Integration and Racial Change in
Six Chicago Suburban Communities

Volume I

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INTEGRATION AND RACIAL CHANGE
IN SIX CHICAGO SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES

by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As Taub, Taylor, and Dunham note in Paths of Neighborhood Change, Race and Crime in America (University of Chicago Press, 1984), the city of Chicago has always provided substantial data about the processes of urban neighborhood change. However, apart from Carol Godwin's The Oak Park Strategy, (University of Chicago Press, 1979), there is surprisingly little literature on patterns of racial integration and change in suburban areas.

One obvious explanation for the small amount of research done to date on racial issues in suburban areas can be found in the relative lateness of the movement of minorities into the suburbs. Most of the initial suburban growth was white and suburbs were defined as out of bounds for those blacks who could afford to move.
For the most part, the post-war suburbs did not see minority in-migration until after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 which made it illegal to discriminate against individuals on the basis of color. When it became easier to do so, an increasing number of blacks from their growing middle class began to follow the pattern established by the more successful whites and to move out beyond city boundaries.

MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

With minorities assuming a significant percentage of the population in many suburbs, some observers, suburban residents, and governmental officials have begun to feel concerned about the prospect of racial re-segregation. Their concern is that like many city neighborhoods, some suburban communities will undergo the pattern of racial change that has made Chicago one of the most segregated cities in the United States.

Like officials in these suburbs, our concern is with the problem of re-segregation. We generally favor racial integration as a matter of principle. It is our view that a strong society in which all are treated equally is an integrated one. We recognize the fact that historically there are ethnic groups which have preferred to live together by choice, and that there are
members of the black community who feel the same way. Furthermore, we understand that some white community leaders come to integration as a fallback position after efforts at racial exclusion have failed, and that integration programs in the short run sometimes appear to cost blacks more than whites. Nonetheless, the process of re-segregation often has costs for everybody. In many instances, it is the first step in a complex of social forces which leads to soft housing markets -- places where supply outpaces demand, leading to low prices-- as ultimately middle class whites and many middle class blacks decide that a mostly black segregated community is not where they want to live. Soft housing markets in turn lead to undermaintenance and deterioration as owners decide that they will not get their money back for home improvement, or as people in marginal economic positions come to purchase houses they cannot afford to maintain, or the houses are turned over to low income renters who do not have the responsibility of maintenance. Consequently, we are interested in encouraging those social forces which will lead to a strong and integrated housing market.

This study evolved partially from the expressed concern of government officials in several suburban communities now characterized by varying rates of racial change. "What can be done to prevent re-segregation?"
they asked, "How can we prevent the type of panic-peddling, block-busting, and white flight that many of our residents have already experienced in the city?" In view of these concerns, we approached our topic from both applied and theoretical perspectives. Because of its practicality, discovering patterns of racial re-segregation made a good research topic for undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in public policy courses at the University of Chicago. Because we wanted to know what processes characterize and/or influence racial change in suburban areas and how these processes interact, the topic also lent itself to theoretical consideration. Our goal, therefore, was to begin to piece together a theory of racial change in suburban areas, and to contrast this theory with the classical theories of urban change, including those of Burgess and Hoyt and that presented by Taub, Taylor and Dunham in Paths of Neighborhood Change.

THE FOCUS OF OUR RESEARCH EFFORTS

We selected six suburbs of Chicago for the focus of our study: Des Plaines, Skokie, and Evanston north of Chicago; Country Club Hills, Park Forest, and Hazel Crest to the south. In the cases of Hazel Crest and Evanston, we were invited in to share any insights we
have about how racial re-segregation could be prevented. As a long-standing racially integrated community, Evanston is also interesting because it has the largest black population of any of the areas studied. Its location immediately adjacent to the northern boundary of Chicago also makes it of interest.

Also included among the northern suburbs we studied were Des Plaines and Skokie. Our interest in the former stems from its location in relation to Chicago and its small minority population, which is largely Hispanic. Skokie, Evanston's neighbor to the west, shares a school district with Evanston. Prior to our investigation, we had noticed its growing population of Asians and were interested to know what role, if any, this group plays in Skokie.

In contrast to the northern suburbs are three relatively small southern suburbs with what seem to be growing minority populations. Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest are in this category. Park Forest interested us because it has one of the oldest integration maintenance programs in the country. We were curious to see whether the program has been as effective as the well-known program adopted in Oak Park during the 1970s.
THE OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

Despite their differences in size and location, each of these suburban communities is characterized by varying degrees of integration. Assuming this commonality, we developed a methodology, described in Appendix 1, which combines the techniques of data collection, interview, observation, and survey research. Chapter 2 presents statistical profiles of each area to provide a basis of comparison among them. In subsequent chapters, we describe each suburban area in detail and then attempt to characterize the process of racial change. Beginning with the northern suburbs, we examine Des Plaines, Skokie, and Evanston in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. In chapters 6, 7, and 8 we consider Country Club Hills, Park Forest, and Hazel Crest. In Chapter 9, we review the major classical theories of urban change and compare these theories to what we have observed in the suburbs. We conclude that section with a summary of what we believe are some of the components of a theory of suburban racial change. Chapter 10 presents both a general description of the survey results and our evaluation of them. Our final chapter presents our observations and conclusions.

THE SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
Our data show that some communities seem less threatened by re-segregation than others. Park Forest has clear elements of integration, but the threat of re-segregation is present. Evanston appears to be undergoing some re-segregation -- particularly in the southwest. Both Des Plaines and Skokie appear to be racially stable. The threat of change seems strongest in Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest.

There is evidence of "invasion and succession" taking place in some of the subdivisions, as, for example, in the Eastgate area of Park Forest. This process is encouraged by the presence of lower priced housing. Also, using a traditional "path" model we can partially explain Hazel Crest's and Country Club Hills' minority in-migration by their proximity to Markham and Harvey (suburbs which have re-segregated). Similarly, Eastgate is adjacent to re-segregated Chicago Heights. However, there are other subdivisions, such as Stonebridge in Hazel Crest and Mary Crest in Country Club Hills, which have black populations much larger than surrounding subdivisions. It should be pointed out that both of these subdivisions also have higher property values and median incomes than other subdivisions in their suburbs. Does this tell us that strong minority segregated communities are possible?
In the maintenance of a strong housing market and, consequently perhaps integration, the northern suburbs we have studied have many advantages that the southern suburbs lack. These advantages make racial stability easier to achieve. The larger size and concurrent quantity of resources of the northern suburbs and the proximity of Evanston to the lakefront and, along with Skokie, to northern Chicago with its many amenities, help these suburbs to attract perspective purchasers as well as large institutional actors to them. The presence and involvement of institutional actors help to create a perception of stability in the eyes of these suburban residents. Also, the larger-sized suburban areas usually encompass the school districts that serve them, thus making it easier for the government to coordinate its policies with the school districts.

In contrast, the smaller size of the southern suburbs has attendant disadvantages. Governments do not have the resources to set the tone of large areas. Each is part of numerous school districts with their own policies. And in terms of amenities and "cachet," the southern areas are relatively disadvantaged. In addition, all three southern suburbs are adjacent to suburbs which have re-segregated. The proximity to re-segregated suburbs, a lack of large institutional actors and locational amenities, and the presence of a
sizable black population of their own make the prospect of racial re-segregation a real threat.

Among the three suburbs in which we conducted surveys (Evanston, Hazel Crest, and Park Forest), Evanston and Park Forest residents have the highest levels of satisfaction, and of stability and social cohesion. They also have the highest levels of support for integration and low levels of concern about racial change. Hazel Crest has the lowest levels of satisfaction, stability and social cohesion, and the highest level of concern about minority presence leading to racial change. On the basis of our observations, we would expect Country Club Mills to resemble Hazel Crest in these respects. In all three areas we surveyed, residents' evaluations of their suburbs were related to the respondents' assessment of racial change. Those with a lower evaluation of their suburb were more likely to feel that the suburb is undergoing racial change than those having a higher opinion. Although this relationship exists among all three suburbs, Hazel Crest residents exhibit a higher concern about racial change than do residents in either Evanston or Park Forest.

Evanston, a northern suburb, has a sizable black population (20% according to the 1980 census), numerous large institutional actors, a lakefront location, and
few, if any, government programs to deal with integration or racial change. Park Forest and Hazel Crest are both small southern suburbs, with a 12% black population according to the 1980 census, and no large institutional actors. These suburbs differ most, however, in the government programs that deal with integration. Park Forest has the longest standing integration maintenance program. Although Hazel Crest's program has similar elements, Park Forest's total package is more comprehensive, especially since Park Forest has invested money in the community. Because of the Park Forest government's active integration maintenance program, Park Forest residents have much higher levels of satisfaction, stability, and social cohesion, and far fewer concerns about racial change and integration than Hazel Crest residents. Although the Park Forest government faces a number of problems, Park Forest appears to have a better chance of preventing re-segregation than does Hazel Crest or Country Club Hills. Indeed, the social costs of trying to run numerous individual small villages of moderate income in a large metropolitan area may be high.

Before we move on, we should point out that our study does not focus heavily on the activities of the real estate industry and its connection to re-segregation. There is ample evidence that the process
of racial steering -- directing whites to some suburbs and blacks to others -- has been a common part of the real estate sales practice. Many sections of the Chicago metropolitan area have been the object of testing and have been involved with law suits pertaining to this practice. To broaden understanding of what is happening in these suburbs, we have decided to de-emphasize what is already well known and to look at other aspects and different levels of the problem.
CHAPTER 2

SUBURBAN AREA STATISTICAL PROFILES

The following is a discussion of a series of tables that show the key demographic characteristics of each of six suburbs in this study. Figures are based on the 1980 census data.

Among the six suburbs, Evanston has the largest proportion of minorities, comprising over a quarter of the population (see Table 2.1). Blacks comprise the bulk of the minority population (21%) and Asians represent roughly 3% of the population. In Skokie, by contrast, Asians constitute the vast majority of the minority population (7%), while the percentage of blacks is very small (1%).

In the southern suburbs, Park Forest, Country Club Hills, and Hazel Crest have similar proportions of minorities in general and blacks specifically. The overall minority populations range from 14.4% to 16.3%, while the black populations in the three suburbs hover
around 12%. Des Plaines has the smallest proportion of minorities among the six suburbs (7%), with Asians and Hispanics comprising the bulk of the minority population.

Based on the data in Table 2.2, it appears that Evanston has the highest level of educational attainment, with over half its residents holding college degrees. Following Evanston are Park Forest, Skokie, and Hazel Crest, each with a quarter of its residents being college graduates. At the bottom of the list are Country Club Hills and Des Plaines, both with less than a fifth of its residents having a college degree.

In terms of occupational patterns (see Table 2.3), over half of the total number of employed individuals in each community are white collar, with Evanston and Skokie having the highest proportions. Park Forest holds the middle position based on proportion of white collar workers, followed by Des Plaines, Country Club Hills, and Hazel Crest at the bottom of the list.

In Table 2.5, the mean family income is broken down by race. In Evanston and Park Forest, the highest mean family income levels are found among white residents. In each of the other suburbs, however, one or more of the various minority groups has a higher mean
family income than whites. In Hazel Crest, black families have the highest mean income among racial groups; in Country Club Hills, black families as well as Asians and Pacific Islanders enjoy higher mean incomes than whites; in Des Plaines, Asian and Pacific Islanders have the highest mean family incomes; and in Skokie, Hispanic families have the highest mean income.

In terms of lowest mean family incomes among the various racial groups, blacks hold this position in all but two suburbs. In Hazel Crest, Hispanic families have the lowest mean income levels and in Country Club Hills white families have the least income.

As indicated in Table 2.6, southern suburbs have considerably larger proportions of single family residences than do northern suburbs. Indeed, in Evanston not much more than a third (36%) of the dwellings are single family residences.

Rankings by percentage of houses are similar to but not identical with rankings by percentage of owners (see Table 2.7). The largest change in rank occurs with Park Forest, which ranks second in proportion of single family residences, but falls to fifth in terms of the percentage of owners. This may be due to the large number of co-ops in Park Forest.
Looking at the areas in terms of age (see Table 2.8), Country Club Hills has by far the lowest median age at 20 and Skokie the highest age at 40. All other suburbs fall between 29 and slightly over 33.

Based on the data in Table 2.9, the two northern suburbs, Evanston and Skokie, clearly have the highest overall crime rates, with Hazel Crest being a distant third. Country Club Hills, on the other hand, appears to be the safest of the six neighborhoods. The next safest suburbs, Park Forest and Des Plaines respectively, have the lowest personal crime rates but a slightly higher property crime rate relative to Country Club Hills.
CHAPTER 3

DES PLAINES

HISTORY

The first white settler arrived in Des Plaines in 1835. The population was sparse until after construction of the Northwestern Plank Road (Milwaukee Ave.) in the 1840s and the completion of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad in the 1850s. The town of Rand was established in 1859 and named after Socrates Rand, owner of the first flour mill in the area and one of the first settlers.

In 1869 the name of the town was changed to Des Plaines, to correspond to the name of the CNW railroad on the eastern edge of the settlement. (The steam engines made use of water from the Des Plaines River when they stopped to refuel on the outskirts of town.) The early inhabitants from Germany and Luxembourg were predominantly farmers and green house workers.
The population increased steadily but not spectacularly as transportation links with Chicago improved. Land speculators and subdividers caused a spurt in population in the 1920s as improved railroad and automobile transportation reduced travel time to Chicago from a full day to only a couple of hours. The city benefited from its location at the intersection of Ballard, Rand and River Roads and the Northwest Highway. And it continued to benefit from its location as the limited-access Kennedy Expressway was completed on Des Plaines' eastern boundary and the advent of jet travel brought increasing numbers of commercial flights into O'Hare Field, just south of Des Plaines.

Des Plaines' convenient location, coupled with accelerated household formation after the Second World War, led to major population increases in the 1950s and 1960s. The population of the city increased 58% from 1940 to 1950 and another 133% from 1950 to 1960, bringing the total population to 34,886. The newcomers were predominantly young families with children. While they tended to have slightly more education than the established residents, they continued to be of white, European backgrounds as their predecessors had been.

The population continued to increase through the 1960s, reaching a high of 57,239 according to the 1970
census. Significant new construction in the 1950s and 1960s brought both many new industries and housing to Des Plaines, as the city expanded both through more intensive use of the land within its original boundaries and through annexation of unincorporated areas.

The 1980 census showed a total population decrease of 6.4% to 53,568. City planners, who had been projecting a Des Plaines' population of 90,000 by 1990, found the population decline, coupled as it was with an increase of 12.5% in housing units, hard to accept. But a 1985 enumeration which set Des Plaines population at 57,000 seemed to confirm that the city's growth had stabilized.

Air, rail, and road transportation continue to attract businesses and industries to Des Plaines. The turn of the century truck farms have been replaced by firms producing paints and industrial coatings, electronics, and machine tools. Firms involved in publishing, petroleum research, and communications have also located in Des Plaines. While the retail sales base was floundering to some extent in the 1960s and early 1970s, conditions improved somewhat with the completion of the Des Plaines Mall in 1977. However, recent efforts to sell the mall and disappointing sales levels indicate that the problem has not been completely solved.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The 1980 census shows Des Plaines as a primarily white, middle-class suburb. The first significant immigration of non-whites into the suburb occurred in the 1970s, though by 1980 only .3% of the population was black, 4.0% was of hispanic origin and 2.9% were of other non-white races, predominantly Asian. Birth and death rate data, collected by David Hartmann of the University of Chicago, indicate that the black population has remained stable since the 1980 census.

Examining the distribution of minorities on a block-by-block basis reveals that non-whites have settled in Des Plaines in a surprisingly diffuse pattern, although there are a few areas of significant minority concentration. Nine census blocks within the city have over 50% minority residents. Hispanics comprise the principal minority component on each of these blocks.

Asians have settled widely throughout the city, and comprise more than 25% of the population for a handful of blocks. Of the small number of blacks living in Des Plaines, 36% of the total live in one census block on the northern edge of town, with the rest scattered throughout the city.
There are two significant differences between the average residential block in Des Plaines and those blocks which include 50% or more minority residents. First, blocks which include large minority concentrations tend to have younger residents than the city as a whole. Thirty-seven percent of the residents of blocks which are predominately non-white or Hispanic are under the age of 18, while only 25% of the entire city is under this age: 3.2% of the residents of these blocks are over the age of 65, while 10.6% of the entire city falls in this category.

Blocks that are predominately minority also have heavy concentrations of rental units, reflecting the lower income of these residents. Fifty-six percent of the housing units on these blocks are renter-occupied, compared to 23% for the entire city.

Des Plaines is now an aging suburb, with the percent of residents under the age of 19 declining from 39% to 29% between 1970 and 1980, and the percent of those over the age of 65 rising from 6.2% of the population to 10.6%. It appears that young people are moving out of the suburb while empty-nesters remain.

The housing stock in the suburb is also aging. While in 1970, 40.1% of the housing units had been built
less than ten years earlier, by 1980 only 14.2% of the units were less than ten years old. Des Plaines remains a fairly attractive place to live, however. Only 1.9% of its housing units were vacant in 1980.

About 35% of the residents have attended at least one year of college. Median income in 1979 was about $29,000 with 46.5% of Des Plaines' families earning $30,000 or more, 63% of them in white collar jobs. While approximately 10% of Des Plaines' households are headed by a woman, only 2.1% of the population is living below the poverty level and only 3.4% of the population was unemployed in 1980.

SCHOOLS

The majority of Des Plaines public elementary school students attend schools in District 62, which falls completely within the city boundaries. High school students are assigned in District 207, which also covers Park Ridge, Morton Grove, Niles, and Glenview. At the high school level, most Des Plaines students attend Maine West, with the remainder attending Maine East.

Minority enrollment in both the elementary and high schools has been slowly increasing over the past five years. At the high school level minority enrollment
is close to the percentage of blacks, Asians, and Hispanics in the city as a whole, while at the elementary school level, minority enrollment in the public schools is significantly greater than the population share. Table 3.1 contains the data for the 1984–1985 school year broken down by ethnic group.

In 1984 the percent of minority students enrolled in Des Plaines public elementary schools ranged from 8.3% in South School to 29.4% in Plainfield School. Two of Des Plaines' ten elementary schools, both located at the southern edge of the city, had over one-quarter minority students. In both of these schools, as well as for the school system as a whole, Hispanics made up the largest minority group. To respond to the needs of these students, more pre-school programs have been initiated, targeting Hispanics in particular for extra services.

In some communities, minority populations this large in the schools begin to have some effect on the desirability of these areas for whites. We see no evidence of this yet in Des Plaines.

Residents are generally pleased with the public school system, taking special pride in the extensive course offerings and facilities at the local high schools and at Oakton Community College. The main focus
of discontent seems to be at the elementary school level where declining enrollment since the 1960s and decreasing state aid have led to the closing of several neighborhood schools.

Des Plaines is also served by both Catholic and Lutheran parochial schools, and it is home to Maryville Academy, a century-old home for 200 abused, neglected, and homeless children. The largest of 76 such homes in Illinois and the third largest in the country, Maryville was the site in 1976 of a "racially motivated" confrontation between residents and carloads of local youths. Des Plaines civic leaders see the confrontation as an isolated incident, which does not properly reflect the attitude of the city toward the academy. They point with pride to the participation of many Des Plaines residents in Maryville's annual Chuck Wagon benefit as an indication that the academy and the city are on amicable terms.

CRIME

In general, crime does not seem to be a problem in Des Plaines. All categories of FBI Index crime in the city (crimes reported but not necessarily the total of all crimes) have declined appreciably since 1980 with
the exception of rape and motor vehicle theft. Index crime in Des Plaines is broken down in Table 3.2.

An analysis of crime by racial group from 1979 through 1985 reveals a steady increase in the share of arrests and service calls among members of minority groups. While crime among blacks and Hispanics was more than twice as great as their share of the city population, crime among Asians was less than one-fifth of their population share.

While laws protecting individual privacy did not permit examination of police records to determine to what extent crime was committed by blacks and Hispanics who live outside of Des Plaines, an analysis of the crime rate and racial composition of Des Plaines' six police beats seems to confirm the contention of Sgt. Truver of the Des Plaines Police Records Department. Sgt. Truver holds the opinion that a high proportion of the non-whites who are arrested in Des Plaines are either non-residents employed in the city or outsiders who find the area an attractive location for crime since the suburb is conveniently located near many expressways. Police beats with high concentrations of non-whites are not necessarily those with the highest crime rates (see Table 3.3).
While there is some tendency for the crime rate to increase as the percentage of Hispanics in a particular police beat increases, there is little or no tendency for the crime rate to correspond to the percentage of blacks or Asians in the district.

