

# Chapter 7: Rogers Park, Edgewater, Uptown, and Chicago Lawn, Chicago

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The city of Chicago stands tall among urban areas in the United States. It features a bustling central business district that serves as a financial anchor for the Midwest, a government with significant regional and national influence, a vibrant cultural life, a multiethnic population, a patchwork of distinct neighborhoods that are home to nearly 3 million people, one of the world's busiest airports, and the world's tallest building (at least for the time being). With its towering skyscrapers, lush and expansive park system, lavish North Michigan Avenue, and historic landmarks, Chicago opens an impressive front door to all who visit.

Figure in the economic and demographic development of north and western Cook, Lake, and DuPage counties (the fastest growing areas in the region), and it would be difficult to argue that the Chicago metropolitan area is on the decline. Together with its suburban partners, the city of Chicago is ever expanding its economic, political, and cultural reach, emerging as one of the Nation's global cities.

This list of accomplishments, however, tells just part of the story. Within the panoply that is Chicago exists a back door that few wish to think about, let alone open. The truth is that Chicago is a city of marked contrasts.<sup>1</sup> While Chicago remains a city of incredible wealth, characterized by the opulent Gold Coast and Magnificent Mile, it continues to be a city of jarring poverty, typified by the impoverished West Side along West Madison Street, South Side's Robert Taylor Homes, and Near North Side's Cabrini Green.

Chicago also remains a multiethnic city. Unlike New York, which maintained a native elite with the onslaught of the first great immigration streams, Chicago is truly a city built by immigrants from Europe, Asia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Latin America, and migrants from the Southern United States. Its tremendous early growth, from roughly 150 residents in 1833 to more than 3 million in 1930, was due to the waves of distinct and diverse migrant populations. This multiethnic character is an inescapable feature of Chicago history, visible through the various ethnic enclaves that existed throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Cutler, 1982). Absorbing such a multiethnic population was far from a harmonious process. Each successive ethnic and racial group jockeyed for political,

economic, and cultural power, often creating tremendous tension. Nonetheless, Chicago was, and continues to be, a mosaic or salad bowl of various racial, ethnic, economic, and cultural groups.

To understand the present character of multiethnic Chicago, it is essential to look beyond the front door, beyond the postcards and the public-relations material. For more than a century, Chicago has remained one of the Nation's most racially, ethnically, and economically segregated cities (Massey and Denton, 1993; Denton, 1994; and Farley and Frey, 1994). For example, analyses of 1990 census tract data indicate that roughly 8 out of every 10 Black<sup>2</sup> Chicago residents go home to neighborhoods that are more than 90 percent Black. Only 4 out of every 10 White Chicago residents go home to neighborhoods that are more than 90 percent White.

The residential character of Chicago's multiethnic population is yet another example of its contrasting character. While the city boasts a racial, ethnic, and economic amalgam of individuals and groups, this mosaic is difficult to find at the neighborhood level. A major concern of scholars, policymakers, citizens, and those involved in this chapter is whether Chicago will become a city of coexisting, cooperating groups sharing in ample resources, or a segregated city with heightened tensions among diverse groups.

## Racial Change and Diversity in Chicago

Historically, racial change in Chicago has followed the pattern predicted by Ernest Burgess and other scholars at the University of Chicago in the late 1920s. Early in his career (1928), Burgess developed the classic Chicago school model detailing stages of racial change that were employed, and only slightly altered, by subsequent ecological researchers for several decades. Under the ecological microscope, neighborhood racial change appears inevitable. According to this model, once a tipping point has been reached, the incoming group inevitably will resegregate the area. Segregation is projected as the natural and inevitable outcome of city life (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie, 1925). Although institutional and individual actors were not figured into the analysis, Park and others did recognize the powerful effect that social and economic processes had in altering the urban environment. As noted below, however, neighborhood racial change was never a "natural" outcome. The actions of institutions and individuals were and continue to be important for maintaining racial segregation or diversity.

Such actions (and conversely, inactions) have left visible racial dividing lines in Chicago. Racial divisions were reinforced by restrictive covenants and zoning regulations as well as by sympathetic political, judiciary, and law enforcement institutions. When Blacks did manage to cross the color line, institutional forces encouraged neighborhood racial change to follow a predictable pattern. In 1917 the Chicago Board of Real Estate wrote:

The committee recognizes that a great immigration of Negroes have arrived ... in Chicago, and that some feasible, practicable, and humane method must be devised to house and school them.... The committee is dealing with a financial business proposition and not with racial prejudice, and asks the cooperation of the influential colored citizens. Inasmuch as more territory must be provided, it is desired in the interest of all, that each block shall be filled solidly and that further expansion shall be confined to continuous blocks, and the present method of obtaining a single building in scattered blocks be discontinued. (Cited in Helper, 1969.)

As African-Americans moved in significant numbers from the rural South into northern cities after World War II, shortages of housing available to them led to increased pressure to move into White neighborhoods. In neighborhood after neighborhood, Whites first

attempted to prevent Blacks from moving into their communities. In reaction to block-busting, unscrupulous real estate agents' scare tactics, and other racially divisive strategies, Whites fled ethnic neighborhoods as African-Americans moved into new housing markets.<sup>3</sup> This ultimately maintained the pattern of racial segregation.

In the late 1950s and 1960s, efforts were launched to halt racial succession and produce stable, racially integrated neighborhoods. Encouraged by the early Civil Rights Movement, these efforts and the community groups involved in them sought to convince White residents of integration's moral and practical values and attempted to stabilize neighborhoods by holding and attracting new Whites. Most of these efforts were unsuccessful, but the activism prompted some scholars and community leaders to question long-standing assumptions about racial change. Research reports, informed by the Chicago experience, emerged and argued that racial change was not inevitable (Saltman, 1990; Goodwin, 1979; Molotch, 1972; and Taub et al., 1984). In certain circumstances, massive and sustained intervention efforts could stabilize integration, at least slowing the process dramatically. Several community organization efforts—mostly in suburban areas—proved the scholarly case.

Chicago's most famous integration effort was directed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference's 1966 campaign, led by King, sought to open segregated housing markets in Chicago to Blacks. Campaign leaders organized a series of marches through militantly White neighborhoods in the Chicago area. Hundreds of Whites hurled bottles, stones, and racial epithets at the marchers. In Marquette Park (also known in official census documents as the Chicago Lawn area), King was struck in the head by a brick. Television footage of the marches remains the most disturbing images of the movement.

Forced to back down from his opposition to integration efforts, Mayor Richard J. Daley negotiated an open housing agreement with campaign organizers. Once the marches were halted and King had left the city, however, Daley failed to follow through with the bulk of the city's obligations (Biles, 1995). In a 1967 address, Daley reiterated his opposition to civil rights initiatives. Speaking of King, Daley said, "He is a troublemaker.... He doesn't know our problems. He lives in Atlanta. We don't need him to tell us what to do. He only comes here for one purpose, or to any other city he has visited, and that is to cause trouble." (Biles, 1995.)

Of course, political relationships cannot fully explain the failure of integrationist strategies in Chicago. Molotch's (1972) study of South Shore's racial transition in the 1960s emphasized the discriminatory way in which race was embedded in real estate practices, creating a dual housing market for Blacks and Whites. According to Molotch, Blacks exhibited a strong demand for housing in racially changing neighborhoods (given that these neighborhoods provided some of the few opportunities for quality housing available to Blacks) while White demand was quite low (1972). Since Blacks were willing to pay more than Whites for the same housing, Molotch argued that change was inevitable. Based on the experience in South Shore, Molotch was not optimistic about the contemporary potential for stable racial integration. The dual housing market was so entrenched, he argued, that sustained integration under existing circumstances was impossible.

Over the course of the 1980s, Chicago's racial integration has developed in new directions. Predominantly White, affluent neighborhoods like Lincoln Park, Beverly, and Hyde Park welcomed, accepted, and/or accommodated middle-class Blacks. A few communities (though not in large numbers), as our following analysis will show, have developed stable diversity along racial, ethnic, and economic lines.

## Study Communities<sup>4</sup>

By reviewing scholarly research, community reports, newspaper accounts, and interviews with local informants, we examine the history of four neighborhoods. We present the origin of the diversity and the demographic and socioeconomic character (over the past decade) of each neighborhood, focusing specifically on any issues or problems related to maintaining racial, ethnic, and/or economic diversity. We seek to understand how the racial, ethnic, and/or economic diversity in each neighborhood emerged, how it has been maintained, and any hurdles it must face, both now and in the future, to maintain such diversity.

## Rogers Park

### History

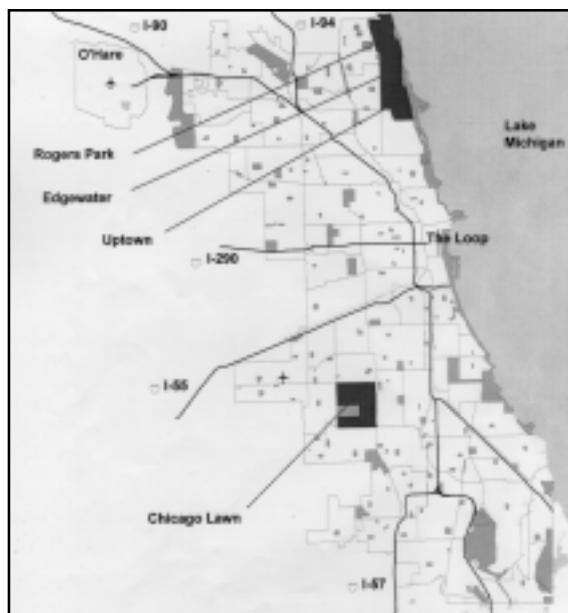
Rogers Park is a community 10 miles north of the Chicago Loop along Lake Michigan, at the northeast city limits (see exhibit 1). Once a farming community, Rogers Park has become a densely populated community containing a mix of ethnic groups and cultural institutions. From 1920 to 1960 the community was dominated by Russian Jews, Poles, and Germans. The housing stock consisted largely of multifamily dwellings, a fact that continues to shape the social character of Rogers Park (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). Since 1960, however, the area has experienced significant changes. The most significant involves its racial and ethnic makeup. While European ethnic groups remain in Rogers Park, there was and continues to be a growing migration of Blacks and Hispanics. During the 1980s this migration intensified as illustrated by the 212-percent increase (see exhibit 2) in Blacks and the 81-percent increase in Hispanics from 1980 to 1990. The migration of Blacks, Hispanics, and other groups into Rogers Park during the mid-1970s and through the 1980s is the prime reason for the area's current racial diversity.

