GENTRIFICATION INDEX

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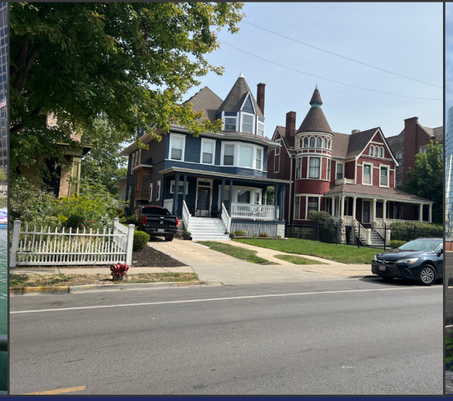

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Gentrification Index: The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Communities (1970–2019)

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Gentrification Index Report – Key Findings

This report updates past analysis with data from the 2019 American Community Survey, providing insights into shifts in neighborhood trends since the last report was completed in 2014.

City-wide findings

Generally, the distribution and geography of index scores across community areas remains similar to 2010.

From 2010 to 2019, the percentage of community areas with gentrification index scores:

- above zero decreased from 40% to 38%;
- below zero increased from 60% to 62%.

There is an ongoing polarization between "high" and "low" scoring community areas.

The percentage of community areas with scores:

- above zero has decreased in each decade, from 69% in 1970 to 38% in 2019;
- below zero has increased from 31% to 62% between 1970 and 2019.

- While the percentage of community areas with "high" scores (greater than 7) has decreased, the percentage of the city's population living in those areas more than doubled since 2000.

The separation between "high" and "low" scoring neighborhoods is reflected geographically.

- Community areas with "high" scores are predominately located near the Loop, North Side, and Far North Side.
- Community areas with "low" and "very low" scores are predominantly located in the West Side, Southwest Side, and South Side.

Community area-level findings

Very few community areas experienced significant index score changes between 2010 and 2019.

- Just three community area scores changed by more than four points in either direction: Calumet Heights (-6), Dunning (-6) and West Ridge (-8).
- The largest score increases occurred in Avondale (+4), Burnside (+4), and Norwood Park (+4).

Only two communities were identified as "Type 5: Positive Change, Not Gentrification": Logan Square and Uptown.

Community areas classified as "Type 6: Positive Change, Gentrification" are concentrated in community areas along the northern lakefront.

The census-tract analysis identified clusters that experienced a significant positive change between 2010 and 2019, including:

- Dense pockets across the North Side and West Side (Austin, Hermosa, Humboldt Park, Logan Square, West Town, and Avondale);
- Less dense pockets across the South Side and Far North Side.

Introduction

The Voorhees Gentrification Index has been a useful research tool both to identify neighborhood change and to communicate a large amount of data in a way that is easy to understand, easy to use and to identify areas for further analysis. When introduced 18 years ago, and updated in 2015, it was used by many organizations and researchers as well as the media to succinctly identify communities in Chicago. This was also especially helpful in educating people about the components of the index and how to interpret different conditions in the context of historical data, while comparing them to the city as a whole and other community areas.

The purpose of this ongoing research is to update the existing Voorhees Gentrification Index identifying not only Chicago community areas that show signs of change, but also illustrating neighborhood change at the census tract level. This allows for a more nuanced assessment of neighborhood change within community areas.

Since the 1970s Chicago's neighborhoods have undergone drastic transformations as a result of macro level socioeconomic shifts as well as local policy initiatives. Most striking are trends of rapid gentrification in particular neighborhoods contrasted starkly with neighborhoods that have experienced prolonged population loss disinvestment and marginalization building from our extensive experience using data in community research and engagement. The Voorhees Center will continue to help community leaders and activists understand how Chicago's neighborhoods have changed overtime in order to develop effective strategies and policies to offset displacement and disinvestment.

Background

Gentrification by most definitions involves upscaling a neighborhood through investment usually by outsiders moving in or at least buying into a neighborhood. As a result rents rise and home values increase along with real estate taxes which can then force lower income households to move out if they can no longer afford their monthly housing costs. Of course this can benefit some homeowners too if they choose to sell as well as property owners who can charge higher rents. In response to growing concerns that gentrification was pushing out low and middle income residents from Chicago's neighborhoods, the Voorhees Center has over the years embarked on a number of community driven research and technical assistance initiatives to shed light on this particular form of neighborhood change. Here are several examples of the Voorhees Center's work on neighborhood change:

"In response to growing concerns that gentrification was pushing out low and middle income residents from Chicago's neighborhoods, the Voorhees Center has over the years embarked on a number of community driven research and technical assistance initiatives to shed light on this particular form of neighborhood change. "


29 The Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement

Case Study: The Clock Tower Lofts

Built in the early 1900s and designed by well-known architect Alfred Alschuler, the building was used primarily by tailors, curtain makers, and fabric companies. The Clock Tower Lofts is now made up of 113 condominiums, which have balconies and new large-scale windows.

When the Clock Tower lofts opened in 1996, the average sale price for a condo was about $132,300. Four years later, condo prices increased over 55%, with units selling for approximately $238,300. Some condos were flipped every year with individual owners making significant profits. The following example is based on real buyers and sellers of a unit at the Clock Tower Lofts.

Oct 1996: 1st buyer purchases a unit at $140,000

Feb 1997: 1st Buyer sells to 2nd buyer for $156,000

(1st buyer potentially made $16,000. But if there were listing and selling agent realtors he may have paid about $7,800 in fees, taking home only $8,200.)

Aug 1998: 2nd buyer sells to 3rd buyer for $160,000

(2nd buyer potentially made $13,000. But with realtors, he may have paid $8450, taking home only $4,550.)

Dec 2000: 3rd buyer sells to 4th buyer for $215,000

(4th buyer makes $46,000. But realtor fees may have been as high as $10,750, leaving him with $35,250).

It is impossible to determine exactly how much a seller profited from each transaction; if the seller did not use a realtor or was a realtor himself, then the fees may have been waived, leading to a higher return on the investment.

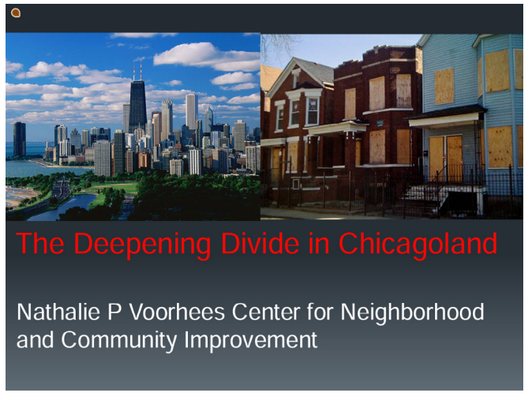
The realtor's fees are significant, totalling a possible $27,000 for one of the 113 units. The more times a unit is bought and sold, the higher the percentage of the increased value that a realtor takes home. Also, this example highlights an important trend over time: each round of investors tends to make more money on speculation, especially if the investor sits on a property and simply waits for it to increase in value.

[Gentrification in West Town: Contested Ground] was prepared for the Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation in 2001. Voorhees developed a methodology to systematically document the changes in trends in the West Town community, which also included strategies for the Bickerdike Redevelopment Corporation to preserve and defend the affordability of housing in this rapidly gentrifying neighborhood. From this study came the plan to apply the method of an index to measure and compare the extent of gentrification across the city of Chicago 77 community areas based on changes in specific variables from 1970 to 2000 using US census data. The result was a gentrification index which was presented at the Voorhees Center's 25th anniversary symposium.

PUERTO RICAN AGENDA RESEARCH PROJECT FINAL REPORT

60 YEARS OF MIGRATION: PUERTO RICANS IN CHICAGOLAND

[60 Years of Migration: Puerto Ricans in Chicagoland] is research the Voorhees Center conducted in partnership with Ralph Cintron that investigated the current state of the Puerto Rican community sixty years after Puerto Ricans first began migrating to Chicago. This research demonstrated that Puerto Ricans are among the poorest of ethnic groups in the city of Chicago with the lowest rates of income, educational attainment, and home ownership rates, Puerto Rican community leaders are currently using the data gathered to draft a five-year plan for the rapidly gentrifying community in Humboldt Park.



[The Deepening Divide in Chicagoland] was prepared in 2014, which showed the growing divide between low and high income, with a shrinking middle income and a growing but small proportion of upper income households filling in the Loop and surrounding communities as well as the north side along the Lake.

[Gentrification Index and Community Toolkit: The Voorhees Center] updated our Gentrification Index in 2014 to examine the socioeconomic change of Chicago's community areas to understand the ways neighborhood change was occurring from 1970-2010. Our index uses key indicators to measure how much a neighborhood's wealth or poverty has changed in 40 years. Accompanying our Gentrification Index is a Community policy toolkit, which community leaders, activists, policymakers and researchers utilized to implement anti-displacement policies.

Defining Gentrification

Variables associated with gentrification and neighborhood change have been addressed in various ways in the literature (Marcuse, 1985; Smith, 1996; Shaw, 2008, Lees et. al, 2013; Zuk et al, 2017, Preis et. al, 2020; Finio et al, 2022, Chapple et. al, 2022; Bunten et. al, 2023). More recently, Finio et al. (2022) and Preis et al. (2022) emphasize the lack of consensus in quantitative definitions, which complicates policymaking and political discourse. Bunten et. al (2023), argues for an expectations-based measure of gentrification using a simplified approach examining property values and demographic variables. Finio et al. (2022) further argue that while a wide range of variables and criteria are used to measure gentrification, critical dimensions such as race remain underrepresented, calling for more nuanced and inclusive approaches.

The Voorhees Gentrification Index draws on a range of demographic and economic variables that includes factors that are empirically established in research as key determinants of a neighborhoods socioeconomic status as it relates to gentrification. Figure 1 outlines the 13 variables included in the index.

Where prior research on gentrification employs discriminate analysis in order to differentiate group membership, we build on the prior 2010 Voorhees Gentrification Index, utilizing a composite score. We use a composite score as it is more transparent in construction and can be deconstructed to examine specific variables of interest in a community, across time (Voorhees Center, 2015). This study uses a multivariate analysis to determine if a neighborhood shows characteristics associated with high socioeconomic status (or vice versa), and also determine if the socioeconomic status of a neighborhood has remained stable, declined or increased since the 1970s. We further expand the community-level analysis to include tract-level analysis, which illustrates where specific parts of community areas are driving larger patterns of neighborhood change.

Figure 1: Index Variables

Variables
% White (Non-Hispanic)
% Black
% Latino
% Elderly (Age 65+)
% Children (Age 5-19)
% College Education (Bachelor's degree or higher)
Median Family Income (Adjusted for inflation)
% Owner Occupied
Median House Value (Adjusted for inflation)
% Families Below Poverty
% Manager Occupations
% Female Households with Children

Data Sources

Data for this report comes from multiple sources. First, the analysis at the community area-level is from the Decennial Census from 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010, as well as the 2012 and 2019 Five-Year American Community Survey. The 2019 Five-Year ACS was chosen due to reported data discrepancy issues with the ACS related to the COVID-19 pandemic, as well as to match the data provided by the Longitudinal Tract Database.

The second source of data is the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB) from Brown University. The dataset provides variable estimates harmonized to the 2010 census tract boundaries. The report uses 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010 Decennial Census data from the LTDB, as well as the LTDB estimates for the 2012 and 2019 Five-Year ACS. Due to changing tract boundaries over time, the previous report only measured neighborhood change at the level of the community area. Conducting the analysis at such a large geographic scale potentially obscures patterns of change within community areas. This approach has two benefits. First, tract-level analysis illustrates which, if any, specific areas of community areas are driving larger patterns. Second, it shows differences within neighborhoods.

All dollar amounts are reported in 2010 dollars and adjusted for inflation using the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Consumer Price Index.

Research Questions

Our research builds on the initial two questions presented in the 2014 Gentrification Index Report:

1. **What has been the socioeconomic status of Chicago's community areas in each decade since 1970?**
2. **Which community areas have remained stable, which ones have declined, and which ones have upgraded since 1970?**

Additionally, we ask new questions enabled by the inclusion of tract-level data:

3. **Are patterns of neighborhood change at the community level area driven by more localized tract-level changes?**
4. **In which community areas have tracts remained stable, where have they declined, and where have they upgraded since 1970?**

Methods

This report mostly follows the same methodology as the previous 2015 Gentrification Index Report, with minor adjustments based on data availability. The most significant difference is that the LTDB data does not provide information related to private school attendance. Because of this, the census tract analysis only considers twelve indicators.

Composite Score Index

The index value, or composite score assigned to each community area was calculated by comparing a community area's performance in each of the thirteen variables identified above relative to the average for the City of Chicago. If a community area outpaced or outperformed the city, it received a score of +1 for that variable. If a community area underperformed in that variable relative to the city average, it received a score of -1. As identified in the literature, certain variables (i.e. median home value) are positively associated with high socioeconomic status. Therefore, those communities that reported home values higher than the city average received a score of +1 in that category, while those with home values below the city average received a score of -1. Conversely, certain variables (i.e. poverty) are negatively associated with higher socioeconomic status. Community areas with high poverty rates relative to the city average received a score of -1 in that category, while those with rates lower than the city average received a score of +1. Values equal to that of the city average (rounded to one decimal place) were assigned a score of 0.

To calculate the composite index for each community area, the scores for each of the variables were aggregated. Composite index scores range from a high of +13 to a low of -13.[1] This methodology allows neighborhood change to be considered in relation to broader shifts in the city. Even if the overall socioeconomic status of the city changed over time, community areas are still compared to one another based on their performance relative to the city.

