

TINA HONG

# PRICED OUT

15 YEARS OF GENTRIFICATION IN PORTLAND, OREGON

[www.pricedoutmovie.com](http://www.pricedoutmovie.com)



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## ABOUT THE FILM

### INTRODUCTION



### PRICED OUT

*By Cornelius Swart*

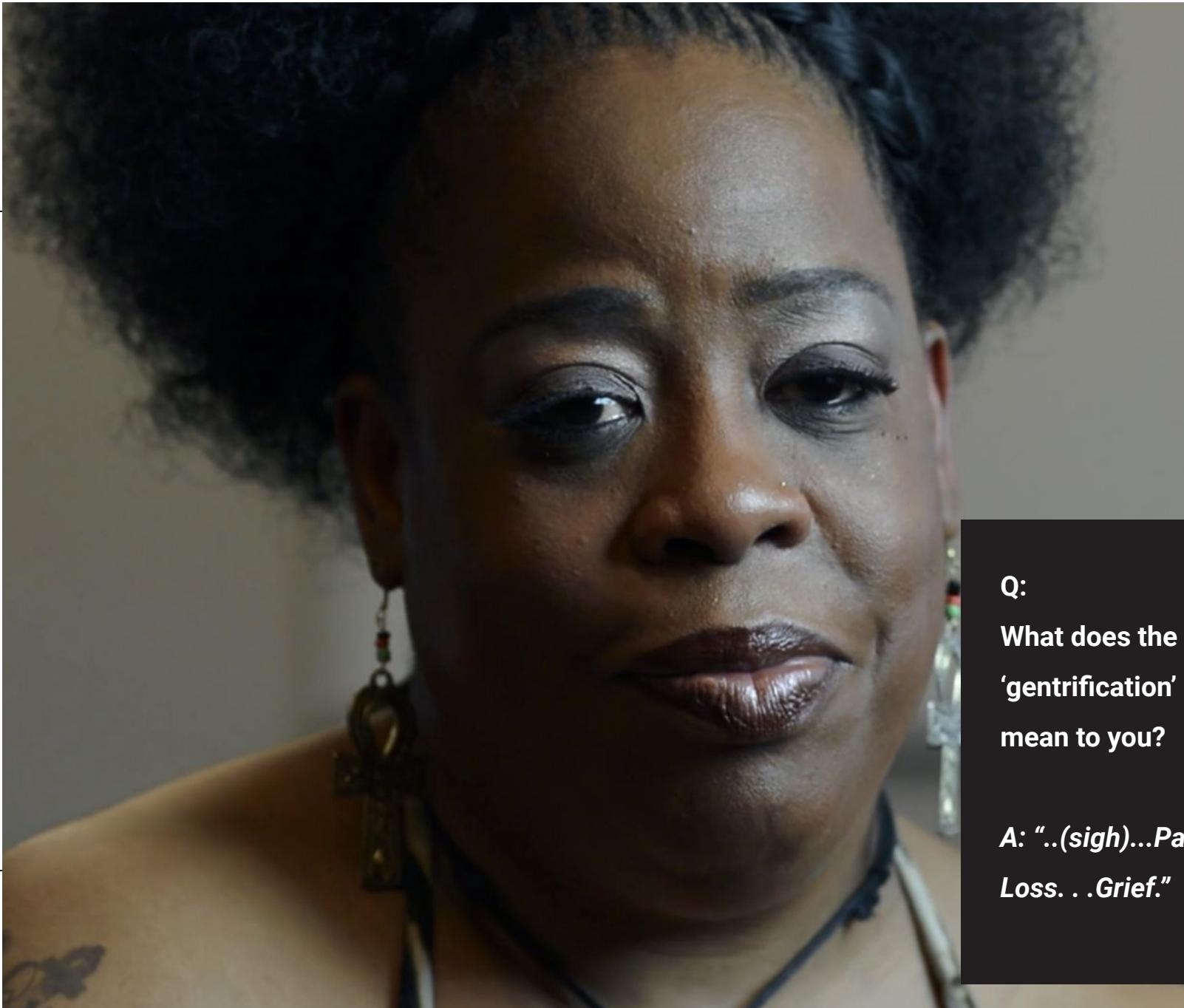
After 15 years, Cornelius Swart reunites with Nikki Williams after she reaches out to him to film a follow-up to *NorthEast Passage*. While she wasn't 'Priced Out' of her home, she decided to leave Portland because she no longer felt she belonged. Swart and Nikki delve into the complexities of gentrification, along Portland's history—which is deeply rooted in racism. While the film starts off in a disheartened, discouraged, and almost bitter tone, Swart also documents Nikki's journey and evolving perspective of gentrification, ending the film with hope. Hope for Nikki's future, hope for the people of Portland, and hope for the future of gentrification.

Although the film takes place in Portland, these stories of gentrification, with low income families pricing out of their homes, are a common occurrence, thus giving us hope and encouragement to learn from Portland's past. .

<https://lapl.kanopy.com/video/priced-out>

# Interview Notes

The first scene after the introduction shows Michelle Lewis, a former Albina resident being interviewed. She reflects on gentrification's devastating effect on her life. She tries to hold her composure and emotions, but is unable to keep from crying.



**Q:  
What does the word  
'gentrification'  
mean to you?**

**A: “..(sigh)...Pain.  
Loss. . .Grief.”**

**00:33**

## Thoughts on Gentrification



*"The people that are coming here now are completely oblivious to what was. And they don't. They don't care to know what it was."*  
00:33

*"and they are just tearin apart, like, stuff that represented our childhood. Stuff that represented home for us."* 00:51

-Aubriana "Bri" Williams

*"..apparently, cleaning up the neighborhood meant getting rid of the black folk...."* 01:37



*"I have not yet found any indication that there is something positive associated for black people with gentrification. ."* 00:40

Ed Washington, Albina Resident  
Metro Councilor 1991-2001a



## About Nikki Williams

*"I'm the youngest of 21. So I've got my street degree and I've had that for many years I have one child and I wanted her to really have the chance to totally have me.. "* 05:53

### **Nikki in the 90's**

*"Social worker by day. Interior designer by night.... "* 05:53

She got the home through habitat humanity, and loved her home. She shows pride in ownership with lots of personal touches in the rooms.





*"So as far as gentrification, I still say, let it come."*

*"So as far as gentrification, I still say, let it come. Let it come." 02:50*

Nikki didn't mind gentrification in the last document. Her main priority was the safety of her daughter.

Nikki broke the code of silence, by reporting people to the police. She was often harassed and confronted on many occasions.

She made enemies in her efforts to clean up the neighborhood so it was a safer place to live.

In a way, she alienated herself from her community at this time. It was the price for her to pay for the safety of her and her daughter.



*"There's 3 houses on this block I can think of that are known drug houses. I see it. Every day. I am involved with the neighborhood watch. I am involved in every association. I am trying to make a difference, but unfortunately, I have been targeted. Because I call the police, something is wrong with me. I think that is what scares me. And angers me. How this has been so normalized..." 06:17*

# The History of Vanport



**Ed Washington**  
ALBINA RESIDENT  
METRO COUNCILOR (1991 - 2001)

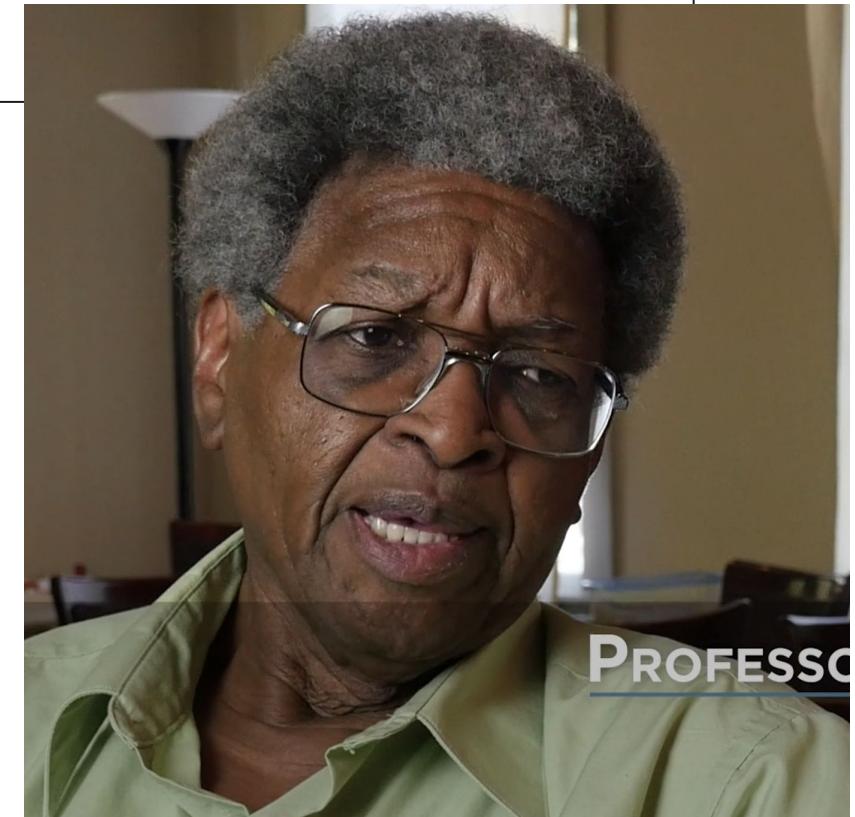
*"I moved here from Birmingham Al. in 1944 when I was 7 years of age. We lived out in a place called Vanport... It was like, 4 neighborhoods, and there was communal centers for each neighborhood. There were shops, centers, there was bus service... there was everything." 08:39*

As a result of the war, many people were moved to government assisted homes in Vanport. It thrived, until the war ended and many people left, turning it into what the gov't called "slums."

*"After the war, the attitude of the political establishment, specifically mayor riley and the council, was that they wanted Vanport gone as soon as possible. And they started removing apartments. They wanted to destroy Vanport." 09:15*

-Professor James Harrison  
Vanport Scholar

The government would have gentrified Vanport if it had not been flooded. Whether there was a natural disaster or not, NorthEast Portland was inevitably going to become their next home. .



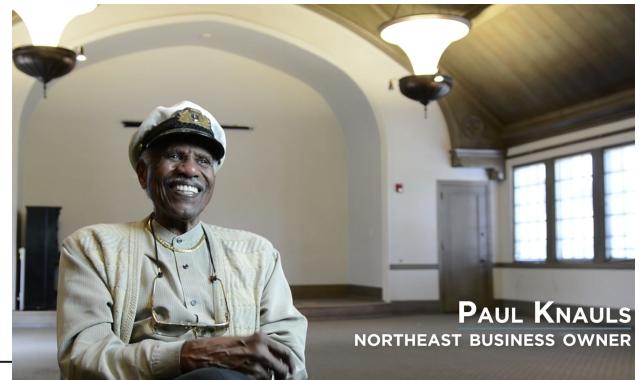
**PROFESSOR**



**JOSEPH "KING J" HARRIS**  
ALBINA RESIDENT

"All Kinds of fantastic things on MLK in the 50's, it was called Union Avenue. I mean, there was car dealerships, dairies, it was a thriving street... We had a men's store along Russell here. Georgia Shoe was there..." 11:23

They reflect on a happier time where they knew all of the business owners, shopped all of the stores, and probably felt more sense of community.



**PAUL KNAULS**  
NORTHEAST BUSINESS OWNER

*"Around the corner was Lew's Man's Shop. Lew sold the clothes we liked, you, you see us every now and then with some yellow pants, purple pants, shoes that turn up on the end..." 11:34*

## Albina in the '50s



"It was All America, USA.  
But for black Folks.." 11:50



**TURIYA AUTRY**  
FORMER ALBINA RESIDENT

A stark contrast from current Albina, where the black community has decreased significantly.



*"It was a wonderful place to be,  
because you saw yourself.." 11:47*  
Ed Washington

## SOME GENTRIFIERS



FRED STEWART  
REALTOR



*"I really didn't feel a change until about 1995. where people were now talking about, 'I know its bad right now, but I know it ain't gonna be so bad 10 years from now.. So I'm trying to hurry up and get in while it's good...People who were buying over here. a lot of them were younger. And not from here. And white..." 12:46*

*"Everything sells. There's a value for literally everything in inner North and NorthEast Portland.."*

He is a realtor that sold a lot of properties during this time, playing a large role in gentrifying Albina.

*"After interviewing gentrifiers for a year, I thought, maybe I should buy a house as well. My daughter was 2 and we had already lived in 3 different places"*

-Cornelius Swart 31:07

The filmmaker was priced out homes, and ended up becoming a gentrifier of Albina.

*"Mourning the loss of something was, it's pointless. It's gonna change whether you want it to or not. Everything does.." 15:17*

Purchased this home for 79k seven years prior to the film taping. He could hear gunfights at night, but it was inexpensive, so he lived there. He is a proponent of gentrification,



ALEINA LANGFORD  
EAST PORTLAND RESIDENT

I was paying \$825.

