

Distressed Neighborhood Change and Residential Segregation of Racial Groups in Chicago

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Abstract

The poverty rate of Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in the Chicago city decreased between 1990 and 2000. The picture provided by the decrease in poverty rate alone is incomplete and potentially misleading. This research proposes more comprehensive measure of neighborhoods. Track-level data from the 1990 and 2000 censuses are used to identify distressed communities and severely distressed communities within the official 77 communities in the Chicago city. Results show that despite the booming economy of the 1990s and encouraging turnarounds in Chicago city as a whole, neighborhood distress worsened in some communities. The greatest deterioration occurred in southern communities. Blacks fared worse than Whites and Hispanics in most communities in terms of the neighborhood distress index.

Key words: Latinos, Hispanics, Chicago, 77 communities, distressed, Cook County, neighborhood, residential disadvantage.

1. Introduction

The Hispanic population of Illinois grew from just over 900,000 in 1990 to more than 1.5 million in 2000. During the same time period, the Hispanic population in the city of Chicago increased by 38.1 percent to more than three-quarters of a million, while the city's non-Hispanic population decreased by 3.7 percent. In 2000, one in every four Chicagoans was a Hispanic and 73 percent of Illinois Hispanics were residing in Cook County.

Despite the explosive population growth of Hispanics in Cook County, very few studies have examined the quality of neighborhoods or how this massive influx of Hispanics into Chicago operates simultaneously to shape neighborhood quality. Residential disadvantage, or the unfavorable and inferior neighborhood conditions experienced by many minority group members, remains a challenge for public policy makers and social science researchers.

2. Research Questions

Two central research questions guide our analysis. Did each community and place become better or worse in terms of the neighborhood quality measured by distress status between 1990 and 2000? On average, did Hispanics live in neighborhoods that were "not-distressed," "distressed" or "severely distressed," compared to non-Hispanic Blacks or Whites? In our analysis, we compare the neighborhood qualities of Hispanics to those of non-Hispanic Whites and Blacks. Four indicators are considered, each representing a different dimension of neighborhood "quality" but all together constituting a unique concept of neighborhood "distress."

We identify "not-distressed," "distressed," and "severely distressed" communities in the city of Chicago as well as places in the Cook County suburbs. We then examine the concentration of Hispanics across neighborhoods by distress status, relative to non-Hispanic Blacks and Whites. Finally, we discuss the implications of the findings for social service.

3. Previous Research

Advocates of neighborhood indicators argue that the geographic place plays an active role in shaping the lives of the people living in those neighborhoods (Malecki, 2012; Miles, 2007). Previous research found significant positive effects of neighborhood disadvantage on deviant behaviors, net of controls for the socioeconomic and demographic status of adolescents, young adults, and their families (Baumer & Scott, 2001; Brooks-Gunn, Duncan, Klebanov, & Sealander, 1993; Ensminger, Lamkin, & Jacobson, 1996; Entwisle, Alexander, & Olsen, 1994; Mayer & Jencks, 1989; Plotnick & Hoffman, 1999; South & Crowder, 1999; Wheaton & Clakre, 2003).

However, historically, there have been few attempts to develop neighborhood-level indicators (Sawicki & Flynn, 1996). The focus has been on larger units of analysis such as cities, counties, states, and nations. However, two recent factors have combined to create a climate for the increasing use of neighborhood indicators. The first is the development of low-cost, high-powered micro computing software. The second factor causing interest in neighborhood-scale indicators is the shift of responsibilities for social and economic welfare from the federal to the state and local levels, and the simultaneous emphasis on public-private partnerships and neighborhood empowerment (Wallis, 1994).

These approaches are the latest attempt to forge new alliances for small-area improvement. To be successful, the new approaches to neighborhood revitalization must be based on information about the social and economic conditions of these small areas and their inhabitants. Thus, the focus of this paper is on the implementation of a set of neighborhood indicators. Though "neighborhood" can be defined in many ways, our use of the term implies something less than a municipality but more than a few city blocks. Traditionally, such an area had roughly 5,000 to 10,000 inhabitants with largely similar levels of education, income, and ethnicity and with a neighborhood elementary school at its core.

Neighborhood indicators are an outgrowth of the strong interest that local leaders have maintained in urban indicators. We could identify numerous neighborhood indicators from previous researches. Scholars created a variety of distress measures, using diverse survey data (Ensminger et al., 1996; Entwisle et al., 1994; Kasarda 1993; Plotnick & Hoffman, 1999; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003). The most widely used neighborhood indicators are related to poverty, employment, household, education, and welfare. Poverty-proportion of the resident population below the poverty line has been widely used (Baumer & South, 2001; Ensminger et al., 1996; Kasarda, 1993; O'Hare & Mather, 2003; South & Crowder, 1999; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003). Detailed employment related indicators vary.