### Exhibit 1

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#### Select Chicago Community Areas

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## Demographic/Socioeconomic Profile

As mentioned, Rogers Park has experienced significant racial and ethnic change since the 1960s. Exhibit 2 indicates that the community's overall population gain was due to increases in the number of Blacks, Hispanics, and others, as there was a 37-percent decrease in the number of Whites. This dynamic has greatly increased the level of racial and ethnic diversity in the community. Contributing to the community's diversity is the notable immigrant population, with almost one-third of the population foreign born. Economically, Rogers Park is middle class, with a median income slightly below the city average (see exhibit 2). Several factors account for its middle-class makeup:

- Loyola University draws residents to the area and plays a role in economic development.
- Reasonable rents and housing prices make the area more attractive to some young singles and families (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984).
- Public transportation provides easy access (a 30-minute trip) to downtown.

However, the economic character of the Rogers Park community is changing, becoming as diverse economically as it is racially and ethnically. Census data for 1990 indicate that rates of poverty and households headed by women increased from 1980. In fact, since 1969 the percentage of families living below the poverty line rose from 5 percent in 1969 to 16 percent in 1989 (see exhibit 2). Also, poverty rates in Rogers Park are not evenly distributed among racial groups. For example, poverty rates for Blacks are twice that of Whites or Asians in Rogers Park, although this disparity is less than in the city as a whole (Gronbjerg et al., 1993). These data show the diversity in Rogers Park is more complex than cursory examinations indicate and suggest that maintaining such diversity will be equally complex.

## Maintaining Racial, Ethnic, and Economic Diversity in Rogers Park

Although little specific research on Rogers Park exists, two studies provide good insight into the character of the community's diversity (Gronbjerg et al., 1993; Welter, 1982). These studies point out some concerns and problems Rogers Park residents, community activists, and elected officials must face if the area's diversity is to be maintained and stabilized. These include:

- Roughly 85 percent of Rogers Park's 27,770 housing units are rental, and minority groups are most likely to be renters (Blacks, 95 percent; Hispanics, 94 percent) (Gronbjerg et al., 1993). The rental character, along with other factors mentioned below, has raised concern over transience in Rogers Park and the community's ability to stabilize. This concern is bolstered by Rogers Park's high rate of residential mobility. In 1990, 69 percent of Rogers Park residents reported that they had moved to their current residence in the last 5 years, with more than a quarter having moved to their current residence from outside of the city of Chicago (Gronbjerg et al., 1993).
- Rogers Park has a significant foreign-born population (30 percent). Among those who are foreign born, 21 percent had arrived in the United States during the last 3 years, and 35 percent had been in the country 5 years or less (Gronbjerg et al., 1993). The high rate of in-migration from other countries means that Rogers Park has to deal with issues such as intergenerational differences in adjustment, language barriers, and lack of a voice to advocate specific concerns of immigrants. Community organizers indicate that outreach to these groups is difficult, given language differences. Schools

## Exhibit 2

### Demographic Profiles of Four Chicago Community Areas

Variable	Rogers Park	Uptown	Edgewater	Chicago Lawn	City of Chicago
1990 owner-occupied homes (percent)	15	15	27	54	42
1989 median income	\$27,330	\$19,711	\$32,150	\$30,765	\$30,707
Percent change 1980–90	-2	-11	-7	-16	-6
Percent increase in upper income households 1980–90	9	21	-1	-20	3
1969 families income below poverty level (percent)	5	16	6	4	12
1979 families income below poverty level (percent)	12	23	11	8	17
1989 families income below poverty level (percent)	16	28	14	15	18
1990 total population	60,378	63,839	60,703	51,243	2,783,685
1980 total population	55,525	64,414	58,761	46,568	3,005,072
Percent change 1980–90	9	-1	3	10	-7
1990 White	27,030 (45%)	24,743 (39%)	31,070 (51%)	22,216 (43%)	1,056,000 (38%)
1980 White	38,699 (70%)	30,561 (47%)	37,256 (63%)	35,968 (77%)	1,299,508 (43%)
Percent change 1980–90	-37	-19	-17	-38	-19
1990 Black	15,885 (25%)	15,134 (24%)	11,643 (19%)	13,404 (26%)	1,074,471 (39%)
1980 Black	5,095 (9%)	9,416 (15%)	6,368 (11%)	4,762 (10%)	1,187,910 (40%)
Percent change 1980–90	212	61	83	181	-10
1990 Hispanic	12,005 (20%)	14,398 (23%)	10,567 (17%)	14,549 (28%)	545,858 (20%)
1980 Hispanic	6,621 (12%)	14,984 (24%)	7,805 (13%)	4,940 (11%)	422,100 (14%)
Percent change 1980–90	81	-4	35	195	29
1990 Asian	5,100 (8%)	8,859 (14%)	7,041 (12%)	851 (2%)	98,777 (4%)
1980 Asian	3,797 (7%)	6,890 (11%)	5,665 (10%)	62 (00%)	69,191 (2%)
Percent change 1980–90	34	29	24	1,273	43
1990 percent Foreign born	29	33	30	22	17

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, STF 1A, 3A 1980/1990; Chicago Rehab Network, 1992; Woodstock Institute, "Focusing In: Indicators of Economic Change in Chicago's Neighborhoods," 1994

have been forced to deal with this issue; data indicate that the percentage of students who do not speak English is particularly high in Rogers Park.

- Rogers Park is characterized by an aging White population and a young and growing Black and Hispanic population. This has created concern over the stability of the community’s racial, ethnic, and most importantly, economic diversity. Again, data suggest that Rogers Park is losing Whites in their peak income years (35–44), while gaining younger (25–34) Blacks and other minorities with considerably less income (Gronbjerg, et al., 1993).
- While Rogers Park does not have a severe crime problem, compared with other areas in the city, crime, gangs, and drugs have been significant concerns of residents. Discussions with community leaders, and other interview data, make it clear that crime, gangs, and drugs are perceived to be (and in some spots are) real and increasing problems (Maly and Nyden, 1994). The perception of Rogers Park as unsafe is a real concern for community leaders and others interested in maintaining the area’s current diversity, given that fear of crime is one of the prime forces inducing people to move.
- Rogers Park has experienced difficulty maintaining existing stores and attracting significant economic development. Currently, the community has no major grocery store since the last moved out in 1993. Both Howard Street and Morse Avenue have been areas perceived to need development.
- Although Rogers Park is largely a rental community, homeownership and appreciation rates are a concern. Only 15 percent of Rogers Park’s households own their homes. Also, and possibly more troubling, while average home selling prices greatly increased between 1985 and 1990, these prices have dropped from 1990 to 1995 (see exhibit 3). There does not appear to be a great demand for Rogers Park housing, particularly among people who wish to own.

### Exhibit 3

Average Home Selling Price and Average Rents in Four Chicago Neighborhoods\*

Community Area	Average Home Selling Price				Area Rents, 1995		
	1985	1990	1992	1995	Studio	1 Bedroom	2 Bedroom
Rogers Park	\$97,800	\$155,000	\$147,006	\$135,239	\$370–450	\$450–575	\$650–825
Edgewater	105,500	147,026	163,836	178,838	365–450	460–640	675–1,100
Uptown	126,600	138,333	151,156	240,071	335–385	450–580	650–825
Chicago Lawn	57,902	63,341	66,508	70,405	N/A	350–525	400–600
Chicago average	120,793	151,270	190,404	212,282	N/A	N/A	N/A

\*Source: Living in Greater Chicago, The Buyers and Renters Guide! 1996 Edition. GAMS Publishing, Inc.

- The public and private schools in Rogers Park are overcrowded. A new elementary school, built in the community in the last 2 years, was already overcrowded when it opened. The overcrowding has reached such a level that some schools have portable units of two to four classrooms in the school yard to handle student overflow. This

problem has raised great concern, for it is seen as another prime reason why young families choose not to stay in the community.

Rogers Park contains significant resources and strengths that, when combined, make the task of sustaining the area’s diversity less daunting. Through interviews and previous data, we outline several of the community’s resources and strengths. They include:

- Rogers Park’s strong community policing program has dealt fairly well with safety concerns. This program has addressed problems as they arose, rather than after the fact.
- Loyola University, Rogers Park’s major institutional anchor, has become more involved in influencing the community’s revitalization and direction. Undoubtedly, views vary on the positive nature of Loyola’s involvement. Yet, clearly, Loyola is reaching out, which is a start.
- Rogers Park has several strong community-based organizations. While many do not make diversity maintenance an overt goal, they do work to bring together diverse groups to address common issues. The role of religious institutions in this regard cannot be overstated. Rogers Park’s churches play a central role in dealing with the community’s racial, ethnic, and economic diversity.
- Rogers Park has a mixed housing stock that is almost evenly distributed over a range of building types, from buildings with less than 5 units to those with more than 50 (see exhibit 4). This housing mix benefits residents by providing a range of dwellings for people of varying financial means.

