Change in % of vacant housing units	70_80_pVacUni	80_90_pVacUni	90_00_pVacUni	70_00_pVacUni
% change in total number of Owner-occ. units (1) (2) (4) (5) (9) (10) (12) (13)	70_80_OOUni	80_90_OOUni	90_00_OOUni	70_00_OOUni
Change in % of owner-occ. units	70_80_pOOUni	80_90_pOOUni	90_00_pOOUni	70_00_pOOUni
% change in total number of renter-occ. units (1) (3) (4) (9) (10) (12) (13)	70_80_ROUni	80_90_ROUni	90_00_ROUni	70_00_ROUni
Change in % of renter-occ. units	70_80_pROUni	80_90_pROUni	90_00_pROUni	70_00_pROUni
% change in total number of units lacking plumbing (1)	70_80_Plmb	80_90_Plmb	90_00_Plmb	70_00_Plmb

Table 3.1. (cont'd)

Variables	Change 1970-1980	Change 1980-1990	Change 1990-2000	Change 1970-2000
Change in the % of units lacking plumbing facilities	70_80_pPlmb	80_90_pPlmb	90_00_pPlmb	70_00_pPlmb
% of total number of units that were built in the last 10 years	70_80_pUblt10y	80_90_pUblt10y	90_00_pUblt10y	70_00_pUblt10y
% change in the number of housing units sharing or lacking complete kitchen facilities	70_80_NoKitchen	80_90_NoKitchen	90_00_NoKitchen	70_00_NoKitchen
Change in the % of total housing units with shared kitchen facilities or lacking	70_80_pNoKitchen	80_90_pNoKitchen	90_00_pNoKitchen	70_00_pNoKitchen
% change in the # housing units still remain in 2000, built before 1970 (1) (10)	NA	NA	00_HU90_00	HU70_00
% change in the # owner occ. housing units where owner moved in 1970 and remained in the same house in 2000 (1) (10)	NA	NA	00_OOHU90_00	OOHU70_00

(1) Podagrosi, Vojnovic, and Pigozzi (2011); (2) Heidkamp and Lucas (2006); (3) Ley (1986); (4) Gladstone and Preau (2010); (5) Wyly and Hammel (1999); (6) Wyly and Hammel (1998); (7) Atkinson (2000a); (8) Wyly and Hammel (2005); (9) Gotham (2005); (10) Podagrosi and Vojnovic (2008); (11) Hammel and Wyly (1996); (12) Schuler, Kent, and Monroe (1992); (13) Ley (1992); (14) Ley, Tutchener, and Cunningham (2002); (15) Danyluk and Ley (2007); (16) Bourne (1993a).

3.3.3. Study Census Tracts and Boundary Standardization

For this analysis, 849 census tracts located in the city of Chicago were included in this study. According to the 2000 census tract map, the city is overlaid over 876 census tracts with most of the census tracts (858) fully contained within the city boundary. The ArcGIS analysis of the location of the census tracts that are not fully contained in the city reveals that 6 census tracts have more than 95% of their area within the city limits. These tracts have been included in the

study. As certain census tracts consistently had no values for all variables for all decades--because they included solely industrial, commercial, parkland, or airport land uses--these census tracts were also excluded from the analysis. This brought the total number of census tracts for analysis to 849. For example, a census tract that was excluded from the dataset is ct#2314. It was excluded because it is a heavily industrial area for which the U.S. Census Bureau did not report any value for any census variables between 1970 and 2000. The current uses are presented in the GIS and Google aerial photos below (figures 3.1 and 3.2). Appendix B includes a list of the study census tracts and the excluded census tracts. Appendix C includes a map of the study census tracts.

Figure 3.1. ArcGIS image of census tract #2314.

N. Pulaski Rd

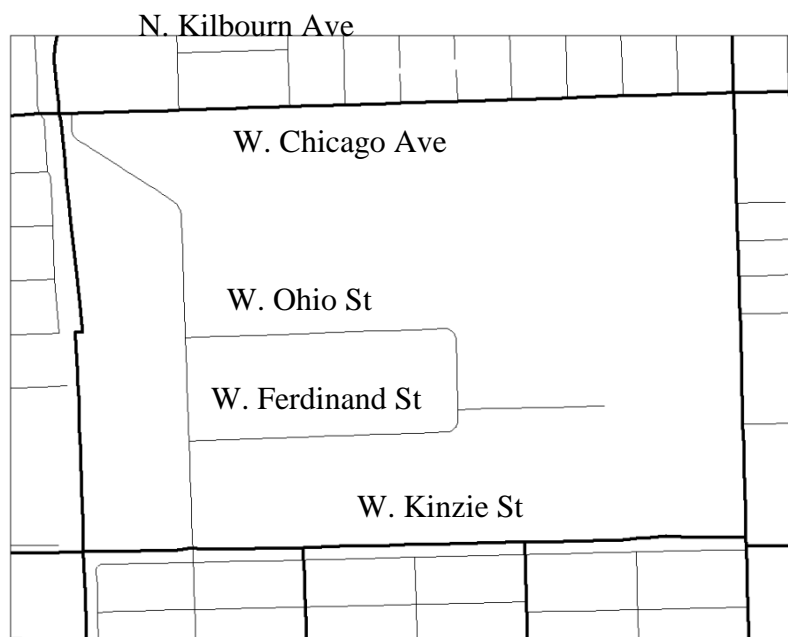


Figure 3.2. Google aerial photo of census tract #2314.

For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.



In general, the U.S. Census Bureau makes boundary changes between decades due to changes in the population, and/or other reasons, in the respective units. In order to have a temporal sequence of comparable census tracts that allow for an accurate identification of patterns in the census data, I standardized the census tracts for 1970, 1980, and 1990 to 2000, which is the base level of analysis. Figure 3.3 shows the overlay of the census tract maps with different colors for each of the four study decades in order to identify boundary differences. This overlay map indicates that there are, in fact, only a few boundary changes over the decades. These boundary changes are predominantly revisions, defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as census tracts that include a portion of an adjacent census tract. The analysis of Chicago's census tracts, using aerial imagery (Google Maps) and historical information, indicated that many revisions cover industrial, commercial, or park land with few revisions of residential areas. Figure 3.4 includes a close-up of downtown census tracts showing the scale and nature of boundary revisions between 1990 and 2000.

Figure 3.3. Overlay of Chicago Census Tracts, 1970 – 2000.

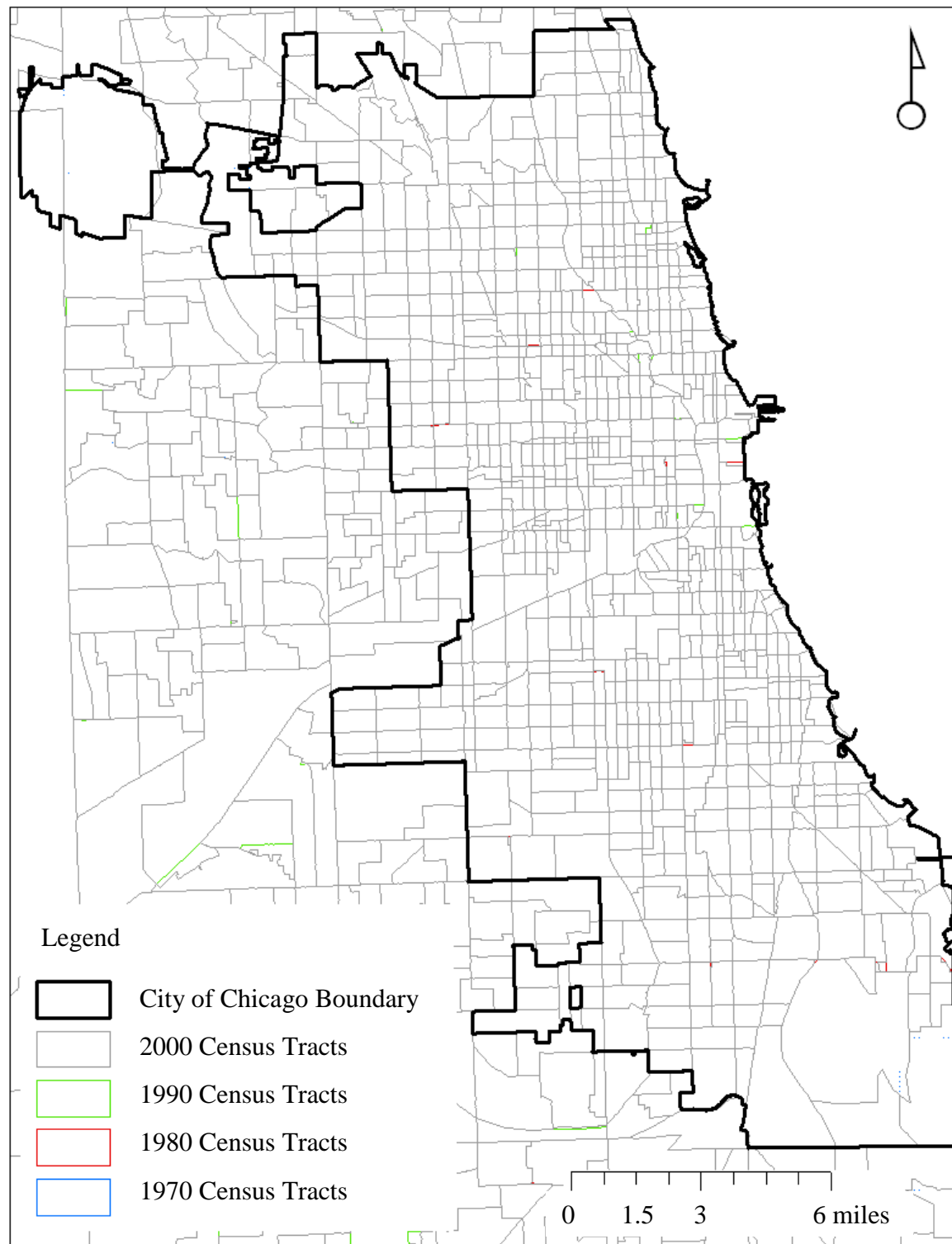
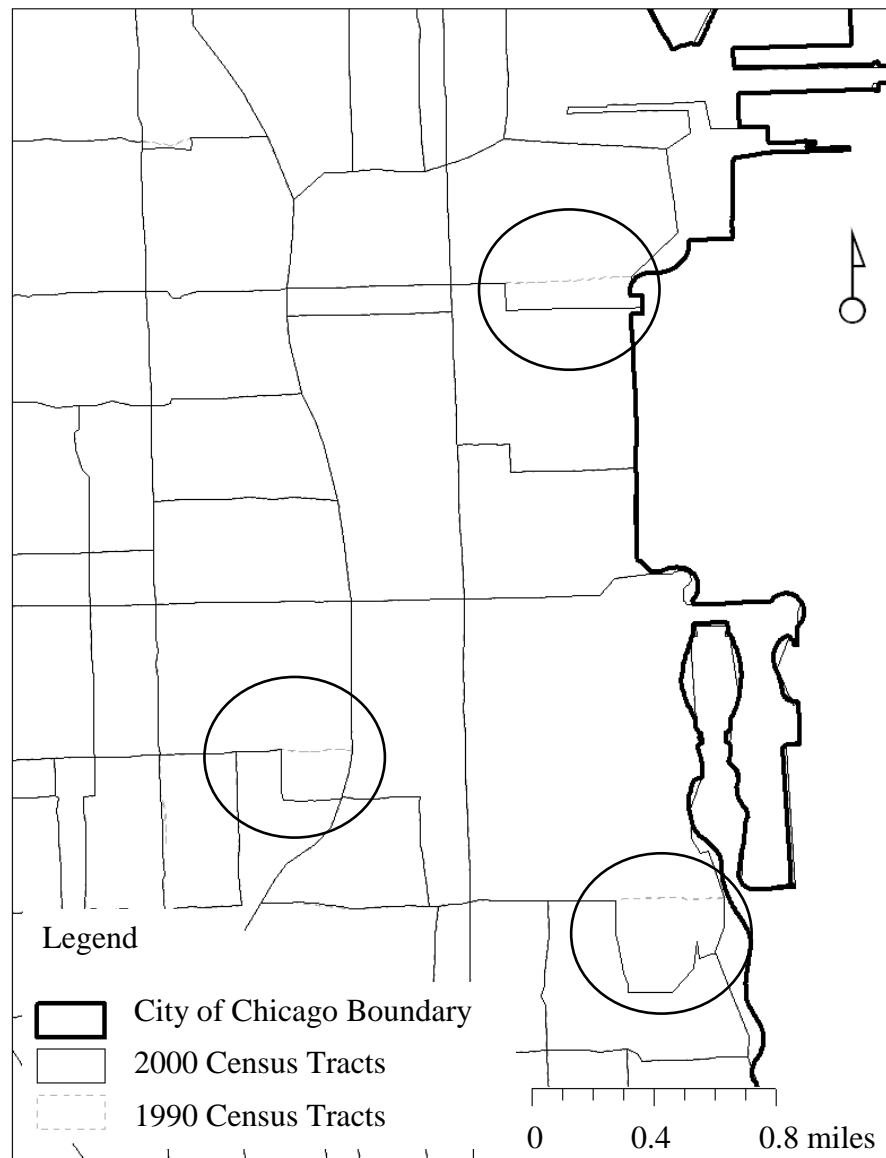


Figure 3.4. Close up example of revisions of census boundary changes, 1990-2000.



In order to make census tracts correspond geographically in each decade of analysis and in order to allow them to be compared over the decades, these census tracts and their data were normalized. The study used the U.S. Census Bureau Comparability files issued for the 1980-1990 and for the 1990-2000 decades and the areal weighting interpolation method for the 1970-1980 decade. A simplistic approach to dealing with the boundary changes problem is to aggregate the data into larger scale units of data which are consistent over time (Gregory & Ell,

2005). Several other methods were suggested that address the issue of boundary changes, however not all are appropriate for this study and might result in the loss of statistical information and the modifiable area unit problem (Gregory & Ell, 2005; Openshaw & Taylor, 1979).

For the 1990-2000 decade, I used the Census Tract Relationship Files for 1990-2000 that were issued by the U.S. Census Bureau. The Census Tract Relationship File provides a measurement of change based on population and addresses effectively the revisions of residential land uses relevant in this study. The census data were normalized accordingly based on the relationship files. For this study, in order to standardize the census tracts for comparison and analysis, I used the Population-based Census Tract Relationship File downloaded for the entire state of Illinois. An example of the information provided in these files is provided below in table 3.2 for census tracts #604, #605, and #606, city of Chicago, Cook County. These figures indicate that ct#604 was not revised from 1990 to 2000, while 2000 ct#605 includes a portion of 1990 ct#606. To normalize the 1990 data to 2000 boundaries, one would take 100% of 1990 ct#605 population value and add 4.7% of 1990 ct#606 population value. To normalize ct#606 to 2000, one would take 95.3% of its 1990 population value.

Table 3.2. Example of Population-based Census Tract Relationship Files, 1990 – 2000.

1990 Census Tract ID	2000 Population in 1990 CT	% of 1990 CT pop	CT ID and Part flag	2000 Pop in 2000 CT	% of 2000 CT pop	2000 Pop in area selected	Area
17031060400	3,191	100.0	17031060400	3,191	100.0	3,191	326
17031060500	1,194	100.0	17031060500P	1,235	96.7	1,194	208
17031060600P	871	4.7	17031060500P	1,235	3.3	41	45
17031060600P	871	95.3	17031060600	830	100.0	830	65

With regard to the 1980-1990 decade, the U.S. Census Bureau's 1980-1990 Comparability Files show the relationship, but it did not include the percent change in population over the decade. Thus, in order to normalize the census tracts for the 1980-1990 period, I used the relationship file provided by the Missouri Census Center (Blodgett, J. and Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) at Columbia University, 1996), which provides a list of all the census tracts whose boundary changed between 1980 and 1990. The file includes an allocation factor column that contains the percent of the 1980 census tract population that is in the 1990 census tract.

For the 1970–1980 decade, the U.S. Census Bureau 1980-pre-1970 comparability files do not contain percentage of change over the decade, just the relationship files. The comparability file did not identify any census tracts in the city as problems, with a few exceptions for census tracts around the O'Hare airport, a mainly commercial area. Due to the lack of relationship files available for the 1970-1980 decade, the technique used to standardize census tracts between 1970 and 1980 in this study is the areal weighting interpolation method. The area-weighting interpolation method is a widely used method that estimates the attribute of one areal unit system based on that of another, spatially incongruent system in which the attribute data were collected (Markoff & Shapiro, 1973; Qiu, Zhang, & Zhiu, 2012). The former areal unit system is named target units, and the latter spatial units are the source units. The area of intersection of census tracts in different decades or the size of the overlapping areas between a target zone and a source zone is used as a weight to estimate the population for the target zones (Qiu et al., 2012). This simple and straightforward method relies on the assumption that the population is evenly and homogeneously distributed in each source unit, which is not always true in reality (Qiu et al., 2012; Goodchild, Anselin, & Deichmann, 1993). While more complex techniques were

developed (Goodchild et al., 1993), it was found that a more complex method does not necessary lead to more accurate results (Gregory, 2002).

For this study, I calculated in excel the areal differences of each census tract using the area values included with the shapefiles provided by NHGIS, and the percent area change over the decade. For the census tracts whose size changed over the decade, an analysis of the land uses in Google Maps aerial maps was conducted to identify the nature of land uses in the revised census tracts, due to the assumption of homogenous variables as the basis of the interpolation method. Census tracts whose change involved non-residential land uses were not normalized.

Based on these rules, several census tracts were normalized to 2000, the base map. Between 1990 and 2000, there were six revisions of census tract boundaries with a total of 11 census tracts affected. Changes ranged from a 0.007 to a 0.13 normalization factor. Between 1980 and 1990, there were seven revisions of census tract boundaries with 12 census tracts affected. Changes ranged from 0.008 to 0.152. Between 1970 and 1980, there were 3 revisions with six census tracts affected and changes ranging from a 0.037 to a 0.1815 change factor. Appendix D includes the standardization rules used in the normalization of the census tracts.

3.3.4. Data Processing: Census Variables

The study census data were normalized following the standardization rules obtained through the process described above. The % values from the census tract relationship files were only applied to census variables that involved counts and averages. Median values (median household income, median gross rent, median housing values) were not standardized. In order to normalize the 1980 data to 2000 census tracts, the 1980 census variables were multiplied with the percent value for 1980-1990 and again with the percent value for 1990-2000. In order to normalize the 1970 data to 2000 census tracts, the 1970 census variables were multiplied with

the percent value for 1970-1980, and again with the percent value for 1980-1990 and so on, if necessary. It has to be noted that the normalization of these census tracts through this technique, while necessary, introduced some degree of error in the dataset and that the research data are an estimate derived from the original census counts using this particular method.

Next, the 'change in the percentage of ' and 'percentage change' between values for two years were calculated. The 'change in the percentage of' was calculated as the difference of the former year percentage from the later year percentage. The 'percentage change' was calculated as the difference of former year value from the later year value, and this difference divided by the former year value, as follows:

$$1970 - 2000 \text{ percent change variable} = (2000 \text{ value} - 1970 \text{ value}) / 1970 \text{ value}$$

$$1970 - 1980 \text{ percent change variable} = (1980 \text{ value} - 1970 \text{ value}) / 1970 \text{ value}$$

$$1980 - 1990 \text{ percent change variable} = (1990 \text{ value} - 1980 \text{ value}) / 1980 \text{ value}$$

$$1990 - 2000 \text{ percent change variable} = (2000 \text{ value} - 1990 \text{ value}) / 1990 \text{ value}$$

All the census variables were processed in Microsoft Excel. Some of the census variables obtained from NHGIS for each of the 4 decades (1970, 1980, 1990, and 2000), were ready to be manipulated (e.g., total population, total housing units). For this quantitative study, the census data were aggregated because in many cases, the census data were broken down by sex (male and female), educational attainment categories, and other classes. The following table includes the list of all the variables needed for this study and their definition (Table 3.3).

Between 1970 and 2000, the U.S. Census Bureau changed how it measures and defines census variables. In certain cases, this aspect might pose comparability challenges. The definitions of each census variables and the Census Bureau's assessment of comparability are outlined in the documentation released with each decennial census datasets. For all the study

variables, changes in definitions and measurements had been investigated and addressed. Appendix E includes the detailed definitions of census variables and a discussion of comparability issues from 1970 through 2000.

Table 3.3. Census variables calculated for each census tract and for each decade.

Census Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Population Variables				
Total population of the census tract	70_Pop	80_Pop	90_Pop	00_Pop
White population = absolute number of population that is white alone	70_WPop	80_WPop	90_WPop	00_WPop
% of census tract that is white = percentage of population that is white	70_pWPop	80_pWPop	90_pWPop	00_pWPop
Black population = absolute number of population that is Black or African American alone	70_BPop	80_BPop	90_BPop	00_BPop
% of census tract that is black = percentage of population that is black	70_pBPop	80_pBPop	90_pBPop	00_pBPop
Hispanic population = absolute number of population of Hispanic or Latino origin	70_HPop	80_HPop	90_HPop	00_HPop
% of census tract that is Hispanic = percentage of population that is of Hispanic or Latino origin	70_pHPop	80_pHPop	90_pHPop	00_pHPop
Total population age 25 and older (absolute number)	70_25yr	80_25yr	90_25yr	00_25yr
Socioeconomic Variables				
Total number of high school graduates	70_HSGrd	80_HSGrd	90_HSGrd	00_HSGrd
% of CT that are high school graduates	70_pHSGrd	80_pHSGrd	90_pHSGrd	00_pHSGrd
Total number of college graduates	70_CoGrd	80_CoGrd	90_CoGrd	00_CoGrd
% of CT that are college graduates	70_pCoGrd	80_pCoGrd	90_pCoGrd	00_pCoGrd
Total number of families below poverty level	70_Pov	80_Pov	90_Pov	00_Pov
% of families below the poverty level	70_pPov	80_pPov	90_pPov	00_pPov
Total number of female-headed households	70_FeHld	80_FeHld	90_FeHld	00_FeHld
% of HH that are female-headed	70_pFeHld	80_pFeHld	90_pFeHld	00_pFeHld

Table 3.3. (cont'd)

Census Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total number of households with public assistance income	70_PIA	80_PIA	90_PIA	00_PIA
% of HH Receiving public as. income	70_pPIA	80_pPIA	90_pPIA	00_pPIA
Total number of employed residents	70_Emp	80_Emp	90_Emp	00_Emp
Total number of employees whose occupation is considered a professional activity (universe: employed persons 16 years and over)	70_Prof	80_Prof	90_Prof	00_Prof
% of CT professional (from employed persons 16 years and over)	70_pProf	80_pProf	90_pProf	00_pProf
Total number of employees working in manufacturing (universe: employed persons 16 years and over)	70_Manuf	80_Manuf	90_Manuf	00_Manuf
Median household income (adjusted for inflation)	70_MdInc	80_MdInc	90_MdInc	00_MdInc
Per capita income (adjusted for inflation)	70_PCInc	80_PCInc	90_PCInc	00_PCInc
Median gross rent (specified units) (adjusted for inflation)	70_Rent	80_Rent	90_Rent	00_Rent
Median value of owner-occ. units (adjusted for inflation)	70_Value	80_Value	90_Value	00_Value
Housing Variables				
Total number of families	70_Fam	80_Fam	90_Fam	00_Fam
Total number of households	70_Hlds	80_Hlds	90_Hlds	00_Hlds
Total number of housing units	70_Uni	80_Uni	90_Uni	00_Uni
Total number of occupied housing units	70_OUni	80_OUni	90_OUni	00_OUni
Total number of vacant housing units	70_VacUni	80_VacUni	90_VacUni	00_VacUni
Percent of vacant housing units	70_pVacUni	80_pVacUni	90_pVacUni	00_pVacUni
Total number of owner-occ. units	70_OOUUni	80_OOUUni	90_OOUUni	00_OOUUni
Percent of owner-occ. units	70_pOOUni	80_pOOUni	90_pOOUni	00_pOOUni
Total number of renter-occ. units	70_ROUni	80_ROUni	90_ROUni	00_ROUni
Percent of renter-occ. units	70_pROUni	80_pROUni	90_pROUni	00_pROUni
Total number of units lacking plumbing (from housing units)	70_Plmb	80_Plmb	90_Plmb	00_Plmb
% of total housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities	70_pPlmb	80_pPlmb	90_pPlmb	00_pPlmb

Table 3.3. (cont'd)

Census Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total number of units built in the last 10 years	70_UBlt10y	80_UBlt10y	90_UBlt10y	00_UBlt10y
% of total number of units that were built in the last 10 years	70_pUBlt10y	80_pUBlt10y	90_pUBlt10y	00_pUBlt10y
Housing units sharing or lacking complete kitchen facilities	70_NoKitchens	80_NoKitchens	90_NoKitchens	00_NoKitchens
% of total housing units with shared kitchen facilities or lacking	70_pNoKitchens	80_pNoKitchens	90_pNoKitchens	00_pNoKitchens
% Housing units that still remain in 2000, built before 1970		00_pHU70_80	00_pHU80_90	00_pHU70_00
% Owner-occupied housing units where owner moved in before 1970 and remained in the same house in 2000		00_pOOHU70_80	00_pOOHU80_90	00_pOOHU70_00

The census variables indicating monetary values, such as median household income, median housing values, per capita income, and median gross rent, were adjusted using the consumer price index (CPI), as follows: variable adjusted = variable * CPI. Values were brought to the 1999 dollar value because the 2000 census monetary variables are reported for 1999. Appendix A includes the list of all CPI inflation factors used in this study.

For all the observation units missing a value, or having the value of 0, a value of 1 was allocated in order to calculate percentage change over the decade (the DIV/O! problem). Another method used to address the missing census variables problem – aggregating census tracts – was not feasible in this study due to the large number of variables and multiple decades involved in the study. Any aggregation of census tracts results in the loss of relevant statistical information. After the cleaning of the census data, the study change variables (Table 3.1) were calculated. A quick overview of socioeconomic and housing changes between 1970 and 2000 in Chicago is explored in the following section. Next, the PCA and k-means clustering analysis were conducted to identify clusters of census tracts experiencing similar degrees of gentrification.

3.4. Overview of Chicago's Physical and Social Upgrading Between 1970 and 2000

After World War II, Chicago experienced the negative effects of suburbanization and the flight of white families to the growing suburbs. The city experienced disinvestment and blight, declining property values, the effects of de-industrialization on the local economy, and the rise of the service economy. Between 1970 and 2000, the city lost 14.43 percent of its total population and 45.45 percent of its white population, while it experienced an increase in college graduates and professionals living in the city. The median household income declined 14.43 percent while median housing values doubled between 1970 and 2000.

During these years, several areas of the city started to experience social and physical upgrading, as measured by increases in the white population, median household income, median housing values, and professionals, and a decline in poverty, as measured by the number of families living below the poverty level. Several variables, mapped in the figures below, depict percentage change between 1970 and 2000 at the census tract level of analysis. Variables were mapped using the five quintiles range in a gray scale with the black color representing the top quintile (figures 3.5 - 3.12). The figures below clearly indicate that several neighborhoods, located on the north and north-west side of the city, experienced substantial social and physical upgrading between 1970 and 2000.

Figure 3.5. Percentage change in median housing values, 1970 -2000, Chicago (5 quintiles).

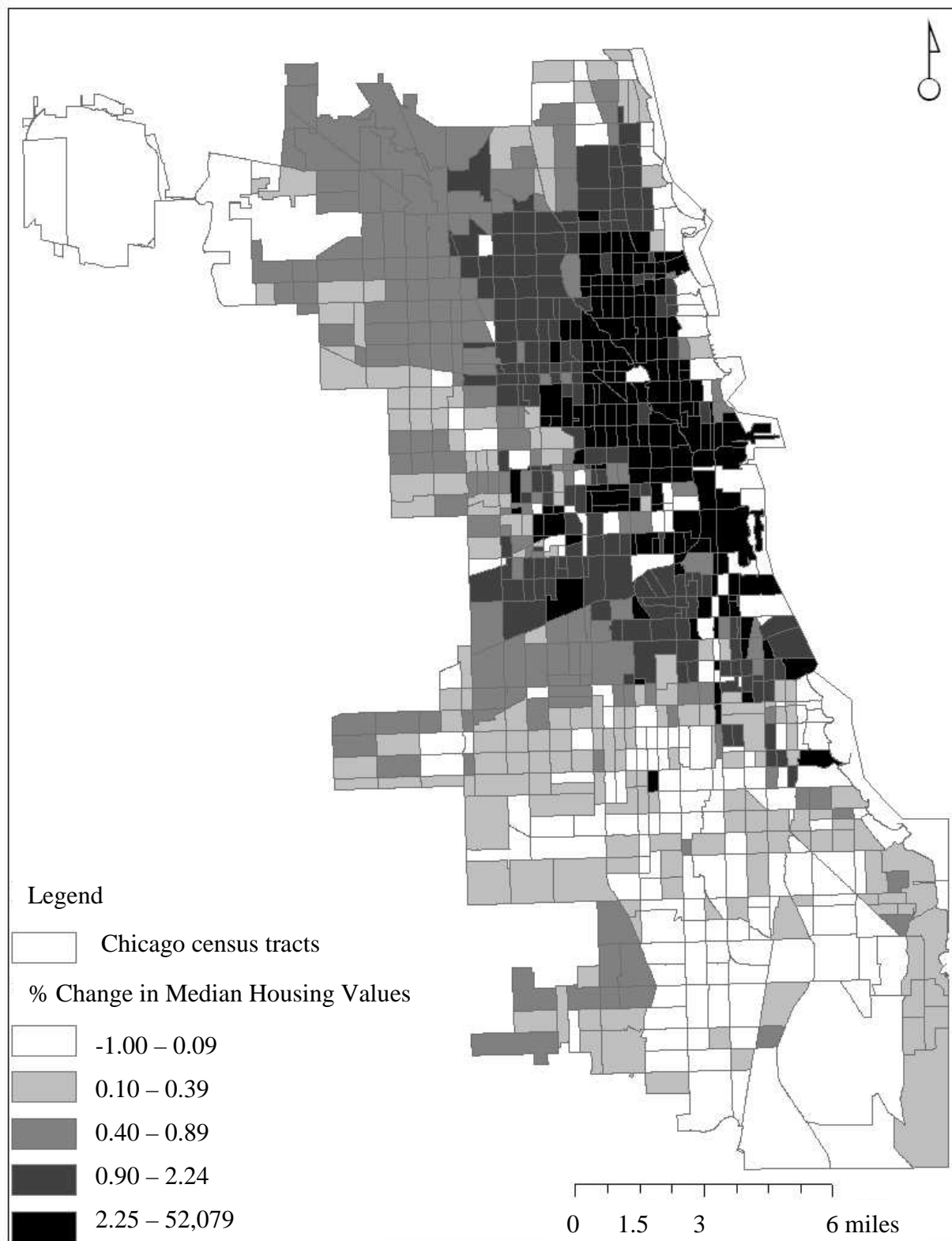


Figure 3.6. Percentage change in median household income, 1970-2000 (5 quintiles).

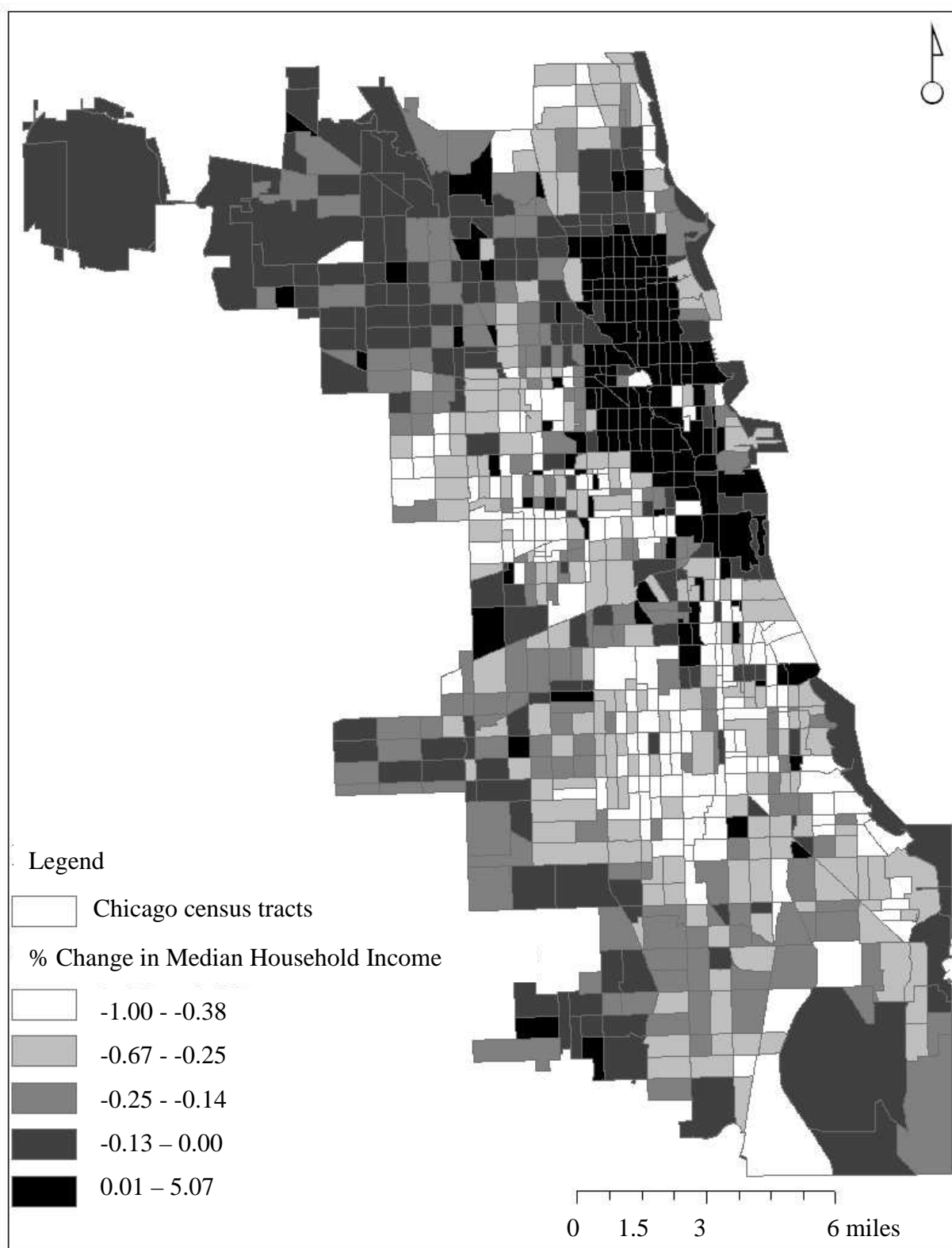


Figure 3.7. Percentage change in median gross rent, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).

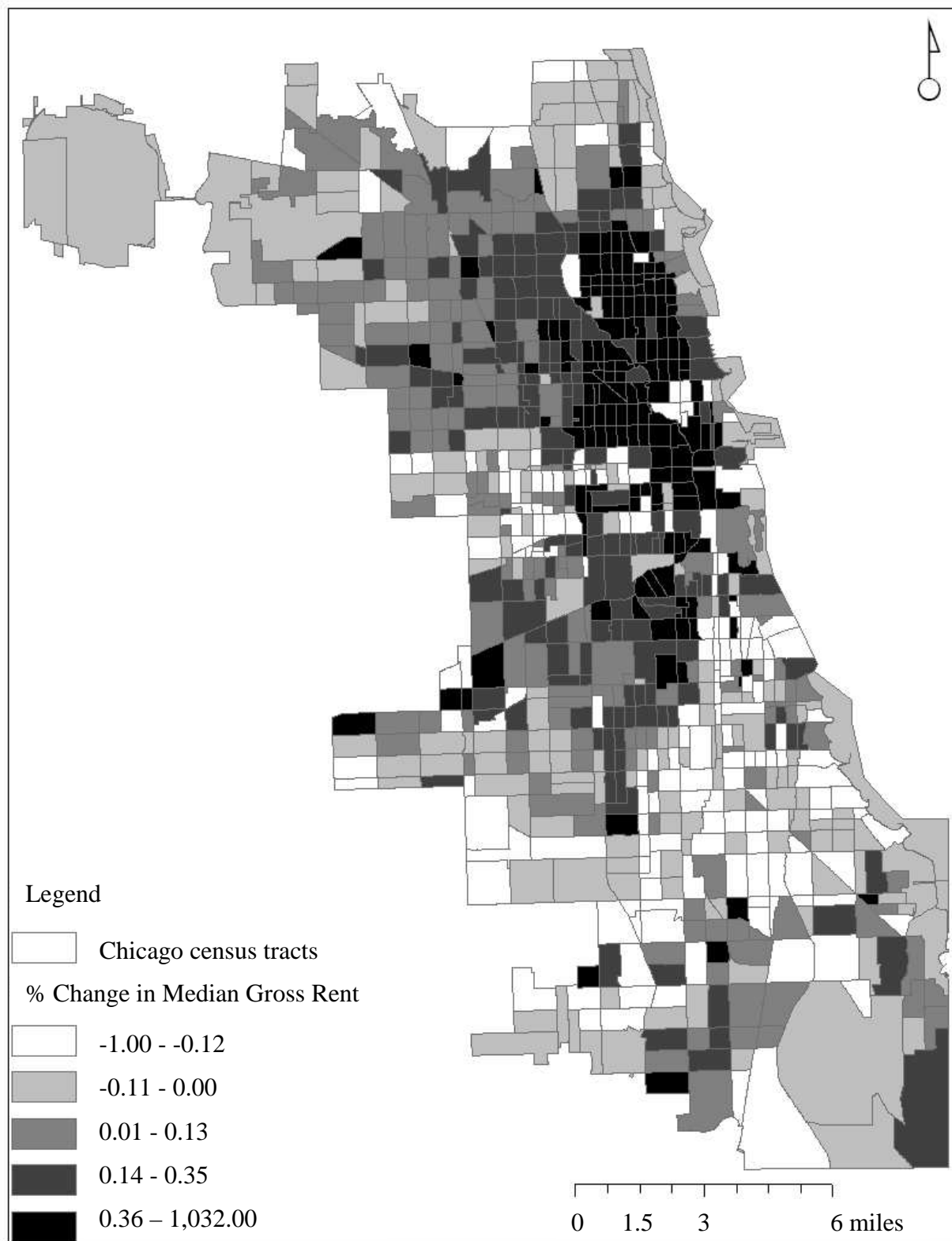


Figure 3.8. Percentage change in per capita income, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).

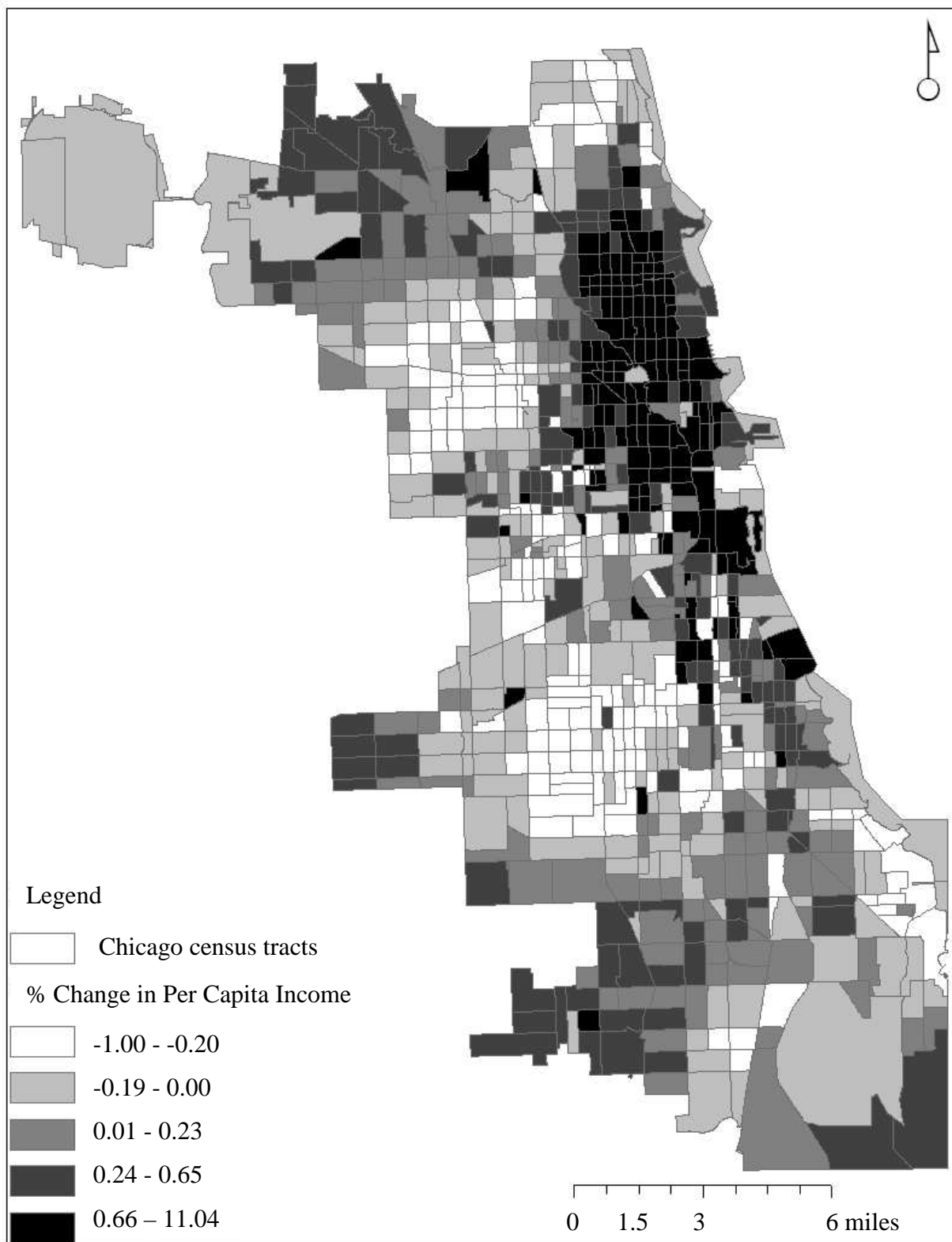


Figure 3.9. Percentage change in number of professionals, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).

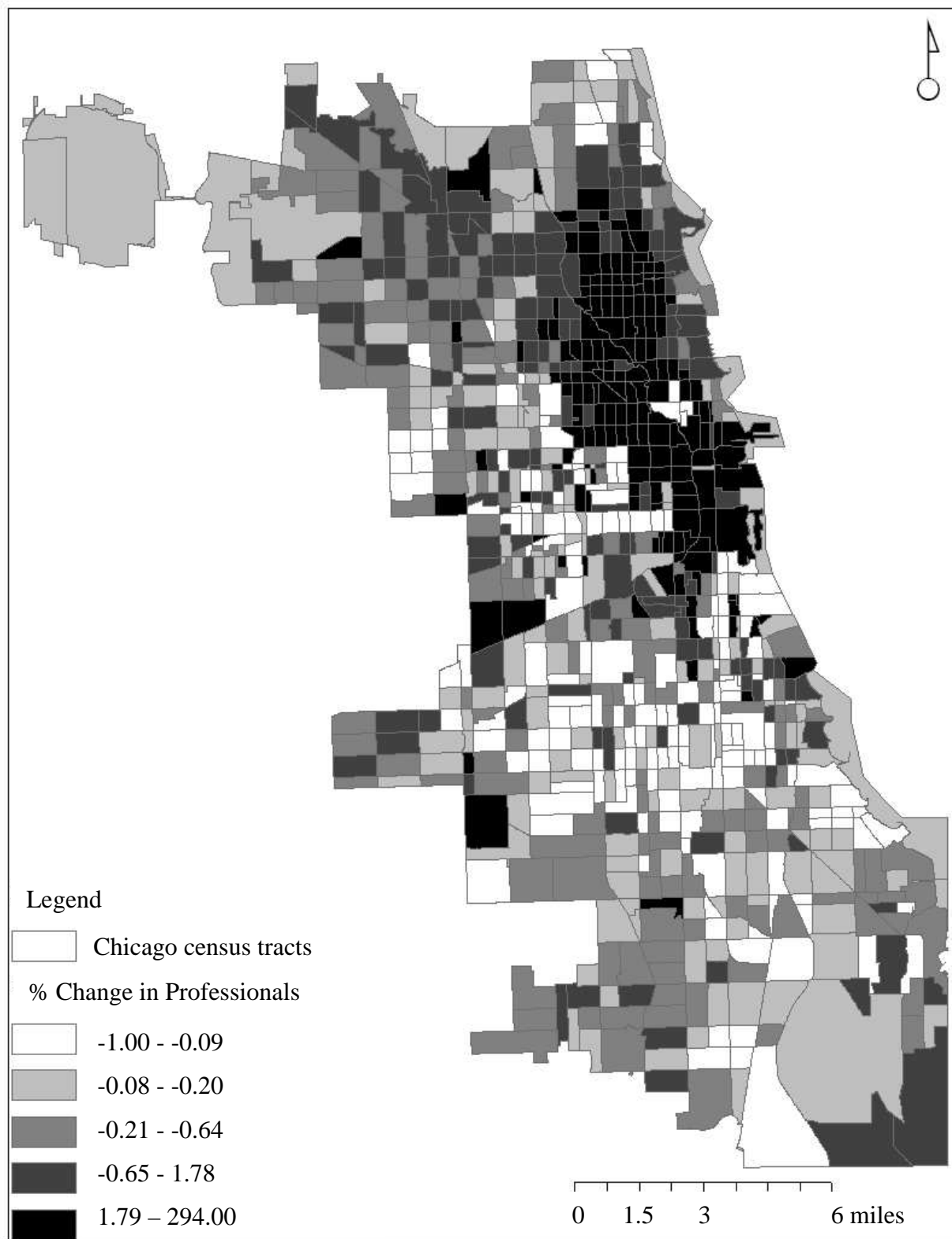


Figure 3.10. Change in percentage change in number of families below the poverty level, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).

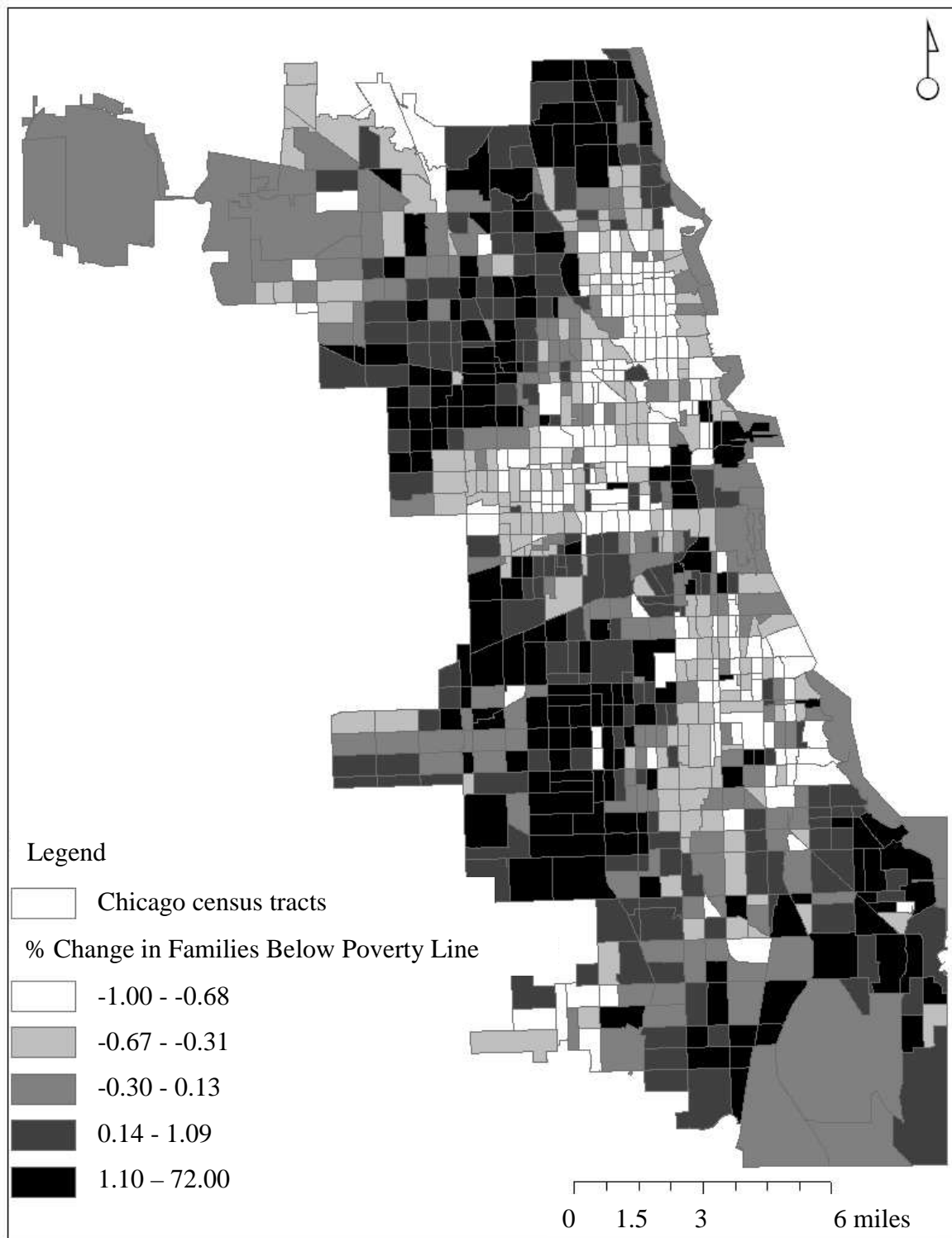


Figure 3.11. Percentage change in white population, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).

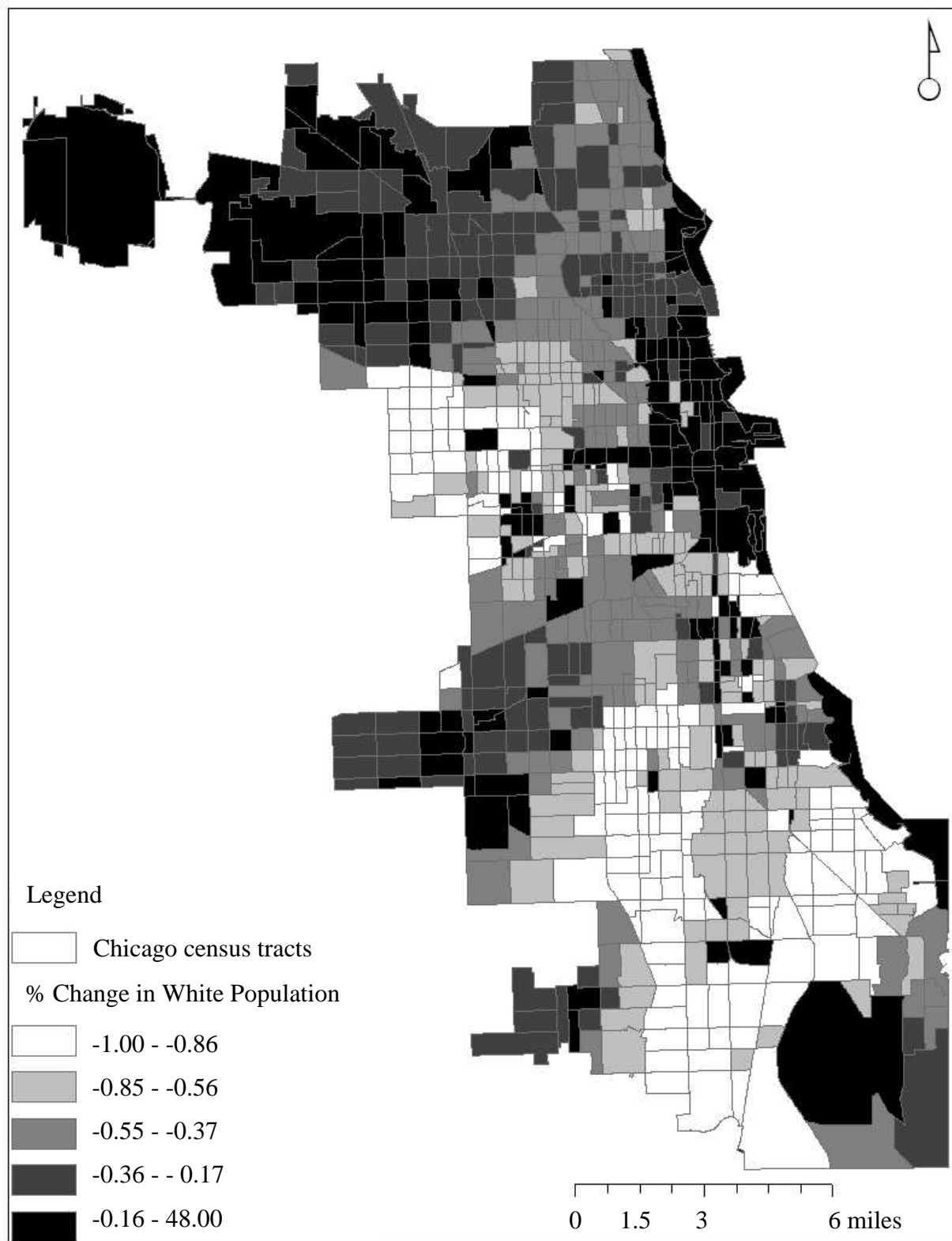
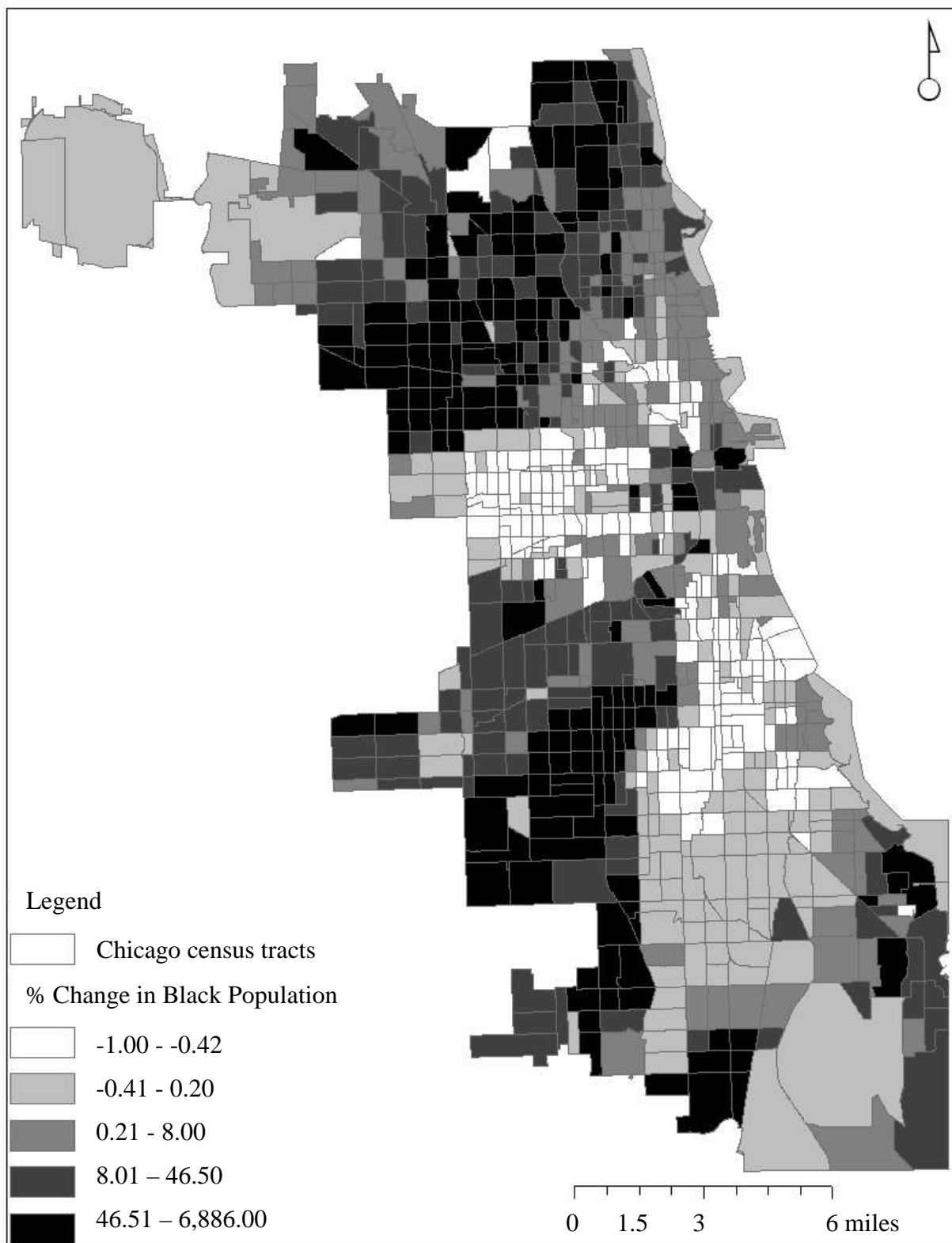


Figure 3.12. Percentage change in black population, 1970 -2000, (5 quintiles).



3.5. Quantitative Analysis: Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and K-means Clustering

In order to explore the diversity of gentrification taking place in Chicago, socioeconomic and housing change variables were analyzed following the methodology proposed in Podagrosi et al. (2011). According to this methodology, the principal component analysis and the k-means clustering analysis of 'percentage change' variables and the variables calculated for 'change in the percentage of' enable the identification of similar degrees of upgrading occurring across census tracts, regardless of socioeconomic or ethnic composition. The PCA and k-means cluster analyses also identify the groupings of census tracts of similar gentrification degrees regardless of the income, occupation, or racial differences between the census tracts.

The principal component analysis is an extremely powerful and versatile technique focused on data reduction or summarization and the identification of underlying patterns of data variation of a large dataset of characteristics and interrelationships. Used for both inductive and deductive reasons, the PCA results in a smaller homogenous set of derived variables (Kachigan, 1986, p. 378). The PCA will generate a number of dimensions or 'factors' which are orthogonal or uncorrelated to each other; each dimension will account of a specific amount of the total variance of the original dataset. Typically the first factors account for the largest part of the total variance of the dataset (Kachigan, 1986, p. 386). There are several rules for the selection of the relevant dimensions. They include extracting dimensions that account for at least 5 percent of the total variance or for more variance than a typical variable, and the analysis of the discontinuity in the scree plots. In addition, the addition of a variable with random numbers can enable the assessment of relevant components. The dimensions in which the random variable loads high or medium are clearly not extracted. The PCA also generates factor scores, which represent the value of the original observations on each of the derived dimensions, a heightened combination

of its scores on each of the input variables (Kachigan, 1986). In this dissertation, the PCA reduces the large number of socioeconomic and housing variables to a more manageable and interpretable number of dimensions or components. The PCA method identifies census tracts with similar socioeconomic and housing characteristics and similar patterns of change. The inclusion of a random variable in the pool of variables also enabled the extraction of dimensions.

