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Understanding Housing Informality in Los Angeles

Steven Schmidt
University of California Irvine

During a warm summer evening in Los Angeles, I interviewed Mabel on the sideline of her son's baseball practice. A single mom from Guatemala, Mabel lives with her three kids in an apartment bedroom that she rents under the table from an older woman. Mabel sees the rented room as a stepping stone to owning a home: "I want to grow, to eventually have my own house. But for now with my situation, I have to wait a little longer to be able to do it."¹ Later that year, I met Lisa, a middle-income white woman who rents a home about five minutes away from Mabel. Although her lease does not allow sublets, Lisa usually rents out one of her three bedrooms. I asked what she looks



for in a roommate: "We don't cook animal products, we eat organic, so a health-conscious person. We didn't want more kids, that was just too much." Sharing a home is relatively common in Los Angeles, where an estimated 47% of families

Cont'd. page 2

Message from the Chair

Derek Hyra
American University

We are in a much different place than we were earlier this year. Vaccination rates are up, deaths are down, and things are starting to open back up. This has been an extremely difficult year, but I am feeling optimistic and looking forward to the future. We have much collective work to do and lots to celebrate as a section.

In the immediate future, we have an amazing set of section sessions coming up at our [ASA Annual Meeting](#) in August. Please virtually join and participate in our four CUSS paper sessions, as we tackle some of the most pressing theoretical and empirical community and urban challenges. Here's the [schedule](#) for our sessions and business meeting.

Don't miss the CUSS business meeting on Monday, August 9th from 2:30 pm to

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“While doubling up is commonly described as a private social safety net, studying how families find subleases with non-kin draws attention to the difficulties some renters face on the informal market.”

1. Quiero crecer un poco más, llegar a tener mi propia casa, pero por el momento, en mi situación, no, tengo que esperar un poquito más para poder hacerlo.
2. Creo que fue como que ya estaba ese lugar para mí, como bendición.
3. Soy soltera, sin vicios, y me la paso trabajando. Solo a dormir llegaría, mis días de descanso los paso en familia.

Understanding Housing, cont'd.

live doubled-up, or with another adult who is not a romantic partner (Bretz, 2017). While many doubled-up renters live in multigenerational homes, Mabel and Lisa live with non-family members. How do renters find opportunities to rent spaces in other households, and how do families decide who they will allow to live with them?

In this essay, I draw on my fieldwork and interviews with 120 Los Angeles renter families to describe a common but relatively understudied response to high housing costs: subleasing bedrooms, living rooms, garages, and hallways from other renters whom are often strangers. While doubling up is commonly described as a private social safety net, studying how families find subleases with non-kin draws attention to the difficulties some renters face on the informal market. I understand these housing arrangements as *informal* because they typically violate the terms of the original renter's lease. Although informal opportunities are more affordable, informal renters must pass another set of ad hoc screening requirements established by the primary tenant. What does renting on the informal market look like in Los Angeles?

When Mabel separated from her husband, she knew renting a bedroom was her most accessible option, but she encountered several obstacles. She has three young children, but many families renting rooms would allow just one child. Mabel also screened her potential roommates. She wanted to live with someone older, preferably a single woman with no young kids. When she finally found an ad for a bedroom that met her requirements posted inside a Laundromat, she described feeling a wave of relief: “It was like that place was meant for me, like a

blessing.”² Latinx immigrants also report finding rooms for rent through Spanish-language Facebook groups. Taking a closer look at these listings can tell us how families screen potential tenants. Common requirements include: full-time employment, no couples, and no children. One person looking to rent a bedroom posted, “I’m single, I have no vices, and I spend all day working. I’d only come to sleep, and I spend days off with my family.”³ Tenants seeking rooms work to present themselves as quiet, reliable and unobtrusive.

Affluent L.A. families also participate in the informal housing market. Small-business owner Lisa rents out one of the bedrooms in her home, but has run into issues with previous roommates. She told me about one tenant who she and her husband evicted after four months: “We had rules. No alcohol in the house, no smoking. We told her she would have to go out far, and she’d still sneak out to the backyard and smoke. And so she had to go.” Informal tenants generally have fewer legal protections against eviction, and many are unaware of the housing rights that they do hold under California law. Lisa’s strict screening process is reflected in another L.A. housing Facebook group where most posts are in English. One listing asks for: “...a film/TV professional, team player, ambitious, and hard-working.” Another included a link to a Google Form that asks potential renters, “What’s a film, book, game, show, artwork, or album that’s really resonated with you?” Although scholars tend to focus on housing informality in the low-end market, wealthier families also participate and impose restrictive entry requirements.