HOUSING

The majority of the housing units in Des Plaines are modest-sized single-family homes of frame or frame and brick construction. Most of these homes, built predominantly in the 1950s and 1960s, are set on lots approximately 65' x 150'. While the housing stock is aging, most of it is well maintained. Owner-reported valuations have kept pace with inflation through the 1970s, rising from $30,000 in 1970 to $73,800 in 1980, six percent more than the national average.

A growing number of Des Plaines residents are now living in apartments and condominium complexes, many of which have been constructed within the past 10 or 15 years in areas adjacent to the Northwest and Tri-State Tollways. Since 1960 the percentage of Des Plaines residents living in multi-family buildings has more than doubled, increasing from 13% of the population in 1960 to 29% in 1980. Nearly one-fourth of the residents are
renters, giving Des Plaines a unique character when compared with Park Ridge, Glenview and Northbrook on the east and Schaumburg and Elk Grove Village on the west.

An analysis of property transfers in Des Plaines indicates a large increase in property values in the suburb from 1976 to 1979, followed by a distinct leveling off in values from 1982 to 1985. The average home selling price increased only 1% from $78,900 in 1982 to $79,800 in 1985. While property values generally tend to vary inversely with the proportion of minorities living in the area, it is difficult to draw any hard and fast conclusions from this fact. Differences in property values are slight and the typical home in an area that is 26-50% minority sells for only 7% less than the typical home in an all-white area. In fact, it is only in areas that have 50% or more minority residents that property values drop appreciably. Since these areas also tend to have high concentrations of multi-unit buildings, the four units surveyed in these areas in 1982 and 1985 were probably condominiums. While property value increases were modest in areas that were less than 25% minority (values increased 1.5%-2.5%), they increased 31% between 1982 and 1985 in areas that were 26-50% minority. These results are probably not statistically significant, however, because only sixteen parcels of property fell in this category.
Realtors with whom we spoke felt the housing demand is strong in Des Plaines, so strong that some sellers have increased their asking prices lately. Heavy housing demand is tied in part to the healthy business climate in Des Plaines. The 300-plus firms in the city tend to bolster the need for housing in the area. One realtor with whom we spoke mentioned, with a discernible note of resentment in his voice, that certain businesses attract blue-collar or low-wage workers to the area. Among these are two large hospitals and some warehouses that have located on the south end of town.

There is at present no subsidized housing in Des Plaines, though the 430-unit River Woods development, currently mired in a financial dispute, would include 20% moderate income units as required by its public bond financing. The Minority Economic Resources Corp., which tries to place minorities in housing in Des Plaines and surrounding suburbs, sees affordable housing as a significant problem in the area. Current economic conditions, which attract more entry level and low-paying jobs to the suburbs surrounding O'Hare Airport, further aggravate the problem. The city must also contend with severe cut-backs in federal housing funds and an investment climate that discourages private construction of moderately-priced homes or rental units.
Moderate income housing in Des Plaines has become increasingly scarce as growing numbers of dilapidated and older units in the central part of the city have been demolished. Between 1970 and 1980, 570 units, 3.3% of the total housing supply, were razed. In the summer of 1984, several multi-unit buildings, predominantly housing Hispanics, were demolished. The city government maintains the demolition was not an attempt to disperse an increasingly concentrated minority population, a point of view supported by local community organizations who praise the suburb for its efforts to find homes for the displaced residents. Nonetheless, efforts to reduce housing for low income people do have the consequence of making it difficult for black and Hispanic minorities to live in the area.

GOVERNMENT

In the 1970s Des Plaines changed from a full-time mayor/city council form of government to a part-time mayor and full-time administrative assistant. Procedures have been streamlined so there are no longer 16 city council members and 16 standing committees. The 16 councilmen and women from eight wards are elected for staggered terms. The number of standing committees, however, has been cut back from 16 to 8. Administrative
power remains with the mayor, making Des Plaines one of the few communities of its size not to have adopted a city manager form of government.

A decline of the population by 6.4% from 1970 to 1980 has made the city somewhat concerned about its future, though more recent census data do show the population is again on the upswing, but not at the same rapid rate of the 1950s and 1960s. Des Plaines city officials have responded to this problem by enlisting the aid of community leaders to help them find ways of improving Des Plaines' image and streamlining building code approval so that new construction can occur more efficiently.

The City Council is made up of public-minded residents. While respecting the expertise of the mayor and department heads, the council members feel confident to evaluate the proposals brought before them using the expertise they have gained from business and community affairs.

City government in Des Plaines is small enough that it has somewhat the aura of an extended family. Council members refer to various clerks and secretaries by their first names and a certain amount of manuevering was called for during budgeting hearings to amend the
building code approval process without firing or reducing the salary of a non-civil service employee.

With a minority population hovering around 10%, no specific integration maintenance plans have been enacted in Des Plaines. As the city ages, though, residents and city officials have become increasingly concerned about maintaining housing quality and the general attractiveness of the suburb. Stricter ordinances governing the use of commercial signs in the suburb and inspection of rental properties have been passed recently, and members of the community have taken a more active role in combating O'Hare Airport noise.

As Des Plaines' population has become more diverse, community services for the poor have increased. However, the Des Plaines food pantry reports that they do not have sufficient food to help all those who need it. And the Northwest Community Services Association, which offers temporary shelter to the homeless, is suffering from the same problem.
CHAPTER 4

SKOKIE

HISTORY

In 1900 Skokie was a small rural community of 568 people. The intense demand for housing after the Second World War and the accessibility of Skokie to Chicago by the train called the "Skokie Swift" facilitated a huge increase in population. During its earlier period of growth, Skokie established itself as a distinctive community with a solid economic base. The first shopping center in the Chicago area, the Old Orchard Mall, was built in northern Skokie in the 1950s. Some of the most prestigious stores in the United States, such as Saks Fifth Avenue and Marshall Field, still have branches in this mall which attracts shoppers from a wide area.

In addition to its commercial base, many industries were established in Skokie during the 1950s.
By 1977, the Census of Manufacturers reported Skokie as the sixth most important Illinois community, providing 20,400 jobs and generating 624.4 million dollars in revenues. Major industries in the area include G.D. Searle, Teletypes, Fel-Pro, Sears/Allstate, Rand McNally, Sargent Welch, and Wells Manufacturing.

Skokie became the focus of national attention in 1977 when Frank Collin, leader of the National Socialist Party of American, a neo-Nazi organization, tried to stage a demonstration in one of Skokie's parks. Collin had always encountered widespread opposition to his Nazi rallies. He had been trying to demonstrate in the suburbs since the City of Chicago had effectively obstructed his activities inside the city limits. But with Skokie's large Jewish population, the opposition was particularly vehement.

When the American Civil Liberties Union decided to defend Collin's right to demonstrate in Skokie, the national media became particularly interested in the conflict. Aside from being interesting reading about civil liberties, the Nazi conflict in Skokie provides important insights into how the government and the people of the village of Skokie respond to community problems. Throughout the conflict, government officials kept in touch with rabbis, priests, and ministers in
order to keep the people informed of policy decisions. Jews and Christians cooperated in responding to the Collin threat. Thus, the government relied heavily on religious leaders to communicate with the citizens of Skokie while citizens of all faiths united in their response to a community problem. Skokie is a town with a vast reserve of economic wealth and community involvement that can be drawn upon in times of adjustment and crisis.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS**

According to the 1980 Census, the total population of Skokie is 60,278, a drop of nearly 10,000 residents since 1967. Village planners had expected the population to continue to rise from its 1967 high of 70,000 residents. However, their expectations never materialized because the area houses an aging population that is only slowly being replaced by families with children. With a median age of 41 compared to the national median of 30, the population of Skokie seems to have a disproportionate number of older residents. Although the number of younger residents usually exceeds the number of older residents, the percentage of residents 19 and under is the same as the percentage over age 60, 23%.
Most Skokie residents find employment in white collar occupations. Managerial and professional positions account for 34.9% of jobs held and 44.1% of Skokie residents hold technical, sales, and administrative jobs. Blue collar workers account for 14.2% of the work force, while the remaining 6.6% of the workers are employed in service jobs.

Economically, Skokie residents are predominantly middle class and upper middle class. For whites, the median family income is $36,020; for blacks $33,763; for Hispanics $40,625; and for Asians and Pacific Islanders, $37,677. The median income of the Skokie resident has fallen in relative terms from 49.8% above the state average in 1970 to 35.8% above it in 1980.

Consistent with high income levels, educational achievement is fairly high in Skokie: 23.4% of its residents have completed college or higher and 36.7% have some college experience past high school. 85.0% of Skokie residents have completed high school. Overall, the average Skokie resident appears to be an older, middle-class white-collar worker with some college education.

Like most of its northern neighbors, Skokie is a predominantly white suburb. However, minorities are
moving into Skokie, but are not proceeding along more
set geographic paths of rapid transformation as has
happened in some Chicago neighborhoods and some southern
suburbs. Rather, it is the result of the selection of
the village as a suitable home by minority peoples who
come from more distant places than Chicago. For example,
Asians, Pacific Islanders and Koreans, who account for
7.1% of Skokie's population in 1980, find the town
particularly attractive. Yet their in-migration has not
been as a group expansion in some definite direction.
Instead these minorities have broadly distributed
themselves with only some areas of higher concentration
in southeastern Skokie where they account for 11.7% of
the residents (Census Tracts 8072, 8074 and 8075). This
steady in-migration has continued after 1980. A Skokie
Human Rights Commission report on housing values in 1983
noted that 11% of the homes purchased in the village
that year were bought by Asians while only 2% of the
sold homes were sold by Asians.

The second largest minority group in Skokie is the
Hispanic population, constituting approximately 2.6% of
all Skokie residents. A higher percentage of Hispanics
live in the east and south of Skokie (Census Tracts
8072, 8074, 8075 and 8076) where they comprise 3.4% of
the population. Thus, the south and especially the
southeast of Skokie are particularly popular spots for Hispanics, Asians, and Pacific Islanders.

The third largest minority group in Skokie is the black population. Blacks accounted for much less than 1% of the population in Skokie in 1970. Our birth and death rate data suggest that the black population has remained at about 1% since the 1980 census. Since the late 1970s, the heavily concentrated black population on the border with Evanston has expanded into northeastern Skokie, raising the total black population of the village to 1%. Black residents constitute 5% to 10% of the population in Timberridge, the triangular district in northeastern Skokie; some blocks in that region have even higher concentrations than 10%. About 60% of the black population of the village lives in the Timberridge district.

Following the pattern of many before them, Hispanics, Asians, and Pacific Islanders have taken advantage of Skokie's special constellation of attributes which make it ideal for the first home buyer. The houses in the four census areas with a higher percentage of these minorities appreciated at about the same rate (232%) as the rest of the city from 1970 to 1980. Thus the presence of these minorities does not seem to be related to any softening of the housing
market. The situation is different, however, in northeast Skokie where many blacks live. The average growth rate for blocks with higher black concentrations, specifically in the Timberridge district, was about 211%. 

CRIME

There is little violent crime in Skokie. In 1985, there were one homicide, four rapes, 18 robberies and 63 aggravated assaults. From 1984 to 1985 there was a decrease in robberies and aggravated assaults. Of more current concern to the average Skokie resident are burglaries. However, since the Skokie Police Department targeted burglary as a problem, the number of burglaries declined significantly from 576 in 1984 to 491 in 1985.

The southern part of Skokie which borders Chicago seems protected from any potential "criminal invasion from Chicago." Industries and the sewage treatment plant effectively buffer residential Skokie from any perceived threat. Nevertheless, in the spring of 1983, some residents became concerned about the possible infiltration of gangs from Chicago into Skokie. In February and March of 1985, residents reported five places where gang symbols had been painted. Three of
these symbols were in southeastern Skokie; two were between Gross Point and Niles Center just north of Dempster in middle-west Skokie. The names of the "Black Disciples", "Capones", "Latin Kings", and "Popes" were all painted, as well as a few obscenities. A police department spokesman claimed that this activity was not really gang-related. Rather, he argued, kids in Skokie just though that it would be "cool" to spraypaint the symbols. Mr. Dawkins, an administrator in School District 65, which lies in both Evanston and Skokie, believes that the threat of gang activities has passed because of effective community and school response to potential problems. He claims that gang activities have never been a problem in the schools, though there was briefly some trouble in the community. Since the spring of 1985 there has been no report of gang symbols or activities in Skokie. Overall, Skokie is a suburb with criminal activity typical of the northern suburbs. It does not seem likely that crime in the area will be increasing.

SCHOOLS

School children in Skokie are enrolled in any of seven different elementary school districts. Five of these districts are principally within Skokie. One is
primarily within Evanston, the other within Lincolnwood. Of the predominantly Skokie districts, three have borders which extend slightly beyond Skokie. One elementary district, Number 65, is under the supervision of the Evanston Board of Education and sends its graduates to Evanston Township High School District 202. Other districts send their graduates to Niles Township High School District 219. Thus, studying racial change in the schools requires us to broaden our focus to include the neighborhoods surrounding Skokie, particularly Evanston.

Studying the enrollment by race in kindergarten for school years 1980/81 and 1985/86 demonstrates that Skokie's racial composition is changing. Increases in the Asian population are evident throughout Skokie, though increases in the black population seem restricted to District 65 which includes both Evanston and Skokie. From 1980/81 to 1985/86, the black population in kindergarten in District 65 increased from 32% to 41% of the population. Evidence of an increasing Asian population is found in all Skokie school districts. The most dramatic increase of 19% was in School District 72 in southwestern Skokie. Table 4.1 gives the actual percentages of Asian students in kindergarten in the various Skokie school districts for 1980/81 and 1985/86. These school data indicate that Asian in-migration into

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Skokie, especially in the southwest, has continued into the 1980s and that many families with young children are among the in-migrants. Data also indicate that black expansion into northeast Skokie has continued and that many in-migrant families have young families.

An interview with a School District 65 administrator reveals some of the effects that racial change has had on both school district policy and resident satisfaction with schools. The administrator, Mr. Dawkins, said that administrators are committed to keeping the schools of District 65 racially balanced. If any school exceeds a certain percentage of black students, then the boundaries are re-drawn to distribute the black students throughout the district. However, he made it clear that there is no attempt at inter-district racial balancing. Schools can achieve racial balance only within the confines of their district.

Mr. Dawkins claimed that this balancing policy was alleviating concerns residents have with racial change in the schools. As evidence, he pointed out that recently there have been more students returning to public schools from parochial schools than leaving them. He attributes this influx to the cost of parochial schools and to the superior quality of public schools in the district. Obviously, his statement implies that
concern over the balance between black and white students in District 65 has not been increasing in recent years.

HOUSING

Three key factors affect the Skokie housing market: the age of its homes; the size of its homes; and Skokie's location in the Chicago metropolitan area. Taken together, these three factors have an interesting relationship to property values and the racial composition of school districts within the area.

Built after World War II, the majority of Skokie's housing stock is aging, but well-maintained. The homes are not large by northern suburban standards, though they are typically sized for homes of the post-war era.

Despite their predominance, these older, smaller frame homes are not ubiquitous. Larger and more architecturally diverse homes have been built in the northeast corner of Skokie. Newer developments have been scattered throughout the suburb, especially just north and south of the water treatment plant in the southeastern corner of the suburb. Well-scattered and well-maintained parks and school playgrounds complement
the relatively small lots on which Skokie's small homes are placed.

Skokie's location in the northern suburbs is certainly an asset. Skokie occupies an important niche in the prospering northern housing market because of its many lower-priced homes. Moreover, the village offers many of the attributes of life in the northern suburbs—high quality schools, high quality in other public services, and lower crime rates than in Chicago. An agent at Willoughby Realty commented that she felt, and had noticed, that Skokie was attractive to many as a first home market.

In spite of these assets, Skokie's housing market has been weak compared to some other northern suburbs for some time. Property values have grown steadily, but not spectacularly. The average rise in property values in the various census tracts of Skokie between the 1970 and 1980 census was about the national average. Reports from the Skokie Human Relations Commission continued to be lackluster in the 1980s. The Skokie Single-Family Home Sales Report states, "...the average sales price still lagged behind 1979, by 1% ($928), when the average sales price of a home peaked at $97,256 during the second and third quarters of the year 1983 (p. 1)."
There was, however, a modest rise of 3.8% in the 1982 to 1983 period.

A near doubling of the third quarter (July to September) sales volume from 1982 to 1983 accompanied by the modest price rise signaled a rejuvenated housing market. Enthusiasm among some brokers is now beginning to run high. When we called a broker at Willoughby after the plummet of interest rates in early 1986, she told us that sales were fantastic. Homes were on the market for an average of about three days and potential buyers were sometimes offering sellers five to ten thousand dollars above the asking price before the haggling even began.

While the volume of sales in Skokie is certainly increasing compared to what it had been during the end of the 1970s, housing values have grown less in real terms than they had in the 1970s. The 1983 data from the Skokie Human Rights Committee and our own sample of property values indicate that increases in housing values in the years to come will be meager despite a high volume of sales. The projected slow growth is not the result of high interest rates. Rather, it is a structural problem resulting from the age and size of the homes. Skokie homeowners, therefore, cannot depend

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on a boom in the housing market to greatly increase the value of their homes during the 1980s.

Comparing growth rates in black and white areas, the data show a 76% growth rate from 1976 to 1985 in all-white blocks compared to a 62% growth rate in blocks with minority residents. Data for blacks are similar to minorities as a whole. Census blocks with 0-10% black residents show an average growth rate of 60%. Blocks with a higher percentage of black residents show a 41% rate of growth. However, this last figure is suspect because the average home value for 1985 was based on a sample size of three.

Sample data from those areas of Skokie with the highest percentage of minority residents, however, do not generally show weak growth in housing values. Almost 12% percent of the residents in the three areas that form southeast Skokie are Asian or Pacific Islander. Yet property values have increased faster than the inflation rate in these areas from 1979 to 1985. Meanwhile, housing values in areas in southwest and south and central Skokie exhibit weak growth even thought they have some of the lowest percentages of black, Asian or Hispanic residents. Sample data indicate that areas in extreme northeastern Skokie, where 60% of all Skokie's blacks live, have had a moderate growth in home values.
Analysis of Skokie housing values by school district also shows that some areas with relatively rapidly appreciating housing values have a high percentage of minority residents. Looking at property values by elementary district shows that the highest average value in 1985 was in District 68 and the second highest in adjoining District 65. However, property values in District 65, an area with by far the highest percentage of black residents, were appreciating much more slowly than in District 68 with virtually no black population. For District 65, the increase in average home value from 1982 to 1985 was $3,964; for District 68, the increase was $15,962.

It is difficult to establish any direct relationship between the percentage of Asian students in a school district and their effect on property values in the district. Districts 69, 72 and 73 1/2 all had substantial increases in Asian students from 1980/81 to 1985/86. Table 4.2 shows the rank of each district's average property value with respect to the rest of the school districts in Skokie. Although property values in Districts 72 and 69 fell relative to the rest of Skokie, property values in District 73 1/2 rose. Thus, while there is some correlation between increasing percentages of black students and property values, there is no
correlation between increasing percentages of Asian students and property values.

The difference between suburb-wide figures that indicate a negative correlation between race and housing values and area and school district specific data which do not indicate a correlation can be resolved by considering other factors affecting housing values. Again, the age, location, and quality of the housing stock play a major role in determining property values. The aging, small-frame homes of Skokie are not conducive to a growth in housing values. But well-maintained homes and the many attractive amenities in Skokie have produced growth rates at or about the national average for the 1970s. Growth rates in housing values subsequently leveled off during the 1980s.

Racial change, however, does not seem to be a major force in the Skokie housing market. Area specific data show that any correlation between race and housing values is overridden by the more powerful movements of other market forces, especially the size and age of Skokie homes and the suburb's location relative to Chicago.
The government of Skokie has always played an active role in the community. It has enriched the lives of its citizens with fine schools, numerous parks, and one of the best public libraries in the Chicago metropolitan area. It has always succeeded at tasks the government deemed important for the community. For example, in 1967, a private planning company recommended improvements in the town hall, the police station, the library, and the road system. Vast improvements have been made in all these areas. Skokie wanted to achieve the maximum fire rating for Illinois. It became one of the few communities in Illinois to do so. Skokie has in the past been blessed with a very competent government that is capable of addressing the socio-economic and racial questions facing the community today.

For all its efficiency, the government of Skokie has dutifully avoided entering the housing market. The government's attitude is embodied in a statement by Assistant Village Manager Gregory Kuhn. When commenting on Skokie realtors, Kuhn said, "Selling Skokie, that's their business." However, the government of Skokie has made some efforts to strengthen the housing market by attracting more young families to the area. It holds an annual tea for new residents. It has a few brochures and a filmstrip. But certainly there has been no major advertising campaign. It has donated money to services
and housing for the elderly. But even this effort to attract new residents and/or keep old residents was initiated not by the government, but instead by a quasi-governmental group known as the Skokie Human Rights Commission.