*"I was paying \$825...They're asking me to pay \$1200 a month.."* 46:37



MAXINE FITZPATRICK

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

PORLAND COMMUNITY REINVESTMENT INITIATIVES (PCRI)  
We have families come in every day with a 30-day notice,

*"We have families come in every day with a 30 day notice that the house is sold, the landlord doubled the rent."* 01:28

A clause in landlord tenant law allowed landlords to evict people without a reason. Rental properties didn't need to be registered. It was completely unregulated. This led to the displacement of thousands of Albina residents, and a housing crisis that received nationwide attention.



KAREN ATKINSON  
ALBINA RESIDENT

*"I've been here for a little over a year. The rent is \$600 a month but I'm on section 8 and they cover most of it. I would like to stay in this area 'cause this is where I grew up. But it's getting more expensive and I don't know if I do stay in this neighborhood, it's gonna be hard finding a place. It's gonna be really hard finding a place..."* 15:49  
-Karen Atkinson

She was one of the Albina residents that were feeling the effects of gentrification and the housing crisis.



While this film focuses on African Americans, and Nikki's story, people of all races and ethnicities are affected by the gentrification in Albina

*"If you are working class, poor, lower middle class, there are very few neighborhoods that you can afford to live in thin this city." 45:20*

*"..Seniors who are not taking half of their medications, People having to cut their food budgets in half...This widespread displacement that's happening to people of all races and of all backgrounds is unprecedented. " 44:38*





*"I guess what I wanted to see happen is people give a god damn about the community that was there. Not push everybody the hell out, then come in, build it up, ..I wanted people to give a fuck about those of us who were there already."* 21:33



*"The SouthEast area where everyone has been pushed into. I don't want to live out there at all"*

21:33

*-Aubriana Williams*

This is a primarily hispanic neighborhood, so they don't want to go there. Many people from Albina were getting pushed out and into these areas where they felt they did not belong.

*"Who the hell can afford \$4.00 for an ice cream for their kid? Where were all y'all when it was time to do the foot patrol?"* 21:33



*"This is not home anymore...I'm at a point in my life where I need to be around more brown folk."*

48:48

*"Oh my god, she had a black boy- a dark skinned little boy. The fact that I was afraid for him at a time when all I should have felt was joy and love is a reality check that i have to deal with.."*

*-Nikki (on her grandson's birth)*

48:56

*"I definitely don't want my son..especially the route that Portland is going, I definitely don't want him to grow up here.."*

*-Aubriana*

48:56

*"..he would always say, 'Grandma, why are the people here all so mean?'*

*"They're just so mean to me grandma'.I don't think I should be sitting here in tears, in the year 2015, when all i want for him is something that we claim to be doing already. "*

51:56



*"I tell people I feel like I'm breathing again...I see Mesquite the way Californians must have felt when they first came to oregon and Portland." (55:51) -Nikki*

## Hope for the Future



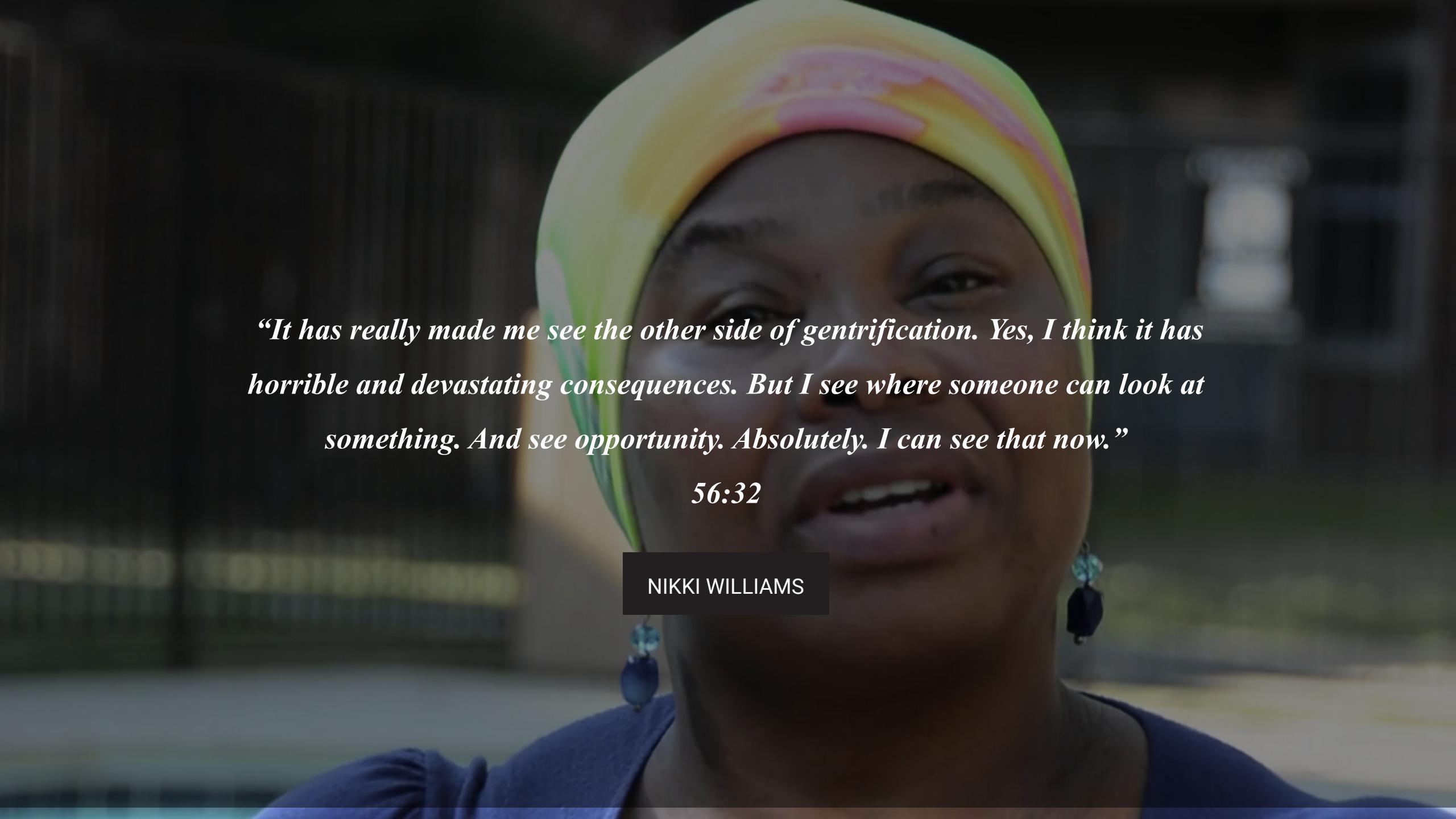
*"Just because you have gentrification doesn't mean you can't have some quality affordable housing. That's kind of what we learned here. It's not too late to make the next gentrification cycle better." (57:39)*

*-Fred Stewart*

*"They ended up calling me and telling me that they actually had a place for me. I about fell off my chair. we were in a home again. My youngest can walk to school, which makes it really nice. They can go to a friends house that is just around a corner. My kids never had the opportunity to do that."*  
*-Rachel Hall (54:52)*

Portland made a 'right to return' policy that allowed former Albina residents priority in new subsidized housing in north/ northeast portland.



A close-up portrait of a woman with dark skin. She is wearing a yellow headwrap with pink and green stripes, and a blue top. She is smiling and looking slightly to her right. The background is blurred.

*“It has really made me see the other side of gentrification. Yes, I think it has horrible and devastating consequences. But I see where someone can look at something. And see opportunity. Absolutely. I can see that now.”*

56:32

NIKKI WILLIAMS

Large, historical home is shown being demolished by a crane.

00:52

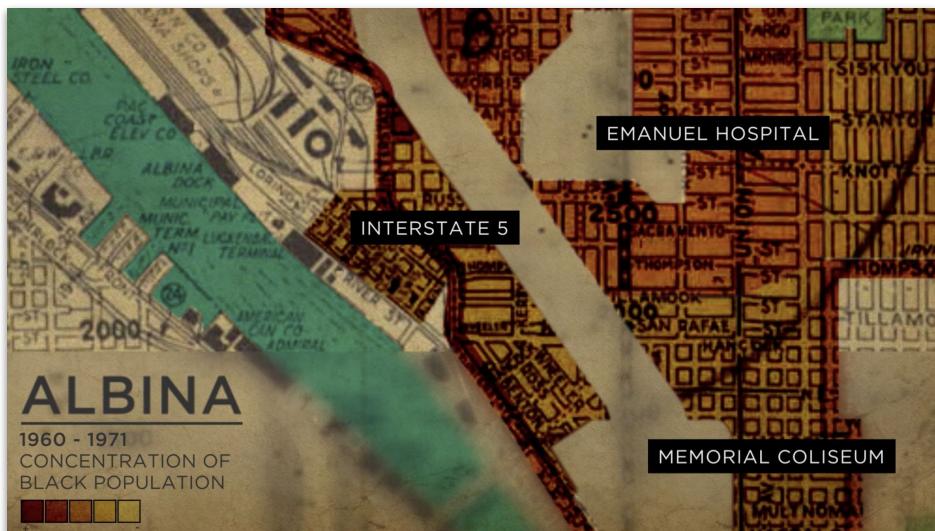
Artifact Notes



KKK passed out fliers to recruit more members.  
African Americans did not feel safe. (24:32)



City Officials came in and placed  
“condemned: stickers on homes  
to build a hospital. Within six  
months, the house would be torn  
down. There was nothing the  
people could do. (28:31)



Over 20 years, over  
1,100 homes in  
Albina were  
destroyed- for a  
project that was  
never  
completed.(28:38)



In 1973, federal funding for the hospital expansion came to a  
halt, so the whole area remained vacant till this day. (28:16)



02:21

Home looks well kept, and shows pride of ownership.



05:31

Home decor looks light, bright, and new.

# NIKKI'S HOME IN THE 90's



05:31

Home decor looks light, clean, bright, and new with lots of sunlight and light, neutral colors

## THE NEIGHBORHOOD -PRE-GENTRIFICATION



Suspicious looking activity is shown through grainy footage.

07:03



Vandalized car in residential neighborhood.

Nikki feared for her and her daughter's safety.

(in the '90's)

06:45

# Before & After

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Run down building, and the result of gentrification.

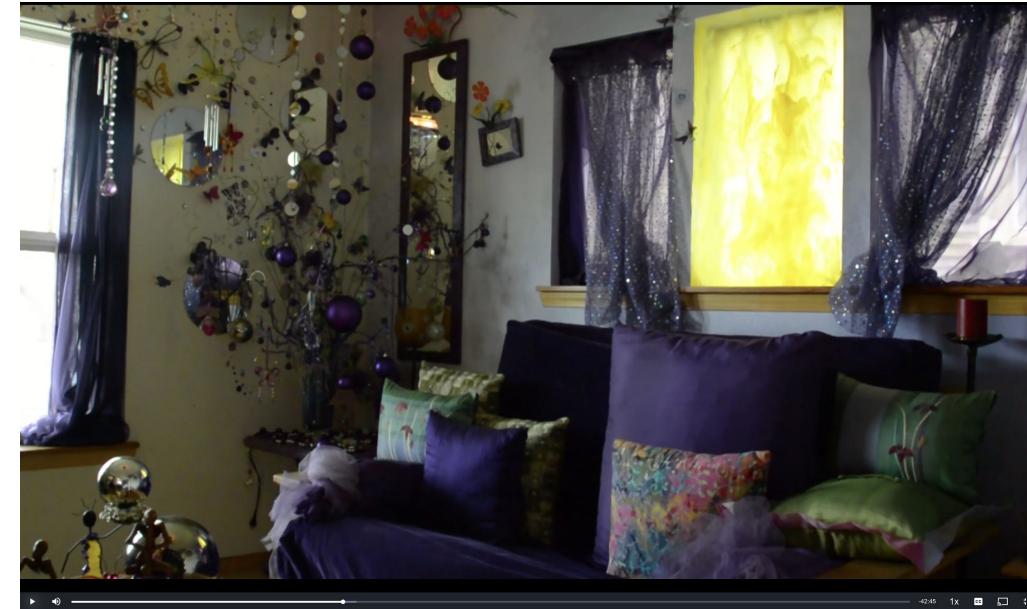
02:54



## Nikki's Home Post Gentrification



Nikki's walls look like the decor has fallen off. There seems to be less care in the decor, and there is an absence of the live bright flowers that were there before.



Inside furniture and decor color is much darker. There is less natural lighting because the window sills are all covered with a dark curtain.

Front yard looks unkempt.





