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## Local Residential Segregation and Diversity: Organizational Efforts Challenging the Inevitability of Racial Separateness

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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

LOCAL RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND DIVERSITY: ORGANIZATIONAL  
EFFORTS CHALLENGING THE INEVITABILITY OF RACIAL SEPARATENESS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTERS OF ARTS  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

The history of sociology is rich with examples of researchers attempting to explain individual behavior through an analysis of the social structure. One way which modern society manifests its social structure is through its pattern of residential settlement (White, 1987:1). Social scientists have long been interested in the nature of this residential settlement structure (Park, 1926; Burgess, 1925). The interest in residential settlement appears to come out of two realities. One reality suggests that 'neighborhood' has the most daily relevance for individuals. For while the concept of neighborhood is both "common and vague, at once a physical and symbolic reality," most individuals can relate to this idea based on their own experience of living in one (White, 1987:2). The second reality is that residential areas (in a general sense, housing markets) are central to individual economic and social well-being. Residence determines a whole host of factors in urban America: the quality of education, the level of municipal services, fluctuations in housing values, relative tax burdens, safety, access to public transportation, morbidity and mortality rates, and the life chances of individuals and groups (White, 1983; Orfield, 1984; Massey and Denton, 1993; Lee, 1985; Kitagawa and Hauser, 1973).

Given these realities, many researchers have set out to explore the divergent patterns of residential settlement, concentrating on two interrelated factors: racial segregation and diversity.<sup>1</sup> While racial segregation has received the greatest empirical

attention, the nature of diverse residential settlements is gaining notice. In either case, empirical work has centered on specific topics: the prevalence of segregation or diversity, possible causes, the assorted effects, and finally, on policy recommendations. The primary undercurrent of such work is race. While a scholarly debate continues over the relative importance of race versus class (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wilson, 1987), most researchers focusing on segregation posit that race is a "central structural concern in American society" (Orfield, 1986). This becomes apparent when examining the population distribution by race, particularly for African-Americans. Due to this concern the primary focal point of research in both areas has been the geographic distribution of race.

This research tradition is situated in a larger demographic reality that the United States must confront, the increasing racial diversification of its population. As O'Hare suggests: "By the middle of the 21st century, today's minorities will comprise nearly one-half of all Americans. These demographic changes are leading Americans to forge a new image of the nation and of the future" (1992:1). As I shall demonstrate such demographic shifts do not result in integration or even racial mixing by residence, in fact the opposite has traditionally been true. Yet, segregation is not inevitable, it is a social product. Research has also pointed to the positive affect that community based organizations can have on promoting racial diversity in local communities (Saltman, 1984, 1986, 1990, 1991; Nyden, 1992, 1993). While it is important to look at racial segregation in the United States, it is equally important to examine efforts to 'produce' diversity in communities.

The goal of this project is to: (a) outline the literature concerning residential segregation, including the assumptions made; (b) review the other side of this issue, diverse settlement patterns; (c) use this knowledge to craft a research design filling some of the gaps in the literature; and (d) report the findings of this empirical work. Both a quantitative and qualitative approach will be employed to examine the extent racial residential segregation and diversity in Chicago from 1980 to 1990.

The literature on racial patterns of residential composition can be divided into two areas of focus: (1) descriptive accounts and analyses of the nature of racial residential segregation; and (2) analyses of diverse residential areas, focusing specifically on racial neighborhood change. Each are part of the same concern, yet the focus differs. The literature on residential segregation focuses on the extent, causes, and effects of segregation by race. Conversely, the literature on residential diversity tends to focus on both the nature of racial change and on the factors involved in maintaining racial diversity in neighborhoods.

## CHAPTER 2

### RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION LITERATURE

Why have social scientists' studied residential segregation? One reason is the persistence of the problem, particularly for blacks. As Massey and Denton point out, "no group in the history of the United States has ever experienced the sustained high level of residential segregation that has been imposed on blacks in large American cities for the past fifty years (1993:2-3). As the 1968 Kerner Commission's Report (U.S. National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1988) and Kenneth B. Clarke (1965) pointed out, segregation not only has the United States "moving toward two societies, one black and one white," but it also appears to be at the core of racial and social inequality. Also, Gunnar Myrdal (1944) suggested that residential segregation "exerts an influence in an indirect and impersonal way: because Negro people do not live near white people, they cannot associate with each other in the activities founded on common neighborhoods... [and this] becomes reflected in uni-racial schools, hospitals, and other institutions." In this manner, residential segregation creates an "artificial city." While such themes will be developed further below, it is important to note that the persistence of this problem and effects (economic as well as social) engendered by such geographic and social isolation are the primary grounds for such sociological study.

#### Descriptive History

Residential segregation is obviously not ahistorical. While such segregation has



often assumed a hegemonic or 'natural' place in our perception of the social order, the current occurrence of segregation has progressed from different phases. Each phase has been characterized by an ever-increasing degree of black segregation.<sup>2</sup> The phases can be grouped as follows: (1) the period before 1940; (2) 1940-1970; and (3) the persistence of segregation from 1970 to the present. The findings from each period will be summarized, again focusing on blacks.

Immediately following the Civil War, America was just emerging from its pre-industrial past. Urban settings did not have the structural steel, electricity, and mechanical systems of the later industrial period, thus keeping building densities low and populations distributed evenly (Hawley, 1971; Yancey et.al. 1976). Massey and Denton note that this urban spatial structure did not contribute to high levels of segregation for blacks, concluding that black segregation scores were only slightly greater than those of most European immigrant groups of the same time period (1993:19). In fact, they report that blacks living in the antebellum South (as 80% were at this time) were scattered extensively throughout the urban environment and were more likely to live with whites in their neighborhoods than with other blacks (1993; 20-25).

The industrialization of urban America, however, changed things. Several authors have noted that industrialization altered the urban environment (Berry, 1973; Greenberg,1981; Yancey et.al., 1976). Manufacturing shifted from homes or small shops to large factories, concomitantly creating dense clusters of housing for the work force. Meanwhile, the invention of structural steel and mechanical elevators allowed cities to expand upward, creating central business districts and facilitating the contact of

thousands of individuals each day (for a literature review see Massey and Denton, 1993:27-8). At this same time, there was a steady increase in black out-migration from the South. Around World War I, this increase grew into a 'flood' as the war created a demand for U.S. industrial production (Lieberson, 1963; Massey, 1985a).

With the black population rapidly growing in size, blacks were on their way to becoming socially segregated and isolated. Whites of this era appeared to view this tide of black migration with animosity and fear, offended both by cultural differences and fearful of economic competition (Massey and Denton, 1993:29). With these demographic changes, a new era of race relations began to emerge. In order to soothe this hostility and fear, whites enacted residential barriers. It has been suggested that whites accomplished the emerging segregation of blacks through direct racial violence and when this failed, through "restrictive covenants." Massey and Denton summarize the census data, revealing that by 1940 residential segregation for blacks reached its highest relative level (1993:21-42).

The second period, 1940 thru 1970, solidified the segregation that began before 1940. Black out-migration from the South continued and the conditions in northern cities were bleak. Cities were plagued by housing shortages, thus driving population densities to new heights. As Duncan and Duncan (1957) point out, this resulted in a process of "piling up," particularly in the ghetto. Furthermore, as these densities grew, black segregation and isolation also increased (Drake and Clayton, 1945; Lieberson, 1980). In fact, as Massey and Denton suggest "from this time forward African-Americans in large northern cities were effectively removed -- socially and spatially -- from the rest of

American society" (1993:43).