Adult male unemployment rate was widely adopted (Kasarda, 1993; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003). Another popular indicator was related to the fraction of adult men in white-collar occupations (Baumer & South, 2001; Ensminger et al., 1996; South & Crowder, 1999). As for household characteristics, percentage of female-headed household families, no husband present, with related children was the most popular indicator (Kasarda, 1993; O'Hare & Mather, 2003; Plotnick & Hoffman, 1999; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003). Also, various income related indicators were employed; percentage of low-income families (Baumer & South, 2001); mean family income (Wheaton & Clarke, 2003); percentage of middle-upper-income families (Plotnick & Hoffman, 1999); median household income in neighborhood (Ensminger et al., 1996); and percentage of families that earned less than \$30,000 (South & Crowder, 1999).

Education related indicators also abound; teenage school dropout (Kasarda, 1993; O'Hare & Mather, 2003; Wheaton & Clarke, 2003); percentage of persons with less than eight years education (South & Crowder, 1999); percentage of persons aged 25 and older without a college education (Baumer & South, 2001); parent education-school level (Entwisle et al., 1994); and school racial composition (Entwisle et al., 1994). Lastly, welfare receipt such as proportion of families receiving public assistance income was widely used. In this paper, we adopt the first four indicators except for welfare receipt because they have produced large variability.

4. Methodology

4-1. Data

The U.S. Census provides statistical aggregations every decade in its Census of Population and Housing.

Though some data are available for census blocks, most social and economic data on persons and households are available only at the block-group (1,000 people) and tract levels (4,000) or higher. Some city neighborhoods are aggregations of census tracts, but most are not. We use the 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census long form and short form data. These data sets enable us to identify the distressed level of each community and place. Data for 58 places in Cook County suburbs were retrieved at place level. There are about 250 places in Cook County. Fifty-eight places in this study have at least 1,000 Hispanics or more than 10 percent of the Hispanic population in 2000.

Both 1990 and 2000 Decennial Census long form and short form data were used to identify the distress status of 77 communities in the city of Chicago. These 77 communities are the official area units for which the Census Bureau does not provide data. The Census Bureau provides statistical summaries for aggregations of census tracts for places and metropolitan areas but not for 77 communities in Chicago. However, Chicago's Department of Planning and Development defined the boundary of these 77 communities on the basis of census tracts. Thus, we were able to produce community level data by combining tract level data.

4-2. Measuring Distress Level as Indicator for the Quality of Neighborhood

Poverty researchers found that while there was clearly an increase in concentrated poverty during the 1970s and 1980s, the 1990s saw a reversal of that trend. Researchers have documented a deconcentration of poverty nationwide, with Chicago as one of the leaders in this trend (Jargowsky, 2003). However, if this is true, why is poverty level not the only criterion used by researchers in defining distress status as measure of neighborhood quality? Poverty level is the most important criterion, but the use of poverty level alone in defining the distress level of neighborhoods is potentially misleading.

The picture provided by the decrease in poverty rate alone is incomplete. Since poverty levels do not capture all of the important characteristics of neighborhoods, researchers should combine several measures of neighborhood quality to identify distressed and severely distressed neighborhoods (O'Hare & Mather, 2003). Our primary explanatory variable is the Neighborhood Distress Index. Our measures for defining distressed and severely distressed neighborhoods are adopted from William O'Hare and Mark Mather's research (2003). We used programming codes Mark Mather provided us with. It is composed of four items commonly used to characterize neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage, all of which have been widely used in prior studies:

(1) high percentage of people living in poverty, (2) high percentage of civilian, non-institutionalized men ages 16 to 64 who are unemployed or not in the labor force, (3) high percentage of families with related children headed by women with no husband present, (4) high percentage of 16 to 19-year-olds who are not enrolled in school and who are not high school graduates. Each variable proved to increase risky behaviors. For example, high schooldropout, poverty, male joblessness and growing up with a single parent have been shown to delay the transition to marriage (Michael & Tuma, 1985), but to increase the likelihood of a premarital birth (Wu & Martinson, 1993).

These four variables interact to produce an environment that is worse than any single measure might indicate. In other words, these characteristics produce a compounding effect. These variables exhibit an average inter-item correlation of .63, and has quite an acceptable internal reliability ($\alpha = .81$). The following tables are used for measuring the distress level:

- 1) Census 1990 STF1(short form): Table P16
- 2) Census 2000 SF1(short form): Table P35
- 3) Census 1990 STF3 (long form): Table P117, P61, P66
- 4) Census 2000 SF3 (long form): Table P87, P38, P42

In this analysis, welfare variable such as the percentage of families receiving public assistance is not used as an indicator of distressed neighborhoods because of inconsistent questions between the 1990 and the 2000 Census. Analysis of the 1990 Census data included a high percentage of families receiving public assistance (above 17 percent) potentially as a fifth criterion for identifying distressed neighborhoods. But the movement away from cash assistance in the Federal Welfare Reform Legislation of 1996 means the census data for 2000 on receipt of public assistance income is not comparable with similar data from earlier censuses.