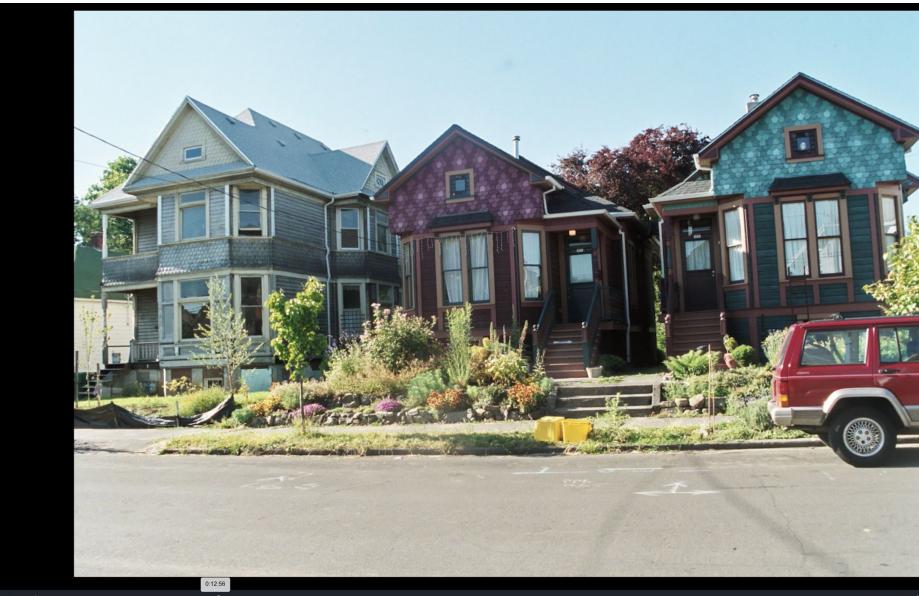
14:51

well kept home of a gentrifier



12:40

Gentrifier (Cornelius) repainting his home.  
wellkept home of a gentrifier



12:56

Stark difference can be seen in two homes that have been gentrified, and one that has not yet.

artifact notes



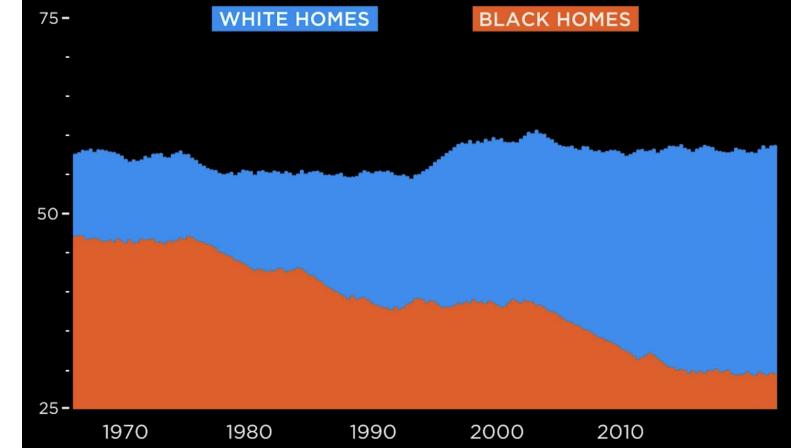
A yoga studio looks pristine and new.

Caucasian people walk down the street.

01:49



## Portland Home Ownership 1970 - 2014



17:55

With the construction of the I-5, they said they would build 2000 homes to prevent displacement, but only built 546.

## Wage growth vs. House prices 2013 - 2015



45:53



A group  
protests  
for rent control.  
Many look  
caucasian.  
02:16

*"High rent has got to go! The people want rent control!"*

45:37



45:45

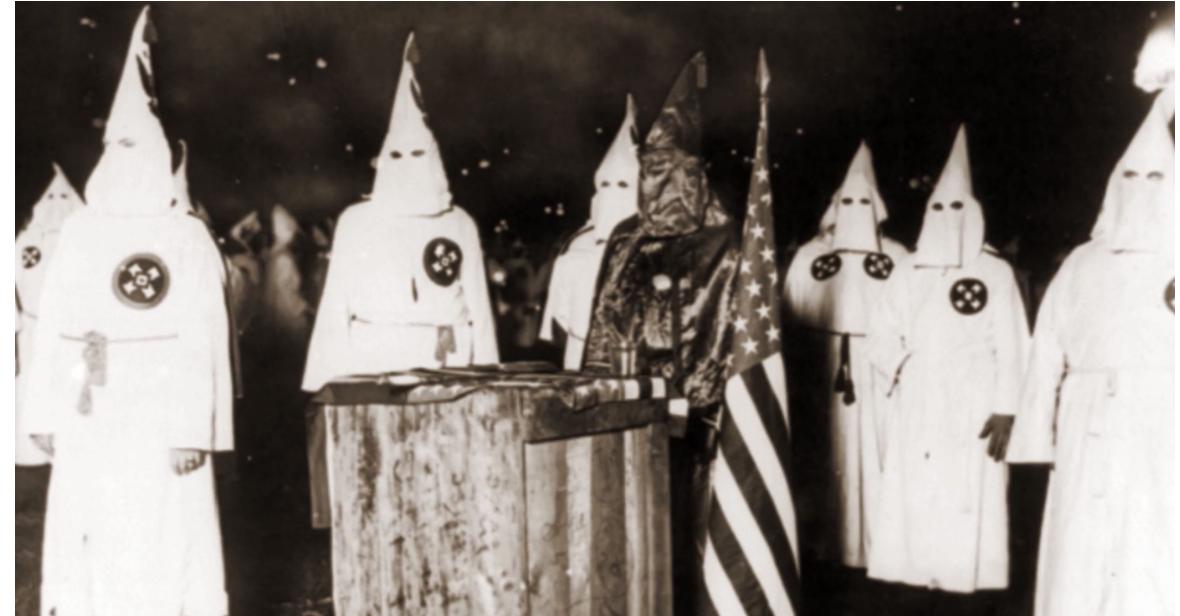


They are ranked 4th in the nation for increasing rent.  
People are losing their housing faster than they can keep  
up.

45:41



*"you're losing the heart of the city when you start displacing*



*"It's not uncommon that you hear about the clan.." 24:35*

The KKK send fliers to recruit members, making the African -American community feel uneasy.



*"Housing is a human right! What do we want? Justice! When do we want it? Now!" 01:24*

People of all colors are protesting for the housing crisis.



Nikki takes the Greyhound to Texas.

She looks forward to the next chapter in life.  
She looks hopeful.49:28

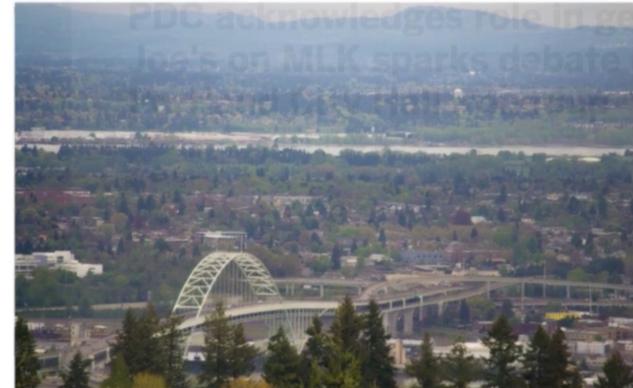


## International Business Times.

BUSINESS

### OREGON Trader Joe's Pulls Out Of Poor Portland, Oregon Neighborhood: Defeat Of Gentrification?

BY PALASH GHOSH ON 02/04/14 AT 1:49 PM



Northeast Portland, Ore. Photo: Wikimedia Commons

Government has taken over a dozen major housing actions since Trader Joe's

2015

JANUARY  
PORTLAND APPROVED "RIGHT TO RETURN" POLICY

APRIL

PORLTAND HOUSING BUREAU DIRECTOR TRACI MANNING RESIGNS

OCTOBER

PORLTAND WAIVES BUILDING RESTRICTIONS DURING DECLARED HOUSING STATE OF EMERGENCY

PORLTAND DOUBLES PERCENTAGE OF PDC DOLLARS PUT TOWARD SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

NOVEMBER

PORLTAND REQUIRES 90-DAY NOTICE FOR RENT HIKES, 60-DAY NOTICE FOR NO-CAUSE EVICTIONS

PORLTAND OPENS ONE NEW HOMELESS SHELTER

2016

MARCH  
STATE REPEALS BAN ON INCLUSIONARY ZONING  
STATE BANS RENT HIKES FOR THE FIRST 90 DAYS  
STATE EXTENDS URBAN GROWTH BOUNDARIES FOR SUBSIDIZED HOUSING PROJECTS

JUNE

PORLTAND IMPOSES NEW TAX ON CONSTRUCTION TO RAISE \$12 MILLION A YEAR FOR SUBSIDIZED HOUSING  
PORTLAND VOTERS APPROVE A \$258 MILLION FUND FOR SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

NOVEMBER

HOUSING ACTIVIST CHLOE EUDALY ELECTED TO PORTLAND CITY COUNCIL

DECEMBER

PORLTAND CITY COUNCIL APPROVED INCLUSIONARY ZONING PLAN

And it's been continuing on thus far.

While Nikki left, others left the project, calling it responsible gentrification. This ended up with the company that invested \$20M into such projects prioritizing gentrification a priority.

53:05

Over the next few months and continues to do so.

54:21



52:25

17:01

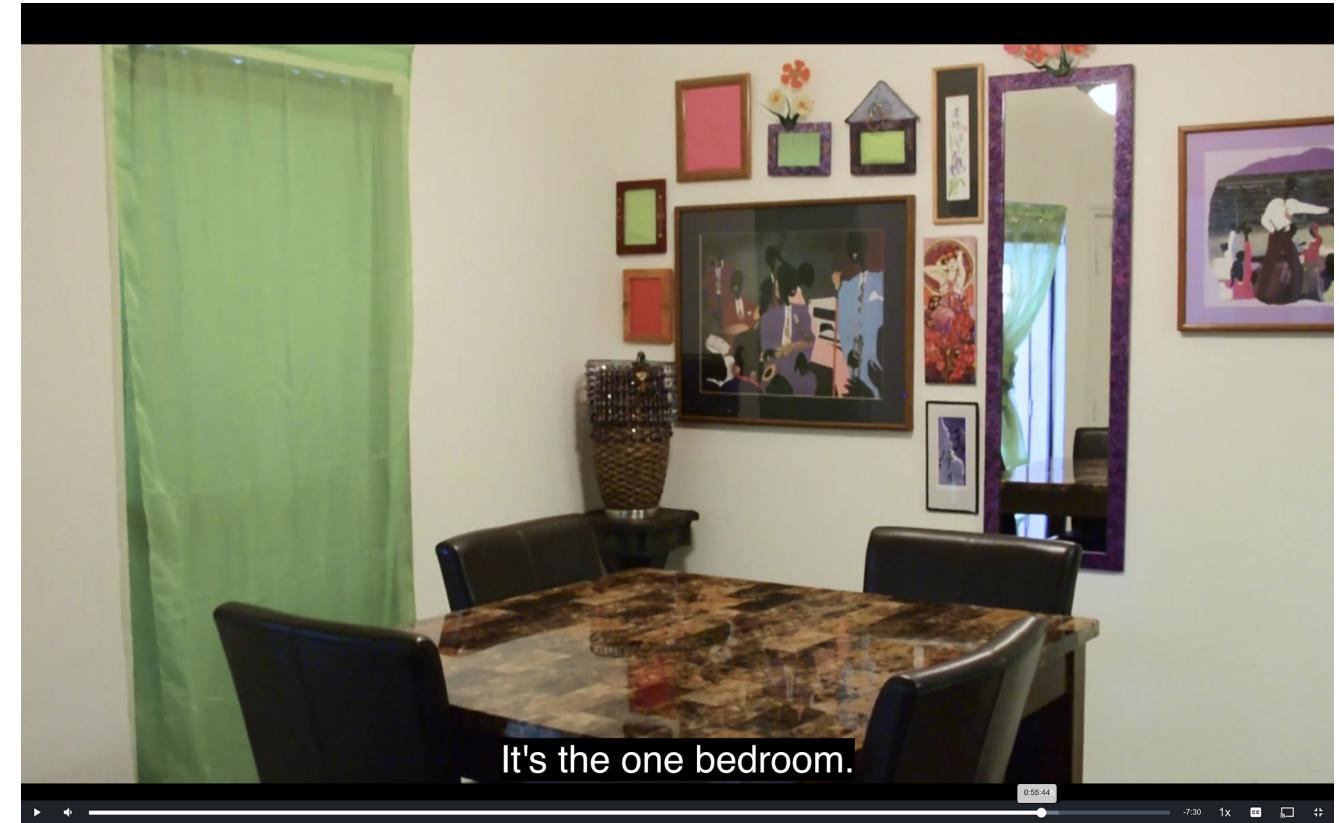
52:38

19:53

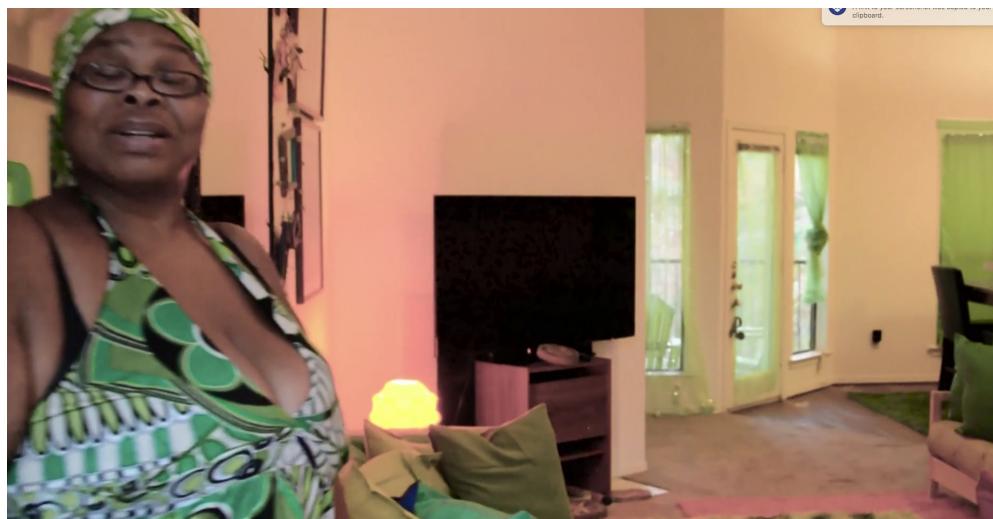
Throughout the video, I still saw a lot of diversity after the gentrification. While there was an increase in caucasian population, there were also more interracial couples and different ethnicities socializing together.