The period following World War II was marked by both economic prosperity and the baby boom. These two factors contributed to the suburbanization of America, particularly for the white-middle class, as demand grew for open lots of land. For, while only a third of U.S. Metropolitan residents were living in suburban areas prior to 1940, by 1970 suburbanites made up a majority of metropolitan residents (Massey and Denton, 1993). Blacks, on the other hand, filled up northern cities, doubling their percentages in many cases. Massey and Denton, commenting on this era, suggest: "..racial segregation became a permanent structural feature of the spatial organization of American...[and] such consistently high levels of segregation imply that blacks and whites occupied separate and wholly distinct neighborhoods at each point between 1940 and 1970" (1993:46). The large number of black migrants into northern cities (estimated at around 4.5 million), increased black social and residential segregation. Various empirical works have supported this notion (Van Valey et. al., 1977; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965).

From 1970 to the present the trends in residential segregation continued. This period has received a great deal of attention, largely due to the fact that the U.S. Census made computerized data on neighborhoods available for the first time. This development is important because it allows researchers to examine segregation using 'constant' measures, such as fixed metropolitan boundaries (the central city, tracts, etc..) and like definitions of racial groupings. Such a development made segregation research more accurate, by standardizing geographic and social definitions.

With this development came an increase in the analysis of residential segregation in the United States. Using the Index of Dissimilarity,<sup>3</sup> Massey and Denton (1987; 1988a; 1988b; 1989a) report that for northern areas, in both the 1970 and 1980's, this index averaged over 80% for blacks. This means that 80% of blacks would have to move in order to achieve evenness. Other researchers (Lieberson, 1980; Massey and Denton, 1987) indicate that as of 1980, no metropolitan area in the north exhibited an index under 70%, signifying a level of residential segregation considerably above the highest level ever reported for European ethnic groups. These numbers, while surprising in themselves, become more extraordinary when compared to Hispanics and Asians. It has been reported that under "relatively favorable" conditions, blacks are twice as isolated as Hispanics and Asians and about 60% more segregated (Massey and Denton 1987; 1988b; 1989a; 1989b; 1992).

Suburbanization also continued between 1970 and 1980. The most pronounced characteristic of segregation since World War II was that blacks were clustered in the central cities and whites in the suburbs. In the early 1970's, however, blacks began to migrate into the suburbs, although there was a stark contrast between the two groups. Massey and Denton (1988a; 1993) report that in the 1980's, an average of 23% of northern blacks lived in the suburbs, compared to 71% of whites. The numbers are mirrored in the South. These trends might have encouraged some, just by the fact that some blacks were moving from the central city, however, further analysis suggests that this did not indicate integration. In fact, studies have revealed that the suburbs accepting black occupants tended to be older, lower in socioeconomic class, and densely populated

(Clay, 1979; Farley, 1970; Lake, 1981; Logan and Schneider, 1984). Also, the levels of segregation in these areas are relatively equal to those of the central cities (Massey and Denton, 1987; 1993). These authors report that in northern cities, the average level of segregation for blacks in cities was 77%, while it was 70% in suburbs (1993; 71-73).

Massey and Denton (1988c) examined the levels of black segregation, for 1980, in thirty metropolitan areas with the largest black populations. They report that one third of all blacks in the United States live under conditions of intense racial segregation. The authors state: "They are unambiguously among the nation's most spatially isolated and geographically secluded people...[living in] within large, continuous settlements of densely inhabited neighborhoods that are packed tightly around the urban core." They conclude that within a high mobile post-industrial society such as the United States, blacks living in the core of these neighborhoods "are among the most isolated people on earth" (1993:77).

### Causes of Segregation

Empirical Research concerning residential segregation has moved beyond mere descriptive accounts of black segregation, to explore possible causes of segregation. Three theories have predominated: (1) a class versus race debate; (2) an attitudinal theory; and (3) discriminatory practices. The empirical findings surrounding these theories will be delineated below. Each of these theories represent a level at which segregation operates and as we shall see later, levels that local and national policy must address.

The first theoretical debate concerns the relative importance of race and class

in the United States. One side suggests that black social and economic problems stem largely from their disadvantaged economic position; claiming that race is not the main issue, but rather secondary to a complex set of factors, such as the shift from manufacturing to service centered industry or demographic changes (Wilson, 1978; 1987). The other side, stresses the importance of race or racism. The argument has been that white prejudice and discrimination remains a powerful foundation for stratification and inequality in the United States (examples include: Glasgow, 1980; Willie, 1978).

Researchers have attempted to examine the sides of this debate in relation to residential segregation. They report that when one considers residential segregation, the above debate is "easily and forcefully settled: race clearly predominates" (Massey and Denton 1988b; Massey and Eggers, 1990a). The data they present, displays a clear pattern: among northern metropolitan areas, regardless of income, blacks are highly segregated from whites. For example, in Chicago (1970-80), the poorest blacks displayed a segregation index of 91, while the most affluent blacks had an index of 86 (Massey and Denton, 1988b). Such figures are mirrored for other metropolitan areas. In sum, Massey and Denton unequivocally state: "No matter how socioeconomic status is measured, therefore, black segregation remains universally high...[thus] the persistence of racial segregation in American cities is a matter of race and not class" (1993:88).

A second theoretical explanation for the persistence of the high levels of black residential segregation has concentrated on attitudes. Particularly, the differing attitudes in regard to integration that whites and blacks hold. The argument has been that it may

be that black desire for residential homogeneity (i.e. blacks preferring to live in 'black' neighborhoods) is reflected in the housing market. This could be referred to as self-segregation (Lieberson and Carter, 1982). This argument has not squared with survey research. It has been reported that black Americans strongly support the ideal of integration, both in theory and in practice (Schuman et.al, 1985). The source of information, extensively cited in this regard, is the Detroit Area Survey (Farley et.al, 1978; Farley et.al., 1979). Their findings suggest that while blacks tend to support the ideal of integration, they also express an desire for integrated living, where 95% are willing to live in neighborhoods that are between 15% and 70% black (Farley et. al, 1978; 1979). Thus, it appears that if the decision was solely voluntary, blacks would live in primarily mixed neighborhoods.

Yet, black preferences interact with white preferences and without white acceptance of a particular level of integration, integration becomes only a good intention. Thus, researchers examined the nature of white attitudes toward integration. Whites appear to be more committed to integration in principle than in practice. Schuman et. al. (1985) report that while 88% of whites agreed in principle with integration, only 40% stated they would support a fair housing law (even though the federal government enacted one 12 years earlier). Farley et. al.'s (1978; 1979) findings mimic the above findings, suggesting that while whites may support fair housing in the abstract, their acceptance of this ideal declines as the number of blacks increases.

Segregation also operates at the institutional level. The cause of segregation at this level is purported to be institutional discrimination and racism. Various studies have

been undertaken to identify the extent of such discrimination. When focusing on real estate, these studies have involved housing audits.<sup>4</sup> The studies revealed that even with the passage of the Fair Housing Act, systematic housing discrimination continued into the 1980's (Urban Institute, 1991; Yinger, 1989; Yinger, 1986; Hintzen, 1983; Massey, 1989b). Finally, George Galster analyzing 71 different housing audit studies during the 1980's concluded that "racial discrimination continues to be a dominant feature of metropolitan housing markets in the 1980's" (1990:172).

Analyzing lending institutions, although relatively difficult until the 1975 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act, has uncovered parallel findings as the real estate research. A review of the literature suggests that: blacks and racially mixed neighborhoods receive less private credit, fewer federally insured loans, and less total mortgage money than socio-economically analogous white neighborhoods.<sup>5</sup> Such evidence suggests that these neighborhoods have been subjected to a high level of disinvestment. This creates a situation where segregation and 'resegregation' are built into the housing market. The cycle follows: banks refuse to grant credit to minority neighborhoods (for home improvement, etc.), thereby limiting white demand for housing in these neighborhoods, and thus, resegregating such neighborhoods (Massey and Denton, 1993:107).

