

Housing Decisions Among Low-Income Hispanic Households in Chicago

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Abstract

Scholars have begun to study housing search processes to better understand how they are shaped by and affect racial and class residential sorting and segregation. Existing research has focused on subsidized renters and on Black and White populations. This article fills a gap in the literature by using qualitative interviews with 23 low-income Hispanic immigrant and nonimmigrant mothers living in Chicago without government housing assistance. We explore interview respondents' reasons for moving, their sources of housing information, and the primary factors they considered in choosing their housing. We find that—in the context of financial constraints, unplanned moves, limited transportation, and immigrant or undocumented status—social networks were most determinative of the housing search strategies that our respondents used. The reliance on social networks in turn led to short-distance moves that did not alter patterns of racial and class segregation in Chicago or increase respondents' access to more advantaged neighborhoods in the city and beyond.

Introduction

Racial and income segregation, which characterizes the residential geography of many U.S. cities, largely stems from historical and enduring practices of discrimination (Bobo and Zubrinsky, 1996; Massey and Denton, 1993; Rugh and Massey, 2014). Scholars recognize that individual-level mobility decisions both are shaped by the realities of segregation and have the cumulative effect of

maintaining segregated neighborhoods. Hence, researchers are increasingly turning their attention to individuals' housing search processes to better understand the factors underlying neighborhood sorting in the 21st century (Krysan and Bader, 2009; Rosenblatt and DeLuca, 2012). Residential segregation by race and class is important because of the documented negative effects that living in high-poverty and predominately minority areas can have on individual outcomes (Osypuk et al., 2009; Sharkey, 2013; Wilson, 1996).

Federal housing policy has attempted to mitigate inequalities in residential opportunities by passing fair housing legislation. The 2015 Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Final Rule reiterates that, in matters of housing and urban development, the federal government is bound by “not only a mandate to refrain from discrimination but a mandate to take the type of actions that undo historic patterns of segregation and other types of discrimination and afford access to opportunity that has long been denied” (HUD, 2015a: 42274). One primary method of promoting access to neighborhoods of high opportunity has been with housing subsidy programs, but these programs serve only a minority of the low-income population; thus, studies of these programs are insufficient for understanding the moving behaviors of most people who do not receive housing assistance.

In addition, housing research has largely overlooked the Hispanic population.¹ Housing problems—from affordability to crowding and poor housing quality—disproportionately affect Black² and Hispanic households (Eggers and Moumen, 2013; McConnell, 2008).³ Possibly because of eligibility restrictions for immigrants or limited outreach and cultural competency, however, Hispanic households are underrepresented in many housing assistance programs.⁴ For example, the Housing Choice Voucher (HCV) program serves approximately 34 percent of income-eligible Black renter households with children but only 6 percent of similar Hispanic households and 10 percent of similar White households (Acevedo-Garcia, 2014). Thus, paradoxically—considering the demographic reality that the Hispanic population is the largest minority group—housing research often centers on issues that pertain to the Black and White populations.

This article addresses the research gap by drawing on 23 qualitative interviews with low-income Hispanic mothers without housing assistance in Chicago. Given the thin existing literature on

¹ Although most Hispanic/Latino people do not have a preference for one pan-ethnic label over another, *Hispanic* is preferred by those individuals who do express a preference (Taylor et al., 2012); thus, we use *Hispanic* throughout this article for consistency.

² Similar to the ambivalence shown toward the labels *Hispanic* and *Latino*, most people of African descent show no preference for *Black* or *African-American* (Jones, 2013). *Black*, however, is a more encompassing term than *African-American* and is preferred by Black immigrants, and thus we use *Black* throughout this article for consistency (Smith, 2014).

³ Among very low-income, unassisted renters—the category that most closely reflects our sample in this article—83, 87, and 88 percent of White, Black, and Hispanic renter households, respectively, experience severe or moderate housing problems (authors' calculations of data in table A-9, HUD, 2015b).

⁴ Among renter households with incomes below 30 percent of Area Median Income (AMI), Hispanic households are underrepresented in the HCV program and the project-based Section 8 program but are slightly overrepresented in public housing (see National Low Income Housing Coalition, 2012). Figures from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's 2015 *Worst Case Housing Needs* report (HUD, 2015b), however, show that, among renter households earning less than 50 percent of AMI, Hispanic households were nearly equally as likely as White households to be “assisted” in 2013 (20.5 percent for Hispanic households compared with 20.9 percent for White households), but that statistic did not break down this label by program. Black households are overrepresented among assisted renters in both reports.

Hispanic households, we did not aim to test explicit hypotheses. Instead, we set out to explore a wide range of topics with Hispanic mothers by using open-ended questions (see the interview guide in appendix B) and to build our findings inductively from their narratives. We designed the interview guide with the following research questions in mind: How and from whom do low-income Hispanic mothers learn about neighborhoods as possible moving destinations? What factors are most consequential in determining where they move? How do such moves fit into the larger geography of opportunity?

Hence, we contribute to the small but growing body of knowledge regarding the factors and mechanisms influencing the housing decisions of low-income urban residents. Understanding why people move, how they search, and where they end up is important for explaining observed spatial patterns of segregation by race/ethnicity and class. It also puts the issue of residential segregation in the context of more immediate housing considerations for households, such as affordability, transportation, and unit size. In other words, unlike the salient role that neighborhood racial composition (or assumed proxies for it—see Ellen, 2000) plays in the housing decisions of White households (Charles, 2009; Krysan and Bader, 2007), residential mobility for racial/ethnic minority and low-income households is not primarily prompted by or directed toward achieving some racially ideal neighborhood. Nonetheless, the microdecisions of those households can contribute to the reproduction (or disruption) of segregated housing patterns.

Our research highlights several important characteristics of the moves and decisions of (mostly immigrant) Hispanic households in Chicago. First, affordability was the most important concern for interview respondents, but affordability does not go very far in explaining why people do not disperse across the full array of lower-cost neighborhoods in a metropolis; hence, we must look to other factors to explain where people move. Second, because of financial insecurity, moves were more sudden and unpredicted than deliberated and planned; thus, they required households to make relatively quick decisions about neighborhoods and housing units (see also DeLuca, Wood, and Rosenblatt, 2012). Third, the Hispanic mothers we interviewed were closely tied to their social networks, and those ties pushed people to move and shaped how and where households searched for housing. In the context of immigrant status and limited transportation options, the strategies and the geographic scope of the housing search were primarily informed by social network members and by the desire to maintain connections to kin and friends. The reliance on social networks seems to reinforce segregated residential patterns. Fourth, and finally, all these factors—quick moves, affordability pressures, transportation challenges, immigrant status, and influential social networks—lead to short-distance moves that contribute to maintaining racial and class segregation. We show that, in a self-reinforcing pattern, social networks contained in separate neighborhoods within a segregated metropolitan geography define the parameters of the housing search (Galster and Killen, 1995), which, in turn, reproduces segregation and maintains the geographic insularity of people's ties.

To elaborate this argument, the article proceeds as follows. The first section reviews the literature on residential mobility and housing decisions of low-income and minority households. In the second and third sections, we discuss the data and methods used for our study and place the study participants within the racial and class geography of Chicago. The fourth section presents the results and identifies why respondents moved, how they obtained information during their housing

search, and how they chose their current neighborhood and housing unit. The importance of social networks is apparent in each of these steps in the process, and the result is relatively local moves that do not alter the racial or class geography of Chicago. Finally, we discuss the implications of the findings for housing inequality and housing policy and consider directions for future research.

Poverty, Race/Ethnicity, and Residential Mobility

In the United States, the federal government's involvement in providing housing for the lowest-income Americans dates back to the inception of the public housing program with the United States Housing Act of 1937.⁵ Later, research documenting the negative effects of living in deteriorating and disinvested public housing developments influenced, in part, the shift of federal housing programs toward racial and poverty deconcentration by the 1980s and 1990s (Basolo and Nguyen, 2005; Briggs, 1998; Oakley and Burchfield, 2009). The goal of dispersal programs was to expand the geography of opportunity by enabling housing choice and, in some cases, even assisting in the relocation of public housing residents to wealthier or more racially integrated neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods were thought to have better living environments, with access to resources such as good jobs, better schools, and higher-income residents that could serve as leveraging social networks (Briggs, 1998; Galster and Killen, 1995).

Many studies of poor and minority urban residents' housing choices have therefore relied on samples of recipients of government housing assistance, such as the HCV program, which enables households to pay roughly 30 percent of their income toward rent, and the voucher covers the rest. Assisted renters, however, differ in significant ways from the general population of unassisted renters. For example, as mentioned previously, Black households are overrepresented and Hispanic households are underrepresented among assisted renters. In addition, Phinney (2013) found that receipt of housing assistance increases housing stability, tenure, and satisfaction with one's rental housing arrangement (also see Skobba, Bruin, and Yust, 2013; Wood, Turnham, and Mills, 2008).

Housing mobility programs vary in the degree to which they ensure that recipients successfully relocate to—and *remain in*—better neighborhoods. For example, in the Moving to Opportunity program, many participants expressed desires to remain in the low-poverty neighborhoods to which they made their first move, but many were forced to move again because of circumstances such as rent increases, high utility costs, conflicts with landlords, and housing-related factors such as structural damage and rodent infestations, which made the unit ineligible to receive government voucher payments. Moreover, a shortage of affordable rental housing and of landlords who would accept vouchers resulted in their relocation to predominantly minority or downward transitioning neighborhoods (Basolo and Nguyen, 2005; Briggs, Comey, and Weismann, 2010; Briggs, Popkin, and Goering, 2010; Briggs and Turner, 2006; Clampet-Lundquist, 2003; Rosenblatt and DeLuca, 2012).