Message from the Communication Team

This issue of the CUSS Newsletter begins with a piece by team member Steven Schmidt on informal housing arrangements in Los Angeles. In addition, this issue includes a discussion with 2020 Park Award Winners Scott Frickel and James Elliott on their book *Sites Unseen*, as well as an interview with Addams award winner Jackelyn Hwang. Also, new City & Community book editors Sofya Aptekar and Ervin Kosta share with us their plans for a more inclusive and global coverage of new books.

As always, newsletter articles are posted on Comurb.org, in addition to being distributed via the listserve. The team also shares links to material via Twitter (@ComUrbASA), and Facebook (CUSS). We are always looking for essays or op-ed pieces that promote community and urban sociology. Pieces can cover new research,

teaching and pedagogy, or community activism. Please contact any of us if you are interested.

- Albert Fu <afu@kutztown.edu>
- Leigh-Anna Hidalgo <lhidalgo@binghamton.edu>
- Kyle Galindez <kgalinde@ucsc.edu>
- Lora Phillips <lora.phillips@asu.edu>
- Steven Schmidt <stvnschmidt@gmail.com>

Understanding Housing, cont'd.

Social scientists consider informal housing to be an important part of the private social safety net in the United States. However, we know less about how tenants find these opportunities and who is left behind. Informal subleases in L.A. are less available to couples, pregnant women, families with multiple children, those with irregular work hours, and those who are underemployed. Audit studies also show how racial discrimination shapes roommate selection (e.g., Gaddis and Ghoshal, 2020). Future research could examine how building owners and managers understand informal subleases, particularly in cities where few families can afford market-rate rents.

Informal subleases play an important, and relatively understudied, role in the contemporary U.S. rental landscape. Examining renters' pathways into informality also shows how the formal and informal rental markets are mutually constitutive. Common tenant screening practices—like credit/background checks and income minimums—limit access to formal housing opportunities, particularly in high-cost cities like Los Angeles. Additional research into informal subleases could encourage policy interventions around tenant screening, motivate greater legal protections for informal tenants, and would add to

our current understanding of housing inequality in the United States.

References

- Bretz, Lauren. 2017. "As Rents Rise, More Renters Turn to Doubling Up." <https://www.zillow.com/research/rising-rents-more-roommates-17618/>
- Gaddis, S. Michael and Raj Ghoshal. 2020. "Searching for a Roommate: A Correspondence Audit Study Examining Racial/Ethnic and Immigrant Discrimination among Millennials." *Socius* 6:1-16.

