

# FINDING THE FAULT LINES:

ESTIMATING THE BOUNDARIES IN URBAN  
SOCIAL-SPATIAL INEQUALITY



University of  
**BRISTOL**

The  
**Alan Turing**  
Institute

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 [@levijohnwolf](https://twitter.com/levijohnwolf)

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# **UNDERSTANDING PLACE & SPACE**

## **RETHINKING BOUNDARIES 3 WAYS**

THINKING ABOUT URBAN BOUNDARIES

# **UNDERSTANDING PLACE & SPACE**

an old tension in spatial science

## **RETHINKING BOUNDARIES 3 WAYS**

THINKING ABOUT URBAN BOUNDARIES

# Contested Boundaries: Explaining Where Ethnoracial Diversity Provokes Neighborhood Conflict<sup>1</sup>

Joscha Legewie

*Yale University*

Merlin Schaeffer

*University of Cologne*

“We propose the *contested boundaries hypothesis* ... conflict arises at poorly-defined boundaries that separate ethnic and racial groups ... because [boundaries] threaten homogeneous community life and foster ambiguities about group rank.”

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**Communities are neighborhoods,  
territories that delimit a social group.**

**When territory is unclear, communities  
come into conflict.**

# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

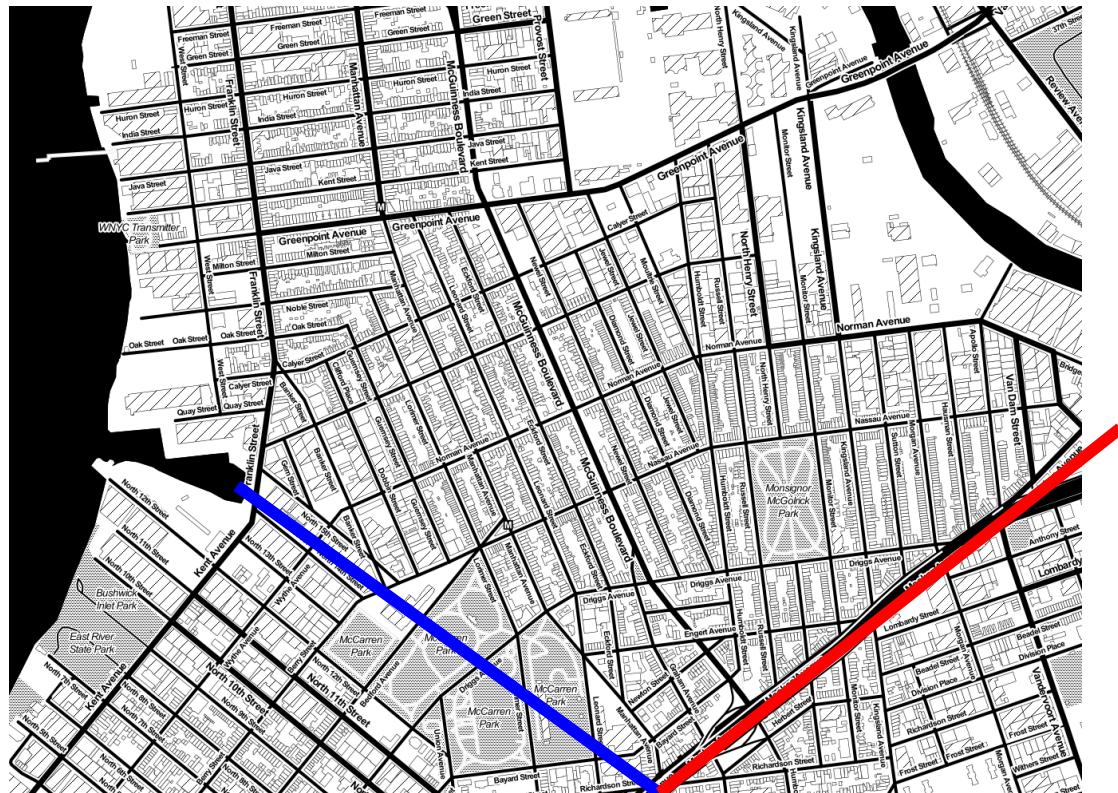
*“Williamsburg  
becomes Greenpoint  
at the Bushwick Inlet”*



# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

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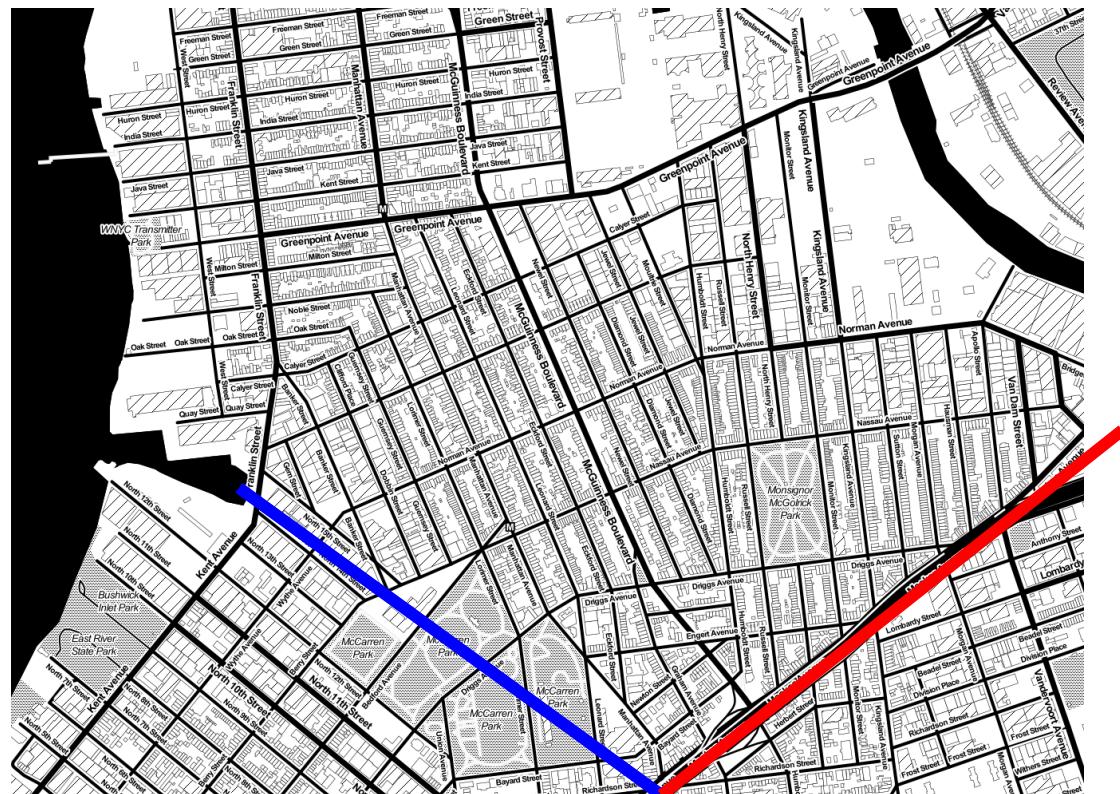
*“Greenpoint is  
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# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

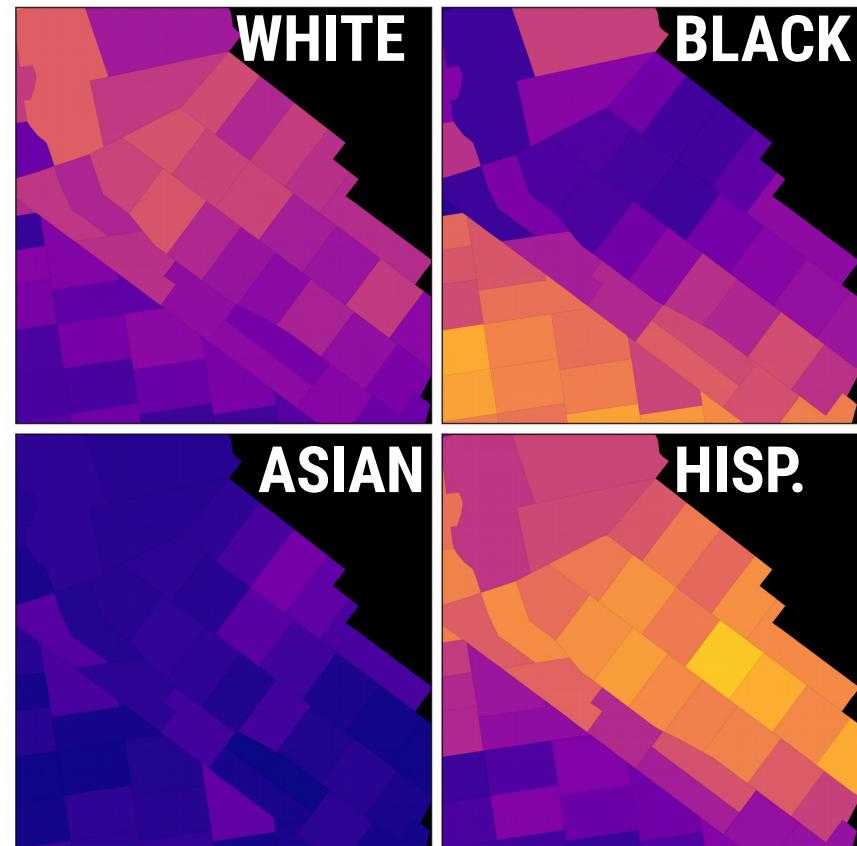
## BOUNDARIES AS NATURALISTIC DIVISIONS OF URBAN LIFE

*"Williamsburg becomes Greenpoint at the Bushwick Inlet"*  
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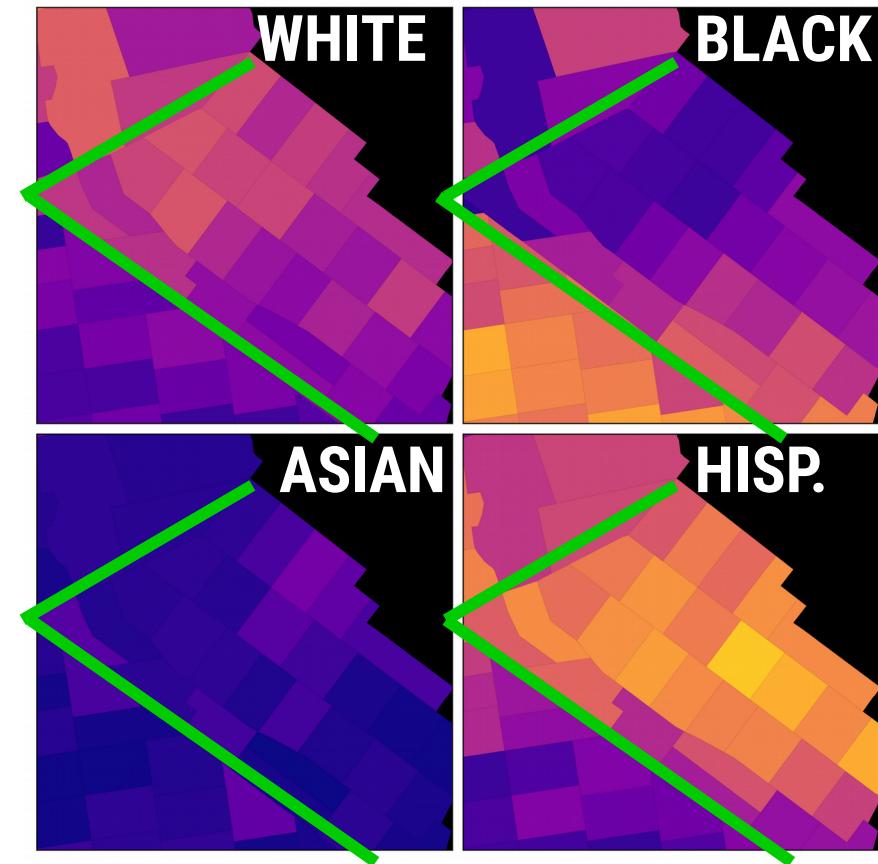
# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

*“Though an ethnic neighborhood, Bushwick’s population is, for a NYC neighborhood, relatively heterogeneous”*



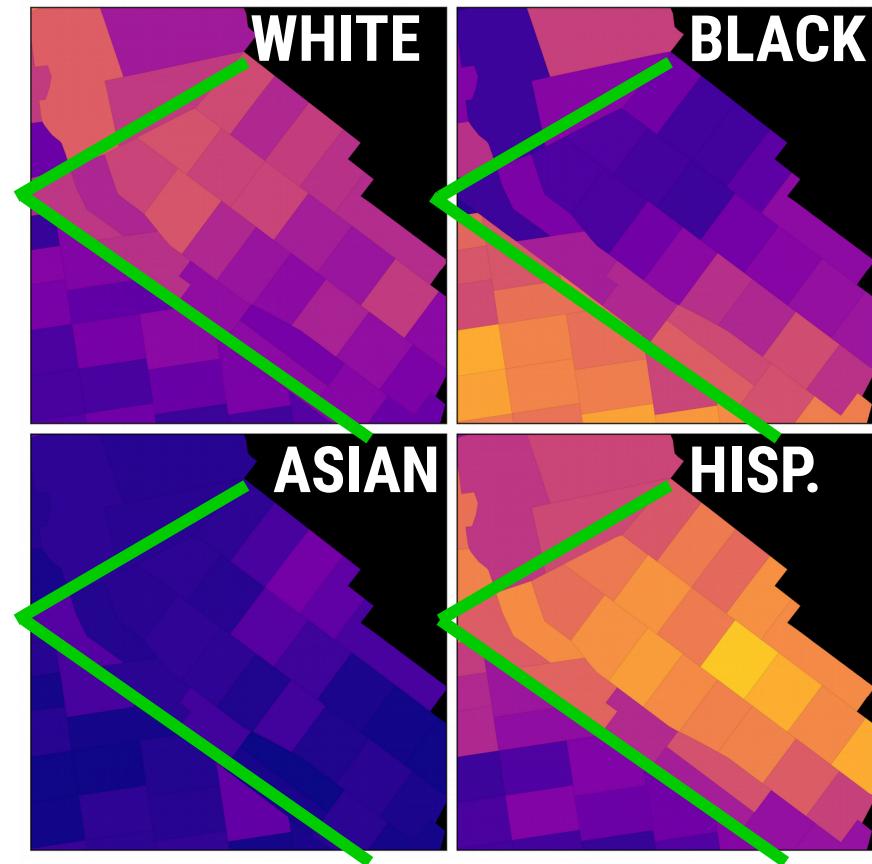
# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

