



2020

Storefront: Local Businesses Acting Locally in Two Chicago Neighborhoods

Steven Tuttle

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss



Part of the [Sociology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Tuttle, Steven, "Storefront: Local Businesses Acting Locally in Two Chicago Neighborhoods" (2020).
Dissertations. 3829.

https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_diss/3829

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 2020 Steven Tuttle

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

STOREFRONT:

LOCAL BUSINESSES ACTING LOCALLY
IN TWO CHICAGO NEIGHBORHOODS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN SOCIOLOGY

BY

STEVEN TUTTLE

CHICAGO, IL

AUGUST 2020

Copyright by Steven Tuttle, 2020
All rights reserved.

PREFACE

Why don't you come out to Logan Square? I just found a cool bar.

I imagine my introduction to Logan Square is fairly typical among white twentysomethings as they become familiar with, or even just visit, a new city and its neighborhoods. I heard of a “cool” local business and travelled to visit it. In fall of 2009, I had moved from Asheville, NC to Chicago to attend a Master’s program at University of Chicago and, coincidentally, a group of friends I made while living in Asheville followed me soon after. One of these friends and I became fairly close in Asheville and much of our shared time was spent in a windowless basement dive bar, which would often become cloudy with cigarette smoke until indoor smoking bans reached North Carolina. The staff at our regular Asheville spot included a friendly chain-smoking middle aged man, who ran the place, and a group of jovial, if heavily tattooed, punk rock women. When I arrived at the Logan Square bar to meet this friend, I was greeted with a cold glass of cheap Old Style beer and a shot of Malort, a unpalatable liquor native to Chicago – both for just five dollars. Though it wasn’t quite the same as our regular Asheville haunt, it would do nicely. Not much later I would move into an apartment around the block.

I was first introduced to Pilsen, a majority Mexican community just south of downtown in late 2009. A group of friends from Asheville, along with some I hadn’t previously met, rented a large storefront warehouse and were building an art collective – where they lived in makeshift apartments, produced artworks in shared studio space, and held parties and events in an attached

art gallery. The new arrival of this group and their collective working/living/events space was too perfect for me when I needed to find a site to conduct field research as part of an observational research methods course (ethnography). I figured that I could spend a few evenings a week drinking beer, watching my friends build a collectively run institution, and jotting down fieldnotes for my course assignments. As is typical in ethnographic research classes, I was required to submit my fieldnotes to a group of classmates for in-class discussions and to the professor, Dr. Omar McRoberts, for course credit. A few weeks into this project, Dr. McRoberts visited my discussion group and said to me (paraphrasing), “You know, I think your more interesting story here is about gentrification.”

Indeed, the pattern McRoberts identified in my observations of my friends’ art collective was a recurring theme of discomfort and rhetorical maneuvering whenever the issue of gentrification came up in conversations among the group. As fairly self-aware, progressively minded, and college-educated white artists, there was a recurring sense of unease when the topic of gentrification arose. Could this humble group be a force of change in the neighborhood? Were their art expositions, hip rock performances, and horror movie marathons (in which films were projected onto a large screen in the gallery) a means of connecting with their Latinx neighbors? Or was this space perceived as a threat or nuisance by the largely working-class and first or second-generation Mexican immigrants, who had to step over the beer bottles that littered the sidewalk after a party, and who struggled to lull their babies to sleep while the deafening electric guitar feedback of a noise rock concert continued late into the night on many weeknights? Would the, mostly young and white, attendees of these events soon move into the neighborhood themselves, opening similar venues, driving up local rents, attracting ever more expensive businesses, and eventually leading to the displacement of the residents of this important

Mexican-American community? After a series of break-ins and visits from the local Alderman, it seemed the answers many of the latter questions were yes, or at least perceived that way by many of their neighbors.

Around the same time, my coursework introduced me to several books that in varying ways, considered issues relating to local institutions and communities. In Logan and Molotch's (1987) pioneering work on urban political economy, they describe many businesses who, in connection with local political elites, constitute the "growth machine." Conceptualizing urban development processes as an outcome of local contests between political and economic elites on one side, and community residents on the other, Logan and Molotch find that businesses might serve local residents and contribute to their sense of community or pursue economic interests at the expense of the very people who lived in urban neighborhoods. In McRoberts' (2005) own work, a study of a section of Boston dense with storefront churches, he found that many of these churches did little to support their struggling surrounding community. Each of these churches served a narrow group of parishioners, various combinations of religious denomination and ethnic identity – people who may travel far on Sunday mornings to attend church, leaving most of these buildings unoccupied during much of the week. I also learned that bars, restaurants, and cafes might serve as "third places" – sites outside of home and work where people can socialize, and community happens (Oldenburg 1999). I read about childcare centers in New York who provide a variety of resources to poor parents beyond simply watching their kids (Small 2009). I also learned more about hip businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods, who may attract more gentrifiers and thus encourage the procession of gentrification. Taken together, these experiences inform the present study.

This is a qualitative study of local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen, two gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago. I ask about the role and experiences of local businesses in the context of gentrification, how older and newer businesses might differ in the conceptions of and relationships to local neighborhoods and communities, and how issues of racial segregation, integration, and conflict occur within urban space and particularly how businesses might shape this. I spent over four years visiting bars, restaurants, and other businesses in both neighborhoods (not including living in and visiting both neighborhoods for several years prior to the start of the study); speaking with business owners, workers, patrons, community residents and others; attending street festivals, community meetings, and activist events; and taking rigorous fieldnotes and reflecting upon my observations and experiences. I documented a wide array of experiences and perceptions. I watched decades-old, Mexican American-owned shops and restaurants close their doors only to be replaced by hip restaurants and boutiques largely patronized by upwardly mobile whites. I met with business owners who make, intentional and unintentional, efforts to serve a diverse clientele and residents who mourn for the community and identity-affirming spaces of their youth. I discovered some who eagerly invite nonprofits or other community groups to hold benefits and others whose owners met the ire of anti-gentrification activists, who perceived the opening of an upscale coffeeshop or restaurant as a site of exclusion and force for the further displacement of their friends and relatives from the neighborhoods. This is a study of these and similar cases, and how local businesses shape communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, this work is a product of the careful guidance, invaluable insights, and bottomless encouragement of my dissertation committee: Peter Rosenblatt, Philip Nyden, and David G. Embrick. Each of these scholars' unique insights into various facets of this project shaped its direction and each were formative in my personal and intellectual development. Peter in particular read countless drafts of my working papers; sat through numerous two to three hour long meetings where I rambled about my observations, experiences, and theorizations; and always did so with encouragement and support. I also owe an additional degree of gratitude to several colleagues and mentors who generously read and commented on excerpts of my work. Particularly, Michael Siciliano, Richard E. Ocejo, J. Talmadge Wright, Rhys Williams, Nancy Wang Yuen, Judith Halcez, Megan Rigsby-Kline, Christian Paredes, Beth Dougherty, Ashley Baber, Sean Young, and Kyle Woolley. Much of the faculty of the sociology department at Loyola University Chicago also attended my various talks and provided suggestions for my research and/or teaching. I thank (in alphabetical order, and not already named above): Alma Begicevic, Carrie Coward Bucher, Helena Dagadu, Judson Everitt, Anne Figert, Dana Garbarski, Ayana Karanja, Marilyn Krough, Lauren Langman, Kathleen Mass Weigert, Elise Martel Cohen, Kelly Moore, Elfriede Wedam, and Matthew Williams – you each made my experience at Loyola enjoyable and contributed to shaping my development as a scholar and I will miss the hallway of the sociology department. Emma Alanis was my research assistant and mentee during

the summer of 2018 and her transcription services and recruitment efforts were of great assistance. Stephanie Decaluwe also lent a sympathetic ear on a numerous occasions.

While I worked on my Master's degree at University of Chicago, and began conceiving of this project, Kristin Schilt, Omar McRoberts, and Mario Small were my mentors whose guidance pushed my thinking and enabled me to complete a rigorous nine-month MA program. My mentors in the sociology department at University of North Carolina – Asheville were also formative in developing my interest in sociology and development as a sociologist. I owe particular thanks to K. Bramlett, Marcia Ghadina, Karin Peterson, Volker Frank, and the late Bill Haas.

My friends from New Jersey, Indiana, Ashville, and Chicago are far too numerous to name, but each and every one of you provided more friendship and support than I could ever expect.

Finally, I thank all of the participants in this study, who, however reluctantly, allowed me into their places of business and lives, and tolerated my persistent emails and, sometimes uncomfortable, questions. Of course, my parents and bothers provided unlimited love and support throughout this project and my entire life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: BECOMING A (PLACE) ENTREPREUNER	34
CHAPTER 3: LOCAL BUSINESSES ACTING IN NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES	68
CHAPTER 4: PRODUCING DIVERSE AND SEGREGATED SPACES	97
CHAPTER 5: ATTACHMENT, ALIENATION, AMBIVALENCE, AND RESISTANCE: LOCAL BUSINESSES, COMMERCIAL GENTRIFICATION, AND COMMUNITY RESPONSES	127
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	155
APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND “TALES FROM THE FIELD”	167
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION GUIDES	170
REFERENCE LIST	175
VITA	192

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Cases recruited in Logan Square and Pilsen

29

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Locations of Logan Square and Pilsen in Chicago	20
Figure 2. 18 th Street in Pilsen, 2018.	21
Figure 3. Condo development in Logan Square, 2017.	22
Figure 4. Anti-gentrification graffiti placed on a storefront in Pilsen, 2015.	23
Figure 5. Storefront businesses on 18 th Street and Milwaukee Avenue by type.	25
Figure 6. Revelers wait in line to enter a Logan Square venue, 2018.	55
Figure 7. A vacant storefront in Logan Square, 2017.	59
Figure 8. Beer Tent at Mole de Mayo Festival, 2018.	110

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Restaurants have always been there for you. A place to celebrate, to take a first date, to grab a meal between soccer practice and piano. And even though tables are empty at the moment, the kitchens are full, prepping everything so it's just right, keeping customers safe, and making the food as delicious as ever. They're still there for you. Now, you can be there for them. While the doors may be closed, the kitchens are open for delivery. (DoorDash advertisement 2020)

All businesses deemed “nonessential” shut their doors under government orders during the COVID-19 pandemic. Restaurants, grocery stores, and other businesses providing food and alcohol were deemed “essential” and could stay open, if only for takeout and delivery in the case of restaurants. As restaurants were no longer able to serve dine-in customers, delivery companies, like Grubhub, Caviar, and DoorDash enabled customers to continue to patronize restaurants, whether or not they offered delivery themselves, while avoiding crowds and maintaining safe distance from others.

In the video description of the DoorDash advertisement quoted above, the company continues,

Over the past few days, cities and states have had to restrict the operations of restaurants and other businesses. Around the globe, the restaurants that form the backbone of our communities are being asked to change how they operate. According to the National Restaurant Association, the coronavirus epidemic is the greatest crisis the industry has ever faced. Economic forecasts indicate that restaurants and the foodservice industry could sustain \$225 billion in losses and eliminate 5–7 million jobs over the next three months. This means the livelihoods of the 15.6 million hardworking people who serve you day in and day out are on the line and as their front doors are shut, they are finding every way possible to

continue to serve their customers, primarily by remaining open for delivery and pick-up. Now, more than ever, they need all of our support.

This advertisement and the text accompanying it in the video description highlight the place of restaurants, and other small businesses, in society. These businesses help people to meet material needs, such as food and other goods and services, and also provide millions of jobs in the United States. Importantly, local businesses play important parts in our lives. They are where many people celebrate milestones and connect with others. They are the “backbone of our communities.” Local businesses are lauded as “pillars of the community” and “main street” is often used as shorthand in reference to the “regular people” who own, patronize, and otherwise depend upon local businesses.

Businesses also play a part exacerbating social inequality in society. Businesses barred or offered inferior accommodations to African Americans during the Jim Crow era and people of color continue to experience discriminatory treatment as employees, job applicants, and customers today (Feagin 1991; Ray 2019). Sociologist William Julius Wilson (1987) famously argued that industrial migration from urban centers to suburbs and overseas played a significant role in the deterioration of “ghetto” communities in US cities. In neighborhoods throughout the developed and developing world, newer, trendier, and upscale businesses are thought to be harbingers of gentrification. As Sharon Zukin and her colleagues argue, “local shopping streets show where rich and poor folks ‘belong’” (2016:14).

This is a study of local businesses and communities in two gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago. Drawing upon the research literatures in urban sociology and the sociology of race and ethnicity, I ask: What are the roles and experiences of local businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods? To what extent might we understand local businesses as social, economic, or

political actors at the neighborhood level? What accounts for differences between businesses in degree and type of social, economic, or political activity? Do local businesses' relationships to the communities in which they reside vary with their duration in the neighborhood or the wave of gentrification they might be associated with? Does this relationship vary by the race or class of the businesses' owners, employees, or customer base? Can local businesses contribute to segregation or diversity within communities?

This study fills gaps in the urban sociology and race and ethnicity literatures produced by contradictory conceptions of the role of local businesses in social life. In urban sociology, a point of disjuncture is the competing identifications of businesses as fostering social capital among otherwise isolated or alienated urban residents (Small 2009; see also Wilson 1987; Duneier 1992; Oldenberg 1999; Klienenberg 2012; cf Putnam 2000) and playing an active and self-interested role in the political economy of urban development (Logan and Molotch 1987; Zukin 1995, 2010; Zukin, et al. 2009). In the sociology of race and ethnicity literature, business-ownership is found to be an avenue for immigrant assimilation and upward mobility (Loewen 1971; Zhou 1992) but businesses may also be sites of racial exclusion (McIntosh 1988; McDermott 2006; E. Anderson 2015). By examining the roles and experiences of businesses as neighborhoods change, I shed light upon the causes and consequences of urban transformation on local institutions as well as provide further insights into the role of businesses in communities. This approach to studying businesses is unique when compared to ways that businesses tend to appear in social scientific study, particularly within the urban sociology and race and ethnicity literatures.

The Role of Commerce and Businesses in Social Life

Pioneering sociological studies of cities identified a permanent marketplace in the city center as a defining feature. Max Weber ([1921] 1969) argued that trade becomes a focal point during urbanization processes. Georg Simmel ([1903] 1971) also understood the experience of living in a city as shaped by the economy. The competitive business climate in modern cities shapes other aspects of social life which, he argued, led to a “blasé attitude” among overwhelmed individuals. Robert E. Park, Earnest Burgess, and their students, the Chicago School of urban sociology, pointed to local businesses as contributing to shaping the local “character” of urban neighborhoods and communities (Park 1928/1967). Local businesses provide necessary services and a relationship exists between residential choice and the location of the amenities provided by entrepreneurs (Suttles 1984). However, closer considerations of the role and experiences of businesses in urban communities reveals a variety of ways in which local businesses shape social life and are affected by social forces and structural changes.

In their influential study of the political economy of urban growth, Logan and Molotch (1987) draw attention to contradictory roles local businesses might play in urban environments. For these scholars, a fundamental opposition may exist between local residents, whose attachment to place is primarily concerned with the satisfaction of essential needs, and entrepreneurs, for whom place is a commodity from which profits might be made. Such “place entrepreneurs” may partner with investors and local political elites to pursue urban growth for profit. The opposition between use and exchange value has the potential to put local entrepreneurs, such as small business owners, in a precarious place. Local businesses may be dependent upon neighborhood residents as customers, may form tight bonds with them, and may

be positively or negatively impacted by changes in the political economy of the neighborhood or city. As economic actors, local businesses may be positioned to benefit from increased land value and an increasingly wealth consumer base. But local businesses may also be particularly vulnerable to the increased competition brought by further commercial development. Additionally, as renters and/or residents themselves, local businesses' concerns regarding growth may mirror those of other community members, including increased rents and fear of displacement (20-1).

Other studies attentive to local businesses also draw attention to the potential for a variety of relationships with communities and motivations for action. According to Jacobs (1961), business owners may provide “eyes on the street” ensuring the safety of the community. These businesses, and their owners, are community members seemingly oriented towards use value. In his critical study of gentrification and urban development in Manhattan, Marxist geographer, Neil Smith (1996) points to an unusual retail shop as emblematic of an urban frontier ideology enacting revenge against local residents for urban blight. This shop utilizes Wild West symbolism to suggest wealthy residents might “tame” this unruly urban environment.

Others find that local businesses can foster social capital (Duneier 1992; Oldenburg 1999). Further examining this idea, Small (2009) finds that New York childcare centers can foster social capital by encouraging informal interactions and providing needed information and other resources to underprivileged urban residents. The many contradictory notions within our understanding of local businesses as members of urban communities points to a necessity for further research into the various roles businesses may play as actors at the local level. While it is

possible that larger corporate chains and “big box” superstores may act locally as well, there are a number of reasons why local businesses may be more likely to be tied to local communities.

In addition to the considerations of local businesses discussed by Logan and Molotch, Blanchard and his colleagues (2007:314) highlight a number of other expectations we may have of local businesses that may not apply to large, corporate businesses:

[S]mall retail establishments, such as hardware stores, drug stores, bookstores, and grocers, provide arenas for social interaction. Social connectedness and a rich public life are nurtured within these commercial establishments because small, locally owned Main Street establishments emphasize personal service rather than high-tech mass merchandising. Small retail establishments differ from their larger counterparts by providing a "slow retail" environment conducive to socializing as opposed to the orchestrated shopping experience of "fast retail" in big box supercenters.

Local businesses are also likely to be attached to their communities and community members and play a significant role in enhancing local quality of life (Tolbert 2005). Similarly, longtime residents may feel a sense of attachment to local businesses. According to some advocacy groups, local, independently-owned businesses contribute to strong communities by connecting community members, adding vibrancy to town centers, and participating in local causes. Local businesses are also thought to provide better jobs than chain stores and advocates for shopping local also point to keeping money circulating within their communities (see Carroll and Torfason 2011 for discussion). A 2004 study conducted by the Chamber of Commerce in Chicago's Andersonville neighborhood found that a greater proportion of money spent at local businesses stayed within the city as compared to money spent at corporate chains (Andersonville Chamber of Commerce 2004). Conversely, corporate superstores, like Wal-Mart, may have no connection to their surrounding communities at all. In fact, these types of businesses may be so focused on profit and global market share that they are unconcerned with local growth. As such, Halebsky

(2004) argues that the “growth machine” model may not apply to corporate chains and suggests that a model of global development is more fitting. Local residents and businesses may even protest the proposed development of big box stores, alluding to businesses possessing a capacity for action.

Businesses are institutions to the extent they may be understood as formal organizations governed by rules and oriented towards goals (Weber 1978). As profit-making enterprises, businesses act rationally in the interest of earning and maximizing profits. However, considering the capacity for action of businesses requires the consideration of both entrepreneurs and the potential for actions undertaken by businesses as an extension of the entrepreneurs themselves (Besser 2002). Accordingly, a number of types of action and motivations for action attributed to individuals may also apply to businesses understood to be institutions. Thus, Weber’s typology of types of social action is helpful in illuminating both the capacity for action of businesses as well as several types of action that may be undertaken.

Businesses as profit-making enterprises have a tendency to act rationally, in the sense that the motivation for profit, wealth, and market position are understood as rational interests both of entrepreneurs and enterprises themselves. But not all action is necessarily profit-motivated. In his typology of types of social action, Weber identifies a variety of ways in which action may be motivated by considerations in addition to economic interests (instrumental rationality), such as ethics and values (value rationality) and emotions (affective action). Action based on ethics and values may occur without consideration of perceived benefits. Affectual, or emotion-based, action may express devotion or satisfy a need for revenge (1978:24-6, 98). Applying this typology to actions undertaken by businesses identifies that what businesses do may be

motivated by profit, the values held by business owners, or affect. As economic enterprises, businesses seek profits by definition. Yet, businesses may also donate to social causes, support politicians, or participate in neighborhood activities such as supporting a street festival. In the latter examples, the motivation for action may be the values held by businesses owners (i.e. that it is important to support one's community) or due to an affective sense of obligation towards one's community. Accordingly, actions undertaken by enterprises or entrepreneurs on behalf of enterprises may be determined by intentional calculations to maximize economic gain, the values held by entrepreneurs, a sense of duty, or desire to inflict harm. But the question of relationships between motivations for action and types of action is not fully accounted for relying upon this typology alone.

The behaviors of individuals, and thus also organizations, are shaped by interrelationships of dispositions shaped by social structures, a variety of types of capital (social, cultural, and economic), and the organization of the setting in which action occurs (Bourdieu 1984:101). In short, businesses may act in a variety of ways and for a variety of reasons shaped by the interplay of a variety of social forces. Yet the interplay the of the kinds of actions within neighborhoods undertaken by businesses and shaped by local demographics and demographic changes, as well as economic interests, ethnic and class associations, or other values and obligations remains unexamined. Indeed, influential sociological studies alluding to the causes and consequences of local businesses as actors paints a contradictory picture of the types of action possible and the broader sociological implications of businesses as neighborhood level actors.

A Place for Places in Urban Sociology

In *Unanticipated Gains*, Small's (2009) award-winning study of childcare centers in New York City, a key finding is that, for many poor families, meeting immediate needs for childcare may also afford access to needed resources unavailable through one's own closed social network. By simply patronizing a local businesses, residents of underserved urban neighborhoods may additionally receive access to information regarding a variety of social services. The institutional structure of many childcare centers, including required participation in events and other ways in which parents are likely to interact, allows for friendships to form which further fosters social capital as these parents are now sources of social support and a means of acquiring additional resources. Small connects these findings to those from studies of bars and cafes (Oldenberg 1999) and a social group of older African American men centered around an urban diner (Duneier 1992) with the argument being that the utilization of local institutions, particularly businesses, answers the longstanding questions relating to declining social capital due to decreased participation in local associations (such as bowling leagues and the PTA) (see Putnam 2000) and the social isolation experienced by the segregated urban underclass (Wilson 1987). Klinenberg (2013) suggests that the potential for sociability afforded by visiting local bars and restaurants alleviates the loneliness experienced by people who live by themselves.

However, Small's findings come with a caveat that distinguishes childcare centers from many other types of businesses: structural constraints imposed by many levels of government. A requirement of both local and federal funding of childcare centers is providing additional resources to underserved communities and community members (2009:159-174). Though Small suggests that this practice was a product of professional norms, if not institutional requirements,

other kinds of businesses, such as urban bars, may not actually contribute to the expansion of one's social network or access to knowledge unavailable within one's own network. Additionally, seemingly local institutions may be completely detached from their the communities in which they reside.

Several studies of local businesses and other institutions suggest that these places may not foster social connections at all and may not even serve a local clientele. Recent studies of urban nightlife suggest that bar patrons are likely to interact within closed social networks; other than when seeking sexual or romantic pairing, friends patronize bars together and do not necessarily seek out interactions with strangers (Lloyd 2005; Grazian 2008, 2009; Ocejo 2014). Visitors to a neighborhood bar (Ocejo 2014) and even parishioners of urban storefront churches (McRoberts 2005) may travel a great distance rather than utilize primarily local institutions. Since they do not serve a local community, such places are detached from the neighborhoods in which they reside and may not concern themselves with local problems and issues. Variations in the locality and presence as a local resource among businesses, and the related potential for fostering social capital, thus complicates our understanding of the role of local businesses in urban environments. This is further complicated with the consideration of how local businesses operate both internally (as employers) and externally (as actors contributing to the shaping of space in urban neighborhoods).

Considerations of the jobs produced by small businesses also challenges many assumptions about the services they provide. In deindustrialized global cities, the service economy provides a source of employment for a substantial proportion of an urban population (Sassen 2019). Jobs in food service and retail may be a source of pride for disadvantaged

workers but these are likely to be “bad jobs;” providing low wages, few benefits, and minimal potential for economic mobility (Kalleberg 2013). Low-level service work may not foster individual development as it is increasingly mechanized and precariously unstable (Sennett 2000). Though local businesses may be a site of solidarity and comradery for workers and customers alike, they may also be sites of a variety of race and gender based discriminatory behaviors in their treatment of current and potential employees and customers (Feagin 1991; Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Hale 1999; Lee 2002b; Prager 2007). Variations in how businesses exist as both resources and actors at the neighborhood level further complicates our understanding of the role of local businesses in contemporary cities.

In their classic study of the political economy of urban growth, Logan and Molotch (1987) identify businesses as both meeting local needs and driving urban growth in concert with political actors. For many community residents, local businesses constitute a “daily round;” a network of places meeting immediate needs such as groceries, education, childcare, and entertainment. However, businesses and politicians may partner and contribute to the reorganization of cities based on policies that support growth for the political and economic benefits of elite actors. High end retail, bars and restaurants, and art galleries, theaters, and museums may drive gentrification by attracting further investment by increasingly wealthy, and increasingly white, populations thus displacing long-term residents, small-scale manufacturing, and local businesses serving local residents and meeting their day-to-day needs (see Logan and Molotch 1987; Zukin 1995, 2010; Smith 1996; Mele 2000; Lloyd 2005; Zukin and Kosta 2004; Zukin, et al. 2009; Ocejo 2015; cf Freeman 2006).

The ideal-typical image of local businesses as pillars of the community and reliable job and service providers is complicated by the economic interests of business owners. As “place entrepreneurs,” business owners have a vested economic interest in the success of their businesses as they relate to the economic viability of the neighborhood (Logan and Molotch 1987). While this may motivate their encouragement of local economic growth (ibid), their primary motivation is their own economic self-interests. A telling example is found in Ocejo’s (2014) study of the role and behaviors of bars in increasingly upscale NYC neighborhoods. Business owners interested in opening a new bar or restaurant in Manhattan must receive the approval of neighborhood community boards prior to seeking licensing from the state. Ocejo observed several instances of community boards, weary of the increased social ills associated with concentrations of urban nightlife, rejecting applications for a new bar only to have bar owners ignore their wishes and proceed to the state liquor authority, which rarely disapproves applications due to the tax revenue NYC bars bring. While this finding points to the role of state-level politics in local urban development, it also suggests that local businesses may elevate their own interests about those of the neighborhoods in which they operate.

An emphasis on businesses as local meso-level actors points to great potential for action as well as great variation in the types of actions undertaken. Variance in the ways in which local businesses behave as well as their motivations for action are likely affected by a variety of social forces and cultural considerations. The simultaneous economic and community interests and competing use and exchange value-orientations that characterize local businesses in continually changing contemporary U.S. cities uncovers a line of inquiry worthy of further exploration. By asking what local businesses do and why, we may better understand the role of businesses in

urban communities, the effects and experiences of urban changes on local entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship, and the role of local businesses as meso-level actors in contemporary social life more generally.

Signs: Local Businesses as Indicator of Neighborhood Well-Being or Change

Ethnographic researchers, especially those studying urban issues often point to the types of businesses in a neighborhood to illustrate the relative well-being of a community or how the community is changing. For these researchers, local businesses suggest something about a neighborhood. A vivid description of a single check-cashing place on an otherwise vacant city block, a bustling business district, a concentration of ethnic restaurants, a hipster dive bar, or a swanky nightclub is a telling example of what a place is like, what kind of people live there, what issues its facing, or how it is changing. In these cases, businesses are signs; visual symbolic representations of structures, cultures, or processes. Occasionally an urban ethnographer will visit some of these businesses and chat with employees or customers, but the object of study is not the businesses themselves or anything they might do.

Early sociological studies of the city often emphasize the central role of merchants, markets, and economies in the growth and stability of “modern” cities (Simmel 1903/1969; Weber 1921/1969; Wirth 1938). Beginning with the Chicago School, urban sociologists identified relationships between local businesses and urban neighborhoods. Park (1928/1967:5-6) noted that businesses, being dependent on local customers, appeared in neighborhoods that appeared economically advantageous, thus attracting further residential interest and reflecting the “character” of the community. With the identification of residential racial, ethnic, and class segregation in Chicago neighborhoods (Burgess 1925/1997), urban ethnographers described a

“mosaic of little cultural worlds” separate from one another (Zorbaugh 1929:45). The presence of distinct types of businesses in wealthy neighborhoods or immigrant slums served as indicative of the segregation, segmentation, and atomization of local urban communities (Zorbaugh 1929; Suttles 1968). To these scholars, local businesses presented some indication of the condition, character, and existence of community. The use of local businesses as a proxy for, or sign or symbol of, the well-being of an urban community is common not only among the theoretical descendants of the ecological approach to urban sociology, but appears in numerous studies of social isolation, gentrification, and urban inequality.

The arrival of increasingly upscale businesses may also signal neighborhood transformation to successive waves of gentrifiers. A new bar, coffee shop, or restaurant may attract the attention of members of the “creative class” (Florida 2005; Lloyd 2006) whose conception of “authenticity” and cultural and/or economic capital may inform and contribute to further commercial and residential displacement (Zukin 1991, 1995, 2010; Zukin, et al 2009; cf. Brown-Saracino 2004, 2009). The businesses and residents associated with early waves of gentrification may themselves be subject to displacement as middle-class residents drive property values further upwards (Zukin 1990, 2010; Ley 1996; Deener 2007; Zukin, et al. 2009; Oejo 2014). In addition to signifying structural conditions and processes, local businesses are often sites of inquiry as settings of social action.

Settings: Local Businesses as Sites of Action

For many social scientists, local businesses are a convenient *site* in which to observe patterns of behavior, interaction, and social relationships but not necessarily the object of the research. In these cases, the objects of study tend to be interactions between individual actors

while the specific setting in which action takes place is not the primary focus. In the urban sociology and sociology of race and ethnicity literatures, these studies often identify evidence of social organization in places presumed disorderly or ways in which race relations occurs in everyday conversation. Through systematic observation of interactions at bars, restaurants, convenience stores, and retail settings, many researchers uncover how these issues play out in common settings. These researchers often assume the task of refuting stereotypes or other commonsense understandings of the social world and are able to do so by observing interactions in these settings.

Numerous qualitative researchers interested in the culture or organization of social life in poor or working-class communities identify local businesses as useful sites to observe action (Whyte 1943; Liebow 1967; Suttles 1968; E. Anderson 1978; 2011; Duneier 1992). Contrary to the subcultural norms and values of poor, black, inner-city residents supposed by culture of poverty scholars (see Moynihan 1965; Lewis 1968), several urban ethnographers find persistent mainstream values (such as a strong work ethic and family values) among the regular customers of a Washington, DC carryout restaurant and Southside Chicago bar and diner (Liebow 1967; E. Anderson 1978; Duneier 1992). Though some researchers argue local businesses may serve as sites of sociability fostering social capital (Oldenberg 1999; Small 2009), others argue that the “scenes” of these places may be less inclusive than this finding suggests (Grazian 2009). While these studies use businesses as site to observe action to answer questions regarding social organization and social capital, other scholars look at businesses to uncover the operation of race relations in diverse communities.

The common exclusion or mistreatment of African Americans by white-owned businesses in the Jim Crow south is well-documented (see Myrdal 1944; Hale 1999) and contemporary studies exploring race relations in local businesses find expressions of racist sentiments in conversations among white customers (Hartington 1999; McDermott 2006). In a study of race relations in several New York City and Philadelphia neighborhoods, Lee (2002b) highlights that local businesses may be a source of racial conflict and describes the maintenance of inter-racial civility to be an active process. While Korean shopkeepers may hire African American workers to serve as “cultural brokers” mitigating racial conflicts (Lee 2002b:17), employment audit studies consistently find racial discrimination behind hiring practices in a variety of settings (Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Prager 2006). While these studies provide great insights into the types of interactions and other behaviors inside or near local businesses, they focus on businesses as settings of action and tell us little about the role of businesses in shaping local communities. Other researchers examine a variety of neighborhood-level outcomes associated with the presence or absence of local businesses and other indications of the importance of local businesses in communities.

Mediators: The Presence or Absence of Businesses Matters

In his pivotal study of urban poverty, Wilson (1987) identifies businesses as playing a key part in the cause and worsening of social problems in segregated urban ghettos. The exodus from inner-cities of manufacturing plants and blue-collar workers exacerbated urban poverty leading to increased social isolation; social isolation refers to a “lack of sustained interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society” (Wilson 1987:60). The decline in social and cultural capital corresponding with social isolation and concentrated

poverty is associated with increased urban social problems such as crime (Sampson, Morenoff, and Gannon-Rowley 2002; Sampson 2012). However, the presence of community organizations or local businesses may mediate relationships between concentrated poverty or social isolation and increased rates of social problems common to segregated, high poverty communities (ibid). As discussed above, Small (2009:179-187) extends his theory of organizational ties brokering social capital to other businesses ranging from beauty salons to bathhouses, noting that institutional requirements or professional norms might encourage nonprofit or for-profit institutions to provide social services to underserved clientele. Another connection here is that nonprofit organizations and local businesses both provide opportunities for individuals to socialize, form friendships, and ultimately exchange resources (including information and ties to additional organizations). Accordingly, local businesses are thought to play central roles in maintaining social cohesion in urban communities.

These studies highlight the potential of local businesses to mediate relationships between structural forces and undesirable social outcomes (see also Browning, et al 2010). This suggests that local businesses, as actors, may take the role of pillars of a community while also acting in their own interests. Businesses may provide social support and opportunities for sociability to underserved neighborhood residents out of their benevolent beliefs, as Small (2009) suggests, but as actors with economic interests, their allegiance may be with their own economic interests rather than that of the residents of their communities (Pattillo 1999).

Considering Commercial Gentrification

Gentrification is generally conceptualized in terms of class-based residential transformations, emphasizing the movement of wealthier residents into a neighborhood and the

displacement lower-income residents (Marcuse 1999). Commonly associated with residential gentrification, commercial gentrification entails the opening of increasingly upscale businesses, such as bars, restaurants, coffeeshops, and boutiques, in a previously lower-class neighborhood introducing the potential displacement of older businesses (Lloyd 2006; Ocejo 2011; Zukin, et al. 2009). Other scholars also identify commercial gentrification with the arrival of upscale businesses and the displacement of light manufacturing by condo development (Glass 1964; Zukin 1982; 1991, 1995; Curran 2007; Zukin, et al. 2009; Deener 2007, 2012; Ocejo 2014). Accordingly, new, increasingly expensive businesses opening may be understood as a symbol and driver of gentrification (see also Papachristos, et al. 2011; Parker 2018; Langegger 2016). However, small boutiques in diverse urban areas may survive on niche markets rather than compete with other longtime commercial establishments (Zukin and Kosta 2004). Examining commercial gentrification in Williamsburg and Harlem in terms of changes in community class and ethnic character, Zukin and her team (2009) identify a prevalent “giving back” discourse among several new business owners but note that less than half actually live in the same neighborhoods as their shops and may be primarily oriented by their economic interests.

While Zukin and her colleagues frequently point to “new retail entrepreneurs” as demonstrative of broader processes of cultural and political economic transformations (1991; 1995; Zukin and Kosta 2004; Zukin, et al 2009) or contributing to the privatization of public space (2010:125-158), the variation of additional actions within the capabilities of businesses is generally outside of her scope. Other gentrification scholars identify new businesses, acting primarily in their own interests, as contributing to the redefinition of local community (Deener 2007) or the upscaling of downtown districts (Ocejo 2014). Though these studies do not compare

multiple waves of businesses nor inquire into potential realms of activity beyond the preservation or transformation of the neighborhood (Brown-Saracino 2004, 2009).

Data, Methods, and Fieldsites

To better understand the role and experiences of local businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods, I spent over three years conducting ethnographic observation (Summer 2016-Fall 2019) in Logan Square and Pilsen, two gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago (FIGURE 1). I conducted in-depth interviews with business owners, employees, and customers and had informal conversations with neighborhood residents. I also attended street festivals and community meetings and observed discussions of related issues on social media.