Moreover, there is also a technical reason related to how census data are reported, which makes the 1990 and 2000 data inconsistent. In the 1990 Census STF3 data file, public assistance income was reported for households receiving Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and/or Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). In the 2000 SF3 data file, the number of households receiving SSI and Public Assistance income was reported in separate tables, but it was unclear how many households received both. Therefore, it is impossible to produce an unduplicated count of households receiving public assistance in each census tract.

Table 1 shows the national neighborhood distress mean and standard deviation at tract level in 1990. Poverty rate at tract level on average is 14.2 percent. National average of female-headed families at tract level is 21.6 percent. National average of high school dropout rate at tract level is 11.5 percent, and men detached from labor force are 21.8 percent. I use the 1990 values to identify distressed and severely distressed neighborhoods in both 1990 and 2000 in order to compare the status of residents in the same types of neighborhoods in 1990 and 2000. If communities in Chicago and places in Cook County suburbs have above the mean percentage points for at least three indicators out of four distress indicators, they are defined as distressed communities or places. On the other hand, if they have above the mean plus standard deviation percentage points for at least three measures, they are defined as severely distressed communities or places.

5. Findings

5-1. Change of Four Distress Indicators for Chicago land: 1990-2000

Table 2 shows the change of four distress indicators for six counties, Chicago, and Cook County suburbs over the last decade. The first two columns of Table 1 indicate poverty rates. Poverty rates increased in Dupage, Lake, McHenry, and Cook County suburbs, while Kane, Will, Cook County, and Chicago experienced a decline in poverty rates. Dupage, Kane, Lake, McHenry, and Will Counties are all still far below the national average of 14 percent, while Cook County is close to the national average. On the other hand, Chicago has a much higher poverty rate, while Cook County suburb has a much lower poverty rate than the national average.

The next two columns show the change in the rate of high school dropout. Between 1990 and 2000, the high school dropout rate increased in DuPage, Kane, and Lake Counties while it decreased in other counties. Kane County shows a much higher high school dropout rate than the national average of 11.5 percent. The high school dropout rate is much higher than the national average in Cook County and especially in the city of Chicago.

Columns 5 and 6 indicate the percentage change of families headed by women. It is notable that the percentage of this type of household increased in all six Chicago metro counties, though with the exception of Cook County whose rate increased to 28.8 percent, their rates were much lower than the national average of 21 percent. However, the percentage of female-headed family households in Chicago became higher over the last decade. Women head 37.5 percent of the households in Chicago, which is almost double the national average of 21 percent. The last two columns show the percentage of men who are unemployed in the labor force. All six metro counties experienced an increase in this category over the last decade. With the exception of Cook County, all of these counties are below the national average of 21 percent. Again, Chicago has a much higher rate than the national average.

Table 2 shows that over the last decade, the city of Chicago became better as a whole in terms of three distress indicators, although all four indicators remain much higher than the national average. Only the percentage of men detached from the labor force increased in Chicago from 28 percent to 34 percent between 1990 and 2000. Counties, excepting Cook County, fare well compared to national averages, despite some indicators becoming worse. In terms of distress neighborhood measures, five counties are not distressed as a whole with Cook County being the only exception. Therefore, I want to focus on Cook County in identifying the distress status of neighborhoods.

5-2. Distressed Communities in Chicago

Although Cook County and Chicago as a whole improved in terms of distress indicators over the last decade, distress levels vary among communities and places. Not every community benefited from these improvements. There exists an extensive variation of distress status among the 77 communities. Only 32 communities are “not distressed” while 27 communities are “distressed.” The rest of 18 communities are “severely distressed.”

Within the city of Chicago, “inner-city” community areas such as the Near South Side and the Near North Side revealed the unmistakable signs of sustained gentrification by improving distress status during the 1990s. The concentrated poverty that has characterized the south and west sides of Chicago has somewhat ameliorated. In the mid-1990s, a series of federal policy initiatives were adopted as a way to deconcentrate poverty ghetto (Kasarda, 1993; Kleit & Galvez, 2011; Wilson, 1987). Neighborhood gentrification has allowed these changes in Chicago over the last decade (Goetz, 2011; Sink, 2011). Chicago experienced a 13 percent rise of CPI-adjusted, median household income during the 1990s. Other signs of neighborhood gentrification are a 40 percent rise in CPI-adjusted median home value and a six percent increase in the number of adults with college education.