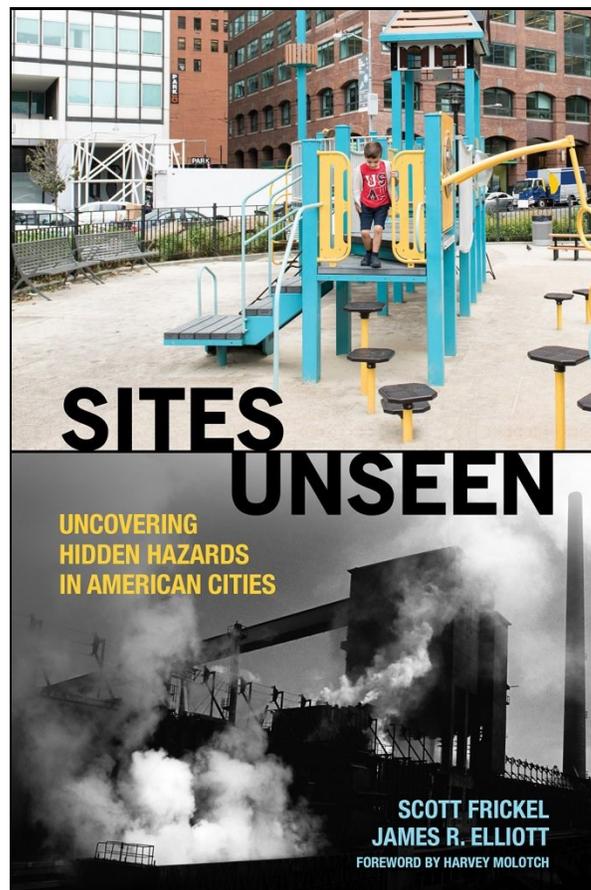
Reflections on *Sites Unseen*

The winner of the 2020 Robert E. Park Award is *Sites Unseen: Uncovering Hidden Hazards in American Cities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation by Scott Frickel & James R. Elliott. It is part of the American Sociological Association's Rose Series in Sociology. Below is a reflection essay coordinated by Kyle Galindez with the winners on industrial waste and its legacy in the urban landscape.

According to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), urban industrial facilities across the country released nearly 750 million pounds of hazardous waste "on site" into lands where they operated in 2019. That amount might seem high, but in fact it grossly undercounts the volume of toxins that industries have dumped, leaked, injected, or buried into urban soils every year since the mid-1980s, when EPA personnel first began collecting such data. There are numerous reasons for that undercount. The exclusion of smaller facilities and select industries plays a role as do voluntary reporting rules. But beneath those gaps lies another pressing issue: Before 1986, no systematic data were collected on toxic industrial emissions, including those to land. As a result, many American cities now face a legacy hazardous waste problem they don't even know they have.

In our book, [*Sites Unseen*](#), we set out to discover how many such ignored sites of potential industrial waste exist and why over time they simultaneously seem to proliferate and disappear from view. The data we collected come from state manufacturing directories dating back to the 1950s. Those sources don't tell us whether specific addresses are presently contaminated, but they do provide dynamic maps of where and for how long hazardous industries have operated in four very different cities – New Orleans, Minneapolis, Portland, and Philadelphia. In each, we were surprised to learn, government regulatory databases capture less than 10 percent of past manufacturing sites in sectors known locally and historically to release their hazardous wastes into on-site lands.

What about the other, missing 90-plus percent of relic industrial sites? By surveying hundreds of randomly selected cases in our database, we found that 95 percent had converted to non-hazardous uses in the form of coffee shops, apartments, restaurants, parks, childcare cen-



ters, and more. These findings corroborate processes we now understand drive both the spread and obfuscation of contaminated urban lands.

One of those processes is industrial churning. Like any other business, industrial facilities operate for a time before going out of business or moving elsewhere. Because urban land is limited and valuable, redevelopment of those same lots for other, non-industrial uses is the norm and ongoing. This means that any given site may be redeveloped multiple times, sometimes over just a few decades. This ongoing cycle of land use-reuse has far-reaching environmental impacts as industrial wastes accumulate and spread incrementally lot by lot across cities, while pressures for redevelopment cover up the evidence. Subsequent and highly selective regulation and remediation of larger, longer-lived industrial sites

Sites Unseen, cont'd.

then provides political cover for regulatory agencies as developers look for public remediation assistance and promises of liability-free re-development.

And so, the problem of relic industrial waste has become far greater and more vexing than many scholars, regulators, and developers appreciate. This complexity, in turn, has important implications for environmental justice and questions about who lives, works, and plays in neighborhoods burdened by relic industrial contaminants. Our findings indicate that, over time, we're all in this together: The white working-class neighborhoods of yesteryear; the lower-income and minority neighborhoods that superseded them; the gentrifying areas that are now selectively following them; and whatever comes after that. The accumulation and spread of industrial hazards is relentless and until we embrace this shared fate, the regulatory tools developed to safeguard us will remain blind to the fundamental processes shaping American cities.

We need broader recognition of these basic social facts of urban life. The road to more sustainable cities runs through these spaces, and the sooner we acknowledge that, the sooner we can go about reclaiming not just our cities but the environmental regulatory systems designed to ensure our collective -being. To continue this line of work, we have been working with others in several related directions. With new machine-learning tools, we are expanding our database of hidden hazardous sites into new states and cities. With growing concerns over climate change and urban flooding we are integrating new environmental databases and risk projection models. The aim is to better understand where sites of relic industrial waste are likely to take on water that unearths and spreads their contaminants even further. Until, that is, we learn to better see and act on the hidden hazards beneath.

Chair's Message, cont'd.

3:55 pm (EDT). We will review the state of our section (which is resilient and strong) and celebrate the accomplishments of our members and the broader urban sociology community. Please come to the meeting to help congratulate this year's set of [award winners](#)!