For assisted movers, social networks and the support they provided proved to be central in decisions about whether and where to move during initial and secondary moves (Boyd, 2008; Kleit and Galvez, 2011). For example, a valuable resource provided by supportive ties was informal or

⁵ P.L. 75-412, 50 Stat. 888.

off-the-books childcare, which was essential for low-income women who were either unable to afford traditional childcare or worked unconventional hours (Boyd, 2008; Curley, 2009; Dominguez and Watkins, 2003). Evidence also shows that some voucher households moved to escape negative or “draining” ties (Boyd, 2008; Curley, 2009; Kleit, 2010). Emerging research about the outcomes of housing mobility participants demonstrates the potential importance of social networks in low-income people’s housing and neighborhood selection decisions, the difficulty of building support and leveraging ties in new destinations, and the lack of knowledge about the complexity of low-income people’s social networks, which can work “in tandem or in tension” (Dominguez and Watkins, 2003: 131) with an individual’s self-sufficiency and social mobility goals.

Given the challenges that households receiving housing assistance experience in improving their neighborhoods, understanding the residential searches, decisions, and experiences of unassisted low-income, minority, and immigrant households is critical. Unassisted households presumably face even worse affordability constraints because of their lack of housing subsidies. In addition, immigrant households are more likely to rely on social networks than are their nonimmigrant counterparts (Basolo and Nguyen, 2009; Menjivar, 2000).

Low-income households display high levels of residential mobility and often move from one disadvantaged neighborhood to another (Sampson, Sharkey, and Raudenbush, 2008; Skobba, Bruin, and Yust, 2013; South, Crowder, and Chavez, 2005). In their study of residents of low-income neighborhoods in 10 cities, Coulton, Theodos, and Turner (2012: 69) classified 46 percent of movers in those neighborhoods as “churning movers,” who “moved short distances (median 1.7 miles) and did not gain much in terms of neighborhood amenities and satisfaction... [likely in] response to financial stress or problems in their rental housing arrangements.” DeLuca, Wood, and Rosenblatt (2012) report that 80 percent of their sample of assisted and unassisted Black renters in Baltimore, Maryland, and Mobile, Alabama, made such “reactive moves,” which forced them to make a quick decision about where to go. Because neighborhoods of the same racial/ethnic composition often are clustered together (Massey and Denton, 1993), short-distance churning often indicates moves within and among neighborhoods that are racially/ethnically similar.⁶ Indeed, Quillian (2014) found that distance is the best predictor of where households end up and that the probability of moving to a specific neighborhood declines the farther away it is from the originating neighborhood.

The importance of distance cannot be detached from the issue of neighborhood racial/ethnic composition. The clustering dimension of residential segregation creates contiguous neighborhoods of the same racial/ethnic composition (Iceland, Weinberg, and Steinmetz, 2002). Neighborhood clustering by racial composition also creates clustered social networks. In other words, proximity is in many ways a proxy for the familiarity with nearby neighborhoods that are similar in race/ethnicity and class and that are home to close and extended social ties (Kleit and Galvez, 2011).

Familiarity is important because a household cannot take advantage of a place about which it is unaware. Variances in familiarity might explain why Black and Hispanic households are

⁶ National survey data from the American Housing Survey show that a greater proportion of Black and Hispanic households than White households move locally, with 70 and 73 percent of Black and Hispanic households, respectively, moving within the same county compared with only 60 percent of White households (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013).

underrepresented in some affordable parts of metropolitan areas (Harris and McArdle, 2004). In a study of Black, White, and Hispanic movers in Chicago, Krysan and Bader (2009) showed that Hispanic households have considerably more community “knowledge blind spots”—or communities of which they are unaware—than do the other two groups, especially regarding their knowledge of predominately White communities. These findings show how “racialized knowledge,” or the flow of information within racially homogeneous social networks—which is partially a function of racial residential segregation (Freeman, 1978)—may limit searchers’ exposure to the full range of housing opportunities.

Studies of unassisted renters also emphasize the emergency nature of many moves and the general instability of various living situations. Black and Puerto Rican respondents in Clampet-Lundquist’s (2003) study resorted to doubling up with partners, family, and friends as a strategy for avoiding homelessness and shelters in Philadelphia. Such arrangements, however, were characterized by overcrowding, instability, feelings of dependency, and tension and conflict surrounding household management. These households also endured substandard housing conditions amid landlords’ refusal to do repairs.

Recent works examining the international migration process have highlighted the critical importance of networks for immigrants (Dominguez, 2010). In her examination of West Indian immigrant networks, Vilna Bashi (2007) extends the social network as an analytical concept, describing the prominent role of hubs (for example, hosts and sponsors) in facilitating the migration and resettlement processes of spokes (or beneficiaries). Nadia Flores-Yeffal (2013) found that migration-trust networks often are forged on the basis of a shared community of origin. Mexican and Salvadoran emigrants often mobilize their networks’ “social capital” *before* their migration journey, obtaining referrals to trustworthy smugglers or securing financial help to pay smuggling fees. Network contacts continue to provide tangible and intangible aid on arrival, providing migrants with necessities such as clothes, food, and lodging but also trustworthy information about local laws and how to manage undocumented status.

As the preceding review illustrates, social networks are a salient factor in the residential situations and decisions of vulnerable and low-income citizens and immigrants. The significance of, and cohesion among, such ties may be greater for immigrants, however, precisely because they rely on those ties not only for their success on arrival but also for their survival during the migration journey.

Finally, although part of the housing decision is under the control of the mover, the realities of the housing market play an important role in housing outcomes. Structural factors that limit housing choice include a shortage of affordable rental housing, landlord discrimination, and existing patterns of racial and class segregation resulting from political and legal decisions about issues such as taxation, zoning, desegregation, policing, and infrastructure (Rugh and Massey, 2014). Housing that is affordable to the lowest-income households often is concentrated in predominately Black and Hispanic neighborhoods that are either already poor or on a downward trajectory (Clampet-Lundquist, 2003; Oakley and Burchfield, 2009). Although this article focuses on the individual considerations of Hispanic households, it acknowledges the importance of not losing sight of how markets, laws, and policies set the contours within which households make decisions.

To summarize, inquiry is emerging into understanding why low-income people move, what structural and personal factors influence their decisions, and where they end up. Although instructive, the

current literature is also limited because it disproportionately relies on beneficiaries of government housing programs; focuses on Black, urban, low-income households, with occasional comparisons with White households; and understudies Hispanic households (native born and immigrant). Finally, the reviewed research findings uncover the important role of social networks within the housing search and attainment process but stop short of theorizing how the geographic proximity of social networks is shaped by segregation and contributes to short-distance moves that maintain segregation.

Data and Methods

This article draws on a purposive sample of 23 qualitative interviews conducted in Chicago in 2011 with Hispanic mothers with young children. The small sample reflects our interest in depth rather than breadth. Given how little we know about the on-the-ground substantive experiences of low-income Hispanic households in the rental market, we designed this research to be exploratory in nature and inductive in analytical method. As Johnson and Rowlands (2012: 101) wrote, “Largely associated with an inductive mode of research, in-depth interviewing is best suited to research questions of the descriptive or exploratory type (i.e., questions that focus on *what* and *how* rather than *why* social processes are enacted in everyday life).” We are specifically interested in *how* households learned about and decided to move to their neighborhoods.

We did not aim to test explicit hypotheses about Hispanic households’ housing decisions because, at present, an insufficient empirical basis exists on which to build such hypotheses. Rather than generalize from the research on low-income Black and White renters, assisted renters, or recent Hispanic immigrants (as reviewed previously), we set out to qualitatively explore a broad range of topics with mothers, without bias as to what we would find (for a similar example, see Yoshikawa, 2011). Having reviewed the relevant literature, we included questions about matters such as information sources, transportation, and affordability (see interview guide in appendix B), but we were not sure how relevant or salient these topics would be. We conducted this research to prepare for a multicity, mixed-methods study of the effects of housing affordability, quality, location, and stability on children’s educational and socioemotional development, which is currently ongoing and which will be able to test the ideas generated in this article.

Subjects were recruited using flyers that we posted and distributed at churches, parks, “L” stops, community centers, and grocery stores primarily in the Pilsen (an established Hispanic enclave) and Rogers Park (a newer Hispanic destination) neighborhoods of Chicago (see flyer in appendix A). The flyers promised participants \$50 for an interview. This monetary incentive likely made participation more attractive for lower-income mothers, which aligned with our intention to study that population. Although we concentrated recruitment in two neighborhoods, we did not require respondents to live in those neighborhoods. Hence, our final sample included 12 respondents from Rogers Park (52 percent), 6 from adjacent Edgewater (26 percent), 3 from Pilsen (13 percent), and 2 from Logan Square (9 percent), which is a nonadjacent, majority non-White neighborhood on Chicago’s Northwest Side. This section describes our target neighborhoods, and the next section provides additional information about the nontargeted neighborhoods and the rest of Chicago.