In summary, the available causal evidence concerning residential segregation is clear: segregation is high regardless of income; blacks tend to support the ideal of integration in both theory and practice; whites tend to favor integration more in the abstract than in practice; racial discrimination is central to housing markets; and discrimination in lending practices has led to disinvestment in minority or racially mixed



neighborhoods. It appears that, in the case of residential segregation, that race continues to be a significant factor in the organization of modern American society.

### Effects of Segregation

Segregation is not a neutral phenomena and has many social effects on the lives of the residents of such neighborhoods. One effect that has been documented is that segregation concentrates poverty, particularly for blacks. Segregation is responsible for the creation and maintenance of areas characterized by continuous and concentrated poverty (Massey and Eggers, 1990a; Massey and Fong, 1990b; Massey, 1990c). Through a simulation model, these authors suggest: "whether or not one assumes segregation between the rich and the poor, racial segregation acts to concentrate poor blacks in a small number of neighborhoods, raising the poverty rate to which they are exposed and lowering the corresponding rate for whites" (Massey and Denton, 1993:120-24).

The spatial concentration of blacks has other deleterious effects. Any change in the economic situation of blacks "amplifies and focuses" these changes on minority groups. A downward shift in black income will not only raise the groups overall poverty rate; it also concentrates this poverty (Massey and Eggers, 1990a). In the 1970's such a shift did occur. For example, while it has been argued that the transformation of black neighborhoods in the 1970's was largely due to the exodus of middle-class blacks (Wilson, 1987), Massey and Denton (1993) demonstrate that these trends would have occurred whether or not middle-class blacks fled poor blacks. They note that by 1980, the concentration of poverty was greatest in areas where blacks were highly segregated

and very poor, and lowest where blacks were neither poor nor segregated (1993:130). Thus, the residential segregation of blacks appears to strongly interact with the concentration of poverty in U.S. urban areas.

Segregation also denies minority groups specific political and educational benefits. Politically, immigrants have historically struggled to acquire the political power necessary to enhance and promote social mobility and ultimately following the pluralist political structure of American urban centers. This structure involved exchanging votes for a share of jobs, city contracts, and public services, and the like. This structure helped immigrant groups to establish themselves and provided the basis of social and economic mobility (Dahl, 1961; 1967; Gutterbock, 1980). For immigrants, this worked out well, especially since immigrant neighborhoods rarely constituted only one majority. Thus, such geographic diversification of ethnicity helped to divide the fruits of political benefits among such diverse groups (Lieberson, 1980).

This, however, has not been the case for segregated groups, particularly blacks. Residential segregation has provided no basis for such a pluralist political structure. The geographic and spatial concentration of blacks instead encouraged issues to divide along racial lines (Spear, 1967; Trotter, 1985). What resulted from this division is that blacks found few coalition partners to promote their self-interest. In fact, this division created a process where resources allocated to black neighborhoods reduce the benefits going to white ethnic groups. Finally, as Massey and Denton (1993) suggest, given that patronage or support is the "glue" that holds white political coalitions together, when resources are allocated to spatially segregated black neighborhoods, the stability of the pluralist

machine is frustrated. Thus, blacks lose politically.<sup>6</sup>

Segregation also effects education. Segregation immediately impacts the type of school segregated groups attend, in terms of the resources available, conditions, etc. Segregation often kindles a clash of cultural patterns. Middle-class American culture tends to value the ideals of self-dependence, hard work, sobriety, and an ethos that suggests that by following these ideals one will gain monetary benefits and economic upward mobility (Kluegel and Smith, 1986). As we have seen, residential segregation concentrates spatially not only people, but also poverty and an underclass. The conditions of these areas, lead to very different neighborhood conditions and thus, very different cultural experiences. Researchers have suggested (for a review, see Massey and Denton, 1993: 165-185) that such conditions make it difficult for minority groups to live up to these ideals, thus alternative (and conflicting) ideals are constructed. For example, when black children from residentially segregated and poverty areas enter U.S. schools, their values compared to "white middle class" values are looked on as "degenerate" or "culturally disadvantaged." This creates a situation where black children enter educational institutions on unequal grounds. Massey and Denton point out the flaw of such thought in their statement: "...they blame the victims of segregation rather than the social arrangement that created the oppositional culture...[for] its is not a self-perpetuating 'culture of poverty' that retards black educational progress but a structurally created and sustained 'culture of segregation" (1993:169).

Finally, it is important to recognize that research on segregation has consistently focused on large geographical areas. The unit of analysis has been the SMSA and the

goal has been to gain a national perspective of segregation for U.S. minority groups. Given the unit of analysis, policy recommendations have been national in perspective. One clear and recent example of such project is Massey and Denton's (1993) book, *American Apartheid*. In the conclusion of this work the authors posit several key assumptions and recommendations that are indicative of most research concerning segregation and important to note.

Massey and Denton explicitly argue that segregation is an "institutional apparatus" and dismantling this apparatus will only happen when "federal authorities..become directly involved in guaranteeing open housing markets" (1993: 216-225). Implicit in their arguments is the structural nature of residential segregation; the fact that segregation is structurally built into the housing market. Such a conclusion has led Massey and Denton to posit the importance of federally mandated programs in the process of change. The authors argue that the Fair Housing Act of 1968 has been "individual, sporadic, [its enforcement] and confined to a small number of isolated cases," which has only incremental effects (1993:224). They also draw attention to integration maintenance programs (i.e. "schemes"). It is their contention that such programs treat the symptoms of segregation and are always going to be at risk of racial turnover, due to a racially biased housing market. They state that "integration maintenance programs accept it and seek to preserve a few islands of integration within a larger sea of racial exclusivity" (1993:226). Their conclusion is that efforts to remedy the situation should be targeted at the federal level, striving to dismantle the institutional nature of segregation. Massey and Denton state: "Rather than eliminating the systemic

foundations of segregation, private efforts have only chipped away at its facade (1993:224). The assumption that local efforts are merely cosmetic, I argue, is open for debate.

There is little doubt that the empirical evidence concerning residential segregation by race is staggering. Researchers have painted a picture of a massive problem in U.S. urban centers. Yet, what remains to be examined is the other side of the issue, residential diversity. I would argue that is equivalent to a "half-full" approach, while the segregation literature is a "half-empty" approach. This is not to say that researchers studying segregation are only focusing on the negative or that this problem is not as bad as the statistics suggest. I do not take issue with either, yet I believe that research needs to begin to focus on solutions. Solutions that are not just aimed at the top, but also consider local efforts. The goal is social change and I believe the racial diversity literature examining the various efforts aimed at maintaining racially diverse neighborhoods is important to obtain a clear picture of a variety of policy options (federal mandates vs local interventions). The next section is a review the developing literature concerning this topic.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESIDENTIAL DIVERSITY LITERATURE

Given the wide-spread racial residential segregation in the United States, it is easy to ignore residential settlements that are diverse or mixed in their racial composition. While segregation and racial tensions dominate people's perceptions, generally lost from "sight are the modest number of successfully integrated communities whose integrated status survives, in part, because it is unheralded" (Hunt, 1959; Goering, 1986: 143). Several underlying questions arise from such statements fueling research concerning diverse living settlements. Are these neighborhoods truly racially diverse? Can racially diverse neighborhoods remain diverse? Are diverse areas merely in a "temporary stage in the process of ecological succession? (Lee, 1985:348) Questions such as these form the key empirical interests in this area.

As one might guess, racially diverse neighborhoods are a rarity in the United States. Bradburn, Sudman, and Gockel (1971), in the most detailed examinations of diverse neighborhoods, report that in 1968 less than one in five U.S. households live in areas that were at least nominally diverse (i.e. two or more black families). The literature on segregation confirms such notions, perpetuating what Lee refers to as the "orthodox view in the social sciences: that racial mixing is inherently unstable, with segregation the normal state" (1985:347). Terms, such as tipping and succession, used in studying racial change relate the perceived inevitability of racial transition. Finally, as

Lee suggests, given that mixed areas are not racially homogeneous it would appear that such areas would provide a perfect site for testing this orthodox perspective (1985). Instead, perhaps due to the popularity of this orthodoxy and the hegemonic view of segregation (Orfield, 1986), the majority of attention has been paid to segregation.