A Brief Introduction to Pilsen and Logan Square

Pilsen, a neighborhood within Chicago's Lower West Side, has been a working-class, immigrant community since the early 1900s. It was initially settled by German and Irish immigrants. Polish, Czechoslovakian, Italian, Lithuanian, and Yugoslavian immigrants followed. In the 1960s, assimilated whites began to leave the city for the developing suburbs, a process often called "white flight." Urban renewal throughout Chicago ultimately pushed Mexican immigrant communities into Pilsen. Mexican American community organizers, having spent years resisting displacement, quickly began organizing in Pilsen, building congregations in churches, organizing cultural festivals, and opening businesses left vacant after white flight (Betancur and Smith 2016:49-51).

Logan Square was also initially settled by European immigrants. By 1930, Polish, German, Norwegian, Russian, and Swedish Americans together made up over 70% of the neighborhood's population (Padilla 1993). As urban renewal pushed Latinos into Pilsen in the

1960s, Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans also moved to Logan Square during this time. In the 1990s Logan Square was 66% Latino (García and Rúa 2018). Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban entrepreneurs took over the neighborhood's shopping districts, opening restaurants, grocery stores, and other businesses.

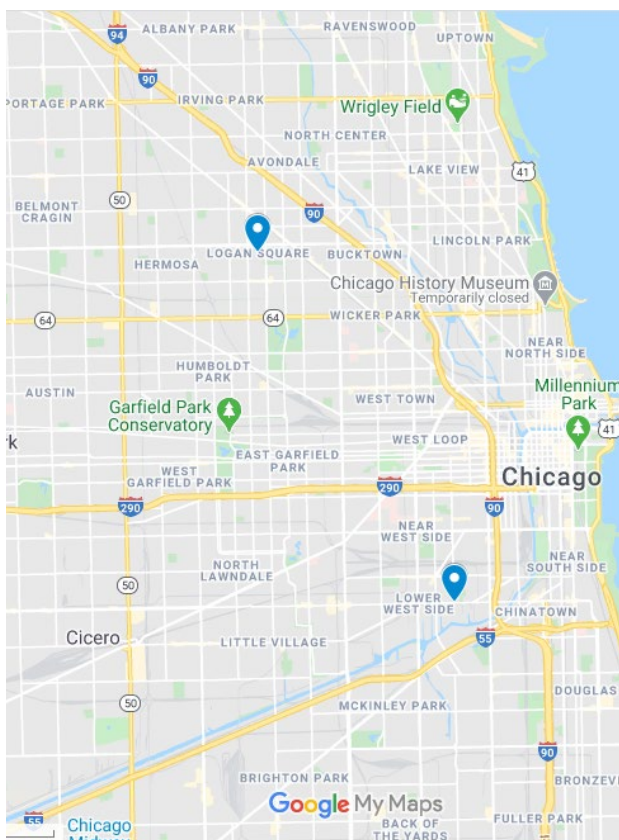


Figure 1. Locations of Logan Square and Pilsen in Chicago

Common measures of gentrification, such as changes in population, income, education, occupation, rent, and house values over time as well as visible new residential and commercial development, show that Logan Square and Pilsen are gentrifying. In 1980, both neighborhoods were majority Latino and had poverty rates around twenty percent. From 1990 to 2010, to varying degrees, both neighborhoods exhibit increases in the white population, decreases in the

Latino population, and increases in median household income and property values. In both neighborhoods, the percent of residents with at least a college education and the percent in managerial occupations increased over fifteen percentage points from 1990 to 2010. In the same time period, median house value in Pilsen increased from \$74,000 to nearly \$250,000 and from \$121,000 to \$370,000 in Logan Square. In 2010, Logan Square was 42% white, 48% Latino, Pilsen was 13% white, 82% Latino (Voorhees Center 2014).



Figure 2. 18th Street in Pilsen, 2018, photo by author.

While Pilsen remains a majority working-class, Mexican American neighborhood, many inexpensive Mexican restaurants and appliance shops have been replaced by trendy bars and restaurants in recent years (Betancur 2002, 2011; Betancur and Kim 2016; Hague 2015). Gentrification has been a topic of debate and cause for protest among Mexican American

residents since the 1990s (Curran 2018). The neighborhood is home to the renowned National Museum of Mexican Art, noted for its role in the Mexican muralist movement, and features prominent Aztec calendar medallions made of bronze and embedded into sidewalks on 18th Street, a main artery of the neighborhood. Coffeeshops, hip art galleries, craft breweries, a sizeable live music venue, and fine dining establishments arrived alongside condo developments and increased rents.

The rate of change is much faster in Logan Square. Located roughly two and a half miles northwest of Wicker Park, one of Chicago's prototypical sites of gentrification (Lloyd 2006), Logan Square has been described as a "bastion of booze, street art, and...hipsters" in local media (Jackson 2018). The neighborhood is often noted for its many highly regarded Mexican restaurants as well as its art galleries, cocktail bars, and chic restaurants. Also dotting Milwaukee Avenue, the neighborhood's main shopping street, are clusters of thrift stores, hip bars, decaying vacant storefronts (some of which retain barely visible Spanish language signage), a few craft breweries and concert venues, and an organic food co-op, among others.



Figure 3. Condo development in Logan Square, 2017, photo by author.

Though Logan Square and Pilsen diverge in their current rates or “stages” of gentrification, their similarities allow for examining them together. The neighborhoods share decades-long histories as Latino enclaves and have experienced increasing white populations as they experience gentrification. Both neighborhoods often appear together in media accounts of gentrification in Chicago (Schutz 2017), including those centering on the significance of new bars and restaurants in gentrification processes (Bloom 2018). A story in *Crain’s Chicago Business* describes Logan Square as a “hot” real estate market (Rodkin 2018) while *Forbes* lists Pilsen among the “twelve coolest neighborhoods around the world” (Abel 2018). Predominantly Latino community groups in both neighborhoods discuss gentrification on social media, stage protests and marches, and campaign on issues that might mitigate some of the effects of gentrification on their communities, such as rent control and public school funding. Groups from both neighborhoods were vocal opponents of an “Emerging Neighborhoods” real estate seminar

offering attendees instruction on how to capitalize on development in Pilsen and Logan Square as well as the Uptown and Humbolt Park neighborhoods (Peña 2018).



Figure 4. Anti-gentrification graffiti placed on a storefront in Pilsen, 2015, photo by author

Field research entailed making regular visits to both neighborhoods and conducting ethnographic observation at bars, restaurants, retail outlets, street festivals, community meetings, and on the street. Ethnographic observation was conducted from within and outside each business. I selected ten businesses, five in each neighborhood, according to the criteria described below. First, each business is located on or near the business district in each neighborhood (18th St. in Pilsen, Milwaukee Ave. in Logan Square). Both business districts are dense with local businesses. Second, I intentionally focused on independent and locally owned (Chicago-based if not based in the neighborhood) businesses¹. Previous research consistently finds that, compared to national chains, locally owned businesses are more closely tied to local communities, more

¹ I identify “independently and locally-owned” businesses based on self-identifications on websites or Facebook pages, mentions of this Yelp, and similar indications. I also include questions about this in in-depth interviews.

dependent upon them, and are more conducive to socializing (Blanchard, et al. 2007; Tolbert 2005; Carroll and Torfason 2011). Third, I focused on bars, restaurants, and retail, which are the most common types of businesses on these streets (see Figure 5). In addition, places where people can congregate and socialize, or “third spaces,” play a vital role in strong communities (Oldenburg 1999). These establishments are likely to be more attractive to visitors and potential new residents than other types. It seems unlikely one might take interest in a neighborhood primarily to be closer to one’s accountant or tailor, whereas proximity to a scene including shopping and nightlife opportunities is attractive to many upwardly mobile young people (see Clark, et al. 2002; Florida 2003; Silver and Clark 2016). Fourth, I tried to observe a wide variety of businesses, sampling for range (Small 2009; Weiss 1994). This allows for comparison across a variety of social categories and dimensions. Since the issues examined in this study pertain to commercial gentrification involving both race and class-based demographic transitions, I selected older and newer, white and minority-owned businesses providing goods at a variety of price points². Included in the sample are bars offering \$2.00 domestics and those offering \$8.00 limited production craft beers, a several inexpensive taquerias, as well as a hardware store and a shop providing specialty products produced by artists.

² I use businesses’ websites and Facebook pages to identify business owners, and based on surname, social media posts, Yelp comments, and other indications, categorize businesses as white or minority-owned. These sources often also include when the business opened and menus or other indications of pricing.

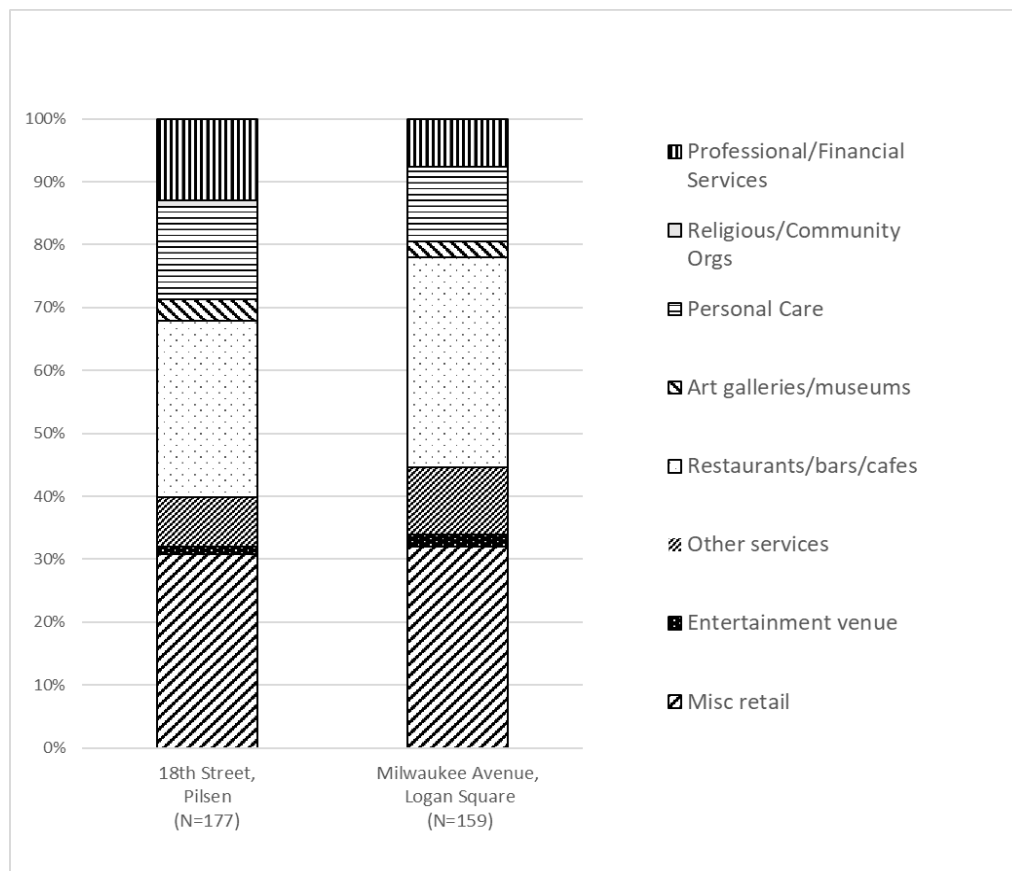


Figure 5. Storefront businesses on 18th Street and Milwaukee Avenue by type.

I visited each business for at least one hour on multiple occasions, varying time of day and day of the week. Inside, I ordered food and drink, when applicable, and observed employees and customers particularly attentive to indications of familiarity with each other and the neighborhood. I also regularly observed each business from the street and watched customers enter, exit, and socialize outside. At each site, I approximated the demographic makeup of employees, customers, and attendees by age, race/ethnicity, and gender. To check my estimations, I verified my accounts with interview respondents (“How would you describe the regular customers here? What proportion would you estimate are white or Latino?”) and occasionally companions at the sites described in this paper or elsewhere. While this means of

measurement is far less valid than a survey or census, there is some precedent in ethnographic research for similar estimation (for example, see E. Anderson 2011; Molotch 1972).

I attended six events advertised as “community meetings.” These events were open to the public, hosted by local activist groups, and mostly attended by Latinos in their twenties. At these, I tried to transcribe word-for-word any comments regarding businesses, gentrification, and how speakers felt about these issues.

I also conducted 85 interviews (31 semi-structured interviews, 54 informal interviews conducted in the field) with business owners and employees, neighborhood residents and business patrons, community organizers, an art curator (who organizes a semi-regular event in Logan Square), and a developer (who owns and is renovating an old warehouse). Interview questions asked about experiences and perceptions of the neighborhood, local histories, and responses to local current events (such as emerging nightlife scenes, new businesses, protests, and gentrification processes). In-depth interviews and many informal conversations with patrons and neighborhood residents included questions about where they live and why they would or would not visit a particular establishment or group of establishments (see APPENDIX B). Respondents include visitors and lifelong neighborhood residents and range from early 20s to mid-sixties. I spoke with 58 men and 27 women, 55 whites, 20 Latinos, and 10 “others” (Asian or African American). Other than the neighborhoods themselves, all people and places are referenced using pseudonyms³.

³ The one exception is the Bow Truss coffee shop in Pilsen, which has since closed. I did not conduct interviews with staff and I cite several publications in later chapters that also list this business by name.

Introducing Local Businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen

As illustrated in Table 1, the primary businesses where I conducted interviews and field observations are a *taqueria*, two bars, a specialty arts shop, and a smoke and vape shop in Logan Square and four restaurants and a hardware store in Pilsen. In Logan Square, La Taqueria is a traditional Mexican restaurant. Its menu is printed in Spanish, with English translations printed in smaller font. The menu features staples like *carne asada* (skirt steak) tacos, *lengua* (beef tongue), *pollo con mole* (chicken with mole sauce), and *enchiladas* and most meals are priced under \$14.00. Old Logan Tap is a dive bar featuring free live entertainment several nights a week. Eric and his staff haul several cases of cheap Old Style beer from the stock cooler to the bar during a busy night while also serving cheap shots of liquor and craft beers. HopDen almost exclusively serves craft beers. Marc and Jerry, the bar owners, are craft beer enthusiasts. A pint glass full of a limited production beer can often run \$7.00 or \$8.00. On weekends, the bar is often packed with customers more than willing to pay this price. ArtWerks⁴ provides custom art for discerning clients who pay hundreds of dollars for a piece and may wait months to get it. The owner, Harris, and his staff are highly skilled artists and the shop occasionally hosts art shows and other events. The smoke and vape shop is a second location of a shop also located on the northeast side of Chicago. This shop sells glass pipes and tobacco products in addition to e-cigarettes, vaping devices, and nicotine e-liquid (“vape juice”).

⁴ While all businesses and respondents are referenced using pseudonyms, I take the extra step to use vague language to describe the products ArtWerks produces. The disclosure of this detail, combined with other observations about the site, may constitute identifiable information.

Table 1. Cases recruited in Logan Square and Pilsen

	Year Opened	Owners, Managers, Staff*	Race/ethnicity of owners	Cost**
Logan Square				
La Taqueria	2002	Carla (manager); Domingo (server)	Mexican American	\$
Old Logan Tap	2009	Eric (owner)	white	\$
HopDen	2017	Marc and Jerry (owners); Alicia (employee, 20s); Gabriela (employee, 20s) Jayden (employee 20s)	white	\$\$
ArtWerks (specialty arts shop)	2014	Harris (owner); Jamie (manager); Rich (employee)	white	\$\$
Smoke and Vape Shop	2015	Anika, Dev, and Ojas (owners)	Indian American	\$\$
Pilsen				
La Carnecaria (Mexican restaurant)	1975	Javier (co-owner)	Mexican American	\$
Taco Tuesdays (fusion Mexican restaurant)	2013	Hank (co-owner); Lucy (manager)	white	\$
Sunny's (bar and restaurant)	2000	Tony (co-owner)	white Mexican American	\$
Pilsen Hardware	1991	Luis (co-owner)	Indian American, Mexican	\$
Localized (fusion Mexican restaurant)	2018	Arnav (owner); Manuel (employee)	American	\$\$

*Some employees made comments in interviews that may bring negative attention to their places of employment. Though I use pseudonyms for all people and businesses, I disassociate them from their businesses as an additional safeguard. ** Yelp.com identifies cost using a scale from \$ to \$\$\$\$. \$ is least expensive, \$\$\$\$ is most expensive.

In Pilsen, La Carnecaria is a Mexican restaurant specializing in *carnitas*, a traditional Mexican pulled pork dish. This restaurant is very popular in Pilsen but may be “too authentic” for some white customers. I observed white twenty-somethings look around and walk out the

door on several occasions, while Mexican families will wait in long lines to be seated. I was usually the only white person in the restaurant during my visits. I observed the opposite at Taco Tuesday's, a "fusion" Mexican restaurant. The owners and their head chef like to "be creative" in their adaptations of traditional Mexican staples. This often leads their dishes to be more expensive than foods that can be purchased on the street in Pilsen. I observed Mexican American neighborhood residents walk in-and-out after perusing the menu on several occasions. Sunny's is a bar-and-restaurant in Pilsen. Burgers and beer are their specialty. Pilsen Hardware is a Mexican American-owned, and largely patronized, "Mom-and-Pop" hardware store. Localized is a "fusion" Mexican restaurant owned and operated by an extended family. It serves traditional Mexican dishes with a "modern twist," sometimes including Indian elements.

I visited other businesses during my fieldwork, including bars, restaurants, convenience stores, and coffeeshops in both neighborhoods, and an art studio in Pilsen. I walked the shopping districts of both neighborhoods end-to-end more than once and visited other parts of the neighborhoods where businesses are also located, including Fullerton Street in Logan Square and Cermak Avenue in Pilsen. I conducted informal interviews with business patrons, neighborhood activists and others. I took fieldnotes using an app on a smartphone during periods of observation and immediately following informal interviews. I developed field jottings into more substantial notes within 24 hours of site visits. In-depth interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. In the event a respondent did not want to be recorded, I made every effort to transcribe the interview by hand.

Findings

In chapter two, I ask: How and why did local business owners come to open their specific businesses? How and why did they choose to do so in Logan Square or Pilsen? And, how do they contribute to the character of these neighborhoods? Following Richard Ocejo (2014), I extend Logan and Molotch's (1987) notion of "place entrepreneurs" to include how local businesses might contribute to growth in these neighborhoods. I find three different pathways to becoming place entrepreneurs among my cases, which I call the "typical immigrant story," the "community participation story," and the "incidental entrepreneur story." With a few exceptions, these stories follow the pattern of pregentrification, minority owned businesses, white-owned, pioneer gentrifier businesses, and second wave gentrifier businesses, respectively. I then develop a model of cyclical narrow and expanding networks of business-customers networks I call *localized* and *despatialized spaces*. I argue this pattern explains how commercial gentrification contributes to residential gentrification.

In chapter three, I inquire about the role and experiences of local businesses as neighborhood-level actors. As I discuss above, I expected businesses to work for or against gentrification as a function of how long they have been open in the neighborhoods and the race and ethnicity of owners and customers. However, I did not find evidence supporting this presupposition. Instead, I take a broader look at the sorts of "corporate social responsibility" practices of each small business and identify explanations that parallel what Terry Besser (2002) has called "rational self-interest" and "shared fate" rationales for community participation. Looking more closely at what each business does, in terms of social responsibility practices and *bonding* and *bridging social capital*, I argue that by donating to charitable causes and community

organizations, hosting events, and partnering with other businesses, businesses serve communities consisting of their current or potential customers. Thus, behind their efforts is what Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) call “bonded solidarity.”

Racial and ethnic, class, and cultural segregation and diversity are the subject of chapter four. During my visits to each business, attendance at street festivals, and street observations, I took note of customers and attendees, paying particular attention to the racial and ethnic makeup of crowds. I was struck by nearly all-white bar and festival crowds in neighborhoods with significant Latinx populations. I also noticed that there seem to be few white attendees at Mexican festivals in Pilsen and that, aside from popular restaurants and groceries, whites do not patronize many of the minority-owned businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen. Expanding upon work by Nyden and his colleagues (1998), I argue that these are cases of diversity and segregation by design and circumstance. Businesses actively *produce* diverse and segregated spaces, through their hiring, treatment of customers, costs, and other means.

In chapter five, I turn my attention to the perspectives of longtime neighborhood residents. Here too, my findings challenged assumptions I had at the start of this project. Drawing on some of the literature referenced above, I assumed that lifelong, Latinx residents of Logan Square and Pilsen would share linear narratives about neighborhood transition. Anti-gentrification activists in these neighborhoods often speak of local businesses that had been closed due to the rising rents associated with gentrification. While some respondents did speak of this, others described how gangs and crime affected their access to parts of their neighborhoods as children. With gentrification came a decline in crime, and as the neighborhoods became more open to them, they welcomed new businesses and a renewed neighborhood reputation. Still

others felt excluded from new businesses and expressed concern that their Latinx communities were being overtaken by whites. I call these experiences *a priori* and *a posteriori alienation from place*, respectively.

I conclude with a reiteration of my key findings, suggestions for things businesses can do for communities, things communities can do for businesses, and directions for future research. Understanding businesses as local actors, they might make additional efforts to support the communities they depend upon. At the same time as activists and advocates attentive to gentrification in Chicago have brought renewed attention to residential rent control, some in NYC have begun to consider commercial rent control. Returning to the issue of social capital and providing resources for underserved communities, I make some policy recommendations.

Finally, as I completed writing this dissertation during the COVID-19 pandemic, I make some connections to this throughout. I had hoped to make final visits to the businesses and neighborhoods analyzed for this project prior to completing this manuscript. The coronavirus made this impossible. Instead, I paid close attention to how the businesses in this study responded to the pandemic. I introduce chapter three with some examples and return to this issue in the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

BECOMING A (PLACE) ENTREPRENEUR

In this chapter, I examine the phenomena of entrepreneurship and “place entrepreneurship” (Logan and Molotch 1987). I ask: How and why did local business owners come to open their specific businesses? How and why did they choose to do so in Logan Square or Pilsen? And, how do they contribute to the character of these neighborhoods? Among the businesses I describe in the previous chapter, I identify three distinct pathways into entrepreneurship: the “typical immigrant story,” the “community participation story,” and the “incidental entrepreneur story”. To varying degrees, these stories, as told by business owners and their staffs, illustrate some of the reasons that individuals come to open particular types of businesses and why they might do so in particular places. Relationships between these three pathways into entrepreneurship and each businesses’ contribution to the character of these neighborhoods is complicated by the types of business each operates, their primary clientele, and how these variables fit into ongoing gentrification processes.

Entrepreneurs and Place Entrepreneurship

The image of the independent entrepreneur is central to several fundamental beliefs regarding the opportunity structure of the United States. Early social scientific studies of American social and political life emphasized the utmost importance placed upon individualism and entrepreneurialism. In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville [1835] 2002) marveled at American’s zeal for industry, he observed, “In the United States a wealthy man thinks that he

owes it to public opinion to devote his leisure to some kind of industrial or commercial pursuit, or to public business. He would think himself in bad repute if he employed his life solely in living...Almost all the Americans follow industrial callings” (678, 680). Max Weber (2003) points to the writings of Benjamin Franklin, to illustrate an American “spirit of capitalism,” “Remember, that *time* is money...He that idly loses five shillings’ worth of time, loses five shillings...’ we...use the expression spirit of (modern) capitalism to describe that attitude which seeks profit rationally and systematically” (cited in Weber 2003:48, 50, 64). The small business owner remains an ideal typical image of “average” Americans’ rugged individualism and populist authenticity. Politicians and media figures often use “main street” as a sort-of shorthand for middle America. Small business ownership continues to be perceived as an avenue for upward economic mobility as well as an end in itself (Lee 2002b:40). As a key feature of American civil society, the small business owner exemplifies the American Dream as a pillar of the local community and a model of individual effort and ingenuity.

In the United States, “the entrepreneur takes on the qualities of a cultural hero who performs miracles of production. He is a creative genius and a master of ceremonies” according to economist David Hamilton (1957:250). In the context of a society in which racial segregation and exclusion are also defining features (Feagin 2014), entrepreneurial activity is a means for people of color to get ahead. In the 1940s, Drake and Cayton observed that, for African Americans in Chicago, “advancing...’ has assumed the form of a separate and social and community life resting upon a continually broadening economic base in the larger society” (1945:287). Immigration scholars have long argued that entrepreneurship is especially important for new immigrants striving for belonging or upward economic mobility (Loewen 1972; Light

1972; Zhou 1992). Zulema Valdez notes that access to resources like, “personal savings, inheritance, or the creditworthiness needed to access financial capital” can present additional barriers for entrepreneurial immigrants (2011:5). At the same time, many scholars recognize that the identification of “ethnic” businesses and neighborhoods as “authentic” by white outsiders can be a pathway to gentrification (Grazian 2003; Brown-Saracino 2009; Zukin 2010) and amenities and nightlife in general may attract gentrifiers (Ley 1996; Ocejo 2011; Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017). In this sense, local business owners, whether intending to or not, may become “place entrepreneurs” as they simultaneously promote their neighborhoods and their businesses.

In their influential study of the political economy of urban growth, Logan and Molotch (1987) draw attention to contradictory roles local businesses might play in urban environments. For these scholars, a fundamental opposition exists between local residents, whose attachment to place is primarily concerned with the satisfaction of essential needs, and entrepreneurs, for whom place is a commodity from which profits might be made. Such “place entrepreneurs” may partner with investors and local political elites to pursue urban growth for profit. The opposition between use and exchange value has the potential to put local entrepreneurs, such as small business owners, in a precarious place. Local businesses may be dependent upon neighborhood residents as customers, may form tight bonds with them, and may be positively or negatively impacted by changes in the political economy of the neighborhood or city. As economic actors, local businesses may be positioned to benefit from increased land value and an increasingly wealthy consumer base. As they note, “retailers need customers and this often leads them to equate aggregate growth in a locality with an increase in sales and profits for themselves” (1987:83). But local businesses may also be particularly vulnerable to the increased competition

brought by further commercial development, as market growth may attract national chains. Additionally, as renters and/or residents themselves, local businesses' concerns regarding growth may mirror those of other community members, including increased rents and fear of displacement (20-1). In light of this contradiction, understanding how and why individuals become entrepreneurs, how they might become "place entrepreneurs," and how this might impact the character of places (Paulsen 2004) are important questions.

I join others who study small businesses in expanding "place entrepreneurs" conceptually. Logan and Molotch's definition is, "the people directly involved in the exchange of places and collection of rents" (1987:29). Borer and Monti (2006) catalog types of "community-building" activities businesses might do. Promoting their city or town is included among their list. Businesses may do this by including the name of their locality in the name of their business, or by otherwise including this name on promotional materials like t-shirts (47-8). In her study of small businesses in Iowa, Besser (2002) notes that Logan and Molotch's growth machine model includes businesses undertaking community benefit activities as a means of drawing businesses. In a study of bars and gentrification in New York City, Richard Ocejo notes, "Downtown Manhattan bar owners are all 'place entrepreneurs' in the sense that they are local business owners who individually construct an image for their establishments and collectively construct and reinforce an image of their neighborhood as a nightlife destination" (2014:124).

At the same time, as I discuss above, business owners may anticipate gentrification or further local economic development and cater towards a clientele wealthier than the present neighborhood residents. Businesses may also provide specialized goods or services and thus depend on customers beyond their neighborhood's boundaries. Each of these processes is likely

motivated by considerations of economic interests, what Weber called “instrumental rationality” (1978:24-6). Therefore, particularly in gentrifying areas, local businesses and their owners are likely to contribute to the construction and selling of a “place as commodity” (Logan and Molotch 1987) and may thus be “place entrepreneurs” whether or not they participate in the literal buying and selling of land. I thus advance Ocejo’s modified definition of place entrepreneurs to also include participation in the process where a neighborhood becoming a destination is part and parcel of commercial and residential gentrification.

The “Typical Immigrant Story”

Immigration scholars have long examined entrepreneurial activity among immigrant groups (Glazer and Moynihan 1963). As Portes and Rumbaut ([1999] 2014) note, entrepreneurship is a main way to “make it” in the United States. Historically and still today, immigrants to the United States pursue self-employment as an avenue for mobility in the face of discrimination on the job market. Barred from other opportunities but unhindered by the American color line, many Jewish immigrants opened businesses in Black neighborhoods (Foner 2000). In the 1970s, as Jews moved out of some urban neighborhoods, newly arrived middle-class Korean immigrants moved in (Lee 2002b). Some immigrants gained entrepreneurial education, skills, and experience in their home countries prior to moving to the US (Steinberg 1981; Portes and Rumbaut [1999] 2014). Other immigrants participate in an “enclave economy,” where coethnic social and economic relations sustain businesses and communities (see Zhou 2004). Largely driven by desires for upward economic mobility and self-reliance, immigrant minorities have higher rates of self-employment than born citizens. Immigrant entrepreneurs, on

average, earn more than their wage-earning coethnics (Portes and Rumbaut [1999] 2014). In this context, immigrant entrepreneurship narratives become common.

The “typical immigrant story,” as told to me by many of the business owners I interviewed, involves a first- or second-generation immigrant to the United States working menial jobs and saving money until opening their own business becomes a possibility. Several of the business owners told this story about their fathers when I asked them to tell me the history of how they came to open their business. Anika, a second-generation Indian American shop owner, recounted the career of her father as a “typical immigrant story.” When her parents moved to Chicago from India decades ago, her father worked “odd jobs” – as a waiter, a hotel clerk, and the like – while he saved to open a business of his own. He opened a convenience store in a rough, northside neighborhood, selling snacks, souvenirs, and cigarettes. Anika and her brothers took the shop over in 2012 when their father retired. Noticing that tobacco products were a top seller, that glass pipes purchased in bulk had a good profit-margin, and, anticipating both the growth of the market for nicotine vaporizers as well as the gentrification of Logan Square, they transformed their father’s struggling convenience store into a smoke shop and opened a second location in Logan Square. Anika and her husband scoured the city and decided upon Logan Square because of the many upscale restaurants they found.

Though Anika’s latter point diverges from the “typical immigrant stories” of the Mexican American business owners in Logan Square and Pilsen, the origin of their business itself resonates with the others. For example, Javier runs La Carnecaria, a Pilsen-based restaurant specializing in *carnitas* initially opened by his immigrant father, Pedro, in the 1970s. Pedro moved from Mexico to Chicago in 1969. The established Mexican American community,

opportunities for employment in the nearby meatpacking stockyards, and an “informal network of contacts” as the factors leading to Pedro settling in Pilsen. According to Javier, his father, “always wanted to do something entrepreneurial... he’d been saving up his money and kinda waiting for the right moment to figure out what he was gonna do... So, he ended up sinking his life savings at that point into it, into the restaurant. And, like, when it came down to it, like literally, he started to pawn off his possessions [laughs].” Similarly, Carla, who manages La Taqueria in Logan Square, described opening a business in the neighborhood as an avenue for upward mobility: “I grew up on the Southside in the Little Village area and I always wanted to come up north. We wanted to open up something north, just to get away from that area. So, we opened up the bakery [and the restaurant came later].”

In each of these cases, the pathway to entrepreneurship was a “typical immigrant story.” For Pedro and Carla, the respective choice of Pilsen and Logan Square was largely due to the neighborhoods’ character as Latinx enclaves (see Zhou 1993; Lin 2011). Both knew that an existing Latinx “enclave economy” would provide a customer base and that participating in this economy might provide better opportunities for upward economic mobility than they might find elsewhere. The convenience store initially opened by Anika’s father diverges from this narrative in that he did not open his store in an Indian American neighborhood. Rather, he found a “rough” part of the city where he could afford to rent. Anika and her brothers chose Logan Square for a second location having observed growth in the neighborhood. I return to this later. For now, I turn my attention to white entrepreneurs who sought to participate in communities.

Entrepreneurship as Community Participation

Some business owners conflate their personal interest in their neighborhoods and the goods and services they provide to it. For these entrepreneurs, opening a business is not necessarily the avenue for upward mobility that characterizes the “typical immigrant story.” Instead, in addition to being one’s own boss, opening a business is a chance to pursue their personal interests while at the same time contributing to a community and supporting themselves and their families. The story here is not one of prolonged new immigrant struggle and advancement, but one of seeking more interesting opportunities while supporting a community. The two cases discussed below mentioned both of these points.

Eric is the owner of Old Logan Tap, a dive bar in Logan Square. The bar hosts live music several nights per week, usually offering a variant of “indie rock,” though it also sometimes features punk rock, hip hop, and live DJs. Old Logan Tap could be called an “urban pioneer” (Smith 1996; Brown-Saracino 2009) as it was among the first bars in the neighborhood to cater to a predominantly “hipster” crowd, a point Eric himself raised. He spent much of his life, since childhood, in or near Logan Square. I asked what he was doing before he opened the bar, he replied,

I was an auditor of financial statements. Um, so I did that for about 5 years... [but I] wanted to do something in the music industry since college. But it took me a couple years just to think that like, music venue-slash-bar was the way I wanted to go. But I was really definite about that, since I was like 23 or 24 [about ten years before he opened the bar].

Discussing the early days of the bar, he continued, “At the time there was a pretty heavy demand for entertainment in Logan Square because it had been a moratorium district [where the city does not grant new liquor licenses] since maybe the ‘90s, there was just nowhere to go.” Eric, who

was from the area, held a longstanding interest in opening a “music venue-slash-bar” and wanted to contribute to the entertainment opportunities available in the area where he had spent much of his life. His pathway to becoming an entrepreneur begins at a very different point than those described above as, rather than privileging upward economic mobility, his goal was to contribute to the community, defined in terms of neighborhood or subculture.

Eric’s story shares many of the characteristics of the community participation story told to me by Tony, an owner of Sunny’s, a bar-restaurant in Pilsen. Though Tony graduated from bartending to bar ownership decades ago, he described his experience in terms of an almost romantic relationship with bars rather than a story primarily about financial independence or an entrepreneurial spirit. Reminiscing about his twenties, he says he was, “a typical English major, like the dream to own a bar even if you’re a waiter or something like that... There’s a little bit of mystique... a little bit of romance about a bar.” Since he and his partners owned a bar elsewhere in Chicago prior to opening Sunny’s in Pilsen, I asked how he ended up in this neighborhood: “[Pilsen] was where we were actively looking. I think this part of Pilsen being underserved...there was a really good opportunity to make a neighborhood bar.” In addition, Tony noted that his restaurant was among the first in the neighborhood providing burgers and beers, while trying to keep his menu affordable.

During our interview, Tony also made an explicit mention of *The Great Good Place*, Ray Oldenberg’s (1999) popular introduction of the notion of “third spaces” – bars, cafes, and the like where people can go, in addition to home or work, to socialize and participate in community with others. Part of the “mystique” or “romance” about bars that he felt was that bars had been

“third places” for him and he hoped that could produce a similar experience in previously “underserved” Pilsen.

Eric’s approach to his entrepreneurship parallels Tony’s. To Eric, Old Logan Tap was an opportunity to pursue his love of music while meeting a need for entertainment in the area. While it is also likely that they sought financial independence and the chance to capitalize on the early stages of gentrification in their respective neighborhoods, they also wanted to participate in their communities by contributing something unique. They both share the vision of producing a place within a community and for it. For Eric, this meant a bar and music venue near where he grew up, a place for other independent rock fans and neighborhood residents. For Tony this meant a place to socialize and get an affordable burger and beer in a community lacking a similar type of bar. While this pathway to entrepreneurship begins differently than that of the “typical immigrant story,” a commonality between these stories is pursuing business ownership actively.