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# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

**BOUNDARIES AS  
SOCIALLY  
CONSTRUCTED  
DIVISIONS  
OF URBAN LIFE**



# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

## BOUNDARIES AS SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED DIVISIONS OF URBAN LIFE

- “*Thoughts on the social neighborhood, Bushwick's population is, for a NYC neighborhood, relatively heterogeneous*”
- SCHELLING (1971) Selective segregation
  - SUTTLES (1972) Defended communities
  - GRIGSBY (1987) Real income is everything
  - GRANNIS (1998) Transit network barriers
  - GALSTER (2001) House Attribute “bundles”
  - HEDMAN et al. (2011) Choice geographies
  - HIPP & BOESSEN (2013) Access areas
  - LEGEWIE & SCHAEFFER (2016) Friction
  - KWAN (2018) Contingent social contexts
  - DEAN (2019) Social frontiers

# CONCEPTUALIZING BOUNDARIES

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# SPACE

# PLACE

# SPACE PLACE

Understanding the New Human Dynamics in  
Smart Spaces and Places: Toward a  
**Spatial** Framework

Shih-Lung Shaw<sup>\*</sup> and Daniel Sui<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup>*Department of Geography, University of Tennessee*

<sup>†</sup>*Department of Geosciences, University of Arkansas*

# SPACE

# PLACE

# SPACE

*The geographic system over which objects of study are related.*

- *Earth Surface*
- *Road Systems*
- *Social Networks*
- *Economic Relations*

# PLACE

*Geographic entities that are constructed by distinctiveness.*

- *Regions*
- *Neighborhoods*
- *Home/Staying locales*
- *Functional classifications*

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# PLACE

***Geographic entities that are constructed by distinctiveness.***

**Geographic information science II:**  
less space, more places in smart cities  
Stéphane Roche

## Digital neighborhoods

Luc Anselin<sup>a\*</sup> and Sarah Williams<sup>b</sup>

**Towards the statistical analysis and visualization of places**

*René Westerholt et al.*

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***Geographic entities that are constructed by distinctiveness.***

*How or why do they emerge?*

*What are their properties?*

*What are their purpose?*

*Do they have effects on things we care about?*

# SPACE

***The geographic system over which objects of study are related.***

*How do things interact?*

*Over what spatial systems?*

*In what manner?*

*What impact do entities have on others nearby?*

# PLACE

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Article

## Geosilhouettes: Geographical measures of cluster fit

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# FRONTIERS IN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION: UNDERSTANDING NEIGHBOURHOOD BOUNDARIES AND THEIR IMPACTS

NEMA DEAN\*, GUANPENG DONG\*\*, ANETA PIEKUT\*\*\*  
& GWILYM PRYCE \*\*\*

## Living on the Edge: Neighborhood Boundaries and the Spatial Dynamics of Violent Crime

Joscha Legewie<sup>1</sup>

## Inferring neighbourhood quality with property transaction records by using a locally adaptive spatial multi-level model

Guanpeng Dong<sup>a,\*</sup>, Levi Wolf<sup>b</sup>, Alekos Alexiou<sup>a</sup>, Dani Arribas-Bel<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Department of Geography and Planning, University of Liverpool, Room 713, Roxby Building, Chatham St, Liverpool L69 7ZT, UK

<sup>b</sup> School of Geographical Sciences, University of Bristol, University Road, Clifton, Bristol BS8 1SS, UK

# Wombling:

Using a known “outcome” variate,  
(price, crimes), examine anomalous  
but adjacent predictions in a  
multilevel GLM.

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**Find boundaries between  
“neighborhoods” using  
large predicted differences in prices  
in an adaptive spatial multilevel model**

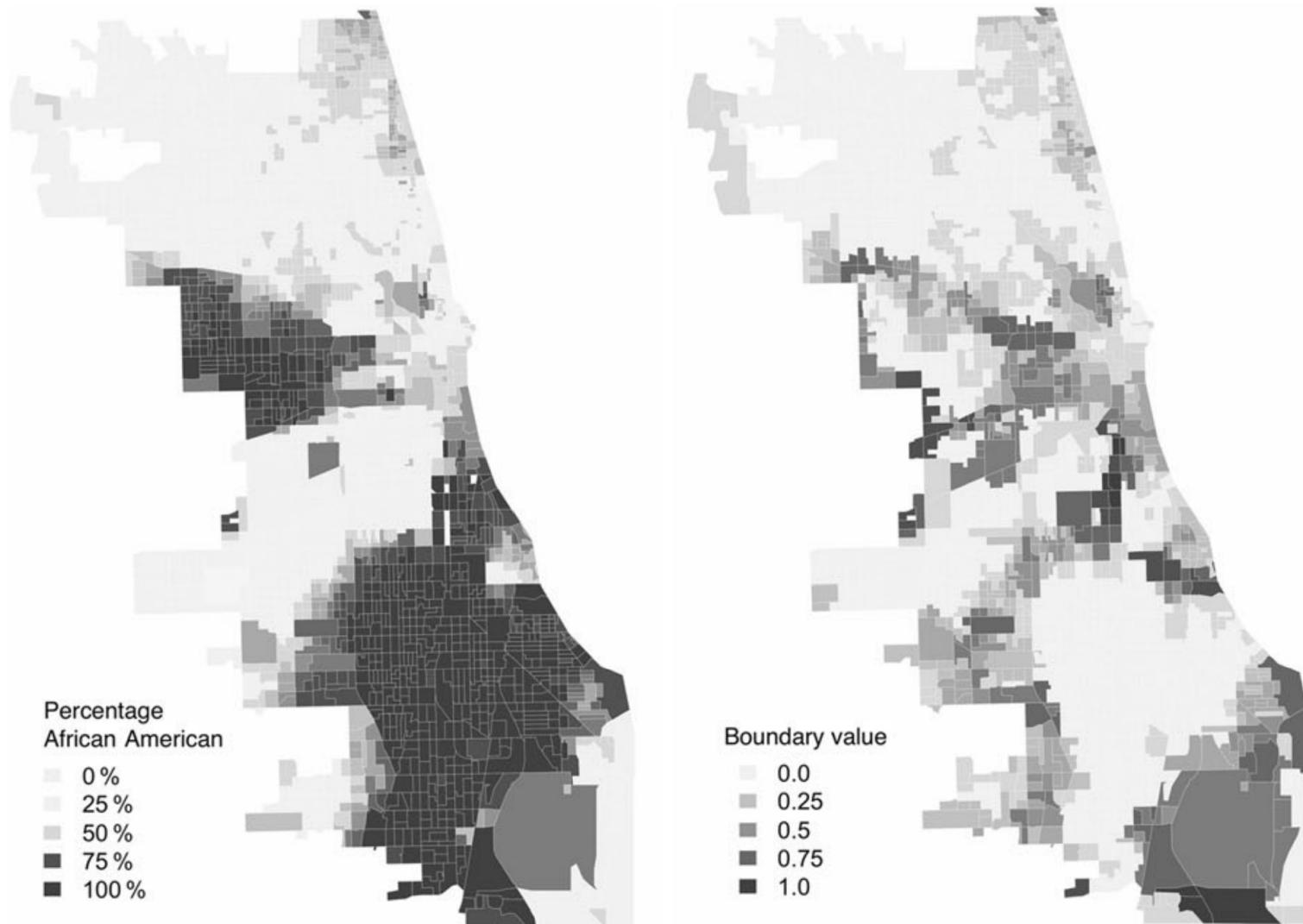
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Using a known “outcome” variate, (price, crimes), examine anomalous but adjacent predictions in a multilevel GLM.

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**Fig. 1** Areal wombling for the proportion of African American residents

# RETHINKING BOUNDARIES:

Contingent on conflict outcome.

**Conflict over what, between whom?**

**Robustness from place endogeneity!**

Symmetric and reversible.

Only magnitude, no sign.

Assume existence of place & place-scale.



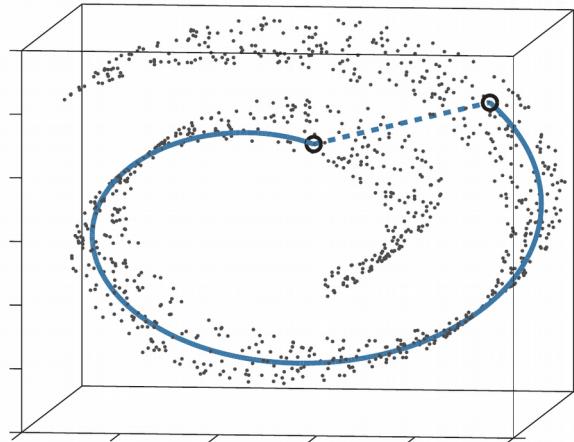
**Fig. 1** Areal wombling for the proportion of African American residents

# ROBUSTNESS FROM ENDOGENEITY

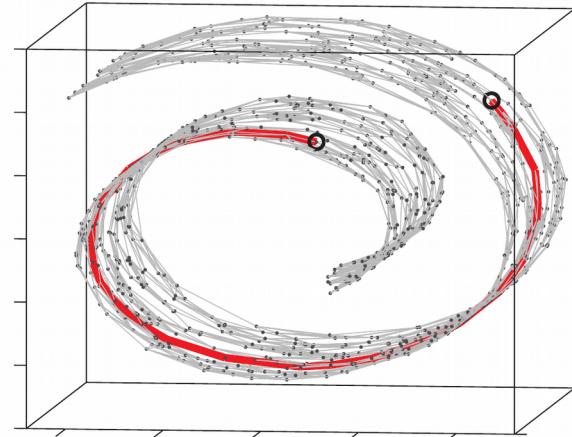
- Places are distinctive:
  - Geographically coherent
  - More similar than dissimilar
- Balancing nearness & similarity, we can see the “joint” social-spatial structure of the city.

# ROBUSTNESS FROM ENDOGENEITY

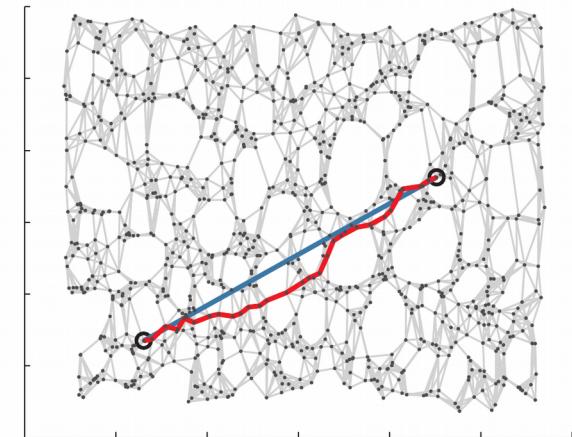
A



B



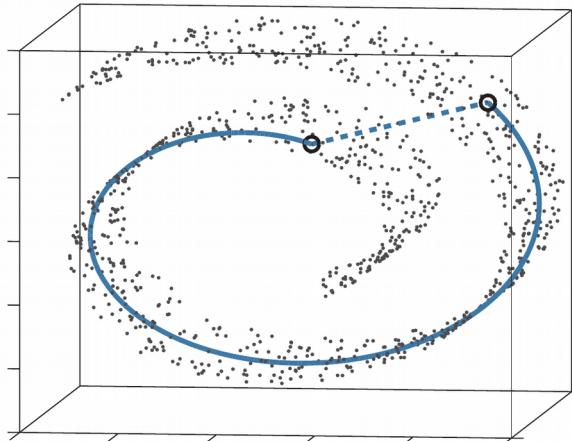
C



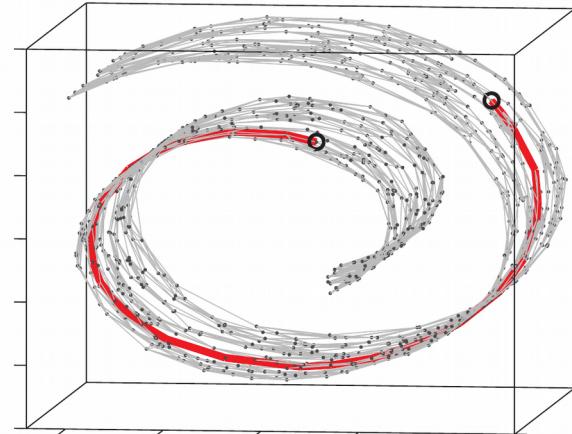
**“Manifold Learning”**

# ROBUSTNESS FROM ENDOGENEITY

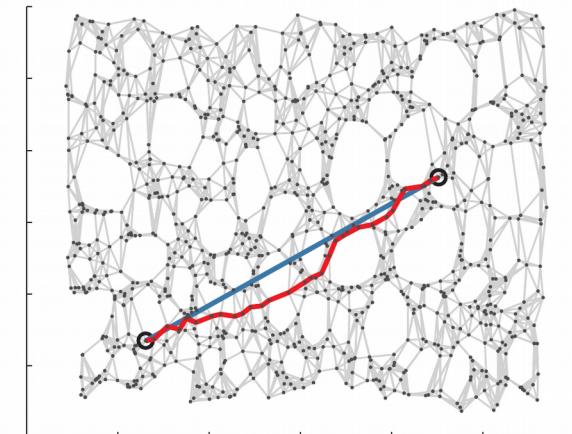
A



B



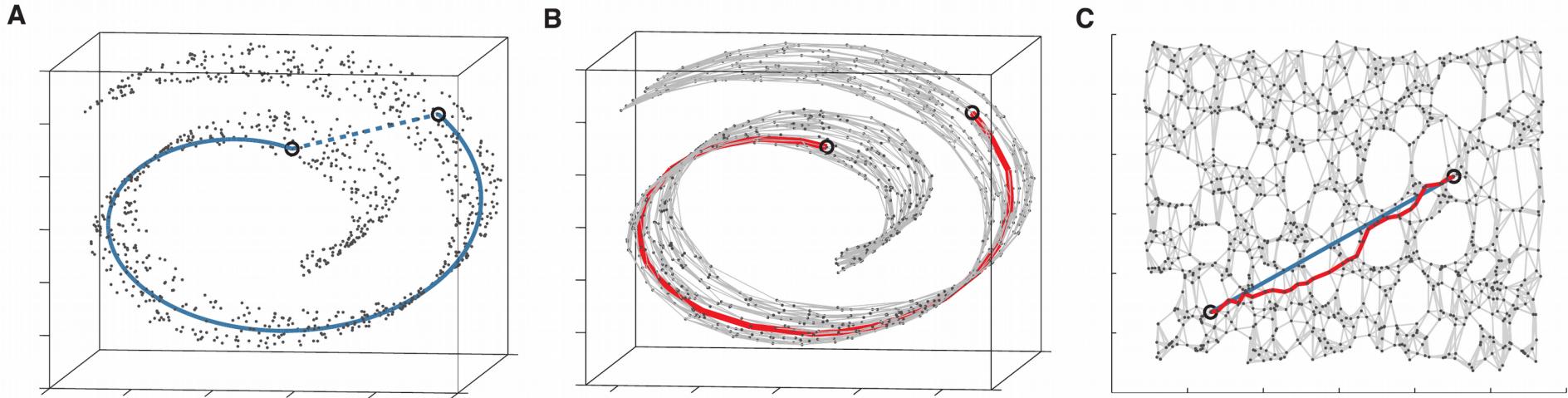
C



**“Manifold Learning”**

(non-linear PCA)