Classification is the systematic grouping of objects (census tracts in this analysis) into groups on the basis of characteristics or relationships they have in common (Abler, Adams, & Gould, 1971, p. 151). K-means clustering analysis is a method of classification of a set of observations into a selected number of groups by maximizing between-cluster variation while minimizing within-cluster variation or within-group similarity. K-means starts with one cluster and then divides it into two clusters by using the observation farthest from the center as the base for the second cluster. It continues to divide clusters and reassign observations to their appropriate clusters until within-cluster variation cannot be longer reduced. The K-means cluster analysis simplifies and identifies previously unnoticed patterns and relationships. The appropriate number of clusters is selected based on the computation of an 'Incremental F-value,' which shows the number of clusters that are statistically significant (Delamater, Messina, Grady, WinklerPrins, & Shortridge, 2013). Cluster analysis enables the generalization of socioeconomic and housing attributes, at the census tract level of analysis, to a smaller number of groups. Within this dissertation, K-means clustering groups tracts experiencing similar upgrading.

3.5.1. Principal Component Analysis (PCA)

The Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was conducted on forty-one variables portraying change between the years 1970 and 2000 (only the 1970-2000 change variables) over 849 Chicago census tracts. The list of variables used in the PCA was included in table 3.1. The

PCA, with Varimax Rotation, was conducted in the Systat statistical software. The results of the PCA, as generated by Systat, are included in Appendix F. Five rules were employed in the extraction of the dimensions. The PCA extracted only the dimensions whose eigen values are greater than 1.00, resulting in 11 dimensions extracted. Seven dimensions accounted each for at least five percent of the variance. The skree plot was also analyzed for breaks in sequence. The random variable did not have a large loading on any dimension but it had a medium-low loading on dimension 11. The first dimension with only one large loading was dimension 9. The PCA extracted also the eighth dimension, even though it explains less than five percent of the total variance, as it provided relevant information for certain neighborhoods in Chicago that experienced gentrification. The scree test, varimax rotation, and the random variable reduced the number of significant attributes to eight orthogonal or unrelated components, which accounted for 67.11 percent of the total variance. These eight dimensions are defined below:

1. The first dimension portrays housing development and household growth which is associated with an increase in the number of housing units, owner-occupied housing, and households. This dimension is also associated with an increase in the number of vacant units, which could include the numerous new built units for sale in the late 1990s (9.843 percent of variance explained).

2. The second dimension depicts the socioeconomic upgrading associated with an increase in the percentage of college graduates, high school graduates, and professionals, as well as an increase in per capita income and median household income. This dimension identifies areas with a decline in the percentage of poverty and an increase in the percentage of owner-occupied housing units in the census tract (11.980 percent of variance explained).

3. The third dimension represents social upgrading associated with an increase in female-

headed households, families, college graduates, and professionals (10.527 percent of variance explained).

4. The fourth dimension depicts areas experiencing an increase in a poorer but employed population. This dimension is characterized by an increase in population, persons 25 years and older, high school graduates, rental units, employment, and rent. It also captures a high percentage of housing units built before 1970 that remained by 2000 (11.712 percent of variance explained).

5. The fifth dimension reveals stable neighborhoods with an aging population experiencing increased owner-occupancy. These neighborhoods are characterized by an increase in the number of owner-occupied housing units where owners moved-in before 1970 and still live there in 2000, and an increase in owner-occupied housing. In addition, this dimension is associated with an increase in the number of housing units without plumbing facilities (5.709 percent of variance explained).

6. The sixth dimension depicts increasing social and physical distress. This dimension correlates with an increase in the percentage of households with public assistance income, of female-headed households, and of housing units without kitchen and plumbing facilities (6.940 percent of variance explained).

7. The seventh dimension represents the white population mobility associated with an increase in the number and percent of the black population and a decrease in the percentage of whites (6.228 percent of variance explained).

8. The eighth dimension portrays Hispanic spatial mobility associated with the decline in the percentage of the Hispanic population and the decline of the number of Hispanic residents (4.171 percent of variance explained). Even though this dimension explains less than 5 percent of

the total variance, this dimension is relevant in the upgrading processes of certain neighborhoods in Chicago. The 8 dimensions were mapped individually in Appendix G.

3.5.2. K-means Clustering Analysis

K-means clustering (with Euclidian Distance) was applied on the PCA component scores for the eight interpreted dimensions in order to cluster census tracts that are most similar across the full range of dimensions depicting socioeconomic and housing characteristics. The appropriate number of clusters extracted was identified by calculating the incremental F-value¹, whose results are included in Appendix H. Twelve distinct groups of tracts across Chicago were observed. Average PCA scores are used to describe the general characteristics of each group of census tracts. For this study, the focus is on the grouping that includes Wicker Park, a cultural district in Chicago that has already been recognized as a gentrifying neighborhood (Betancur, 2002; Weber et al., 2006). Starting in the 1970s, artists moved into Wicker Park being followed by young professionals which started to refurbish the housing stock. Initially, gentrification involved home renovations, but later, the capital reinvestment began to be characterized more by teardowns and new infill construction as upgrading spread. Eventually, many artists were forced to relocate due to the rising housing and business costs.

The results of the k-means clustering analysis indicate that the Wicker Park neighborhood has been grouping with a cluster showing upgrading. Figure 3.13 shows the cluster that covers several neighborhoods in Chicago, including the cultural district of Wicker Park. In total, 123 tracts were grouped with the Wicker Park census tracts in cluster #4. Cluster #4 is associated with above average socioeconomic upgrading, below average housing stability, above average white population mobility, and below average Hispanic mobility. The extent of this cluster

¹ The calculation of the incremental F-value was performed based on guidance received from Professor Bruce Wm. Pigozzi during class time and conversations.

showing upgrading is substantial. The grouping of 123 census tracts consists of around 37.81 km² (it represents 6.02% of the entire city area) within the city of Chicago.

However, as argued by Wyly and Hammel (1999), quantitative analyses alone are insufficient to recognize gentrification. Capital reinvestment and displacement may not necessarily be captured in the analysis. Ground surveying and a historical exploration of the neighborhoods was thus carried out to ensure that capital reinvestment and displacement was, in fact, occurring within these neighborhoods. Ground surveying involved the identification in the field of whether residential structures were newly built or renovated in those neighborhoods. In addition, the observations in the field helped assess the general level of physical upkeep of the neighborhood. Wicker Park and two other neighborhoods, which experienced similar levels of change, were selected for an in-depth qualitative analysis, in order to assess the diverse processes of physical and social upgrading within Chicago's cultural and artistic communities. While the Incremental F-value (Appendix H) could have supported fewer groups, the selected grouping of 12 clusters is the most reflective of the socioeconomic and physical changes in Chicago, in particular the selected cluster #4.

Cluster #4 is the most reflective of social and physical upgrading in Chicago, visible in the substantial difference between the values of all the study variables, aggregated for the entire cluster, and the values aggregated for the entire city (table 3.4). Change variables were calculated for all the aggregated variables for the cluster and the entire city. The cluster data show that, between 1970 and 2000, the number college graduates and professionals increased substantially, while the number of families below poverty level and the number of households on public assistance income both declined. The median household income, per capita income, and the value of owner-occupied housing increased substantially between 1970 and 2000. The number

and percentage of owner-occupied housing units both doubled over the time interval while the number and percentage of renter-occupied housing units decreased. These change values indicate the significant level of upgrading in the variables traditionally indicative of gentrification in cluster #4, and particularly when compared to patterns of change evident in the rest of Chicago.

Figure 3.13. Census tracts included in cluster #4.

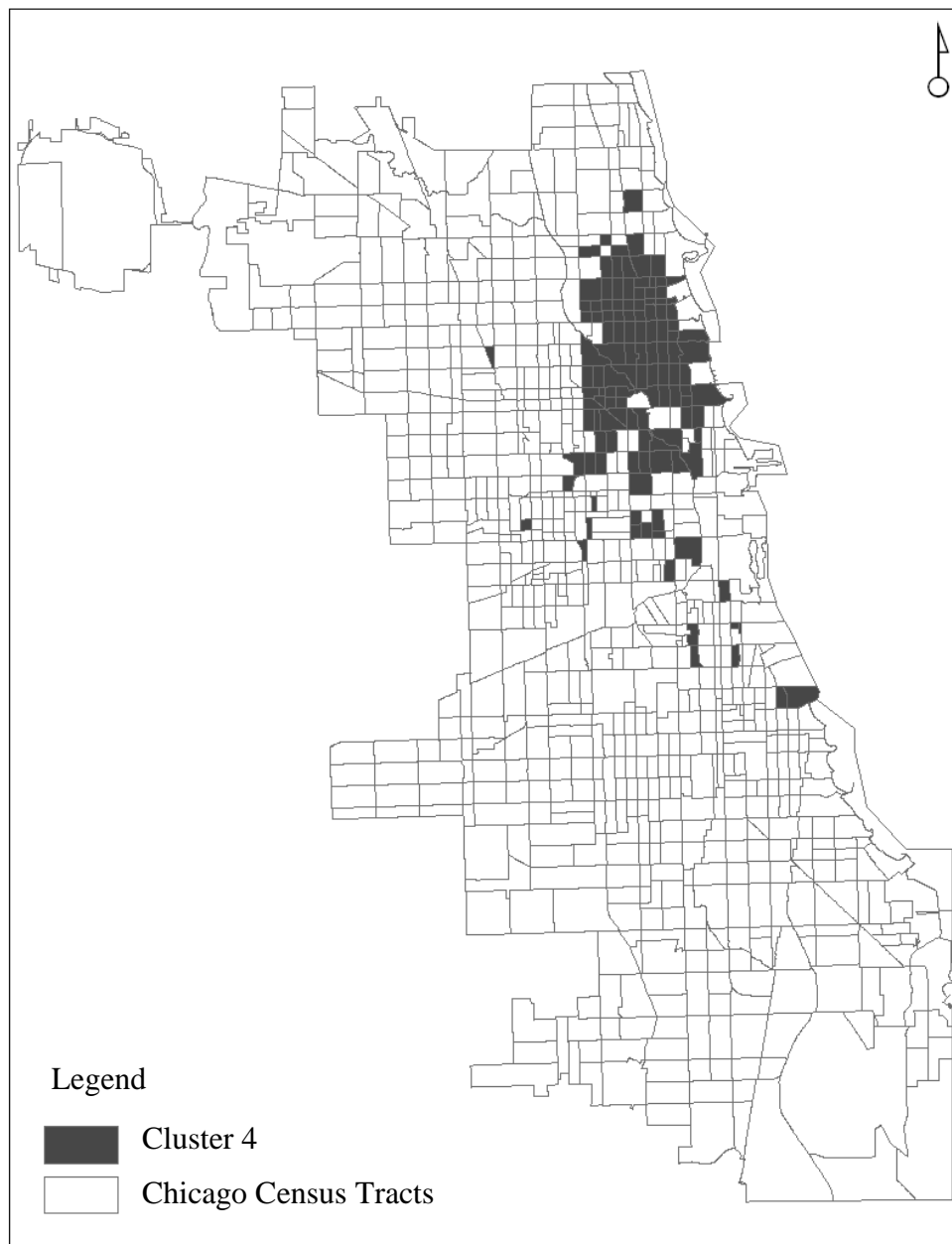


Table 3.4. Comparison of the values of variables aggregated for the city and cluster #4.

Variable name (1970 – 2000 change)	City	Cluster #4
% Change in Total Population of the census tract	-14.43%	-22.88%
% Change in White Population	-45.45%	-30.81%
Change in the % of Census Tract that is white	-23.74%	-8.50%
% Change in Black Population	-3.60%	-37.99%
Change in the % of Census Tract that is black	4.16%	-2.58%
% Change in Hispanic Population	203.03%	-30.79%
Change in the % of Census Tract that is Hispanic	18.68%	-1.81%
% Change in Total Population Age 25 and Older	-5.13%	0.29%
% Change in the total number of High School Graduates	55.18%	125.59%
Change in the % of census tracts that are High School Graduates	27.90%	48.85%
% Change in total number of College Graduates	199.96%	548.35%
Change in the % of census tracts that are College Graduates	17.43%	52.17%
% Change in total number of families below poverty level	-17.83%	-73.08%
Change in the % of Families below the poverty level	1.24%	-10.88%
% Change in the total number of female-headed households	27.91%	34.11%
Change in the % of households that are female-headed	10.91%	8.17%
% Change of total number of households receiving with public assistance income PAI	47.90%	-42.12%
Change in the % of households receiving PAI	2.59%	-2.12%
% Change in total number of employed civilian population 16 years and over	-12.61%	18.36%
% Change in total number of employees whose occupation is considered a professional activity	64.33%	268.54%
Change in the % of Professionals	15.69%	39.21%
% Change in Median Household Income (adjusted for inflation)	-14.43%	52.68%
% Change in Per Capita Income (adjusted for inflation)	34.34%	188.63%
% Change in Median Gross Rent (specified units) (adjusted for inflation)	13.19%	70.87%
% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occupied Units (adjusted for inflation)	103.83%	320.24%
% Change in Total number of Families	-23.88%	-41.27%
% Change in Total number of Households	-7.23%	5.67%
% Change in Total number of Housing Units	-5.19%	1.90%
% Change in Total number of Occupied Housing Units	-7.23%	5.67%
% Change in Total number of Vacant Housing Units	27.54%	-34.00%
Change in the % of in Total number of Vacant Housing Units	2.02%	-3.35%
% Change in Total number of Owner-Occupied Units	16.32%	110.57%
Change in the % in Total number of Owner-Occupied Units	8.85%	16.90%
% Change in Total number of Renter-Occupied Units	-19.84%	-15.86%

Table 3.4. (cont'd)

Variable name (1970 – 2000 change)	City	Cluster #4
Change in the % in Total number of Renter-Occupied Units	-8.85%	-16.90%
% Change in Total number of Units Lacking Plumbing	-65.71%	-84.41%
Change in the % of Total Housing Units lacking complete plumbing facilities	-2.75%	-5.69%
% Change in the number of housing units sharing or lacking complete kitchen facilities	-46.95%	-70.30%
Change in the % of total housing units with shared kitchen facilities or lacking	-1.56%	-4.08%

3.6. Concluding Commentary

This dissertation research explores the diversity of gentrification in the cultural and arts districts of Chicago between the years 1970 and 2000. The research question posed: Is there diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago? The study's hypothesis is that there is diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago, the major nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments between 1970 and 2000. The study's methodology followed the quantitative and qualitative analyses which explored the diversity of gentrification across a whole city as proposed by Podagrosi et al. (2011). In order to explore the diversity of gentrification in cultural districts that received public investment in the infrastructure of play, two types of quantitative data were used in this study. First, the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, compiled for the 1970-1999 period enables the identification of cultural districts that are the recipients of the public financial support in Chicago. This data set is explored in more detail in the following chapter. The second data set is the socioeconomic and housing census data compiled for 1970 through 2000, which facilitates the exploration of gentrification in Chicago.

The Principal Component Analysis was conducted on forty-one demographic, socioeconomic, and housing variables portraying change between 1970 and 2000 over 849

Chicago census tracts. The PCA (with Varimax Rotation) extracted 8 dimensions and its factor scores. Next, the K-means clustering method was applied on these component scores in order to cluster census tracts that are most similar across the eight extracted dimensions. The appropriate number of clusters extracted was identified by calculating the incremental F-value. Cluster #4 (out of 12 clusters) was identified as having variables reflective of physical and social upgrading. From this cluster, Wicker Park and two other neighborhoods, which experienced similar levels of change, were selected for an in-depth qualitative analysis, in order to assess the diverse processes of physical and social upgrading in Chicago's cultural districts. The next chapter will explore the public investment in the infrastructure of play data. The chapter will discuss the rationale for the selection of the three case studies, clusters of the public investment for arts and culture, and grouped within cluster #4.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the results of the analysis into the public investment in the infrastructure of play. The chapter will illustrate how the three case studies were selected for the qualitative analysis, which will explore the diversity of gentrification in three cultural districts that were recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play. With a variety of funding sources and programs that support arts, culture, and entertainment, Chicago has become a “national model for public-private partnership in support of the arts” (Preston, 2004). The analysis of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago between the years 1970 and 1999 indicates that several community areas represent hot spots of arts and culture as well as clusters for the concentration of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago.

The analysis identified three community areas that are hot spots of the public assistance for arts and culture in Chicago and the study of gentrification. These include Lakeview, West Town, and the Lower West Side. West Town is home to a diverse mix of art galleries, theaters, ethnic museums, and other cultural organizations that received local, state, and federal cultural grants (e.g., Free Street, Polish Museum of America, Ukrainian National Museum, Woman Made Gallery, ARC Gallery, and Synergy Theater). West Town includes Wicker Park, one of the most well-known arts and cultural districts in the city which emerged as Chicago’s center for the cutting edge and the hip during the 1990s. Lakeview has been known as a cultural and entertainment district since the early 20th century and became a successful and vibrant off-loop theater, dance, and music cultural district. Lakeview contains Ivanhoe Theater, Hull House Theater, St. Nicholas and Organic Theaters, MoMing Dance and Art Center, Links Hall, Ferris

Chorale, the Theater Building, Athenaeum Theater, and numerous other performing groups. The Lower West Side includes a growing Hispanic and Non-Hispanic artist community and the National Museum of Mexican Art. The Chicago Arts District, the fledgling Non-Hispanic arts district, is located primarily in Pilsen East, on the eastern end of the Lower West Side. These three neighborhoods, while major recipients of infrastructure of play funding, represent very different cultural communities, as well as diverse gentrification processes and actors in the redevelopment of these communities, illustrating the diversity of physical and social upgrading.

4.2. The Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Chicago

4.2.1. Overview of the Infrastructure of Play in Chicago

This section presents an analysis into the investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago since 1970. Chicago has grown into an entertainment and cultural center with a rich mix of infrastructure of play amenities. Chicago's infrastructure of play investment attracts millions of visitors each year with significant impacts on the local economy and the physical built environment. The city is home to 54 museums, more than 200 theater companies (Krance, 2004), more than 80 fine art galleries, many performance art venues, music and dance troupes, 5 stadiums housing 6 professional sports teams, more than 200 annual parades, and an entertainment waterfront district.

"Live Theater is Big Business in Chicago" (League of Chicago Theaters, 2004). Chicago is widely recognized for its rich and innovative theater community. The Chicago theater has a long and thriving history, with groundbreaking initiatives and renowned theater players and playwrights (Christiansen, 2004; Telli & Pettengill, 2004). The Chicago's theater community includes more than 200 theater companies and approximately 1,400 professional actors

(Wahlberg, 2009; Krance 2004; League of Chicago Theaters, 2004). On an average week there are over 160 stage productions in Chicago (World Business Chicago, 2007). More than 500 total productions were presented in 2002 alone, employing more than 500 behind-the-scenes artists, including directors, choreographers, designers and stage hands.

Different from trends in other cities, the city's theater scene is dominated by off-loop theater companies that chose to locate in neighborhoods outside of Chicago's downtown (Adler, 2004; Christiansen, 2004). The choice of many companies to perform in off-downtown neighborhoods, and stay away from the high-rent downtown district, has resulted in Chicago having many smaller venues scattered across the city and a few large theater buildings clustered in the Loop (Fosdick, 2004). More recently, the city supported the creation of a Theater District in the downtown through the renovation of several historic theater buildings (e.g., Goodman Theater, Chicago Theater, and Oriental Theater).

The 2002 Chicago Dance Mapping Project (Munger, 2004) found 258 dance-making entities in the greater Chicago area, including dance-makers, studios, schools, performance sites, and rehearsal sites. In general, dance companies are small or mid-sized companies, and only a dozen dance organizations are larger, as indicated by their budgets of over \$150,000. These larger companies include the Joffrey Ballet, Hubbard Street Dance Chicago, River North Chicago Dance Company, Trinity Irish Dance Company, and Muntu Dance Theater of Chicago (Callahan & Belott, 2005). In addition, Chicago boasts a music community full of vitality and diversity, with a long tradition of choral music, classical music, blues, jazz, gospel, and R&B. A study by the Gaylord and Dorothy Donnelley Foundation found that more than half of the active cultural organizations in the city are concentrated in ten zip codes located between the Loop and the city's North Side neighborhoods (e.g., Lakeview, West Town) (Botts, 2007).

Since the mid 1960s, Chicago has experienced an art boom, with a greatly expanded gallery scene (Warren, 1996). The city is home to many art galleries, located in the city's core, in the former industrial spaces and in a few particular neighborhoods scattered throughout the city (Bennet, 2006; Warren, 2006). Chicago also has over 70 museums, including the Museum of Contemporary Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, the National Museum of Mexican Art, the Field Museum of Natural History, and the John G. Shedd Aquarium and Oceanarium.

Chicago is also a major sports center and it was named in 2006 'the best sports city in the United States' by The Sporting News. Chicago houses 6 professional sports teams in 4 stadiums. Wrigley Field, the home of the Chicago Cubs, built in 1914 in the Lakeview community, is one of the oldest baseball venues in the country. The U.S. Cellular Field is a baseball park built in 1991 for the Chicago White Sox team. Built in 1994, the United Center, home to the Chicago Blackhawks and Chicago Bulls, is the largest arena in the U.S. Soldier Field, built in 1924 and renovated in 2003, hosts the Chicago Bears and many other sports events.

4.2.2. The Public Investment in the City's Infrastructure of Play

Investing in arts, culture, sports, and entertainment has emerged as an important local economic development strategy in the last four decades in the city. Into the 21st century, Chicago has increasingly engaged in ambitious construction and upgrading of the city's infrastructure of play, including building, renovating or expanding sports arenas, a theater district, museums, and an entertainment waterfront (Bennet & Sirou, 2006; City of Chicago, n.d.; Pelissaro et al., 1992; Spirou, 2006; Suchar, 2006). Since the 1970s, the development of Chicago's infrastructure of play became a central component of the city's economic development strategy and of its downtown revitalization plans as the city was competing for economic and social viability with other major U.S. cities. The city has supported the growth of its infrastructure of play through (1)

monetary aid for the construction, expansion, or renovation of entertainment facilities (e.g., sports stadiums, convention centers, museums, and theaters), and (2) financial support for cultural and entertainment activities (e.g., festivals, parades).

Chicago has maintained an interest in arts and culture since the late 19th century when the Art Institute of Chicago and the Field Museum were first established. With the establishment of the Art Institute of Chicago in 1882, an “anchor and point of reference for the city’s high art” (Krance, 2004), Chicago began to support cultural and entertainment activities. In the early 1970s, state and federal art agencies began to provide meaningful financial support through grants for arts organizations and individual artists. The financial support of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) enabled the explosive growth of arts and cultural organizations, and especially artists-run spaces during the 1970s in the city (Jaffee, 1996; Warren, 1996).

During the early 1970s, as a better understanding of the economic impacts of arts emerged among city officials (Jaffee, 1996), the Chicago Council on the Fine Arts was created. Local government support for the arts strengthened in the 1980s and 1990s in tandem with the growing federal and state granting programs, resulting in a diverse and vibrant arts and cultural sector in the city. The Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs was established in 1984 to promote the arts and make them accessible to the wider audience. The city's cultural agenda has included grants awarded for arts and cultural organizations and activities, designed to support artists, promote arts in distressed neighborhoods, and help the professional development of artists and non-profit organizations.

Increasingly, in the last decades, Chicago has engaged in ambitious construction and upgrading of sport, cultural, and entertainment infrastructure, a cornerstone of contemporary Chicago’s renaissance as a glamorous central city (Bennet & Sirou, 2006). Most of these

entertainment projects are located in the downtown and along the lakefront. Very expensive projects include the construction and expansion of McCormick Place Convention Center, the creation of the Museum Campus and Millennium Park, the construction of U.S. Cellular Field and Soldier Field stadiums, and the transformation of Navy Pier into an entertainment district.

Independent authorities were created to build and maintain these infrastructures using multiple financing sources. With both a lake and a river front, the city has invested considerably in waterfront projects, transforming unutilized industrial land into a revenue generator recreational–entertainment place. The Navy Pier entertainment complex is one of the most famous waterfront developments in the U.S. In 1989, the state of Illinois created the Metropolitan Pier and the Exposition Authority to manage and operate both McCormick Place and Navy Pier. The renovations at McCormick Place and Navy Pier are paid through bonds paid by tax revenues. Consistent with its central area development strategy, the city supported, using significant Tax Increment Financing, the creation of a theater district located in the north end of the downtown through the renovation of several former theaters (e.g., Chicago Theater, Goodman Theater) in the late 1990s (Bennet, 2006; Christiansen, 2004).

Similar to other central cities (Judd, 2003), Chicago and the state of Illinois have been competing vigorously for retaining its professional sports teams, often providing extensive public subsidies. This construction assistance was often controversial because of the use of eminent domain and because of the magnitude of the financial investment (Bennet & Sirou, 2006). The Illinois Sport Facilities Authority was created in 1986 to build and operate a publicly-owned stadium (U.S. Cellular Field) for the Chicago White Sox team (Pelissaro et al., 1992). The construction of the stadium was fully publicly financed, with the \$167 million allocated mostly

from a 2 percent tax on hotels in Chicago, and eminent domain was used to acquire the land and relocate residents and businesses.

In another big investment stadium redevelopment project, local and state leaders worked since the late 1980s to find a new stadium location for the Chicago Bears team. The team wanted to leave Soldier Field operated by the Chicago Park District. During the 1990s, the city's efforts to build a new stadium failed due to considerable neighborhood opposition. In the early 2000s, the state and the city allocated \$600 million to completely renovate Soldier Field for the Chicago Bears (Bennet & Sirou, 2006).

A survey of the funding sources for Chicago's arts and cultural organizations shows the following public institutions that support such activities in the city. At the local level, there are the cultural grants provided by the City of Chicago Cultural Affairs Department, tax increment financing through the city of Chicago Tax Increment Financing Districts, and Chicago Park District Annual Appropriations. The city awards more than \$1 million each year for cultural grants to artists and cultural organizations, in order to support general operations, specific projects, and arts programming. The city of Chicago has used Tax Increment Financing only for a few cultural institutions in the downtown, including the four Theater projects in the Loop. Since 1933, the Chicago Park District has been required to levy annual property taxes and a replacement tax, and appropriate a portion of the tax levied each year for the Art Institute of Chicago, the Museum of Science and Industry, the Field Museum of Natural History, Shedd Aquarium, Chicago Historical Society, Chicago Academy of Sciences, the Mexican Fine Arts Museum, Adler Planetarium, and DuSable Museum.

At the state level, the Illinois Arts Council, using state and federal funds, provides operating and program grants to cultural organizations and artist. The Illinois Sports Authority

Facility uses local and state allocations and tax revenues to support the operations of the U.S. Cellular Field arena. Four federal agencies have provided significant support for cultural activities in Chicago. The National Endowment for the Arts supports performances, exhibitions, festivals, and other arts projects in a number of different fields, including arts education, dance, folk and traditional arts, museums, music, theater, opera, and visual arts. The Institute for Museum and Library Services, the National Endowment for Humanities, and National Science Foundation have specialized priorities mandated by their legislative acts, supporting either the humanities or museums and public libraries across the U.S. The local grants, the Illinois Arts Council, and the NEA provide competitive grants to all eligible cultural organizations. In general, the public investment supports specific projects, capital projects, or operating expenses.

4.3. The Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play

4.3.1. General Overview

The arts and cultural organizations in Chicago received substantial funding assistance from local, state and federal agencies between 1970 and 1999. The dataset of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago includes data aggregated at the census tract level as well as data aggregated at the community area scale. In this database, the administrative addresses of 519 distinct cultural organizations that received public support for cultural activities between 1970 and 1999 were identified. The 'administrative address' refers to the location of the administrative offices of the cultural organization. The database also includes the performance addresses of 412 distinct organizations that received public grants for cultural and arts activities between 1970 and 1999. 'The performance address' refers to the location of the performance, which could be art galleries or performance arts centers.

The permanent address was not identified for all the recipient cultural organizations. Due to limited revenues, small and medium-sized organizations often lack their own performance venue and choose to rent rehearsal and performance space at several performing arts centers in the city. For other cultural organizations (e.g., museums, established groups) the administrative and performance addresses are identical. Therefore, similar spatial distribution patterns were observed between the two datasets in these cases (figures 4.1 and 4.2). The analysis focused primarily on the list of grants geocoded by the administrative address of its recipient. The organizations receiving public assistance for arts, cultural and entertainment activities are not evenly distributed across Chicago, as depicted in figures 4.1 and 4.2. The recipient organizations are located predominantly in several cultural districts located in downtown and several communities (e.g., Lakeview, West Town).

Several organizations and several areas of the city had consistently received significant public subsidies over the last three decades. The top recipients of the public investment include the major cultural institutions of Chicago (e.g., the Field Museum of Natural History, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the National Museum of Mexican Art, and Goodman Theater). Table 4.2 lists the first 20 recipients and the total amount of funding and the total number of grants awarded between 1970 and 1999. The frequency and dollar amount of public funding had both increased substantially between 1970 and 1999 in Chicago (table 4.1). This trend is consistent with the increased understanding and recognition of the importance of arts and culture in driving economic development by government agencies, as discussed previously in the chapters.

Figure 4.1. Spatial distribution of the recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 1999 (geocoded by their administrative location).

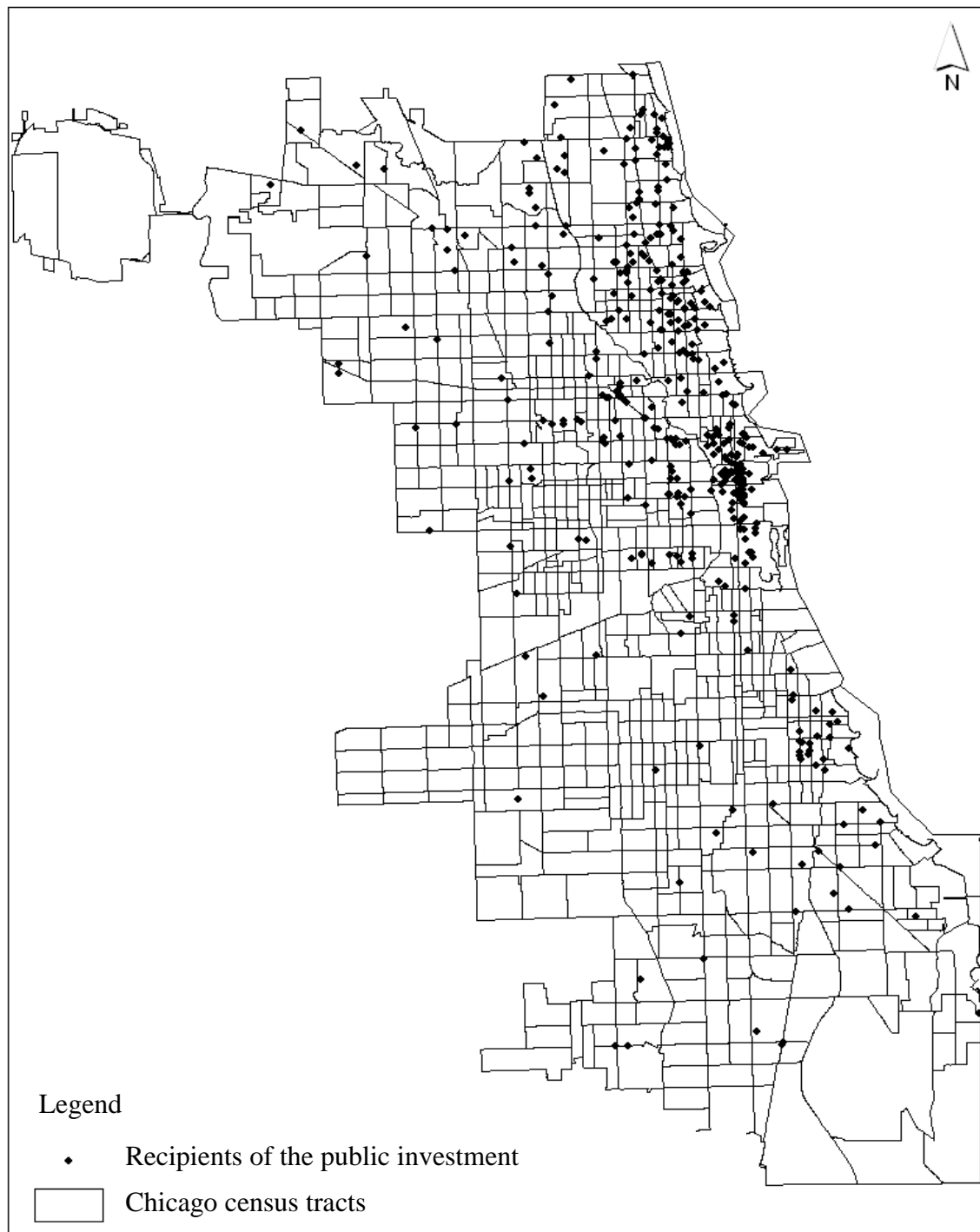


Figure 4.2. Spatial Distribution of the recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 1999 (geocoded by their performance location).

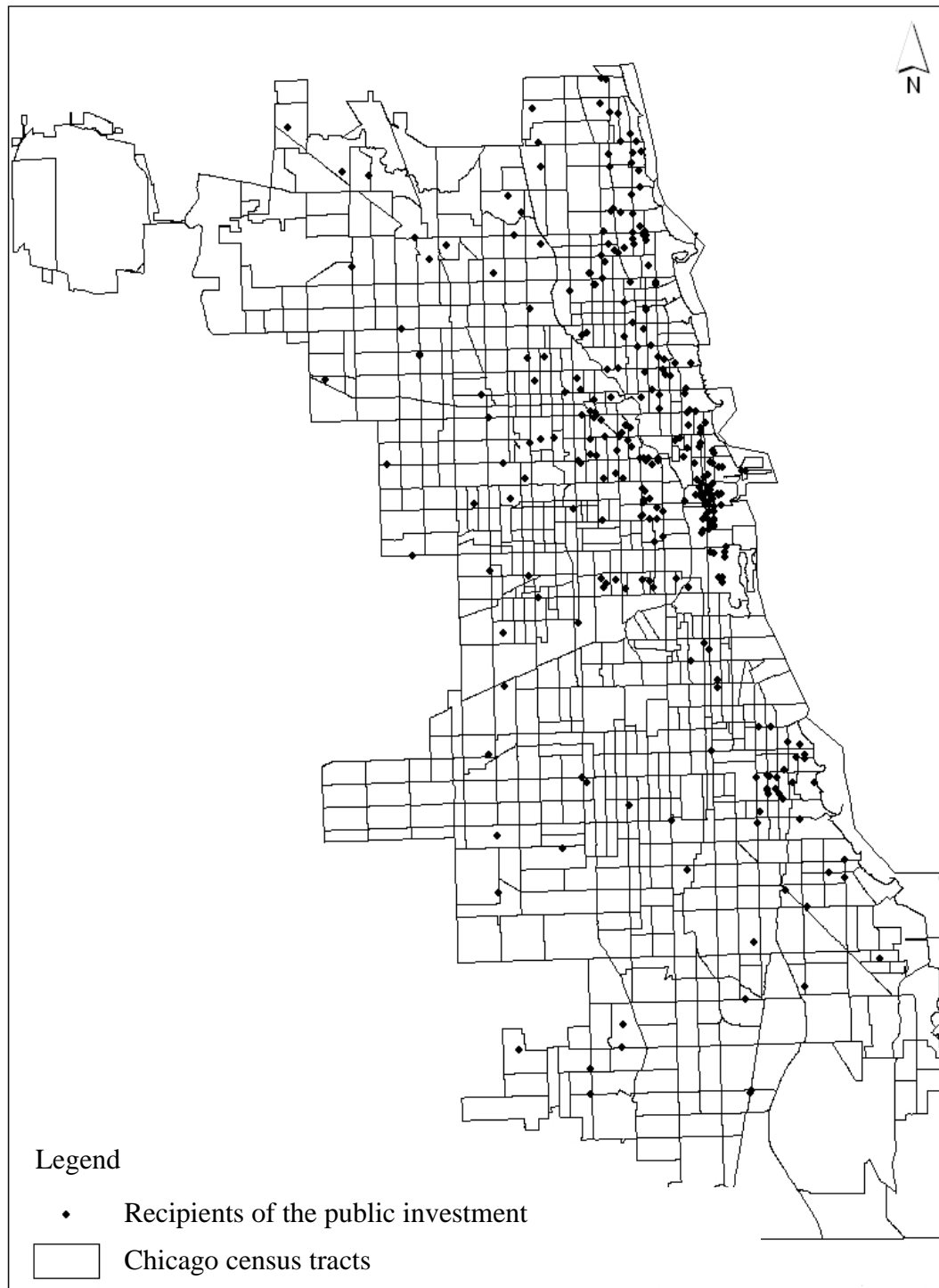


Table 4.1. The public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, 1970-1999**(monetary values were adjusted for inflation to 1999).**

Variables	1970s	1980s	1990s	Total 1970-1999
Organizations geocoded by their administrative location				
Total grants	315	2,185	4,534	7,034
Total funding	\$269,392,205	\$428,989,134	\$572,815,658	\$1,271,196,997
Organizations geocoded by their performance location				
Total grants	262	1,636	3,544	5,442
Total funding	\$257,166,139	\$414,167,403	\$552,043,857	\$1,223,377,399

Table 4.2. Top recipient cultural organizations, Chicago, 1970-1999 (monetary values were adjusted for inflation to 1999).

	Cultural Organization	Community area	Total grants 1970 - 1999	Total funding 1970 - 1999
1	Field Museum of Natural History	Near South Side	122	\$264,949,719
2	Art Institute of Chicago	Loop (downtown)	98	\$227,116,662
3	Museum of Science and Industry	Hyde Park	69	\$213,921,790
4	John G. Shedd Aquarium	Near South Side	32	\$150,213,956
5	Adler Planetarium and Astronomy Museum	Near South Side	42	\$59,041,086
6	Chicago Historical Society (Chicago History Museum)	Lincoln Park	75	\$42,196,008
7	Chicago Academy of Sciences	Lincoln Park	35	\$34,947,646
8	Chicago Theater Group, Inc. (Goodman Theater)	Loop (downtown)	49	\$31,871,555
9	Lyric Opera of Chicago	Loop (downtown)	53	\$25,609,094
10	Chicago Theater Foundation	Loop (downtown)	12	\$25,124,386
11	Orchestral Association (Chicago Symphony Orchestra)	Loop (downtown)	34	\$21,124,386
12	Oriental Theater	Loop (downtown)	1	\$19,503,022
13	Hotel Allegro/Palace Theater	Loop (downtown)	1	\$18,304,000
14	DuSable Museum of African American History	Hyde Park	57	\$10,188,079
15	Chicago Symphony Orchestra	Loop (downtown)	22	\$10,021,663

Table 4.2. (cont'd)

	Cultural Organization	Community area	Total grants 1970 - 1999	Total funding 1970 - 1999
17	Museum of Contemporary Art	Near North Side	55	\$6,364,062
18	Urban Gateways The Center for Arts in Education	Loop (downtown)	52	\$4,335,338
19	Beverly Arts Center	Beverly	27	\$3,729,595
20	Chicago Cultural Center	Loop (downtown)	1	\$3,050,000

4.3.2. The Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play Aggregated at the Census Tract Level of Analysis

Between 1970 and 1999, a total of 7,031 grants were awarded to Chicago's cultural and arts organizations, with grants aggregated by their administrative address. With regard to all the grants awarded between 1970 and 1999 and aggregated at the census tract level of analysis, only 216 census tracts received at least one grant or subsidy for cultural activities. For public grants geocoded by the performance location of the cultural organization, only 187 census tracts received at least one grant or subsidy between 1970 and 2000. The distribution of the public investment in the infrastructure of play is not equal across the Chicago census tracts, as the vast majority of the census tracts do not receive any public investment in the infrastructure of play.

In Chicago, seven census tracts had been each home to at least 11 cultural and arts organizations which had receive government assistance, and these tracts are the concentration of public funds for the infrastructure of play (table 4.3). These census tracts are primarily located in downtown (e.g., the Loop, the Near South Side, and River North) and several other cultural districts. The Lakeview community is a vibrant theater, music, and dance center, and home to several performance art centers where numerous recipient of the public investment in the infrastructure of play have performed. Census tracts #622, 628, and 634 are home to the Theater

Building, the Athenaeum Building, and other performing places where numerous theater companies perform (e.g., St Nicholas, Touchstone Theaters). West Town includes a diverse mix of art galleries, museums, theaters, and other cultural organizations. Here, census tract #2435 has been home to several important art galleries (e.g., Woman Made, Artemisia Fund, ARC Gallery, Intuit, and Randolph Street Gallery). Tables 4.1, 4.2 and figures 4.1, 4.2 depict the distribution of art and cultural organizations across the Chicago's census tracts.

Similar to the spatial distribution of the recipients of the government assistance, the spatial distribution of the public investment in the infrastructure of play by census tracts indicate the concentration of government support in specific census tracts. The ranking of the census tracts ordered by the total frequency of grants received in that census tract indicate that census tracts located in the downtown, Lakeview, and West Town are the recipients of the largest number and amount of public subsidies (tables 4.4 - 4.5).

It has to be noted that cluster #4 generated by the PCA and k-means clustering analysis did not include the census tracts in the Loop. The Loop did not come out in the clustering analysis and the cluster #4 of gentrifying census tracts because the change variables for the Loop identified no measurable displacement of the resident population between 1970 and 2000. Therefore no gentrification is observed in the Loop, according to the definition outlined in chapter 2, since there was no displacement. Hence the Loop, while the most significant recipient of cultural grants, will not be included in the gentrification analysis. It should be recognized, however, that while there was no displacement in the Loop, the vast number and amount of arts and cultural grants in the Loop was accompanied with extensive redevelopment of the area that facilitated the development of one of the most exclusive neighborhoods in Chicago over just a three decade period.

Table 4.3. The first 20 census tracts ranked by the number of recipient organizations located within (organizations organized by administrative address).

	TRACT	Community area	Recipient organizations
	Total Chicago		519
1	Census Tract 3204	Loop (downtown)	42
2	Census Tract 3201	Loop (downtown)	31
3	Census Tract 627	Lakeview	15
4	Census Tract 3301	Near South Side	13
5	Census Tract 3202	Loop (downtown)	12
6	Census Tract 316	Uptown	12
7	Census Tract 810	Near North Side	11
8	Census Tract 814	Near North Side	9
9	Census Tract 818	Near North Side	9
10	Census Tract 3206	Loop (downtown)	8
11	Census Tract 301	Uptown	8
12	Census Tract 2435	West Town	7
13	Census Tract 4113	Hyde Park	7
14	Census Tract 628	Lakeview	6
15	Census Tract 3205	Loop (downtown)	6
16	Census Tract 317	Uptown	5
17	Census Tract 817	Near North Side	5
18	Census Tract 622	Lakeview	5
19	Census Tract 506	North Center	5
20	Census Tract 634	Lakeview	5

Table 4.4. The first 10 census tracts, sorted by the total frequency of grants, 1970-1999, (organizations geocoded by their administrative address).

	TRACT	Community area	Total Grants	Percentage of Total
	Total		7,031	100.00%
1	Census Tract 3204	Loop (downtown)	850	12.09%
2	Census Tract 3201	Loop (downtown)	385	5.48%
3	Census Tract 3301	Near South Side	336	4.78%
4	Census Tract 3202	Loop (downtown)	247	3.51%
5	Census Tract 627	Lakeview	202	2.87%
6	Census Tract 3206	Loop (downtown)	202	2.87%
7	Census Tract 2435	West Town	161	2.29%
8	Census Tract 810	Near North Side	147	2.09%
9	Census Tract 316	Uptown	138	1.96%
10	Census Tract 814	Near North Side	133	1.89%

Figure 4.3. Spatial distribution of the total frequency of grants awarded between 1970 and 1999 in Chicago (aggregated at the census tract level based on the administrative address of the recipient organizations) (mapped by five quintiles).

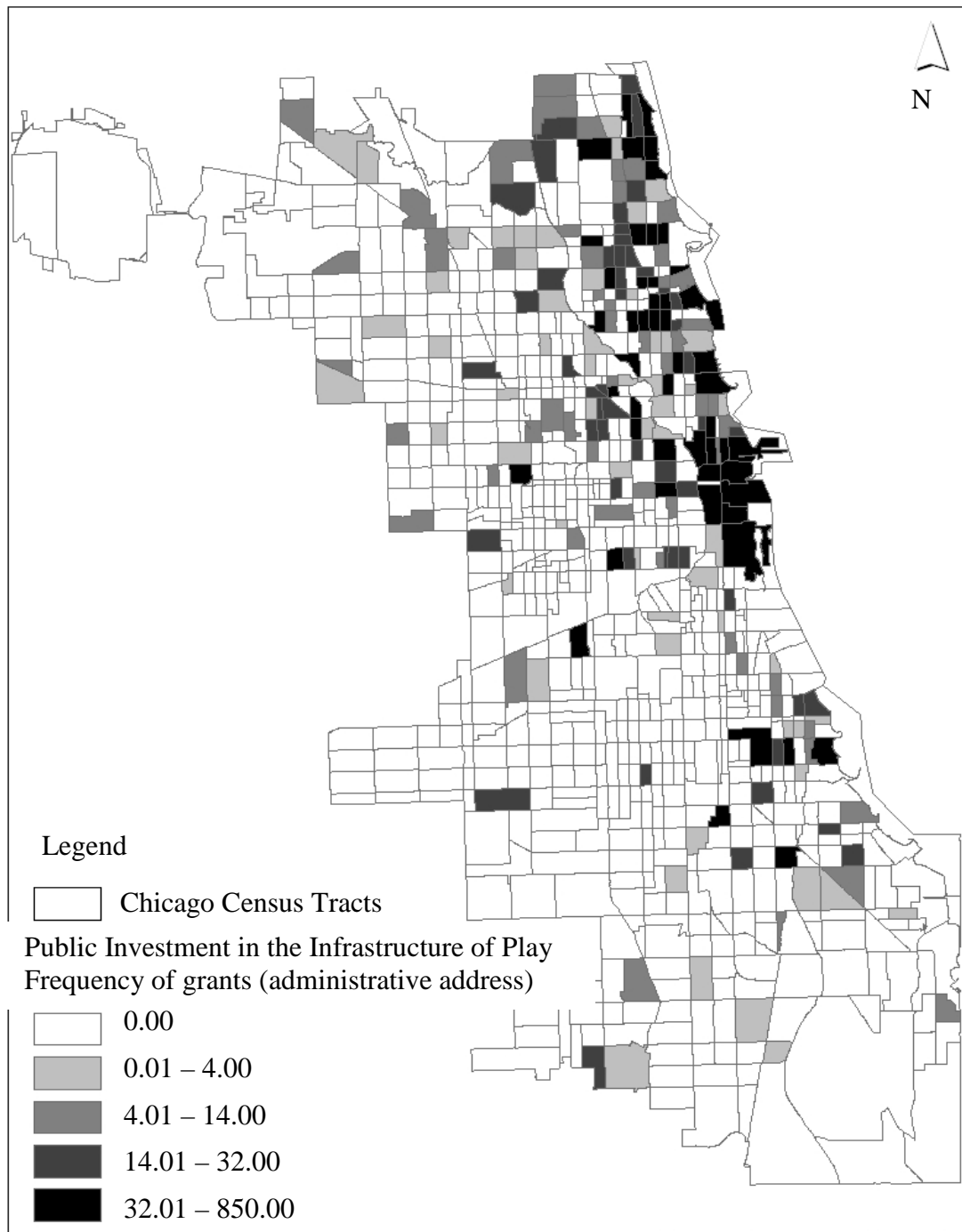


Figure 4.4. Spatial distribution of the total amount of funds awarded between 1970 and 1999 in Chicago (aggregated at the census tract level based on the administrative address of the recipient organizations) (mapped by five quintiles).

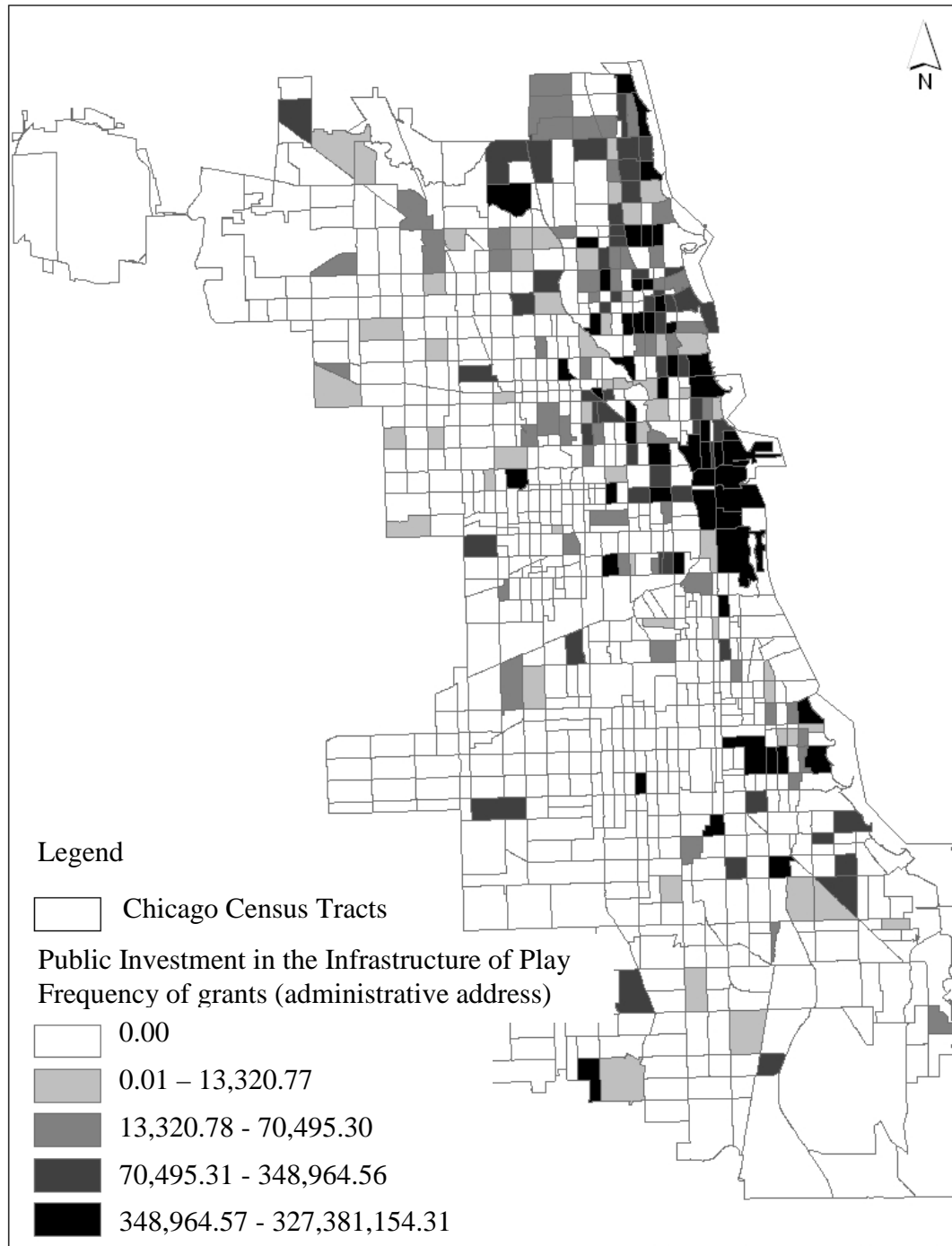


Table 4.5. The first 10 census tracts, sorted by the total amount of grants, 1970-1999, (organizations geocoded by their administrative address).

	TRACT	Community area	Total Amount of Funding (in US dollars)	Percentage of Total
	Total		1,271,196,997	100.00%
1	Census Tract 3301	Near South Side	327,381,154	25.75%
2	Census Tract 3204	Loop (downtown)	271,477,082	21.36%
3	Census Tract 4110	Hyde Park	213,921,790	16.83%
4	Census Tract 3206	Loop (downtown)	153,497,224	12.08%
5	Census Tract 3202	Loop (downtown)	100,135,499	7.88%
6	Census Tract 715	Lincoln Park	42,221,919	3.32%
7	Census Tract 3201	Loop (downtown)	38,783,653	3.05%
8	Census Tract 714	Lincoln Park	35,250,593	2.77%
9	Census Tract 4003	Washington Park	10,188,079	0.80%
10	Census Tract 814	Near North Side	8,113,249	0.64%

4.3.3. Analysis of the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play Aggregated at the Community Area Level of Analysis

The public investment in the infrastructure of play data were aggregated at the community area level to provide a broader community analysis of the spatial patterns of public assistance in arts and culture. Arts and culture providers are usually concentrated in cultural districts which are more easily identified at the community level than the census tract level of analysis. For this analysis, the public investment data were aggregated for 77 community areas, the complete number that make-up the City of Chicago. Between 1970 and 1999, 60 community areas received at least one grant for cultural activities through an organization geocoded based on its administrative address. For subsidies geocoded by the performance location of the cultural organization, 56 community areas received at least one grant or subsidy between 1970 and 1999. Similar to the census tract level, the public investment in the infrastructure of play is not equally

distributed across the areas in Chicago, as a small number of community areas received the vast majority of the public funding for arts and culture.

Tables 4.6, 4.7, and 4.8 show the community areas with the highest concentration of recipient cultural organizations, grants, and funding awarded between 1970 and 1999. Out of a total of 519 organizations, 12 community areas are in the top quintile, being home each to at least 11 cultural organizations which are the recipients of the public investment in arts and culture. The district with the largest concentration of recipient cultural organizations is the Loop, followed by Lakeview, Near North Side, West Town, and Lower West Side. As mentioned before, Lakeview is home to a vibrant off-loop theater district that was the beneficiary of numerous grants between 1970 and 1999. The cultural grants supported the emergence and successful growth of this theater district. In the Lower West Side community, cultural grants supported organizations (e.g., National Museum of Mexican Art, Blue Rider Theater) that played a central role in the growth of the cultural district and the creation of a neighborhood identity. In West Town, organizations supported by these public grants (e.g., Around the Coyote, North Northwest Arts Council) were instrumental in supporting the growth of the arts district and attracting artists, visitors, and art-related business into the district.

With regard to the number of grants awarded by community areas between 1970 and 1999, the Loop received 1,761 grants followed by Lakeview with 868 grants representing 12.35 percent of the total grant frequency. Only 14 community areas (including West Town and Lower West Side) are in the top quintile, each receiving more than 133 grants or 1.89 percent of the total frequency of subsidies. Among these recipients, the Theater Building, Links Hall, and the Athenaeum Theater, in Lakeview, are places where numerous grant recipients performed theater, dance, poetry, film, and music activities. The National Museum of Mexican Art, in the Lower

West Side, received consistent and critical support through cultural grants and annual appropriations from the Chicago Park District. The cultural grants were critical in the emergence of renowned art galleries, ethnic museums, and theaters in West Town.

With regard to the distribution of the dollar amount of the public investment, several community areas, such as the Loop, Near South Side, Near North Side, and Lincoln Park, received the bulk of the public funding. These districts are home to the city's largest and world renowned cultural institutions, such as Lincoln Park Zoo, the Art Institute of Chicago, Field, Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago History Museum, and Shedd Aquarium. In addition to these areas, West Town, Lakeview, and Lower West Side each received between 0.6 and 0.7 percent of the total amount of funding, indicating that smaller grants were awarded to these areas. There are 14 communities in the top quintile, receiving each at least \$2,264,764 or 0.18 percent of the total amount of public assistance awarded between 1970 and 1999.

As mentioned before, the downtown cultural district--while the main beneficiary of the public investment in the infrastructure of play--did not come out in the analysis as experiencing gentrification and therefore was not included in the gentrifying cluster #4. The census data indicated no measurable displacement of the resident population between 1970 and 2000 in the Loop and therefore no gentrification was identified in the Loop. The existence of displacement is one of the two main components of the gentrification process, the social upgrading. Between 1970 and 2000, the downtown experienced a substantial increase in the total population, and an increase in the white, black, and Hispanic population.

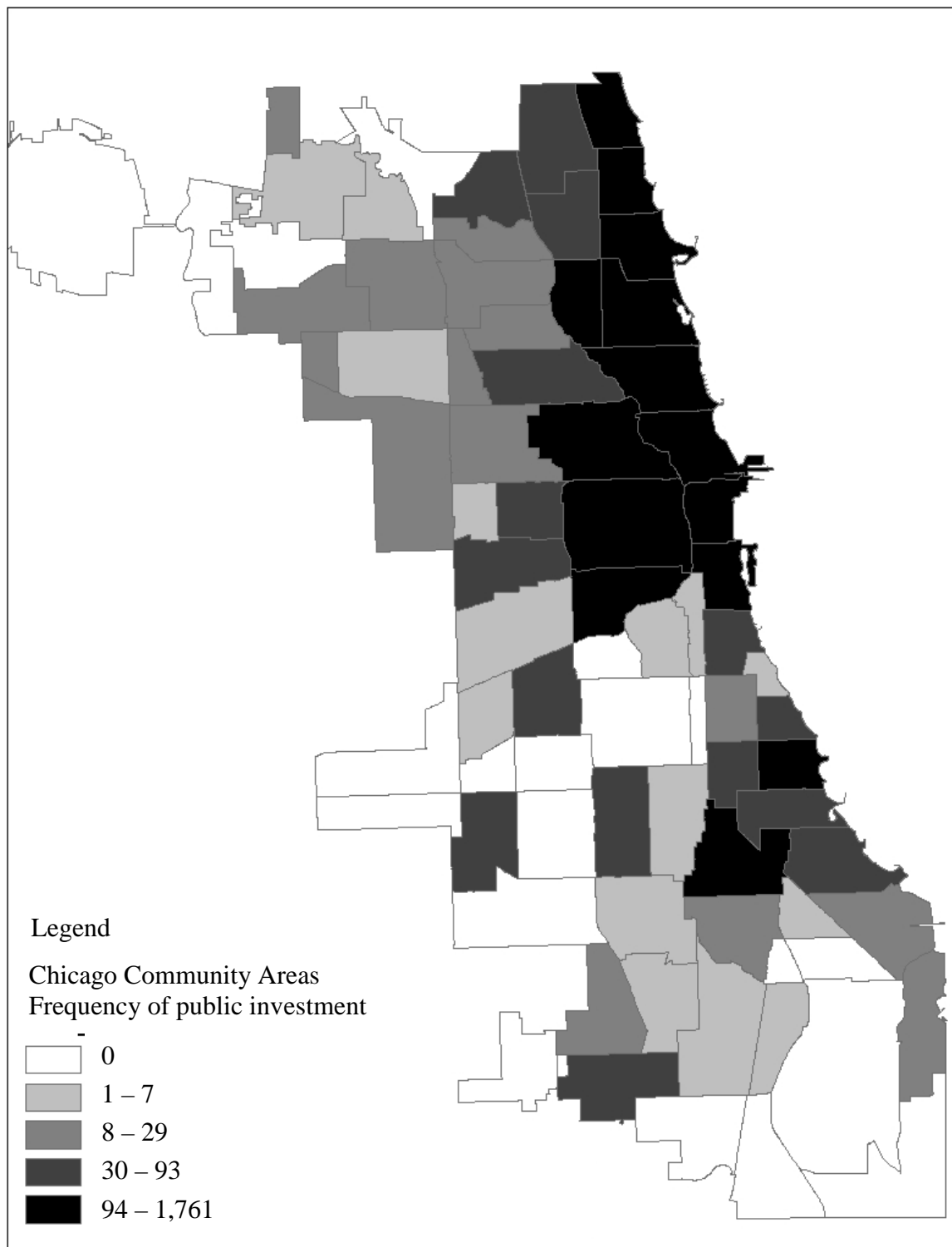
Table 4.6. Community areas in the top quintile which are home to recipient cultural organizations geocoded by their administrative address.