This point aside, there has been research done regarding to the future of diverse neighborhoods. As Saltman (1991:8-9) suggests the research can be classified into three theories of racial succession or change: (1) a degenerative ; (2) an interactionist ; and (3) an interventionist approach. The degenerative approach, similar to the orthodox view, posits that neighborhood decline is inevitable after racial change occurs (Molotch, 1972; Wilson, 1983). For example, Wilson suggests that racial change in urban neighborhoods is marked by two responses by whites: avoidance and flight. In his study, Wilson found evidence of white flight at both early and more advanced stages of racial change. Wilson also found evidence that the in-migration of white households into racially changing neighborhoods was inadequate to replace those white households leaving (i.e. avoidance). Thus, he concludes stable racial integration is not possible under these conditions because: "...these patterns, coupled with high demand for housing among blacks, ultimately result in the segregation of the neighborhood, and the completion of the process of racial change" (1983:315-316).

The second theory of racial change is the interactionist approach. What is assumed is that neighborhood decline is not inevitable. The interactionist approach focuses on the relationship between social support networks and neighborhood preservation (Saltman, 1990; Hunter, 1974; Ahlbrandt and Cunningham, 1978; Fischer,

1976). It suggests that neighborhood stability is possible through the development of social support networks (Suttles 1968, 1972). It is argued that organizations can create a sense of community in racially changing neighborhood when none actually exists. Hunter explains this position when he states: "We found that this conscious 'social construction of community' has led to the creation and maintenance of a local community organization whose structure and activities are mechanisms which heighten both the social and symbolic 'sense of community' for local residents" (1975:549).

The final theory of racial change, the interventionist approach, directly challenges the orthodoxy of racial succession and inevitability of segregation. Researchers promoting this view hold a belief that racially integrated neighborhoods may stabilize if sufficient resources and institutional networks are rallied for collective action early enough (Saltman 1990; Galster 1986; Keating et.al. 1987; Saltman 1984, 1986; Helper 1986; Lee 1985; Taub et.al. 1984; Orfield 1984, 1986). Thus, neighborhood outcomes do not necessarily follow linear and inevitable lines based on ecological changes. Taub et. al. suggest as much when they write:

Ecological facts do not, in fact, unidirectionally determine neighborhood outcomes. Corporate and individual decisions always intervene and sometimes modify the connection between ecological circumstances and neighborhood outcomes...What is clear is that interventions can and do work, and that they sometimes do in situations that might be considered unpromising on the basis of historical understandings (1984:187).

The key to this perspective is that resegregation is avoidable, however, interventions are key.

The interventionist perspective is unique (e.g. the theoretical and methodological assumptions that it makes) and it is important to highlight several findings concerning



interventions. Saltman (1991), studying organized neighborhood maintenance efforts in 15 urban areas, found both similarities and differences in such efforts. Internally, Saltman found that the influence of neighborhood-stabilization groups was considerable. She states, "...throughout their existence, neighborhood groups in all three models presented unified, strong, stubborn images and succeeded in influencing key decision makers" (1991:425). Externally, Saltman stresses four factors that are critical to the success of achieving neighborhood stabilization. These factors include: the amenities of the neighborhood, the city's role, school desegregation, and public housing deconcentration. Thus, for Saltman and others who have examined such interventions what appear to be key in maintaining racially diverse neighborhoods is strong community organizations committed to racial diversity, good amenities, support from the city, desegregated schools, and few concentrations of public housing. It should be noted that proponents of this approach do not rule out institutionally based reform (e.g. federal mandates). For example, Orfield suggests: "...the basic problems are very widespread institutional discrimination, the inertia of segregation, the fear of resegregation...[such problems require] *special efforts, beyond fair housing laws*" (1986:24-25).<sup>7</sup>

The interventionist approach is extremely interesting on several levels. One, it challenges what we know about segregation, in particular its inevitability. Second, it offers a different approach to policy formation. In contrast to Massey and Denton, who argue that individual and private efforts to change the tide of segregation merely "chip away at the facade", the interventionist approach stresses the need for efforts at both the national and sub-national level. Specifically, local intervention by community

organizations. Finally, such an approach has also differed in methodology. Examining localities and using comparative measures has forced researchers to consider local groups and organizations. This has required different methods in examining the nature of stable racially diverse neighborhoods.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESEARCH QUESTION

The empirical findings concerning segregation and diverse residential settlements provides the starting point of this project. From this literature, several conclusions can be drawn: (a) racial segregation continues at phenomenally high levels regardless of income, black desire for integration (as noted above in the discussion of black and white differences in the conceptualization of integration), and policies aimed at eliminating discrimination; (b) segregation has many deleterious effects on the lives of segregated minority groups; and (c) yet, the inevitability of segregation has been challenged recently by those suggesting that interventionist strategies do work to retain stable diverse neighborhoods. The backbone of my research question comes out of these conclusions.

First of all, the unit of analysis of previous segregation studies raises a question of meaning. For example, Massey and Denton note that of the 30 cities with the largest black populations, all had very high segregation index scores. While this knowledge is important to gain a national picture, it has little utility for the lives of individuals in their local neighborhoods. Secondly, the idea that policy efforts should be focused at a national and structural level is troublesome. Such an assertion ignores the ability of the individual agent or agents (e.g. community organization) to influence their own communities. Thus, my interest is focused on characteristics and local efforts to maintain stable racially diverse neighborhoods.

Finally, it is essential to again raise the race versus class issue in regards to segregation and diversity research. As noted above, there is a long standing (and unresolved) debate concerning the importance of class and race in American society. One side suggesting that black social and economic problems stem from the "unusually disadvantaged class position" of blacks; the other stating that race and racism remain a powerful basis of stratification in the United States (Massey and Denton, 1993:85). The research that follows does not attempt to disentangle race from class, for they are clearly linked. This project focuses on racial residential differentiation, for two reasons. One, support exists for the notion that "anti-black discrimination [exists and]...is a matter of racial-power inequality institutionalized in a variety of economic and social institutions over a long period of time," and that such discrimination exists regardless of class (Feagin, 1991:114). Secondly, research projects must be limited in scope. Taking on the unresolved race versus class debate is not the focus of this project.

The research questions which I seek to answer are: (1) What is the extent and nature of diversity and segregation at lower geographic levels (e.g. tract) in a single city, namely Chicago?; (2) In those neighborhoods that are diverse, what role do community organizations play in the process of intervening on behalf of their neighborhoods?; and, (3) what implications do the findings have for social policy concerning the problem of racial separateness by residence.

## CHAPTER 5

### METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCES

It is rare in sociology for researchers to mix qualitative and quantitative methodologies in trying to understand social phenomena. This appears to come out of a belief that the two approaches are conflicting, primarily in their view of the proper way to conduct science. Yet, the often sharp distinct drawn between the two methodologies is a false one. Different research questions demand different methods.<sup>8</sup> In this case, the preceding questions demand a variety of research methods and tools. On the one hand, abstract statistics are necessary for both identifying diverse and segregated neighborhoods, but also for obtaining some generalizable information on the patterns of residential settlement over time. On the other hand, interviews are necessary to obtain more detail and to understand the processes that drive settlement patterns (Lofland, 1984). The former is for an abstract view, the latter for a finely textured view.

The epistemology of this research project will blend these two methodological schools together. Census data will be used to locate and describe geographical areas that are racially diverse (quantitative). The goal will be to get an abstract (i.e. statistical) view of the nature of both segregated and diverse communities. This general picture of residential settlement patterns enable areas to be highlighted according to their degree of diversity or segregation. The racially diverse areas will then be subject to more detailed analysis (qualitative). In utilizing the tools of both methods, my goal is to break down

the false distinction between methodologies and overcome the limitations that each methodology engenders.