Incidental Entrepreneurs

Some seem to “fall into” business-ownership. By this I mean that these entrepreneurs did not set out to become business owners. They pursued other paths with varying degrees of success and came to open businesses of their own due to circumstance and opportunities arising before them. In some cases, incidental entrepreneurs earned a comfortable modest-to-middle class living and likely would not have opened a business if the opportunity did not appear. For others, opening a business seemed to be the only logical step forward to advance or continue pursuing a career in a creative field. Another commonality among most of my incidental entrepreneurs is that a storefront space becoming available at the right time seemed to play a pivotal role in the

decision to open a business, as only two of my respondents were engaged in actively looking for a space to open a business elsewhere in the city prior to doing so in Logan Square or Pilsen.

Marc, along with his lifelong friend, Jerry, opened a craft beer-focused bar in Logan Square in 2017, which I refer to here as HopDen (no relation to Chicago's Hopleaf or Hop Haus). Both men had long appreciated craft beer and had discussed Jerry's desire to open a bar or brewery from some time before opening their business. However, both were on decidedly different paths prior to doing so. Before they began seriously looking for a suitable site, Marc pursued graduate degrees in business and counseling. Jerry worked as an audio engineer and travelled with touring musicians. But with the rise in popularity of the craft beer industry, they considered opening a brewery of their own and ultimately settled on a bar specializing in limited-run craft beers. The bar they opened primarily caters towards other craft beer enthusiasts. When I asked Marc about how he and Jerry came to open HopDen, he stressed that their primary interest was more in beer than in business ownership: "It wasn't about the need to do a bar. It was, like, wanting to get involved with craft beer." They offer dozens of different beers at their bar. Most typical domestic or imported beers are not available here – no Budweiser, Miller, Corona, or Heineken. Marc and Jerry are often found in the front of the house, managing staff and schmoozing with customers, while sipping locally brewed sours, high-gravity Belgian-style beers, and small-batch bitter, hoppy ales produced by comparatively obscure breweries.

With the goal of opening a bar specializing in craft beer, Marc and Jerry looked for an appropriate space in several Chicago neighborhoods before deciding upon Logan Square. Both were born and raised elsewhere in the city and moved into the neighborhood a decade ago because of its burgeoning craft beer scene. In Marc's words,

So, we looked at all the neighborhoods that had commercial space available and we always wanted to be in Logan Square because we knew that, it's a very beer-central place for the craft beer world. Chicago was one of the top, if not *the* top, craft beer markets in the country and we always wanted to be in Logan Square. But it's a matter of finding a place. We looked at many, like 80 to 100 other locations [in the city] and in the end, it was really hard to find a place. But this one came on the market and it was ideal.

The place they found was a ground-level retail space in a new condo development: “[we] wouldn't even be here if it wasn't for it.”

This story parallels that of Hank, who worked in the music industry for much of his life before he and his partner opened Taco Tuesday's, a restaurant in Pilsen. Hank and his partner, neither of whom are of Mexican origin, began preparing their own take on Mexican street food to serve to their friends and colleagues in the music industry. As their reputations grew, they began to get requests to cater events. Their business expanded into offering catering services and appearing at Chicago-area street festivals and events as a licensed vendor. Seeking to acquire an affordable space with an adequately-sized production kitchen, they landed in Pilsen. While they appreciate the neighborhood's food and culture, cost and space were their main concern. Like Marc and Jerry, Hank and his partner pursued very different paths prior to becoming entrepreneurs. Their stories are neither that of the “typical immigrant,” nor were they particularly invested in an *a priori* conception of producing and participating in a community. Instead, opportunities arose as they pursued different paths.

Harris and Mary are professional artists who became entrepreneurs as a necessary career move. Though their professional identities have more to do with their crafts than business, they felt they had to open businesses to advance their careers. Both are white, in their 30s, and landed in hip Chicago neighborhoods as they gentrified (and likely because of this). Harris and Mary

opened shops in Logan Square and Pilsen, respectively, after each had spent much of their lives to this point developing their crafts and each had lived in Chicago for only a few years. Yet, despite these commonalities, their paths also diverged significantly. Mary earned an MFA (Master's in Fine Arts) and after years working a day job in the service industry while making art in her free time, and later, teaching one-off art classes in high schools and colleges, she ultimately opened a studio offering art classes in Pilsen. Harris' art is such that its appeal extends beyond the "art world," the network of people who collectively produce and consume fine art (Becker 1982), as many clients of his shop, ArtWerks, who may pay hundreds of dollars for a single piece, are likely to be otherwise uninterested in fine arts or crafts. Refining his craft with a dedication that sometimes leads him to study other artistic mediums to transfer skills and techniques, Harris began to feel constrained working for someone else's shop. An acquaintance of his who owns an area bar Harris sometimes visits mentioned planning to buy another building in the neighborhood and that he was looking for someone to fill a retail space. Enticed by the opportunity to pick-and-choose projects and clients, Harris pulled together his savings and worked out a deal with the property owner. He now manages a small staff and can defer projects to his staff if he is disinterested. Many of his clients find him on Instagram and travel from out-of-state to get his work. As he said, "if you're really gonna be an artist, eventually you have to think about the business side too. Like, think about bands – you can be DIY [do-it-yourself] and play in basements forever, or you be like a business and get to do it for real." Like the other incidental entrepreneurs discussed above, Harris and Mary "fell into" becoming business owners. This pathway begins from a very different place than that of the typical immigrant story and the business owners who wanted to build and participate in a community as it does not begin with

entrepreneurship as a goal. There are other shops offering the same type of work Harris does in Logan Square and, though she is a part of the arts community in Pilsen, Mary does not describe her shop in these terms. Thus, their stories are neither the typical immigrant story nor the community participation story.

Local Businesses, Customer Networks, and Communities

Local businesses contribute to urban neighborhoods in both a material and cultural sense. The appearance of newer, higher class businesses alerts neighborhood residents and urban researchers that gentrification may be occurring or advancing. In her pioneering study of urban transformation in London, Glass (1964) identifies the emergence of upscale shops and restaurants, and their presence in greater numbers, as indicative of the arrival of affluent neighborhood residents. As working-class residents are displaced, so too may be the local businesses that once served them. In some cases, independent shops are replaced by chains; modest eateries are replaced by upscale restaurants and coffee shops. While the upscaling of businesses or arrival of chain stores may be due to a variety of factors, this pattern often occurs with residential neighborhood transitions, such as is the case with gentrification (Zukin 2010; see also Ocejo 2011, 2014). The arrival of increasingly upscale businesses may also signal neighborhood transformation to successive waves of gentrifiers. The businesses and residents associated with early waves of gentrification may themselves be subject to displacement as middle-class residents drive property values further upwards (Zukin 1990, 2010; Ley 1996; Smith 1996; Deener 2007; Zukin, et al. 2009; Ocejo 2011, 2014).

Recently, some scholars suggest that businesses may provide an answer to the long-standing “community question,” which asks about the persistence of community ties in the

modern world (Wellman and Leighton 1979). Since the advent of urbanization, sociologists expressed concern about the potential loss of intimate social ties as people moved from small, closely-knit communities to large, impersonal cities (Tönnies 1887/1957; Simmel 1903/1964). A further concern regarding the supposed decline of social life in the modern world is reinvigorated periodically. Putnam (2000) raised these concerns when he observed that many of the bowling leagues and parent-teacher associations of old had declined in number. However, others identify vibrant communities within local businesses. Local businesses may serve as sites of sociability, places to alleviate isolation, and may even foster social capital as regular customers may form friendships and exchange resources (Duneier 1992; Oldenberg 1999; Halebsky 2004; Tolbert 2005; Small 2009; Carroll and Torfason 2011; Klinenberg 2012). Others argue that these places may be less inclusive than this finding suggests because race, class, gender, and other factors may introduce barriers for entry (Grazian 2009; Ocejo 2014).

The community question is further complicated with the identification of a distinct conceptualization of *community* and *neighborhood*. While many sociologists and laypersons may use these terms synonymously, proximity need not suggest connectivity and social networks need not be bound by space. In other words, although urban dwellers may be surrounded by “strangers” (Simmel 1908/1971) and may decreasingly participate in the civic institutions of old (Putnam 2000), with the use of transportation and communication technologies, city residents may not only maintain networks of social support that transcend local boundaries but they may in fact exist within more densely populated social networks than those living in isolated small towns (Wellman and Leighton 1979; Fischer 1982; Guest and Wierzbicki 1999; Neal 2014). An understanding of neighborhoods occupied by many communities, be they “subcultures” (Fischer

1975), peer groups (Gans 1962), or instances of “ordered segmentation” (Suttles 1968), paints a more accurate picture of social life in contemporary cities. Such phenomena become more apparent with the problematization of ties between local businesses and community networks, particularly in the context of commercial gentrification.

Upscale businesses may appeal to new neighborhood residents or attract tourists, visitors, and potential gentrifiers (Gotham 2005; Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010; Ocejo 2014). Commercial gentrification may also spur local conflict between residents and businesses. Sullivan (2007) finds that some residents of a gentrifying Portland, Oregon neighborhood express feelings of exclusion from new establishments and art galleries, while Ocejo (2014) observes community members taking political action against extra-local entrepreneurs whose businesses bring the unwanted noise and disruption of boisterous “bridge and tunnelers” who travel from New Jersey to their Lower East Side, Manhattan streets. As business owners may not live in the same areas as their shops (Zukin, et al. 1998; Zukin 2010; Ocejo 2014)¹, assumptions of community participation and connection are further called into question. In her study of business social responsibility in Iowa, Besser (2002) distinguishes between local and nonlocal business owners. Some community members suggested that nonlocal owners may contribute less to the community since they may not share the same stake in the neighborhood.

Institutions and Destinations

The use of the term *institution* here follows the lay definition of a place that has been an important part of a locale. Think, “that old diner is a local institution!” In addition, a

¹ McRoberts (2003) observes a similar phenomenon in an area of Boston with a high density of storefront churches. In this case, the churches arrived in the neighborhood due to low rents and leaders and parishioners travelled from other parts of the city to attend services. At times when events were not held at the churches, leaders and parishioners were not found in the neighborhood.

neighborhood institution is largely characterized by neighborhood residents constituting most of its customers or clientele (Small 2006). Such places are likely to have a great degree of “place attachment” felt by staff and customers (Milligan 1998), can include “third places” – places in addition to work and home where people go to socialize (Oldenberg 1999), and can constitute residents’ “daily round” – the routinized network of places where neighborhood residents acquire necessary goods and services (Logan and Molotch 1987). Institutions are distinct from *destinations* in that destinations are places largely patronized by neighborhood outsiders, people from other neighborhoods, visitors, tourists, and the like (see Gotham 2005; Oecjo 2014; Zukin 2010).

I use *destination* and *institution* as Weberian ideal types (1997). Doing this isolates essential characteristics to better enable comparison between cases. Some businesses that seem to serve most localized clientele, such as a Pilsen hardware store predominantly serving neighborhood property owners and others working on local properties, has some customers who travel from outside the city lines to visit the store. Similarly, the places I describe as destinations below surely also serve at least some local residents – I have met some and, in some cases, business owners and staff made a point to mention this to me. Alicia, who works at HopDen in Logan Square, illustrates this,

I’ve never seen I.D.’s from so many different places. We get a lot of visitors from far away. People reserve tables for parties or hear about this place through word-of-mouth. Like, one friend will bring visitors from out of town...[We] still get some from Logan [and] not just people that live in the [nearby condo] building.”

In addition, the conception of some businesses as institutions and destinations for different groups is a facet of commercial and residential gentrification. As I discuss further below, I find some evidence of a dynamic and cyclical process involving places moving between destination

and institution during ongoing gentrification processes. In this section, I describe each of these phenomena.

Third Spaces, Daily Rounds, and Local Institutions

In my frequent visits to Logan Square and Pilsen and their many local businesses, I paid close attention to interactions between customers and staff. A facet of these interactions of particular interest is if patrons and employees appear familiar with one-another and if customers seem to mingle with each other. To some degree, variations in these relationships might provide a measure of whether businesses mainly served “regulars” or visitors: think *Cheers* as compared with a hotel bar. In *Cheers*, the popular TV sitcom that ran from 1982-1993, the bar was where, “everyone knows your name,” an indication of familiarity between customers and staff. The strength and frequency of these kinds of interactions suggests that, at least some, customers treat an establishment as a “third space” (Oldenburg 1999) and that the network of places they visit with regularity likely includes this business (Logan and Molotch 1987; Hunter 1974). In contrast, hotel bars, as well as other bars, nightclubs, restaurants, and other businesses may have fewer of these types of interactions as they are largely patronized by visitors to the city or neighborhood or groups of patrons who largely keep to themselves (Grazian 2009; Ocejo 2014).

Though Eric, the owner of Old Logan Tap, had not seen me for several years before I made my first visit for this research, he remembered me by name, offered my regular drink order, and asked about what I was currently up to, remembering that I attended University of Chicago when we first met. In my subsequent visits, I noticed that I was far from alone in Eric and the other bartenders expressing familiarity with patrons. On a typical Friday or Saturday evening, peak times for bars located in burgeoning nightlife districts like Logan Square’s

Milwaukee Avenue area, bartenders will regularly extend a hand over the dense crowd surrounding the bar to greet a familiar customer. This is a common occurrence here and even when the bar is near capacity and bartenders are “slammed” or “in the weeds,” they will offer a quick but warm greeting to regular customers as well as their usual drink order. Having observed this pattern on many occasions, I asked Eric about this. He estimated that he knew the names and usual orders of over 1,000 regular customers. Carla, the manager of La Taqueria, where I have observed similar patterned interactions, estimates that she knows several hundred of her regulars by name. Even during our interview, she occasionally turned away to say “hi” or “bye” to longtime customers. Like these local institutions, close relationships exist between neighborhood residents and local businesses in Pilsen.

Pilsen Hardware was opened by a Polish immigrant in the 1950s. Carlos and a few of his relatives, who saved for years working in area factories after immigrating from Mexico, bought the store in the 1970s. Pilsen Hardware is fairly small, a bit dusty, and cluttered floor-to-ceiling with a variety of goods one might expect to find in a big box store, like Home Depot. The modal customers are Mexican American men in their 30s to 50s – most are property owners or contractors in the area. The following is a composite sketch of typical employee-customer interactions from my fieldnotes:

A Mexican American man of around 40 years of age enters. He may wear clothing suitable for manual labor – boots, jeans, sweatshirt, sometimes a t-shirt bearing the name and contact information of a local home repair company, possibly spattered with dust or paint. He walks through the aisle and approaches the counter, waiting on line for several minutes during peak business hours. One of the clerks will greet him and the two will chat in Spanish. Soon, the customer will describe something he needs, a length of piping, a particular sized screw, a component for a piece of hardware he brought with him. He may have a company account with which to make his purchases and as he prepares to leave, he and the clerk will acknowledge that he will likely see the other man soon. It is also fairly

common for regular customers, perhaps placing or receiving large orders will walk behind the counter and chat with staff.

Carlos' adult sons, who manage the shop along with some other family friends and relatives, also estimate that they know hundreds of regular customers by name, including a few women who had babysat them as children.

I identify these businesses as institutions in the sense that they are an important part of their neighborhoods and serve a clientele primarily of local residents. As illustrated above, each of these businesses and their staffs are very familiar with a large number of neighborhood residents who are regular customers. As "third spaces" or nodes in their "daily rounds," customers rely upon these places to meet needs for goods, services, and sociability. In these places, regular customers seem familiar with each other as well as staff members. In addition, as many sociologists find, residents' use of local businesses contributes to their sense of attachment to neighborhoods (Wolff 2002) and the closing, or even relocation, of a cherished institution can produce a sense of loss (Milligan 1998). I discuss an example of this below.

Restaurante Familiar had been a Pilsen institution for generations. Perhaps the clearest indication of the restaurant's local community ties is the outpouring of support it received during a (supposedly) temporary closure. When an issue with the building that houses the restaurant led to it closing for an indefinite period of time, the local response was immense. Long time neighborhood residents used the language of "mourning" to describe their reaction to the news. One resident said, "This place is an anchor [in the neighborhood]...I can't imagine what this neighborhood would be like without it." Community members organized a campaign of financial support for the restaurant's owners and staff, and neighborhood residents recounted many special occasions spent there. Restaurante Familiar's connection to the local community is further

indicated by warm interactions between owners and customers, its frequent presence at community festivals and other events, and media accounts and online reviews describing this relationship as such. I describe a type of local business I call destinations in the following section.

Local Businesses and Neighborhoods as Destinations

As I walked east on 18th Street in Pilsen on a cool fall evening, I was surprised to come across a crowd of several hundred, predominantly white, middle aged, and seemingly middle-class people making their way west. They piled into luxury cars or hailed a ride on a mobile app while all of the nearby bars and restaurants were empty. A quick Google search informed me that an award-winning “world music” artist had just completed a performance at a concert hall just a few blocks away. Though I did not ask any of these revelers where they live, it is likely that they travelled to the concert from elsewhere in the city, the surrounding suburbs, or further, as this is commonplace among audiences of musical performances (Grazian 2005; Lloyd 2006; Wynn 2016; Zukin 2010). To the extent that people who do not live in Pilsen patronize the venue, it is a *destination* in contrast to the *institutions* discussed above. And like this venue, I describe other establishments in Pilsen and Logan Square as destinations.

For example, a small investment group opened Logan Club and Lounge in 2014. A popular nightlife spot, the club promotes itself as a premier destination for those looking to “party” any night of the week. Inside, bartenders serve signature cocktails to parched revelers who gyrate before a live DJ on a sweat soaked dance floor. A frequent entry in my ethnographic fieldnotes highlights two distinct features of this place:

I’m hanging out across the street from Logan Club and Lounge around 11:30 PM on a Friday. In the past hour, the street has become much

busier, with crowds of people gathered outside several of the nearby bars and traffic congested between each stop light. Many cars prominently display a window decal indicating that they are an Uber or Lyft. Every few minutes, one of these cars pulls over to the curb in front of me and its passengers excitedly exit and cross the busy street to enter the bar. Eventually, a line of patrons forms outside. Although many of the other area bars do not have a line, people are willing to wait to enter this one.

Of particular interest is that many of the club's patrons travel via car, rather than walk, and that, immediately upon arrival, wait in line to enter, even when this is not necessary to enter other nearby bars. An additional indication of local businesses as destination, rather than institution, come from informal conversations with Pilsen and Logan Square business patrons.



Figure 6. Revelers wait in line to enter a Logan Square venue, 2018, photo by author

Outside of Logan Club and Lounge one evening, I met Terry, an early 20s, African American man, as he made his way to the bar. He informed me he and his friends travelled from Chicago's South Side because they heard this would be a "hot spot" to spend a Friday night – that some might travel to visit this and other "hot" destinations in Logan Square is a fairly recent

occurrence, as many new establishments opened on this section of Milwaukee Avenue in recent years. Like the Pilsen area discussed above, it is not uncommon for interested parties to travel, even a great distance, to attend events. What is new for these neighborhoods, is that bars and clubs, rather than Mexican culture and cuisine began to attract visitors to these neighborhoods in increasing numbers since 2008, a time period marked by accelerating gentrification in both neighborhoods. As I discuss in a later chapter, that businesses might appeal to visitors rather than residents is a point of contention among many activists and residents in both neighborhoods. In the next section, I consider businesses sharing the characteristics of both destinations and institutions and how this reflects and reproduces the particular “characters” of these places.

(Place) Entrepreneurship and the Despatialized Networks of Commercial Gentrification

In this section, I introduce a model describing how local place entrepreneurs serving shifting networks of local and extra-local customers, produce what I call *localized* and *despatialized spaces*. Although I have characterized businesses as *destinations* and *institutions*, many businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen serve *both* local and extra-local clientele. In the context of commercial and residential gentrification, the distinction between destinations and institutions is cyclical rather than discrete. I develop a model of commercial and residential gentrification that considers cycles of businesses as institutions or destinations within expanding networks of daily rounds that I call *localized* and *despatialized* spaces. My use of “despatialization” here departs from that introduced by Peter Marcuse (2012) in his discussion of the “de-spatialization and dilution of the ghetto.” For Marcuse, urban renewal, slum clearance, gentrification, and the like had some effect on deconcentrating poverty, however the oppression and social control experienced by many African American urban dwellers remains, though less

localized than before. My use of the term *despatialization* here describes variations in the degree to which urban social networks exist within or beyond neighborhood boundaries. How this process works in the context of gentrification is made clear by the stories from the owners, workers, and patrons of various local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen.

Carla opened a Mexican bakery in Logan Square in the 1980s. The bulk of her customers were other Mexican-owned restaurants in the neighborhood and other Mexican American residents. As her bakery grew, she and a partner opened the *taqueria* too. But, according to Carla, as the rent and property tax bills for commercial and residential units in the neighborhood increased, many of her individual and commercial customers moved away, ultimately leading her to close the bakery. At the same time, her *taqueria* thrived. Remaining Latinx neighborhood residents still came to the restaurant, now joined by increasing numbers of white visitors to the neighborhood and members of the Logan Square's increasing white population. She now estimates that nearly 60% of her customers are white, 40% are Latinx, and a handful are Asian American, Black, or of another racial or ethnic group.

Eric, the owner of Old Logan Tap, describes a similar process. A few blocks away from Old Logan Tap lies the decaying storefronts of several Mexican American businesses, including bars and a nightclub. Eric, though likely aware of these places, still remarked that prior to the opening of his and similar businesses, the neighborhood had “nothing:” “there wasn't anywhere to go, you know?” When I asked him to describe his early customers, he said,

It was a lot of artist, hipster males, and that was the scene. And it was a smattering of neighborhood people, Latinos and other people, um, kind of in-and-out. That would kind of be the profile of who was [here], like, bike messengers, people who perceived themselves to be artists, pretend artists, you know, a lot of restaurant workers, people who work in coffee shops, that kind of thing. You know, white American hipsters, for the most part, mostly male, and not like your

tech hipsters, you know what I mean? Maybe people who didn't go to college or recent college grads, that kind of type of person.

As a “neighborhood pioneer,” Old Logan Tap appealed to other “pioneers,” the white working-class artists often attributed with the onset of gentrification (Zukin 1982; Smith 1996; Mele 2000; Lloyd 2005; Brown-Saracino 2009). But, according to a few of Eric's employees, the bar's reputation soon spread beyond the neighborhood and city limits. “Hipster kids from the suburbs” soon flocked to Old Logan Tap to bask in the “scene;” enjoying cheap beer and live music. During my fieldwork, I met Becky outside the bar. She and her friends came to Chicago from out of state to do a “hipster bar crawl” she organized. Though the primary customer base of the bar began with local, working-class white artists, the typical early gentrifiers (see also Ocejo 2011; Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017), the bar and neighborhood's reputation soon spread to other parts of the city and beyond. Both pioneer and longtime Mexican American businesses contribute to the character and transformation of Pilsen and Logan Square, as both authentic “hip” and “ethnic” businesses in these neighborhoods are featured in national media, such as the *New York Times*. Rosenblatt and Tuttle (2015) examined national news stories about Pilsen, Logan Square, and two other Chicago neighborhoods, documenting how stories changed as the neighborhoods experienced gentrification. They found that stories tend to discourage visitors prior to gentrification, due to crime and other social problems, and food and travel writers begin to visit them as gentrification occurs.



Figure 7. A vacant storefront in Logan Square, 2017, photo by author

Though Eric, Carla, and the other business owners would be unlikely to say so themselves, their pathway to entrepreneurship coincided with becoming place entrepreneurs which also played a role in the character of the neighborhood and may have contributed to gentrification. As businesses promote themselves, they also promote their neighborhoods (Borer and Monti 2014). In addition, they also contribute to the “character” of their neighborhoods. Krista E. Paulsen (2004:245) defines “place character” as the product of both material and symbolic constructions of place. She distinguishes this from “a sense of place” which includes residents’ memories of and attachments to place (which I discuss in a later chapter). She argues further, pointing to Jacobs’ (1961) discussion of the social benefits of mixed-use development, that the material and symbolic “construct, communicate, and reproduce” the character of place, which, in turn, informs what people might do there (2004:244). Paulsen diverges a bit from Lefebvre’s (1991) notion of space as a product of the mutual constitution

of the physical, mental, and social, but speaks to the point that local businesses can attract wealthier visitors and residents to a neighborhood (see also Florida 2002; Lloyd 2002; Mele 2000; Zukin 2010) and in this sense, storefront businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods are often place entrepreneurs, particularly the art galleries, bars, coffeeshops, and the like often associated with gentrification (Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen 2016).

Gentrification is often thought to occur in “waves,” though the coherence and legibility of discrete waves is subject to some debate (see Lees, Slater, and Wyly 2008; Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017). Many scholars distinguish between first and second waves for the sake of clarity and analytic utility, though the possibility exists that wealthy residents might be displaced by ever wealthier residents (Lees 2003). To the degree that successive wave models remain empirically and theoretically relevant, and commercial transformations accompany residential changes, cyclical shifts in *localized* and *despatialized* urban networks accompany these transitions. When ethnically homogenous businesses open in ethnic enclaves, such as Mexican American communities and Chinatowns, they may participate in an enclave economy – a system of economic exchange within spatial and ethnic boundaries (see Takaki [1989] 1998; Zhou 1993, 2004). Hence, the bulk of the customers of businesses in an ethnic enclave or enclave economy constitute a *localized* urban network. But as outsiders begin to patronize businesses within these networks, as is common among “ethnic” businesses socially constructed as “authentic” by outsiders (Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2015; Zukin 2010), *despatialized* networks emerge, potentially bringing gentrification with them (Lloyd 2005; Mele 2000; Lin 2011). A similar process likely follows subsequent businesses as neighborhoods become wealthier and whiter, as is the case in Logan Square and Pilsen.

When participants in *despatialized* urban networks move into a gentrifying neighborhood and continue to frequent the pregentrification businesses, the network becomes localized again. As pioneer businesses open, like the typical dive bars and coffeehouses, these may exist within the same localized network, but as these businesses attract further attention, *despatialized* networks reemerge. Hypothetically, this process can continue indefinitely. But as gentrification waves may be less discrete than previously thought, the possibility exists that middle class gentrifiers may be attracted to pregentrification, pioneer, or advanced stage businesses (Johnston and Baumann 2015). In some cases, these processes are observable simultaneously.

At Sunny's, the Pilsen-based burger and beer spot discussed above, regular customers include working-class Mexican American Pilsen residents, a range of Pilsen-based artists, college students from the nearby UIC campus, and middle-class workers enjoying a "happy hour" after a day spent working downtown. As Tony and his staff tell it, the neighborhood celebrated Sunny's opening as it was a unique contribution to the neighborhood and was affordable and welcoming. The food and drink menu, including both \$2.00 and \$8.00 beers, appeals to a variety of customers. Over the course of a few hours, say 4:00 to 9:00 PM on a weekday, the customers will gradually transition from the middle-aged white craftsmen who make daily visits from their nearby studios (likely pioneers), to groups of white and Latinx manual workers (still wearing work boots and branded uniforms, including born and raised Pilsen residents), to racially diverse groups of downtown office workers (still dressed in business attire), to white hipsters who also make this one of their regular spots. Patrons depart and arrive via walking, bicycling, driving themselves or Uber or Lyft, and public transport. I have met customers born and raised in the neighborhood, those who have lived there for ten or twenty

years, those who recently purchased a condo, and visitors. Not only do place entrepreneurs contribute to the character of places, their choice of location is shaped by place character as well.

Locating Place Entrepreneurship

As noted above, many of the Mexican American businesses in Pilsen and Logan Square were opened in these particular neighborhoods precisely because they were/are Latinx enclaves. Carla, the Logan Square *taqueria* manager, who grew up in another Latinx neighborhood in Chicago, selected Logan Square for her businesses as this was a chance to leave the Southside while remaining in a Latinx enclave, where her targeted consumer demographic resided. Similarly, Pedro, who with his son Javier runs a restaurant selling *carnitas* in Pilsen, moved into the neighborhood from Mexico because of its character as a Mexican enclave. And, indeed, like Carla, the type of restaurant he opened and the neighborhood where he opened it was at least partly informed by the neighborhood's Mexican American character, to which the restaurant also contributes. As Javier recounts, "As the Mexican community's grown and expanded, we've become kind of one of those places where people go to as a tradition. A lot of customers will come in and say, 'I've been coming here since I was 5 years old; with my grandfather, with my dad. And now I'm in my 30s and I'm starting to bring my kids in' and so forth." Though Eric and Tony cannot say the same about their businesses, their role in the character of their neighborhoods likely attracted subsequent residents and business owners.

The character of Logan Square as a focal point of Chicago's craft beer and nightlife communities played no small part in the Marc and Jerry's decision to open HopDen in the neighborhood. This, combined with the neighborhood's ongoing gentrification, having played an important part in Marc and Jerry's locational choice did not escape Alicia, a mid-twenties

Mexican American employee of HopDen. When asked about gentrification in Logan Square, she replied, “[HopDen] is definitely in the mix...one could say, ‘oh, they’re just another gentrification business.’ Do I think they fit into that role? Yeah...If gentrification wasn’t happening, they wouldn’t have come here. It makes sense they came here...They were ahead of it. It was smart.” But HopDen is one among many businesses that opened in the years after Old Logan Tap first opened its doors as a bustling nightlife district spread through the neighborhood. Rich, one of Harris’ employees, describes a similar thought process behind his shop: “He’d been hanging out there for a while, so he had already seen it started changing. So, he’s like, ‘well it’s going in this direction. I don’t know how long it’s gonna take, but you know, it’s going to be the- this is going to be the new Wicker park eventually,” which is what it’s becoming, you know, people are tired of Wicker Park and come to Logan Square.” The increasingly upscale character of the area also attracted Anika, who opened a second location of her smoke shop with her brothers in Logan Square.

The upscaling of Logan Square appealed to Anika as she and her husband sought a space for the second location of her family’s smoke and vape shop. Acknowledging that she observes “lots of gentrification” and that it has become a “destination for tourists,” she listed several upscale restaurants in the neighborhood when I asked what she likes about the area and what drew her to it. Anika described her business as a “higher-end smoke shop,” distinguishing it from the hippy head shops that might carry negative connotations. Since she chose Logan Square because it is gentrifying, she expressed some disappointment that neighborhood “growth is slower than I had hoped...There’s still lots of empty spaces. [But] people who bought property here long ago really lucked out.”

As these cases illustrate, the character of a neighborhood plays an important part in an entrepreneur's choice of location in which to open a business. Opening a business in Logan Square and Pilsen seemed obvious to the Mexican American businesses described above as these neighborhoods are home to large Latinx communities, their targeted consumer demographic. Similarly, the changing character of Logan Square, from a Latinx enclave to a hip and increasingly upscale destination as it gentrifies, appealed to Anika and her family and the owners of HopDen. Old Logan Tap and the other pioneering hipster bars likely played a part in this transition, changing a vacant strip of Milwaukee Avenue to nightlife destination as the Latinx bars a few blocks away closed. Yet, in addition to place character, other unique features of many businesses appeal to despatialized consumer networks.

Niche Markets and Despatialized Urban Networks

Despatialized social networks also emerge when businesses provide good and services to a narrow market segment. For example, HopDen, Harris' shop, and the smoke shop in Logan Square each appeal to a unique niche market. Marc and Jerry's focus is craft beer and their employees describe their customers as "everyone." But by "everyone" they likely mean that their customers are racially diverse crowd (a point I discuss further in a later chapter). However, as they also acknowledge, the HopDen crowd tends to skew middle-class and late twenties to late thirties. I have counted very few hipsters or working-class Latinos in my many visits to the bar. In addition, staff members tasked with checking IDs at the door remarked that they see a lot of addresses from other parts of the city, out-of-state, and even many international travelers – groups of co-workers or firms entertaining clients will often make reservations for tables, something Marc and Jerry invite, and travel to Logan Square from downtown offices and condos.

Again, their craft beer focus likely appeals to a niche market; a group akin to “foodies” (Johnston and Baumann 2015). As such, their target demographic is specialized and despatialized by its very nature.

Similarly, as discussed above, a substantial proportion of Harris’ own clients at ArtWerks find him and his work on Instagram and many travel to meet with him. Most of his staff members too, actively upload photos of their work on social media sites, complete with “tags” enabling potentially interested parties from far beyond the neighborhood to find them. Jamie and Rich, two of Harris’ employees, estimate that about half of their clients are walk-ins from “right around the block” from their shop, including many from the newer condo developments in the neighborhood, while expressing pride about growing their own client base based on the quality of their work promoted on social media. Like the “beer foodies,” to use Tony’s term, who frequent HopDen and Sunny’s, though this is probably a subset of Sunny’s customers, the nature of Harris’ business is that clients are another despatialized network. According to Dev, who owns the smoke and vape shops with Anika and their other brother, a substantial proportion of their customers travel from the suburbs to their shops. As noted above, they were quick to adapt to the emerging market for nicotine vaporizers and this too is a despatialized network.

But, as discussed above, businesses’ appeal to outsiders plays a part in the connection between commercial and residential gentrification through the cyclical process between localized and despatialized customer networks. And whether or not business owners make intentional efforts to further develop the neighborhood, through political connections or otherwise, the potential appeal to gentrifiers makes many business owners in gentrifying neighborhoods into place entrepreneurs. These businesses figure significantly in, and likely chose their location in

part to, the construction of the character of Pilsen and Logan Square, whether as a Latinx enclave, tourism or nightlife destination, or site of condo construction, as these represent distinct groups of residents and visitors.

In *Symbolic Communities*, Albert Hunter (1974) argued that urban changes in neighborhoods stemmed from changes in local organizations in addition to populations. This, he continued, distinguished neighborhoods from one another but did not necessarily produce racial or class integration. Clusters of diverse and distinguished businesses at the block-level may compliment each other, and though there is a risk of newer, upscale shops displacing the old, it is also possible for older and newer businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods to coexist and mutually benefit (Zukin and Kosta 2004). This point seems to resonate with Fisher's (1974) argument that urban subcultures emerge as a means of producing distinction amid a high degree of population density. As he notes, "As the forces of competition, comparative advantage, and associative selection produce distinguishable and internally elaborated subsystems, they thereby differentiate the cultures associated with those subsystems. The result is increased subcultural variation, particularly as evidenced among social class, occupational, life-cycle, and common-interest groups" (1974:1324). To this degree, there is utility in businesses' efforts to appeal to distinguished groups of consumers (Zukin and Kosta 2004), as a variety of characteristics might inform constructions of "authenticity" among discerning consumers (Zukin 2010), and the significance of highly specialized spaces may be great for members of subcultural groups dispersed geographically throughout a city, as Hunter (2010) found among networks of members of the Black LGBTQ community who converge at a downtown Chicago club. Highly specialized local businesses may be associated with gentrification and an outgrowth of the postindustrial

urban economy (Ocejo 2017) and differentiated and segmented “retail niches” may or may not directly compete with one another (Lee 2002b). In short, a business’ contribution to place character may be complicated by the despatialization of its customers due to the specialized goods or services it provides. The role of race in these localized and despatialized communities is subject of a later chapter. But with the divergent pathways to entrepreneurship, issues of place entrepreneurship, and gentrification in mind, I turn my attention to the various social, economic, and political contributions of local businesses to their neighborhoods in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

LOCAL BUSINESSES ACTING IN NEIGHBORHOODS AND COMMUNITIES

“Nonessential” businesses were shuttered when the COVID-19 outbreak hit in spring of 2020. Deemed “essential” services, many restaurants transitioned to continuing to serve customers takeout or delivery orders. Though some bars with full-service kitchens were able to make this transition, bars that do not serve food, entertainment venues, and retail outlets deemed nonessential struggled to adapt. Anika, Dev and Ojas were forced to lay off their whole staffs and operated their smoke and vape shops with dramatically reduced business hours, only letting a few customers in at a time, and worked to configure their business for curbside service. Harris and his ArtWerks staff put many of their projects on-hold and worked to maintain contact with current and perspective clients on social media. Marc, a co-owner of HopDen in Logan Square, began offering gift cards and beer to-go in an effort to keep his business afloat. HopDen, Old Logan Tap and Sunny’s in Pilsen, like many other bars, organized GoFundMe or other crowd-funding pages raising thousands of dollars to support their newly unemployed staffs, knowing full well that they may be unable to reopen for some time. Arnav, a chef-owner of Localized in Pilsen, took to his kitchen and began donating hundreds of meals to “essential workers” in the neighborhood and offered meal specials and local delivery. Others provided live streaming entertainment, including DJ performances, open mic comedy, and yoga instruction via Zoom.