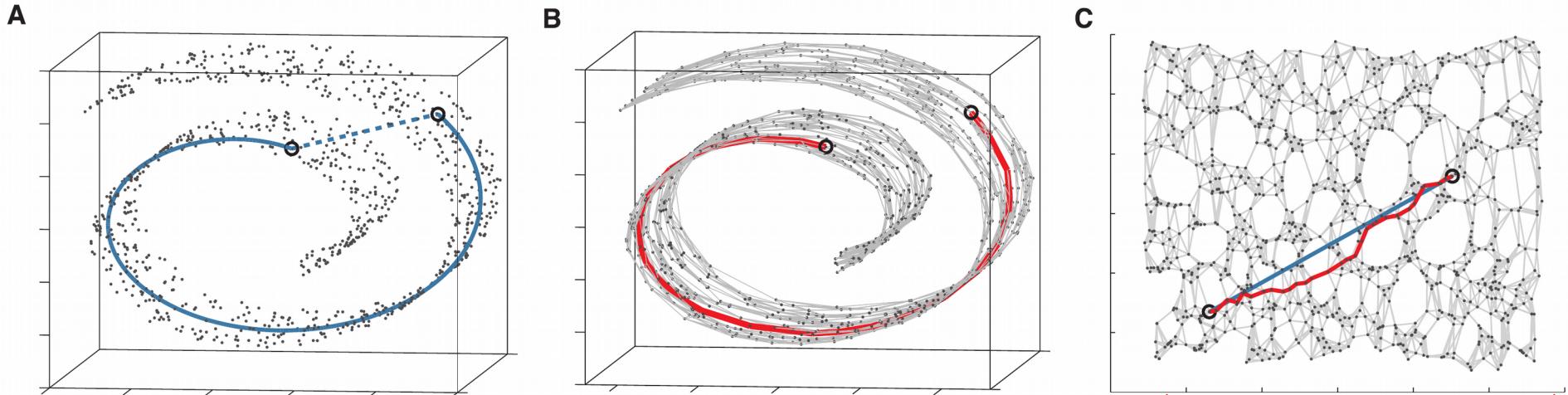
# ROBUSTNESS FROM ENDOGENEITY



## **“Manifold Learning”**

How can we understand boundaries in  
high-dimensional, highly-nonlinear data?

# ROBUSTNESS FROM ENDOGENEITY



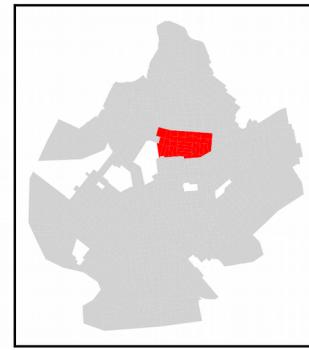
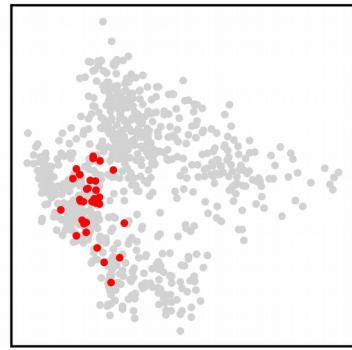
**ISOMAP: (Tenenbaum, 2000)**

Make “short hops” between  
similar points.  
Add up the length of short hops!

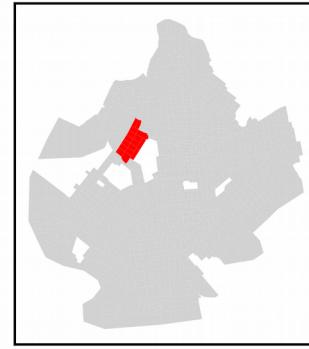
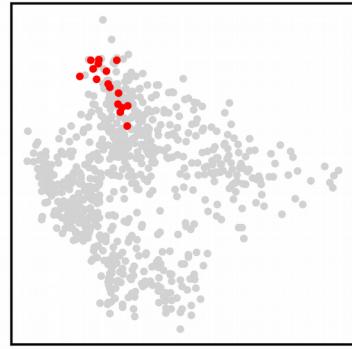
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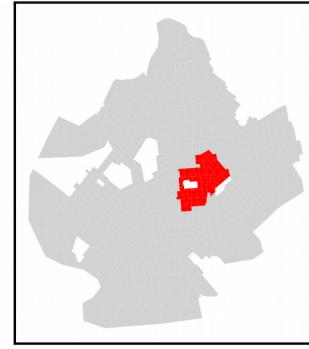
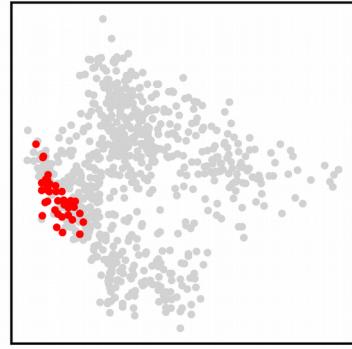
ASPATIAL



CROWN HEIGHTS



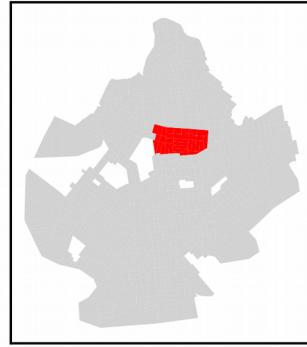
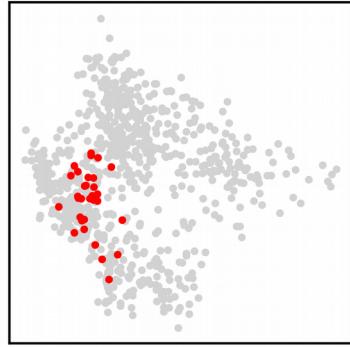
PARK SLOPE



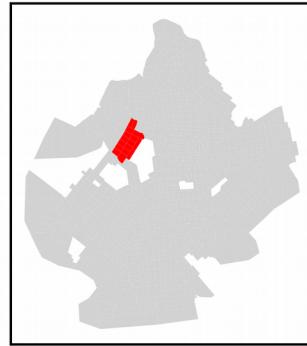
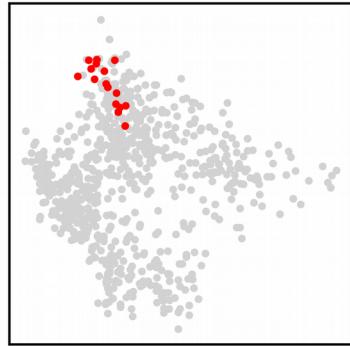
EAST FLATBUSH

ASPATIAL

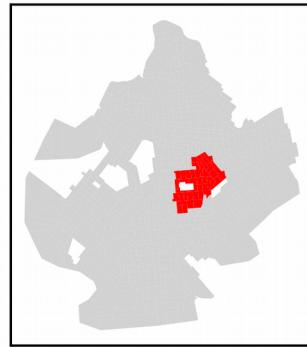
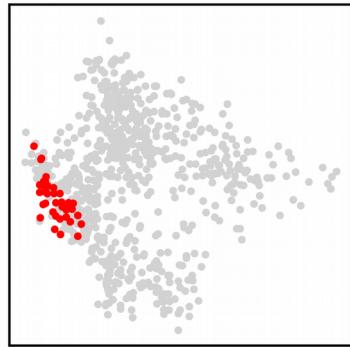
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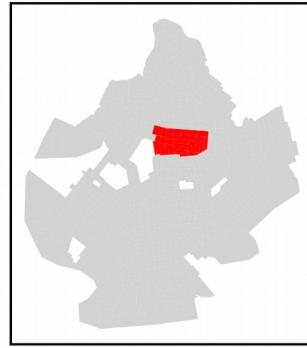
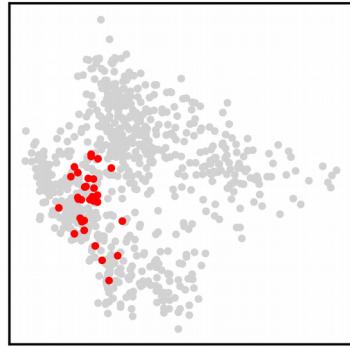
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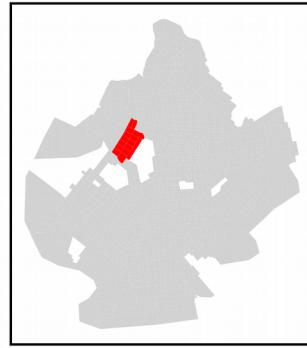
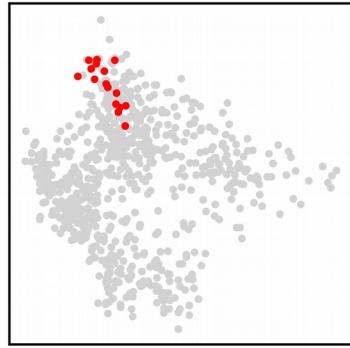
LITTLE  
INFO IS  
LOST  
8 → 2

ASPATIAL

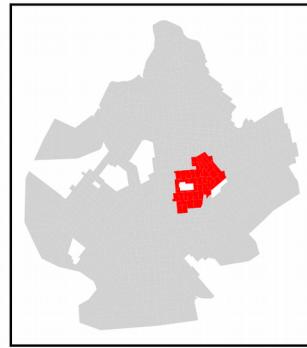
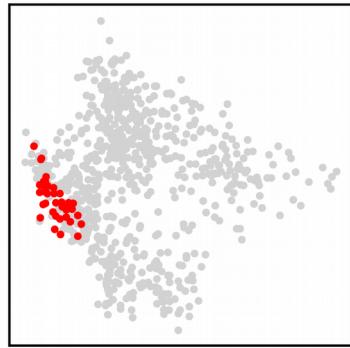
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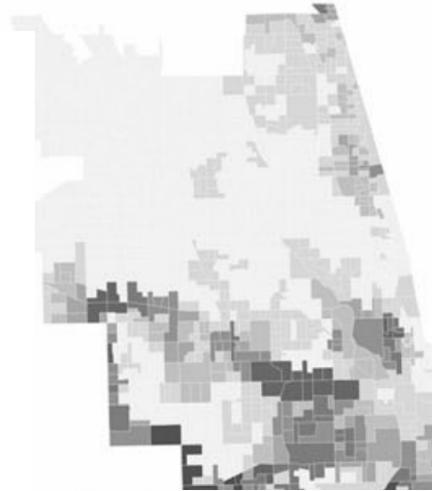
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 SAGE

**Fig. 1** Areal wombling for the proportion of African American residents

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**Say that observation  $i$  in graph  $G$  is assigned to place  $c$  and not another place,  $k$ .**

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**Dissimilarity between member  $i$  & place  $c$**

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**Dissimilarity between  $i$  &  $k$  that is most similar to  $i$ , but that doesn't contain  $i$**

# SILHOUETTE STATISTIC

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$$\frac{\min \{ \bar{d}_k(i) \} - \bar{d}_c(i)}{\bar{d}_k(i)}$$

**Positive when  $i$  is more like  $c$  than  $k$**

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**Normalizing factor to ensure  $|s(i)| \leq 1$**