As I noted, our section is strong. As of July 7, we have over 600 members and are standing on solid financial ground as a section going forward. This year we elected a great set of leaders for the various committees and posts and altered our [bylaws](#) to reflect our steadfast commitment to diversity, equity, and inclusion in all facets of our section. I am proud of our continued work to alleviate and minimize injustices in our society and section.

I wish all of you a great rest of the summer and look forward to seeing many of you in August.



TRAILS is the ASA's searchable database of peer-reviewed teaching resources. TRAILS is a member benefit that all ASA members can access

CUSS section members can find syllabi, exercises, PowerPoints, and other teaching materials for developing and updating their courses.

In addition, section members can submit their materials for publication in TRAILS.

For more information: <https://trails.asanet.org/>

2021 Section Election Results

Chair-Elect (1-year term begins in 2021)

- Mary J. Fischer, University of Connecticut

Council Member (3-year term begins in 2021)

- Brian McCabe, Georgetown University
- Jessica Simes, Boston University

Publications Committee Members (3-year term begins in 2021)

- Rocío Rosales, University of California, Irvine
- Theo Greene, Bowdoin College

Student Representative (1-year term begins in 2021)

- George Greenidge, Georgia State University

2021 Section Award Recipients

1. CUSS Publicly Engaged Scholar Award 2021

Co-winners:

- George Greenidge, Georgia State University
- Stefanie A. DeLuca, Johns Hopkins University

Committee: Jan Lin, Gregory Squires, Zachary Levenson, Jacob Lederman

2. CUSS Graduate Student Paper Award 2021

- Ángel Mendiola Ross, University of California, Berkeley, "Outercity Policing: Drivers of Police Spending in a Changing Metropolis."

Committee: Brian McCabe, Amy Spring, Jake Carlson, Shani Evans

3. CUSS Book Award 2021

- Marco Garrido, University of Chicago, *The Patchwork City: Class, Space, and Politics in Metro Manila* (University of Chicago Press 2019)

Committee: Scott Frickel, Jim Elliott, Jaleh Jalili, Ray Hutchison, Jeffrey Parker

4. CUSS Jane Addams Article Award 2021

Co-winners:

- Monica C. Bell, Yale University, "Located Institutions: Neighborhood Frames, Residential Preferences, and the Case of Policing." *American Journal of Sociology* 125, no. 4 (2020): 917-973.
- Josh Pacewicz (Brown University) and John Robinson (Washington University, St. Louis), "Pocketbook Policing: How Race Shapes Municipal Reliance on Punitive Fines and Fees in the Chicago Suburbs." *Socio-Economic Review* (2020).

Committee: Jackie Hwang, Youbin Kang, Mahesh Somashekhar, Emily Yen

5. CUSS Robert and Helen Lynd Award for Lifetime Achievement 2021

- Elijah Anderson, Yale University

Committee: Barry Lee, Forrest Stuart, Max Besbris, Barry Wellman

City & Community Non-English Book Reviews: A Conversation with the new book review editors Sofya Aptekar and Ervin Kosta

Albert Fu: Sofya and Ervin, first of all, congratulations on your new role as book review editors for *City & Community*. Can you tell us a little bit more about the new initiative on non-English book reviews?

Sofya Aptekar: Thank you, Albert. We're pretty excited to be part of the effort of running this journal. The idea of adding reviews of books published in languages other than English was broached to us by the new editor-in-chief [Richard E. Ocejo](#). Both Ervin and I thought it would be great for C&C readership, and have begun the exciting work of tracking down books published across the world.

Albert: Why did you think it is important?

Ervin Kosta: This initiative resonated with us at various levels. *City & Community* has increasingly become more international in scope, both in authorship as well as coverage, earning a global reputation as an important node of urban research and scholarship. We want to build upon and expand the international reach of the journal by covering, even if in the brief format of book reviews, titles our readers might otherwise miss. We hope this initiative will not only benefit from the expertise of our multilingual scholars, but also bring in voices who might otherwise not see *City & Community* as their intellectual home to date.