Though the circumstances surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic presented unique obstacles for small businesses and their owners and staff, their varied adaptations to the

circumstances provides some illustration of their connections to and participation in their communities. As is generally expected of them in normal circumstances, business owners work to stay in business, offer high quality goods and services, and provide jobs. Some continued to participate in community by providing entertainment even though their customers would not make purchases while attending a virtual event. Others worked to serve their communities through charitable giving and offering words of support and solidarity on their store windows and social media. These examples also illustrate some of the varied ways that these small businesses contributed to and participated in their communities prior to the COVID-19 outbreak.

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the role and experiences of local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen as neighborhood-level actors, a main question driving this research. The research literature provides conflicting and contradictory insights into these questions, even more so as they pertain to issues of race, class, and gentrification. As I began to develop this project, I expected emergent patterns to neatly follow the lines of race, class, and time in neighborhood. Older, Mexican American-owned businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen might be closely tied to their respective Latinx communities. They might give generously to Latinx community groups and support politicians who work to mitigate potential negative effects of gentrification. They may also make intentional efforts to hire neighborhood residents. In contrast, I anticipated newer, white-owned businesses, as active participants in and beneficiaries of gentrification processes to support pro-growth politicians and otherwise contribute to gentrification efforts. I also wondered if and how these different businesses might fit into the growth machine model proposed by Logan and Molotch (1987), support Zukin's theories of culture advancing urban growth (1982; 1995), or provide community services similar to those

Small (2008) identified among childcare centers in New York City. A major goal of this project was to clarify if, how, and why particular businesses undertook these activities and for whom. These insights might further aid in the understanding of business-community connections and how these connections might foster or resist gentrification.

However, emergent patterns were not so neat. The burdens on time and other resources that running a small business requires precluded some business owners from making connections with other local actors. Some seemed exhausted when asked about these activities. Many sighed as they described working over 60 hours per week and trying to uphold their other obligations as parents and husbands or wives. Others pointed to factors constraining their support for politicians, community organizations and events, or other charitable or philanthropic efforts. General disillusionment with the political system, opportunistic politicians seeming to take advantage, or structural disorganization among event organizers soured some business owners' desire to contribute. In the past, some did make efforts to contribute to community events, donating time, money, or other resources, or offering to do so, but later discontinued their support due to other factors. Others were also burdened by cultural or legal constraints imposed upon them because of the types of goods they sold, such as alcohol or nicotine products.

Yet, many of the businesses I visited made great efforts to support their communities and contributed in a number of ways. I take for granted businesses' roles in communities in terms of paying taxes and providing jobs as all businesses do this regardless of other community ties and charitable efforts. Instead, I am more interested in their voluntary and intentional efforts in community participation and support. Many businesses and their owners donate money and products to community organizations, local schools, and social and political causes, both local

and global. Some made efforts to partner with and support other neighborhood businesses, promoting them on social media, sharing gigs, or co-hosting events. While many made other efforts to build community within their walls, in-line with the notion of “third spaces” (Oldenberg 1999), this is further complicated by ways in which individuals use spaces in practice. I tease-out these patterns below after reviewing some of the scholarly literature on these issues.

Business Social Responsibility and Practice

Since at least the 1950s, scholars, business and political leaders, and consultants weighed the costs, benefits, and expectations of corporate social responsibility, the idea that businesses should work in the service of society. Sociologist Terry Besser (2002) examines this literature in a larger mixed-methods study of small business social responsibility in Iowa. She notes that free market economists, like Milton Friedman, famously argued against businesses’ involvement in nonbusiness activities. This perspective posits that the sole responsibility of businesses is to maximize profits. It is therefore irresponsible and a dereliction of duty for businesses and entrepreneurs to pursue courses of action motivated by anything other than profit. Businesses’ responsibilities are limited to providing goods and services and following applicable laws, with workplace safety and environmental stewardship being of secondary importance. Besser identifies a divergent perspective arguing that businesses should participate in some community-benefit activities to the extent that this may also benefit them. Businesses who give might mitigate opposition from community members and earn the good graces of political leaders who may reduce their regulatory or tax burdens.

Drawing upon this literature and findings from survey and qualitative interviews with business owners, Besser (2002) also points to arguments in favor of business social responsibility and practice. Businesses might employ what she calls an “enlightened self-interest rationale.” Community giving and participation can bolster a business’ public image, work as marketing and advertising, attract investment or political support, provide networking opportunities, and improved treatment from suppliers, banks, and special interest groups. Some business owners told her of a feeling of moral obligation to support community members as they all have a shared stake in their communities. She also finds a statistical association between businesses’ “commitment to community” and the perception that local collective action is important and valuable.

Logan and Molotch (1987) also examine businesses’ economic interests and stake in communities. Local businesses may be dependent upon neighborhood residents as customers, may form tight bonds with them, and may be positively or negatively impacted by changes in the political economy of the neighborhood or city. As economic actors, local businesses may be positioned to benefit from increased land value and an increasingly wealth consumer base. But local businesses may also be particularly vulnerable to the increased competition brought by further commercial development. Additionally, as renters and/or residents themselves, local businesses’ concerns regarding growth may mirror those of other community members, including increased rents and fear of displacement. The question of scale emerges here. Perhaps corporations follow the growth machine model while smaller businesses have greater stakes in local communities (Tolbert 2005; Blanchard, et al. 2007; see Carroll and Torfason 2011 for discussion). A 2004 study conducted by the Chamber of Commerce in Chicago’s Andersonville

neighborhood found that a greater proportion of money spent at local businesses stayed within the city as compared to money spent at corporate chains (Andersonville Chamber of Commerce 2004).

Local Businesses and Social Capital

Some scholars suggest that businesses may provide an answer to the long-standing “community question” (Wellman and Leighton 1979). Since the advent of urbanization, sociologists expressed concern about the potential loss of intimate social ties as people moved from small, closely-knit communities to large, impersonal cities (Tönnies 1887/1957; Simmel 1903/1964). A further concern regarding the supposed decline of social life in the modern world is reinvigorated periodically (Riesman, Glazer, and Denney 1950), with Robert Putnam perhaps the most famous to make this claim in recent years. In his best-selling *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (2000) brought renewed attention to the issue of social capital in the contemporary world.

Through traditional associations, such as bowling leagues and community churches, individuals formed bonds with each other constituting a network of reciprocal relationships. Social capital is associated with access to employment opportunities, economic productivity, political participation, decreased crime rates, and other measures of community strength. Putnam argues that the decline in the institutions and associations of old has negative effects on society at large.

However, others identify vibrant communities among and within local businesses. Besser (2002) finds connections between businesses and business owners to be an important precursor to social responsibility and practice. These relationships foster a “shared value of community betterment” in which businesses have both a self-interest in community support and a sense of obligation to serve their communities. Lee (2002) and Valdez (2011) find that minority

entrepreneurs rely on community support, though Kwon, et al. (2013) find a stronger association between community-level social capital and economic outcomes for native-born, whites than minority and foreign-born people. Small and his colleagues (2008) find that individuals' ties to organizations and organizations' ties to each other can provide essential resources in low-income areas. In addition, local businesses may serve as sites of sociability, places to alleviate isolation, and may themselves foster social capital as regular customers may form friendships and exchange resources (Duneier 1992; Oldenberg 1999; Halebsky 2004; Tolbert 2005; Small 2009; Carroll and Torfason 2011; Klinenberg 2012). Perhaps "weak ties" (Granovetter 1973) among the patrons of local businesses can foster social capital and support civic life in contemporary communities.

Little of the research providing insights into the questions of business social responsibility and social capital examines these issues in the context of neighborhood transition. As Zukin (1995) argues, conflict and negotiation over ownership and access fragment and reorganize places along racial, economic, and cultural lines. In this sense, businesses' self-interests and moral obligations (Besser 2002) may align with a community of smaller scale than that of the neighborhood itself. As discussed in the previous chapter, small businesses may provide specialized goods and services to a niche market which may complicate the identification of the community to which a business is tied and, in turn, affects who a business may feel responsibility towards, which community is served by a particular business, and who is most likely to benefit from the presence and participation of a given business within a neighborhood. Indeed, race, class, and neighborhood demographic characteristics shape the

number of associations to which individuals belong, with members of marginalized groups having stronger feelings of community and attachment (Stoll 2001; Valdez 2011).

As I argue below, in addition to self-interest, moral obligations, and community commitment, “bonded solidarity” (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993) explains the divergent political, economic, and social practices of the local businesses I studied in Pilsen and Logan Square. In the previous chapter, I pointed to some ways that businesses serve distinct networks of customers, producing what I called *localized* and *despatialized spaces*. Here, I expand upon this finding but locating businesses’ social practices within these racial, ethnic, classed, and cultural networks. Businesses’ social practices, while guided by self-interest and moral obligations, are also directed towards the networks of customers they serve. By providing space for sociability, including events, and through their donations to various organizations and causes, businesses contribute to their own communities and this may or may not extend to the larger neighborhood.

“When You Run a Business, You Have No Time for That” – Time and Other Barriers to Participation

Luis runs a hardware store in Pilsen. His father, brother, and some family friends manage the shop his father purchased in 1991. The shop is dusty and cluttered and, as described in the previous chapter, largely patronized by Mexican American landlords and contractors. Luis, some of his co-managers, and some of the customers I spoke with mentioned that the store occupies a particular niche both in the neighborhood and among other hardware stores in the greater Chicago area. Because the shop has been a mainstay in Pilsen for so long, their stock reflects the needs of local property owners and contractors. Many of the residential buildings in Pilsen and

the larger area are older and require special parts for their maintenance that may be difficult to find elsewhere. The shop thus occupies a unique niche, even against big box hardware stores. On busy weekend afternoons, a line of customers may run the length of the shop with many holding a piece of piping or other equipment for which they need a special part. Employees, after greeting each customer (often by name and/or in Spanish), will then dig through shelving in the shop to find the needed item. The density of both customers and merchandise often made it uncomfortable for me to observe goings on without getting in the way.

Though the hardware store's staff are friendly and personable, they often seem exhausted. Luis' brother or Alex, a family friend who also works at the shop, would often acknowledge me during a break in a rush of customers to remark, "It's really busy, man." Luis, though in his thirties and seemingly doing well financially, has bags under his eyes and a slightly slurred manner of speech suggesting he could use a vacation or at least a nap. While the store does offer corporate accounts to area nonprofits and participates in the community in other ways, when I asked if he supported other local groups or events, he sighed, "When you run a business you have no time for that. And when you're a father and a husband, you have no time...I work six days a week." Similarly, Carla, who manages a *taqueria* in Logan Square, will donate to charitable organizations if asked, but otherwise, "It's a lot of work, it's too much. We can't take care of this here [running the restaurant] and something like that."

Some business owners also expressed skepticism towards those who would ask for donations. A few mentioned trying to work with an Alderman, other city official, or community event organizer but becoming disillusioned with the experience. Business owners who otherwise wanted to support a cause or accomplish a goal and were willing to devote time, money, or their

expertise may run up against an overly self-interested politician or disorganized event. Javier, who took over his father's Mexican restaurant in Pilsen makes great efforts to be involved in and support his community. One constraint he faces is time:

I was seeking out all the opportunities to get involved in something in my spare time and make an impact and kind of help shape the neighborhood, if you will. I did that for a few years and then, uh, I'd just get busier and busier with the restaurant and my personal life, I got married and had a couple small children, and didn't have that much time to dedicate to that kind of thing.

But as he became more involved, he began to get the sense that local politicians were taking advantage of him:

I wanted to get to know my local [elected official] and get to know, you know, who the key players are from that side of the community. And I did do that during the time that I was part of the, uh, that business owners association. I wasn't very happy with it... he was pumping us for donations without offering much in return... I just have personal experiences where I didn't feel like I was treated very respectfully, and my time wasn't very respected in meetings that I had with him and things like that. I didn't think he was the most tactful guy with wanting to go about doing things.

Since time and money are scarce resources for small business owners, it can be frustrating or insulting to feel as though their time and efforts are being taken for granted by an individual or organization. Harris, who owns an arts-related business in Logan Square, wanted to contribute to arts programming in the neighborhood, but had difficulty coordinating with the organization running the event. He gave up after a frustrating few months and, as discussed below, devoted his efforts elsewhere. Relatedly, he has little interest in supporting any politicians at the neighborhood or city level. He neither wanted the scrutiny that might come with seeking political support for his business, nor did he have faith in local leaders to deal with the issues he cares about. Luis mirrored this sentiment when I asked him about politicians: "Politics? No.

They're all crooks...they just show up here when it's start voting but when you ask for something they neglect you...I've asked them for garbage cans or recycling cans, or to fix potholes and we can't get a hold of them. But when it's election day, they come here."

A final barrier to community participation is cultural and legal constraints. This is of particular concern to Anika, Dev, and Ojas, the Indian American siblings who run two shops specializing in smoke and vapor products. They designed their shops to be a bit "nicer" and "more welcoming" than the stereotypical "head shops," which Anika describes as "seedy." And though medical, and later, recreational, marijuana was legalized in the State of Illinois and tobacco and e-cigarette products are also sold legally, Dev often expressed concern about the precarious state of his industry. Because the vaping industry had come under increased scrutiny in recent years, Anika was initially hesitant to participate in this project. When she finally agreed to an interview, she told me how she pitched the business to political gatekeepers prior to opening their Logan Square store - she told them this would be a "higher end smoke shop [that would] bring value" to the neighborhood. Their shop would contribute to the "growth happening [in Logan Square]." At the same time, she acknowledged to me that, "We're not a well-liked industry." Though she gladly donates money to police and fire fighters' organizations, few others solicit donations. Dev added that federal laws surrounding the advertisement of tobacco products (which legally includes vaping products) would complicate their efforts to support community groups or events. The Federal Trade Commission requires that all advertising for these products include warnings about nicotine. Would such a warning need to be included if they were to sponsor an event? It didn't seem worthwhile to bother. All the more so since their products are

geared towards a specialized, niche market. Thus, Anika did not “see much benefit” from these efforts. I return to the question of “benefits” in a later section.

What Do They Do?

The obvious primary functions of businesses are to earn profit and provide goods, services, and employment. In the United States, small businesses (employing fewer than 500 workers) employ 48% of all private sector workers with firms employing 20 or fewer making up just under half of this (US Small Business Administration 2018). Businesses and consumers also contribute to tax revenue. In the 2019 fiscal year, the State of Illinois collected nearly 20 million dollars in sales tax (US Census 2019). Small, local businesses have also been found to contribute more to local economies than larger chains. A study of retail in the Andersonville neighborhood of Chicago found that 68% of consumer spending at smaller firms remained in the city as compared to 43% spent at larger chains (Andersonville Study of Retail Economics 2004). In addition to profits, taxes, goods and services, and jobs, researchers studying local businesses and communities identify social capital and corporate citizenship, which sometimes overlap.

In this section, I examine the role and experiences of local businesses in terms of social capital and corporate citizenship. Social capital scholars often trace the term to Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam. Bourdieu (1986) defines social capital as the accumulation of resources available through a social network. Larger and more capital-rich networks provide more and better resources to their members. Coleman (1988) emphasizes trust and information sharing within networks whereby individuals may advance economically or in social status. Putnam (2000) connects social capital to civic engagement and participation. In short, social interactions and relationships can provide participants with knowledge and access to necessary

resources like employment opportunities. Some community researchers point to the role of local businesses for facilitating network connections and the sharing of information and resources. Oldenberg (1989) introduced the concept of “third places” to describe places in addition to work and home where individuals might congregate and socialize. Duneier (1994) found a notable case at a Southside Chicago cafeteria where a group of working-class, Black men would meet to socialize. Small (2009) finds that some childcare centers in New York City shared information and resources with other organizations and their clients.

Social capital, whether bonding (strengthening relationships within groups) or bridging (connecting individuals into groups) individuals or organizations, can be positive or negative. Positive social capital includes the sharing of benefits while negative social capital identifies how strong social networks may exclude others or introduce constraints on members (Portes 1998). Besser (2002) identifies examples of positive and negative social capital among Iowa businesses. Social bonds among businesses and business owners is associated with increased community participation (supporting youth programs, community development, and schools) but these networks could also be exclusionary leading to fragmented networks. Zukin (1995) raises an additional concern. As local businesses formed Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in NYC, they took over some government functions leading to increased marginalization of poor people and power-grabs among business leaders.

To better understand issues of social capital and corporate responsibility, I asked business owners and employees about hiring, connections with other area businesses, about their customers, and if they supported area politicians, nonprofits, or community organizations, or donated time, money, or other resources to any other charitable causes. I also conducted

ethnographic observations at each business, watching how customers interact with each other, looking for indications of familiarity among customers and staff, and taking note of anything related to politicians, politics, nonprofits, community groups, and the like. I attended community meetings and events hosted by local businesses and followed their social media postings.

Bonding and Bridging Individuals and Businesses

Sociologists have long understood the importance of social networks in the job market. Granovetter (1973) famously found that job seekers relied on weaker social ties to find work. Nearly all of the business owners I spoke with relied upon both strong and weak ties during the hiring process. While some used “help wanted” signs in their windows, posted on job boards, announced openings on their websites or social media, or hired the occasional walk-in applicant, nearly all hired friends or family of current staff. In line with findings from the research literature, familial connections in hiring were present at all of the businesses either owned or largely staffed by Mexican Americans. In a review of this literature, Zhou (2004) notes that ethnic entrepreneurship often creates opportunities for coethnics who may be otherwise disadvantaged on the labor market. Among my cases, two restaurants in Pilsen, a *taqueria* in Logan Square, and an additional Mexican American restaurant in Pilsen I visited but did not formally participate in the study included blood-relatives among their staffs. All of the white-owned businesses included in the study had at least a few employees hired through strong and weak ties.

Another way businesses might bridge and bond network connections is through sociability, providing community members with a place to interact. This is a defining characteristic of third places and another way low-income mothers find access to resources

through childcare centers according to Small (2009). However, in my visits to bars and restaurants in Pilsen and Logan Square, I observed far more bonding than bridging. Some of this may be attributed to how groups tend to participate in nightlife scenes in US cities. People tend to visit bars, nightclubs, and restaurants in small groups and tend to remain within their groups while out (Grazian 2008, 2009). May (2014), observing the nightlife scene in a racially diverse college town, describes relatively homogenous “caravanning groups” who tend to stick together during visits to bars and clubs. Members of groups I observed tended to share racial, class, subcultural, and sometimes occupational characteristics. I frequently took note of clusters of white, twentysomething hipsters visiting Old Logan Tap and other hip destinations, Mexican American families dining at Mexican restaurants and Sunny’s in Pilsen, and thirtysomething downtown office workers doing happy hour at HopDen, among others. Some bars hosted small groups of “regulars” who could often be found stopping by on their way home from work. Old Logan Tap and Sunny’s have groups of regulars who occupy a section of the bar for hours either daily or a few days a week. While members of different caravanning groups might cross paths, waiting to be served at the bar or in line for the restroom, and it is possible that acquaintanceships formed in these settings could be the type of weak ties leading to employment, I saw no evidence of this at any of my sites. When I asked business owners and staff if they ever helped out customers looking for work or needing to buy on credit, nearly all were confused by the question.

I did observe a few exceptions to these rules. A few businesses offered minor services to poor or homeless people, like Sunny’s exchanging a homeless man’s change for bills and some other places occasionally paying a few dollars for help cleaning, but this was not common.

Among my cases, the site with the most interactions among strangers was the smoke and vape shops. Prior to the COVID-19 outbreak, many shops selling e-cigarettes and vaping liquids had a “tasting bar.” Because “vape juice” is available in a wide variety of flavors, some vape shops allow customers to sample them before purchasing. Customers may hang out at a tasting bar for up to an hour chatting with other customers and sampling flavors using a disposable e-cigarette mouthpiece.

Another exception to the rule comes from my observations at the Pilsen hardware store and the Logan Square *taqueria*. In my interview with Luis, a manager at the hardware store:

ST: Do you have regular customers that you’ll help out with other things? Like refer them for jobs?

Luis: We do. We have their business cards. And we receive phone calls, “Do you know someone that does this?” We know people that does electricity, that does plumbing, or drywall, construction, cement. We have business cards right here. [Shows me a long cardboard box full of cards] You need any?

ST: I rent. Wait [surprised], that whole box is full of business cards for referrals?!

Luis: Pretty much

ST: How many are there?

Luis: 500, but there’s only 30-40 people.

ST: So, if I came in here like, “I’m looking for a locksmith,” you’d know a guy.

Luis: My best friend.

ST: Or if I needed a pipefitter or something?

Luis: Yeah.

ST: Is this something you do all the time?

Luis: On a daily basis, we receive phone calls or walk-ins.

ST: Why do you do some much of that?

Luis: Well, they come in here and buy merchandise.

ST: Is this more of a business thing or a community thing?

Luis: Both. I'm thinking like I'm helping the person.

During my interview with Carla, the Logan Square *taqueria* manager, she too presented a long, thin cardboard box filled with business cards from other, mostly Latino, workers in Logan Square seeking jobs. Though they may or may not visit her establishment to purchase supplies en route to a job in they same way they might with a hardware store, Carla offered a similar explanation: "People tell me, 'Oh, I do welding' or 'Oh, I do this' and I go, 'Ok, give me your card.' I mean, why not? If I can help them or maybe if I need something, I'm happy to do it." Again, this corroborates findings from studies of ethnic entrepreneurship (see Zhou 2004 for review).

To better understand bridging and bonding among businesses (see Small, et al. 2008), I asked all participants in this study about other area businesses. Which ones do they visit? Are there any they particularly like or dislike? Do they have personal relationships with others in the neighborhood? Excluding a few employees who said they were too busy with work, school, family, and the like, all sketched a sort-of "daily round" (Logan and Molotch 1987) of local businesses they frequent regularly and many described local "scenes" in which they regularly participate (see Silver and Clark 2016). These include neighborhood grocery stores, bars and restaurants, entertainment venues, and a tortilla factory in Pilsen. I discuss why some

neighborhood residents may or may not frequent particular businesses in the next chapter. Here, I point to a few examples of bridging and bonding practices at the organizational level.

In addition to the Pilsen hardware store and Logan Square *taqueria* facilitating connections between their customers, some businesses collaborated with each other hosting and sponsoring events, promoting each other, and sharing gigs. In the early years of Harris' shop, the shop held semi-regular events both within the shop and at a nearby bar. Harris connected with Tony, who curates hip art shows around the city, to organize art shows in the shop. When I asked him about these events, he described both wanting to promote the store and to participate in a community of artists. Jamie, a manager of the shop, noted, "Harris doesn't have the reach to certain artists that Tony does... more of the home artists." Harris also connected with a fledgling neighborhood craft brewery who provided drinks for the events. Jamie continued, "I think in the beginning it was like, hey, let's see if this works. Let's say [these events] get us business. You know, we're a new shop and we need that publicity."

Arnav, who runs a fusion restaurant in Pilsen, is also eager to collaborate with neighboring businesses. This is a point of pride and the degree to which he supports local artists and other businesses is something he believes distinguishes his restaurant from other newcomers to the neighborhood. Based on my observations, Arnav's restaurant does seem to do more for his community than any of the others I visited during my fieldwork. He said, "All the paintings that are sold in here, 100% of the sale goes to the artist. We don't keep anything. Um, we try to do local art shows. Everything's local. As I was mentioning, local farms, local produce, organic when possible, no GMO... We try to do as much as we can to just to be a good business in our neighborhood."

Arnav continued, describing reciprocal relationships with other businesses in the neighborhood, who he described as “homies”:

[Names another Mexican restaurant], they’re our homies. We did the festivals next to each other. They’re so old school and well-known, they run out of pork every day. That’s how popular they are. He told the fest organizer he’ll only do the fest if he’s next to us. We had such a good time at the fest that *we look out for each other*. That’s how it started. [Another restaurant], they’re our homies. The juice house over here is our homie. [Another restaurant is] our homie. Those are like our major homies here. And [a nearby bar]. They all come here, and we go there to drink.

Arnav’s restaurant also accepts catering work and sometimes shares them with his “homies.” They sometimes “outsource” some of the requested dishes to other restaurants and mutually benefit.

Some businesses I observed made other efforts to bridge and bond social capital among their customers. By hosting events, such as live performances or encouraging groups to reserve tables for celebrations, businesses produced spaces for longtime, occasional, and first-time customers, who may then strengthen bonds within their groups or make connections with others. For example, Old Logan Tap hosts free entertainment several evenings per week. HopDen regularly hosts trivia night and other events. Sunny’s occasionally has free live music. Bars, restaurants, and other businesses sponsor or pay for booths during the many street festivals held in Logan Square and Pilsen each summer. Some also encourage groups to reserve tables for celebrations. On several occasions, I observed birthday parties or other celebrations held at Old Logan Tap and HopDen with groups bringing in food and decorating the tables. All of this offered without cost of entry or additional cost.

Social Responsibility

As discussed above, research on businesses and communities tends to find that small, local businesses are more closely tied to their communities than are corporate chains. Observers speak of corporate social responsibility and corporate social practices to describe the expectation that businesses will “give back” to communities and how they do so. Besser (2002) applies similar expectations and practices to local businesses. She calls this “business social responsibility” and “business social practices.” Donations are a common way for businesses large and small to support communities. Businesses donate to local schools, community groups, youth sports, politicians, and a variety of established charities. Every business included in this study made donations to at least one other organization. Schools and police or firefighters’ organizations were the most common. Restaurants often donated food and bars allowed groups to use their space or donated a portion of an evening’s earnings. Businesses support local, national, and global efforts to help those in need. Corroborating Besser’s findings, owners’ discretion is the most important factor in if and how businesses might contribute.

As mentioned above, HopDen advertises that tables in their bar are available for reservation. As Marc explained, “People just contact [us] through [our] website. [We] can decide whether [we] have time or the ability to host them or not... We do fundraisers with [a neighborhood school] and other fundraisers that are organizations and nonprofits, charities and stuff like that.” Though Marc and his partner took the group or cause into some consideration when responding to requests for fundraisers or reservation, their main consideration was space. They had to decline requests to host events that might exceed their maximum capacity and those that might otherwise conflict with their business operations.

Javier's Mexican restaurant in Pilsen, La Carnecaria, also makes regular donations to local causes. He told me, "I frequently donate food for events, like, fundraisers and things like that. So, I do that for a few of the local schools. Every year I donate to a scholarship fund, uh, that a friend of ours does that helps put a kid through [a Catholic school in the neighborhood]. I donate money and some food as well for an event there." Like Javier's restaurant, others also made donations based on personal connections. In Logan Square, Carla's restaurant and Old Logan Tap donated to local politicians they know personally, based more on this relationship and reciprocity than because of shared political affiliations. Javier and Arnav's restaurants support political leaders in Pilsen who they know personally and believe to be working in the best interests of the community.

As described in the previous section, Arnav makes great efforts to participate in and contribute to Pilsen. He grew up in a neighboring part of the city and married a Mexican American woman from Pilsen. Though he is not Mexican himself, he is enthusiastically supportive and intimately tied to the Mexican American community in the neighborhood. This is also reflected by his eagerness to donate to local causes:

We donate a lot. We get asked for donations all the time...During the summer, we did a little summer program for a nonprofit. We did their lunches for two days a week. Just cuz they're part of the neighborhood. If we're here, let's do as much as we can, as much as we *can* [emphasizing the last word], to help. Sometimes when we have extra food, from a catering or something, we'll go out and look for homeless people to drop it off to...If we could do more for the homeless and the hungry, or youth programs, we will without a doubt. We try to do as much as we can. I sponsored a basketball team this year...Whatever we can do to help our community to get to where they wanna go, we'll do it.

Not entirely unlike Javier and Arnav's commitments to their neighborhoods informing their charitable giving, Old Logan Tap and Taco Tuesday's in Pilsen support causes close to their

values. Passionate about music, both make donations to programs providing musical instruments to kids in developing countries. Old Logan Tap also hosted fundraising events for a few different politically progressive groups, encouraging attendees to register to vote and raising money for a group supporting ICE detainees.

Some businesses were penalized for their social practices. The events Harris' shop held and sponsored came at a great expense to his staff. For one, these events tended to be long and require hours of cleaning afterwards. Staff members, how often worked full shifts prior to the events, were already less than enthusiastic about their obligation to stay at work longer, often while not making sales, and then being left to clean trash and spilled beer from the shop before meeting with clients the following day. Worse, some complained that these events had little material benefit for them or the shop and may have even been detrimental. During the collaborative events with the bar, Harris encouraged his staff to offer less expensive pieces at a greater volume, hoping this might entice clients to return to the shop and spend more. Jaime and Rich, another employee, argued this was not the case. Jamie felt this arrangement devalues him and his work. He said, "Just like it's cheapening to like, oh, you're, you're [selling these goods] at a bar and making it *cheap*. Not pricing. Cheapening like cheapening up...Because I suppose someone who looks at it, looks at [ArtWerks] and goes, like, 'Well this is like the place at the bar. I'm not going to pay you for like a big project like that.'" Though Harris continues to maintain his relationship with the bar, eventually he felt these events ceased to be worth his time and effort.

HopDen was also penalized for some of its social practices. Eager to book reservations, Marc and Jerry initially paid only minimal attention to the specific goals of groups requesting the

space. This changed after they began to make arrangements for a group to host a real estate workshop at the bar. The event purported to offer attendees information about how to use AirBNB in the neighborhood for profit. The announcement of this workshop caught the attention of local anti-gentrification activists, who posted a flier on social media reading,

[These] companies are organizing to push longtime residents out of our neighborhood to make a quick profit. They'll teach rich people to use AirBNB...to finance buying multifamily buildings. Of course, they'll have to kick out the tenants first. We are people who rent our homes in Logan Square and other neighborhoods where these landlords evict families for profit. We say NO!

The flier advised concerned residents to tell their neighbors, bring signs, and meet at a school near HopDen on the date of the workshop. The protest led to the cancelation of the event. When I asked Marc about this, he expressed empathy for the residents and regret for booking the workshop. He said, "I get where they're coming from. I guess I didn't put these pieces together before. I wouldn't want people to buy buildings for AirBNB in my neighborhood either."

Explaining Local Action

Having identified some examples of local action among businesses in Pilsen and Logan Square, I now return to the questions of why they give where they do and for whom do they provide services. Besser (2002) found that business owners share a "moral obligation" to their communities. This sense of obligation is informed and explained by "enlightened self-interest" and "shared fate rationales." In addition to having a sense of duty to serve their communities, businesses are positioned to benefit from philanthropic activities. Social practices can enhance the image and social standing of a business in a community which may attract more business. Therefore, though business owners may feel obligated to give time, money, and goods to local causes, it may also be in their best financial interest to do so. Relatedly, as community members

themselves, local businesses also have an interest in supporting those very communities, the shared fate rationale.

The enlightened self-interest and shared fate rationales also informed many businesses' take on gentrification. As discussed further in later chapters, business owners and managers frequently expressed ambivalence about gentrification. While some expressed concerns with rising rents and the associated displacement of the working-class Mexican American community, respondents reported either little or positive effects of gentrification on their businesses. More and wealthier visitors and residents in the neighborhood meant more business. For some area businesses, increased safety, attention to the neighborhoods and the growth of business districts, even if some long-term residents left the neighborhood, was a net gain.

Old Logan Tap saw Milwaukee Avenue evolve from a largely vacant, post-industrial district to a bustling nightlife destination. Eric believed this ultimately benefitted his bar, as revelers who traveled to the area to visit another bar might also come to his. Carla, the Logan Square *taqueria* manager, marveled at the new towering condo developments, often remarking, "It's *changed*. It's changed *so much*." But as a popular, "authentic," and well-established Mexican restaurant, they too experienced growth with the further growth of the neighborhood. In Pilsen, Javier argued, "Through the development of the area, it's become a much safer neighborhood. Um, property values are going up. To me, that's a positive...I think the community's being developed. There's an industrial corridor that's getting stronger and stronger. You know, I think those things are all healthy."

Javier and Arnav illustrate two ends of a spectrum with their use of enlightened self interest and shared fate rationales. Though both own businesses largely staffed and patronized by

Mexican Americans, have close ties to the Mexican American community in Pilsen, and both of the businesses give generously to community organizations in the neighborhood, they explained what they do and why with very different frames. Arnav repeatedly discussed wanting to help his community, “If you have the ability to help your community or neighborhood then do it. Your community is only gonna get stronger that way... If we could help everybody, we’d help everybody in a heartbeat... I don’t need to post that to increase my business.” He explained further, clearly conveying the shared fate rationale,

We try to do as much as we can to just to be a good business in our neighborhood. You know, I wish I could hire more people and we got busier. That’s where we’re going, you know what I mean? When you’re providing jobs, you’re succeeding as your business. When you’re stuck in one place, which we kind of are right now cuz we’re new still too and aspects of our business are growing still, you see a longterm plan to get us to somewhere that we can get to and get more jobs available to local kids. In general, like I said, the more jobs you offer, that means your business is doing pretty well.

Arnav measures his restaurant’s success in terms of its ability to contribute more to the community. With more business he could provide more jobs for “local kids” and donate more meals to local causes. In this telling, the fate of the business and community are shared.

Compare Javier’s answer to the question of how he decides where to donate:

So, my criteria is: does it have a local impact in the community that I’m a part of, is it for a good cause, is it something I believe in, is it something that is well-run, something that’s transparent, and, then *third, will it have a business impact*. Does it line up with my demographic. If I was, if somebody...wanted me to donate and I’m like, “well, you guys are never gonna be my customer,” or if I look at it and I’m like, “ok, that’s part of the community, *if appeals to a group of people that are potential customers for me, and is there gonna be a return on investment*. *How many impressions, how many people are gonna know that I was sponsoring this or is it a good bang for my buck?...* Then I decide what I can help out with and obviously have a budget where I can keep the needs of the business in mind.

Here, the self-interest frame plays a more central part in the determination of how and where Javier's business will donate. When describing his and his restaurant's shared fate with the community, he presented this with much lower stakes than any of the other Latinx Pilsen residents I spoke with. He told me, "Because the community's alive, it's thriving. You know, our business is catering to that community and wants to be a part of it and grow with it. You know, if that epicenter is Pilsen or it's Little Village or if it's a neighborhood a little further south, in some way, shape, or form it will always be around. Not too worried there."

The rational self-interest and shared fate rationales explain much of what local businesses do in communities (Besser 2002). This pattern follows through the examples of bonding and bridging and social responsibility I discuss in the previous sections. By serving a particular community, providing that community opportunities for interaction, and donating money and goods to organizations associated with that community, businesses both contribute to their communities and enhance their reputation among that community, which may ultimately be good for business. As Javier makes clear, business social practices are likely informed by connections to a narrowly defined community. In gentrifying Logan Square and Pilsen, at least three communities of individuals and businesses emerged: working-class Mexican Americans, predominantly white first wave gentrifiers, and a somewhat racially diverse middle-class. Though these groups may not be completely mutually exclusive, and there is certainly some overlap in local business patronage, these are further examples of distinct communities emerging in gentrifying and diversifying neighborhoods (see Zukin 1995; Brown-Saracino 2009; Ocejo 2014).