However, “middle-city” neighborhoods such as Englewood, West Englewood, North Lawndale, and Near West Side experienced little of the decade’s economic boom (Appendix 1). Severely distressed communities are concentrated in the west (five communities), the southwest (four communities), the south (eight communities), and the far south (one community) of the city. Most communities in the northern part of Chicago are not distressed.

Figure 1 provides more detailed information about community distress level change patterns in Chicago. The number of not-distressed communities decreased from 34 to 31, while the number of distressed communities increased from 25 to 28. The number of severely distressed communities remained unchanged. Another analysis result is shown in Appendix 1. Only 4 communities have improved. Five communities became distressed neighborhoods between 1990 and 2000, while two communities became severely distressed neighborhoods. Between 1990 and 2000, only 29 communities remain not-distressed while 21 communities remain distressed and 16 communities remain severely distressed. Thus, overall we can say that the neighborhood quality in the city of Chicago did not show any improvement at the community level. Rather, it became worse.

5-3. Distressed Places in Cook County suburbs

It is notable that Dixmoor village was the only severely distressed place while only six places such as Berkeley Village, Cicero, Hillside Village, Rosemont Village, Sauk Village, and Summit Village were distressed in 2000. The result shows that in 2000, places in Cook County suburbs look better in terms of distress status compared to the 77 communities in Chicago. However, the real story opposes this optimistic view on distress status among suburban cities. Table 3 summarizes the changes in distress status in certain areas between 1990 and 2000. Accordingly, Hillside Village, Rosemont Village, and Sauk Village were distressed in 2000 but were not of distressed status in 1990. While Dixmoor Village was distressed in 1990, it became severely distressed by 2000. No place in Cook County improved in terms of their distress status.

5-4. Racial Segregation across Communities and Places by Distress Status

Figures 2 through 5 examine the residential disadvantage for Hispanics and non-Hispanic Blacks across distressed or severely distressed communities and places. Figure 2 shows that in the city of Chicago, the majority of Hispanics reside in distressed communities while most non-Hispanic Whites live in not-distressed communities. Notably in 2000, only 29 percent of Hispanics and 12 percent of non-Hispanic Blacks resided in non-distressed communities. The majority of non-Hispanic Blacks reside in both distressed communities as well as severely distressed communities. For example, 40 percent of Blacks live in severely distressed communities and 49 percent of non-Hispanic Blacks live in severely distressed communities. Only 10 percent of Hispanics live in severely distressed communities.

Racial variation of neighborhood quality also clearly reveals itself across places in the Cook County suburbs. According to Figure 3, most non-Hispanic Whites in Cook County suburbs resided in non-distressed places in 2000, while two-thirds of suburban Hispanics lived in non-distressed places. Hispanics residing in Cook County suburbs have a bit of edge over non-Hispanic Blacks in terms of their neighborhood distress status.

Figure 4 shows that 21 percent of Hispanics lived in severely distressed communities in 1990, but the percentage decreased substantially to 10 percent in 2000. However, the percentage of Hispanics residing in distressed communities increased from 52 percent to 61 percent. The percentage of Hispanics in non-distressed communities was slightly decreased by 2 percent. On average, the neighborhood quality for Hispanics in Chicago communities ameliorated in view of distress status.

In contrast, the neighborhood quality of most Hispanics deteriorated in places in Cook County suburbs. Hispanics residing in not-distressed places declined by 21.8 percent from 87.8 percent to 66 percent while the percentage of Hispanics living in distressed places increased considerably from 12.2 percent to 33.7 percent. Hypothetically, Hispanics' suburbanization could be the main reason for the distress deterioration. The percentage of Hispanics who live in severely distressed places is not meaningful because only one place in the Cook County suburbs is severely distressed.

In summary, it is clear that the benefits of the booming economy during the 1990s did not accrue to everyone. Some neighborhoods were left behind or overlooked. Hispanics were more likely to reside in distressed neighborhoods while non-Hispanic Blacks constitute the overwhelming majority of people living in severely distressed neighborhoods. In 2000, Hispanics had a slight advantage over non-Hispanic Blacks as the disadvantage experienced by Hispanics declined over the last decade. At the other extreme, in 2000, non-Hispanic Whites lived, on average, in non-distressed neighborhoods. These findings may imply that a racial group hierarchy exists across neighborhoods in Cook County when neighborhood quality is defined by distress status.

6. Discussion and Implication

Our analyses were designed to yield evidence regarding racial group differences in neighborhood characteristics in terms of distress status: Hispanics, non-Hispanic Blacks, and non-Hispanic Whites. From our earlier analysis, we found that (1) although as a whole, Chicago and Cook County suburbs became better in terms of distress indicators between 1990 and 2000, some communities and places became worse; (2) Hispanics or non-Hispanic Blacks live in neighborhoods with higher levels of distress than do non-Hispanic Whites; (3) among minority groups, Hispanics are more likely to reside in less distressed neighborhoods than non-Hispanic Blacks; (4) and there exists racial group differences in view of neighborhood quality measured by distress status level.