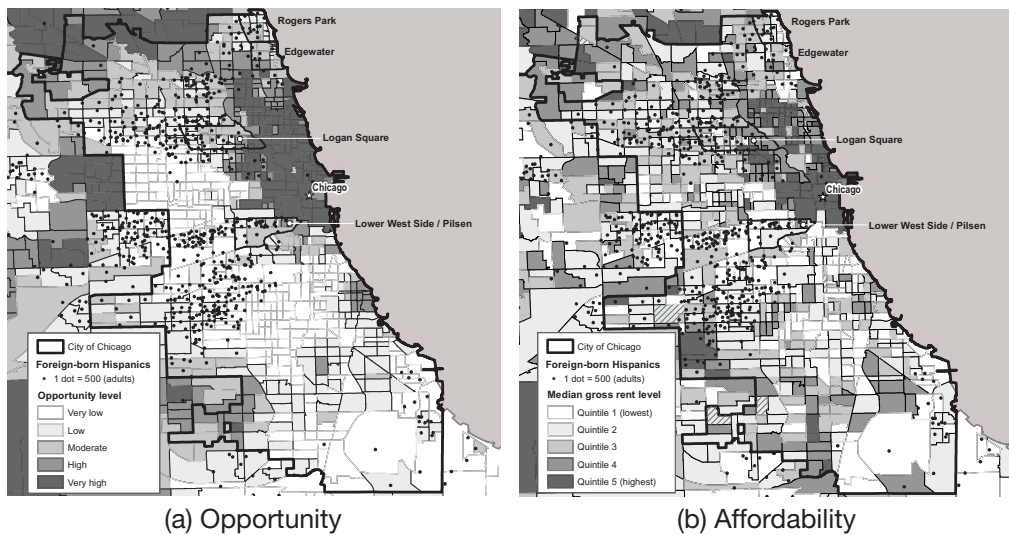
In the Lower West Side community area (commonly referred to as Pilsen), 82 percent of the residents identify themselves as Hispanic, 12 percent as non-Hispanic White, 3 percent as

non-Hispanic Black, and 1 percent as Asian. Rogers Park, on the city’s far North Side, is more racially mixed: 38 percent White, 27 percent Black, 25 percent Hispanic, and 7 percent Asian, although racial segregation exists within this racially diverse demography (see exhibits 1a and 1b). In the Lower West Side, the population is 42 percent foreign born and 40 percent of the residents speak Spanish at home compared with 29 and 10 percent, respectively, in Rogers Park. The two neighborhoods are somewhat more similar in terms of Median Family Income (Rogers Park: \$39,194; Lower West Side/Pilsen: \$36,088). The neighborhoods have near-equal poverty rates, at 27 percent. The U.S. Census Bureau considers 20 percent to be the threshold for defining a “poverty area” (Bishaw, 2014).⁷ Moreover, all four of the community areas where respondents lived have pockets of “racially and ethnically concentrated areas of poverty,” as defined by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), which uses an even higher threshold of 40 percent poor to determine areas of poverty (see Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning, 2015, map 5; HUD, 2015a).

Potential respondents who called the phone number on the flyer were screened for income and parental status. Our sample was limited to Hispanic parents with incomes below 100 percent of the Area Median Income (\$67,400 for a family of three) and—because we were also interested in school decisions—who had children between the ages of 3 and 8. Interviews were conducted by two graduate research assistants in Spanish (17 interviews) or English (6 interviews), depending

Exhibit 1

Chicago Neighborhood Opportunity and Affordability



Note: Opportunity and affordability/rent quintiles based on all census tracts in the Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area. Dot placement is random within tracts (does not identify exact locations of foreign-born Hispanic adults). Census tracts with diagonal hash marks have no available median gross rent data.

Sources: diversitydatakids.org-Kirwan Institute neighborhood Child Opportunity Index; American Community Survey, 2008–2012

⁷ Extensive demographic data on Chicago’s Community Areas can be found at <http://www.robparal.com/ChicagoCommunityAreaData.html>. Data on language spoken at home are from <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Health-Human-Services/Census-Data-Languages-spoken-in-Chicago-2008-2012/a2fk-ec6q>.

on the preference of the interviewee. Interviews lasted on average 2 1/2 hours. About half of the interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes and the other half at a community center or a coffee shop. We use pseudonyms to preserve respondents' anonymity.

As exhibit 2 indicates, sample participants were all female, had a mean age of 34 years, had an average of two children, and had an average household income of \$26,202.⁸ Several factors suggest that the sample was particularly subject to financial constraints: Most of the sample participants were single or divorced mothers living with their children, a population particularly vulnerable to unstable housing situations (Desmond et al., 2013). A significant proportion experienced housing vulnerabilities, including doubling up (30 percent) and difficulty paying the rent (65 percent).

Most (78 percent) of the respondents were born outside the United States (compared with 58 percent of Hispanic adults in Chicago overall), with the majority born in Mexico (57 percent) and others born in Colombia, Guatemala, and Peru. Given that we did not recruit in the predominately Puerto Rican neighborhood in the city, this national origin distribution is in line with Hispanic population trends in Chicago. We did not explicitly ask about immigration status, but respondents alluded to it as an issue that made securing stable employment, getting a driver's license, and accessing government benefits difficult. At the time of the interviews, a sizable minority (22 percent)

Exhibit 2

Sample Household Characteristics

Mean respondent age (years)	34.43
Mean number of children living in household (n)	2.17
Country of origin	
Percent Mexico	57
Percent United States/Puerto Rico	22
Percent other	22
Mean years (and range) in United States for foreign born	18 (6–32)
Mean income (dollars, including income from most recent job)	26,202
Percent of respondents unemployed	22
Education	
Percent post-high school education	61
Percent high school or GED	26
Percent less than high school education	13
Marital status	
Percent married/cohabitating	30
Percent single/divorced	70
Housing	
Percent renters	87
Percent homeowners	13
Average rent/mortgage (dollars)	766
Percent who find paying rent is “barely manageable” or “difficult”	65
Percent doubled up	30

GED = general educational development.

⁸ Income figures may be higher than actual current income because respondents were asked to estimate their most recent income despite current unemployment.

of respondents were unemployed. Current and past employment was concentrated in low-skill, low-paying, and unstable positions such as babysitters, store clerks, housekeepers, and restaurant workers. A few of the unemployed women were enrolled in school.

The interviews were digitally audio recorded and transcribed in the language of the original interview. Spanish-language interviews were translated into English, although we often referred to both the English and Spanish transcripts to ensure fidelity of translation and meaning. We used the qualitative data analysis software Atlas.ti to code the (English-version) interviews, with the first and second authors coding independently and then collaborating to identify areas of concordance or discordance and salient themes. Coding was both deductive—that is, coding for themes queried in the interview guide—and inductive, allowing constructs to emerge from open coding of the data. The topic of social networks emerged as a salient factor in how people searched for housing, and we embed that finding within similarly strong evidence about unplanned moves, financial and transportation constraints, immigrant status, and short-distance moves.

Chicago Context

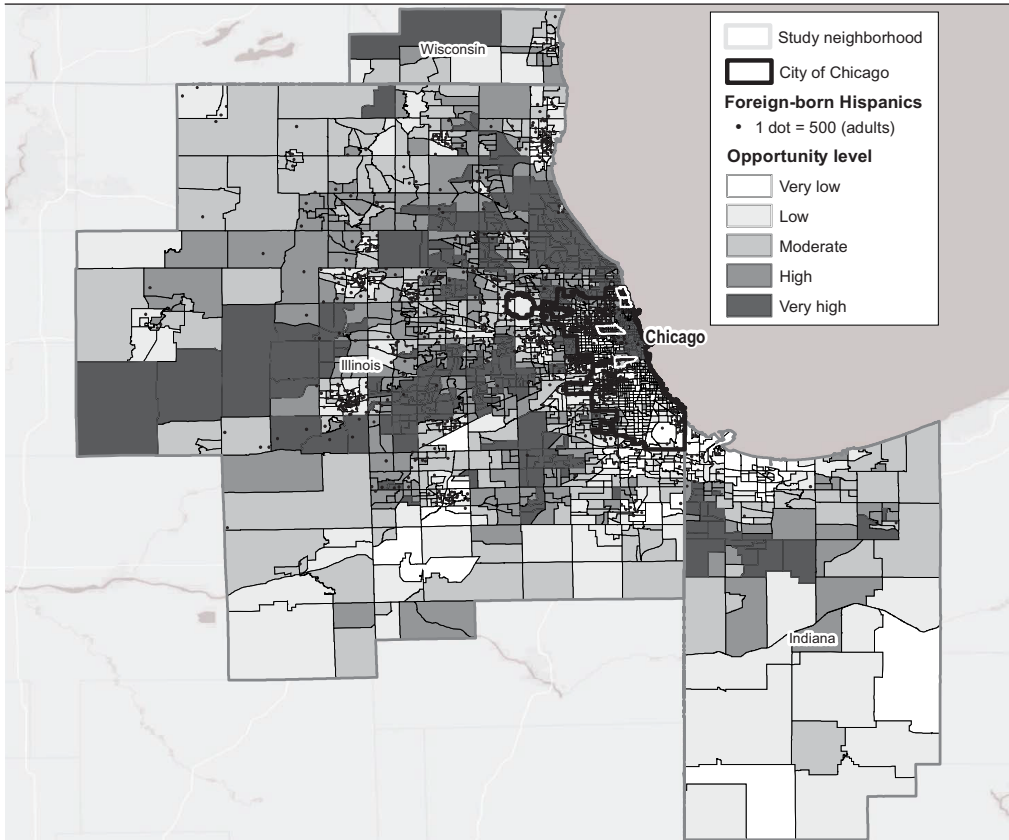
Understanding how the four neighborhoods where respondents lived are situated in the larger geography of neighborhood opportunity and affordability in the Chicago metropolitan area is useful. Exhibit 3 shows the distribution of neighborhood opportunities for children throughout the Chicago metropolitan area, as measured by the diversitydatakids.org-Kirwan Institute Child Opportunity Index (Acevedo-Garcia et al., 2014). This index combines 19 individual measures of three neighborhood opportunity domains—educational, health and environmental, and social and economic—that are important for children and families to thrive. Using the index scores, all census tracts (neighborhoods) within the metropolitan area are rank ordered and then divided into quintiles to form five opportunity categories ranging from “very low” to “very high” opportunity.

In the entire metropolitan area, 30 percent of foreign-born Hispanic adults live in very low-opportunity neighborhoods, 33 percent live in low-opportunity neighborhoods, 20 percent live in moderate-opportunity neighborhoods, and the remaining 17 percent live in high- and very high-opportunity neighborhoods. Although Hispanic immigrants are disproportionately concentrated in very low-opportunity and low-opportunity neighborhoods, a sizeable share (37 percent) live in moderate- and higher-opportunity neighborhoods.