	Community area	Number of recipient organizations	Percentage of Total
	Total Chicago	519	100.00%
1	LOOP (downtown)	99	19.08%
2	NEAR SOUTH SIDE	69	13.29%
3	HYDE PARK	49	9.44%
4	LINCOLN PARK	39	7.51%
5	WASHINGTON PARK	29	5.59%
6	LAKE VIEW	24	4.62%
7	NEAR NORTH SIDE	23	4.43%
8	LOWER WEST SIDE	15	2.89%
9	WEST TOWN	14	2.70%
10	GREATER GRAND CROSSING	14	2.70%
11	UPTOWN	13	2.50%
12	MORGAN PARK	11	2.12%

Table 4.7. Total frequency of grants aggregated by community area (recipient organizations geocoded by their administrative address) (only the fifth quintile displayed).

	Community area	Total Frequency	Percentage of Total Frequency
	Total Chicago	7,031	100.00%
1	LOOP (downtown)	1,761	25.05%
2	LAKE VIEW	868	12.35%
3	NEAR NORTH SIDE	634	9.02%
4	WEST TOWN	532	7.57%
5	LINCOLN PARK	359	5.11%
6	UPTOWN	349	4.96%
7	NEAR SOUTH SIDE	338	4.81%
8	HYDE PARK	233	3.31%
9	EDGEWATER	230	3.27%
10	NORTH CENTER	167	2.38%
11	LOWER WEST SIDE	159	2.26%
12	ROGERS PARK	154	2.19%
13	NEAR WEST SIDE	142	2.02%
14	GREATER GRAND CROSSING	133	1.89%

Figure 4.5. Total frequency of grants aggregated at the community area level of analysis (mapped by 5 quintiles) (recipients aggregated by the administrative address).



**Figure 4.6. Total amount of funding aggregated at the community area level of analysis
(mapped by 5 quintiles) (data aggregated by the administrative address).**

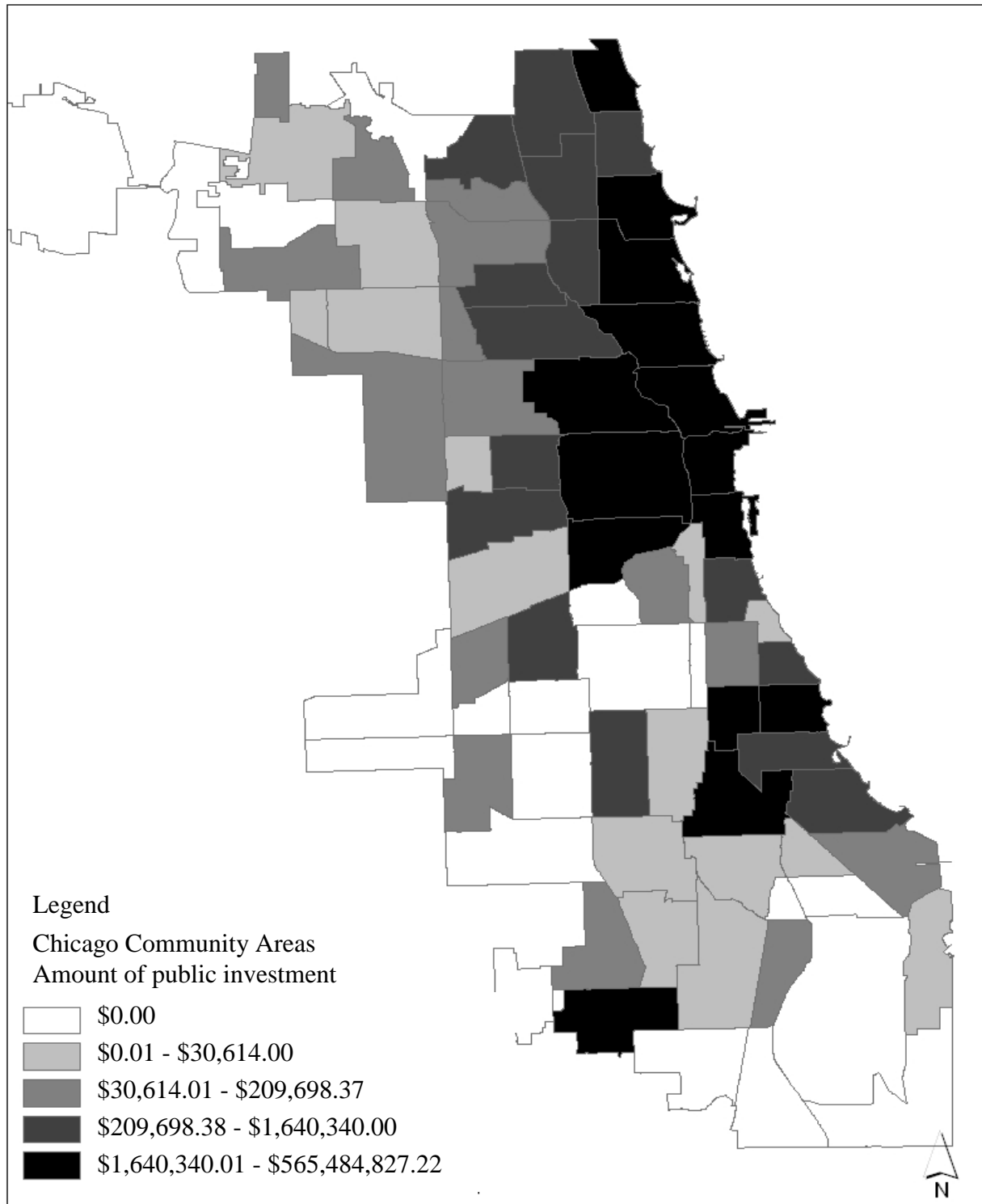


Table 4.8. Community areas in the top quintile, ranked by the amount of public investment (data aggregated by administrative address, monetary values were adjusted for inflation).

	Community area	Total Dollar Amount of Funding	Percentage of total amount of funding
	Total	\$1,271,196,996.74	100.00%
1	LOOP (downtown)	\$565,484,827.22	44.48%
2	NEAR SOUTH SIDE	\$327,382,689.31	25.75%
3	HYDE PARK	\$218,153,724.98	17.16%
4	LINCOLN PARK	\$82,295,766.96	6.47%
5	NEAR NORTH SIDE	\$15,184,527.93	1.19%
6	WASHINGTON PARK	\$10,188,078.58	0.80%
7	WEST TOWN	\$9,054,639.74	0.71%
8	LOWER WEST SIDE	\$8,150,798.60	0.64%
9	LAKE VIEW	\$8,091,962.19	0.64%
10	GREATER GRAND CROSSING	\$4,085,149.79	0.32%
11	MORGAN PARK	\$3,736,257.59	0.29%
12	NEAR WEST SIDE	\$2,521,388.92	0.20%
13	UPTOWN	\$2,346,767.19	0.18%
14	ROGERS PARK	\$2,264,763.55	0.18%

4.4. The Selection of the Three Cultural Districts for Qualitative Analysis

The Principal Component Analysis and K-means clustering analysis revealed several neighborhoods experiencing similar degrees of upgrading with Wicker Park. The public investment in the infrastructure of play dataset allows for the identification of the cultural composition of cultural districts including the types of arts and cultural activities taking place in the Chicago's neighborhoods between 1970 and 1999. For this analysis--based on the infrastructure dataset, the Census data and the ground surveying of the arts districts—three neighborhoods with different cultural compositions were identified from cluster #4. The first neighborhood is Wicker Park (West Town community area), which consists of census tracts #2412, #2413, #2414, and #2415. The second neighborhood is Pilsen East, Lower West Side community area, which consists of census tract #3103. The third neighborhood is Central Lakeview, Lakeview community area, which consists of census tract #629. The public

investment in the infrastructure of play dataset and the socio-economic variables from the Census data indicate that Wicker Park's cultural and socio-economic composition is different than Central Lakeview's and Pilsen East's community composition. The neighborhoods evolved as very different arts districts, with a very different composition in terms of class status. This was an important aspect to the analysis, since one of the main arguments of this research is that there is a diversity to gentrification that shapes how different arts and cultural neighborhoods evolve. The focus of this research is to capture and explore these differences and hence the selection of these three, very different cultural districts. Other neighborhoods from cluster #4 display numerous arts and cultural activities and some areas include characteristics similar to the ones found in the three selected neighborhoods. Future analysis could explore the diversity of other cultural neighborhoods in cluster #4.

The cultural districts selected for the qualitative case study analysis, Central Lakeview, Pilsen East, and Wicker Park, represent very different upgrading processes in the cultural communities, which will provide insight into the diversity of gentrification and the actors involved within the shaping of these artistic communities. While the Loop experienced tremendous population and housing growth, the census data did not reveal any evident displacement. The Loop did not come out in the clustering analysis in the cluster illustrating gentrification. The three neighborhoods selected for the more detailed qualitative analysis experienced substantial displacement of the traditional, poorer population, and more recently, these neighborhoods have experienced the displacement of the artists, which are both agents and victims of gentrification. In this cases, the artist community and the cultural districts, supported by the public cultural grants, attracted professionals and redevelopment into the neighborhood,

facilitating ongoing gentrification. Artists are now being themselves displaced due to the continual upgrading of the neighborhoods.

Census tract #629, located in the Lakeview community area, displays one of the most substantial degrees of gentrification among cultural districts in Chicago between 1970 and 2000. The analysis of the socioeconomic and housing census data and the review of gentrification processes taking place in census tract #629 indicated that Central Lakeview experienced one of the most substantial degrees of social and physical upgrading among cultural districts in Chicago. Since 1970 Central Lakeview has been undergoing gentrification predominantly driven by middle- and upper-middle-class gentrifiers, and more recently, experiencing an early stage of supergentrification. More recently, this vibrant theater and performing arts district has been struggling against its own success, with a displacement of artists and cultural organizations from the very places that they first redeveloped.

Pilsen East was the only neighborhood in the Lower West Side to experience a slow pace of gentrification between 1970 and 2000, likely due to the strong opposition and resistance from the original Hispanic community to development pressures. Despite the slower pace of gentrification, the neighborhood was still captured in our PCA and cluster analyses as experiencing upgrading. Between 1970 and 2000, Pilsen East experienced increases in rent and housing values and increases in college graduates and professionals. While the neighborhood experienced similar degrees of gentrification as Central Lakeview and Wicker Park, Pilsen East continued to be a neighborhood of low- to moderate-income earners. This neighborhood is still the most affordable among the three case study neighborhoods and thus continues to attract moderate-income professionals and artists from other cultural districts, and especially Wicker

Park. The artists have continued to live in Pilsen East due to the still relatively affordable housing costs and the slower pace of gentrification.

Wicker Park, one of the hippest neighborhoods in Chicago and home to a vibrant cultural district, is a case of slow, but steady gentrification, where the poor working in the manufacturing sector were the early residents displaced by lower- to middle-income professionals and educated artists. Recall that Wicker Park was the neighborhood that we knew was experiencing gentrification and we were using it as the sample neighborhood to tract the upgrading from the PCA and cluster analysis. This case effectively illustrates the duality of the artist condition in the context of capital reinvestment and displacement, being both agents as well as victims of the gentrification. The artists and musicians were the first group to move into the blighted, lower-income working-class neighborhood. In time, they had helped create a successful music mecca and a vibrant art-focused district, which eventually led to their victimization by forces of capital reinvestment. Artists found themselves being displaced from the neighborhood they helped gentrify, as the gentrification process in the neighborhood pushed property values to unaffordable levels.

4.5. Concluding Commentary

With a variety of funding sources and programs that support arts, culture, and entertainment, Chicago has become a “national model for public-private partnerships in support of the arts” into the 21st century (Preston, 2004). Traditional funding sources, such as the National Endowment for the Arts and the State of Illinois Arts Council grant programs, coupled with innovative and unique local programs, such as the Tax Increment Financing and property tax appropriations dedicated to museums and the aquarium, have supported the development of a

diverse infrastructure supporting arts, culture and entertainment in Chicago. The spatial patterns of the distribution of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, awarded between 1970 and 1999, revealed the concentration of the public financial support in several neighborhoods of the city. The public investment is not equally distributed across the city's census tracts or community areas, as many areas of the city did not receive any government support for arts and culture.

The Loop was the main recipient community area of the public investment in the infrastructure of play because of its central location (located in downtown Chicago) and the concentration of many renowned cultural institutions. The Loop is home to an impressive mix of cultural venues and events, including the Art of Institute of Chicago, Chicago Cultural Center, the Theater District, Chicago Symphonic Orchestra, Chicago Lyric Opera, and Millennium Park. Many of these cultural institutions have long been internationally renowned for sculpture, painting, drawing, music, dance, and theater performances.

In addition to the downtown, the analysis of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago between 1970 and 2000 identified three community areas that emerged consistently as secondary hot spots of arts and culture, and clusters of the concentration of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago. Several community areas have consistently received significant investment when compared to the rest of Chicago. Lakeview, West Town, and the Lower West Side are all home to a clustering of cultural organizations, artists and cultural professionals, and a concentration of grants for arts and culture. These community areas are home to numerous small and medium-sized cultural organizations that substantially benefited from the federal, state, and local art granting programs. This funding supported arts and cultural programming, and was less focused on capital improvement. Home to numerous but

smaller cultural organizations, West Town, Lakeview, and Lower West Side each received substantial public support, more than \$8 million in funding through numerous cultural grants between the years 1970 and 1999.

West Town was home to 7.5 percent of the total number of recipient organizations and 7.6 percent of the total number of grants awarded. West Town is home of Wicker Park, one of the a well-known arts and cultural district in the city. Wicker Park became a hip cultural destination with a large concentration of art galleries, cultural organizations, and artists living in the neighborhood. Between 1970 and 2000, hundreds of artists participated in art fairs, dozens of art galleries operated on a regular basis, and countless performances of theater, dance, music, and poetry took place throughout West Town. Some of the recipient organizations are: Latino Theater Chicago, Synergy Theater Company, Around the Coyote, Near Northwest Arts Council, Polish Museum of America, Ukrainian National Museum, Chicago Filmmakers, Woman Made Gallery, ARC Gallery, Redmoon Theater, Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Suzuki-Orff School of Young Musicians, Free Street Programs, and Intuit Gallery. Many of the cultural organizations that received public cultural grants were instrumental in fostering the West Town cultural district. During the 1990s, Wicker Park had one of the highest concentrations of artists in the country, and became the center of the cutting edge and the site of hip urban culture.

Lakeview had the second largest concentration of arts and cultural organizations receiving public investment in Chicago, with 13.3 percent of the total. Lakeview received 12.4 percent of the total number of grants and subsidies (aggregated by the recipient organization's administrative address). Lakeview has been known as a cultural district since the early 20th century. Between 1970 and 2000, Lakeview grew into a vibrant theater and performing arts neighborhood with a large number of theater, dance, and music organizations. The off-loop

theater and performing arts groups represent the central component of Lakeview's infrastructure of play. Many theater groups and performance venues were established in Lakeview since the late 1960s, including Ivanhoe Theater, Hull House Theater, Chicago City Players, St. Nicholas, Organic Theater, MoMing Dance and Art Center, Ferris Chorale, Stage Left Theater, Touchstone Theater, St Sebastian Players, Oriana Singers, Jan Erkert & Dancers, Women in the Director's Chair, Halevi Choral Society, and Live Bait Theater. The Theater Building, the Athenaeum Theater, and Links Hall represent critical performing arts centers in the community where numerous cultural groups have performed since the 1970s. The Theater Building has become a very influential incubator for nurturing and developing off-Loop theater companies and emerging theater artists. This performance venue has hosted more than 800 plays, thousands of artists, and numerous theater companies supported by these public cultural grants.

The Lower West Side received 2 percent of the number of subsidies awarded by the city between 1970 and 1999. The Lower West Side is home to the renowned National Museum for Mexican Art--one of the beneficiary of the substantial Chicago Park District appropriations--and a growing Hispanic and Non-Hispanic artist community. This concentration of artists and cultural activities led the city of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs to recognize the eastern end of the community (in the Pilsen East neighborhood) as a cultural district in 2002. This 'artists' colony' in Pilsen East is an established creative community, home to more than 30 independent galleries and artist-run creative spaces. The recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play (e.g., art gallery Pros Arts Studio, cultural center Casa Aztlán, National Museum of Mexican Art, Blue Rider Theater) have played a central role in the growth of the cultural district and the creation of a unique neighborhood identity.

The next three chapters each discuss the diversity of gentrification in these cultural districts with a particular focus on the composition of the cultural district, the various artists and cultural institutions in these neighborhoods, and the interplay between the artists, cultural districts, and the specific nature of redevelopment processes.

Chapter 5. Wicker Park

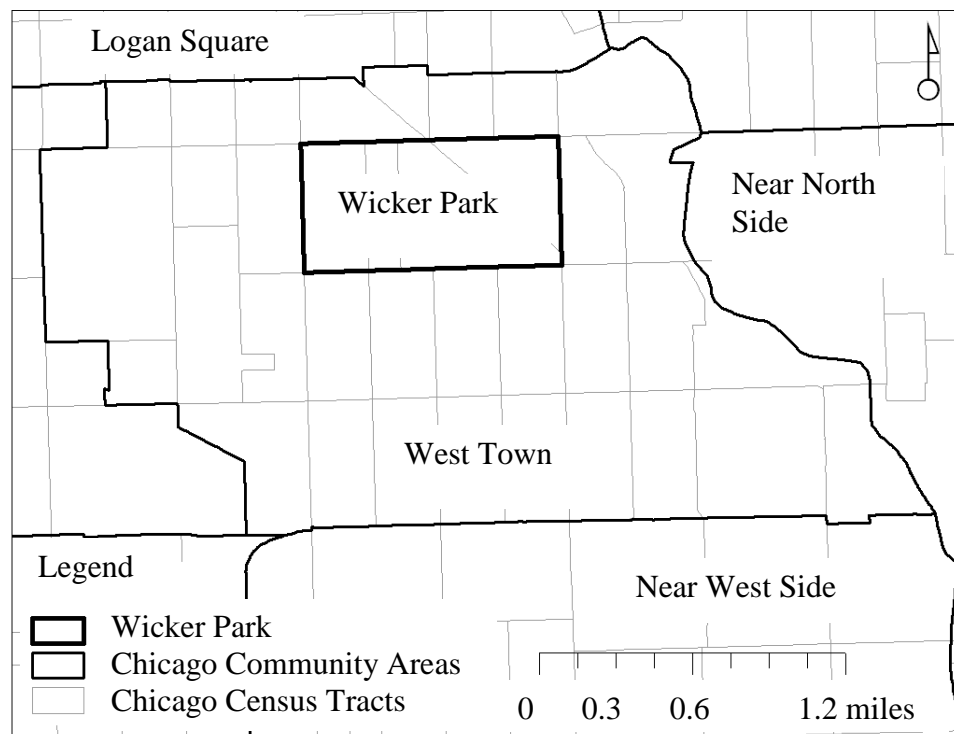
5.1. Introduction

The first cultural neighborhood from cluster #4 selected for the qualitative analysis of gentrification is Wicker Park. Wicker Park was selected as the base neighborhood for the selection of the gentrification cluster because of the specific nature of gentrification, which is extensively culturally driven within this district. Wicker Park, one of the best-known arts and cultural districts in the city (Betancur, 2002; Chicago Galley News, n.d.; Lloyd, 2003), represents the case of slow but steady middle-class gentrification, shaped extensively by the artist class. The gentrification of Wicker Park shows the dual role of artists in the gentrification processes, as both agents and victims of the social and physical upgrading.

Artists started to move into Wicker Park during the 1970s and 1980s, attracted by the large stock of inexpensive spaces for studios and art galleries (Huebner, 1994; Isaacs, 2001a; Lloyd, 2003). The neighborhood was ravaged by decades of population flight, disinvestment in the housing stock, and the decline of manufacturing. Between 1970 and 2000, hundreds of artists participated in art fairs, dozens of art galleries operated on a regular basis, and countless performances of theater, dance, music, and poetry took place throughout the neighborhood. Several cultural organizations, which received public cultural grants, were instrumental in fostering this cultural district and developing cultural events that attracted new residents to Wicker Park. Particularly in the 1990s, Wicker Park had one of the highest concentrations of artists in the country (Lauerman, 1992) and emerged as Chicago's center for the cutting edge and the hip (Boehlert, 1993). As the neighborhood started to rebuild itself as one of the 'hippest' places in Chicago, it began to attract a substantial number of moderate-income young

professionals and yuppies. Artists soon became victims of their own success, being forced to move out due to heightened rents and housing costs. The community's resistance to gentrification, including anti-gentrification actions and protests against artists and cultural organizations, was not sufficient and therefore was not successful in stopping the advancement of social upgrading in the neighborhood.

Figure 5.1. Wicker Park and West Town.



The Wicker Park neighborhood, which encompasses four census tracts, #2412, 2413, 2414 and 2415, is located in the West Town Community Area (figure 5.1). West Town is one of the secondary clusters of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, home to a diverse mix of art galleries, theaters, ethnic museums, and other cultural organizations that received local, state, and federal cultural grants during the period of this study (e.g., Free Street, Polish Museum of America, Ukrainian National Museum, Woman Made, ARC Gallery, Synergy

Theater). In West Town, the upgrading of its housing stock progressed outward from the early gentrification in Wicker Park. The case study starts with a brief discussion of gentrification and the public investment in the infrastructure of play in West Town, followed by a detailed qualitative analysis of upgrading processes in Wicker Park, with a particular focus on the role of the artists and the public investment in the infrastructure of play.

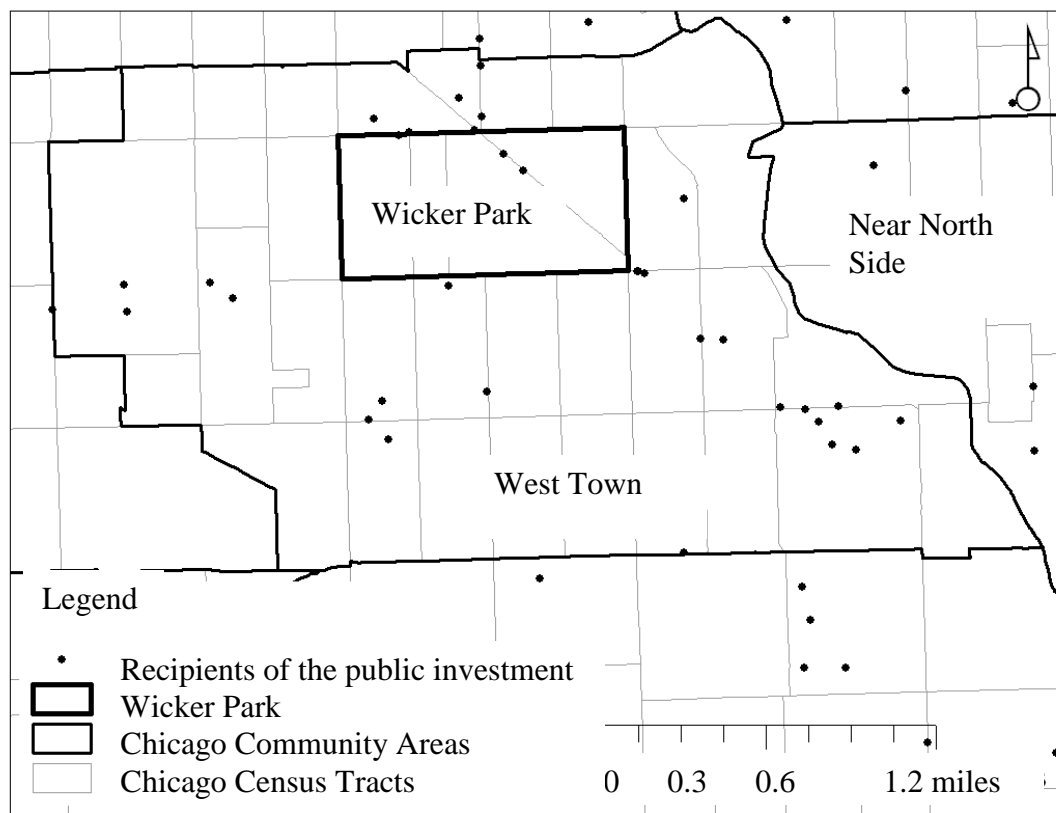
5.2. West Town Gentrification and Arts and Culture

West Town is one of the key clusters of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, with a large concentration of a diverse mix of cultural organizations, including theater companies, museums, and art galleries. During the late 1800s, the West Town community area developed around several distinct neighborhoods based on the influx of diverse ethnic groups into the community, including Germans, Scandinavians, Russian Jews, Ukrainians, Italians and Polish immigrants (Essig, 2004). The presence of some of these groups is still visible today in the cultural fabric and cultural institutions of the community.

For instance, Ukrainian Village, a neighborhood located in West Town, is home to the Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art and the Ukrainian National Museum, which were both recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play. The Polish Museum of America, one of the oldest and largest ethnic museums in the U.S. and a recipient of the city's cultural grants, was established in the early 1900s in West Town. Since the late 1940s, Hispanic started to settle in the area, starting with Puerto Ricans and then Mexicans. Urban renewal forced Puerto Ricans out of the gentrifying neighborhoods in the north side of Chicago and many resettled in West Town (Betancur, 2002).

West Town has been home to many non-profit cultural organizations. Free Street, established in 1969 to provide opportunities in artistic engagement to low-income youths, was a frequent recipient of the public cultural grants. They received a total of \$748,000 in continuous local and state to foster a vibrant youth theater program. Between 1970 and 2000, West Town became a secondary hot spot of arts and culture, and a cluster of the concentration of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago. Cultural non-profit organizations received a total of 532 local, state, and federal cultural grants in West Town for a total of \$9,054,639.

Figure 5.2. The infrastructures of play in West Town (non-profit organizations geocoded by their administrative address).



Some of the recipient organizations include: Latino Theater Chicago, Synergy Theater Company, Around the Coyote, Near Northwest Arts Council, Polish Museum of America, Ukrainian Institute of Modern Art, Ukrainian National Museum, Roadworks Production, Chicago Filmmakers, Woman Made Gallery, ARC Gallery, Redmoon Theater, Puerto Rican Cultural Center, Suzuki-Orff School of Young Musicians, Free Street Programs, Intuit: Center for Intuitive and Outsider Art, and Goat Island Performance Group. While some of these organizations were created before 1970, the majority were established between 1970 and 2000.

After World War II, West Town was considerably affected by white flight, disinvestment, arson, declining housing values, and an influx of Hispanic residents (Betancur, 2002; Padilla 1987, p.215). Amidst this blight, the community started to experience some early gentrification in the core of Wicker Park, during the mid to the late 1960s, which then spread out into the larger community. The physical upgrading process took the form of rehabilitation of properties with unique architectural artisanship and value, especially the Victorian mansions of the earlier affluent residents (Lauerman, 1992).

Artists also started to move into West Town, priced out from other cultural districts and attracted by the available large and cheap studios and performance spaces in this neighborhood. During the 1970s, several cultural organizations and art galleries opened in West Town. Among them, the ARC Gallery and Educational Foundation (1973)--a non-profit, woman artist-run cooperative--and the Puerto Rican Cultural Center Juan Antonio Corretjer (1973)--a non-profit, community-based umbrella institution--received since formation significant local and state grants. Betancur (2002) examined the local dialectics of power associated with gentrification in West Town, discussing the process, the various opposition interests, as well as the actions of the developers, real estate brokers, neighborhood groups, and the local government. His research

highlighted the central role of real estate brokers in the intensification of the upgrading process in West Town (Betancur, 2002).

The city's efforts to redevelop West Town date back to 1958 when the city of Chicago issued the Development Plan for the Central Area of Chicago. It called for the redevelopment of the downtown periphery, including sections of West Town, into middle-class housing (Betancur, 2002). In the same year, the city designated West Town as an urban renewal conservation area (Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986). Following this designation, a proposed redevelopment plan in 1966 sought to redevelop West Town into a middle-class neighborhood using urban renewal and other reinvestment strategies utilized in the redevelopment of Lincoln Park (Betancur, 2002). The only urban renewal project completed in West Town was Noble Square, a 12-acre land clearance project consisting of new housing, on the southeastern section of West Town (Marciniak, 1977).

The next major local government redevelopment effort occurred during the late 1960s with the Comprehensive Plan of Chicago and the report for West Town. These efforts, however, were mostly descriptive documents and involved no implementation. Later, in the 1970s, the 'Chicago 21' Plan included aspects covering a portion of West Town bordering the downtown (Betancur, 2002). Alongside creating planning documents, the city invested heavily in physical infrastructure in West Town, which initiated early gentrification, evident during the 1970s and the 1980s (Greer & Joseph, 1989).

During the 1980s, the pace of redevelopment in West Town picked up and gentrification spread out from Wicker Park. Small and mid-size developers entered the housing market of West Town and more young professionals moved into the area. The city continued to improve the physical infrastructure within the community (Greer & Joseph, 1989). Many cultural organizations were established in West Town and were the beneficiary of cultural grants. For

instance, the Goat Island Performance Group, a non-profit performance group, was founded in 1987. Since then, the company received more than \$54,000 in cultural grants for programming activities. Another cultural grants recipient is the Suzuki-Orff Scholl of Music, which has been teaching music to low-income families since 1981. Synergy Theater Company, located just north of Wicker Park, was created in 1986 in a rehabbed loft warehouse (Bommer, 1995; Lazare, 1995). The small theater building hosted shows by Synergy Theater (recipient of \$14,872 in cultural grants) and by visiting companies, including Roadworks Productions (recipient of \$21,000 in cultural grants).

The construction of the Synergy Theater encouraged other theaters to move into the neighborhood (Bommer, 1995). In 1995, due to financial difficulties, the theater company closed while the building was torn down and turned into loft apartments (Bommer, 1995; Lazare, 1995). This was a clear indicator of the rampant gentrification taking place in West Town during the 1990s. Between 1987 and 1997, the Latino Chicago Theater Company, was the cornerstone of the Latin theatrical community and a recipient of cultural grants, a total of \$267,391. The theater building was destroyed by a fire in the late 1997 (Smallwood, 1997). During the 1990s, more art galleries and cultural non-profit organizations were established in West Town. They included Intuit (The Center for Intuitive and Outsider Art formed in 1991) and Woman Made Gallery, formed in 1992. Both received state and local cultural grants to develop their programs.

In 1990, the Wicker Park neighborhood received national interest due to a popular TV home improvement show, where Bob Vila, host at that time, purchased and rehabilitated a graystone two-flat building in Wicker Park over 13 episodes of the show (Silverman, 1990). In addition, in 1991 the city designated Wicker Park a historic landmark, which provided tax credits to rehabbers (Mueller, 1986).

With the intensification of gentrification in West Town during the 1990s, multi-family buildings were renovated (Allen, 1991) and loft conversions became more evident throughout the community. Using data from the Cook County Assessor from 1989 to 2004, Davis and Merriman (2007) found that West Town experienced some of the most substantial condominium growth in Chicago between 1989 and 2004. The community lost 733 rental units located in small apartment buildings with 2-6 units, representing 10.1 percent of the total number of rental units in small apartment buildings between 1989 and 2004. Moreover, 24 units located in large apartment building with 7+ units, representing 14.7 percent of rental units in large rental buildings, were lost. By 2004, West Town had 7,476 condominium units from a very modest number of 77 condominium units that existed in 1989. West Town saw also an increase of 827 residential condominium buildings (Davis & Merriman, 2007). Since the late 1990s, there were fewer architecturally unique buildings that were being renovated, and tear-downs and new construction became much more evident in West Town.

During the 1990s, property assessments increased dramatically in all of West Town, affecting landlords, rents, and low-income residents (Lauerman, 1992). In many cases, the fast pace of gentrification had brought about hardship, such as the eviction of current tenants when the buildings were being redeveloped (Allen, 1991), as in the case of the remodeling of the Elm Park Hotel. Betancur (2002) identified numerous abuses against low-income residents during the gentrification process. They included the intimidation of property owners to sell, the intimidation of low-income minority tenants to leave, and the eviction of tenants without notice.

Betancur (2002) analyzed the local dialectics of power associated with gentrification in West Town focusing on the local politics accompanying gentrification in the neighborhood. Conflicts over the type of housing being developed in the neighborhood took place between

community organizations, such as the Northwest Community Organization and Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation, and residents' organizations, such as the Old Wicker Park Committee (Betancur et al., 1995). The Northwest Community Organization was formed in 1962 as a result of concerns over how urban renewal was to be implemented in the neighborhood (Betancur et al., 1995; Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986). The Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation, a community development corporation, provides affordable housing in the neighborhood. In contrast, the Old Wicker Park Committee, and other middle-class groups, had opposed publicly subsidized affordable housing in Wicker Park (Betancur et al., 1995; Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986). In general, the construction of low-income or affordable housing was challenged in West Town by the continuous opposition from the local alderman and real estate brokers in the area. The increasing prices of land, including empty lots, within the neighborhood were also a growing deterrent to low-income housing construction (Betancur, 2002).

Between 1970 and 2000, West Town experienced gentrification in several neighborhoods, while pockets of disinvestment and poverty continued to exist in other enclaves of the community (Betancur, 2002). Tables 5.1 through 5.5 show the significant changes in key indicators of gentrification between 1970 and 2000, indicating that West Town experienced substantial upgrading. The median gross rent increased 62.69 percent while the median housing values increased 360.91 percent. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from being 0.68 times the Chicago median to being 1.54 times the city's median. The median value of household income increased from being 0.82 times the city's median to being 1.11 times Chicago's median. With regard to its social composition, West Town experienced a decline in the number of residents employed in manufacturing and an associate increase in the number of professionals living in the community. The improvements in median

household income and per capita income were less substantial when compared to Wicker Park or the Lakeview community, indicating the transition of West Town, from a low-income working-class neighborhood to a lower-middle-income, middle-class neighborhood.

Table 5.1: Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.
(Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing
West Town	\$428	\$696	62.69%	\$53,799	\$247,964	360.91%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 5.2: Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median HH Income (1970)	Median HH Income (2000)	% Change in Median HH Income	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
West Town	\$36,026	\$41,717	15.80%	\$11,288	\$25,468	125.61%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 5.3: Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median House Value Ratio (1970)*	Median House Value Ratio (2000)	Median HH Income Ratio (1970)**	Median HH Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
West Town	0.68	1.54	0.82	1.11	21.42%	28.92%

* Median household value of West Town neighborhood divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of West Town divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 5.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manuf acturing (1970)	Manufa cturing (2000)	% Change in Manufac turing	% of Manuf acturin g (1970)	% of Manufa cturing (2000)	% of Manufac turing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufac turing Ratio (2000)*
West Town	22,178	5,562	-74.92%	46.04%	13.09%	1.59	1.00
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in West Town divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 5.5. Change in professionals and the professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Professi onals (1970)	Professi onals (2000)	% Change in Professio nals	% of Profess ionals (1970)	% of Professi onals (2000)	% of Professio nals Ratio (1970)**	% of Professio nals Ratio (2000)**
West Town	3,485	17,098	390.62%	7.29%	40.25%	0.41	1.20
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

** Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in West Town divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

5.3. Gentrification and the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Wicker Park

Wicker Park represents the case of a hip and edgy cultural neighborhood which underwent steady social and physical upgrading resulting in the displacement of the artists and other cultural professionals, which were the original agents of gentrification. The neighborhood has been home to a diverse cluster of artists, art galleries, theater, music and dance groups, and cultural non-profit organizations, many benefiting from the local, state, or federal cultural grants. This represents a recurrent theme within the artist community that illustrates the precarious position artists find themselves in; an overly successfully gentrification of a neighborhood by the artistic class, which eventually leads to them being displaced.

Wicker Park was first inhabited by wealthy Germans and Scandinavians, who settled there after the Chicago fire of 1871 and built large mansions (Best, 2004; Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986). The name of the neighborhood comes from Joel and Charles Wicker, who donated the park with the same name to the city of Chicago in the late 1880s (Pacyga and Skerrett, 1986). In the early 20th century, as the wealthy Germans and Scandinavians moved to the suburbs, more lower-income and working-class residents moved to Wicker Park (West, 2004). The neighborhood attracted working-class African Americans, Polish and other Eastern Europeans living in the small, working-class cottages.

After World War II, the middle-class flight to the suburbs intensified (Donato, 1990) and the neighborhood began to experience increasing disinvestment and redlining (Gaspar, 1979; Pearce, 2002). Many of the neighborhood's original mansions were divided up into multi-family units and boarding houses for the working-class residents (Pacyga and Skerrett, 1986). In time, Wicker Park became an ethnic working-class neighborhood (Pearce, 2002; Cutler, 2006). The Hispanic population, primarily Puerto Ricans, started to move into the neighborhood since the early 1950s; many being displaced by urban renewal taking place in the north side of the Chicago neighborhoods (Padilla, 1987, p. 214). In 1970, the Wicker Park Hispanic population represented 47.83 percent of the entire neighborhood's population.

During the 1970s, Wicker Park continued to experience substantial disinvestment, population decline, arson incidences, a rampant drug culture, and prostitution on a large scale (Donato, 1990; Gaspar, 1979; Padilla 1987; Pearce, 2002; West, 2004). During the 1970s the neighborhood lost a substantial portion of its population, predominantly the white population. During the 1970s alone, Wicker Park lost 27 percent of its housing stock, 30 percent of its occupied housing (both rental- and owner-occupied housing), 40 percent of its families, and 38

percent of its population. The high number of vacant homes and empty lots lowered the rent and home values (Betancur, 2002). In addition, the economic transformation of the manufacturing industry affected many working-class Hispanic and African-American residents in Wicker Park.

These demographic and housing transformations created an attractive built environment for artists to settle in. During the 1970s, a substantial number of artists and cultural professionals moved into the neighborhood. Some artists relocated to Wicker Park due to the high gentrification-induced rents of Old Town, Lincoln Park, and the downtown (Little, 2007). Others, especially the young and recent fine arts graduates, began moving into Wicker Park due to the extensive availability of cheap large spaces in former industrial buildings and abandoned storefronts, as well as the neighborhood diversity (Huebner, 1994; Isaacs, 2001a; Lloyd, 2003). In this neighborhood, artists transformed storefronts, old industrial lofts, and houses into studios, art galleries, and performance spaces (Huebner, 1994; Lonngren, 1992; Morris, 1985).

During the 1970s, artists and cultural professionals acted as agents of gentrification. In time, real estate agents and developers started to promote the presence of the artists and art galleries in their housing advertisements. Some real estate brokers directly attracted artists to Wicker Park as they believed artists would help bring attention to the neighborhood and facilitate the sale of properties to higher income groups (Betancur, 2002).

The redevelopment of Wicker Park moved slowly during the 1970s driven by a growing number of artists, young professionals of modest incomes, and other urban pioneers who bought cheap homes, some with great architectural value (including Victorian mansions). The early capital reinvestment in the neighborhood was largely characterized by homeowner restorations (Douglas, 1974; Gaspar, 1979; Nathan, 1989, figure 5.3). The number of professionals almost

doubled over this decade in Wicker Park. Gentrifiers converted the old mansions, split decades earlier into apartments, into single-family homes again (Gaspar, 1977).

Wicker Park, in part, benefited from the gentrification of Lincoln Park between the late 1950s and into the mid 1970s (Betancur, 2002; Gaspar, 1979). Being located in close proximity to these neighborhoods was an important spatial and economic advantage. Wicker Park, which included numerous large Victorian mansions, unique turn-of-the-century architecture, Chicago's urban renewal designation, and low housing prices, started to be attractive for real estate brokers, rehabbers, and developers (Lauerman, 1992). As early as the 1970s, some realtors actually declared Wicker Park one of the hottest residential markets in Chicago (Gaspar, 1977).

Figure 5.3. Rehabilitated mansions in Wicker Park (Benton, 2009).



Betancur (2002) identified the central role of realty companies, which sometimes used predatory techniques in the redevelopment of Wicker Park. These predatory practices can be

traced back to the 1970s. Real estate agents began to convince people unable to afford Lincoln Park property to buy property in the neighborhood. Real estate agents were also aggressively convincing property owners to sell (Betancur, 2002).

The first wave of gentrification brought the displacement of the low-income residents. Between 1970 and 1980 there was a 24 percent decline in the number of Hispanic residents in Wicker Park. As the neighborhood began experiencing the first incidence of its revival and an influx of lower- and moderate-income residents, many low-income and minority residents expressed fear that they would be forced to move out (Brodt, 1979; Gaspar, 1979). During the 1970s, studies first documented the displacement of Hispanic residents from Wicker Park, a result of both rising housing costs and the predatory practices of realtors (Brodt, 1979). However, it needs to be emphasized that the scale of capital reinvestment in Wicker Park was still limited during the 1970s (Gaspar, 1977). Within this context, the community and the neighborhood groups were still largely concerned about the extent of disinvestment and population loss within the neighborhood (Betancur, 2002).

During the 1980s, Wicker Park continued to develop its burgeoning cultural scene as more art galleries, theaters, cultural organizations opened in the neighborhood (Artner, 1989; Huebner, 1994). Low housing values, the available stock of cheap former manufacturing lofts, and the general condition of the neighborhood attracted more artists into the neighborhood. Many artists renovated the neighborhood's loft spaces into studios. Some artists bought houses in the neighborhood and created studios in their renovated homes (Morris, 1985). With many storefront spaces inexpensive and vacant, artists were able to quickly exhibit or create a theater event or art festival during the 1970 and 1980s. During the early stage of Wicker Park's gentrification, cheap large spaces were easy to rent in Wicker Park. Commenting on Wicker

Park, an artist noted that, “I knew a lot of people that had already moved to Chicago and told me it was really easy to start your own shows and stuff-which it was. I couldn’t believe how easy it was for us to get a space” (Lloyd, 2003, p. 169).

Figure 5.4. Flat Iron Building, corner of Damen, North, and Milwaukee St. (Benton, 2012).



In 1985, Wes Andrews and John Lubinski acquired the Flat Iron Arts Building at 1579 N. Milwaukee Ave. and started offering cheap long-term leases to artists and nonprofit organizations (Little, 2007; Lonngren, 1992, figure 5.4). By the early 1990s, the Flat Iron building emerged as the neighborhood's premier arts center (Huebner, 1994) housing galleries, non-profit organizations, around 20 artists' studios, rehearsal rooms, performance spaces, and crafts shops (Huebner, 1994; Lauerman, 1992). Among the tenants of the Flat Iron Building, the Near Northwest Arts Council (NNAC), an artist directed non-profit organization, was one of the most influential organizations in the Wicker Park cultural scene and was instrumental in supporting local artists and the arts district. Between 1986 and 1996, NNAC was located in the

Flat Iron Building and received a total of \$156,044 in state and local cultural grants. The arts council organized and hosted studio tours, arts festivals, public art installations, and arts education workshops, as well as supported exhibits, poetry and theatrical performances, serving more than 2,000 artists in the neighborhood (NNAC, n.d.).

During the 1980s, the increasing concentration and visibility of the artists' community in Wicker Park attracted visitors, gentrifiers, artists, real estate brokers, and developers into the area. Artists were the first wave of gentrification and were considered the main actors driving gentrification in Wicker Park. As realtor Szczech argues (Lauerman, 1992), "They're the breed that turns things around." This arts scene attracted significant investment and speculation as brokers and developers tried to acquire and redevelop available housing in Wicker Park.

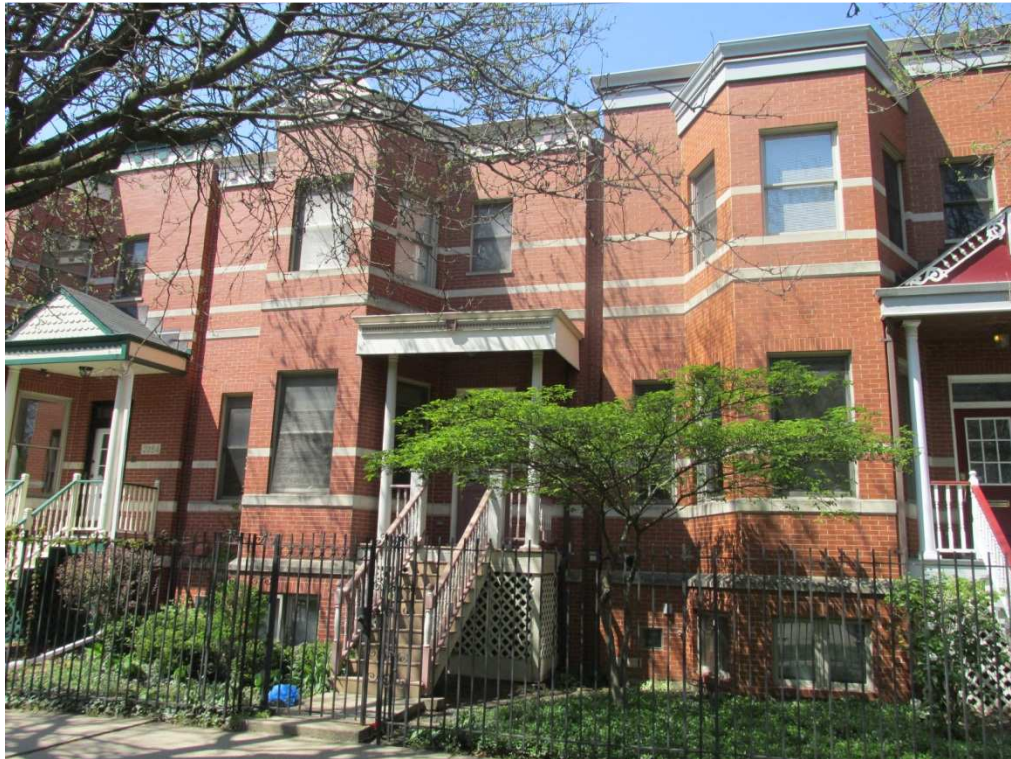
Gentrification advanced at a steadier but faster pace in Wicker Park during the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1990, the median single-family home value increased by 198 percent, an indicator of the rampant speculation in the housing market. The median gross rent continued to increase as well. Accounts point to the rapid spread of gentrification in the core of Wicker Park, with higher prices being asked for a decreasing number of vacant lots or blighted mansions (Donato, 1990; Nathan, 1989; Plath, 1986). For instance, vacant lots that sold for \$5,000 or \$10,000 in the mid-1980s were selling for \$60,000 in the late-1980s (Nathan, 1989). The number of owner-occupied housing units grew a 5 percent while the number of renter-occupied units decreased 17 percent during the 1980s, pointing to an increase in loft conversions (figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5. 2029 W Pierce Ave. a condominium conversion, (Benton, 2013).



During the decade, the nature of capital reinvestment into the neighborhood had also changed. While the first gentrifiers of the 1970s did the renovations themselves, by the 1980s young professionals were increasingly buying already renovated houses by small-scale developers (Nathan, 1989; Morris, 1985). By the end of 1980s, most of the old Victorian mansions had been restored by gentrifiers to their former glory (Plath, 1986). In addition, working-class cottages had been gutted, their partitions removed, and the structures refurbished (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989; Morris, 1985). Developers were now looking into investing in new construction, both single-family and condominium projects (Plath, 1986, figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6. Condominium construction in the late 1980s (Benton, 2012).



Young middle-class professionals, of moderate incomes, continued to move into the neighborhood (Morris, 1985) producing a critical mass for steady gentrification by the late 1980s. The number of professionals increased by 45 percent over the decade. The median household income increased four percent while the capita income continued to increase. Public infrastructure improvements made during the 1980s attracted more real estate investment (Greer & Joseph, 1989). Property taxes and rents continued to increase (Huebner, 1994).

The 1990s was a decisive decade for this artist community. The Wicker Park cultural district grew and contracted within this decade due to the forces of gentrification. During the 1990s, Wicker Park emerged as a major national artistic district, known across the U.S. as a site of hip urban culture and a thriving arts and music scene (Boehlert, 1993; Lloyd, 2002; Rochlin, 1994; Rothschild, 1996). As it became a hip and edgy cultural district, home to a vibrant art gallery and music scene, it fell victim to its own success as the early artists, musicians, and other

cultural professionals and organizations were unable to continue their artistic pursuits in the neighborhood.

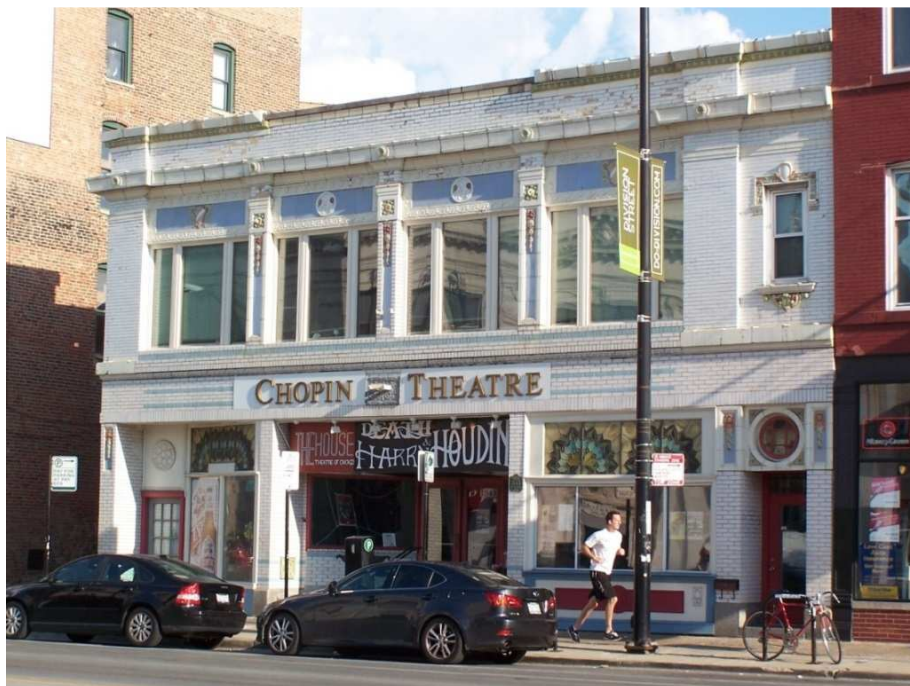
In the early 1990s, the Wicker Park cultural, arts, and music scene received national recognition with the *Billboard Magazine's* cover story “Chicago: Cutting Edge's New Capital.” The article recognized the emergence of Wicker Park as an alternative-rock mecca and hip-hop center (Boehlert, 1993) stating, “The neighborhood has been burgeoning with so many music fans lately that, if she could, Miller would move her Lounge Ax club from Lincoln Park to Wicker Park, since most of the customers for her eclectic shows now hail from that area.” The article added that the “comfortably run-down Wicker Park” is “a center for Chicago rock.” The *Billboard Magazine's* story was followed by a *New York Times* article titled “Edgy in Chicago” (Rochlin, 1994), which mentioned the concentration of “downscale music venues” in Wicker Park. Wicker Park emerged as one of the ‘edgiest’ and ‘hippest’ neighborhoods in the U.S., and this factor would eventually emerge as the death blow to this artist community.

During the early 1990s, the existing concentration of artists and cultural organizations continued to attract artists into Wicker Park from other neighborhoods. New galleries and cultural organizations opened in the Flat Iron Building and elsewhere throughout the neighborhood (Huebner, 1994; Isaacs, 2009; Lauerma, 1992). Some artists relocated from the gentrifying neighborhoods of Lincoln Park, Old Town, and Lakeview. For instance, Douglas Philips, a painter, moved into a Wicker Park storefront in the late 1980s from Lakeview, while artists also moved their galleries from Lincoln Park to Wicker Park (Lauerma, 1992). Some artists were displaced from the River North gallery district, which was partially destroyed by a fire in 1989 and later overtaken by rapidly rising rents. This neighborhood’s arts scene also fell victim to commercial and residential gentrification (Warren, 2004). During the early 1990s, the

Flat Iron building also continued its role as the neighborhood's arts center, home to many art studios and art galleries (Lauerman, 1992).

A diversity of artistic, music, theater, poetry and film events took place in the neighborhood during the 1990s, many supported by cultural grants from the city, state, or federal agencies. For instance, Acme Arts Society, also a grant recipient, performed theater plays in Wicker Park. Since 1990, thousands of performances took place at the Chopin Theater (figure 5.7). The Chopin Theater has produced or presented more than 500 theater, music, literary, and social events each year. While this performing art center itself did not directly receive cultural grants, many of the shows presented at the center were publicly supported through federal cultural grants (e.g., Defiant Theater, Roadworks Productions, and Body Politic). In addition, Roadworks Productions, a local theater company, founded in 1992, performed several years in the neighborhood (Bommer, 1995; Isaacs, 2004).

Figure 5.7. Theater Chopin (Benton, 2012).



The clustering and density of artists in Wicker Park created visibility for a range of artistic events in the neighborhood, attracting not just artists but also visitors and prospective residents. In the early 1990s, the Around the Coyote festival, named after the shape of a building in the neighborhood, was very successful in attracting visitors to Wicker Park (Huebner, 1994). The festival was a four-day art fair and included an artists' studio and gallery walk, as well as exhibition, theater, music, performance, poetry, film, and video events. The concentration of artists in Wicker Park was so great that the founder of the festival, Jim Happy-Delpech, declared the artists community of Wicker Park and surrounding areas as one of the nation's largest, after Lower Manhattan and San Francisco (Huebner, 1994).

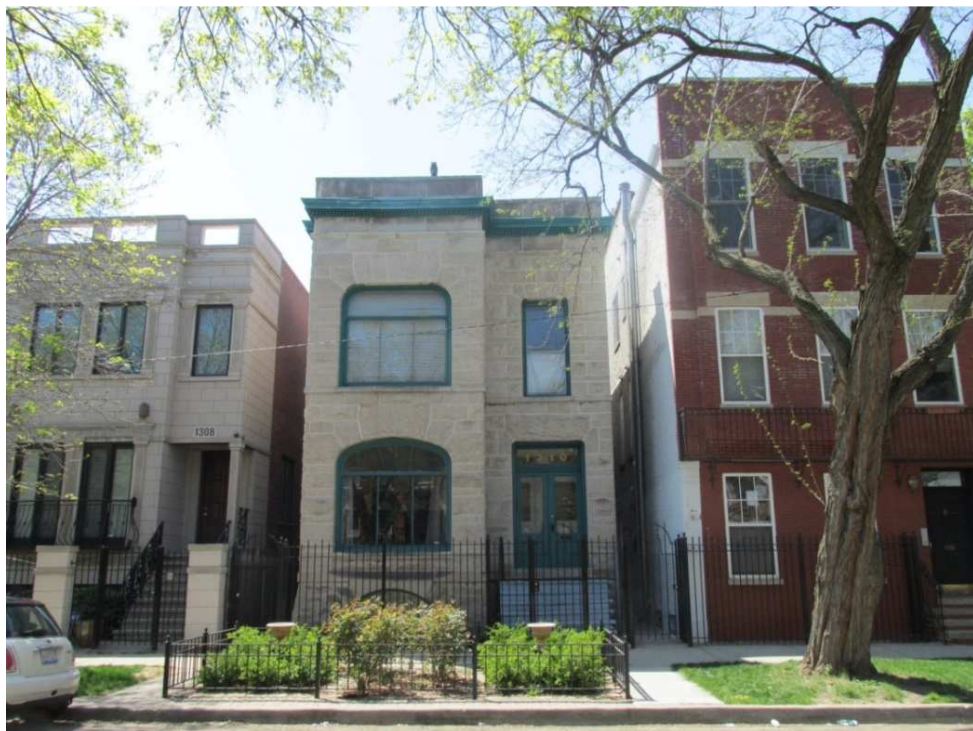
The art festival, supported during the 1990s by cultural grants awarded by the City's Department of Cultural Affairs, was very successful in attracting tens of thousands of visitors to Wicker Park (Huebner, 1994; Isaacs, 2001a). In the community, however, the success of the festival was perceived negatively by longtime residents. The Around the Coyote and other art events were viewed as attracting gentrification pressures. Some artists claimed that visitors to the art events seemed more intent on scouting for real estate than on exploring neighborhood art, music and theatre (Lauerman, 1992). At its peak, nearly 100,000 persons viewed the work of about 800 visual and performing artists at this festival (Isaacs, 2009).

The general view of the New York Times and the Billboard Magazine was that Wicker Park was home to many Hispanics and artists, was “comfortably run-down” (Boehlert, 1993), and had a “determined glitzlessness” (Rochlin, 1994). The New York Times journalist reported on the area's “collection of graystones or brick Victorian buildings, most of them crumbling and sheathed in soot” (Rochlin, 1994). These accounts point to the fact that in the early 1990s, even

though the core of Wicker Park was gentrified, there was still a presence of deteriorated homes, gangs, and extensive drug activity in the neighborhood (Nathan, 1989; Plath, 1986).

In the early 1990s, the popular 1990's TV show 'Home Again' brought renowned attention to the neighborhood because the show's creator, Bob Vila, purchased and renovated a graystone two-flat building at 1310 N. Leavitt St. in Wicker Park (Allen, 1991; Silverman, 1990; figure 5.8). Many local small and medium-sized developers gained confidence in the housing market of Wicker Park (Allen, 1991).

Figure 5.8. The building refurbished on Bob Vila's 'Home Again' (Benton, 2013).



A real estate firm estimated that Wicker Park was “60 to 70 percent gentrified” (Allen, 1991). Even the ward's alderman considered that stability had increased (Lauerman, 1992). Gentrification continued and intensified during the 1990s in Wicker Park. The number of young professionals moving into the neighborhood exploded, with a 282 percent increase in

professionals over this decade alone. The arts and cultural scene and the presence of artists were a central factor in attracting gentrifiers to Wicker Park (Lauerman, 1992). The median household income almost doubled over the decade and the per capita income increased by 145 percent, indicating that middle-income professionals were increasingly moving into the neighborhood. This is an important aspect of the new gentrification typology, and particularly when compared to the previous decade.

During the 1990s, Wicker Park experienced some of the most dramatic physical upgrading in Chicago. The nature of capital reinvestment in the neighborhood included condominium conversions, tear downs, and new construction of owner-occupied housing (Allen, 1991; Betancur, 2002). Developers sought to redevelop all the vacant lots in the neighborhood (Allen, 1991) and a greater incidence of demolitions by owners became evident by the late 1990s (Weber et al., 2006). The number of housing units increased for the first time, with an 18 percent increase over the decade, fueled by the considerable construction pace in the neighborhood. Six hundred and forty-four new housing units were built during the 1990s alone, representing 14 over the total number of housing units in 1990. This number is also more than double the number of new housing units built during the 1970s and 1980s. There was a 63 percent increase in the number of owner-occupied housing units and a 20 percent increase in the number of renter-occupied housing units (NHGIS, n.d.). The capital investment resulted in a 64 percent increase in the median housing value and a 50 percent in median gross rent during this decade.

Amidst these transformations in the social composition and built environment in the neighborhood, the anti-gentrification sentiment in Wicker Park grew during the 1990s (Huebner, 1994; Kleine, 2001). In general, activists in Wicker Park opposed any middle-class development because it was considered to be increasing housing values and forcing low-income residents out

of the neighborhood (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989). The displacement of the lower-income residents did occur. Census data indicate a drop in the minority populations in the neighborhood and a decline in the number of families below the poverty line and on public assistance income. Messages against gentrification were visible in graffiti on sidewalks and sides of buildings in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, with sayings such as “Die Yuppie Scum,” “Stop the War on the Poor,” “Eat the Rich,” “Yuppies Afuera” (that is Spanish for 'outside'), “Smash Gentrification,” “Gentrification = Class War,” and “Yuppies Out--the Natives Are Hostile” (Huebner, 1994). Some messages also attacked businesses catering to gentrifiers. However, the community's opposition to redevelopment was less successful in hindering developers from gentrifying the neighborhood, when compared to, for instance, the Pilsen’ resistance to gentrification.