Non-Hispanic Whites are more likely to reside in non-distressed neighborhoods than Hispanics and non-Hispanic Blacks. Conversely, Hispanics are more likely than other racial counterparts to reside in distressed neighborhoods while non-Hispanic Blacks are more likely than Hispanics and non-Hispanic Whites to live in severely distressed neighborhoods. The results from these analyses are important because of the implications for social service policy. Since Hispanic communities and places are not "severely distressed" but rather categorized as "distressed" by the indicators selected by this research, they may tend to be overlooked for social services, such as the Head Start program.

Also, Hispanics living in distressed communities are more likely to be working poor rather than simply being welfare recipients. Thus, there exist specific social service needs for Hispanics living in distressed neighborhoods, which are certainly different from the needs of those living in severely distressed neighborhoods where welfare aid can be more prevalent. Moreover, we found that the large numbers of non-Hispanic Blacks are isolated in severely distressed neighborhoods. This reflects an enormous gap between mainstream society and a significant segment of non-Hispanic Black community, as well as a surprising gap between the Hispanic community and non-Hispanic community in the city of Chicago.

It is a puzzle that the quality of community in Chicago did not show any improvement over the last decade, even after the 1996 welfare reform and new housing projects and many public housing demolitions. Non-Hispanic Blacks seem to remain within the severely distressed communities. Attempts to close this gap across racial lines through welfare policy should vary across neighborhood environments. In particular, welfare policy must overcome the barriers that minority children accumulate by growing up in distressed communities.

7. Limitations and Future Research

We found that there have been distinct increases in the number of distressed and severely distressed communities and places between 1990 and 2000. Unfortunately, we could not analyze why these changes have taken place in Cook County. Did these increases occur due to gentrification, immigration, or both? Some researches (Kleit & Galvez, 2011; Sink, 2011) found that gentrification and redevelopment led poor residents to move in an outward direction away from the central city. In other words, this movement is reshaping the landscape of advantage and disadvantage in Chicago: suburbs are becoming poorer while the old neighborhoods are gentrifying. Distress level is high in the neighborhoods chosen by most voucher recipients.

However, these findings are not convincing because mapping relocation vary geographically, demonstrating the importance for future research to address spatial and contextual differences. Furthermore, we cannot confirm that the group differences in aggregate residential patterns are the results of neighborhood disadvantage among Hispanics, non-Hispanic Blacks, and non-Hispanic Whites. They may be simply caused by socioeconomic variation among them. At least when Hispanics with relatively high socioeconomic characteristics are not guaranteed entrance into not-distressed quality neighborhoods, we can say that neighborhood disadvantage for Hispanics exists in Cook County.

Many studies have shown that non-Hispanic Blacks were located in worse neighborhoods than their non-Hispanic White counterparts even when group differences in socioeconomic characteristics were controlled for (Adelman, Tsao, Tolnay, & Crowder, 2001). However, because our aggregate data does not allow us to control for socioeconomic characteristics, we cannot investigate the impact of socioeconomic factors on neighborhood quality among racial groups. Thus, this question needs to be further investigated in the near future.

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Table 1: National Neighborhood Distress Mean and Standard Deviation at Track Level (1990)

Distress Measures	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean plus SD
Poverty	14.2%	13.2%	27.4%
Female-headed families	21.6%	15.6%	37.2%
High school dropouts	11.5%	11.6%	23.1%
Men detached from labor force	21.8%	12.2%	34.0%

Source: William O'Hare and Mark Mather (2003)