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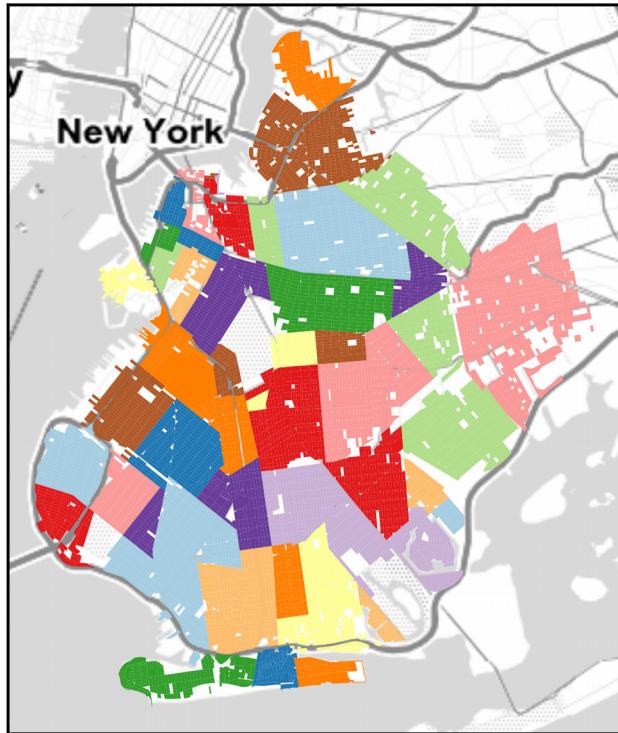
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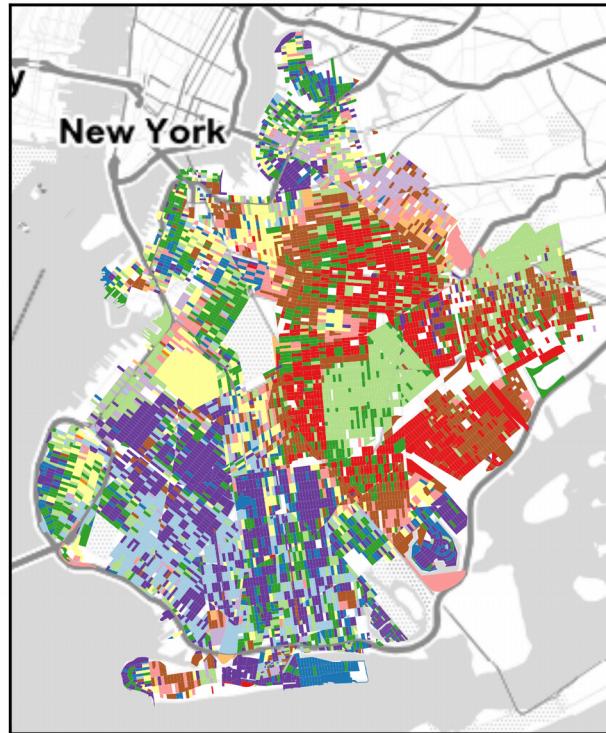
Gap between  $i$ 's current place and 2<sup>nd</sup> best alternative.

# SILHOUETTE SCORES

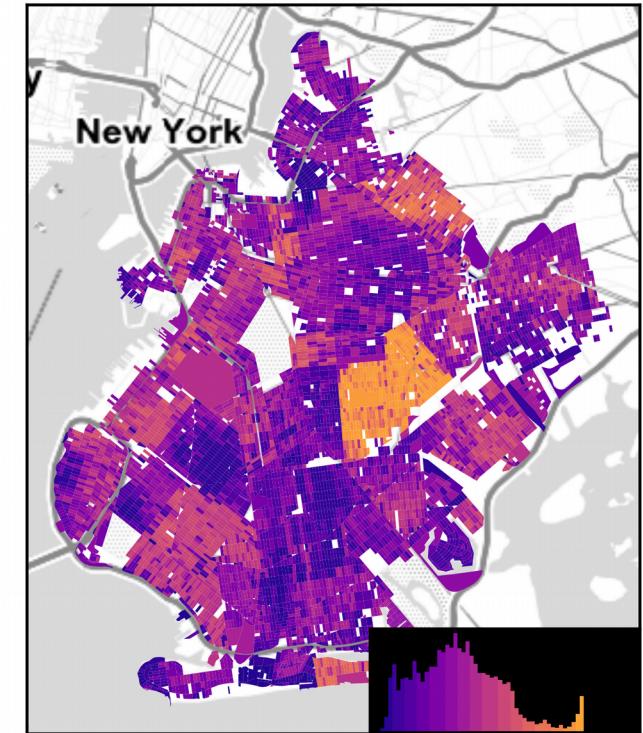
NEIGHBORHOODS



NEXT BEST FITS



SILHOUETTES

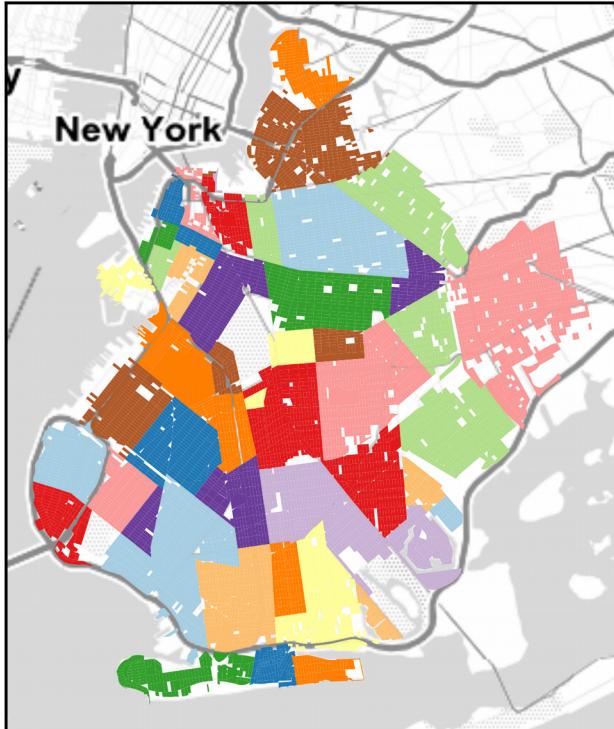


ROUSSEEUW (1987)

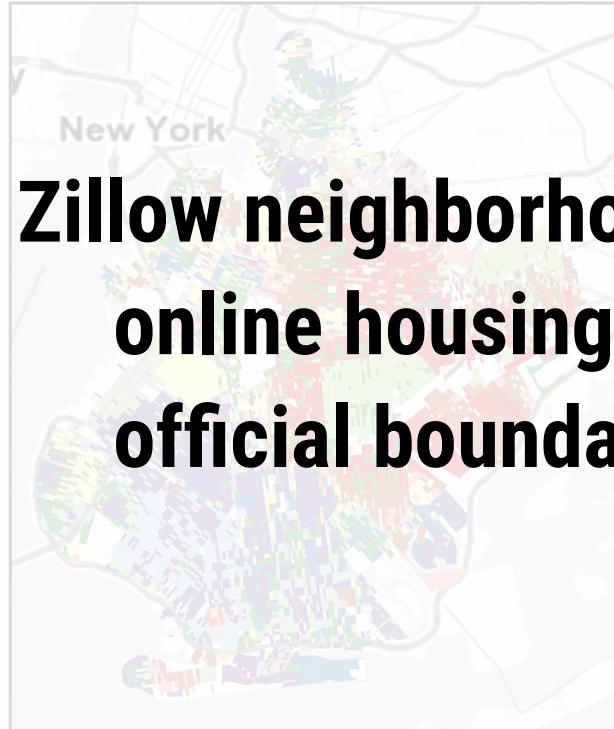
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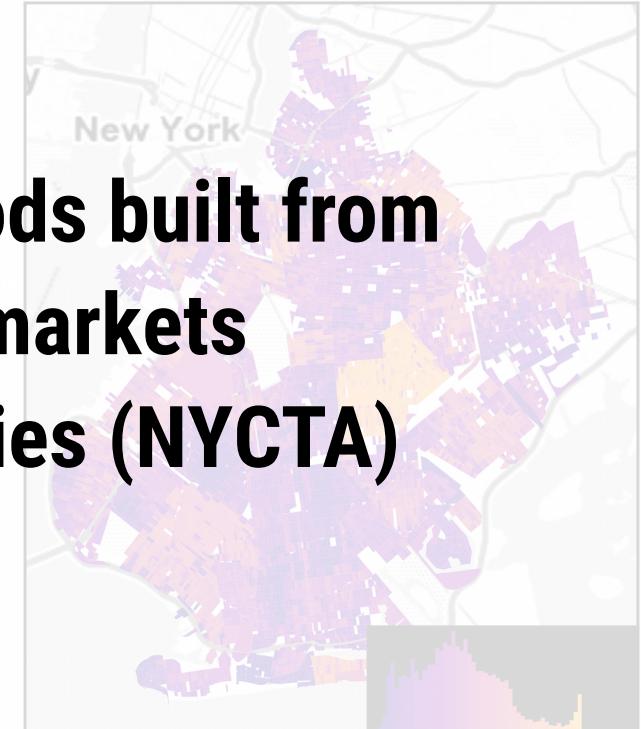
NEIGHBORHOODS



NEXT BEST FITS



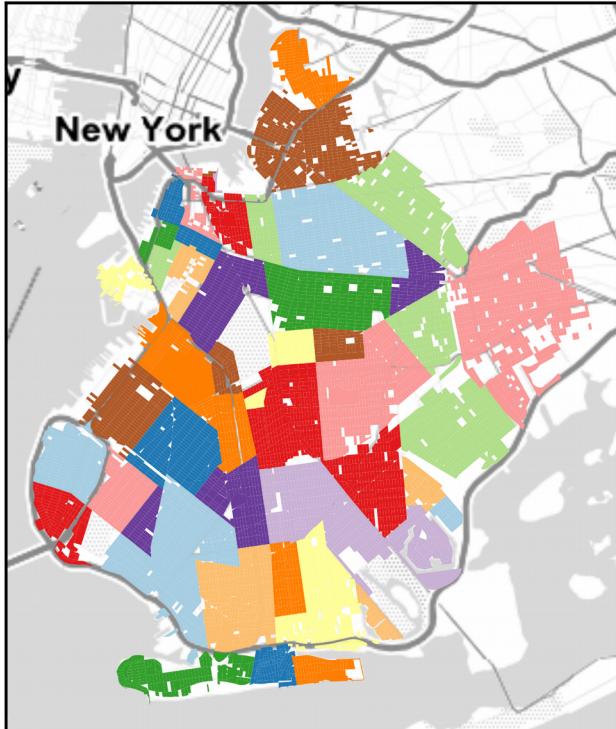
SILHOUETTES



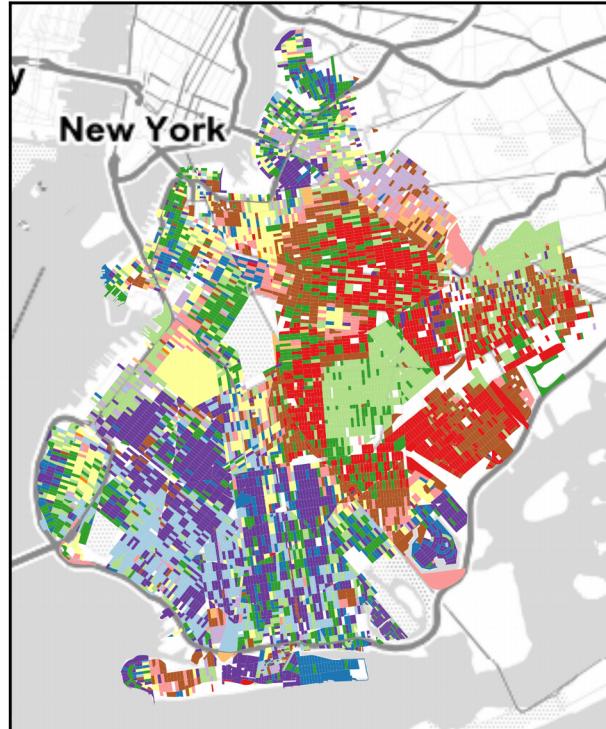
**Zillow neighborhoods built from  
online housing markets  
official boundaries (NYCTA)**

# SILHOUETTE SCORES

NEIGHBORHOODS



NEXT BEST FITS

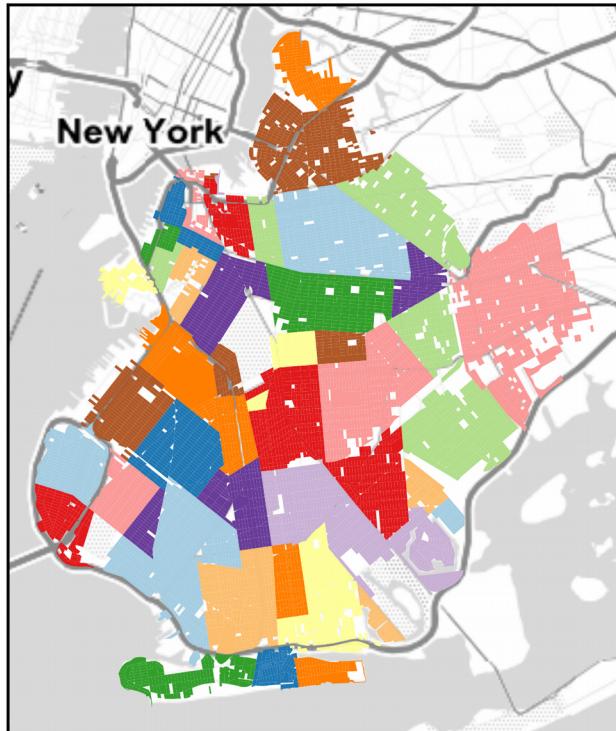


SILHOUETTES

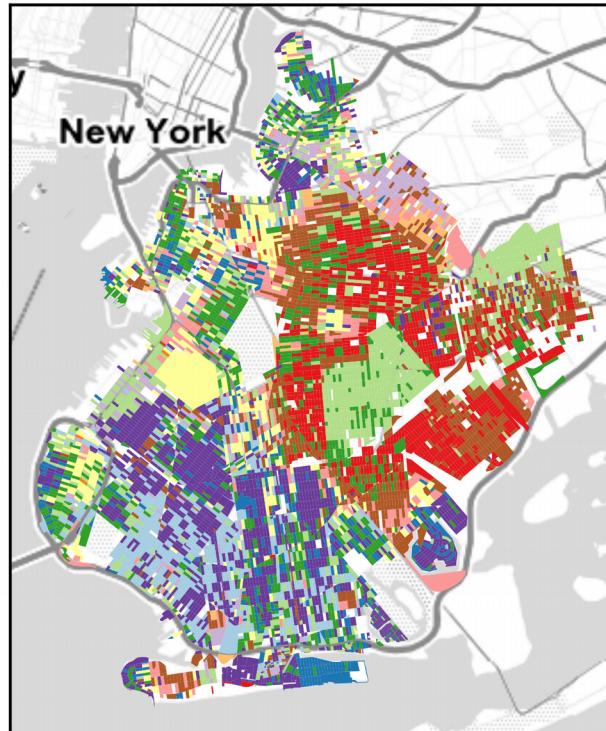
**Most similar  
alternative  
neighborhood for  
each census  
block**