Traditional research on segregation and diversity has focused on entire metropolitan areas (SMSA's) as the unit of analysis, researching numerous such areas. Such research has attempted to gauge the degree to which two or more groups live separately from one another in an urban geographical setting (Massey and Denton, 1988b:282). This view, however, veils a great deal of complexity. For as Massey and Denton (1988c; 1993) suggest, segregation is a multidimensional construct. Accordingly, separateness has five underlying dimensions of measurement: evenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, and clustering (Massey and Denton, 1988c: 283). Thus, a group that is unevenly distributed, limited in their exposure to the majority group, spatially concentrated, highly centralized, and tightly clustered around the urban center would be considered extremely segregated.

Most research to date has focused on evenness. Evenness, in this specific case, refers to the differential distribution of two or more social groups among a group of spatial units in an area (most often a city). Evenness is measured relative to another group. Thus, as Massey and Denton suggest "evenness [or diversity] is maximized and segregation minimized when all units have the same relative number of minority and majority members as the city as a whole" (1988c:284). Obviously then, evenness would be minimized and segregation maximized, when minority and majority members do not live in the same spatial units.

The traditional method employed in measuring evenness at the geographic level

of the city (or SMSA) is the index of dissimilarity. The index of dissimilarity is based on a lower unit of geography (e.g. the census tract, block group, or block) and compiles this data to obtain a macro figure, a measure of residential differentiation for the entire metropolitan area. This measure varies between 0 and 1.0, and represents the proportion of minority members that would have to change tracts to obtain an even spatial distribution (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Massey and Denton, 1988c; Jakubs, 1977, 1979, 1981). However, at this level of geography the index of dissimilarity, as a measure of evenness, is limited. It does not take into account the spatial location of residences in a given areal unit. Thus, it is not capable of picking up on racial clusters or pockets (Van Valey, Wilcox, and Roof, 1977; White, 1983).<sup>9</sup> This I believe can be remedied by changing the unit of analysis to smaller geographical units.

In section one, the city of Chicago is the geographical area of study and the unit of analysis is the census tract. The census tract was selected as the unit of analysis because of its boundary stability and the population scale (i.e. the population for a tract averages around 5,000).<sup>10</sup> A modified index of dissimilarity was constructed to obtain a measure of spatial differentiation by race for the tract. This measure deviates from the traditional index of dissimilarity in two ways. One, it is not based on a lower unit of geography. Two, three racial groups (black, white, latino) are included in the measure.<sup>11</sup> The logic of the measure is fairly simple. The score provides a picture of how far a tract deviates from the city average in terms of the proportion of the three racial groups. Thus, the percentage of each racial group in a tract is compared to the city average for

that year<sup>12</sup>, thus producing a score that ranges from 0 to 100. The formula used to calculate spatial differentiation is:

$$1/2 ( | C_W - T_W | + | C_B - T_B | + | C_L - T_L | )$$

Where C is a racial groups (i.e. W=white, B=black, and L=latino) percentage for the whole city and T is the racial groups percentage for the tract.

Given the primary interest in racial diversity, it is necessary to explicitly define the notion of diversity that was employed. The measure used here indicates how far a tract is from the city average in terms of its racial distribution. Diversity is abstractly defined as the city average for each of the three racial groups. For example, a perfectly diverse tract in 1990 would be 39% white, 38% black and around 19% latino, for that is the city average. This number is a statistical artifact (i.e. it doesn't exist in a real sense), yet a strict breakdown (e.g. by thirds) doesn't take into the characteristics of a particular city. This definition was selected as the best option available, for it is very difficult to define such a complex concept as racial diversity. Thus, a tract with a index score closer to 0 would be more diverse, because it is closer to the city average and conversely, a tract with a score closer to 100 is farther from the city average and thus considered segregated.<sup>13</sup>

The second section of this project is an attempt to bring further detail to the studies of racial residential segregation and diversity through a series of open-ended interviews with community leaders. Areas identified as stably diverse from 1980 to 1990 in section 1 were selected for this more detailed examination. From June through October 1993, 19 interviews were completed in four community areas. A snowball



sample of community leaders in each diverse area were chosen and interviewed. A leader is loosely defined as someone in a position of authority or in charge of a community program that serves the community's needs. These interviews used open-ended questions, listed in Appendix 1, and generally lasted for one hour. The interviews were utilized in order to get more detailed accounts of the nature of diversity, how it works, and the pros and cons of racially diverse areas. These interviews are aimed at understanding local efforts to stem the tide (i.e. intervene) of racial succession or change.

## CHAPTER 6

### QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

After calculating an index of dissimilarity score for each tract, the raw scores were divided into three categories: diverse, moderately segregated, and segregated tracts. Tracts defined as diverse are those with a index score of 30 or less. Essentially this means that 30% or less of the members of this tract would have to move in order to reach the city average. This not a conservative cutpoint, but I would argue that given the scant number of diverse tracts this cutpoint is reasonable. Moderately segregated tracts are defined as those with a score between 30-45 and segregated tracts are defined as those with a score of 45 or more. Keeping these cutpoints in mind, when looking at Table 1 two things become clear. One, the percentage of tracts that are diverse in either 1980 and 1990 is small. Only 11% of the 866 census tracts meet the diversity criterion, whereas 59% fall into the segregated category. Two, the number of tracts that fall into these categories does not change from 1980 to 1990. These findings largely confirm what has been documented by previous empirical work, that racial diversity is a rarity.

Yet, the findings reported in Table 1 mask the extent to which individual tracts move or change over the ten year period from diverse to segregated, or vice versa. Table 2 provides details on tract movement. The numbers give an account of residential stability. First, the data report that while 59 tracts that were diverse in 1980 remained so in 1990, 27 became moderately segregated and 7 became segregated. Second, while

167 tracts of the tracts that were moderately segregated in 1980 remained so in 1990, 37 became diverse and 45 became segregated in 1990. Finally, while 455 tracts that were segregated in 1980 remained so in 1990, 54 became moderately segregated and 1 became diverse. Thus, there is some evidence of movement between the three groupings. As Table 2 indicates most of the movement appears to occur in those tracts that were moderately segregated in 1980. However, as Table 3 indicates, the racial composition of tracts in 1980 is strongly associated with the racial composition in 1990 ( $\text{Gamma} = .93, P < .001$ ). The results indicate that 63.4% of the diverse tracts in 1980 remained diverse in 1990 and 89.2% of the segregated tracts in 1980 remained segregated in 1990. It appears that the segregated tracts have remained the most stable over the ten year period. These findings underscore the rarity and instability of diversity in Chicago tracts.

Mapping the findings for the city of Chicago reveals several interesting results (see Figure 1). One, not surprisingly the diverse tracts tend to be clustered together. With several exceptions, these tracts tend to be concentrated in 8 or 9 community areas (out of 77). These community areas include: Rogers Park, Edgewater, Uptown, West Town, Near West Side, Hyde Park, South Chicago, Chicago Lawn, and Beverly. Those with the greatest number of tracts that are diverse are Rogers Park, Edgewater and Uptown.

It is important to consider what surrounds these diverse areas (Figure 2). This map shows the areas defined as stably diverse, along with tracts that have a single majority racial group that prevails. Majority in this case is defined as over 50% of one

racial group. What is clear from this figure, is that the diverse areas appear as an island amongst racial segregation. Another interesting visual characteristic that emerges is that both diverse and latino tracts appear to act as a buffer between white and black areas. It is clear from both of these maps that a spatial element of residential differentiation is operative.