Figure 2: Variable Score Assignments

Variables	Type of Association
% White (Non-Hispanic)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Black	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Latino	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Elderly (Age 65+)	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Children (Age 5-19)	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% College Education (Bachelor's degree or higher)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
Median Family Income (Adjusted for inflation)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Owner Occupied	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
Median House Value (Adjusted for inflation)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Families Below Poverty	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Manager Occupations	Above City Average, Positive (+1)
% Female Households with Children	Above City Average, Negative (-1)
% Private School Attendance (Pre-K through 12)	Above City Average, Positive (+1)

Lurie Garden looking toward the Art Institute in the Loop

Figure 3: City Averages

City of Chicago						
	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2019
Population	**3,386,745**	**3,004,908**	**2,783,685**	**2,895,668**	**2,718,590**	**2,731,881**
% White	66.0	43.2	37.9	31.3	31.7	33.3
% Black	32.7	39.8	39.1	36.8	32.9	29.6
% Latino	7.4	14.0	19.6	26.0	28.9	28.8
% Elderly (60+)	10.6	11.4	11.8	10.3	10.3	12.4
% Children (Under 18)	27.0	24.3	21.3	21.6	19.0	17.1
% College Education	8.1	13.8	19.5	25.5	33.6	39.5
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$60,072	$52,586	$52,166	$55,964	$51,442	$59,028
% Owner Occupied	34.9	39.0	41.5	43.8	44.9	45.0
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$114,474	$132,193	$125,634	$167,738	$235,245	$219,557
% Families Below Poverty	10.6	16.8	18.3	16.6	18.3	14.4
% Professional Employees	17.8	19.9	24.9	33.5	37.4	42.3
% Female Households with Children	10.1	12.4	13.6	16.7	15.7	9.2
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	25.0	23.6	22.1	18.2	15.9	17.2

1 The range of scores for the tract-level analysis is -12 to +12, due to the exclusion of the private school attendance variable.

Typology Development

To characterize these specific neighborhood conditions in Chicago, we developed a set of nine neighborhood typologies. In creating a typology, community areas are grouped together based on shared characteristics. The typologies were determined based on two elements: (1) a neighborhood's current index score (socioeconomic status) and (2) the change in the index score over time (upgrading, downgrading, or no change).

Typology development enables comparison similarities and differences among neighborhoods over time. The index score indicates the socioeconomic status of a neighborhood at a point in time, while the change in the index score contextualizes the neighborhood's score into a broader history.

Current Index Score

Based on their most recent index score, communities were divided into four groups: those of 'High,' 'Middle,' 'Low,' and 'Very Low' socioeconomic status. Community areas with scores greater than +7 were characterized as having 'High' socioeconomic status. Those between +1 and +7 were deemed of 'Middle' socioeconomic status. Those between -1 and -7, 'Low,' and those with index scores under -7 as 'Very Low.'

- High: More than +7
- Middle: +1 to +7
- Low: -1 to -7
- Very Low: Less than -7

Change in Index Score

To understand if and how neighborhoods have transformed, we examined the change in a neighborhood's index score over the five-decade period. Neighborhoods were divided into three groups based on this figure: (1) those that experienced positive change, (2) those reporting negative change, and (3) those that did not change. A neighborhood was said to have undergone change if its index score increased or decreased by more than four points.

- Positive Change: Growth in score exceeds +4
- No Change: Change in score within -4 to +4
- Negative Change: Decline in score exceeds -4

The terms positive and negative are used regarding the direction of change in the index score and not as a normative judgment that positive necessarily corresponds to "good" and negative with "bad."

Balloon release celebration in Woodlawn.

Typologies

Based on a community's index score and the change in that score, communities were grouped into one of nine typologies.

Figure 4: Variable Score Assignments

Community Type	Overall Average Score	Change from 1970-2019
Change		
Type 1 No Change, Upper Class	More than +7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 2 No Change, Middle Class	+1 to +7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 3 No Change, Poverty	-1 to -7	Between +/- 4 points
Type 4 No Change, Extreme Poverty	Less than -7	Between +/- 4 points
Positive Change		
Type 5 Positive Change, Not Gentrification	+7 or less	More than +4 points
Type 6 Positive Change, Gentrification	More than +7	More than +4 points
Negative Change		
Type 7 Negative Change, Mild Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	Between -5 to -7 points
Type 8 Negative Change, Moderate Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	Between -8 to -9 points
Type 9 Negative Change, Serious Decline	From +13 to -13 (any)	-10 or more

No Change: Type 1 to Type 4
Communities that did not undergo significant change (as defined as a change in score of more than four points) were identified as either Type 1: Upper Class, Type 2: Middle Class, Type 3: Poverty, or Type 4: Extreme Poverty communities based on their index score. These neighborhoods represent a mix of areas that were of high, middle, or low socioeconomic in 1970 and continued to be by 2010.

Positive Change: Type 5 & 6
If a community area experienced significant growth in its index score (more than four points), pushing it into the highest socioeconomic status bracket (a score of more than seven points), it was identified as an area that has gentrified (a Type 6 community). If a neighborhood underwent upgrading (a change of more than four points) but remained in the moderate or low-income socioeconomic status bracket (scoring seven or fewer points), this neighborhood was identified as having undergone upgrading, but had not yet been 'gentrified.' These Type 5 communities may be at risk of future gentrification in the future if current trends continue.

Negative Change: Type 7 to 9
Communities that underwent significant negative change (a drop of more than four points) were classified into three groups based on the severity of that decline. Those dipping five to seven points were identified 'Mild Decline' areas (Type 7). Those dropping eight to nine points were deemed 'Moderate Decline' areas (Type 8). Those dropping 10 or more points (Type 9) were identified as 'Serous Decline' neighborhoods. Type 7, 8, and 9 community areas represent a range of low, middle, and high socioeconomic status neighborhoods in 1970 that have since declined.

Limitations

The report has several limitations. Considering neighborhood change based on indicators and a typology simplifies complex economic, social, and political relationships into a single score and type. The method was designed to facilitate ease of communication and decision making among stakeholders. However, this simplicity necessarily reduces complexities of place and history. This does not reduce the value of the index, but should be considered when interpreting the results.

Weighting: The index gives the same weight to all indicators. For example, family income is an equally important determinant of social-economic status as is percent of families with children. However, in real terms, family income might be more important than the percent of children in a household in determining socioeconomic status. We chose to leave them unweighted; however, others using the data produced here can choose to add weights to suit their preferences.

Magnitude of change: The use of dichotomous variables only considers two values: above or below city average. This approach does not allow the magnitude of difference to be observed. For example, a community with a poverty rate 1% higher than the city average received the same score as a community with a poverty rate 10% higher than the city average.

Source of overall change: Because we compare relative positions, absolute changes are not observed. For instance, a community might have done very well compared to its past performance along some variables, but because of the initial gap between the city averages, that improvement might not be reflected in the index scores.

Correlation: This analysis assumes that predictor variables are random as well as the relationships between them and across space. Because some neighborhoods have like characteristics, there may be autocorrelation as well as multicollinearity or redundancy at play. However, the index development process assumes that some variables are correlated within the index, so these are not a concern.

LTDB Limitations: While the use of LTDB data helps resolve prior limitations of conducting the analysis at the community area-level, the LTDB data comes with different limitations. First, all thirteen of the original indicators are not available in the LTDB. The LTDB does not provide a variable to measure private school attendance.

Additionally, the LTDB uses different parameters than the previous report for both the ‘elderly’ and ‘children’ variables. While ‘elderly’ variable is defined as people over the age of 60 in the LTDB, the past report defined ‘elderly’ as anybody over the age of 65. Because of this, the LTDB estimate for the percentages of elderly residents are higher than the previous report. Similarly, while children are categorized as anybody under the age of 18 in the LTDB, the previous report defined a child as somebody between the ages of 5 and 19. These differences in variable definition could cause differences in the results.

BUILD (Broader Urban Involvment & Leadership Development) building in Austin.

Data Discrepancies: While both this update and the previous report source data from the Decennial Census and ACS, the results of the previous report were not able to be exactly replicated. In some cases, the differences are marginal. In others, the differences are more significant. There appear to be systemic differences between the two reports for the *median family income* and *median house value* variables.

In some cases, communities were differently categorized than the previous report, either because of a re-classification of its index score or the change in its index score. However, in most cases, the classification change does not qualitatively change the interpretation of results. For example, there are eight community areas with a different neighborhood typology in this report were originally classified as either “Mild Decline, “Moderate Decline”, or “Significant Decline.” In the update, they are still classified with one the types associated with decline, but a different magnitude of decline.

RESULTS

Composite Scores

Composite scores were calculated by aggregating the scores of each of the twelve indicators. As stated above, a community area or census tract could be assigned a score ranging from -13 to +13 for community areas and -12 to +12 for census tracts.

Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the distribution of index scores across communities and Figures 7 and 8 display the distribution of the city's population across index score categories. This set of tables provide insight into the shifting distribution of neighborhood indicators across communities over time. The city's population has declined from 1970 to 2019 in almost each decade, except for an increase between 1990 and 2000.

During this period, there was a growing divide between high and low scoring communities. Almost 70% of communities had an index score above zero in 1970. This represented 63% of the city's total population. However, that number has declined in the subsequent decades, dropping by 18 percentage points between 1970 and 1980. Since then, it has fluctuated between 46% and 49%. The decrease in the percentage of the population living in communities with index scores above zero was driven by a decline in the population living in middle scoring communities and an increase in those living in low and very low scoring communities. Between 1970 and 1980, the percentage of the population

[From 1970 to 20219] there was a growing divide between high and low scoring communities.

Figure 5: Community Area Score Distribution

Score	1970		1980		1990		2000		2010		2019	
	CA	%	CA	%	CA	%	CA	%	CA	%	CA	%
High (higher than 7)	11	14%	11	14%	13	17%	13	17%	15	19%	14	18%
Middle (1 to 7)	42	55%	30	39%	27	35%	24	31%	16	21%	15	19%
Neutral (0)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%
Low (-1 to -7)	11	14%	20	26%	23	30%	20	26%	20	26%	24	31%
Very Low (lower than -7)	13	17%	16	21%	14	18%	19	25%	26	34%	24	31%

Figure 6: Percent of Community Areas Above & Below Index Score of 0

	Percent of Community Areas					
Score Type	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2019
Above index score of 0	69%	53%	52%	45%	40%	38%
Below index of 0	31%	47%	48%	55%	60%	62%

Figure 7: Index Score Population Distribution

Score	1970		1980		1990		2000		2010		2019	
	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%	Pop.	%
High (higher than 7)	398,051	12%	385,288	13%	468,366	17%	328,626	11%	683,658	24%	702,721	26%
Middle (1 to 7)	1,741,555	51%	958,390	32%	883,273	32%	989,758	34%	608,928	22%	592,464	22%
Neutral (0)	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%	-	0%
Low (-1 to -7)	599,594	18%	996,479	33%	981,795	35%	825,351	29%	683,658	24%	641,123	23%
Very Low (lower than -7)	647,545	19%	664,751	22%	450,251	16%	751,933	26%	846,208	30%	795,573	29%
Total Population	**3,386,745**		**3,004,908**		**2,783,685**		**2,895,668**		**2,822,452**		**2,731,881**	

Figure 8: Population Distribution Relative to Index Score of 0

	Percent of City Population					
Score Type	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2019
Above index score of 0	63%	45%	49%	48%	46%	47%
Below index of 0	37%	55%	51%	52%	54%	53%

living in middle communities declined from 51% to 32% and has further declined to 22% by 2019. The percentage in low communities, on the other hand, increased to 35% by 1990 and then decreased to 23% in 2019. For very low communities, there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of the total population, rising to 29% in 2019 from 19% in 1970.

The increase in population in high scoring communities has steadily increased since 1970. From 1970 to 1990, the percentage of upper-class communities increased from 14% to 17%, and between 2000 and 2010, the percentage of communities in that category increased from 17% to 19% and the population increased from 20% to 24%. From 2010 to 2019, the percentage of the total population again increased to 26%.

The newest data from 2019 shows that change patterns have broadly stayed the same since 2010. While the percent of communities with an index score above zero continued to decline to 38%, the percentage of people living in communities with scores above zero increased slightly to 47%. This is because communities with scores below zero tend to have lower populations than those with scores above zero. Communities with scores above zero have an average population of approximately 44,662, while those below zero have an average population of 29,931.

Figure 9 displays the total distribution of communities across each possible index score. In 1970 and 2010, the highest scoring communities had scores of 13 and in all other decades the highest index scores were 11. Generally, there has been an increase in the number of communities scoring above 11, growing from just three in 1970 to nine in 2019. The lowest score in each decade has been -11, and the number of communities with that score has increased in each decade.

Figure 9: Score Distribution

Number of Community Areas						
Score	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**
13	1	0	0	0	2	0
12	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	2	4	7	8	6	9
10	0	0	0	0	2	0
9	7	7	6	4	5	5
8	1	0	0	1	0	0
7	12	15	7	6	8	5
6	0	0	0	0	0	1
5	15	6	11	7	1	1
4	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	5	5	1	4	2	2
2	0	0	0	0	0	0
1	10	4	8	7	5	6
0	0	0	0	1	0	0
-1	5	2	5	4	5	3
-2	0	0	0	0	0	0
-3	3	8	2	4	7	3
-4	0	1	0	0	0	0
-5	0	3	7	4	6	9
-6	1	0	0	1	0	0
-7	2	6	9	7	2	9
-8	1	0	0	0	0	0
-9	9	12	9	10	15	12
-10	0	0	0	1	1	0
-11	3	4	5	8	10	12
-12	0	0	0	0	0	0
-13	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**77**	**77**	**77**	**77**	**77**	**77**

View looking northward from North Lawndale.