Understanding the more locally specific geography of opportunity within and around the four community areas is also informative. The four sample community areas contain 66 individual census tracts. Exhibit 1a shows that each of the four community areas offers a mix of mostly low and moderate opportunity. It is interesting, however, that we find in the surrounding areas clusters of both higher opportunity and lower opportunity. Near Rogers Park and adjacent Edgewater are higher-opportunity tracts to the immediate northwest and south but a mix of similarly low- and moderate-opportunity tracts to the west. The map also shows that areas near Logan Square and Pilsen offer higher-opportunity tracts to the immediate north and east but lower-opportunity tracts to the west and south. The map also shows a striking pattern indicating the increased presence of Hispanic immigrants moving farther outside the study areas and into the nearby areas of lower opportunity. This finding suggests that, although higher-opportunity areas are proximal, the pull of

Exhibit 3

Chicago Metro Area Neighborhood Opportunity



Note: Opportunity based on all census tracts in the Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI Metropolitan Statistical Area. Dot placement is random within tracts (does not identify exact locations of foreign-born Hispanic adults). Sources: diversitydatakids.org-Kirwan Institute neighborhood Child Opportunity Index; American Community Survey, 2008-2012

social networks is in the direction of lower opportunity. The spatial proximity to higher-opportunity areas also reflects the gentrification of much of Chicago’s central core. Logan Square and Pilsen, in particular, are adjacent to areas that have seen considerable in-migration of high-income White households, and both communities are beginning to experience gentrification pressures (Nathalie P. Voorhees Center, 2014).

Although assessing the feasibility of accessing these higher-opportunity areas from an affordability standpoint is beyond the scope of this article, exhibit 1b suggests that these nearby higher-opportunity areas may pose affordability barriers for low-income households, with housing costs, in general, being in one of the two highest quintiles of the entire Chicago metropolitan area’s median neighborhood housing cost (median gross rent) distribution.

Findings

The first step in understanding Hispanic households' relocation behaviors is to ascertain what factors motivated their move. We asked respondents, "Why were you moving in the first place?" about their most recent move. The answers to this question showed that social ties are not uniformly positive and agreeable, and they are sometimes the reason for moving. The responses also uncovered housing hardships and constraints resulting from low incomes, immigrant status, and the frequency of quick, unplanned moves.

Gabriela was a divorced single mother and the only sample participant who received help from a community organization to search for a unit and to obtain state assistance to pay for it. Her housing history during the previous 5 years was characterized by unstable shared housing arrangements and frequent moves—nine times—precipitated by conflicts with roommates about guests and household management issues. She described her living situation as follows:

It is very difficult living with a lot of people in one place.... They use the same kitchen and the same bathroom. They make different food. The problem is that...I am very busy, I leave for work at 6 in the morning, and I have to quickly make myself a coffee and I have to leave the things. I don't like when they tell me, "Do not leave the pot there. Do not put it there. Why didn't you do everything on time?" [And I'm thinking,] "I am going to do it [clean up] later." Or, "I have not had time" and things like that. I mean, I do not like when they treat me like a little girl.

Interpersonal conflicts often escalated to the point that Gabriela would have to move. Given her past experiences with complaints by roommates and friends, Gabriela liked having control of things in her new apartment and would not have been able to afford independent rental housing without state assistance. She continued to experience instability and uncertainty, however. She feared that state budget cuts combined with her current unemployment would make her unable to maintain her current independent housing. As was the case with other respondents, Gabriela's housing history illustrates how her economic vulnerability constrained her to doubled-up or shared housing arrangements characterized by conflict and instability, which led to quick, unplanned moves. Despite her positive move to an independently occupied apartment, economic conditions continued to make her housing arrangements unstable.

Women's descriptions of their previously shared housing arrangements illustrate the tension, conflict, and strain that may arise from sharing an apartment, even when the other occupants are family members. Angela, a married mother of two, emphasized the need for personal space and privacy as her main motive for moving her nuclear family unit out of her husband's brother's house. Crowded conditions often resulted in conflicts with her sister-in-law about space and childrearing:

[She] would complain if we were there, "Fernando did this. He did that." There was nothing that she did not complain about, and I would usually stay quiet. Or I would see what her children did and I did not say anything. Until one day that I told her, "[It's] always my son, my son, my son. Do you not see yours? Yours also go into my room and do

things and take my things out and everything, and I never complain.” ... The 6 months in my sister-in-law’s house was like being imprisoned because we could not go out of the room, and we would go outside to avoid problems.

Angela described the conflict that arose from living in a shared space and her desires to distance herself from these stressful accusations and encounters. This social tie was beneficial because it provided housing for Angela’s family when they could not afford housing on their own, but the arrangement came with significant costs to privacy and control of her own household.

Scholars have found that households often use the housing choice voucher or other such assistance as a strategy to cut existent draining ties (Briggs, Comey, and Weismann, 2010; Curley, 2009; Rosenblatt and DeLuca, 2012). Menjivar (2000) also shows how poverty among Salvadoran immigrants in San Francisco strained social networks and increased distrust and conflict. It was not surprising, then, that Angela went on to describe the satisfaction and tranquility that came from moving independently to an apartment with her husband and children. In situations of financial constraint, many families cycle in and out of shared housing arrangements. Research shows that doubling up and overcrowding are particularly prevalent among immigrant households (Krivo, 1995; Myers, Baer, and Choi, 1996), and thus our data illuminate the qualitative experience of such arrangements and how they lead to housing instability and moving.

Lily, a married mother of two, described her and her husband’s decision to move out of her parents’ house shortly after having their first child as being primarily driven by a need for privacy and personal space rather than conflict. “We were living with them [her parents], so we only had one room,” she said. “Really we didn’t feel like the owners of the home. I remember that when we moved, my husband said ‘I can even walk naked here’ [laughs].” In the absence of overt conflict, the primary motive for Lily and her husband to move out was to have control over the dwelling space and the independence to move around freely.

These findings reinforce the description from Skobba, Bruin, and Yust (2013: 241) of shared housing as lower in the hierarchy of housing accommodations because it provides only modest “control, long-term security or independence.” For these respondents, living independently in a unit provided some relief from the strain or restrictions encountered when living with family, friends, or roommates—a negative aspect of social networks—and an accompanying sense of liberty, self-sufficiency, and autonomy after securing independent housing. For a considerable portion of respondents, doubling up represented a housing arrangement of last resort—“an available and affordable option, rather than a housing preference” (Skobba, Bruin, and Yust, 2013: 244).

Life-course events, such as having a baby, returning to school, or separating or divorcing from one’s partner prompted unplanned moves. For the lower-income women in this sample, however, separation or divorce from a partner often resulted in reverting to a shared housing arrangement. Such was the case for Maria, a 50-year-old divorced mother of one. Maria and her 7-year-old daughter left the apartment where they lived with the husband/father after the couple had a heated argument. Maria stayed at the home of a friend for 2 days to let the tension subside. On attempting to reenter her unit, Maria realized that her husband had changed the locks on the door and moved his girlfriend into the apartment. Having recently lost her babysitting job, Maria found that her housing choices were severely limited. She described her thought process as she urgently tried to

figure out where to move: “I have to have money to be able to pay the rent and deposit, which is the first thing that they are going to ask you for in any place.” Only after a recently divorced, long-time friend offered to rent Maria the basement in her townhome was she able to secure a more stable housing arrangement.

Like many of the low-income women in housing studies, then, Maria was able to use doubling up with a friend as a housing strategy to avoid homelessness and to remain close to her daughter’s social networks. The doubled-up arrangement proved to be a mutually beneficial one in which the friends exchanged social support. Maria reported, “We help each other. For example, if I cannot pick [my daughter] up, she will pick her up. Or we alternate taking them to school, or [the friend’s] children’s father also helps there. He comes to pick them up and takes them [to their after-school program].” Access to this social support service (childcare) from her friend enabled Maria to seek and secure a new babysitting job, converting social support into social leverage (Dominguez and Watkins, 2003). In addition, Maria’s friend gave her flexibility in rental payments, enabling her to pay what she could each month. A socially supportive network thus enabled Maria to buffer the difficulty of separating from her husband and to make a positive housing transition.

Although the preceding stories emphasize the mother’s decision to move, none featured an extended deliberative process. Instead, often a kind of last-straw moment or an escalation of household tension made moving urgent. Landlord neglect also led to urgent moves. For example, Carmela reported moving “maybe like seven or eight times” within the previous 5 years, which was on the high end for respondents in our sample, but her reasons were not unusual. She said, “Most of the time, every time I moved it was too small or there were so many problems and the landlord just didn’t care. They didn’t care to fix it. They didn’t care at all. So most of the time, those were the two big main reasons why I moved.” In none of those instances was she forced to move, but landlord negligence was out of her control and prompted unplanned moves.

A substantial minority of respondents (30 percent) were driven to move when they could no longer pay the rent and were facing eviction. Juanita, a single mother of five, described the predicament that resulted in the search for her current apartment. The family was evicted from their previous apartment after her then-partner failed to pay the rent on time. Juanita left the partner and desperately searched for an apartment that she could afford on her wages as a housekeeper. She said that she chose a one-bedroom, one-bathroom apartment for her family of five (her eldest daughter lived with a relative) primarily because of the rent special the landlord was offering. She explained: “Since this was the cheapest, special, there was a [rent] special. It was ‘pay only \$400 for the first 4 months. Then after the 4 months, pay the \$700.’ They gave that plan. That is when we came here.” (Several other respondents had overcrowded living arrangements, a situation that is particularly acute for immigrants [Krivo, 1995]. For example, Mayra, her husband, and her four small children occupied the same one-bedroom, one-bathroom apartment for 6 years; the parents slept in the living room and the four small children slept in the bedroom.) Juanita also mentioned the urgency with which she had to find a place, stating, “And we found this quickly. We didn’t have to pay a deposit, just the rent.” But, although the rent was low and she was able to move in immediately, the apartment was severely undersized and roach infested. Juanita responded to the very first open-ended question of the interview (“What’s on your mind about your living situation?”) with

the following: “Rent is high and there are vermin, lots of cockroaches, little critters. Sometimes you don’t even know what they are. It’s fine, but sometimes rent is expensive and the apartments are small. I pay \$700 and look, it’s not fancy. It’s ugly and it’s \$700.”