When Old Logan Tap hosts free live entertainment, HopDen encourages groups to book reservations, Anika and her brothers maintain a vape juice tasting bar, and Harris cohosts events with other groups, they bond and bridge among one community out of several in the neighborhood. As I discuss further in later chapters, racial, class, and cultural differences pattern where residents go in their neighborhoods viewing some as “for them” and others “not for them,” which also has implications for the sense of ownership and belonging in a neighborhood. But when businesses donate to a neighborhood school, community group, or arts-focused NGO, they are also participating in one community within a neighborhood hosting several. As members of racial, classed, and cultural communities, businesses stand to benefit from and have a shared fate with those communities. Thus, producing spaces for white hipsters, middle-class second-wave gentrifiers, or e-cigarette users is both a marketing strategy and a means of supporting a community whose members may continue to patronize the businesses. Regarding the neighborhood or Mexican American community, works in a similar way. As Besser notes, both the enlightened self-interest and shared fate rationales are associated with social practices. Though responsible practices done as business promotion, through the self-interest rationale, might lead to greater economic returns, many businesses’ sense of obligation exists without the expectation of direct rewards (2002:51-55). Beyond advertising that a particular event might raise money for a group or cause, I did not observe businesses take much advantage of this for further publicity, perhaps beyond announcing how much was raised or donated the following day on social media.

“Bonded Solidarity” and Commercial Gentrification

In the previous chapter, I considered the divergent communities of individuals and businesses in terms of spatialized and despatialized networks. I conclude this chapter by explaining the role and experiences of these local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen in terms of “bonded solidarity” (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Economic sociologists and Marxian urban scholars alike argue that market activity is inherently social. This assumption is fundamental to social capital theory. These scholars identify relationships between network embeddedness and economic activity. Drawing upon the research literature on immigrant economic activity, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) present a series of sources of social capital. They modify the concept in terms of “expectations for action within a collectivity that affect the economic goals and goal-seeking behavior of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented toward the economic sphere” (1323). Emphasizing expectations, Portes and Sensenbrenner identify cultural values (“value introjection”), reciprocity, shared experiences and interests (“bonded solidarity”), and “enforceable trust” as sources of social capital, which in turn shape economic activity.

Portes and Sensenbrenner identify bonded solidarity as a precursor for resistance and avenue for survival among groups experiencing discrimination, pointing to the development of class consciousness among workers in Marx’s writing and intraethnic support in immigrant communities. A main point here is that the shared experience of adversity at the group level can lead to social solidarity and support within a group. Besser (2002) argues that bonded solidarity also exists among businesses and communities sharing a collective identity and that this shapes

business social practices. Bonded solidarity likely plays a part in the fragmentation and stratification of local business networks like the BIDs Zukin (1995) studied in New York City.

Considering the role and experiences of local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen as neighborhood-level actors providing community support and bridging and bonding individuals and other businesses, clear cases of bonded solidarity emerge. Positioned in localized Mexican American or first and second wave gentrifier networks, businesses act within and in the interests of these networks. While many do support the wider neighborhood community, such as by donating to schools, they also direct their efforts towards supporting and appealing to the interests of their customers and the narrower communities in which they exist. Bridging and bonding tends to remain within racial, class, and cultural groups and donations tend to move to causes valued by group members. Self-interest and shared fate rationales for business social practices are thus closed tied to bonded solidarity.

To return to businesses' adaptations to the COVID-19 outbreak, discussed in the introduction, further illustrates this point. With the implementation of the stay-at-home order, businesses first worked to continue to sell products and/or solicited donations to support their staff members. They then found ways to adapt their bridging and bonding or community support activities with these new limitations, by donating food to local workers or moving events to streaming platforms. Bonded solidarity seems to persist even in times of social distancing and isolation. In the next chapters, I examine how the actions of local businesses can produce diverse or segregated spaces along race, class, and cultural lines within their walls and elsewhere in the neighborhoods.

CHAPTER 4

PRODUCING DIVERSE AND SEGREGATED SPACES¹

In October 2017, I attended a community meeting in Pilsen hosted by a local anti-gentrification group and another visiting from the West Coast. Two early 20s, Mexican American women, born and raised in the neighborhood, introduced the event. After defining gentrification as a concept and presenting statistics on the neighborhood's declining Latino population and increasing rents, the speakers discussed recent anti-gentrification protest actions in Pilsen and other parts of Chicago. A PowerPoint slide depicting the windows of the white-owned, Bow Truss coffeeshop plastered with signs conveying anti-gentrification messages including “wake up and smell the gentrification” and “this is what gentrification looks like” was projected onto a large screen. The crowd, made-up almost entirely of young, Latino neighborhood residents cheered loudly.

The incident discussed at this community meeting, graffiti posted on the windows of a newly opened, upscale coffee shop in 2015, attracted the attention of community residents, journalists, and some researchers (Betancur and Kim 2016; Curran 2018; Hague 2015). The attack on Bow Truss is particularly noteworthy as this incident was a directed action against a single, locally owned business in a neighborhood with many vacant and decaying storefronts. Yet, as demonstrative of the racial and class conflict associated with gentrification in this neighborhood, this incident complicates assumptions regarding the effects of increasing

¹ Much of this chapter has been published in *City & Community*.

neighborhood-level racial and ethnic diversity and local business-community relationships. As a symbol, and potential driver, of gentrification, a higher-end local business can represent a declining sense of ownership of a neighborhood and an impending threat of displacement for lower-class, minority residents. And that the business is owned and largely patronized by whites, points towards a perception that whites are taking over the neighborhood and an understanding of commercial and residential gentrification as interrelated.

In this chapter, I examine how local businesses and community events contribute to racial segregation or integration in the context of gentrification processes involving whites moving into majority Latino neighborhoods. I identify segregated and diverse places by race, class, and culture. Though many are frequented by a nearly all-white or all-Latino customer base, others more closely approximate the demographic character of the neighborhoods. I also find that segregation within diverse neighborhoods can involve residents' perceptions that some spaces are simply not for them. While the types of businesses and consumer tastes contribute to this perception, race and class are significant here, and business owners and event organizers can take an active role as producers of space. Even in increasingly diverse neighborhoods, public and semipublic spaces may be diverse or segregated and this may be by design or circumstance, meaning that business owners and event organizers' actions in producing places plays a significant role, a finding that contributes to the literatures on residential and commercial gentrification, as well as racial segregation and diversity.

Segregation and Diversity in Gentrifying Neighborhoods

Measures of the dissimilarity index, isolation index, and “exposure to whites” scores over time, between Asians, Latinos, Blacks, and whites, indicate that racial residential segregation remains a fact of contemporary social life throughout the United States (Logan 2013). Yet, there is also evidence that communities are becoming more diverse and diverse communities are increasingly common (Ellen 2000; Logan 2013; Maly 2005; Nyden, et al. 1998). One factor that may lead to increasing racial residential diversity is gentrification. In contrast to persistently segregated communities, or those with community groups actively working to produce and sustain residential diversity (“diverse by designation”), gentrification can produce what Nyden and his colleagues call “diverse by circumstance” communities (Nyden, et al. 1998). Though gentrification scholarship generally focuses on class-based demographic changes at the neighborhood level, many scholars find cases where race plays a significant role as well (Boyd 2008; Drew 2011; Hwang 2015; Lees 2008).

Several pivotal studies of gentrification processes involve cases of white artists and musicians, students, and, later, middle-class professionals and increasingly upper-class residents moving into previously minority neighborhoods (E. Anderson 1990; Smith 1996), with several finding that white gentrifiers actively seek out diverse communities (Berrey 2005; Lloyd 2006; Hyra 2017). Diversity, amenities, and aesthetic qualities are distinct but related facets of locational choice for many gentrifiers (Schlichtman, Patch, and Hill 2017). Brown-Saracino (2009) identifies a type of gentrifier she calls “preservationists” who prefer to live in diverse communities and pursue actions to support them, including but not limited to patronizing locally owned, “ethnic” businesses. Yet, other scholars examining race relations in gentrifying communities find that gentrification processes involving increased diversity may not produce an

increased degree of “social mixing” (Lees 2008) and may in fact spur interracial conflict (Berrey 2008; Drew 2011; Hyra 2017). Black and white residents of a gentrifying neighborhood may differ in their conceptions of neighborhood boundaries and identity (Hwang 2015).

Gentrification cases including increased neighborhood racial or ethnic diversity are thus ripe for the further study of issues of segregation and integration. And the commercial context becomes particularly important here as white, cultural capital-rich, consumers may seek-out “authentic” “ethnic” restaurants and other establishments (Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2015) and middle-class whites’ attraction to “authentic” “ethnic” businesses may play a part in spurring gentrification (Gotham 2005, 2007; Zukin 2010). Bars, restaurants, and cafes may intentionally utilize racial imagery and appeals to racial histories in an effort to attract this type of consumer demographic (Hyra 2017).

Gentrification, Businesses, and Race

In the context of commercial gentrification, business-community relationships as experienced by old-time residents vary from very positive to antagonistic, with somewhere in between the most likely scenario. In his study of gentrification in Harlem, Freeman (2006) finds Black residents appreciative of the opening of a new drugstore despite their awareness that the arrival of white, middle-class residents likely attracted it. Smith (1996: 15-7) describes retailers drawing upon frontier imagery associated with the aggressive takeover of the Lower East Side of Manhattan by the upper class. However, commercial gentrification is likely a more nuanced and dynamic phenomenon, as a diversifying local business streetscape may provide offerings to members of a variety of groups (Zukin and Kosta 2004). Several studies of residents of gentrifying neighborhoods attentive to changes in the local businesses include accounts of long-

time residents expressing feelings of exclusion, resentment, and a sense that their ownership of and sense of belonging to the neighborhood is declining (E. Anderson 2015; Balzarini & Shlay 2015; Chernoff [1980] 2010; Langedegger 2016; Levy and Cybriwsky [1980] 2010; Sullivan 2007; Zukin 1995). Taken together, these findings point to questions regarding the inclusivity or exclusivity of public and semipublic spaces, including commercial and residential districts, nightlife scenes, and individual local businesses.

One area of debate surrounds the degree of inclusivity found within individual bars, restaurants, other organizations, and neighborhoods. Jacobs' (1961) advocacy for mixed-use neighborhoods, which include both businesses and residences, points to businesses playing an important part in producing and maintaining safe and vibrant communities. Similarly, in a study of several urban communities throughout the United States, Nyden and his team (1998) find that local businesses and shopping areas can help to maintain racial and ethnic diversity over time. In order to do the work of community maintenance and support in these ways, local businesses must be inclusive and accessible enough for members of diverse racial, ethnic, classed, and gendered groups to patronize them, characteristics that some argue are relatively common. Inclusivity and accessibility are defining characteristics of "third spaces" (Oldenburg 1999), "cosmopolitan canopies" (E. Anderson 2011), and spaces holding events for many subcultural communities (T. Anderson 2009).

However, other studies of the bars and clubs that constitute urban nightlife scenes find them to be far from inclusive, as these places maybe inhospitable to, or otherwise mistreat or exclude, women and people of color (Grazian 2008, 2009). Studying the nightlife district in a large, Southeastern college town, May (2014) documents a variety of racial slights, including

white bar patrons' use of racial slurs, dance club dress codes prohibiting hip hop clothing favored by many young, Black men, and discriminatory behaviors exhibited by establishment staff members. Place-based studies of race and racism in a variety of public and semipublic spaces, including racially diverse bars, schools, universities, and neighborhoods find exclusivity, avoidance, members of racial minority groups reporting mistreatment, and outright conflict (Brewster, et al. 2014; Embrick, et al. 2019; Lewis 2003; Mayorga-Gallo 2014; Moore 2008; Purifoye 2015; Rich 2009; Suttles 1968; Tatum 1997). Additionally, social constructions of "authenticity" and "diversity" may intersect with and carry similar assumptions stemming from privileged racial and class social positions (Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2015; Zukin 2010). "Diversity" may be activated by middle-class gentrifiers as a "lifestyle amenity" as they participate in the physical or cultural displacement of racial/ethnic minority residents (de Oliver 2016). Going further, some critics argue that diversity ideologies, in practice, work to erase the identification of persistent inequalities in society (Berrey 2015; Embrick 2016).

There are both racially diverse and segregated spaces in Logan Square and Pilsen. These spaces are produced, in part, by the actions of local business owners and event organizers, though local diversity or segregation may also be a product of circumstance. Longtime Latino residents and pioneer gentrifiers may appreciate some newer businesses while other members of these groups convey what I call "not for me" discourse, which is an expression of cultural displacement. This chapter presents findings on how local businesses contribute to segregation and integration in diverse communities and uncovers highly localized practices of segregation and diversity and ways local businesses might create and sustain these types of spaces.

Theoretical Considerations²

Social scientists have long argued that contact between members of different racial and ethnic groups would mediate conflict. This assumption is central to classical assimilation theory, Park's "race relations cycle" of contact, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation (Park 1950), as well as classical contact theory, which posits that inter-group contact will increase tolerance and reduce prejudices (Allport [1954] 1979). Yet, as discussed above, numerous studies of diverse public and semi-public spaces find conflict, hostility, and avoidance. Diversity in public spaces may foster *both* tolerance and conflict (Aptekar 2019) though researchers increasingly find many to be ambivalent about diversity (see also Burke 2012; Hoekstra and Gerteis 2019). Among gentrifiers, diversity is essentially an amenity (de Oliver 2016) as living in a racially diverse community is desired by many gentrifiers (Schlichtman, et al. 2017).

However, researchers studying diverse spaces find a range of social-spatial patterns and practices that further complicate the assumptions of classical theories as people often have difficulty with diversity in practice. Among the more optimistic recent scholarship on diversity in public spaces is Elijah Anderson's (2011) identification of "cosmopolitan canopies" which exists in the theoretical legacy of the classical contact model and cases of which likely include a spectrum of behaviors (Aptekar 2019). Yet, shared public or semipublic spaces might not foster the social contact and tolerance supposed by this theory as shared spaces may be used at different times by members of different groups. Suttles (1968:51) observes an Italian café in Chicago patronized by alternating groups of Black and Mexican American teenagers. He describes this phenomenon as "taking turns" and notes, "Naturally, there are times when one or two individuals

² I thank one of the anonymous reviewers of the journal, *City & Community*, for recommending this discussion.

may stray into the café while another group is there. This occurrence...elicits so oppressive and colorless a reception that one can easily understand why it seldom recurs” (1968:52).

May (2014) studies the nightlife scene in a racially diverse college town. He identifies patterns of racially distinct peer groups often visiting separate venues in close proximity to each other. He introduces the notion of “integrated segregation” to describe the spatial coexistence and patterned avoidance of one group by another. May introduces this term in contrast to Suttles’ (1968) notion of “ordered segmentation,” of which “taking turns” is a variant, to highlight the more subtle and perpetual presence of racial conflict that may persist in diverse public settings leading many to avoid each other altogether (May 2014:12-6). While the possibility exists that either or both of these phenomena might be found in a diverse community, neither examines how urban changes, such as the racial and/or class transformations associated with gentrification, might affect the practice of diversity in space.

Though gentrification research tends to focus on rising housing costs and residential displacement (Freeman and Braconi 2004; Newman and Wyly 2006; Lees, Wyly, and Slater 2008), recent scholarship highlights the significance of changes in the retail landscape following a parallel pattern, or commercial gentrification (Deener 2007; Ocejo 2011, 2014; Parker 2018; Zukin 2010). This is often understood as a process concurrent with residential gentrification and researchers find longtime neighborhood residents expressing a variety of attitudes towards it. New art galleries, restaurants, and retail might be perceived as coexisting with older businesses and longtime residents may appreciate the arrival of new amenities, or they may be perceived as exclusionary on racial and/or class lines and serving to displace existing, sometimes minority-owned, small businesses and attracting wealthier, whiter residents who may drive up housing

costs leading to residential displacement (Freeman 2006; Shaw and Sullivan 2011; Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen 2016). Related to the perceived threat of residential displacement is the notion of cultural displacement (Smith and Williams 1986), which describes a declining sense of ownership of and belonging to one's neighborhood as gentrification occurs (Curran 2018; Hyra 2015; Ocejo 2011; Zukin 2010). In cases where researchers pay particular attention to the racial and class changes in gentrifying areas, racial and class conflict can coincide with and exacerbate one another (Betancur 2002). The new establishments and events that come with gentrification can be perceived as "white spaces" (E. Anderson 2015), which may produce a sense of cultural displacement, or both welcomed and met with resentment by people of color (Freeman 2006).

Still other research identifies how local businesses and other institutions might figure in maintaining stable and diverse communities. Philip Nyden and a team of researchers (1998) inquire about how some communities in the United States manage to maintain diversity over time. They identify what they call "diversity by direction" and "diversity by circumstance" communities. Diversity by direction communities are characterized by the presence of organizations and institutions actively working to welcome minority residents and minimize white flight. Diversity by circumstance communities are those where diversity is not fostered by the purposive action of individuals, organizations, or institutions, rather, gentrification, investment, the construction of affordable housing, or other processes led to the construction of more diverse communities whose residents came to appreciate it and stay around. According to Nyden and his team, an additional characteristic of stable and diverse communities is the presence of public and semipublic spaces where members of diverse groups might interact, such as shopping districts, schools, parks, and community events. They call these places "social

seams.” Yet, in the context of the discussions above, issues of gentrification and racial segregation and integration, the notions of diversity by design and by circumstance, and the role of local businesses in these processes requires further examination.

If diverse or segregated neighborhoods can be a product of intentional action or circumstance, presumably spaces at smaller scales can as well. As cosmopolitan canopies and third spaces are characterized by opportunities for members of different groups to make contact, build tolerance, and foster community, if and how this occurs is worthy of continual study. Similarly, if local businesses and public events in diverse neighborhoods do not foster diversity, issues of intention and circumstance also call into question the practice and experience of community at the neighborhood level. In Chicago’s Pilsen and Logan Square neighborhoods, and other cases of residential and commercial gentrification, these issues are further complicated by residential and cultural displacement. As I argue below, public and semipublic spaces can be diverse or segregated by design or circumstance. Business owners and event organizers are uniquely positioned to contribute to the production of diversity and tolerance or segregation and conflict that extends to and reflects that of the neighborhood level. Diverse groups of neighborhood visitors and residents’ anticipation and expectations of a place figure into their choice of destination (see also DeLand and Trouille 2018); they may take turns or practice integrated segregation or may visit cosmopolitan canopies. Business owners and event organizers, and particularly those associated with gentrification, may take actions to foster diversity and, potentially, minimize their contribution to cultural displacement.

Segregation and Diversity in Public and Semi-Public Spaces

Public spaces, like street festivals, and local businesses in racially diverse cities are well-suited to serve as cosmopolitan canopies as they provide opportunities for interaction among people who might not otherwise meet (E. Anderson 2011). Yet, “on the ground” studies of diverse neighborhoods provide further insights into the practice of diversity (Walton and Hardebeck 2016) and call into question both the prevalence of cosmopolitan spaces and the ease with which cosmopolitanism might be accomplished (Aptekar 2019; Hoekstra and Gerteis 2019; May 2014). I find cases of cosmopolitanism, integrated segregation, and diversity by design in both neighborhoods and point to the significance of commercial gentrification, cultural displacement, and the role of business owners and event organizers in producing these types of spaces.

In this section, I first offer evidence of variation in the presence in space by white and Latino festival attendees and local business patrons. In a variety of public and semi-public spaces, I identify examples of nearly all-white, nearly-all Latino, and diverse businesses and events. I describe a variety of characteristics of each, such as aesthetic characteristics, costs of goods, and demographic approximations. In the following sections, I point to explanations of the differences in attendees and patrons of these spaces and identify a variety of practices used by businesses and event organizers resulting in racial differences in the usage of public and semi-public spaces. I argue that spaces may be racially diverse by design or circumstance. After presenting these findings, I discuss the implications of these findings for understanding neighborhood segregation and diversity.

Integrated Segregation or Taking Turns: Within Neighborhood Segregation

Visitors to Logan Square or Pilsen are likely to find a fairly diverse and eclectic streetscape. In both neighborhoods, the visitor might find a number of bars and boutiques as well as a variety of different types of restaurants (such as *taquerias* with menus in Spanish, bar & grill, bar-b-que, coffeeshops, and even a few gourmet offerings). Visitors might also observe a variety of social types, including visibly tattooed whites in their 20s to 30s riding fixed-gear bicycles (some even playing punk rock or hip hop music audibly with portable speakers as they ride), Latina mothers with children, Latino men in well-worn clothing suitable for manual labor, the odd beggar panhandling, college students walking with a smart phone in hand, middle-class workers dressed for the office or club (depending on time and day of the week), and middle-aged or older whites and Latino people. People of all ages, white and Latino (with a few Black, Asian, or members of another racial or ethnic group), working and middle-class, cross paths on 18th Street in Pilsen and Milwaukee Avenue in Logan Square as they travel to work or home, the nearby elevated rail (“El”) stations and bus stops, and the dense clusters of businesses on these streets. Tens of thousands of neighborhood residents and visitors from other parts of the city and elsewhere crowd the streets on several occasions throughout the summer when they are blocked off for large street festivals.

Over the course of two years (a time period covering three summer seasons), I attended four festivals in Logan Square and six in Pilsen. Logan Square hosts an arts festival each summer featuring craft beers, foodtrucks, arts and crafts for sale, and hours of live music (much of which would fall under rock music subgenres like indie rock, punk rock, and sometimes heavy metal). Though 2010 Census data reports the proportion of white neighborhood residents at 42%

percent, the attendees of the Logan Square street festival are majority white (I estimate over 90%). An Oktoberfest event in the neighborhood, hosted by an area craft brewery, was also attended by a nearly all-white crowd (again, I estimate over 90%). At both events, beers sold at the many beer tents cost \$6.00 and other alcoholic drinks and many food items cost at least as much. At the end of each day of these festivals, many attendees headed to the El station or summoned rides from Uber or Lyft while many others poured into area bars to continue the festivities. After the Oktoberfest concert ended, the brewery's plastic, branded, souvenir cups littered the tables and floors of several Milwaukee Avenue bars. The differences between the demographics of the festival crowd and neighborhood residents are even more striking at Pilsen's summer street events, though this did change over time.

Each summer, Pilsen hosts several festivals including one centered on foodtrucks and another celebrating traditional Mexican cuisine. During the course of this research, I attended each of these festivals three times and observed that the attendees of the earlier foodtruck festival are nearly all white while the attendees of the Mexican food fest are majority Latino (I estimate 80%), and the latter two years of the foodtruck festival became more diverse. Few of the foodtrucks at the foodtruck festival originate in Pilsen (based on addresses posted on their signage), while the majority of the food available for purchase at the Mexican food festival is provided by restaurants with brick-and-mortar locations in or near the neighborhood (again, addresses are usually posted). Rather than offer craft beers, beer tents sold Tecate with the option to make it a *Michelada* for a dollar more (this entails adding lime and clamato juice, hot sauce, and salt and chili powder on the rim – this is a popular drink in Mexico and other parts of Latin America. Figure 8). On the Facebook event page for this festival, several prospective attendees

posted on the page in Spanish, while I saw no Spanish writing on the event pages for the other festivals.



Figure 8. Beer Tent at Mole de Mayo Festival, 2018. Photo by author.

Street festivals in Logan Square and Pilsen also feature live music but, this too is a point of distinction between the Logan Square and foodtruck festivals and the Mexican food festival, as the latter is the only to feature Spanish-speaking and/or Pilsen-based performers. Following the first year of the foodtruck festival, neighborhood activists contacted the event organizers to complain. Javier, who runs his father's Mexican restaurant in Pilsen, summarized some of the issues they raised,

My kinda gripe with that one is it's not necessarily local businesses. So, it's just like you shut the streets down, obviously affecting the local restaurants that are here, and then you bring in a bunch of vendors that have nothing to do with the community. I don't even know who organizes that. If I was one of the restaurants on the street that's shut down, I'd be pretty upset about it. Like, "this makes no sense."

As Spencer, a Chicago music industry insider privy to discussions about planning street festivals, told me, “The first year there was some very serious concerns from a small group... they’re like, ‘you’re coming into Pilsen, and you didn’t ask any of us...you’re coming into [our community].’” After discussions with Latino community members, organizers hired more bilingual (Spanish and English) and Pilsen-based performers and made other adjustments the following years. Anti-gentrification activists left the organizers alone and, with a roughly 50% Latino attendance, Spencer felt the festival became more “neighborhood-y.”

The striking difference in the attendance of these festivals complicates the identification of Logan Square and Pilsen as racially integrated communities and highlights the importance role of event organizers in producing space. At the surface, these festivals appear to be quite inclusive and accessible for all who might wish to attend. The cost of admission to any of these festivals is \$5 sometimes paid on a voluntary basis. Though stands are positioned at entrances on either end of the blocked-off streets where the festivals are held where attendees wait in line to pay for admission, it is fairly common for people to walk through without paying. Once inside, though festival food and drink may be prohibitively expensive for those with limited income, bringing in food (but not alcoholic beverages) seems allowed, and a patron could easily enjoy live music, dance, art, and other performances at no additional cost. In light of these factors, it seems reasonable that a substantial population of Logan Square’s Latino residents and Pilsen’s white residents would attend events held in their neighborhoods of residence. However, as described above, these street festivals present more complicated cases providing some insights into the role of the event organizers who produce them. Further, in the cases of alternate uses of public spaces for street festivals, residents may feel one festival or another to be welcoming or

unwelcoming to them or people like them, have expectations for how they might be treated there, or otherwise consider whether or not a public event and the space it occupies during the designated time is “for them.” In addition to the pattern above, I also observed a variety of similar patterns in the use of local businesses in the neighborhoods.

“They’re Not for Me”: Experiencing the Changing Business District

While street festivals in Logan Square and Pilsen provide examples of whites and Latinos “taking turns” with the use of public space (Suttles 1968), the commercial districts in these gentrifying neighborhoods are better described as cases of what May (2014) calls, “integrated segregation.” A difference being how potential patrons might locate themselves in a particular place with regards to their identities and expectations (see also DeLand and Trouille 2018). Following Suttles’ example, cases of taking turns with space presuppose an expectation that if the immediate occupants of a space preclude access, the situation might change over a short amount of time as one group may leave and another may enter. Cases of integrated segregation likely preclude access for a longer duration of time, as more substantial changes are necessary for a place to become sufficiently welcoming to the previously excluded. In other words, as I illustrate below, integrated segregation includes conceptions of places “for me” or “not for me” in contrast to a conception of access to place characterized by temporary users as is with cases of taking turns. In the context of commercial gentrification, “not for me” discourse also conveys a sense of cultural displacement.

Milwaukee Avenue in Logan Square is home a variety of businesses, including several hip coffee shops, primarily frequented by white late-20s men and women, most with Macbooks and many with visible tattoos, who populate many of the shops’ tables. Jayden, a bartender at a

recently opened upscale bar, when asked to describe her customers simply responded, “White.” Another bar, Old Logan Tap, one that could be identified as an “early gentrifier” or “pioneer” (Smith 1996; Brown-Saracino 2009, Ocejo 2011), hosts a similar crowd. Eric, the bar’s owner, described the bulk of his patrons as, “white American hipsters, for the most part, mostly male...Maybe people who didn’t go to college or recent college grads, that kind of type of person.” Informal interviews with patrons provide some insights into perceptions of the space. On a relatively quiet weeknight, I bumped into Trevor and Katie, two white twentysomethings. Trevor had recently moved into the neighborhood and was showing around his friend, who was visiting from the suburbs. Clearly unaccustomed to hip, urban nightlife, she exclaimed, “This place is awesome!” as she entered the bar. I turned in the direction she faced and spotted a tall man, one of the few people of color in the bar, who was sporting a worn, brown leather jacket, a tall afro, and futuristic-looking sunglasses. The bartender distributed tall cans of cheap domestic beer and well-shots to a group wearing denim jackets and flannel shirts, as a band soon to perform a set of raw, rock music carried in their equipment. I asked Trevor about the other area places he frequented, and he listed a number of other hip dive bars in the area but none of the taquerias or Mexican-owned bars within a short walking distance.

Inquiring further about the origins of all-white bars in a neighborhood nearly half Latino, I brought this up in separate interviews with Will and Dennis, two early gentrifiers employed as bartenders in the area, who offer different but equally plausible explanations. Dennis, who took a job at a bar right when it opened some ten years ago spoke frankly. When I asked him about the early days of the bar, he said, “Well, we had to kick all the gangsters out.” Describing a “long list of violators who are on the banned list,” he continued, “Pollack guys, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans,

guys from Guatemala...like pretty much from all over Central America.” Aside from his use of an ethnic slur to describe Polish Americans, Latinos constitute much of the bar’s “banned list.” While several of the longtime residents of Pilsen and Logan Square made some mention of gangs and crime in the neighborhoods, some business owners and bartenders described having known gang members as regular customers without incident. Taking Dennis at his word, banning Latinos due to presumed gang affiliation may have set a precedent conveying to the neighborhood that this space would be inhospitable to Latino patrons analogous to the perception that nightclub dress codes prohibiting hip hop attire discriminates against African Americans (May 2014). Ray, a middle-class African American who frequents many bars in Logan Square avoids Dennis’ bar due to experiences he identified as discriminatory.

Latino residents and white gentrifiers alike conveyed a sense of cultural displacement as newer businesses opened in Pilsen and Logan Square, what I call “not for me” discourse. Summarizing this sentiment, a Latina Logan Square resident told me, “my family doesn’t come here [to Milwaukee Avenue] anymore because of this new culture. [They say], ‘there’s nothing over there for me.’” As I discussed the growing nightlife scene on Milwaukee Avenue with Will, he became reflective, “I’m not just interested in these new yuppie bars. *They’re not for me*. I bet that’s what the [Latino] community thought about [the bar where he works] when it opened.” Indeed, several Latino Pilsen-area activists mirrored this sentiment. Following the incident discussed in the introduction, a follow-up community meeting was held on the topic of businesses and gentrification. Area activists reached out to new, non-Latino, business-owners, to attend the event and participate in a dialogue but none replied to the invitation. Several audience members, who identified themselves as second generation Mexican Americans, born and raised

in Pilsen, expressed anger at the new businesses, support (and an unwillingness to identify) for those who graffitied the shops, and a sense of loss for the Mexican businesses that closed over the years and the community they both contributed to and symbolized. A female resident in her mid-twenties was visibly upset as she spoke of these new businesses, “A lot of them aren’t inviting to us—who are you [the businesses] gearing yourself towards? Do the people that live here feel comfortable there? It feels like they don’t care about people here... Their prices are super high [and] they don’t have menus in Spanish. Some of them were invited [to the meeting], but where are they?” A mid-thirties male activist prepared a list of comments which he read from his cell phone, “Why should Pilsen support businesses who don’t respect our community? Why support businesses who raise our rent and charge too much for a cup of coffee?” A teenage Mexican American male described a “deep loss” when the Mexican bakeries and other businesses his parents took him to as a child closed. As these comments indicate, many Latino residents perceive new, increasingly expensive, non-Latino owned businesses as “not for me.” Race, class, and taste play an important part in this distinction, as evidenced by these young residents’ claims that the new businesses are too expensive, fail to provide Spanish-language menus, and seem to mostly appeal to outsiders.

These activists are concerned that if upscale bars and restaurants successfully attract wealthier and whiter customers than those who currently live in the area, eventually these outsiders may look to rent or purchase residences, driving up rent and property values, and leading to the further displacement of longtime, Latinx residents. Like Will, these expressions reflect a sense of declining ownership of and belonging to the neighborhood, or cultural displacement. For Will, this is associated with class and taste, as he describes new businesses as

“yuppie bars.” Whereas many Latino residents feel gentrification involves their neighborhood being taken over and transitioning into a “white space” (see E. Anderson 2015). White neighborhood residents and business owners offered a different take on the consideration of which area businesses may or may not be for them.

While issues of race and class play an important part in perceptions of inclusion and exclusion, some residents frame this in terms of taste. Though Logan Square was home to several Latino-owned bars prior to his, Eric described the neighborhood as having “nothing” aside from a few other white-owned bars before he opened. Stu, a middle-aged Pilsen-area resident of over ten years framed his interest or disinterest in area businesses in terms of cultural taste. As a longtime craft beer aficionado, he sought out bars that appealed to this interest. Thus, though he visited many Mexican-owned bars and restaurants during the early years of his tenure in the area, he described the neighborhood as a “desert” as he was generally disinterested in these businesses, instead favoring places specializing in craft beer. In contrast, Hank, a white owner of an eatery specializing in a sort of fusion take on Mexican street food rattled off a long list of area restaurants when I asked which places he visited. He recommended particular dishes offered at nearby *taquerias* with enthusiasm, suggesting these places are for everyone with a taste for “authentic” Mexican food.

Prior to conducting the interview, I made several visits to Hank’s establishment, Taco Tuesdays. When the seats were available, I sat near the windowed entrance which provides a good vantage point to observe customers as well as passersby. Though the restaurant offers a variation on Latin American cuisine in a majority Mexican American area, Latino customers are extremely rare. On several occasions, I observed Latino people enter the shop, glance at the

menu, then turn around and leave. I have also observed many Latino passersby appear to give the place the “evil eye” as they walked past. As these patterns piqued my interest, I asked Hank and Lucy, a Latina employee and life-long area resident about them.

In separate interviews, they each suggested that Mexican American neighborhood residents simply lack the refined taste to appreciate their creative take on traditional Latin American streetfood. The fact that their offerings might be perceived as an affront to the cultural sensibilities of the community, that they cost several times more than traditional products sold by elderly Mexican women on the street a few blocks away, and therefore their restaurant may be perceived as “not for me” by area residents did not seem to occur to them. Similar sentiments were expressed to me by a middle-aged, lifelong, Latino resident while he and I waited at a bus stop one afternoon. Gesturing towards Taco Tuesday’s and in the general direction of several other newer, white-owned, businesses, he remarked, “Too expensive! This isn’t even a Mexican neighborhood anymore.”

These examples point to a variety of ways that local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen might cater to disparate populations. Like these examples, I also found a bookstore, artisan bakery, and high-end bar in Pilsen patronized almost exclusively by whites and a hardware store, taquerias, and coffeeshop patronized almost exclusively by Latino people. Logan Square also hosts several businesses catering to a nearly all white crowd while several small taquerias and convenience stores seem to serve Latino residents primarily. As noted above, and discussed further below, businesses’ costs and aesthetic characteristics may be attractive to disparate groups in otherwise diverse communities as “not for me” sentiments, or variations thereof, expressed by white and Latino residents suggest. Taste certainly plays a significant part

here as well. Yet, similar to, and often associated with, constructions of authenticity, taste is often thought to be related to raced, classed, and cultural expressions of power relations (Grazian 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2015; Zukin 2010). However, I also identify racially diverse places in Logan Square and Pilsen. I discuss these in the next section.

Diversity by Direction and Circumstance in the Productions of Space(s)

While several businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen seem to serve distinct nearly all-white or nearly all-Latino customers, many others appear to be much more diverse. In addition to the Logan Square nightlife destinations discussed in the previous section, I also identify a Mexican restaurant, a bar, and a recurring art show that serve a diverse group of patrons in the neighborhood. In Pilsen, a grocery store, liquor store, and bar and grill-type restaurant also serve diverse clientele. I argue that among these businesses are examples of diversity by design and circumstance, which points to the potential to intentionally cultivate diverse spaces, but also that other factors likely shape local business patronage.