# SILHOUETTE SCORES

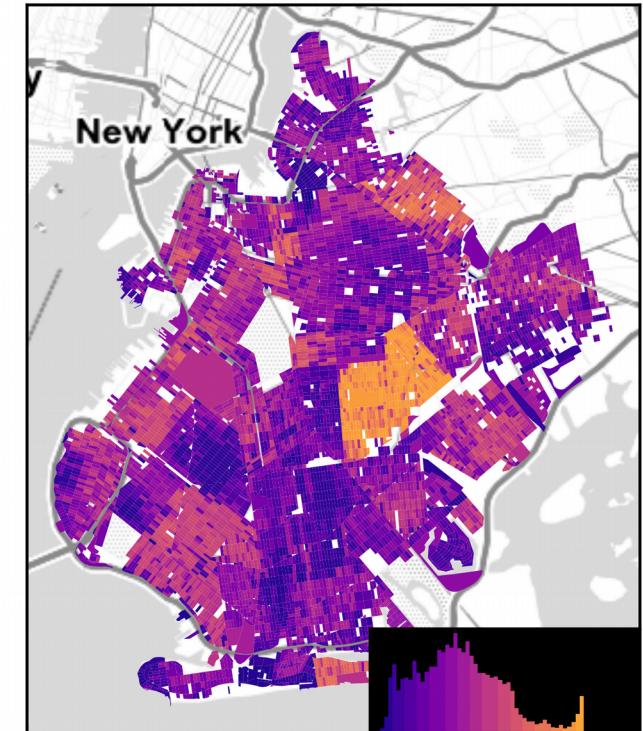
NEIGHBORHOODS



NEXT BEST FITS



SILHOUETTES



ROUSSEEUW (1987)

doi: 10/dd9c

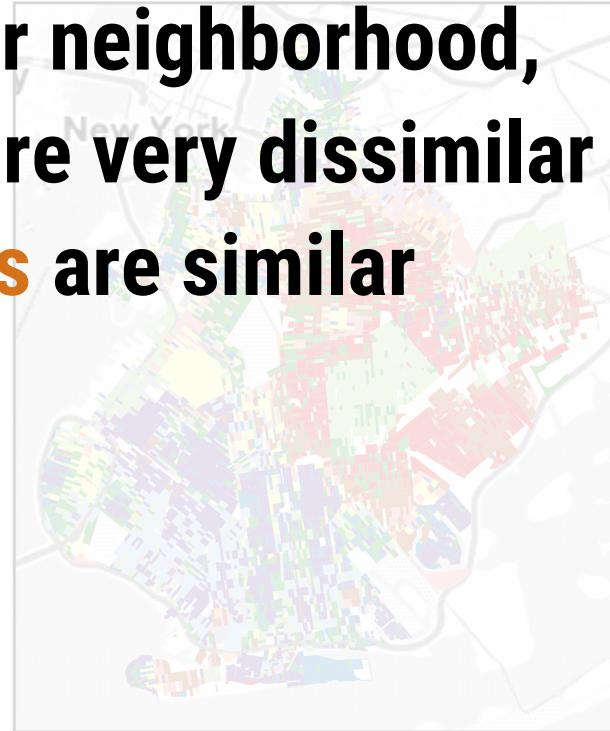
# SILHOUETTE SCORES

NEIGHBORHOODS

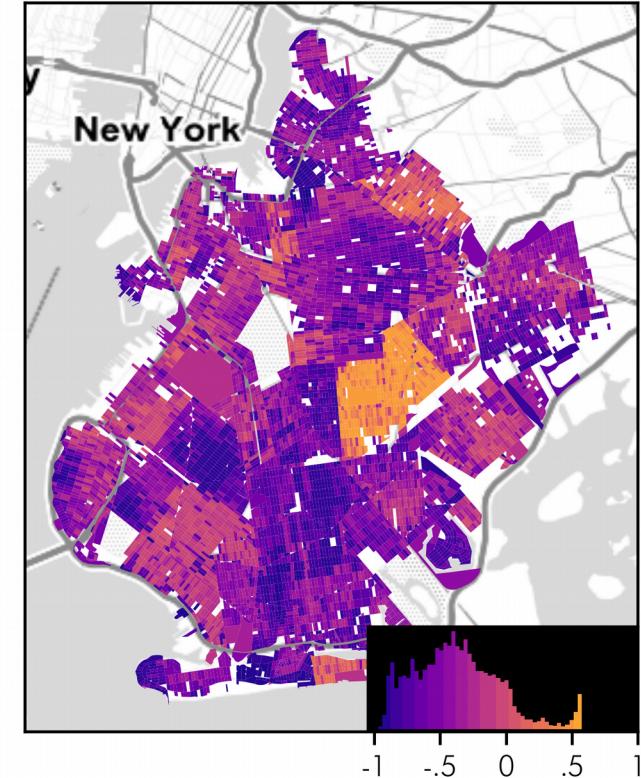
**With respect to their neighborhood,  
blue observations are very dissimilar  
orange observations are similar**



NEXT BEST FITS



SILHOUETTES



# SILHOUETTE STATISTIC

**Say that observation  $i$  in graph  $G$  is assigned to place  $c$  and not another place,  $k$ .**

$$s(i) = \frac{\min \{ \bar{d}_k(i) \} - \bar{d}_c(i)}{\max \{ \min \{ \bar{d}_k(i) \}, \bar{d}_c(i) \}}$$

Gap between  $i$ 's current place and 2<sup>nd</sup> best alternative.

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

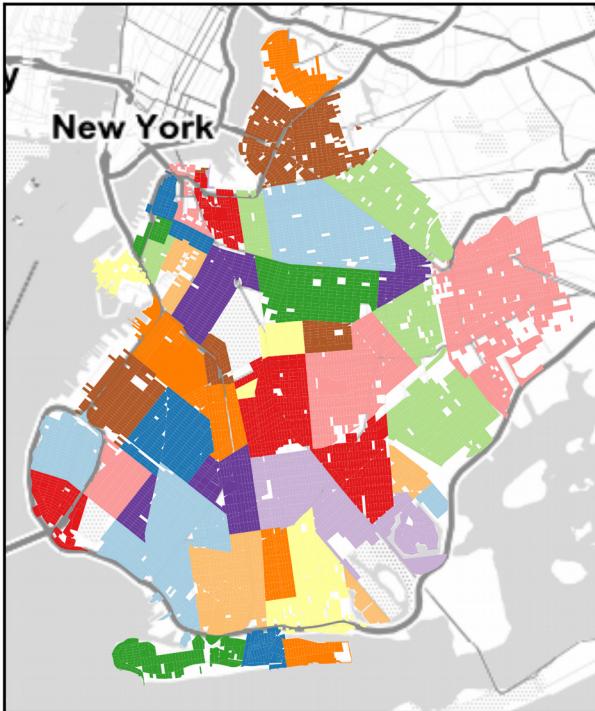
Say that observation  $i$  in graph  $G$  is assigned to place  $c$  and not another place,  $k$ , that is nearby  $i$ .

$$s(i) = \frac{\min \{ \bar{d}_k(i) \} - \bar{d}_c(i)}{\max \{ \min \{ \bar{d}_k(i) \}, \bar{d}_c(i) \}}$$

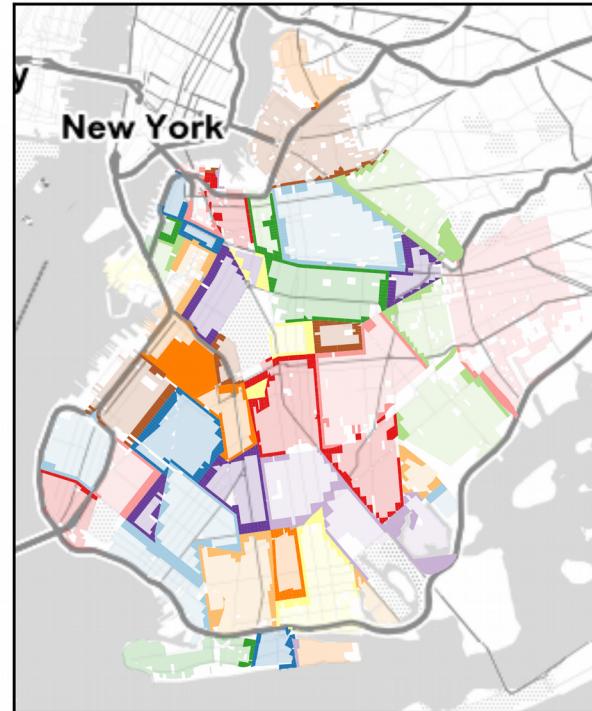
Gap between  $i$ 's current place and 2<sup>nd</sup> best local alternative.