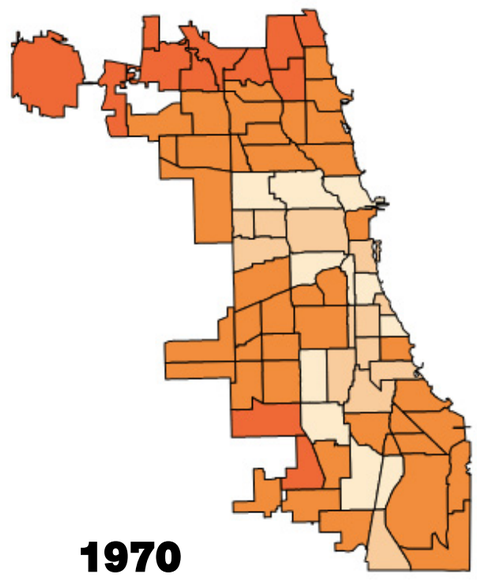
Geographic Trends

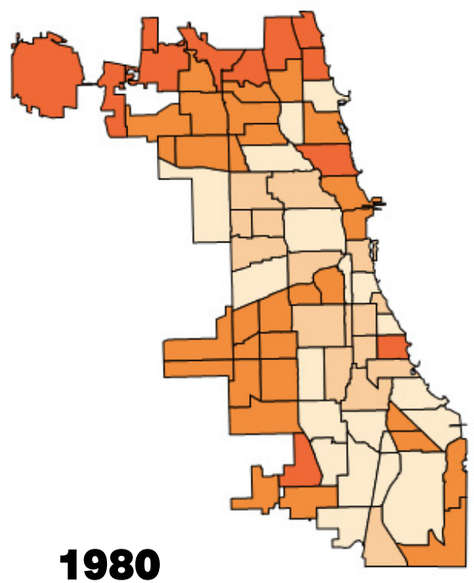
Figure 10 displays the aggregate community area index score for each decade from 1970 – 2019. The darkest portions of the maps represent community areas with the highest index scores. Conversely, lighter areas represent areas with the lower index scores. The series of maps captures change in indicators associated with socioeconomic status over each decade.

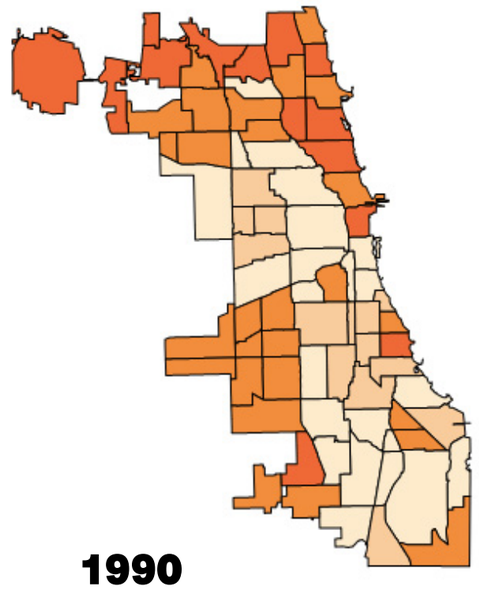
The maps illustrate how processes of geographic and social unevenness have changed from 1970 to 2019. The 1970 maps shows that higher scoring community areas tended to be in the outer neighborhoods of the city, and lower scoring community areas in the core inner neighborhoods. Over the subsequent decades, a new pattern has emerged. The highest scoring communities (+7 to +13) are clustered around the Loop and along the lakefront in the North Side and Far North Sides of the city. Middle-scoring communities extend from the Northwest Side to the most western areas of the Far North Side, with other smaller clusters in the Far Southwest Side near Beverly and Mount Greenwood and on the South Side around Hyde Park and Kenwood. Communities with scores between -1 and -6 stretch across the West, Southwest, Far Southwest, South, and Far South sides, with very low-scoring (-7 to -13) communities also present. Additionally, there are pockets of very low-scoring communities on the Northwest Side around Belmont Cragin, Hermosa, and Montclare, as well as on the Far North side.

Overall, there was minimal change in the from 2010 to 2019 in the distribution of index scores across the city. The largest decreases in index score were in West Ridge (-8), Calumet Heights (-6), and Dunning (-6). The largest increases were in Avondale (+4), Burnside (+4), and Norwood Park (+4).

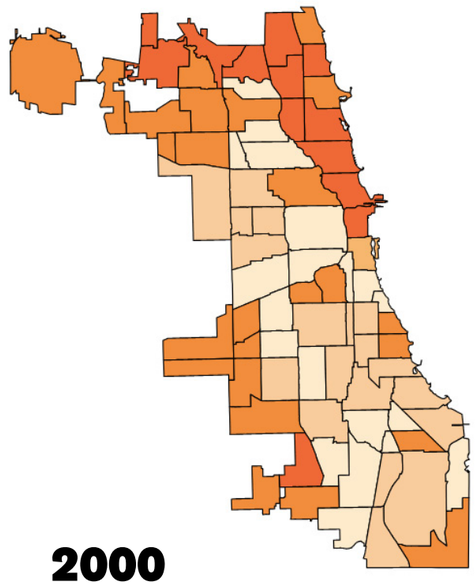
Figure 10: Community Area Index Scores

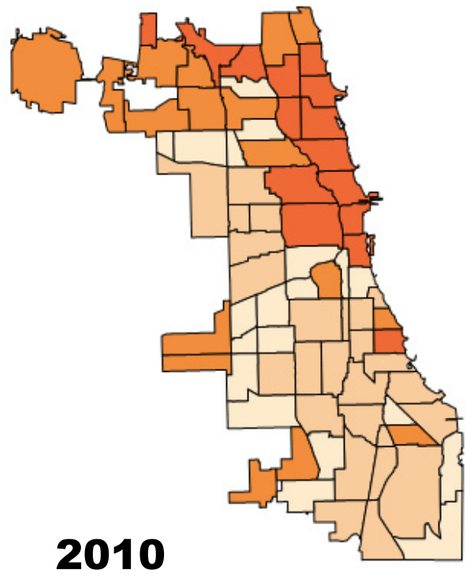


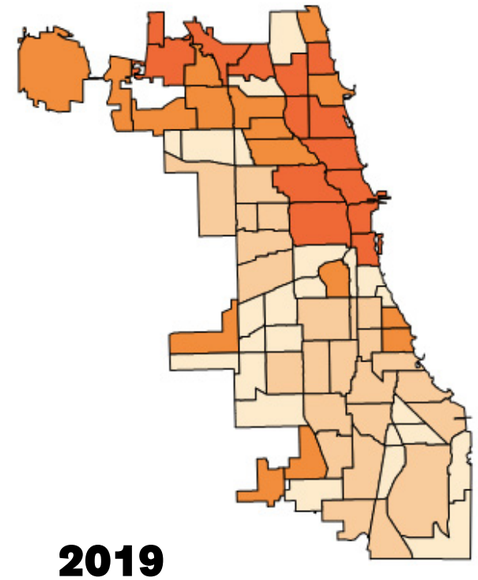




The maps illustrate how processes of geographic and social unevenness have changed from 1970 to 2019.







Neighborhood Change

A community area is considered to have undergone change if its index score either increased or decreased by more than four points over a particular decade. If the change in a community area's score was less than this four-point threshold, it is classified as a "no change" community. Figure 11 examines community area change from decade to decade, identifying communities that experienced no change, positive change, and negative change in each ten-year period.

Figure 12 provides a map of community areas by typology. The degree of change is only measured decade-by-decade, meaning that some communities, which underwent substantial long-term upgrading or downgrading from 1970 to 2019, are not listed in any individual period. For example, the index scores for Near North Side and the Loop increased by +10 and +6, respectively, but the increase was over the course of multiple decades.

***1970-1980*:** Many communities experienced decline in the 1970s. From 1970 to 1980, no community underwent *positive change* and 67 were classified as *no change*. Ten communities underwent negative change, mostly located in the southern and western parts of the city. Four communities on the West side underwent *negative change,* Austin (-12), South Lawndale (-8), Humboldt Park (-6), and Lower West Side (-6). Four on the Far Southeast Side experienced negative change, South Deering (-8), West Pullman (-8), Chatham (-7), South Chicago (-6). Additionally, one community in each the North Side and Southwest Side, Logan Square (-8) and New City (-10), respectively, underwent negative change.

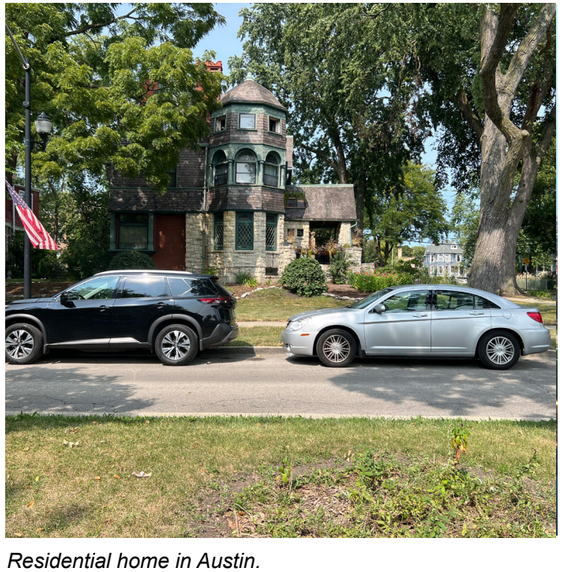
1980-1990: Just one community, North Center (+10), experienced *positive change* from 1980 to 1990, and only two communities, Albany Park (-6) and East Side (-6), underwent *negative change*. The other 74 communities were classified as *no change.*

1990-2000: The 1990s were also a decade of significant decline for several communities. Chicago Lawn (-10), Avalon Park (-6), Gage Park (-6), and Ashburn (-6) all experienced *negative change*. Two communities, West Town (+10) and Near South Side (+7), both experienced *positive change*.

2000-2010: The 2000s was the decade in which the most communities experienced positive change. Core communities adjacent to the Loop, the Near South Side (+13) and Near West Side (+12) experienced the largest upgrading of any community in the entire period. Logan Square (+11) also experienced *positive change.* West Town and Near South Side notably underwent positive change for two consecutive decades. Four communities experienced *negative change* in the 2000s: Montclare (-6), Belmont Cragin (-6), Avalon Park (-6), O'Hare (-6), and Archer Heights (-6).

2010-2019: Little change occurred from 2010 to 2020 at the community area level. No communities experienced *positive change*, and three experienced negative change: West Ridge (-8), Dunning (-6), and Calumet Heights (-6).

Little change occurred from 2010 to 2019 at the community area level.



Residential home in Austin.

Street outside of A. Philip Randolph Pullman Porter Museum in Pullman.

Boulevard in North Lawndale.

Restaurant in Fulton Market in the Near West Side community area

Woodlawn resource center classroom.

Figure 11: Index Score Change in Each Decade

Number of Community Areas						
		1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010	2010-2019
No Change		67 Communities	74 Communities	71 Communities	69 Communities	74 Communities
Positive Change	0 Communities		1 Community	2 Communities	3 Communities	0 Communities
			North Center	Near South Side West Town	Logan Square Near South Side Near West Side	
Negative Change	10 Communities		2 Communities	4 Communities	5 Communities	3 Communities
	Austin Chatham Humboldt Park Logan Square Lower West Side	New City South Chicago South Deering South Lawndale West Pullman	Albany Park East Side	Avalon Park Ashburn Chicago Lawn Gage Park	Archer Heights Avalon Park Belmont Cragin Montclare O'Hare	Calumet Heights Dunning West Ridge
Total		77	77	77	77	77

Pedestrians at Fulton Market.

Figure 12a: Community Typology Map - 2010

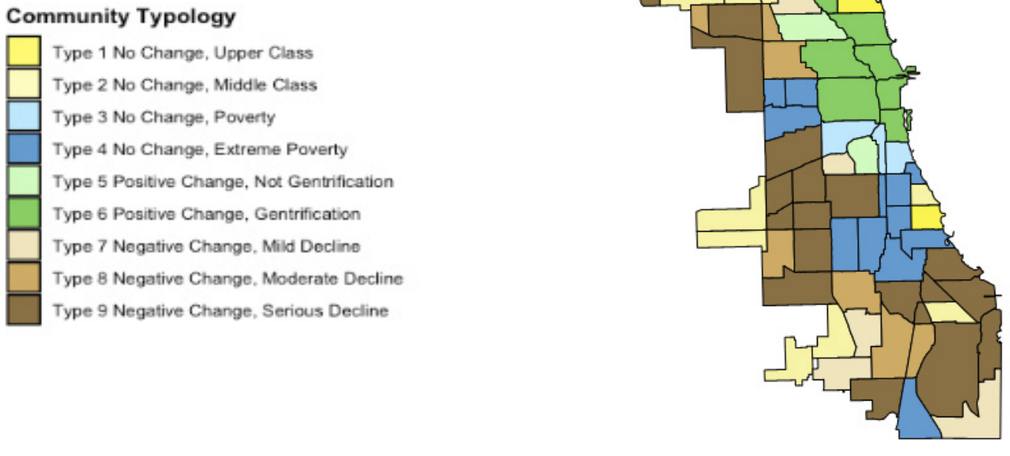


Figure 12b: Community Typology Map - 2019

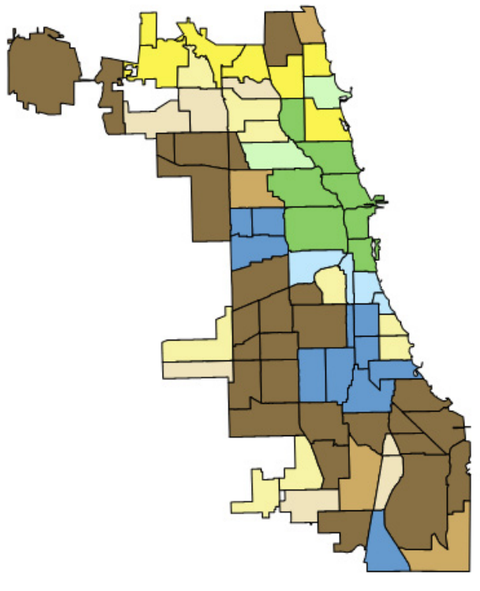
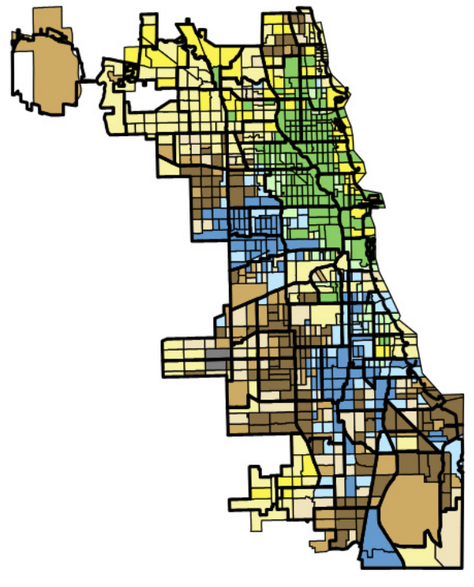
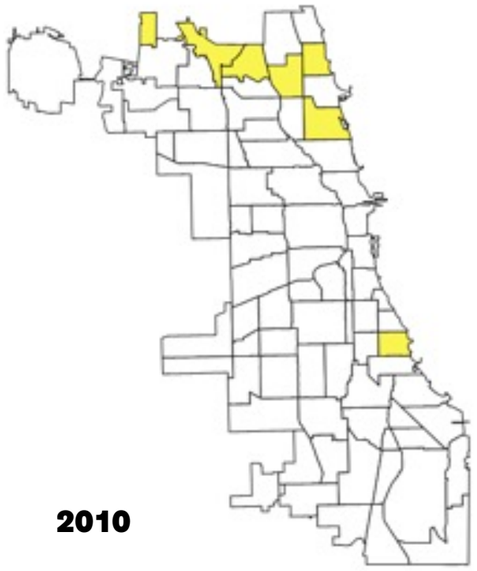