55:42



55:36



## CONCLUSION

After watching *Priced Out* for the first time, it felt like nothing positive could come from gentrification. The people that reaped the most rewards from gentrification were obviously the homeowners. Upon careful observation and note-taking the second time, I felt that there was a hint of hope and positivity that could come from gentrification. Watching the documentary made me really think about the complexities of gentrification, and wonder how we could prevent the displacement of so many people when trying to revitalize a neighborhood. By being able to build low income subsidized housing, in the projected amount necessary, a lot of displacement could be prevented. This effort was shown towards in the end of the film when former-residents of Albina were given priority in the new subsidized housing that was developed.

While racism was deeply rooted in the history and gentrification of Portland, and the documentary focused on Nikki Williams (an African American), I noticed that there were many non-black people also heavily affected by gentrification. While Nikki spoke of too many white people in her neighborhood, I observed a different point of view. I saw a more diverse community with a mix of people. Perhaps this is where my own personal biases may come in.

Nikki was a homeowner, so she was able to leave the place she no longer felt she belonged to. She ended the film on a hopeful note, with a broader view of gentrification. She was able to profit from the rise in home values, and move to a place where she could be among people like herself again. She “could see the opportunity.” Unfortunately, many low income families are not as lucky as she was. I wonder what their point of view on gentrification is, and whether they felt the hope that Nikki seemed to feel after she moved to Texas.

## 2 INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

**Question 1:** *What was your biggest unexpected challenge in filming Priced Out and NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream?*

**Question 2:** *How were you able to establish the trust with Nikki- especially in the first documentary- for her to speak so openly in front of the camera?*

TINA HONG

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

# **PART 1: QUESTIONS & CONTACTS**

## **Property Owner Questions:**

- 1.) Why did you decide to purchase this property?

2.) When did you purchase this property?

1-5 years ago     10-15 years ago  
 6-10 years ago     other: \_\_\_\_\_

3.) What do you like or dislike about owning property?

*Repeat questions from other groups that could also work here:*

- *What do you do for a living?*
  - *How do you feel about the changes in the neighborhood over the years?*

## **Multi-Generational Resident Questions:**

- 1.) What made you and your family stay in this neighborhood for so long?
  - 2.) How do you feel about the changes that have occurred in your neighborhood over the years?
  - 3.) What do you do for a living?
  - 4.) How is your relationship with your neighbors?

*Repeat questions from other groups that could also work here:*

- *Why did your family move here?*
  - *What do you like or dislike about your neighborhood?*
  - *What made you decide to purchase this property?*
  - *What places do you frequent most in your neighborhood?*
  - *I live: alone | w. roommate | w. signif. other | other: \_\_\_\_\_*

## New Transplant Questions:

- 1.) What are the most important factors for living in a neighborhood?
  - 2.) I live:  
 alone                       w/ roommate  
 w/my significant  other: \_\_\_\_\_  
other
  - 3.) What do you like or dislike about your neighborhood?

*Repeat questions from other groups that could also work here:*

- *What do you do for a living?*
  - *What places do you frequent most in your neighborhood?*
  - *How is your relationship with your neighbors?*

## Contacts:

**Property Owner:** Soon Kim

Email: soonk0121@gmail.com

## **Multi-Generational Resident:** Seung Shin

Email: Seung c shin@gmail.com

### New Transplant: Audrey Orona

Email: HernK023@gmail.com

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 2: RESEARCH

Area of focus: The Role Immigration Plays in Gentrification

Hwang, J., & Yoon, H. (n.d.). Shifting and Persisting Neighborhood Hierarchies ... Retrieved from <http://paa2019.populationassociation.org/uploads/192117> .

DeVerteuil, G., Yun, O., & Choi, C. (2017, July 7). Between the cosmopolitan and the parochial: the immigrant gentrifier in Koreatown, Los Angeles. Retrieved October 9, 2019, from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14649365.2017.1347955> .

Lees, L. (1970, January 1). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? - Loretta Lees, 2008. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098008097099> .

Wolch, J., & Li, W. (2002, May 25). Shifting Margins of Housing Status in Los Angeles. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0049089X97906001> .

Molina, N. (2015, February 1). The Importance of Place and Place-Makers in the Life of a Los Angeles Community. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://scq.ucpress.edu/content/97/1/69.abstract>.

Hwang, J. (2015, December 21). Pioneers of Gentrification: Transformation in Global Neighborhoods in Urban America in the Late Twentieth Century. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13524-015-0448-4> .

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### Why Portland as the subject for investigating Gentrification?

- It's where I live. No real reason.
- It had a small African-American population with long history of being exclusively white neighborhood- that wiped out in extremely short time
  - its an extreme case of gentrification.
  - Nowhere for black people to go as opposed to Atlanta, or other cities.
- I had nowhere else to go. (As opposed to other states).

#### What impact did you hope to gain when creating the documentary?

- At the beginning, just wanted to capture the change.
  - Didn't think issue would affect such a broad area.
- Show how the neighborhood was changing.
- Wanted to show Nikki's story accurately how she wanted it to be told.
- Move the needle in some way. not set out to say "i want to affect this thing",
  - but ended up being a part of relocation assistance program
  - part of campaign creating nations 1st rent control system.
- Just wanted to present a problem. Not a solution.
- film covered at ht. of housing crisis- rent shot up double digits and even 100%. Portland has no rent control, or laws to evict without cause.
  - Investors came seeing the potential, bought it, and took everyone off lease, rent mo. to mo. and raise rent to competitive rates.
  - people flew in, bought, made minor improvements, and jacked up prices- resulting in housing crisis.
  - Not enough subsidised units for displaced people

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### What impact did you hope to gain when creating the documentary? (continued)

- City of portland elected an activist-Chloe Udele, housing advocate, and brought in a law that if they raised rent more than 10% or evict a tenant w/o cause, they had to pay a fee to help the tenant.
  - This helped cool down rents a little bit.
  - State later leveled rent control so rent couldn't be raised more than 8%.
  - Also involved in legislature in long beach- which didn't have rent control or restrictions on rent controls.
    - They met and showed the film and campaigned, for relocation programs and assistance.

#### What brought you to do a film with Nikki the first time, what motivated you to document this issue?

- Just gotten out of film school and moved to portland, and then Eugene, Oregon.
  - Friend was finishing up his school and volunteering in Albina- on affordable housing.
  - Late 90's, coffee shops were opening up.
- Interested in revitalization, community housing, etc.
  - Considered going back to school for community planning.
  - Thought if we found a compelling person, we could explore these issues.
  - Original goal was find someone looking for affordable housing, they find it through the place my friend was working and then happy ending.
- Met Nikki, and she had a compelling way.
  - She was fighting drug dealers.
  - Hoped story would interact w. affordable housing and it did.
- wound up moving into that neighborhood.
  - was getting evicted from Eugene, and looked at 3 houses, and the one I bought was 4 blocks from nikki.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### What was your biggest unexpected challenge in filming *Priced Out* and *Northeast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*?

- Money- always biggest challenge, making it happen.
- N. east Passage & these types of doc's, shoot first and ask what the story is later.
  - had 250 hrs of footage. had something to do with Nikki, affordable housing with developers. and Nikki opposing.
  - It took a year to go through all the footage. Finding the story when you're not willing to bias your question when you're knowing what the story is. That was kinda the case with priced out too.
- We got overtaken with events when the housing crisis happened. How to focus on one thing when so much is going off at same time.
- Shot stuff at new orleans, thought about referencing n. orleans.
- trying to find thread in real time. current event story and history.
- ref: *cartel land: documentary*- where you're just there with vigilantes, or doc about history is just history, but this was both history and current.

#### Topic of Bias:

- there is truth, but stories are not truth, they are biased, but they point at truth.
  - ex: global warming is a true thing but any story you tell about it will be biased.
- in a story, there has to be series of events, goal, conflict, etc.
  - Have to make a focus. it's a challenge. racially challenged. the filmmaker is not from community being depicted.
  - Tried to engage dialogue with the sources. Brought a lot of people from community and watch film and get feedback, get guidance.
- Tried to be a collaborative project with sources.
- Sarah: our goal is to take as much story as possible as date but we haven't formulated thesis.
  - about to launch into editing & purpose.
  - Embrace that every perspective will have bias, be aware of our own bias.
  - we all have a lens that we come to table with.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (cont'd)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### Topic of Bias (cont'd)

- C: the more data you have, the better. the more people you have, the better.
  - I like to bring someone else in and ask what they think. Always undercut your own assumption bc good guidance could come from many directions. look for blind spots and make space for other people.

#### How were you able to establish trust with Nikki (especially in the first documentary) for her to speak so openly with you in front of the camera?

- Just kinda get lucky.. depends on type of interview you're doing.
- production partner on 1st film and little on 2nd- we are from ny area. we had a little bit of street/ foreigner cred. they would say you are white but you aren't from here. we are from an urban area" ... white oregonians don't talk to us the way you talk to us" weird interaction whites had so it was easy to stand out and have credibility. we had a lot of common references.
- nikki was a selection [process].
  - could deliver precise soundbyte. had a light story that was driven at moment by conflict.
  - someone had something in their story worthy of people attaching. she's a fighter. there's a struggle. she believes something audience believes. shared humanity so she isn't just a victim but more relatable. To draw commonality between human and subjects.
- IF it was subject for written article, id have more freedom to edit what they say.
  - live radio- margin for error is alot smaller. Nikki would have to be sharper, more compelling bc there is no editing.
- if recording interview and showing in a way to tell a story, have someone willing to emote, be vulnerable enough to share story and pain. make it real in ft of camera so it goes through camera into the audience.
  - an intangible quality you see in person. you need to be able to perform...
    - get angry, shut down, cry- be open enough. then, you have to ask questions, in the right tone to bring up feelings- not just information.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### How did you structure and frame the interviews with Nikki?

- Just spending time with someone, get them to trust you. She was a firecracker.
  - 1st film spent a lot more time with her.
  - you only see 2% of what we shot...
- a willingness to go somewhere you think you shouldn't go- (rude, personal, too close into comfort zone or personal space),
  - but know subject enough to have that license so they don't shut down.
- has to be a real intuitive sense in the relationship on what you can get way and also know you can be forgiven if you tres[ass].
- The relationship is foundation of the film.
  - know the person that has the story. are they comeplkling on film.
  - do you know them enough to go through a trial with them?
- relationship building before, after for years
  - don't reduce that person to an object. when telling such an intimate story, it's a fully human relationship you develop. story

#### Do you know how Nikki is doing now?

- spoke w. her last night. trying to do fundraising for national screening tour. they never worked on project together. she just left. I just saw her and her grandson. she did another episode on podcast priced out. month ago, she said she wanted him to show the film in pittsburg, etc.
- she moved to texas, she's single, she has a single h9me. she's a black gentrifier. she's experiencing southern racism. she is having a hard time finding community. becoming a housing advocate, going back to school.
- woken up again to the housing issue recently.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

***Did gentrifiers know they were being gentrifiers? If so, were there efforts from the new residents in gentrifying the area in a sustainable manner?***

- my bias is that - my gentrifiers were better ones than the 2nd and 3rd tiers.. haha, i can't say that
  - before, gentrification was more of a trickle, and they were moving into houses that were already empty, or rebuilding homes that were nonfunctional. there was time and space to know neighbors. not changing as fast. Those that wanted could get to know their neighbors.. more time to get to know them.
- S: gap wasn't as broad in income. now there are huge dollars of investment coming. there wasn't such a wealth disparity coming,
- C: people say 'fix your house, you're ruining my property value;; but there wasn't same level of intensity. people didn't really know what gentrification was. people were more concerned with crime, abandoned buildings. buildings abandoned for 20 years. "they put that store in there, great, but it will never survive" not so much animosity just bc the newcomer is white, i hate them for that. wealth disparity was very acute. it became visible. breaking point happened. even if there were black people in the area, they don't feel comf. walking down the street anymore.
  - and them people were angry all of a sudden.when it happens so fast, there's no room for relationships to be built.