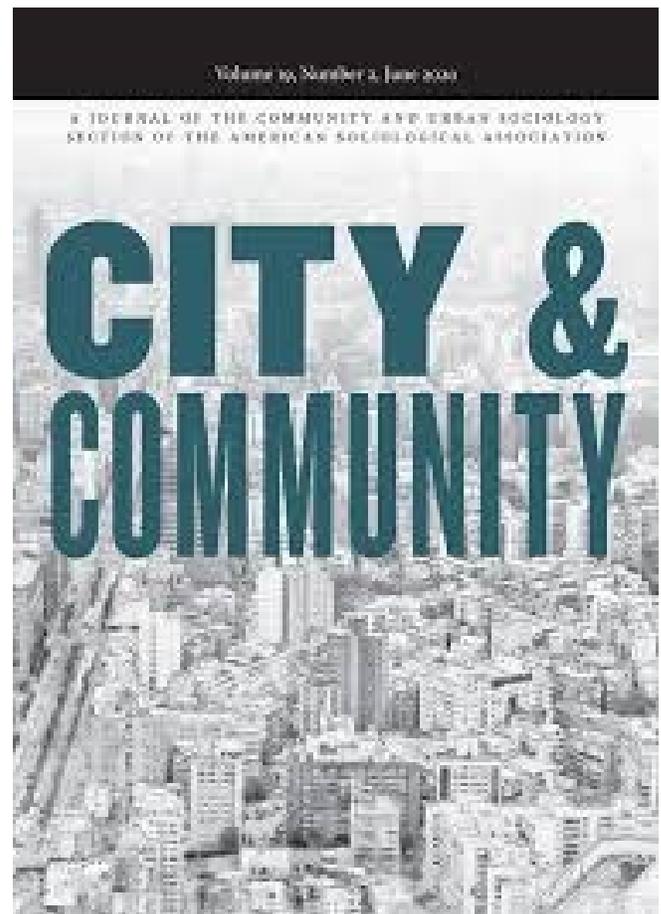
Sofya: In addition, we also want to heed continuing calls within urban studies to expand our categories of analysis such that they pay closer attention to urbanisms that do not neatly map onto the proverbial metropolitan experience of the Global North. Various recent articles and special issues in *City & Community* on [regional cities](#), [small cities](#), and our March 2021 [special issue on Global South](#), point to the importance of decentralizing and destabilizing analytical categories of research and theorizing of urban studies utilized for most of the twentieth century. We like [Garrido, Ren, and Weinstein's](#) advice that we could "open up" existing concepts such that they are capable of accommodating diverse urban experiences, all the while continuing to engender conversation about and across urban differences. We hope this initiative might bring in perspectives that do just that.

Albert: That sounds great. How are you planning on getting this initiative off the ground?

Ervin: We have started reaching out to people in our networks to identify books to review, as well as multilingual reviewers. One of our hopes is to spark new connections and collaborations for C&C readers that extend beyond the Anglophone world.

Albert: What can we do for you? Any advice for our readers?

Sofya: Yes. We absolutely need the help of the C&C community to make this a success. Please reach out to us to (1) suggest recently published non-English books that you think would be interesting to C&C readers and (2) suggest multilingual urban scholars who may be interested in writing book reviews, or better yet, volunteer yourself! Our emails are Sofya.Aptekar@slu.cuny.edu and Kosta@hws.edu.



Interview w/ Addams Award Winner Jackelyn Hwang

Jackelyn Hwang, an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Stanford University, was the winner of the 2020 Jane Addams Award for best article. Jackelyn's innovative research agenda examines the relationship between how neighborhoods change and the persistence of neighborhood inequality by race and class in US cities. Lora Phillips reached out to ask her to discuss her research, and we're including her responses below. Thanks to Jackelyn for participating in our interview series!

What were your main findings?

In the article, "Gentrification without Segregation? Race, Immigration, and Renewal in a Diversifying City," which was published in *City & Community* in 2020, I examined how neighborhood ethnoraical compositions affect where gentrification—the socioeconomic upgrading of previously low-income neighborhoods—unfolds across several decades in the City of Seattle. Seattle is an atypical case for studying the relationship between neighborhood ethnoraical composition and gentrification. As an atypical case, it provides an opportunity to test assumptions based on other settings and advance theory on gentrification.