Moreover, the anti-gentrification sentiment was also directed at artists as well as cultural organizations and businesses in Wicker Park. Conflicts, attacks, and activism took over Wicker Park's arts life with a focus placed on artists and festivals that attract gentrifiers and redevelopment (Huebner, 1994). Art festivals and other "arts-commodifying agents of gentrification," were heavily attacked for bringing visitors and acting as a gentrification tool in the neighborhood (Huebner, 1994).

The 'Around the Coyote' art festival was accused of commercializing the arts and artists; making Wicker Park a safe and attractive neighborhood for redevelopment, and attracting capital reinvestment, visitors, and gentrifiers (Huebner, 1994; Isaacs, 2001a; Little, 2007). Other arts-related businesses, such as the Flat Iron Building, Booksellers Row bookstore, and Letter eX Poetry Newsmagazine were also attacked by anti-gentrification activists. These anti-gentrification efforts culminated in 1993 with an anonymous letter titled “Help Pound the

Coyote,” which was sent to many area businesses and organizations and encouraged readers to boycott the 'Around the Coyote' 1994 festival.

According to the letter, suggested guerrilla tactics “that have proven successful” in stopping gentrifiers included to slash art canvases, spray-paint “gentrafuck” on businesses, glue locks shut, boycott publications promoting the festival, trash magazines that accept real estate advertisements, “smash windows of all new construction, renovation or yuppie artist lofts,” and boycott white businesses in Wicker Park (Huebner, 1994). This divisiveness also emerged between the interests of low-income artists and groups promoting high-end art and upscale art galleries (Huebner 1994).

The Wicker Park case study clearly shows the dual role of artists in the gentrification process, as agents and victims of gentrification. The impact of gentrification on the artists, cultural professionals, and arts organizations in Wicker Park has been tremendous. With redevelopment transforming more houses and blocks, and housing prices and rents rising in the early 1990s, the arts community was already feeling threatened (Lauerman, 1992). The neighborhood continued to have a supply of studio spaces available in the Flat Iron building and affordable housing units throughout pockets of the neighborhood (Rochlin, 1994), but artists and other cultural professionals were worried that the neighborhood's image as a ‘hip’ and ‘cutting edge’ neighborhood would attract outsiders, which would result in higher rents (Rochlin, 1994). As the 1990s progressed, this fear was increasingly being realized.

In general, artists understood that they attracted capital reinvestment and gentrification (Lauerman, 1992). As one artist complained (Lutton, 1998), “we're probably inadvertently aiding the process even though we'd rather not. You know, once you get enough artists in an area all of a sudden the yuppies come in next, but we'd prefer they don't.” Another artist Adam Siegel, who

rented a studio in the Flat Iron building, argued, “Artists move in here, and after a year and a half, everything changes--new restaurants, bookshops, a coffeehouse” (Lauerman, 1992). David Fitzgerald, curator of Space Gallery gave a glimpse into the gentrification process:

I moved my gallery from Lincoln Park to Wicker Park in December of 1991, and I realize I'm part of the gentrification process too. The growing number of galleries that open are helping it happen. Even though they're helping artists, they're also hurting them. Artists are part of the problem as well. They displaced Hispanic families. Yuppies then come in behind the artists. It's a vicious cycle. (Lauerman, 1992).

By the late 1990s, the intensification of gentrification in Wicker Park, apparent in rising housing prices and rents, resulted in the indirect displacement of artists and art-related businesses (Armstrong, 2001; Isaacs, 2001b; Koster, 2009; Lydersen, 2003; Richardson, 2003; Pearce, 2002). Most of the cheap loft spaces and housing adequate for artists were being turned into condominiums (Huerbner, 2001). For instance, Paulina Arts Building--a live/work building that rented to artists--was converted into Montauk Manor, a condominium building.

Gentrification-driven rents had pushed lower-income and more vulnerable residents, including artists, out of Wicker Park and into cheaper neighborhood options in the city, or the wider Chicago metropolitan area. For instance, Ed Marszewski, director and founder of alternative art collective Lumpen, purchased an abandoned warehouse in Bridgeport in 2006 when his rent rose at the Flat Iron Building (Koster, 2009). Other artists moved to the growing arts district in Pilsen (Lutton, 1998). Others moved nearby, to Humboldt Park, Logan Square (Dumke, 2012; Grams & Warr, 2003) and the Near West Side while they continued to perform or display in Wicker Park (Pearce, 2002). High housing and building values in the neighborhood affected arts and cultural organizations. Arts businesses also relocated or closed (Koster, 2009). For instance, Charybdis moved to the suburb of Jefferson Park due to the rising rents in Wicker Park (Isaacs, 2001b). The building housing Idful Music recording studio--considered “the

original mecca of the Wicker Park rock 'n' roll community” (Rothschild, 1996; Margasak,1999)-- was sold in 1996 to developers, with the recording studio unable to buy the property due to the high asking price.

By 2000, the success of Wicker Park had changed the trajectory of this artist community, as Wicker Park became a concentration of trendy restaurants, bars, and boutiques, but relatively few art galleries. An artist established in Pilsen claimed that many artists were forced to leave Wicker Park due to rising rents they could not afford (Lyndersen, 2003). The publisher of an online arts magazine pointed out that “People say Wicker Park is an arts community, but it's all galleries. Artists can't afford to live there anymore” (Richardson, 2003).

Throughout the gentrification of Wicker Park, many artists were affected by predatory leasing practices by developers and realtors driving gentrification. Accounts had shown that developers and realtors encouraged artists to lease unfinished space at below-market rates on a short-term basis. After the artist had invested resources in renovation, the owner increased rent, forcing the artist to move and often lose their investment (Lonngreen, 1992). Also, when the Flat Iron building changed ownership, the new owners were accused of trying to force artists locked into affordable long-term leases to switch, leave, or pay more (Huebner, 1994).

Into the 2000s, anti-gentrification groups voicing the negative effects of gentrification became more vocal and radical in Wicker Park (Pearce, 2002). The MTV Channel, looking for the hippest neighborhood in Chicago, selected Wicker Park for the 2001's 'The Real World' season, reaffirming the importance of the neighborhood to the hip generation (Kleine, 2001; Lloyd, 2002). Residents, fearing that the show will accelerate the gentrification processes in the neighborhood, protested MTV's decision to film 'The Real World' show in the neighborhood through internet postings, newspaper articles, and protests (Perez, 2001).

Figure 5.9. A condominium, built after 2010, is located next to single-family cottages (Benton, 2012).



Into the present, the development of Wicker Park is still uneven, as expensive houses were interspersed with condominiums and less upgraded properties, but the neighborhood continues to receive significant residential and commercial reinvestment. Over the last decade, widespread tear-downs continued to affect the character of Wicker Park where taller multi-family buildings tower over old workers' cottages (Kamin & Reardon, 2003; figure 5.9). Rising property assessments forced landlords, including landlords of artist spaces, to increase rents, increasing the burden on their artist tenants (Huebner, 2001). Artists and cultural organizations are still present in the neighborhood; however, Wicker Park has become a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. Median housing values are more than two times the city average, and the neighborhood has become a community where large segments of the Chicago artist class simply cannot afford to live.

5.4. Wicker Park Socioeconomic and Housing Profile, 1970 - 2000

The following analysis focuses on changes in census data between 1970 and 2000 for Wicker Park. The socioeconomic, demographic, and housing data indicate that Wicker Park experienced a slow but steady middle-class gentrification between 1970 and 2000. The neighborhood saw a significant upgrading in many key demographic, socioeconomic, and housing variables, which increased more substantially than in West Town. It has to be noted that only a few census tracts in West Town were extracted by the clustering analysis in cluster #4, and these included the four census tracts encompassing Wicker Park.

Similar to the experience of the other case study neighborhoods and the city of Chicago, Wicker Park experienced population flight and suburbanization, losing almost 50 percent of its population between 1970 and 2000. The neighborhood lost 62.88 percent of its population between 1970 and 1980, a significant drop that was followed by more population loss again during the 1980s. During the 1990s, Wicker Park reversed the trend and gained one percent of the population back. The white population followed a similar trend between 1970 and 2000. While the white population continued to make-up the majority of the residents in Wicker Park, between 1970 and 2000 the neighborhood lost more than 61 percent of its white population. The majority of this loss took place during the 1970s. Similar to Central Lakeview and Pilsen East, Wicker Park began to gain white population during the 1990s as the neighborhood experienced a 13.26 percent increase in whites during that decade. By 2000, the white population represented almost 66 percent of the neighborhood population.

A more notable demographic trend is evident with the neighborhood's black and Hispanic populations. Since 1970, the neighborhood has been losing its black population. Between 1970 and 2000, Wicker Park lost 43.25 percent of its black population, which represented only 10.73

percent of its population by 2000. While the city experienced more than a 200 percent increase in the Hispanic population, the Hispanic population in Wicker Park dropped 65.98 percent between 1970 and 2000. The amount of Hispanic residents declined every decade since 1970. The decline accelerated during the 1990s, with the Hispanic population now making-up 31.74 percent of the total population in the neighborhood. Wicker Park also experienced a 60 percent drop in the number of families and a 21 percent decline in the number of households between 1970 and 2000. There was a 21 percent increase in female-headed households, with a spike in female-headed households experienced during the 1980s.

The population in Wicker Park had become more educated, more skilled, and wealthier between 1970 and 2000. While population declined in the tracts making up Wicker Park, the number of high school graduates more than tripled (with more than a 223 percent increase in high school graduates compared to 55 percent in the city), to reach 80 percent of the neighborhood's population. The number of college graduates also increased dramatically, by more than 2,090 percent, in Wicker Park between 1970 and 2000. The percent of college graduates in the neighborhood increased from being one percent in 1970 to being 49 percent of the population 25 years and older in 2000. These figures indicate a significant social upgrading in Wicker Park and particularly when compared to the fact that only 25 percent of Chicago's population had a college degree or higher in 2000. The number of residents employed in professional activities increased substantially, by 794 percent, in Wicker Park, while the same indicator increased by a modest 64 percent in Chicago. In 2000, the neighborhood had 54 percent of its employed population in a professional occupation, compared to city's 34 percent.

Between 1970 and 2000, as the city's median household income dropped 14 percent, Wicker Park saw a 59 percent increase in median household income and a 219 percent increase

in per capita income. During the same time interval, the neighborhood experienced an 86 percent increase in rent compared to a modest 13 percent increase citywide. Wicker Park also experienced a 514 percent increase in housing values, far above the 104 percent increase that the city of Chicago realized. The values for median household income, per capita income, and median gross rent spiked during the 1990s, while the median housing value spiked during the 1980s.

The extent of the economic upgrading in Wicker Park becomes more apparent when observing that there was an 84 percent drop in the number and percentage of families below the poverty level between 1970 and 2000. Furthermore, while the percentage of households with public assistance income grew by 48 percent in the city, the same indicator dropped 37 percent in Wicker Park. Between 1970 and 2000, Wicker Park experienced capital reinvestment and redevelopment dominated by renovations, conversions, tear downs, and new housing construction. The neighborhood lost 22 percent of its housing stock due to disinvestment, but it had experienced a 26 percent increase in owner-occupied housing between 1970 and 2000. However, between 1970 and 2000, despite a 31 percent decline in the number of renter-occupied housing, by 2000, the neighborhood was still predominately rental. The construction of new housing grew every year since 1960 and intensified during the 1990s.

The Wicker Park case study indicates slow but steady middle-class gentrification of a neighborhood that progressed from a lower-income, working-class neighborhood to a hip middle-class neighborhood, with waves of middle-income professionals displacing the poor and the lower-income artists who were the original gentrifiers. Tables 5.6 through 5.10 show the extraordinary changes in the neighborhood's socioeconomic fabric. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from 0.69 percent to 2.08 times the city's

median, and the median household income increased from being 0.72 to being 1.34 times Chicago's median.

Between 1970 and 2000, the composition of the workforce in Wicker Park completely altered. While in 1970, there were 3,302 residents working in manufacturing, by 2000, only 449 residents continued to work in manufacturing. In contrast, 3,254 residents had a professional occupation in 2000, from a low of 364 professionals in 1970. In 1970, the percentage of manufacturing jobs in Wicker Park was 1.68 times the city's percentage, while by 2000 that manufacturing declined considerably, to 0.57 times the city's average. Now the neighborhood has a higher percentage of professionals than the city, being 1.61 times the city's percentage of professionals. Compared to West Town, Wicker Park exhibits higher housing rent, housing value, and incomes in 2000.

Table 5.6: Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.
(Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing
Wicker Park	\$447	\$830	85.60%	\$54,707	\$336,000	514.18%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 5.7: Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median HH Income (1970)	Median HH Income (2000)	% Change in Median HH Income	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
Wicker Park	\$31,561	\$50,301	59.38%	\$9,439	\$30,153	219.43%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 5.8: Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median House Value Ratio (1970)*	Median House Value Ratio (2000)	Median HH Income Ratio (1970)**	Median HH Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
Wicker Park	0.69	2.08	0.72	1.34	18.09%	28.87%

* Median household value of Wicker Park divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of Wicker Park divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 5.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manufacturing (1970)	Manufacturing (2000)	% Change in Manufacturing	% of Manufacturing (1970)	% of Manufacturing (2000)	% of Manufacturing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufacturing Ratio (2000)*
Wicker Park	3,302	449	-86.40%	48.80%	7.46%	1.68	0.57
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in Wicker Park divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 5.10. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Professionals (1970)	Professionals (2000)	% Change in Professionals	% of Professionals (1970)	% of Professionals (2000)	% of Professionals Ratio (1970)* *	% of Professionals Ratio (2000)* *
Wicker Park	364	3,254	793.96%	5.40%	54.04%	0.30	1.61
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

** Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in Wicker Park divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

5.5. Concluding Comments

Wicker Park, one of the hippest neighborhoods in Chicago and home to a vibrant cultural district, is a case of slow, but steady gentrification, where the poor working in the manufacturing sector were the early residents displaced by educated artists and lower- to middle-income professionals. This case effectively illustrates the duality of the artist condition in the context of capital reinvestment and displacement, being both agents as well as victims of the gentrification. The artists and musicians were the first group to move into the blighted, lower-income working-class neighborhood. Over time, they created a successful music mecca and a vibrant art-focused district, which eventually led to their victimization by forces of capital reinvestment. Artists found themselves being displaced from the neighborhood they helped gentrify, as the gentrification process in the neighborhood kept pushing property values upward.

Wicker Park is one of the neighborhoods in West Town, a community with a diverse socioeconomic composition, located close to downtown Chicago. Several neighborhoods of West Town, including Wicker Park, were captured in cluster #4. The gentrification of West Town originated in the core of Wicker Park during the 1970s and slowly spread out throughout the

community from this center. West Town, originally a lower-income working class neighborhood, struggling with population loss and real estate disinvestment, started to experience small-scale capital reinvestment, largely initiated by artists and lower-middle-income professionals attracted by the alternative arts scene. In time, the extent of reinvestment increased with the involvement of small and mid-sized development companies and the building of new and larger homes.

The analysis into the census data in West Town indicated significant socioeconomic upgrading of the overall community over the three decades, 1970 to 2000. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from 68 percent to 153 percent of the city's median, while the median value of household income increased from 82 percent to 111 percent of Chicago's median. The community has remained middle-class with a predominantly diverse moderate-income population.

From the analysis of the infrastructure of play grants data, it is evident that West Town became a cluster of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, which has supported the growth of a vibrant cultural and arts district since 1970. The overall grants to this community between the period of 1970 and 2000 have amounted to \$9,054,639. The majority of the recipient organizations were established between 1970 and 2000 and contributed significantly to the overall vibrancy of this broader cultural district.

This case study, which tracks the trajectory of the artist's community in Wicker Park between 1970 and 2000, points to the precarious nature of artists in light of the forces of gentrification. Artists moved in larger numbers during the 1970s and 1980s into Wicker Park, attracted by affordable spaces adequate for studios and art galleries. Some of the artists were already displaced from the gentrification of other cultural districts in Chicago. Artists were the central component of the first wave of gentrifiers in Wicker Park as they transformed storefronts,

industrial lofts, and old mansions into studios, art galleries, and performance spaces.

Into the 1990s, the increasing concentration and visibility of the artists' community in Wicker Park attracted a substantial number of moderate-income professionals, and especially professionals that could not afford to buy in gentrifying neighborhoods such as Lincoln Park and Lakeview. The alternative music scene, combined with the rampant prostitution and drug culture, reinforced the image of a gritty and edgy arts district, attracting professionals that were more moderate-income risk-takers, open to non-conventional lifestyles. Real estate agents and developers actively marketed the 'edginess' of this art-infused neighborhood, promoting the presence of artists and art galleries in their advertisements.

The government had a major role in facilitating the development of this cultural district. Several cultural organizations that received cultural grants were instrumental in fostering this cultural district and developing cultural events that attracted new residents to Wicker Park. Hundreds of artists participated in the Wicker Park art fairs, dozens of art galleries operated on a regular basis, and countless performances of theater, dance, music, and poetry took place throughout the neighborhood. The analysis shows that the 1990s were a decisive decade for this artist community. Wicker Park had one of the highest concentrations of artists in the country, and became the center of the cutting edge and the site of hip urban culture. However, the cultural district grew and contracted within this decade due to the pressures of gentrification.

The analysis of the socioeconomic, demographic, and housing data indicates that Wicker Park experienced a slow but steady middle-class gentrification between 1970 and 2000. Due to suburbanization and disinvestment, Wicker Park lost almost half of its population between 1970 and 2000. In time, the neighborhood started to gain white population and lose minorities (black and Hispanic populations), revealing the changes in the demographic and social composition of

the neighborhood that was being shaped by gentrification. The neighborhood experienced substantial increases in the number of college graduates and professionals. Alongside this social upgrading, the neighborhood experienced the displacement of the low-income population who originally occupied the neighborhood, measured in the substantial decline in the number of employed residents in manufacturing, the number of families below the poverty line, and the number of households on public assistance income.

With the influx of lower-middle income young professionals and artists, the median household income in Wicker Park increased modestly by 59 percent while the per capita income more than doubled between 1970 and 2000. In Wicker Park, waves of middle-income professionals are currently displacing the poor and the lower-income artists. This is a case where the original gentrifiers are now themselves being displaced by ongoing gentrification processes.

One of the dominant gentrification processes in Wicker Park is the classic case of gentrification. Between 1970 and 1990, and particularly in the early years of these two decades, artists and middle-class young professionals purchased and refurbished older Victorian mansions, working-class cottages, and industrial lofts. The pace of redevelopment in Wicker Park was fairly slow but steady, and the character of the neighborhood started to change as the low-income and minority residents were replaced with college graduates and professionals. As Wicker Park became more attractive for capital reinvestment, the nature of reinvestment itself changed. Small and mid-sized developers began renovating homes for sale or rent. By the late 1990s, tear-downs and the construction of higher-density housing became evident. The new homes, while larger than the previous homes, were being marketed to middle-class professionals.

While they were the first wave of gentrification, artists were unable to prevent this artists' community itself from being victimized by the forces of capital reinvestment. First, real estate

agents and developers started to promote the presence of the artists and art galleries in their house sale advertisements. Second, many artists were affected by predatory leasing practices by developers and realtors interested in promoting gentrification. Third, the neighborhood's opposition to gentrification, while not sufficient to hinder the advancement of gentrification, was also directed against the artists and art-focused organizations. Art festivals and other "arts-commodifying agents of gentrification" were heavily attacked for bringing visitors into the neighborhood.

Lastly, the loss of affordable housing and working spaces for artists, due to the gentrification-driven housing prices and rents, resulted in the displacement of artists and art-related businesses. The artists' exodus since the late 1990 from Wicker Park was so extensive that many no longer view Wicker Park as an artist district. Some of these artists had earlier moved to Wicker Park from neighborhoods that experienced gentrification. They are now leaving Wicker Park for other inexpensive neighborhoods, such as Pilsen. The process of rebuilding the neighborhood for the cutting edge and young professionals resulted in abusive leasing practices and the displacement of artists at the height of their success.

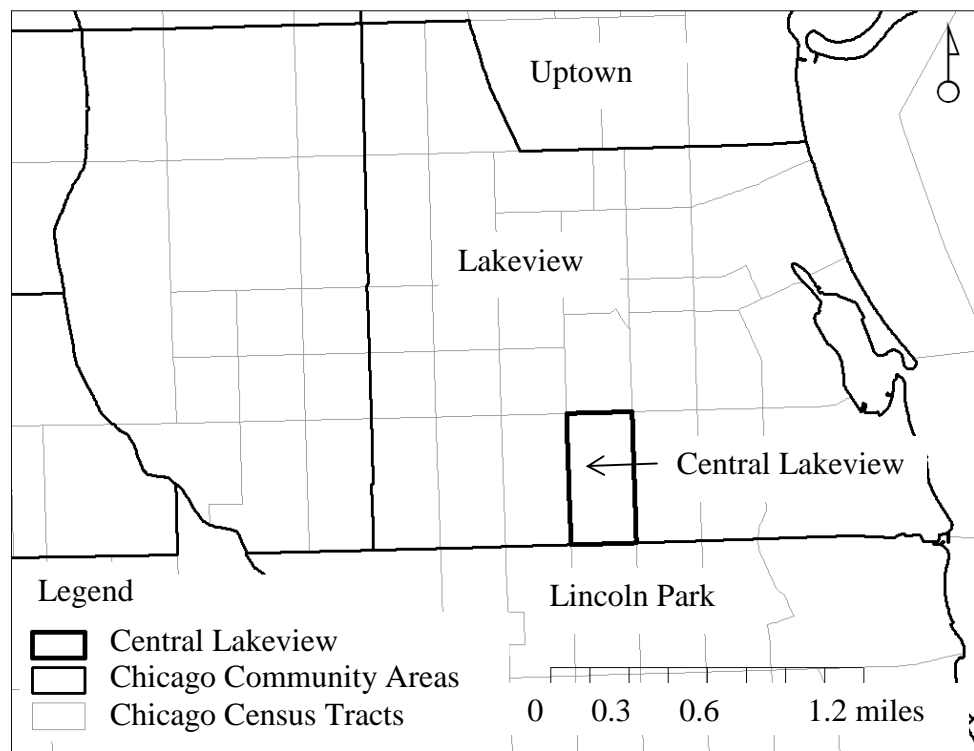
Chapter 6. Central Lakeview

6.1. Introduction

Central Lakeview experienced a higher-end physical and social upgrading among these three Chicago cultural districts between the years 1970 and 2000. Central Lakeview (census tract #629), a vibrant theater and cultural district located in the heart of the Lakeview community area, displays one of the most significant degrees of gentrification among Chicago's cultural districts (figure 6.1). Since 1970, Central Lakeview has been undergoing gentrification predominantly driven by middle- and upper-middle-class gentrifiers, and more recently, experiencing an early stage of supergentrification. The analysis of the public investment in the infrastructure of play identified Lakeview as one of the city's hot spots of public grants for arts and culture. Lakeview and Central Lakeview have had a large concentration of theater, music, and dance professionals. More recently, this vibrant theater and arts district has been struggling against its own success, with a displacement of artists and cultural organizations from the very places that they first redeveloped. Central Lakeview artists, focused on dance, theatre, and classical music, and the arts scene shaping this neighborhood, represent a very different cultural grouping to the alternative music scene dominating Wicker Park.

Lakeview has been known as a cultural and entertainment district since the early 20th century (Seligman, 2004; Myers, 1984; Botts, 2007; Zehr & Burros, 2002). As it continues to be a successful theater center and a focal point for the public investment in the infrastructure of play, Central Lakeview is one of the case studies for the more detailed qualitative analysis into gentrification processes. The chapter begins with an introduction into the broader Lakeview community, followed by a more detailed qualitative assessment of Central Lakeview.

Figure 6.1. Central Lakeview and Lakeview community area.



6.2. Overview of the Infrastructure of Play and Gentrification in Lakeview

Lakeview, also known as Lake View, is one of the largest community areas in Chicago, located 4 miles north of downtown Chicago. Lakeview's land uses are predominantly residential, without significant industrial or park land. Lakeview was originally settled by farmers from Germany, Sweden, Scotland, and Ireland (Foerstner, 1984; Keating, 2008; Seligman, 2004). The first residential developments took place in the eastern section of the area during the 1850s, driven by the newly installed streetcar service and wealthy Chicago residents. The area continued to urbanize before it was finally incorporated as a town in 1865, as a city in 1887, and then annexed to Chicago in 1889 (Seligman, 2004).

Since the late 19th century, Lakeview was increasingly recognized for its burgeoning commercial and recreational facilities, which were attracting residents as well as visitors to the

baseball park (known as Wrigley Field since 1914) and its shopping district. During the late 19th and early 20th century, the area experienced a real estate boom and many of the neighborhood's buildings were constructed during this period.

During the 1950s and 1960s, developers built predominantly mid- and high-rise apartment buildings on Lakeview's east side and along the lakefront, and lower-rise apartment buildings locally called 'four-plus-one' (Giesecke, 1968; Seligman, 2004). Little real estate investment took place elsewhere in Lakeview. These new housing developments spurred the creation of the Lake View Citizens Council--a community group that has since been fighting neighborhood blight and the spreading of mega-block high-rise developments. By the 1960s, the lack of investment in the aging housing stock was visible but the area was not considered a slum (Dunham, 1969). The neighborhood group began to encourage private renovation in light of the continued widespread white flight, lack of investment, and the influx of black and Hispanic populations (Giesecke, 1968). During the 1960s and 1970s, the construction of high-rise residential buildings continued along the lakefront (Suttles, 1990), while Lincoln Park, located south of Lakeview, was undergoing gentrification (Bennett, 1990).

Many theater groups and performance venues were established in Lakeview during the 1960s and 1970s (Wood, 1984). Ivanhoe Theater, Hull House Theater, and the Chicago City Players were all established in the community during the 1960s. The Hull House Theater program in the Jane Addams Center set the pattern for the development of the off-loop theater companies since then (Christiansen, 2004). More theater companies were established in Lakeview during the 1970s, including St. Nicholas and Organic Theater. MoMing Dance and Art Center was formed in the mid-1970s while Links Hall, a non-profit arts organization that provides rehearsal and performance space for dance, theater, and music performance, was

founded in 1978. Ferris Chorale, one of the earliest music choruses in Chicago, had started playing at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church in Lakeview in 1971 (Rhein, 2012). Performance Community converted a candy warehouse into a performance venue, the Theater Building, which they leased to numerous cultural groups over the years (Wood, 1984). As cultural grants become available in the late 1970s, several Lakeview cultural organizations were among the first to receive cultural grants, including Victory Gardens Theater, Organic Theater Company, Theater Building, MoMing Dance & Arts Center, and St Nikolas Theater Company.

Figure 6.2. Theater Building (currently Stage 773) and Theater Wit (Benton, 2012).



By the early 1980, writing about Lakeview, Myres (1984) argued that the “wealth of cultural activities have made it one of Chicago’s most popular residential areas.” He goes on to list major attractions, including blues clubs, off-loop theater companies, art galleries, and dance

performances. These theaters are the major component of the Lakeview's cultural district and were important in attracting wealthier rehabbers (Myres, 1984; Wood, 1984).

During the 1980s, theater, music, and dance activities continued to grow and diversify in Lakeview (Armour, 1985). Established cultural groups, such as MoMing Dance and Arts Center, the Theater Building, grew while many other cultural groups emerged, including Stage Left Theater, Touchstone Theater, St Sebastian Players, Absolute Theater, and Live Bait Theater. The Bailiwick Repertory Theater was founded in 1982, staging productions since 1995 at the Bailiwick Arts Center in Lakeview. Many local cultural groups benefited from the local, state, and federal cultural grants, including: Textile Arts Centre, MoMing Dance and Arts Center, Performance Community Inc., Bailiwick Repertory, Oriana Singers, Jan Erkert & Dancers, Stage Left, Inc, Links Hall, Inc., Women in the Director's Chair, and Halevi Choral Society.

Lakeview's old housing stock, with many dwellings having unique architectural features, was also considered an important asset of the neighborhood. During the early 1980s, real estate experts considered Lakeview a good buy for light and moderate renovation, recommending converting two-flat buildings into single-family occupancy dwellings (Grossman, 1983). During the 1980s, Lakeview started to experience piecemeal gentrification, physically visible in the renovation and refurbishment of some existing older buildings. The non-threatening ethnic aspect of the neighborhood—it remained predominantly white despite the years of white flight—along with the growing entertainment options, architecturally significant housing stock, proximity to other gentrifying neighborhoods, such as Lincoln Park and DePaul, made Lakeview an attractive option for small-scale capital reinvestment.

In several instances, apartments were converted into owner-occupied housing. Alongside renovations, accounts identified that displacement of the poor was taking place in Lakeview as

early as 1980, with original tenants being replaced by professionals (Brotman, 1981; Gapp, 1980). Deterioration still continued in some parts of Lakeview and some owners speculated that by neglecting to maintain their buildings they would actually be able to realize a higher profit after a sale (Seligman, 2004; Suttles, 1990, p. 95).

Lakeview was changing with an influx of young families and middle and upper income residents attracted to this growing and vibrant cultural district. Local officials believed that these cultural activities were the catalyst for Lakeview's social and physical upgrading. For instance, local officials argued that, during the 1980s, the Music Box Theater, which showed independent and foreign films and film festivals, was a "catalyst for the revival of the surrounding Lakeview neighborhood, which now boasts an array of restaurants, taverns and shops as well as high-end condominiums" (McGavin, 2003).

By the late 1980s, the gentrification in Lakeview was already visible. Lakeview was increasingly considered attractive by young professionals priced out from the Lincoln Park and DePaul neighborhoods just south of Lakeview (Joravsky, 2003b; Peters, 1989). The president of the Lake View Citizens Council stated that, "the face of the community is changing" referring to the rapid growth and changing demographics of the previous few years (Sulski, 1988). The Lake View Chamber of Commerce welcomed the new construction, noting that "new building and renovations are taking place literally everywhere you look" (Sulski, 1988). The sheer number of rehabilitations in the neighborhood resulted in an increase in property values, which put more strain on lower-income owners. For instance, a rehabilitated 2-flat house at 3300 N. Kenmore Ave. received a 444 percent assessment increase in the late 1980s (McCarron, 1988).

The 1990s brought more growth and development to the entire Lakeview community and the next wave of gentrification. Since 1990 and into the present, Lakeview has transitioned into

an even more upscale and exclusive community. The off-loop theater district continued to grow with the aid of extensive cultural grants. Many more groups received cultural grants during the 1990s for performance and cultural activities in Lakeview. Some of these groups include New Blind Parrot Productions, Live Bait Theatrical Company, Remains Theater, Victory Gardens Theater, Organic Theater Company, HealthWorks Theater, Windy City Performing Arts Inc., Halevi Choral Society, Fleur de Lys Chorale, Stage Left, Inc, Chicago a Cappella, Hedwig Dances, Oriana Singers, Chi-Town Puppet Theater, and Textile Arts Center.

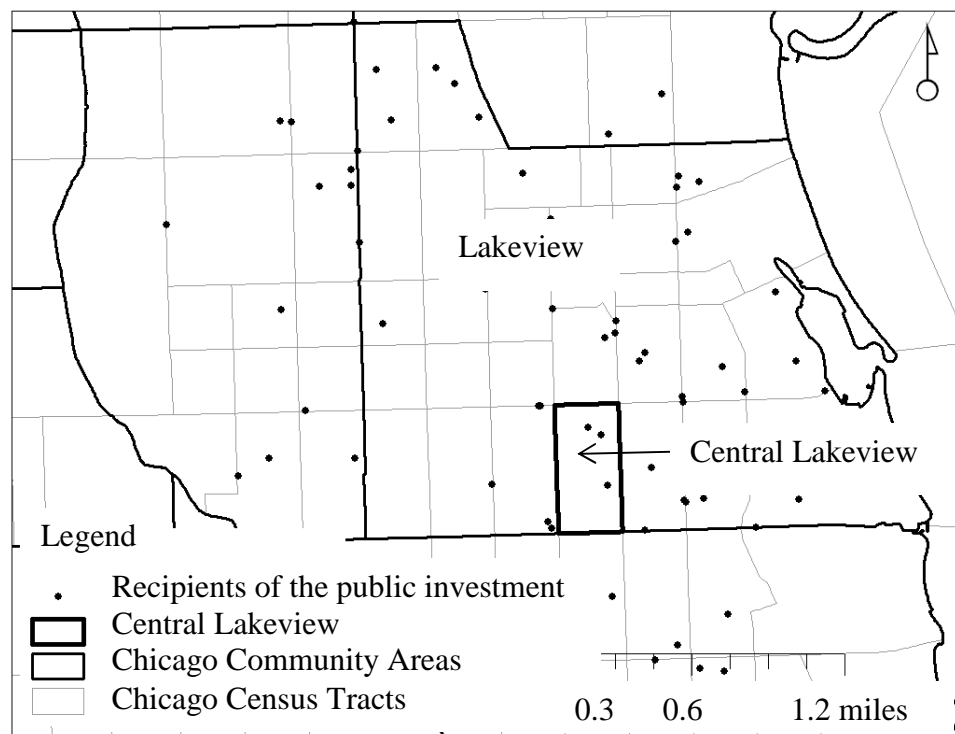
Much of the new construction in Lakeview has been owner-occupied housing, either provided as condominiums or large luxury single-family houses. Between 1970 and 2000, the number of owner-occupied housing units grew by almost 180 percent while the amount of rental units declined by 14 percent. Local and national businesses also moved to the area and property values rose at an accelerating rate. Such reinvestment and redevelopment processes continued to affect the original lower-income residents, who began to move to cheaper locations, such as the Lincoln Square neighborhood (Barreto & Petersen, 2001).

Condominium conversions intensified in Lakeview as well. Using data from the Cook County Assessor, Davis and Merriman (2007) found that Lakeview had one of the biggest net losses in apartment units in the city from 1989 to 2004. The community lost 1,056 (21 percent) of apartment units in small apartment buildings (2-6 units) between 1989 and 2004, while 129 units (20.4 percent) were lost in large (7+ unit) apartment buildings. At the same time, Lakeview gained 10,203 condominium units (a 92.7 percent increase) and an increase of 786 residential condominium buildings (a 256.9 percent increase).

Between 1970 and 2000, Lakeview became a hot spot of public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago (figure 6.3). In the three decades, Lakeview received the second

largest frequency of subsidies for art and cultural activities in Chicago, only after the Loop. Lakeview also received the 9th largest total amount of grants in the city. While the dollar amount of each grant was relatively small, the large number of grants supported many predominantly small and medium-sized non-profit cultural organizations, helping them operate or perform in Lakeview between 1970 and 2000.

Figure 6.3. Spatial distribution of cultural organizations that received public investment, organizations mapped by their administrative address.



Lakeview did not receive large capital investments in physical infrastructure, but the federal, state, and local cultural grants benefited the numerous small cultural entities and enabled the growth of a vibrant cultural environment conducive to new emerging artists and projects. This public funding was critical in encouraging and sustaining the emergence of the vibrant off-loop theater, dance, and music center (Dillon, 2004; Warren, 1996). Many music choruses and

ensembles, theater companies, dance troupes, and other cultural organizations that operated in Lakeview between 1970 and 1999 received cultural grants.

Lakeview continues to be a vibrant cultural and entertainment center. For instance, a study by the Chicago Community Trust and Affiliates (2004) found that Lakeview has one of the highest concentrations of art and cultural organizations in the city. In addition, while being home to 3.3 percent of city's population, Lakeview is home to 15 percent of the total number of organizations applying for the city's cultural grants (Zehr & Burros, 2002). Wali et al. (2002) identified a higher concentration of formal and informal arts events in Lakeview than is typically found in Chicago. Moreover, Lakeview residents continue to have one of the highest arts participation rates in Chicago (LaLonde, O'Muircheartaigh, & Perkins, 2006).

Data analysis in tables 6.1 - 6.5 shows significant changes in key indicators of gentrification between 1970 and 2000, indicating that Lakeview has been gentrifying for several decades now. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from being 118 percent to 193 percent of the city's median, and the median value of household income increased from being 95 percent to 162 percent of Chicago's median. Lakeview has transitioned to an upper-middle class neighborhood. The community experienced a 194 percent increase in the number of professionals. The percentage of professionals in Lakeview increased from being 1.53 times to being 1.91 times the city's overall percentage. In contrast, the number of manufacturing jobs in the neighborhood declined 68 percent between 1970 and 2000.

Table 6.1. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.

(Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).

Area	Average Median Gross Rent (1970)	Average Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Average Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970)	Average Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing
Lakeview	\$534	\$885	68.85%	\$94,021	\$312,097	231.95%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 6.2. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values

were adjusted for inflation).

Area	Average Median Household Income (1970)	Average Median Household Income (2000)	% Change in Median Household Income	Average Per Capita Income (1970)	Average Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
Lakeview	\$41,543	\$60,656	46.01%	\$18,138	\$45,857	152.82%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 6.3. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median House Value Ratio (1970)*	Median House Value Ratio (2000)	Median Household Income Ratio (1970)**	Median Household Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
Lakeview	1.19	1.94	0.95	1.62	11.67%	30.06%

* Median household value of Lakeview divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of Lakeview divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 6.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manufacturing (1970)	Manufacturing (2000)	% Change in Manufac turing	% of Manufact uring (1970)	% of Manufa cturing (2000)	% of Manufac turing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufac turing Ratio (2000)*
Lakeview	13,796	4396	-68.14%	23.72%	6.31%	0.82	0.48
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in Lakeview divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 6.5. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Profession als (1970)	Professi onals (2000)	% Change in Professio nals	% of Professio nals (1970)	% of Professi onals (2000)	% of Professio nals Ratio (1970)*	% of Professio nals Ratio (2000)*
Lakeview	16,023	43,662	172.50%	27.63%	62.67%	1.55	1.87
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in Lakeview divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

Currently, Lakeview has some of the most desirable neighborhoods in Chicago with “phenomenal entertainment options” (Baird & Warner, 2012; Dream Town, 2012). Lakeview is considered a hip destination and an “exciting north side hotspot” (Dream Town, 2012). Into the present, as the neighborhood continues to upgrade, teardowns of older buildings--some of which maintain historical and/or architectural significance--and the construction of larger scale developments have become more prevalent (Joravsky, 2003c; Kamin & Reardon, 2003).

Newspaper reports indicate increasingly aggressive actions by real estate agents and developers to buy and redevelop properties within the community (Joravsky, 2003b). There is

also some evidence that Lakeview might be moving toward a condition of supergentrification. In contrast, single-room occupancy (SRO) hotels in the community--housing units for lower-income persons--are under increasing pressures for redevelopment. With high-end luxury upgrades evident among the condos and new single-family housing, the property prices in the neighborhood continue to increase. Spot zoning, where the new-construction is allowed to be at a higher density and height than the surrounding houses, dramatically affects the character of the block and encourages further redevelopment (Joravsky, 2007, 2003a).

These new developments have led to rising housing costs, which have put pressure on low- and moderate-income traditional residents. Newspaper accounts of displacement due to gentrification in Lakeview have been extensive during the 1980s and continue into the present (Barreto & Petersen, 2001; Bergquist, 2006; Brotman, 1981; Gapp, 1980; Joravsky, 2003b; Wiezorek, 1984). Lower-income residents, who bought their property before the neighborhood's upward property value pressures, live now in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood and have to pay the increasing property taxes (Joravsky, 2003b, 2004; McCarron, 1988). In a recent case, the assessed value of a 2-flat building owned by a retiree on a fixed income went from \$168,000 in 1997 to \$225,000 in 2000 to \$322,725 in 2001 (Joravsky, 2003b).

The opposition to gentrification in Lakeview, less intense than the resistance movements taken place in Pilsen East, has grown steadily over the last few years. Residents affected by high property assessments have publicly opposed the recurrent increase in taxes (Joravsky, 2003b, 2004). Housing renovations were always supported by the neighborhood groups, which fought only certain types of developments in the community. Community groups advocated successfully for zoning designations that allowed for limited development in the neighborhood. In certain cases, such as with the sale of the Jane Adams Hull House Center, neighborhood associations

opposed a rezoning request for a higher land use on that property as a way to control the type of redevelopment on the lot (Jovarsky, 2001; Lazare, 2000; Vilcins, 2001, 2002).

Lakeview has also been home to several residential or Single-Room-Occupancy (SRO) hotels and many of them had recently been redeveloped into higher-end luxury housing projects (Cottrell, 2012). For instance, in 2011, two SRO hotels, the Sheffield House Hotel and the Belair Hotel, were sold and low-income tenants, some with disabilities, were asked to vacate the sites immediately. Finding replacement housing in Lakeview for these displaced residents is challenging (Sosin, 2011). In the case of the Diplomat SRO, the city gained control of the building and redeveloped the building as Thresholds, a housing project for the severely mentally ill (Cottrell, 2012). This project is one case of success within Lakeview in the attempt to maintain some social diversity within this rapidly gentrifying community.

6.3. Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play and Gentrification in Central Lakeview

The qualitative analysis now turns to Central Lakeview (census tract #629), located in the heart of the Lakeview community area, and a particular focal point for Chicago's artists as well as theater, music, and dance activities. Since 1970, Central Lakeview benefited from the success of the growing arts and cultural scene in and around the neighborhood, which enabled the dramatic social and physical upgrading between 1970 and 2000, including some recent signs of supergentrification. Central Lakeview is a predominantly residential neighborhood, with many detached houses on individual lots and commercial uses located along the main thoroughfares.

After the initial housing boom of the early 1900s, growth slowed in Central Lakeview in the following decades, with few houses being built between 1900 and 1969 in the neighborhood. During the 1970s, Central Lakeview continued to experience widespread white flight, housing

disinvestment and physical deterioration, and loss of businesses (Dunham, 1969; Giesecke, 1968). The neighborhood lost 24 percent of its population and 3 percent of its housing units during the 1970s alone and it experienced a 78 percent increase in housing vacancy.

Depressed housing and building values attracted young and emerging artists and cultural organizations to Central Lakeview and surrounding areas during the 1960s and the 1970s. Many theater, dance and music groups started to perform in Lakeview and some in Central Lakeview. In general, these cultural groups, founded and staffed by educated young persons, would convert commercial spaces, such as warehouses, bowling alleys, ballrooms, church halls, and retail storefronts into performance auditoriums (Christiansen, 2004). For instance, MoMing Dance and Arts Center, the main cultural organization located in Central Lakeview, formed in 1974 in a church-owned building (Moore, 2004a, 2004b). MoMing was the recipient of a significant number of grants between 1970 and 1990. It eventually closed in 1990 due to financial problems. As Central Lakeview, and Lakeview in general, lacked a significant supply of performance venues, many cultural companies performed in the cultural venues adjacent to the neighborhood.

Alongside the first theater troupes created in Lakeview, the Theater Building opened in 1977 in the vicinity of Central Lakeview (figure 6.2). The Theater Building became a very influential incubator for nurturing and developing off-Loop theater companies and emerging theater artists (Jones, 2011). This performance venue hosted more than 800 plays, more than a million audience members, thousands of artists, and 500 theater companies, many of them supported by public cultural grants. Sold in 2010, the building is now known as Stage 773. Over 1,000 artists in 15 theatrical presentations and 300 special events use this venue each year.

During the 1980s, MoMing Center and other cultural venues continued to grow in Central Lakeview and the surrounding area (Armour, 1985). Two other cultural groups that performed in

Central Lakeview and received cultural grants during the 1980s are Alliance Theater Company and Asbury Brass Quintet. Many cultural groups performed at the Theater Building, Athenaeum Theater, and Links Hall. Athenaeum Theater is one of the oldest continuously operating off-Loop theaters in Chicago and provides offices, performance, and rehearsal spaces for the theater, music, and dance groups (e.g., Chicago a Cappella, Chicago Gay Men's Chorus, Hedwig Dances, Jan Eckert & Dancers, Oriana Singers, and Trinity Irish Dance Company) (Callahan & Belott, 2005). The Lakeview Business Association noted that there had been a relationship between the growth of Central Lakeview and the “flourishing of culture in the community” (McMahon, 1987). Patrons of the arts, such as those of MoMing Dance and Arts Center, would frequent local businesses and local restaurants, which would thrive because of the influx of visitors.

The growing cultural and arts scene around Central Lakeview was part of the community appeal that attracted numerous professionals into the neighborhood. Central Lakeview started to gentrify and particularly during the 1980s. Older buildings, with unique architectural features, were increasingly renovated and refurbished by young professionals and small developers in a piecemeal approach. The buildings were also increasingly being converted into single-family occupancy (Grossman, 1983).

During the 1980s, while the total number of housing units and renter-occupied housing units in Central Lakeview declined, the number of owner-occupied housing units increased by 22.6 percent. Only 2 percent of the total number of housing units was built during the 1980s. Into the 21st century, the conversion of apartments into owner-occupied housing in Central Lakeview continued to intensify. These small scale individual housing refurbishments represent the first type of capital reinvestment and gentrification process Central Lakeview has been experiencing. This is the classic form of capital reinvestment as initially recognized by Ruth Glass. The non-

threatening ethnic aspect of the neighborhood—predominantly white—along with the growing cultural amenities, architecturally significant housing stock, proximity to other gentrifying neighborhoods, such as Lincoln Park, made Central Lakeview an attractive option for small-scale capital reinvestment.

Figure 6.4. Historic buildings renovated in Central Lakeview (Benton, 2012).



Non-residential buildings were also converted into multi-family housing. For instance, the former Elim Swedish Methodist Church, built in 1898 and located adjacent to the MoMing Dance and Arts Center, was converted in 1983 into a 6 condominium-unit complex, after religious services were discontinued (A Chicago Sojourn, n.d.; Wiezorek, 1984).

The census data show that a spike in the upgrading of Central Lakeview occurred during the 1980s. Between 1980 and 1990, Central Lakeview experienced a 94 percent increase in per capita income and a 174 percent increase in median housing values. The character of the

neighborhood started to change, as educated residents and professionals moved into the neighborhood, while 66 percent of the Hispanic population left.

In many cases, these housing conversions resulted in the displacement of the poor, with newspaper accounts identifying these displacement patterns since 1980 (Gapp, 1980). The influx of higher-income residents has had negative effects on the poorer residents and the lower-income artists. Central Lakeview still has a large stock of rental housing, and many artists rent, however, rising property values and rents have been increasingly pressuring the artists out of the neighborhood. These pressures on the artist community started to become evident as early as the 1980s. For instance, a retiree that owned a 4-flat house in Central Lakeview was quoted as saying that he might have to “kick-out” his two artist tenants because he needs to rent the units to people who can afford to pay the full rent (McCarron, 1988).

At the same time, Lakeview's infrastructure of play continued to grow during the 1990s, as many theater, dance, and music groups were formed during this decade alone. Central Lakeview's location, in the heart of a vibrant cultural district, was attracting more artists, performing arts groups, and residents to the area. Adjacent to Central Lakeview, Bailiwick Arts Center was created in 1995 to house the Bailiwick Theater and other cultural projects, including those offered by Chi-Town Puppet Theater. In 2008, Bailiwick Arts Center was sold to Theater Wit (figure 6.2) which now rents the space to other theater companies (Jones, 2008).

The 1990s brought more growth and development to Central Lakeview, which began to increasingly transition into a more upscale and exclusive neighborhood. The white population grew, while the black and Hispanic populations continued to decline. Between 1990 and 2000, median household income, per capita income, median gross rent and median housing values all continued to rise. In 1970, median household income in Central Lakeview was close to the

Chicago average; by 2000 the median household income in the neighborhood increased to nearly twice the city average. Median gross rent was more than double the city's average by 2000.

As the neighborhood upgraded, teardowns and larger scale developments became more prevalent (Bacin, 1991). Six percent of the housing stock in the neighborhood was built just in the 1990s alone, representing the largest number of new units built in the neighborhood since 1970 (figure 6.5). Much of the new construction has been owner-occupied housing, evident with the construction of multi-family condominiums and larger luxury single-family homes. The number of owner-occupied housing grew by more than 30 percent while the number of rental units continued to decline during the 1990s. “There's no question that it's an up-and-coming neighborhood,” said Chuck Hadley, executive director of the Lake View East Development Corp, which renovated a former bank building into a condominium building (Bacin, 1991).

Figure 6.5. New three-flat townhouses in Central Lakeview (Benton, 2012).



Rising property values and redevelopment pressures have affected not only residents and artists, but also the stock of cultural and performance venues in the neighborhood. Perceived demand for high-end housing in Lakeview encourages developers and owners to consider extracting more value from their properties. For instance, immediately after MoMing Dance and Arts Center, located in a Resurrection Lutheran Church building, closed in 1990 for financial difficulties, the building was torn down and a 10-unit condominium building was built in 1992 at the location. Other cultural venues in Lakeview encountered the same fate due to intensified development pressures in Lakeview during the 1990s. The Ivanhoe Theater, a well-known performance venue on the east side of Lakeview, was converted to an alternative use (a wine and food store) due to local redevelopment pressures (Lazare, 2000). Meeting a similar fate, the Buckingham Theater building was torn down and a building with condominiums and retail was built in its place.

In the case of the Jane Adams Center Hull House, demographic changes and real estate market forces in the neighborhood have led to the recent decision of Hull House to sell their neighborhood social service center in Lakeview. This Lakeview center had become a cultural landmark offering classes in ceramics, theater, and adult literacy (Joravsky, 2001). In 2002, faced with the need to upgrade the old building and the reality that Lakeview was no longer a working class community, the Hull House decided to sell the building and move its cultural and social programs elsewhere (Joravsky, 2001; Vilcins, 2001). Hull House leadership explained the decision noting that, “the social-service programs offered there might better serve a less gentrified neighborhood” (Vilcins, 2002). The former Hull House property now contains a new building that maintains some of the original historic façade and houses the Lakeview Athletic Club. Residents decried the loss noting that, “this area's becoming so overbuilt and

overdeveloped Jane Addams Center could never be replaced” (Vilcins, 2001). The closing also affected the Jane Addams Center's cultural tenants. One of their tenants, About Face Theatre, located their administrative offices to a more affordable area in Uptown, north of Lakeview, but kept performing at venues in Lakeview, including at Vit Theater (figure 6.2).

Figure 6.6. New and old housing in Central Lakeview. The building on the left in the photo was built in 2006 while the house in the center was built in the late 1800s (Benton, 2012).



The local government has supported growth in Central Lakeview. The local Alderman Bernard Hansen (of the 44th ward, where Central Lakeview is located) had a permissive attitude towards developers and builders and allowed spot zoning (Joravsky, 2003a). This has resulted in developers building condominiums, townhouses, and high-rises in Central Lakeview in a spotted pattern and at a higher density since the 1990s. This development process also allowed the new

homes, which were being built next to century-old buildings, to be of a different style or out of scale with the buildings around it (figure 6.6).

There is also evidence that Central Lakeview might eventually become a case of supergentrification. With high-end luxury upgrades evident among the condos and new single-family housing, the property prices in the neighborhood continue to set new pricing standards. For instance, the asking price for a renovated 5-bedroom and 4-bathroom house in Central Lakeview was \$1,875,000 in October 2012. The renovated home features “stunning high end finishes throughout” and “luxurious master w/ natural stone bath and huge walk in” (Trulia, n.d.). In another case, a mansion--part of the Teracota Historic District and a Chicago Landmark--sold in September of 2012 for \$2,053,000 (Spula, 2012). High-end condominium conversions have intensified in the neighborhood. A formal cathedral in Central Lakeview was converted into multi-family housing in 1999 (Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois, 2012). One of the five condominium units is currently on the market for an asking price of \$850,000, featuring “Soaring sun-drenched 20 ft+ cathedral ceilings” and “Top of the line finishes thru-out” (Coldwell Banker, n.d.).

Examples of high-end new construction are also increasingly evident in the neighborhood. For instance, a local luxury custom builder is planning to tear down a non-deteriorated, but less architecturally significant, building (figure 6.7) building order to construct a larger, more expensive and customized house. The new structure will have 6,400 square feet of living space on a 37.5-foot extra-wide lot, with 6 bedrooms and 4+ bathrooms (GVP Development, n.d.).

Figure 6.7. The house to be torn down and replaced by a larger and more customized home (Benton, 2012).



Rising housing values in Central Lakeview are pushing developers, such as this custom luxury builder, to demolish even non-deteriorated single-family dwellings and replace them with larger and more customized mansions. In many cases, developers approach long-time residents, who are being increasingly affected by high property assessment and property taxes, and attempt to buy their properties for redevelopment (Joravsky, 2003b). The size and architectural styles of the houses, though in very reasonable and non-deteriorated conditions, is considered inadequate for where developers view the market of the neighborhood heading.

Since the 1980s and into the present, gentrification in Central Lakeview has been accelerating, resulting in increased property values and property taxes (Joravsky, 2003b; McCarron, 1988). Median gross rents more than doubled while median housing values increased fivefold between 1970 and 2000. Property assessments, property taxes, rents and home prices

continue to increase, with dramatic impacts on low and moderate income residents, some on fixed income, who struggle to pay the increasing costs of rent or ownership (Joravsky, 2003b). Accounts of displacement due to renovations and redevelopment in Central Lakeview have been extensive during the 1980s (Brotman, 1981; Gapp, 1980; Wiezorek 1984), the 1990s (Barreto & Petersen, 2001) and into the present (Bergquist, 2006).

When rentals are renovated, the original tenants cannot afford the increased rent of the refurbished units. Increasingly, local artists are being replaced with high-income professionals able to pay the rising rents (Brotman, 1981). Census data show that poverty rates decreased significantly between 1990 and 2000 in Central Lakeview, while incomes increased. With regard to mobility patterns of the cultural organizations, the Zehr and Burros's survey (2002) indicated that nearly one third of cultural organizations who plan to move in the next 5 years were currently located in Lakeview, and 14 percent of organizations that are likely to move are located in Lakeview. The authors of the study contend that gentrification and rising prices are the main reasons for the relocation plans.

6.4. The Socioeconomic Profile of Central Lakeview, 1970 - 2000

The analysis of the changes in census data between 1970 and 2000 indicates that Central Lakeview experienced widespread gentrification. Its population became whiter, better educated, and wealthier. Housing became more expensive, with older homes being extensively refurbished and new-builts increasingly being constructed throughout the neighborhood. Similar to the entire city, Central Lakeview experienced white flight and suburbanization, losing more than 30 percent of its population between 1970 and 2000.

The neighborhood lost significant population between 1970 and 1980, and also during the 1980s, and then it reversed the trend, gaining population during the 1990s. The neighborhood continued to be predominantly white, with more than 90 percent of its population being white in 2000. Between 1970 and 2000 it had lost more than 30 percent of its white population, less than the city's loss of 45 percent, with the majority of this loss taking place during the 1970s. Central Lakeview was one of the few census tracts to experience an increase in the white population during the 1990s in Chicago.

Between 1970 and 2000, Central Lakeview has also been losing its minority populations. Between 1970 and 2000, the black population increased 75 percent, and represented only 2 percent of the total population in 2000. Over the three decades, while the city experienced more than a 200 percent increase in the Hispanic population, the neighborhood experienced a 70 percent decline in its Hispanic population. In 2000, the Hispanic population was only 7 percent of tract population. Between 1970 and 2000, the neighborhood experienced a 50 percent drop in the number of families, while the number of households remained the same. There was also a 50 percent increase in female-headed households, higher than the 23 percent increase realized throughout the city as a whole. While the population had declined in the tract, the number of high school graduates more than doubled (with more than a 150 percent increase in high school graduates compared to a 55 percent in the city), to reach 98 percent of the tract population. The number of college graduates increased by more than 800 percent, with 84 percent of the neighborhood being college educated by 2000. In comparison, only 25 percent of Chicago's population had a college degree or higher in 2000.

The employment structure of the neighborhood was also indicative of gentrification. The number of residents employed in professional activities increased by 461 percent in Central

Lakeview while the same indicator increased by a modest 64 percent in Chicago. In addition, in 2000, Central Lakeview had 65 percent of its employed population in a professional occupation compared to the city's 34 percent. In contrast, by 2000, Central Lakeview lost almost 74 percent of its manufacturing workforce, compared to a 61 percent loss in the city of Chicago (tables 6.9-6.10). Between 1970 and 2000, the percent of professionals in the neighborhood increased from 86 percent to 193 percent of the city's average, while the percent of the employed population in manufacturing dropped from being 114 percent to 49 percent of Chicago's average.

Between 1970 and 2000, as the city's median household income dropped 14 percent, Central Lakeview saw an 88 percent increase in median household income and a 300 percent increase in per capita income. During the same time interval, the neighborhood experienced a 135 percent increase in rent compared to a modest 13 percent increase across Chicago. Similarly, Central Lakeview saw a 550 percent increase in housing values compared to a 100 percent increase realized across the city. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from 92 percent to 291 percent of the city's median, and the median value of household income increased from being 87 percent to 191 percent of Chicago's median.

The spike in the values of these four variables occurred between the years 1980 and 1990. The extent of the economic upgrading in Central Lakeview becomes apparent when one observes that there were no families below the poverty level living in the neighborhood in 2000 (a drop from 8 percent in 1970). Furthermore, while the percentage of households with public assistance income grew by 48 percent in the city, it actually dropped 50 percent in Central Lakeview, with only 1 percent of tract households receiving public assistance income in 2000.

Between 1970 and 2000, the patterns of housing development were dominated by renovations and conversions. The housing stock of Central Lakeview is predominantly old, with

the majority of structures in the neighborhood being built before 1899. Central Lakeview lost only 1 percent of its housing stock over the last three decades, but it had experienced a 50 percent increase in owner-occupied housing. Even though the neighborhood is predominantly rental, with 30 percent owner-occupied housing, there was a 12 percent drop in rental housing, which indicates the orientation of the market toward conversion projects. The construction of new housing intensified during the 1990s.

Table 6.6. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.
(Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner- Occ. Housing
Central Lakeview	\$477	\$1,122	135.37%	\$72,640	\$470,000	547.03%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 6.7. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values were adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median HH Income (1970)	Median HH Income (2000)	% Change in Median HH Income	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
Central Lakeview	\$37,971	\$71,506	88.32%	\$13,711	\$58,153	324.14%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 6.8. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median House Value Ratio (1970)*	Median House Value Ratio (2000)	Median HH Income Ratio (1970)**	Median HH Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
Central Lakeview	0.92	2.91	0.87	1.91	20.00%	31.00%

* Median household value of Central Lakeview divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of Central Lakeview divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 6.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manufacturing (1970)	Manufacturing (2000)	% Change in Manufacturing	% of Manufacturing (1970)	% of Manufacturing (2000)	% of Manufacturing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufacturing Ratio (2000)*
Central Lakeview	719	187	-73.99%	32.94%	6.44%	1.14	0.49
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in Central Lakeview divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 6.10. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Professionals (1970)	Professionals (2000)	% Change in Professionals	% of Professionals (1970)	% of Professionals (2000)	% of Professionals Ratio (1970)*	% of Professionals Ratio (2000)*
Central Lakeview	335	1,881	461.49%	15.38%	64.77%	0.86	1.93
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in Central Lakeview divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

6.5. Concluding Comments

Central Lakeview experienced a higher-end physical and social upgrading among the three Chicago cultural districts between the years 1970 and 2000. Since the 1970s, Central Lakeview—and the larger Lakeview community—has been a focal point for Chicago's theater performers, dancers, and musicians and the center of Chicago's off-loop theater scene. Central Lakeview artists, focused on dance, theatre, and classical music, and the arts scene shaping this neighborhood, represents a very different cultural grouping to the alternative music scene dominating Wicker Park.