***What was gentrification like for you and how do you feel about it now?***

- 20 year community reporter. cobbler's kids have no shoes. Community reporter has no friends.. bc we are rats and policing where we live. i didn't have a neighborhood, did not build a community.  
didn't affect me on the level it did to my neighbors.
- I liked my neighbors better before, but i like my neighborhood before now.
- I don't have a prob paying- can shop at expensive groceries. but like the old people ,more. I had a genuine relationship. working class people. settle problems with conflict- not passive aggressive middle class suburbanites.
  - want to look good but they're not being honest. mixed feelings. i
  - dont have alot of people i like to hangout with where i live. but you make community where and how you can.

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

*Do you know of any other cities that revitalized repressed neighborhoods in a more inclusive way and what did they do differently? any examples of positive gentrification?*

- adam and Cornelius: reminisce during Adam's time there.
- I don't think anyone is happy with the way it turned out. Gentrifica. is a new phenomenon in a way where there's a national conversation going on.
- cities are developing strategies around affordable housing, and trying to address spiking rent, rental protection. but at neighborhood level, not a lot of victory stories. to build affordable housing, the regional low income standard could be much higher- ex: 60,000 is poor. but poor in NE portland pays a lot less- its not poor for that neighborhood. so it's tricky. not a lot of success stories. baltimore is doing interesting cdes and landstories.. lot of interesting ideas, but not enough time yet to see if they have figured it out.

*At 56:05 in the “Priced Out” documentary, Nikki mentioned show now sees the other side of “Gentrification”. She specifically mentions how she now sees why Californians move to Portland and how developers see opportunities. I would like to see this side of the controversy as well. Are you in the process or planning to continue the documentation to explore this perspective of gentrification?*

- no projects in the works about gentrification. as far as where she goes and sees opportunity, that's part of her journey and we couldn't leave it out of the film... but as a filmmaker, i need to go where the problem is. as a filmmaker in the film, i take role of gentrifier and embody the upside. we end film saying gentrific. shuts so many people out but also gives people opportunity to pursue dream.
- american cities are coming back.
- they were in terrible shape bc of the policies created, and racism expressed through government, but they need mid class, and all the classes, and we are seeing that happen.
- it's an extremely positive development for our american civilization.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

*At 56:05 in the “Priced Out” documentary, Nikki mentioned show now sees the other side of “Gentrification”. She specifically mentions how she now sees why Californians move to Portland and how developers see opportunities. I would like to see this side of the controversy as well. Are you in the process or planning to continue the documentation to explore this perspective of gentrification? (cont'd)*

Lamont: my friends are getting priced out of SF and thinking of moving to portland.

C: that's the perk of remote jobs. my friends can take the sf salary and go to portland, and displace people. SF is well into the 4th stage of gentrification..SF is now owned by airBnB and institutions, no one owns property anymore there..

people are just looking for a place they can afford. the woman that bought nikki's house bought it for 330k and she loved the neighborhood,. she really wanted to live there.

adam: Do you see institutions as a trend??

C: yeah, it's terrible. who knows where it's going but it's happening in all sectors- not just housing sectors.

- Adam: ref: book “white trash” about housing displacement.
  - about how different races view each other.

*A lot of the interviewees are being presented to us in this documentary tell their story and appear to be responding to questions. However, we don't hear the interviewer asking a lot of these questions. How do we know there aren't leading questions building up to get intended responses? Is there a full transcript?*

- probably 500 pgs of logs to go through. leading questions go back to biases.
- conduct pre-interviews.. work through all their issues, test on screen to see their personalities.
- it can be dangerous bc if you ask a question twice, they might lose the spark in their answer.
- we don't know the story but want to get an emotional response..a lot of times, i will ask a ? and won't get a usable answer
  - ex: how long have you known johnny- A: 5 years. (needs to be put in a sentence so i can use it in the film without my voice/ prompt).

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

#### ***In your research did you see a correlation with gentrification and increased police violence towards the black community?***

- i don't have data on that. I think it's pretty...through anecdotes and coving issue for a long time. when there are more people who know how to use a system, they will call the police, put pressure on real estate friends, ... when they have more power to operate more systems, then you get more police. there is more complaint about crime. people who never lived in an urban neighborhood feel intimidated by people just hanging around. other times, there's a code of silence. in 1st film, nikki broke that code. normally, white people will break that silence.but yes, more arrests happen. and scales up with greater intensity and frequency.

#### ***If you could do any interviews over again, which one would it be and why?***

- nothing that sticks in mind that i hate.. there are some very controversial figures that are great on camera and film, but hated in the community,.
  - it's a story- even if they are hated, they are from the neighborhood.
  - they are valid.
  - i wonder if i look back, and discredit myself. but i have to remember what's important,
- N: more about the perception of the interviewee vs personal brand?
- C: yes.. but in terms of interview, w amount of interviews we did, i'm sure there is lots of stuff i wish i did better but i can't think of it right now. 500 hrs went into 60 min.
  - just grab what you can and run with it.

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

### Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

*Nikki Williams originally approached you about making a sequel in 2012. This film was not released until 2018. Did you notice the state of the community alter even further during those six years? Anything you wish you could have included?*

- Gentrification was always the driving factor. always thought gentrification would change, connect people and put forward and share what people wanted.
  - safe world
  - safe streets
  - seeing people abusing themselves, etc.
- .i've always scrambled to do this through the humanity so these conflicts between race and class are minimized as much as possible.
- and policy can be compassionate. but I never expected things to change so much from 2010 -2012.
- Thought it would become ½ black and ½ white. my neighborhood was like that so i thought it would just move up north that way.
- the thing i cringe at is the graph of crime and how it declined over 10 years, and when it declined, gentrification picked up. thats where mass incarceration picked up. I wish i could have explained that.,
  - wasn't able to make those points in the film -that's something i regret.

*If there was one thing that you can change about gentrification that can make it a better progression/process, what would it be?*

- rent stabilization, rent control, land trusts, policies that look forward in the gentrification cycle, takes money from sale and puts it directly into a community benefit for whatever the community was there before the gentrification happened. determine what it wants and give tazation to help make that happen. unfortunately, everyone has to hat it wrong and go through cycles of failure before they can make it better.
- the gov't in late 90s though- they said "lets build a bunch of affordable housing but people thought it was too much affordable housing, and it would turn the hood into a slum."

# PRIMARY & SECONDARY RESEARCH

## PART 3: Filmmaker Interview Session Notes (continued)

Q & A with Cornelius Swart, Filmmaker of *Priced Out* and *NorthEast Passage: The Inner City and American Dream*

**Through your research on gentrification, what do you think individuals can do to help mitigate the negative effects of urban gentrification?**

- be the best neighbor you could be
- take time to learn about your neighbor and the history
- be a participant in community
- defer to the community- white neighbors move in with liberal eco values
  - but bulldoze over existing neighbor projects around crime and education.
    - that's what black neighbors wanted, and more jobs.
    - but white people want trees, bike lanes, and etc
      - They take over the agenda.
- know what the values are
- what people are working on before moving in.
- your privilege is a roadmap in helping others.
- use your skills to help other people.
- volunteer your skills to help the community. listen and get their backs.

# SECONDARY RESEARCH: CITATIONS

Hwang, J., & Yoon, H. (n.d.). Shifting and Persisting Neighborhood Hierarchies ... Retrieved from  
<http://paa2019.populationassociation.org/uploads/192117> .

DeVerteuil, G., Yun, O., & Choi, C. (2017, July 7). Between the cosmopolitan and the parochial: the immigrant gentrifier in Koreatown, Los Angeles. Retrieved October 9, 2019, from  
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Molina, N. (2015, February 1). The Importance of Place and Place-Makers in the Life of a Los Angeles Community. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from  
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# BULLSEYE DIAGRAM

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By their very place-spanning nature, immigrants are taken to be natural cosmopolitans, the very agent of the transnational. Their mobility 'joins the taken-for-granted world'. Yet simultaneously, immigrants can be downright parochial, in terms of operating closed ethnic economies as well as employing mutual aid and survival techniques that draw strength from insularity and self-segregation

Koreatown has, in twenty-five years, gone from crime-ridden and riot-prone to a hip place to visit and inhabit, tirelessly promoted by such luminaries as chef-turned-entrepreneur Roy Choi. Many of the interviewees were fully aware that gentrification threatened other kinds of diversity that may have brought them to Koreatown in the first

Koreatown becomes more parochially segregated not just by race but also by built environment – incoming gentrifiers living in 90% Korean new-builds have little chance encountering a Latino population living in older, crowded and degraded apartments built between the 1920s and the 1970s, and increasingly subject to gentrification-induced displacement.

In the City of Los Angeles, for example, population grew by 135,000 between 1990 and 1994, during which time only 18,500 additional housing units were added to the stock (City of Los Angeles, 1995). The result was rapid price/rent escalation.

Recently enacted changes in the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program, the Food Stamp Program, and in the Supplemental Security Income Program will inevitably push many individuals, especially children and disabled people, from their precarious housing arrangements onto the streets.

By the end of 2004, the HOPE VI programme had demolished approximately 63 000 units and more than 20 300 units were redeveloped, however, HOPE VI has not aided the revitalisation of depressed

The legacy of immigrant and minority place-makers is fragile because these actors frequently are not activists, politicians, or organizers. They make history quietly.

The growth of new immigrants increases demand for low-cost housing in central cities. The rise of gentrification results in a new dynamic such that more households are competing for low-cost housing, which may, in turn, affect which neighborhoods gentrify

Restaurants can serve as social spaces that shape the neighborhoods in which they are located in ways that empower those who inhabit the surrounding area.

Evidence from New York City suggests that Hispanic neighborhoods had strong organizational capacity that was able to maintain affordable housing, which may have prevented gentrification in neighborhoods with high levels of Hispanic growth, and the continued rapid growth of immigrants into these neighborhoods may have limited points of entry for gentrifiers as low-cost vacancies quickly disappeared.

The movement of middle-income groups into low-income areas creates overwhelmingly negative effects, the most significant of which is the displacement of low-income groups

Metropolitan areas experiencing the highest rates of immigrant growth, have sprawling suburban areas with low relative housing costs, perceived good schools, low crime, established networks of other immigrants, and often major employment centers.

Terms like urban renaissance, urban revitalisation, urban regeneration and urban sustainability are used, avoiding the class constitution of the processes involved and neutralising the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it. It is difficult to be for gentrification, but who would oppose 'social mixing'?

Gentrification leads to displacement and socio-spatial segregation, rather than alleviating social segregation, as working-class and minority residents are steadily priced out of gentrified areas

Gentrification research has shown that increased social mix within declining neighbourhoods can worsen the quality of life for existing residents

In the past new people and incumbents have often not mixed well when they were of different races or socioeconomic statuses. The normative integration that is a prerequisite for upgrading does not develop ... This probably becomes more serious when racial mix is combined with socioeconomic mix.

Gentrification is not just about changing the present; intentionally or not, it erases the past."

Place-makers from the past pictured improving the neighborhood through community legal services and affordable day care centers. The twenty-first-century solution is to fight crime in Echo Park by opening a beer bar with seventy-three California craft brews on tap, plus a full bar and food service

In cities with low levels of segregation and growing Asian and/or Hispanic populations, these groups become increasingly segregated as they form their own communities

The middle-class gentrifiers engaged in little social mixing with local low-income groups. Social interaction was greatest in areas where other groups had been largely pushed aside.

"What I want to bring to your attention is the importance of recognizing and memorializing the placemakers who helped to shape the urban landscape of Echo Park and of other, similar places. If we fail to acknowledge and value these actors' roles, we risk viewing gentrification as merely an uncomplicated urban renaissance in which a new set of place-makers revitalizes a rapid cultural wasteland filled with crime and blight.