The Skokie Human Rights Commission was instituted during the 1960s shortly after the village adopted one of the first fair housing codes in Illinois. This Commission was able to channel some of the concern for religious harmony among community members towards the issues of race and aging. The Commission has attended to these issues ever since.

The Commission, believing that whites were responsible for the fate of blacks in the Chicago ghetto, held seminars to further racial awareness, taught school children to understand better their unseen black counterparts, and tried to get low-income public housing built in Skokie for minorities with HUD money. The town trustees, however, put the HUD money into housing for the elderly, and people at the racial awareness lectures mostly asked Commission officials questions about their children's drug problems. Clearly, the Commission did not share the priorities of town residents. In its early days, the Commission was a solution looking for a problem. But now that there is a
larger minority population, the early presence and the experience of the Commission may prove useful.

The Commission has handled a number of complaints of discrimination against minorities and families with children. To be exact, it received 12 complaints in 1983, 19 in 1984 and 20 in 1985. Only five of the plaintiffs chose to formalize their complaints. All formalized complaints were settled out of court with mediation by the Commission. The Commission has also persuaded the Skokie Board of Trustees to pass a law allowing realtors to be tested for steering. If it has not managed to seriously reduce discrimination by renters and realtors, the Skokie Human Rights Commission has put some lawful pressure on them.

The government of Skokie has proven itself quite capable of solving problems it sees as its legitimate concern. But the government of Skokie has made it clear that "selling Skokie" is not its concern. Its reluctance to develop strategies for attracting new families to the area supports its claim. The government of Skokie has created a Human Rights Commission to address housing issues. To date, however, the Commission has concerned itself more with fairness in housing than with improving the housing market.
Skokie's history reveals a suburb tolerant of religious and racial diversity with a sound economic base and a competent government. These attributes are quite useful when confronting the bigotry that often accompanies racial change. The influx of minorities, which has included blacks, Asians, and Hispanics, has occurred at a slow and orderly pace. The orderly process of racial integration has certainly relieved some of the concerns of some long-time residents who view with fear the rapid racial change typical of many Chicago neighborhoods. Similarities in economic and educational achievement between the white majority and non-white minorities have probably been conducive to residents' apparent comfort with integration.
CHAPTER 5

EVANSTON

HISTORY

Evanston, Illinois is a large first-ring suburb adjacent to Chicago, covering 8.3 square miles on the north shore of Lake Michigan. The city is racially and economically varied: 74.8% of the population is white and 21.4% is black. It ranks as the eighth largest city in Illinois with a population of approximately 73,000 residents, according to the 1980 census. It has been home to a significant number of blacks since its incorporation in 1892. A variety of cultural institutions -- a university, two colleges, a symphony orchestra, and resident theater companies -- and a high percentage of multi-family rental housing units set Evanston apart from neighboring communities.

Evanston considers itself a progressive city. This self-perception began originally in the 1800s when
Evanston became one of the first cities to establish a public library, water works, etc. In fact, Evanston was deliberately chosen by Northwestern University founders as a "pure" alternative to corrupt Chicago.

This attitude continues today, as does the importance of Northwestern University. Though the area began to attract white settlers in the early 1800s, it was the founding of the University in 1850 which spurred its growth. Since then, the city and the university have had a love-hate relationship, largely based on Evanston's continuing belief that Northwestern should pay more taxes.

As a home-rule unit, Evanston can impose its own taxes. Over 67% of Evanston's operating revenues come from taxes, including 34.7% from property taxes, 8.1% from state and federal sources, and 24.3% from other taxes, including hotel, entertainment, and cigarette taxes. Only recently, a proposed "tuition tax" was dropped by the Evanston City Council. The tax was an effort to get more revenue from Northwestern University which, according to its original charter, own up to 2,000 acres of land tax-free, regardless of use.

In recent years, the city has reached the re-development phase of its growth, having already
undergone traditional in-fill development trends. Planning for the city is now focused on mixed use, adaptive re-use, and re-development. A proposed research park, to be jointly administered by the city and the University, seems to point to a new area of cooperation between Evanston and Northwestern.

Land use for 1985 in the city was primarily residential. Of the total 5,050 acres, 44.5% was zoned residential, 6.0% commercial and 4.1% industrial. The remaining lands were either public or semi-public parks and open spaces, railroads, streets and alleys; there was virtually no undeveloped land. Most opportunities for further residential growth will come with the development of high intensity units in the downtown areas, conversion of some commercial sites to multi-family developments, and rehabilitation and conservation of present neighborhoods.

The largest development projects for the city are the joint project for Downtown II and the already mentioned Evanston/Northwestern University Research Park. A new Transportation Center is proposed to facilitate the development of these projects and to link Evanston's CTA and C&NW stations; a proposed office building or hotel would connect the two sites. Recent redevelopment in the downtown area has primarily
consisted of large office complexes on land formerly occupied by retail establishments.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Evanston's economic, occupational, and educational profiles are generally upscale. Unemployed residents constitute approximately 5.4% of the population. Of those employed, 33,549 work in non-manufacturing jobs, while 5,461 work in manufacturing related occupations. Further, as shown in Table 5.1, a substantial proportion of the Evanston labor force are managers or professionals.

As one might expect, Evanston residents also have an above average educational level. Over 50% of the population has completed four years of college. Over 90% graduated from high school.

Without a doubt, Evanston can be classified as a community of predominantly white collar workers many of whom work in the health industry (Evanston Hospital, 3,441; St. Francis Hospital, 1,100; American Hospital Supply, 450) or at Northwestern University (4,239). The central business district is rebounding from a recent decline. There are over 50 industrial firms which
provide a variety of jobs for Evanston residents. Evanston ranks first among suburban communities with a total of 1,129 businesses. In particular, a large proportion of Evanston's business is in amusement and recreational services. Business service categories include advertising, computer services, management consulting, public relations, equipment leasing, and building services.

The Evanston Review reported (1/2/86) that a study of employment patterns revealed a 20% increase in jobs in the city with the service sector accounting for 51% of the rise. It should be noted, however, that most of the increase was in white collar administration positions; blue collar jobs continue to decrease.

In addition to the decrease in blue collar jobs, Evanston's total population is also on the decline. Evanston's population declined from an all-time high of 80,113 in 1970 to 73,702 in 1980. The 1980 figure is approximately the same as the 1950 population figure. The 8% drop between 1970 and 1980 reflects the decline in the number of traditional nuclear family units and the concurrent increase in the number of single, one-parent, and senior citizen households. Moreover, the average household size dropped from 2.7 in 1970 to 2.35 in 1980. At the same time, the population living in
dorms, retirement homes, nursing homes, and other group dwellings increased. The Evanston Planning Department questioned the high vacancy rate and cited possible errors in recording procedures.

The city of Evanston was not only characterized by a decline in population between 1970 and 1980. Its population also shifted, with an especially large increase in the university population as well as some spill-over in the area adjacent to Northwestern.

Northwest, northeast, and southwest Evanston, which have more single family homes, do not show as large a population decline as other areas. The population decline in southeast Evanston, however, has been far more noticeable. Southeast Evanston has a greater proportion of multiple family dwellings than other parts of Evanston. A soft condominium market and a change in family composition resulted in a weak demand that left many of these units vacant. The western section of Evanston also exhibited a marked decline of 1,000 residents. However, this population loss is not readily explained by density of land use factors.

While multi-family units dominate the type of housing in southeast Evanston, and indeed the type of housing in Evanston generally, the housing throughout
the rest of Evanston is fairly diverse. Of the city's roughly 29,000 dwelling units, 64% are multiple units. This includes institutions. The breakdown of housing in Evanston is in Table 5.2.

Most of Evanston's housing is over 50 years old. The city has issued few new residential construction permits during the last decade to replace the older housing stock primarily because interest rates discouraged new construction. Still, the median home value is $88,600, somewhat higher than one might expect for a city where the median household income is $21,715. One-person households represent 33.6% of the population, with 11.7% of these persons over 65 years of age. Two-or-more-person families comprise 58% of the population. stock. Almost 30% of these families have one or more persons under 18 years and 12.5% have persons over 65 years living in the home. Households of unrelated individuals represent only 8.4% of the total.

Although blacks comprise about 21% of the total population, roughly 57% of all blacks live within three central Evanston census tracks. Moreover, 55% live in blocks with more than 80% black residents. The majority of whites -- 61% -- live on blocks with fewer than 10% blacks, suggesting that Evanston comprises three types of housing markets: one which is predominantly black, a
second which is predominantly white, and a third which is integrated.

Examining Evanston's early development helps explain the present trend toward an increasing black population in the south, and an increasing white population in the north. In its early history, north and south Evanston were once separate communities. South Evanston, the area below Dempster Street, was annexed to Evanston in the late 1800s. Because its residents did not have to pay high Evanston taxes, many more immigrant and working class people clustered in South Evanston rather than North Evanston. The South Evanston population grew rapidly during the 1800s. With its cheaper housing, South Evanston became an attractive community for upwardly mobile blacks.

The 1970 and 1980 census tract data provide evidence of how the black population has shifted within the city since the early days in South Evanston. Between 1970 and 1980, the number of all-white blocks has decreased by 50%. The number of all-black blocks has remained constant. The number of blocks over 80% black has increased by 15%, while the number of blocks with 26-59% black has increased by 50%. The number of blocks having less than 10% blacks has increased by 60%. Birth and death rate data indicate that the percentage of
blacks in Evanston has remained stable since the 1980 census. The data provide evidence about both integration and racial change.

SCHOOLS

Evanston has always had a black population, and it voluntarily desegregated its schools in 1967. Thus, a black population is not a new entity in Evanston public schools as it would be in a previously all-white urban neighborhood or suburb. It cannot be said, however, that white parents in Evanston are completely unconcerned about increasing black enrollments. Nevertheless, Evanston schools do start from a relatively strong base of support from which to cope with integration since its schools have traditionally been recognized for excellence and creativity.

Perhaps most significantly, Evanston maintains strong control of its schools due to the fact that it is a self-governing city and its school districts are almost completely contiguous with the city itself. Evanston has two districts, one for elementary and middle schools, and one for the high school. Both districts include all of Evanston and a small portion of Skokie. Of the elementary school population, perhaps
1/6 of the district is made up of students from Skokie. For all of these reasons, it will be especially interesting to see if Evanston schools break the pattern of re-segregation seen so often in schools located in changing Chicago neighborhoods.

A look at enrollment and minority composition shows some trends. School boundaries have remained the same from 1979-1985. By super-imposing census tracts on a map of school boundaries, we were able to use the 1980 census block statistics to calculate the population and minority composition within each school's boundaries and to compare this with the minority composition within the school.

For all elementary and middle schools between 1979 and 1985, the percentage of black children within the school is at least twice the black percentage of the population within school boundaries. The white enrollment percentage in all schools is lower than the white percent of the population within school boundaries by about 20 percentage points or more. The only exception here is Oakton school where the percent of whites in Oakton almost reached the percentage of the white population in the Oakton area in 1979, but then it dropped by about 20% by 1985.
From 1979 to 1985, the white percentage decreased in all schools. The black trend is more varied. The black percentage in many cases increased after 1979, then dropped again by 1985, but is still at a higher level than the 1979 percentage. All elementary schools except Washington experienced an increase in the black percentage, though the increase was small in many cases.

Looking at the actual enrollment figures, we again see a clear white decline in elementary school attendance from 2,744 in 1979, to 1,969 in 1985. Almost without exception, white numbers declined in all schools, often by 100 or more. In the middle schools, white attendance declined from 4,301 in 1979, to 3,081 in 1985. Again, the decline was typical of all schools.

Black enrollment trends are more mixed. Overall, black enrollment also declined, but only slightly: from 1,831 in 1979, to 1,723 in 1983, to 1,752 in 1985. Looking at individual schools, more schools experienced an increase in black enrollment than experienced a decrease, but these small increases were offset by the two schools which showed relatively large decreases in black enrollment.

We do not know how much of the white decline may be due to a declining birth-rate, the older age of the
non-college going white population, or to more whites putting their children in private schools. Neither do we know whether blacks have maintained their number in the population as a whole since 1980, but increased their percentage in schools due to a white decline.

Evanston tries to regulate the racial ratios in its schools. Busing was at first used after desegregation in 1967, but by 1976 school boundaries were re-drawn so that schools were integrated while remaining neighborhood schools. A small section of the Willard district, however, has been bused since 1979. Evanston is integrating the white northwest Willard area by drawing some of its students from the predominantly black central west section of Evanston. The rest of the central west section is divided between the other schools for integration purposes.

Robert Dawkins, Director of Pupil Services, tells us that the current policy is not to let any race exceed 60% in any one school. One tool to accomplish this is their use of permissive transfers. Students requesting to attend a school outside their assigned school may or may not be allowed to attend a different school depending on how the transfer will affect racial balances both at the school they wish to leave and the school they wish to attend.
According to Dawkins, "The problem as we see it is the black population moving into south Evanston, so schools in the north are moving towards all-white. We review attendance boundaries every year."

Dawkins said that since Oakton school has the highest black percentage, black students were recruited from that area (and other areas, as well) to go to King Laboratory School, a magnet school drawing from the entire district. Otherwise, Dawkins estimated the black percentage at Oakton might have been about 75%.

Re-drawing boundaries has also been affected by financial resources and declining enrollment. Seven schools were closed between 1976 and 1979 due to declining enrollment, and now two of its schools—Lincolnwood and Willard— are becoming overcrowded.

Gene Mulcahy, the new Superintendent of Schools of elementary school District 65, has taken a particular interest in the educational implications of integration in Evanston's elementary schools. A report issued by District 65 in September, 1986 showed a significant increase in achievement among both black and non-black students since the district was integrated in 1967. From 1967 to 1986 black reading scores as measured by tests designed by the Educational Testing Service, increased
34.5%, while non-black reading scores increased 23%. The absolute gap between black and non-black scores remained virtually unchanged, however. Scores for black students, grades 3, 4, 7 and 8, started from a lower base, i.e., at the 30-41st percentile level. These scores increased the same absolute amount but at a greater percentage rate than scores of non-blacks which started from a base at the 66-77th percentile. Results from the California Achievement Tests for reading, language and math exhibited generally the same pattern.

In response to these findings, the report recommended more in-service training for administrators and teachers, directed toward closing the gap between black and non-black students. It also recommended a continuing commitment to pre-school education, an abolition of teachers "dual levels of expectations based upon race or cultural differences" and an end to "institutional racism within the confines of District 65."

CRIME

Evanston police began recording crime rates on a beat-by-beat basis in 1982. Before that year, all statistics were collected on a city-wide basis. In 1982
the department split Evanston into seven beats and began to issue a newsletter called Alert to residents in each beat. The Alert comes out on a bi-monthly basis and a different version is sent to each beat describing crime and crime rates in that particular area for the preceding period. The Alert is distributed throughout the community by residents who participate on the Residential Crime Prevention Committee. The Committee is made up of about 42 concerned residents who meet once a month to discuss crime and crime prevention. About 10,000 copies of each Alert are distributed to residents.

The beats do not coincide directly with census tracts, but they are roughly compared in Table 5.3. Using block statistics from 1980, we were able to compute the total population and white and black percentages for each beat area (Table 5.4).

The Alert lists the following crimes: homicide, rape, personal robbery, commercial robbery, residential burglary, commercial burglary, aggravated battery and assault (usually combined into one category), burglary of autos, auto theft, arson, criminal sexual assault, and home invasion/robbery. In Table 5.5, we list the totals of each crime per beat for each year the Alert has been issued.
Perhaps the most useful way of analyzing the victimization and crime rates in Tables 5.5 and 5.6 is to compare beats 75 and 77. Beat 75 is northwest Evanston, a predominantly white and wealthy area. A recent city study of real estate practices found that black homebuyers have been steered away from northwest Evanston. Beat 77, on the other hand, has the highest black concentration in Evanston and is also appreciably less well off.

For both victimization and crime rates, for all years, Beat 77 exceeds Beat 75. In 1985, for instance, Beat 75's victimization rate is .5 per thousand, while Beat 77's is 11.8. Similarly, in 1985, Beat 75's crime rate is 12.19, while Beat 77's is 24.34. The residents in Beat 77 suffer from more crimes against people and property than those living in Beat 75.

Interestingly, only Beat 71 has a worse crime rate than Beat 77. Beat 71 encompasses southwest Evanston, an area widely perceived as racially changing. School district statistics support this, as the school most in danger of racially tipping is located in southwest Evanston.

Looking at the city-wide crime statistics, we do not see any drastic changes in the last 15 years. The
largest fluctuation is perhaps in burglaries; other crimes remain fairly constant.

Two officers in the Evanston police department, Brian Scruggs and Hank White, both characterized residents as "concerned" about crime rather than fearful. Evanston has a very active crime prevention program. Officer Hank White, known around the police station as "Mr. Crime Prevention," heads the Crime Prevention Bureau which was established in 1982. The Bureau runs a number of programs: security surveys for homes and stores; free installation of security locks for residents who qualify; the Alert newsletter; senior citizen seminars; a Neighborhood Watch; a Residential Crime Prevention Committee; and personal protection seminars.

In the Home Security Lock Program, the Bureau surveyed about 20,000 homes for security. As of January 31, 1986, the bureau installed about 122 security locks, spending less than $200 per home. Six thousand dollars remains in the budget, according to Officer White, and they plan to use the rest of it.

The department also maintains a gang-crimes unit. Gang crime became a large Evanston concern in the early 1980s; since then, while gang membership has decreased,
gang violence decreased and then increased again in the summer of 1986. Chief William Logan believes both the activities of parents through Coe-Pops and Coe-Moms and the police department's programs have helped to keep gang crime under control.

HOUSING

Housing stock in Evanston is extremely diverse, as one might expect in a city of its size. Northwest Evanston is mainly composed of large houses on relatively spacious lots. The Northwestern University area has its share of large houses, but homes there are interspersed with rental units and condominiums. Homes in west-central Evanston are predominantly frame houses on smaller lots. East-central Evanston includes the business district, some large homes, and a fair number of rental units. Southeast Evanston, though it is noted for its mini-mansions lining Sheridan Road, also has many rental units. Southwest Evanston is mixed, containing frame and brick housing as well as rental units.

In order to analyze property data, the data were coded into the six geographical areas noted above. The percentage of blacks on each block was also coded.

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Trends in housing values rose in all areas from 1976 to 1979, but some areas then saw their property values decline by 1985. Home values in largely wealthy and white northwest Evanston increased consistently, as did values in the Northwestern University and the southeast areas. Home values in both the largely black west area, and the southwest area which is perceived to be racially changing, rose from 1976 to 1979, and then dropped rather precipitously by 1985.

In the northwest area, home values rose from $71,303 in 1976 to $122,391 in 1979 to $141,078 in 1985, an increase of 98% in ten years. The Northwestern University area appreciated somewhat more rapidly, from $72,506 in 1976 to $146,594 in 1985, an increase of 102%. Central Evanston began at $87,441 in 1976 and increased to $128,360 in 1985. Southeast Evanston rose from $88,218 in 1976 to $107,042 in 1985. West Evanston showed a value of $42,258 in 1976, which rose to a high of $110,071 in 1979 and then dropped to $75,958 in 1985, resulting in a net increase of 80%. Southwest Evanston went from $61,155 in 1976, to $92,641 in 1979, and experienced less of a drop to $88,944 in 1985 (ten-year appreciation, 45%).

A corresponding trend appears when the data are analyzed according to black representation on the block.
Home values decline as the black proportion rises (perhaps due to the fact that these homes are smaller and on less spacious lots) and their rate of appreciation is also not as great: in 1985, homes sold for an average of $138,602 on all-white blocks, $119,978 on blocks 1-10% black, $101,449 on blocks 11-25% black, $86,460 on blocks 50% black, and $66,156 on blocks 50-100% black. Again, the two areas with the largest black concentrations are the western and southwestern areas. Home appreciation values between 1976 and 1985 show a clear-cut trend. The all-white blocks showed a steady appreciation from $83,499 in 1976 to $138,602 in 1985, (up 66%) while the 50-100% black areas increased from $43,617 in 1976 to $102,160 in 1979 but then dropped to $66,156 in 1985 (up 52%). However, there are no clear trends for blocks which are neither all-white nor predominantly black. On blocks up to 10% black, prices rose from $72,114 in 1976 to $119,402 in 1979 and remained constant through 1985. On blocks 11-25% black, homes appreciated significantly from $54,244 in 1976 to $101,449 in 1985. However, on blocks 25-50% black housing values rose from $44,100 in 1976 to $89,560 in 1979 and dropped to $86,460 in 1985.

As mentioned earlier, the southwest area is perceived by many to be racially changing. Some people we interviewed, however, did not characterize it as
changing. Nevertheless, they perceived an increase in black representation in southwest Evanston. The two viewpoints on this issue are best represented by Judy Jager and Walter Kihm.