The poverty and undocumented immigrant status of many women likely increased their vulnerability to inadequate housing and landlord abuse, forcing them to endure very poor housing and neighborhood conditions (Clampet-Lundquist, 2003). For example, Raquel had numerous issues with her apartment, including a failing heating system, peeling walls, clogged plumbing, leaking ceilings, and a structurally unsound porch, but she admitted that she had not pressured the landlord to make the repairs for fear that they would evict her. Future research might explore whether undocumented tenants’ inability to take legal action contributes to landlords’ unresponsiveness—and to the lower-quality housing of immigrants in general (Schill, Friedman, and Rosenbaum, 1998).

Many respondents were rent burdened, despite the relatively low rents (see exhibit 2). Many of the households we interviewed were income eligible for the HCV program, but none were receiving assistance despite the fact that most of the women (19 of 23) had heard of housing vouchers. Some associated the program with the stigma of a handout. For example, Vanessa commented, “There are people who arrive here thinking and looking for help, help for everything. I came here to work and to work and to work and work, and I’ve never been looking for help that I might be given.” Six women explicitly mentioned not having “papers” and thus not qualifying for housing assistance. HUD regulations restrict assistance to citizens and people with “eligible immigration status.” Prorated voucher assistance is possible for “mixed families,” yet applying for this benefit adds an additional level of scrutiny to an already complex process (see HUD, 2001: chapter 5). Nilda was able to get food stamps for her citizen daughter but, regarding housing assistance, she said, “I’d like to [apply], but I know that maybe with my status I wouldn’t be approved.” Raquel—who had been in the United States for 10 years (from Mexico)—had never heard of the HCV program and thought that language barriers probably had something to do with it. She was also wary of taking advantage of government benefits because of her undocumented status and her lack of clarity about whether receiving a subsidy would negatively affect her chances of gaining legal residency. She pondered aloud:

[The HCV program] must lack publicity or people may not understand it or maybe the information isn’t in Spanish for us to learn about it. Sometimes I’ll see information, but you say to yourself, “It’s in English, and you can bring it to me, but out of 100 percent I’ll understand 10 percent and that’s not enough for me to want to know [more].”...

Something that would disinterest me would be if it could affect my chances at citizenship or at getting papers further down the road, which I want to take care of. I want to be an American citizen and obtain permanent residence. So if this were to affect my negotiations with immigration, I wouldn’t do it.

Overall, the findings described here show that identifying people’s motives for moving can be useful in understanding their subsequent housing search and ultimate accommodations. Our respondents experienced several housing hardships, including crowding, unaffordability, low housing quality, unresponsive landlords, and inability to access government benefits. Those experiences led to unanticipated moves. Answers to the questions, “How many times did you move in the last

5 years? And why did you move each time?” revealed that most respondents had experienced at least one involuntary move in the recent past. The findings also suggest that researchers should pay closer attention to the dynamics and nuances of social network relationships and instances of doubling up. For some families, shared housing may be a desperate strategy to avoid homelessness and may be characterized by tension and conflict, whereas for others it may be a positive experience and improve life circumstances and housing accommodations. Next, we turn to the housing search process prompted by these moves.

Scholars have argued that a segregated metropolitan geography has a self-reinforcing character (Galster, 2012; Galster and Killen, 1995; Krysan, Crowder, and Bader, 2014). Segregation affects the parameters—the geography, the social networks, and the constellation of known neighborhoods—of the housing search, and that delimited knowledge often reproduces segregated outcomes. When exploring this system, it is crucial to understand how low-income and immigrant Hispanic households conduct their housing searches and the factors that help them decide where to live. We asked respondents, “I would like to know how you came to live here. Can you tell me the whole story of how you came to live in this neighborhood and in this specific house/apartment?” Followup probes included, “Who, if anyone, did you talk to in the process, and what advice did they give?” and “Did you use any agencies or services?” Respondents were also asked to provide the factors that weighed most heavily in their housing search and in their final housing selection. Overall, residents knew they could not rent something that they could not afford, and they had to be able to physically get to an apartment to rent it. They ultimately found affordable and accessible units by using their social networks.

Respondents cited the affordability of the apartment as a principal factor in the selection of their current dwelling, which was unsurprising given their limited incomes. For example, when asked for the three most important factors that she considered in choosing her apartment, Ines, an unemployed mother of three whose husband had been deported, stated, “I only looked at the price.” Ines’s reliance on church members’ generous donations as her sole source of income meant that her housing choice was largely dictated by what was most affordable: a one-bedroom, one-bathroom apartment in which she slept on the floor. She said, “It was really cheap, on special. It’s not because I like the place or anything, but it’s just to have a roof over my head.”

Raquel similarly explained the large extent to which finances drove and delimited her current housing arrangement. Raquel and her partner found themselves unable to afford their three-bedroom apartment after he suffered a foot injury and was unable to work. Threatened with the possibility of homelessness, Raquel’s family decided to temporarily settle for a \$400 per month, one-bedroom, one-bathroom apartment. “I looked for an apartment that fit our budget,” she said, “and that is how we came here—only temporarily—but we stayed here [for 4 years] because the economy has not improved and [my] jobs have not been good so far.” Financial considerations thus initially compelled the couple to move from their larger apartment and now constrained their movement from the current apartment. This example demonstrates how immobility can be a manifestation of affordability constraints that affect low-income people’s housing decisions.

We could give as many examples of quotations like the ones cited as we have respondents. Sometimes respondents even expressed a bit of exasperation at the foolishness of our inquiries. For them,

price was the bottom line. In reality, though, it was not the only thing guiding their search because, at any given time, there are hundreds of apartments across the city of Chicago (and beyond) at a particular price point. Respondents' available forms of transportation kept their geographic target area relatively narrow. Most respondents (52 percent) relied on walking and public transit when conducting searches (Briggs, Popkin, and Goering, 2010; Rosenblatt and DeLuca, 2012). When we asked about having a driver's license, 12 respondents shared that they were undocumented, which made driving a risky proposition.⁹ Many respondents looked for "For rent" signs while walking through the neighborhood where they already lived. Only three respondents in the sample—two of whom were purchasing a home—relied on more formal methods such as real estate agents and community organizations for help. Hence, within this context of time, financial, and transportation constraints, most of the respondents relied on their social networks for information on affordable units.

Although most of the women we interviewed had high levels of familiarity with the neighborhoods where they lived, a few were newcomers to their current neighborhoods. Without local knowledge, they relied on the information from friends and family to navigate the housing market and secure a decent apartment. For example, Vanessa had been in the United States for 6 years when we interviewed her. She moved from Colombia directly to the affluent suburb of Evanston, where she worked as a full-time childcare worker for a local family. She struggled to pay the rent in Evanston with her low wages, and, after 5 years, she decided to look for a cheaper apartment, but she wanted to keep her children in the Evanston schools. Vanessa explained that she had a conversation with a close friend about her dilemma, and the friend recommended Rogers Park.

I didn't find a more affordable apartment in Evanston. I would have liked to stay over there, but.... So then, a friend that lives like a block from here told me "[Vanessa], [the Rogers Park neighborhood] where I live is real nice, it is very good and tranquil. I know that there is an apartment that they are renting that you will like." So I came. It was actually the only apartment that I saw around here. I didn't look for another. I came [to see it] and liked it, so I submitted an application.

Unfamiliar with the area, Vanessa relied completely on a close friend for information about a good neighborhood and available apartment during her housing search in Chicago. Vanessa was generally satisfied with her new place. It was bigger than her Evanston apartment and cost less, and she figured out a way to keep her children in the Evanston public schools. Using measures of neighborhood income, poverty, and crime, however, this was a downward residential move for Vanessa.

Mayra, another newcomer, also used social networks to find a place in Rogers Park. Her high-risk pregnancy added a sense of urgency to the housing search. Having recently arrived from New York in search of a better paying job, Mayra lived with her husband's family in a far northern suburb while her husband searched for work and a place to live on the North Side of Chicago. In the face of an exhausting commute to the hospital for treatments, Mayra pressured her husband to get an apartment quickly. Mayra's husband turned to his cousin, a long-time resident of Rogers Park, to help him locate an apartment. Mayra said, "His cousin helped him because [my husband] was working, so his cousin went to look for the various options and gave them to him.... My husband

⁹ Illinois began granting a "temporary visitor driver's license" to undocumented immigrants in January 2013, after we completed the interviews. See <http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/drivers/TVDL/home.html>.

says that he looked for the apartment from one day to the next.” In Mayra and her husband’s case, the cousin’s knowledge of the neighborhood and willingness to help enabled them to secure an affordable apartment quickly.

A number of other respondents described how informal conversations with family members and friends resulted in their obtaining a unit to rent. Among these was Rosario, a single mother with one child. Recently separated from her partner, Rosario made the decision to double up with her mother (who also was recently divorced) and younger sister in their two-bedroom apartment. They soon realized that their combined income meant they could upgrade to a three-bedroom unit in Rogers Park. Rosario’s mother happened to mention their housing search to a long-time friend (and building owner), which ultimately ended with their renting an apartment from the friend. “Then you didn’t see any other place?” the interviewer asked after Rosario told her story. Rosario answered, “No.” Thus, Rosario’s mother’s casual conversation resulted in the quick attainment of a nearby apartment, just two buildings down from their previous one. Overall, then, respondents used social networks as a way to gain information about neighborhoods and available units, and some respondents leveraged those ties to obtain a unit directly.

Many respondents attested that their desire to live close to or with people in their social networks—and thus close to or in their original neighborhoods—played a key role in their dwelling selection. Respondents often depended on these social networks for help with childcare, emotional support, and sudden housing needs, as illustrated in the following complex series of events.

Lupe, a single mother of two, and her boyfriend (not the children’s father) were unable to afford their apartment because she lost her job. The couple decided to live separately, and each doubled up with family members. This decision initially meant that Lupe returned to her parents’ home in Rogers Park. Her parents soon divorced, however, forcing Lupe and her daughter (Lupe’s son went to live with his father), her mother (who was getting the divorce), and her adult sister to search for an apartment as a new family unit. Lupe explained that her mother was searching for housing when “the opportunity that my brother needed to rent [his place]” came along. So for exigency and assistance, the three of them decided to rent Lupe’s brother’s nearby one-bedroom, one-bathroom condominium, in a mutually beneficial arrangement. Following his own divorce, Lupe’s brother moved into the family home in Rogers Park, which Lupe and her mother were leaving. Lupe and her mother were thus able to secure an affordable apartment quickly in a neighborhood near their previous home and simultaneously financially assist their son/brother by paying rent to him, which amounted to a little more than one-half of his mortgage.