### Exhibit 4

Percent of Housing Unit Types by Community Area, 1990

	Lt 5 Units	5–20 Units	20–50 Units	50+ Units
Rogers Park	17	33	34	16
Edgewater	20	19	17	44
Uptown	14	26	17	43
Chicago Lawn	80	17	3	0
Chicago city	60	18	7	15

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, STF 3a, 1990

Rogers Park is often referred to as a community on the cusp. It is experiencing racial change, deterioration, increased poverty, crime, and the difficulty of dealing with such issues as they affect many different cultural groups. However, local agencies are working to stabilize the community. When asked whether Rogers Park would remain diverse, one community leader cogently summed up the neighborhood’s present and future. She remarked, “I think it will be stable, and that a lot of people have stakes here, and I think the community has a lot to offer in its proximity to the lake, reasonable housing, and access to transportation.” However, she also suggested that diversity in Rogers Park is not idyllic when she said that the different racial “groups probably coexist fairly well, but then there’s not as much mixing together as one might think.” This community organizer

implies that while Rogers Park has attractive amenities for various groups, the potential for long-term, stable diversity in the community is far from ideal and unfinished.

## Edgewater

### History

Immediately south of Rogers Park along Lake Michigan, Edgewater<sup>5</sup> (see exhibit) was rural and sparsely populated (referred to as the celery-growing capital of the Middle West) at the turn of the century. After World War I, Edgewater began to boom as Swedish, German, and Irish settlers moved into the area. The variation of the area's housing construction early in the 20th century has had a significant impact on the community's current nature. Broadway Avenue divides the community in terms of the quality and type of housing. Land east of Broadway became valuable for highrise hotels and apartments; land west of Broadway was the site of many single-family homes. Edgewater's housing density during the 1920s made it one of the most prestigious communities in the city, exemplified by the prominent Edgewater Beach Hotel. After World War II, the increased demand for housing in the overall metropolitan area changed the housing character in both Edgewater and Uptown (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). Many of the larger homes and apartments in these adjacent areas were broken up into smaller units, a development which attracted many new ethnic groups (for example, Asians, Hispanics, Greeks, Middle Eastern groups, Blacks, and American Indians) into both Edgewater and Uptown (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). Once some settled here, many other immigrants followed, intensifying and solidifying both Edgewater and Uptown's racial, ethnic, and economic diversity.

Between 1950 and 1970 many large homes east of Sheridan Road along Lake Michigan were torn down and a strip of highrise apartments was constructed. By 1974, 6,154 apartment units had been built along eight blocks, creating the most dense residential area in the city (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). This construction essentially created three sections of Edgewater: the highrise apartments and condos on Sheridan; the multi-family and midrise apartment complexes along the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor, including many subsidized housing units; and single-family homes west of Broadway. These subareas are very apparent and recognized by community leaders.<sup>6</sup>

In 1990 Edgewater had a population of approximately 61,000 residents. The racial composition of this population is unique, influenced by the different flows of immigrant groups into the community. In 1970 Edgewater was overwhelmingly White (94 percent); the next two decades would see a precipitous drop in the proportion of Whites (see exhibit 2). However, in the 1980s the percentage loss of Whites (-17 percent) in Edgewater was nearly the same as the percentage loss of Whites in the city overall, suggesting that Edgewater was mirroring the larger trends in Chicago (that is, flight to the suburbs). Whites continue to be the majority in Edgewater, but there is an increasing diversity in the area with growing percentages of Blacks (19 percent), Hispanics (17 percent), and Asians (12 percent). These percentages do not suggest massive change for Edgewater's minority groups. Rather, the percentages mirror the overall trends in the city (with the exception of African-Americans). The influx of minority groups into Edgewater during the 1970s and 1980s, without rapid White flight, makes the neighborhood one of the most racially stable and ethnically diverse communities in the city.

## Demographic/Socioeconomic Profile

Of the three lakefront communities considered in this report, Edgewater is the most affluent. Data support this, indicating Edgewater's 1989 median income was \$32,150 (see exhibit 2). This median income, although lower than in 1980, is slightly higher than the city average. In fact, according to the Woodstock Institute (1994), Edgewater had the fourth largest increase (81 percent) in Chicago in median household income between 1979 and 1989 among low- to moderate-income community areas.<sup>7</sup> This figure is 9 percent higher than the city average. While these statistics suggest that Edgewater's economic well-being is increasing,<sup>8</sup> they are slightly misleading because there are internal pockets of both low-income and middle/upper-income residents (discussed below).

Housing is related to the economic character of Edgewater, where homeownership rates (27 percent) are slightly lower than the city (42 percent), but higher than both Uptown (15 percent) and Rogers Park (15 percent). This is because Edgewater has more single-family homes, most located west of Broadway, than either Uptown or Rogers Park. However, as noted above, the breaking up of homes into multifamily units to accommodate the housing shortage after World War II, took away many of Edgewater's (and Uptown's) single-family homes and contributes to the present low levels of homeownership.<sup>9</sup> Lack of significant homeownership in Edgewater probably is also due to and affected by the large foreign-born population (30 percent) and the presence of affordable and low-income housing in the community. However, while homeownership in Edgewater is lower than the city average, home selling prices and average rents are significantly higher than in the other three areas examined here (see exhibit 3). These findings suggest that Edgewater is on an economic upswing.

## Maintaining Racial, Ethnic, and Economic Diversity in Edgewater

Both Edgewater and Uptown have been involved in a recent flurry of research activity (Nyden and Adams, 1992; Nyden et al., 1993; Nyden and Adams, 1996), particularly the collaborative research efforts of Loyola University Chicago and Organization of the Northeast (ONE). These studies cover a range of topics, from children and families to economic development, and aptly summarize some of the concerns and problems Edgewater residents, community activists, and elected officials face in maintaining and stabilizing diversity. These include:

- Edgewater is internally divided by socioeconomic status, following the spatial lines noted above. Residents in highrise apartments and condos along Sheridan Road and the single-family homes west of Broadway are more affluent, largely middle class. Also, the highrise buildings are home to many senior citizens. Conversely, those living along the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor, where many multifamily structures exist, are less affluent. Poor or working poor residents, many of whom receive governmental subsidies, reside in this section. This economic diversity has fueled fears of gentrification and created some tension in the community. Many of those living in the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor fear being displaced by efforts to attract the middle class to Edgewater and maintain it there. Some more affluent residents look unfavorably on the area's relative physical unattractiveness and the social ills the area attracts, including gang activity and drugs.<sup>10</sup>
- Connected to this economic and spatial division is the substantial dependent population characterizing the community. Dependent populations include children under age 18, adults 65 years old and older, and individuals living in group-care facilities (Nyden and Adams, 1992).<sup>11</sup> Edgewater's dependent population is marked by a

significant proportion (14 percent) of residents 65 years old and older and children under age 18 (16 percent). In addition, 18 percent of Edgewater's residents were on public aid in 1990 and 28 percent of wage earners made less than \$15,000 in 1989. This population has attracted a significant base of community and social service organizations, which in turn has played an active role in promoting and maintaining the community's diverse populations and interests, sometimes conflicting with the interests of the more affluent area residents.

- Edgewater's diversity is more than racial, ethnic, and economic. It is also social. In 1990 Edgewater had a relatively high percentage of married couples without children (39 percent, compared with 30 percent in the city overall) and a relatively low percentage of single-mother-headed households (14 percent, compared with 21 percent in the city overall).<sup>12</sup> Adding to this social mix is a growing middle-class gay and lesbian population, located largely in the western part of Edgewater, known as Andersonville. Finally, Edgewater is unique in terms of its educational attainment levels. In 1990, 27 percent of Edgewater's adult population had attained college or postgraduate degrees, compared with 14 percent of all Chicagoans.<sup>13</sup> While the presence of Loyola University Chicago at the community's northern edge helps explain these characteristics, the fact remains that Edgewater is diverse on many different levels. Such diversity adds more levels of complexity to any community-based action or larger scale influences.
- Education is a major concern to Edgewater residents, whose uneasiness about public schools has been revealed by recent research (Nyden and Adams, 1992). In fact, in a recent survey by Philip Nyden and ONE, 244 residents of Edgewater and Uptown gave public schools a 58-percent approval rating. One school-related issue revolves around immigrant children and language. While residents and parents take pride in the number of cultures and languages represented at local schools, they are also concerned about the costs of such a diverse student body. With a large immigrant population and many students who have limited English proficiency, school resources that could go to other programs are directed at programs that teach English as a second language. Given the overall problems of the Chicago Public School system, the community's diversity differentially impacts Edgewater's schools as compared with schools in other, more homogeneous areas. This feeds back to the community by creating a negative perception of the schools and, thus, the overall area.
- Edgewater has been and is a port-of-entry community for a wide range of immigrant groups. As the name implies, port-of-entry communities are characterized by transiency, as immigrants enter and then move on. Research indicates Edgewater is characterized by transiency. For example, Edgewater schools had a mobility rate<sup>14</sup> of 49 percent during the 1989–90 school year. Also, 29.9 percent of the 244 residents in the 1992 Nyden and ONE sample said they were “likely” or “very likely” to move from the area within 5 years. Such transience in institutions like schools causes disruptions for teachers and, more importantly, in students' learning. Transience also makes it difficult to organize and build stable cooperation among groups to help maintain racial and ethnic diversity.