Jager, a member of the Evanston Human Relations Commission, associates the change with what she sees as rapid re-segregation occurring in nearby Rogers Park. Also, she believes that a big problem in Oakton School (the school in danger of exceeding a 50% level of black students) is that "a number of black families in Rogers Park have relatives with Evanston addresses. To avail themselves of the excellent education available, several of these families try to send their kids to the Evanston schools, especially Oakton and the other south Evanston schools. It's difficult for District 65 to prove these kids are actually non-residents. I believe their presence definitely increases Oakton's black enrollment, and compounds the racial imbalance situation."

Walter Kihm, a realtor and president of District 65 Board of Education, was, perhaps predictably, more optimistic. Kihm said he "doesn't see any danger of tipping in any section of Evanston." Kihm said he did not think children from Rogers Park were attending schools clandestinely in Evanston.
However, both Jager and Kihm, as well as Marianne Rosen of the North Suburban Housing Center believe that Evanston is having a problem attracting middle class blacks. Kihm said that middle and upper class blacks are "not moving into Evanston--they're choosing Skokie and Northbrook". They all cited essentially the same factors. For instance, minorities appear to prefer newer housing, and Evanston's housing stock, particularly compared to other suburbs, is relatively old. Also, more affluent blacks, particularly those with children, may want to disassociate themselves from lower class blacks.

Both Jager and Rosen believe there is much steering going on while again, perhaps predictably, Kihm feels the problem is not as great as the report makes it out to be. Rosen said she has received rental discrimination complaints, and that in one instance a black was told that all units in an all-white building were sold before being steered to the now increasingly-black St. Francis area in southwest Evanston. Kihm supports the findings of the recent steering study, but does not believe such steering is widespread.

GOVERNMENT

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Evanston functions under a council-manager format and has an active city government which provides a wide array of services. In the past eighteen months, since submission of the aforementioned audit of real estate rental and sales practices, the city government has shown an increasing interest in racial issues. In response to the audit conducted by the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, Evanston's fair housing ordinance is now being rewritten and discriminatory real estate practices are being monitored more closely.

While the report of the mayor's special committee formed to respond to the audit was "accepted" by the city council, it failed to win approval in its entirety. Additional funds were voted by the council to support integration efforts, but funds have not been sufficient to transform proposed ordinances into finished legislation which can be voted on by the city council. Meanwhile, the real estate industry has responded by forming a north suburban community services resources board, which has used various public relations techniques to promote gradual desegregation and promote the realtors' point of view -- that racial steering is not as pervasive as the Leadership Council's audit indicates.

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Overall, it is our impression that while concern over re-segregation has increased in Evanston in recent years, the city seems hesitant to move from recommendations to implementation. Marianne Rosen's perception supports this conclusion. According to Rosen, "There is no policy. The only reason it's integrated is because there has always been a black population."
CHAPTER 6

COUNTRY CLUB HILLS

HISTORY

The area originally known as Cooper's Grove was settled largely by German immigrants in the early nineteenth century. Land was devoted mainly to farming until 1955, when Joseph E. Merrion, a local developer, began to build middle income homes. Country Club Hills (CCH) was so named to reflect Merrion's vision of an innovative development of ranch homes with large lots, winding streets, and rolling hills; in short, one that looked like a country club. In 1956 the first home was occupied, and Merrion went on to develop other sections of the original Cooper's Grove area, but he eventually abandoned his "country club" vision in favor of larger houses erected on smaller lots. In 1958, with 405 homes comprising the Country Club Hills community, the residents voted 332-194 to incorporate as a city.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The total population of CCH in 1980 was 14,676, although official city estimates in 1984 put the number at 15,500. The 1980 number includes a population that was 84% white, 12% black, 3% Asian and 2% Hispanic. However, the vigorous movement in and out of CCH by members of all racial groups indicates that the 1980 census data no longer accurately portrays the racial composition of the city. In fact, our birth and death rate data suggest that there has been a constant increase in the percentage of blacks since the 1980 census.

CCH's population in 1980 was by far the youngest of the six suburbs, with nearly 58% of the population under 30 years of age. Senior citizens compose only 5% of the population. The number of female-headed households in 1980 was 6%.

CCH has several small shopping plazas but no major commercial district. In this respect, CCH is a bedroom community, with a number of its residents commuting to work in the city or elsewhere. In fact, the 1980 census data indicate that of the predominantly white collar
workers who reported their place of work, nearly 85% were whites who worked outside of CCH. Six percent of the white respondents were employed within the city. All of the 588 black respondents reported their place of employment as being outside of CCH.

Ideas for further commercial development were spawned when Continental Bank purchased 454 acres of land at the city's northern end. The bank had planned to use the land for its headquarters and a sophisticated office complex. The endeavor would have created 2,000 jobs and significantly broadened the city's tax base. However, with the bank's financial difficulties two years ago, plans for construction were abruptly halted, and the city does not know what Continental plans to do with this acreage.

Consistent with its image as a bedroom community, CCH is a middle-class community. With a total median income of $29,546, less than 3% of the population in 1980 fell below the poverty line and of those 396 individuals, 291 were white, and 53 were black. The majority of these persons were under 55 years old. Twenty-three individuals 65 and older were living below the poverty level. At $31,904, the average black family income was higher than both the average white family income of $29,123 and the total median income.
In 1965 the first black family moved into CCH. The black population increased slowly and concentrated itself in different areas, most notably the Winston Park South subdivision (615 homes) of more moderately priced homes, the Flossmoor Terrace subdivision, and the Provincetown subdivision of rental townhouse units. Between August 1983 and January 1986, 482 black families moved into CCH, while both black and white families moved out. According to Ottmar "Hank" Becker, administrative assistant to the Mayor, both black and white current residents have expressed concern to him about the rate at which CCH is changing racially. Many of CCH's current white residents are refugees from the Roseland neighborhood of Chicago and have said that although they do not want to have to move again, they are considering it.

The rate at which the community is changing, as well as the problem of white flight, are causes for extreme concern in CCH. The city alleges that it has been the victim of blatant racial steering by a realtor who does business in CCH. For the last five or six years, the city has been involved with several collective suits against individual realty companies, but none has resulted in a satisfactory decision for the city. At present CCH is being counter-sued by a real...
estate board which claims that the city is attempting to restrict blacks' freedom to choose where to live.

CRIME

Due to the unfortunate lack of cooperation from the CCH police force, nothing more than general crime statistics could be compiled. Table 6.1 gives the general crime statistics from the nationwide Uniform Crime Reports. Essentially, these numbers and the graphs that follow show that there is not much crime. Despite some fluctuations and a peak in 1982, the numbers have remained fairly stable. It should be noted that the population of CCH increased by about 1,000 people from 1976 to 1984, which might account for some increases in the amount of crime. The only disturbing statistic is the overall increasing trend in the number of aggravated assaults which, unlike the other categories, failed to decline after 1982.

The general perception of crime in CCH is that it is low. There are, however, no statistics for vandalism which residents see as the major crime problem. There was also mention of increased gang activity. But generally these problems are attributed to teenagers.
SCHOOLS

Public enrollment is distributed among four different school districts, two secondary and two elementary, only one of which is located entirely within the city limits, namely the CCH Elementary School District 160. The other elementary school is Prairie Hills in District 144, which serves Hazel Crest and Markham. According to Joe Martin, the former Community Relations Director, District #144, has been very progressive in its desegregation and integration maintenance efforts. These efforts include a voluntary busing plan and a nationally recognized teacher in-service program. A major reason for this district's level of activity is that it serves the city of Markham with its large black population.

Our study of the relationship between school enrollment and racial change focuses primarily on the public elementary schools. We examined the changing racial composition of some of the schools that serve CCH. In every year the number of white students has declined while the number of black students has increased. There seems to be no exception to this finding. The overall number of students has remained fairly constant, showing that the districts have little problem with enrollment. This is another sign that CCH
is a very young community as the families that move in bring young children with them.

An analysis by grades indicates the general trend in racial composition over time. From looking at this data we can see a dramatic increase in the number of black students from 1981, when all the grades were primarily white, to 1986 when the number of blacks exceeds the number of whites in grades 5 and 6. In grades 7 and 8, the number of black students is increasing but at a slower rate, perhaps showing the relative newness of blacks to CCH. This is also due to the fact that the two Prairie Hills schools, which have more black students, go only up to the sixth grade.

In addition to examining general trends in racial composition by grade over time, we also graphed the data from each school in order to pinpoint the areas of highest black concentration and to lessen the effect of the District 144 schools (Nob Hill and Chateaux) since they do serve communities other than CCH. These data continue to show the trend of more black students and fewer white students over time. The Prairie Hills schools are the most dramatic with both schools showing a clear majority of black students in 1986. One must keep in mind that these schools serve other areas, and that District 144 has a de-segregation program and a
voluntary busing plan. The effects of these plans may be reflected in the data. As for the schools in District 160, all of them show a clear majority of white students. With the exception of Southwood Elementary which appears to have had an enrollment problem since 1982, the number of black students has increased with each year. The schools that are closest to the western and northern borders of CCH seem to be increasing in black enrollment at a much quicker rate than the others. This may indicate the direction of black settlement.

On the whole, the main school district that serves CCH (#160) has no program to address integration. According to the School Superintendent Ed Chartraw potential segregation is not a problem. As was mentioned, the Prairie Hills district has been very progressive in its desegregation and integration maintenance efforts. There is no coordination between the two districts. Chartraw feels that CCH would be served better if it were covered by only one district but "people don't like change" and the initiative lies with the residents of CCH. Chartraw describes District 160 as an "excellent" system and sees no reason to tamper with success. Chartraw, who also sees the high turnover rate of the residents as the district's only problem, believes that any program that would actively promote the schools as a community amenity would "make
people panic". He sees "no danger in waiting" and believes in letting history take its "natural course" without the "interference of government" because, as he says, "we don't have a problem." Therefore, the only programs that District 160 has enacted similar to those of District 144 is a counselor-type of program which Chartraw says is necessary to deal with "social interaction problems" that come with the blending of cultures. Chartraw did mention that a task force was created one year ago to address the effects that the quick turnover of residents had on the educational system. According to him this task force has gone nowhere and he feels the reason is partly due to the part-time form of government.

The general perception of the schools in CCH is that they are of high quality. All of the people with whom we talked mentioned the schools in a fairly positive light and from what Chartraw says they do not want to rock the educational boat. Therefore, the schools seem to be holding their own now, so far.

**HOUSING**

CCH is a relatively new suburb with building still going on today. Its housing stock is varied, ranging
from ranch houses on large lots in the older part of the city to the large, expensive homes in the Mary Crest subdivision near Interstate 57. From the subsidized multiple family dwellings in Provincetown, which borders on Pulaski Road, to the smaller ranch houses in the northeast part of the city, the housing is generally of good quality and is considered a good value.

In analyzing housing values, we divided the city into five roughly equal areas. Area 1 encompasses all of CCH north of 175th St. There are fewer homes here than in other sections, because this area includes the 454 acres of unused land currently held by Continental Bank. The homes here tend to be located on smaller lots (6,600 to 7,200 square feet), and there are also some multiple family dwellings.

Area 2 is bounded in the north by 175th St, west by Kostner Ave., east by the city's eastern boundary, and south by 183rd St. The homes in this section are smaller ranch houses located on the same size lots as in Area 1. In the 1980 census data this area held the greatest concentration of blacks in the city.

Area 3, directly west of the preceding section, is comprised of older homes built on expansive lots of
10,000 to 15,000 square feet. Along with Area 4, Area 3 in the 1980 census was virtually all white.

Area 4, directly south of Area 3, runs from 183rd St. in the north to the western and southern boundary of the city and east to Kostner Avenue. In recent years this area has sustained the most new construction, namely the expensive Mary Crest subdivision (homes with value in excess of $100,000) and numerous multiple family dwellings. The amount and kind of new construction (i.e. multiple family dwellings) may mean that people of lower economic status, of whom minorities are disproportionately represented, are moving into this area.

The last area, Area 5, covers the land south of 183rd St. to the southern border of CCH, and west of Kostner to Pulaski, the city's eastern border. Area 5 has also experienced some new construction in recent years. Housing here ranges from moderately-sized (8,400 sq. ft.) lots to multiple family dwellings.

All areas experienced a significant increase in value between 1976 and 1979, in keeping with the nationwide trend at that time. Of the five areas, Area 4 values rose the most, from a mean of $34,694 in 1976 to $72,913 three years later. Property value data for 1982,
however, show four of five areas suffered a decline from the 1979 values. Even the one area in which the data show no decrease, Area 1, presumably experienced a general stagnation in housing values. Its 1979 value is based on a single transaction and cannot be viewed as totally representative of the entire area. However, of the areas showing a clear decline in values, Area 5 is the most dramatic, with a drop in mean value of almost $12,000 from 1979.

With the exception of Area 5, housing prices continued to decline through 1985. Area 1 experienced the most dramatic decrease, with the mean value dropping from $63,150 to $55,379, or roughly $7,800. The next steepest decline was in Area 5, with a fall of $5,400 in mean housing value. Only Area 4, which includes the Mary Crest homes, experienced an increase in housing values. Mean value in this area rose from $67,278 in 1979 to $100,827 in 1982, probably due to the construction and sales of the Mary Crest homes.

CCH homes are generally considered to be a good value for the money, but the fact that housing values in all but one area (4) continued to decline after 1982, (although national prices generally recovered after the recession), could indicate a softening of the market.
The correlation between mean housing values over the years with the percentage of blacks in the areas where those houses were sold reveals some interesting trends. In CCH housing values increased from 1976 to 1979. From 1979 to 1985 values increased gradually, but those areas with less than 10% black population show the highest housing values in 1985—a value of $74,837, which is $20,000 higher than the lowest grouping for 1985 and $17,000 higher than the second highest grouping for 1985. The highest housing value grouping for 1985 had less than 10% black residents, the second highest grouping ($57,559) had 25-50% black residency and the third highest ($57,000) had 50-100% black residency.

These peculiarities can largely be explained by the differences in housing stock. The area with the lowest percentage of black residency is the oldest area of CCH and the houses here are generally bigger and on larger lots (Area 1). The areas with the higher black concentrations, with the exception of Mary Crest, which is an expensive new subdivision, have smaller houses on smaller lots. For all categories except the less than 10% black category, values peaked clearly in 1979 and then declined in 1982 and declined even further in 1985. The area with less than 10% black population has increased in value from 1976 to the present without ever showing a decline.
CCH has a mayor/city council form of government, with a part-time elected mayor and two elected aldermen representing each of the city's four wards. The mayor is Dave Larson. Other prominent city employees include Hank Becker, the mayor's assistant, who appears to run the day to day operations of City Hall and who has worked for CCH since the day of its incorporation. The chairmen of the various city commissions (including Planning, Economic Development, Human Relations, and Zoning Board of Appeals) all serve on a part-time, volunteer basis. The total number of city employees is 43, which includes the police department.

In the late 1960s the city created the Human Relations Commission in response to the rising black migration into the city, and for at least the last six years has employed a Community Relations Director who has addressed the issue of racial change. The last director, Joe Martin, emphasized the role of the individual homeowner in promoting and maintaining a solid and positive city image. He attempted to convey this message through a program of neighborhood coffees which were designed to be educational and to provide a chance for neighbors to get to know one another. He also tapped into the existing network of Catholic parishes to
develop a variation on the neighborhood coffee, a concept called "Time for 12," which involved the same kind of neighborhood meeting but achieved a greater balance in both black and white participation. However, with Martin's move (full-time) to Hazel Crest, the position of Community Relations Director was left unfilled. Under a recent arrangement between the government of CCH and the South Suburban Human Relations Conference (tied to the Catholic Archdiocese), the Community Relations Director position was to be funded 50-50 by the two groups and would be shared on a part-time basis with other southern suburbs.

The city has adopted a Fair Housing Ordinance. It has enacted rigorous codes to fight deterioration, and has a prohibition against signs (permit required). In addition the city has begun a program whereby the residents can file with City Hall a notice of non-intent to sell, in an attempt to thwart cold-calling by realtors.

Homeowners' associations initially were very active in the movement to maintain integration. For example, the Winston Park Homeowners' Association assisted with a testing program coordinated by the South Suburban Housing Center, and there were a number of other active associations. When the city government
became involved with the issue in the 1970s, Martin asserts, community activism declined. Martin viewed the ostensible success of the neighborhood programs such as the coffees and the "Time For 12" meetings as a return to the grassroots level of community involvement. Beginning in late January of 1986, another citizens' group called the "We're Staying" Committee was organized. This committee sells signs that look like realtors' "For Sale" signs but instead proclaim "We're Staying". A trip through CCH in early August, 1986 revealed a large number of these signs in the northwest section of the city. We doubt that these either promote integration or deter re-segregation.

With the exception of the neighborhood coffees, which may or may not continue, and the ad hoc efforts of Pete Duerr and his "We're Staying" committee, CCH has no active policies to address the issue of racial change. The elementary school district which encompasses most of CCH, #160, offers no formal programs pertaining to racial issues, and there is no attempt on the part of city government to involve the CCH schools in addressing racial change.

Country Club Hills' pattern of racial change seems to display a clear trend, namely that black movement into the city is following a northeast to southwest
path. When the first homes in CCH were built in 1956, blacks were excluded from the housing market and as a result, CCH was exclusively white in its early years. Following the civil rights reforms of the 1960's and the construction of new subdivisions, the first blacks began to move into the city in 1965. It seems that racial steering served to attract more blacks to CCH. Moreover, individuals and families seeking good housing values also came to CCH as well as other southern suburbs.

It is significant, however, that as a community, CCH lacks any notable amenities which might distinguish it from the surrounding suburbs. While CCH's black population increases, the city government seems unable to confront effectively the issues engendered by racial change.

Although part of the problem appears to be that until recently the prominent city officials refused to acknowledge that any racial problems exist, a larger problem is that the structure of CCH's government renders it incapable of tackling the issue of racial change. The number of total city employees - 43 - allows for a part-time-only government, with no time for such necessities as enforcing the housing codes it has enacted. Hank Becker, the mayor's administrative assistant, related an incident in which he personally
investigated a citizen complaint about excessive water charges, only to find that the woman had a leak in her basement. Minutes later Becker explained that whenever he had to leave his office, the office closed down because there was no employee that could fill in for him while he was gone. Therefore, he tried not to leave the office during the working day if it was at all possible. Having only one full-time administrative city employee for a city of over 15,000 appears, in the long run, to cost the city more than the savings in salary.

In addition to the lack of city policies, the government has made no attempt to include the school district in any type of plan aimed at racial integration. Dennis Thuftedal, volunteer director of the Human Relations Commission, described School District 160 as "very autonomous." Unlike the neighboring District 144, District 160 has no formal programs regarding the promotion of integration.
CHAPTER 7

PARK FOREST

HISTORY

Park Forest was built on three thousand acres of land, mostly in Cook County, some forty years ago. It was designed to meet the post-World War II housing need of veterans and their families. The initial plan called for clusters of rental garden apartments on winding streets with large open spaces. Ranch houses were later built on the periphery.

The first wave of "colonists" moving into Park Forest were mostly professionals. They included researchers from the University of Chicago, scientists from Argonne National Laboratory and executives from Standard Oil. About 60% of the early residents worked in the Loop.
William Whyte, then editor of Fortune magazine, studied these early residents and portrayed them in his book, The Organization Man. "The early people were crucial," Whyte wrote. "They set the tone. The emphasis on the good of the group, on the community, was awfully strong. Park Forest then and now is like an academy in group participation."

Twice recognized as an All-America City by the National Municipal League, Park Forest remains an active community. Indeed, there are hundreds of volunteers active on 20 or more village advisory boards. One of the more striking examples of the community's spirit of volunteerism is Aunt Martha's Youth Service Center. This not-for-profit volunteer counseling agency serves troubled teenagers and their families. Also, in 1978 a grass roots campaign launched in 1978 to landscape Freedom Hall, a cultural and community center, raised almost $150,000. At the same time, though, some of those with whom we talked said that the original community spirit is declining as the number of original Park Foresters declines.

Soon after the first housing was built in 1947, the Park Forest Plaza was constructed. It was designed as the center of town and was one of the first post-war regional shopping centers in the United States. It was
once a symbol of a thriving community. Sears and Marshall Field remain in the Plaza today. But when other malls opened in the area that were more accessible and had a more modern design -- this at a time when the Plaza was undergoing changes in management and ownership -- the Park Forest Plaza lost many customers. Most of its stores now stand vacant. The overriding issue in Park Forest is the demise of the Plaza. Many residents view the closing down and boarding up of stores as a major inconvenience and concern. The results of the survey show that many respondents are disappointed with the availability of convenient shopping. Inconvenience, however, is not their only concern: it is difficult to maintain momentum as a thriving community when one of the major centers of the community is so down at the heels. However, a $20 million redevelopment of the Plaza is underway.