Lakeview's theater, dance, music, and arts lifescene in the community has developed and flourished particularly since the early 1970s. As a vibrant cultural district, Lakeview has been one of Chicago's hot spots of the public investment in the infrastructure of play between 1970 and 1999. Lakeview received the second largest number of cultural grants, and other public financial awards, to cultural organizations among Chicago's community areas.

Lakeview, which was experiencing disinvestment during the 1970s and 1980s, attracted numerous young and talented theater companies, classical music choruses and classical music ensembles, as well as ballet, modern dance troupes and cultural professionals. In Central Lakeview, the artists—many highly educated but underemployed or self-employed, of low income, and primarily renting—were among the first wave of gentrifiers. Artists and cultural professionals that performed in theater, dance, music, and other cultural events in Lakeview acted as facilitators of gentrification for even higher income earners during the 1970s and 1980s.

The cultural subsidies awarded by local, state, and federal agencies supported the emergence of a strong theater, dance, music and cultural scene in Lakeview, which eventually established Lakeview as a renowned off-loop theater scene. While several theater, music and

dance groups were established in Lakeview since the late 1970s, these small-scale cultural grants financially supported the many emerging arts organizations, arts venues, and diverse cultural programming. Cultural grants enabled the growth of the cultural districts during the 1980s and the 1990s. In general, the cultural activities and artists supported by the public investment in the infrastructure of play contributed to the general attractiveness of the area. In return, this vibrant cultural district, and its unique theatre scene, attracted new rounds of reinvestment and particularly among higher-income professionals who have become increasingly responsible in transforming Central Lakeview into an increasingly exclusive upscale community.

The analysis of the socioeconomic and housing census data and the review of gentrification processes taking place in census tract #629 indicated that Central Lakeview experienced one of the most substantial degrees of social and physical upgrading among cultural districts in Chicago. Since 1970, Central Lakeview experienced renovations, condominium conversions, tear downs and the construction of owner-occupied housing, and several recent cases of redevelopment showing nascent evidence of supergentrification.

Cultural professionals have acted as early gentrifiers of Central Lakeview by moving in large numbers into the neighborhood, starting particularly during the 1970s, at a time when middle-class white residents were moving out. The case study illustrates that artists--who could be highly educated but underemployed or self-employed, and hence of lower income, and primarily renting--were among the first wave of gentrifiers in Central Lakeview and Lakeview. Central Lakeview's 'off-loop theatre scene' has attracted a very different middle-class professional when compared to Wicker Park's 'edgy' and 'alternative' music scene. The greater neighborhood stability, the less-vocal neighborhood opposition to gentrification, and the particular characteristic of this 'artistic-infused' neighborhood, attracted higher-income

professionals attracted to this ‘high order’ arts district. Central Lakeview, in fact, is showing nascent signs of super-gentrification, an outcome of capital reinvestment that has been partly shaped by the particular characteristics of the first wave of artist gentrifiers and their art-infused neighborhoods.

With heightened gentrification processes in Central Lakeview, increased housing costs and redevelopment pressures have pushed the lower-income residents, including artists, to move to more affordable city and Metro Chicago neighborhoods. Therefore, the artist community facilitated gentrification in Central Lakeview, and now they are themselves being displaced by the continual redevelopment processes that they initiated. The success of the renowned off-loop theater scene and the rising property values have made it difficult to continue to perform in the neighborhood. Small and medium-sized theater companies have struggled to find affordable performance or rehearsal spaces, while its artists struggle with finding affordable housing in a rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. While some established performance venues continue to exist and grow, for the majority of small cultural groups, finding affordable and adequate performance spaces close to their audiences is getting more difficult in Lakeview.

In addition, development pressures in the neighborhood are threatening the local cultural venues, a crucial component of Lakeview’s vibrant infrastructure of play. In Central Lakeview, the conversion of cultural venues to higher-end uses, either condominiums or commercial space, has already started due to the heightened real estate market. Perceived demand for high-end housing in Lakeview has encouraged developers and owners to extract more value from their properties through redevelopment. Cultural venues already affected by redevelopment include MoMing Center, Ivanhoe Theater, and the Jane Adams Center Hull House. This case study

points to the precarious condition of many of the non-profit cultural organizations located in gentrifying neighborhoods.

While Lakeview and Central Lakeview still have a high concentration of artists, this cultural district continues to be in transition and artists are in a precarious position. The location of artists in a cultural neighborhood is not permanent, and this is perhaps nowhere as evident as in Lakeview, a neighborhood increasingly facing the pressures of super-gentrification. This has been evident in many newspaper accounts on the risk of displacement artists encounter while living in Lakeview. Surrounding neighborhoods to the north or west (Uptown, Wicker Park)--which are more affordable than Lakeview--have welcomed the influx of cultural professionals from Lakeview. However, resistance to gentrification is less subdued in Lakeview when compared to the opposition expressed in the Wicker Park and the Pilsen East neighborhoods.

Chapter 7. Pilsen East

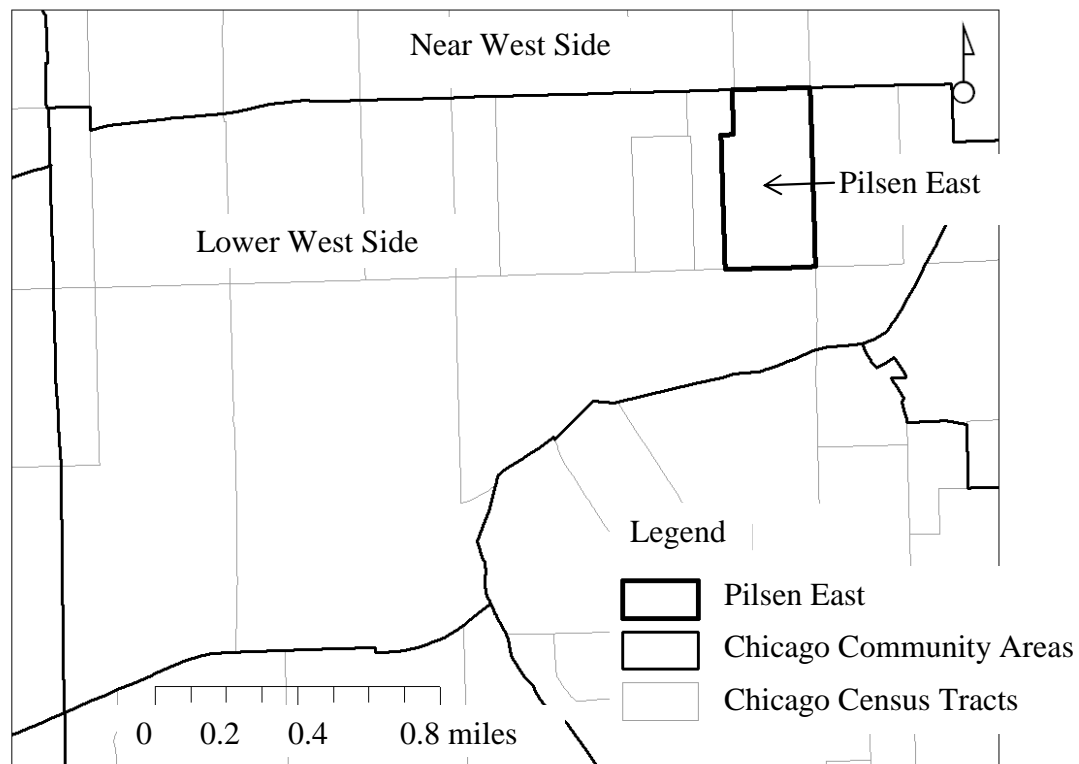
7.1. Introduction

The Lower West Side, a predominantly low-income Mexican-American community (Arredondo & Vaillant, 2004; Thomas, 2013; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004), is another cluster of the public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago, with a vibrant and diverse arts and culture scene. This cultural district includes a growing Hispanic and Non-Hispanic artist community and the National Museum of Mexican Art. It is also a major arts district in Chicago (Chicago Gallery News, n.d.). Pilsen East, located on the eastern side of the Lower West Side community area (figure 7.1) has a fledgling Hispanic and Non-Hispanic art scene, which has been struggling to resist the slowly but unstoppable advancement of gentrification.

Pilsen East (census tract #3103) is the only census tract in Lower West Side that was included alongside the Lakeview and the Wicker Park neighborhoods in cluster #4. The Pilsen cultural district displays unique gentrification processes. Since 1970, Pilsen East has been slowly gentrifying from a lower-income to a moderate-income neighborhood in spite of the substantial Hispanic opposition to the redevelopment and upgrading pressures. Pilsen East experienced a similar scale of social and physical upgrading as Central Lakeview and Wicker Park but has experienced different processes of redevelopment. The neighborhood resistance has slowed down redevelopment in the neighborhood and has allowed artists to continue living and working in the neighborhood. This neighborhood continues to be more affordable than the other case studies. Throughout this analysis, census tract #3103 will be referred to as the ‘Pilsen East’ neighborhood to differentiate it from the entire Pilsen neighborhood. Lower West Side is located

three miles south-west of Chicago's downtown, and one of its largest neighborhoods is Pilsen (figure 7.1).

Figure 7.1. The Pilsen East neighborhood and the Lower West Side community.



7.2. Gentrification and the Public Investment in Culture in the Lower West Side

The Lower West Side has been a part of Chicago since the city's incorporation in 1837 (Cutler, 2006; Keating, 2008). The Lower West Side has traditionally served as a point of entry into Chicago for many working-class immigrants and from a broad range of ethnic groups (Gellman, 2005; Keating, 2008; Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986). Germans and Irish immigrants moved into the area in the 1840s, followed by immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, including Bohemians, in the 1870s (Gellman, 2005). The housing stock in the Lower West Side largely

dates from its inception in the late 1800s, with the majority of its housing units built before 1939, before sidewalks and streets were raised to reduce flooding (Betancur, 2005).

Starting with World War I, Mexican immigrants began to settle in the Lower West Side. During the urban renewal of the 1950s, the expansion of the University of Illinois at Chicago forced the Near West Side residents, primarily Mexicans, to move into other surrounding neighborhoods. This included Pilsen due to the inexpensive housing and the proximity to industrial employers (Gellman, 2005; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). With an increase in the Hispanic population and the flight of the Eastern European residents, by 1970, Hispanics became the majority ethnic group in Lower West Side.

The Lower West Side is currently one of the largest and fastest growing Mexican communities in Chicago and the U.S. (Arredondo & Vaillant, 2004; Zielenback, 2006). The community has a diversified land use mix due to its history as an immigrant port of entry and its proximity to the river, the railroad tracks, and the many industrial sites (Gellman, 2004; Pacyga & Skerrett, 1986; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). Its economy continues to be dominated by the large industrial corridor along the Chicago River on the neighborhood's south end (Geroulis, 2003). The industrial decline led to a 39.9 percent loss of jobs in manufacturing between 1970 and 2000, and an increase in unemployment and poverty in the Lower West Side (Wilson, Wouters & Grammenos, 2004).

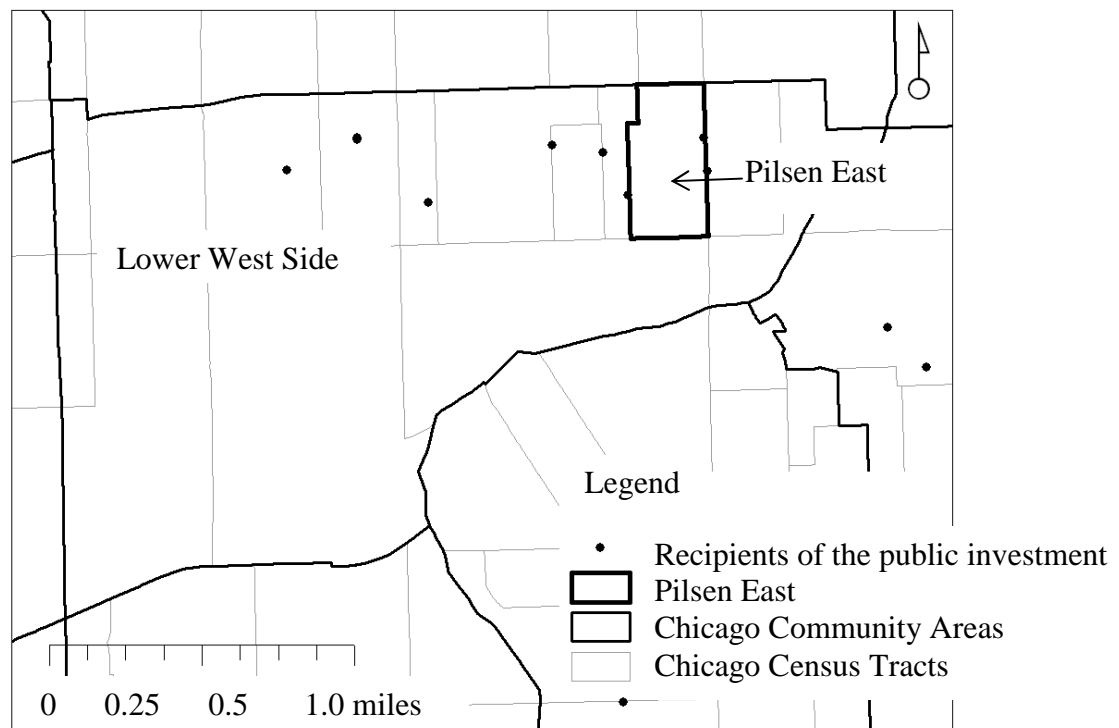
The Lower West Side has been home to a growing cultural and arts district since the 1960s. A city's cultural resources survey found more than 20 arts-related businesses and organizations in the Lower West Side community area, with another 25 within a one mile radius (Zehr & Burros, 2002). This concentration of artists and cultural activities led the city of Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs to recognize Pilsen East and the surrounding area as a

cultural district in 2002 (Artspace Projects, Inc., The Lambert Group, Inc., & Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs, 2002). Within this Pilsen Arts District, which centers along the 18th St., the city identified an 'artists' colony' along Halsted St. that extends from 16th St. south to Cermak Rd.. This colony, located partly in Pilsen East, is currently home to numerous artists. The national publication Art Business News identified Chicago Arts District/ Pilsen East as one of the city's main art districts (Nutcher, 2005). Moreover, the Chicago Gallery News considers the Pilsen Arts District a “well-established creative community,” (Chicago Gallery News, n.d.). In addition, studies by Wali et al. (2002) and Grams (2005) emphasized the clustering and density of arts activities in the Pilsen art district.

As one of the secondary concentrations into the public investment in the infrastructure of play, Lower West Side received fairly substantial public support for arts and culture between 1970 and 2000 (a total of \$8,150,799 for 159 cultural grants). Among the eleven (11) non-profit cultural and community organizations that received cultural grants between 1970 and 1999 (figure 7.2) there are non-profit art galleries (e.g., Pros Arts Studio), a cultural center (Casa Aztlán), the National Museum of Mexican Art, and several theater companies (e.g., Blue Rider Theater). These organizations have played a central role in the growth of the cultural district and the creation of a neighborhood identity.

The dollar amount and the number of subsidies allocated to the Lower West Side's cultural non-profits were smaller when compared to the other case studies. The only exception to this is the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum, founded in 1982, and renamed the National Museum of Mexican Art in 2006. The museum has received annual tax appropriations since 1986 from the Chicago Park District, which supports the major museums of Chicago through property tax revenues (National Museum of Mexican Art, n.d.).

Figure 7.2. The Infrastructure of Play in the Lower West Side (cultural organizations geo-coded by their administrative address).



In addition to these non-profit organizations, the Lower West Side cultural district includes a large number of individual artists and privately-run art businesses which were not included in the public investment in the infrastructure of play database. Some of the artists received cultural fellowships or grants but they were not included in the database due to challenges in identifying a physical location for individual artists. Privately-run art galleries are not usually eligible to receive cultural grants but contribute significantly to the vibrancy of the cultural district. For instance, the 4Art Ine gallery, in Pilsen East, offered framing, art classes, and graphic design along with displaying the work of 20 local artists (Isaacs, 2010).

Studies and other accounts revealed spatial segregation between white artists and Latino artists living and working in Lower West Side (Cunningham, 1988; Grams, 2005; Poe, 1992). In the Lower West Side cultural district, the eastern end of the community has housed many,

predominantly, white, non-Hispanic artists and cultural organizations. The highly educated, white Anglo artists and art school graduates are predominantly located in Pilsen East. Many Latino artists live and work throughout the community, but they are concentrated primarily on the central and western end of the Lower West Side (Anaya, 2012; Grams, Huebner, 2003; 2005; Lutton, 1998; Poe, 1992).

The Hispanic cultural district has developed concurrently with the gradual transition of Pilsen into a predominantly Mexican neighborhood (Poe, 1992). In the late 1960s, a group of muralists driven by the Chicano Civil Rights Movement created a strong Mexico-Chicago artists' network (Poe, 1992). During the 1970s and 1980s, several art-related Hispanic organizations were established, including MARCH, Mi Raza Arts Consortium, and Casa Aztlan, which received cultural grants in the following decades.

The analysis of the change in census data between 1970 and 2000 suggests that the Lower West Side community has not gentrified significantly. Median household income dropped 28.35 percent and the per capita income increased only 9.74 percent, both lower than the city of Chicago's average. The median gross rent increased 29.76 percent and the median housing value increased 212.78 percent; both values facing much higher increases than the city's averages. However, median housing values and median household values remained below the city's median. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from 52 percent to only 80 percent of the city's median, while the median value of household income dropped from being 86 percent to being 72 percent of Chicago's median (Tables 7.1-7.5). The Lower West Side, even though it was affected by the restructuring of the manufacturing sector, it lost a smaller percentage of its manufacturing jobs, a 40.96 percent decrease, compared to a 60.78 percent decrease for the entire city. Actually, between 1970 and 2000, the percentage of

manufacturing jobs increased from being 1.53 times to being 1.96 times the city's percent of manufacturing jobs. These numbers indicate that Lower West Side generally remained a low-income and impoverished community over the three decades. Pilsen East was the only census tract in Lower West Side that gentrified between 1970 and 2000.

Table 7.1. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.
(Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing
Lower West Side	\$358	\$464	29.76%	\$41,120	\$128,614	212.78%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 7.2. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Household Income (1970)	Median Household Income (2000)	% Change in Median Household Income	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
Lower West Side	\$37,648	\$26,975	-28.35%	\$11,348	\$12,454	9.74%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 7.3. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median Housing Value Ratio (1970)*	Median Housing Value Ratio (2000)	Median Household Income Ratio (1970)**	Median Household Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
Lower West Side	0.52	0.80	0.86	0.72	25.89%	25.89%

* Median household value of Lower West Side East community area divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of Lower West Side East community divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 7.4. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manufacturing (1970)	Manufacturing (2000)	% Change in Manufacturing	% of Manufacturing (1970)	% of Manufacturing (2000)	% of Manufacturing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufacturing Ratio (2000)*
Lower West Side	7,295	4,307	-40.96%	45.01%	25.62%	1.55	1.96
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

*Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in Lower West Side divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 7.5. Change in professionals and professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Professionals (1970)	Professionals (2000)	% Change in Professionals	% of Professionals (1970)	% of Professionals (2000)	% of Professionals Ratio (1970)* *	% of Professionals Ratio (2000)**
Lower West Side	1,182	2,719	130.03%	7.36%	16.17%	0.41	0.48
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

** Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in Lower West Side divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

Being located in a prime location--close to downtown, expressways, mass transit, and the University of Illinois at Chicago--and having a relatively inexpensive housing stock, as well as low land value, the Lower West Side became an attractive location for real estate developers and builders, businesses, and artists (Betancur 1995; Anderson & Sternberg, 2012; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). Since the 1970s, the Lower West Side has been affected by development pressures, which includes government plans and public development initiatives, the expansion of the University of Illinois at Chicago, the South Loop redevelopment, and the redevelopment of Chicago's public housing projects. Residents and community groups have often been active participants in coalitions seeking to fight redevelopment projects and commercial and residential displacement (Cunningham, 1988; Lutton, 1998, Thomas, 2013; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). The community developed a strong reputation for being a well-organized community, especially with regard to protecting its residents from displacement and housing developments driven by outside developers. The community's resistance to development pressures explains why the Lower West Side experienced slow gentrification, even though Pilsen East was captured in cluster #4.

Since the 1970s, the city has sought to facilitate the renewal of Lower West Side, seeking to expand gentrification processes in the neighborhood (Betancur, 1995; Puente, 1998; Sternbeg, 2012). In the 1970s, the city's unsuccessful efforts to upgrade portions of the Lower West Side took place with the Chicago 21 Plan, which aimed to transform the disinvested neighborhoods surrounding the downtown, including Pilsen, into middle-class areas for downtown workers (Betancur, 2005; Lutton, 1998). Afraid of gentrification pressures and displacement, Pilsen's residents mobilized and fought against the city's plans (e.g., Chicago 21 Plan in 1973 and Chicago 1992 World's Fair) (Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004).

During the 1980s, the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum was created to preserve Mexican cultural history and fine arts (Davalos, 2005). A group of Hispanic educators founded a nonprofit group to establish a Mexican fine arts institution (Huebner, 2003). The group organized numerous cultural events and was successful in raising the necessary funds to open the museum. Then, in 1986, the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum signed an agreement with the Chicago Park District that allowed it to locate to a Park District building in the Lower West Side and ensure that it receives revenues through annual tax appropriations from the Chicago Park District (Davalos, 2005; National Museum of Mexican Art, n.d.). Between 1986 and 1999, the museum received a total of \$7,321,189 in cultural grants and appropriations, which allowed the museum to grow into being now the largest Latino museum in the U.S. (Arredondo & Vaillant, 2004; Davalos, 2005). In addition, several Hispanic art galleries (e.g., Prospectus Art Gallery and Pros Arts Studio) opened in Pilsen during the late 1980s and early 1990s and offered exposure to the many emerging Hispanic artists (Poe, 1992). Pros Arts Studio, one of the recipients of the cultural grants, developed many programs in the community, including murals along 16th St. and various local performances.

Since the mid 1990s, the city intensified its efforts to facilitate the redevelopment of Pilsen in a number of different ways. In 1998, the city designed a tax increment financing district, which residents protested unsuccessfully against its creation, covering 907 industrial acres to help revitalize the long-established industrial corridor affected by the restructuring of the manufacturing sector (City of Chicago, 1998). The TIF funds were also being used to encourage residential redevelopment through infrastructure improvements in the district. The surrounding community was concerned about the possibility that the TIF district would result in the displacement of local residents and that the industrial land would be converted to residential use (Curran & Hangué, 2008; Lutton, 1998). Redevelopment projects proposed for Pilsen's former manufacturing sites illustrate these development pressures in the TIF district.

More recently, the city, together with the local alderman, initiated policies to promote Pilsen as a tourist attraction (Anderson & Sternberg, 2012; Betancur, 2005). The city improved the physical infrastructure, apparent with the new streetlights and banners along 18th Street, improved city services, and showed an increased focus on improving safety (Isaacs, 2003; Richardson, 2003). In addition, the city created a detailed walking tour map of Pilsen's murals, provided free trolley rides through the area, and launched touring buses that highlight Pilsen's amenities (Anderson, 2002; Moore, 2004).

Since the late 1990s, the redevelopment of two public housing complexes, Henry Horner Holmes and ABLA projects--located just north of Lower West Side--has also increased development pressures on the community. The HOPE VI plan for the Henry Horner Homes specifies the public housing complex to be replaced by a mixed-income project and the onsite reduction of public housing from 743 units to 150 units (Wyly & Hammel 1999; Bennett, 1999). The proposed redevelopment of the ABLA public housing complex includes the onsite

elimination of three fifths of the public housing units (Wyly & Hammel, 1999). The result of this redevelopment is the Roosevelt Square project, which began in 2004 and will be completed over several separate phases of development (Chicago Housing Authority, n.d.).

Figure 7.3. University Village, immediately north of Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).

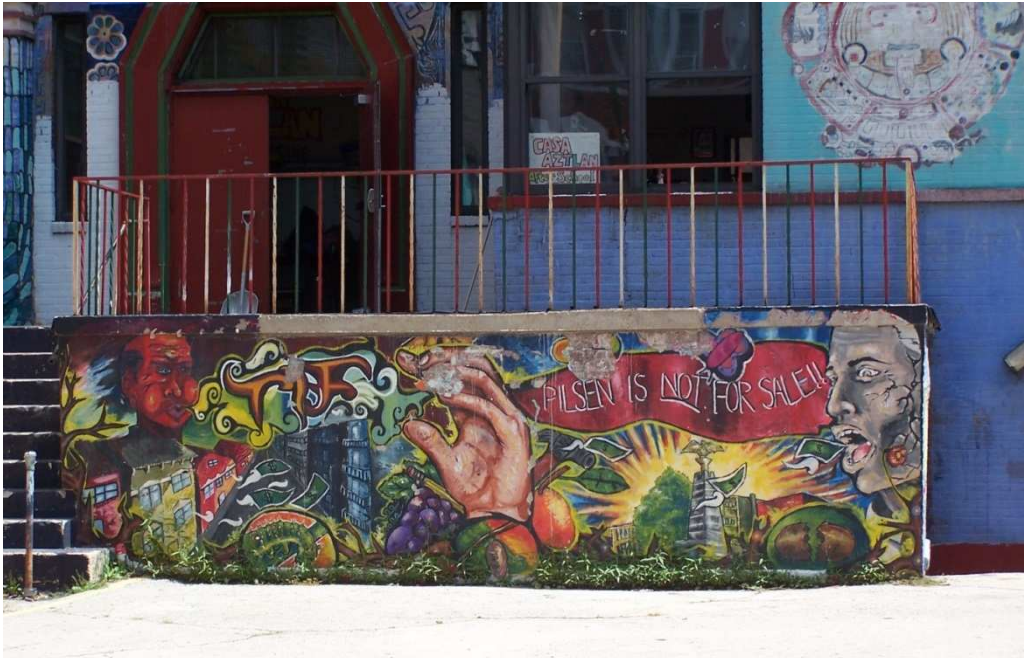


The expansion of the University of Illinois at Chicago to the north, and the South Loop development to the east, have also brought development pressures in Pilsen, and this has been evident since the 1970s (Betancur, 1995). Since 2000, the University of Illinois has redeveloped its surrounding community, embarking on a major south campus expansion project, located north of 16th St., the Pilsen East northern boundary. Recent expansion projects include the University Village, a 68-acre, 930-unit mixed use development, which is located just north of Pilsen East) (figure 7.3). The University recently completed the University Commons project, located also in the vicinity of Pilsen East, which includes around 850 high-end lofts and condominiums.

Throughout the years, the Hispanic community had argued against redevelopment that would affect the demographic composition of the community, at the same time as advocating an increase in the amount of affordable housing in the new private residential development projects. The community activists have openly expressed their desire to continue living in the community (Thomas, 2013). More recently, in light of the development pressures coming from the expansion of the University of Illinois-Chicago and the newly created Pilsen Industrial TIF District, the community approved, in 2003, a referendum that required the Alderman to hold public meetings on all zoning-related changes in Pilsen (Jeffers & Osterman, 2003) which led to the creation of the Pilsen Community Zoning Board (Curran & Hague, 2008). In 2006, the community passed a non-binding referendum that required the Alderman and the City Council to downzone Pilsen in order to slow gentrification (Curran & Hague, 2008). Even though the referendum passed with a landslide vote, the Pilsen's Alderman decided not to enforce the referendum, arguing that it would actually spur higher real estate prices (Olivo, 2006b).

Fear and distrusts of developers, the city, and the University of Illinois-Chicago is common among the Hispanic community. In a study of oppositional discourse to gentrification in Pilsen, Wilson, Wouters, and Grammenos (2004) found that “diverse mental spaces were constructed and used in discourse to offer two critical constructions: positive resident identities and developers as villains.” Resistance to gentrification is evident in the neighborhood, from the signs in living room windows to murals depicting anti-gentrification messages and the neighborhood's reaction to gentrification (Arredondo & Vaillant, 2004; Clark, 2010; Grams, 2005; Puente, 1997, figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4. Anti gentrification mural on the walls of Casa Aztlan, Lower West Side (Benton, 2012).



The community's resistance has affected, at least to some extent, redevelopment in the Lower West Side. Many developers and officials feared that community activists would confront and oppose investment at every turn and avoided developing in the neighborhood (Lutton, 1998; Thomas, 2013; Sternberg, 2012; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). The local developer and landlord Podmajersky noted that Pilsen is currently known as “the explosive neighborhood where angry Latinos meet attempts to upgrade” (Wilson & Sternberg, 2012). Over the years, Podmajersky's redevelopment proposals seeking to redevelop manufacturing sites were defeated by the successful community opposition (Cunningham, 1988; Sternberg, 2012; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). It is clear from the census data that this is a neighborhood reflective of relatively slow gentrification.

However, this neighborhood opposition has managed to slow but not stop the pace of redevelopment advancing in the community. Since 1990, gentrification has intensified in the eastern end of the Lower West Side bringing in condominium conversions, new construction, and an influx of professionals. The PCA and clustering analysis indicated that between 1970 and 2000 gentrification occurred primarily in Pilsen East. These upgrading processes will be discussed in detail in the following section of the chapter. Upgrading has taken longer to occur and has been of a smaller scale throughout the rest of Lower West Side, which continues to be predominantly Hispanic and challenged by poverty, disinvestment, gang-related violence, and unemployment (Betancur, 1995, 2005; Grammenos, 2006; Wilson & Sternberg, 2012).

In a study of condominium conversion in the Lower West Side, Davis and Merriman (2007) found an increase in both rental and owner-occupied housing units in the community between 1989 and 2004. The number of residential condominiums in the Lower West Side has been consistently increasing, from 0 in 1989, to 10 in 2002, and to 95 condominiums in 2004 (Davis & Merriman, 2007). The majority of this development took place on the eastern end of the community, in Pilsen East. The first large condominium project in the Lower West Side in several decades was the 2002 Pilsen Gateway (Richardson, 2002). The 32-unit project (units were priced from \$180,000 to \$485,000) sold out in one year, which indicated a healthy demand for housing in the neighborhood (Geroulis, 2003; Richardson, 2003) and showed that larger scale residential projects in the eastern end of the community were feasible. Since then several large residential condominium projects were completed. One of these projects is Chantico Lofts, which involved the conversion in 2005 of a former industrial building into 42 residential units (Lipe Properties, n.d.). Fueled by the success of this project, the developer started in 2012 to build Chantico South Condominiums, an expansion of the initial project (Lipe Properties, n.d.).

Residential developers have been taking advantage of the fact that the majority of housing in Pilsen is over-zoned, because many of the buildings zoned RT-4 are at a much lower density than what zoning designation allows (Curran & Hague, 2008; Betancur, 1995). In many cases, the mismatch between current zoning and actual land use has led to tear downs and constructions of three- to four-story rental or condominium buildings (Curran & Hague, 2008). The large number of teardowns made Preservation Chicago name Pilsen, in 2006, one of the neighborhoods with Chicago's Most Endangered Buildings (Preservation Chicago, 2006).

These developments resulted in changes in the social composition of the eastern end of the Lower West Side. Significant increases in the prices for new and rehabilitated homes, as well as rents, and the rapid rise in property taxes and assessments in the neighborhood (Geroulis, 2003; Olivo, 2006b; Richardson, 2002) have been affecting the community residents and displacing long-time, working-class and lower-income renters and homeowners (Anaya, 2012; Avila, 2006). Higher rents and property values have brought a different demographic group into the east side of the community. The new population moving in is predominantly white, non-Latino residents (Lutton, 1998; O'Brien, 2007; Anaya, 2012; Orta, 2010). In addition, the number of students in the Lower West Side has been increasing, with college students attracted by relatively cheaper rents in close proximity to the University of Illinois at Chicago (Anaya, 2012).

Gutierrez--an owner of a local restaurant--argued that *"Low-income families are moving out. [...] On a Friday night, you used to see Mexican families in here. Now you see a lot of white American families"* (O'Brien, 2007). Another Pilsen resident complained that,

"There are a lot of people leaving that area [...] For that reason, we left. They were remodeling all the areas near Halsted and all the way up to Roosevelt. There were a lot of white people moving in... and new condominiums going up. So the reason that we left that place is because they wanted to increase the rent. They were increasing our rent and the apartment remained the same. How could we pay more and more and the apartment remain the same?" (Orta, 2010).

7.3. Gentrification and the Public Investment in the Infrastructure of Play in Pilsen East

This section explores the diversity of gentrification between 1970 and 2000 in Pilsen East. This neighborhood (census tract #3103) is located on the eastern side of the Lower West Side community. Compared to Central Lakeview and Wicker Park, Pilsen East has significantly more commercial and industrial land uses. There is no clear separation between uses, with residential, commercial, and industrial buildings located on the same block.

Figure 7.5. Traditional homes in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).



As the analysis of the census data indicated, the neighborhood did not experience overt gentrification during the 1970s and 1980s. While some of the housing stock was renovated by primarily Latino landlords and owners (figure 7.5), there was little new construction and a substantial number of demolitions due to the old age of the buildings and their deterioration. Much of Pilsen East's housing stock dates back to the 19th century, before sidewalks and streets were raised to reduce flooding. The types of housing available in the neighborhood included

many wood-frame buildings, single-family small cottages, and small two and three story-flats. Census data showed that only 42 housing units were constructed between 1970 and 1990. Demolitions made Pilsen East increasingly vacant, with the census tract losing 13 percent of its housing units during the 1970s and 5 percent during the 1980s.

During these decades of disinvestment and economic decline in the neighborhood, some artists bought single-family homes and renovated them into gallery spaces and live/work spaces (Artspace Project et al., 2002). In addition, on the east end of the census tract, local landlord John Podmajersky started to acquire dilapidated residential and commercial spaces, which he then redesigned, refurnished, and marketed them as rental lofts and studios for artists. Podmajersky was successful in attracting artists to live and work in this neighborhood (Grams, 2005; Puente, 1998). Podmajersky sought to create an inner-city artists' enclave in the deteriorating neighborhood where he grew up, recognizing that the declining neighborhood, with large lofts and cheap rents, could draw artists to Pilsen East (Cunningham, 1988; Isaacs, 2003; Puente, 1998). The Podmajersky's artist housing and studios include storefronts, wood frame 2- or 3-flats, and former loft industrial and office buildings located on both sides of Halsted St., between 17th and Canalport Streets (Lutton, 1998; Chicago Arts District, n.d.; Isaacs, 2003). More than 80 percent of Podmajersky's tenants are artists or working in art-related businesses (Isaacs, 2003; Puente, 1998), including hundreds of established and emerging artists representing painting, sculpture, textiles, fashion, jewelry, and ceramics (Chicago Arts District, n.d.; figure 7.6).

While some Hispanic artists rented space from Podmajersky, his tenants tended to be predominantly white and college educated (Cunningham, 1988; Puente, 1998; Richardson, 2003). Donna Blue Lachman is one of the artists who moved in a loft offered by Podmajersky because "Pilsen is great to do my art in" (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989). The artist performed and

taught theater classes in Pilsen, attracting students from the north side of Chicago. Lachman helped create the Blue Rider Theater Company, which sought to develop Pilsen into an artistic community and hosted traditional drama, dance, and jazz performances (Lazarre, 1999). The Blue Rider Theater was one of the recipients of the public investment in the infrastructure of play during the 1980s and 1990s receiving a total of \$108,184.

Figure 7.6. Gallery storefront owned by Podmajersky in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).



During the 1980s, Cunningham (1988) noticed that the rents for artist studios in Pilsen East were considerably higher than in the rest of Pilsen, but lower than loft rents in other cultural districts. The relatively inexpensive studios available for a live and work arrangement attracted many artists to Pilsen East. The higher rent in Pilsen East compared to Pilsen was due to the higher quality of housing offered by Podmajersky to the artists than the housing offered to the working-class Latino residents in the rest of the Lower West Side. The artist studios had high

ceilings, large rooms, laundry rooms, exercise spaces, and some had access to vacated former alleys that had been converted into gardens (Cunningham, 1988; Grams, 2005; Lutton, 1998).

The presence of a growing artist district in Pilsen East and the efforts of Podmajersky to redevelop more properties in the neighborhood were perceived negatively by the Hispanic community during the 1980s. Community groups claimed that Podmajerky was gentrifying the area, driving out families, displacing the traditional low-income population, and discriminating against Hispanics (Cunningham, 1988). “The locals cannot afford his rents,” said Raul Padilla, chairman of the Pilsen Development Corporation (Cunningham, 1988). Artists were also aware of how they were viewed by the traditional Hispanic residents. Lachman, the artist living in a Podmajersky building, noted that residents disliked Podmajerky because “he’s displacing people” (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989).

During the 1990s, the Pilsen East cultural district continued to grow, encompassing several contiguous blocks of live/work spaces for artists, galleries, creative retailers, and exhibition spaces for special events and performances (Chicago Arts District, n.d.; Grams, 2005). The artists’ colony, along Halsted St., emerged as one of the largest concentrations of artists and artists’ studios in the city (Cunningham, 1988; Gallery News, n.d.; Jackson, 2007), where more than 1,500 artists have lived and worked since the 1960s (Chicago Arts District, n.d.). Compared to Wicker Park or the River North art districts--also recognized as art-focused districts, but less populated with artists, art galleries, and arts-related businesses--Pilsen East had a higher number of artists that lived and worked in the neighborhood (Fox, 2004; Grams, 2005; Lydersen, 2003). Just in 2002, a study by the Chicago's Department of Cultural Affairs identified over 100 artists that lived and worked in Pilsen (Artspace Project et al., 2002).

While the neighborhood upgrading was slow during the 1970s and 1980s, due to the strong neighborhoods' opposition to capital reinvestment, gentrification became visible in Pilsen East during the 1990s. Housing renovations continued in the neighborhood, bringing higher rents and non-Latino residents (Puente, 1997). Developers began to show interest in Pilsen East partially because of its location, cheap land, and proximity to downtown, the University of Illinois at Chicago and the thriving arts district (Betancur, 1995; Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004). The census tract experienced a significant housing boom, with 17 percent of its housing units built during the 1990s. The construction of new housing units in Pilsen East included increases in the number of owner-occupied and renter-occupied housing units. Residential construction included many infill residential buildings and several large residential condominium projects. The number and percentage of vacant units declined, indicating that construction first took place on the previously torn down properties.

In many instances, the smaller, older, wood-frame single-family houses built before 1900 were torn down and replaced with new, higher density residential units, as in the example in figure 7.7. The massing and architecture of the new built housing is different than the surrounding and older buildings they are replacing. In this, and many other cases in Pilsen East, the mismatch between current zoning and actual land use has led to tear downs and the construction of three- to four-story rental or condominium buildings. Developers had aggressively contacted longtime residents, burdened by high property taxes, to buy over-zoned properties, and convert the older single-family homes into condominiums (Olivo, 2006c; Puente, 1997). The 2006 condominium building at 953 W. 18th St. replaced an 1879 one-story building. Units are currently for sale for almost 240,000 each and feature amenities few traditional residents can afford:

“Elegant Pilson Condo. 10 Ft Ceilings & Gorgeous Hardwood Floors Throughout. Gourmet Kitchen Has Ss Appliances w/Granite Counter Tops, Breakfast Bar& 42inch Maple Cabs. Gas Fireplace. Master Bedroom Has Ample Closet Space And Private Bath. Master Bath Also Has Granite Double Sink Counter Top And Ceramic Tile Through-out.” (Urban Real Estate, 2012).

Figure 7.7. The new condominium building at 953 W. 18th St. (Benton, 2013).



The artist district was successful in attracting gentrification, through the artists' various art events, which increasingly exposed people to Pilsen East. Artists, both Non-Hispanic and Latino, attracted visitors to the neighborhood, primarily to the open houses and other art shows (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989; Grams, 2005). Buyers of art were not typically from the neighborhood. For example, just in 2008, the Annual Pilsen East Artists' Open House attracted more than three thousands attendees to the neighborhood art event (Chicago Arts District, 2008). Residents had always considered that the neighborhood attention that the artists and the growth

of the art community generated would lead to real estate speculation and higher property taxes (Artspace Project et al., 2002). With the intensification of gentrification in Pilsen East, long-time residents continue to view the Podmajersky family as one of the catalysts for change (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989; Isaacs, 2003; Puente, 1997).

Some of Podmajersky's redevelopment proposals faced neighborhood opposition (Wilson, Wouters, & Grammenos, 2004), including the proposal in the late 1990s for building a parking lot in Pilsen East (Lutton, 1998; Sternberg, 2012). Compared to the adjacent areas and the other case studies, gentrification moved slower in Pilsen East because developers were concerned, and for good reason, with the Mexican community's strong opposition to development in the neighborhood.

Into the 2000s, the competition for developable land increased in Pilsen East, placing increased pressure on underutilized or vacant industrial sites (Betancur, 1995). With the Pilsen's industrial district shrinking, developers were increasingly seeking to redevelop industrial sites into residential uses. The closing in 2002 of the Tool and Engineering Company factory, located on a 5 acres site at 18th and Peoria Streets in Pilsen East, triggered three residential redevelopment proposals for the vacant parcel. Concord Homes first proposed, back in 2003, to build 391 condominiums and townhouses. The proposal was rejected by the alderman after widespread community opposition (Joravsky, 2005). In 2005, another mixed-use project was advanced for this site (Joravsky, 2005), consisting of 387 condominiums and commercial units in 13 buildings, ranging from townhouses to ten-story towers. The most expensive units were to cost \$699,000 and the developers planned to set aside 21 percent of the housing units that were to be classified as affordable, with prices ranging from \$150,000 to \$215,000 for one or two bedroom apartments (Avila, 2006). These units were largely inappropriate, and still remained

unaffordable, for Pilsen's traditional large Latino families. This proposal was received with opposition and criticism from the Latino community. Their fear was that this project would result in increased property values and property taxes (Avila, 2006). The project eventually stalled due to the financial crisis in 2008. Recently, the Chicago branch of the Jesuits was seeking a zoning change for the vacant site (Maidenberg, 2009), which currently still remains empty.

Figure 7.8. New condominium Projects in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).



Into the present, in spite of the neighborhood opposition, reinvestment and redevelopment has taken place in the neighborhood in an area close to the artists' colony. Two large residential condominium projects were completed in Pilsen East in 2007. The first was a 31-condominium unit residential structure (center building in figure 7.8) while the second was an 18-unit condominium project (left building in figure 7.8). A block north (far right in figure 7.8) is University Village, a residential complex that was just recently built by the University of

Illinois at Chicago. Gentrification continues throughout Pilsen East, where new construction is taking on formerly vacant land parcels, but still with the same impact of raising neighborhood property values. For instance, the three-story single-family home under construction at 1718 W. Newberry (figure 7.9) is built on a vacant lot. It followed the two adjacent single-family buildings developed in 2007 by the same developer, and both built on formerly vacant lots.

Figure 7.9. New residential buildings in Pilsen East (Benton, 2012).



The artists' colony has expanded substantially in Pilsen East over the last four decades (Anaya, 2012), attracting, in many cases, artists displaced from other cultural districts being gentrified, including Wicker Park. For instance, Justin Kerr, publisher of an online arts magazine, moved to a Podmajersky studio after being priced out of a gentrifying neighborhood in West Town (Richardson, 2002). Another artist and gallery owner, Aubuchon, moved to Pilsen in 2001 because of its "reasonable" rents for large apartments/studios (Richardson, 2003).

Figure 7.10. Lacuna Artist Lofts + Studios, at 2150 S. Canalport St. (Benton, 2012).



While Podmajersky continues to be the main landlord of artists spaces in Pilsen East--he owns more than a hundred rental properties and hundreds of apartments--he is by no means the only one (Cunningham, 1988; Grams, 2005; Isaacs, 2003; Richardson, 2003). The success of this type of live/work space for artists has inspired other investors to develop similar projects in Pilsen East. For instance, Lacuna Artist Lofts + Studios (figure 7.10), located in a former industrial building, offers “*Upscale, trendy, loft work space in a growing artist community. [...]Offering comfortable, stylish work+event space for established artists + professionals*” (Gallery News Website, n.d.). In addition, in 2010, a local development company transformed another industrial building into studios, office, and retail spaces with the intent to attract artists and creative businesses (Isaacs, 2010; Sterling Bay Company, n.d.).

These new housing projects have brought an influx of non-Latino, moderate-income professionals, and artists into Pilsen East (Anaya, 2012; Lutton, 1998; O'Brien, 2007; Orta,

2010). The census tract gained a significant number of whites during the 1990s and at the same time lost Hispanic residents. Young professionals have been moving from gentrifying neighborhoods such as Bucktown, due to the rapidly increasing housing costs (Geroulis, 2003). The resulting increases in housing costs, rents, and property assessments in Pilsen East have been displacing the traditional and longtime, low-income, working-class renters and homeowners of this traditionally low-income community (Anaya, 2012; Avila, 2006; Fox, 2004).

Artists living in Pilsen East have themselves become concerned that as the neighborhood develops, housing will be more expensive and might force artists, who have limited incomes, to also move out (Camacho & Joravsky, 1989, p. 94). Artists are very well aware of the Wicker Park and Central Lakeview experience, where the success associated with redevelopment of the neighborhoods by the artist community eventually made the neighborhoods unaffordable to the artists. In addition, artists in Pilsen East noticed the infrastructure improvements, such as the new streetlights and repaved streets, and are also fully aware of the improved neighborhood appearance (Richardson, 2003). Due to their limited incomes, artists prefer cheap industrial lofts over newly built condominiums or studios (Fox, 2004; Lydersen, 2003; Puente, 1997; Richardson, 2003). Many artists, in fact, take-on additional jobs—as art therapists, paint mixers, graphic designers, web designers, and general freelancers—in order to afford living in Pilsen (Fox, 2004; Grams, 2005). Development has already led to rising property assessments of commercial buildings, including art studios and galleries (Richardson, 2003). With spaces being converted into condominiums, which are unsuitable and unaffordable to artists, gentrification may already be indirectly pushing some artists out of Pilsen East (Lydersen, 2003; Dills, 2004), but at a slower pace than in Wicker Park or Central Lakeview.

7.4. The Socioeconomic and Housing Profile of Pilsen East, 1970-2000

The case study continues with the analysis into the changes in socioeconomic, demographic and housing characteristics of the cultural district of Pilsen East. This neighborhood (census tract #3103) was the only census tract in the Lower West Side included in cluster #4. Between 1970 and 2000, Pilsen East experienced a similar scale of gentrification as Central Lakeview and Wicker Park, with housing and socioeconomic upgrading occurring primarily during the 1990s. However, the neighborhood continues to maintain median housing and income values, lower than Central Lakeview and Wicker Park.

Between 1970 and 2000, Pilsen East lost almost 30 percent of its population, with the population drain slowing during the 1990s. The neighborhood remained predominantly Mexican, with the share of the Hispanic population dropping slightly (1.3 percent) to about 68.9 percent. The neighborhood continued to attract Hispanics until 1990 when the Hispanic population reached 86 percent of total tract population. Pilsen East lost 20 percent of its Latino population during the 1990s and it is currently 68.9 percent Hispanic, in contrast to only 19 percent Hispanic in the city as a whole. The population replacing the traditional Hispanics includes white non-Hispanic residents. The white population increased 31.7 percent during the 1990s to reach 45 percent of the total tract population. Between 1970 and 1990, Pilsen East lost more than 73 percent of its white population, the largest loss (58 percent) occurring in the 1970s. The share of the black population stayed relatively the same since 1970, at 5 percent.

The population in Pilsen East became better educated, better employed and wealthier, and especially during the 1990s. Pilsen East did not maintain a population with significant educational attainment in 1970 with only 15 percent of the population 25 years and older being high school graduates. By 2000 the number of high school graduates more than tripled (a 392

percent increase) to be almost 73 percent of the neighborhood population. The number of college graduates increased by more than 12,000 percent to reach almost 38 percent. During the same time, the city experienced more modest rates of growth in high school (55 percent) and college graduates (200 percent).

The census tract experienced a 1,813 percent increase between 1970 and 2000 in the number of professionals compared to a modest 64 percent in the city. In 2000, 38.7 percent of the employed population had a professional occupation in Pilsen East compared to city's 34 percent. This rise in the number of professionals in the census tract occurred particularly during the 1990s. In 1970, the percent of professionals of the total employed population in Pilsen East was 0.14 of the city's percentage. By 2000, that percent increased to being 1.16 of the city's percent of professionals (table 7.10). Paralleling these occupational changes, the census tract's income rose as well. Between 1970 and 2000, there was a 5 percent increase in median household income and a 169 percent increase in per capita income, higher than the city's 34 percent increase. In 1970, the median household income in Pilsen East was 0.88 percent of the City's average household income; by 2000, the share increased to 108 percent of the city's average (table 7.7- 7.8).

While the neighborhood started to gentrify, poverty continued to be a local challenge. In 2000, around 19.5 percent of families lived below poverty level; a figure that while high was actually down from 26 percent in 1970. The number of families whose income is below the poverty level dropped by almost 50 percent between 1970 and 2000. There has been a 43.8 percent increase in female-headed households, higher than the city's 28 percent increase.

As the neighborhood improved economically, it did not have any household with public assistance income in 2000, a drop from the 34 households on public assistance income in 1970. The restructuring of the manufacturing sector had a large impact on the traditional residents of

Pilsen East, as the neighborhood lost 77.48 percent of its manufacturing jobs. While in 1970, the share of manufacturing jobs represented 2.08 of the city's share, by 2000, that ratio dropped to 0.84, suggesting a combined impact of deindustrialization on the neighborhood population and an increase in the number of professionals in Pilsen East.

Over the three decades, housing costs increased in Pilsen East, but at a slower pace than the other gentrifying neighborhoods in the cluster. Between 1970 and 2000, Pilsen East experienced a 50 percent increase in rent and a 391 percent increase in housing values; larger than the gains in the city. A huge spike in median housing values occurred in the 1990s, after a small rise during the 1980s. In 1970, median housing values in Pilsen East represented 0.49 of the city's average housing values, while by 2000, the neighborhood values increased to 1.18 of the city's average housing values (table 7.6 -7.8).

Pilsen East also lost 2 percent of its housing units during the three decades of the study. It lost 13 percent of housing units in the 1970s and 5 percent in the 1980s, and it gained 18 percent during the 1990s. The construction of new housing intensified during the 1990s with 142 new housing units, or 17 percent of housing units in the census tract, being built in that decade alone. Pilsen East remained predominantly rental, with 66 percent of units being for rent in 2000; however, the number of rental units steadily declined every decade since 1970. The neighborhood experienced a 35 percent increase in owner-occupied housing between 1970 and 2000. Pilsen East lost homeowners in the 1970s, but homeownership improved during the 1990s. The housing quality is also improving as the number of units lacking plumbing facilities and kitchen facilities has declined.

Pilsen East reflects the case of slow, and more specifically, resistant gentrification, where the core poor are being displaced by lower- to lower-middle income professionals and educated

artists, who themselves are economically struggling to find a footing in the Chicago housing market. This community's resistance to gentrification is even more prevalent, and has been more successful, within the larger community, the Lower West Side, where upgrading has not had the opportunity to establish a footing.

Table 7.6. Change in gross rent and median value of owner occupied housing, 1970-2000.
(Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing
Pilsen East	\$368	\$552	50.11%	\$38,590	\$189,600	391.32%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 7.7. Change in median household and per capita income, 1970-2000. (Dollar values adjusted for inflation).

Area	Median Household Income (1970)	Median Household Income (2000)	% Change in Median Household Income	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income
Pilsen East	\$38,531	\$40,644	5.48%	\$10,017	\$26,954	169.08%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

Table 7.8. Change in median household value and income ratios and change in percent of owner-occupied housing, 1970-2000.

Area	Median House Value Ratio (1970)*	Median House Value Ratio (2000)	Median HH Income Ratio (1970)**	Median HH Income Ratio (2000)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (1970)	% Owner-Occ. Housing Units (2000)
Pilsen East	0.49	1.18	0.88	1.08	25.10%	34.29%

* Median household value of East Pilsen divided by Chicago median household value.

** Median household income of East Pilsen divided by Chicago median household income.

Table 7.9. Change in manufacturing and manufacturing ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Manufac turing (1970)	Manufa cturing (2000)	% Change in Manufac turing	% of Manufa cturing (1970)	% of Manufac turing (2000)	% of Manufa cturing Ratio (1970)*	% of Manufa cturing Ratio (2000)*
Pilsen East	555	125	-77.48%	60.22%	11.01%	2.08	0.84
Chicago	404,505	158,656	-60.78%	29.01%	13.08%	1.00	1.00

* Percent of employed residents in manufacturing in Pilsen East divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in manufacturing.

Table 7.10. Change in professionals and the professionals ratio, 1970-2000.

Area	Professi onals (1970)	Professio nals (2000)	% Change in Professio nals	% of Professio nals (1970)	% of Professio nals (2000)	% of Professi onals Ratio (1970)*	% of Professio nals Ratio (2000)**
Pilsen East	23	440	1786.39 %	2.53%	38.77%	0.14	1.16
Chicago	246,868	405,687	64.33%	17.81%	33.50%	1.00	1.00

** Percent of employed residents in professional occupations in Pilsen East divided by Chicago's percentage of employed residents in professional occupations.

7.5. Concluding Comments

The Lower West Side is a predominantly low-income Mexican-American community and a secondary cluster of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, which has been supporting the growth of a vibrant cultural and arts district since the 1980s. Pilsen East is the only neighborhood in the Lower West Side that was captured in cluster #4 and the PCA. The neighborhood includes a growing Hispanic artist community, the National Museum of Mexican Art, and is one of the four recognized arts districts in Chicago. The Hispanic cultural district has

developed concurrently with the gradual transition of Lower West Side into a predominantly Mexican neighborhood. At the same time, however, since the 1960s, the eastern end of the community (especially in Pilsen East) has housed a vibrant group of white, non-Hispanic artists and cultural organizations. It is also clear that the development of the Lower West Side cultural district has greatly benefited from the government's support for its emerging non-profit cultural organizations, especially the Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum, which has grown into the renowned National Museum of Mexican Art. The overall grants to this community between the period of 1970 and 2000 have amounted to \$8,150,798.60. This is slightly less than the total sum awarded to West Town, but higher than the overall grants awarded to Lakeview.

Even though it is located close to downtown and the University of Illinois at Chicago, and is home to a growing arts district, the community has experienced slow gentrification between 1970 and 2000. The Lower West Side has generally remained a low-income community, predominantly Hispanic, struggling with unemployment, disinvestment, and gang-related violence. The analysis into the socioeconomic and housing changes in the Lower West Side indicated minimal, if any, socioeconomic upgrading of the overall community over the three decades. Between 1970 and 2000, the median value of owner-occupied housing increased from 52 percent to only 80 percent of the city's median, while the median value of household income dropped from being 86 percent of Chicago's median, to being 72 percent of Chicago's median.

Upgrading has taken longer to occur and has been on a smaller scale throughout the Lower West Side, and partly due to the ethnic tensions in the neighborhood. The community has developed a strong reputation for being a well-organized community, especially in regard to protecting its residents from displacement and questioning and resisting new housing developments and redevelopments driven by outside developers. Community groups have often

been active participants in coalitions fighting redevelopment projects and commercial and residential displacement. The community's resistance to gentrification and redevelopment pressures explains, at least in part, why the Lower West Side experienced slow gentrification, even though Pilsen East was captured in cluster #4.

Nevertheless, the community's prime location--close to downtown, expressways, mass transit, and the University of Illinois at Chicago--along with its relatively inexpensive housings stock, as well as inexpensive land, has made portions of the Lower West Side an attractive location for real estate developers, businesses, and Hispanic and non-Hispanic artists. Reinvestment and redevelopment pressures will clearly continue in the Lower West Side.

Pilsen East is the only neighborhood in the Lower West Side that was captured in cluster #4 and the PCA. The housing and socioeconomic upgrading occurred primarily during the 1990s. Pilsen East reflects the case of slow, and more specifically, resistant gentrification, where the core poor were being displaced by lower- to lower-middle income professionals and educated artists, who themselves are economically struggling to find a footing in the Chicago housing market. Between 1970 and 2000, Pilsen East experienced primarily renovations, tear downs, and the building of mid-rise, multi-unit buildings of a higher density than the surrounding wooden-frame single-family homes.

Due to the well-organized, traditional community's opposition to new development proposals, gentrification initially involved the renovation of the single-family homes into artist studios. As a working-class neighborhood, Pilsen East's housing generally consisted of inexpensive wood-frame buildings on small lots. This type of housing made it easier for private owners and small development companies to redevelop properties on a small scale and in a piece-meal fashion over the years. The physical upgrading of Pilsen East included mostly small-

scale projects, partly due to the checkered pattern of vacant properties and partly due to the risk of building in a neighborhood actively resisting each of the proposed major redevelopment projects. More recently, gentrification transitioned to higher density, multi-family housing projects. Larger development firms were involved in teardowns and more ambitious and larger-scale residential projects.

Pilsen East is the most attractive area in the Lower West Side for development, closer to the University of Illinois-Chicago and the South Loop developments, and being home to a predominantly non-Hispanic artists' colony. Since 1970, Pilsen East has been slowly gentrifying from a lower-income to a moderate-income neighborhood, in spite of a visible and substantial opposition to redevelopment pressures within the neighborhood. The neighborhood maintained a majority Hispanic population, but it lost Hispanics during the 1990s. Pilsen East experienced a substantial increase in the white population, college graduates, and professionals during the same period.

While the neighborhood experienced similar degrees of gentrification as Central Lakeview and Wicker Park, Pilsen East continued to be a neighborhood of low- to moderate-income earners. Per capita income and median household income slightly increased over the three decades—from slightly below to slightly above Chicago's averages—indicating the influx of moderate-income professionals into the neighborhood. Pilsen East experienced a 43.8 percent increase in female-headed households, indicating that the low-income neighborhood was being gentrified by the poor (since female-headed households tend to be of lower-income) but of a better standing than the original residents. This is an outcome similar to Rose's (1984) findings in New York City, and other North American cities, and speaks to the diversity of gentrification processes and actors. Pilsen East also lost a substantial number of manufacturing jobs, but its

percentage of change was higher than in the Lower West Side, suggesting again that the social upgrading has been particularly focused in Pilsen East. Displacement in Pilsen East between 1970 and 2000 was also evident in the decline in the number of families below the poverty level.

In spite of the same scale of gentrification, Pilsen East's housing values and rent were lower in 2000 than in the other two case studies, Central Lakeview and Wicker Park. In 2000, the median gross rent was \$552 in Pilsen East, much lower than the rent in Central Lakeview (\$1,122) and Wicker Park (\$830). Central Lakeview's median housing value was \$470,000 in 2000 while Wicker Park's median housing value was \$336,000. In comparison, Pilsen East's median housing value was only \$189,600, indicating that this neighborhood is still the most affordable among the three case study neighborhoods and thus continues to attract moderate-income professionals and artists from other cultural districts, and especially Wicker Park. The artists have continued to live in Pilsen East due to the still relatively affordable housing costs and the slow pace of gentrification.

Pilsen East is a neighborhood clearly experiencing gentrification, but it is a hard fought upgrading process because of the well-organized local opposition. This opposition is also likely a dimension to this neighborhood redevelopment that hinders extreme reinvestment and upgrading, which ultimately allows the artists themselves the ability to continue to preserve the neighborhood as an artist's community. There are some early signs that gentrification is affecting artists, however, it is still cheaper to live and work in Pilsen East than in many other cultural districts in Chicago. New artist spaces were introduced in the last few years and marketed specifically to artists, indicating that there is still strong interest in artists housing in the neighborhood.