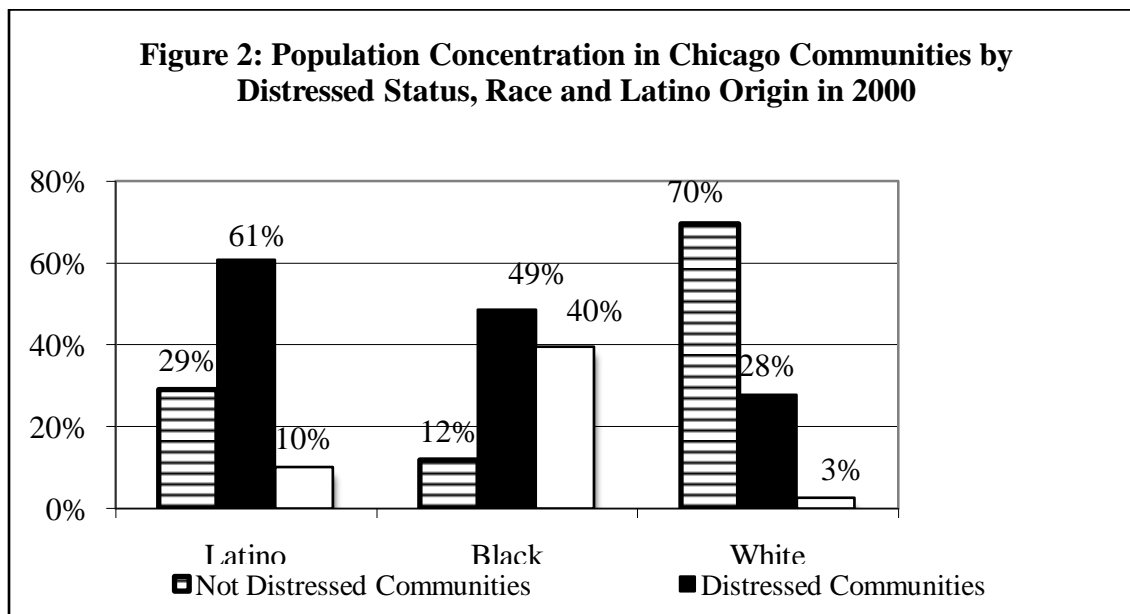
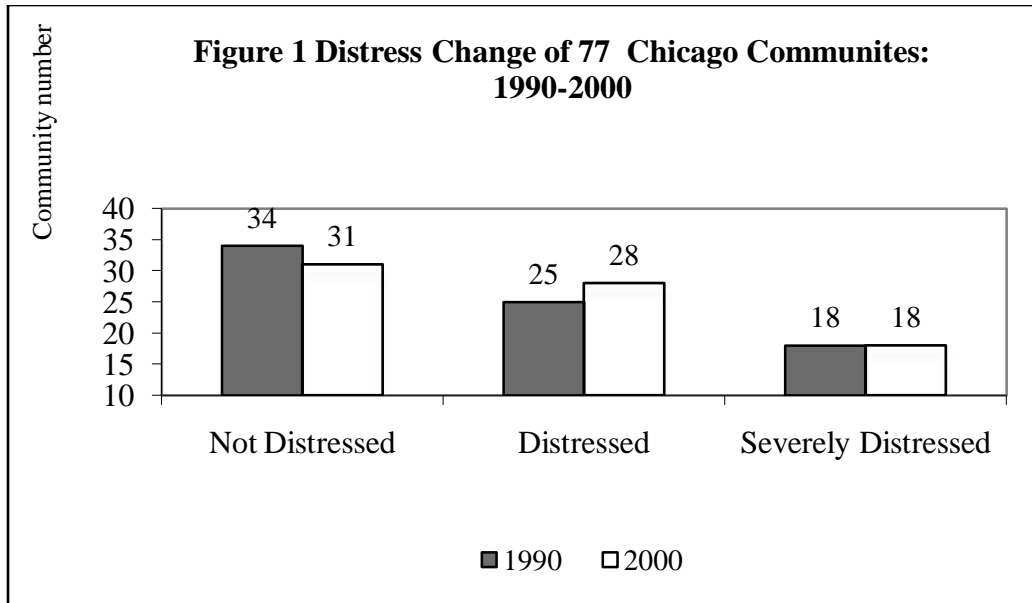
Table 2: Distress Change for Chicago 6 Counties and Chicago City