I found that early waves of gentrification during the 1970s and 1980s avoided minority neighborhoods, like in highly segregated cities. In contrast, gentrification since 1990 favored neighborhoods with greater shares of Black residents and avoided neighborhoods with greater shares of Asian residents. By exploring the mechanisms explaining these relationships, the study uncovered that immigrant replenishment is an important mechanism shaping patterns of uneven development and residential selection in cities today.

To analyze the early waves of gentrification, I drew on field survey data collected by geographers Elvin Wyly and Daniel Hammel in 1998 as part of another study. The surveys looked for direct visible indicators of upgrading based on aesthetic changes to the built environment that characterize gentrification. While the observations took place in 1998, they identify areas that began gentrifying during the 1970 and 1980s. In the early waves, I found that the share of all minority groups is negatively associated with gentrification. This is consistent with other research highlighting the racially selective nature of gentrification.

To analyze the recent wave of gentrification, I used data from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses and 2009-2013 American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates. There is no clear consensus on the best way to operationalize gentrification using Census and ACS data, so I developed a measure that expanded on past approaches and selected variables that were associated with gentrification based on the field surveys. Because census tracts in Seattle are relatively large, I examined census block groups instead, and I considered changes in neighborhoods from either 1990-2013 or from 2000-2013 to allow for both slower and more rapid gentrification. In contrast to the early waves of gentrification and counter to my hypotheses, I found that the shares of Black residents positively predicted recent gentrification, while shares of Asians negatively predicted it.

To better understand these findings, I next assessed several mechanisms with various data sources. First, I examined whether Seattle had unique racial dynamics that drove these findings using survey responses about neighborhood racial preferences and perceptions of disorder from previous studies. Second, I examined if state-driven policies like public housing redevelopment and the locations of new light rail stations drove these findings using geocoded data on Seattle's public housing sites and light rail stations. Third, I tested if middle-class minorities were driving gentrification in Black neighborhoods by integrating data on poverty and income by race groups from the U.S. Census. None of these findings explained the results. Finally, I tested if immigrant settlement patterns were deterring gentrification in neighborhoods with higher shares of Asians by examining Asian, Latinx, and foreign-born population changes with data from the U.S. Census and ACS. Indeed, increased concentrations of recent immigrants in neighborhoods with greater shares of Asians explained the relationships in the analysis.

Altogether, the study underscores how immigration and points of entry are important factors for understanding uneven development in the contemporary

Interview, cont'd.

city. They suggest that, in a tight housing market like Seattle, where arriving immigrants move may be limiting where gentrification takes place, shifting pressures to low-cost Black neighborhoods.

What motivated you to study this research topic?

I originally became interested in the topic of gentrification and its uneven development patterns across racial compositions as an undergraduate, when I was conducting research for my senior thesis. My senior thesis project examined the neighborhood names and boundaries that people used to identify their neighborhood in a gentrifying neighborhood undergoing racial change. I was struck by how much race mattered in how gentrifiers defined their neighborhoods and excluded other spaces.

For my first research project in graduate school, with my graduate advisor Robert Sampson, we expanded on this idea and examined how racial composition affects the pace of gentrification in Chicago neighborhoods. We chose Chicago because we had other data available to us for testing different pathways predicting our outcome. We also drew on the field surveys of gentrification mentioned above, which were conducted in 1995 in Chicago, and Google Street View imagery, which was a new source of data at the time for observing neighborhoods. One of the main findings from the study was that gentrification took place at a much slower pace and even declined in neighborhoods that began with greater shares of Black residents. We also found that gentrification from the 1970s and 1980s, based on the field surveys, had a negative correlation with the share of Black and Latinx residents.

The findings contrasted depictions of gentrification as synonymous with the racial transformation of predominantly minority neighborhoods by upper-class white residents. On the other hand, our study, along with some others, depicted gentrification as a racially selective process that avoids minority neighborhoods. Most studies that conclude the latter are quantitative in nature and based on either broad national trends or focus on highly segregated cities.

I was curious if the same trends that we found in Chicago would unfold in a less segregated city. I also became interested in the role of immigrants in gentrification based

on my first dissertation chapter, which examined the relationship between immigrants and early waves of gentrification. With low segregation levels along standard metrics (e.g., dissimilarity index) and high immigration levels, Seattle was a perfect case study. Seattle is a majority-white city with low segregation levels, growing ethnoracial diversity, and widespread gentrification. Because places with low segregation levels have more diverse neighborhoods and race and class are less strongly tied, gentrifiers' preferences and neighborhood selection patterns are likely distinct from highly segregated cities.