Figure 12c: Census Tract Typology Map - 2019



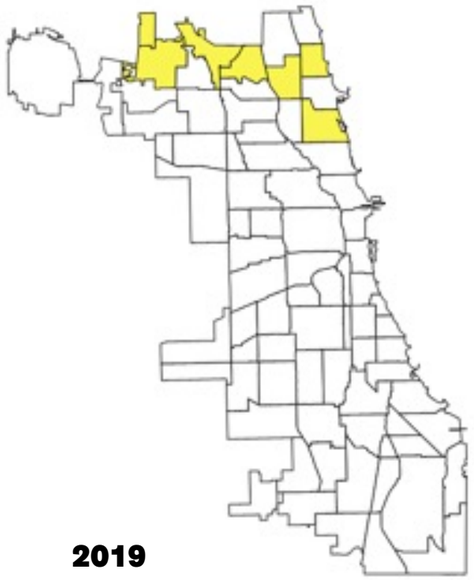
TYPE 1: NO CHANGE, UPPER CLASS



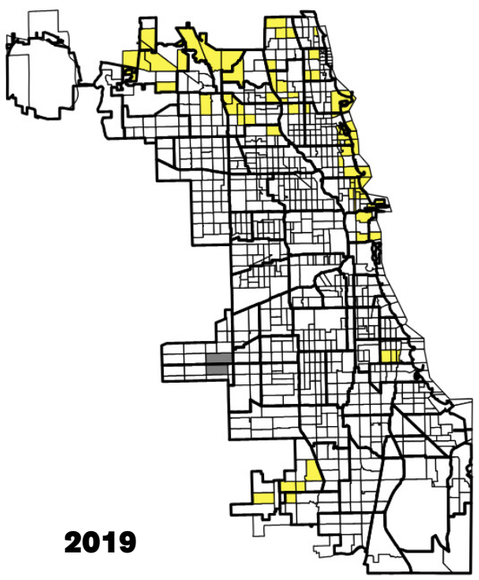
2010

In 2010, all seven of the Type 1 communities, except for Hyde Park, were located on the North or Far North Side of the city. Lincoln Square, North Park, Lake View, and Edison Park had scores of +11. Only two other communities in the city, Near South Side and North Center, had higher scores in 2010, but both were communities that experienced positive change from 1970 to 2010. Edgewater, Forest Glen and Hyde Park had scores of +9. Except for Hyde Park, which experienced negative change from 1990 to 2000, each of these communities were either classified as Type 1: Upper Class or Type 2: Middle Class in each decade since 1970.

The Type 1 communities in 2019 were very similar to those in 2010. This makes sense, as any Type 1 community needed to have an index score of at least 7 in 1970 to qualify. Again, seven communities



2019



2019

Lincoln Square. Credit: Erstwhile Human

Forest Glen. Credit: THShriver

were classified as Type 1. However, Hyde Park was no longer classified as a Type 1 community, because the community's index score decreased to +7. On the other hand, Norwood Park was reclassified as a Type 1 community, as its score increased to +9.

The census tract analysis shows the distribution of Type 1 communities outside of community area classified as Type 1. Census tracts along the lakefront in community areas like Lake View, Lincoln Park, Near North Side, and the Loop are also classified as Type 1. Additionally, census tracts across other Northwest community areas such as Avondale, Albany Park, and Irving Park are included. Other clusters of Type 1 tracts appear in Type 2 community areas on the Far Southwest side, Mount Greenwood, Morgan Park, and Beverly. Finally, although Hyde Park was no longer classified as Type 1 in 2019, three census tracts remain classified as such.

Figure 13: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 1 Index Communities

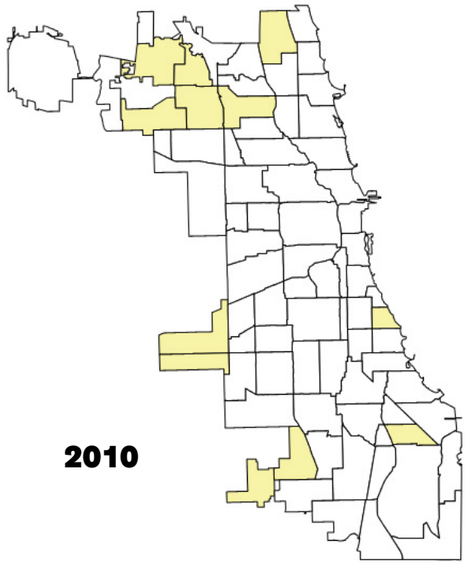
2019 Type 1 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Edgewater	7	9	9	9	9	9	2	2
Edison Park	9	9	11	11	11	11	2	2
Forest Glen	11	11	11	11	9	9	-2	-2
Lake View	7	7	11	11	11	11	4	4
Lincoln Square	9	7	5	9	11	11	2	2
North Park	9	11	11	11	11	9	2	0
Norwood Park	9	9	9	8	7	11	-2	2

On average, in 2019, Type 1 communities had a higher percentage of white residents (69.7%), college-educated residents (63.3%), and residents in managerial occupations (58.6%) than the city of Chicago as a whole. 4.8% (+/- 4.1%) of Type 1 residents were Black and 13.2% (+/- 4.1%) were Latino. A slightly higher percentage of residents owned their homes (47.5%) but the standard deviation across communities was sizable (22.8%). The median family income ($99,839) was 69% higher than the city's median family income ($59,028), and the median home value was also higher in Type 1 communities, $326,839. Type 1 communities had a similar percentage of elderly residents as they city (13.1%), and a lower percentage of children (11.2%). A smaller percentage of Type 1 families were female-headed households with children (6.0%) and living in poverty (5.3%). Finally, the percentage of K12 students that attend private schools in Type 1 communities (34.5%) is approximately double the percentage for the city (17.2%)

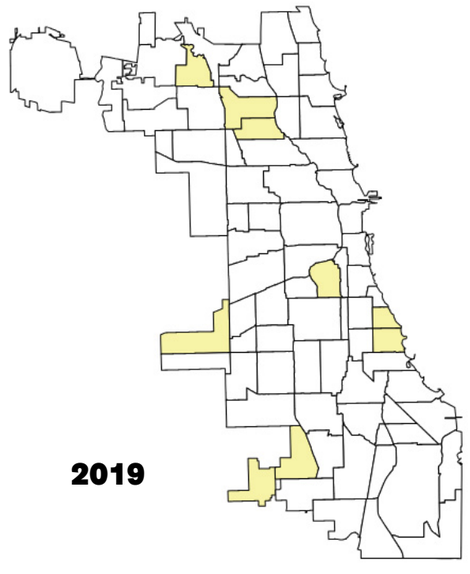
Figure 14: Type 1 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

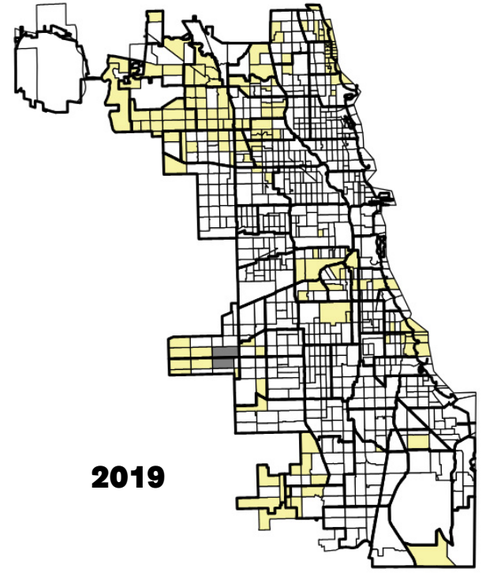
2019 Type 1 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**42,012**	**30,984**
% White	33.3	69.7	12.8
% Black	29.6	4.8	4.1
% Latino	28.8	13.2	4.1
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	13.1	4.8
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	11.2	4.7
% College Education	39.5	63.3	13.6
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$99,839	$29,874
% Owner Occupied	45.0	47.5	22.8
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$326,839	$65,913
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	5.3	3.2
% Professional Employees	42.3	58.6	9.0
% Female Households with Children	9.2	6.0	1.8
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	34.5	7.4

TYPE 2: NO CHANGE, MIDDLE CLASS



There were twelve Type 2: No Change, Middle Class communities in 2010. They were clustered in the Far North and Northwest sides, with smaller pockets in the West, Southwest, and South sides. These are communities whose index score change was between -4 and +4 from 1970 to 2010 and their 2010 index score was between +1 and +7. The highest scoring Type 2 communities were Beverly, Dunning, Irving Park, Jefferson Park, and Norwood Park, and West Ridge. Each had a score of +7. Two communities, Beverly and Norwood Park, were originally classified as Type 1 neighborhoods in 1980 and slightly declined by 2010. Only one neighborhood, Kenwood, experienced significant upgrading from 1970 to 2010.





In 2019, there were nine Type 2 communities. Calumet Heights, Clearing, Dunning, Norwood Park, and Portage Park were no longer classified under Type 2. Avondale and Bridgeport were reclassified as Type 2 in 2019. Bridgeport had previously been classified as Type 5: Not Gentrification in 2010 but experienced a slight decrease in its index score (-4) between 2010 and 2019. Avondale, on the other hand, had been classified as Type 7: Mild Decline. The community's index score had decreased by six points from 1970 to 2010, but then increased by four points in the most recent decade.

Even though communities like Dunning, Portage Park, Norwood Park, and Jefferson Park were no longer classified as Type 2 neighborhoods in 2019, many of the census tracts maintained the Type 2 classification. This is likely due to methodological differences between the community area and census tract analysis mentioned above. The other clusters of Type 2 census tracts map relatively closely to the community areas classified as Type 2, such as Mount Greenwood, Beverly, Bridgeport, Garfield Ridge, Kenwood, and Hyde Park. Unlike the lakefront communities further south towards the Loop which were classified as Type 1, many of the census tracts along Lake Michigan in Uptown, Edgewater, and Rogers Park were classified as Type 2 in 2019.

Avondale. Credit: Erica Fischer

Figure 15: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 2 Index Communities

2019 Type 2 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Avondale	3	1	1	-3	-3	1	-6	-2
Beverly	9	9	9	9	7	7	-2	-2
Bridgeport	1	3	1	3	7	3	6	2
Garfield Ridge	5	5	5	5	1	1	-4	-4
Hyde Park	7	9	11	7	9	7	2	0
Irving Park	5	7	3	5	7	7	2	2
Jefferson Park	8	7	7	7	7	7	-1	-1
Kenwood	-1	-3	1	1	1	3	2	4
Mount Greenwood	7	7	7	7	3	5	-4	-2

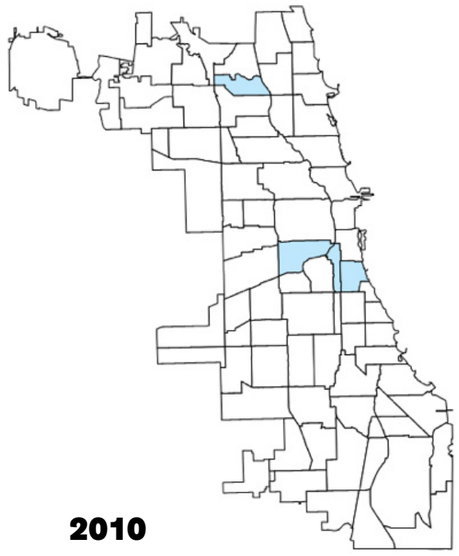
On average, Type 2 communities were 45.2% (+/- 18.6%) white, 12.2% (+/- 22.7%) Black, and 30.0% (+/- 20.6%) Latino. While, on average, they still have a higher percentage of white residents than the city, they are less white than Type 1 neighborhoods and have higher percentages of Black and Latino residents. There is a similar percentage of both children in Type 2 neighborhoods (16.7%) compared to the city average (17.1%), and elderly residents (13.6%) compared to the city average (12.4%). The median family income and median home value are slightly higher than the city's, approximately $75,000 versus $59,000 and $268,000 versus $220,000, respectively. Notably, a higher percentage of Type 2 residents (55.0%) are homeowners compared to Type 1 (47.5%). A similar percentage of residents work in managerial positions (43.0%) compared to the city (42.3%). The percentage of female-headed households with children (10.1%) is slightly above the city average (9.2%), and fewer Type 2 families live in poverty (8.1%) compared to the city (14.4%). Finally, a greater percentage of Type 2 K12 students attend private schools (28.2%).