The homeless policy continues to emphasize emergency assistance, while the welfare, human service, and employment assistance supports so critical to preventing homelessness are being cut.

There is the strong possibility that in the near future, no one will know this piece of immigrant and multicultural Los Angeles history or the role Echo Park has played in the formation of cross-racial bonds.

Housing redifferentiation is a policy of adding more expensive dwellings to low-income areas by removing inexpensive dwellings through demolition, together with the sale and upgrading of existing dwellings—the idea being to create a more socially mixed population in neighbor

## Notes from:

Hwang, J., & Yoon, H. (n.d.). Shifting and Persisting

Neighborhood Hierarchies ... Retrieved from

<http://paa2019.populationassociation.org/uploads/192117> .

As gentrification has become widespread across cities throughout the US over the last two decades, the growth of new immigrants and shifting patterns of immigrant settlement and profiles have reshaped metropolitan contexts.

Analysis based on US Census and American Community Survey data from 1990 to 2014 shows a negative relationship during the 1990s but a positive relationship after 2000 between immigration and the prevalence of gentrification across cities.

First, we find limited preferences for diversity governed by a racial hierarchy in the spread of gentrification whereby the influx of immigrants in black neighborhoods is associated with increased odds of gentrification but decreased odds in other neighborhood ethnoracial compositions. Second, we find evidence of housing competition dynamics such that, in high immigration cities, immigrant influx is negatively associated with the likelihood of gentrification. This process is racially patterned during the 1990s but not the 2000s. Together, these dynamics explain the higher likelihood of gentrification in predominantly black neighborhoods during the 2000s relative to other neighborhoods.

Whereas central city depopulation and decline and suburbanization characterized US metropolitan areas for most of the twentieth century, metropolitan areas in the late twentieth century have undergone widespread demographic shifts as immigration rates increased significantly, the Hispanic and Asian population grew, and gentrification became increasingly widespread (Ehrenhalt 2013).

Gentrification—the process by which low-income central-city neighborhoods experience investment and renewal and an in-migration of middle-and upper-class residents (Smith 1998: 198)—occurred across several US cities since the mid-twentieth century, but, beginning in the late 1990s, the process became much more rapid and widespread compared with the past (Connor et al. 2018; Hackworth and Smith 2001). Distinct from before, the recent wave of gentrification is characterized by its spread beyond downtown neighborhoods into “economically risky” ones, greater involvement by larger investors and developers and the state, and the decline

in effective resistance (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Lees 2008; Wacquant 2008).<sup>1</sup> In line with these observations, others have noted the increased prevalence of gentrification occurring in minority, particularly black, neighborhoods (Goetz 2010; Owens 2012; Freeman and Cai 2015; Hyra 2017).

Although the foreign-born population significantly increased in the US from 9.7 million to 19.8 million from 1970 to 1990 with the passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, which eased immigration restrictions from specific regions, the foreign-born population increased substantially during the 1990s at unprecedented levels, growing to 31.1 million by 2000 and to 42.4 million by 2014 (Singer 2004).

## Notes from:

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To explain the increased prevalence in minority neighborhoods in particular, explanations point to: an increased focus of federal housing policy to deconcentrate poverty with the demolition of large-scale public housing projects and transformation into mixed-income developments, changing racial attitudes (Hyra 2017); and the growth of middle-class minorities who often drive gentrification initially in predominantly minority neighborhoods

Since the 1990s are from Asia or Latin America, but the

share of immigrants from Mexico declined precipitously over the period, as more immigrants from other countries increased (Massey 2008). Between 2008 and 2009, the share of Asian arrivals surpassed that of Latino arrivals (Waters et al. 2015). Asian immigrants continue to include a large number of highly educated, professional, and entrepreneurial migrants while Hispanic immigrants – specifically Mexicans – continue to be largely low-skilled labor migrants

while more immigrants now live in the suburbs compared with central cities, in traditional gateways and in the largest metropolitan areas, immigrants are still more likely to live in central cities than the suburbs compared to the overall population (Wilson and Singer 2011; Frey 2014; Waters et al. 2016). New immigrants traditionally moved to the urban cores of metropolitan areas, which serve as a base for low-SES residents for eventual assimilation (Logan et al. 2002; Singer et al. 2009), but metropolitan areas experiencing the highest rates of immigrant growth, such as Atlanta, GA, Austin, TX, and Portland, OR, have sprawling suburban areas with low relative housing costs, perceived good schools, low crime, established networks of other immigrants, and often major employment centers.

several ethnographic accounts of gentrifying neighborhoods note the prior presence of Asian and Hispanic immigrant groups, including well-known examples of gentrified neighborhoods such as Brooklyn's Williamsburg (Susser 1982) and Chicago's Wicker Park (Lloyd 2006).

Across 23 US cities, Hwang (2015, 2016) finds that neighborhoods in cities with relatively higher shares of foreign-born residents have a higher probability of gentrifying and that the presence of Asians during the early and mid-1970s positively predicted gentrification.

. First, the rise of immigrants replenished the population of depopulating cities and neighborhoods as non-Hispanic white and black populations continue to grow in the suburbs in decline in cities (Winnick 1990;

Their influx established commercial businesses in vacant storefronts and increased the demand for housing that may have otherwise remained vacant (Lin 1998; Muller 1993; Winnick 1990). Immigrants continue to revitalize local economies through entrepreneurship and increased demand for housing and consumption

- “*Pioneering*” Hypothesis: The influx of immigrants to neighborhoods is positively associated with the likelihood of gentrification; more broadly, the influx of immigrants to cities is positively associated with the prevalence of gentrification in cities.

## Notes from:

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In addition, the in-migration of immigrants is negatively associated with violent crime (McDonald, Hipp, and Gill 2013; Sampson 2012; Vigdor 2014), and studies cite large crime declines across cities since the mid- 1990s as an important contributor to increased gentrification

Thus, immigrants may stabilize and improve the social and economic conditions of neighborhoods that may make neighborhoods or central cities, more broadly, more attractive for gentrification.

the large increase in the Hispanic and Asian populations associated with the growth of immigrants, especially since the 1990s, alters the ethnoracial compositions of many neighborhoods that may in turn make neighborhoods more attractive for gentrification.,

Evidence on the preferences of gentrifiers document both an aversion to predominantly minority, especially black, neighborhoods in this early period (Laska and Spain 1980; Smith and Williams 1986; Smith 1996) and an aversion to homogeneously white, middle- and upper-class neighborhoods that characterized the suburbs

Neighborhoods are now increasingly multiethnic(Zhang and Logan 2017), potentially bringing the ethnoracial diversity that appeals to gentrifiers' preferences. While much of this literature focuses on individuals' neighborhood preferences, these preferences certainly interact with neighborhood selection processes by developers, investors, and the state

- “*Deterring*” Hypothesis: The influx of immigrants to neighborhoods is negatively associated with the likelihood of gentrification; more broadly, the influx of immigrants to cities is negatively associated with the prevalence of gentrification in cities.

Blalock (1967) argues that, rather than increasing racial integration, larger shares of minorities exacerbate preferences to avoid minority neighbors.

- Other studies find that, in cities with low levels of segregation and growing Asian and/or Hispanic populations, these groups become increasingly segregated as they form their own communities
- Other research also finds an increasing aversion to these groups by natives as immigration continues to rise and as areas become less educated and less white (Saiz and Wachter 2011; Sanchez 1997).
- Hwang's (2016) study on gentrification during the 1970s and 1980s finds that areas that served as enclave destinations for immigrants were unlikely to gentrify.

The processes described thus far can occur directly in specific neighborhoods to which immigrants move, but the influx of immigrants and subsequent changes to the social, economic, or compositional conditions of the neighborhoods across cities, more broadly, may make urban living more or less attractive, regardless of the specific neighborhoods with growing immigrant populations.

the growth of new immigrants increases demand for low-cost housing in central cities. The rise of gentrification results in a new dynamic such that more households are competing for low-cost housing, which may, in turn, affect which neighborhoods gentrify

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At the neighborhood-level, the influx of immigrants may deter gentrification and offset gentrification pressures to other neighborhoods, and, at the city-level, the influx of immigrants may limit the prevalence of neighborhoods that experience gentrification.

Whereas the metropolitan areas to which immigrants tended to migrate during the 1990s had a negative relationship with the prevalence of gentrification, there is a strong positive relationship during the 2000s. This is likely explained by the shifting patterns of immigrant settlement to different metropolitan areas and to different areas within them and by shifting profiles of immigrants.

the distinct relationships between immigration and gentrification at the neighborhood-level relative to the metropolitan-level are noteworthy and suggest that there are distinct sorting processes between gentrifiers and immigrants. For both decades, the influx of immigrants to a neighborhood is negatively associated with the neighborhood's odds of gentrifying on average, but the influx of immigrants to the city or metropolitan area is positively associated with the odds of neighborhood gentrification during the 2000s.

the recent wave of gentrification continues to follow processes reflecting a ethno racial hierarchy. The influx of immigrants into predominantly black neighborhoods significantly increases their likelihood of gentrification across both decades, while it significantly decreases the likelihood of gentrification in other-minority and nonminority neighborhoods.

These findings are consistent with a process of buffering in which gentrifiers are more willing to live in black neighborhoods if there is a substantial influx of immigrant residents, and they also demonstrate limited preferences for diversity by gentrifiers. The influx of immigrants to predominantly white neighborhoods is negatively associated with gentrification as they become more diverse, and the influx of immigrants to other-minority neighborhoods is also negatively associated with gentrification across both decades as they become more homogeneous

The lack of an influx of immigration to neighborhoods is positively associated with gentrification in high-immigration cities. This suggests that, as gentrifiers and recent immigrants compete for affordable housing, they differentially sort into distinct neighborhoods. . For predominantly black neighborhoods, the combination of this process and the positive effect of immigrant influx on black neighborhoods explains their greater likelihood of gentrification compared with other neighborhood compositions during the 2000s after accounting for other neighborhood- and metropolitan-level characteristics. The increased demand for low- cost housing imposed by both rising numbers of recent immigrants and the spread of gentrification creates a new dynamic shaping patterns of uneven development within cities.

the gentrification-immigration relationship is negative in supplementary models that examine the influx of recent immigrants from the prior decade. Thus, the influx of immigrants does not lead to more gentrification in the subsequent period but, instead, indicates that gentrification is growing in places where immigration is also growing.

As immigration flows continue, cities become increasingly multiethnic, and gentrification continues to spread across cities, the patterns we find during the 2000s provide insights into the future of US cities and neighborhood hierarchies. As gentrification has evoked considerable debate surrounding its implications for racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic inequality, understanding the nature of uneven development and its changing dynamics are important for developing interventions to mitigate its impacts

## Notes From:

Lees, L. (1970, January 1). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance? - Loretta Lees, 2008. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098008097099>.

The benefits of functionally as well as socially mixed urban communities have become something of an unquestioned gospel in policy discourse. Yet there is a poor evidence base for the widespread policy assumption that gentrification will help increase the social mix, foster social mixing and thereby increase the social capital and social cohesion of inner-city communities.

There is an “uneasy cohabitation” between gentrification and social mix.

Sociocultural diversity is a *leitmotif* in the new tastes for central city housing and neighborhood.

In research undertaken in one of the first neighborhoods in London to gentrify, Barnsbury in Islington, such a *leitmotif* is certainly to be found. Pioneer gentrifiers in Barnsbury were part of a left-liberal new middle class who actively sought social mixing, as seen in the fact that they were champions of the comprehensive school revolution of which Margaret Malden's Islington Green was a prototype.

The present trend towards a rising proportion of the middle classes in the population will continue. This will help create a better social balance in the structure of the community, and the professional expertise of the articulate few will ultimately benefit the underprivileged population.

The assumed social advantages of the balanced community have been at the heart of nearly all debate on new towns and urban renewal ... The difficulty with the concept is that, despite numerous empirical investigations, very little is known about the advantages and disadvantages of different kinds of mix, nor at what level—street, neighborhood, district, community—social balance would be a worthwhile goal for policy objectives (Pitt, 1977, p. 16).

. In the past new people and incumbents have often not mixed well when they were of different races or socioeconomic statuses. The normative integration that is a prerequisite for upgrading does not develop ... This probably becomes more serious when a racial mix is combined with a socioeconomic mix (Clay, 1979, p. 70).

## Notes From:

**Lees, L. (1970, January 1). Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an**

**Inclusive Urban Renaissance? - Loretta Lees, 2008. Retrieved from**

**<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0042098008097099>**.

Encouraging socially mixed neighborhoods and communities has become a major urban policy and planning goal in the UK, Ireland, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Australia, Canada and the United States.

post-industrial cities have a growing interest in marketing themselves as being built on a foundation of 'inclusive' neighborhoods capable of harmoniously supporting a blend of incomes, cultures, age-groups and lifestyles

Three distinct rationales in policy debates for social mixing:

- the 'defending the neighborhood' argument claims that since middle-class people are stronger advocates for public resources, socially mixed neighborhoods will fare better than those without middle-class households.
- The 'money-go-round' argument claims that socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods are able to support a stronger local economy than areas of concentrated poverty.
- The 'networks and contacts' argument draws on Putnam's (1995) influential account of bridging and bonding social capital to promote social mixing as the way to generate social cohesion and economic opportunity.