These factors are not unique to Edgewater, as many communities must deal with any one of these issues at some point. Edgewater, however, is unique in that it is dealing with these issues with some degree of success and is maintaining the community's racial, ethnic, and economic diversity. What distinguishes Edgewater from other communities is its significant resources and strengths, which have made maintaining diversity possible.

Below, we outline several community resources and strengths that aid in this process. They include:

- Edgewater, like Uptown and Rogers Park, has strong locational advantages. In approximately 20–30 minutes commuters can be in the Loop using the “El” (elevated train) that cuts north-south through the community. Those living along Sheridan Road need only walk to a corner to get bus service downtown. Also, Edgewater is right on Lake Michigan, making it attractive to almost all of the residents, rich and poor.
- Edgewater is also served by community-based organizations actively attempting to provide affordable housing in the community. In an interview, the executive director of one of Edgewater’s main community organizations discussed “Operation Winthrop-Kenmore,” an effort dating back to the late 1970s to clean up and restore troublesome buildings along the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor. The effort involved getting rid of bad owners, managers, and buildings, and rehabilitating approximately 30 abandoned buildings, largely for low- and moderate-income residents. Community leaders and residents view this effort as a significant antigentrification intervention. However, a former organizer in both Edgewater and Uptown pointed out in an interview that this rehabilitation effort is also viewed negatively because it will now be very difficult to attract more middle-class residents to the community. Thus one’s perspective on this project depends on one’s vision of the community. The rehabilitation effort is crucial for maintaining diversity, since many of the low- and moderate-income residents moving into these 30 buildings are minorities. To some extent, the investments in low-income housing in Edgewater have helped spur economic development across the board. Affordable housing developments have improved dilapidated buildings and attracted market-rate development.
- Another aspect that bodes well for the community is the presence of a diverse range of businesses. Given the racial, ethnic, economic, and social diversity of Edgewater, multiple economies exist, and both Edgewater and Uptown include a rich cultural mix of merchants and consumers. In fact, research on Edgewater and Uptown observes “businesses breaking new ground in the identification of collaborative development strategies, catering to a multiethnic population, and assimilating new groups into the city” (Nyden et al., 1993). Thus, while some local businesses have left the area or failed, a wide range of businesses (both upscale and economical or thrifty) continue to serve the community. This is positive for a diverse community because a variety of groups can benefit from some of the same stores. For example, Edgewater has three major supermarkets. Both affluent and low- to moderate-income residents use these stores. In some homogeneous (impoverished) communities in the city, no major supermarket exists.
- Edgewater also has a mixed housing stock that includes upscale single-family homes and lakefront condominiums, moderately priced private apartments and well-managed, subsidized family apartments. As visible in exhibit 4, Edgewater’s housing varies in the number of units contained in buildings. Most noticeable is the percentage of all units that are in buildings containing 50 or more units. While this is largely due to the highrise apartments and condos along Sheridan Road, it also reflects the presence of multifamily housing in the Winthrop-Kenmore corridor. Edgewater’s mixed housing stock helps maintain racial and ethnic diversity because it accommodates a variety of social groups, including those that are wealthy, poor, and of moderate means.

Although there are tensions and problems in Edgewater as a result of its diverse population, community efforts to deal with these issues bode well for maintaining the diversity of the area over time. While the community is divided spatially and socially, these divisions occur along major shopping arteries that have acted, and continue to act, as seams for Edgewater's different populations. The community's proximity to the lake and public transportation, the presence of a substantial middle class, the attraction of a diverse range of businesses, efforts to improve the schools, the commitment of community activists and the level of their activism toward maintaining diversity through such efforts as Operation Winthrop-Kenmore, and an apparent appreciation of and desire to live in a diverse community, make Edgewater the exception to the rule of segregation in Chicago.

## Uptown

### History

Immediately south of Edgewater, Uptown (see exhibit 1) joined Chicago in 1889 when the city annexed Lake View Township along the northern lakefront. From 1890 to 1920 Uptown was a thriving retail and entertainment center. Accounts of Uptown from the period around World War I describe a rollicking place to which people came not only to be entertained but, for a short while, to produce silent films (Bennett, 1991). While filmmaking ended around 1920, the nightlife remained active with the opening of the Aragon Ballroom and the Uptown Theater. With Uptown's great appeal for young people during this time, much of the area's housing was built for single individuals and couples. From its origins through the Great Depression, Uptown had a heterogeneous population and housing stock that included modest cottages, common corridor and courtyard buildings, and elaborate mansions. Like Edgewater, however, these buildings were spatially separate, with mansions near the lake, apartment buildings east of Broadway, and more inconspicuous single-family homes and three-flat buildings located west of Broadway (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984).

As in Edgewater, many of Uptown's larger single-family homes and apartments were converted into smaller units after World War II, essentially creating multifamily buildings. These conversions provided Uptown with a large supply of small and inexpensive apartments. The low rents made Uptown an attractive port of entry for a variety of immigrants. During the 1950s and 1960s the mechanization of coal mining brought many Appalachian émigrés to Uptown, giving it the unusual identity of hillbilly slum (Bennett, 1991). The 1960s also witnessed the arrival of Native Americans in Uptown, after the Bureau of Indian Affairs's policies changed (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). During the late 1960s and early 1970s Japanese-American, Mexican-American, and Indochinese refugees arrived in Uptown. A substantial population of people with mental disabilities also moved to the community as a result of statewide deinstitutionalization. Even with these large changes and great variety, however, Uptown maintained its wealthy residents along with transient immigrants.

Uptown's history includes significant political battles over its identity. Uptown has been termed Hillbilly Ghetto, the New Skid Row, Psychiatric Ghetto, and Contested Neighborhood, in a short and overlapping period of time (Bennett, 1991). The community has been the site for urban renewal that culminated in the construction of Truman Community College along Wilson Avenue. In 1974 a Chinese-American businessman proposed that Argyle Avenue between Broadway and Sheridan be designated as "Chinatown North." This plan never came to fruition, however, after the arrival of various Indochinese nationalities gave the area an economic boost. Ultimately, an Asian Village was formed and currently is thriving. Uptown also became a site of substantial social service activity,

providing needed services to the community's dependent populations (including mentally ill, homeless, and impoverished residents).

Since the 1950s Uptown has been losing housing units and population. The number of housing units shrunk from more than 40,000 units in 1960 to approximately 32,000 in 1990 (see exhibit 4), close to a 25 percent decline in fewer than three decades. Also, Uptown's population peaked at 84,000 people in 1950 and has declined ever since, although the population stabilized somewhat in the 1980s (see exhibit 2). While Uptown has lost housing units and population during the last four decades, homeownership and vacancy rates have increased substantially (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). This complexity is explained by two somewhat contradictory trends. Since the 1970s, Uptown's increase in homeownership has been the result of an increase in apartment-to-condominium conversions along the lakefront, and development in the politically contended Sheridan Park Historic District. At the same time, the vacancy rate has increased due to a combination of rent inflation, apartment building decay, and building abandonment (Maly, 1998).<sup>15</sup>

In 1990 Uptown had a population of approximately 64,000. The racial composition of this rather large population is the most unique of the three community areas examined in this chapter. Although there have been very different flows of immigrant groups into the community, Uptown was 95-percent White as recently as 1960. This has changed considerably, and during the 1980s Uptown became more diverse as its growing Black and Asian populations grew (see exhibit 2). However, even with the increase of minorities, White flight is not occurring. Uptown's loss of White residents during the 1980s mirrors that of the city and came nowhere near the degree of transition that characterizes most Chicago communities. Looking at exhibit 2, the near-even distribution among Whites, Blacks, Hispanics, and Asians is striking. Uptown is clearly Chicago's most stable diverse community, particularly considering its economic mix.

In short, Uptown's history is varied (from entertainment center to mixed-use area), complex (waves of different immigrants), and contradictory (referred to as a slum and an area of rejuvenation). What weaves through these various aspects is a remarkably long history of racial, ethnic, economic, and social diversity and a community that continues to be contested territory.

### Demographic/Socioeconomic Profile

Economically, Uptown is about as mixed as it gets in Chicago. Exhibit 2 indicates that Uptown's median income is considerably lower than that of any of the other three studied communities or the city overall. Yet, Uptown's economic character is complex. For example, while Uptown has a low overall median income, between 1979 and 1989 it experienced a 32-percent increase in the number of upper income households (29 percent higher than the city), ranking third among the Woodstock Institute's 45 low- to moderate-income communities. At the same time, the number of middle-income residents has decreased slightly (-4.1 percent from 1979 to 1989) (Woodstock Institute, 1994). Thus Uptown is divided among more affluent residents and residents earning salaries below the city's median income, while losing middle-class residents. This is borne out spatially. For example, the Lakefront section of Uptown has higher, and the Clarendon-Corridor lower, median incomes. In fact, in Clarendon-Corridor, approximately 2,000 units of public and federally subsidized housing were constructed between 1960 and 1980 (Bennett, 1991). Overall, Uptown is as mixed economically as it is racially and ethnically, but this diversity is not uniform internally.