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

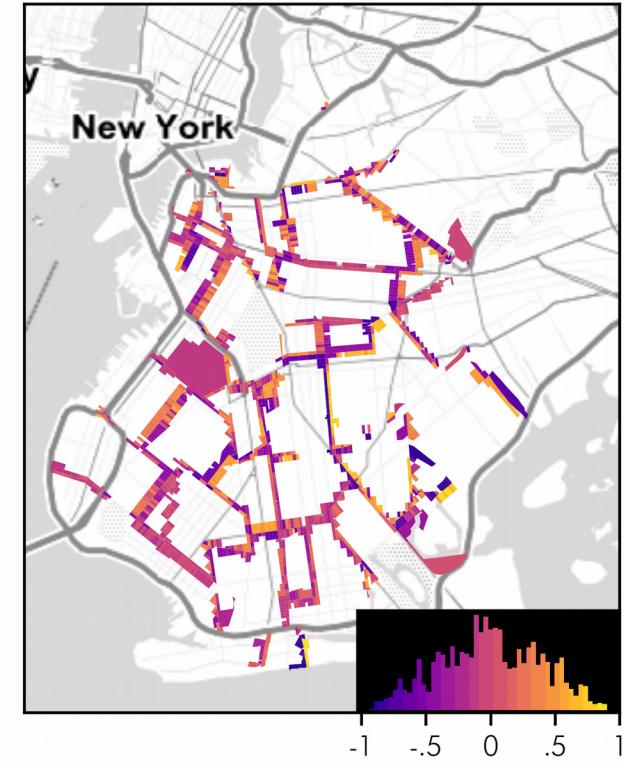
NEIGHBORHOODS



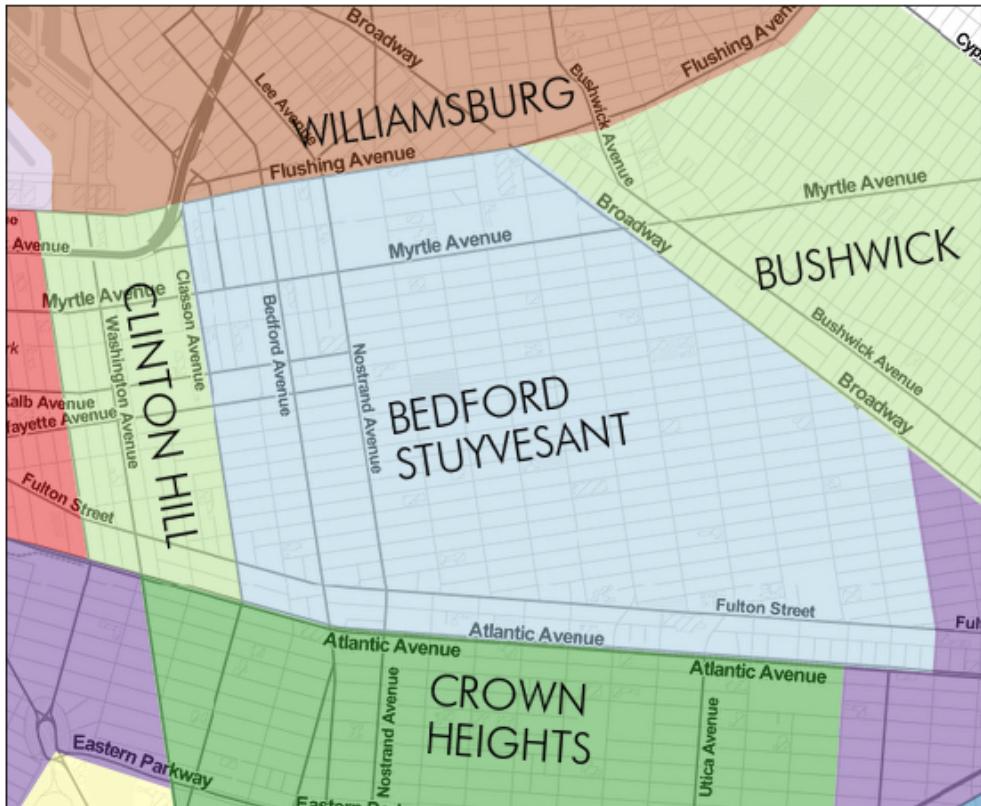
BOUNDARY BLOCKS



BOUNDARY SILHOUETTES



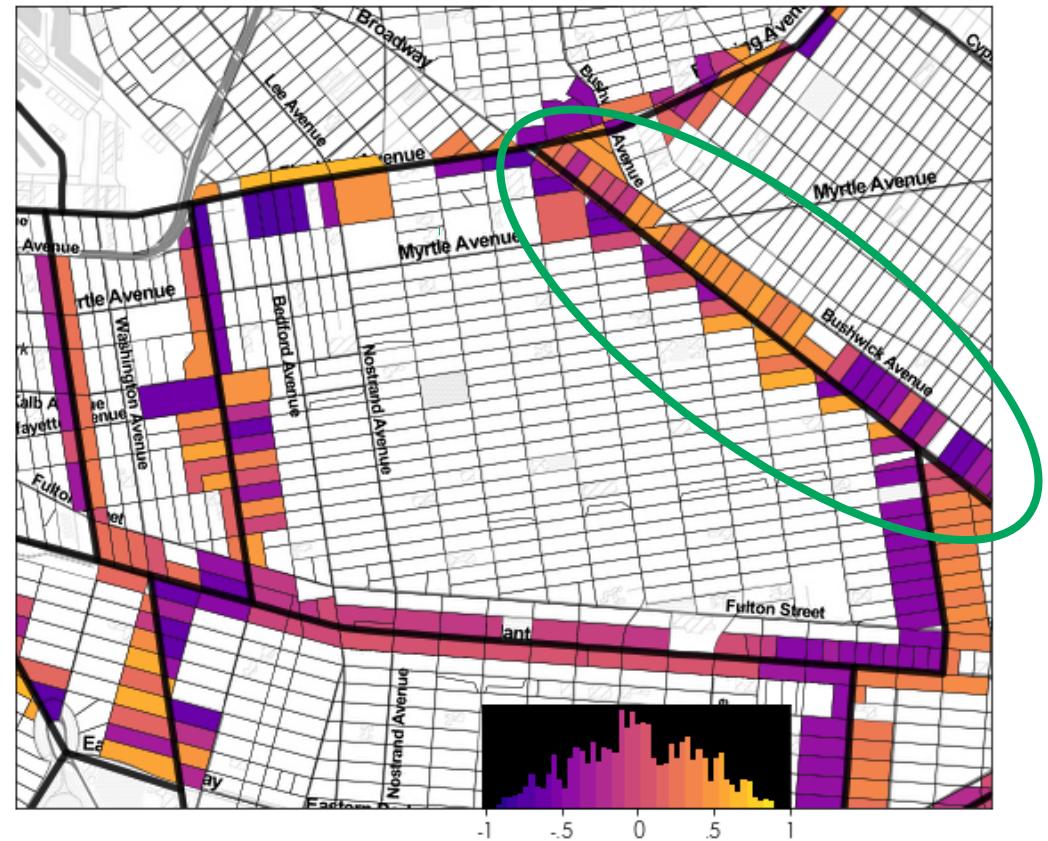
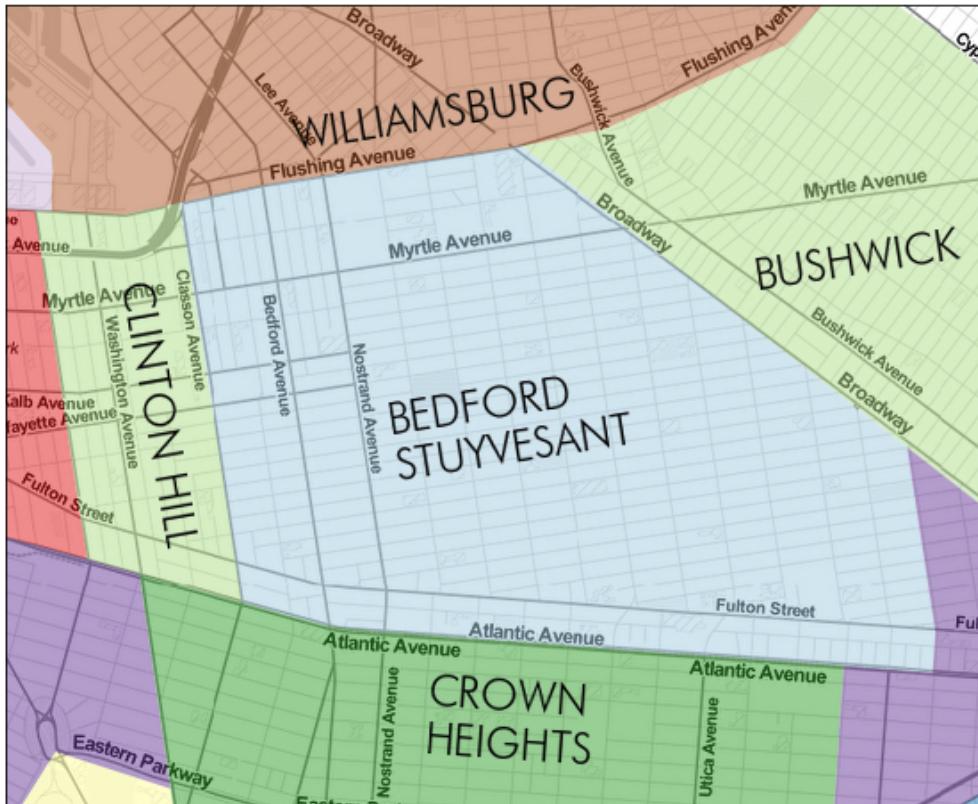
# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE



WOLF, KNAAP, & REY (2019)

doi: 10/dd9c

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE



WOLF, KNAAP, & REY (2019)

doi: 10/dd9c

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

neighbor focal	Williamsburg	Bushwick	Bedford Stuyvesant	Clinton Hill	Crown Heights
Williamsburg	0	-0.096	0.693	0.516	-
Bushwick	0.288	0	0.482	-	-
Bedford Stuyvesant	-0.478	0.198	0.000	0.006	-0.059
Clinton Hill	-0.355	-	0.358	0	0.296
Crown Heights	-	-	0.077	-0.427	0

On the BedStuy side, blocks remain slightly more similar to blocks in BedStuy.

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

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Williamsburg	0	-0.096	0.693	0.516	-
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On the BedStuy side, blocks remain slightly more similar to blocks in BedStuy.

On the Bushwick side, blocks are more similar to blocks in Bushwick.

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

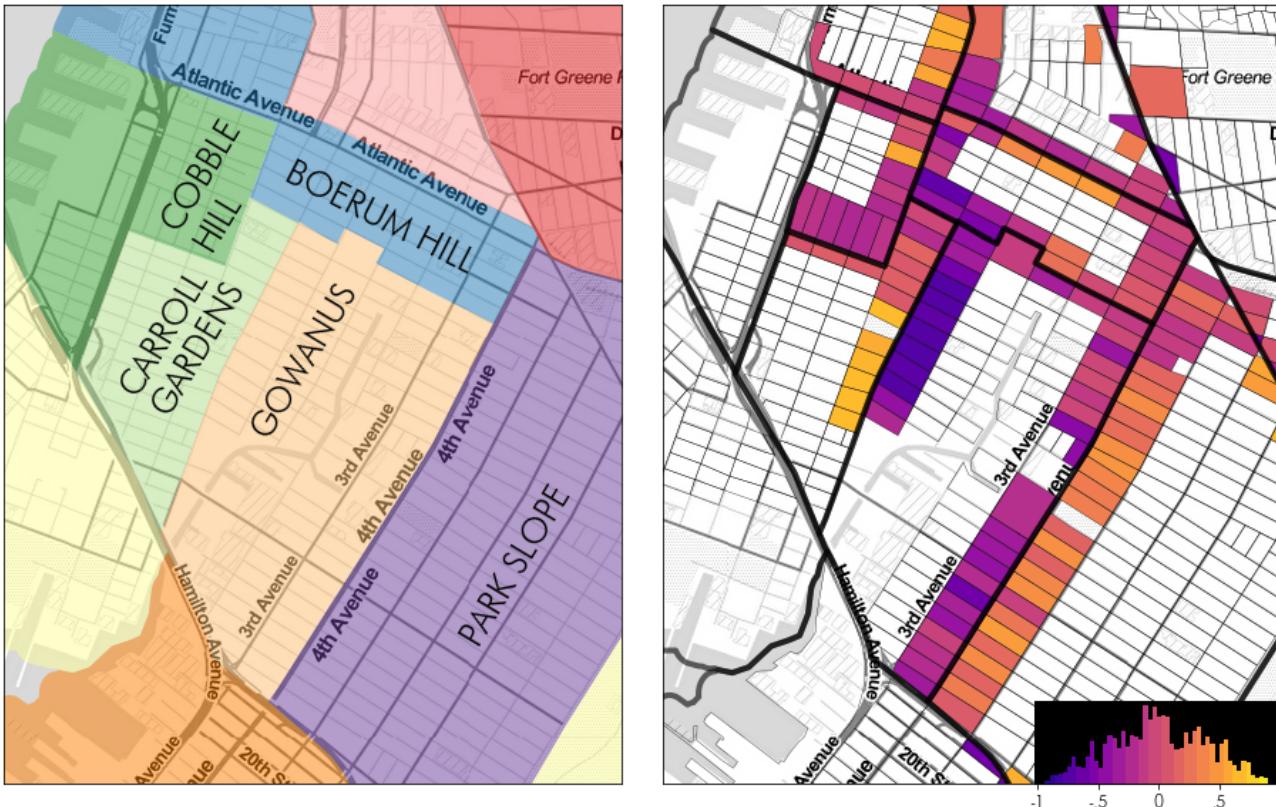
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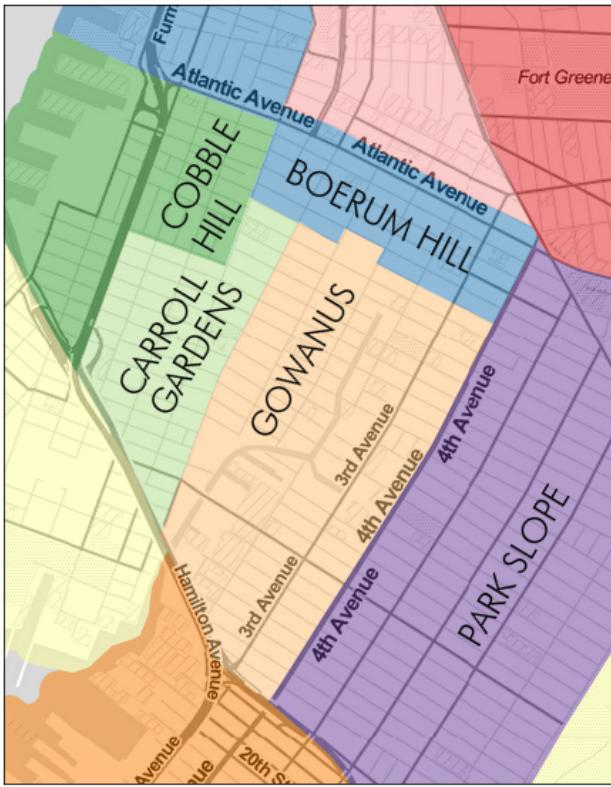
On the Bushwick side, blocks are more similar to blocks in Bushwick.

**Boundary is “sharp” or “crisp,” should not lead to conflict under CBH**

# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE



# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE



# BOUNDARY SILHOUETTE

neighbor focal	Boerum Hill	Cobble Hill	Carroll Gardens	Gowanus	Park Slope
Boerum Hill	0.000	-0.32	-0.358	0.274	0.122
Cobble Hill	0.627	0	-0.156	0.639	-
Carroll Gardens	0.339	0.152	0	0.710	-
Gowanus	-0.071	-0.359	-0.647	0.000	-0.168
Park Slope	0.050	-	-	0.390	0

On the Gowanus side, blocks are much more similar to those in Carroll Gardens.

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On the Gowanus side, blocks are much more similar to those in Carroll Gardens.  
On the Carroll Gardens side, blocks are much more similar to Carroll Gardens.

**The boundary is asymmetric/unclear!**

# RETHINKING BOUNDARIES:

Contingent on conflict outcome.

Conflict over what, between whom?

Robustness from place endogeneity!

Symmetric and reversible.

Sign matters, not magnitude.

Assume existence of place & place-scale.



**Fig. 1** Areal wombling for the proportion of African American residents

# NO SINGLE PLACE SCALE IS SUFFICIENT

Urban morphology is **FRACTAL, MULTI-SCALE**

# NO SINGLE PLACE SCALE IS SUFFICIENT

Urban morphology is **FRACTAL, MULTI-SCALE**

*City morphology is reflected in a hierarchy of different sub-centers or clusters across many scales ... [that] reflect the resources needed to service them and the spatial range over which their demand is sustainable.*

*Cities are thus classic examples of fractals, in that their form reflects a statistical self-similarity or hierarchy of clusters.*

BATTY (2008)

# NO SINGLE PLACE SCALE IS SUFFICIENT

Urban morphology is **FRACTAL, MULTI-SCALE**

Urban society is embedded within this morphology

*Cities are thus classic examples of fractals, in that their form reflects a statistical self-similarity or hierarchy of clusters.*

BATTY (2008)

# NO SINGLE PLACE SCALE IS SUFFICIENT

Urban morphology is **FRACTAL, MULTI-SCALE**

Urban society is embedded within this morphology

(Urban society also enforces or adjusts this morphology)

*Cities are thus classic examples of fractals, in that their form reflects a statistical self-similarity or hierarchy of clusters.*

BATTY (2008)