The rhetoric of 'social mix' hides a gentrification strategy and in that a hidden social cleansing agenda. The concept of social mix has been operationalized through gentrification in order to address—that is, cleanse—the long-term disinvestment and poverty in Vancouver's Downtown Eastside

Terms like urban renaissance, urban revitalization, urban regeneration, and urban sustainability are used instead, avoiding the class constitution of the processes involved and neutralizing the negative image that the process of gentrification brings with it. *It is difficult to be for gentrification, but who would oppose 'social mixing'?*

The U.S., U.K., and the Netherlands enacted similar but different ways of promoting social mixing as part of their urban renaissance agendas.

- U.K. has promoted the state-led gentrification of public housing through a mixed community policy and the housing market renewal of areas of supposedly failing owner-occupied housing (usually working-class).
  - In recent policy statement 1 they sell gentrification, which they prefer to call 'urban renaissance,' to us through the neutralizing vein of social mixing
  - The British government's stated intention to bring the middle classes back to the central city, read gentrification, is motivated by, and indeed sold to us, as an attempt to reduce socio-spatial segregation and strengthen the 'social tissue' of deprived neighborhoods.
  - Social mixing and improved social balance are viewed as key to reducing what they term 'neighborhood effects.'

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○ “Through producing more socially balanced neighborhoods via gentrification and thus reducing socio-spatial segregation, the British government expects to increase the stocks of social capital in disadvantaged neighborhoods. The mixing of low-income and middle-income communities is, therefore, a necessary part of the British government’s program to reduce social exclusion.”

○ The current strategy for the demolition and rebuilding of the Aylesbury estate lists the construction of 3200 private new-build homes and only 2000 social rented new-build homes. This fulfills the UDP requirement for 40 percent social housing. In essence, they seek to demolish the vast majority of the Aylesbury estate (despite much of it being structurally sound) and to create a new-build development for a privileged middle class. This plan does not acknowledge the current mix already in the area (which is already very socially and ethnically diverse), nor does it address issues of social sustainability.

§ Demolishing low-cost working-class houses in order to build high-value products that middle-class people will allegedly buy violates a whole way of working-class ‘being’ towards houses (as places to dwell rather than a position within the space of positions).

· The U.S. has promoted social mixing through policies that seek the spatial deconcentration of poverty.

○ Local urban renaissance initiatives are seeking to entice more affluent populations into low-income areas—what Stuart Cameron (2003, p. 2373) calls a policy of ‘positive gentrification’ or ‘gentrification as a positive public policy tool’—in order to diversify the social mix and dilute concentrations of poverty in the inner city.

○ . In cities that are highly dependent on property taxes as a source of revenue, seeking to increase your tax base by increasing the percentage of middle-class homeowners in the central city is seen to be fiscal pragmatism

○ The current trend in U.S. housing redevelopment is to replace existing high-density social housing ‘projects’ with new lower-density mixed-income communities. This is the central thrust of the Federal Department of Housing and Urban Development’s HOPE VI program, which has been used to mix socially, and gentrify public housing.

○ By the end of 2004, the HOPE VI program had demolished approximately 63 000 units, and more than 20 300 units were redeveloped (Atkinson, 2005). Cunningham (2001), however, in his critique of HOPE VI in Washington DC, argues that HOPE VI has not aided the revitalization of depressed neighborhoods, rather it has reduced, affordable housing and caused spiraling rents and prices

○ This neo-liberal formula of social mixing that promotes gentrification can be seen operating at perhaps a more disturbing level in post-Katrina New Orleans

§ They aim to lure middle-class families back into New Orleans and to build over, displace or ‘culturally integrate’ the African American/ low-income communities

§ both programs involve the displacement of very large numbers of low-income households of color

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- The Netherlands has pursued policies of breaking up, through demolition and rebuilding, significant areas of low-income housing. In a similar vein to the U.K., it has also enacted a policy that regulates new developments by requiring mixed occupancy as a condition for planning approval and/or funding.

- In the Netherlands, a policy of 'housing re-differentiation' as they call it, has been underway since 1996

§ Housing redifferentiation is a policy of adding more expensive dwellings to low-income areas by removing inexpensive dwellings through demolition, together with the sale and upgrading of existing dwellings—the idea being to create a more socially mixed population in neighbor

- The motivation for promoting such policies is not about the social well-being of disadvantaged individuals; rather, it is about the need to strengthen the economic position of Dutch cities overall.

- City governments in the Netherlands see the facilitation of social mix as a way of attracting higher-income residents who will improve the tax-base, support local businesses and improve the governability of the city—for well educated, middle-class urbanites are less of a burden on social services and are likely to play an active part in neighborhood revitalizations

Butler with Robson (2003) suggests that higher levels of social mixing, and thus conceivably also of social capital and cohesion, are more likely to be achieved in socially homogeneous, rather than socially mixed, areas.

- At too local a scale, it can create tensions—especially when there are marked economic, social and cultural differences between residents—and residents may withdraw rather than mix
- a large quantitative study using data from the U.K. census and the Scottish longitudinal study, were forced to "conclude that the policy of deliberately mixing tenures in housing developments in order to improve social well-being remains largely unsupported by the research evidence so far available".

Social mixing is being promoted through gentrification in the face of evidence that gentrification leads to social segregation, social polarization and displacement. The movement of middle-income groups into low-income areas creates overwhelmingly adverse effects, the most significant of which is the displacement of low-income groups

There are long standing claims, mostly from the U.S., that gentrification leads to displacement and socio-spatial segregation, rather than alleviating social segregation, as working-class and minority residents are steadily priced out of gentrified areas (for example, Marcuse, 1986; Smith, 1996; Wyly and Hammel, 2004).

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The spatially based mechanisms designed to increase social mixing—such as reduced spatial segregation, better urban design and compact cities (the exact policy ingredients in the case of new-build gentrification along the Thames)—have been ineffective in increasing social mixing at the neighborhood/community level.

Walks and Maaranen concluded that gentrification in these cities was followed by declining, rather than improving, levels of social mix, ethnic diversity and immigrant concentration within affected neighborhoods.

Gentrification was implicated in a growth in neighborhood polarisation and inequality: “the more that gentrification has progressed in a neighborhood, the greater the reduction in levels of social mix, and the less ‘mixed’ the local social structure in 2001”

Gentrification was found to have a deleterious impact on the immigrant-reception function of inner city neighborhoods.

The middle-class gentrifiers interviewed by Butler (1997), Butler and Robson (2001) and Butler with Robson (2003), engaged in little social mixing with local low-income groups. Social interaction was greatest in areas where other groups had been largely pushed aside and, where they had not, gentrification tended to result in ‘tectonic’ juxtapositions of polarised socioeconomic groups rather than in socially cohesive communities. Butler (1997) found that Hackney’s gentrifiers sought out people with similar cultural and political values, ones attuned to what inner-city living had to offer, such as social and cultural diversity. Yet Butler points to some interesting contradictions. He argues that “there appears to be an increasing tendency towards spatial segmentation within the middle class both occupationally and residentially” (Butler, 1997, p.161). Despite the Hackney' new' middle classes' desire for diversity and difference, they tended to self-segregate.

- The willingness of the new urbanites to live cheek by jowl with low-status communities may testify to the apartness that some feel from those communities”.
- Butler and Robson supported these earlier findings about social interaction and found that middle-class gentrifiers tended to associate with other middle-class people in their neighborhood, primarily through their children. They were clear: “There is little evidence of numbers of cross class friendships.”

It is not realistic to assume that people from different social class backgrounds or income bands living cheek-by-jowl will actually mix, let alone integrate.

Some authors have pointed out that socially mixed communities are just as likely to engender social conflict as social harmony due to the clash of different cultures, classes and socioeconomic groups (Goodchild and Cole, 2001). Freeman (2006) found conflict between the gentrifiers and the more established residents, and resentment stemming from feelings of irrelevance that the neighborhood improvements were not being made for them. As Atkinson (2006, pp. 829–830) argues, “If diversity is to be encouraged, it may be possible only through a vision of a vibrant *city*, rather than an enforced social blend at the *neighborhood scale*”. As Galster says

precisely *how* and *why* neighborhoods matter must be unpacked carefully before one can leap to any policy implications regarding neighborhood mixing (Galster, 2007, p. 35; original emphasis).

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The middle-class pre-school clubs were, and remain, highly exclusionary of non-middle-class children". Gentrification-induced social mix did not then engender social mixing for either adults or children.

Once you include the experiences of non-gentrifiers, the inadequacies of arguments about the influence of residence on class relations in gentrifying neighborhoods become apparent (see Bridge, 1994; also Freeman, 2006). Davidson (under review) surveyed and interviewed both gentrifiers and non-gentrifiers and found little evidence of social interaction between the residents in the newly built middle-income developments along the Thames and the lower-income residents living in the adjacent neighborhoods.

In part, this was due to the transitory nature of the new-build residents and in part it was due to the spatially segregated nature of the new-build developments with respect to the adjacent low-income communities. As Davidson argues

The lifeworlds of the two populations rarely intersect. [They] did not work in the same places or use the same means of transport. They did not frequent the same restaurants or public houses. They had different household structures. They had different expectations and aspirations about community and mixing (Davidson, under review).

Social ties rarely crossed class and racial lines, the social networks in the neighborhoods seemed impervious to the changes taking place around them and there were clashes between the norms of gentrifiers and those of the longer-term residents.

Gentrification research has shown that increased social mix within declining neighborhoods can worsen the quality of life for existing residents.

Gentrification-induced social mix threatens the welfare benefits and supportive networks that emerge from living in neighborhoods with complementary and similar households. It destroys one kind of social capital to try and create another.

Churches, service organizations, schools and institutions have been affected by it. Their numbers have dwindled or their constituencies changed. Many small churches have closed; public school enrolment has decreased in the most gentrified sections, and higher-income children are taking over local private schools.

Policy documents that promote social mixing fail to define what a good social mix is, or what kinds of communities are well balanced

social mix is merely a description that may apply to virtually any urban neighborhood. No neighborhood has a completely homogeneous population.

## Notes From:

DeVerteuil, G., Yun, O., & Choi, C. (2017, July 7). Between the cosmopolitan and the parochial: the immigrant gentrifier in Koreatown, Los Angeles. Retrieved October 9, 2019, from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14649365.2017.1347955>.

- . Yeoh (2004) deemed cosmopolitanism as an ethos of tolerance, diversity, and openness joined to a political project that promotes elitism and neoliberalism, using the case of Singapore and its highly articulated strategies to globalize at all costs. This paradox is captured by the sense that while respectful of difference and diversity, cosmopolitanism only tolerates the packaged and elitist versions, and rejects certain ‘others’, particularly migrants and other transgressors. While potentially emancipatory, cosmopolitan is cast as global citizenship, which is decidedly elitist with no ‘language of questions or resistance’ (Wyly, 2015, p. 2531), alongside a lack of roots, attachment and obligations, linked to European colonialism and modernity (Venn, 2002)
- Encounters never take place in a space free from history, material conditions and power. The danger is that contemporary discourses about cosmopolitanism and new urban citizenship, by celebrating the potential of everyday encounters to produce social transformations, potentially allow the knotty issue of inequalities to slip out of the debate. (2008, p. 333)
- By their very place-spanning nature, immigrants are taken to be natural cosmopolitans, the very agent of the transnational (Portes, Guarnizo, & Haller, 2002; Vertovec, 2009). Their mobility ‘jolts the taken-for-granted world’ (Ley, 2004, p. 159; Smith, 2001). Yet simultaneously, immigrants can be downright parochial, in terms of operating closed ethnic economies (Portes et al., 2002) as well as employing mutual aid and survival techniques that draw strength from insularity and self-segregation (DeVerteuil, 2011a; Marr, DeVerteuil, & Snow, 2009)
- , gentrification is assumed to be more parochial, spatially-bounded and homegrown, locally contingent and locked into specific built environments and historically- embedded infrastructure, ‘gentrification in cities’ (Wyly, 2015, p. 2515) rather than ‘gentrification as a dimension of planetary urbanization’.
- so gentrification remains deeply localized and territorial; Maloutas (2011) further reinforced the indigenous nature of gentrification, that the term remains firmly embedded to its Anglo-American heartland and does not travel easily.
- , immigration and gentrification occupy different positions along the cosmopolitan-parochial continuum and in tension with each other: immigration veers toward the cosmopolitan but still has a place-embedded parochial side via self-imposed insularity and segregation, while gentrification is more place-bound but also has cosmopolitan tendencies via gentrifier disposition and ambition