Soon after the construction of the Plaza, a small industrial park was developed. Also, a small community shopping center was added, Norwood Shopping Center.

As early as 1951, when no blacks were living in Park Forest, some residents organized a Commision on Human Relations. The aim of the Commission was to ensure that people of all races who were looking for homes in the village would be welcome. This was an unusual
concern for a community in 1951, even if the desire for integration was by no means unanimous. Park Forest is one of the rare communities that promoted integration before re-segregation was even on the distant horizon. This has made the commitment to integration seem more genuine than in some other suburbs where a concern for integration has arisen only after minorities have begun to move in.

The advent of the first black families into the village came virtually without incident. Village officials conducted a coordinated program to de-fuse hostility, visiting the first several black families and their neighbors. The police chief also visited those residents who were rumored to forcibly resist integration efforts, and made it clear from the outset that black families were not to be harassed. As an indication of the village's success, a white power group that formed in Park Forest died in 1960 from lack of interest.

In the decade that followed, many residents actively promoted Park Forest as an integrated community. One such activist, Harry Teshima, strongly encouraged blacks to move into the village while discouraging them from living near one another. In time, Teshima's private view of how integration should be
achieved became official village policy. The village's affirmative marketing program is "an attempt to outreach to that racial group which is under-represented in traffic and demand" and thereby promote racial diversity.

It was between 1970 and 1973 that official village policy toward racial integration would begin to be tested. During that three year period, Park Forest's black population increased from 705 to 2,145 (from 2% to 7%). As the percentage of minority residents in Park Forest began to increase, the village committed fully to a regional approach to integration. When Chicago Heights began to re-segregate rapidly, Park Forest Elementary School District 163 implemented mandatory busing. (The impetus for and the effects of this decision will be discussed later in the paper.)

At the same time, the Far South Suburban Housing Service was established in Park Forest. Its purpose was two-fold: 1) rehab of single family abandoned housing; and 2) education to promote integration. This group accomplished goal #1 but never effectively dealt with the second goal. By 1979, Park Forest had switched its allegiance to the South Suburban Housing Center, then located in Homewood. SSHC monitored real estate practices.
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Since the arrival of Whyte's "academy of professionals," Park Forest has experienced a decline in the level of education achieved by most of its residents 25 years of age or older, while remaining a primarily white collar community. In 1970, 30.2% of this age group had completed four or more years of college. By 1980, this figure had fallen to 27.5%. Approximately 13.6% had less than a high school degree; 33.3% had completed high school; and 25.6% had some college education.

Comparisons of 1970 and 1980 census data highlight several other major demographic changes that have taken place in Park Forest. First, Park Forest's population has declined significantly from 30,864 in 1970 to 26,222 in 1980. This 15% decrease is largely attributable to the drop in the number of children thirteen years old and under -- a decrease of 40% from 1970-1980. The decrease in the number of children in Park Forest is related to three factors. First, there was a significant decline in the fertility rate in Park Forest from 1970 to 1980. In addition, in 1970, the number of women of child-bearing age was 7,424; by 1980 this number had fallen to 6,958. Second, the proportion of single people has increased nationwide. In 1960, 34% of the country's population was single; by 1980, this number had risen to
42.6%. The growing number of singles indicates that fewer people are having families and children. This seems to be true of Park Forest, as well. Finally, the number of Park Forest's residents aged 55 and over has increased. In 1970 there were 2,474 people aged 55 and over; by 1980 that number had grown to 4,049 -- an increase of 64%. Many of these older residents were former GIs who came into the village and stayed because FHA and VA mortgages were easy to get and mortgage payments were relatively low. Other older residents live in Juniper Towers, a large housing complex opened up for senior citizens in the 1970s, and Garden House, which opened in 1980.

Twelve percent of Park Forest's population are black. Birth and death rate data suggest there has been a steady increase in the black population since the 1980 census, though not nearly as great an increase as in Country Club Hills or Hazel Crest.

In general, housing in Park Forest consists of both single family (61%) and multi-family units and of these multi-family units, 34% are townhouses and 5% are garden apartments. Unlike mid-rise housing for senior citizens, and garden apartments, most of these units were constructed prior to 1960. Approximately 67% of these units were built between 1950 and 1960, while 23%
were built before 1950. Only 10% of Park Forest's housing units have been constructed since 1960.

HOUSING

In 1970, less than half of Park Forest's housing stock was within the reach of moderate income households, the median income for whom was $13,951. No subsidized housing was provided for low income households. By 1975, however, 80% of Park Forest's housing was within the reach of moderate income households, 50% of whom were earning at least $25,156 in 1980. Further, subsidized housing units are now available in Arbor Trails which consists of 372 units and which had more than 50% black residents in 1980; Juniper Towers (mostly white senior citizens); and Garden House (mostly white senior citizens).

Perhaps due as much to the age of the housing stock as the increase in the number of lower-income families, the housing stock in two neighborhoods is clearly deteriorating. The Arbor Trails community in the southern part of Park Forest shows all the signs of poor management by the Illinois Housing Development Authority and private developers and management companies. The occupancy rate is low (68%), some windows are boarded up
and to the observer or visitor, the area "feels" neglected.

Similar forces seem at work in Eastgate. Many of the single-family homes and lawns are poorly maintained; abandoned homes are not uncommon; and residents reportedly feel isolated from the rest of the Park Forest community.

Both Arbor Trails and Eastgate are a major concern to the Park Forest Village Board. A number of governmental programs have been targeted to those two areas. These programs, strongly linked with the village policy of maintaining racial integration, will be discussed in later parts of this paper.

Table 7.5 shows the mean housing prices for 1976, 1979, 1982, and 1985. These data were drawn from a random sample of listings of sales in the Multiple Listing Service. Property values remained stable from 1976 to 1985 in nominal dollars. In areas with high proportions of blacks (26% or more), however, property values declined, from 1982-1985 by nearly 25%. That is, property values fell from an average of $51,475 to $38,717, in nominal terms.
In those areas of Park Forest in which blacks comprise 11-25% of the population, property values declined most dramatically from 1979-1982. Housing prices fell by 8.5% over that three-year period from $53,469 to $48,946 in nominal terms. In the subsequent three years, property values were stable in nominal dollars; $48,540 in 1985 versus $48,946 in 1982.

Housing data for total minority population in Park Forest show similar trends as the data for the black population only. From 1979-1985, property values were stable, in nominal terms, for areas with 0% minority population, and 1-10% minority population. When the minority population ranged from 11-25%, however, property values declined by 7.4% from 1982-1985, from $52,128 to $48,292 in nominal terms. In areas with a minority population of 26% and more, property values decreased by 4.8% over that same period from $46,862 to $44,617. While the data seem to make the linkage between declining property values and the presence of minority groups fairly clear, we would caution against interpreting the simultaneous presence of these phenomena as implying causality, i.e. that the presence of minorities causes declining property values.
Park Forest has five school districts (four elementary school districts and one high school district). All five districts serve other suburbs as well. Most Park Forest children live inside elementary school District 163; therefore most of the discussion will focus on District 163.

Table 7.3 lists the racial composition of the school districts Park Forest children attend. (The large majority of high school age children in Park Forest attend Rich East High School. There are two other high schools that some of the children attend but the number of Park Forest children attending them is so small that they are not included.) Only data from those schools which Park Forest children actually attend are included. All of these figures also include children who live outside of Park Forest.

Every school in District 163 is located in Park Forest except one, Beacon Hill, which is in Chicago Heights. In 1972, 20% of the children in District 163 were minorities. Most of them lived in Chicago Heights and attended Beacon Hill Elementary School. Ninety-eight percent of the children at Beacon Hill were black. There had been state legislation passed a few years previous to 1972 which required schools to have the same percentage of minorities as the community they serve.
There had also been the South Holland case where the court ordered desegregation based on Brown vs. State Board of Education. School District 163 decided to act on its own. Shortly after it developed a desegregation plan, it was cited by the State of Illinois for being out of compliance with state law. (Chicago Heights, too, had been cited but never took action to be in compliance and the state never took action to force compliance.)

A Citizen's Committee was formed to develop three viable plans. A magnet program was selected but it was later switched to a grade reorganization plan because only 60 whites signed up for the magnet program. Three-hundred whites were needed. Under the new plan some students from Chicago Heights would be bused into Park Forest and vice versa. Once the plan was selected, the school district held nine public hearings to discuss it with the community. Three to four hundred people showed up for each hearing. It was a very charged time. There were numerous rumors of stopping the school buses, stone throwing, and students being held home from school. In the fall of 1973, the Sunday before school was to start, there was an open house held at Beacon Hill, which is located in a predominately black neighborhood. A white father found a black youth lounging on his car. The man spoke to the youth using profanities and the kid punched the man in the mouth. This only added to the pressures.
An injunction was filed but the buses ran the next day. There were no incidents and there was 93% attendance. Parents who did not want their children to attend Beacon Hill were told to try it for two weeks. If they did not like the school, their children would be reassigned. No one ever came back to ask for a reassignment.

From about 1972 to 1975, District 163 increased funding to Beacon Hill by 10 to 20 thousand dollars annually. These funds provided in-service training, teacher training, equipment, and improvements to make the school more attractive. Currently, no additional funding goes to Beacon Hill, although there is after-school security from 3-6 pm for teachers.

In general, the Park Forest government remained neutral toward the desegregation plan. But the Community Relations Director at the time, Mr. DeMarco, challenged the plan. The school district had had the Illinois Institute of Technology write a computer program that would select the areas that would make school assignments. This was done to avoid having citizens claiming that the school district acted favorably toward certain areas. Children attending Algonquin Elementary (which is in the Eastgate area) were selected to go to Beacon Hill. DeMarco's concern was that choosing Algonquin children would promote re-segregation in the
Eastgate area because it was, and is, the least well-maintained section of Park Forest. But the school district did not change its plan. Officials felt that it was necessary to take the attitude that "assignment to a school is not a penalty."

Over the years District 163 has held annual open houses for real estate people at all of their schools, but particularly at Beacon Hill. The purpose has been to show them there is no reason to discourage whites from moving into District 163 or that there is no reason to assume that whites would be unhappy with the school system because of their desegregation program. District 163 also has an affirmative action program: the policy states that the school should have the same percentage of minority teachers as there are minority students. Currently 48% of the students are minorities. Twenty-two percent of the teachers are minorities.

The main problem for District 163 is financial. Park Forest's tax assessment has decreased recently and, therefore, District 163 has had its state funding cut. The District currently taxes residents at the legal maximum and yet it still had to close one school at the end of the 1985-86 school year. Due to the closing of this school, the desegregation procedures have all been altered.
Since 1972, the year the desegregation plan was developed, District 163 has closed five schools due to decreasing enrollments. Declining enrollments were occurring in other districts as well. Up to the 1970-71 school year, enrollments had been increasing in all districts serving Park Forest. Since the 1971-72 school year, enrollments have been decreasing in three of the elementary school districts and have gone up and down in the high school district (where enrollment currently is above the 1969-70 enrollment level). One elementary school district, 201-U, continued to increase in enrollment until the 1976-77 school year. However, it has since declined.

While enrollments began to decline in three of the districts in the 1971-72 school year, it was District 163 that had the most pronounced decline. From 1971-72 to 1975-76, District 163's enrollment declined by 28%, from 4,635 to 3,339. The next largest decrease was in District 162, which had a decline of 12%, from 3,426 to 3,019. When asked about this, the school officials downplayed the idea that the new desegregation plan had much to do with this marked decline in District 163. They were sure that some people probably left because of it, but that most of the decline was due to the general trend that was occurring throughout the state: people were having fewer children.
In District 162 the total number of blacks by grade has increased in all grades since 1980. But it is difficult to determine if this increase is due to an increase in the black population in the Park Forest section of District 162. One school has closed since 1980 and there has been a reorganization causing some Park Forest children to attend a school outside of Park Forest. District 194 has had a decrease in the number and percentage of black students, but here, too, few conclusions can be drawn. The children attend a school that is attended by others outside of Park Forest. Although there were few changes in the racial composition in the elementary school in District 201-U, there was an increase in the number and percentage of blacks in the middle school. This school, however, is also attended by others outside of Park Forest. The same is true of Rich East High School.

In District 163 the total number of blacks by grade has remained relatively stable. But the percentage of blacks for every grade, except fourth grade, has increased. In 1980, 39% of the children were black. In 1985, 44% were black. There was a decline in enrollment of 300. With black enrollment being the same as in 1980 (1,052 in 1980 and 1,051 in 1985) and other minority enrollment declining by only 11 (99 in 1980 to 88 in
1985), most of this decline is due to a decrease in white enrollment.

Larry McClellan, a professor at Governor's State University, claims the decrease in the white population is due to Park Forest's aging white population not being replaced by younger white adults with children at a rate that would maintain the white school enrollment. When discussing this matter with one school official, we were told that they do not try to figure out why certain trends occur. They act as recipients and do not try to "manipulate" who comes to attend their school system. A member of the village government, however, who in turn had spoken with another school official, gave a more complex explanation. Apparently, the Park Forest government asks families who are moving in and out of Park Forest what race they are and the number of school age children they have. Table 7.4 lists these data. The number of families with children was not computed for those moving out, however.

These data suggest that the proportion of black to white families moving in is greater than that leaving, and that the blacks moving in have more children than the whites moving in. By itself, this information suggests that the black enrollment in District 163 should have increased in actual numbers. But a school
board member suggested that the black enrollment from Chicago Heights may be decreasing. The number of vacancies in the District 163 section of Chicago Heights seems to be increasing. Further, the data suggest that blacks are moving into Park Forest at a rate that not only replaces the number of Park Forest blacks graduating from the Park Forest schools, but also at a rate that replaces the declining number of blacks from Chicago Heights. Consequently, the percentage of blacks living in Park Forest would seem to be larger than the figure given in the 1980 census.

The general perception of the community about the schools, as expressed by current and past school officials, is favorable. All schools that Park Forest children attend score higher on national standardized tests than the national average. District 163 has never had one referendum voted down, which is viewed as an indication of support. The major area of concern is the school closings that have taken place, with the most recent closing being this past school year.

CRIME

Until recently, Park Forest crime was typical of bedroom communities, i.e., low rates with thefts and
To address this problem, the police assign patrols according to the number of calls received. More police patrols are assigned to areas having more calls. Because the police respond to residents' calls unrelated to crime, their emphasis seems to be on total service as well as crime and crime prevention. Indeed, our interviews with the police indicate that they place great emphasis on crime prevention activities. They have a full-time crime prevention officer and a Neighborhood Watch program with about 400 voluntary block captains. They claim to have constant communication with the community. When a teenage girl was killed in 1984, the police held numerous meetings with the residents to calm and inform them.

Generally, most community residents we surveyed and the police we interviewed believe Park Forest is a safe area in which to live. The police did admit that some residents feel crime is increasing. Unfortunately, it was impossible to find out if the people holding this opinion generally live in the Eastgate area. (A city official told us that the police do indeed make special rounds through the Eastgate area.) One sergeant explained that those who perceive an increase in crime are older, long-time residents of the community who, by virtue of residential tenure, simply know of more people who had been victimized.
GOVERNMENT

Park Forest has a council-manager form of government. The Village President and six-member Board of Trustees determine policy, pass ordinances and approve the budget. An appointed Village Manager carries out policies.

The Village Board conducts open meetings every Saturday morning. They appear to be on extremely good terms, both individually and collectively. They also seem to be unusually responsive to the concerns of community residents.

The village is one of the few in the state to hold annual elections. It also clings to a non-partisan tradition in those elections. A village brochure states that any resident of Park Forest may run for office. The Committee for Nonpartisanship, moreover, ensures "open elections and allows candidates to run for office without any personal expense."

Despite its stated policy of nonpartisanship, a group of liberals has long been in control of the village government. The current president is Ronald Bean. Bean also happens to be Park Forest's first black
Village President and the first black to head an Illinois town that is not predominantly black.

VILLAGE POLICIES

The village government has implemented a wide variety of programs to prevent neighborhood resegregation. In 1980 the government passed an ordinance which requires inspection of all single-family units (owner-occupied and rentals) whenever there is a change in occupancy. This helps to ensure well-maintained housing which contributes to the strength of the whole community.

To enforce its strict housing code, the government established a Housing Court in 1982. The Housing Court hears cases involving housing code violations and sets fines of up to several hundred dollars. According to Barbara Berlin of the Department of Planning, the Court has been one of the more effective tools used by the government in "keeping up" the appearance of the community.

There is also a housing recycling program. This program is targeted to Eastgate, a heavily black and lower income area bordering Chicago Heights. Eastgate
also happens to have the highest number of housing code violations in Park Forest.

Under terms of the recycling program, the government uses Community Development Block Grant funds to purchase foreclosed VA and FHA homes in Eastgate. As a result of affirmative marketing efforts, the majority of home buyers taking advantage of this program have been white. They must commit to bring the house into compliance with the housing code and live in it themselves for an extended period of time. All proceeds are reinvested in the housing recycling program.

More recently, the government launched a $100,000 home improvement program. Under this program, the government "buys down" interest rates at the Park Forest Savings and Loan Association for those homeowners seeking loans for home improvements. Interestingly enough, the loans stipulate that some of the improvements must be made to the outside of the home so that the community benefits from the investment as well as the individual homeowners.

According to Barbara Berlin, 67 residents of Park Forest have participated in the home improvement program to date. The minimum loan is $1500 while the average amount of money borrowed for improvements is $10,000.
Another major activity of the Park Forest government involves public relations work. The government has produced two films and has widely distributed brochures extolling the virtues of living in an integrated community. We noticed these brochures lying on tables in the public library as well as in realty offices.

The government is involved in more indirect forms of public relations as well. For example, staff meet with local realtors every few weeks to keep them apprised of various issues and to suggest ways in which the real estate industry can capitalize on Park Forest amenities. For example, one amenity that the Board emphasizes is that Park Forest enjoys one of the lowest crime rates in the Chicago metropolitan area. Another strong "selling point" is the strength of the public school system.

The government has also become concerned about FHA appraisals. As explained by Barbara Moore of Community Relations, the FHA is appraising homes in Park Forest at lower values than would seem warranted based on analyses of comparable sales. It is felt that this is partially because the homes are located in an integrated neighborhood. Accordingly, the government is encouraging local realtors to report suspected cases to the Village
and to supply staff with comparables justifying higher sales prices. HUD has agreed to review requests from municipalities charging low appraisals, and in several instances values have been increased as a result of these reviews.

One other pressing concern of the government is subsidized housing. Due to "abuses and bad judgement" at the Cook County Housing Authority, Section 8 housing is not being evenly dispersed throughout Park Forest, according to the Board. Indeed, 87% of all Section 8 housing in Park Forest is concentrated in Eastgate, adding to deflationary pressures on property values in that area. Section 8 renters are clustered in the Eastgate neighborhood, such that half of the rental households in that area are subsidized. To reverse this trend, the government is putting added pressure on the CCHA to stem the flow of subsidized housing into low-income, heavily black areas such as Eastgate. With cutbacks in subsidized housing funding at the federal level, however, potential increases in public housing may not be much of a problem. The problems associated with subsidized housing are even more pronounced in Arbor Trails, which is on the southern edge of Park Forest. This area, too, is being carefully monitored by the Village Board. In 1970, the government agreed to allow subsidized housing in Arbor Trails as a way of
addressing the lower-end housing needs of the community's senior citizens. But as one village official explained, there was no way to legally ensure that only Section 236 certificates for senior citizens and the handicapped were assigned to the area. The CCHA soon assigned Section 8 housing along with the 236 certificate housing. Consequently, more and more lower-income people moved into Arbor Trails to take advantage of the subsidized housing opportunities.

In light of these developments, the government recently eliminated all new Section 8 housing in Arbor Trails. It did so in response to the widespread concern that the area was becoming segregated. Yet the housing problems in Arbor Trails are far from over. The area currently suffers from a 31% vacancy rate and a history of bad management.

Arbor Trails was originally financed by the Illinois Housing Development Authority (IHDA) and managed by Miller Midwest. According to the Park Forest building commissioner, Miller Midwest "drained IHDA for everything it could get." Miller Midwest invested very little in maintenance and repairs, leading to a host of health and safety related problems.
Citing housing code violations, the government took Miller Midwest to court on numerous occasions during the 1970s and early 1980s. Last year, the Village took Arbor Trails to court for repeated and unabated code violations. Shortly afterward, a fire broke out at the complex and many of the water pumps failed. This circumstance provided the Village a strong enough case to force Miller Midwest out of their management role. IHDA assumed responsibility and assigned the management to Metroplex. Metroplex estimates that as much as $1 million in repairs are needed in Arbor Trails after 15 years of neglect by Miller Midwest and IHDA. IHDA, which must foot the bill, believes that $400,000 could cover the costs of needed repairs. This controversy is still ongoing.