# NO SINGLE PLACE SCALE IS SUFFICIENT

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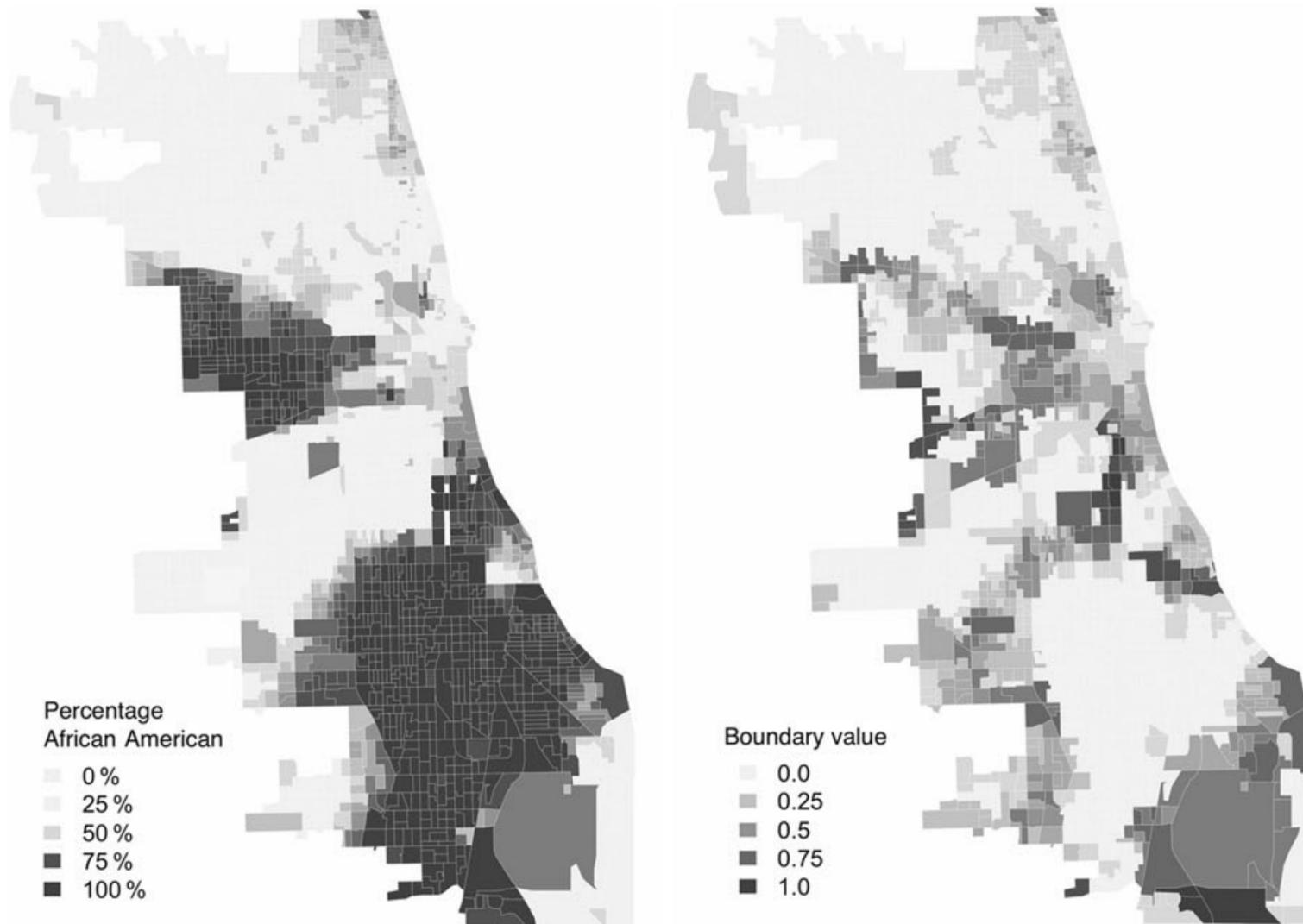
Urban society is embedded within this morphology

(Urban society also enforces or adjusts this morphology)

∴ Social boundaries are **FRACTAL, MULTI-SCALE**

*Cities are thus classic examples of fractals, in that their form reflects a statistical self-similarity or hierarchy of clusters.*

BATTY (2008)



**Fig. 1** Areal wombling for the proportion of African American residents

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$H(p_i) = - \sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln(p_{ir})$$

ENTROPY

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$H(p_i) = -\sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln(p_{ir})$$

**ENTROPY OF  
CENSUS UNIT  $i$**

ENTROPY

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.

$$H(p_i) = -\sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln(p_{ir})$$

PERCENT OF  
POPULATION IN  $i$   
THAT IS GROUP  $r$

ENTROPY

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.

$$H(p_i) = - \sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln(p_{ir})$$

SUMMED OVER ALL GROUPS  $m$

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  areas with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$H(p_i) = - \sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln(p_{ir})$$

ENTROPY

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{KL}(p_i \parallel p_j) = - \sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln \left( \frac{p_{jr}}{p_{ir}} \right)$$

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{KL}(p_i \parallel p_j) = -\sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln \left( \frac{p_{jr}}{p_{ir}} \right)$$

**INFORMATION GAIN  
ABOUT AREA  $i$   
FROM AREA  $j$**

KULLBACK LEIBLER DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{KL}(p_i \parallel p_j) = -\sum_r^m p_{ir} \ln \left( \frac{p_{jr}}{p_{ir}} \right)$$

**RATIO OF  
POPULATION  
PERCENTAGES**

KULLBACK LEIBLER DIVERGENCE

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# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{JS}(p_i || p_j) = \frac{1}{2} [D_{KL}(p_i || \bar{p}) + D_{KL}(p_j || \bar{p})]$$

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{JS}(p_i \parallel p_j) = \frac{1}{2} [D_{KL}(p_i \parallel \bar{p}) + D_{KL}(p_j \parallel \bar{p})]$$

**AVERAGE OF POPULATIONS  
IN AREA  $i$  AND  $j$ .**

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{JS}(p_i || p_j) = \frac{1}{2} [D_{KL}(p_i || \bar{p}) + D_{KL}(p_j || \bar{p})]$$

**AVERAGE  $D_{KL}$  FROM EACH AREA  
TO THE AVERAGE OF AREAS**

JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{WJS}(p_i \parallel \eta_i(\delta)) = \frac{\sum_j n_j * D_{JS}(p_j \parallel \bar{p}_J)}{\sum_j n_j}$$

WEIGHTED JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{WJS}(p_i \parallel \eta_i(\delta)) = \frac{\sum_j n_j * D_{JS}(p_j \parallel \bar{p}_J)}{\sum_j n_j}$$

**RAW POPULATION IN AREA  $j$**

WEIGHTED JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{WJS}(p_i \parallel \eta_i(\delta)) = \frac{\sum_j n_j * D_{JS}(p_j \parallel \bar{p}_j)}{\sum_j n_j}$$

**“EGOHOOD” OF  $i$ :**

**SET OF OTHER OBSERVATIONS**

**WITHIN DISTANCE  $\delta$  OF  $i$**

WEIGHTED JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

**Let there be  $N$  blocks with  $m$  racial/ethnic classes.**

$$D_{WJS}(p_i \parallel \eta_i(\delta)) = \frac{\sum_j n_j * D_{JS}(p_j \parallel \bar{p}_J)}{\sum_j n_j}$$

**POPULATION-WEIGHTED AVERAGE  $D_{KL}$  FROM EACH  
BLOCK TO AVERAGE OF THE EGOHOOD**

WEIGHTED JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# FOR YOUR INFORMATION (THEORY)

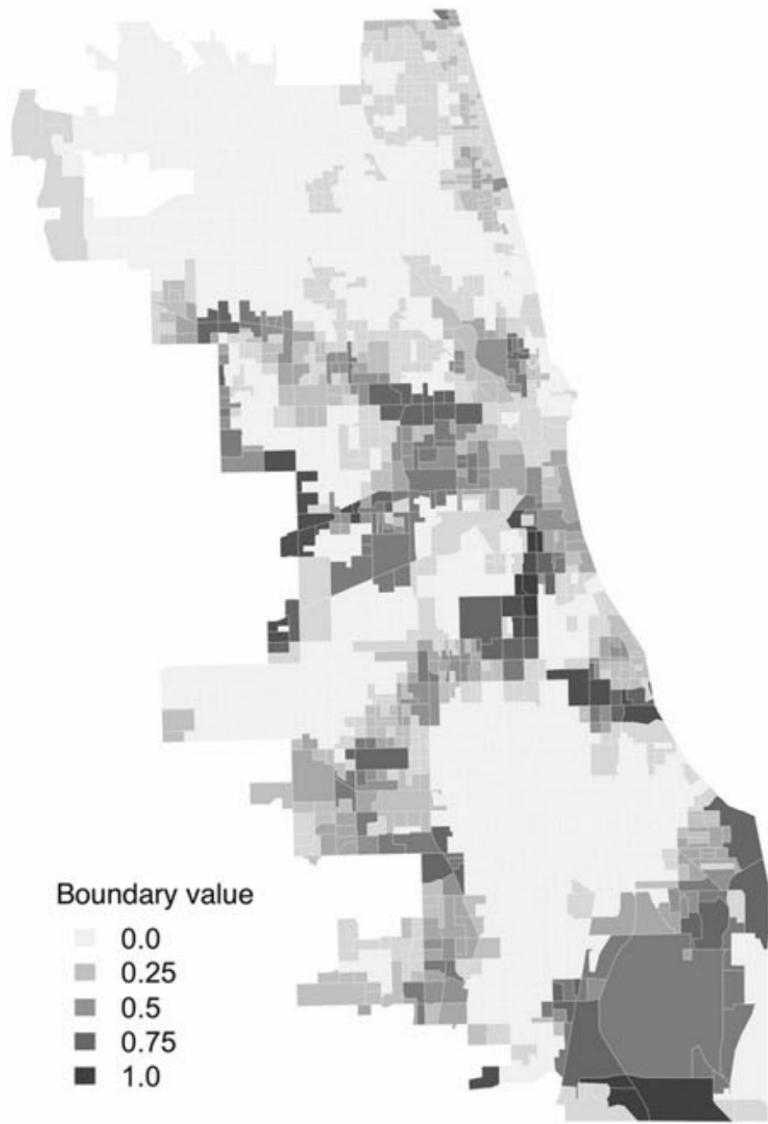
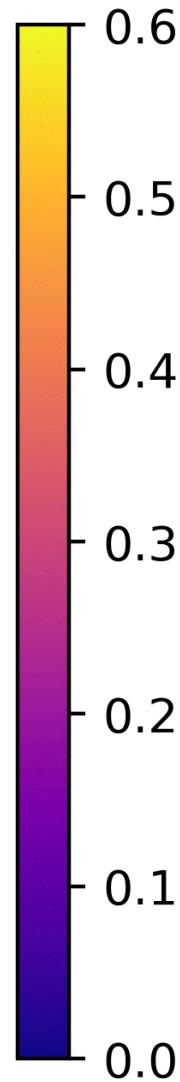
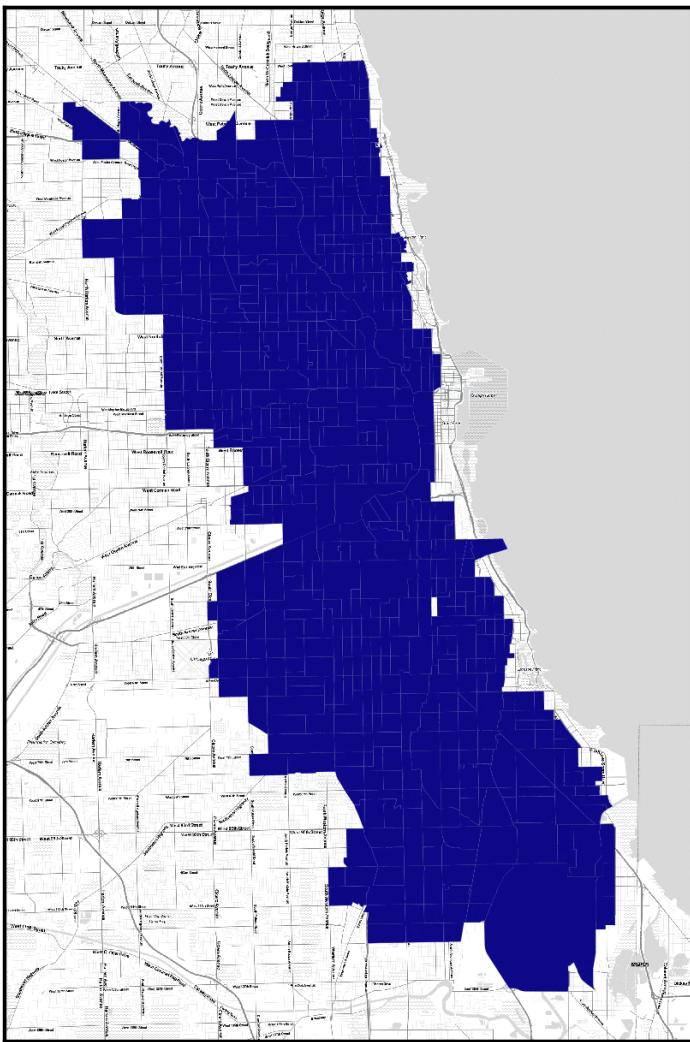
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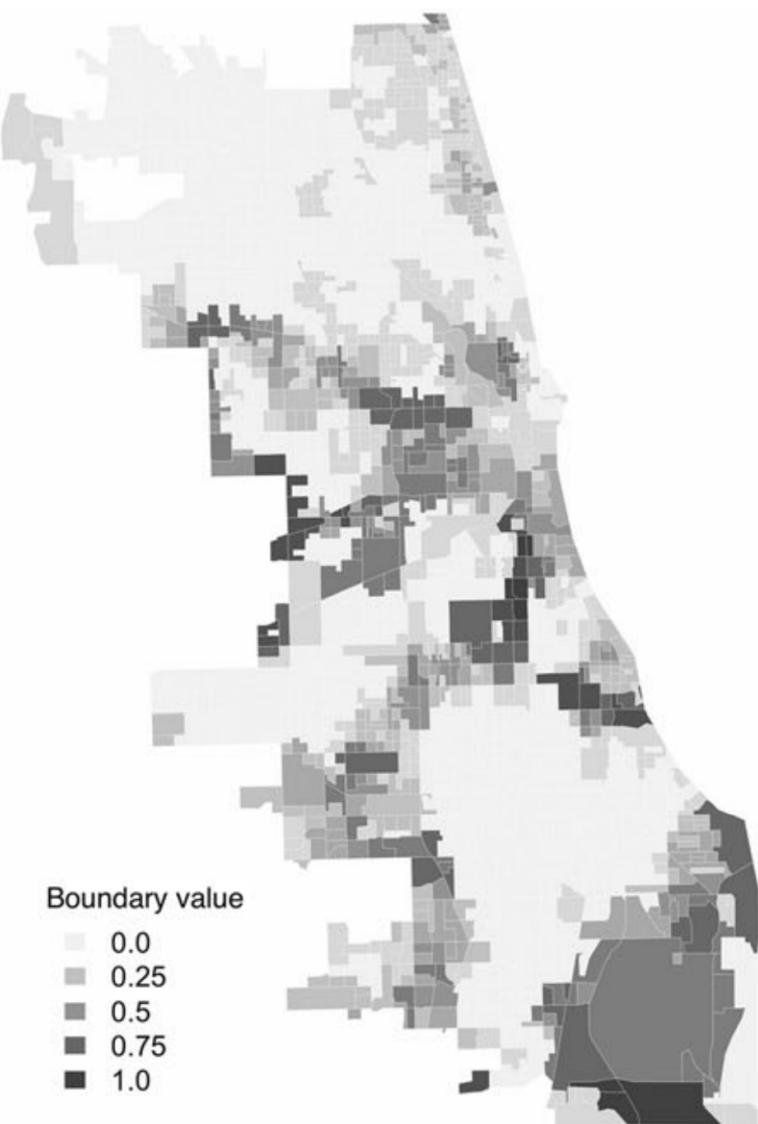
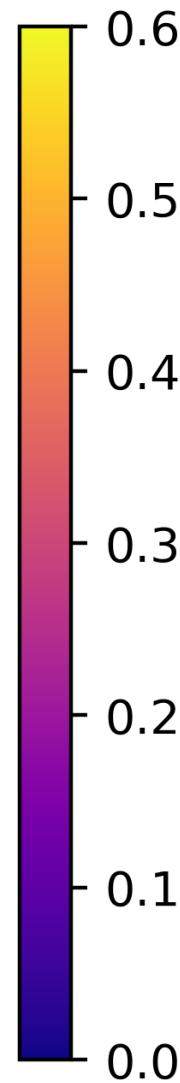
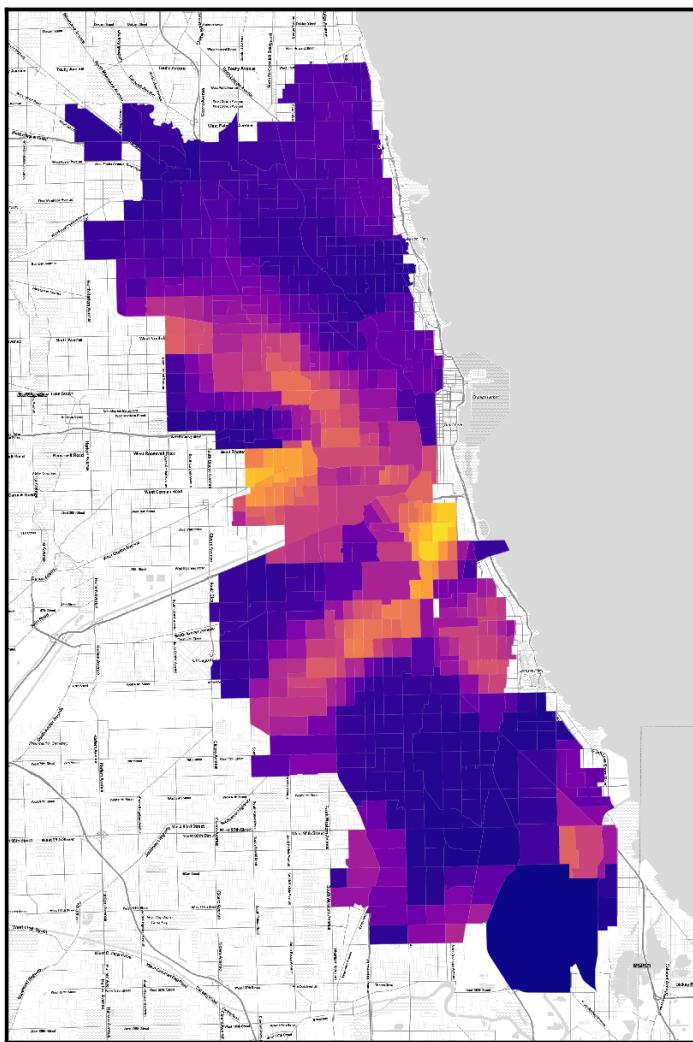
**HOW DIFFERENT IS  $i$  FROM OTHERS IN EGOHOOD?**