Lupe’s story represents considerable moving and shuffling but no change in important neighborhood characteristics, such as school quality and poverty rates. Each family member faced a need to move and to move quickly. No one had the time or money to undertake an exhaustive search of all possible affordable housing units in the Chicago metropolitan area, nor did they have the inclination. Lupe wanted to stay close to her other social networks, especially the fathers of her children and her son who went to live with his father. Lupe’s mother needed an apartment and wanted to help her son by renting his condo. Families depend on such ties to make ends meet within a context of high unemployment, high rents, and unstable incomes.

Related to respondents’ desire to live near their social networks was their desire to remain living in or near the areas that were familiar. Having lived in the same North Side neighborhood since she

immigrated to the United States from Mexico at age 14, Josefina, now 35, was adamant about purchasing a home within the same neighborhood. She was one of the few respondents who contacted a real estate agent, and her experience was not positive. The agent repeatedly tried to convince her to move to neighborhoods on the South or West Sides of the city, which had larger Black and Hispanic populations, lower median incomes, and higher poverty rates. Instead, Josefina repeated her desire to stay within the Rogers Park and Edgewater areas. She told her story as follows:

This neighborhood is very expensive. It is a good neighborhood. We are on the North Side of the city. On the North Side of the city, the houses are real expensive, which is why I have a townhouse.... And when I would speak to the real estate people when we were buying this house, they would tell me, "But, Miss, why do you want to live here?" Because I gave them the coordinates. I would tell them, "It's because I want [the house] in this area." Because I have always lived here, since I arrived with my parents, I lived [nearby].... I know the reputation of the South Side that rents are cheaper and houses are much cheaper. I went to many real estate agents for houses, and they would tell me, "It's just that, but Miss, what are you thinking? You're going to buy a really small house when with that same money you could buy a house with four, five bedrooms and with a big yard." They would always tell me that.

Ignoring real estate agents' attempts to steer her toward more affordable housing on the South Side, Josefina searched until she found a real estate agent who worked to locate a townhome within her desired geographic boundaries. Josefina wanted to raise her children in the same place where she had grown up, close to the places and people she knew and loved. Although our emphasis in this article is on how social ties impede knowledge of and searches in neighborhoods with more job opportunities, better schools, or lower crime, in this case, the strength of Josefina's social ties actually worked decisively against real estate agents' practices that would have steered her to even more disadvantaged and heavily Black or Latino neighborhoods in Chicago.

Agents or brokers could potentially be helpful to low-income renters by expanding the scope of clients' original search area to investigate a larger number of affordable options in "communities they never considered" (Krysan and Bader, 2009: 696). Josefina's story, however, shows that racial steering by agents and brokers can go in the opposite direction and push people towards less resource-rich neighborhoods. Indeed, reliance on social networks could be a rational reaction to knowledge of such discriminatory practices. In the end, it is not clear which is more consequential: low-income renters' narrow search geography or the unconscious biases of real estate agents. Moreover, one respondent's adult son explained his family's reason for not using the services of a real estate agency as follows: "About places like that, you usually have to have [legal status] papers. You have to be a citizen and have to have all kinds of social security.... I was about to check out one of the agencies and they asked for so much.... They're like 'Well, if you're not legal then, [and] everyone that's over 18 can't provide papers, we can't help you.'" We cannot document the prevalence of such encounters, but, in general, respondents' immigrant status, limited English proficiency, and lack of credit are all possible reasons for nonuse of real estate agencies (Clampet-Lundquist, 2003; Krysan, 2008).

None of our respondents—and, indeed, probably few people in general—approached the housing search as a wide-open process that included all possible units in the entire Chicago metropolitan area. Their first cut was price, but even that left many possible apartments. Among apartments they

could actually get to—especially if they were on foot or on public transportation—respondents relied on their social networks to hear of available units or to directly provide them, and they searched in areas that were familiar and that would be near their sources of social, instrumental, and emotional support.

Discussion and Conclusion

Scholars increasingly point to the ways that segregation affects housing search strategies, information sources, and information gaps and how practices circumscribed by a segregated urban landscape can, in turn, contribute to differential housing outcomes for minority and White renters. These interviews reveal housing search factors that could contribute to persistent housing segregation in Chicago. We find that affordability pressures and quick, unanticipated moves, along with transportation challenges and immigrant status, lead households to rely on social networks for their housing searches. This finding supports previous ones on the importance of social networks for the housing searches of assisted and unassisted Black renters. Homogeneous and geographically bound social networks—a product of racial residential segregation—contribute to short-distance moves among a set of similar, contiguous neighborhoods. As DeLuca, Wood, and Rosenblatt (2012: 24) argued, “[T]he information an individual derives from homogeneous social networks is often similar to information they are likely to already have. Respondents were most likely to receive information about housing from their relatives, who are geographically close and also likely to be living in poor neighborhoods.” Dependence on social networks as the primary source for housing information yields circumscribed information regarding available options and, in turn, affects—if not determines—their housing selection.

The use of social networks is not unique to low-income, Hispanic, or immigrant households. In her study of Black and White suburban parents making housing and school choices, Lareau (2014) found a dominant mantra of “trust what you know and who you know.” She found that upper-income White parents did not do sophisticated fact gathering when choosing where to move. Instead, they relied on their similarly high-status social networks to tell them about the “best” neighborhoods with the “best” schools. In other words, Lareau’s upper-income respondents had friends and family members with access to and knowledge of resource-rich neighborhoods. As a result, “the stratified nature of parents’ social worlds facilitated a rapid and seamless reproduction of inequality” (Lareau, 2014: 172) in neighborhood and school outcomes. Our interviews with low-income, mostly immigrant Hispanic women tell the other side of this story. Constrained by finances and transportation, reliance on social networks for housing information led to short-distance moves, and previous research has shown that “distance-guided migration will tend to lead back to racially similar areas” (Quillian, 2014: 10). We add to this finding that distance alone does not account for moves within racially and economically similar areas; rather, distance combines with the pull of social networks and barriers of unaffordable rents (as shown in exhibit 1b) to make even adjacent neighborhoods unlikely destinations, as our respondents’ experiences showed.

The sample size and qualitative nature of this research prevent our making claims about generalizability. Moreover, we recognize that by focusing on lower- to moderate-income neighborhoods with large Hispanic populations within the city, we do not capture the perspectives of Hispanic

households that have moved to areas where they are the minority, to higher-income neighborhoods, or to the suburbs. Nonetheless, our findings support several other findings reported in the emerging literature on unsubsidized renters.¹⁰ We document that low-income Hispanic households face many of the same burdens as do unassisted Black households, but we also show the importance of respondents' immigration status to their ability to get a driver's license (and thus pursue housing in more distant neighborhoods), their hesitance to use real estate agents, and their low takeup of government housing assistance, despite potential income eligibility.

Also, the advantage of qualitative interviews is in raising new topics and suggestions for future research directions. Our findings identify the need for further investigation of social networks in facilitating and constraining the housing transitions of low-income immigrant Hispanic households. The study of social networks is considerably more sophisticated in the domain of job search than in that of housing search, from the use of mathematical modeling and social network analysis (for example, Montgomery, 1992) to extensive qualitative interviewing about trust and job referrals (for example, Smith, 2007). The American Housing Survey (AHS), however, asks only one question about the relevance of social networks—namely, whether the respondents chose their current neighborhood because it was convenient to family or friends. A more robust study of social networks and housing search and decisionmaking would include basic questions about social networks—size, density, characteristics of network members, and so forth—plus questions that explore how people find out about available units; the residential location of their social network ties; their reliance (or not) on such ties for help with childcare, transportation, or getting a job; and how they prioritize living near family and friends, among other criteria. The Detroit Area Study that Krysan (2008) used contains many of these measures, but the sample did not include Hispanic households and did not focus on immigrant status, and thus is not helpful for understanding the search strategies of the country's largest minority group and for comparing them with the experiences of White and Black households.

In terms of policy, the women we interviewed did not voluntarily comment on Chicago's racially segregated geography. Instead, what they confronted daily were overcrowded housing conditions, unattainable rents, a reliance on public transportation, unstable living arrangements, small housing units, barriers based on their immigration status, and unresponsive landlords. They activated their social networks to navigate these precarious housing realities. Moves often were quick and to nearby apartments. If policymakers want to intervene in moves that, for the most part, stayed within "racially and ethnically concentrated areas of poverty" (HUD, 2015a), then the remedies must address the immediate housing needs of this population either by offering accessible (without a car), affordable, and stable alternatives *that warrant the risk of moving away from established, familiar, and proven social ties* into neighborhoods that may, in the long run, offer safer streets, better schools, and more job opportunities or by improving the areas where households such as those we studied currently live while maintaining affordability. The Child Opportunity Index and affordability maps for Chicago underscore that this population could potentially benefit from a program that informed them of the relatively affordable, higher-opportunity neighborhoods within relatively short distances from where they currently live. Before mobility programs are considered, however,

¹⁰ Replication of qualitative results is extremely important in the process of knowledge generation because it points to generalizability across populations, time, and place, which no one qualitative study can claim.

a first order need would be to determine whether these households could qualify for a voucher and, if so, what barriers or misconceptions about the program are preventing them from applying for housing assistance.