Another factor that needs to be considered is population shifts in the tracts. Given the orthodox view of racial diversity that it is temporary and unstable, an important factor to consider is transition. Here, measuring racial transition is based on Orfield's (1984) definition: a tract that had at least 5% of a racial group but less than 50% in 1980, and an increase of 30 percentage points or more in the decade. Transition is another way of exploring the nature Chicago tracts in terms of population shifts. The findings for racial transition are not too surprising, with several exceptions. The percentages follow: 4.2% of tracts are classified as black transition, 1.2% white transition, and 12.9% latino transition. It is clear that there are a sizable proportion of tracts that are transitioning to latino. This is not surprising given the population growth of latinos in the city as a whole.

When crosstabulating such findings with a measure of tract composition movement from 1980 to 1990 an interesting picture emerges. Table 4 illustrates the percentage of transitioning tracts by the nature of tract movement. Tract movement is defined by a tracts composition in 1980 and its composition in 1990. For example, a tract that was diverse in 1980 but became moderately segregated in 1990 would fit into the D-MS category. The most prominent figure in Table 4 is that 27.1% of stably (i.e. 1980-1990)

diverse tracts are classified as undergoing black transition. Tracts that are experiencing a black transition are located in predominantly diverse areas. Yet, this is also somewhat true for latinos. Tracts that were moderately segregated in 1980 and became diverse in the '90s experienced a transition to a latino population (43.2%). However, the majority of the tracts experiencing latino transition were located in stable moderately segregated or becoming moderately segregated areas. When this data is mapped (figure 3), it is clear that the transition appears to be happening in areas that are defined here as diverse. Black and latino transition appears to be occurring particularly in community areas such as Rogers Park, Edgewater, and Uptown. Each of these areas were stably diverse from 1980 to 1990, suggesting the possibility of racial change. Such a finding again supports the assertion that diverse areas are tenuous.

Yet, it must be noted that these findings are reported with knowledge of changes that are occurring city wide. For while the city lost 19.5% of its white population and 9.6% of its black population, it experienced a 28.9% gain in latinos from 1980 to 1990. Also, other demographic factors might play a role in the above findings. For example, if a tract that is diverse has an older white population and a young black and latino population, there might be more natural increase among minorities than racial transition among whites. Thus, the findings noted above are also tied to a variety of other demographic factors.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, the city of Chicago had very few (7%) stably diverse tracts between 1980 and 1990, with segregation being the norm. Spatially, diverse tracts cluster in a handful of community areas, and serve as islands or even buffers between segregated

areas. There is some evidence of racial transition in tracts, with the largest percentage of these tracts shifting to a latino majority. Diverse tracts appear to contain most of these transitioning tracts, particularly black transition tracts. These findings underscore the instability of diverse areas and their relative scarcity.

The quantitative analysis answered the first question proposed. The index constructed and the spatial analyses provides a clear picture of the nature of diversity and segregation at the tract level in Chicago. The next question proposed demands a very different research style. The next section uses qualitative methods to obtain a "finely textured" view of the role of community organizations in the process of intervening on behalf neighborhood change.

## CHAPTER 7

### QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Using the spatial results above, several areas were selected as sites for indepth interviews. Of the nine community areas identified as racially diverse, four community areas were selected, four were rejected as sites, and one combined with another. Uptown, Edgewater, and Hyde Park were eliminated because of recent empirical work that has highlighted these areas (Nyden, 1992, 1993). Beverly was excluded primarily because it seemed statistically split between segregation and transition. The four primary areas of study are Rogers Park, Chicago Lawn, West Town (including the Near West Side), and South Chicago. A brief description of the history and characteristics of these four community areas is presented in Appendix 2. A set of common threads runs through each of these four community areas: each were once sights of intense immigrant refuge (i.e. ethnic diversity), each have seen a racial change in the last 20-5 years, and each have experienced some economic shifts. Thus, before even analyzing the quantitative data one can see that these areas have unique histories compared to other community areas.

To facilitate explicating the interview results, the data will be divided into several categories: interventionist views and actions; a concern with safety and civility; the efforts of community based organizations; and a discussion over the benefits and disadvantages of diverse spatial units.

### Interventionist Positions and Approaches

Interviewees acknowledged that the deck seems stacked against diverse neighborhoods. Leaders recognized residential choices are the confluence of both individual choices and structural forces. The structural forces were recognized as real and formidable obstacles in maintaining diversity. One leader on Chicago's southwest side captured this notion very clearly when she stated:

People don't feel any kind of affiliation to the community. I mean if you are not plugged into the institutions and you are treated in a racist way and you have not lived here all your life...think about it, there's no reason why people feel this need to fight for the community and stay. So, if they are paying the same amount to live in a suburb or here...Because of what is happening in our communities, because of the changes that are happening. It is not the people that are only creating this problem, it is also the system, in terms of what they are investing into the community, into the cities. What is happening to the cities of America? Where is the money being invested?<sup>15</sup>

Statements such as this one support Massey and Denton's thesis. They suggest that segregation or racially homogenous settlement structures are beyond individual control. It appears to community leaders that structural forces and inequality (e.g. discriminatory lending practices, redlining, and governmental disinvestment) make diversity difficult and favor segregation. Previous research (Nyden, 1988), however, suggest that these structures are social constructions and that community organizations do have some power to change the impact such forces.

In the course of the interviewing process it became clear that leaders (and the organizations they represent) did not believe that such structural forces were immutable and beyond their ability to intervene. It was also clear that the leaders held no illusions about the political character of diversity. One leader commented:



There are two different types of people who talk about diversity, [one] because they are afraid of it and how are we going to control it and contain it. And there are those who talk about diversity, because they really believe that we want to create a community of equals.<sup>16</sup>

There is a belief that there is a split between those who view diversity as scary and those who view it as something positive. Those who view diversity as a concern appeared to be worried about diversity as a sign of change and neighborhood (i.e. quality of life) decline, which in some cases was a real concern. Those on the other side appeared more concerned with the ideal of a multicultural environment.

Without a doubt, the majority of the leaders (i.e. with one or two exceptions) fell into this latter group, those who were seeking a 'community of equals' regardless of race or ethnicity or even class. The leaders interviewed here actively pursued interventions within their communities to stabilize their local situations. While not necessarily mutually exclusive, there appeared to be two types of interventions used to maintain or stabilize racial diversity: (1) interventions aimed at building a sense of community through the promotion of common concerns and values; and (2) "tangible" interventions aimed at structural forces, such as economic development, school reform, affordable housing, or safety issues.<sup>17</sup> These two strategies are analogous to the interactionist and the interventionist theories outlined above. The sample selected provides specific examples of both types of strategies.

The first type of strategy is more concerned with building a sense of community within a multicultural setting. The aim is to bring racially diverse individuals together, to get them to work collectively. A variety of issues arose in regard to this process. One general issue concerning community building was an acknowledgement that

communities had to discuss the concerns of the community. A tenants rights committee member articulated this well when he said:

So, again our main goal is to involve people to improve this community, to improve it so that they work with other residents in the area in doing that. It wouldn't help if out of the sky came big beautiful stores, if the community didn't discuss it. If we didn't argue about what should go here or how it should happen, it wouldn't help. That wouldn't be community building, it has got to come from the hearts and souls, spirits of the community...and the struggles of the community...<sup>18</sup>

This organizers comments provide a general overview of what community building is attempting to do, create a self-conscious, self-directing community. His points also support the thought that communities are social constructs and any changes or plans must involve an active struggle to produce this sense of community.

Interviewees went about this community building effort in different ways and addressing different issues. One issue concerned focusing on language barriers that exist for community members. One male organizer, suggesting that efforts need to be culturally (i.e. language) inclusive stated:

We try to involve everybody in issues of the neighborhood. You know we do practically all of our literature in english and in spanish and there are cases we do it in other languages as well, including French.<sup>19</sup>

Including those individuals who speak different languages makes for a more honest effort for community building in a diverse area.