## Maintaining Racial, Ethnic, and Economic Diversity in Uptown

As noted above, both Edgewater and Uptown have each been the site of significant research. This research, along with other data sources, has provided us with a good summary of the concerns and problems Uptown residents, community activists, and elected officials face as they work to maintain and stabilize diversity. The main issues include:

- There has been a concern over the prospect of gentrification and subsequent displacement of low-income residents. This concern has a considerable history, dating back to urban renewal plans in the 1950s and 1960s. While the battle to stave off gentrification forces in Uptown can be generally regarded as successful (that is, gentrification has not happened), the debate and fight have heated up again recently. Several factors and events contribute to the perceived threat. First, as exhibit 3 indicates, Uptown's average home selling price has nearly doubled since 1985.<sup>16</sup> Second, between the periods of 1982–84 and 1991–92, Uptown had the fifth-largest percentage increase in the total number of residential loans (105 percent) among Woodstock's 45 low- to moderate-income communities. The community also had the fourth-largest percentage increase among these communities in the number of permits for repair and improvement of commercial and industrial buildings (28 percent), between 1977–81 and 1988–92 (Woodstock Institute, 1994). Such empirical indicators, as well as interviews with local developers, indicate that significant development is taking place in Uptown. Such development is viewed as positive by business and other leaders who argue, we believe quite correctly, that economic vitality "has to be part of the mix too."<sup>17</sup> Others, however, are not quite as upbeat, fearing the displacement of Uptown's vulnerable populations. A 1991 study found that residents in some of Uptown's larger subsidized apartment buildings viewed middle-class gentrifiers with suspicion and feared new middle-class residents could force increases in housing prices and displace lower income groups from affordable rental units (Nyden et al., 1991).
- Fears over gentrification/displacement have much to do with Uptown's large dependent population. Uptown has historically been a locale for Chicago's needy populations, as indicated by its image as a slum (Bennett, 1991). Empirical data indicate that Uptown's dependent population is marked by: a significant proportion (28 percent in 1989) of families with incomes below the poverty line (a proportion increasing since 1969) (see exhibit 2), a high overall percentage of female-headed households with children (23 percent in 1990), a significant proportion (27 percent) of residents receiving public aid in 1990, and an alarming percentage<sup>18</sup> of babies born to mothers who received no prenatal care (Nyden and Adams, 1992). Even though Uptown has a large number of social service organizations, the need for such services poses significant challenges to community leaders and residents. Maintaining racial, ethnic, and economic diversity with such a mix of individuals is no easy task. However, research suggests that Uptown's local institutions are ready for the challenge.
- Like Edgewater, education is a major concern to Uptown residents who are uneasy about the public schools, as indicated by the 58-percent approval rating they gave schools in the 1992 Nyden and ONE survey mentioned earlier. Schools in Uptown, like those in Edgewater, allocate significant resources to educating a large immigrant population whose students have limited English proficiency. Clearly, both Edgewater and Uptown schools have expenses that go beyond the usual day-to-day operation costs of educating young people.

- Like the two other northern lakefront communities, Uptown has an unusually large percentage of foreign-born residents. With 33 percent of its residents born outside the United States, Uptown appropriately fits the designation of a port-of-entry community. In fact, 20 percent of all foreign-born Uptown residents report entering the United States between 1987 and 1990, and 32 percent report entering as recently as 1985 (Maly, 1998). Thus Uptown's foreign-born residents are recent arrivals to the city. While this immigration is not new in Uptown, it poses challenges for the community. Like Edgewater, transiency is visible in Uptown's schools. During the 1989–90 school year Uptown had a mobility rate of 39 percent. Also, according to the 1990 census, only 39 percent of Uptown residents reported living in the same house in 1985, with 42 percent reporting they lived somewhere else in the city (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). While greater mobility characterizes American culture as a whole, this finding provides further evidence of transiency in Uptown. Transience obviously creates an element of instability, posing important challenges for a variety of institutions.
- At various times in its history, Uptown has had an image of incivility, from seedy bars to gang activity to violent crime (Maly, 1998). Empirical evidence supports this image by revealing significant safety concerns. For example, during the 1980s Uptown youths were more likely to be victims of homicides than were youth in Chicago as a whole. Between 1987 and 1990 Uptown's gang crime<sup>19</sup> rate per 100,000 population per year was 178 (exceeding the citywide rate of 125).<sup>20</sup>

As we have seen, issues of gentrification, affordable housing, dependent populations, educational quality, and safety are not unique to Uptown. Some of the same issues and/or problems are present in both Edgewater and Rogers Park. Uptown's situation is unique in that its diversity is carried to extremes, often in complex and contradictory ways. Yet, Uptown has been able to maintain some stability in the racial, ethnic, and economic mixture of its residents. Uptown also has significant resources, which make the maintenance of diversity possible. Below, we outline several of the community's main resources and strengths.

- Uptown, like Edgewater and Rogers Park, has strong locational advantages. In approximately 15 to 20 minutes, commuters can travel the El, which cuts north-south through the community to the Loop. Those living along Sheridan Road can simply walk to a corner to get bus service downtown. Uptown borders on Lake Michigan, an attractive amenity for all residents.
- Community organizers and local residents have led an impressive attack on gentrification forces in Uptown, as they fight for the provision of affordable housing. Uptown's prepayment buildings are a clear example. These nine highrise buildings (which house 11,000 of Uptown's 64,000 residents) were constructed under a private, housing-subsidy program representing an alternative to the highrise public housing projects run by the Federal Government, which have become symbols of failed Federal housing policies (Nyden and Adams, 1996).<sup>21</sup> When the first landlord expressed the intention to prepay a HUD mortgage and convert to market rate, community organizers mobilized to preserve the affordable housing. Nyden and Adams' (1996) report, completed in conjunction with ONE, provides an excellent summary of this struggle, showing the outright success of at least four of the buildings. Although two buildings failed to maintain their affordable status, they provided important lessons for local organizers and tenant coalitions seeking to preserve other buildings in Uptown. One building became the first tenant buyout in the Nation under the 1990 Federal Housing Act, and three others were preserved through successful buyouts by

community economic development corporations. Community pressures convinced the landlord of another building to work with tenants to maintain affordable rents. Overall, in just four of the buildings that fought the prepayment issue, 1,318 units of housing were preserved for low-income Uptown residents. Almost every Uptown leader we spoke to suggested that the presence of the buildings, whose rents are locked in as affordable, is a main reason why the community will not resegregate or become gentrified. The role of local organizers in preventing the loss of numerous affordable housing units points to the community's appreciation for diversity and its desire for Uptown to remain stable.

- Like Edgewater, Uptown is well served by a diverse range of businesses. The community has a tremendously diverse population and contains multiple economies. Businesses cater to the affluent residents along the lakefront and to the significant dependent or low-income population. As noted, both Edgewater and Uptown have a mix of merchants, serving both of these sometimes disparate groups. This mix helps to maintain the diversity of Uptown, as various groups can benefit from some of the same stores. Recent economic development efforts have focused on stores that cater to Uptown's diverse population (Maly, 1998).
- Uptown, like Edgewater and Rogers Park, has a mixed housing stock, including up-scale, single-family homes and lakefront condominiums, moderately priced private apartments, well-managed subsidized family apartments, and the tenant-purchased building mentioned above. Exhibit 4 shows that while Uptown has a large percentage of buildings with 50 or more units, it also has smaller scale buildings. Such findings are understandable given Uptown's history. This mixed housing stock allows Uptown to accommodate various groups from different racial, ethnic, economic, and social backgrounds. Such a factor is beneficial to maintaining racial and ethnic diversity.
- It was noted that Uptown has a sizable dependent population, one that poses challenges for community organizations and long-term community stability. However, Uptown has strong institutional actors, adequately serving its needy population. In fact, according to a United Way index of social service agencies (CITE), Uptown has twice as many social services agencies, per capita, as the entire city. Many of these social service agencies publicly state their intention to provide "aggressive representation of powerless people's interests." (Bennett, 1991). Uptown has been successful in providing services for this population, although many in the community feel that Uptown has too many social service organizations (Maly, 1998). However, in a recent interview, an active community leader and businesswoman described a new approach to the delivery of social services in Uptown. She said,

I think there are ... developers and people who would say that it would be better if they [social service agencies] weren't here, but I am a developer myself, and I am a commercial business leader, but I still think that you deal with what you have, and you build on the strengths of that, rather than saying 'Oh, we don't need any more social services around here.' One of the reasons I went into this business, which is primarily doing business consulting to social services, was that I could see that the only way that this was going to work [was] if the social services were as competent as the businesses, and are run like a business. And they do.

Competently run social services and high-quality support networks are definite strengths for Uptown.

- A final dimension few talk about in Uptown is social capital. Uptown has a critical mass of individuals dedicated to preserving its racial, ethnic, and economic diversity, fighting for the needs and rights of the poor, and maintaining a stable, workable community. Several community leaders noted in interviews that area residents have made choices to live in Uptown and struggle to make diversity happen (Maly, 1998). For example, while Uptown has developers who are spurring on gentrification, it also has individuals who are pro-poor or working to maintain Uptown's diverse racial and economic composition.<sup>22</sup> Uptown is unique in this sense. As one former Uptown organizer put it, "I think that ONE saying that there has to be a place where we can work together is partially predicated upon having a [pro-gentrification leader] on one side saying we're going to kick every one of your nasty poor butts out of the neighborhood and a [pro-poor rights leader] saying we are going to eat everybody who is rich. And you need to have these poles ... [especially since] what tends to happen in communities is that the [pro-poor] pole doesn't exist." Such character provides Uptown a degree of tension. However, that tension is productive because it keeps the area open to all residents. This significant social capital, while intangible, includes affordable-housing activists, groups providing high-quality social services, and enhancing existing infrastructure, and even those creating economic development for the community's multiple economies.<sup>23</sup> Its presence accounts for a strong sense of both creative tension and leadership. Of all that Uptown has going for it in terms of maintaining diversity, this is probably the most important and the hardest to grasp (Maly, 1998).