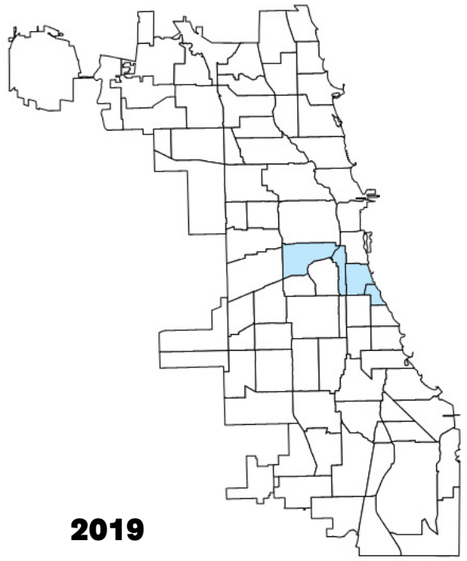
Figure 16: Type 2 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

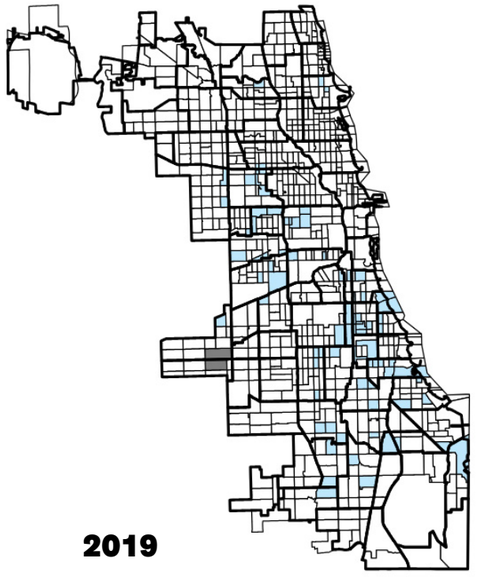
2019 Type 2 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**30,591**	**11,553**
% White	33.3	45.2	18.6
% Black	29.6	12.2	22.7
% Latino	28.8	30.0	20.6
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	13.6	2.8
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	16.7	2.5
% College Education	39.5	41.8	16.0
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$75,429	$20,090
% Owner Occupied	45.0	55.0	21.1
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$267,735	$39,615
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	8.1	3.8
% Professional Employees	42.3	43.0	13.8
% Female Households with Children	9.2	10.1	5.1
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	28.2	19.3

TYPE 3: NO CHANGE, POVERTY

Lower West Side. Credit: Adam63







There were just four Type 3: Poverty communities in 2010— Douglas, Albany Park, Lower West Side, and Armour Square. These are communities that experienced little change from 1970 to 2010 and their index score was between -1 and -7. Except for Albany Park, all are located near the border area of the West Side and South Side communities. After experiencing mild upgrading from 1970 to 1980, Albany Park went through significant decline in the 1980s and then stabilized as a Type 3 community.

In 2019, there were still four Type 3 community areas—although Albany Park was re-classified as Type 7 and Oakland was re-classified as Type 3. While Armour Square's score increased by four from 1970 to 2010, indicating potential positive future trend, the score decreased again from 2010 to 2019.

Most census tracts in each of the Type 3 community areas are classified as such. Additionally, clusters of Type 3 census tracts occur in West Side community areas between Humboldt Park and South Lawndale, and Austin and Near West side. Additionally, there is another cluster in census tracts in community areas like Woodlawn, West Englewood, Washington Park, South Shore, Greater Grand Crossing, and Grand Boulevard. Finally, there are only a few Type 3 census tracts on the North Side, two in Uptown and one in Albany Park.

Figure 17: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 3 Index Communities

2019 Type 3 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Armour Square	-7	-5	-5	-3	-3	-5	4	2
Douglas	-3	-7	-7	-6	-3	-7	0	-4
Lower West Side	-3	-9	-7	-7	-5	-3	-2	0
Oakland	-9	-9	-9	-7	-9	-7	0	2

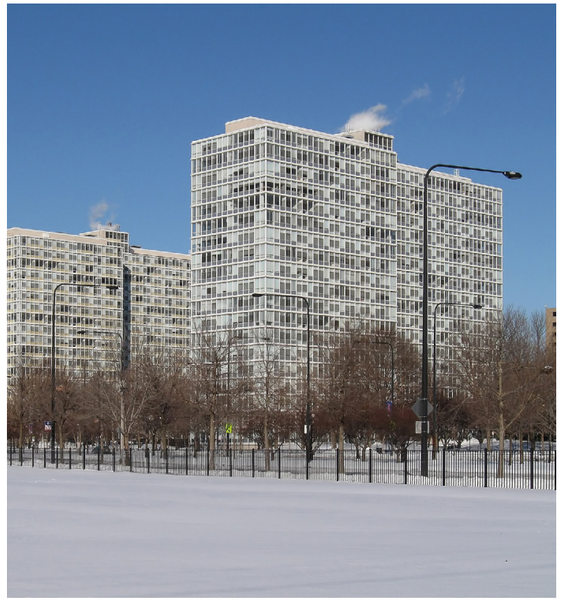
All [Type 3 communities] are located near the border area of the West Side and South side communities.

Type 3 communities, on average, are 30.9% (+/- 43.6%) Black, 33.1% (+/- 33.2%) Latino, and 15.2% (+/- 7.2%) white, meaning they tend to have a similar percentage of Black residents compared to the city, a slightly greater percentage of Latino residents, and about half the percentage of white residents. The large standard deviations for the racial and ethnic variables indicate a large spread. Type 3 communities tended to have either a high percentage of Black residents or Latino residents. Type 3 communities have about the same percentage of children (17.0%) and elderly (13.9%) compared to the city (17.0 and 12.4%, respectively). A slightly lower percentage of residents have at least a four-year degree (35.5%), and the median family income is lower than the city's ($42,121). The percentage of homeowners (25.9) in Type 3 communities is much smaller than the city average (45%), but home values are slightly higher ($239,205 versus $219,557). A higher percentage of families live in poverty, 23.5% versus 14.4%. 41.6% of residents work in managerial positions. The percentage of female-headed households with children (23.1%) is greater than the city average (9.2%). Finally, a slightly smaller percentage of children attend private schools (15.2%) compared to the city (17.2%).

Figure 18: Type 3 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

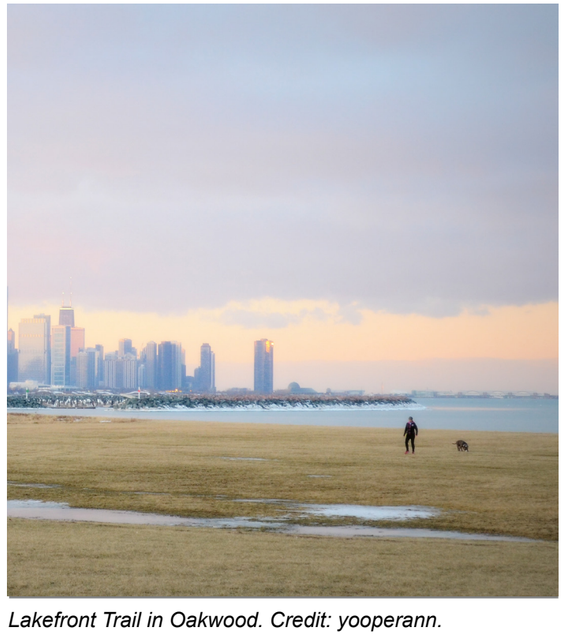
2019 Type 3 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**18,830**	**11,189**
% White	33.3	15.2	7.4
% Black	29.6	30.9	43.6
% Latino	28.8	33.1	33.2
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	13.9	7.3
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	17.0	5.4
% College Education	39.5	35.5	7.7
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$42,121	$10,721
% Owner Occupied	45.0	25.9	8.5
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$239,205	$16,744
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	23.5	8.8
% Professional Employees	42.3	41.6	7.9
% Female Households with Children	9.2	23.1	16.9
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	15.2	2.7

Chinatown in Armour Square. Credit: OgreBot.



Prairie Shores Apartments in Douglas. Credit: Joe Ravi.

Lower West Side. Credit: Duncan Cumming.



Lakefront Trail in Oakwood. Credit: yooperann.

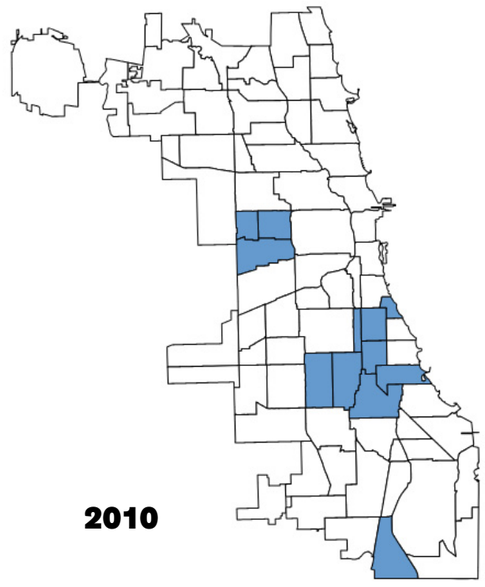
TYPE 4: NO CHANGE, EXTREME POVERTY

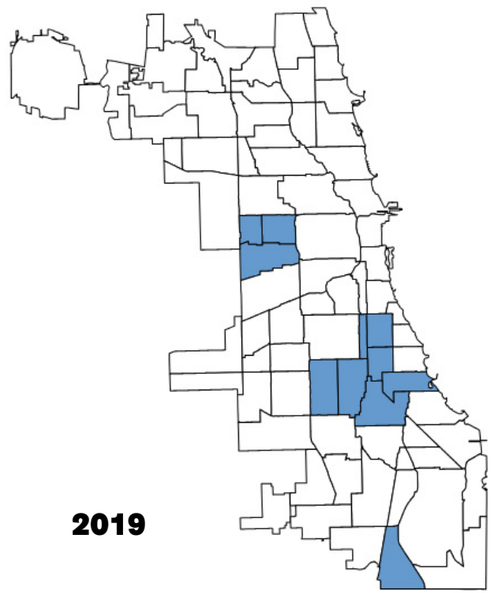
Homeowner in Woodlawn.

Twelve communities were classified as Type 4: No Change, Extreme Poverty in 2010. These are neighborhoods that are below city average on at least seven of the indicators, and whose score has not changed by more than +/- 4 since 1970. There were two distinct clusters centered on West Side neighborhoods of West Garfield Park, East Garfield Park, and North Lawndale, and the South and Southwest Side communities West Englewood, Englewood, Fuller Park, Grand Boulevard, Washington Park, Greater Grand Crossing, and Woodlawn. Almost all these neighborhoods maintained extremely low scores in each decade from 1970 to 2010. Fuller Park, Grand Boulevard, Greater Grand Crossing and Englewood have scores of -11 in 2010, tied for the lowest of all community areas with Humboldt Park, Austin, South Shore, Chatham, South Chicago, and South Deering, which were all classified as Type 8 or Type 9 communities.

All Type 4 communities in 2010 had the same categorization in 2019, except for Oakland, which was classified as Type 3. Of Type 4 communities, only Fuller Park's score increased from 2010 to 2019 (+2). Two community scores decreased in this time period. Woodlawn's score decreased by one point and West Englewood's by two points.

Type 4 census are clustered in similar neighborhoods as the respective community areas, specifically in West, South, and Southwest Side community areas. On the West Side, there are also Type 4 census tracts in southern part of Humboldt Park and southeastern part of Austin, northern part of North Lawndale, and tract in each the Lowest West Side and Near West Side.





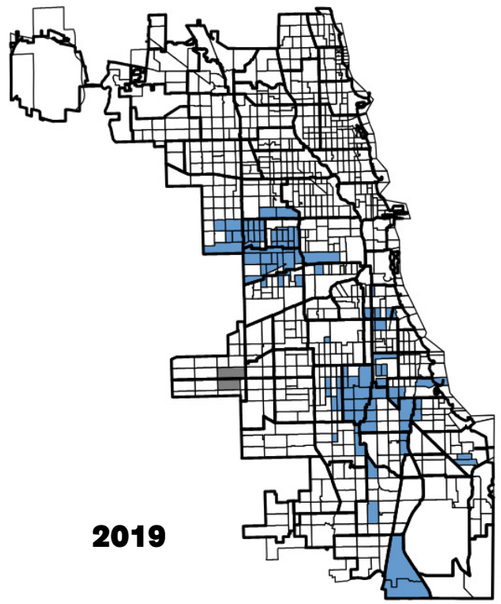


Figure 19: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 4 Index Communities

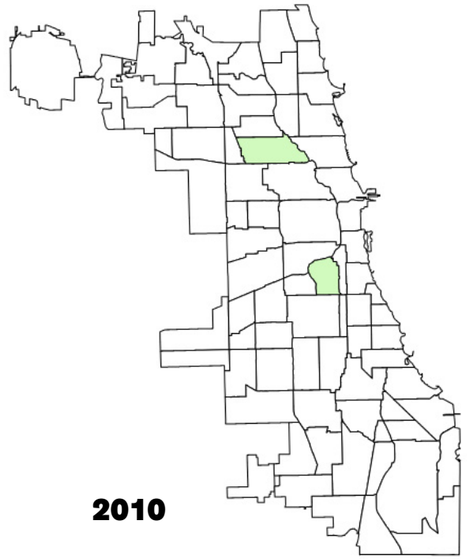
2019 Type 4 Index Scores								
Community Area	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2019	1970-2010	1970-2019
East Garfield Park	-9	-9	-9	-10	-9	-9	0	0
Englewood	-9	-9	-9	-11	-11	-11	-2	-2
Fuller Park	-9	-11	-11	-11	-11	-9	-2	0
Grand Boulevard	-11	-11	-11	-11	-11	-11	0	0
Greater Grand Crossing	-8	-9	-9	-11	-11	-11	-3	-3
North Lawndale	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0	0
Riverdale	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0	0
Washington Park	-9	-11	-9	-9	-9	-9	0	0
West Englewood	-7	-7	-7	-7	-9	-11	-2	-4
West Garfield Park	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	-9	0	0
Woodlawn	-9	-11	-11	-9	-10	-11	-1	-2

On average, in 2019 Type 4 communities were 90.5% (+/- 4.0%) Black, 4.6% (+/- 2.7%) Latino, and 3.1% (+/- 2.3%) white. The very low standard deviations indicate relative racial and ethnic similarity across the Type 4 communities. Compared to all others, they were the communities with the highest percentage of Black residents, and the lowest percentage of white and Latino residents. They tended to have a higher percentage of children (22.0%) than the city average (17.1%), and about the same percentage of elderly residents (13.4%). Type 4 communities had a lower percentage of college-educated residents (16.6%), residents in managerial occupations (26.6%), and a median family income ($29,169) approximately half the median of the city. A lower percentage of Type 4 residents were homeowners (26.4%), and the median home value of Type 4 communities ($135,436) was almost $85,000 less than the city median. Over twice as many families lived in poverty (32.0%) and the percentage of female-headed households with children was significantly higher than the city average, 42.2% versus 9.2%. Finally, a smaller percentage of K12 students attended private schools (7.6%).