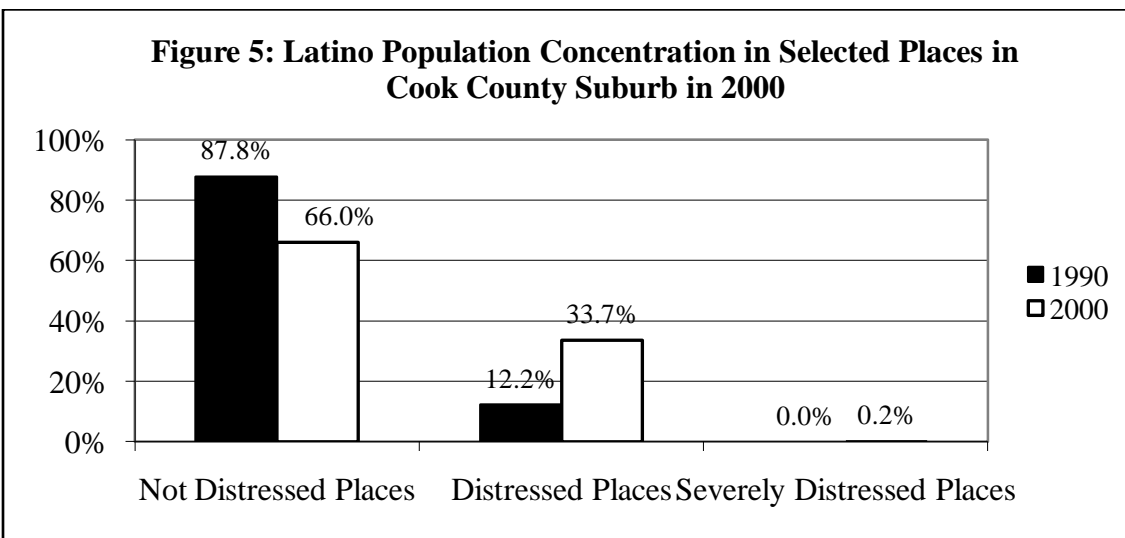
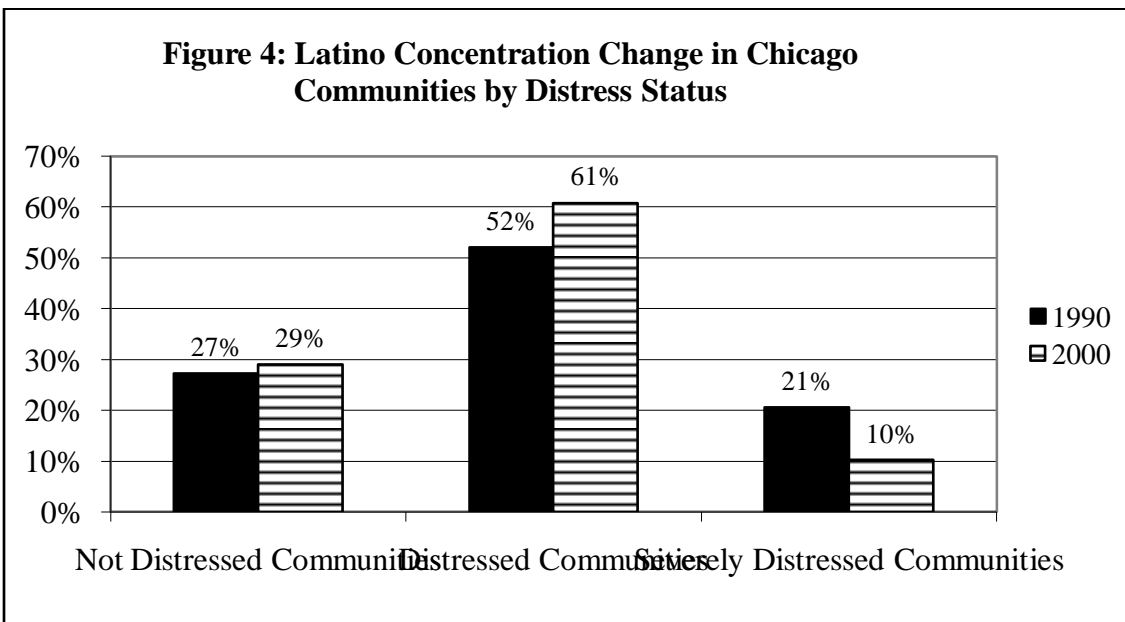
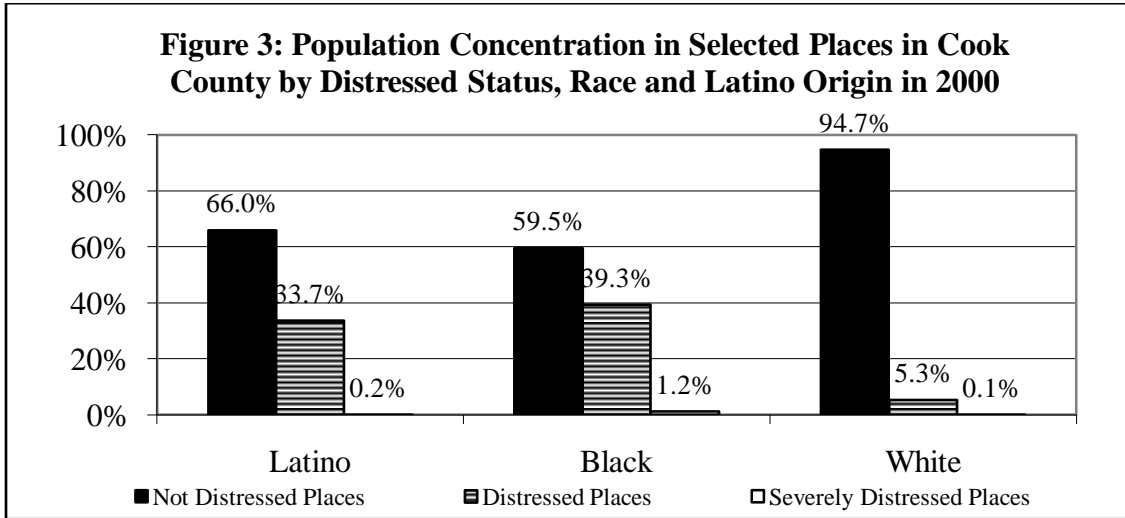
	Poverty Rate		High school dropouts		Female family headed households		Men age 16-64 detached from labor force	
	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000	1990	2000
	DuPage County	2.7%	3.6%	5.4%	6.5%	10.3%	12.1%	11.1%
Kane County	6.8%	6.7%	14.6%	15.9%	15.3%	15.8%	13.3%	19.6%
Lake County	5.2%	5.7%	9.8%	10.2%	13.0%	14.6%	13.5%	17.4%
McHenry County	3.5%	3.7%	7.3%	6.9%	9.8%	11.2%	10.8%	13.9%
Will County	6.0%	4.9%	9.2%	8.4%	14.0%	14.2%	16.0%	17.5%
Cook County	14.2%	13.5%	13.3%	12.1%	28.3%	28.8%	22.5%	27.9%
Chicago City	21.6%	19.6%	17.1%	15.6%	38.7%	37.5%	28.8%	33.5%
Cook County Suburbs	5.3%	6.4%	8.2%	7.8%	16.0%	19.3%	15.2%	21.0%