In addition to the many policies and programs mentioned above, the government has implemented other measures designed to combat resegregation. These include: 1) limits on the length of time "sold" signs can be up; 2) litigation, which will be discussed in the next section; 3) encouragement of realtors to practice affirmative marketing; 4) and anti-solicitation ordinances to prevent realtors from distributing materials that homeowners may find offensive for racial reasons.

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REAL ESTATE INDUSTRY

These integration maintenance measures have brought the Park Forest government into heated disputes with the real estate industry. Some realtors go so far as to say that efforts aimed at integration maintenance are unconstitutional. Said one realtor: "Aren't minorities being denied the opportunity to live together as a group? Aren't real estate offices being asked to limit the housing market on the basis of race?"

But perhaps the main issue is industry control. The government is essentially telling the real estate industry that it is no longer going to change neighborhoods racially for a profit. Those realtors interviewed resent the Board telling them how to conduct their business.

This issue will ultimately be decided in the federal courts. The South Suburban Housing Center filed suit against the Greater South Suburban Board of Realtors for refusing to list three houses which the Center owned in Park Forest. The three homes carried a marketing stipulation that realtors outreach to the racial group least likely to know about or apply for the housing. In this case the racial group was white. The realty board refused the listing, arguing that the
stipulation violated fair housing regulations and its code of ethics.

Until a court decision is reached, realtors in Park Forest intend to conduct business as usual. But at the same time, they propose several changes on the part of the Park Forest government and the Housing Center. First, several of the realtors interviewed believe that the Housing Center is focusing too much attention on the resegregation issue. "If they (the Housing Center) would just not talk about it so much, no one would be so uptight about this whole race issue," commented a Century-21 realtor. Second, realtors stress that efforts must be made to attract more higher-end housing into Park Forest.

Somewhat surprisingly, the realtors interviewed are not particularly concerned about the impact of the deteriorating Plaza on the surrounding area. If a deal can be worked out with a developer, it would boost the real estate market in the immediate area, realtors note. But if no such deal is made (in fact, a deal was just made), "the many amenities associated with living in Park Forest still more than make up for the inaccessibility of shopping," said Dale Zahn of Santefort Cowing Realtors.

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As a final note, some realtors interviewed argued that the Housing Center and the government of Park Forest should take a more comprehensive approach to the re-segregation issue. By concentrating their energies on the real estate industry, the Board and the Housing Center are all too often overlooking "red-lining" by financial institutions and steering by other governmental agencies, such as CCHA and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, realtors claim. Further, they conclude that these "outside forces" seriously undermine the industry-specific policies of the government.
CHAPTER 8

HAZEL CREST

HISTORY

Adjacent to Country Club Hills, Hazel Crest is another one of Chicago's near south suburbs. Settled by immigrant German farmers in the 1890s, it grew rapidly due to the stimulus of the 1893 World's Fair and the southward extension of the Illinois Central Railroad. By 1912, Hazel Crest was incorporated as a village. At that time the bulk of the population lived in "Hazel Crest proper," which is the northeast corner of the village.

Beginning in the 1920s, a number of subdivisions emerged in central and southwest Hazel Crest. The first developers built large, custom houses in Pottawatomie Hills in the 1920s and 1930s. Then, after a lull in construction during the Depression and World War II,
Twin Creeks emerged in the 1950s as Hazel Crest's second subdivision. By the 1960s, developers had completed the Pacesetter subdivision and Hazel Crest Highlands.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

According to the 1980 Census, Hazel Crest's population was 13,973. About half of this population is located in "Hazel Crest proper" and Hazel Crest Highlands. These are Hazel Crest's two largest subdivisions encompassing over 2,000 of Hazel Crest's 4,600 housing units. The next largest subdivisions are Chateaux Champagne, Pottawotomie Hills, and Pacesetter/Knollcrest, which have 1,759, 1,680, and 1,080 residents respectively. Ranking below these subdivisions in size of population are Stonebridge, Village West, Apple Tree, and Twin Creeks, each of which has between 500 and 1,000 residents.

The subdivision is an important geographical and organizing factor to analyze racial change in Hazel Crest. To the extent that racial resegregation is taking place, it seems to be doing so on a subdivisional basis, as in most of the other southern suburbs.
Until the late 1960s, all of the homes in Hazel Crest were sold to white homebuyers. After the passage of the 1968 housing law, there was a flow of blacks moving to the suburbs from the city. This flow had a clear impact on Hazel Crest. Developers built several more subdivisions - Stonebridge, Pacesetter/Knollcrest, and Chateaux Champagne - in the 1970s, and both blacks and whites moved in.

In the 1980 census, the number of blacks in Hazel Crest was 1,662, or 11.9% of the total population. Our birth and death rate data indicate that this percentage has increased year-by-year since the 1980 census. The subdivisions with the highest percentage were Stonebridge (49.2% black), Pacesetter/Knollcrest (21.9%), Chateaux Champagne (19.3%), and Hazel Crest Highlands (12.1%). The lowest black percentages were, respectively, in Hazel Crest proper, Village West, and Pottawotomie Hills, each of which had less than a 5% black population. Except for Village West, the percentage of blacks increased in each subdivision according to the year in which the subdivision was built. The subdivisions developed immediately prior to the 1968 housing reforms - Stonebridge, Pacesetter/Knollcrest, and Hazel Crest Highlands - had by far the highest percentage of black families in 1980.
Since the 1980 census, more blacks have moved into Hazel Crest. However, the overall population growth rate has remained relatively constant since 1980. Any increase in the population seems to reflect normal birth rate patterns because there has been only minimal new construction in Hazel Crest since the late 1970s. However, an active resale market indicates that a substantial number of Hazel Crest residents are changing homes. In the years 1981 to 1984, 655, or 14% of Hazel Crest's homes were sold. An encouraging sign is that both blacks and whites continue to buy homes.

All of the subdivisions built before the 1968 reforms continued to have more whites than blacks move in from 1981 through 1984. However, the number of incoming blacks far exceeds the number of whites moving in during this period in Hazel Crest Highlands, Apple Tree, Stonebridge, Pacesetter/Knollcrest, and Chateaux Champagne. Chateaux Champagne was the most extreme case. In 1984 twenty-nine black families but no white families moved in.

The effect of more blacks than whites moving into Hazel Crest is that Hazel Crest is gaining a higher percentage of blacks. Our statistical evidence supports this idea. Although we have no way of calculating the absolute change in the number of black individuals, we
used the 1980 census data and information on home sales to compare the percentage of blacks previously in Hazel Crest with the percentage of 1980 homebuyers who are black. The percentage of black homebuyers from 1981 to 1984 is far greater than the percentage of black households in Hazel Crest in 1980. This difference in percentages exists in all subdivisions, but it is particularly noticeable in the Chateaux Champagne, Hazel Crest Highlands, Stonebridge, and Pacesetter/Knollcrest areas, the subdivisions which were already more than 10% black in 1980. The percentage of incoming blacks is highest in these neighborhoods. Two subdivisions, Stonebridge and Chateaux Champagne, seem to be re-segregating. In Stonebridge, for example, of the 39 families who moved in from 1981 through 1984, 38 were black. And, as we noted earlier, all of the 29 families moving into Chateaux Champagne in 1984 were black. Except for Stonebridge, at least 20% of the homebuyers were white in each Hazel Crest subdivision from 1981 to 1984.

There is evidence from the 1980 Census to indicate that black family income tends to be higher than that of their white counterparts. In 1980, the median income for blacks was $35,000 while the median income for whites was $27,000. In 1980, black households in each Hazel Crest subdivision had a higher median household income
than the white households in that subdivision. Stonebridge and Pacesetter/Knollcrest, the two subdivisions with the highest concentrations of blacks, are among the most prestigious neighborhoods in Hazel Crest. Their median household incomes and property values are higher than most of the other subdivisions.

Village West, the newest subdivision in Hazel Crest, has the highest median household income, followed by Stonebridge. As might be expected from looking at these figures, Village West and Stonebridge residents also tend to be the most highly educated of Hazel Crest's residents. 94.1% of Village West residents and 88% of Stonebridge residents are high school graduates. In addition, Village West and Stonebridge have the highest percentage of college graduates.

Residents of Hazel Crest proper have by far the lowest level of education among the different subdivisions. Only 64.6% of its residents have graduated from high school compared with 79% of all Hazel Crest who have at least completed high school. About 40% have completed college.

Property values are higher in the areas of Stonebridge and Pacesetter/Knollcrest. Residents of these areas, the majority of whom are black, have the
highest incomes of all of Hazel Crest. Moreover, the houses in Stonebridge and Pacesetter/Knollcrest, and some of the homes in Pottawotomie Hills are most impressive. The others tend to be smaller or on less pleasant lots than the houses in Pottawotomie Hills, Stonebridge, and Pacesetter/Knollcrest. Homes located in Hazel Crest proper tend to be of frame construction.

CRIME

During the 1981-1984 period in Hazel Crest, there was a constant and low rate of Type I crime (murder, rape, arson, etc.). In fact, the Hazel Crest Police Department reported only two murders within the past eleven years. The number of less serious property crime fluctuates, mostly due to the occasional occurrences of break-ins. However, this rate is never extremely high. From what we have seen in our visits, residents believe that the crime rate in Hazel Crest is low.

GOVERNMENT

Hazel Crest has a Village Manager/Board of Trustees system of government. In each of the past several years the Village government has listed issues
of race and housing as its number one priority. Accordingly, the Village employs a full-time Community Relations Director and also has a volunteer Human Relations Commission. Through the efforts of these persons and community groups such as the Catholic Church, the village sponsors "Neighborhood Coffees," "House Meetings," and other events at which Village officials meet with residents to discuss and hopefully to allay their fears about integration. The Community Relations Director also told us that she tries to foster a sense of community by sponsoring an annual "Hazelnut Festival" and other events centered around children and the area schools. She said that she made children the focus of these events because they are the "only thing that commuter suburbs have in common."

In addition, there is a ban on "for sale" signs, an anti-solicitation ordinance, and a fair housing ordinance. The Hazel Crest Human Relations Commission also has a Preferred Real Estate Agents program. In addition to the information provided about Hazel Crest, this program is used to impress on realtors the importance of showing their community to people of all races. Also, Hazel Crest has extensive regional contact with groups that focus on fair housing and integration. A previous Hazel Crest Village Manager was chairman of FHLAC. The Human Relations Commission has sponsored the
Forum on Racial Diversity. The Human Relations Commission has also maintained involvement with District 228. There has been a concern over patterns of developing segregation in District 228 and the Commission has met with the District Board of Education to discuss possible solutions.

The village government also tries to foster the sense that Hazel Crest is a good place to live by providing a variety of public services. There is a widely used community recreation center in Pottawotomie Hills, and the village government pays meticulous attention to the streets and grounds. In addition, Hazel Crest focuses a great deal of emphasis and publicity, and allocates a large portion of its budget to insure the quality of its police and fire departments.

HOUSING

A sample of real estate transactions in Hazel Crest in 1976, 1979, and 1985, tends to confirm that homes sold in Hazel Crest Proper had the lowest average selling price, while those of Pottawotomie Hills, Stonebridge, and Pacesetter/Knollcrest ranked near the top. Homes in Village West, the newest sub-division, sold for prices second only to those in Stonebridge.
Property values are highest in the largely black Stonebridge and Pacesetter/Knollcrest areas. As already noted, black households in Hazel Crest tend to have higher incomes than white households. With few truly upper income sub-divisions perceived as being open to blacks, areas such as Stonebridge and Pacesetter command higher prices. But evidence of re-segregation was emerging as these projects were being completed. The developers sold the last homes they built to blacks only. For example, Stonebridge Drive was the last street built in Stonebridge and most of its residents are black.

While the data for 1979 real estate transactions are insufficient to draw any hard and fast conclusions (only 55 cases were analyzed in 1979), it nevertheless seems clear that real estate prices in Hazel Crest were generally stagnant from 1979 to 1985. None of the nine subdivisions showed evidence of any price appreciation during this six year period. However, we can tentatively draw conclusions for four of the nine subdivisions. The average selling price of homes in the Highlands, which was 12.1% black in 1980, showed no net increase in selling price from 1979 to 1985; in Pacesetter, which was 21.9% black in 1980, the average selling price increased one percent while in Pottawotomie Hills, 4.5%
black, and Stonebridge, 49.2% black, prices increased 4% over the six years.

We can draw more definite conclusions about the trend of property values in Hazel Crest by using data from 1976, a year in which more cases were available. During the ten year period from 1976 to 1985, the average sale price in the village increased 62%. Hazel Crest proper, Pacesetter, Twin Oaks, and Pottawotomie Hills benefited from the largest percentage increase, 71% to 85%.

We found that areas with the highest percentage of blacks, according to the 1980 census, have the highest selling prices. Averaging all homes in our 1976, 1979, and 1985 samples, we find that the average selling price on blocks which were less than 10% black in 1980 was $49,680; homes on blocks that were 11-25% black cost an average of $49,430; homes on blocks that were 26-50% black cost $52,670; and homes with 51-100% black cost an average of $67,830. This same pattern occurred for each of the three years analyzed. This pattern is different from any of the other suburbs analysed.

Analyzing property values by elementary school district is difficult due to low sample size in some of the districts. The Prairie Hills School District 144,
which was undergoing racial transition faster than any other district serving Hazel Crest, had lower housing values than the average for the village. Districts 153 and 161 had the highest property values, which were 11% and 34% above the average for the village.

SCHOOLS

Elementary school students in Hazel Crest attend one of eight elementary schools located in four different school districts. The largest portion of students attend Prairie Hills District 144. This district currently has a voluntary desegregation plan in effect, and is undergoing racial change faster than any other school district in Hazel Crest. In 1980-81, the three schools in the Hazel Crest portion of the district were 60% white and 37% black; by 1985-86, 37% were white and 59% were black (see Table 8.1).

The racial composition in the three schools which make up the Hazel Crest portion of District 152 1/2 has been fairly stable in the last six years. In 1985-86, 39% of the students were white and 60% were black at these schools.
The other two elementary schools which serve Hazel Crest have a different racial make-up. Willow School District 153 was 96% white in 1985-86 and 2% black.

For those concerned about the position of blacks in American society, the situation in Hazel Crest is remarkably positive. As we have seen, those areas with large proportions of black residents are also the ones with the highest prices. And the black residents themselves are among the best educated and most prosperous of all Hazel Crest residents. One could argue that those high status black subdivisions are simply a replay of patterns established by other groups in America who have often banded together in other suburbs. To the extent that this is true, the Hazel Crest situation ought not particularly to be a cause of concern. It is, instead, a less publicized part of the American dream. In this view, raising the question of integration could be seen as imposing a standard on blacks which has not been imposed on others.

That view represents, in our judgment, a reasonable position. Even if we have a normative preference for integration, it is obvious to us that the ideal state of affairs is rare, and, given the history of blacks in America, a strong black suburb or subdivision is more desirable than not having black
people in the position to create one. The problem for
the community is that often what appears to happen in
these situations is that a 100 per cent black community
ceases to appear desirable to many high status blacks as
well as to whites. When that does occur and they begin
to take themselves out of the market, one may begin the
cycle of declining prices which ultimately lead to
undermaintenance and deterioration. Seen in this light,
the Hazel Crest situation represents two different kinds
of challenges. The first lies in the effort to prevent
re-segregation, the second in the maintenance of strong
black upper-middle-class communities.
CHAPTER 9

TOWARD A THEORY OF SUBURBAN RACIAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

One of the principal goals of our research has been to determine whether paths of neighborhood change in suburbs differ from those in cities. There are a variety of theories which seek to explain urban migration and neighborhood change. However, as previously mentioned, suburbs are a more recent phenomena than cities, and do not necessarily fit urban models. Most suburbs were built in the 1950s or afterward. In addition, in more recent years, black population growth in the Chicago metropolitan area has
declined. And the sixties and seventies saw a rise of a substantial black middle class. Therefore, suburban patterns of change are only beginning to emerge. Accordingly, our task has been to determine how the suburban patterns differ from those in cities. Our study showed that some facets of suburban change were consistent with the traditional urban models, but that others were not.

The two classic urban transition models are Hoyt's sector theory and Burgess's earlier model of succession along concentric circles. In our study, each of these seemed to account for some grand-scale suburban changes. At the local levels of change, we applied several theoretical findings from Taub, Taylor & Dunham's 1984 Paths of Neighborhood Change. This book's urban theories were helpful as we examined how change occurs within the suburbs.

However, we also found aspects of suburban change that did not coincide with any of these theories. We discovered that suburban neighborhood change has "path" elements which stem from "white flight" and black migration out of the city. But we also discovered that there are local elements, e.g., the quality of housing stock, the effect of local institutions, and the role of local government which can shape the way suburban
neighborhoods change. These local elements, we feel, are what suburban leaders must manage in order to maintain a racially integrated community characterized by stable or rising property values.

THE TRADITIONAL MODELS

"Invasion and succession" were the terms Edward Burgess used in 1925 to describe the cycle through which urban neighborhoods undergo change. Burgess's model makes use of the notion that cities evolve in a pattern of concentric circles emanating from each city's center. The innermost circle includes a city's business district; the next concentric circle contains members of the lowest working class; and households of progressively higher income occupy the outermost circles. As cities grew, Burgess argued, the housing stock in neighborhoods closer to the center of the city declined in value, and persons with lower incomes "invade" those neighborhoods. Persons with higher incomes then moved away from the center of the city and into the olying areas where the housing stock was more valuable.

According to Burgess's argument, a city evolves along the pattern of concentric circles, and develops
five distinct zones. First is the "loop" or central business district. Bordering this area is a "zone of transition" which includes business, light manufacturing, and low-quality housing stock. The third circle is a working-class residential area. The inhabitants there are workers who have fled the deteriorated inner city. The fourth zone is on the outermost edge of the city. It includes high-class apartment buildings and exclusive single family dwellings. Burgess's fifth and outermost zone includes the suburban areas and satellite cities.

Although Burgess's theory made good sense, Homer Hoyt noted that there were portions of the city that did not fit the concentric circular pattern. Consequently, Hoyt altered Burgess's model in 1937. After he studied housing values extensively in thirty American cities, Hoyt agreed with Burgess that the pattern of invasion and succession was accurate. However, Hoyt argued that Burgess's pattern of concentric circles did not describe cities as accurately as the concept of pie-shaped sectors of a circle. Hoyt observed that property values did not graduate upward from the center to the periphery in all sectors of a city. In this sense he refuted the concentric circle notion. He also observed that there were not sectors in which rents graduated downward from the center to the periphery of the city. In general, he
concurred with Burgess that there is a tendency for housing values to graduate upward from the center of a city to its periphery. More importantly, however, Hoyt's study supported the theory that persons in upper income levels tend to move further away from the central city after persons of lower income have "invaded" their old neighborhoods.

TRADITIONAL MODELS APPLIED TO THE SUBURBS

Both of the traditional models seem to describe partially how change takes place in the suburbs we studied. The pattern of racial transition/re-segregation in our suburbs is consistent with Burgess's model in some aspects, but overall is more closely described by Hoyt's theory. Burgess's grand-scale theory fits the suburbs by definition: they lie in the outermost of the concentric rings surrounding the central city. But when we regard each suburb as a distinct unit and look within the suburb, racial transition seems to occur along the lines of Hoyt's sector theory, if it occurs according to any pattern at all.

Sectors of change are evident in each of the suburbs in our study. In Evanston, blacks have always been concentrated in the south and south-west sectors of
the city; their population is expanding linearly and not according to any concentric circle around Evanston's downtown area. Similar examples are in Park Forest, where there is a concentration of blacks in the north-east corner of the village which contains subsized housing; in Country Club Hills, where blacks are concentrated mainly in newer subdivisions; and in Hazel Crest, where blacks are concentrated in different subdivisions without an obvious geographic pattern. Each of these situations provides evidence that the suburbs are developing more according to Hoyt's economic sectors than to Burgess's concentric circles.

One obvious factor helps explain why the suburbs differ from the urban concentric circle pattern. Burgess's theory is based on persons who live on the edge of the city and work in the center of a city, but most suburbanites work in a wide variety of places other than the suburb in which they live. The central business districts of their own villages, if they have one, are smaller and much less important to them economically and socially than are the business districts of cities where they work. For example, in Country Club Hills, a central business district does not exist. Consequently there is no downtown base from which Burgess's circles could begin.
Country Club Hills is the most extreme example of a southern commuter suburb or "bedroom" community. Without a central business district, the only other institutions in suburbs like Country Club Hills tend to be those facilities which residents use during the part of the day when they are not at work, but at home in the suburb. For example, each suburb is likely to have grocery stores, schools, convenience stores, etc., the facilities which serve the immediate and basic needs of the residents. However, it is unlikely to have much else. Although these commercial and educational institutions replace the central urban zone of urban models, they are often not concentrated in any single location in a suburb. Thus, by themselves they are not significant enough to serve as the "core" of the suburb. Also, automobile transportation reduces the probability that any core will emerge in the immediate region. With the exception of Evanston and Skokie, the smaller suburbs are not truly cities in their own right, and, although there are forces which exert their own particular pulls, the patterns of migration there are somewhat more related to the suburb's place in the path leading from the the central city.