Figure 20: Type 4 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

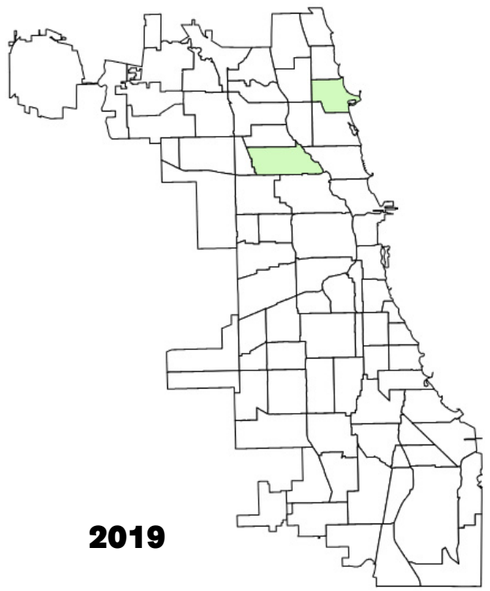
2019 Type 4 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**19,544**	**9,451**
% White	33.3	3.1	2.3
% Black	29.6	90.5	4.0
% Latino	28.8	4.6	2.7
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	13.4	6.0
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	22.0	4.5
% College Education	39.5	16.6	9.1
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$29,169	$6,779
% Owner Occupied	45.0	26.4	9.5
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$135,436	$40,857
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	32.0	7.3
% Professional Employees	42.3	26.6	9.0
% Female Households with Children	9.2	42.2	12.3
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	7.6	3.0

TYPE 5: POSITIVE CHANGE; NOT GENTRIFICATION

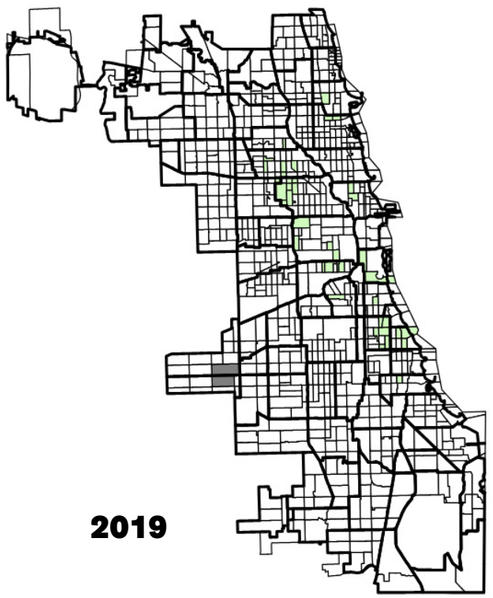


2010

Type 5: Positive Change, Not Gentrification represents communities whose index score increased by more than four points from 1970 to 2010, but the total index score in 2010 was still less than seven. Two communities were classified as Type 5 in 2010– Bridgeport and Logan Square. Logan Square is the only neighborhood to have undergone both significant downgrading and upgrading. From 1970 to 1980 the community's index score decreased by eight, but then increased by 12 between 2000 and 2010. Its total index score is seven, right below the threshold of being classified as a gentrified community. Bridgeport, also had an index score of seven in 2010, increasing from a score of one in 1970.



2019



2019

However, as discussed in the above section, Bridgeport declined by four points from 2010 to 2019, and was reclassified as a Type 2 community. Notably, Uptown was classified as a Type 6: Positive Change, Gentrified community in 2010. However, the community's index score dropped from nine to six from 2010 to 2019. This caused the community to be reclassified as Type 5. This was caused by the percentage of female-headed households shifting from below the city average (+1) in 2010 to below the average (-1) in 2019, and the percentage of K12 students attending private school shifting from above the city average (+1) to equal to the city average (+0). The experience of Uptown illustrates a peculiarity of the methodology. Communities with scores that hover around cutoff points have the potential to switch back and forth between classifications like non-gentrified versus gentrified.

The Type 5 census tracts potentially reveal interesting dynamics into emerging hotspots of neighborhood change. While the Lower West Side is classified as Type 3, several tracts along the W 18th street corridor in the Pilsen neighborhood are classified as Type 5. Additionally, several West Town, Near West Side, and Logan Square census tracts near the border with Humboldt Park and East Garfield Park are included as Type 5, potentially indicating a continuing westward movement of neighborhood change in the future. Finally, a cluster of Type 5 census tracts emerged in Douglas, Grand Boulevard, Kenwood, along with one tract in Woodlawn.

Type 5 communities, on average, were 52.1% (+/- 2.6%) white, 10.7% (+/- 9.4%) Black, and 28.0% (+/- 17.2%) Latino. While there were only two Type 5 communities, it is useful to consider each individually because of their differing racial and ethnic makeup. Both Uptown and Logan Square have similar percentages of white residents (54.2% and 50.5%, respectively), Uptown has a higher percentage of Black residents (18.1%) compared to Logan Square (4.8%), and Logan Square has a higher percentage of Latino residents (38.9% versus 14.6%). Type 5 communities had a slightly lower percentage of elderly residents (9.5%), and a lower percentage of children (10.8%). On average, more residents had a college education (57.0%), and a higher percentage worked in managerial occupations (54.5%). A lower percentage of Type 5 residents owned their homes (34.8%), but the median home value ($84,943) was approximately 44% higher. A slightly smaller percentage of families lived in poverty (11.6%) and a slightly higher percentage of households were female-headed with children (12.0%). Finally, 20.3% of K12 students attended private schools, slightly higher than the city average.

Logan Square; northwest side of the Square. Credit: Kristin Emery.

Figure 21: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 5 Index Communities

2019 Type 5 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Logan Square	1	-7	-7	-5	7	7	6	6
Uptown	1	-1	1	5	9	6	8	5

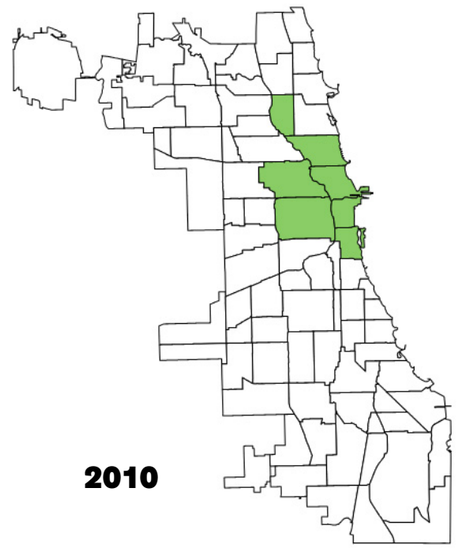
The Type 5 census tracts potentially reveal interesting dynamics into emerging hotspots of neighborhood change.

Figure 22: Type 5 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

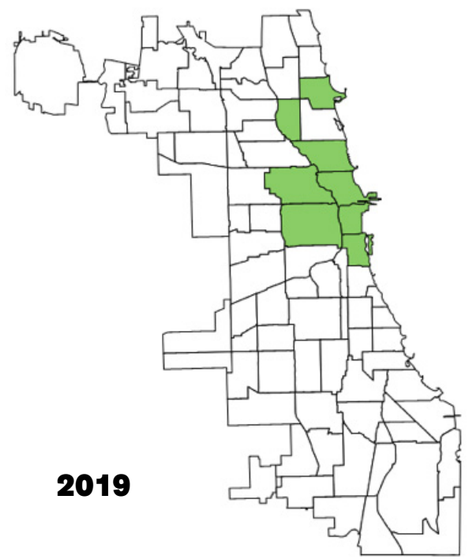
2019 Type 5 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**66,128**	**10,110**
% White	33.3	52.1	2.6
% Black	29.6	10.7	9.4
% Latino	28.8	28.0	17.2
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	9.5	3.9
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	10.8	2.2
% College Education	39.5	57.0	0.9
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$84,943	$7,380
% Owner Occupied	45.0	34.8	4.5
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$312,271	$74,082
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	11.6	3.0
% Professional Employees	42.3	54.5	1.8
% Female Households with Children	9.2	12.0	0.1
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	20.3	3.5

TYPE 6: POSITIVE CHANGE, GENTRIFICATION

All Type 6: Positive Change, Gentrification communities are located on the North and West Sides and the core surrounding the Loop. These are communities that experience positive change of at least four points between 1970 and 2010, and their 2010 score was higher than seven. However, there is a diversity of experiences within the Type 5 neighborhoods. Both the Near West Side and Near South Side had the greatest change of any community from 1970 to 2010— both had a score of -11 in 1970. Near South Side's score increased to 13 by 2010, a net change of +24, and the Near West Side increased to +10, an increase of +21. Uptown, North Center, Lincoln Park, and the Loop, on the other hand, switched from middle scoring to high scoring communities during the period. These communities experience less dramatic upgrading, because they were already higher on the index scale than communities like Near South Side and Near West Side.



All Type 6: Positive Change, Gentrification communities are located on the North and West Sides and the core surround the Loop.



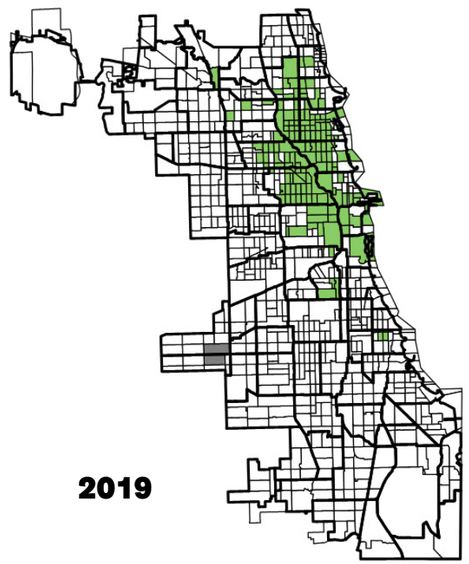


Figure 23: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 6 Index Communities

2019 Type 6 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Lincoln Park	5	9	11	9	11	11	6	6
Loop	5	7	9	9	11	11	6	6
Near North Side	-1	3	7	7	10	9	11	10
Near South Side	-11	-9	-7	-2	13	11	24	22
Near West Side	-11	-7	-5	-3	10	9	21	20
North Center	3	-1	9	9	13	11	10	8
West Town	-6	-9	-5	3	9	11	15	17

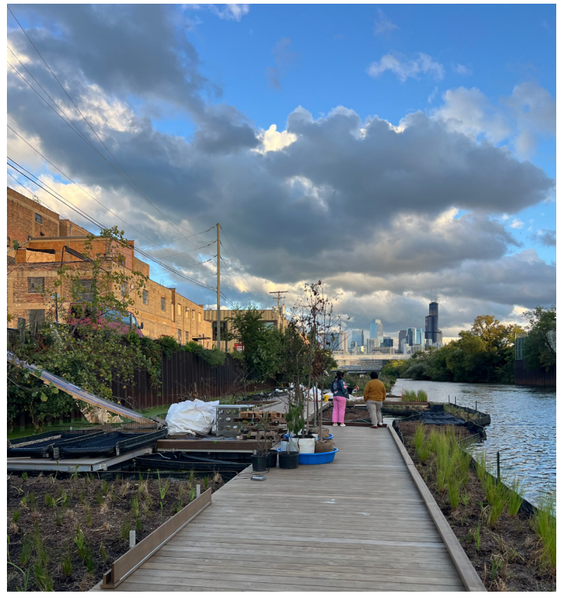
In 2010, no communities were reclassified as Type 6, and all communities, except for Uptown, maintained their classification as gentrified communities.

Most of the Type 6 census tracts are in community areas classified also as Type 6. However, the census tract map shows that many of the Logan Square census tracts are also classified as gentrified. Additionally, while Uptown was reclassified as Type 5 in 2019, many of the census tracts kept a Type 6 designation. One census tract in the Lower West Side was also categorized as Type 6, relating to the above discussion of the Pilsen census tracts that were classified as Type 5. Finally, census tracts in both Bridgeport and Hyde Park were also classified as Type 6.

Figure 24: Type 6 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

2019 Type 6 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**58,377**	**25,992**
% White	33.3	64.9	12.9
% Black	29.6	10.9	9.9
% Latino	28.8	10.5	5.9
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	10.0	3.3
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	10.0	4.0
% College Education	39.5	76.8	6.1
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$148,125	$28,361
% Owner Occupied	45.0	42.7	9.2
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$412,404	$88,485
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	5.5	3.3
% Professional Employees	42.3	67.1	3.5
% Female Households with Children	9.2	8.1	4.0
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	41.6	14.6

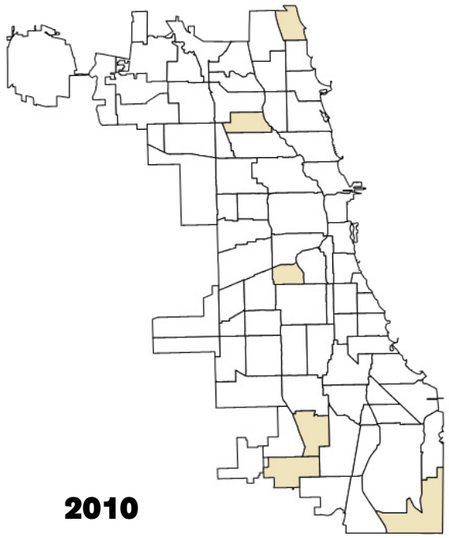
On average, Type 6 communities were 64.9% (+/- 12.9%) white, 10.9% (+/- 9.9%) Black, and 10.5% (+/-5.9%) Latino. Outside of Type 1, Type 6 was the whitest community type, on average. Type 6 communities had a smaller percentage of both elderly residents (10.0%) and children (10.0%). Type 6 communities had the highest percentage of residents with at least a bachelor's degree (76.8%), in managerial occupations ($67.1%), the highest median family income ($148,125), and median house value ($412,404). Slightly fewer residents owned their homes (42.7%) compared to the city average (45.0). They had a low percentage of families living in poverty (5.5%). The percentage of female-headed households with children (8.1%) was similar to the city average (9.2%). Finally, more than double the percentage of K12 students attended private schools (41.6%) compared to the city average (17.2%).