In conclusion, Uptown is not simply one community, it is many. Any efforts to deal with maintaining diversity must take the tensions among them into consideration. Uptown's increasing diversity exists on many different levels and is not simply one racial group replacing another. It is multicultural and multieconomic (Nyden and Adams, 1992). Like any urban community, Uptown's future is dependent on many different factors, from the economy to its social and political capacity and willingness to accept differences. It is unlikely, given the mix of voices and visions of what Uptown should be, that any one group will forge a coherent Uptown identity (Bennett, 1991). Given Uptown's history of community activism and its range of housing, amenities, and strong leadership, the community probably has an excellent chance for creating an Uptown that is accommodating for its array of groups and visions.

## Chicago Lawn

### History

Chicago Lawn, on Chicago's Southwest Side (see exhibit 1), is located in an area that "sprawls out like a fan extending from the city's old Stock Yard District to Midway Airport and beyond" (Pacyga et al., 1991). It is located in the heart of the Bungalow Belt, named for its numerous bungalows and post-1945 housing resembling working-class cottages of the 19th century. This community is one of Chicago's newer sections; it did not fill up with housing until after World War II (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). Chicago Lawn, like many other Southwest Side communities, was a district of second settlement for many White ethnic groups after initial settlement in various immigrant neighborhoods to the north and east. The area has been maintained as largely working class, with moderately priced, single-family housing.

Chicago Lawn is commonly perceived as a center of Northern racism and White resistance to Black community infiltration. As mentioned earlier, it was here that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was turned away by racist epithets and stones when he attempted to enter the community during a march for fair housing in the 1960s. Today, in stark

contrast to this image, Chicago Lawn is home to Blacks, Hispanics, and Arab-Americans, all of whom have mixed with the existing White ethnic population. Chicago Lawn's current diversity has created some uneasiness among residents, largely because of the history of its eastern neighbor, West Englewood, which is an example of the traditional pattern of segregation, integration, and resegregation. In less than 3 decades West Englewood went from 88-percent to less than 1-percent White, and from 12-percent to 98-percent Black. A director of a local economic development organization noted that in the late 1960s and early 1970s, more than 60 real-estate firms were active in West Englewood, many using blockbusting techniques to alarm Whites into selling their homes. The director also noted that some homes sold more than 4 times in a period of 4 years (Pacyga et al., 1991). Separated from West Englewood only by the main thoroughfare (Western Avenue), Chicago Lawn residents continue to be alarmed by the experience of West Englewood and its pace of racial change. However, these fears are not completely justified, as change in Chicago Lawn has been relatively slow, partially due to real estate law reforms enforced in response to the experience of West Englewood (Pacyga et al., 1991).

With Chicago Lawn's increasing racial, ethnic, and economic diversity come concerns about the future. Its history and location (adjacent to low-income, African-American communities) make maintaining diversity more challenging than in some other diverse communities such as Uptown or Edgewater. In 1960 Chicago Lawn's population (51,347) was 99.9 percent White. By 1980 (see exhibit 2) the White population had dropped to 77 percent. In 1990 Whites made up 43 percent of Chicago Lawn residents. During this time, the community's Black and Hispanic populations have experienced tremendous growth at an almost even rate. Exhibit 1 shows the 181-percent increase in the number of Blacks and 195-percent increase in the number of Hispanics from 1980 to 1990. "Diversity has come to the Southwest Side." (Pacyga et al., 1991).

### Demographic/Socioeconomic Profile

In 1990 Chicago Lawn had a population of 51,243, almost the same as 1960, even though the community had been losing population until 1990. In fact, from 1980 to 1990 Chicago Lawn experienced a 10-percent increase in residents.<sup>24</sup> Interestingly, both the White ethnic communities to the west of Chicago Lawn and the Black communities to the east, lost population during the 1980s. As we suggest, Chicago Lawn's population growth has much to do with economic forces.

Chicago Lawn was and still is a working-class to lower middle-income community. Exhibit 2 indicates that the median income in 1989 was approximately \$30,800, almost even with the city average. However, this income figure represents a 16-percent decrease from 1980. More importantly, the percentage of upper income residents dropped 20 percent in the 1980s, while the percentage of residents living below the poverty line nearly doubled to 15 percent. Another troubling indicator is Chicago Lawn's consistent increase in unemployment since 1970, including a 92-percent increase between 1970 and 1980, and a 66.3-percent increase between 1980 and 1990. While these troubling economic indicators point to a community that is on the decline, this may be temporary, as we outline below.

### Maintaining Racial, Ethnic, and Economic Diversity in Chicago Lawn

Unlike Edgewater and Uptown, Chicago Lawn's diversity is relatively recent. The track record of dealing with racial issues in areas east of the community has not been good. Below, we have outlined the main realities and concerns that residents, community activists, and elected officials must face if the current diversity is to be maintained and stabilized.

- One of the foremost obstacles facing Chicago Lawn is the experience of West Englewood, which is separated from Chicago Lawn by Western Avenue and traditionally referred to by some residents as the racial dividing line. Chicago's south side is very different from its northern lakefront. While the latter is more consumer based (with yuppies, singles, and entertainment hubs), the former has historically been home to the working class of Chicago (as the city's manufacturing base has located there). The south side also has more entrenched and frequent experiences of racial change and economic disinvestment (Pacyga et al., 1991). The presence of the Black belt, working-class ethnic communities, and historic tension among racial groups, all play into the attitudes and perceptions of families living in Chicago Lawn. It is also quite probable that those residents who moved from areas east of Western Avenue now live in Chicago Lawn and other western communities. For those who have witnessed the pattern of racial change described and predicted by Burgess, there is a different outlook on or perception of diversity. For many residents of these communities, "total racial succession is inevitable." (Pacyga et al., 1991). Such deep-seated perceptions, borne from experience, are hard to overcome. Furthermore, these concerns are not without foundation. As recently as April 1991, a local real estate dealer was fined a record amount for racial steering (Kras, 1991).
- Chicago Lawn has never had an image of being a tolerant or accepting community. As noted, the fierce opposition to the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, march for integration and open housing is an image that tempers many Chicagoans' optimism about sustained diversity in Chicago Lawn. When King came to Marquette Park in the 1960s, he was met by White youths who rioted, stoned, and burned cars of innocent Chicagoans passing through the district (Chicago Fact Book Consortium, 1984). Flags of the Confederacy and the American Nazi Party were unfurled and police in riot gear patrolled the area. As Dominic Pacyga, Carolyn Heinrich, and Madelon Smith (1991) suggest, "mention Marquette Park and charges of racism still present themselves though much has changed in the neighborhood over 10 years." These charges are not totally unfounded. From 1986 to 1991, Chicago Lawn led the city in reported hate crimes (Fremon, 1991). This certainly does not help the neighborhood's image.
- The south side differs from other communities in terms of its housing stock. Unlike Uptown, Edgewater, or Rogers Park, Chicago Lawn features primarily bungalows and small, single-family homes. As exhibits 3 and 4 show, Chicago Lawn has the lowest home selling prices (although rising) and few large multifamily housing units. Almost all of the area's buildings have fewer than five units. Chicago Lawn also has a higher homeownership rate than the other communities studied. In this community, peoples' homes represent their largest investments in the future, so if owners feel their housing value might go down, they are prone to move. This is different from the northern lakefront, where a multifarious housing stock can accommodate various groups. Again, this dynamic makes Chicago Lawn's efforts distinct.

Like Uptown, Edgewater, and Rogers Park, Chicago Lawn maintains certain strengths and organizations that tend to slow the area's racial change. Many of these groups and strengths go a long way toward helping those interested in community inclusivity, diversity, and stability to achieve their goals. In order to assess the area's future, we have outlined below some of the main advantages Chicago Lawn possesses.

- Despite its past and the experience of its neighbors, Chicago Lawn residents and activists have organized themselves to prevent wholesale transition and promote diversity and stability. The Southwest Catholic Cluster Project (SWCCP), established in February 1989, is sponsored by the Southwest Catholic Cluster of Parishes and the

Ministry Office of Peace and Justice of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago. SWCCP's publicly stated purpose is to help parishes and other cluster member institutions "become active participants in an effort to achieve an economically stable, open, long-term, multiracial community in Southwest Chicago." (Pacyga et al., 1991).<sup>25</sup> This organization has stimulated dialogue in Chicago Lawn about economic and racial issues. SWCCP also has been working to improve the community's image, designing a poster for area windows promoting Chicago Lawn as a good place to live, and working with a major advertising agency to design a brochure and ads about Chicago Lawn. SWCCP volunteers also have generated a good deal of positive publicity for the area, largely in major newspapers (Pacyga et al., 1991).<sup>26</sup> These efforts are important for Chicago Lawn, given its troubled past and image.