The southern suburbs' relationship to the core of the central city is evident in the racial composition of Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest. Each of these
suburbs has areas with relatively high concentrations of black families that are adjacent to either Markham or Harvey. Markham and Harvey show substantial re-segregation, which indicates that the pattern of housing and race shows some "path" elements.

Subdivisions such as Stonebridge in Hazel Crest and Mary Crest in Country Club Hills have black populations which are much larger than in the subdivisions surrounding them. However, these subdivisions defy traditional succession models because there are "whiter" subdivisions which lie between them and the black suburbs of Harvey and Markham. Moreover, both of the subdivisions have higher property values and median household incomes than other subdivisions in their villages. Historically, economists have noted higher housing prices for blacks at the place where minority expansion is moving into the white community. This pattern, however, seems quite different.

But if suburbs do not change fully according to the traditional models, neither do they change randomly. Instead, there are a number of explanations for the fact that the suburbs seem to be undergoing racial change but avoiding the "invasion and succession" pattern on the scale that Chicago's south side neighborhoods did. In nearly every case of suburban racial transition or
neighborhood change, one of several factors from Paths of Neighborhood Change has shaped the way in which the changes occur.

PATHS OF NEIGHBORHOOD CHANGE

Burgess's and Hoyt's early theories were the theoretical backdrop for Taub, Taylor & Dunham's 1984 study. In the study, Taub acknowledged the earlier theories and used evidence from several Chicago neighborhoods to draw several new conclusions about how and why urban neighborhoods change. The study showed that within individual neighborhoods, there could emerge a variety of forces which promoted integration rather than change. Once aware of these mechanisms, communities can develop local policies to promote racial integration.

For the purpose of comparing urban and suburban neighborhoods, Taub et al's key conclusion is this: ecology and location, corporate and institutional decisions, and the decisions of individual residents influence the ultimate racial character of a neighborhood. Each of these factors plays an important role in our study and becomes a point of comparing racial change among and within suburban areas. We
determined that the northern suburbs have an advantage in maintaining stable neighborhoods because of their more attractive location (to whites as well as blacks) and their larger size, both of which help to maintain a strong market. Some neighborhoods and suburbs also have institutional actors which are able to promote integration and strong housing markets. Southern suburbs, where institutional actors are virtually non-existent, can promote stability either by attracting major institutional actors or by having government function as an institutional actor.
ECOLOGY AND LOCATION

Ecological factors shape the suburb's differences in the most basic manner, and the northern suburbs have a clear advantage in using them to lend stability to their communities. Evanston's pleasant lakefront and Evanston and Skokie's proximity to Chicago's affluent north side make these areas more attractive to out-migrating urbanites than the southern suburbs carved out of farmland. The northern suburbs are also close to the region's node of economic growth to the northwest. By contrast, the southern suburbs have been hard hit by the decline of the smoke stack industries in that region.

The southern suburbs began to expand initially with the post-war housing boom of the fifties and sixties. Southern suburban developers found it profitable not only to build for the mostly-white GI families, but also to continue to expand to accommodate the new outflow of blacks from the city. Further, the southern suburbs were adjacent to Chicago's South Side, where a large portion of the city's blacks live. Therefore, many southern suburbs were directly in the path of black expansion and provided more affordable housing for middle class blacks who wished to move out of the city than did the northern suburbs. The southern
suburbs were built at the right time and in the right place to attract the outflow of the new middle class, urban blacks.

These ecological and locational realities would seem to imply that each of the southern suburbs would have larger black populations than any of the northern suburbs. This is not necessarily the case. Specifically, Evanston, a northern suburb, has the largest black population of the suburbs in our study and the largest percentage of blacks. But it is not a newly arriving black population. Evanston, though, has historical reasons which account for this. In south central Evanston there has been a traditional black population which has its roots in segregated housing for servants in the early 1900s.

INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

The second of Taub et al's factors which affect racial change in the suburbs are the decisions of institutional actors within each community. As Taub notes, institutional decisions affect the way residents perceive the stability of a community. In turn, these perceptions affect the residents' decisions to leave or stay. Hence, institutional decisions which demonstrate
confidence in the community can help keep property values high and inspire residents to stay.

Institutional actors play the greatest role in Skokie and Evanston, the largest suburbs in our study, even where they have not explicitly set out to do so. Skokie and Evanston are home to a large number of factories and businesses. Evanston is also home to Northwestern University, which brings to Evanston thousands of faculty, students, and support staff. Further, in a rare event of overt cooperation between the city and the university, Evanston city planners have announced plans for a downtown research facility which would attract several more businesses to the city.

By contrast, neither the southern suburbs of Hazel Crest nor Country Club Hills has a major institutional actor with the power to inspire and unite the community. At one time, Continental Bank had planned to open a large bank and investment complex on vast acreage in Country Club Hills. However, the project disintegrated with Continental Bank's financial difficulties and the future use of the property is unknown. Similarly, plans to build a new health care complex also fell through. Some of that property was ultimately sold to a developer, and became what is known as Mary Crest, an area inhabited increasingly by upper-income blacks.
Park Forest, by contrast, has a major institutional actor in its local government. It has taken a very active role since the 1970s in promoting racial integration. However, of major concern to the Park Forest community is its shopping center. Once a thriving retail center, it now has many vacancies and is an obvious "eye-sore".

THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE SOUTHERN SUBURBS

Compared to the greater number of institutions in larger Evanston and Skokie, the smaller southern suburbs have almost none. The only private institutions located in these villages are the grocery stores, small banks and other service establishments which serve the day-to-day needs of the local residents. These private institutions play a relatively insignificant role compared to the role played by business and industry in the northern suburbs. The comparative lack of powerful institutions reinforces the notion that the southern suburbs are not "cities in their own right" in the same sense as Evanston and Skokie. Rather, they are really entirely residential "bedroom communities." Therefore, the southern suburbs have fewer weapons with which to combat racial resegregation.
It seems clear to us that if the southern suburbs could broaden their focus beyond housing issues to attract more institutional actors, they could do a great deal to promote neighborhood stability. We realize that this is easier said than done. Nonetheless, in the absence of large private institutions and in the face of racial change, some south suburban local governments have accepted varying degrees of responsibility for projecting an image of community stability.

The Park Forest government is, the most visibly active among the southern suburbs. Through inspection of homes during change of occupancy, a strictly enforced housing code, the housing recycling program, the home improvement plan, direct involvement with realtors, fighting FHA appraisals, the elimination of new Section 8 housing in Arbor Trails, a limit on the duration "sold" signs can be up, an anti-solicitation ordinance, and litigation, the Park Forest government has become a major institutional actor. The Country Club Hills government has instituted only a "for sale" sign ordinance and a strict housing code. The Hazel Crest government has instituted some integration maintenance activities (e.g. a ban on "for sale" signs, neighborhood coffees, a Hazelnut Festival, a fair housing ordinance, extensive data collection, communications with realtors, and an anti-solicitation ordinance) and has been

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involved with regional organizations (e.g. a former Village Manager was chairman of FLAC). While some of these activities are the same in approach as those in Park Forest, the programs in Hazel Crest have not proved as effective in establishing confidence among Hazel Crest residents. Admittedly, Park Forest instituted integration maintenance programs before re-segregation was an issue in the community. This may have given Park Forest a planning advantage over other south suburban communities. Not only is the Park Forest program more comprehensive and longer standing, their program invests dollars in the community (e.g. the home improvement program and the housing recycling program). Perhaps for these reasons, the numerous integration maintenance activities in Hazel Crest do not seem to have the same impact on the residents' perceptions of community stability, a topic which will be discussed in the survey results in the subsequent chapter.
CHAPTER 10

SURVEY RESULTS

Eighty-six Evanston residents, 83 Hazelcrest residents, and 93 Park Forest residents were interviewed in a telephone survey. The survey was adapted from the 1984 NORC Chicago Neighborhood Survey which measures perceptions about community stability and social cohesion, crime and victimization, and race and integration. It also provides demographic characteristics of the respondents which can be compared to 1980 census data. The survey data not only allowed us to make comparisons among suburbs but also to compare respondents within suburbs.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The small sample sizes and trouble with getting people to respond to our questionnaire make us cautious when making statistical inferences from the data.
Nevertheless, we were pleased to see a correspondence between the distribution of socio-economic characteristics and the 1980 census data. For example, both the survey and the 1980 census data indicate that Evanston residents are more likely to have at least a high school diploma (see Table 10.1). Hazel Crest has the smallest portion of respondents having more than a high school diploma. Similarly, Evanston has the highest portion of blacks represented in both the census data and the survey. Hazel Crest survey respondents are least likely to be black while the census data show Park Forest with the lowest proportion of blacks—but that only .9% less than Hazel Crest (see Table 10.2).

Similar consistencies between the two data sources appear in the number of respondents living in houses, condos, apartments, and co-ops. Both sources show Evanston having the highest percentage of people living in apartments and condos and the lowest living in houses (see Table 10.3). Hazel Crest and Park Forest have the highest number of residents living in owner occupied housing. Park Forest has the highest number of respondents living in co-ops.

STABILITY AND SOCIAL COHESION

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Levels of social cohesion and stability were measured by questions about whether respondents considered their suburb a "real home," whether they were planning to move in the near future, and the degree to which respondents associate with their neighbors and participate in community activities. The portion of respondents who consider their suburb to be a "real home" is lowest in Park Forest and highest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.4). However, the portion of respondents who are not planning to move in the upcoming year is the highest in Park Forest and the lowest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.5).

The portion of respondents with good friends living in their suburb is highest in Evanston and lowest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.6). The portion of respondents with relatives living in their suburb is highest in Park Forest and lowest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.7). Although Hazel Crest ranks lowest and Evanston highest in the number of friends living in their suburb, the portion of respondents who visit with neighbors once a week or more is highest in Hazel Crest and lowest in Evanston (see Table 10.8). The portion of respondents who visit once a week or more with friends from outside of their suburb is higher in all three suburbs than the portion visiting neighbors once a week or more.

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Perhaps reflecting the fact that one is a village and the other a city, Park Forest ranks highest in the respondents' ability to count on their neighbors for assistance while Evanston ranks lowest (see Table 10.9). A similar pattern can be seen in the ability to distinguish neighbors from strangers (see Table 10.10).

This pattern is somewhat reversed for the use of local facilities (see Table 10.11). The portion of respondents using local facilities is clearly highest in Evanston. It appears that respondents from Park Forest use local facilities slightly more than Hazel Crest residents.

The portion of respondents who read a local newspaper (see Table 10.12) is highest in Park Forest and lowest in Hazel Crest. A similar pattern appears in the respondents' participation in an organization concerned with the quality of community life (see Table 10.13).

Overall, it appears that, despite some anomalies, Park Forest has the highest level of stability and social cohesion.
CRIME

The portion of respondents who report "some" or "a lot" of crime is highest in Evanston (see Table 10.14), which, indeed, has the highest crime rate. Evanston is also highest in reporting a "moderate" probability of being a victim of a crime in the next year (see Table 10.15). Park Forest has the highest portion of respondents reporting "only a little" or "no" crime. They also strongly report a "low" probability of being a victim of a crime in the next year. In comparison to Evanston, however, Park Forest residents are much more nervous about areas within one mile of their houses where they would be afraid to walk alone at night (see Table 10.16).

Although Evanston respondents clearly report the highest level of crime, they do not take as many precautions to avoid crime as do Hazel Crest or Park Forest respondents (see Table 10.17). Hazel Crest respondents report more problems than the other two suburbs (see Table 10.18). Park Forest respondents reported the least number of problems.

Overall, it appears that although Hazel Crest respondents report a significantly lower level of crime
than do Evanston respondents, they are more concerned about the level of crime in their suburb. This is also true of Park Forest respondents.
Survey respondents in Hazel Crest had the strongest perception that their suburb is undergoing racial change (see Table 10.19). In all three suburbs, a higher proportion of respondents agreed that when a few black families move into an all white neighborhood, property values tend to go down than respondents who believe that a few blacks moving into an all white area lead to an increase in crime (see Table 10.20). The perception that a few blacks lead to increased crime was much higher in Hazel Crest than in Evanston or Park Forest. In Hazel Crest, 34.1% of respondents agreed with the statement that crime increases when a few blacks move into an all white area, compared to 9.5% of respondents in Evanston and 9.7% in Park Forest. The perception that a few blacks can have a negative impact on property values was also much stronger in Hazel Crest than in Park Forest or Evanston, with 43.9% feeling such a statement was definitely true or mostly true, compared to 30.1% of Park Forest respondents and 17.1% of Evanston respondents.

In all three suburbs, the percent of respondents who believe these same three statements are definitely true or mostly true when applied to Hispanics and Asians
is consistently less than the percent who agreed with the same statement about blacks. The percent of those who agree with this type of statement when applied to Hispanics is again highest in Hazel Crest.

Overall, it is clear that Hazel Crest respondents are the most concerned about racial change and the effects of integration. Evanston and Park Forest respondents are least concerned about racial change but Park Forest respondents have more concerns about the effects of integration on property values than Evanston respondents. Again this reflects a basic reality. Evanston has shown more property appreciation than Park Forest.

OVERALL EVALUATION OF SUBURBS

In terms of the respondents' positive assessments of their suburbs, Park Forest and Evanston respondents are consistently more satisfied with their suburbs than are those in Hazel Crest. There are differences, however, between Park Forest and Evanston respondent's evaluations.

Table 10.21 lists the levels of satisfaction for selected characteristics of each suburb. The portion of
Evanston respondents who are very satisfied is clearly greater than those in Park Forest when asked about: 1) availability of convenient shopping; 2) property value trends; 3) nearness to work; 4) and availability of public transportation. The opposite is true for: 1) neighborhood safety; 2) quality of housing for the money; 3) and the opportunity to join social and other organizations. The portion of respondents who are very satisfied overall is highest in Evanston and lowest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.22). The portion who are very satisfied overall with the suburb is slightly lower in Park Forest than in Evanston. Further, the portion of respondents that believe their suburb is a good place to invest is highest in Park Forest and lowest in Hazel Crest (see Table 10.23).

While it appears that Park Forest and Evanston respondents are about equal in overall evaluation of their suburbs, there seems to be a more optimistic feeling in Evanston about past and future trends in their suburb (see Tables 10.24 and 10.25). Hazel Crest is the most pessimistic with the largest portion of respondents believing their suburb has become worse and will continue to decline. Park Forest is in the middle with about the same portion of respondents reporting better and worse conditions in the past and for the future.
CROSS-TABULATIONS OF SURVEY RESPONSES

Many of the evaluative responses about the respondents' suburbs are related to their assessment of racial change. For example, in all three suburbs, respondents who say their suburb has gotten worse are more likely to feel that their suburb is undergoing racial change. Those who feel their suburb has improved are more likely to feel that their suburb is racially stable. In all three suburbs, respondents who are less than "very satisfied" with their suburb are more likely to feel their suburb is racially changing, whereas those who are "very satisfied" are more likely to feel their suburb is racially stable. In all three suburbs, respondents who are concerned about crime are more likely to feel that their suburb is racially changing, whereas those less concerned about crime feel that their suburb is racially stable.

In general, the relationships between the evaluative responses and the respondent's assessment of racial change are strongest among the Hazel Crest respondents. For example, those saying that Hazel Crest is a good investment are more likely to report that Hazel Crest is racially stable. Those saying a person would be better off investing in a suburb other than Hazel Crest are more likely to feel their suburb is
racially changing. This relationship does not exist among the other two surveyed areas.

Only among Park Forest respondents, though, is there a relationship between the perception of abandoned houses as being a problem and the assessment of racial change. Those who feel that abandoned houses are a problem were more likely to believe that Park Forest is racially changing, whereas those who feel that abandoned houses are not a problem are more likely to feel that Park Forest is racially stable. In some communities where resegregation is not an issue, abandoned houses are viewed not as an indication of racial change but as something else entirely; such as "the owner now lives in Florida and is holding onto the house to get a better price." In some communities with visible minority populations, abandoned houses and litter are viewed as indicative of racial change.

Home improvement decisions of the respondents in all three suburbs are not related to the assessment of racial change. But this decision is related to the reported level of crime in all three communities. Those who report "some" or "a lot" of crime are not as likely to have made improvements in excess of $1,000 in the last two years than those who report "only a little" or "no" crime. This result is particularly significant for
Evanston because of the high portion of its respondents who report "some" or "a lot" of crime in their suburb.

In all three suburbs, the probability of moving in the next year is not related to the level of crime reported, assessment of racial change, or overall assessment of satisfaction with their suburb.

These results, along with the overall survey results, suggest a number of conclusions. Hazel Crest residents have the lowest level of stability and social cohesion, the lowest evaluation of their suburb, the highest reported number of problems, the highest level of concerns about racial change, and the second highest level of reported crime. The fact that many perceptions about the suburbs are related to assessments of racial change, and that many of these relationships are strongest in Hazel Crest, indicate that concern over racial change has a pronounced impact on how residents feel about their suburb. At the same time, though, the concerns over racial change do not appear to have brought about a "white flight" mentality or an inclination to not make improvements on their houses. Although we do not have many data to back it up, we believe that Country Club Hills would appear similar.
In Evanston, there are concerns about racial change but they do not appear to have much of an impact on the residents' evaluation of the suburb. Evanston ranks the highest in the overall evaluation of their suburb, second highest in stability and social cohesion, lowest in concerns about racial change and integration, and second highest in reported level of problems. But the fact that racial concerns are related to many of the respondents' evaluations of their suburb indicates the potential for a decrease in satisfaction. With some evidence suggesting that the southwestern section may be resegregating, these concerns may hasten the process.

The level of crime appears to be the major concern of Evanston respondents. The level of satisfaction with neighborhood safety is related to the racial change assessment. And the decision to make home improvements is related to the level of crime. Whether the various amenities available to Evanston residents will continue to outweigh these concerns remains to be seen.

Park Forest has the lowest level of reported crime and problems, the highest level of stability and social cohesion, the second highest overall evaluation of their suburb and the second lowest in concerns about racial change and integration. As in Evanston, the concerns over racial change do not appear to have had much of an
impact on Park Forest residents' levels of satisfaction. But because of the relationship between the racial change assessment and the evaluations about the community, and also because of the somewhat higher level of concern about the effects of integration, it seems that Park Forest residents could become more disenchanted with their community. This would be especially true if the perception of racial change within the community increases.

The fact that the level of satisfaction with the general appearance of streets and the perception of abandoned houses as a problem are related to the assessment of racial change indicates a potential sore spot in Park Forest. This concern on the part of Park Forest residents is probably due to Eastgate, which was discussed earlier. How well the Park Forest government is able to deal with Eastgate could have profound consequences for racial change in all of Park Forest because of the number of concerns that are related to perceptions of racial change.

The following chapter will present our conclusions about the prospects for racial re-segregation in the six suburban communities. Further, we will try to extract the basic components of a theory of racial change in suburban areas.
CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSIONS

Overall, what can we conclude about the potential for re-segregation in the six Chicago suburban areas we have studied? What factors encourage or militate against accelerated racial change? Do any patterns emerge that are different from or similar to racial change in urban areas?

Looking at each of the areas individually, it seems that racial re-segregation is not a foregone conclusion in any of them. The future looks especially bright for the three northern suburbs of Evanston, Skokie, and Des Plaines and the one southern suburb of Park Forest. The situation for Hazel Crest and Country Club Hills, however, is more ambiguous.

In Evanston, Des Plaines, and Skokie the white demand for housing remains strong. Even though growing numbers of minority families are moving into these

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areas, they still remain attractive locations for whites. Park Forest lags a little behind. In Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest, the two most rapidly re-segregating suburbs, the minority demand for housing seems to equal if not out-pace the white demand. Apart from location, what generally accounts for the differences among suburbs? How can each area be described in terms of its potential for racial re-segregation?

Our answers to these questions and, we believe, some of the basic components of a theory of racial change in suburban areas can be found by examining the following: 1) the size of a suburban community and its related willingness and ability to raise and channel resources into integration maintenance programs; 2) the presence of institutional actors and/or a strong commercial and industrial base; 3) the degree to which school district boundaries fall within a particular suburb; 4) the location of a suburban community relative to geographic and cultural amenities and areas of racial segregation; 5) and perceptions of governmental leadership.