What surprises did you find as you conducted your study?

I was most surprised about the opposite directions of the relationships between gentrification and the share of Black residents and share of Asian residents. Not only were the opposite directions surprising, but the actual directions for each group were also surprising. Based on a long line of research on racial stratification, I would have expected the results to reflect a racial hierarchy consistent with general trends of racial stratification, favoring white over Asian neighborhoods, Asian over Latinx neighborhoods, and Latinx over Black neighborhoods, or reflect the socioeconomic order of ethnoracial groups in Seattle, reversing the ordering of Latinx and Asian neighborhoods. This surprising finding led me down a path of trying to understand and explain the finding. I reviewed so much more literature and collected so much more data in this process. Ultimately, this journey led to this article's main contribution, but it was a long-winded path to get there.

Another surprise to me was that there was very little variation in the pace of gentrification across Seattle neighborhoods that were gentrifying according to the field surveys in 1998. I collected data using Google Street View imagery in Seattle, as I did in Chicago, to analyze the predictors of variation in the pace of gentrification. This part of the study did not make it into the article, but I think it's worth mentioning. Parts of

Annual Meeting 2021 Sessions



The 2021 ASA Annual Meeting will take place virtually August 6-10. Below are our Community & Urban Sociology Section sessions.

Mon, August 9

10:00 to 10:45am EDT

Community and Urban Sociology Section Council Meeting, VAM, Room 19

11:00am to 12:25pm EDT

Racial Equity, Repair, and the Global Movement for Black Lives, VAM, Room 20

Session Organizer/Chair: Monica Bell, Yale University

A Hashtag of Two Americas: The Meaning of #BlackLivesMatter in Brazil

- *Demetrius Miles Murphy*, University of Southern California

“Even in Sweden”: Reverberations of the Black Lives Matter Movement in Sweden

- *Jasmine Linnea Kelekay*, University of California, Santa Barbara

From Police Reform to Police Abolition: How Minneapolis Activists Fought to Make Black Lives Matter

- *Michelle S. Phelps*, University of Minnesota-Twin Cities
- *Anneliese Ward*
- *Dwjuan Frazier*, University of Minnesota

“I been here longer than you”: How targeted policing creates the conditions for abolition

- *Nikki Jones*, University of California-Berkeley
- *Brie McLemore*
- *Peyton Provenzano*
- *Rachel Anspach*

12:45 to 2:10pm EDT

Pandemic and the Modern Metropolis, VAM, Room 19

Session Organizer/Chair: Neil Brenner, University of Chicago

Estimating Eviction Filings in Chicago: The Impact of COVID-19

- *Peter Rosenblatt*, Loyola University-Chicago
- *Randall Leurquin*, Lawyers' Committee for Better Housing
- *Mark Swartz*, Lawyers' Committee for Better Housing
- *Cristian Luis Paredes*, Loyola University Chicago
- *Travis Moody*, Southern Oregon University
- *Emily Drane*, Loyola University Chicago

Financialization of the COVID-19 Housing Crisis and Beyond: Shifting Scales, Shifting Struggles

- *Marnie Brady*, Marymount Manhattan College
- *Gianpaolo Baiocchi*, NYU
- *Howard Jacob Carlson*, Brown University
- *Ned Crowley*, New York University
- *Sara Duvisac*

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Interview, cont'd.

studies can take a lot of time and effort and may sometimes yield minimal insights. While it was frustrating at the time, in retrospect, it helped refine my focus and analysis.

How do you plan to build on this work in the future?

I'm engaged in a couple projects that build from this work. First, this study inspired me to look at this topic beyond Chicago and Seattle. With Hesu Yoon, a graduate student at Stanford, we're working on a national-level analysis across large metropolitan areas that examines the relationships between recent immigrants and gentrification during the 1990s and 2000s and how this varies by neighborhood racial composition. Second, the findings

from this study suggest that property owners in some neighborhoods may play an important role in creating barriers to entry for gentrifiers while they may be facilitators in others. With Nima Dahir, another graduate student at Stanford, we're assembling a dataset of property ownership in San Francisco going back to 1990 and examining trends in transactions in ownership by race/ethnicity, type (e.g., corporations, individuals), and tenure to better understand the role of specific actors in shaping neighborhood trajectories. I'm also interested in studying the housing preferences of recent immigrants, especially as immigration continues to play an increasingly important role in shaping contemporary housing market dynamics.