Hence, three kinds of policy interventions are relevant to our findings. First, temporary or emergency rental assistance programs could mitigate the need to move quickly by providing households with short-term rental subsidies while they locate a more affordable apartment, possibly in a higher-opportunity neighborhood. Such programs are gaining traction in the fight against homelessness (Culhane, Metraux, and Byrne, 2011). The Urban Institute and What Works Collaborative (Cunningham, Leopold, and Lee, 2014) have proposed a demonstration for “shallow, flat” rental subsidies that could also increase housing stability among households like those we interviewed. More boldly, Desmond (2016) has proposed a universal entitlement to housing vouchers, although the immigration status of our respondents would make many ineligible. Despite unit inspections, rental assistance programs have not, however, exhaustively addressed housing quality issues that prompt quick moves, such as insect infestations or broken essential systems. Addressing these kinds of problems requires stiffer housing code enforcement, penalties for landlords, and rent relief for renters living in unsafe or unsanitary housing. Because households without legal residency might be wary of reporting poor housing conditions, a strict separation between housing code and immigration enforcement is essential.

The other two strategies echo calls for both mobility-based and place-based investment strategies. We concur with the Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning (2013: 8), which concluded the following:

The pattern of racial and ethnic segregation has for decades correlated closely with the pattern of opportunity in the region. Not only do people of color face barriers to equal housing choices, communities of color face barriers to opportunity.... Thus, the region’s ability to improve the structure of opportunity relies heavily on efforts to improve racial and ethnic integration both by expanding housing choices for people of color and by incentivizing targeted economic development in communities of color.

Elaborating on these points, the report details a series of actions to increase the information that Hispanic (and other) households receive about areas of greater opportunity, such as using affirmative marketing strategies, training for housing professionals, and improving monitoring and enforcement of fair housing laws. Regarding investing in disinvested communities, the report recommends priority public investments for such areas, improving transportation infrastructure and service, and creating land banks to protect affordability as neighborhoods improve, among other things. Although all these strategies are local and regional, the federal government obviously plays a role in incentivizing and supporting such efforts using the Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing Final Rule.

To conclude, people continue to move within a constrained geography of relatively disadvantaged neighborhoods not because of a lack of imagination but rather a lack of information, a lack of a safety net of resources to do so, and because of the important reliance on social networks. Policy plays a role in decreasing the prevalence of desperation moves, showcasing alternative neighborhoods that offer more opportunity, and increasing the resources in places where people

already live. The primary hurdle is not that such policies do not currently exist but rather that funding levels do not allow for them to reach most eligible households, that restrictions based on residency status make them inaccessible for families without documents, and that some immigrant families who are eligible may not have accurate information about their eligibility for housing assistance.

Appendix A. Qualitative Research Recruitment Flyer

Exhibit A-1

Recruitment Flyer, English Version

Housing Study

Northwestern University housing policy researchers are interested in speaking with you about your experiences living in Chicago.

We are seeking **mothers (or female guardians) of children aged between 3 and 8 years old** who currently live in the city of Chicago.


You will receive \$50 in exchange for a conversational interview where we will sit and talk about your experiences, concerns and hopes for the future with respect to housing decisions in the city. This interview typically lasts two hours and we will travel to wherever is most convenient for you.

To participate or for more information about this research study:

Contact Professor Pattillo at (847) 886-9730

Please leave a message with your **name, phone number** and the best time to call you back. Or you can send an email to hogar@northwestern.edu with the same information.

Research Study: "Housing Decisions among Latino Families with Children," IRB # STU00052266, Northwestern University, Department of Sociology.


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Note: Spanish version available from authors on request.

Appendix B. Qualitative Research Interview Guide

The Spanish version of the interview guide on the following pages is available from the authors on request.

**Northwestern University
Department of Sociology**

**Principal Investigator: Mary Pattillo
Research Assistants: Diego de los Rios; Ricardo Sánchez Cárdenas**

Sponsored by: The Kellogg Foundation

A: Consent

1. Find out if they would like the consent and interview conducted in Spanish or English.
2. Read consent form, answer any questions, and get signature.

B: General

I'd like to start off with some pretty general questions about you and your household...

1. So, tell me a little about yourself. Introduce yourself to me, whatever you think is important.
2. What's most on *your* mind about your living situation? We'll get more into my specific questions soon, but tell me three things about your living situation here in this apartment and in this neighborhood, *anything* that's on your mind, good or bad. [*Probe*: neighbors, or roommates, or the apartment, or your rent or mortgage]. [*Note*: If you are not interviewing in the person's home, have them tell you where they live, i.e., address and kind of unit.]
3. And just so I can be sure to ask you all the right questions, were you born here in the U.S. or someplace else?
 - a. (If not U.S. born): Where were you born and when did you come to the U.S.? Where did you first move when you came to the U.S.? When did you come to Chicago?
 - b. (If U.S. born): Where in the U.S. were you born? When did you come to Chicago?
4. Now about your house/apartment, could you tell me who all lives here?
5. Let's take each person one at a time, from the youngest to the oldest. Where does X spend most of his/her day? Now for the next youngest... [*Note*: Repeat for each household member. Try to get detailed information about *where* household members spend their day, including neighborhood names, cross streets or addresses.]

6. And you? Where do you spend most of your day? [*Note*: This question is also to get at if they are working and the specific location of their job(s)]. [*Probe*: Do you have any other jobs and where are they located?]
7. Where else do you go? Think about your normal routines like grocery shopping or church or entertainment or activities you or your kids are engaged in. Talk to me about the places you go for these things. [*Probe*: Why do you go there for these activities? Are these things available or missing in your own neighborhood? Are they better or worse in other neighborhoods? Do you like these places because other Latinos are there?]
8. How do people in this house get to where they need to go? [*Probe*: Public transportation, car ownership, access to a car, use of taxis, rides with other people.]
9. Do you have a driver's license? Remember, we don't work for the government and all of this information is confidential. [*Probe*: Is it from Illinois or somewhere else?]
 - a. (If not): Why don't you have a license?
 - b. How do you think it would change where you live and the things you do if you had a license?

C: Children

1. Ok, let's talk a bit about your children. How many children do you have and tell me about them. Do you care for any other children?
2. Do you have or care for any children that are not here with you in the house? Tell me about them. Where are they? Why?
 - a. Do you regularly send money or other things to your children or other family members? Tell me more about that. [*Probe*: How does that affect your family budget? Where do you go to send things?]
3. Are there any children here in the house that you are *not* responsible for? Tell me about that.
4. Tell me about the languages that are spoken in the house. How has that developed or changed as your child gets older?
5. I'd like to get a sense of where your children spend their time, so let's start with school [*Note*: If child is not school age, replace "school" with "child care". Focus on children 3-8, but if there is more than one in that age range, then try to get info on each.]:

Where do your kids go to school/child care and how did you decide on that school? [*Note*: Get specific neighborhood or cross streets and probe about the location, travel, benefits, social networks, etc.]

6. (If in-home child care): Why did you decide to keep your kids at home with you? [Probe: expense, convenience, tradition, best for child].
7. (If in-home child care): What other child care options outside of your home have you considered and what are your opinions about them?
8. (If care/school outside of home): What do you think about your child's school (child care)? How is that working for you?
9. What things do you think make for a good school (child care)?
10. Which schools (child care) around here are good and why?
11. What things do you think make a bad school (child care)?
12. Which schools (child care) around here are bad and why?
13. Tell me about some things that schools (child care) might offer that are important to you? [Probe: location, certified caregivers, honors, magnet, English Language Learner program, bilingual teachers/staff, special ed, sports, arts/music, technology, meals?]
14. What about when they reach high school? What will you be thinking about then? What will be your high school options, things you'll look for and avoid?
15. Okay, outside of school, where else do your children go? Think about their normal activities like parks, their friends, family members, church, or just playing or entertainment. Talk to me about the places your kids go for these things, either with you or without you.
16. Do your children spend anytime outside of the city of Chicago? Tell me more about that. [Probe: In the suburbs? In other cities? In other countries?]
17. And now some things that kids do inside the house: Where do your children sleep normally? Has it always been like that? Tell me more about that.
18. Where do your children spend their time in the house and what do they do in those places?
19. If you could change some things for your kids about where and how they live, what would you change? [Probe: What's in the way of making those changes?]

D: Neighborhood

1. Now we're going to talk a bit about this neighborhood. What neighborhood do you live in? Does this neighborhood have a name? [Probe: If someone from a different part of the city asked you what neighborhood you lived in and didn't know your street name, what would you call this place? How would you tell them generally where you live?]
2. What would you say are the boundaries of this neighborhood?

3. Tell me about this place. I'd love to hear some details, some specific stories about what it's like to live here. [*Note: While we want to know how they conceive of "their neighborhood," at some point we want them to start talking about some area bigger than just their block and smaller than a whole area like The Southwest Side.*]
4. Has this neighborhood changed since you've lived here and what do you think about the changes?
5. Let's say you had a cousin who was planning to move to Chicago and wanted to live near you. How would you talk to her about moving here?
6. What if she had a child? What would you tell her about this place for her and her child? If she had a *teenager* would you say anything differently?
7. (If first generation in U.S.): Are there people from your country in this neighborhood? Are there people from your hometown in this neighborhood? Did you know anyone here from your country or hometown before you came to Chicago or to this neighborhood?
8. (If first generation in the U.S.): How does this neighborhood compare to the neighborhood you first moved to in the U.S.
9. (If born in the U.S.): How does this neighborhood compare to the neighborhood where you grew up?
10. Where do you get information about what goes on in your neighborhood? [*Probe: neighbors, library, community center, community newspapers, city newspaper, television.*]
11. What are the things you like best and the things you like least about this neighborhood?
12. And your kids? What do they like the most and the least about this neighborhood?
13. How do you think the neighborhood you live in matters in a child's life?
14. Tell me about how safe you feel in your neighborhood? In the daytime? At night? [*Note: Be attentive to how race relates to feelings of safety.*]
15. What about your kids? How safe do they feel in the neighborhood? Can you tell me about any conversations you've had with them about how safe they feel?
16. Tell me about the rules that you have for your kids in the neighborhood and what happens when they don't follow them.
17. What kinds of things do you do to stay safe?
18. Tell me all you can about your neighbors. Let's think first about the two neighbors who live closest to you. Describe them for me as best as you can. [*Probe: demographics, whether or not they work, are they kin, friends, do children socialize with them?*]
19. What about other neighbors on the block? Describe them as best as you can.