This case study reveals the role of the artists as agents of gentrification in Pilsen East. The public investment in the infrastructure of play, areas as in Central Lakeview and Wicker Park, was critical in supporting important local art organizations that give the community its unique flavor, from the National Museum of Mexican Art to the Blue Rider Theater, and from Pro Arts Studio to the numerous independent artists that received individual fellowships grants from the city. These organizations, supported with public grants, attracted artists and visitors into the neighborhood. The artists have transformed the run-down homes and light industrial buildings into exciting art-focused spaces, where exhibits and performances regularly took place. Many of the artists, who are of low-income but of better standing than the traditional population, replaced many of the Hispanic, working-class residents in the neighborhood. While there is also a strong Hispanic arts community, development took place primarily on the eastern end of Lower West Side where non-Hispanic artists performed and lived.

Pilsen East thus shows a unique gentrification process of a cultural district, the case of slow gentrification of a Hispanic neighborhood where the neighborhood opposition to redevelopment projects has slowed the pace of physical and ‘social upgrading’ and has enabled artists to continue to live and work in the neighborhood. In fact, many artists who were displaced from Wicker Park have relocated to Pilsen East. This case further reinforces the precarious and temporal spatial pattern of the artist class in Chicago, who are caught in maintaining a delicate balance in the redevelopment of their communities, while also ensuring that they never become too successful, or they risk becoming another Wicker Park or Central Lakeview.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

This study explored the diversity of gentrification in three cultural districts in Chicago between 1970 and 2000. The three neighborhoods selected experienced similar trajectories of upgrading but different processes of gentrification. The study identified the considerable diversity that exists even in a single occupational sub-group driving gentrification, with the focus placed on cultural professionals in the city of Chicago between the years 1970 and 2000. This diversity is important to recognize, since the research also identified that the distinct profile of the cultural professionals, and their unique ‘artistic-infused’ neighborhoods, provides insight into the nature of subsequent gentrifiers. One of the significant research contributions of this study was the recognition that the distinct type of artist community that develops in different neighborhoods leads to different trajectories of physical and social upgrading.

The study also explored the role of the public sector in driving gentrification in arts and cultural districts. This analysis explores the use of public investment in the infrastructure of play in Chicago to alter the attractiveness of place and facilitate the formation of arts and cultural districts, and in the process, encourage neighborhood redevelopment and upgrading. Artists and cultural professionals, with their unique human capital attributes, emerge as very effective agents of place-making in the production of urban spaces, their art-infused districts.

While theoretical approaches have conceptualized social and physical upgrading as being driven by either the cultural preferences of the gentrifiers or by the economic rationales of private sector developers, the literature has been generally silent until recently on the role of the public sector in affecting both investment decisions driving physical upgrading. While research has highlighted the growing and extensive role of government in the development of the

infrastructure of play, studies have not analyzed thoroughly the spatial patterns and the impact of public investment in the infrastructure of play on cultural and arts activities and cultural districts, and on redevelopment processes and associated displacement. Little is known about how public investment in the infrastructure of play shapes gentrification processes in the inner-city.

The infrastructure of play includes sport stadiums, festival malls, entertainment districts, museums, theaters, and performing arts centers. The research on the diversity and internal variation of cultural districts, and especially the nodes of the public investment in the infrastructure of play, is very limited. In particular, the literature—including on Chicago—has not explored the nuances of gentrification taking place in cultural districts affected by the infrastructure of play investment and what cultural activities and professionals are best associated with social and physical upgrading.

The research examined the interplay between gentrification processes and the public investment in the infrastructures of play, with a particular focus on the diversity of gentrification within cultural districts, class struggle and the role of the artist class in gentrification. The research question focused on whether there was diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago? The study's hypothesis was that there is diversity evident in the gentrification of the arts and cultural districts in Chicago, as explored through the major nodes of funding for the infrastructure of play investments between 1970 and 2000. Thus, diversity in gentrification processes, within this study, was explored through the settlement patterns and concentration of just one occupational group, the artists. The study reveals that even in one gentrification typology, in the case of artist driven gentrification, considerable diversity exists, and this is demonstrated in these three distinct arts-infused districts of Chicago.

The diversity of gentrification recognizes the existence of a wide assortment of physical and social upgrading processes, the distinct and varied characteristics in capital reinvestment and social displacement. Existing research—and the dissertations here adds to this literature—reveals a multiplicity of combinations of capital reinvestment typologies into the built environment (ranging from individual house refurbishment to new-builds to community block-busting), different actors with distinct socio-economic and ethnic/racial characteristics driving the upgrading (from individual homeowners, whether low-income or high-income, to different size development firms to state agencies), and different socio-economic and ethnic/racial groups being the displaced (including visible minorities, artists, lower-income industrial workers or high-income professionals). The understanding of what gentrification involves has developed considerably from Ruth Glass' original definition of the process, which recognized the industrial poor as being the displaced, the new middle class as being the gentrifiers and refurbishment being the nature of capital reinvestment.

In the case of this specific Chicago research into artist communities, the upgrading processes, the socio-economic and ethnic make-up of the displaced populations, the community's resistance to gentrification, the evolving socioeconomic community structure and the distinct artist neighborhoods that have evolved in just the three case studies reveal the extent of this diversity. The gentrification processes have evolved one neighborhood, Wicker Park, into a gritty and alternative music mecca. One neighborhood, Pilsen East, has evolved into a largely low-income, ethnic based artist community. The third neighborhood, Central Lakeview, has evolved into an upper-income, off-loop theater scene, showing nascent signs of supergentrification. The research adds support to the growing understanding that gentrification has no typical gentrifiers or typical gentrified neighborhoods. The interactions between different

types of individuals and diverse processes results in considerable differences in the nature of reinvestment, upgrading and displacement. Ultimately, while the gentrification outcomes may vary, two conditions make these redevelopment processes recognized as gentrification, the capital reinvestment in the built environment (the physical upgrading) and the displacement of the traditional population out of the neighborhood (the social upgrading).

This research followed the methodology advanced by Podagrosi, Vojnovic, and Pigozzi (2011) to enable a broader and more elastic analysis of gentrification. The methodology employs both quantitative and qualitative analyses in the research. A Principal Component Analysis was performed on the demographic, socioeconomic, and housing change variables. This was followed by the K-means clustering analysis on the factor scores which grouped census tracts in Chicago that experienced similar degrees of socioeconomic and physical transformations. Based on the results of the clustering process and the neighborhood field surveys, three case studies (Wicker Park, Central Lakeview, and Pilsen East) were selected from a grouping of tracts showing substantial upgrading. These neighborhoods were selected in order to illustrate the diversity of gentrification, and particularly, within the arts and cultural community. On-ground site surveys and the results from the analysis of the spatial patterns of public investment in the infrastructure of play were used to determine the selection of three neighborhoods for a more detailed qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis focused on exploring the diversity evident among the arts and cultural class and specifically within the three arts-infused neighborhoods. These differences were evident in both socio-economic status and the characteristics of the artists and their neighborhoods.

Between 1970 and 1999, Wicker Park, Central Lakeview, and Pilsen East substantially benefited by the local, state, and federal public investment in the infrastructure of play, which

supported, through cultural grants, a variety of theater, film, dance, music, and art events contributing to the general attractiveness of an area. In the three cases, the cultural and arts districts—and their artist residents—affected and were affected by gentrification in different ways. The three cases revealed how artists and cultural activities, supported by the cultural grants, improved the general attractiveness of their neighborhood and attracted young professionals to move into the area. In these cases, populations of higher socioeconomic status moved into the artist communities, who initially gentrified the neighborhoods, bringing new capital reinvestment into upgrading the housing stock, and increasingly threatening the artist community, as artists themselves began to be displaced.

The following tables summarize the socioeconomic and physical upgrading characteristics in the three cultural neighborhoods and compare those to the averages calculated for cluster #4, the selected gentrifying cluster and the city of Chicago. These change values indicate the significant level of upgrading in the variables traditionally indicative of gentrification in cluster #4, and particularly when compared to patterns of change evident in the rest of Chicago. In addition, these tables illustrate several trends that became evident in the more detailed qualitative case study analyses. Central Lakeview has become an upscale, upper-middle class community with a heightened housing market, which I predict will eventually become a case of supergentrification. Wicker Park represents a more-moderate-income community with a housing stock increasingly appealing to middle and upper-middle income earners. Pilsen East has the most affordable housing market among the three selected neighborhoods, and thus continues to attract more lower- and lower-middle income professionals. In general, however, all of these income and housing values—for the three neighborhoods and cluster #4—have been increasing at much higher rates than the city's average increases between 1970 and 2000.

The changes in the number and percentage of professionals and college graduates in the three case study neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city between 1970 and 2000 indicate the high concentration of college graduates and professionals in cluster #4, which was selected as the cluster that experienced substantial upgrading in Chicago. In addition, all three neighborhoods selected for the more detailed qualitative case studies have higher percentages of professionals and college graduates than the city and have experienced substantially higher increases over the three decades when compared to the city average increase (table 8.1 and 8.2).

Table 8.1. Changes in the number and percentage of professionals in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	Professionals* (1970)	Professionals (2000)	% Change in Professionals (1970 -2000)
Central Lakeview (number)	335	1,881	461.49%
Central Lakeview (percent)	15.38%	64.77%	
Wicker Park (number)	364	3,254	793.96%
Wicker Park (percent)	5.40%	54.04%	
Pilsen East (number)	23	440	1,786.39%
Pilsen East (percent)	2.53%	38.77%	
Cluster #4 (number)	27,417	101,042	268.54%
Cluster #4 (percent)	18.55%	57.76%	
Chicago (number)	246,868	405,687	64.33%
Chicago (percent)	17.81%	33.50%	

*Professionals include employed residents in management, professional, and related occupations.

Table 8.2. Changes in the number and percentage of college graduates in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	College graduates (1970)	College graduates (2000)	% Change in College graduates (1970-2000)
Central Lakeview (number)	247	2,331	843.72%
Central Lakeview (percent)	8.39%	83.84%	
Wicker Park (number)	171	3,745	2,090.06%
Wicker Park (percent)	1.77%	48.90%	
Pilsen East (number)	4	471	12,520.58%
Pilsen East (percent)	0.31%	38.64%	
Cluster #4 (number)	18,894	122,497	548.35%
Cluster #4 (percent)	9.55%	61.72%	
Chicago (number)	153,193	459,518	199.96%
Chicago (percent)	8.06%	25.48%	

The influx of college graduates and professionals in the three neighborhoods – illustrating social upgrading – has brought negative effects on the original, poorer population. Thus, the three cultural neighborhoods lost a significant amount of families whose income is below poverty level, Chicago’s poor population. For instance, Central Lakeview had no families living in poverty in 2000 while Wicker Park lost 83.51 percent of its families under the poverty level between 1970 and 2000. In contrast, the city’s number of families below poverty level shrunk only by 17 percent, which is a much smaller drop than cluster #4 experienced. Similar trends were observed in the number of employed residents in manufacturing in the three neighborhoods. While Wicker Park, Central Lakeview, and Pilsen East had larger percentages of employed residents in manufacturing in 1970 than the city, by 2000 few residents in the three cultural neighborhoods worked in manufacturing (table 8.3 and 8.4).

Table 8.3. Changes in poverty levels in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	Poverty* (1970)	Poverty (2000)	% Change in Poverty (1970-2000)
Central Lakeview (number)	154	0	-100.00%
Central Lakeview (percent)	12.38%	0%	
Wicker Park (number)	1,607	265	-83.51%
Wicker Park (percent)	35.44%	14.61%	
Pilsen East (number)	153	78	-49.02%
Pilsen East (percent)	26.67%	19.55%	
Cluster #4 (number)	16,181	4,356	-73.08%
Cluster #4 (percent)	20.09%	9.21%	
Chicago (number)	128,386	105,489	-17.83%
Chicago (percent)	15.55%	16.79%	

*Poverty refers to the families whose income is below poverty line.

Table 8.4. Changes in the number and percentage of employed residents in manufacturing in three neighborhoods, cluster#4, and Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	Manufactu ring (1970)	Manufacturi ng (2000)	% Change in Manufacturing (1970 -2000)
Central Lakeview (number)	719	184	-73.99%
Central Lakeview (percent)	32.94%	6.44%	
Wicker Park (number)	3,302	449	-86.40%
Wicker Park (percent)	48.80%	7.46%	
Pilsen East (number)	555	125	-77.48%
Pilsen East (percent)	60.22%	11.01%	
Cluster #4 (number)	46,617	13,398	-71.26%
Cluster #4 (percent)	31.33%	7.66%	
Chicago (number)	404,505	158,656	-60.78%
Chicago (percent)	29.01%	13.08%	

The transformations in the socioeconomic and housing characteristics of the three neighborhoods were substantial between the years 1970 and 2000 (table 8.5 and 8.6). Central Lakeview's housing market experienced the highest increase in median gross rent and median housing value among the three cultural neighborhoods, followed by Wicker Park. Among the three case studies, Pilsen East had a more modest increase in housing costs. Similarly, median

household values in the three neighborhoods and cluster #4 increased substantially between 1970 and 2000 while the city's average household income dropped 14 percent over the three decades. By 2000, the population of Central Lakeview had the highest income levels among the three neighborhoods, followed by Wicker Park and then Pilsen East.

Table 8.5. Summary of socioeconomic characteristics in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	Median Gross Rent (1970)	Median Gross Rent (2000)	% Change in Median Gross Rent (1970-2000)	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970)	Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (2000)	% Change in Median Value of Owner-Occ. Housing (1970-2000)
Central Lakeview	\$477	\$1,122	135.37%	\$72,640	\$470,000	547.03%
Wicker Park	\$447	\$830	85.60%	\$54,707	\$336,000	514.18%
Pilsen East	\$368	\$552	50.11%	\$38,590	\$189,600	391.32%
Cluster #4	\$466	\$796	70.87%	\$71,898	\$302,146	320.24%
Chicago	\$537	\$608	13.19%	\$79,105	\$161,243	103.83%

Table 8.6. Summary of socioeconomic characteristics in the three neighborhoods, cluster #4, and the city of Chicago, between the years 1970 and 2000.

Area	Median Household Income (1970)	Median Household Income (2000)	% Change in Median Household Income (1970-2000)	Per Capita Income (1970)	Per Capita Income (2000)	% Change in Per Capita Income (1970-2000)
Central Lakeview	\$37,971	\$71,506	88.32%	\$13,711	\$58,153	324.14%
Wicker Park	\$31,561	\$50,301	59.38%	\$9,439	\$30,153	219.43%
Pilsen East	\$38,531	\$40,644	5.48%	\$10,017	\$26,954	169.08%
Cluster #4	\$37,472	\$57,211	52.68%	\$13,795	\$39,817	188.63%
Chicago	\$43,790	\$37,469	-14.43%	\$14,787	\$19,865	34.34%

8.1. The Three Neighborhoods

Wicker Park, one of the hippest neighborhoods in Chicago and home to a vibrant cultural district, is a case of slow, but steady gentrification, where the industrial working poor were the early residents displaced by educated artists and lower- to middle-income professionals. Waves of middle-income professionals are currently displacing the lower-income artists who were initially involved in the gentrification process. The 1990s was a decisive decade for this artist community, as the cultural district grew and contracted within this decade due to the pressures of gentrification. Currently, Wicker Park is no longer considered an arts and cultural haven due to the lack of a concentration of artists living in Wicker Park. This has been increasingly attested by many of the artists that have moved out to more affordable neighborhoods in Chicago.

While the artists were the first wave gentrifiers in Wicker Park, artists were unable to stop being victimized in several aspects by the forces of capital reinvestment. The process of rebuilding the neighborhood for the cutting edge and young professionals resulted in abusive leasing practices by landlords and the displacement of artists at the height of their success. One of the dominant gentrification processes in Wicker Park particularly in the earlier years of reinvestment, was the classic case of gentrification, the refurbishment of the old Victorian mansions with unique architectural features. As the neighborhood upgraded and the housing prices substantially increased, tear-downs and the construction of higher-density housing for the middle-class became evident.

Central Lakeview and Lakeview still remain a focal point for Chicago's cultural professionals and cultural organizations, and are the center of the off-loop theater scene. The neighborhood, experiencing disinvestment and increasing poverty during the 1970s and 1980s, attracted cultural professionals and emerging cultural organizations due to the low housing costs

and rent. These cultural professionals have created, through their artistic pursuits and activities, exciting high-order cultural offerings in Lakeview and Central Lakeview, which attracted new residents and substantial gentrification processes into the 21st century. Central Lakeview experienced one of the most substantial degrees of social and physical upgrading among the cultural districts in Chicago between 1970 and 2000.

Since 1970, Central Lakeview experienced renovations, condominium conversions, tear downs and the construction of the owner-occupied housing, and several recent cases of redevelopment showing nascent evidence of supergentrification. The case study shows how the artists and cultural professionals that performed in theater, dance, music, and other cultural events in Lakeview acted as facilitators of gentrification for even higher-income earners in the 1970s and 1980s. The success of the renowned off-loop theater scene and the rising property values have made it difficult for cultural professionals to continue to perform in this neighborhood.

Pilsen East is the only neighborhood in the Lower West Side that was captured in the cluster of upgrading census tracts together with Wicker Park and Central Lakeview. Pilsen East shows the case of slow, and more specifically, resistant gentrification. Pilsen East is a Hispanic neighborhood where the neighborhood opposition to redevelopment has slowed the pace of physical and ‘social upgrading’ and has enabled artists to continue to live and work in the neighborhood. In fact, many artists who were displaced from Wicker Park relocated to Pilsen East. It would seem that the local opposition to gentrification processes, and even to the artists themselves, while generating considerable social and political local conflict, actually helps the artists preserve the neighborhood as an artist community.

Having unique architectural building styles, Pilsen East has experienced primarily renovations in the early years of upgrading. More recently, however, tear downs, and the building of mid-rise, multi-unit buildings of a higher density than the surrounding wooden-frame single-family homes has become evident. Pilsen East has been slowly gentrifying from a lower-income to a lower-middle income neighborhood, in spite of substantial and visible opposition to redevelopment pressures within the neighborhood. Here, the core poor were being displaced by artists, who themselves are economically struggling to find a footing in the Chicago housing market, and lower- to lower-middle income professionals.

The three neighborhoods experienced the intensification of capital reinvestment and associated displacement, and particularly during the 1990s. This was likely the result of the combined impact of the national economy and its performance, the national housing market (including Chicago's housing market) and the adequate 'domestication' of these three neighborhoods by the artist class over the previous two decades, facilitating new rounds of reinvestment. It is also clear that the specific characteristics of the arts and cultural class, which was very different within all three neighborhoods, also substantially affected capital reinvestment characteristics into the neighborhood and the nature of the second wave of gentrifiers.

The cultural composition of the three arts districts—and their artist residents—influenced the neighborhood gentrification in different ways. The three neighborhoods display diverse capital reinvestment and social pressures in the neighborhoods, and various degrees of community resistance and opposition to upgrading. In part, this was influenced by the original socio-economic and demographic composition of the neighborhood, and later shaped by the nature of the arts district established.

Between 1970 and 2000, Central Lakeview became a renowned cultural district, with numerous off-loop theaters, classical music ensembles, and dance troupes being concentrated in and around this neighborhood. In Wicker Park, the concentration of low-income visual artists (e.g., painters, sculptors) and the rise of an alternative music scene dominated this artist community. The type of the artist community in Lower West Side involved the development of a predominantly low-income Hispanic artist community around the National Museum of Mexican Art and of a non-Hispanic and gentrifying artist community in Pilsen East.

This study identified considerable diversity in the gentrification processes of the three neighborhoods driven by even one occupational grouping, in this case the artists. Thus, within any of the gentrification typologies—gayification, ruralification, studentification—one could expect considerable diversity in the redevelopment and upgrading processes. In addition, it also becomes evident that the diversity among cultural professionals, and the resulting diversity in their distinct ‘artistic-infused’ neighborhoods, attracts a very different composition in the second wave of gentrifiers.

Artists are in all likelihood more tolerant of the original neighborhood composition—regardless of the initial class or ethnic community imprint—and hence they are considered to be the riskier investors. It is once the artists adequately dilute or displace the original residents from the neighborhood that the even higher-income professionals find the neighborhoods attractive, and continue the reinvestment and redevelopment process, displacing the artists. The original socio-economic composition of these neighborhoods would in themselves not be attractive to these second wave gentrifiers, the higher income and professional population sub-groups. The nature of the artist community itself, however, likely plays an important role in determining the type of second round of gentrifiers involved.

In the first wave of gentrification, it is evident that the socio-economic profile of the artist and cultural class, their specific built-space requirements, and perhaps their greater tolerance of alternative lifestyles and initial class composition of neighborhoods, makes them ideal population sub-groups to drive the first wave of gentrification. At the same time, due to their diversity, the specific characteristics of the first wave of gentrifiers, and the specific characteristics of their ‘artistic-infused’ neighborhoods, can give insight into the likely characteristics of the second wave of gentrifiers who are attracted to these cultural districts. The marketing of a neighborhood as an edgy and alternative music mecca will appeal to a very different homebuyer compared to the marketing of a neighborhood as a theatre district.

The ‘high’ cultural activities in Central Lakeview have attracted gentrifiers that are professionals of higher-incomes seeking out more stable neighborhoods (table 8.6). In Wicker Park, being the center of the hip and alternative music scene has attracted yet another type of gentrifier, one attracted to an alternative lifestyle, a more moderate-income risk taker who would not be scared-off by the neighborhood crime. The Hispanic community of Pilsen East—with investment in infrastructure such as the National Museum of Mexican Art—initially entrenched a Hispanic art scene, which is increasingly becoming home to a growing and wealthier non-Hispanic artist community, the second wave of gentrifiers. However, the original Hispanic community and their open resistance and opposition to gentrification has slowed redevelopment and obstructed subsequent rounds of upgrading, hence, the neighborhood continues to attract professionals of lower-incomes and artists not able to afford living in cultural districts such as Wicker Park. Thus the typology of the initial gentrification process, among the diverse possibilities within the artist community, will shape the imprint of the subsequent rounds of reinvestment and gentrification.

Thus, Wicker Park's alternative music and neighborhood scene—the new Cutting Edge Capital—has attracted a very different middle-class professional into the neighborhood when compared to Central Lakeview's 'Off-loop Theater Scene'. This is reflected, in part, in the much higher income and housing values—in fact, Central Lakeview is showing nascent signs of super-gentrification—being formed around this neighborhood's 'higher order' arts activities (table 8.5). The center of Chicago's Hispanic arts scene, with effective local opposition to redevelopment, continues to limit the second wave of gentrifiers, and in fact, ensures the preservation of an arts district for start-up and alternative artists, who are more marginally-viable in Chicago's increasingly costly arts scene.

The trajectory of the Loop, while not included in the qualitative analysis of this study, reflects similar processes of upgrading, and in fact, even a more extreme version of Central Lakeview. While not a case of gentrification in the context of this dissertation's adopted definition, as outlined in Chapter 2, since there was no evident displacement, it is worth noticing that downtown Chicago (the Loop), has experienced very intensive reinvestment into what could be considered a 'high order' type of infrastructure of play. In the late-20th and into the 21st centuries, various levels of government have invested extensively into world-renowned museums, concert halls and theatres within Chicago's urban core. This high-brow concentration of amenities has attracted the super-rich, evident in the extent of upscale high-density multi-family housing built in and around the Loop, over these last two decades. This was an area of the city barren of population, due to the post-World War II neighborhood disinvestment and decline in Chicago. Today the Loop contains the most exclusive addresses in the city, the concentration of wealth in Chicago.

This research also illustrates the duality of the artist condition in the context of capital reinvestment and displacement, playing both the role of facilitator and victim of gentrification. The artists, of low-income, are the first wave of gentrifiers, as they move into the blighted, lower-income working-class neighborhoods and transform the large and cheap storefronts, industrial lofts, and old mansions into studios, art galleries, and performance spaces. However, if artists and cultural professionals create successful and vibrant arts districts, they can become victims of their own success; victims of the forces of capital reinvestment.

In some cases it also becomes evident that the particular human capital and quality of the artist class was used by developers to initially transform the built-space. Landlords offer artists cheap, short-term leases in order to attract them to their units. Once the properties are transformed / refurbished by the artists, then the landlords increase rents, forcing the artists out of these spaces. These case studies outline the trajectory of the artist's community across Chicago between 1970 and 2000 and further reinforce their precarious nature in light of dynamic gentrification processes.

While these neighborhoods might still have a high concentration of artists, the arts and cultural districts seem to be always in a highly transitional process, illustrating the ongoing precarious position of artists within a major city. The location of artists in a cultural neighborhood is not permanent. Perceived demand for higher-end housing in Wicker Park and Central Lakeview, and the 'taming' of the community by artists, encouraged developers and owners to extract more value from these neighborhoods through further rounds of redevelopment, resulting also in the loss of cultural venues in the artist community.

The extent of gentrification in Chicago has been substantial into the 21st century. As indicated previously, cluster #4 consists of around 37.81 km² within the city of Chicago. The

research indicated the extent of social upgrading and displacement of the original poorer population in cluster #4 when compared to the entire city. Contrary to arguments advanced by Brian Berry (1985) or Larry Bourne (1993a), gentrification has been affecting growing areas of the city with considerable negative impacts on the original population. In addition, in contradiction to the urban researchers—such as Freeman (2005), Freeman and Braconi (2004), and Vigdor (2002)—who have questioned whether displacement is significant, this research also sheds light on the scale of social upgrading experienced in gentrification. Between 1970 and 2000, cluster #4 lost 33,219 employed residents in manufacturing (which represents a drop of 71.26 percent), 17,416 black residents (representing a drop of 37.99 percent), and 18,790 Hispanic residents (representing a drop of 30.79 percent).

In addition, it is clear that local cultural organizations received significant monetary support in the form of cultural grants from the public sector, fostering the development of the cultural districts and cultural activities, and boosting the general attractiveness of the area to a second wave of gentrifiers. The purpose of the public investment in the infrastructure of play is to support artistic excellence, creativity, and innovation for the benefit of individuals and communities.

The numerous grants awarded to cultural organizations had substantially benefited the cultural life in these neighborhoods and have shaped local gentrification processes. In Wicker Park, these organizations included Around the Coyote and Near Northwest Arts Council. In Central Lakeview, public grants were awarded to the Theater Building, MoMing Dance and Arts Center, and scores of theater, dance, and music groups performing in and around the neighborhood. In Pilsen East, public cultural grants were allocated to the Mexican National Museum and the many artist studios, galleries, and performing art venues.

Artists and cultural activities, supported by the cultural grants, faced subsequent redevelopment pressures, attracting young professionals and developers into the area once the original class and/or ethnic neighborhood composition was adequately transformed/‘tamed’ by the artists. The analysis of the three neighborhoods revealed unique gentrification processes, but all three cases experienced a particularly heightened scale of capital reinvestment and displacement during the 1990s, after the neighborhoods were adequately ‘domesticated’ by the arts and cultural professionals.

One might even argue that by knowing the socioeconomic and cultural conditions of the artist and cultural class—their greater propensity as risk takers and their greater tolerance of alternative class and ethnic compositions—government art grants become a very efficient and ideal redevelopment tool for utilizing the capital of the artists to transform neighborhoods. No different than the case of individual landlords—who provide initial cheap rent to attract artists to refurbish their units, then raise the rents, forcing artists out—governments initiate a parallel, but larger-scale process. Arts grants are used to attract artists to refurbish neighborhoods as arts-infused districts in order to attract a higher order gentrifier, and all at relatively little cost. It is clear why public investment in the infrastructure of play has become a central component of Chicago’s economic development strategy.

It also becomes evident that the unique type of public investment in the infrastructure of play gave each district its unique flavor. Different than the cultural grants for artists’ performances, in the case of the Lower West Side, the place-based capital investments in the National Museum of Mexican Art solidified the Hispanic arts community around this major public investment, and allowed the broader Hispanic community to grow and entrench itself into

this neighborhood. Ultimately, the neighborhood Hispanic population has successfully organized and obstructed redevelopment pressures in Pilsen East.

The particular nature in the public investment in the infrastructure of play thus affects the investment decisions driving physical upgrading, and this influences how real estate brokers and developers market the new housing in the cultural districts to both the first and second wave of gentrifiers. Thus, the arts and cultural activities and professionals, supported by public grants, have affected the consumption patterns of the gentrifiers and have shaped the particular characteristics of the gentrifying neighborhoods. The public funding to culture has attracted creative professionals, driving new neighborhood reinvestment and the transformation of the local built environment, which is being transformed by the unique sensibilities of cultural professionals. In turn, the particular characteristics among the diverse arts and cultural class have shaped the characteristics of the further rounds of private reinvestment into these neighborhoods.

The study provides a more fine-tuned account of the diversity of gentrification taking place in Chicago between 1970 and 2000, contributing to our understanding of the interplay of market and socioeconomic forces, government programs, distinct artist profiles, housing stock and neighborhood characteristics, all of which result in unique physical and social upgrading processes. This is evident with the diversity of gentrification even among a specific social sub-class and occupation category, the arts and cultural professionals.

The stronger focus on the role of government and cultural districts enhances our understanding of gentrification processes in Chicago. Chicago has been undergoing profound socioeconomic and housing transformations since 1970, while maintaining a large working class, lower income and minority population. These groups, through displacement, are negatively affected by the rampant gentrification taking place in many areas of the city, as the original

population gets uprooted by artists and the second waves of higher income renters and homebuyers. Chicago also continues to maintain and develop its cultural districts, which further contributes to the spatial spreading of upgrading processes.

The public investment in the infrastructure of play continues to be a central component of the economic development strategy of Chicago and other municipalities across the U.S.. Given that this support for arts, culture, and entertainment is controversial due to the significant resources involved, this study provides a better understanding of the impact of these cultural granting practices on the socioeconomic and physical fabric of neighborhoods and the city. The rise in public funding in the last three decades for cultural and entertainment facilities, affects indirectly housing supply, the attraction of creative professionals, and more, broadly the local built environment.

With a heightened housing market in the Loop and the gentrifying cultural districts in Chicago, the study findings have implications on the need for finding long-term housing options for lower- income artists in Chicago and elsewhere. It is clear that the arts and cultural class are simply the facilitators of reinvestment, redevelopment and displacement processes in this dynamic housing market. For many years, artist groups in Chicago have pushed for protections for artist in these gentrifying cultural districts that enable artists to continue to live and work in the city. Affordable housing for low-income artists and their families is badly needed in Chicago. Within this context, it would be important to see whether the city actually has any interest in seriously accommodating lower-income groups, or are the local efforts simply focused on driving ongoing rounds of physical and social upgrading in Chicago.

Future research will continue to explore in greater detail the infrastructure of play data set compiled by the author, which could involve extending the collection of public funding awarded

into the more recent years, say into 2010. In addition, similar analysis could be conducted on comparable and more recent census data, the 2010 to 2020 census, with a focus on identifying whether similar arts-infused neighborhood redevelopment processes have continued to take place in the city. Utilizing the existing 1970 to 2000 data, research can also be extended into exploring the evolution of other artist communities in Chicago, through detailed qualitative analyses of unique art-infused neighborhoods.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Consumer Price Index

Table A.1 Consumer Price Index used to bring monetary values to 1999, the reference year for this study.

The rates are provided by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistic and represent changes in prices of all goods and services purchased for consumption by urban households.

Year	Inflation Rate
1969	4.54
1970	4.29
1971	4.11
1972	3.99
1973	3.75
1974	3.38
1975	3.1
1976	2.93
1977	2.75
1978	2.56
1979	2.29
1980	2.02
1981	1.83
1982	1.73
1983	1.67
1984	1.6
1985	1.55
1986	1.52
1987	1.47
1988	1.41
1989	1.34
1990	1.27
1991	1.22
1992	1.19
1993	1.15
1994	1.12
1995	1.09
1996	1.06
1997	1.04
1998	1.02
1999	1

APPENDIX B. The List of the Study Census Tracts and Excluded Census Tracts

Table B.1. Census tracts used in the study, Chicago, Cook County, Illinois.

101	401	615	720	1301	1702	2107	2308
102	402	616	801	1302	1703	2108	2309
103	403	617	802	1303	1704	2109	2310
104	404	618	803	1304	1705	2201	2311
105	405	619	804	1305	1706	2202	2312
106	406	620	805	1401	1707	2203	2313
107	407	621	806	1402	1708	2204	2315
108	408	622	807	1403	1709	2205	2316
109	409	623	808	1404	1710	2206	2317
201	410	624	809	1405	1711	2207	2318
202	501	625	810	1406	1801	2208	2401
203	502	626	811	1407	1802	2209	2402
204	503	627	812	1408	1803	2210	2403
205	504	628	813	1501	1901	2211	2404
206	505	629	814	1502	1902	2212	2405
207	506	630	815	1503	1903	2213	2406
208	507	631	816	1504	1904	2214	2407
209	508	632	817	1505	1905	2215	2408
301	509	633	818	1506	1906	2216	2409
302	510	634	819	1507	1907	2217	2410
303	511	701	901	1508	1908	2218	2411
304	512	702	902	1509	1909	2219	2412
305	513	703	903	1510	1910	2220	2413
306	514	704	1001	1511	1911	2221	2414
307	515	705	1002	1512	1912	2222	2415
308	601	706	1003	1601	1913	2223	2416
309	602	707	1004	1602	1914	2224	2417
310	603	708	1005	1603	2001	2225	2418
311	604	709	1006	1604	2002	2226	2419
312	605	710	1007	1605	2003	2227	2420
313	606	711	1101	1606	2004	2228	2421
314	607	712	1102	1607	2005	2229	2422
315	608	713	1103	1608	2006	2301	2423
316	609	714	1104	1609	2101	2302	2424
317	610	715	1105	1610	2102	2303	2425
318	611	716	1201	1611	2103	2304	2426
319	612	717	1202	1612	2104	2305	2427
320	613	718	1203	1613	2105	2306	2428
321	614	719	1204	1701	2106	2307	2429

Table B.1. (cont'd).

2430	2703	2828	3004	3403	3816	4210	4805
2431	2704	2829	3005	3404	3817	4211	4901
2432	2705	2830	3006	3405	3818	4212	4902
2433	2706	2831	3007	3406	3819	4301	4903
2434	2707	2832	3008	3501	3820	4302	4904
2435	2708	2833	3009	3502	3901	4303	4905
2436	2709	2835	3010	3503	3902	4304	4906
2501	2710	2836	3011	3504	3903	4305	4907
2502	2711	2837	3012	3505	3904	4306	4908
2503	2712	2838	3013	3506	3905	4307	4909
2504	2713	2839	3014	3507	3906	4308	4910
2505	2714	2840	3015	3508	3907	4309	4911
2506	2715	2841	3016	3509	4001	4310	4912
2507	2716	2842	3017	3510	4002	4311	4913
2508	2717	2843	3018	3511	4003	4312	4914
2509	2718	2902	3019	3512	4004	4313	5001
2510	2719	2903	3020	3513	4005	4314	5002
2511	2801	2904	3101	3514	4006	4401	5003
2512	2802	2905	3102	3515	4007	4402	5101
2513	2803	2906	3103	3601	4008	4403	5102
2514	2804	2907	3104	3602	4101	4404	5103
2515	2805	2908	3105	3603	4102	4406	5105
2516	2806	2909	3106	3604	4103	4407	5201
2517	2807	2910	3107	3605	4104	4408	5202
2518	2808	2911	3108	3701	4105	4409	5203
2519	2809	2912	3109	3702	4106	4501	5204
2520	2810	2913	3110	3703	4107	4502	5205
2521	2811	2914	3111	3704	4108	4503	5206
2522	2812	2915	3112	3801	4109	4601	5301
2523	2813	2916	3113	3802	4110	4602	5302
2524	2814	2917	3114	3803	4111	4603	5303
2601	2815	2918	3201	3804	4112	4604	5304
2602	2816	2919	3202	3805	4113	4605	5305
2603	2817	2920	3204	3806	4114	4606	5306
2604	2818	2921	3205	3807	4201	4607	5401
2605	2819	2922	3206	3808	4202	4608	5501
2606	2820	2923	3301	3809	4203	4609	5502
2607	2822	2924	3302	3810	4204	4610	5601
2608	2823	2925	3303	3811	4205	4701	5602
2609	2824	2926	3304	3812	4206	4801	5603
2610	2825	3001	3305	3813	4207	4802	5604
2701	2826	3002	3401	3814	4208	4803	5605
2702	2827	3003	3402	3815	4209	4804	5606

Table B.1. (cont'd).

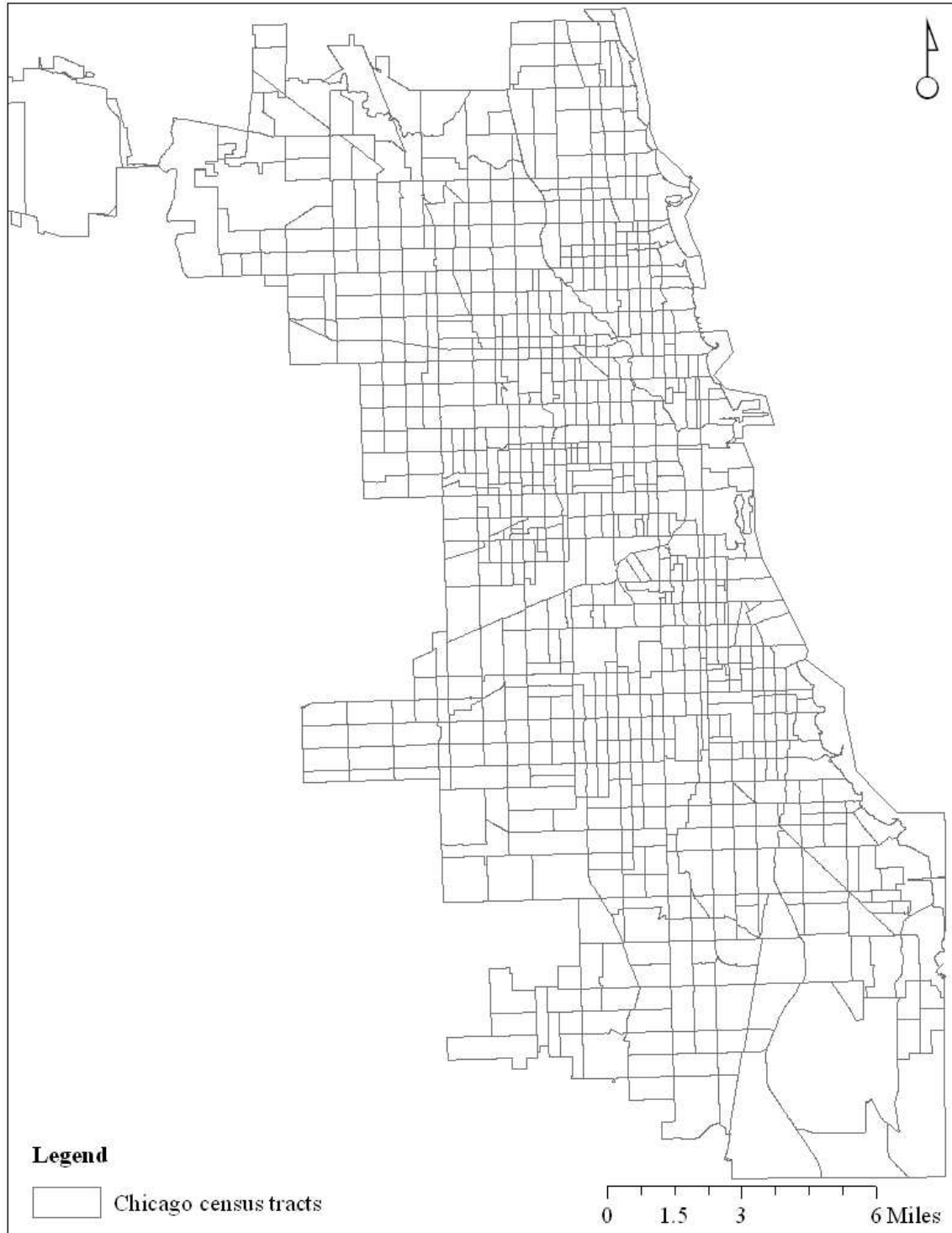
5607	5906	6108	6307	6701	6806	7002	7207
5608	5907	6109	6308	6702	6807	7003	7301
5609	6001	6110	6309	6703	6808	7004	7302
5610	6002	6111	6401	6704	6809	7005	7303
5611	6003	6112	6403	6705	6810	7101	7304
5701	6004	6113	6404	6706	6811	7102	7305
5702	6005	6114	6405	6707	6812	7103	7306
5703	6006	6115	6406	6708	6813	7104	7307
5704	6007	6116	6407	6709	6814	7105	7401
5705	6008	6117	6408	6710	6901	7106	7402
5801	6009	6118	6501	6711	6902	7107	7403
5802	6010	6119	6502	6712	6903	7108	7404
5803	6011	6120	6503	6713	6904	7109	7501
5804	6012	6121	6505	6714	6905	7110	7502
5805	6013	6122	6601	6715	6906	7111	7503
5806	6014	6201	6602	6716	6907	7112	7504
5807	6015	6202	6603	6717	6908	7113	7505
5808	6016	6203	6604	6718	6909	7114	7506
5809	6101	6204	6605	6719	6910	7115	
5811	6102	6301	6606	6720	6911	7201	
5901	6103	6302	6607	6801	6912	7202	
5902	6104	6303	6608	6802	6913	7203	
5903	6105	6304	6609	6803	6914	7204	
5904	6106	6305	6610	6804	6915	7205	
5905	6107	6306	6611	6805	7001	7206	

Table B.2. Chicago Census Tracts excluded from the analysis.

7707	7708	7709	8081	8104	8116	8233.04	8400
8408.01	2314	2821	2834	2901	2927	3115	3203
4405	5104	5612	5613	5810	6402	6504	7608

APPENDIX C. The Map of the Study Census Tracts

Figure C.1. Chicago Census Tracts (2000 census tract boundaries).



APPENDIX D. Standardization Rules Used in the Normalization of Census Tracts, 1970-2000

Table D.1. Rules used to standardize the census tracts for decades 1970, 1980, and 1990 to 2000, the base year for this analysis.

1990 Census Tracts	Rules to bring 1990 values to 2000 boundaries.	Explanation of census tract change
	Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 2000 Census Tract Relationship Files.	
17031060500	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#605 Value} + 0.047 * 1990 \text{ CT\#606 Value}$	CT#605 gains a portion from CT#606
17031060600	$1990 \text{ CT\#606 Value} * 0.953$	CT#606 loses a portion to CT#605
17031283600	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#2836 Value} + 0.066 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3101 value}$	CT#28236 gains a portion of CT#3101
17031310100	$1990 \text{ CT\#3101 Value} * 0.934$	CT#3101 loses a portion to CT#2836
17031310200	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3102 Value} + 0.067 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3103 Value}$	CT#3102 gains a portion of CT#3103
17031310300	$1990 \text{ CT\#3103 Value} * 0.933$	CT#3103 loses a portion to CT#3102
17031330100	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3301 Value} + 0.077 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3305 Value}$	CT#3301 gains a portion of CT#3305
17031330500	$1990 \text{ CT\#3305 Value} * 0.923$	CT#3305 loses a portion to CT#3301
17031100500	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#1005 Value} + 0.013 * \text{CT\#8104 Value}$	CT#1005 gains a portion from CT#8104
17031810400	No change is necessary, CT#8104 is not located in Chicago	CT#8104 is not in Chicago
17031320100	$1 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3201 Value} + 0.007 * 1990 \text{ CT\#3204 Value}$	CT#3201 gains a portion from CT#3204
17031320400	$1990 \text{ CT\#3204 Value} * 0.993$	CT#3204 loses a small portion to CT#3201
1980 Census Tracts	Rules to bring 1980 values to 1990 boundaries	Explanation of census tract change
	Source. Blodgett, J. and Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) at Columbia University, 1996.	
17031210900	$1980 \text{ CT\# 2109 Value} * 0.972$	CT#2109 loses a portion from Ct#2201
17031220100	$1 * 1980 \text{ CT\# 2201 Value} + 0.028 * 1980 \text{ CT\#2109 Value}$	CT#2201 gains a portion from CT#2109
17031230200	$1980 \text{ CT\#2302 Value} * 0.926$	CT# 2303 loses a portion to CT#2227
17031222700	$1 * 1980 \text{ CT\#2227 Value} + 0.074 * 1980 \text{ CT\#2302 Value}$	CT#2227 gains a portion from CT#2302

Table D.1. (cont'd).

1980 Census Tracts	Rules to bring 1980 values to 1990 boundaries	Explanation of census tract change
17031271000	1980 CT# 2710 Value * 0.855	CT#2710 loses a portion to CT#2808
17031280800	CT#2808 Value + 0.145 * 1980 CT#2710 Value	CT#2808 gains a portion from CT#2710
17031100500	1980 CT#1005 Value * 0.984	CT#1005 loses a portion to CT#8104
17031810400	No change is necessary, CT#8104 is not located in Chicago	CT#8104 gains a portion from CT#1005
17031170100	1980 CT#1701 Value * 0.848	CT#1701 loses a portion to CT#8106
17031810600	No change is necessary, CT#8106 is not located in Chicago	CT# 8106 gains a portion from CT#1701
17031252200	1980 CT#2522 Value + 0.008* 1980 CT#2605 Value	CT#2522 gains a portion from CT#2605
17031260500	1980 CT#2605 Value * 0.992	CT#2605 loses a small portion to CT#2522
17031491000	1980 CT#4910 Value * 0.988	CT#4910 loses a portion to CT#4911
17031491100	1980 CT#4911 Value + 1980 CT#4910 *0.012	CT#4911 gains a portion from CT#4910
1970 Census Tracts	Rules to bring 1970 values to 1980 boundaries	Explanation of census tract change
	Source: NHGIS Shapefiles.	
17031520500	1970 CT#5205 Value * 0.9251	CT#5205 loses a portion to CT#5501
17031520600	1970 CT#5206 Value * 0.8185	CT#5206 loses 18.15% to CT#5501
17031550100	1*1970 CT#5501 Value + 0.0749 * 1970 CT#5205 Value + 0.1815 * 1970 CT#5206 Value	Ct#5501 gains residential blocks from CT#5205 and CT#5206
17031100500	1*1970CT#1005 Value + 0.1531 * 1970 CT#7603 Value	CT#1005 gains 15% of CT#7603
17031570100	1*1970 CT#5701 Value + 1970 CT#5704 Value * 0.0374	CT# gains a portion from CT#5704
17031570400	1970 CT#5701 Value * 0.9626	CT# lost 3.7% in 1980 to ct CT#5701

APPENDIX E. The Definitions of Census Variables and Discussion of Comparability Issues, Decennial Census Data, 1970-2000

Table E.1. Discussion of how census variables were calculated and comparability issues.

Sources: Summary File 3 2000 Census of Population and Housing Technical Documentation, (2007), 2000 Census of Population and Housing. Selected Appendixes: 2000 Definitions of Subject Characteristics (2003), 1990 Census of Population and Housing Summary File 1 (Tape) (1991), and Technical Documentation, 1980 Census of Population and Housing, 1980 Definitions and Explanations of Subject Characteristics.

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total population – no comparability issues	yes	Yes Table: Persons (NT1A) Universe: Persons Value: Total	File: STF1 Table: PERSONS (NP1) Value: Total	Table: Total Population (NP001A) Universe: Population Value: total
White pop & % of pop that is white Some comparability issues regarding how race and Hispanic origin are coded by the Census Bureau over the decades. The sequence of questions on the survey has been changed.	Race: white persons from Cuba, PC, Mexico, Dominican Republic were considered/ reclassified white	Table: Race (NT7) Universe: Persons race: white persons from Cuba, PC, Mexico, Dominican Republic, were considered 'other race' however many Spanish persons reported their race as whites still.	File: STF1 Table: RACE (NP6) White	File: 2000SF1 Table: Total Population by Race (NP007A) Value: White alone

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Black pop & % pop that is black – no comparability issues	Race: Black is referred here as Negro	Table: Race (NT7) Universe: Persons race: black	File: STF1 Table: RACE (NP6) Black	File: 2000SF1 Table: Total Population by Race (NP007A) Value: Black or African American alone
Hispanic pop & % pop that is Hispanic In general, data comparability between 2000, 1990, and 1980 is good. There are some issues in how the 1970 and 1980 variables are defined. 'Persons of Spanish language' is pop of Spanish heritage.	NHGIS variable: 'Spanish Indicator' (NT24). I select the value : Spanish language	Table: Persons of Spanish Origin (NT9A) Universe: Persons of Spanish Origin Total	File: STF1 Table: HISPANIC ORIGIN (NP9) Sum of 'Hispanic origin' values	File: 2000SF1 Table: Population by Hispanic or Latino and Not Hispanic or Latino (NP004A) Value: Hispanic or Latino
Median age NA in some cases 1970, 1990.	Not available from NHGIS or Census Records	Table: Median Age (NT11A) Universe: Persons	NA	File: 2000SF1 Table: Median Age (NP013A)
Total population age 25 years and older no comparability issues	Sum of all values under variable Sex by Years of School Completed (NT42) Universe: Persons 25 Years Old and Over	Table: Years of School Completed (NT48A) Universe: Persons 25 Years Old and Over Sum of all values	Table: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (NP57) Universe: Persons 25 years and over Sum of all values	Table: Population 25 Years and Over by Sex by Educational Attainment (NP037C) Universe: Population 25 Years and Over Sum of all values

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
<p>Total number of high school graduates & percentage of census tract population age 25 years and older that are high school graduates</p> <p>Percent high school graduates" includes persons who completed four years of high school as well as those who completed one or more years of college.</p> <p>There are some comparability issues regarding the education attainment categories in the census datasets.</p> <p>1970 and 1980:Census Bureau assumes that 4 years of high school means that it had graduated</p>	<p>Sum of values from Variable Sex by Years of School Completed (NT42):</p> <p>High school: 4 years</p> <p>College: 1-3 years</p> <p>College: 4</p> <p>College: 5 years or more</p>	<p>Table: Years of School Completed (NT48A)</p> <p>Universe: Persons 25 Years Old and Over</p> <p>Total of values:</p> <p>High school</p> <p>College 1-3 years</p> <p>College 4 + years</p>	<p>Table: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (NP57)</p> <p>Universe: Persons 25 years and over</p> <p>Sum of High school graduate (includes equivalency), Some college, no degree, Associate degree, Bachelor's degree, Graduate or professional degree</p>	<p>Table: Population 25 Years and Over by Sex by Educational Attainment (NP037C) Universe: Population 25 Years and Over. Sum of the values for male and female: High school graduate (includes equivalency); Some college, less than 1 year; Some college, 1 or more years, no degree; Associate degree; Bachelor's degree; Master's degree; Professional school degree; Doctorate degree.</p>

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
<p>Total number of college graduates & percentage of census tract population age 25 years and older that are college graduates</p> <p>Percent college graduates includes persons who completed four years of college or more graduate education.</p> <p>There are some comparability issues in defining college graduated. For 1970 and 1980 censuses, there is some ambiguity in interpreting responses in terms of the number of years of college completed. It was not clear whether “completed the fourth year of college,” and “college graduate” were synonymous.</p>	<p>Sum of values from Variable Sex by Years of School Completed (NT42):</p> <p>College: 4</p> <p>College: 5 years or more</p>	<p>Table: Years of School Completed (NT48A)</p> <p>Universe: Persons 25 Years Old and Over</p> <p>Values: 4 or more years</p>	<p>Table: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT (NP57)</p> <p>Universe: Persons 25 years and over</p> <p>Sum of Bachelor's degree, Graduate or professional degree</p>	<p>Table: Population 25 Years and Over by Sex by Educational Attainment (NP037C)</p> <p>Universe: Population 25 Years and Over</p> <p>Sum of the values (for male and female) :</p> <p>Bachelor's degree;</p> <p>Master's degree;</p> <p>Professional school degree;</p> <p>Doctorate degree</p>

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
<p>Total number of families whose income is below poverty level (percentage of census tract families whose income is below poverty level)or</p> <p>Slight comparability issue: The poverty definition used in the 1980 census and later differed slightly from the one used in the 1970 census.</p>	<p>Table: Poverty Status by Family Type by Presence of Related Children Under 18 (NT84)</p> <p>Universe: Families</p> <p>Sum of all 'Below poverty level' values</p>	<p>Table: Poverty Status in 1979 by Age of Householder (NT88)</p> <p>Universe: Families</p> <p>Sum of Income below the poverty level, Householder 15-64 years + Income below the poverty level, Householder 65 years and over</p>	<p>Table: POVERTY STATUS IN 1989 BY FAMILY TYPE AND PRESENCE AND AGE OF CHILDREN (NP123)</p> <p>Universe: Families</p> <p>Sum of all values 'Income in 1989 below poverty level</p>	<p>'Table: Families by Poverty Status in 1999 (NPCT059A)</p> <p>Universe: Families</p> <p>Value: Income in 1999 below poverty level</p>
<p>Total number of female-headed households (percentage of census tract households that are female-headed)</p> <p>No comparability issues</p>	<p>Calculated from values from variable: Age of Head by Household Type and Presence of Children Under 18 (NT9A)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Sum of Female primary individual, Family with female head, with and without children, for all age groups reported.</p>	<p>Table: Household Type and Presence of Own Children (NT20A)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Total ; Family with female householder, no husband present</p> <p>With own children + family with female householder, no husband present</p> <p>Without own children</p>	<p>Table: HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND HOUSEHOLD TYPE (NP16)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Sum of all 'female household' values</p>	<p>Table: Poverty Status in 1999 by Household Type by Age of Householder (NP092F)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Sum of values that refer to 'Female householder'</p>

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
<p>Total number of households receiving public income assistance (percentage of census tract households receiving public income assistance) the value is for families not households</p> <p>1970: we should add families and unrelated individuals to get to household</p> <p>No comparability issues</p>	<p>Table: Selected Types of Income (NT94)</p> <p>Universe: Families Below Poverty Level & Table: Selected Types of Income (NT95)</p> <p>Universe: Unrelated Individuals 14 Years Old and Over Below Poverty Level</p> <p>Add families and unrelated individuals</p> <p>Value: Public assistance or welfare payments</p>	<p>Table: Income in 1979 (NT71B)</p> <p>Universe: Households with Income</p> <p>Value: Public assistance income</p>	<p>Table: PUBLIC ASSISTANCE INCOME IN 1989 (NP95)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Value: With public assistance income</p>	<p>Table: Public Assistance Income in 1999 (NP064A)</p> <p>Universe: Households</p> <p>Value: With public assistance income</p>
<p>Median gross rent (adjusted for inflation to 1999 Dollars)</p> <p>ok</p>	<p>Table: Median Gross Rent</p> <p>Universe: Renter-Occupied Units for Which Rent is Tabulated</p>	<p>Table: Median Gross Rent (NT127)</p> <p>Universe: Specified Renter-Occupied Housing Units Paying Cash Rent</p> <p>Value</p>	<p>Table: MEDIAN GROSS RENT (NH43A)</p> <p>Universe: Specified renter-occupied housing units paying cash rent</p> <p>Value</p>	<p>Table: Median Gross Rent (NH063A)</p> <p>Universe: Specified Renter-Occupied Housing Units Paying Cash Rent</p> <p>Value</p>

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Median value of owner-occupied housing units (converted to 1999 Dollars) no comparability issues	Table: Median Value Universe: Owner-Occupied Units for Which Value is Tabulated	Table: Median Value (NT39) Universe: Specified Owner-Occupied Non-condominium Housing Units	Table: MEDIAN VALUE (NH23B) Universe: Specified owner-occupied housing units	Table: Median Value of Owner-Occupied Housing Units (NH085A) Universe: Owner-Occupied Housing Units Value
Median household income (adjusted for inflation to 1999 Dollars) some comparability issues 1970 there is no income data for households, just for families. Also there is median income for 'families and unrelated individuals'	Table: Median Household Income Universe: families and unrelated individuals	Table: Median Household Income in 1979 (NT69) Universe: Households Value	Table: MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN 1989 (NP80A) Universe: Households Value	Table: Median Household Income in 1999 (NP053A) Universe: Households Value
Per capita income (adjusted for inflation to 1999 Dollars). Some comparability issues because the value for 1970 is not explicitly calculated by the Census Bureau. It can be calculated though.	Table: Aggregate Income of Persons by Sex (NT5) Universe: Persons 14 Years Old and Over Per capita income= Sum of all income divided by total persons, in the census tract	Table: Per Capita Income in 1979 (NT85A) Universe: Persons	Table: PER CAPITA INCOME IN 1989 (NP114A) Universe: Persons	Table: Per Capita Income in 1999 (NP082A) Universe: Population Value

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total number of employed residents (civilian population) not an issue, we just need to calc total = male + female	Table: Sex by Labor Force Status and Selected Characteristics (NT54) Universe: Persons 16 Years Old and Over Sum of values for males and females 'In labor force: Employed'	Table: Sex by Labor Force Status (NT55A) Universe: Persons 16 Years and Over Sum of Male, Labor force Civilian labor force Employed and Female, Labor force Civilian labor force Employed	Table: SEX BY EMPLOYMENT STATUS (NP70) Universe: Persons 16 years and over Sum of Values: Male, In labor force: Civilian: Employed + Female, In labor force: Civilian: Employed	Table: Population 16 Years and Over by Sex by Employment Status (NP043E) Universe: Civilian Population 16 Years and Over in Labor Force Sum of Male, Employed + Female, Employed
Total number of families	Table: Family Type by Presence and Age of Own Children (NT19) Universe: Families Sum of all items	Table: Families (NT2) Universe: Families	File: STF1 Table: FAMILIES (NP2)	Table: Total Families (NP031A) Universe: Families Value: total
Total number of households	Table: Age of Head by Household Type and Presence of Children Under 18 (NT9A): Universe: Households Sum of all items	File: STF1 Table: Households (NT3)	File: STF1 Table: HOUSEHOLDS (NP3)	Table: Total Households (NP015A) Universe: Households Value: total

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total number of housing units not an issue	Table: 100% Housing (NT127) Universe: Housing	Table: Occupancy Status (NT5B) Universe: Year-Round Housing Units Total: occupied and vacant	Table: HOUSING UNITS (NH1) Universe: Housing units Total	Table: Total Housing Units (NH001A) Universe: Housing Units Value
Total number of occupied housing units not an issue	Table: Access and Complete Kitchen Facilities (NT37B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Sum of all values	Table: Occupied Housing Units (NT26A) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Total	Table: OCCUPANCY STATUS (NH2) Universe: Housing units Value: occupied	Table: Housing Units by Occupancy Status (NH003A) Universe: Housing Units Value: Occupied
Total number of owner-occupied housing units not an issue	Table: Tenure by Water Supply (NT39C) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Sum of owner occupied values	Table: Tenure (NT26B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units val' Owner-occupied housing units	Table: TENURE (NH3) Universe: Occupied housing units Value	Table: Occupied Housing Units by Tenure (NH004B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Value : Owner occupied
Total number of renter-occupied housing units not an issue	Table: Tenure by Water Supply (NT39C) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Sum of renter occupied values	Table: Tenure (NT26B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units value: 'Renter occupied housing units"	Table: TENURE (NH3) Universe: Occupied housing units Value	Table: Occupied Housing Units by Tenure (NH004B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Value: Renter occupied

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total vacant housing units	I calculated the difference between total housing units and total occupied housing units	Table: Occupancy Status (NT5B) Universe: Year-Round Housing Units Value: vacant units	Table: OCCUPANCY STATUS (NH2) Universe: Housing units Value: vacant	Table: Housing Units by Occupancy Status (NH003A) Universe: Housing Units Value: Vacant
Total number of housing units lacking complete plumbing facilities some comparability issues in how census defines the variable.	Table: Plumbing Facilities (NT50A) Universe: Occupied and Vacant Year-Round Housing Units Sum of values: Lacking one or more plumbing facilities: Lacking piped hot water only, Lacking one or more plumbing facilities: Lacking other plumbing facilities	Table: Plumbing Facilities (NT47A) Universe: Year-Round Housing Units Value: Lacking complete plumbing for exclusive use	Table: PLUMBING FACILITIES (NH64) Universe: Housing units Value: Lacking complete plumbing facilities	Table: Plumbing Facilities (NH047A) Universe: Housing Units Value: Lacking complete plumbing facilities
Year structure built : Last 10 years	Table: Year Structure Built (NT8B) Universe: Occupied Housing Units Sum of values: 1969-1970, 1965-1968, 1960-1964	Table: Year Structure Built (NT109A) Universe: Year Round Housing Units Sum of : 1979-1980 + 1975-1978 + 1970-1974	Table: YEAR STRUCTURE BUILT (NH25) Universe: Housing units Sum of 1989 to March 1990, 1985 to 1988 + 1980 to 1984	Table: Year Structure Built (NH034A) Universe: Housing Units Sum of Built 1999 to March 2000 ; Built 1995 to 1998 + Built 1990 to 1994

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Year householder moved into unit by tenure	NA This variable is not broken down by tenure	Table: Tenure by Year Householder Moved into Unit (NT110B). Universe: Occupied Housing Units. By owner/renter occupied housing units. Moved in 1979 to March 1980 Moved in 1975 to 1978 Moved in 1970 to 1974 Moved in 1960 to 1964 Moved in 1969 or earlier	Table: TENURE BY YEAR HOUSEHOLDER MOVED INTO UNIT (NH29) Universe: Occupied housing units	Table: Population in Occupied Housing Units by Tenure by Year Householder Moved into Unit (NHCT009A) Universe: Population in Occupied Housing Units. Sum of Owner-occupied, Moved in
Sharing or missing complete flush toilet facilities	Table: Toilet Facilities in Occupied and Vacant Housing Units (NT18) Universe: Occupied and Vacant Year-Round Housing Units Sum of Flush toilet but also used by another household and No flush toilet	Bathrooms (NT117A) Take this: NT117A (STF3): No bathroom or only a half bath	NA	NA

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
Sharing or lacking complete kitchen facilities	Table: Access and Complete Kitchen Facilities (NT37A) Universe: Occupied and Vacant Year-Round Housing Units Sum of: With direct access lacking complete kitchen facilities for this household only, Lacking direct access, with complete kitchen facilities for this household only, Lacking both direct access and complete kitchen facilities for this household only	Table: Kitchen Facilities (NT115) Universe: Year Round Housing Units Value No complete kitchen facilities	Table: KITCVHEN FACILITIES (NH42) Universe: Housing units. Value: Lacking complete kitchen facilities	Table: Kitchen Facilities (NH050A) Universe: Housing Units Value: Lacking complete kitchen facilities

Table E.1. (cont'd).