White patronage of “ethnic” food is far from unusual. “Authentic” global cuisines are attractive to discerning palates (Johnston and Baumann 2015) and local boosters and tourism bureaus may capitalize on this to attract visitors and investment (Gotham 2005, 2007; Lin 2011; Zukin 2008, 2010). Accordingly, it should come as no surprise that a highly regarded and well-established Mexican restaurant in a largely Latino neighborhood, such as Logan Square, would be popular among white and Latino patrons alike. The restaurant’s reputation for authentic and high-quality Mexican food explains its popularity among a racially diverse clientele, as its manager, Carla, told me in an interview. Leon, a mid-thirties Mexican American waiter at the

restaurant, attributes its diversity to these factors, but also the restaurant's proximity to public transportation, which further appeals to white visitors to the neighborhood.

Since this restaurant does not intentionally attract white patrons and has done nothing to better accommodate them, this is an example of a diverse by circumstance business. Similarly, others in Pilsen may be identified as diverse by circumstance. Latino and white neighborhood residents patronize prominent grocery and liquor stores on or near 18th Street. While both stores provide a variety of Hispanic goods (such as a wide variety of tortillas and Mexican *quesos*, and a substantial stock of Mexican beer brands, respectively), they also offer goods that might appeal to white gentrifiers (organic cereals and vegetarian meat substitutes and craft beers, respectively). However, it seems likely that rather than an effort to attract more white customers, these places responded to a presumed demand in-kind. Like the Latino foodtrucks who gradually incorporated fusion elements identified by Zukin (2010), it seems changes occurred to adapt to consumer tastes rather than to draw in white patronage where it did not yet exist. I argue that it is unlikely a business in a minority community would make an intentional effort to cater to white customers with the hope that they would arrive. This is also not to say that there isn't a minority market for goods like organic foods and craft beers, as I discuss below.

HopDen opened in Logan Square in 2017. Marc and Jerry, both white and in their mid-thirties, settled on a bar as they wished to "get involved with craft beer." Speaking of HopDen, Alicia, a Latina employee from the neighborhood, suggested to me that gentrification might produce more racially diverse spaces. She said, "I think everybody comes [to HopDen] – Asian, Black, Middle Eastern, some Mexican customers. It's less than half white on the weekends, but they're still the majority...Logan has become more diverse as it changes. People probably come

from the other gentrifying businesses [on Milwaukee Avenue].” Having observed the racially diverse crowd Alicia described on several occasions, I asked Marc about this in an interview. Reluctant to talk about race at all, he stuttered as he and Jerry could not explain this phenomenon. However, I observed two factors that suggest this is a function of both design and circumstance. The layout of the bar includes several long tables that patrons are strongly encouraged to reserve for events, such as a co-worker’s birthday. Groups reserving these tables often work for downtown firms and these are often among the most racially diverse tables in the bar – an example of diversity by circumstance. In addition, HopDen’s staff itself is also a racially diverse group, including Black, Latina, and Asian women alongside a few whites. The diverse staff may signal to customers that this is not a strictly white space and that its owners seek to foster a sense of community rather than exploitation or exclusion (see Lee 2002b).

The conflicts surrounding the opening of white-owned and/or increasingly upscale businesses in Pilsen, discussed earlier, also attracted the attention of some white business owners and residents. As I sat down to conduct an interview with Tony, a white owner of Sunny’s, a bar-restaurant in Pilsen, he raised the issue of these protests with some concern and confusion. He expressed difficulty understanding the public confrontation between the activists and owners of the new restaurant. Mexican American neighborhood residents regularly frequent his business for dinners and beers and he recalled his business being welcomed by members of the Latino community when it opened over a decade ago.

As a white-owned restaurant, opened early in the neighborhood’s gentrification process, and specializing in craft beer, Sunny’s is easily characterized as a neighborhood pioneer and early gentrifier. Yet, as I observed in my frequent visits, 25-30% of its customers at any time

look to be Latino (two employees, one white and one Mexican American corroborated my approximation), including many regular customers and families visiting the restaurant for dinner. In the interview, Tony continued, describing his desire and efforts to cultivate a space inclusive and welcoming to a racially diverse clientele. In an effort to be accessible to “everybody,” alcoholic beverages at a variety of price-points are available at the bar, ranging from \$2.00 domestic beers to \$6.00 limited-run craft beers. Additionally, the burgers, sandwiches, and dinner entrees offered, which are a step above typical bar fare, are also modestly priced. It is possible to purchase dinner and drinks for two at Sunny’s for under \$25.00. Dom, a mid-twenties Mexican American regular, listed the cost and quality of Sunny’s food and drink offerings as part of what he liked about the bar, but also, “The owners are probably the coolest people I know... Everybody is welcome at [Sunny’s]. Part of the reasons why I love coming here is that you find yourself talking to a random person...and it doesn't matter color skin, their social status...everybody gets comfortable here.” While this is a case of diversity by design, the context in which the restaurant opened also distinguishes it from the upscale businesses subject to protest discussed above.

When I asked Sunny’s longtime employees and customers about the early days of the business, and specifically about how it was received by neighborhood residents, they agreed that many of Pilsen’s Latino residents welcomed its opening with enthusiasm. Many noted that, in its location there was “nothing around here” and “nowhere else nearby to get a burger and beer.” Sunny’s was not protested when it opened, in fact, some area activists patronize it. Intentionally designed to be a third space and a racially diverse space, as well as contributing unique offerings to the community, Sunny’s became an amenity for many white and Latino residents. On a typical

weeknight, customers include white and Latino artists and manual laborers (ranging from early 20s to well into their 50s), students from nearby universities, downtown office workers still in business attire, and aging early gentrifiers who mingle at the bar and populate its tables.

Another case of a diverse by design space can be found in a recurring art show at ArtWerks in Logan Square. ArtWerks is easily associated with a later stage of gentrification in Logan Square. Opened recently, its highly skilled, almost all white staff provides specialized services to a clientele that sometimes makes appointments far in advance and travels a great distance. Though most of its patrons are white, I have also observed Latino and Black clients on many occasions. Most importantly here, are the art shows held in this shop several times per year that display works by a racially diverse group of artists and attract a racially diverse group of attendees; about half are people of color. Black, Asian, and Latino men and women show art pieces, attend the events, and mingle with white artists and attendees, sometimes purchasing a piece off the walls of the shop.

Having observed several diverse events held at this space, I interviewed, Thomas, the curator of the shows. When I asked him if he intentionally curated racially diverse events, he happily responded, “Oh yeah. Definitely.” As I probed further, he described feeling that diversity is intrinsically important. Thomas believes that a diversity of perspectives and experiences is important itself; that “we all benefit” from exposure to this diversity and, thus, he seeks out artists from different backgrounds who invite their friends to these events. Black, white, Asian, and Latino attendees toast drinks and exchange contact info, share cigarettes outside, and wait in line for the restrooms. On several occasions, I spoke with people of color at these events who often describe them as “cool” and “welcoming” and I often see repeat attendance among both

artists and others. As he described these events to me, it became clear that Thomas takes great pleasure in curating and participating in art shows featuring a racially diverse group of artists and catering to a racially diverse group of attendees, a clear case of diversity by design. This is a particularly noteworthy case in the context of the within neighborhood segregation I have discussed above.

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, I examine issues of racial segregation and diversity in Pilsen and Logan Square, two gentrifying neighborhoods in Chicago; previously majority Latino with a growing white population. Observing both public (on the street; street festivals) and semi-public (inside businesses) spaces in both neighborhoods, I identify nearly all white, nearly all Latino, and diverse spaces and argue that, like neighborhoods, smaller-level urban spaces may be racially diverse by direction or circumstance. If residential gentrification can produce diverse communities unintentionally (Nyden, et al. 1998), businesses associated with commercial gentrification may do so as well. Yet, local businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods may intentionally or unintentionally spur racial conflict or exclude residents, but also can actively produce inclusive and diverse spaces. These findings provide some insights into issues, such as commercial gentrification, racial conflict in gentrifying neighborhoods, and racial integration in diverse communities, that are understudied in the existing literature (Boyd 2008; Brown-Saracino 2016; Hwang 2016; Ocejo 2011).

My findings extend those of others who suggest that new businesses may be welcomed by old-time residents or a source of contention. While costs and aesthetic characteristics play a significant part here, the type of business in question is also worthy of further discussion. In his

study of commercial gentrification in NYC, Ocejo (2014) finds that residents, who in this case have some say in the opening of new businesses, distinguish between different types of businesses and this informs whether or not they endorse their opening. As the area is dense with bars and nightclubs, many of these residents oppose more bars but welcome restaurants that would add to the dining options in the area. Thus, many support the opening of a restaurant serving an ethnic cuisine previously not offered in the area and clash with entrepreneurs aiming to open yet another venue for drunken nightlife revelry. Similarly, the opening of Sunny's in Pilsen was welcomed by residents as a unique place "for them," while increasingly upscale coffeeshops, bars, and restaurants were met with community resistance, as the neighborhood already hosts many businesses of these types and they are associated with cultural displacement expressed through "not for me" discourse. Type of business, in addition to characteristics like cost and other qualities explains some of residents' distinction between places that are and are not "for them."

As a symbol and driver of residential gentrification, commercial gentrification can spur racial and class conflict and protest. Latino Pilsen residents' perceived exclusion from newer, more expensive businesses opening in the neighborhood, as well as the variety of nearly all-white and nearly all-Latino businesses in both neighborhoods, complicates the presumed relationship between racial diversity and integration. Though in these cases, gentrification likely brings more whites into these neighborhoods, thus making them more diverse, increasing neighborhood-level diversity does not seem to necessarily result in increased integration as segregation may remain at smaller levels of analysis, such as public and semipublic spaces which residents may perceive to be "not for me" based on racial and class characteristics. While taste

and cost may direct whites' interests towards or away from particular businesses as neighborhoods transition from Latino to white and working- to middle-class, the introduction of "white spaces" into minority communities is perceived very differently and sometimes met with resentment from longtime residents (E. Anderson 2015). "Ordered segmentation" (Suttles 1968) offers some explanatory insights here, yet, this notion may understate the persistence of racial and ethnic boundaries, potential for conflict, and perception of exclusion in cases where gentrification contributes to increasingly diverse neighborhoods. Instead, I extend May's (2014) notion of "integrated segregation" by transporting it from the college town nightlife scene he studies to sites of gentrification-induced racial, ethnic, and classed conflict. "Not for me" perceptions, as illustrative of feelings of exclusion and a perceived threat of residential and cultural displacement (see Ocejo 2011 for discussion), extends "integrated segregation" and shows an additional process of racial and class boundary construction in the context of neighborhood-level diversity.

As other scholars have shown, diverse communities and streetscapes may not produce racial or class-based integration or the types of interactions and relationships that might lead in that direction. Economic diversity in a neighborhood can spur conflict between groups of varying socio-economic status (Pattillo-McCoy 1999; Pattillo, 2007), racial diversity within a community can lead to racial hostilities (Kefalas 2003; Mayorga-Gallo 2014; Wilson and Taub 2006), gentrification may not lead to increased social mixing (Lees 2008), and diverse public spaces can also become sites of racial conflict and exclusion (May 2014; Purifoye 2015). My findings extend those of some previous research and contribute an emphasis on the role of agency on the part of business owners and event organizers in cultivating diverse or segregated spaces.

As Sunny's, HopDen, the Logan Square art shows, and later Pilsen foodtruck festivals demonstrate, diverse public and semipublic spaces can be produced even in the context of commercial gentrification. Aiming to produce a "third space," Sunny's' owner took accessibility and inclusivity into consideration when choosing product offerings and pricing. The neighborhood did not have a place to get a burger and a beer prior to the opening of the restaurant and when it opened, many Latino neighborhood residents rightly perceived it as "for them" even if it might attract white gentrifiers too. Regardless of if the owners considered diversity in the hiring of their staff or the design of the bar, these unique qualities of HopDen welcome racially diverse groups of customers. Thomas, the art show curator, also produces a diverse space, but since he chooses the artists whose work he displays, his selection of artists, who in turn invite their friends, results in the production of a space more racially and ethnically diverse than the neighborhood itself. Similarly, when the organizers of the Pilsen foodtruck festival hired more Pilsen-based and Spanish-speaking performers, the festival attracted a greater proportion of Latinos. As these cases suggest, local businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods and elsewhere can make efforts to foster diversity and inclusion, minimizing cultural displacement. In contrast, other businesses associated with commercial gentrification may perpetuate segregation with prohibitive prices and a variety of actions perceived as exclusionary by longtime residents. As perceptions of the inclusivity and exclusivity of public and semipublic spaces vary along the lines of race, class, and taste, the actions of business owners can contribute to segregation and integration within diverse neighborhoods, even in the context of commercial and residential gentrification.

CHAPTER 5
ATTACHMENT, ALIENATION, AMBIVALENCE, AND RESISTANCE
LOCAL BUSINESSES, COMMERCIAL GENTRIFICATION, AND COMMUNITY
RESPONSES

In the previous chapter, I described some ways that local businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen might contribute to racial and ethnic segregation or integration. In this chapter, I turn my attention to the role of local businesses in residents' experiences of place. I first show how local businesses in these neighborhoods figure significantly in neighborhood residents' attachments to place and sense of community and belonging. I then point to ways that local businesses shape residents' perceptions of place.

For some neighborhood residents, commercial gentrification can produce or alleviate a sense of what I call *alienation from place*. The arrival of new, more expensive businesses and wealthier, white residents can produce cultural displacement, a declining sense of community and belonging. But for residents fearful of gangs and crime, gentrification can lead to an increased sense of safety and the ability to access newer businesses opens parts of the neighborhoods previously thought off-limits. Yet, for still other longtime residents, the survival of older local businesses maintains local character and provides reassurance of community stability. Some others welcome the arrival of new small businesses as they generally favor independent businesses rather than corporate chains. In the context of neighborhood change, I identify these sentiments as a sense of ambivalence about gentrification. In the context of

commercial and residential gentrification and a sense of creeping cultural displacement and impending residential displacement, local businesses may also become site or subject of local resistance – hosting anti-gentrification events or receiving the ire of culturally displaced residents.

Local Businesses and the Production of Place and Place Attachment

In their influential treatise on conflicts between use and exchange value over place, Logan and Molotch (1987) note, “places have a certain *preciousness* for their users that is not a part of the conventional concept of a commodity” (17, *emphasis in original*). This is because people often have deep emotional attachments to places, or sentiment, as their material and nonmaterial needs are met in particular places. Some scholars interested in the experience of place, use the term “place attachment” to describe similar experiences. Place attachment is a complex and multifaceted, individual and collective phenomenon involving emotional, cognitive, and behavioral aspects, social relationships, and time (Low and Altman, 1992). Residents’ attachments to their neighborhoods plays a significant part in the strength of communities and is associated with a range of factors, including collective efficacy, understood to reduce crime and other indications of disorder (Grief 2009).

The identification of place attachment, and in some cases, community itself, stands in contrast to longstanding concerns regarding urbanization’s effects on individuals (see Hummon 1992). Whereas early urban scholars worried that the increased population density of modernizing cities would have deleterious effects on social bonds between individuals (Simmel [1903] 1971; Wirth 1938), a wide variety of place-focused research found strong and tightly-knit communities in diverse urban settings (E. Anderson 1978; Suttles 1968; Zorbaugh 1929;

Wellman and Leighton 1979). Though poor and/or racially segregated communities are often regarded as “slums” or “ghettos,” these conceptualizations fail to acknowledge residents’ positive experiences, perceptions, and attachments (Small 2008) and residents of low-income communities may still exhibit a sense of ownership and community (Walton 2016).

Neighborhoods slated for “slum clearance” or urban renewal may be home to strong communities (Bennett and Reed [1999] 2018; Gans [1962] 1982) and some low-income families may prioritize needs other than safety even when offered the option to move into less poor areas (Rosenblatt and DeLuca 2012). Another point of contrast from the concerns of the early urban theorists can be found in studies operationalizing place attachment in statistical models.

Though sociologists have long thought that population density might negatively affect community ties, the length of time individuals and communities reside in a neighborhood has a greater association with place attachment, as operationalized with measures of friendship ties, community sentiment, and civic participation (Kasarda and Janowitz 1974; Sampson 1988). Subsequent researchers then sought to understand the conditions by which place attachment might vary. Woldoff, (2002) examines the effect of a variety of stressors, such as victimization and perceptions of social disorder, on different types of attachment and finds that long-time residents are likely to be more sentimentally attached to places and perceptions of social disorder are negatively associated with all forms of attachment. Grief (2009) studies racial and ethnic variation on measures of place attachment and finds whites to have consistently higher levels of attachment than members of other racial and ethnic groups, likely related to discrimination. Considering the attachment of Latinx immigrants, she finds that the presence of homeland ties increases attachment while duration decreases it, a point she attributes to the downward

assimilation experienced by some Latinxs. Other factors, such as unique historical circumstances, may also shape differences in groups' attachments to neighborhoods (Small 2004).

Local businesses play an important part in the productions of place and place attachment. Operationalizing place attachment, sociologist Rachael Woldoff (2002:96) produces measures of sentiment using survey questions about residents' sense of belonging and ties to the community. In *The Power of Urban Ethnic Places: Cultural Heritage and Community Life*, Jan Lin (2011) uses the term "ethnic community" to describe the "the social life of the people, in the context of arenas like family, neighborhood, and church" (26). Indirectly tying these concepts together, Sara Martucci (2019) draws connections between "retail theming," neighborhood identity, and the symbolic ownership of place. By theming, she means, "choices made about aesthetics, atmosphere, products, events, and so on that helps to communicate a neighborhood's identity" (1125). A neighborhood's identity also informs visitors and residents' perceptions of if a particular place is or is not "for them" (see also Zukin, et al. 2016 and my discussion of this sentiment in the previous chapter). The version of a place's identity bolstered by businesses and identified by residents and visitors, in turn, signals the "symbolic ownership" of a place (Deener 2007). Business and real estate markets also pay close attention to neighborhood character and identity as they make investment decisions.

Since large numbers of Eastern European immigrants moved out of the neighborhoods in the 1960s and 1970s, the production and designation of Logan Square and Pilsen as Latinx places (though the former is currently regarded as less so than the latter) includes many dimensions that distinguish these neighborhoods from others in Chicago (Betancur and Smith

2016; García and Rúa 2018). The presence of a large Latinx and Spanish-speaking population is one distinguishing characteristic. Mexican businesses and community organizations, as well as public art and cultural heritage events in Pilsen, are also visible public expressions of the neighborhood's ethnic identity. Mexican American-owned businesses, and especially restaurants providing "traditional" Mexican foods, came up in most discussions of these neighborhoods with Latinx residents. Many respondents drew connections between food, culture, and place in response to my questions about what they like about their neighborhoods.

Manuel is a Mexican American in his mid-twenties, whose family moved to Pilsen when he was an infant. Describing his fondness for his neighborhood, he noted, "I'm Mexican and you can't get enough Mexican food. Tacos, good food. I like the art, I'm into street art." Javier, who took over his Mexican immigrant father's restaurant, told me, "Maybe we can't go to Mexico as often as I'd like, with my kids being so little right now, but I can expose them to Mexican-themed festivals or Mexican-themed musical performances [in Pilsen]. I can take my family to eat at places that have real authentic Mexican food. They can come here and hear the language. They can see the murals on the walls. They can feel like, even though we're not in Mexico, our culture is still around the neighborhood and there's still an epicenter of culture...it's a place where our culture is." In Logan Square, Alicia, fondly remembers family visits to the, since demolished, Mega Mall, a sort-of indoor bazaar filled with vendors selling Mexican products, including foods and religious iconography. She described, "They'd have stuff from Mexico you couldn't get anywhere else. And we knew people there, the tailors, the vendors – I grew up going there." Gabriela, another Logan Square resident, happily recalled, "local bakeries and some Mexican restaurants and the little shops that Hispanics owned." Domingo, who moved from

Mexico to Logan Square some ten years ago, told me of his favorite multi-ethnic café in the neighborhood, where he would get “*cafeicitos*, the small shot espressos.”

For these residents, Mexican American-owned businesses, and especially plentiful, affordable, and authentic Mexican restaurants play an important part in their neighborhoods’ identities as Latinx places and, in line with common measures of place attachment used by researchers, the use of these places is suggestive of place attachment. As Mexican Americans living in Latinx communities, their patronage of, employment by, and, in some cases, ownership of Mexican restaurants contributes to their sense of ownership and belonging of these neighborhoods. When residents discuss the changing character of the neighborhoods, white or Latino-owned businesses also figure importantly in their considerations, further speaking to their significance as racial or ethnic markers of community ownership and belonging.

In addition to cuisine and the demographic characteristics of staff and clientele, many of the businesses in Logan Square and Pilsen prominently feature aesthetic characteristics signaling their personal and their neighborhoods’ Latinx identity. Many Mexican restaurants and other businesses in these neighborhoods have Spanish names and signage. Portraits of influential Mexican figures hang on their walls. Murals on their interior or exterior walls utilize traditional Mexican artistic styles or graffiti fonts. Some businesses also have framed maps highlighting towns and cities in Mexico. When I asked first and second-generation immigrant residents about why they or their parents moved into these neighborhoods, nearly all said something along the line of “this is where the community is” with “the community” used as a shorthand for the networks of Latinx residents in the neighborhoods. This point, combined with the businesses,

festivals, and art illustrates some ways that Pilsen and Logan Square were and are, to varying degrees, produced as Latinx places by the actions of Latinx people following white flight.

Conceptualizing *Alienation from Place* and Gentrification as a Mediating Factor

Visible markers of racial or ethnic identity, including symbols, signage, and public art, are ways of distinguishing places from the dominant, white Anglo-American culture. Public debates over statues of Confederate figures, the names of slave-owners displayed prominently on university buildings, and similar issues have brought these issues to light in recent years. Sociologists studying the social construction of the racial or ethnic identity of places identify how the use of racial or ethnic imagery signifies who controls and belongs in particular places. For example, in a study of blues clubs in Chicago, David Grazian (2003) points to murals of Black musicians displayed in some as communicating to white patrons that the places are “authentic.” Wendy Leo Moore (2008) observed portraits of white, but not Black, legal scholars on the walls of law schools contributing to these being “white institutional spaces.” As such imagery might indicate the symbolic ownership of a place, including who does or does not belong there (see also Helmuth 2019), these businesses in these neighborhoods perform similar work for many residents. These points gesture towards imagery and intentional activity as important features in the social production of places. Understood as a product of action, the production of place parallels the products of one’s labor. Accordingly, *alienation from place*, as I define it here, describes the experience of one’s place as alien due to disorder or gentrification. After outlining my development of this concept, I show how businesses might figure in the production or alleviation of alienation from place.

The conscious and intentional production of racialized or ethnic places parallels the traditional Marxian notion of commodities produced by alienated labor. In the “Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844,” Marx (1978) describes workers’ experience of alienation as an essential feature of labor under capitalism. Marx identifies four dimensions of alienation. First, is alienation from the products of one’s labor. In contrast to pre-capitalist production processes, the worker experiences the product of their labor as something alien to them. Workers do not own the goods they produce and may not be able to afford to purchase them. Second, in light of this, the process of producing itself becomes perceived as alien. Assembly line production requires workers to produce small pieces of finished products. This diminishes workers’ ability to see their own contribution to the finished product. Wage labor is also understood here to be involuntary and dissatisfying, and the process itself is owned by someone else. This denies workers the control, autonomy, and creativity that makes productive activity satisfying. Third, because workers deny their own needs, interests, and desires, they become alienated from themselves. Coercion into wage labor, demands that workers privilege the interests of their bosses over their own. Fourth, stemming from divisions in the factory system, workers are alienated from each other, comparable to the alienation of the products of labor, the process of labor, and the self. Marx juxtaposes the experience of alienated labor with *species being*, his conceptualization of what it means to be human. This the true “social character” of people includes free creative production and community involvement.

A lack of ownership and control over the process and products of labor are essential aspect of Marx’s notion of alienation. Applying this to housing, urban planner, Peter Marcuse (1975:183) describes renters as experiencing “residential alienation...[defined as] the condition

of estrangement between a person and his/her dwelling” and “social alienation...[defined as] the condition of estrangement between a person and his/her community.” In Marcuse’s model, landlords take the place of employers as the legal owners of dwellings and communities, and renters’ limited capacity to control their rented spaces contributes to alienation. Although they may not *legally* own them, community residents frequently regard their neighborhoods as their own. As social psychologist, Mindy Fullilove (2004) points out, places are an important part of individuals’ identity and memories. Andrew Deener (2007) identifies claims to “symbolic ownership” in terms of participating individuals’ control over a place’s aesthetic characteristics, identity, and importance for residents and business owners. Indeed, as identified in early studies of diverse communities, the demarcation of neighborhood and community boundaries carries the notion that areas “must ‘belong’ to someone” and some people, but not others, “belong” within the boundaries (Zorbaugh 1929; Suttles 1968). Contests over such *symbolic* ownership of a place can occur during demographic transitions (E. Anderson 1990; Smith 1996) and with rising crime. Describing Black Philadelphia residents’ encounters with street crime, Elijah Anderson notes, “the concern about the drug culture...has augmented the atmosphere of *estrangement*, segmentation, and social distance” (1990:78, *emphasis added*).

Extending Marx’s notions of alienated labor and species being with Deener’s “symbolic ownership” (2007), the emphasis on belonging (Suttles 1968; Walton 2016; Zorbaugh 1929), and the importance of “sentiment” for place attachment (Woldoff 2002), my definition of alienation from place is predicated upon place as a product of social action by residents with strong senses of place attachment. In addition to other social forces, people produce place (Lefebvre 1991). Social relationships and practices between group members occurring within and surrounding

designated spaces are essential for the construction of meaningfulness ascribed to places (Kidder 2009; Martinez 2017; Milligan 1998). If place is a product of action, the conditions by which place are produced and variations in one's sense of control over it can affect relations to it.

There are several social forces that shape place. Politicians and urban planners, banks and investment firms, media outlets producing place-focused imagery, organizations and institutions, social movements, and individuals contribute to the construction, meaning, and practice of place. Conflicts emerge over ownership and access, inclusion and exclusion, and resources. Racial, ethnic, economic, political, and cultural disputes over places continually contribute to their reorganization at structural, institutional, and interpersonal levels. The presence of gangs and gentrification can affect community members' sense of ownership and belonging. Gang members and crime, and gentrifiers and upscale businesses, make competing claims of control over Logan Square and Pilsen.

Analogous to Marx's notion of the process and products of alienated labor, places may be perceived as alien by those who produce them, in this case, the Latin American immigrants whose identities and community are closely tied to places and face social disorder and gentrification. So, community residents may feel that their neighborhood both is and is not theirs. On one hand, it is a place that belongs to them and in which they feel a sense of membership. On the other hand, their neighborhoods are controlled by others and they are partially subjugated by others. Perceptions of disorder, including crime, violence, and drugs, produced a sense of alienation in some residents prior to the onset of gentrification. Though it was their neighborhood, it was controlled, at least in part, by gang members, drug dealers, and the like; thus, *a priori* alienation from place or alienation before gentrification. For others, perceived

cultural displacement and the threat of residential displacement produces a sense of alienation from place, that the neighborhood is being taken from them. This is the experience and perception I call *a posteriori* alienation from place, alienation after the onset of gentrification.

Alienation from place, as I use it here, is predicated upon place attachment. Residents must have a sense of ownership and belonging of a place in order to become alienated from it. This point diverges from Simmel's ([1903] 1971) identification of the urban "blasé attitude," though predicated on an understanding of the centrality of capitalism in the city, is presented as a response to density-induced overstimulation. The urban blasé attitude seems to preclude place attachment or a sense of community as discussed above. Hummon (1992) also discusses "place alienation," but his identification of this experience depends on subjective comparison. The issue here is neither aligned with the Marxian definition of alienation nor does it rely upon exogenous forces shaping places. Rather, Hummon describes a study participant who simply favors a city in one region of the United States over the one in which she currently resides (1992:269-71).

Some scholars describe residents experiencing a "loss of place" but this is also a distinct phenomenon from what I describe here. The loss or destruction of place, due to natural disaster, urban renewal, or the relocation of an organization, can be disruptive or even devastating for those whose communities and identities are tied to it (Brown and Perkins 1992; Fullilove 2004; Milligan 1998). Gentrification is commonly understood as a process leading to a loss of place for vulnerable neighborhood residents who may be driven from their communities due to rising rents, increased property taxes, the replacement of affordable housing with more costly units, and the like (Lees, et al. 2008). However, others argue that vulnerable residents' loss of political power (political displacement) or sense of belonging and ownership (cultural displacement) are

worthy of comparable consideration to that given to physical displacement (Curran 2018; Hyra, 2015; Ocejo 2011; Zukin 2010). This is to say, gentrification processes can mediate residents' connections to and experiences of place (Hwang 2016; Parker 2018). Since the residents quoted below continue to live and work in Pilsen and Logan Square, they have not experienced a loss of place. Relatedly, they did not share the “nostalgia narratives” Richard Ocejo (2011) identifies among pioneer gentrifiers experiencing cultural displacement as the face subsequent waves of gentrification in Manhattan or Michael Maly and his colleagues (2012) say white Southside Chicago residents experienced as their neighborhoods became more racially diverse. Instead, I identify concurrent place attachment and alienation. Residents have a sense that the neighborhood both is and is not theirs; a sense of ownership and belonging *and* a sense that it is or will become someone else's place.

A priori Alienation from Place – Alienation Before Gentrification

Logan Square and Pilsen have long histories as Latin American immigrant enclaves. While some immigrant residents have long left for the suburbs, due to upward mobility or recent gentrification induced displacement, multiple generations of working-class Mexican immigrants, along with a growing middle class, remain in the neighborhoods. Considering the significance of these communities as immigrant enclaves, it is to be expected that many Latino residents of both neighborhoods express strong degrees of place attachment. In line with common measures of place attachment used by researchers, residents described their long durations in their neighborhoods (many of the Mexican American residents I spoke with spent nearly their whole lives there, or at least two decades), discussed friends and family in the areas, listed local businesses they regularly frequent, and mentioned the large Latin American, and often Spanish-

speaking in particular, populations in descriptions of the neighborhoods and discussions of their experiences in them (Grief, 2009; Sampson, 1988; Woldoff, 2002). Concurrently, many also discussed encountering crime, violence, drugs, and other examples of urban disorder (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004) on a regular basis years ago, which produced a sense of alienation from their neighborhoods.

Gabriela is a Mexican American Logan Square resident in her late 20s who moved into the area from Mexico as an infant. Though she told me of her fond memories growing up in the neighborhood, she also recalled,

It was pretty intense. I still remember...I was maybe three [years old] and I do recall playing outside and drive-bys happening and my mom would get mad at me because I insisted to play outside...I saw [dead] bodies [in the street] too. I didn't understand a lot when I was a little kid. My parents would like sugar-coat it with like, 'oh, they're sleeping' or 'oh, those are junkies,' you know? I did get to witness a few, you had to, like, walk around them because we didn't have a car.

Though Gabriela saw disorder and crime beginning at a young age, and was robbed and burglarized in the neighborhood, this does not seem to have affected her sense of community ownership and belonging in it. However, her sense of ownership and belonging persists and she was pleased to see the neighborhood improve as it gentrified. She remarked, "Everything is so exciting. A lot more people [are] getting to know *my neighborhood and talking so good about it.*" As a lifelong Latina resident of a largely Latin American community, Gabriela and her family can rightly claim ownership, though the gang members and "junkies" made competing claims to their ownership of the neighborhood (see also E. Anderson, 1999). Yet, as she repeatedly juxtaposed the crime and violence she encountered in her childhood and the sense of safety she perceives now, her experiences include both alienation from and attachment to this place. The residential and commercial gentrification of her neighborhood alleviated her sense of

alienation from place as many of the people “talking so good” about Logan Square are visitors and gentrifiers patronizing the newer bars and restaurants in the area, including her current place of employment. But, as I discuss later, she has had interactions with visitors more recently that also led her to feel as though she decreasingly belonged in her own neighborhood.

Carla, the middle-aged Latina manager of La Taqueria in Logan Square, described similar experiences before the neighborhood began to gentrify. Carla opened a bakery in the early 1980s providing traditional Mexican breads and pastries to the neighborhood and many of its Mexican American owned restaurants. Until recently, she would not allow her children to accompany her to her business. Gesturing towards the street corner near the restaurant she currently manages, she noted, “There were drug dealers and prostitutes right out there.” However, during this time, Carla established deep roots in the area, befriending other businesses owners and many customers. While she was afraid of “gangbangers,” she experienced no trouble from them: “I never had any problems with them at all. I try to get along with everybody. You know, I try to mind my own business. I say hi to the neighbors; they’ve known me for years.” Like Gabriela, Carla seems to have experienced both alienation from and attachment to this place. In the past few years, she and her now grown children eagerly visit the many bars and restaurants that have recently opened in the neighborhood.

While Gabriela and Carla’s alienation from their communities stemmed from encountering crime and disorder, some other residents describe having been sheltered from crime and disorder by their parents, which designated some parts of the neighborhood as off-limits and, thus, alien to them. For example, Silvia, a mid-twenties Latina living in Pilsen since she was one

year old, describes her parents keeping her away from trouble during a childhood in which she enjoyed playing with other Mexican American kids in the neighborhood. She said,

Like, we never hung out with the wrong crowd. My parents are pretty strict. For me, my childhood here was amazing, over the summer we would stay out until like 10 o'clock at night playing with the neighborhood kids. As far as gangs, which were like a major thing here, I don't know if it was like 'ignorance is bliss,' because we just like stayed away from [them]... for me, I just never saw that kind of stuff... we didn't really, like, hang out on 18th Street probably because that's where, like, shit went down. So, when you asked if we ever went to businesses down there, we didn't really. We, like, stayed more on this side.

When asked where she went in Pilsen as a child, the only place she could recall was visiting a laundromat with her mother. Silvia now acknowledges that she was likely shielded from crime and disorder by her parents. This also entailed prohibition from visiting 18th Street, the neighborhoods' main shopping district. While some parts of the neighborhood did belong to her and the "neighborhood kids" she played with, her parents denied her access to others understood to be under the purview of the gangs. The neighborhood's main artery and its businesses were off-limits to her, but she also was and continues to be very attached to Pilsen. She remains in the neighborhood and is raising her son there and she and her boyfriend regularly frequent many of the older and newer bars and restaurants. As a Mexican American raised in a Mexican American enclave, she continues to express pride in the neighborhoods' culture and heritage, yet, for much of her life, she perceived large portions of Pilsen as alien to her. Her "pretty strict" parents kept her "ignorant" of the conditions of much of her community, a common practice among some children and parents living in segregated areas with high crime rates (E. Anderson 1999; Jones 2010; Rosenblatt, et al. 2015). But like Carla and Gabriela, Silva's alienation from place seems to also have been alleviated by gentrification processes.

For these neighborhood residents, the decline in crime and other disorder and increase in nicer local businesses made accessible parts of the neighborhood they previously avoided or in which they encountered violent crime. As the gangs' domination of the neighborhoods declined, so too did their alienation. The similar experiences they describe are what I call *a priori alienation from place*. Their experiences of place, prior to the current degree of gentrification, simultaneously included attachment and alienation. Though each contributed to the production of place in their neighborhoods (Lefebvre 1991) and expressed feelings of ownership and belonging (Walton 2016), they also experienced their neighborhoods as alien to them due to social disorder. The neighborhoods *were* their own but were also controlled by others. With the advancement of gentrification, each felt an increased sense of safety and appreciated the newer, nicer businesses associated with commercial gentrification. While each of these residents offer examples of *a priori* alienation from place alleviated by gentrification, a sense of alienation from place may also emerge as a product of gentrification. In these cases, cultural displacement stemming from gentrification can produce feelings of alienation, what I call *a posteriori alienation from place*.