THE SIZE OF SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES
Evanston, Skokie, and Des Plaines are the largest of the six suburbs, each having a population over 50,000 people. Park Forest, while having slightly less than half the population of the northern suburbs, is the largest of the southern suburbs. Suburban size seems to be related to a community's ability to address the problem of racial re-segregation largely by determining the amount of resources available to it.

Largely populated communities seem to have the potential to direct more resources toward integration maintenance than smaller areas. For example, Evanston, Skokie, Des Plaines, and Park Forest each have large, active, professional local governments with a sufficient number of employees to provide and maintain an attractive array of city services. Thus, these governments have the potential to provide both the leadership and the oversight necessary to design and implement integration maintenance programs and their various components such as code enforcement, public relations campaigns, etc. Whether larger suburban area governments actually choose to appropriate funds to integration maintenance programs is another story.

In Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest, the two most rapidly re-segregating suburbs, the opposite seems true. These smaller communities have smaller budgets and
fewer resources. Therefore, it is more difficult for these communities to design and direct an integration maintenance program. It is noteworthy in this respect that Hazel Crest devotes as many resources to the issue as it does.

INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

The size of the suburb seems to be correlated with the presence or absence of actual or potential institutional actors and/or a thriving central business district. Institutional actors, for example, Northwestern University in Evanston, produce jobs and revenue and thereby contribute to the stability of the community. While none of the other areas that we studied has a strong institutional actor like Northwestern, Des Plaines and Skokie do have a strong commercial and industrial base. Business and industry play a significant role in the suburbs by generating taxes to pay for city services and to fund the types of cultural and social activities that make these northern suburbs attractive areas in which to live.

The Park Forest Plaza no longer boasts a full complement of stores and shops. However, the Plaza still has the potential to unite the Park Forest community,
especially if plans for its re-development are successful.

Neither Hazel Crest nor Country Club Hills has a strong institutional actor at the present time. Hazel Crest has a small shopping area, but would benefit from additional commercial development. Country Club Hills suffers from a lack of small businesses and a central shopping area. As someone noted after driving through Country Club Hills, it is even hard to find a McDonald's or a Burger King in the area! The absence of a significant commercial or industrial base in Country Club Hills makes Continental Bank's decision about the future use of its 450 acres of property in the community that much more critical for Country Club Hills' ability to remain an integrated community.

SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

Geographically, the sizes of the northern suburbs are generally large enough to include most of the school districts within their boundaries—or in the case of Des Plaines, to come close to dividing the city evenly. Self-contained districts within a suburb's boundary offer school and governmental leadership the possibility of coordinating city-wide desegregation plans. Moreover,
the school system can be invested with a sense of pride, identity, and responsibility to a particular community of people. Similar to the way in which many Chicago residents--Catholic and non-Catholic alike--locate and identify themselves with a community by naming the parish where they live, some suburban residents in Skokie identify themselves with Evanston because a small part of the Evanston school district lies in Skokie.

In suburban areas where there are no institutional actors, the role of the school district becomes even more important. In fact, the school district has the potential to become the major institutional actor in an area. In some ways this has happened in Evanston where the schools have taken action while the government has done very little. However, in suburban areas that are split up among school districts, the likelihood that a particular school district can or will assume a leadership role and become an institutional actor for only one of the suburbs it serves is greatly diminished.

For example, in Hazel Crest, the schools are potentially one of the most significant institutional actors. However, Hazel Crest children attend four different school districts. They are a minority of the students in each district and, are therefore, influenced by the racial composition in the surrounding
communities that the school district primarily serves. Consequently, it is unlikely that Hazel Crest will be able to look to the schools as a tool to maintain racial stability unless it can modify school boundaries.

Hazel Crest's small size, however, would make it difficult to relocate a school district solely within its boundaries. Yet it does have enough school age children (over 3,000) to support its own district. If areas like Hazel Crest could obtain their own districts, they could benefit both from being able to play a bigger part in managing their schools and promote the identification of the school with the community.

**LOCATIONAL ADVANTAGES**

The northern suburbs have many locational advantages that the southern suburbs do not. Proximity to the north side of Chicago, good public transportation systems, access to major interstates, and nicely landscaped and wooded areas are just a few of the locational advantages of the northern suburbs. The southern suburbs, by contrast, while developing on geographically similar terrain and having access to a good interstate system do not have the advantage of being located near Chicago's fashionable north side.
Neither do they have the industrial development that grounds the economic life of the northern, northwest, and western suburbs.

Apart from the availability of more affordable housing and the fact that the property is located outside and presumably away from the problems of the city, there is less to attract a prospective buyer to these suburbs than to those in the north.

When areas offer few geographic and cultural amenities, as do Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest, these communities are still unable to attract new people from the greater metropolitan area and beyond in the numbers necessary to generate substantial property appreciation. In areas near large resegregating communities, the demand of would-be black purchasers can begin to exceed—at least proportionately to their representation in the larger community—the demand of whites. This is true of Country Club Hills and Hazel Crest, both of which are located immediately south of Markham and Harvey, two largely black suburban areas. If the majority of white home owners sell their homes to younger black families with children, the potential for rapid racial change is that much greater. For example, the early stages of racial re-segregation in Country Club Hills can be best
seen in the increasing proportions of black children enrolling in the lower elementary grades.

PERCEPTIONS OF GOVERNMENTAL LEADERSHIP AND INVOLVEMENT

Evanston is perhaps the only community that has had a significant black population since the city was founded in the 1800s. Despite its having a long history of integration and the resource base to address racial problems, Evanston has not been especially active in promoting integration. The City of Evanston has a Human Relations Commission and likes to think of itself as progressive in addressing the concerns of racial discrimination. However, the Commission has not been assertive in developing or implementing a concrete policy to address the potential re-segregation problem. Nor until recently has the government found reasons to work closely with the school district, where some procedures have been developed to monitor transfers and to report their impact on the racial composition of schools.

Despite the government's lack of involvement in racial issues, our survey indicates that Evanston residents are less concerned about integration and racial change than either of the southern suburbs we
surveyed. One explanation may be that Evanston's size, location, and the presence of strong institutional actors override residents' concern about the imminence or ill effects of racial change.

The Hazel Crest government has also instituted a substantial set of programs aimed at preventing re-segregation but they are not as comprehensive as those in Park Forest. Because of the distribution of school districts, local government has little control over segregation and integration issues in the schools. In addition, none of Hazel Crest's programs have the element of direct entry into the market place as do some of the programs in Park Forest. Also, Hazel Crest has neither the size, the institutional actors, nor the locational advantages of a place like Evanston. The result is that despite the heroic efforts of the people who work on human relations in this community, our survey shows that Hazel Crest residents are very concerned about racial change. We believe that were we to have survey data for Country Club hills, we would discover at least an equal level of concern about change.

Compared to Evanston, Des Plaines, and Skokie, Park Forest is a relatively small suburb. Like its suburban neighbors to the northwest, Park Forest has few
of the locational advantages that grace the north shore, and only the prospect of a major institutional actor in the form of investors in a re-developed Park Forest Plaza. Yet, our survey of Park Forest residents indicates they have less concern about racial change and integration than Hazel Crest, and only slightly more concern than Evanston residents. The difference here between Park Forest and Hazel Crest would seem to be due to the comprehensive nature of Park Forest's programs, an unusually long history of interest in integration, and a willingness both to enter directly into the market place though purchase of undermaintained buildings and through subsidized rates of interest to those improving their houses.

Like Evanston, Skokie has a Human Rights Commission and boasts that it was the first city in Illinois to adopt a Fair Housing Ordinance in 1968. The Commission investigates claims against landlords and advocates the housing rights of the elderly. While interested in the issue of fairness, Skokie's Human Rights Commission follows the lead of the village government and remains relatively uninvolved in the housing market. Perhaps because Asians constitute the largest minority group in Skokie, village residents do not anticipate the pattern of racial re-segregation that often occurs when the dominant minority group is black.
Integration maintenance programs seem scarce in Country Club Hills. In fact, the government of Country Club Hills, if not the people themselves, seems to pride itself on the limited and somewhat casual approach it takes toward planning for the city. Assessing the leadership potential of the Country Club Hills' government, one researcher concluded that the suburb is most apt to "sleep through" the critical stages of racial re-segregation only to wake up too late to develop programs to prevent it.

PROSPECTS FOR RE-SEGREGATION: A SUBURB BY SUBURB ASSESSMENT

Over the years since blacks moved into Evanston to support the life-styles of the wealthy living along its lakeshore, Evanston residents have been accustomed to the presence of a large minority presence. However, it is the strong housing market buttressed by its major institutional actors, especially the business and educational communities, that has kept Evanston from re-segregating. By developing strong policy incentives, e.g., the re-development of the central business district and the development of an industrial park, the Evanston city government has begun to work to maintain that strong base. However, most of the activity to
support integration has come from the school district. The appointment of a new school superintendent with extensive experience in racially integrated communities in New Jersey is a continuation of that interest. Heretofore, few efforts have been made to develop coordinated policies and programs to maintain a racially balanced community. The threat of racial re-segregation in the southwest part of the community may pull the city to a more active role than it has had in its past.

Like their neighbor to the east, neither Skokie nor Des Plaines is likely to re-segregate. However, both Skokie and Des Plaines differ from Evanston in that black people do not compose their largest minority groups. Rather, Asians contribute the largest minority in Skokie and Hispanics compose the dominant minority in Des Plaines.

Re-segregation in Skokie does not seem likely because housing demand continues strong. Also, the services the community provides are those of a wealthy suburb. All these factors, plus a good educational system, make housing in Skokie a "good deal", particularly for professionals buying a first home. The future question for Skokie, however, does not seem to be how well it can accommodate a continued influx of Asians. Rather, the question seems to be whether its
residents will respond as graciously to a potential influx of black people now living in neighboring Evanston and Rogers Park.

While it has a good economic and industrial base, Des Plaines does not feature all the locational amenities that Evanston and Skokie feature. Neither does it have Evanston's wealth or diversity in the housing stock. Consequently, Des Plaines will have to be careful to avoid pockets of racial re-segregation scattered throughout the city. The city's emphasis on building multi-unit dwellings that are attractive to those of lower economic status, of which minorities are disproportionately represented, may, in fact, promote re-segregation in certain areas of the city. While Des Plaines can certainly benefit from increased residential development, the city government might discover the importance of stringent code enforcement as a means of keeping rental housing in quality condition and, therefore, attractive to a diversity of economic, ethnic, and racial groups.

In contrast to any of the northern suburbs, and especially in contrast to its southern neighbors, Park Forest is addressing the prospect of racial re-segregation most openly and aggressively. Following the lead of the village government, Park Forest residents
are openly discuss their hopes and fears for their racially integrated community. Similarly, the school district that serves most Park Forest elementary school children initiated a district-wide integration program before they were ordered to de-segregate. Many Park Forest residents take pride in the way they are dealing with integration, and do not believe their community is likely to re-segregate. On the basis of our study, we would agree. Now that plans for the re-development of the Park Forest Plaza have become more concrete, we believe that Park Forest as a whole will not re-segregate but that the Eastgate area will continue to be a challenge.

We are not, however, as optimistic about the future of Hazel Crest or Country Club Hills. While racial re-segregation in these communities is not a foregone conclusion, neither is there reason to preclude the possibility without more aggressive government action.

Of these two areas, Hazel Crest has the better chance of maintaining a racially integrated community. However, the local government needs to do more than they presently are. In addition, if the village is to avoid segregation, even on a subdivisional basis, the community will need to attract businesses and
institutions -- even small ones -- that will lead the community and enhance the attractiveness of the suburb to prospective buyers from areas throughout the metropolitan area.

The government of Country Club Hills needs to become more of an actor if re-segregation is to be avoided. Racial re-segregation in Country Club Hills also depends significantly on what Continental Bank does with the 450 acres it owns in this suburban community. The number of blacks coming into Country Club Hills is continuing to increase. The increase is only logical because the housing prices are affordable and make life outside of the city possible for many homeowners, black and white alike. Individual efforts "to stay" in Country Club Hills, however, are insufficient when the suburb lacks the presence of a strong institutional actor and/or business community.

Because Country Club Hills has few locational and/or cultural amenities, the area is most likely to attract prospective buyers from its neighboring areas. For Country Club Hills, the surrounding communities are both black and white. At present, however, black people's demand for housing seems to be outpacing the demand of white people. Racial re-segregation in Country Club Hills, therefore, depends primarily on the softness
of the housing market. Consequently, any decision to permit the construction of new homes -- and most especially any decision by Continental Bank to sell its property to a developer -- will further soften the housing market and expedite the process of racial re-segregation.

The size of the suburb; the presence of strong institutional actors; the coincidence of school district boundaries with suburban boundaries; the suburb's location; and the community's perceptions of governmental leadership all function as indicators of the prospects for racial re-segregation and the path that re-segregation is likely to take.

We should add that we are concerned about the southern suburbs more generally, particularly the smaller ones. The stagnant or declining housing prices give us pause. As does the perception that small towns or cities with middle income populations may not have the resources to deal with integration effectively. It may be that the uncontrolled growth of instant mini-suburbs of the 1950s and 1960s coupled with the general economic decline of the region may bring with them costs not anticipated in an earlier period.
South suburban governments are concerned too! As we have seen, many of them have devoted substantial resources to promoting integration. A major effort has gone into fighting those practices of the real estate industry such a racial steering which both exploit and encourage the forces leading to resegregation that we have explored.

POLICY DIRECTIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS

Having proposed components of an initial theory of racial change in suburban areas, we suggest three corresponding policy directions: 1) strengthening the role of institutional actors within suburban communities, especially the roles of school districts and local governments; 2) adopting and marketing a home equity assurance program; 3) and encouraging the state to work closely with local communities, especially in the areas of economic development and education.

Because much literature and other attention has been devoted to the role of the Real Estate industry and the efforts of local governments to both work with the industry and to fight it, we will not focus on that
activity. Obviously, it is an important component and an effort which must continue unflaggingly.

STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

Strong institutional actors within a local community can provide both leadership and stability in areas facing the prospect of rapid re-segregation. We recommend that suburban communities in this situation assess the presence and strength of the institutional actors within their communities. Where a strong corporate, institutional, or economic actor is absent, we suggest that communities look to their local governments and their local school districts to assume the role of significant institutional actors.

LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AS INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

In large suburban communities, the role of the institutional actor is often played by the business community. In geographically smaller suburban areas where sizable central business districts are not as likely, the role of the business community may not be as significant as in areas where a few large industries or corporations dominate the economic life of a community. For example, Skokie, Des Plaines, and to some extent
Evanston, benefit from the presence of light manufacturing and a central business district. Evanston also benefits from the presence of a thriving health care industry and Northwestern University. By contrast, Park Forest has neither a strong central business district nor a large industrial base. As noted earlier, Continental Bank has the potential to become an institutional actor in Country Club Hills depending on its decision about the disposition of the acreage it owns in the suburb.

In smaller communities, the role of the government becomes that much more critical. However, areas of small populations often find it difficult to command and channel the resources needed to fund integration maintenance and planning activities. Further, some municipalities may well adopt strict housing and building codes but lack the personnel to enforce them. For example, Country Club Hills has neither designed nor funded planning and marketing strategies designed to promote the racial stability of the community. By contrast, their similarly small neighbors, Hazel Crest and Park Forest, have allocated some funding for full-time planners and public relations activities that market their communities throughout the greater metropolitan area. Park Forest's budgetary commitment, however, has by far been the most substantial. Among
other programs that channel investment dollars into the community, Park Forest has adopted a home improvement program. Homeowners may take out loans to improve the interior of their houses as long as they make some improvements on the outside of the property that are visible to neighborhood residents.

Recognizing the potentially limited funding base that smaller communities draw from to fund integration maintenance, code enforcement, and public relations programs, we suggest that local governments make concerted efforts to court larger corporate institutional actors whenever possible. Moreover, we suggest that local governments raise and allocate monies to fund people and programs that support integration maintenance programs.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS AS INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS

We recommend more consistent interaction between the local governments and school districts toward the goal of designing complementary integration maintenance programs. The type of interaction we propose may require the consolidation of smaller school districts to cover larger areas or the re-drawing of boundaries that are co-terminus with municipal boundaries. In making these
recommendations, we recognize that there are many complex organizational and political questions that would have to be addressed before these suggestions could be implemented.

Just as the size of a suburban community influences a local government's ability to assume the role of a significant institutional actor, so too it also influences a school district's ability to play a major institutional role. Because the changing racial composition of an area is often most obvious in a school, school districts can play a key role in affecting the racial stabilization of a community through the policies they adopt. Where small suburban areas are served by several different school districts, some of which have intra-district school integration policies and some of which do not, two situations may result: first, local governments may have a more difficult time trying to design, coordinate, and implement integration maintenance programs; and second, the policies of either the local government or of an individual school district can be unintentionally undermined by the lack of similar policies in adjoining districts. Where one school district with an integration policy is surrounded by those that have different policies or perhaps no policy at all, it seems likely that the chance of rapid re-segregation would
increase. As Taub's "path elements" characterize urban neighborhood change processes, so too might they characterize the relationship between pro-active and inactive school districts.

While it may be true that being small-sized makes it more difficult for governments and school districts to assume the roles of institutional actors, size neither precludes nor dictates the establishment of a comprehensive and coordinated integration maintenance program. Park Forest, a smaller-sized community, has obviously benefited from the active role its government has taken in integration maintenance programming. Evanston, on the other hand, the third largest community in the state, has only recently begun to respond to community pressure for coordinated planning and policies between the government and the school district.

ADOPTING A HOME EQUITY ASSURANCE PROGRAM (HEA)

Since 1978 the suburban community of Oak Park has actively tried to address the problem of re-segregation often fueled by fears of declining property values and deterioration. One of its solutions included the adoption of a home equity assurance program. In this program, the Village of Oak Park has guaranteed to
reimburse program participants up to 80% of any losses they incur on the sale of their property after five years in the program. Thus, the program provides both security against declining property values and an incentive for communities residents to remain in the village.

Modeled on this successful program in Oak Park and incorporating a strong marketing component, the HEA we are proposing would guarantee that enrollees will not lose money on their housing investments if they continue to live in a racially integrated neighborhood. As noted, HEA will reimburse program enrollees up to 80% of any loss an individual incurs on the sale of his or her property. Monies to underwrite the program would come from a municipality's general revenue fund. To enroll in the program, a homeowner would pay a $125 fee for an appraisal by a certified appraiser approved by the municipality. A homeowner would then be eligible to activate the guarantee after five years from the enrollment date.

While many components of the Oak Park program can be easily transferred to the southern suburbs, the integrated southern suburbs differ from Oak Park in at least two ways: first, the southern suburbs we have studied have already begun to experience a significant
influx of black people. Because of this trend, anxiety seems to be building among some residents; second, many residents of Hazel Crest and Country Club Hills have already had personal experience with "changing neighborhoods," panic-peddling, block-busting, and during the time of their exodus, declining property values.

Given this background, efforts to convince the residents of the southern suburbs that property values do not decline because minorities move into a neighborhood must be much more aggressive than they were when HEA was adopted in Oak Park.

Widely publicity about the successes of the Oak Park HEA plan would be helpful in this regard. If fearful homeowners react typically of others in stressful or threatening situations, they will seldom get information that disconfirms their judgments about the perceived relationship between the presence of blacks and declining property values. This is why programs which emphasize "talk" as an element of the effort so often fail. When caught in the panic of a "white flight" mentality, homeowners do not often get an accurate picture of what it is like to live in a stable, integrated area. Frequently, they move out of the
community before they can experience evidence contrary to their prior experiences or stereotypes.

Since 1978, Oak Park has continually increased its number of black residents. No one, however, has drawn upon the program to fund a loss from the sale of residential property. HEA may be the best program that no one ever needed -- except emotionally.

ENCOURAGING STATE GOVERNMENTS TOWARD ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

We recommend that local governments renew efforts to work with the state to encourage industrial and commercial growth in the southern suburbs. Ostensibly, the southern suburbs differ little geographically from the northern and western suburbs. However, the rapidly growing industrial corridor, which extends from Chicago north to Rockford and Racine and west to Aurora, provides an economic stability to the areas that the residents of the southern suburbs do not enjoy.

Why these industrial corridors have developed north and west of Chicago is open to speculation. Perhaps the proximity to O'Hare Field has been one locational advantage that the southern suburbs have not
been able to match. Perhaps new commercial and industrial ventures have been directed away from the southern suburbs because they hold the perception that the southern suburbs are rapidly re-segregating.

As with most social scientific phenomena, however, there are undoubtedly many explanations for the differences in industrial growth in the various suburbs surrounding the city. The same can be said for the causes of racial re-segregation. Consequently, we would caution local suburban governments, and especially those governments in the southern suburbs, against focusing all their integration maintenance programs on housing concerns. Comprehensive and successful integration maintenance programs must also include efforts to ensure the economic and educational rejuvenation of suburban communities.