Population Variables	1970	1980	1990	2000
<p>Total number of employed residents whose occupation is considered 'professional' & percentage of employed civilian population whose occupation is considered professional</p> <p>Some comparability issues: The industry classification system differs. For classification system used during Census 2000 consists of 265 categories for employed people, classified into 14 major industry groups. From 1940 through 1990, the industrial classification has been based on the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) Manual. The Census 2000 classification was developed from the 1997 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) .</p>	<p>Variable Sex by Occupation (NT68) Universe: Employed Persons 16 Years Old and Over Sum of the values for males and females workers: Professional, technical and kindred workers and Managers and administrators, except farm</p>	<p>Table: Occupation (NT66) Universe: Employed Persons 16 Years and Over Value: Managerial and professional specialty occupations Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations + Managerial and professional specialty occupations Professional specialty occupations</p>	<p>Table: OCCUPATION (NP78) Universe: Employed persons 16 years and over Values: Managerial and professional specialty occupations (000-202): Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations (000-042) + Managerial and professional specialty occupations (000-202): Professional specialty occupations (043-202)</p>	<p>Table: Sex by Occupation Type (NP050A) Universe: Employed Civilian Population 16 Years and Over Sum of Male, Management, professional, and related occupations + Female, Management, professional, and related occupations</p>

E.1. Occupation Codes for Each Decade

2000 Occupations code for Management, Professional and Related Occupations: Management, business and financial operations occupations: Management Occupations: Chief Executives, General and Operations Managers, Legislators, Advertising and Promotions Managers, Marketing and Sales Managers, Public Relations Managers, Administrative Services Managers, Computer and information Systems Managers, Financial Managers, Human Resources Managers, Industrial Production Managers, Purchasing Managers, Transportation, Storage, and Distribution Managers, Farm, Ranch, and Other Agricultural Managers, Farmers and Ranchers, Construction Managers, Education Administrator, Engineering Managers, Food Service Managers, Funeral Directors, Gaming Managers, Lodging Managers, Medical and Health Services Managers, Natural Sciences Managers, Postmasters and Mail Superintendents, Property, Real Estate, and Community Association Managers, Social and Community Service Managers, Managers, All Other, Business Operations Specialists (Agents and Business Managers of Artists, Performers, and Athletes, Purchasing Agents and, Buyers, Farm Products, Wholesale and Retail Buyers, Except Farm Products, Purchasing Agents, Except Wholesale, Retail, and Farm Products, Claims, Adjusters, Appraisers, Examiners, and Investigators, Not used, Compliance Officers, Except Agriculture, Construction, Health and Safety, and Transportation, Cost Estimators, Not used, Human Resources, Training, and Labor Relations Specialists, Logisticians, Management Analysts, Meeting and Convention Planners, Other Business Operations Specialists, Financial Specialists (Accountants and Auditors, Appraisers and Assessors of Real Estate, Budget Analysts, Credit, Analysts, Financial Analysts, Personal Financial Advisors, Insurance Underwriters, Financial Examiners, Loan Counselors and Officers, Tax, examiners, Collectors, and Revenue Agents, Tax Preparers, Financial Specialists, All Other.

2000 Professional and related occupations: Computer and Mathematical Occupations (Computer Scientists and Systems Analysts, Computer Programmers, Computer Software Engineers, Not used, Computer Support Specialists, Not used, Database Administrators, Network and Computer Systems Administrators, Network Systems and Data Communication, analysts, Actuaries, Mathematicians, Operations Research Analysts, Statisticians, Miscellaneous Mathematical Science Occupations, Including Mathematicians and Statisticians), Architecture and Engineering Occupations (Architects, Except Naval, Surveyors, Cartographers, and Photogrammetrists, Aerospace Engineers, Agricultural Engineers, Biomedical Engineers, Chemical Engineers, Civil Engineers, Computer Hardware Engineers, Electrical and Electronics Engineers, Environmental, Engineers, Industrial Engineers, Including Health and Safety, Marine Engineers, Materials Engineers, Mechanical Engineers, Mining and Geological Engineers, Including Mining Safety Engineers, Nuclear Engineers, Petroleum, Mining and Geological Engineers, Including Mining Safety Engineers, Miscellaneous. Life, Physical, and Social Science Occupations (Agricultural and Food Scientists, Biological Scientists, Conservation Scientists and Foresters, Medical, scientists, Astronomers and Physicists, Atmospheric and Space Scientists, Chemists and Materials Scientists, Not used, Environmental Scientists and, Geoscientists, Not used, Physical Scientists, All Other, Economists, Market and Survey Researchers, Psychologists, Sociologists, Urban and Regional Planners, Not used, Miscellaneous Social Scientists, Including Sociologists, Agricultural and Food Science Technicians, Biological Technicians, Chemical Technicians, Geological and Petroleum Technicians, Nuclear Technicians, Not used, Miscellaneous Life, Physical, and Social Science Technicians, Including Social Science

Research Assistants and Nuclear Technicians). Community and Social Services Occupations (Counselors, Social Workers, Miscellaneous Community and Social Service Specialists, Not used, Clergy, Directors, Religious Activities and Education, Religious Workers, All Other). Legal Occupations (Lawyers, Judges, Magistrates, and Other Judicial Workers, Paralegals and Legal Assistants, Miscellaneous Legal Support Workers). Education, Training, and Library Occupations (Postsecondary Teachers, Preschool and Kindergarten Teachers, Elementary and Middle School Teachers, Secondary School Teachers, Special Education Teachers, Other Teachers and Instructors, Archivists, Curators, and Museum Technicians, Librarians, Library Technicians, Teacher Assistants, Other Education, Training, and Library Workers). Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations (Artists and Related Workers, Designers, actors, Producers and Directors, Athletes, Coaches,, Umpires, and Related Workers, Not used, Dancers and Choreographers, Musicians, Singers, and Related Workers, Entertainers and Performers, Sports and Related Workers, All Other, Announcers, News Analysts, Reporters, and Correspondents, Public Relations Specialists, Editors, Technical Writers, Writers and, authors, Miscellaneous Media and Communications Workers, Broadcast and Sound Engineering Technicians and Radio Operators and Other Media and, Communication Equipment Workers, Photographers, Television, Video, and Motion Picture Camera Operators and Editors, Media and Communications Workers, All Other. Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations (Chiropractors, Dentists, Not used, Dietitians and Nutritionists, Optometrists, Pharmacists, Physicians, and Surgeons, Physician Assistants, Podiatrists, Registered Nurses, Audiologists, Occupational Therapists, Physical Therapists, Radiation Therapists, Recreational Therapists, Respiratory Therapists, Speech-Language Pathologists, Therapists, All Other, Veterinarians, Health Diagnosing and Treating, Practitioners, All Other, Clinical Laboratory Technologists and Technicians, Dental Hygienists, Diagnostic Related Technologists and Technicians, Emergency, Medical Technicians and Paramedics, Health Diagnosing and Treating Practitioner Support Technicians, Licensed Practical and Licensed Vocational Nurses, medical Records and Health Information Technicians, Opticians, Dispensing, Miscellaneous Health Technologists and Technicians, Other Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations).

1990 occupation codes for _Managerial and Professional Specialty Occupations: Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations (Legislators, Chief executives and general administrators, public administration, Administrators and officials, public administration, Administrators, protective services, Financial managers, Personnel and labor relations managers, purchasing managers, Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations, Administrators, education and related fields, Managers, medicine and health, Postmasters and mail superintendents, Managers, food serving and lodging establishments, Managers, properties and real estate, Funeral directors, Managers, service organizations, Managers and administrators, Management Related Occupations: Accountants and auditors, Underwriters, Other financial officers, Management analysts, Personnel, training, and labor relations specialists, Purchasing agents and buyers, farm products, Buyers, wholesale and retail trade, except farm products, Purchasing agents and buyers, Business and promotion agents, Construction inspectors, Inspectors and compliance officers, except construction, Management related occupations, Professional Specialty Occupations: Engineers, Architects, and Surveyors: Architects, Engineers: Aerospace, Metallurgical and materials, Mining, Petroleum, Chemical, Nuclear, Civil, Agricultural, Electrical and electronic, Industrial, Mechanical, Marine and naval architects, Engineers, Surveyors and mapping scientists, Mathematical and Computer Scientists: Computer systems, analysts and scientists, Operations and systems researchers and analysts, Actuaries,

Statisticians, Mathematical scientists, Natural Scientists:, Physicists and astronomers, Chemists, except biochemists, Atmospheric and space scientists, Geologists and geodesists, Physical scientists, Agricultural and food scientists, Biological and life scientists, Forestry and conservation scientists, Medical scientists, Health Diagnosing Occupations: Physicians, Dentists, Veterinarians, Optometrists, Podiatrists, Health diagnosing practitioners, Health Assessment and Treating Occupations: registered nurses, Pharmacists, Dietitians, Therapists: Respiratory therapists, Occupational therapists, Physical therapists, Speech therapists, Therapists, Physicians' assistants, Teachers, Postsecondary: Earth, environmental, and marine, science teachers, Biological science teachers Chemistry teachers, Physics teachers, Natural science teachers, Psychology teachers, Economics teachers, History teachers, Political science teachers, Sociology teachers, Social, science teachers, Engineering teachers, Mathematical science teachers, Computer science teachers, Medical science teachers, Health specialties teachers, Business, commerce, and marketing teachers, Agriculture and forestry teachers, Art, drama, and music, teachers, Physical education teachers, Education teachers, English teachers, Foreign language teachers, Law teachers Social work teachers, Theology teachers, Trade and industrial teachers, Home economics teachers, Teachers, postsecondary, Postsecondary teachers, Teachers, Except Postsecondary: Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten Teachers, elementary school, Teachers, secondary school, Teachers, special education, Teachers, Counselors, educational and vocational, Librarians, Archivists, and Curators: Librarians, Archivists and curators, Social Scientists and Urban Planners: Economist, Psychologists, Sociologists, Social scientists, Urban planners, Social, Recreation, and Religious Workers, Social workers, Recreation workers, Clergy, Religious workers, Lawyers and Judges: Lawyers Judges, Writers, Artists, Entertainers, and Athletes: Authors, Technical writers, Designers Musicians and composers, Actors and directors, Painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist printmakers Photographers, Dancers, Artists, performers, and related workers, Editors and reporter, Public relations specialists, Announcers, Athletes.

1980 occupation codes for Managerial and Professional Specialty Occupations: Executive, Administrative, and Managerial Occupations: Legislators, Chief executives and general administrators, public administration, Administrators and officials, public administration, Administrators, protective service, Financial managers, Personnel and labor relations managers, Purchasing managers, Managers, marketing, advertising, and public relations, Administrators, education and related, fields, Managers, medicine and health, Managers, properties and real estate, Postmasters and mail superintendents, Funeral directors, Managers and administrators, Management Related Occupations: Accountants and auditors, Underwriters, Other financial officers Management analysts, Personnel, training, and labor relations specialists, Purchasing agents and buyers, farm products Buyers, wholesale and retail trade, except farm products, Purchasing agents and buyers, Business and promotion agents, Construction inspectors, Inspection and compliance officers, except construction, Management related occupations, Professional Specialty Occupations: Engineers, Architects, and Surveyors: Architects Engineers: Aerospace, Metallurgical and materials, Mining, Petroleum, Chemical, Nuclear, Civil, Agricultural, Electrical and electronic, Industrial, Mechanical, Marine and naval architects, Engineers, Surveyors and mapping scientists Mathematical and Computer Scientists: Computer systems analysts and scientists, Operations and systems researchers and analysts, Actuaries Statisticians, Mathematical scientists, Natural Scientists: Physicists and astronomers, Chemists, except biochemists, Atmospheric and space scientists, Geologists and geodesists, Physical scientists, Agricultural and food scientists, Biological and life scientists,

Forestry and conservation scientists, Medical scientists, Health Diagnosing Occupations: Physicians, Dentists, Veterinarians, Optometrists, Podiatrists, Health diagnosing practitioners, Health Assessment and Treating Occupations: Registered nurses, Pharmacists, Dietitians Therapists: Inhalation therapists, Occupational therapists, Physical therapists, Speech therapists, Therapists, Physicians' assistants, Teachers, Postsecondary: Earth, environmental, and marine science teachers, Biological science teachers, Chemistry teachers Physics, teachers, Natural science teachers, Psychology teachers, Economics teachers, History teachers, Political science, teachers, Sociology teachers, Social science teachers, Engineering teachers, Mathematical science teachers, Computer science teachers, Medical science teachers, Health specialties teachers, Business, commerce, and marketing teachers, Agriculture and forestry teachers, Art, drama, and music teachers, Physical education teachers, Education teachers, English teachers, Foreign language teachers, Law teachers, Social work teachers, Theology teachers, Trade and industrial teachers, Home economics teachers, postsecondary, Postsecondary teachers, Teachers, Except Postsecondary: Teachers, prekindergarten and kindergarten, Teachers, elementary school , Teachers, secondary school Teachers, special education, Teachers, Counselors, educational and vocational, Librarians, Archivists, and Curators: Librarians, Archivists and curators, Social Scientists and Urban Planners: economists, Psychologists, Sociologists, Social scientists, Urban planners, Social, Recreation, and Religious Workers: Social workers, Recreation workers, Clergy, Religious workers, Lawyers and Judges: Lawyers, Judges, Writers, Artists, Entertainers, and Athletes: Authors, technical writers, Designers, Musicians and composers, Actors and directors, painters, sculptors, craft-artists, and artist printmakers, Photographers, Dancers, Artists, performers, and related workers, Editors and reporters, Public relations, specialists, Announcers.

1970 occupation codes for Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers: Accountants, Architects, Computer specialists: Computer programmers Computer systems analysts, Computer specialists, Engineers: Aeronautical and astronautical engineers, Chemical engineers Civil engineers Electrical and electronic, engineers, Industrial engineers, Mechanical engineers, Metallurgical and materials engineers, Mining engineers, Petroleum engineers, Sales engineers, Engineers, Farm management advisors Foresters, and conservationists, Home management advisors Lawyers and judges:, Judges, Lawyers Librarians, archivists, and curators: Librarians, Archivists and curators Mathematical specialists: Actuaries Mathematicians, Statisticians Life and physical scientists: Agricultural scientists, Atmospheric and space scientists, Biological scientists, Chemists, Geologists, Marine scientists, Physicists and astronomers, Life and physical scientists, Operations and systems researchers and analysts, Personnel and labor relations workers Physicians, dentists, and related practitioners: Chiropractors, Dentists, Optometrists, Pharmacists, Physicians, medical and osteopathic, Podiatrists, Veterinarians, Health, practitioners, Nurses, dietitians, and therapists: Dietitians, Registered nurses, Therapists Health technologists and technicians, Clinical laboratory technologists and technicians, Dental hygienists, Health record technologists and technicians, Radiologic technologists and technicians, Therapy assistants, Health technologists and technicians, Religious workers: Clergymen, Religious workers, Social scientists: Economists, Political scientists, Psychologists Sociologists, Urban and regional planners, Social scientists, Social and recreation workers: Social workers, Recreation workers, Teachers, college and university: Agriculture Teachers, Atmospheric, earth, marine, and space teachers, Biology teachers, Chemistry teachers, Physics teachers, Engineering teachers, Mathematics teachers, Health specialties teachers, Psychology teachers, Business and commerce teachers, economics teachers History teachers, Sociology

teachers, Social science teachers, Art, drama, and music teachers, Coaches and physical education teachers, Education teachers, English teachers, Foreign, language teachers, Home economics teachers, Law teachers, Theology teachers, Trade, industrial, and technical teachers, Miscellaneous teachers, college and university, Teachers, college and university, subject not specified Teachers, except college and university: Adult education teachers, Elementary school teachers, Prekindergarten and kindergarten teachers, Secondary school teachers, Teachers, except college and university, Engineering and science technicians: Agriculture and biological technicians, except health, Chemical technicians, Draftsmen, Electrical and electronic engineering technicians, Industrial engineering, technicians, Mechanical engineering technicians, Mathematical technicians, Surveyors, Engineering and science technicians, Technicians, except health, engineering, or science: Airplane pilots, Air traffic controllers, Embalmers, Flight engineers, Radio operators, Tool programmers, Technicians, Vocational and educational counselors, Writers, artists, and entertainers: Actors, Athletes and kindred workers, Authors Dancers Designers, Editors and reporters, Musicians and composers, Painters and sculptors, Photographers, Public relations men and publicity writers Radio and television announcers, Writers, artists, and entertainers, Research workers, Professional, technical, and kindred workers – allocated.

1970 occupation codes for Managers and Administrators, Except Farm: Assessors, controllers, and treasurers, local public administration, Bank officers and financial managers, Buyers and shippers, farm products, Buyers, wholesale and retail trade, Credit men, Funeral directors, Health administrators, Construction inspectors, public administration, Inspectors, except construction, public administration, Managers and superintendents, building, Office managers, Officers, pilots, and pursers, ship, Officials and administrators, public administration, Officials of lodges, societies, and unions, Postmasters and mail superintendents , Purchasing agents and buyers, Railroad conductors, Restaurant, cafeteria, and bar managers, Sales managers and department heads, retail trade, Sales managers, except retail trade, School administrators, college, School administrators, elementary and secondary, Managers and administrators, Managers and administrators, except farm--allocated.

APPENDIX F. Principal Component Analysis Results

Table F.1. Latent Roots (Eigenvalues)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
9.585	5.634	2.896	2.293	2.082	1.839	1.771	1.415	1.203	1.145	1.054	0.963	0.866	
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
0.830	0.806	0.769	0.642	0.597	0.575	0.519	0.495	0.455	0.401	0.365	0.321	0.258	0.243
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
0.200	0.162	0.102	0.093	0.089	0.077	0.065	0.064	0.050	0.040	0.024	0.009	0.001	0.000

Table F.2. Component Loadings

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
_70_00_PROF	0.784	-0.067	0.289	0.160	-0.303	0.151	0.234	0.057
_70_00_EMP	0.731	0.195	-0.029	-0.022	-0.068	0.132	0.125	0.104
_70_00_FEHL	0.723	0.188	0.259	0.196	-0.305	0.003	0.264	-0.106
_70_00_POP	0.690	0.424	0.368	-0.203	0.222	-0.090	-0.025	0.081
_70_00_PCINC	0.685	-0.425	-0.379	-0.033	-0.079	0.178	-0.114	0.156
_70_00_25YR	0.678	0.441	0.046	-0.361	0.244	0.125	0.110	-0.096
_70_00_OUNI	0.665	0.404	-0.450	0.191	-0.082	-0.269	-0.200	0.031
_70_00_HLDS	0.665	0.404	-0.450	0.191	-0.082	-0.269	-0.200	0.031
_70_00_MDINC	0.655	-0.400	0.009	-0.159	-0.048	0.299	0.021	0.294
_70_00_UNI	0.651	0.401	-0.460	0.237	-0.108	-0.265	-0.194	0.052
_70_00_FAM	0.638	0.040	0.478	0.219	-0.321	0.016	0.289	-0.002
PHU70_00	0.631	0.464	0.114	-0.165	0.042	0.173	0.104	0.094
_70_00_COGRD	0.629	-0.141	0.306	0.249	-0.260	0.177	0.235	0.099
_70_00_HSGRD	0.605	0.303	-0.022	-0.377	0.118	0.130	0.209	-0.278
_70_00_PNOKITCHEN	-0.551	0.285	-0.427	0.078	0.021	0.407	0.190	0.123
_70_00_PCOGRD	0.539	-0.517	-0.161	-0.271	0.056	0.244	-0.189	0.119
_70_00_ROUNI	0.538	0.592	-0.268	-0.332	0.171	-0.008	-0.011	-0.135
_70_00_PPLMB	-0.514	0.311	-0.397	0.115	0.094	0.391	0.131	0.169
_70_00_PPROF	0.445	-0.615	-0.163	-0.141	-0.066	0.231	-0.168	0.065
_70_00_PPOV	-0.262	0.579	0.247	0.043	-0.136	-0.007	-0.059	-0.092
_70_00_POOUNI	0.493	-0.571	0.136	0.222	0.124	-0.042	-0.194	0.037
_70_00_PWPOP	0.161	-0.558	-0.400	0.147	0.251	-0.080	0.416	-0.181

Table F.2. (cont'd).

_70_00_PROUNI	-0.448	0.543	-0.153	-0.245	-0.122	0.083	0.172	-0.021
_70_00_VACUNI	0.450	0.330	-0.406	0.520	-0.187	-0.140	-0.112	0.140
POOHU70_00	0.108	0.053	0.142	0.383	0.637	0.209	-0.267	-0.117
_70_00_PLMB	-0.031	0.303	0.049	0.402	0.512	0.372	-0.027	0.161
_70_00_PBPOP	-0.128	0.439	0.299	-0.078	-0.353	0.271	-0.564	-0.116
_70_00_PHPOP	-0.133	0.378	0.196	-0.101	0.140	-0.236	0.252	0.532
_70_00_HPOP	-0.023	0.123	0.064	-0.051	0.123	-0.131	0.156	0.467
_70_00_PIA	-0.066	0.368	0.130	-0.069	0.030	0.151	-0.129	0.309
_70_00_PPIA	-0.314	0.347	-0.021	0.175	-0.207	0.237	0.079	-0.271
_70_00_NOKITCHEN	-0.080	0.247	-0.048	0.158	0.130	0.321	0.114	0.249
_70_00_WPOP	0.306	0.003	0.011	-0.042	0.242	-0.069	0.213	-0.238
_70_00_PFEHLD	-0.113	0.086	-0.262	0.126	-0.220	0.431	0.144	-0.229
_70_00_POV	0.262	0.496	0.129	-0.141	0.248	0.011	-0.060	-0.216
_70_00_VALUE	0.411	-0.173	0.177	0.166	0.206	-0.012	-0.061	-0.182
_70_00_PVACUNI	-0.168	0.139	-0.060	0.500	-0.147	0.139	0.228	-0.137
_70_00_OOUNI	0.458	0.007	0.302	0.426	0.406	0.117	-0.176	-0.100
_70_00_RENT	0.430	0.347	-0.360	-0.181	0.029	0.043	0.094	-0.085
_70_00_BPOP	-0.075	0.274	0.200	-0.054	-0.281	0.257	-0.481	0.072
_70_00_PHSGRD	0.433	-0.463	-0.256	-0.275	-0.085	0.305	-0.097	-0.067

Table F.3. Variance Explained by Components

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9.585	5.634	2.896	2.293	2.082	1.839	1.771	1.415

Table F.4. Percent of Total Variance Explained

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
23.379	13.741	7.064	5.592	5.078	4.486	4.320	3.451

Table F.5. Rotated Loading Matrix (VARIMAX, Gamma = 1.000000)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
_70_00_UNI	0.929	0.071	0.125	0.292	0.032	-0.058	0.008	-0.001
_70_00_OUNI	0.908	0.079	0.108	0.338	0.032	-0.084	0.008	0.004
_70_00_HLDS	0.908	0.079	0.108	0.338	0.032	-0.084	0.008	0.004
_70_00_VACUNI	0.863	-0.014	0.231	-0.015	0.112	0.145	0.002	-0.014
_70_00_PCOGRD	0.010	0.846	0.062	0.135	0.036	-0.153	-0.051	0.072
_70_00_PCINC	0.352	0.819	0.192	0.081	0.000	-0.034	-0.151	0.092
_70_00_PPROF	0.004	0.801	0.114	-0.052	-0.002	-0.129	-0.082	0.178
_70_00_MDINC	0.011	0.776	0.386	0.149	0.031	-0.059	-0.034	-0.122
_70_00_PHSGRD	-0.006	0.738	0.058	0.145	-0.105	-0.014	-0.073	0.266
_70_00_PPOV	-0.010	-0.566	0.019	0.113	-0.024	0.107	0.389	-0.029
_70_00_POOUNI	0.074	0.515	0.271	-0.182	0.352	-0.394	-0.166	0.097
_70_00_FAM	0.071	0.016	0.898	0.157	0.038	-0.180	0.014	-0.017
_70_00_PROF	0.154	0.296	0.858	0.207	0.037	-0.097	-0.009	0.009
_70_00_FEHL	0.268	0.002	0.805	0.318	0.006	-0.107	-0.015	0.075
_70_00_COGRD	0.078	0.264	0.803	0.050	0.098	-0.044	-0.033	-0.014
_70_00_25YR	0.135	0.124	0.204	0.884	0.104	-0.051	0.039	-0.103
_70_00_ROUNI	0.403	0.010	-0.052	0.836	-0.025	0.026	0.060	-0.032
_70_00_HSGRD	0.064	0.122	0.218	0.816	-0.039	-0.025	-0.077	0.106
_70_00_POP	0.148	0.010	0.350	0.686	0.233	-0.333	0.175	-0.295
PHU70_00	0.207	0.090	0.377	0.658	0.082	0.049	0.170	-0.201
_70_00_POV	0.087	-0.220	0.006	0.580	0.208	-0.069	0.148	0.010
_70_00_RENT	0.375	0.102	0.014	0.545	-0.107	0.144	-0.071	0.028
POOHU70_00	0.004	-0.009	-0.106	0.079	0.833	0.016	-0.001	0.053
_70_00_OOUNI	0.112	0.070	0.295	0.128	0.742	-0.164	-0.005	0.056
_70_00_PLMB	0.028	-0.117	-0.036	0.076	0.672	0.403	0.052	-0.215
_70_00_PNOKITCHEN	-0.039	-0.181	-0.343	-0.102	-0.097	0.784	0.015	-0.065
_70_00_PPLMB	-0.004	-0.177	-0.354	-0.093	-0.002	0.747	0.042	-0.120
_70_00_PFEHL	0.008	-0.004	0.063	0.000	-0.094	0.527	0.020	0.348
_70_00_PBPOP	-0.006	-0.190	0.006	0.065	0.001	0.024	0.865	0.210
_70_00_PWPOP	0.020	0.305	-0.011	-0.094	0.046	0.046	-0.806	0.193
_70_00_BPOP	0.021	-0.014	0.004	-0.021	0.009	0.048	0.706	0.060
_70_00_PHPOP	-0.027	-0.306	0.011	0.087	-0.078	0.014	0.023	-0.723
_70_00_HPOP	0.013	-0.037	0.008	-0.004	-0.028	0.015	-0.039	-0.541
_70_00_PIA	0.007	-0.092	-0.031	0.113	0.066	0.152	0.373	-0.329
_70_00_PPIA	-0.032	-0.403	0.025	-0.017	-0.052	0.396	0.179	0.270

Table F.5. (cont'd).

_70_00_NOKITCHEN	0.006	-0.045	0.030	0.034	0.185	0.433	0.080	-0.238
_70_00_PVACUNI	0.111	-0.318	0.220	-0.232	0.102	0.380	-0.104	0.177
_70_00_VALUE	0.041	0.159	0.237	0.120	0.364	-0.258	-0.133	0.154
_70_00_EMP	0.326	0.280	0.463	0.458	0.042	0.024	0.006	-0.100
_70_00_PROUNI	-0.071	-0.442	-0.266	0.200	-0.346	0.400	0.179	-0.092
_70_00_WPOP	0.002	0.005	0.113	0.338	0.134	-0.114	-0.308	0.091

Table F.6. Variance Explained by Rotated Components

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
4.036	4.912	4.316	4.802	2.341	2.846	2.553	1.710

Table F.7. Percent of Total Variance Explained

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9.843	11.980	10.527	11.712	5.709	6.940	6.228	4.171

APPENDIX G. PCA Dimensions Mapped

Figure G.1. PCA Factor 1 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

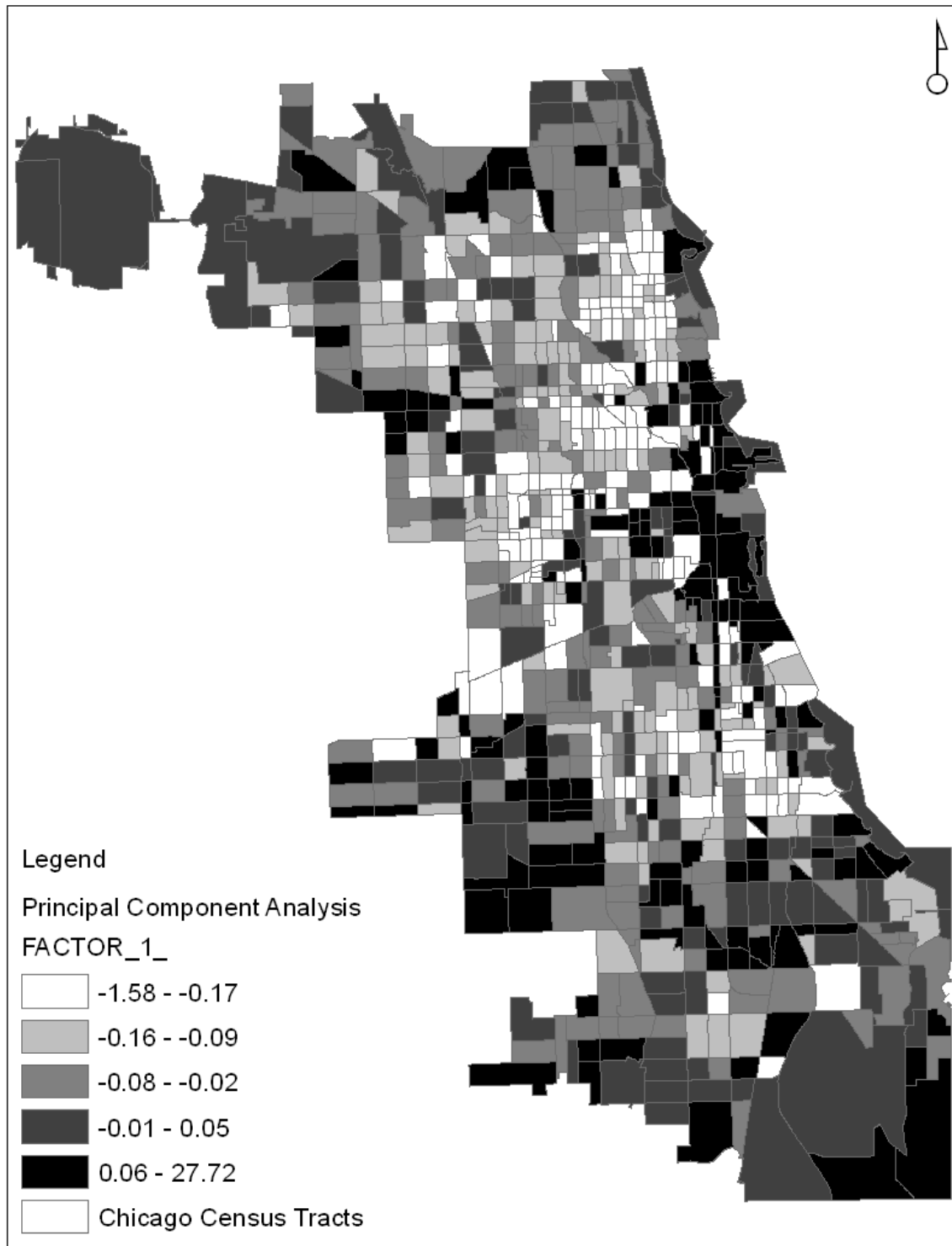


Figure G.2. PCA Factor 2 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

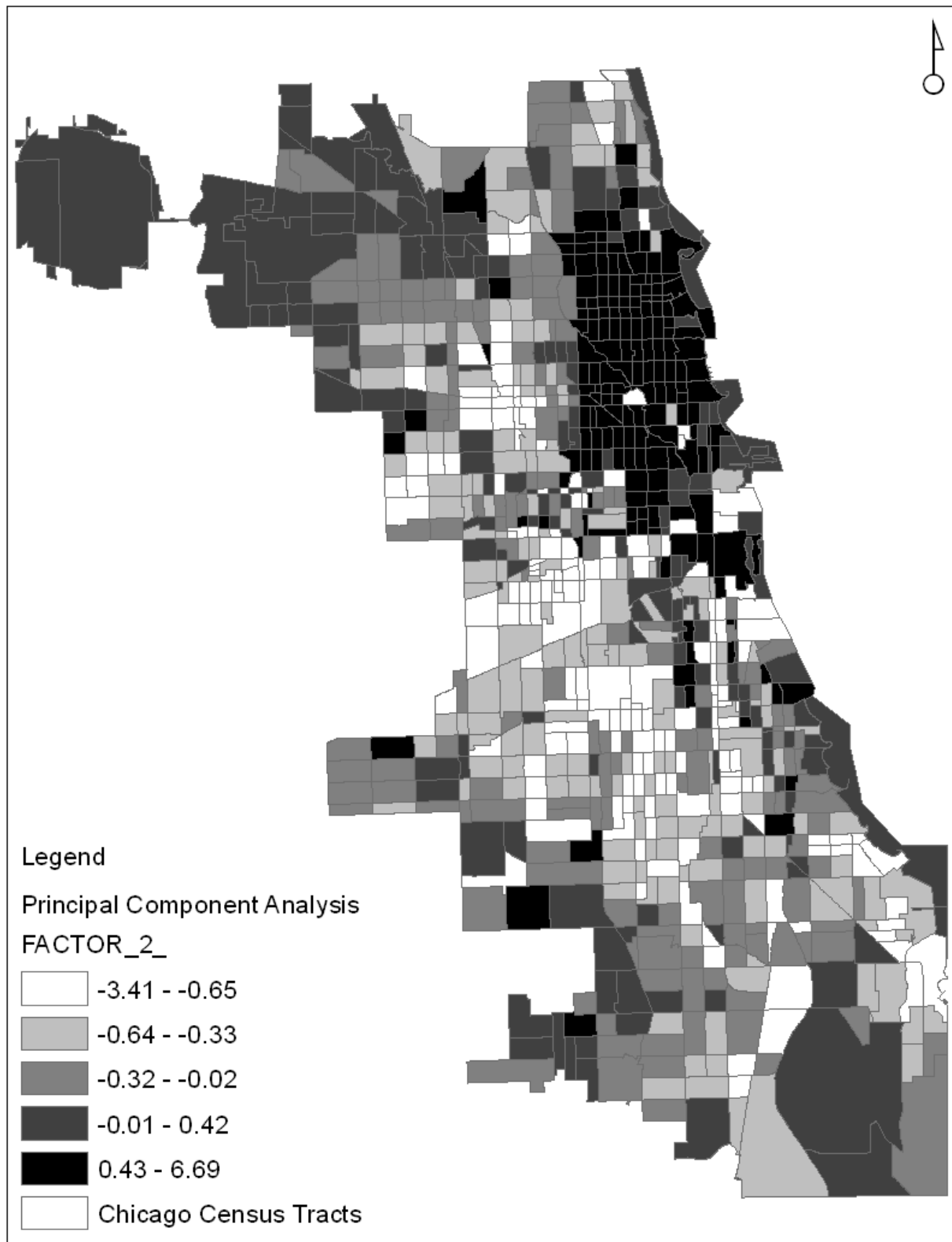


Figure G.3. PCA Factor 3 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

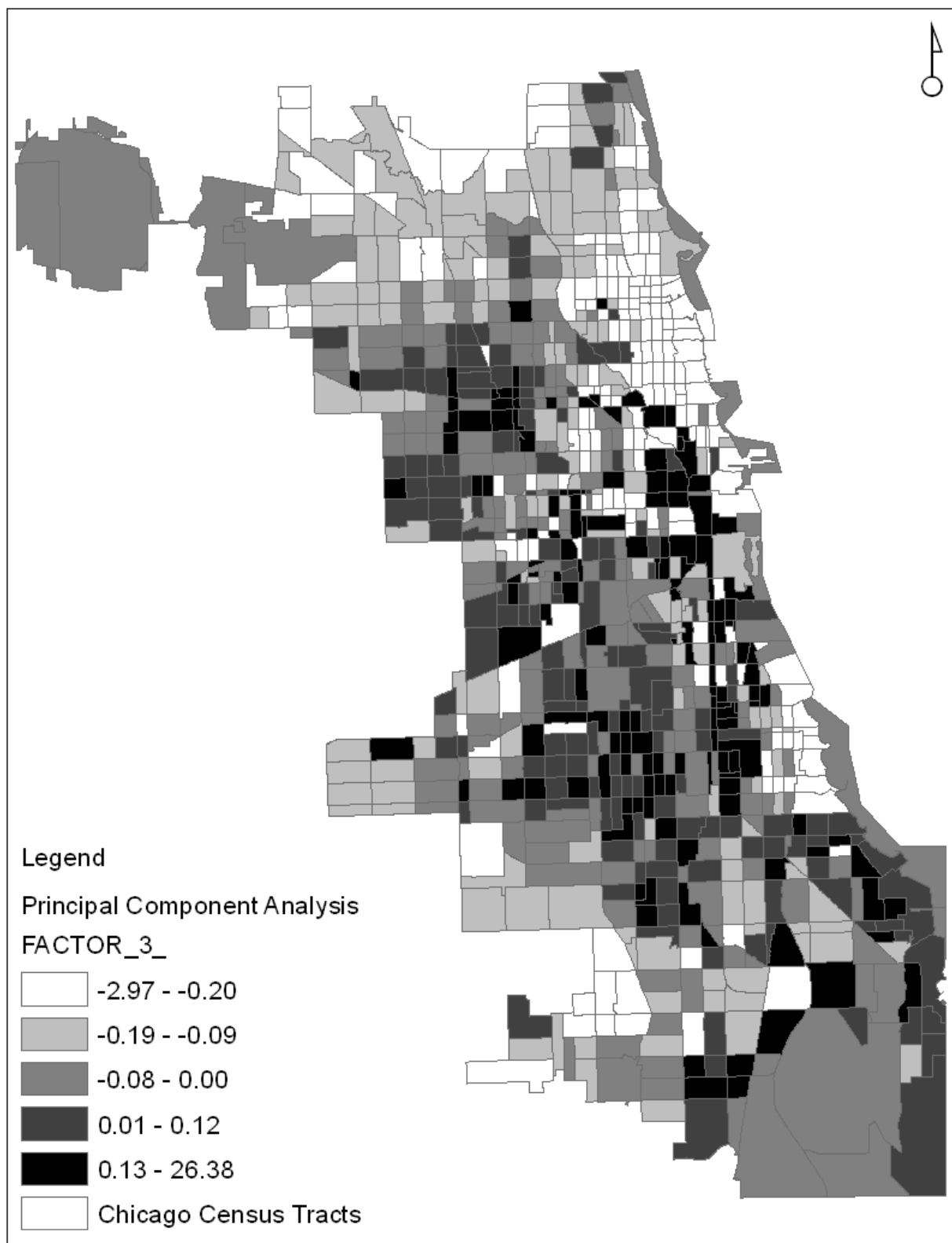


Figure G.4. PCA Factor 4 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

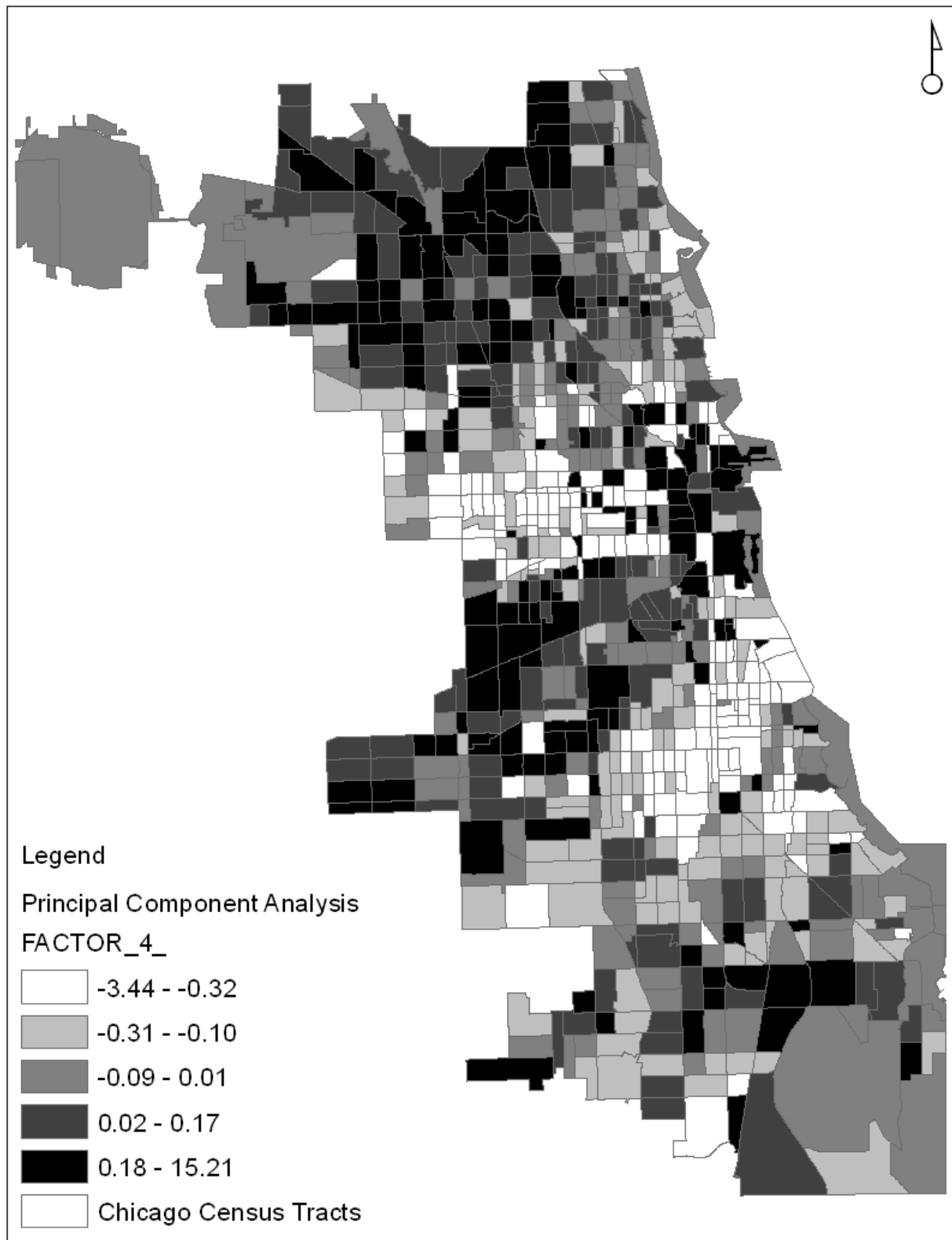


Figure G.5. PCA Factor 5 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

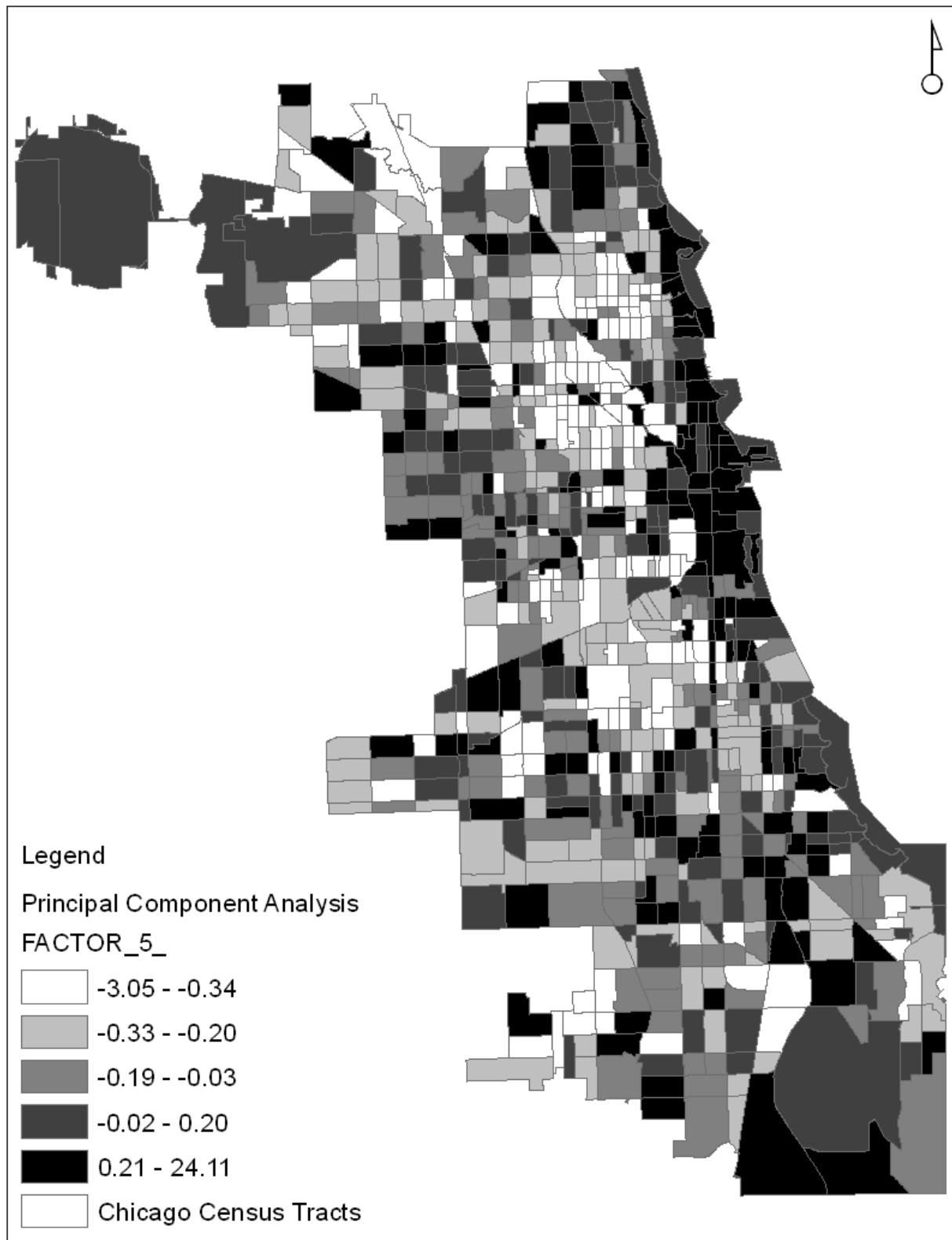


Figure G.6. PCA Factor 6 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

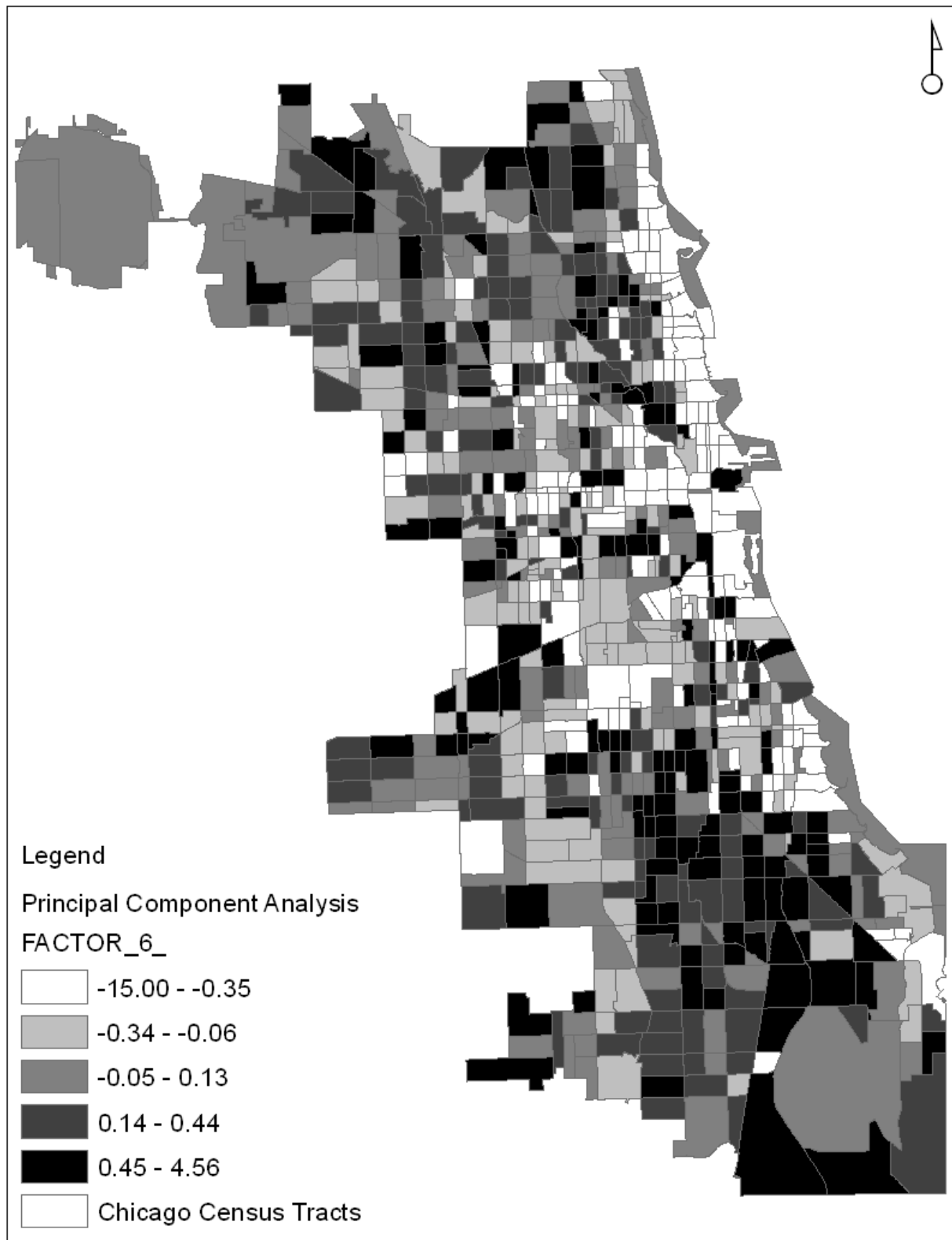


Figure G.7. PCA Factor 7 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).

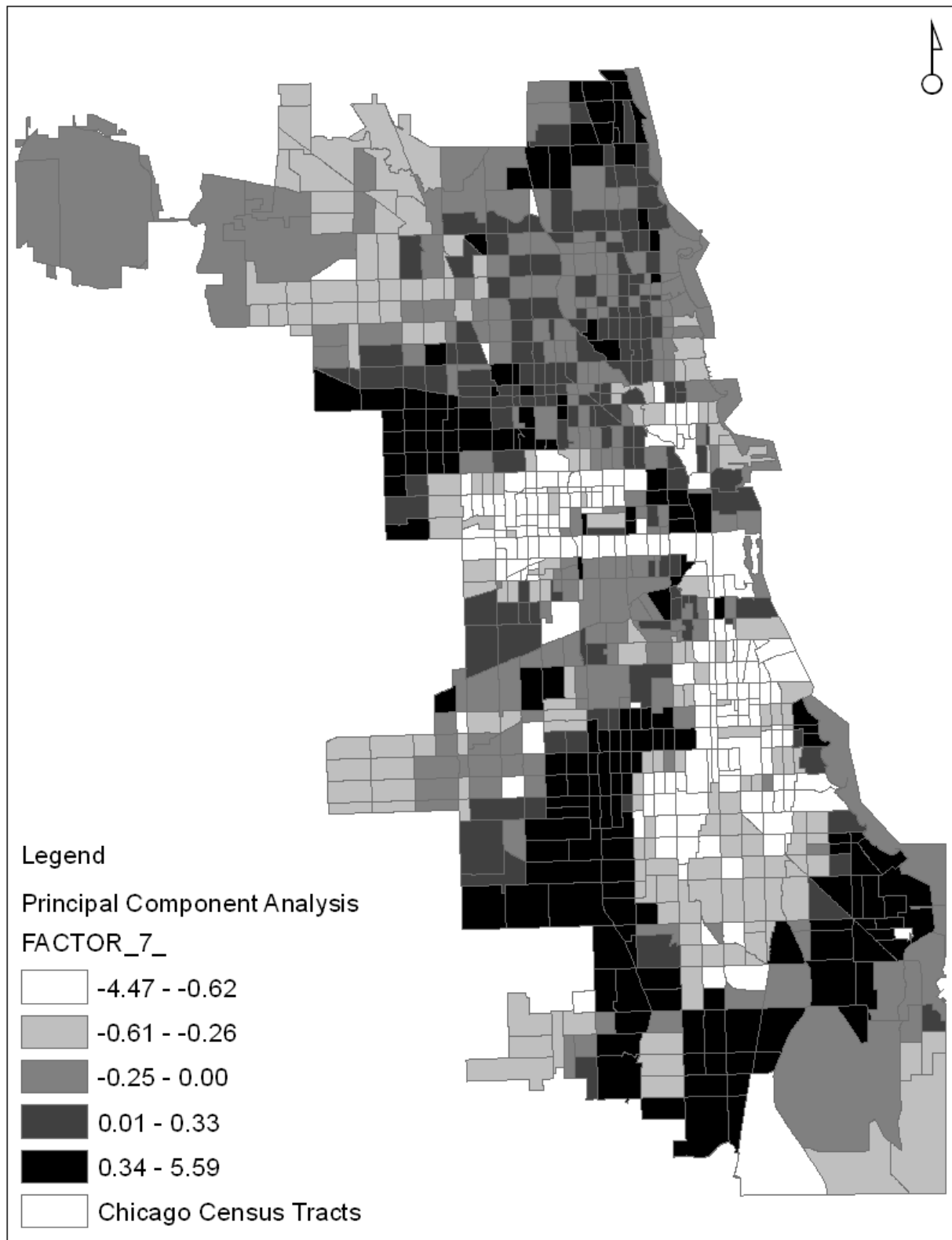
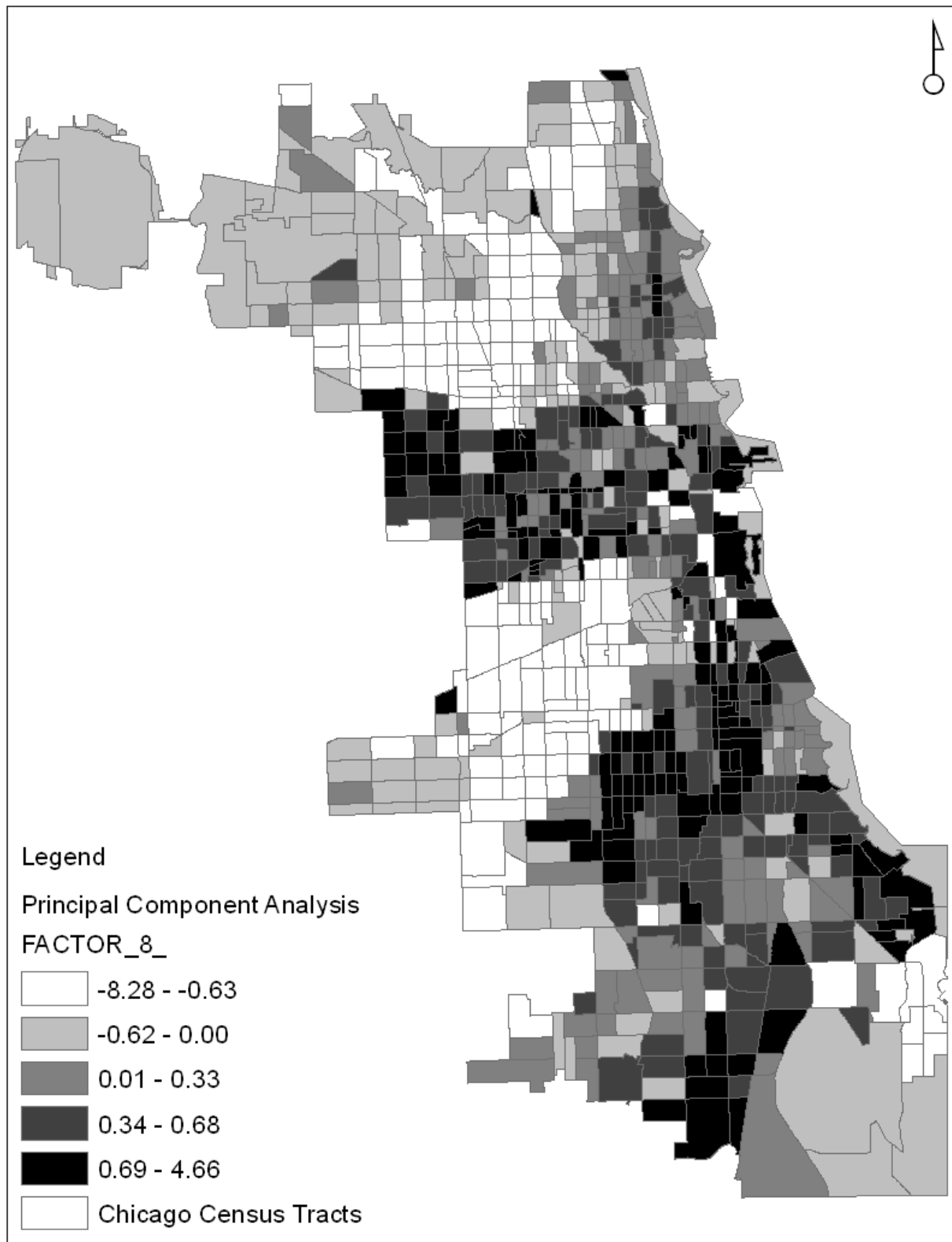


Figure G.8. PCA Factor 8 (Classification method: 5 quintiles).