Secondly, a way of going about such a community building effort is to focus on the multi-family buildings in diverse areas. Renters are a different group than home owners, they are more transient. They also are usually concentrated sites of racial diversity and unfortunately sites of problems. A male tenant organizer suggested:

we are going to go to the buildings and most of these big multi-family buildings are going to have people of color...or let me say the buildings that we tend to work with are the buildings with the problems or with the code violations. They have the people of color in them.<sup>20</sup>

This organizer recognizes that multi-family buildings are primarily occupied by people of color and that these buildings are often in disrepair. By focusing efforts in these buildings, organizers bring in individuals that are frequently left out of the decision-making process.

Finally, there is also the issue of bringing people together to achieve a better understanding of the culture of different groups. The idea is that if you can get people to consciously respect the diversity that exists, this will enhance the process of community building. This respect and understanding, it is argued by one organizer on the far north side, must be conscious. He suggests:

And those are the people who we try to involve, educate, empower, or show them what power that they have working together. Now that is one way, but I don't think that is enough, because everybody is doing some kind of work, good or bad. But we think there has to be a conscious...we have to put this in everybody's conscious...not just celebrating the diversity, we want everyone to do that...but we want more people to get to know each other. To know who they are, where they came from and to begin to respect that, even if you don't like it.<sup>21</sup>

If the efforts are conscious, they will go beyond merely thinking that diversity is a good thing, to actually understanding and respecting different cultures. Such an effort might include disparate groups that are normally marginalized.

Each of these efforts are attempting to create a sense of community building that is based on shared understandings and values. Each, in their own way, are attempting to cross racial, class, or religious lines. A female director of a youth organization in

Chicago Lawn provided a good overview of these ideas when she stated:

So what's happened now is that we have Latinos, Arabs, Christians, and Jewish people, all coming to the Lutheran church for basketball. So, *what you are doing is creating a community* that is working together and crossing those different lines. It has been very important.<sup>22</sup>

What these community organizers are talking about is establishing and building social links with members of the diverse populations. The concern here is not with structural issues, but with interpersonal or micro level interaction. Efforts such as these concur with the interactionist approach (mentioned above) to stabilizing communities, for it is about socially constructing a sense of community.

The second approach employed in attempting to stabilize diverse communities is concerned with more 'project' or 'tangible' interventionist strategies. These strategies are aimed at anchoring individuals in the community by providing good amenities or services. Community leaders expressed concern in this regard that interventions involve a plan instead of a reaction. One director commented on past efforts in her community:

To me that's reactionary. A plan is proactive. It's saying we are going to look down the road, set an agenda and make plans and goals to deal with it. Reactionary is to deal with every single thing as it comes up.<sup>23</sup>

Intervention strategies of this kind are proactive attempts at stabilizing the communities infrastructure. By accomplishing this task and thus stabilizing neighborhoods, the hope is that this will anchor individuals and stem racial transition. Two excellent examples, which will be focused on here, are economic development and housing interventions.

First of all, economic development was a primary concern of community based organizers, even if few were actively involved in its pursuit. Of central interest was maintaining quality shopping centers and other amenities. Such an interest appeared to

come out of a recent loss of a major store (e.g. Rogers Park's loss of its only large supermarket) or because of disinvestment. A development corporation on Chicago's southwest side is a good example of such efforts, for they embody a proactive position.

Here's how a key member of this organization described their efforts:

So we are fighting disinvestment. But fighting the negative doesn't produce the positive. It just stops the negative. It's kind of like the medical analogy, that if you amputate the arm it might stop the cancer growth, but you still don't have an arm..And nobody understood reinvestment. A lot of people talked about it but it's something, well, that the world is coming to grips with now. In those days, it was kind of interesting, because when you are talking about reinvestment, economic development it is kind of limited to the sets of neighborhoods that were going through trauma or in the inner city...now suburban collar counties are going after river boats for economic development.<sup>24</sup>

This organization is actively pursuing reinvestment in Chicago Lawn, a racially mixed neighborhood. The citation raises the question of meaning concerning national segregation studies. This leader is saying that we know segregation and discrimination is prevalent, but we must move from knowledge to proactive efforts. This organization is doing this and doing it successfully. Anchoring 60 million dollars in economic development along Western avenue (a main traffic artery), a street that borders West Englewood, a majority black and deteriorating neighborhood. Such economic anchors act as a "seam" to sew together diverse groups, allowing for a "diversity of uses," instead of a detrimental boarder (Jacobs, 1961:265-271). This effort is an explicit attempt at building structural anchors for a community that could become the site of racial transition.

Organizations like the Greater Southwest Development Corporation (GSDC) are mounting economic development efforts such as these to compete with other areas. This

is clearly not a "lay down and die" situation. There is a realization and an understanding that investment or disinvestment decisions are the product of both micro and macro level forces. One leader from the GSDC stated:

...then we started to think through why neighborhoods deteriorate, why do they go from okay places...maybe not the greatest in the world, not the French Riviera, but adequate or okay..a good place to raise your kids, go to church, and sleep...you know, garden, shop, play in the park...what happens when you go from one to the other? They are disinvested. What does that mean? It means it is about choice. It means that people who could choose to be there don't choose. That's what disinvestment means. It could be lenders not choosing to lend, it could be businesses not choosing to invest, it could be home owners not choosing to buy. So if we are about reinvestment, what does that mean? It means creating a market. It means competing in the large economy of neighborhoods that compete for people who have money to invest. That is producing the positive.<sup>25</sup>

The understanding is that while subjected to structural forces (e.g. discrimination, lack of governmental support), groups can intervene by attracting investment and creating a market for themselves. The GSDC did just that with its influence in opening the Midway Line. This new rapid transit line makes their community more attractive (and affordable) to downtown commuters. The GSDC is an excellent example of communities pursuing intervention. Their intervention is aggressive, which is amazing considering its history of racial tension and the riots in the 1960's.

The second example of 'tangible' intervention strategies is a movement toward providing affordable housing. The majority of the leaders expressed a real concern over the provision of low income or affordable housing. One leader stated: "When you are looking at what balance is in housing, that there is a certain amount of home ownership and a certain amount of high income properties that is necessary to keep the community

going and to balance that off with a certain amount of protected properties." The idea was expressed that affordable housing should be provided and locked in so as to prevent gentrification and displacement. This might include scattered site publically subsidized housing or section 8 certificate housing.

One not-for-profit organization dedicated to providing affordable housing in the near western section of Chicago is Bickerdike. Their work represents the interventionist approach mentioned above. As Saltman (1991) suggests, a deconcentration of public housing is a key factor in promoting diversity. Central to such decentralization is the provision of affordable housing.<sup>26</sup> Bickerdike's director of housing development gave an overview of their work when he states:

The goal is to create affordable housing. Bickerdike and the community as a whole have a problem with the definition of affordability. To us, that [federal definitions of affordability] is not affordable. It is not affordable in the sense that we need to serve people that are in public aid, social security, fixed incomes...people who have very low paying jobs. We have to make the community know that that is a problem...that the definition of affordability is totally different than the one that the government agencies have. We already know what kind of funding is out there. We know that the city has programs, the state has programs, we know that the federal government has programs that we can tap into.<sup>27</sup>

Bickerdike is heavily involved in linking federal policy with community residents. They work with the community to select and approve of sites for development and then follow (i.e. struggle with) federal, state, and city regulations in obtaining subsidizes for development. Bickerdike is doing such work in a racially diverse area that has been a battleground for gentrification. West Town's proximity to the Loop has made it a prime target for gentrification. Thus, their work is a very good example of a community based organization that is intervening in their neighborhood to maintain a level of racial

diversity (along with economic diversity) through the provision of affordable housing.