A posteriori Alienation from Place – Alienation Caused by Gentrification

As illustrated above, many Latinx residents of Latinx immigrant enclaves experience a great degree of place attachment, including a sense of ownership and belonging. As Latinx residents, their presence is part of what makes the neighborhoods identifiable as Latinx communities. This is what identifies their contradictory experiences of place as alienation in the Marxian sense – the simultaneous feelings of connection and exclusion. This experience parallels that of residents whose encounters with cultural displacement, which they understand as a precursor to physical displacement, produce a sense of place as alien concurrent with a persistent

great degree of place attachment. I observed several examples of this expressed by a Pilsen-based anti-gentrification activist group I call Pilsen Defenders.

Pilsen Defenders is a group of Latinx Pilsen residents mostly in their 20s. As discussed below, they are one of many community organizations working to resist gentrification. Their activist practice includes organizing protests and marches, promoting Mexican heritage events, and meeting to play music, share poetry, and air grievances about gentrification. Many are college educated and their rhetoric is often informed by social science research, post-colonial and Critical Race theories, and intersectional feminism. The replacement of Mexican American-owned businesses with higher-end, non-Hispanic, white-owned ones, evictions, and the associated sense of resentment, rage, and loss are constant topics of discussion. As several members work with young children, games and activities geared towards that demographic are often a part of their events, though attendees tend to be at least teenaged. Some of these activities tend to highlight symbols of gentrification or cultural displacement: “over-priced” coffee and coffee shops, hipsters, “valley girl” or “Becky” caricatures, and the “white fascination” with or “exotification” of Mexican staple foods, like tacos and avocados, an acknowledgment of connections between food preferences and social status (Johnston and Baumann, 2017; Zukin, 2010). These acts of protest express a sense of alienation from place stemming from gentrification induced cultural displacement. Attendees of Pilsen Defenders’ events often mention having grown up in the neighborhood, a local network of friends and family, and other indications of place attachment. Their threatened sense of ownership, belonging, and community in this place produces an increasing sense of the neighborhood as alien.

Pilsen Defenders' events often include "open mic" -type performances. At once such event, Josefina, a mid-twenties Pilsen resident performed poetry reflecting on her experiences as a Latina moving in and out of the neighborhood during her childhood. Early in her teenage years, Josefina attended a majority-white school beyond the neighborhood's borders. Her voice shook as she recounted being ostracized and excluded by the girls at her school. In an effort to better fit-in, she began trying to copy the other girls' manner of dress and speech, going so far as to dye her long, dark hair blond. She expressed great feelings of relief upon returning to Pilsen each day, where she would feel welcome and at home among her Mexican American community. But in recent years, Pilsen has felt less and less like her home. Many of the bakeries and other local businesses she visited as a child had been replaced by upscale bars, restaurants, and coffeeshops. As members of her extended family were priced-out and evicted from their apartments, white hipsters, yuppies, and developers seemed to increase in numbers. Her home was being taken from her. The sorrow and rage in the room were palpable as she finished her poem.

Gabriela, who has lived in Logan Square nearly her entire life, shared an experience I also identify as an example of alienation from place induced by gentrification and cultural displacement. Early one morning, Gabriela and her young daughter went outside of their building in Logan Square to water plants they grow. She noticed a white man standing outside of a building across the street staring at her. Gabriela knows her neighbor rents out a room on AirBNB, she assumed this man was a guest following the neighborhood's hip reputation, and his staring made her very uncomfortable: "It was like he never saw a brown person before. This block used to be all Hispanics but I'm pretty much the only one left. He wasn't checking me out because I just got up and was with my daughter, I didn't look cute or nothing." On a separate

occasion, she elaborated on her first point, saying, that there are, “not as many Hispanics as there were... I’m sad that a lot of my people had to leave. I’m so sad that they couldn’t afford to stay here.” Again, Gabriela uses both the language of alienation and attachment but here the sense of place as alien comes from gentrification rather than being alleviated by it, what I call *a posteriori alienation from place*; alienation after the onset of gentrification. She also speaks to another correlate of *a posteriori* alienation from place: a sense that the neighborhood’s ethnic character was declining with the in-movement of white gentrifiers.

Manuel, a Pilsen resident quoted above, also described a declining sense of ownership and belonging stemming from commercial and residential gentrification. Responding to a question about the neighborhood “changing,” he replied:

You know, Pilsen is not gonna be Pilsen anymore with the gentrification coming up. You have bigger businesses coming in and not everyone can afford [to patronize] those big businesses and it’s a bad thing. On 18th it used to be all local businesses and it was affordable. Whereas [now] you have [all these high-end restaurants]. People from the neighborhood look at it now and they can’t afford it. They don’t wanna break their pockets going in there... There’s restaurants where they try to sell *tamales* but they’re overpricing. Let’s say you want a *platillo*, like a steak *platillo* [with] rice and beans, [at an older *taqueria* it costs] \$8, \$10. [At a new, upscale restaurant] they’ll overprice it to like \$18. And they don’t have Hispanics going there. If you have a Hispanic person go in there, be like, “what are you charging me for?! I’m good. I’m gonna go home and make it.” If you have someone who’s not from the area, like someone from a different culture, with money, they go in there, it’s nothing... It’s just like, they want what you have but they don’t want you to be part of it.

In discussions with Latinx Pilsen and Logan Square residents and in my observations at Pilsen Defenders’ events, I encountered many iterations of the disappointed claim that these neighborhoods were ceasing to retain their Hispanic character. Some Pilsen Defenders members drew connections between the migration of whites into their neighborhood and the broader history of colonialism and pioneering in the United States. Other residents offered remarks like,

“this isn’t a Mexican neighborhood anymore,” “all the Hispanics are gone now,” or “a lot of my friends and neighbors had to leave” due to evictions or rising rents or taxes. These comments suggest that many residents perceive their neighborhoods as transitioning from Latinx enclaves to “white spaces.” Again, place attachment is a necessary precursor to this sense of alienation from place as these expressions tend to be predicated upon a persistent sense of ownership and belonging threatened by gentrification. However, many other residents did not seem to experience alienation from place either before or after the onset of gentrification.

Positive Impressions and Ambivalence about Gentrification

Some gentrification scholars argue that community responses to gentrification are not homogenous. Murdie and Teixeira (2011) identify ambivalence among many residents of gentrifying neighborhoods in Toronto. These residents recognize benefits of local development even as they express concern about rising rents and the changing ethnic character of their communities. Similarly, shopkeepers in some gentrifying areas identify positive and negative aspects of gentrification (Zukin, et al., 2016), and though some may also convey feelings of resentment towards gentrifiers, residents might appreciate improvements in amenities and resources, including businesses, brought to their neighborhoods by gentrification (Freeman 2006). Parker (2018), comparing a variety of businesses in Chicago’s Wicker Park neighborhood, finds contrasting views of the neighborhoods’ hip reputation. The perceptions of many Latinx residents of Logan Square and Pilsen corroborate these findings. Here too, thoughts about local businesses often played a part in the experience of the places and the perception of change.

When asked about gentrification, several residents responded with ambivalence, apathy, and even approval, with some largely unconcerned with either current changes or gangs during their youth in the area. Javier, a Pilsen-based Mexican American in his mid-thirties, who took over a restaurant his father opened decades ago expressed approval of recent developments in the neighborhood. When asked if he thought there was a threat to the community's Mexican character, he shrugged and suggested that most of the Mexican American residents, many of whom own their homes and business spaces, would not be leaving soon. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the vast majority of his customers are Mexican. Agreeing with this sentiment, Luis, another Mexican American business owner in his mid-thirties who had spent much of his life in Pilsen was surprised when I asked about encountering gangs and crime during his youth and recommended several Mexican restaurants he has visited for decades when asked if the neighborhood was losing its Latino character. These business owners, and others, to the extent that they recognized, or were willing to discuss, gentrification at all, expressed a sentiment along the lines of "it is what it is," "change is inevitable," or that gentrification is a natural function of the market. Some also spoke affirmatively about new retail, condo development, and declining crime.

Other neighborhood residents' expressions of ambivalence were tied to their appreciation of the new businesses. In Pilsen, Lucy expressed admiration of the new independent businesses. Rather than juxtapose older Mexican businesses and newer white-owned businesses, her object of criticism were the corporate chains increasing in numbers in the neighborhood:

There's a lot of positive attributes that can be correlated to gentrification. In the sense that there are different kinds of businesses that can be opening up. But then I think back to the million-dollar corporations that opened up. I'm all for small businesses...So that's why I wouldn't say it's good or bad...when Bow Truss

opened down the street, everyone was mad because it's high end coffee but nonetheless it's a small business, or a smaller business opening up another location. Dunkin Donuts opened up and everyone was happy about getting a dollar coffee...And now there's Asian food down the street and there's [the fusion Mexican street food restaurant she manages]. But also...they're opening a Taco Bell and those are the places that are taking away from Pilsen.

Alicia, whose family used to visit the Mega Mall's Mexican vendors in Logan Square, complained about the neighborhood's increasing rents and noisy, crowded, and over-priced nightlife scene. At the same time, she listed several newer and white-owned local businesses in the neighborhood among those she visits, including HopDen, her place of employment. She emphasized diversity among the bar's clientele and stressed, "We had a guy come in a few weeks ago, a Mexican guy who's been in the neighborhood for 20 years. He told me about how he likes all the changes around here...There have been some other older Hispanic people come here – they even donated board games."

Some residents express ambivalence or are approving of changes in the neighborhood, rather than alienated. It is likely that several factors contribute to these perspectives. For the business owners, they have economic interests in neighborhood improvement and growth as they are likely to reap rewards. They, and many of their friends and family, also likely have sufficient economic capital to reduce their susceptibility to displacement. Some also appreciate the more costly goods and services provided by new retail. Thus, I argue that these are not examples of *a posteriori* alienation from place. In addition, it is also noteworthy that while many of the longtime residents I spoke with mentioned gangs and crime, only female respondents discussed being particularly fearful of this and mentioned increased safety as a positive aspect of gentrification. The association between perceived disorder and fear of crime tends to be stronger among women than men (Snedker 2015). Of course, these data cannot show that no male

residents experienced *a priori* alienation from place, nor do they show that female residents only experience disorder-induced alienation. Yet, these data do show that residents can experience place-based alienation and attachment together and that gentrification can produce or alleviate alienation from place.

Finally, the issue of residential stability, differing between property owners and renters, also does not seem to explain differential experiences of place here. Many of the respondents expressing alienation also mentioned that they lived in buildings owned by relatives. Some renters seemed ambivalent about gentrification while some living in properties owned by family expressed feelings of alienation and concerns about cultural displacement. An emergent difference in perceptions of changing neighborhood character seems more driven by direct experiences of discrimination, intimate knowledge of people having faced residential displacement, an identification that a changing retail landscape might be associated with increased rents and taxes, and, sometimes, fear of victimization.

Members of Pilsen Defenders and those who attend their events routinely identify apparent contradictions between what they see as white Anglos' appreciation of Mexican culture and cuisine and their mistreatment of Mexican American people and role in displacing Mexican American residents from their communities. This is illustrated by Josefina's story about feeling discriminated against by the white girls at school, Gabriela's story about the white man staring at her, and Manuel's comment, "It's just like, they want what you have but they don't want you to be part of it." I also observed speakers discussing neighborhoods' declining Latinx population rates and stories of relatives being evicted due to rising rents at several Pilsen Defenders events, where condos and upscale coffeeshops are often mentioned in the same breath. Carla, Gabriela,

and Silvia's stories about encountering crime and violence were not mirrored by Javier and Luis. Though Luis mentioned that, "there was, like, a lot of gang bangers, so it's a lot safer [now]," he described working and playing sports in the neighborhood during his youth and made no mention of having issues with the gangs himself. Describing his youth in Pilsen, Javier told me, "when you are young and, like, male, from age 13 to 18, I literally couldn't walk down the street from here all the way to Halstead Street without getting like harassed by some street gang member." Yet, this did not seem to impede his access to areas in the neighborhood since he would simply try to avoid gangs when going about his business. Both men shared a narrative that Pilsen was worse when there was more visible gang activity and it is better with declined gang activity, but these stories seem more about expressing pride in being from a neighborhood overcoming urban social problems and less about estrangement from their communities (see E. Anderson 1990).

Local Businesses as Site and Object of Resistance

The previous discussions of alienation from place are certainly not intended to present the Latinx residents of Logan Square and Pilsen as passive victims of cultural displacement. To the contrary, Pilsen's history of resistance has been documented by some scholars (Betancur and Smith 2016; Curran 2018) and Logan Square too, is home to several active community organizations working on a variety of issues. In both neighborhoods, community organizations hold marches and demonstrations, advocate for rent control and improvements to area schools, and provide a wide variety of resources for community members, including legal aid for those facing eviction and unmanageable property tax increases. Groups in both neighborhoods criticize and confront aldermen thought to "sell-out" the community and promote local politicians they believe will serve them.

During the time of this research, several instances of local businesses being subject to protest took place or continued to be discussed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, some unidentified Pilsen residents vandalized the storefronts of a few newer, upscale businesses thought to contribute to gentrification. The Bow Truss coffeeshop was plastered with anti-gentrification signs and others were similarly graffitied. Area activists confronted the owners of a new expensive restaurant and accosted an area politician who allowed developers to break affordable housing rules as they developed luxury housing. As described in chapter 3, Logan Square activists picketed outside a venue scheduled to host an event to teach investors to profit from AirBNB rentals leading to the event's cancellation. Residents of both neighborhoods organized a protest outside an "Emerging Neighborhoods" real estate seminar offering attendees instruction on how to capitalize on development in Pilsen and Logan Square as well as the Uptown and Humbolt Park neighborhoods.

In Pilsen, some local businesses are also sites of resistance. Signs bearing the "Pilsen is not for sale" slogan are found on the storefronts of many local businesses and posters expressing opposition to President Donald Trump, ICE, and the deportation of undocumented Mexican Americans hang in some windows too. Many of Pilsen Defenders' events and the "community meetings" discussed in a previous chapter were hosted by a local café. The café boasts a sizable event space and attendees will occasionally extend into an additional room where customers place orders. As discussed in early chapters, some businesses eagerly donate to community organizations and other causes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed how local businesses in these neighborhoods figure significantly in neighborhood residents' attachments to place and sense of community and belonging. I also showed some ways that place attachment, alienation, and gentrification may interact. For some residents, perceptions and experiences of crime and disorder produce a sense of alienation from place which does not seem to negatively impact a sense of place attachment, what I have called *a priori* alienation from place. In these cases, residential and commercial gentrification reduce feelings of alienation and grant previously fearful residents access to more of their neighborhoods than they felt they had before. For others, commercial and residential gentrification processes bring a declining sense of ownership and belonging, what I call *a posteriori* alienation from place. Increasing numbers of white residents and white-owned businesses into a Mexican American immigrant enclave can produce a sense of place as alien for some lifelong residents.

A shared sense of ownership and belonging are a part of community connections to places. As I discuss in chapter 2, the existing Latinx communities and their institutions in Logan Square and Pilsen invite Mexican immigrants to settle in these neighborhoods. The physical presence of a prominent Latinx community, the prevalence of the Spanish language, art and other symbols, businesses and community organizations, street festivals, and other features distinguish these neighborhoods from others in Chicago. Individual and community behaviors are also part of what social constructs Logan Square and Pilsen as Latinx spaces. But competing claims to ownership, by gangs before gentrification and white gentrifiers and upscale businesses more recently produce a sense of place as alien, or what I have called *alienation from place*.

I also show that both forms of alienation I identify are predicated upon a sense of place attachment. As longstanding members of the communities who made their homes in these neighborhoods, residents' sense of ownership, belonging, community, and identity are closely tied to their personal experiences and the broader histories of these neighborhoods as Latin American immigrant enclaves. Disorder and change may not produce a loss of place attachment in some cases, rather alienation can emerge *alongside* place attachment. Neither *a priori* alienation from place nor *a posteriori* alienation from place are likely to occur in the absence of a high degree of place attachment.

Yet, businesses can also contribute to residents' ambivalence about gentrification. Older, Mexican-owned businesses able to resist displacement signal to some residents that change might occur without a loss of existent community. Other residents welcome new businesses and seem to suggest that a diversifying commercial landscape might not introduce competition with older businesses (see also Zukin and Kosta 2004). For these residents, the co-presence of newer and older businesses means more options and more investment in their struggling communities, or that as an inevitability, one may as well enjoy new consumer opportunities.

Truly losing one's home or community can be a traumatic experience (Fullilove, 2004) and while an emergent sense of place as alien may produce similar feelings, this is a distinct phenomenon from a loss of place (Brown and Perkins, 1992; Milligan, 1998) as many markers of attachment remain. All of the Latinx residents of Pilsen and Logan Square I spoke with mentioned at least one characteristic of their experience in-line with common measures of place attachment, such as social networks, long duration of residence, or a reluctance to move to a different neighborhood (Grief, 2009; Woldoff, 2002). The seemingly contradictory experiences

of place attachment and fear of crime or impending loss, in contexts such as watching one's neighborhood gentrify, is thus distinct from these experiences as well as the sense of nostalgia identified by other scholars of urban change (Maly, et al., 2012; Ocejó, 2011) as residents hold on to their communities against disorder and displacement while a sense of place as an alien object is felt.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

I began this project with the question: what are the roles and experiences of local businesses in gentrifying neighborhoods? As I discuss in the preceding chapters, this question resonates with expectations and presuppositions posed by social scientists, politicians, and the lay public alike. Businesses provide goods and services. They provide jobs and tax revenue. They offer places for sociability and entertainment. Businesses have a “social responsibility” to contribute to communities, through donating to local organizations and causes, and they may stand to benefit socially and economically from doing so. But as I show, businesses are also positioned to contribute to the fragmentation of communities. Neighborhood residents distinguish between businesses that serve and participate in *their own* communities and those who serve and participate in *other communities* within their neighborhoods. As neighborhoods gentrify, residents recognize that as an increasing number of commercial spaces serve members of other communities, those other communities may appropriate the neighborhoods themselves. My identification of variation in community-business relationships among local businesses complicates taken-for-granted assumptions about these relationships and provides further insights into connections between commercial and residential gentrification. I also show how variation in community participation practices among local businesses makes visible and furthers divergent community ties within gentrifying neighborhoods. In addition to providing goods, services, and opportunities for sociability, local businesses are well-positioned to participate in civic life in other ways. Local businesses might support community events or donate to

charitable causes as community-building efforts (Borer and Monti 2006). In the context of commercial gentrification, new businesses may mitigate potential conflict by working with and listening to community groups and members to do so (see Drew 2011). New businesses might consider how they could best serve the communities they enter and steps they could take to appear welcoming and inclusive to a wide range of potential customers. Businesses might also make a concerted effort to find other ways to support neglected or otherwise marginalized communities if civic engagement and community membership is a concern.

Although all of the businesses I observed participate in some charitable giving, we may also ask too much of small businesses. Many struggle to make ends meet and lack the time, energy, resources, and knowhow to perform the social service functions previously under the purview of the state, an element of the phenomena Brenner and Theodore (2002) call “actually existing neoliberalism.” At the same time, we might ask what else businesses can do for communities, communities can do for businesses, and how public policies might work to ameliorate urban social problems. As gentrification and issues relating to segregation and diversity continue to attract public and scholarly attention, the role and experiences of businesses in these contexts is an area worthy of further research. First, I draw connections between key findings from this project to policy recommendations.

Place Entrepreneurs and Commercial Gentrification

In chapter 2, I consider the issue of place entrepreneurs and the growth machine. Though local businesses have less power and fewer resources than corporate chains or members of the finance and real estate industries, I follow Ocejo (2014) and others arguing for an expanded definition of place entrepreneurship. Because small businesses participate in crafting an image of

both themselves and their communities to outsiders, they are necessarily place entrepreneurs. As place entrepreneurs, local businesses play a part in the symbolic and material construction of place for residents and visitors. Few business owners I spoke with set out to contribute to gentrification, but their reliance on *localized* and *despatialized* networks of customers plays a part in this process. Though the “typical immigrant” and “community participation” stories I identify seem to diverge from place entrepreneurship, businesses’ potential appeal to customers beyond their neighborhoods highlights their roles in changing communities. The shifting patterns of local and extra local customers also show that “liberated communities” (Wellman and Leighton 1979) can potentially affect local communities as despatialized networks converge in a localized space. These shifts involve both cultural and political economic processes as they parallel and contribute to changes in the symbolic ownership of places and financial investment within them.

These points further speak to connections between cultural and direct displacement identified by gentrification researchers and some residents of gentrifying neighborhoods, an issue I raise in chapters 4 and 5. As residents watch newer businesses, residences, and residents gradually replace the existent community, a declining sense of ownership of and belonging in their communities is associated with observed demographic shifts, new construction, rising rents, and evictions. However, as was the case with Sunny’s and Localized in Pilsen, new businesses need not contribute to cultural displacement as business owners may work to serve the members of the community in which they open. Thus, these businesses did not meet the ire of anti-gentrification activists while others thought to exclude longtime residents and invite further gentrification were subject to protesting and vandalism.

In some Manhattan neighborhoods, local residents form “community boards” who advocate for residents’ interests and have some say in local decision-making processes, including affordable housing and the selection of which businesses will open in the neighborhoods. But as Richard Ocejo (2014) documents, the state entity that grants liquor licenses and business owners need not heed the concerns of community boards. Similar to my earlier claims that bonded solidarity might extend from the community to neighborhood-level, Ocejo notes, “true deliberations between residents and bar owners stumbles because of ideological commitments to competing conceptions of community” (208). The wider application of the shared fate rationale might solve some problems here. Perhaps Chicago neighborhoods can improve upon this Manhattan model. If neighborhood residents have some say in which businesses will open in their neighborhoods and local and state politicians and business owners are beholden to neighborhood community boards, business-community relationships will strengthen, businesses can better support communities, communities can better support businesses, and these relationships may reduce neighborhood conflicts and racial, ethnic, and class inequality.

Local Institutions, Social Capital, and Urban Inequality

Some scholars interested in the role of organizations and institutions in underserved communities point to their social capital enhancing potential. This is an extension of William Julius Wilson’s (1987) famous argument that urban deindustrialization led an exodus of middle-class residents and local businesses from inner-city neighborhoods. The corresponding decline in social capital has deleterious effects for low-income, minority communities. After identifying how childcare centers might foster social connections and provide low-income mothers with needed resources, Mario Small (2009) relays this finding to other types of businesses, noting that

“organizations not normally conceived as brokers may perform such roles” (179). Pointing to studies of communities among restaurant customers, beauty salon clients, and bathhouse patrons, Small infers that the use of these and other types of businesses might aid job seekers and those struggling to navigate government bureaucracies, and this might mitigate some of the problems associated with concentrated poverty.

The variations I identified in customer networks, the role of bonded solidarity in business social responsibility and hiring practices, and residents’ perceptions of whether or not each local business is “for them,” complicates the idea that brokerage might be widely distributed among neighborhood organizations. Newer businesses associated with successive waves of gentrification may or may not serve or hire longtime neighborhood residents. While it is *possible* that they may broker connections with other organizations for customers or other neighborhood residents, their overlapping but not necessarily intersecting networks likely preclude them from doing so. In addition, bars, restaurants, and retailers are not social workers or employment agencies. None of the businesses included in this study have regular job openings and none wished to be burdened by those wanting anything, beyond the occasional donation, other than the goods and services they provide.

Even if small businesses are engaged in this type of work, the disparate communities they serve is a further barrier to the weak ties that might be brokered within them. This issue underlies my argument about the production of diverse and segregated spaces within neighborhoods in chapter 4. If local businesses and neighborhood street festivals may or may not be places where members of different racial, class, and cultural groups may mingle, then their contribution to other processes involving contact between groups may or may not follow accordingly. Such

spaces may facilitate or prohibit contact and interaction, which is a necessary precondition of both racial integration and network brokerage. Though taxes paid by local businesses may benefit communities and sites where bonding social capital can occur are an important part of communities, the role of local businesses in solving urban social problems may be overstated.

While social capital and related cultural considerations provide valuable insights into social stratification (Small, et al. 2010), sociologist Herbert Gans, warns, “When employed in poverty and antipoverty policy research, cultural analyses that downplay the relevance of economic, political, and related ‘structural’ factors can be used to undermine the need for economic and other policies to fight poverty and discrimination” (2011:323). Although it is *possible* for small business patrons to foster relationships with other customers and for this to provide access to job networks and other resources, as I observed in chapter 3, bars and restaurants are likely to do more *bonding* than *bridging*. It seems unreasonable to me to recommend to unemployed persons that they patronize a bar, order dinner at a restaurant, or attend a live performance for the purpose of making connections for job opportunities. Though persons employed in the construction or home renovation industries might find work after visiting Pilsen Hardware or El Taqueria in Logan Square, this does not seem to be an adequate replacement for housing, employment, and antidiscrimination policies.

Small businesses are simply not the same as nonprofit organizations or government institutions. In his defense of libraries and investment in social infrastructure, sociologist Eric Klinenberg argues, “Although some important social infrastructures – the church, the café, the bookstore, and the barber shop, among others – arise from the nonprofit sector or the market, most of the vital places and institutions that we need to rebuild are either funded or administered

by the state” (2018:226-7). As Small acknowledges, the childcare centers that support low-income residents are required to do so as a condition of their local and federal funding (2009:159-174). Local and federal governments *might* provide grants or tax incentives for local businesses to engage in community work but providing services to underprivileged people seems more efficient and effective. Perhaps further investment in housing and employment programs and organizations facilitating the navigation of these programs is a better policy solution than assuming small businesses will take administrative burdens from the state.

Local Businesses and Commercial and Residential Gentrification

By shaping the character of communities and serving *localized* and *despatialized* networks of consumers, local businesses are symbols and drivers of gentrification in many communities. This, combined with political economic forces, can lead to the physical, cultural, and political displacement of vulnerable neighborhood residents. In contrast to the growth machine model, older and newer businesses may not neatly oppose or support politicians or policies with gentrification or neighborhood development in mind. As I show in chapter 3, businesses’ support of local politicians and community organizations has more to do with personal connections and bonded solidarity than pro- or anti-growth orientations.

Gentrification’s potential for the displacement of residents and businesses speaks to the broader issues of affordable residential and commercial real estate in cities in the United States and throughout the world, a point some business owners raised in discussions of neighborhood change

The State of Illinois barred rent control in 1997. Community organizations from Logan Square and Pilsen have joined others in a campaign to bring rent control back to the state.

Advocates argue that this would provide a fast and cost-effective solution to the lack of affordable housing in Chicago and would mitigate the risk of displacement for residents of gentrifying neighborhoods. Relatedly, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio has recently proposed commercial rent control measures including commercial rent stabilization policies and a vacancy tax on owners of long-unoccupied vacant storefronts (Sandoval and Blu 2020). However, critics charge that the efforts would unduly burden property owners.

In Logan Square, some landlords and business owners campaign against a newly approved affordable housing development. After Chicago City Council approved \$22.5 million to fund the construction of 100 subsidized housing units in Logan Square, property owners sued the city arguing that this development would reduce the number of public parking spaces and cause them financial harm (TRD Chicago Staff 2020). Alluding to the *despatialized* consumer networks I discuss in chapter 2, these plaintiffs position their interests against those of some community members. As I discuss in chapter 3, perhaps landlords and business owners in Logan Square and Pilsen might consider their shared fate with neighborhood residents as aligned with their self-interests and identify how affordable housing might serve their interests too. As Logan Square Alderman Carlos Ramirez-Rosa argues, affordable housing is “extremely important” as gentrification can reduce housing stock and a lack of affordable housing exacerbates racial residential segregation (quoted in Bloom 2019). Perhaps these business leaders might work *with* other stakeholders rather than *against* them.

Supporting Businesses and Communities

As I discuss throughout, businesses play an important part in strong communities and entrepreneurship can support upward mobility among immigrant groups. At the same time, businesses' actions can alienate neighborhood residents and perpetuate racial and ethnic segregation within communities. As I discuss in chapters 4 and 5, businesses' practices, in their pricing, product offerings, hiring, and treatment of minority customers contributes to division in neighborhoods. In her book, *Civility in the City*, sociologist Jennifer Lee makes clear, "Civility does not come without effort. It is the product of hard work and investments on the part of merchants and their employees" (2002b:183). Relatedly, community partnership and support requires intentional efforts on the part of business owners. By inviting minority participants to events and hiring employees of color from the neighborhoods, as well as providing goods and services to communities, businesses might better assume their place in communities as active participants and contributors. Bonded solidarity might extend to wider networks than that of a business' consumer base. Policies aimed at helping small businesses and struggling communities might pay more attention to the variety of issues they face.

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the US congress approved a \$349 billion Paycheck Protection Program to support small businesses and their employees. This program was vital for bars and restaurants who lost 417,000 jobs in March 2020. However, many eligible businesses were unable to access these funds as they depleted quickly while corporate chains received tens of millions in loans (Shake Shack said it would return \$10 million) (Kimball 2020). To mitigate some of the strain felt by bars, restaurants, and their employees, congress might safeguard funds designated for small businesses to ensure that they and their staffs might survive the pandemic. Similarly, other public policies might make concerted efforts to support minority

business owners. In the 1960s and 1970s, government policies aided African American entrepreneurs in their reclamation of storefronts abandoned by white flight. Such a policy, combined with housing, education, and anti-discrimination efforts to support minority business ownership, might work to provide job opportunities in marginalized communities and alleviate persistent inequality (Lee 2002b:195-7).

Urban planning scholars John Betancur and Janet Smith argue that social welfare should be a guiding principal of community development policy (2016). They point to the Chicago Anti-Eviction Campaign's efforts to support vulnerable families and foster community control of neighborhoods. If nonprofits and other community organizations could house people in foreclosed homes donated by banks, efforts such as this would support the human rights of marginalized communities. Of course, such a policy would require the political and business sectors to define housing as a human right. Perhaps business leaders, as community-level actors with a shared fate in their communities, could aid in advocating for policies such as these.

Community development plans aimed at supporting local businesses and residents in vulnerable communities do exist in Chicago and elsewhere. For example, in partnership with local organizations and businesses, and supported by former Alderman Danny Solis, the Great Cities Institute at the University of Illinois Chicago produced a "Quality of Life Plan" for Pilsen in 2017. Included in this plan are efforts to develop and preserve affordable housing and support and grow local businesses. A part of the housing strategy is a requirement that new developments designate 21% of units as affordable housing. The Plan also includes strategies to fill vacant storefronts and help local entrepreneurs open businesses that will provide jobs, goods, and services to the neighborhood.

However, even before scandals and accusations of corruption played a part in his resignation in 2018, Pilsen activists and community organization charged that not only had Solis ignored the 21% affordable housing in new developments rule, but that he had a long history of acting against the community's wishes. Solis accepted donations from real estate developers who paid little mind to the Quality of Life and similar plans. Though the Quality of Life Plan bears a statement from Solis and his signature, critics charge that he played a central part in gentrification and residential displacement in Pilsen (Pilsen Alliance 2019). Not only is it important for political and community leaders to advocate for plans such as this, they also need to follow through with them. Local business owners, community organizations, and residents might hold politicians and real estate developers accountable to promises they made for community support. In turn, politicians and real estate developers might keep promises made to communities, if they truly want communities to thrive.

Directions for Future Research

In the introduction, I argued that this project provides insights into several longstanding questions in sociology and within gentrification studies in particular. Though some scholars have pointed to businesses as an answer to the "community question," I show here that we should not take business-community connections for granted. I identified some patterns of communities within and among networks of local businesses, but ultimately argue that bonded solidarity and market considerations preclude businesses from providing the social service functions largely abandoned by the neoliberal state.

I also shed light on issues relating to commercial gentrification, cultural displacement, and the racialization of space identified as avenues for future research by several sociologists.

“Not for me” discourse and *alienation from place* are expressions of cultural displacement stemming from commercial gentrification. Relatedly, local businesses accompanying demographic transitions also contribute to segregation and conflict as they play an important part in the racialization of space. As the histories of European immigration, white flight, Latinx immigration, and gentrification show, demographic changes, the opening and closure of businesses, the organization of public events, and the active participation and resistance of agentic individuals in these processes are mutually constituting physical, mental, and social characteristics of white and minority spaces.

Future researchers might further examine many of the issues I identified here. Do local businesses act differently in other neighborhoods or cities? Are these patterns different in settings where gentrification or increasing racial and ethnic diversity take different forms? If bars and restaurants are not like childcare centers, what about barbershops, nail salons, thrift stores, or other types of businesses? What about co-ops and other collectively-owned businesses? Are there cases where community boards or quality of life plans are taken seriously? Are there other insights to be gained from the further consideration of *localized* and *despatialized spaces*? Will the world that emerges when societies reopen after the COVID-19 pandemic be so different that the concerns I raise here pale in comparison? As local businesses occupy a unique position in communities and society in general, questions such as these are worth further consideration.

APPENDIX A

METHODOLOGICAL NOTES AND “TALES FROM THE FIELD”

The greatest challenge in conducting this study was recruitment. When I initially developed the sampling strategy, I had several businesses in mind that I hoped would participate in the study. I began a process of gradually making connections at each site in the manner usually advised to ethnographic researchers. Unfortunately, this did not work very well, and I could not recruit many of them. During several visits, either I could not identify an owner or manager, or I could not find one to speak with me. I sent emails and left notes and business cards with dozens of employees and received few replies. At the same time, some owners were quick to respond and eager to help me. Having known Eric from Old Logan Tap and Dev from the smoke and vape shop made for easy recruitments. Hank from Taco Tuesday's, Tony from Sunny's, a manager at Pilsen Hardware, Arnav at Localized, and a few other key informants, were either aware of sociology or sympathetic to the task of having to complete a major project for a college degree and readily agreed to an interview, some even referred me to other contacts and key informants.

In addition to nonresponses, I spent months emailing back-and-forth with several business owners who initially expressed some interest in the study but ultimately declined or stopped responding to my emails and/or calls. One explanation ties directly back to some of my findings in chapter three, that business owners are simply too busy to bother with something that is unlikely to benefit them. I can empathize with this. Having over ten years of experience working in the food service industry myself, I had some firsthand experiences prior to this study observing the time and energy that owning and managing a small business requires. Small business owners work long hours, may not earn much of a profit for years, and many also have families or other responsibilities. It took a few meetings with Marc at HopDen before he

consented to participate in the study. He first thought I was a reporter and my interview would be free publicity. He was less interested when he learned his responses would be anonymized. As he and his partner were still establishing their business, they were also concerned that, if word got out that a researcher was prying and prodding customers, it would damage their reputation. After I agreed to only interview employees he passed along to me and not to be intrusive when interacting with customers, he signed the consent form. Though I was initially concerned that this might bias my results, I could collaborate his employees' interview responses with my own observations and stories I heard elsewhere.

Other businesses I contacted were initially hesitant to participate in the study and eventually declined. As discussed in the previous chapters, there have been several incidents involving conflicts between businesses and community groups in both neighborhoods, with businesses accused of contributing to gentrification and/or discriminating against Mexican Americans. I was aware of these incidents as they occurred, and I hoped to include the perspectives and experiences of these businesses in this study. Some businesses involved in these incidents did briefly entertain the idea that participating in this study might help to get perspectives like theirs into the public. However, after participating in several media interviews and this bringing them more negative attention, they ultimately declined. I received more than one long email from a restaurant representative demanding that I know that they “are not racist,” “hire people from the neighborhood,” “support the community,” and had been misrepresented by the news media. This caused some delays in my data collection. I would suggest to future researchers who might conduct a similar study to cast a wide net early in the recruitment process and to make use of contacts.