- Other organizations have been involved in combating destabilizing acts in the community. The Southwest Parish and Neighborhood Federation has organized community residents on various issues. One of its main accomplishments, as part of the "Save Our Neighborhoods/Save Our City" coalition, was to sponsor a Guaranteed Home Equity Program in the Southwest Catholic Cluster (Pacyga et al., 1991). This program seeks to maintain the neighborhood's stability by attempting to soothe fears of falling housing values as the racial mix of Chicago Lawn changes. It became law in 1989, but local informants say that the program was more successful in generating controversy during its formation than it has been in preventing flight. Nonetheless, the effort is important, since it recognizes the need to address the concerns of local residents.
- Two related ecological factors are important for assessing the community's future. First, the opening of a new rapid transit line, linking the Loop with the Southwest Side's Midway Airport, is viewed as critical for Chicago Lawn's stabilization efforts. The Southwest Side was the only area in the city not served by the El. The opening of the Chicago Transit Authority's (CTA) Orange Line is being celebrated as an economic boost both to residents and Chicago Lawn itself. The Orange Line means better access to jobs in the Loop. Conversely, its presence has attracted retail shopping business to areas around station stops and increased property values (see exhibit 3) (Fremon, 1991). Community leaders have attempted to capitalize on the benefits of the new rapid transit line by marketing the community and allaying residents' fears of racial and economic change. Jim Capraro, executive director of the Greater Southwest Development Corporation,<sup>27</sup> has been very active in promoting new retail developments along Western Avenue and noted in an interview that the new transit line "makes all the difference in the world for the stability" of Chicago Lawn (Fremon, 1991). Capraro also has spearheaded efforts to use the economics of Chicago Lawn's new attractiveness to assuage fears of racial change. Capraro authored a booklet, 60,000 copies of which have been distributed, which says:

Don't be alarmed if some of the new qualified home buyers are of different ethnic or racial backgrounds! As the number of these people who are seeking to buy Southwest Side homes increases so will local home prices.... If, on the other hand, potential buyers become uneasy because of a potential for "ethnic trauma" they will choose not to live here.... If they don't select our community, prices will not increase. IT'S A MATTER OF SIMPLE ECONOMICS (Fremon, 1991).
- A final aspect that makes the prospect of maintaining racial and ethnic diversity more hopeful in Chicago Lawn (compared with West Englewood) is the increasing numbers of Hispanics and Blacks. While Whites continue to be in the majority in Chicago Lawn, both overall percentages and percentage change increases of Blacks and Hispanics are very close (26 percent and 28 percent, 181 percent and 195 percent,

respectively). Unlike the lakefront communities, the racial tension in and around Chicago Lawn has traditionally been between Blacks and Whites. The racial lines between Whites and Hispanics have not been as tightly drawn on the South Side, possibly due to the Catholicism of most Hispanic families, the religious tradition of most Euro-ethnics in the area, and the presence of Hispanic families and children in churches and parochial schools (Pacyga et al., 1991). This is borne out in survey data. In a random telephone survey<sup>28</sup> of several southwest community areas (including Chicago Lawn) both Blacks and Whites responded positively to the education and income levels of Hispanics moving into the area (Pacyga et al., 1991). Again, more positive attitudes on the part of Whites towards Hispanics is due to the familiarity that the groups have with one another. In Chicago Lawn, the presence of Hispanics may serve as a buffer between Blacks and Whites until diversity is stabilized.

In sum, Chicago Lawn's experience with and prospects for maintaining racial diversity are quite different from those of the northern lakefront communities. The Southwest Side's past, continued discriminatory actions, the perception of the area as inhospitable to diversity, and the experience of West Englewood, do not bode well for sustained racial and ethnic diversity. However, active community efforts to organize and promote the area's diversity and prevent wholesale racial change, including economic development efforts, attempts to enhance Chicago Lawn's image, and the presence and apparent acceptance of Hispanics, do suggest that Chicago Lawn will not follow the path of West Englewood.<sup>29</sup> Positive efforts are being made to promote the stability of the area, although recently those efforts have been more centered on economic stability, avoiding an explicit promotion of racial and ethnic diversity. In many ways, Pacyga, Heinrich, and Smith (1991) aptly sum up the future of Chicago Lawn's diversity when they state: "by all outward signs, [racial transition] has slowed down considerably even if it has not changed. In many ways the next census will be the true test of the ultimate success or failure of the Cluster's programs." In short, the jury is still out.

When this chapter was originally written (in 1996), the outlook for stable diversity in Chicago Lawn seemed tenuous but hopeful. However, over the past 2 years, Chicago Lawn's diversity appeared to be fading. A recent article in the *Chicago Tribune* reported that the "neighborhood is being recycled by a new group of younger people who are going to reuse it as a great place to raise a family ... with the eastern edge becoming almost all Black and the western portion mainly Hispanic and White" (Ryan, 1998). The report suggests that racial change, in the pattern typical to south side communities, is not occurring. European Whites and Arab Americans are still moving into the community. However, the community has seen a continued growth in its Hispanic and Black populations. The neighborhood is being recycled, according to the report, because "longtime home-owners are dying or moving into senior housing or smaller condos somewhere, creating a large supply of modestly priced homes for other residents with children itching to move out of apartment buildings or into a safer area" (Ryan, 1998). The households that are replacing the longtime (largely White) homeowners are Hispanic and Black. This change is not a surprise, nor does it mean that the efforts by community organizations were in vain, particularly because these changes do not appear to be causing a lot of friction among residents. It does highlight how difficult it is to maintain racial and ethnic diversity, and it raises the question of whether a community has to have a White majority to be considered racially diverse.

## Discussion

Given Chicago's history of deeply embedded discrimination and segregation, all of the communities examined in this article can be considered successful examples of maintaining racial, ethnic, and economic diversity, even if it is only for a decade or two. The simple fact is that Chicago has never been welcoming to racial, ethnic, or economic mixing at the neighborhood level, nor has it had the political will to fight for it. Diversity within a sea of segregated neighborhoods is a victory for those fighting for integrated living spaces. However, continued maintenance of diversity in these neighborhoods is still only a hope. The experiences of these four neighborhoods attest to the difficulty of maintaining a mix of races, ethnicities, cultures, and economic situations. So many variables come into play, including the economy, institutionalized forms of discrimination, and the challenge of communicating across language, cultural, and/or class lines, that maintaining residential diversity by race and class is arduous (Maly, 1998). This is particularly true in central cities, where neighborhoods must compete with other communities, groups, and voices, typically without the support of government or major institutions.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, in reviewing these four neighborhoods we present some common themes, issues, and attributes that are salient for policy and programs aimed at promoting or maintaining diversity.

The four communities selected for this chapter compare and contrast in significant ways. In analyzing the social character of these communities, it is clear that different dynamics and forces face each of these neighborhoods. The northern lakefront communities of Rogers Park, Edgewater, and Uptown have fewer single-family homes, more foreign born residents, and are more consumer oriented. Chicago Lawn, like other south side and southwest side communities, has more single-family homes, more working-class residents, and more directly faces the effects of a shift from a manufacturing to a service economy. However, while each community has a unique history that makes maintaining diversity either more problematic or manageable, key factors are common to all. Common threads of experience, woven through each community, suggest that unique explanations for stable diversity in each community may not be appropriate elsewhere.

First, given the history of Chicago race relations and residential settlement, it is frequently assumed that segregation is either inevitable or the product of ecological or structural forces beyond local control. We found that forces such as the housing market and institutional discrimination were very influential in shaping the social and cultural makeup of these four neighborhoods. The prepayment fight in Uptown is, in part, a story of developers influenced by a market economy that places profit paramount among social objectives. On the southwest side, the discriminatory practices that threaten Chicago Lawn are the result of institutionalized racist practices by the real estate industry.<sup>31</sup> However, while such forces are considerable, their effect is not beyond challenge. Individuals and communities act in positive and negative ways to influence the nature and shape of their neighborhoods. We found community-based organizations and activists important in influencing the character and direction of their neighborhoods. For example, Uptown, Edgewater, and Chicago Lawn are home to organizations publicly asserting an intent to foster racial, ethnic, and (in the case of Uptown) economic diversity and inclusivity. Organizations and individuals involve themselves in a variety of activities to maintain diversity, including fighting for affordable housing, policing the community, and anchoring economic investment.

A second thread weaving through each community is the importance of local leadership. This leadership involves both overt actions, such as organizing to oppose the displacement of poor, and subtle actions, such as building bridges along racial and cultural lines.

The quality and quantity of leadership are elusive, particularly in that leadership can oppose diversity. Leadership in communities that are working to maintain diversity is fluid and malleable, in that leaders move, change, and sometimes change their goals. However, we feel the best way to illustrate the importance of leadership in these communities is to discuss concrete actions. The results of leadership common to the four communities include the following characteristics:

- **A publicly stated commitment in favor of inclusivity and tolerance of difference.** This commitment often coincides with an active struggle to produce a sense of community. The work of the Southwest Catholic Cluster Project, which brings people together to address the community's moral and economic issues, is a good example of this commitment. The Organization of the Northeast's efforts to build relationships among disparate organizations and encourage dialogue (addressing the language gaps that exist) is another.
- **Efforts by community organizations and individuals to challenge the idea that diverse neighborhoods are unstable, anomalous, and temporary, by changing perceptions and effective marketing.** Chicago Lawn, partially because of its past, is the most active in such efforts, Rogers Park the least. Edgewater is also involved in this effort, albeit more indirectly, as illustrated by Operation Winthrop-Kenmore, an effort to clean up the community and present it as viable. Finally, in Uptown, many leaders give voice to the notion that Uptown is a place to live where differences are what residents have in common. As one leader recently noted, many people choose to live in Uptown because they will not stand out as different. This is important in a society that does not value difference highly. All of these examples suggest that image creation and marketing are important to diverse communities. Such efforts are difficult, as they are generally a hard sell in a city in which segregation and racism have been embedded in institutional practices and diversity has been viewed as the harbinger of a changing or declining neighborhood.

Leadership and leadership strategies are not easy to quantify. However, we found that they are vital for the maintenance of evolving diversity. It is difficult to teach or cultivate such an intangible quality as leadership. Furthermore, people in leadership positions must value residential mixing by race and have the political will to work for it.