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- Korea town is often represented variously as an immigrant neighborhood, a hub for ethnic entrepreneurialism, an ethnic enclave and crucible for the Korean-American experience, but also the site of ethnic difference and occasional strife, a struggling, crime-ridden inner-city neighborhood, and increasingly as a gentrifying place.
- Los Angeles Koreatown has been experiencing unprecedented geographic changes, transforming itself from an immigrant ethnic enclave filled with small businesses into a transnational economic space developed by hegemonic development actors'.
- Koreatown remains balkanized by race (heavily non-White, divided between Asians and Latinos) and class (mostly working poor), both an immigrant reception area and an area undergoing incipient gentrification. The complexities are underlined by the demographics: Latinos are the majority population 1 in this majority foreign-born, non-white space, while Koreans make up but 20% of the area's population yet own the bulk of the commercial space.
- : the pattern of gentrification has been highly uneven as well. Real estate data (Data Quick, 2013) for the 2003–2013 period showed that Koreatown as a whole saw median prices increase 25%, which is between the City of Los Angeles (37%) and Los Angeles County (18%) increases, save for 90010 zip code, whose increase of 55% sets it apart. Not surprisingly, this was the only zip code with a Korean majority in Los Angeles (going from 13% in 1990 to over 57% in 2010), as well as the only one with significant new- build gentrification
- . Los Angeles never saw the gradual inner-city disinvestment that many older cities (such as New York and London) did in the 1970s and 1980s followed by relentless reinvestment. Rather, rent gaps have been produced by sharp shocks, such as the destruction wrought by the 1992 unrest that deflated most of inner-city Los Angeles' real estate value but also sowed the seeds for future redevelopment:
- the post-1992 period as a 'unique catalyst' during which certain owners significantly expanded their holdings, a sort of 'shock' disinvestment/reinvestment that overlapped with the 1997 Korean financial crisis, bringing a wave of transnational capital seeking safe haven (Park & Kim, 2008). It was during this period that Koreatown began to experience homegrown commercial gentrification (Light, 2002), laying the groundwork for more recent residential gentrification, 'enclave' style. However, the sense was that residential gentrification was only partially abetted by transnational flows and largely overshadowed, as we shall show, by an important internal financing by long-established, first generation Korean immigrant-investors themselves.
- , the process of gentrification in Koreatown remained more a homegrown affair, grafting onto a longstanding immigrant enclave growth machine. In this respect, Koreatown gentrification represents a distinct phenomenon – the equivalent of older, Americanized Italian immigrants returning to and solely gentrifying Little Italy in New York!

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DeVerteuil, G., Yun, O., & Choi, C. (2017, July 7). Between the cosmopolitan and the parochial: the immigrant gentrifier in Koreatown, Los Angeles. Retrieved October 9, 2019, from <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14649365.2017.1347955> .

- Koreatown has, in twenty-five years, gone from crime-ridden and riot-prone to a hip place to visit and inhabit, tirelessly promoted by such luminaries as chef-turned-entrepreneur Roy Choi. And yet, many of the interviewees were fully aware that gentrification threatened other kinds of diversity that may have brought them to Koreatown in the first place.
- As Koreatown becomes more parochially segregated not just by race but also by built environment – incoming gentrifiers living in 90% Korean new-builds have little chance encountering a Latino population living in older, crowded and degraded apartments built between the 1920s and the 1970s, and increasingly subject to gentrification-induced displacement. This upends the usual White-minority dynamic, ‘an uneasy fit within gentrification models that stress racial privilege rooted in historical forms of segregation and exclusion within urban America’
- What is evident, despite professed intentions, is that spaces of encounter follow more of a bubble model (Butler, 2003), in which gentrification and diversity are tectonic – they exist alongside each other but rarely meet and never act in concert. This links to the idea that areas of highest diversity are also frequently among the most deprived

## Notes From:

Wolch, J., & Li, W. (2002, May 25). Shifting Margins of Housing Status in Los Angeles. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0049089X97906001>.

- In the City of Los Angeles, for example, population grew by 135,000 between 1990 and 1994, during which time only 18,500 additional housing units were added to the stock (City of Los Angeles, 1995). The result was rapid *price/rent escalation*. Overall, in real terms, Los Angeles County rents rose over 50% during the 1980s, and regional house prices, equal to the national average in 1974, were 55% above that norm by the mid-1980s (Baer, 1986). Such price escalation effectively eliminated low-cost units. Between 1974 and 1985, the number of affordable units fell by 42%; such units were 35% of the stock in 1974, but only 16% by 1985.
- The *diversity gap in crowding* was the most striking aspect of the overcrowded housing picture: whereas non-Hispanic White households had experienced little crowding, crowding among African American households was twice the White rate. But both of these rates, while increasing somewhat over the decade, were low compared to Asian and Hispanic households. Among Asians, moderate crowding was four times the White rate while extreme crowding was nine times higher; Hispanic households had five times the moderate crowding rate of Whites and 13 times the extreme rate. More than 40% of Asian and almost 60% of Hispanic households were crowded by these definitions .
- Recently enacted changes in the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children Program, the Food Stamp Program, and in the Supplemental Security Income Program will inevitably push many individuals, especially children and disabled people, from their precarious housing arrangements onto the streets.
- , the need for additional income assistance is even more profound than our estimates suggest, given the severe post-1989 recession in California that resulted in falling incomes among less affluent households (Reed, Haber, and Mameesh, 1996) and the fact that virtually all manufacturing jobs lost in the state were located in Southern California. Such a strengthening of the safety net is not, of course, what is happening at either the national level or the local level in the Los Angeles region. Instead, homeless policy continues to emphasize emergency assistance, while the welfare, human service, and employment assistance support so critical to *preventing* homelessness are being cut.
- As in the case of Michigan, which eliminated local relief entirely in the early 1990s, the results are bound to be devastating. The tenuous hold on shelter among the growing ranks of precariously housed households in the region can only be sustained by a major reversal of welfare, employment, and housing subsidy policies at all levels.

## Notes From:

Hwang, J. (2015, December 21). Pioneers of Gentrification: Transformation in Global Neighborhoods in Urban America in the Late Twentieth Century. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s13524-015-0448-4>.

- Thus, gentrification is broadly a process of neighborhood selection—not only by relatively well-off individual households but also by developers, businesses, and institutions—that results in the physical, demographic, and cultural transformation of a low-income area into a higher-value, middle- or upper-class neighborhood.
- The influx of immigrants following the passage of the 1965 Hart-Celler Act, which eased immigration restrictions, influenced the development of gentrification. The rise of predominantly Asian and Hispanic immigrants to central cities in the United States beginning in 1968, when the new immigration laws became effective, preceded the rise of gentrification in U.S. cities that occurred in the late 1970s and 1980s (Hackworth and Smith 2001).<sup>2</sup> Ethnographic accounts of neighborhoods that began gentrifying during this time indicate that Hispanic and Asian immigrant groups were present prior to the influx of middle- class residents. These include well-known examples of gentrified neighborhoods, such as Brooklyn's Williamsburg (Susser 1982), Manhattan's Lower East Side (Mele 2000), and Chicago's Wicker Park (Lloyd 2006).
- Some of these neighborhoods eventually became established ethnic enclaves,<sup>3</sup> which have only begun to face gentrification pressures in recent decades as gentrification became rapid and widespread (Hackworth and Smith 2001; Hum 2014; Wilson and Grammenos 2005); however, the neighborhoods to which most of these immigrants arrived were not traditional ethnic enclaves at the time, even in traditional immigrant destination cities
- new immigrants revitalized declining areas by increasing housing demand in emptying neighborhoods and populating previously vacant residences and commercial storefronts (Winnick 1990), thereby creating more desirable economic and social neighborhood conditions that could attract gentrification.
- The new rise of Asians and Hispanics during the 1970s provided a “demographic renewal” to older, inner-city neighborhoods that had fallen out of favor and undergone population declines (Muller 1993; Winnick 1990). Many of these neighborhoods were marked by low residential and commercial rents and high vacancy rates, which provided opportunities for affordable housing and entrepreneurship (Lin 1998; Winnick 1990).
  - Consequently, they stabilized and spurred local economic growth by creating demand for local services, establishing their own enterprises, and replenishing demand in local housing markets
  - This revitalization of declined neighborhoods by immigrants did not necessarily result in the influx of higher-class residents and investment that characterizes gentrification, as defined earlier; but by stabilizing relatively low-cost, declining neighborhoods through filling vacancies and stimulating the local economy and housing market, the influx of Asians and Hispanics improved the social and economic conditions of these areas, potentially increasing their desirability to gentrifiers.
  - Evidence from New York City suggests that Hispanic neighborhoods had strong organizational capacity that was able to maintain affordable housing (Winnick 1990), which may have prevented gentrification in neighborhoods with high levels of Hispanic growth, and the continued rapid growth of immigrants into these neighborhoods may have limited points of entry for gentrifiers as low-cost vacancies quickly disappeared.

## Notes From:

Molina, N. (2015, February 1). The Importance of Place and Place-Makers in the Life of a Los Angeles Community. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://scq.ucpress.edu/content/97/1/69.abstract>.

- restaurants as urban institutions and forms of public space in which ethnic entrepreneurs act as “placemakers.”
- restaurants can serve as social spaces that shape the neighborhoods in which they are located in ways that empower those who inhabit the surrounding area.
- El Nayarit (A restaurant) became a crossroads, a physical and social space that regularly brought together individuals whose ethnicity, class, language, and sexual orientation differed. Equally important, the restaurant engendered among its almost exclusively Mexican immigrant workforce a “politics of the possible.”
- , the restaurant engendered among its almost exclusively Mexican immigrant workforce a “politics of the possible.”
- They did not organize unions or lead protests, but they did contribute to the creation of working environments in which they felt valued and where they received fair compensation for their work. They did not don zoot suits or establish political parties, but they did generate a sense of community that reached across racial, ethnic, class, and generational boundaries. Moreover, some employees went on to open their own restaurants, and other enterprises and collectively helped to define the areas where they did business as ethnic spaces.
- She and her staff were placemakers. They enhanced the neighborhood’s identity by running a business that drew people both from inside and outside the neighborhood, providing opportunities for all to forge bonds of understanding.
- Served as an entry point that offered a ready-made social network for immigrants new to a hauntingly large, foreign city. Access to a space in which the language, food, and atmosphere were reassuringly familiar helped to better position recent arrivals for success in their new lives.
- By the 1950s, when the larger El Nayarit was in place, Echo Park was experiencing white flight like many other areas of Los Angeles. As some white residents relocated to other parts of the city and the suburbs, Mexicans, and some Asians, attracted by low housing prices, replaced these residents.
- “What I want to bring to your attention is the importance of recognizing and memorializing the place-makers who helped to shape the urban landscape of Echo Park and of other, similar places. If we fail to acknowledge and value these actors’ roles, we risk viewing gentrification as merely an uncomplicated urban renaissance in which a new set of place-makers revitalizes a vapid cultural wasteland filled with crime and blight. Gentrification is not just about changing the present; intentionally or not; it erases the past.”

## Notes From:

Molina, N. (2015, February 1). The Importance of Place and Place-Makers in the Life of a Los Angeles Community. Retrieved October 8, 2019, from <https://scq.ucpress.edu/content/97/1/69.abstract>.

- But beginning in the early 2000s, rents started to double and triple; the median home price doubled by the mid-2000s; and apartment buildings that had long been subject to the city's rent control protections and that offered federally subsidized rent for low-income tenants were bought by investment groups. Residents were given notice to relocate. The councilman for the district at that time, Eric Garcetti (now mayor of Los Angeles), expressed support for low-cost housing by holding community forums and tenants' rights seminars and by backing legislation for stricter rent stabilization. Garcetti argued that "Echo Park [was] hanging on to being one of the last remaining mixed-income communities in Los Angeles."<sup>53</sup> None of his efforts, however, produced meaningful positive results.
- . Placemakers from the past, such as the founders and supporters of the Sleepy Lagoon Defense Committee and the local parents Jackie Goldberg collaborated with, pictured improving the neighborhood through community legal services and affordable daycare centers. The twenty-first-century solution, as proposed by Yanow, is to fight crime in Echo Park by opening a beer bar with seventy-three California craft brews on tap, plus a full bar and food service.<sup>59</sup>
- This is one of the most troubling—and least often acknowledged—aspects of gentrification: the strong possibility that in the near future, no one will know this piece of immigrant and multicultural Los Angeles history or the role Echo Park has played in the formation of cross-racial bonds. The legacy of immigrant and minority placemakers, is fragile because these actors frequently are not activists, politicians, or organizers. They make history quietly. Yet, without written histories of people of color in Echo Park, negative cultural representations of them, particularly of Mexicans, abound and readily circulate.