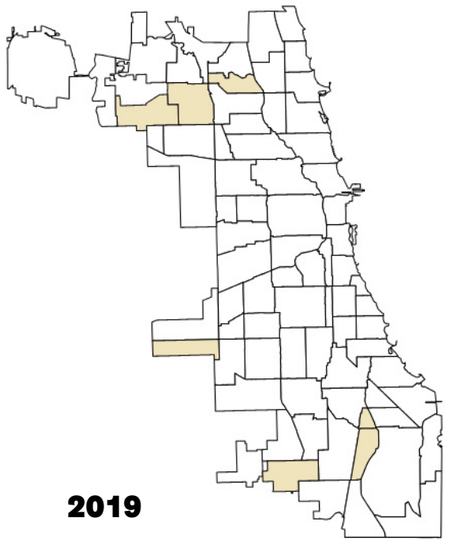
Planting at the Wild Mile in Lincoln Park.

Historic Wicker Park District in West Town. Credit: Andew Jameson

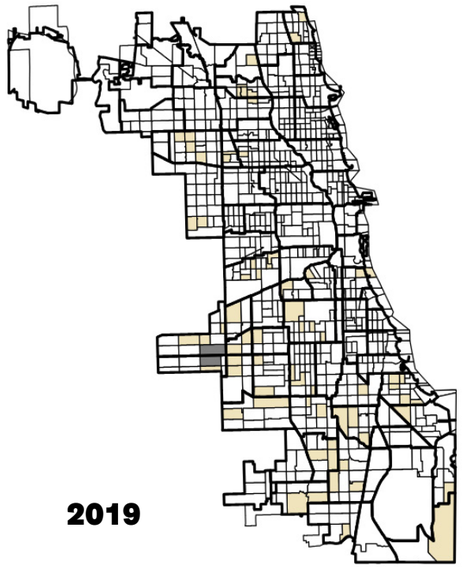
TYPE 7: NEGATIVE CHANGE, MILD DECLINE



2010



2019



2019

Residential homes in Pullman.

Six communities were classified as Type 7: Mild Decline in 2010. These communities experienced an index score decline of at least four from the 1970 baseline. Rogers Park, on the Far North side, had a score that fell within the range of middle-class communities, but experienced score decreases of -6. In 1970, its score was in the upper-class range. The other five communities— Avondale, Hegewisch, McKinley Park, Morgan Park, and Washington Heights— had index sores in the middle-class range in 1970, but each decreased by six points by 2010.

In 2019, there were also seven communities classified as Type 7, but the only community classified as such in 2010 and 2019 was Morgan Park, whose score did not alter between 2010 and 2019. Three of the communities, Portage Park, Dunning, and Albany Park, were located on the Northwest and Far North sides, while four, Clearing, Morgan Park, Pullman, and Burnside, were located on the Southwest, Far Southwest, and Far South sides. Dunning had the largest negative shift from 2010 to 2019 (-6) which changed its categorization from Type 2 to Type 7. Burnside, on the other hand, had the largest positive shift (+4), potentially indicating future upgrading in the community.

While Type 7 census tracts follow largely similar geographic patterns to the classifications for community areas, there are small pockets of Type 7 census tracts throughout many parts of the city. On the North Side, a couple tracts are in Rogers Park and on the border between Irving Park and Albany park. Type 7 census tracts are also evenly dispersed throughout community areas on the Southwest and South Side.

Figure 25: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 7 Index Communities

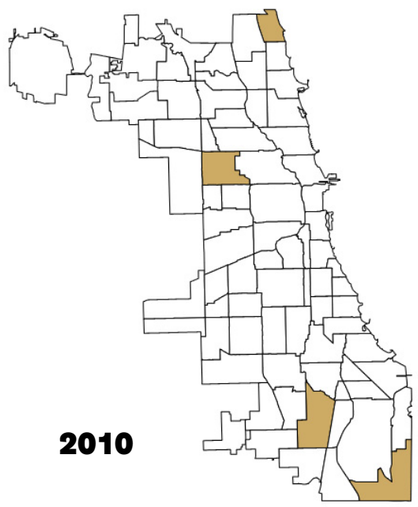
2019 Type 7 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Albany Park	1	5	-1	-1	-3	-5	-4	-6
Burnside	1	-3	-5	-7	-9	-5	-10	-6
Clearing	5	7	5	5	1	-1	-4	-6
Dunning	7	7	7	7	7	1	0	-6
Morgan Park	5	1	1	1	-1	-1	-6	-6
Portage Park	7	7	7	7	5	1	-2	-6
Pullman	-1	-3	-5	-9	-9	-7	-8	-6

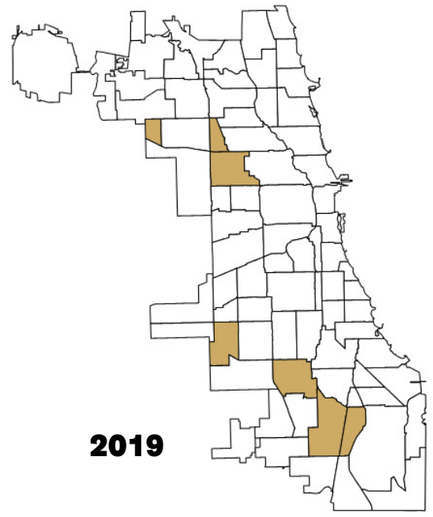
Type 7 communities, on average, are 42.8% (+/- 21.3%) white, 12.6% (+/- 41.6) Black, 36.5% (+/- 21.3%) Latino. The high standard deviations indicate a level of differentiation between Type 7 communities in terms of racial and ethnic composition. For example, Clearing was 54.1% Latino, 41.8% white, and 2.4% Black. Dunning was 62.3% white, 29.6% Latino, and 2.3% Black. Pullman was 81.5% Black, 10.0% white, and 5.5% Latino. Type 7 communities have slightly higher percentages of both children (18.4%) and elderly residents (14.0%) than the city average. A lower percentage of residents have at least a four-year degree (30.7%) and work in managerial occupations (33.2%). The median family income ($58,557) is similar to the city median family income ($59,028). A higher percentage of residents owned their homes (60.6%), but the median home value was lower ($176,108). Fewer residents in Type 7 communities live in poverty (8.5%). 11.2% of households are female-headed with children, slightly higher than the city average (9.2%). Finally, approximately the same percentage of K12 students (17.9%) attend private schools compared to the city average (17.2%).

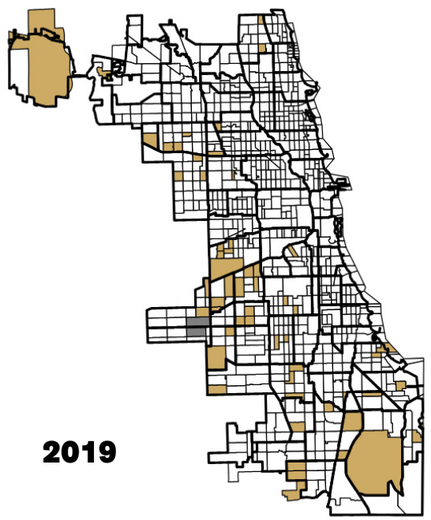
Figure 26: Type 7 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

2019 Type 7 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**31,256**	**22,778**
% White	33.3	42.8	21.3
% Black	29.6	12.6	41.6
% Latino	28.8	36.5	21.3
% Elderly (60+)	12.4	14.0	5.4
% Children (Under 18)	17.1	18.4	3.5
% College Education	39.5	30.7	8.1
Median Family Income (Adjusted to 2010)	$59,028	$58,557	$11,516
% Owner Occupied	45.0	60.6	14.2
Median House Value (Adjusted to 2010)	$219,557	$176,108	$67,829
% Families Below Poverty	14.4	8.5	3.8
% Professional Employees	42.3	33.2	7.5
% Female Households with Children	9.2	11.2	7.8
% Private School Attendance (Pre-k through 12)	17.2	17.9	5.9

TYPE 8: NEGATIVE CHANGE, MODERATE DECLINE







In 2010, seven communities were categorized as Type 8 Negative Change, Moderate Decline. Type 8 communities declined by eight or nine points from 1970 to 2010. There appear to be two clusters of Type 8 communities in 2010. One is comprised of Montclare, Humboldt Park, and Hermosa— located on the border of the West and Northwest sides. The others are located between the Far South and Southwest sides, Pullman, Roseland, Auburn Gresham, and West Lawn. Montclare, Hermosa, and West Lawn had scores within the “low” range (-1 to -7), and the rest in the “very low” (less than -7). Montclare also had the highest index score in 1970, (+7).

Generally, the Type 8 census tracts do not have a strong correspondence with community areas.

In 2019, only four communities were classified as Type 8. Humboldt Park and Roseland were still classified as Type 8. Rogers Park and Hegewisch were also re-classified as Type 8— both had been under the Type 7 classification and declined by two points from 2010 and 2019. Rogers Park's index score in 2019 was +1, placing it within the "middle" score category. The rest were categorized as either low or very low.

Generally, the Type 8 census tracts do not have a strong correspondence with Type 8 community areas.. Type 8 census tract clusters occur in Southwest side community areas like South Lawndale, Archer Heights, Brighton Park, Garfield Ridge, and West Lawn; and in Far South side community areas like Auburn Gresham, Washington Heights, West Pullman, Pullman, and South Deering.

Puerto Rican flag in Humboldt Park. Credit: The Eloquent Peasant.

Figure 27: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 8 Index Communities

2019 Type 8 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Hegewisch	5	7	5	3	-1	-3	-6	-8
Humboldt Park	-3	-9	-11	-11	-11	-11	-8	-8
Rogers Park	9	9	5	-1	3	1	-6	-8
Roseland	-1	-3	-3	-5	-9	-9	-8	-8

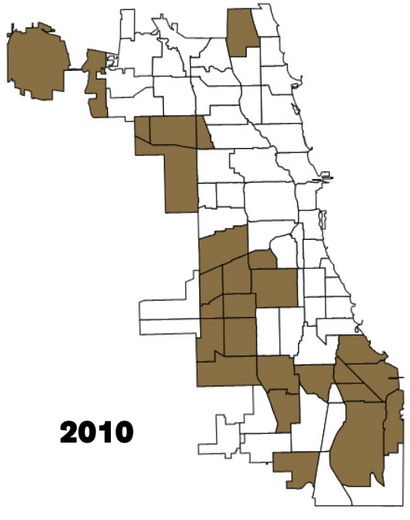
Type 8 communities, on average, were 45.1% (+/ 39.1%) Black, 30.9% Latino (+/- 29.3%), and 20.3% white (+/- 20.7%). Like Type 7 communities, Type 8 communities displayed differing racial and ethnic demographics. Humboldt Park was 58.4% Latino, 33.2% Black, and 7.7% white. Rogers Park was 43.9% white, 28.0% Black, and 19.6% Latino. Roseland was 95.8% Black, 1.4% white, and 1.2% Latino. Type 8 communities had a similar percentage of elderly residents (11.9%) and a slightly higher percentage of children (19.2%). A lower percentage of residents had at least a bachelor's degree (27.6%), worked in managerial occupations (31.2%), and the median family income ($46,554) was lower than city's median family income ($59,028). A smaller percentage of Type 8 residents owned their homes (37.9%) and the median house value ($156,084) was approximately $63,000 less than the city's median house value ($219,557). A greater percentage of families lived in poverty (19.8%). 23.8% of households were female-headed with children (23.8%), more than double the city average (9.2%). Finally, approximately half the percentage of K12 students attended private school (8.6%).

Figure 28: Type 8 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

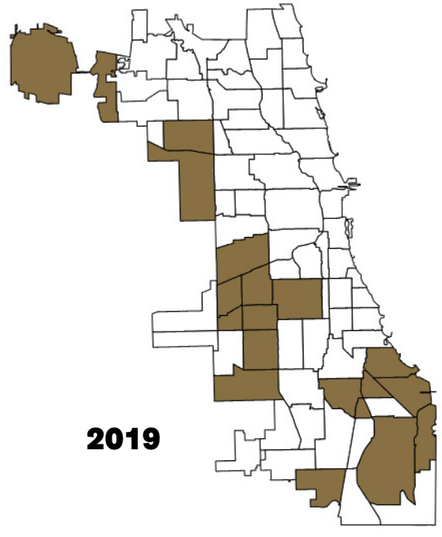
2019 Type 8 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**39,773**	**21,844**
% White	33.3	20.3	20.7
% Black	29.6	45.1	39.1
% Latino	28.8	30.9	29.3
% Elderly	12.4	11.9	5.3
% Children	17.1	19.2	2.5
% Bachelors	39.5	27.6	14.1
Median Family Income	$59,028	$46,554	$10,742
% Owner Occupied	45.0	37.9	21.0
Median House Value	$219,557	$156,084	$38,892
% Poverty	14.4	19.8	4.3
% Manager Occupations	42.3	31.2	9.9
% Female Headed Households	9.2	23.8	8.9
% Private Schools	17.2	8.6	2.1

TYPE 9: NEGATIVE CHANGE, SERIOUS DECLINE

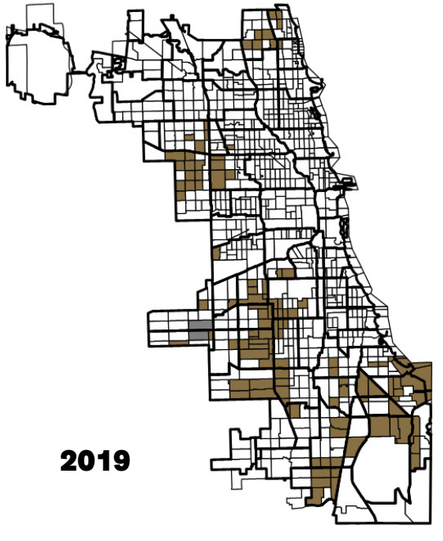
Type 9 Negative Change, Serious Decline is by far the largest category in terms of number of communities. Nineteen communities were classified as Type 9 in 2010, with the greatest concentrations of communities located in the Southwest, Far Southwest and Far South sides. There is also a smaller concentration near the border between the West and Northwest Side, as well as one community, O'Hare, on the Far North Side. All of the communities under the classification had positive index scores in 1970. O'Hare (+13) and Ashburn (+9) had the highest. The Austin and Chicago Lawn communities experienced the largest decrease of all community areas during this time (-16). Between 2010 and 2019, Burnside's index score increased by four, causing it to be reclassified as Type 7.