WEIGHTED JENSEN SHANNON DIVERGENCE

# Jensen Shannon at 200.00 Ft



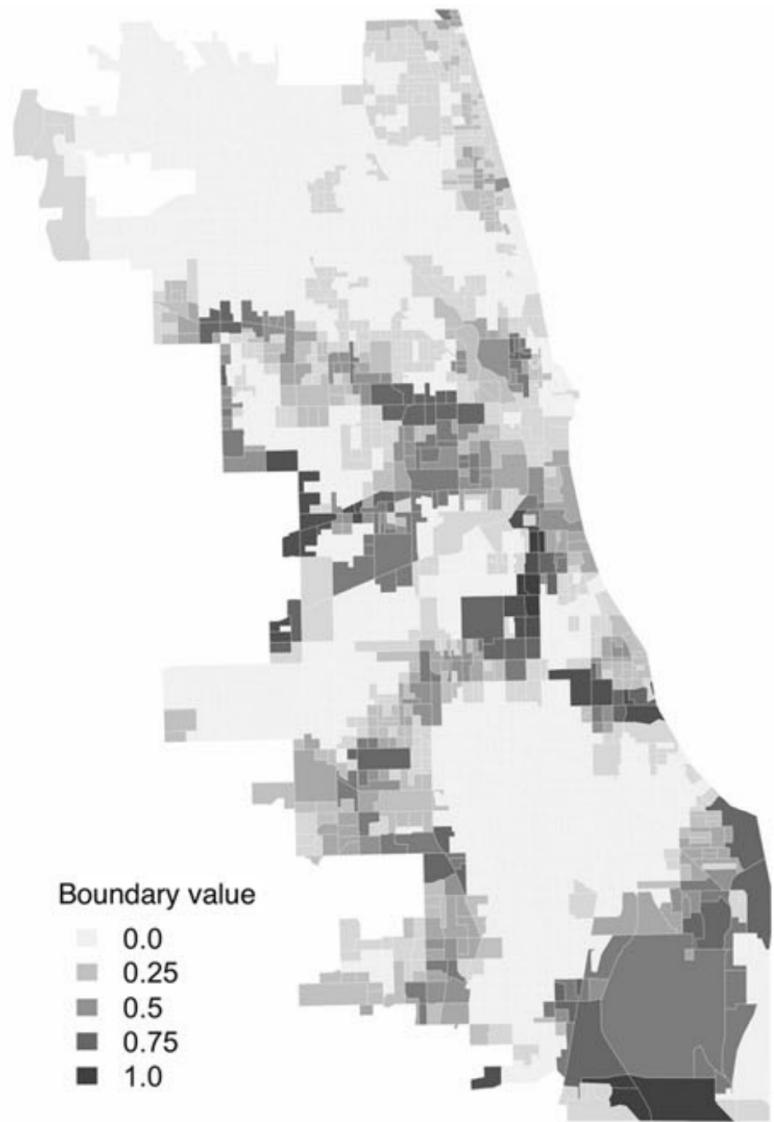
# Jensen Shannon at 3772.41 Ft



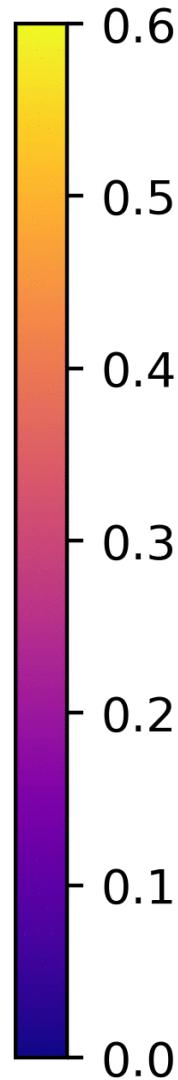
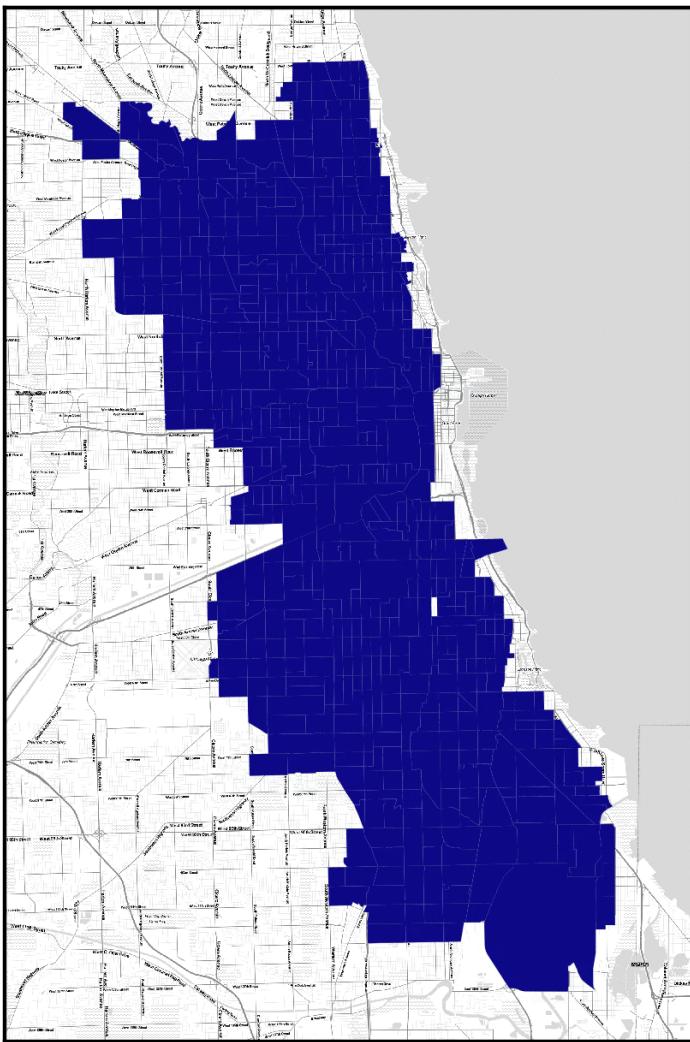
Boundary value

- 0.0
- 0.25
- 0.5
- 0.75
- 1.0

Jensen Shannon  
at 3772.41 Ft



Jensen Shannon  
at 200.00 Ft



**ALWAYS  
MULTI  
SCALE**

# RETHINKING BOUNDARIES:

Contingent on conflict outcome.

Conflict **over what, between whom?**

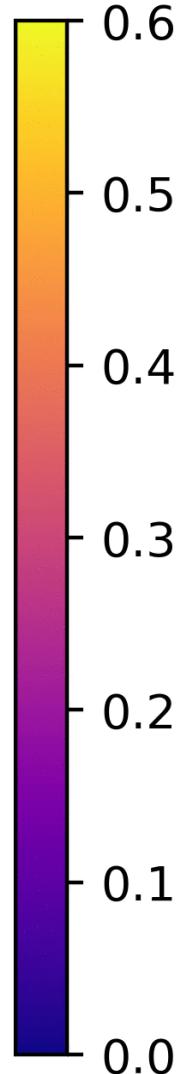
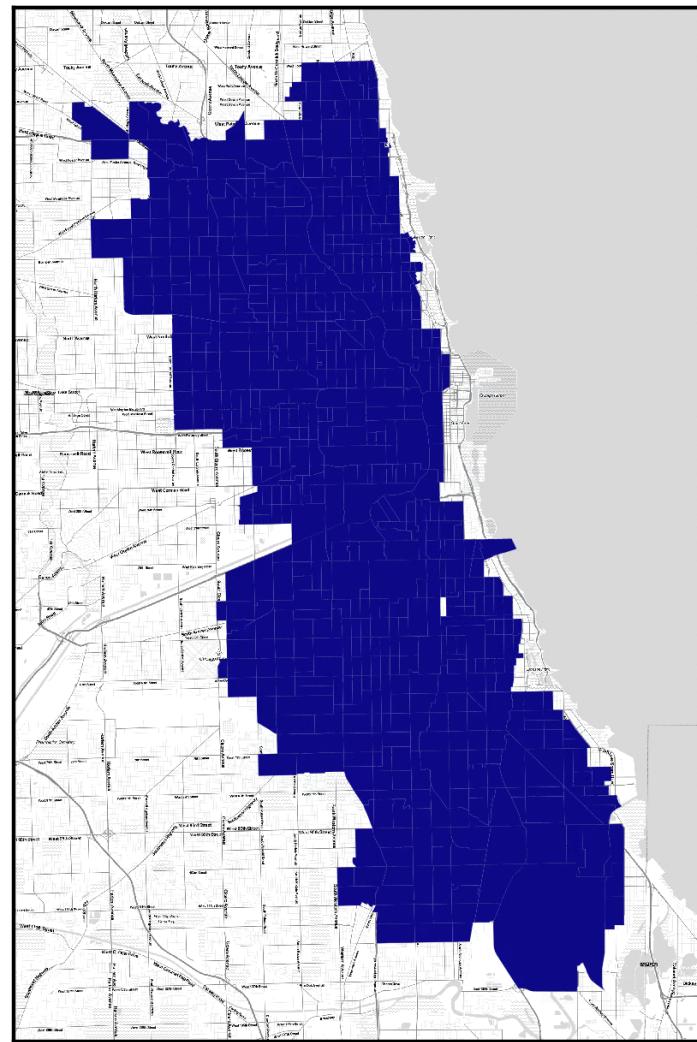
**Robustness from place endogeneity!**

Symmetric and reversible.

Sign matters, not magnitude.

Assume existence of place & place-scale.

Jensen Shannon  
at 200.00 Ft



# FINDING THE FAULT LINES:

ESTIMATING THE BOUNDARIES IN URBAN  
SOCIAL-SPATIAL INEQUALITY



University of  
**BRISTOL**

The  
**Alan Turing**  
Institute

LEVI JOHN WOLF

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[ljwolf.org](http://ljwolf.org)