Source: Census 1990 STF1, STF3 and 2000 SF1, SF3

Table 3: Distressed Places in Cook County Suburbs: 1990-2000

Not distressed in 1990 but in 2000	Distressed in both 1990 and 2000	Distressed in 1990 but severely distressed in 2000
Hillside village Rosemont village Sauk village	Blue Island city Chicago Heights city Harvey city Maywood village Stone Park village	Dixmoor village





Appendix 1 Distress Status Change for 77 Communities: 1990-2000

Community	1990	2000
Albany Park	not-distressed	distressed
Archer Heights	not-distressed	not-distressed
Armour Square	distressed	distressed
Ashburn	not-distressed	distressed
Auburn Gresham	distressed	distressed
Austin	distressed	distressed
Avalon Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Avondale	distressed	distressed
Belmont Cragin	not-distressed	not-distressed
Beverly	not-distressed	not-distressed
Bridgeport	distressed	distressed
Brighton Park	not-distressed	distress
Burnside	distressed	severely distressed
Calumet Heights	not-distressed	not-distressed
Chatham	distressed	distressed
Chicago Lawn	distressed	distressed
Clearing	not-distressed	not-distressed
Douglas	severely distressed	severely distressed
Dunning	not-distressed	not-distressed
East Garfield Park	severely distressed	severely distressed
East Side	not-distressed	not-distressed
Edgewater	distressed	distressed
Edison Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Englewood	severely distressed	severely distressed
Forest Glen	not-distressed	not-distressed
Fuller Park	severely distressed	severely distressed
Gage Park	not-distressed	distress
Garfield Ridge	not-distressed	not-distressed
Grand Blvd.	severely distressed	severely distressed
Greater Grand Crossing	severely distressed	severely distressed
Hegewisch	not-distressed	not-distressed
Hermosa	distressed	distressed
Humboldt Park	severely distressed	severely distressed
Hyde Park	distressed	distressed
Irving Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Jefferson Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Kenwood	distressed	distressed
Lake View	not-distressed	not-distressed

Appendix 1

Distress Status Change for 77 Communities: 1990-2000 (continued)

Community	1990	2000
Lincoln Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Lincoln Square	not-distressed	not-distressed
Logan Square	distressed	distressed
Loop	not-distressed	not-distressed
Lower West Side	distressed	distressed
McKinley Park	not-distressed	distressed
Montclare	not-distressed	not-distressed
Morgan Park	distressed	not-distressed
Mount Greenwood	not-distressed	not-distressed
Near North Side	distressed	not-distressed
Near South Side	severely distressed	distressed
Near West Side	severely distressed	severely distressed
New City	severely distressed	severely distressed
North Center	not-distressed	not-distressed
North Lawndale	severely distressed	severely distressed
North Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Norwood Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
O'Hare	not-distressed	not-distressed
Oakland	severely distressed	severely distressed
Portage Park	not-distressed	not-distressed
Pullman	distressed	distressed
Riverdale	severely distressed	severely distressed
Rogers Park	distressed	distressed
Roseland	distressed	distressed
South Chicago	distressed	severely distressed
South Deering	distressed	distressed
South Lawndale	distressed	distressed
South Side	distressed	distressed
Uptown	distressed	not-distressed
Washington Heights	not-distressed	not-distressed
Washington Park	severely distressed	severely distressed
West Elson	not-distressed	not-distressed
West Englewood	severely distressed	severely distressed
West Garfield Park	severely distressed	severely distressed
West Lawn	not-distressed	not-distressed
West Pullman	distressed	distressed
West Ridge	not-distressed	not-distressed
West Town	severely distressed	distressed
Woodlawn	severely distressed	severely distressed