A third common thread of experience is a strong belief and active effort to address basic community survival issues such as economic development, community safety, quality education, and a full range of housing issues (marketing and maintenance). Addressing these issues involves building institutional or community anchors to prevent neighborhood transition, be it racial transition, gentrification, or both. To varying degrees, these common strategies include:

- **Continued investment in the local economy and infrastructure, particularly the maintenance of quality shopping centers and other retail amenities.** Recent development in Uptown, designed in part to attract people with disposable income, is an example. The Greater Southwest Development Corporation's efforts at anchoring retail investment along Western Avenue and around the newly opened rapid transit line is another.
- **Struggling to ensure that a range of housing is available to residents and well maintained.** In both Edgewater and Uptown, community leaders have worked to maintain affordable, low-income and middle-income housing, so middle-class investment does not result in displacement. The fight against prepayment in Uptown

and the successes that followed involved locking in affordable housing, making gentrification a difficult proposition.

- **Struggling against the perception—and reality—of increased criminal activity, particularly gang activity, and its impact on neighborhood attitudes and stability.** Local social movements involved in community policing or efforts to promote community safety and governance are important for communities working toward stabilization. Rogers Park is probably the best example of such efforts.
- **Providing substantial interracial and interethnic contact among children in school and recreational settings.** In several communities, we found this contact can break down barriers and support diversity. Realizing the role schools and recreational programs play in providing the basis of stronger cultural awareness and acceptance, several communities became involved in enhancing these programs. ONE, for example, has been working with local schools in an effort to create a job-skill mentoring program and other collaborative programs that provide students (from diverse backgrounds) with adequate skills.

In conclusion, the prospect for maintaining racial, ethnic, and/or economic diversity in any one of these four communities is tenuous. Some communities are better equipped to withstand institutional, historical, and macrolevel forces that do not favor diversity. We can learn several important lessons from our examinations of these communities:

- Strong community organizations are essential.<sup>32</sup> Specifically, institutions involved in efforts that explicitly promote the value of diversity are vital to any attempt at maintaining diversity.
- Leadership is central. A community must have people who think diversity is necessary and are willing to fight for it.
- It is essential to challenge the perception that segregation is inevitable. Without such a challenge, a self-fulfilling prophecy can be created.
- There must be efforts to sustain the economic viability of the community, for without jobs and services, no community, diverse or segregated, will remain stable.
- There must be efforts to provide for the varying needs of diverse populations. This includes providing affordable housing; reaching across language and cultural barriers; and creating safe streets, quality schools, and programs/services for residents.

We found some of these factors in each community to varying degrees. The prospect for sustained diversity in these communities depends on efforts to further develop and/or ensure their presence.

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## Notes

1. This idea is expanded on in Chapter 4 of Squires, Bennett, McCourt, and Nyden's (1987) book, *Chicago: Race, Class, the Response to Urban Decline*. Given the constraints of this chapter, the reader is advised to examine this book for an indepth look at Chicago's historical, socioeconomic, and political character.
2. We use *Black* to include both African-American and recent African immigrants.
3. The *Chicago Daily News* reported that real estate companies staged fake fights, planted for sale signs, and hired Blacks to walk through predominantly White Chatham in the late 1950s (*Chicago Daily News* 1959).
4. The term "community" is used in place of "neighborhood." We acknowledge the tremendous complexity of defining "community," particularly as a "web of social relations" communities transcend physical boundaries. This choice is made for several reasons. First, urban researchers and scholars usually reserve the term "neighborhood" to refer to census tracts. In Chicago, the Department of Planning divides the city up into 77 "community areas," each containing a number of census tracts (for example, some as few as 2 or 3 and some as many as 24). Rogers Park, Edgewater, Uptown, and Chicago Lawn are names for city-defined community areas. Second, within each community are sub-areas that correspond more closely with traditional definitions of "neighborhood" (for instance, physically bound areas that people identify with). Finally, our research focused on the area defined by the city (for instance, the collection of census tracts), each area containing populations of 50,000 residents or more. We find it problematic to refer to such large areas as neighborhoods. To avoid confusion, we use the term "community" in a generic sense when referring to these areas, although we respect the complexity of such a concept.
5. What is now referred to as Edgewater was actually northern Uptown until 1978, when the Department of Planning, after years of pressure from organizations north of Foster Avenue, officially recognized the area as a separate community. This secession from Uptown, according to political scientist Larry Bennett (1991), was in part due to the threat of the impoverished Kenmore-Winthrop corridor south of Foster. The Kenmore-Winthrop corridor was and, in parts, still is Uptown's most notorious local area, marked by high levels of publicly assisted housing and poverty.
6. In a recent interview, the executive director of one of Edgewater's leading community organizations said that there are really three "Edgewaters," referring to the areas divided by this varying housing stock.
7. The Woodstock Institute (1994) categorizes 45 low- to moderate-income community areas in the city, areas where the median family income is less than 80 percent of the median income for the Chicago primary metropolitan statistical area (PMSA) for

1989. The median income of the Chicago PMSA was \$41,745, so 80 percent of that is \$33,396. Thus any community with a median income lower than \$33,396 is considered a low-to-moderate area.

8. At the same time, the number of families living below the poverty line in 1989 was 14 percent (see exhibit 1), on the rise since 1969. Again, this gives evidence of Edgewater's dependent population.
9. Anecdotal evidence suggests that low homeownership rates changing as there has been a rise in condo development in both Edgewater and Uptown in the past 5 years.
10. This information comes from recent interviews with various community organizers in Edgewater.
11. The presence of dependent populations is an issue for a community given that they generally require greater resources in the form of social services, medical care, or education. Also, such a population is less likely to be working and contributing to the local economy as active wage earners (Nyden and Adams, 1992; Nyden et al., 1993).
12. The data presented here comes from the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census as analyzed in Nyden and Adams (1992).
13. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Summary tape 3A.
14. Mobility rates indicate the number of students who transfer in or out of the school before the end of the year (Nyden and Adams, 1992).
15. Uptown, like Edgewater, has pronounced subareas in which these trends are varied. Bennett (1991) lists five subareas: the Lakefront, Buena Park, Clarendon-Corridor, Ravenswood-Glenwood, and Heart of Uptown-Sheridan Park. These areas are very different, and, like Edgewater, are generally recognized by community leaders. Interviews with community leaders suggest a recognition of each area as somewhat distinct and indicative of a different social and economic identity.
16. An interview with an Asian community leader indicated that the large increase is due partially to cultural factors, since Asians have a strong inclination to buy and own property. According to the source, this inclination artificially raises land values. However, this interpretation is anecdotal as no empirical evidence supports this.
17. This quote comes from an interview with an informant who is a developer and long-term resident.
18. The Loyola University and ONE collaborative report indicates that between 1984 and 1988, 38 percent of babies in Uptown were born to mothers who received no prenatal care. Undoubtedly, this contributes to the fact that Uptown's infant mortality rate per 100,000 live births exceeds the citywide rate and the fact that low-birth-weight babies account for 9 percent of infants born to Uptown mothers (Nyden and Adams, 1992).
19. Gang crimes can range from theft or vandalism to shootings.
20. These findings, presented in Nyden and Adams (1992), come from unpublished data compiled by Richard Block at Loyola University Chicago and supported by the National Institute of Justice.

21. The program originally involved the Federal Government providing low-income loans to developers who were willing to construct apartment buildings that would be reserved for low-income residents, at least over the next 25 years. The low-interest mortgages were intended to allow developers to make money even though the rents were lower than market value. The problem, at least for those advocating affordable housing, was that the owners found a loophole in the Federal law in the 1980s, allowing them to prepay their mortgages and convert affordable housing units to market-rate housing (Nyden and Adams, 1996).
22. Alderman Helen Shiller's presence in the community is often credited with Uptown's protection of low-income residents. Her election as Alderman in 1987 was the culmination of a long fight for representation of low-income people (Bennett, 1991).
23. The recent Sun Plaza development is an excellent example of this economic development activity. The project, organized by a local developer, is located in what was a long-vacant car dealership lot and is home to a variety of businesses aimed at a variety of markets. For example, Sun Plaza contains a national chain video store, a pediatric clinic (the only one in the area), an Asian market, a pizzeria, and other smaller stores.
24. Only 19 of Chicago's 77 community areas experienced population growth during the 1980s. Chicago Lawn was one of them.
25. Inclusivity movements are not new to Chicago Lawn. Pacyga et al. (1991) report the Southwest Committee on Peaceful Equality was founded as early as 1963 and advocated openness for many years. The presence of this organization indicates that there has been a core of residents affirming racial and ethnic diversity in Chicago Lawn.
26. SWCCP also was responsible for the publication and mass distribution of a brochure titled "Christians in their Neighborhood," which outlines moral, social, and practical reasons for neighborhood involvement and diversity.
27. The GSWDC is a community development group dedicated to the revitalization of Chicago Lawn.
28. This survey was composed of 52 close-ended questions and was administered to 822 residents of Gage Park, Chicago Lawn, West Elsdon, and West Lawn, all on the Southwest Side.
29. This is not meant to imply that an all-Black West Englewood is less than a diverse community. Rather it refers to the historical experience of this area. Rapid racial turnover in West Englewood was followed by disinvestment in the community, leaving the community economically devastated.
30. Carole Goodwin's (1979) study of Oak Park and Austin is a good example of this situation.
31. See Jackson's discussion of the real estate industry's co-optation of lending assumptions and practices (1985).
32. Particularly with the collapse of People's Housing, an organization working to provide affordable housing in Rogers Park, there is a need for new or existing organizations to fill this void.

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