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW AND OBSERVATION GUIDES

Interview Guide (questions to be asked of business owners and/or managers)

[Insert introduction, confidentiality agreement, and other IRB sanctioned information]

1. What is the history of this business?
 - a. When did it open?
 - b. Why this kind of business?
 - c. Why in this neighborhood?
2. How has [the neighborhood] changed since the business has been open?
 - a. How have these changes effected the business?
 - b. Did the business make any changes because of this? Why/why not?
3. What kind of challenges has the business faced since it's been open?
 - a. How did these challenges effect the business?
 - b. Did the business make any changes because of this? Why/why not?
4. When was the best time for this business?
 - a. Was anything going on in the neighborhood that helped make this a good time for the business?
5. When was the worst time for the business?
 - a. Was anything going on in the neighborhood that helped make this a difficult time for the business?
6. Does the business ever participate in, sponsor, or otherwise support any community activities (street festivals, art walks, etc)? Why/why not?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. What is that like?
 - c. What does it involve?
7. Does the business ever work with or support any community groups (nonprofits, advocacy groups, social service organizations, etc)? Why/why not?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. What is that like?
 - c. What does it involve?
8. Does the business work with or support any politicians at any level of government? Why/why not?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. What is that like?
 - c. What does it involve?

9. Do you ever attend any community meetings, forums, or protests?
 - a. [Probe]

10. What are the business' employees like?
 - a. Where did they come from?
 - b. What is your relationship to them?
 - c. [Probe on race/class/longtime or new residents/local or extra local residents/etc]

11. What are the business' regular customers like?
 - a. [Probe on race/class/longtime or new residents/local or extra local residents/etc]

12. Businesses sometimes provide regular customers with credit or help them in other ways. Does this business do anything like that? Why/why not?

13. I've read about some businesses that provide their regular customers with help when needed (jobs, references or referrals, information about public services, working with government institutions and bureaucracies, etc). Does this business ever do anything like that?
 - a. [Probe]

14. Do you frequent any of the other businesses around here?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. For how long?
 - c. What are they like?
 - d. What do you like about them?
 - e. Do you have a personal relationship with their employees, management, or owner?

15. There seem to be a lot of new businesses around here lately. What do you think of them?
 - a. Do you frequent them?
 - b. Which ones?
 - c. For how long?
 - d. What are they like?
 - e. What do you like/dislike about them?
 - f. Do you have a personal relationship with their employees, management, or owner?

16. I've heard some people say that this neighborhood is gentrifying. What do you make of this?
 - a. Is this happening?
 - b. Why do/don't you think so?

- c. What does that mean for the neighborhood?
- d. Is this a good or bad thing?
- e. Would this help or hurt you in any way?
- f. Do or would you do anything to encourage or discourage gentrification?

17. Is there anything else I should know about the business or neighborhood?

Observation Guide (inside businesses, several visits, vary day/time)

1. What does the business look/sound/smell like?
2. How many people are there?
 - a. What do they look like? [appearance/estimation of race/class/gender/age]
 - b. What are they doing?
 - c. What are they buying?
 - d. Are they alone or in groups?
 - e. Do they appear to be interacting with friends or strangers?
 - f. How many employees are visible?
 - i. What are they doing?
 - ii. How do they interact with customers?
 - iii. [Any indication of anything about relation to community]
3. Is there any indication of connections to other people/places (flyers, etc)?

Observation Guide (community events, public forums, etc)

1. How many people are there?
 - a. What do they look like? [appearance/estimation of race/class/gender/age]
 - b. What are they doing?
 - c. Are they alone or in groups?
 - d. Do they appear to be interacting with friends or strangers?
2. Are managers or owners of local businesses present?
 - a. What are they doing?
 - b. Are they alone or in groups?
 - c. Do they appear to be interacting with officials, residents, friends, or strangers?
3. What topics are discussed at the meeting?
 - a. Do business owners participate?
 - i. What do they do?
 - ii. Do they identify themselves with their business?

- iii. What issues do they support or challenge?
 - iv. [Any indication of anything about relation to community]
4. Do any issues relating to businesses come up?
 5. Do any issues relating to gentrification come up?

REFERENCE LIST

- Abel, Ann. 2018. "The 12 Coolest Neighborhoods Around the Globe." *Forbes*, June 22.
- Allport, Gordon. [1954] 1979. *The Nature of Prejudice*. Malden, MA: Basic Books.
- Altman, Irwin and Setha M. Low (eds). 1992. *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Anderson, Elijah. 1978. *A Place on the Corner*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, Elijah. 1990. *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Anderson, Elijah. 2000. *The Code of the Street*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Anderson, Elijah. 2011. *The Cosmopolitan Canopy*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Anderson, Elijah. 2015. "The White Space." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):10-21.
- Anderson, Tammy. 2009. "Better to Complicate, Rather than Homogenize, Urban Nightlife: A Response to Grazian." *Sociological Forum* 24 (4):918-925.
- Andersonville Chamber of Commerce. 2004. *Andersonville Study of Retail Economics*. Chicago: Andersonville Chamber of Commerce.
- Aptekar, Sofya. 2019. "The Unbearable Lightness of the Cosmopolitan Canopy: Accomplishment of Diversity at an Urban Farmers Market." *City & Community* 18 (1):71-87.
- Balzarini, John E., and Anne B. Shlay. 2015. "Gentrification and the Right to the City: Community Conflict and Casinos." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 38:503-517.
- Bennett, Larry and Adolph Reed Jr. [1999] 2018. "The New Face of Urban Renewal: The Near North Redevelopment Initiative and the Cabrini-Green Neighborhood." Pp. 175-211 in *Without Justice for All*, edited by Adolph Reed Jr. New York: Routledge.
- Berrey, Ellen. 2005. "Divided over Diversity: Political Discourse in a Chicago Neighborhood." *City & Community* 4(2):143-170.

- Besser, Terry L. 2002. *The Conscience of Capitalism: Business Social Responsibility to Communities*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Betancur, John J. and Youngjun Kim. 2016. "The Trajectory and Impact of Ongoing Gentrification in Pilsen." White paper prepared for the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement.
- Betancur, John J., and Janet L. Smith. 2016. *Claiming Neighborhood: New Ways of Understanding Urban Change*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Betancur, John J. 2002. "The Politics of Gentrification: The Case of West Town in Chicago." *Urban Affairs Review* 37 (6):780–814.
- Betancur, John. 2005. "Gentrification Before Gentrification?: The Plight of Pilsen in Chicago." White paper prepared for the Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement.
- Betancur, John. 2011. "Gentrification and Community Fabric in Chicago." *Urban Studies* 48 (2):383-406.
- Bloom, Mina. 2018. "How Restaurants Feed the Gentrification Debate in Pilsen and Logan Square." *Eater Chicago*, February 6.
- Bloom, Mina. 2019. "As Logan Housing Costs Skyrocket, New 100 Percent Affordable Housing Complex 'Extremely Important' Step in Right Direction, Ald. Says." *Block Club Chicago*, April 3.
- Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 2015. "More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory." *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1(1):73-87.
- Borer, Michael Ian, and Daniel J. Monti, Jr. 2006. "Community, Commerce, and Consumption: Businesses as Civic Associations." Pp. 39-62 in *Varieties of Urban Experience: The American Experience and the Practice of Culture*, edited by Michael Ian Borer. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Boyd, Michelle. 2008. "Defensive Development: The Role of Racial Conflict in Gentrification." *Urban Affairs Review* 43 (6):751-776.
- Brenner, Neil, and Nik Theodore. 2002. "Cities and the Geographies of 'Actually Existing Neoliberalism.'" *Antipode* 34 (3):349-379.

- Brewster, Zachary W., Michael Lynn, and Shelytia Cocroft. 2014. "Consumer Racial Profiling in U.S. Restaurants: Exploring Subtle Forms of Service Discrimination against Black Diners." *Sociological Forum* 29 (2):476-495.
- Brown, Barbara B. and Douglas D. Perkins. 1992. "Disruptions in Place attachment." Pp. 279-304 in *Place Attachment*, edited by Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low. New York: Plenum Press.
- Browning, Christopher R., Reginald A. Byron, Catherine A. Calder, Lauren J. Krivo, Mei-Po Kwan, Jae-Yong Lee, and Ruth D. Peterson. 2010. "Commercial Density, Residential Concentration, and Crime: Land Use Patterns and Violence in Neighborhood Context." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 47 (3):329-357.
- Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2004. "Social Preservationists and the Quest for Authentic Community." *City & Community* 3 (2):135-147.
- Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2009. *A Neighborhood that Never Changes: Gentrification, Social Preservation, and the Search for Authenticity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2010. *The Gentrification Debates*. New York: Routledge.
- Brown-Saracino, Japonica. 2015. "How Places Shape Identity: The Origins of Distinctive LBQ Identities in Four Small U.S. Cities." *American Journal of Sociology* 121(1): 1-63.
- Burke, Meghan A. 2012. *Racial Ambivalence in Diverse Communities: Whites and the Power of Color-blind Ideologies*. New York: Lexington Books.
- Carroll, Glenn R., and Magnus Thor Torfason. 2011. "Restaurant Organizational Forms and Community in the US in 2005." *City & Community* 10 (1):1-24.
- Chernoff, Michael. [1980] 2010. "Social Displacement in Renovating a Neighborhood's Commercial District." Pp. 295-304 in *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by J. Brown-Saracino. New York: Routledge.
- Clark, Terry Nichols, Richard Lloyd, Kenneth K. Wong, and Pushpam Jain. 2002. "Amenities Drive Urban Growth." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24:493-515. *Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Curran, Winifred. 2007. "'From the Frying Pan to the Oven': Gentrification and Industrial Displacement in Williamsberg, Brooklyn." *Urban Studies* 44 (8):1427-1440.
- Curran, Winifred. 2018. "'Mexicans Love Red' and Other Gentrification Myths: Displacements

- and Contestations in the Gentrification of Pilsen, Chicago, USA.” *Urban Studies* 55 (8):1711-1728.
- de Oliver, Miguel. 2016. “Gentrification as the Appropriation of Therapeutic ‘Diversity’: A Model and Case Study of the Multicultural Amenity of Contemporary Urban Renewal.” *Urban Studies* 53 (6):1299-1316.
- Deener, Andrew. 2007. “Commerce as the Structure and Symbol of Neighborhood Life: Reshaping the Meaning of Community in Venice, California.” *City & Community* 6 (4):291-314.
- Deener, Andrew. 2012. *Venice: A Contested Bohemia in Los Angeles*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- DeLand, Michael and David Trouille. 2018. “Going Out: A Sociology of Public Outings.” *Sociological Theory* 36 (1):27-47.
- De Tocqueville, Alexis. [1835] 2002. *Democracy in America*. New York: Bantam.
- Drake, St. Clair, and Horace R. Cayton. 1945/1993. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Drew, Emily M. 2011. “‘Listening Through White Ears’: Cross-racial Dialogues as a Strategy to Address the Racial Effects of Gentrification.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34:99-115.
- Duneier, Mitchell. 1992. *Slim's Table*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Ellen, Ingrid Gould. 2000. *Sharing America's Neighborhoods: The Prospects for Stable Racial Integration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Embrick, David G., Simón Weffer, and Silvia Dóminguez. 2019. “White Sanctuaries: Race and Place in Art Museums.” *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy* 39(11/12):995-1009.
- Embrick, David G. 2016. “Thinking Diversity, Rethinking Diversity.” *Humanity & Society* 40 (3):223-228.
- Feagin, Joe R. 1991. “The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public Places.” *American Sociological Review* 56: 1: 101–116.
- Feagin, Joe R. 2014. *Racist America*. New York: Routledge.
- Florida, Richard. 2003. *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

- Foner, Nancy. 2000. *From Ellis Island to JFK: New York's Two Great Waves of Immigration*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fong, Eric, Emily E. Anderson, Wenhong Chen, and Chiu Luk. 2008. "The Logic of Ethnic Business Distribution in Multiethnic Cities." *Urban Affairs Review* 43 (4):497-519.
- Freeman, Lance and Frank Braconi. 2004. "Gentrification and Displacement: New York City in the 1990s." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 71 (1):39-52
- Freeman, Lance. 2006. *There Goes the 'Hood: Views of Gentrification from the Ground Up*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Fullilove, Mindy Thompson. 2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, And What We Can Do About It*. New York: Random House.
- Gans, Herbert J. [1962] 1982. *The Urban Villagers*, Updated and Expanded Edition. New York: Free Press.
- Gans, Herbert J. 2011. "The Moynihan Report and Its Aftermaths: A Critical Analysis." *Du Bois Review* 8 (2):315-327.
- García, Ivis, and Mérida Rúa. 2018. "'Our Interests Matter': Puerto Rican Older Adults in the Age of Gentrification." *Urban Studies* 55 (14):3168-3184.
- Glass, Ruth. [1964] 2010. "Introduction: Aspects of Change." Pp. 19-37 in *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by Japonica Brown-Saracino. New York: Routledge.
- Glazer, Nathan. and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. 1963. *Beyond the Melting Pot*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2005. "Tourism Gentrification: The Case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter)." *Urban Studies* 42 (7):1099-1121.
- Gotham, Kevin Fox. 2007. "(Re)Branding the Big Easy: Tourism Rebuilding in New Orleans." *Urban Affairs Review* 42 (6):823-850.
- Grazian, David. 2003. *Blue Chicago: The Search of Authenticity in Urban Blues Clubs*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Grazian, David. 2008. *On the Make: The Hustle of Urban Nightlife*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Grazian, David. 2009. "Urban Nightlife, Social Capital, and the Public Life of Cities." *Sociological Forum* 24 (4):908-917.
- Grief, Meredith J. 2009. "Neighborhood Attachment in the Multiethnic Metropolis." *City & Community* 8 (1):27-45.
- Hague, Euan. 2015. "Pilsen, the Gentrification Frontier." *Association of American Geographers Newsletter*, March 5, 2015. <http://news.aag.org/2015/03/pilsen-the-gentrification-frontier/>
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth. 1999. *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South; 1890- 1940*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Halebsky, Stephen. 2004. "Superstores and the Politics of Urban Development." *City & Community* 3 (2):115-134.
- Hamilton, David. 1957. "The Entrepreneur as Cultural Hero." *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 38 (3):248-256.
- Hoekstra, Erin and Joseph Gerteis. 2019. "The Civic Side of Diversity: Ambivalence and Belonging at the Neighborhood Level." *City & Community* 18 (1):195-212.
- Hummon, David M. 1992. "Community Attachment: Local Sentiment and Sense of Place." Pp. 253-278 in *Place Attachment*, edited by Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low. New York: Plenum Press.
- Hunter, Albert. 1974. *Symbolic Communities: The Persistence and Change of Chicago's Local Communities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hunter, Marcus Anthony. 2010. "The Nightly Round: Space, Social Capital and Urban Black Nightlife." *City & Community* 9 (2):165-186.
- Hwang, Jackelyn. 2015. "The Social Construction of a Gentrifying Neighborhood: Reifying and Redefining Identity and Boundaries in Inequality." *Urban Affairs Review* 52 (1):98-128.
- Hwang, Jackelyn. 2016. "While Some Things Change, Some Things Stay the Same: Reflections on the Study of Gentrification." *City & Community* 15(3):226-230.
- Hwang, Jackelyn, and Robert J. Sampson. 2014. "Divergent Pathways of Gentrification: Racial Inequality and the Social Order of Renewal in Chicago Neighborhoods." *American Sociological Review* 79 (4):726-751.
- Hyra, Derek. 2015. "The Back-to-the-City Movement: Neighbourhood Redevelopment and Processes of Political and Cultural displacement." *Urban Studies* 52 (10):1753-1773.

- Hyra, Derek S. 2017. *Race, Class, and Politics in the Cappuccino City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jackson, Griffin. 2018. "'Frenetic and Gentrifying': Logan Square a Bastion of Booze, Street Art, and, Yes, Hipsters." *Chicago Tribune*, May 8.
- Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.
- Johnston, Josée, and Shyon Baumann. 2015. *Foodies: Democracy and Distinction in the Gourmet Foodscape, 2nd Ed.* New York: Routledge.
- Jones, Nikki. 2010. *Between Good and Ghetto*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. *Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kalleberg, Arne L. 2011. *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs: the Rise of Polarized and Precarious Employment Systems in the United States, 1970s-2000s*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Kasarda, John, and Morris Janowitz. 1974. "Community Attachment in Mass Society." *American Sociological Review* 39:328-339.
- Kefalas, Maria. 2003. *Working-Class Heroes: Protecting Home, Community, and Nation in a Chicago Neighborhood*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Kidder, Jeffrey L. 2009. "Appropriating the City: Space, Theory, and Bike Messengers." *Theory & Society* 38(3):307-328.
- Kimball, Spenser. 2020. "Congress Approved \$370 Billion More in Small Business Loans, But the Money Could Run Out in Days – Again." *CNBC*, April 25.
- Kirschenman, Joleen and Kathryn Neckerman. 1991. "'We'd Love to Hire Them, but ...': The Meaning of Race for Employers." In *The Urban Underclass*, edited by Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institute.
- Klinenberg, Eric. 2003. *Heat Wave*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Klinenberg, Eric. 2012. *Going Solo: The Extraordinary Rise and Surprising Appeal of Living Alone*. New York: Penguin Press.
- Klinenberg, Eric. 2018. *Palaces for the People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and the Decline of Civic Life*. New York: Crown Publishing.

- Kwon, Seok-Woo, Colleen Heflin, and Martin Ruef. 2016. "Community Social Capital and Entrepreneurship." *American Sociological Review* 78 (6):980-1008.
- Langegger, Sig. 2016. "Right-of-way Gentrification: Conflict, Commodification, and Cosmopolitanism." *Urban Studies* 53 (9):1803-1821.
- Lee, Jennifer, and Frank D. Bean. 2004. "America's Changing Color Lines: Immigration, Race/Ethnicity, and Multiracial Identification." *Annual Review of Sociology* 30:221-242.
- Lee, Jennifer. 1998. "Cultural Brokers: Race-Based Hiring in Inner-City Neighborhoods." *The American Behavioral Scientist* 41 (7):927-937.
- Lee, Jennifer. 2002a. "From Civil Relations to Racial Conflict: Merchant-Customer Interactions in Urban America." *American Sociological Review* 67 (1):77-98.
- Lee, Jennifer. 2002b. *Civility in the City: Blacks, Jews, and Koreans in Urban America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lees, Loretta, Tom Slater, and Elvin Wyly. 2008. *Gentrification*. New York: Routledge.
- Lees, Loretta. 2003. "Super-Gentrification: The Case of Brooklyn Heights, New York City." *Urban Studies* 40 (12): 2487-2509.
- Lees, Loretta. 2008. "Gentrification and Social Mixing: Towards an Inclusive Urban Renaissance?" *Urban Studies* 45 (12):2449-2470.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Levy, Paul R., and Roman A. Cybriwsky. [1980] 2010. "The Hidden Dimensions of Culture and Class: Philadelphia." Pp. 285-294 in in *The Gentrification Debates*, edited by J. Brown-Saracino. New York: Routledge.
- Lewis, Amanda. 2003. *Race in the Schoolyard: Negotiating the Color Line in Classrooms and Communities*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lewis, Oscar. 1968. *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Liebow, Elliott. 1967/2003. *Tally's Corner: A Study of Negro Streetcorner Men*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Light, Ivan. 1972. *Ethnic Enterprise in America: Business and Welfare Among Chinese, Japanese and Blacks*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Lin, Jan. 2011. *The Power of Urban Ethnic Places*. New York: Routledge.
- Lloyd, Richard, and Terry Nicholas Clark. 2001. "The City as an Entertainment Machine." *Critical Perspectives on Urban Redevelopment* 6:359-380.
- Lloyd, Richard. 2005. *Neo-bohemia: Art and Commerce in the Postindustrial City*. New York: Routledge.
- Loewen, James. 1971. *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Logan, John R. 2013. "The Persistence of Segregation in the 21st Century Metropolis." *City & Community* 12(2):160-168.
- Logan, John R., and Harvey L. Molotch. 1987. *Urban Fortunes*. Berkeley: University of Chicago Press.
- Low, Setha M., and Irwin Altman. 1992. "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry." Pp. 1-12 in *Place Attachment*, edited by Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low. New York: Plenum Press.
- Maly, Michael T. 2005. *Beyond Segregation: Multiracial and Multiethnic Neighborhoods in the United States*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Maly, Michael, Heather Dalmage, and Nancy Michaels. 2012. "The End of an Idyllic World: Nostalgia Narratives, Race, and the Construction of White Powerlessness." *Critical Sociology* 39 (5):757-779.
- Marcuse, Peter. 1975. "Residential Alienation, Home Ownership and the Limits of Shelter Policy." *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*. 3 (2):181-203.
- Marcuse, Peter. 1999. "Comment on Elvin K. Wyly and Daniel J. Hammel's 'Islands of
- Martin, Leslie. 2008. "Boredom, Drugs, and Schools: Protecting Children in Gentrifying Communities." *City & Community* 7 (4):331-346.
- Martinez, Juan R. 2017. "'This is an Italian Church with a Large Hispanic Population': Factors and Strategies in White Ethno-Religious Place Making." *City & Community* 16 (4):399-420.
- Martucci, Sara. 2019. "Shopping Streets and Neighborhood Identity: Retail Theming as Symbolic Ownership in New York." *City & Community* 18 (4):1123-1141.
- Marwell, Nicole P., and Michael McQuarrie. 2013. "People, Place, and System: Organizations

- and the Renewal of Urban Social Theory.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 647:126-143.
- Marx, Karl. 1978. “Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844.” Pp. 66-125 in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, edited by Robert C. Tucker. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- May, Reuben A. B. and Kenneth S. Chaplin. 2008. “Cracking the Code: Race, Class, and Access in Urban America.” *Qualitative Sociology* 31:57-72.
- May, Reuben A. Buford. 2014. *Urban Nightlife: Entertaining Race, Class, and Culture in Public Space*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Mayorga-Gallo, Sarah. 2014. *Behind the White Picket Fence: Power and Privilege in a Multiethnic Neighborhood*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.
- McDermott, Monica. 2006. *Working-Class White*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- McIntosh, Peggy. 1988. “White Privilege and Male Privilege: A Personal Account of Coming to See Correspondences Through Work in Women’s Studies.” Wellesley: Center for Research on Women,
- Mele, Christopher. 2000. *Selling the Lower East Side*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mele, Christopher. 2016. “Revisiting the Citadel and the Ghetto: Legibility, Race, and Contemporary Urban Development.” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 2(3):354-371.
- Mele, Christopher. 2017. *Race and the Politics of Deception: The Making of an American City*. New York: New York University Press.
- Milligan, Melinda J. 1998. “Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment.” *Symbolic Interaction* 21 (1):1-33.
- Molotch, Harvey Luskin. 1972. *Managed Integration: Dilemmas of Doing Good in the City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Moore, Joan, and James Diego Vigil. 1993. “Barrios in Transition.” Pp. 27-49 in *In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate*, edited by Joan Moore and Raquel Pinderhughes. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.
- Moore, Joan, and Raquel Pinderhughes (eds). 1993. *In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate*. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

- Moore, Wendy Leo. 2008. *Reproducing Racism: White Space, Elite Law Schools, and Racial Inequality*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Moynihan, Daniel P. 1965. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor.
- Murdie, Robert, and Carlos Teixeira. 2011. "The Impact of Gentrification on Ethnic Neighbourhoods in Toronto: A Case Study of Little Portugal." *Urban Studies* 48 (1):61-83.
- Myrdal, Gunnar. 1944. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers.
- Nathalie P. Voorhees Center for Neighborhood and Community Improvement. 2014. *The Socioeconomic Change of Chicago's Community Areas (1970-2010): Gentrification Index*. Chicago: University of Illinois at Chicago.
- Newman, K and Elvin Wyly. 2006. "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City." *Urban Studies* 43 (1):23-57.
- Nyden, Phillip, Emily Edlynn, and Julie Davis. 2006. "The Differential Impact of Gentrification on Communities in Chicago." White paper prepared for the City of Chicago Commission on Human Relations by Loyola University Chicago Center for Urban Research and Learning.
- Nyden, Philip, John Lukehart, Michael Maly, and William Peterman (eds). 1998. *Cityscape*
- Ocejo, Richard E. 2011. "The Early Gentrifier: Weaving a Nostalgia Narrative on the Lower East Side." *City & Community* 10 (3):285-310.
- Ocejo, Richard E. 2014. *Upscaling Downtown: From Bowery Saloons to Cocktail Bars in New York City*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Ocejo, Richard E. 2017. *Masters of Craft: Old Jobs in the New Urban Economy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Oldenburg, Ray. 1999. *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York: Marlowe & Company.
- Padilla, Felix M. 1993. "The Quest for Community: Puerto Ricans in Chicago." Pp. 129-148 in *In the Barrios: Latinos and the Underclass Debate*, edited by Joan Moore and Raquel Pinderhughes. New York: Russel Sage Foundation.

- Papachristos, Andrew V., Chris Smith, Mary Scherer, and Melissa Fugerio. 2011. "More Coffee, Less Crime? The Influence of Gentrification on Neighborhood Crime Rates in Chicago, 1991 to 2005," *City & Community* 10 (3):215-240.
- Park, Robert E. 1939. "The Nature of Race Relations." Pp. 3-45 in *Race Relations and the Race Problem*, edited by Edgar T. Thompson. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Park, Robert Ezra. 1950. *Race and Culture*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.
- Parker, Jeffrey Nathaniel. 2018. "Negotiating the Space Between Avant-Garde and 'Hip Enough': Businesses and Commercial Gentrification in Wicker Park." *City & Community* 17 (2):438-460.
- Pattillo, Mary. 2003. "Negotiating Blackness, For Richer or For Poorer," *Ethnography* 4(1), 61–93.
- Pattillo, Mary. 2007. *Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1999. *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril among the Black Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Peña, Mauricio. 2018. "'Emerging Neighborhoods' Developer Seminar Angers Residents of Gentrifying Pilsen: 'Blatant Disrespect.'" *Block Club Chicago*, December 4.
- Pilsen Alliance. 2019. "Two Decades of Solis' Legacy in Pilsen."
<http://www.thepilsenalliance.org/two-decades-of-solis-legacy-in-pilsen-and-the-25th-ward/>. Accessed May 2020.
- Portes, Alejandro and Ruben G. Rumbaut. [1997] 2014. *Immigrant America: A Portrait*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Julia Sensenbrenner. 1993. "Embeddedness and Immigration: Notes on the Social Determinants of Economic Action." *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (6):1320-1350.
- Prager, Devah. 2009. *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Purifoye, Gwendolyn Y. 2015. "Nice-Nastiness and Other Raced Social Interactions on Public Transport Systems." *City & Community* 14 (3):286-310.

- Ray, Victor. 2019. "A Theory of Racialized Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 84(1):26-53.
- Rich, Meghan Ashlin. 2009. "'It Depends on How You Define Integrated': Neighborhood Boundaries and Racial Integration in a Baltimore Neighborhood." *Sociological Forum* 24 (4):828-853.
- Rodkin, Dennis. 2018. "Logan Square Burns Hot as Many City Neighborhoods Cool Down." *Crain's Chicago Business*, October 18.
- Rosenblatt, Peter and Stefanie DeLuca. 2012. "'We Don't Live Outside, We Live in Here': Residential Mobility Decisions of Low-income Families." *City & Community* 11(3):254-284.
- Rosenblatt, Peter, and Steven Tuttle. 2016. "Imagining the Changing City: Gentrification, Race, and Media Representations in Four Chicago Neighborhoods." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Urban Affairs Association. San Diego, CA.
- Rosenblatt, Peter, Kathryn Edin, Queenie Zhu. 2015. "I Do Me: Young Black Men and the Struggle to Resist the Streets." Pp. 229-251 in *The Cultural Matrix: Understanding Black Youth*, edited by Orlando Patterson and Ethan Fosse. Boston: Harvard University Press.
- Rousseau, Max. 2011. "Post-Fordist Urbanism in France's Poorest City: Gentrification as Local Capitalist Strategy." *Critical Sociology* 38 (1):49-69.
- Sampson, Robert J. 1988. "Local Friendship Ties and Community Attachment in Mass Society: A Multilevel Systemic Model." *American Sociological Review* 53 (5):766-779.
- Sampson, Robert J. 2012. *Great American City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sampson, Robert J., and Stephen W. Raudenbush. 2004. "Seeing Disorder: Neighborhood Stigma and the Social Construction of 'Broken Windows.'" *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67 (4):319-342.
- Sampson, Robert J., Jeffrey D. Morenoff, and Thomas Gannon-Rowley. 2002. "Assessing 'Neighborhood Effects': Social Processes and New Directions in Research." *Annual Review of Sociology* 28:442-478.
- Sandoval, Gabriel, and Reuven Blau. 2020. "De Blasio Takes Mom-and-Pop Commercial Rent Control Longshot." *The City*, Feb. 20.
- Sassen, Saskia. 2019. *Cities in a World Economy 5th Edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Schlichtman, John Joe, Jason Patch, and Marc Lamont Hill. 2017. *Gentrifier*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Schutz, Paris. 2017. "Logan Square, Pilsen at Crux of Gentrification Debate." *WWTW*, March 21.
- Sennett, Richard. 2000. *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. New York: WW Norton & Co.
- Sharkey, Patrick. 2013. *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Shaw, Samuel, and Daniel Monroe Sullivan. 2011. "'White Night': Gentrification, Racial Exclusion, and Perceptions and Participation in the Arts." *City & Community* 10 (3):241-264.
- Silver, Daniel, and Terry Nichols Clark. 2016. *Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Simmel, Georg. [1908] 1971. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." Pp. 324-339 in *On Individuality and Social Forms*, edited by Donald N. Levine. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smajda, Jon, and Joseph Gerteis. 2012. "Ethnic Community and Ethnic Boundaries in a 'Sauce-Scented Neighborhood.'" *Sociological Forum* 27 (3):617-640.
- Small, Mario Luis, and Monica McDermott. 2006. "The Presence of Organizational Resources in Poor Urban Neighborhoods: An Analysis of Average and Contextual Effects." *Social Forces* 84 (3):1697-1724.
- Small, Mario, David J. Harding, and Michele Lamont. 2010. "Introduction: Reconsidering Culture and Poverty." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 629: 6-27.
- Small, Mario Luis, Erin M. Jacobs, and Rebekah Peeples Massengill. 2008. "Why Organizational Ties Matter for Neighborhood Effects: Resource Access through Childcare Centers." *Social Forces* 87 (1):387-414.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2004. *Villa Victoria*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2008. "Four Reasons to Abandon the Idea of 'The Ghetto.'" *City & Community* 7 (4):389-398.

- Small, Mario Luis. 2009. "How Many Cases Do I Need?" On Science and the Logic of Case Selection in Field-based Research." *Ethnography* 10 (5):5-38.
- Small, Mario Luis. 2009. *Unanticipated Gains*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, Neil and Peter Williams (eds). 1986. *Gentrification of the City*. Winchester, MA: Allen & Unwin.
- Smith, Neil. 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.
- Snedker, Karen A. 2015. "Neighborhood Conditions and Fear of Crime: A Reconsideration of Sex Differences." *Crime & Delinquency* 61 (1):45-70.
- Steinberg, Steven. 1981. *The Ethnic Myth*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Sullivan, Daniel Monroe. 2007. "Reassessing Gentrification: Measuring Residents' Opinions Using Survey Data." *Urban Affairs Review* 42 (4):583-592.
- Suttles, Gerald. 1968. *The Social Order of the Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Suttles, Gerald D. 1984. "The Cumulative Texture of Local Urban Culture." *American Journal of Sociology* 90 (2):283-304.
- Tatum, Beverly Daniel. 1997. *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race*. New York: Basic Books.
- Tolbert, Charles M. II. 2005. "Minding Our Own Business: Local Retail Establishments and the Future of Southern Civic Community." *Social Forces* 83 (4):1309-1328.
- TRD Chicago Staff. 2020. "Mark Fishman and other Logan Square Landlords want to Kill Bickerdike's Affordable Project." *The Real Deal*, Mar. 3.
- Valdez, Zulema. 2011. *The New Entrepreneurs: How Race, Class, and Gender Shape American Enterprise*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Walton, Emily, and Mae Hardebeck. 2016. "Multiethnic Neighborhoods on the Ground: Resources, Constraints, and Sense of Community." *Du Bois Review* 13 (2):345-363.
- Walton, Emily. 2016. "'It's Not Just a Bunch of Buildings': Social Psychological Investment, Sense of Community, and Collective Efficacy in a Multiethnic Low-Income Neighborhood." *City & Community* 15 (3):231-263.

- Weber, Max. [1958] 2003. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Dover.
- Weber, Max. 1978. *Economy and Society*, edited by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Weiss, Robert S. 1994. *Learning from Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies*. New York: Free Press.
- Wellman, Barry and Barry Leighton. 1979. "Networks, Neighborhoods, and Communities: Approaches to the Study of the Community Question." *Urban Affairs Review* 14 (3):363-390.
- Whyte, William Foote. 1943. *Street Corner Society: The Societal Structure of an Italian Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, William J., and Richard P. Taub. 2006. *There Goes the Neighborhood: Racial, Ethnic, and Class Tensions in Four Chicago Neighborhoods and Their Meaning for America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Wilson, William Julius. 1987. *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Wirth, Louis. 1938. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." *American Journal of Sociology* 44:1-24.
- Woldoff, Rachael A. 2002. "The Effects of Local Stressors on Neighborhood Attachment." *Social Forces* 81 (1):87-116.
- Wyly, Evlin K., and Daniel J. Hammel. 1998. "Modeling the Context and Contingency of Gentrification." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20 (3):303-326.
- Zhou, Min. 1992. *Chinatown: The Socioeconomic Potential of an Urban Enclave*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Zhou, Min. 2004. "Revisiting Ethnic Entrepreneurship: Convergencies, Controversies, and Conceptual Advancements." *International Migration Review* 38 (3):1040-1074.
- Zorbaugh, Harvey. 1929. *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Zukin, Sharon, Philip Kasinitz, and Xiangming Chen. 2016. *Global Cities, Local Streets*. New York: Routledge.
- Zukin, Sharon, and Ervin Kosta. 2004. "Bourdieu Off-Broadway: Managing Distinction on a Shopping Block in the East Village." *City & Community* 3 (2):101-114.

- Zukin, Sharon, Valerie Trujillo, Peter Frase, Danielle Jackson, Tim Recuber, and Abraham Walker. 2009. "New Retail Capital and Neighborhood Change: Boutiques and Gentrification." *City & Community* 8 (1):47-64.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1982. *Loft Living: Culture and Capital in Urban Change*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1991. *Landscape of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Zukin, Sharon. 1995. *The Cultures of Cities*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2008. "Consuming Authenticity: From Outposts of Difference to Means of Exclusion." *Cultural Studies* 22 (5):724-748.
- Zukin, Sharon. 2010. *Naked City*. New York: Oxford University Press.

VITA

Steven Tuttle was born and raised in New Jersey. Before attending Loyola University Chicago, he attended the University of North Carolina at Asheville, where he earned a Bachelor of Arts in Sociology, with Distinction, in 2008. From 2009 to 2010, he also attended the University of Chicago, where he received a Master of Arts in Social Science.

While at Loyola, Dr. Tuttle was a three-time winner of the Richard Block Award for Best Paper in Urban Sociology or Public Policy. He was also a recipient of the University's Pre-doctoral teaching fellowship and was admitted into Alpha Sigma Nu, the Jesuit Universities Honors Society, in 2016. His work has been published in *City & Community*, *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, and *Urban Geography Research Group*.

Currently, Dr. Tuttle is a part-time instructor at Loyola University Chicago and Columbia College Chicago. He lives in Chicago, Illinois.