20. Can you share any stories about your neighbors helping you out or about your neighbors making life hard for you?
21. How often do you watch what's going on outside?
 - a. Has anything interesting happened lately? Did you do anything? Tell me more about that.
 - b. Do other people around here keep an eye on things? How do you feel about that?
22. How comfortable are you calling the police if you see suspicious activity happening on your street? What makes you feel that way?
23. What about the police around here? Talk to me about the police and the job they do around here: [*Probe*: Do they do a good job? Do they monitor what the kids are doing in the neighborhood?]
24. Can you tell me anything about the police harassing adults and/or kids around here? For what? How do people react? Do people change their routines to avoid harassment? [*Note*: Be attentive to immigration related harassment.]

E: Unit

We've been talking about your neighborhood, now let's talk about your specific housing situation.

1. How long have you been living here in this apartment/house?
2. Can you describe for me the house or apartment you live in right now? What's it like? How many bedrooms? Bathrooms? Heat? Air conditioning?
3. (If it is in a multi-unit building): What do you think about living in a building with other apartments and other families? What are some good things and bad things about that?
4. How much do you pay to live here? Is that the total rent? Tell me about if it's hard, easy, or manageable to pay the costs to live here? Do other people help out? Do you get any subsidies?
5. What are the best features of this apartment/house? What are the worst features?
6. What about for your kids? How is this apartment or house as a place for kids to live?
7. And what do your kids think? What do they like about the house or apartment? What's good and not so good, from their point of view?
8. Are there are other people who stay here sometimes but don't live here? Tell me more about that. Again, no one will be able to connect you to your answers so you do not need to

worry about anyone finding out who stays here. [*Probe*: How many and how often, relationship to respondent, partners/boyfriends].

9. (If renting): Describe your current landlord. What do you like best about your landlord? What do you like least?
10. (If renting): When was the last time you called you landlord? What was that for? How did he/she respond?
11. Thinking over the house/apartment you live in now and the three places you lived in before this one, rank them from best to worst.
 - a. What did you think about when you ranked them the way you did?
12. How safe would you say your specific apartment is and why? What kinds of things make a unit safe for kids? What kinds of things make a unit not safe for kids? [Note: Here we want safety from crime and safety from hazards or harm.]

F: Move to the Unit/Neighborhood

You've described to me what this neighborhood and this apartment/house are like, now I'd like to know how you came to live here...

1. Can you tell me the whole story of how you came to live in this neighborhood and in this specific house/apartment? [*Probes*...
 - a. Why were you moving in the first place?
 - b. What things were you weighing when you were looking for a place? What was on your mind?
 - c. Who did you talk to in the process and what advice did they give? Did you use any agencies or services?
 - d. Did they recommend any neighborhoods? Or tell you to avoid any places? Tell me more about that.
 - e. Tell me about other neighborhoods you looked at.
 - f. What kind of transportation did you use to look for a place?
2. What was the furthest away you were willing to move from your last apartment or house? Did you look very far out?

3. While you were looking, what things in a neighborhood made you think, "This is a bad area?" What things made you think, "This is a good area?"
4. While you were looking, what things in an apartment made you think, "This is a bad apartment?" What things made you think, "This is a good apartment?"
5. While you were looking, did you find out anything about the schools around here? Tell me more about that.
6. Did you talk to anyone about the schools when you were thinking of moving here? Tell me about that conversation.
7. Tell me about how you chose this place over others. Give me some specifics about what you were weighing in the decision?
8. Considering everything you were thinking about as you looked, what would you say were the three most important factors in moving here?
9. How many times have you moved in the last five years? Why did you move each time you moved?
10. And now a really general question: What makes for a good neighborhood to raise kids these days? What are the most important things to consider? The least important? [*Probes...*]
 - a. Does it depend on how old the child is?
 - b. Or if it's a boy or a girl?

G: Housing Vouchers

In this study, we are particularly interested in a program called the Housing Choice Voucher program, which is also called Section 8. So I would like to ask you a few questions about this program...

1. What do you know about the voucher program, or Section 8? Who is it for? How does it work?
2. Do you have a Housing Choice (Section 8) Voucher?
 - a. (If no): Have you ever applied for a voucher? Why or why not and what happened? [*Probe: Does immigration status discourage them from applying? Is there stigma associated with the program?*]
 - b. (If no): Are you on the waiting list for a voucher?

- c. (If yes): Tell me about your experience with the voucher program? [*Probe*: When did you apply? When did you get your voucher? How has it helped or been a challenge? How would your living situation – your rent, the size of your apartment, where you live, who you live with – be different if you did not have the voucher?]
3. Do you know anyone (else) who has a voucher? What do they tell you about it?
4. (If no voucher): Is the voucher something you would like to get? Why or why not?
5. In addition to the Section 8 voucher, there is also public housing in Chicago. Have you ever applied to get into public housing? Why or why not? [*Note*: Be attentive to issues of “pride”, racialization of public housing, qualifying for public housing because of immigration status or income.]

H: Residential Mobility

We’ve talked about where you have lived in the past, where you live now, and in this part of the interview I’d like to know about where you might live in the future...

1. Are you thinking of moving from where you live now?
 - a. (If no plans to move): What are the most important reasons for staying? [*Probe*: great apartment, family members, immigrant networks, Spanish-language services, ethnic goods, etc.]
 - i. Are there any things specific to your children that make you want to stay? [*Probe*: family or immigrant network childcare, intervention services, health services, closeness to school or park, etc.]
 - b. (If plans to move): What makes you want to move? Can you tell me about something that has happened recently that makes you want to move? [*Probe*: Crime/safety? Living with other family members? Rent too expensive? Change in family circumstances? To move closer/farther from something? Better opportunity?]
2. So let’s say you are planning to move right now (even if you really don’t have plans to move). Walk me through what you would do to find a new place.
 - a. First of all, who would move with you? Would anyone stay behind? Would you add any new people to your household?
 - b. How would you start looking? [*Probe*: Resources used, such as newspapers, family, friends, internet, other.]
 - c. What kind of apartment or house would you look for?

- d. What neighborhood(s) do you have in mind? Anything outside of the city of Chicago? Outside of Illinois? Outside of the U.S.? Why those places?
 - e. What places would you avoid and why?
 - f. What role would schools play?
 - g. What role would your family and friends play?
 - h. How important is public transportation or access to a car?
 - i. (If with a voucher): How would the voucher affect where and how you looked?
3. What would you miss most about this neighborhood if you left?
 4. People have different views on what type of racial mix they want in their neighborhood. Chicago, including the suburbs, has neighborhoods that are mostly black, mostly white, mostly Latino and some mixed neighborhoods.
 - a. Can you tell me about different neighborhoods in the Chicago area in terms of what races live there? Be specific if you can. How have you learned this kind of information?
 - b. How would the racial mix affect what neighborhoods you would be interested in moving to? What kind of neighbors do you prefer?
 - c. What kinds of things about a neighborhood do you think go along with its racial mix? What are the stereotypes?
 - d. Can you tell me any specific good things that you think come from living around other Latinos? Are there any specific bad things?
 5. Similarly, people have different views on what type of mix they want in their neighborhood regarding social class. Chicago, including the suburbs, has neighborhoods that are mostly wealthy people, mostly middle class people, mostly lower-income and poor people, and mixed neighborhoods.
 - a. Can you tell me about different neighborhoods in the Chicago area in terms of their social class mix? Be specific if you can. How do you know this kind of information?
 - b. How would the income of a neighborhood affect what neighborhoods you would be interested in moving to? What kind of neighbors do you prefer?
 - c. What kinds of things about a neighborhood do you think go along with its class mix? What are the stereotypes?

I: Conclusion

Okay, we are at the end of the interview. I'd like to wrap up with some questions about your ideal apartment or neighborhood, and then get some specific information about you.

1. Now let's talk about your ideal or perfect house or apartment for you and your family. What features would you ideally like for your house or apartment?
 - a. What things are for you and what things are for your children?
 - b. How do the units you've lived in so far compare to your ideal?
 - c. What gets in the way of having that ideal apartment or house?
2. What about your ideal neighborhood? Tell me about a picture you have in your mind of what would be in your perfect neighborhood for you and your family.
 - a. What things are for you and what things are for your children?
 - b. How do the neighborhoods you've lived in compare with your ideal?
 - c. What kinds of things get in the way of living in your perfect neighborhood?

J: Demographics

1. Interviewee i.d. _____
2. Age: _____
3. Gender: _____
4. Race (what do they call themselves): _____
5. Education Level: _____
6. Marital Status: _____
7. Age and gender of kids (e.g., G-2 for 2-year old girl): _____
8. Wages (pay per hour, hours per week last month): _____
 - a. 0-\$10k, b. \$10-15k, c. 15k-20k, d. \$20-30, e. \$30-50, f. above \$50k
9. Total household income: _____
10. Neighborhood: _____
11. Country of origin: _____
12. Number of years in US: _____
13. Primary Language: _____
14. English proficiency (self-report on a scale of 1-5 with 5 being most proficient):

15. English proficiency (interviewer observations): _____

K: Interview Field Notes

Date:

Time and duration of interview:

Interviewer(s):

Interview Context:

Where did you conduct the interview?

Describe the home [size, condition, location, cleanliness, style].

Describe the people in the neighborhood as you approached the interview (what were they doing? On stoops, on corners, bus stops, etc.).

Describe the physical condition of the neighborhood as you approached the interview (condition of housing/abandoned buildings/bars on windows/condition of sidewalk/presence of litter etc.).

Describe the type of dwellings on the street (Single-family, detached units; Single-family, attached (Rows); Duplexes; Multifamily; Apartment building; Housing with commercial store fronts; Housing projects)

Who was present during the interview (other than yourself and respondent)?

Were there any unusual distractions and/or noises?

Was there any information obtained when the tape recorder wasn't on?

Describe the respondent's disposition during the interview [interaction, appearance, attitude].

Describe any other issues that make this case notable.

Explain any unanswered questions you have about this respondent, anything that seemed contradictory about their answers, anything they were not forthcoming about, or things you would like clarified.

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