Annual Meeting, cont'd.

Governing the Pandemic City: Street Vendors and the State in Mexico City

- *Mariana Manriquez*, University of Arizona

Localizing a Pandemic: A Comparative Review of COVID-19 Data Dashboards in U.S. Cities

- *Burcu Baykurt*, University of Massachusetts Amherst

Post-covid city

- *Harvey L. Molotch*, New York University

2:30 to 3:55pm EDT

Community and Urban Sociology Section Business Meeting, VAM, Room 19

4:15 to 5:40pm EDT

A Critical Lens on Urban Sociology, VAM, Room 18

Session Organizer/Chair: *Orly Clerge*, Tufts University
 Presider: *Waverly Duck*, University of Pittsburgh

All Cities Matter: Towards a more dynamic and inclusive urbanism

- *Gregory D. Wilson*, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Circling the Herd: Houston's Black Trail Riders, Place-making and the Liberatory Potential of Second Sites

- *Leah Binkovitz*, Rice University

Discrimination in the Housing Search: Experiences of Upper-Middle Class Blacks on LI

- *Jeanne E. Kimpel*, Molloy College

Learning From Those We Study: Toward an Alternative Politics of Expertise in Urban Sociology

- *Gianpaolo Baiocchi*, NYU
- *Ned Crowley*, New York University
- *Lili Dao*, New York University
- *Rachel Kuo*
- *Virgilio Urbina Lazard*, New York University

Annual Meeting, cont'd.

Racism, Redlining, and Racial Capitalism in St. Louis's Mortgage Industry

- Christopher Prener, Saint Louis University
- Keon Gilbert, Saint Louis University

Tue, August 10

4:15 to 5:40pm EDT

Community, Policy and the Politicization of Space, VAM, Room 13

Session Organizer/Chair: Claudia Lopez, California State University – Long Beach

Discussant: Amy Jonason, Furman University

To Trust or Not to Trust? Black Organizations in the Context of State-Led Gentrification

- Angela E. Addae, University of Oregon

Gentrifying the Gentrifiers?: Small-Scale Landlords, Tax Abatements, and Development in Philadelphia

- John E. Balzarini, Delaware State University
- Melody L. Boyd, SUNY-Brockport

The Marginalizing Gaze: Electronic Surveillance and Bimodal Policing in Residential Spaces

- Lisa Lucile Owens, Columbia University

The Law of the Land: Capital-based Social Control Evidenced in Policing of Native Americans

- Carrie D. Stallings
- Kat Albrecht, Northwestern University

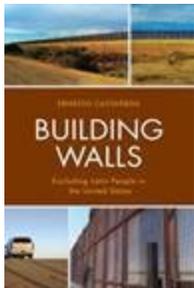
Reclaiming Hong Kong through neighborhood-making: A study of the 2019 Anti-ELAB movement

- Yao-Tai Li, Hong Kong Baptist University
- Katherine Whitworth, University of Sydney

"This is what happens when we organize, ya'll!": Real Estate Speculation, Gentrification and Resistance

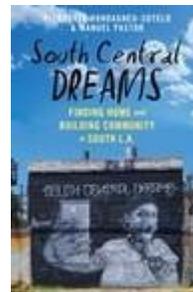
- Mario R. Hernandez, Mills College
- Emily Kinzel, Mills College

New Publications

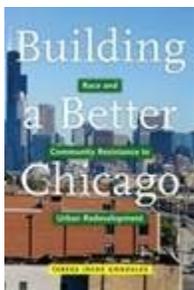


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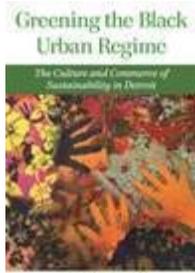


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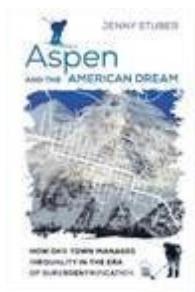


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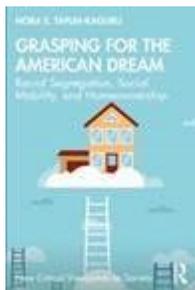
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