2010



2019



2019

In 2019, even more neighborhoods were classified as Type 9, a total number of 26 communities. There was a similar spatial pattern to Type 9 neighborhoods in 2019 compared to 2010. The following communities were reclassified as Type 9: Auburn Gresham Calumet Heights, Hermosa, McKinley Park, Montclare, Washington Heights, West Lawn, and West Ridge. Interestingly, West Ridge had been classified as a Type 2 community in 2010 but experienced a series of declines in its score over several decades. From 1990 to 2010, its score declined by six points and then declined by another seven points from 2010 to 2019. O'Hare had the highest index score in 2019 (+1) and Auburn Gresham, Chicago Lawn, South Deering, South Chicago, South Shore, and Austin were tied for the lowest score (-11). As of 2019, Chicago Lawn had experienced the largest decrease since 1970 (-18). In 1970, Chicago Lawn's index score was in the "middle" range (+7), receiving a positive index score in each of the racial and ethnic indicators, the percentage of children, home ownership, people in managerial and professionalized occupations, K12 students in private school, family poverty, and median family income. However, in 2019, the community received negative scores on all indicators except for the percentage of elderly residents.

There is strong correspondence between Type 9 community areas and census tracts across the West, Southwest, and South sides. Additionally, the Type 9 census tracts show that while Rogers Park was classified as Type 8, the negative change was concentrated in three census tracts that were classified as Type 9.

In 2019, Type 9 communities, on average, were 44.1% (+/- 34.2%) Latino, 40.2% Black (+/- 40.9%), and 11.1% white (+/- 14.6%), with a high amount of variation between communities. Type 9 communities had about the same percentage of elderly residents (12.9%) compared to the city (12.4%), and a slightly higher percentage of children (21.1%). Less than half the percentage of residents over the age of 25 had at least a bachelor's degree (17.7%), and the median family income ($48,185) was approximately $10,000 less than the city median family income ($59,028). Additionally, just 22.5% of residents worked in managerial occupations, compared to 42.3% for the city. A slightly higher percentage of residents owned their homes (48.8%), but the median house value ($144,899) was approximately 34% lower than the city median house value ($219,557). A higher percentage of families lived in poverty (18.6%). More than double the percentage of households were female-headed with children (21.6%), and a smaller percentage of K12 students attended private school (10.5%).

In 2019, even more neighborhoods were classified as Type 9 [than in 2010], a total number of 26 communities.

The census tract analysis enables understanding of neighborhood change at a finer level of detail. Figure 30 maps index score change from 2010 to 2019 at the census tract level. While the previous analysis considered change since 1970, the results here reveal detail about contemporary trends, revealing important insights about emerging hotspots for upgrading, downgrading, and stabilization. For the most part, most census tracts (84.1%) did not experience significant change between 2010 and 2019. About 13.3% experienced positive change, and just 19 census tracts (2.4%) experienced negative change.

Figure 29: Index Score in Each Decade for Type 9 Index Communities

2019 Type 9 Index Scores								
Community Area	**1970**	**1980**	**1990**	**2000**	**2010**	**2019**	**1970-2010**	**1970-2019**
Archer Heights	7	5	5	3	-3	-7	-10	-14
Ashburn	9	7	7	1	-1	-5	-10	-14
Auburn Gresham	-1	-3	-5	-9	-9	-11	-8	-10
Austin	5	-7	-7	-9	-11	-11	-16	-16
Avalon Park	5	3	5	-1	-7	-7	-12	-12
Belmont Cragin	7	7	5	1	-5	-5	-12	-12
Brighton Park	5	1	1	-3	-7	-7	-12	-12
Calumet Heights	5	3	5	3	1	-5	-4	-10
Chatham	3	-4	-5	-7	-11	-9	-14	-12
Chicago Lawn	7	5	1	-9	-9	-11	-16	-18
East Side	7	5	-1	-5	-5	-7	-12	-14
Gage Park	5	5	1	-5	-5	-7	-10	-12
Hermosa	3	1	-1	-1	-5	-7	-8	-10
McKinley Park	5	3	-1	1	-1	-5	-6	-10
Montclare	7	7	7	5	-1	-5	-8	-12
New City	1	-9	-11	-9	-9	-9	-10	-10
O'Hare	13	11	9	5	1	1	-12	-12
South Chicago	1	-5	-9	-11	-11	-11	-12	-12
South Deering	3	-5	-7	-11	-11	-11	-14	-14
South Lawndale	1	-7	-7	-7	-9	-9	-10	-10
South Shore	1	-3	-7	-11	-11	-11	-12	-12
Washington Heights	1	-3	-1	-3	-5	-9	-6	-10
West Elsdon	7	7	5	1	-3	-3	-10	-10
West Lawn	5	7	5	1	-3	-5	-8	-10
West Pullman	5	-3	-3	-7	-9	-9	-14	-14
West Ridge	11	11	11	9	7	-1	-4	-12

Community Garden at McKinley Park.

Figure 30: Type 9 Communities Variable Averages, 2019

2019 Type 9 Variable Averages	City of Chicago	Mean	SD
Population	**2,731,881**	**36,669**	**22,784**
% White	33.3	11.1	14.6
% Black	29.6	40.2	40.9
% Latino	28.8	44.1	34.2
% Elderly	12.4	12.9	3.8
% Children	17.1	21.1	3.7
% Bachelors	39.5	17.7	8.0
Median Family Income	$59,028	$48,185	$10,365
% Owner Occupied	45.0	48.8	14.7
Median House Value	$219,557	$144,899	$39,744
% Poverty	14.4	18.6	6.1
% Manager Occupations	42.3	22.5	6.0
% Female Headed Households	9.2	21.6	9.2
% Private Schools	17.2	10.5	4.4

CHANGES 2010 -2019

Positive change was highly clustered in North and Northwest Side neighborhoods (see Figure 31). Specifically, parts of Logan Square, West Town, and Avondale experience significant upgrading, spilling over into parts of Hermosa, Humboldt Park, and Garfield Park. While none of these community areas have yet to be classified as having underwent upgrading, these results indicate that they may undergo further neighborhood change across the indicators in the future. Additionally, the Austin community area had several census tracts that experience positive change in this period.

Additionally, the results in Lower West Side provide further evidence of upgrading in the Lower West Side community area, as mentioned at several points in the preceding discussion. Six of the eleven census tracts experience significant positive change.

The largest cluster of negative change took place around Rogers Park and West Ridge. Individual tracts across the city also were categorized as experiencing decline.

Figure 31: Neighborhood change in select community areas

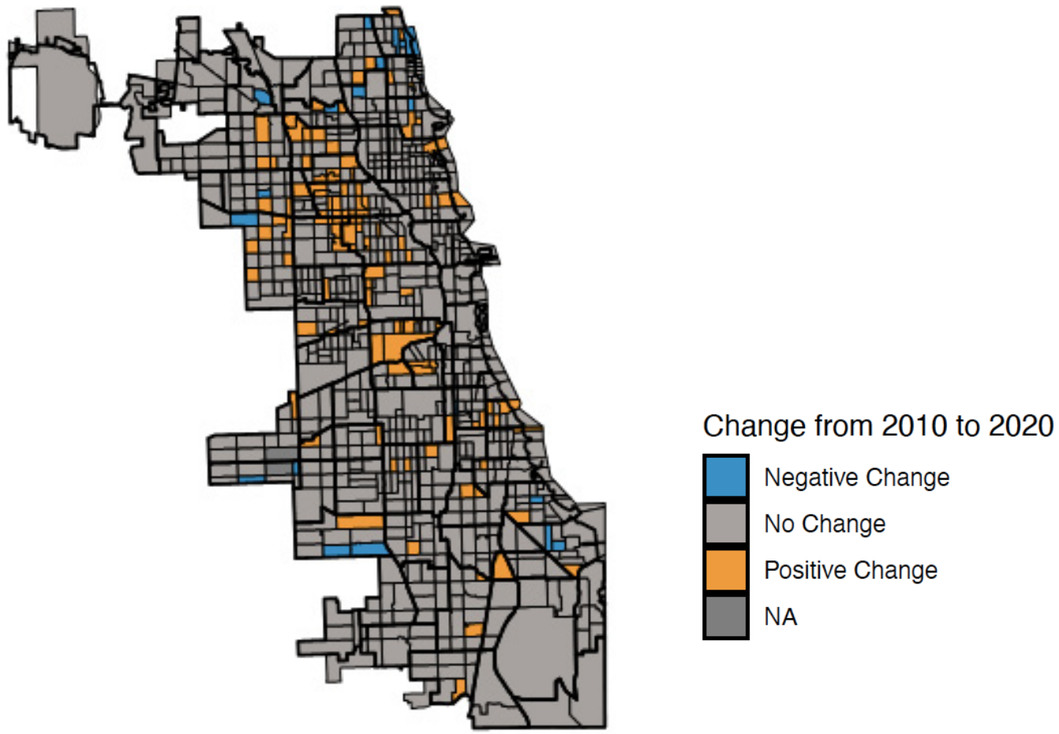
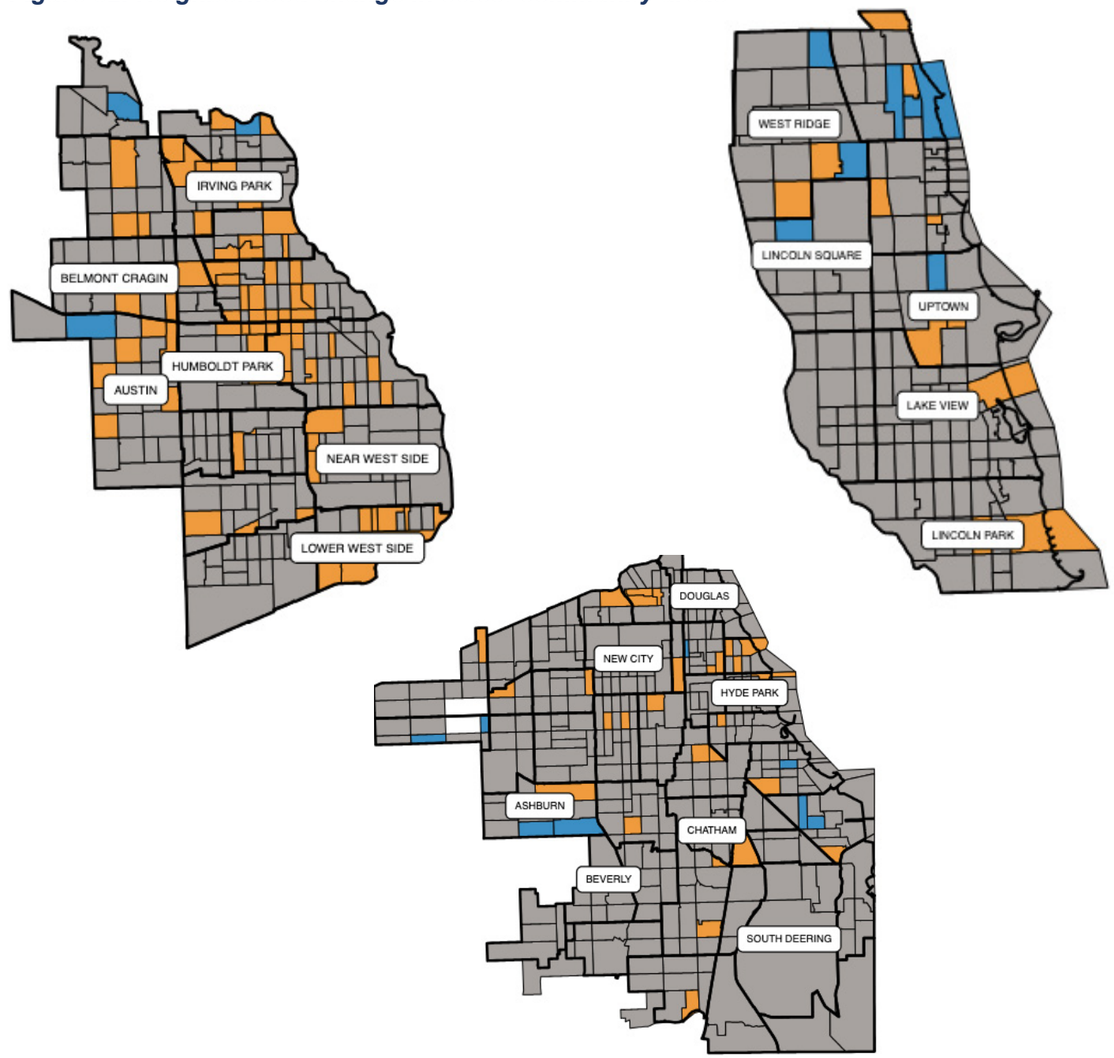


Figure 32 displays change for Southwest and South Side census tracts. The patterns of change in these census tracts appear less clustered than those in the census tracts in the Northwest Side. However, smaller pockets of upgrading still appear in these community areas. Census tracts near Grand Boulevard and Kenwood experienced positive change from 2010 to 2019. Another cluster exists between Bridgeport and McKinley Park. Finally, two census tracts in Greater Grand Crossing, bordering Woodlawn, also experienced upgrading.

Finally, there are small pockets of neighborhood decline in these community areas. Two tracts in each Ashburn, Clearing, and South Chicago all experienced negative change.

Figure 32: Neighborhood change in select community areas



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