APPENDIX H. The results of the calculation of the Incremental F-value

Table H.1. Calculation of the Incremental F-value ²to determine the number of groups in the K-means cluster analysis.

#Groups	Between SS	df	Within SS	df	F	Total SS	R2	Incremental F-value
2	664.0720	8	6119.9280	6776	91.9078	6784.0	0.0979	
3	1243.7200	16	5540.2800	6768	94.9579	6784.0	0.1833	236.4858
4	1736.0390	24	5047.9610	6760	96.8677	6784.0	0.2559	165.3105
5	2436.4340	32	4347.5660	6752	118.2472	6784.0	0.3591	218.4200
6	2965.8520	40	3818.1480	6744	130.9647	6784.0	0.4372	156.6377
7	3384.9680	48	3399.0320	6736	139.7527	6784.0	0.4990	119.3764
8	3995.4130	56	2788.5870	6728	172.1375	6784.0	0.5889	185.4154
9	4191.1180	64	2592.8820	6720	169.7213	6784.0	0.6178	56.8180
10	4336.5980	72	2447.4020	6712	165.1822	6784.0	0.6392	40.2664
11	4427.6710	80	2356.3290	6704	157.4648	6784.0	0.6527	23.7981
12	4970.7020	88	1813.2980	6696	208.5842	6784.0	0.7327	169.0017
13	5140.1020	96	1643.8980	6688	217.8321	6784.0	0.7577	53.6720
14	5224.4800	104	1559.5200	6680	215.1767	6784.0	0.7701	26.1637
15	5327.8830	112	1456.1170	6672	217.9698	6784.0	0.7854	32.0457
16	5372.4070	120	1411.5930	6664	211.3553	6784.0	0.7919	13.3421
17	5482.3190	128	1301.6810	6656	219.0096	6784.0	0.8081	33.6115
18	5518.8010	136	1265.1990	6648	213.2249	6784.0	0.8135	10.8388
19	5567.7740	144	1216.2260	6640	211.0925	6784.0	0.8207	14.3369
20	5611.6230	152	1172.3770	6632	208.8441	6784.0	0.8272	12.6493
21	5641.9860	160	1142.0140	6624	204.5318	6784.0	0.8317	8.5624
22	5674.2740	168	1109.7260	6616	201.3635	6784.0	0.8364	8.9429
23	5717.4330	176	1066.5670	6608	201.2660	6784.0	0.8428	11.8951
24	5750.3030	184	1033.6970	6600	199.5371	6784.0	0.8476	8.9566
25	5812.4810	192	971.5190	6592	205.4122	6784.0	0.8568	17.3033

² The calculation of the incremental F-value was performed based on guidance received from Professor Bruce Wm. Pigozzi during class time and conversations.

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

- A Chicago Sojourn. (2012). Information on 1021 W. Barry Ave., Chicago, IL. Retrieved on November 20 from <http://achicagosojourn.wordpress.com/>.
- Abler, R. Adams, J.S., & Gould, P. (1971). Chapter 6. Classification. In *Spatial organization. The geographer's view of the world*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1994). *From Urban Village to East Village The Battle for New York's Lower East Side*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Abu-Lughod, J. L. (1999). *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Adler, J. (2002, March 2). Three city neighborhoods on the move. *Crain's Chicago*. Retrieved from http://www.centralstationsouthloop.com/news_threecity.asp.
- Adler, T. (2004). Theater. In J. L.Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Allen, L. (1991, February 10). Signs of life: Projects a boost for Wicker Park. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1991-02-10/business/9101120919_1_spaces-multi-unit-rennaissance-realty-group.
- Amada, J. (2005, September 21). 32-story addition to South Loop. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2005-09-18/business/0509180160_1_partnering-chicago-developer-chicago-plan-commission.
- Americans for the Arts. (2012). Arts & Economic Prosperity IV. The Economic Impact of Nonprofit Arts and Culture Organizations and Their Audiences in the City of Chicago. Accessed at <http://www.artsalliance.org/>
- Anaya, L. (2012, September 24). Changing Faces: Are Pilsen's Changing Demographics Transforming the Culture of the Neighborhood? *The Gate Newspaper*. Retrieved from www.thegatenewspaper.com/2012/09/changing-faces-are-pilsens-changing-demographics-transforming-the-culture-of-the-neighborhood/.
- Anderson, J. (2002, July 16). City watch. Little Village and Pilsen provide a visit to savor. Chicago's Mexican-American areas of Pilsen and Little Village provide a popular, and tasty, tour. *Chicago Tribune*, Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2002-07-16/news/0207160221_1_chicago-cultural-center-pastry-neighborhoods.
- Anderson, M., & C. Sternberg (2013). "Non-White" Gentrification in Chicago's Bronzeville and Pilsen: Racial Economy and the Intraurban Contingency of Urban Redevelopment. *Urban Affairs Review*, 49 (3), 435-467. doi: 10.1177/1078087412465590.

- Armour, T. E. (1985, February 13). Musician keeps jazz on track. Recording studio preserves Chicago's sounds. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).
- Armstrong, L. (2001, March 23). Group Efforts: seeing through the eyes of the gentrified. *Chicago Reader*, 30. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/group-efforts-seeing-through-the-eyes-of-the-gentrified/Content?oid=904917>.
- Arredondo, G.F. (2004). Lower West Side. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Arredondo, G.F., & Vaillant, D. (2004). Mexicans. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Artner, A.G. (1989, August 25). Group exhibits in 3 Wicker Park galleries worth a view. *Chicago Tribune*.
- Artspace Projects, Inc., The Lambert Group, Inc., and Chicago Department of Cultural Affairs. (2002). Chicago Arts District Strategy – Phase I. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoartistsresource.org/dance/node/28822>
- Atkinson, R. (2000a). Measuring gentrification and displacement in greater London. *Urban Studies*, 37(1), 149-165.
- Atkinson, R. (2000b). The hidden costs of gentrification. Displacement in central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15, 307–326.
- Atkinson, R., & Bridge, G. (Eds.). (2005). *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism (Housing and Society Series)*. New York: Routledge.
- Avila, O. (2006, February 2). Some see clouds in Pilsen project: Massive housing plan has neighbors worried. *Chicago Tribune*. Knight Ridder Tribune Business News.
- Bacin, L. (1991, November 4). Restaurateurs bank on Lakeview location. *Crain's Chicago Business*.
- Baim, T., Kelley, W.B., & Harper, J. (2008). *Out and Proud in Chicago: An Overview of the City's Gay Community*. Agate Surrey.
- Baird & Warner. (2012). Lakeview Real Estate for Sale. Retrieved On October 4 from <http://www.seechicagorealestate.com/lake-view-chicago-homes-condos-lofts.php>.
- Barreto, S., & Petersen, P. (2001, October 26). War of Words. *Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/war-of-words/Content?oid=906838>.
- Bassett, K., Griffiths, R., & Smith, I. (2002). Testing governance: Partnerships, planning and conflict in waterfront regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 35(10), 1757-1775.

- Beauregard, R. (1985). Politics, ideology and theories of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 7, 51-62.
- Beauregard, R. (1986). The chaos and complexity of gentrification. In S. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the City*. London: Allen and Unwin
- Beauregard, R. (1990). Trajectories of neighborhood change: the case of gentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 22, 855-874.
- Beaverstock, J.V. (2004). Managing across borders: Knowledge management and expatriation in professional service legal firms. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 4(2), 157-179.
- Becker, H. (1982). *Art worlds*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Benesch, C. (1987, May 10,). The race for space. From theaters to galleries, the squeeze is on across Chicago. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).
- Bennett, L. (1989). Postwar redevelopment in Chicago's: The decline of the politics of party and the rise of neighborhood politics. In G. Squires (Ed.), *Unequal partnerships: the Political Economy of Urban redevelopment in Postwar America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Bennett, L. (1990). *Fragments of Cities. The new American downtowns and neighborhoods*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Bennett, L. (2006). Chicago's New Politics of Growth. In J.P. Koval, L. Bennett, & M. Bennett (Eds.), *The New Chicago: A social and cultural analysis*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Bergquist, K. (2006, September 22). Where the Gays Are. *Chicago Reader*.
- Berry, B.J.L. (1985). Islands of renewal in seas of decay. In P.E. Peterson, (ed). *The New Urban Reality*. Washington DC: The Brookings Institution.
- Best, W. (2004). Wicker Park. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Betancur, J. J. (2005). Gentrification before Gentrification? The Plight of Pilsen in Chicago. Retrieved in 2011 from the website <http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/voorheesctr/publications.html>.
- Betancur, J., Leachman, M., Miller, A., Walker, D., & Wright, P.A. (1995). Development Without Displacement Task Force Background Paper. The Nathalie P. Voorhees Center For Neighborhood and Community and Improvement. Retrieved from <http://tiger.uic.edu/%7Epwright/dwd.html>.
- Betancur, J.J. (2002). The Politics of Gentrification: The Case of West Town in Chicago. *Urban Affairs Review*, 37(6), 780-814.

Blodgett, J. and Consortium for International Earth Science Information Network (CIESIN) at Columbia University. (1996). 1980-1990 Geocodes, MABLE/Geocorr2K Geographic Correspondence Engine, hosted by the Missouri Census Center and CIESIN.

Boehlert, E. (1993, August). Chicago: Cutting Edge's New Capital. *Billboard*.

Bommer, L. (1995, April 2). Exit, pursuing a dream at synergy, the business overwhelmed the show. *Chicago Tribune*. Accessed at http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1995-04-02/entertainment/9504020159_1_theater-wicker-park-cautionary-tale

Bondi, L. (1999). Gender, class and gentrification: enriching the debate. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 17 (3), 261-282.

Botts, P. (2007). The Arts Scan Project: Nonprofit Arts Organizations in the Greater Chicago Region 2006. Retrieved from http://beta.artsbizc.s466.sureserver.com/files/ChicagoArtsScan_FullReport.pdf

Bourassa, S. (1993). The rent-gap debunked. *Urban Studies*, 30, 1731-1734.

Bourne, L. (1993a). The Demise of Gentrification? A Commentary and Prospective View. *Urban Geography*, 14, 95-107.

Bourne, L. (1993b). The Myth and Reality of Gentrification: A Commentary on Emerging Urban Forms. *Urban Studies*, 30, 183-189.

Boyd, M. (2000). Reconstructing Bronzeville: Racial nostalgia and neighborhood redevelopment. *Journal of Urban Affairs*. 22, 2, 107-122.

Boyd, M. (2005). The downside of racial uplift: The meaning of gentrification in an African-American neighborhood. *City and Society*, 17, 265-288.

Bridge, G. (1994). Gentrification, class and residence: a re-appraisal. *Environment and Planning D*, 12, 31-51.

Bridge, G. (2001). Bourdieu, rational action and the time space strategy of gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 26, 205 - 216.

Brodts, B. (1979, September 20). Wicker Park poor say pressure's on to sell homes: Housing fight in Wicker Park. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).

Brotman, B. (1981, October 20). House story: 'rich' move in, poor move out. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).

Brueckner, J. K. (2000). *Tax increment financing: a theoretical inquiry*. Urbana, Ill.: Institute of Government and Public Affairs, University of Illinois.

Bruegmann, R. (2008). Built Environment of the Chicago region. In A.D. Keating (Ed.), *Chicago neighborhoods and suburbs. A historical guide*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Butler, T., & Lees, L. (2006). Super-gentrification in Barnsbury, London: globalization and gentrifying global elites at the neighborhood level. *Transaction of the Institute of British Geographers*, 31, 467-487.

Byrne, J. P. (2003). Two Cheers for Gentrification, *Howard Law Journal*, 46, Spring, 405-432.

Callahan, S., & Belott, B. (2005). Serving Dance in Chicago, A Planning Process for Small to Mid-sized Companies and Independent Artists. Retrieved from <http://forthearts.org/services/>

Camacho, E., & Joravsky, B. (1989). *Against the tide: the middle class in Chicago*. Chicago: Community Renewal Society.

Cameron, S., & Coafee, J. (2005). Art, gentrification and regeneration: from artists to pioneer to public arts. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 5(1), 39-58.

Castells, M. (1983). Cultural identity, sexual liberation and urban structure: the gay community in San Francisco. In M. Castells (Ed.), *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (138-170). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Channick, H. S. (2007/2008). Shock City to Chic City. The Transformation of Chicago. *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 100 (4), 383-390.

Chicago Art District (CAD) (n.d.). About. http://www.chicagoartsdistrict.org/about_main.asp

Chicago Arts District (n.d.). Information. Retrieved from <http://chicagoartsdistrict.org/default.asp>.

Chicago Community Trust and Affiliates. (2004). Arts and Culture Organization Survey. Retrieved from <http://www.cct.org/research/research>.

Chicago Gallery News. (n.d.). Gallery Guide. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagogallerynews.com>.

Chicago Park District. (n.d.). Budget Appropriation Documents. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoparkdistrict.com/>.

Chicago Public Housing Authority. (n.d.). Public Housing Projects. Retrieved in June 2, 2012 from <http://www.thecha.org/>.

Christiansen, R. (2004). Theater Companies. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

City of Chicago. (1998). The Pilsen Tax Increment Financing Redevelopment Project and Plan. Retrieved from http://www.cityofchicago.org/content/dam/city/depts/dcd/tif/plans/T_053_PilsenRDP.pdf

City of Chicago. (2011). *Explore Chicago*. Retrieved on September 26, 2011 from <http://www.explorechicago.org/city/en.html>.

City of Chicago. (n.d.). Tax Increment Financing. Retrieved from website: <http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/dcd/provdrs/tif.html>

Clark, E. (1995). The Rent Gap Re-examined. *Urban Studies*, 32, 1489-1503.

Clark, E. (2005). The order and simplicity of gentrification-a political challenge. In R. Atkinson & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context: The New Urban Colonialism* (256-264). London; New York: Routledge.

Clark, T.N., Lloyd, R., Wong K. K., & Pushpam, J. (2002). Amenities Drive Urban Growth. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24 (5).

Coldwell Banker (n.d.) Property listing for 3101 N. Seminary Ave, Chicago, IL. Retrieved at: <http://www.coldwellbankeronline.com/>

Cole, D.E. (1987). Artists and Urban Redevelopment. *The Geographical Review*, 77 (4), 391-407.

Condit, C. W. (1974). *Chicago: Building, Planning and Urban Technology; 1910-29 and also 1930-70. (Two volume set)*. Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press.

Cook County Assessor (n.d.). Property Search. Retrieved from <http://www.cookcountyassessor.com>.

Cottrell, M. (2012). Lakeview shedding affordable housing units: an interview with reporter and activist Bob Zuley. *Chicago Now*. Retrieved from [tp://www.chicagonow.com/chicago-muckrakers/2012/11/lakeview-bob-zuley/](http://www.chicagonow.com/chicago-muckrakers/2012/11/lakeview-bob-zuley/)

Crump, J.R. (2003). The end of public housing as we know it: public housing policy, labor regulation and the U.S. city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(1), 188-192.

Cunningham, P. (1988, November, 14). Podmajersky: Savior or Villain in Pilsen? *Crain's Chicago Business*, 11. 46: 3.

Curran, W. (2004). Gentrification and the Changing Nature of Work: Exploring the Links in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. *Environment and Planning A*, 36, 1243-1260.

Curran, W. (2007). From the Frying Pan to the Oven: Gentrification and the Experience of Industrial Displacement in Williamsburg, Brooklyn. *Urban Studies*, 44, 1427-1440.

Curran, W., & Hague, E. (2008). The Pilsen Building Inventory Project. DePaul University, Department of Geography. Retrieved from <http://www.steans.depaul.edu/docs/PilsenInventory/Pilsen%20Report%20with%20graphs%2006.pdf>

- Currid, E. (2007). *The Warhol economy: How fashion, art, and music drive New York City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Currid, E. (2010). Symposium Introduction - Art and Economic Development: New Directions for the Growth of Cities and Regions, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29, 257-261.
- Currid, E., & Connelly, J. (2008). Patterns of knowledge: The geography of advanced services and the case of arts and culture. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98, 414-34.
- Cutler, I. (2006). *Chicago, metropolis of the mid-continent*. Carbondale : Southern Illinois University Press.
- Cuttler, I. (2006). *Chicago metropolis of the mid-continent* (4th ed). Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Danyluk, M., & Ley, D. (2007). Modalities of the new middle class: Ideology and behavior in the journey to work from gentrified neighborhoods in Canada. *Urban Studies*, 44(11), 2195-2210.
- Darling, E. (2005). The city in the country: Wilderness gentrification and the rent gap. *Environment and Planning A*, 37(6), 1015-1032.
- Davalos, K.M. (2004). Mexican Fine Arts Center Museum. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Davidson, M. (2008). Spoiled mixture: where does state-led 'positive' gentrification end? *Urban Studies*, 45, 2385-2406.
- Davidson, M., & Lees, L. (2005). New-build 'gentrification' and London's riverside renaissance, *Environment and Planning A*, 37, 1165 - 1190.
- Davis, J. L., & Merriman, D.F. (2007). One and a Half Decades of Apartment Loss and Condominium Growth: Changes in Chicago's Residential Building Stock. Loyola University Chicago Center for Urban Research and Learning. Retrieved on July 8, 2009 from http://ecommons.luc.edu/curl_pubs/13.
- Delamater, P.L., Messina, J.P., Grady, S.C., WinklerPrins, V., & Shortridge, A.M. (2013). Do More Hospital Beds Lead to Higher Hospitalization Rates? A Spatial Examination of Roemer's Law, *PLoS ONE*, 8(2): e54900.
- Demissie, F. (2006). Globalization and the Remaking of Chicago. In J.P. Koval, L. Bennett, & M. Bennett (Eds.), *The New Chicago: A social and cultural analysis*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Dillon, D. (2004). Art Institute of Chicago. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dills, T. (2004, August 13). Hey, Richy Flash-Flash; The Queen Mary in the 50s, CBGB in the 70s, Pilsen in the 90s--Richard Wilson was there and he's got the photos to prove it. *Chicago Reader*.

Donato, M. (1990, July 27). Here goes the neighborhood. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988), pp.7-10.

Douglas, A. (1974, June 1). A quiet revival in Wicker Park: Hard Work is reviving old mansion. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Dream Town. (2012). Welcome to Lakeview. Retrieved on July 4, 2012 from <http://www.dreamtown.com/neighborhoods/lakeview.html>.

Dreussi, A. S., & Leahy, P. (2000). Urban Development Action Grants Revisited. *Review of Policy Research*, 17 (2-3), 120–137.

Duany A. (2001). Three cheers for gentrification. *American Enterprise Magazine*, April/May, 36-39.

Dumke, M. (2012, April 26). Besieged. *Chicago Reader*, 15,17-18,21-22.

Dunham, W. (1969, November 23). Lake View residents insist on choice for renewal unit. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988), pg. N3.

Eeckhout, B. (2001). The “Dysneyfication” of Times Square: Back to the Future? In K.F. Gotham (Ed.), *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment (Research in Urban Sociology, Volume 6)*, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 379-428.

Eisinger, P. (2000). The Politics of Bread and Circuses: Building the City for the Visitor Class, *Urban Affairs Review*, 35(3), 316-333.

Feldstein, M. (1992). *The Economics of Art Museums*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Ferman, B., & Grimshaw, K. (1992). The Politics of Housing Policy. In K. Wong & T. Clark (Eds.), *Politics of policy innovation in metropolitan Chicago*. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Fine, A.S., & Lindberg, J. (2002). *Protecting America's historic neighborhoods: taming the teardown trend*. Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Foerstner, A. (1984, June 6). Birth of the neighborhoods: Farms, brickyard built Lake View, Lincoln Park. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Fosdick, S. (2004). Theater Buildings. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fox, E. (2004, November 12). Pilsen Art. Gallery district's 2nd Fridays are making a scene. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from www.chicagotribune.com.

- Fraser, J.C. (2004). Beyond gentrification: Mobilizing communities and claiming space, *Urban Geography*, 25(5), 437-457.
- Freeman L, (2005). Displacement or Succession? Residential Mobility in Gentrifying Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review*, 40, 463-491.
- Freeman, L., & Braconi, F. (2004). Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 70 (1), 39-52.
- Frieden, B. J., & Sagalyn, L. B. (1989). *Downtown, Inc.: How America Rebuilds Cities*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- Gale, D. E. (1984). *Neighborhood revitalization and the postindustrial city: A multinational perspective (Politics of planning series)*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Gapp, P. (1981, January 25). Time to shore up Chicago's sagging landmark system. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- Gaspar, M. (1977, April 24). Wicker Park sees land values soar in neighborhood turnaround. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- Gaspar, M. (1979, May 24). Wicker Park's residents turn blight to beauty. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- Gellman, E. (2004). Pilsen. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geroulis, D. (2003, May 11). Lower West Side is reinventing itself. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2003-05-11/business/0305110483_1_neighborhood-mexican-museum-heart.
- Gibson, T. A. (2003). *Securing the Spectacular City: The Politics of Revitalization and Homelessness in Downtown Seattle*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Giesecke, N. (1968, November 7). Diversity makes Lake View 'Sociologist's dream'. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- Giloth, R., & Betancur, J.J. (1988). Where Downtown Meets Neighborhood—Industrial Displacement in Chicago: 1978-1987. *Journal of the American Planning Association*. 54 (3), 279-290.
- Gladstone, D., & Préau, J. (2008). Gentrification in tourist cities: Evidence from New Orleans before and after Hurricane Katrina. *Housing Policy Debate*, 19(1), 137 - 175.
- Glass, R. (1964). Introduction: Aspects of Change. In Center for Urban Studies (Ed.), *London: Aspects of change*. London: MacKibbon and Kee.
- Goodchild, M.F., Anselin, L., & Deichmann, U. (1993). A framework for the areal interpolation

of socioeconomic data. *Environment & Planning A*, 25(3), 383-397.

Gordon, D. L. A. (1997). Financing urban waterfront redevelopment. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 63(2), 244-265.

Gotham, K.F. (2005). Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans's Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban Studies*. 42(7), 1099-1121.

Grammenos, D. (2006). Latino Chicago. In Greene, R.P., Bouman, M.J. & Grammenos, D. (Eds.). *Chicago's Geographies - Metropolis for the 21st Century*, Association of American Geographers, Washington D.C., 205-216.

Grams, D. (2005). Producing Local Color. A Study of Networks and Resource Mobilization in Three Local Chicago Communities. *GIA Reader*, 16(1). Retrieved from: http://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu/papers/workingpapers/grams_producing.pdf

Grams, D., & Warr, M. (2003). Leveraging Assets: How Small Budget Arts Activities Benefit Neighborhoods. Retrieved from http://www.luc.edu/curl/escd/discussions/links/gramssmall_budget_arts_activities.pdf

Greer, J.L., & Joseph, L.B. (1989). *Public and private investment in Chicago: a report of the Neighborhood Information System Project*. Chicago: Center for Urban Research and Policy Studies, University of Chicago.

Gregory, I. N. (2002). The accuracy of areal interpolation techniques: standardizing 19th and 20th century census data to allow long-term comparisons. *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems*, 26, 293-314.

Gregory, I. N., & Ell, P. S. (2005). Breaking the boundaries: Geographical approaches to integrating 200 years of the census. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Series a- Statistics in Society*, 168, 419-437.

Grier, G., & Grier E. (1980). Urban displacement: a reconnaissance. In S. Laska & D. Spain (Eds), *Back to the City: Issues in Neighborhood Renovation* (252-268), New York: Pergamon.

Grodach, C. (2010). Beyond Bilbao: Rethinking Flagship Cultural Development and Planning in Three California Cities. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29(3), 353-366.

Grodach, C. (2011). Art Spaces in Community and Economic Development: Connections to Neighborhoods, Artists, and the Cultural Economy, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 31(1), 74-85.

Grossman, R. (1983, July 23). Experts pinpoint 10 likely city neighborhoods ripe for renovation bargain rehab buys. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).

GVP Development. (2012). Information on 3020 North Kenmore Avenue. Retrieved on October 20, 2012 from: <http://www.gvpdevelopment.com/current-3020nkenmore.html>.

Hackworth, J. (2001). Inner-city real estate investment, gentrification, and economic recession in New York City. *Environment and Planning A*, 33, 863 – 880.

Hackworth, J. (2007). *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism* (1st ed.). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hackworth, J., & Smith, N. (2001). The changing state of gentrification. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 92 (4), 464-477.

Hammel, D. (1999). Gentrification and land rent: an historical view of the rent gap in Minneapolis. *Urban Geography*, 20(2), 16-145.

Hammel, D. J., & Wyly, E. K. (1996). A model for identifying gentrified areas with census data. *Urban Geography*, 17(3), 248-268.

Hammel, D., & Wyly, E. (1996). A model for identifying gentrified areas with census data. *Urban Geography*, 17, 248-268.

Hamnett, C. (1991). The blind men and the elephant: the explanation of gentrification. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 16 (2), 173-189.

Hannigan, J. (1998). *Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

Hartman, C. (1979). Comment on Neighborhood revitalization and displacement: A review of the evidence. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45(4), 488-491.

Harvey, D. (1989). From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism – The Transformation in Urban Governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler Series B – Human Geography*, 71(1), 3-17.

Harvey, D. (1990). *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Cambridge MA:Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Heidkamp, P. & Lucas, S. (2006). Finding the Gentrification Frontier Using Census Data: The Case of Portland , ME. *Urban Geography*, 27(2), 101-125.

Hirsch, A. R. (1998). *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago 1940-1960*. (Historical Studies of Urban America). Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

Huebner, J. (1994, August 25). The Panic in Wicker Park. What's behind the anti-gentrification backlash? *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/the-panic-in-wicker-park/Content?oid=885350>.

Huebner, J. (2001, November 1). A City Without Art. *Chicago Reader*. P.1.

Huebner, J. (2005, November 11). Historic Charm, Vibrant Culture, and Cheap-Ass Labor;

Urban sociologist Richard Lloyd says artists made Wicker Park what it is today--mostly by bartending. *Chicago Reader*. P. 20.

Illinois Arts Council. (2011). Annual Report 2011. Retrieved from <http://www.arts.illinois.gov>.

Immergluck, D., & Smith, G. (2001). *Who's Buying Where? A Series on Home Buying and Neighborhood Change in the Chicago Area in the 1990s*. Woodstock Institute.

Isaacs, D. (2001a, June 22). The Culture Club: A New Animal. High Culture Heads for the Multiplex/Jokes Worth Retelling. *Chicago Reader*, S-1.

Isaacs, D. (2001b, June 8). The Culture Club: Sucked In. *Chicago Reader*. S-1.

Isaacs, D. (2003, December 11). The Culture Club. East Pilsen's Makeover. *Chicago Reader*. P.1.

Isaacs, D. (2009, March 19). Left Behind by Around the Coyote. *Chicago Reader*. 9.

Isaacs, D. (2010, May 27). Pilsen: The Next Wave. *Chicago Reader*. 14.

Jaffee, B. (1996). Pride of place. In Warren, L. (Ed.), *Art in Chicago, 1945-1995* (53-68). New York: Thames and Hudson; Chicago, IL: Museum of Contemporary Art.

Jager, M. (1986). Class definition and the aesthetics of gentrification: Victoriana in Melbourne. In N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the City*. London: Allen Unwin.

Jeffers, G., & Osterman, R. (2003, December 31). Pilsen Uneasy With Development. Some residents fear gentrification. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2003-12-31/news/0312310219_1_public-meetings-zoning-gentrification

Johnson, A. T. (1993). *Minor League Baseball and Local Economic Development*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Johnson, D. (2002, April). The New face of Chicago's South Loop. *Urban Land*.

Johnson, L., & Man, Y. (Eds.). (2001). *Tax increment financing and economic development: uses, structures, and impacts*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Jones, C. (2011, September 8). Stage 773: Curtain is rising on an impressive new theater space on Belmont Avenue. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from: <http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/theater/ct-ott-0909-jones-loop-20110908,0,6199478.story>

Jones, C. (2008). Final Curtain for the Bailiwick Arts Center. *Chicago Tribune*. Accessed on September 9, 2012 from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/theater/theaterloop/>

Joravsky, B. (2001, August 17). Unsettled at the Settlement House: Hull House intends to sell its Lakeview building. Will its programs find a new home? *Chicago Reader*.

Joravsky, B. (2003a, February 14). How Could He? *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from website <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

Joravsky, B. (2003b, August 15). Home Invasion. Here come the property tax assessors again, and the news for longtime home owners on fixed incomes is not good. *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from website <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

Joravsky, B. (2003c, August 24). Help Wanted. Preservation Chicago-style: It's Who You Know. *Chicago Reader*, 5. Retrieved from website <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

Joravsky, B. (2004, October 29). Taxpayer's Surprise. The Cook County assessor's good news about property taxes doesn't mention the bad news. *Chicago Reader*, 6. Retrieved from website <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

Joravsky, B. (2005, December 9). The Works. Those Slippery TIFs; The Pilsen tax increment financing fund was created to promote industry. How does a 391-condo development qualify? *Chicago Reader*, 8. Retrieved from website <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

Joravsky, B. (2007, February 2). Bringing Zoning Into the 21st Century. *Chicago Reader*.

Judd, D. R. (Ed.).(2003). *The Infrastructure of Play: Building the Tourist City (Cities and Contemporary Society)*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.

Judd, D. R., & Fainstein, S. (Eds.).(1999). *The Tourist City*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Kachigan, S.K. (1986). *Statistical Analysis: An interdisciplinary intro to univariate and multivariate models*. New York: Radius Press.

Kamin, B., & Reardon, P. T. (2003, January 13). A Squandered heritage. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/features/chi-030113landmarks1,0,321845.story>.

Keating, A.D. (1994). The Suburban Racial Dilemma: Housing and Neighborhoods. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 45, 480 - 487.

Keating, A.D. (2008). *Chicago Neighborhoods and Suburbs: A Historical Guide*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Derived from: The Encyclopedia of Chicago. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, c2004.

Keating, L. (2000). Redeveloping public housing - Relearning urban renewal's immutable lessons. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 66 (4), 384-397.

Kleine, T. (2001, August 2). Reality Bites. The Battle For Wicker Park: MTV Versus Its Target Audience. *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/reality-bites/Content?oid=906087>

Koster, K. (2009). What's the Matter with Pilsen?: The Chicago Arts District falls on hard times as artists head south to Bridgeport. *Chicago Weekly*. Retrieved from <http://chicagoweekly.net/2009/11/24/whats-the-matter-with-pilsen/>.

Krance, M. (2004). The World's Art and Chicago's. In Madigan, C. (Ed.). (2004). *Global Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

LaLonde R., O'Muircheartaigh C., & Perkins, J. (2006). *Mapping Cultural Participation in Chicago*. Cultural Policy Center, University of Chicago. Funded by The Joyce Foundation. Retrieved from: <http://culturalpolicy.uchicago.edu/publications/MappingCPICweb.pdf>

Landmarks Preservation Council of Illinois. (2012). Chicago's Religious Structures: An Endangered Resource. Retrieved from: http://www.landmarks.org/reports_surveys.htm.

Lane, V. (1995). Best management practices in U.S. public housing. *Housing Policy Debate*, 6(4), 867-904.

Lang, R.E., & Sommer, R. R. (2000). Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949: The Past, Present, and Future of Federal Housing and Urban Policy. *Housing Policy Debate*, 11 (2).

Lauerman, C. (1992, October 18). Growing pains. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988), pp. 12-19.

Lauria, M., & Knopp, L. (1985). Toward an analysis of the role of gay communities in the urban renaissance, *Urban Geography*, 6, 152-169.

Lazare, L. (2000, July 20). So Long, Ivanhoe. Sweet Charity. Back to Basics. From theater to liquor store--what will the neighbors think? *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/>

League of Chicago Theaters. (2004). *Live Theater is Big Business in Chicago*. Retrieved on March 2008 from <http://www.chicagoplays.com/>.

Lees, L. (2003). Super-gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City. *Urban Studies*, 40, 2487-2509.

Lees, L., Slater, T., & Wyly, E. (2008). *Gentrification* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

LeGates, R., & Hartman, C. (1986). The anatomy of displacement in the US. In N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.), *Gentrification of the City* (178-200). London: Allen Unwin.

Ley D, (2003). Artists, Aestheticisation and the Field of Gentrification. *Urban Studies*, 40, 2527-2544.

Ley, D. (1987). The rent-gap revisited. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 77, 465-468.

Ley, D. (1992). Gentrification in Recession - Social-Change in 6 Canadian Inner Cities, 1981-1986. *Urban Geography*, 13(3), 230-256.

Ley, D. (1996). *The New Middle Class and the Remaking of the Central City*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ley, D., Tutchener, J., & Cunningham, G. (2002). Immigration, polarization, or gentrification? Accounting for changing house prices and dwelling values in gateway cities. *Urban Geography*, 23(8), 703-727.

Little, R. (2007, March). How Bucktown Got Boutiqued. *From zero boutiques to Marc by Marc Jacobs in three short decades. Chicago Magazine*. Retrieved from: <http://www.chicagomag.com/Chicago-Magazine/March-2007/Chic-Chicago/How-Bucktown-Got-Boutiqued/>

Lloyd, R. (2002). Neo-Bohemia: Art and Neighborhood Redevelopment in Chicago. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 24 (5).

Logan, J. R., & Molotch, H. L. (1987). *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

London, B., & Palen, J. J. (Eds.). (1984). *Gentrification, Displacement, and Neighborhood Revitalization (Suny Series in Urban Public Policy)*. Albany, New York: State University Of New York Press.

Lonngren, B. (1992, June 14). Artists Tired Of Being Pushed Out Of `In` Areas. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1992-06-14/business/9202220876_1_low-income-artists-space-live.

Lutton, L. (1998, April 23). Will Development Bury the Barrio? In Pilsen, the property is doing better than the people. *Chicago Reader*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/will-development-bury-the-barrio/Content?oid=896150>

Lydersen, K. (1999, February 5). To build or not to build. *Chicago Reader*.

Lydersen, K. (2003, November 7). Rising in the West; Artists in the "other" Pilsen throw themselves a party. *Chicago Reader*. 15.

Madigan, C. (Ed.). (2004). *Global Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mandelker, D. R., Payne, J. M., Salsich, P. W., & Stroud, N. (2005). *Planning and Control of Land Development: Cases and Materials*. Charlottesville: Lexisnexis / Matthew Bender.

Marciniak, E. (1977). *Reviving an inner city community: the drama of urban change in East Humboldt Park in Chicago*. Chicago: Dept. of Political Science, Loyola University.

Marcuse, P. (1978). Housing Policy and the myth of benevolent state, *Social policy*, 8 (4), 21-26.

Marcuse, P. (1986). Abandonment, Gentrification, and Displacement: The Linkages in New York City. In N. Smith & P. Williams (Eds.). *Gentrification of the city*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Margasak, P. (1999, December 21). Idful Gone For Good/The Diaspora. *Chicago Reader*.

- Markoff, J. & Shapiro, G. (1973). The Linkage of Data Describing Overlapping Geographical Units. *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 7, 34 - 46.
- Markusen, A. (1981). City spatial structure, women's household work, and national urban policy. In C. R. Stimpson, E. Divler, M. J. Nelson, & K. B. Yatrakis (Eds.), *Women and the American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010). Arts and Culture in Urban or Regional Planning: A Review and Research Agenda, *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29, 379-391.
- Markusen, A., & Schrock, G. (2006). The Artistic Dividend: Urban Artistic Specialization and Economic Development Implications. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 1661-1686.
- Mathews, V., (2010). Aestheticizing Space: Art, Gentrification and the City, *Geography Compass*, 4/6, 660-675.
- McCarron, J. (1988, December 29). North sides howling over assessment, hikes. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- McCracken, D. (1988, March 11). Renier charts new territory in Wicker Park. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- McGavin, P.Z. (2003, November 3). Music Box scripts sale. *Crain's Chicago Business*.
- McMahon, M. (1987, April 20). Benefits travel both ways in arts-business alliances. *Crain's Chicago Business*.
- Mills, C. A. (1988). Life on the Upslope - the Postmodern Landscape of Gentrification. *Environment and Planning D-Society and Space*, 6(2), 169-189.
- Mitchell, D. (1997). The annihilation of space by law: the roots and implications of anti-homeless laws in the United States. *Antipode*, 29, 303-325.
- Mitchell, D. (2003). *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (1st ed.). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Molotch, H. (1976). The City as a Growth Machine. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82, 309-332.
- Moore, K. S. (2009). Gentrification in Black Face? The Return of the Black Middle class to Urban Neighborhoods. *Urban Geography*, 30(2), 118-142.
- Moore, N. G. (2004a). Dance. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moore, N. G. (2004b). MoMing Dance and Arts Center. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Morris, S. (1985, November 16). Rehabbers flock to Victorian treasures in city's Wicker Park neighborhood. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).

Munger, J. (2004). Mapping the Chicago Dance Community: A Benchmark Study 2002. Conducted by Dance/USA; Funded by The Chicago Community Trust. Accessed at <http://beta.artsbizc.s466.sureserver.com/node/192>

Myers, L. (1984, June 6). Community of personalities. Lincoln Park/Lake View East run gamut. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. (2002). Pilsen Rent Study. Retrieved from: <http://www.uic.edu/cuppa/voorheesctr/Publications/Pilsen%20Rent%20Study/PilsenReport02.pdf>

Nathan, J. (1989, October 1). Wicker Park's constant factor: Change. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988), W1, W1J.

National Endowment for Humanities. (2011). *What is NEH?* Retrieved from www.neh.gov.

National Endowment for the Arts. (2011). *NEA at a Glance*. Retrieved from: www.nea.gov.

National Museum of Mexican Art. (2012). About. Retrieved from <http://www.nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org/content/about-nmma>.

Near Northwest Arts Council (NNAC) (n.d.) Information. Retrieved from website: <http://naac4art.org/>.

Nelson, K. P. (1988). *Gentrification and distressed cities: an assessment of trends in intrametropolitan migration*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.

Nelson, M.K. (2006). Interpreting producer service suburbanization: The public accounting industry in Chicago and Minneapolis-St. Paul. *Urban Geography*, 27(1), 45-71.

Newman, K., & Wyly, E. (2006). The right to stay put, revisited: Gentrification and resistance to displacement in New York City. *Urban Studies*, 43(10), 23-57.

Noll, R., and Zimbalist, A. (Eds.). (1997). *Sports, Jobs and Taxes*. Washington: Brookings Institution.

Nutcher, P. (2005, April). Art's Kind of Town, Chicago Is. *Art Business News*. Retrieved from <http://artbusinessnews.com/>.

Nyden, P., Edlynn, E., & Davis, J. (2006). *The differential impact of gentrification on communities in Chicago*, Center for Urban Research and Learning, Loyola University Chicago.

O'Brien, K. (2007, March 18). A flair for Mexican in the hot spots of a changing Pilsen. *Boston Globe*. Retrieved from website: http://www.boston.com/travel/articles/2007/03/18/a_flair_for_mexican_in_the_hot_spots_of_a_changing_pilsen/?page=full

Olivo, A. (2006a, March 23). Voters in Pilsen back limits on condo projects. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-03-23/news/0603230312_1_single-family-homes-neighborhood-referendum , p.1.

Olivo, A. (2006b, June 20). Pilsen homes vulnerable to condo blitz, study says. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-06-20/news/0606200265_1_single-family-homes-zoned-new-condominiums, 1. B.

Olivo, A. (2006c, March 17). Pilsen voters to get say on gentrification. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-03-17/news/0603170331_1_single-family-homes-affordable-housing-group-single-family-housing.

Openshaw, S., & Taylor, P. J. (1979). A million or so correlation coefficients: three experiments on the modifiable areal unit problem. In N. Wrigley (Ed.), *Statistical Applications in the Spatial Sciences* (127-144). London: Pion.

Orta, D. (2010). Erasing Mexican Chicago: The Role of Community Based Organizations and immigrant networks in the gentrifying neighborhood of Pilsen. (Master Thesis). ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing. (1480878). Loyola University Chicago.

Osterman, R. (2003). Businesses in Chicago's Pilsen Neighborhood Cater to More Upscale Clientele. *Chicago Tribune*. 1.

Osterman, R. (2003, June 3). Old Pilsen takes on new face. Hispanic neighborhood is attracting other ethnic groups, challenging some businesses. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2003-07-04/business/0307040239_1_businesses-neighborhood-bakeries

Pacyga, D., & E. Skerrett. (1986). *Chicago, City of Neighborhoods: Histories & Tours*. Chicago, Loyola University Press.

Pacyga, D.A., & Skerrett, E. (1986). *Chicago: A city of neighborhoods*. Chicago: Loyola University Press.

Padilla, F. (1987). *Puerto Rican Chicago*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Paral, R., & Norkewicz, M. (2003). *The Metro Chicago Immigration Fact Book*. Institute for Metropolitan Affairs. Roosevelt University. Retrieved from http://www.robparal.com/downloads/chicagoimmfactbook_2003_06.pdf

Pearce, B. (2002, June 6). Gentrification hasn't dulled the edge in Bucktown, Wicker Park. YoChicago. Retrieved from <http://yochicago.com/gentrification-hasnt-dulled-the-edge-in-bucktown-wicker-park/9683/>

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29 (4), 681-713.

Pelissero, J.P., & B. Henschen (1992). The new politics of sports policy innovation in Chicago. In K. Wong (Ed.), *Politics of Policy Innovation in Chicago (Research in Urban Policy)*, 4, 57-78. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Pelissero, J.P., Henschen, B., & Sidlow, E. (1992). The New Politics of Sports Franchise Policy Innovation in Chicago. In K.K. Wong (Ed.). *Research in Urban Policy*, 4, Politics of Policy Innovation in Metropolitan Chicago, JAI Press, 57-78.

Perez, G.M. (2002). The Other "Real World": Gentrification And The Social Construction Of Place In Chicago. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 31(1), pp. 37-68.

Perry, D. C. (2003). Urban Tourism and the Privatizing Discourses of Public Infrastructure. In D. Judd (Ed.), *The Infrastructure of Play. Building a Tourist City*. M.E. Sharpe. Armonk New York.

Peters, E.H. (1989, April 14). Affordable condos remain strong sellers everywhere. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988), pg. C9A.

Petersen, D. C. (2001). *Developing Sports, Convention, and Performing Arts Centers, Third Edition* (3rd ed.). Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute.

Plath, K. (1986, July 13). Wicker Park restored to its former elegance. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Podagrosi, A., & Vojnovic, I. (2008). Tearing down Freedmen's Town and African American displacement in Houston: The good, the bad, and the ugly of urban revival. *Urban Geography*, 29 (4), 371-401.

Podagrosi, A., Vojnovic, I., & Pigozzi, B. (2011). The diversity of gentrification in Houston's urban renaissance: from cleansing the urban poor to supergentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 43, 1910 – 1929.

Poe, J. (1992, December 16). Hispanic artists flourish in Pilsen Galleries. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1992-12-16/news/9204240504_1_hispanic-artists-artes-plasticas-young-artists.

Popkin, S.J., Cunningham, M.K., & Burt, M. (2005). Public Housing Transformation and the Hard-to-House. *Housing Policy Debate*, 16(1).

Powell, J., & Spencer, M. (2003). Giving them the old 'one-two': Gentrification and the K O of impoverished urban dwellers of color. *Howard Law Journal*, 46(3), 433-490.

Preservation Chicago. (2006). *"Chicago's 7" list of Most Endangered Buildings*. Retrieved from <http://www.preservationchicago.org/chicago-seven/2006>.

Preston, J. (2004). Arts Funding. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Puente, T. (1997, November 4). Pilsen Fears Upscale Push May Shove Many Out. Residents Fret That Gentrification May Be About To Hit Their Neighborhood. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1997-11-04/news/9711040475_1_tax-increment-financing-gentrification-neighborhood.

Qiu, F., Zhang, C., & Zhiu, Y. (2012). The Development of an Areal Interpolation ArcGIS Extension and a Comparative Study. *GIScience & Remote Sensing*, 49 (5), p. 644–663,

Redfern, P.A. (2003). What makes gentrification 'gentrification'? *Urban Studies*, 40 (12), 2351-2366.

Rhein, J. (2012, April 25). Ferris Chorale celebrates 40 years of service to living composers. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from <http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/music/ct-ent-0425-classical-ferris-20120425,0,451769.column>

Rich, M. J. (1992). UDAG, Economic Development, and the Death and Life of American Cities. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 6, 150.

Richardson, P (2002, June 2). Under Construction: Building boon, Pilsen attracting redevelopment, higher prices. *Crain's Chicago Business*.

Richardson, P. (2003, June 2). 25 Chicago Icons: Pilsen's Progress. *Crain's Chicago Business*. A63.

Rochlin, M. (1993, March 14). Edgy in Chicago: The Music World Discovers Wicker Park. *New York Times*.

Rochlin, M. (1994, March 13). Edgy in Chicago. *New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/03/13/style/edgy-in-chicago.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>.

Rose, B. (1982, June 30). A nighttime flower begins to bloom in Central Lake View. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Rose, D. (1984). Rethinking gentrification: beyond the uneven development of Marxist urban theory. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 1, 47-74.

Rose, D. (1989). A feminist perspective on employment restructuring and gentrification: the case of Montreal. In J. Wolch & M. Dear (Eds), *The Power of Geography*. Winchester, MA: Unwin Hyman.

Rosentraub, M. S. (1998). *Major League Losers: The Real Cost of Sports and Who's Paying for It*. New York: Basic Books.

Rothenberg, T. (1995). And she told two friends: lesbians creating urban social space. In D. Bell & G. Valentine (Eds), *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (165-191). London, New York: Routledge.

Rothschild, D. (1995, April 14). Homefront. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1995-04-14/entertainment/9504140004_1_wicker-park-music-video-music-scene

Rothschild, D. (1996, August 2). Wicker Park's Idful Music Seeking New Home. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1996-08-02/entertainment/9608020336_1_wicker-park-rock-club-location

Sanders, H. T. (2002). Convention myths and markets: A critical review of convention center feasibility studies. *Economic Development Quarterly*, 16 (3), 195-210.

Sassen, S. (2001). *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (2nd ed.). Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S. (2004). A Global City. In C. Madigan (Ed.), *Global Chicago*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sassen, S. (2006). *Cities in a world economy* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Pine Forge Press.

Savage, M., Warde, A., & Ward, K. (2003). *Urban sociology, capitalism and modernity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schaffer, R., & Smith, N. (1986). The gentrification of Harlem? *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 76, 347-365.

Schill, M.H. (1993). Distressed Public Housing: Where do we go from there? *University of Chicago Law Review*, 60 (2), 497-554.

Schill, M.H. (1997). Chicago's Mixed Income New Communities Strategy; The Future face of Public Housing? In W. Van Vliet (Ed.), *Affordable Housing and Urban Development in the United States* (135-157). Thousand Oaks, CA; Sage Publications.

Schuler, J. R., Kent, R. B., & Monroe, C. B. (1992). Neighborhood Gentrification – a Discriminant-Analysis of a Historic District in Cleveland, Ohio. *Urban Geography*, 13(1), 49-67.

Schuler, J. R., Kent, R. B., & Monroe, C. B. (1992). Neighborhood Gentrification – a Discriminant-Analysis of a Historic District in Cleveland, Ohio. *Urban Geography*, 13(1), 49-67.

Scott, A. J. (2000). *The Cultural Economy of Cities: Essays on the Geography of Image-Producing Industries* (1st ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications Ltd.

Scott, A. J., & Power, D. (2004). *Cultural Industries and the Production of Culture (Routledge Studies in International Business and the World Economy)* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

Seligman, A.I. (2004). Lake View. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Seligman, A.I. (2005). *Block by Block: Neighborhoods and Public Policy on Chicago's West Side*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Shaefer, A. (1971, February 11). Lake View group to seek zone ban of four plus ones. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

Shaw, D. V. (2001). The Post-Industrial City. In R. Paddison (Ed.), *Handbook of Urban Studies*. London, Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Short, J. R. (1989). Yuppies, Yuffies and the New Urban Order. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 14(2), 173-188.

Silverman, D. (1990, June 8). At home in Wicker Park. *Chicago Tribune*, sec. 8, p. 10.

Slater, T. (2006). The eviction of critical perspectives from gentrification research. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30 (4), 737-757.

Slater, T., Curran, W., & Lees, L. (2004). Gentrification research: new directions and critical scholarship. *Environment and Planning A*, 36(7), 1141-1150.

Smallwood, L. (1997, December 18). Latino Chicago Theatre Destroyed By Fire's Fury. *Chicago Tribune*. Accessed at: http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1997-12-18/news/9712180146_1_theater-chicago-fire-department-spontaneous-combustion.

Smith, D. (2005). Studentification: the gentrification factory. In R. Atkinson, & G. Bridge (Eds.), *Gentrification in a Global Context* (72-89). London: Routledge.

Smith, D. (2008). The Politics of Studentification and '(Un)balanced' Urban Populations: Lessons for Gentrification and Sustainable Communities? *Urban Studies*, 45, 2541.

Smith, D., & Holt, L. (2007), Studentification and 'apprentice' gentrifiers within Britain's provincial towns and cities: extending the meaning of gentrification. *Environment and Planning A*, 39, 142-161.

Smith, N. (1979). Toward a theory of gentrification: A back to the city movement by capital not people, *American Planning Association Journal*, 46, 538-548.

Smith, N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge.

Smith, N., & Williams. P. (Eds.). (1986). *Gentrification of the city*. Boston: Allen and Unwin.

Smith, Neil, (1993). John Wayne Meets Donald Trump: The Lower East Side as Wild West. In C. Philo & G. Kearns (Eds), *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (193-209). London: Pergamon.

Soja, E.W. (2000). *Postmetropolis: critical studies of cities and regions*. Oxford, Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Sosin, K. (2011, August 10). Hundreds to be displaced as Lakeview hotels close. *Windy City Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/ARTICLE.php?AID=33240>

Spirou, C. (2006). Urban beautification: the construction of a new identity in Chicago. In J.P. Koval, L Bennett, and M. Bennett (Eds.), *The New Chicago: A social and cultural analysis*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Spirou, C., & Bennett, L. (2003). *It's Hardly Sportin': Stadiums, Neighborhoods, and the New Chicago*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.

Spula, I. (2012, September 24). Historic Henry Rohkam House Eats Humble Pie, Sells for \$2.05M. *Curbed Chicago*. Retrieved from <http://chicago.curbed.com/archives/2012/09/24/1048-w-oakdale-ave.php>.

Spula, I. (2012, September 24). Historic Henry Rohkam House Eats Humble Pie, Sells for \$2.05M. *Curbed Chicago*. Retrieved from website: <http://chicago.curbed.com/archives/2012/09/24/1048-w-oakdale-ave.php>.

Squires, G. (2002). Urban sprawl and uneven development of metropolitan America. In G. Squires (Ed.), *Urban Sprawl: Causes Consequences and Policy Responses* (1-22). Washington D.C.: The Urban Institute.

Sterling Bay Company (2012). Project Information. Retrieved from <http://www.sterlingbay.net>.

Stern, M.J., & Seifert, S. C. (2010). Cultural Clusters: The Implications of Cultural Assets Agglomeration for Neighborhood Revitalization. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 29, 262-279.

Sternberg, C.A. (2012). *The dynamics of contingency: Neoliberal redevelopment governance in Chicago and Buenos Aires*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing. (3570694). University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Strom, E. (1999). Let's Put on a Show! Performing Arts and Urban Revitalization in Newark, New Jersey. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 21 (4).

Strom, E. (2002). Converting pork into porcelain: Cultural institutions and downtown development. *Urban Affairs Review*, 38, 3-21.

Suchar, Ch. S. (2006). The Physical Transformation of Metropolitan Chicago Chicago's Central Area. In J.P. Koval, L Bennett, and M. Bennett (Eds.), *The New Chicago: A social and cultural analysis*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Sulski, J. (1988, August 17). Welcome Mat Out for Business. Residential growth increases need for stores, services. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 - 1988).

- Sumka, H. J. (1979). Neighborhood Revitalization and Displacement – Review of the Evidence. *Journal of The American Planning Association*, 45(4), 480-487.
- Suttles, G. D. (1990). *The man-made city: the land-use confidence game in Chicago*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.
- Taylor, M. (1992). Can you home again? Black gentrification and the dilemma of difference. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 37, 121-138.
- Teaford, J.C. (1990). *The rough road to renaissance: urban revitalization in America, 1940-1985*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Teaford, J.C. (2000). Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath. *Housing Policy Debate*, 11(2), 443-65.
- Telli, A., & Pettengill, R. (2004). Acting, Ensemble. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Thomas, J.M. (2013). The role of ethnicity and race in supporting sustainable urban environments. I.Vojnovic (Ed.), *Urban sustainability: a global perspective*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press.
- Trulia (n.d.) Property listing for 1125 W. George St, Chicago, IL. Retrieved at: <http://www.trulia.com/>.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2010). Decennial Census. Retrieved from www.census.gov.
- Vahlberg, V. (Ed). (2009). Arts and Culture Report. Report Commissioned by the Chicago Community Trust. Accessed at <http://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/20583/708b081c-2f1e-46f1-8289-e5f641301e58>
- van Weesep, J. (1994). Gentrification as a research frontier. *Progress in Human Geography*, 18,1, 74-83.
- Vigdor, J. (2002). Does gentrification harm the poor? *Brookings-Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*, 133-173.
- Vilcins, S. (2001, October 19). Say Anything: Hull House holds a belated community meeting on the fate of programs at the doomed Jane Adams Center. *Chicago Reader*.
- Vilcins, S. (2002, March 8). Death Watch: Time is running out for a group determined to keep the Jane Addams Center from falling into the wrong hands. *Chicago Reader*.
- Vojnovic, I. (2000a). Municipal Consolidation, Regional Planning, and Fiscal Accountability: The Recent Experience in Two Maritime Provinces. *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 23, 49-72.
- Vojnovic, I. (2000b). Shaping Metropolitan Toronto: a study of linear infrastructure subsidies, 1954-66, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and design*, 27, 197-230.

- Vojnovic, I. (2003a). Governance in Houston: growth Theories and Urban Pressures. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 25 (5).
- Vojnovic, I. (2003b). Laissez-faire governance and the archetype laissez-faire city in the USA: Exploring Houston, *Geografiska Annaler*, 85 B.
- Vojnovic, I. (2006). Urban Infrastructures. In T. Bunting, & P. Fillion (Eds.), *Canadian Cities in Transition: Local through Global Perspective* (123-137) (3rd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Vojnovic, I. (2007). Government and Urban Management in the 20th Century: Politics, Contradictions and Weaknesses of the New Right. *GeoJournal*, 69(4), 271-300.
- Vojnovic, I. (2009). Urban Settlements: Suburbanization and the Future. In R. Schaetzl, J.T. Darden, & D. Brandt (Eds.), *Geography and Geology of Michigan* (487-507). Boston: Pearson Custom Publishers.
- Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement (2001). *Gentrification in West Town: Contested Ground*, Technical report. University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Wali, A., Severson R., & Longoni, M. (2002). The Informal Arts: Finding Cohesion, Capacity and Other Cultural Benefits in Unexpected Places. Chicago Center for Arts Policy, Columbia College Chicago. Retrieved from: http://archive.fieldmuseum.org/ccuc/ccuc_sites/Arts_Study/pdf/Informal_Arts_Full_Report.pdf
- Warde, A. (1991). Gentrification as Consumption - Issues of Class and Gender. *Environment and Planning D-Society and Space*, 9(2), 223-232.
- Warren, L. (2004). Art. In J. L. Reiff, J.R. Grossman, & A.D. Keating (Eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Publisher Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weber, H. (2005). The University of Chicago and Its Neighbors: A Case Study in Community Development. In D.C. Perry & W. Wiewel (Eds.), *The University as urban developer: case studies and analysis*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe; Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Weber, R., Doussard, M., Bhatta, S.B., & McGrath, D. (2006). Tearing the city down: understanding demolition activity in gentrifying neighborhoods. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 28 (1), 19-41.
- Wiezorek, J. (1984, June 6). Homes of the past give birth to homes of the future. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).
- Wilson D., Wouters, J., & Grammenos, D. (2004). Successful protect-community discourse: spatiality and politics in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood. *Environment and Planning A*, 36, 1173 – 1190.

Wilson, D., & Sternberg, C. (2012). Changing Realities: The new racialized redevelopment rhetoric in Chicago. *Urban Geography*, 33(7), 979–999.

Wilson, D. (2004). Making Historic Preservation in Chicago: Space, Discourse, and Neoliberalism. *Space and Polity*, 8(1), 43-59.

Wilson, D., & Grammenos, D. (2005). Gentrification, Political Struggle, And the Body: Chicago's Humboldt Park. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 23, 1, 295-312.

Wilson, J.Q. (Ed.). (1966). *Urban renewal: the record and the controversy*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Wilson, W.J. (1987). *The truly disadvantages: the inner city, the underclass, and public policy*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wood, D.L. (1984, June 6). All the North side's a stage. Determined actors raise curtain on own theaters. *Chicago Tribune*. ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Chicago Tribune (1849 -1988).

World Business Chicago. (2007). Data. Retrieved on February 3, 2008 from <http://www.worldbusinesschicago.com/>.

Wyly, E. K. (1998). Modeling the context and contingency of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 20(3), 303-326.

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (1998). Modeling the context and contingency of gentrification. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 20, 303-326.

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (1999). Islands of decay in seas of renewal: Housing policy and the resurgence of gentrification. *Housing Policy Debate*, 10 (4), 711–771.

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (2000). Capital's Metropolis: Chicago and the Transformation of American Housing Policy. *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 82 (4), 181-206.

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (2001). Gentrification, housing policy, and the new context of urban redevelopment. *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment* (211-276), 6. London: Elsevier Science.

Wyly, E., & Hammel, D. (2004). Gentrification, segregation, and discrimination in the American urban system. *Environmental and Planning A*, 36 (7), 1215–1241.

YoChicago (n.d.). A Guide to renting in Chicago's Lake View neighborhood. Retrieved from <http://yochicago.com/guides/a-guide-to-renting-in-chicagos-lake-view-neighborhood>.

Zehr, A., & Burros, J. (2002). A Survey of Chicago's Chicago Landscape. Retrieved on June 4, 2010 from <http://beta.artsbizc.s466.sureserver.com/node/192>.

Zielenbach, S. (2003). *The Economic Impacts of HOPE VI on Neighborhoods*. Washington, DC: Housing Research Foundation.

Zukin, S. (1989). *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change* (2nd ed.). New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.

Zukin, S. (1991). *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Minnesota Population Center. (2011). *National Historical Geographic Information System: Version 2.0*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.