Another example of an intervention strategy concerning housing is the efforts of People's Housing on Chicago's far north side. Their director explains an alternative intervention that they are involved in:

I come out of a cooperative housing background...and years ago we began to try to see if we could create our own model for cooperative housing, that on the one hand would keep long term affordability. Secondly, be a mix of incomes. Thirdly, give the cooperators the actual return on investment, the potential to accumulate equity. So, perpetually affordable and return on investment were thought to be possible, in fact what we've done is create a model where there are compatible, so that are able to afford it. So we have been promoting that cooperative model and it is just now starting to catch hold. We've been able to maintain those three principles of affordability. Then those become the vehicles which we can do certain types kinds of training and certain kinds of expectations that you can't in rental. So, that we can construct a model where it is reasonable that we can require people to participate in certain types of training. Where it is also reasonable to introduce something else which is called community sweat equity. Sort of a version of the Habitat's sweat equity model, we will establish a minimum number of hours that people have to give a gift in sweat and in community activities. So, there will be a menu of volunteer options, which we won't have it done until the middle of next year...but there will be a menu of volunteer options and they can apply their hours in community sweat equity.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, People's Housing is also attempting to lock in affordable housing to maintain diversity, with an alternative model that involves the community. The model of People's Housing is attempting to give something to individuals and to the community. It is obvious that both Bickerdike and People's Housing are concerned with maintaining both economic and racial diversity. Housing is obviously an economic issue, yet from the interviews conducted I believe that it is also a very racial issue, given that those that benefit most from these efforts were minorities. These efforts are interventions aimed at preventing gentrification or flight.



In sum, while the leaders recognize the real structural forces that they are up against, they do attempt to intervene. These interventions generally consist of "building community" type interventions and a more specific or targeted intervention, specifically economic development and housing strategies (although other interventions were employed, such as school reform, community block clubs, youth programs, etc.).<sup>29</sup> These different types of intervention strategies tell us that anchoring diversity, fighting transition, and stabilizing one's neighborhood is a goal, either directly or indirectly, for many community organizations. Recalling the different levels that segregation operates at, the efforts explicated here show that community organizations are combating segregation at the attitudinal or micro level (community building) and the institutional level (economic development and anchoring affordable housing).

### Safety/Civility

One common concern with every community organizer that I interviewed was safety. In each of the areas that I studied there was a perception (and a reality) of increased criminal activity, particularly gang activity. This is important because the perception of crime goes a long way in influencing an individual or a family's choice of residence. If the neighborhood is perceived as being unsafe, people will be less likely to want to stay there. One leader put it this way:

The issues come down to quality of life. That is what humans strive for. So, is there a good quality of life here? Is it safe for their kids? Do they have facilities? Is there gangs that are problems? That's what human beings are looking for no matter what color they are...<sup>30</sup>

The issue of safety becomes a primary concern for individuals and communities trying to stabilize. While no empirical evidence was presented, almost all of the leaders

reported that their neighborhoods experienced serious crime problems. Even if these crime or decay problems aren't that severe, the perception of crime or decay is just as serious of a problem. I will explore these notions further below.

The effect of neighborhood perceptions has long interested social and urban scholars. One notion is the "incivility thesis" -- developed by urban sociologists and criminologists -- which contends that homeowners or renters look to the surrounding social and physical environment for reinforcement of what they feel are desirable public norms (Fischer, 1975; Hunter, 1978; Lewis & Maxfield, 1980; Skogan & Maxfield, 1981; Wilson & Kelling, 1982). Examples of incivility would be public drinking, abandoned buildings, graffiti, litter, poorly kept up parks, and/or children out of control. Jacobs (1961) suggested that the presence of such incivility are linked to fear of crime, dissatisfaction with neighborhood amenities, and a decline in commitment to their neighborhood. She stated, "Once individuals decide that their neighborhood has begun to decline, they become more generally helpless and more fearful, and they select evidence around them that reinforces this view" (p.15-6). Jacobs has a good point, yet racial mixing can itself be seen as "uncivil" (Nyden, 1988). Individuals may buy the orthodox view of racial mixing and thus feel that the area is not a desirable place to reside. Then, the incivilities mentioned above just become "fuel for the fire." Thus, when perceptions are that the neighborhood is 'uncivil' it has the potential to speed up or create racial transition. Such a notion can have a real effect for these diverse areas.

While there were many negative perceptions and experiences with the rising rate of crime and decay in the sample neighborhoods, there was also a belief that such

problems could be an impetus for community action. Several leaders responded that while their communities were culturally diverse, there is also a good deal of cultural similarity. Particularly, when it comes to values. The following excerpts are evidence of such similarity:

What we should be doing is focusing on cultural similarities. [For example]...nobody wants their kid shot in the street. That is a real cultural similarity!<sup>31</sup>

The other side to that thing is that while crime is a problem in maintaining the diversity, it is also an issue that the overwhelming majority of people of all ethnic backgrounds agree on. That they want a safe neighborhoods. And so it becomes a point of unification to and we have seen that consistently in our work in the neighborhood.<sup>32</sup>

But whatever the cause is, it is a reality and if crime is not addressed then you are never going to have a stably diverse neighborhood. That's a problem threatening diversity but is also a unifying factor. Because 99% of the people in this world disapprove of that sort of behavior and are willing to work together to stop that. So it is a paradox. What is a threat, might also be the hope. Because if that kind of diverse community can unite and work together to successfully address that problem..you might have a permanent stable diversity.<sup>33</sup>

According to the sample of organizers, crime and safety are issues, more than any other set of issues, that most individuals agree on. Most leaders felt that community members would unite to solve problems that were taking place. As I will discuss further below, such a belief goes beyond crime and safety issues. Nonetheless, such a 'problem' could become a way to intervene and be a source of pro-action for neighborhood residents.

One good example of an intervention concerned with safety issues are block clubs. Each of the communities that I studied had fairly active block club networks. Block clubs are essentially groups that meet occasionally to discuss problem areas and to watch over what happens on their block. One leader in South Chicago described these efforts

as follows:

The operating dynamics that we have is that the world is a very large place. I can't control what is happening globally. If you want to, you should be able to control what goes on, on your block. You've got the globe and sooner or later, if you live in a city, you've got your own block. And that is what you understand, it is in your immediate and direct self-interest.<sup>34</sup>

These clubs were reported to do two things: (a) create a local network to report criminal activities or problems that might be occurring; and (b) facilitate the interaction among community members. The sample of organizers lauded the formation of block club networks as a way of dealing with crime and the perceptions of neighborhood quality.

There is, however, a contradiction that must be addressed. While small units of organizations, such as a block club network, may be used to fight crime or even discrimination it can also be the source of segregation. The point is that the small unit of control or even the issue of safety is not the main issue. The real issue is breaking down racial stereotypes. Crime and safety are part of a larger problem. Small units of organization can be, if used right, powerful tools for promoting diversity and even social integration. Rallying around 'similarities' (i.e. common concerns about safety) is a way of intervening on such issues, yet without addressing racial barriers and stereotypes it will be very difficult for people to rally around common values.

In summary, it is clear that incivility issues are a key component to stabilizing a diverse community. Crime and safety, specifically, are issues that need to be addressed if flight and transition are to be stemmed. The sample presented here note that while these issues are critical, they are also issues that most people agree on and would be willing to work toward. This is a rather interesting and hopeful finding for diverse

neighborhoods. For given the common perception that diverse communities are uncivil, declining, or changing, the perception that people can and are working together to fight problems suggests that maybe such neighborhoods are beginning to be viewed as being "good" or even desirable places to live. These efforts aim at addressing safety issues in diverse neighborhoods are fighting segregation at the micro level, based on perceptions.

### Barriers to Diverse Neighborhoods

While the interventions and hope in the maintenance of diverse communities, the sample leaders experienced many difficulties in their work. Difficulties of this sort are not the structural sort mentioned in the literature reviews above, but rather a interpersonal and micro level tension that appears to be part of dealing with a culturally diverse group of people. Organizers expressed the feeling that working with such diverse groups was more difficult than in a more homogenous setting. One idea expressed by a executive to an alderman was the daily race issue. She states:

...let's pick on an all white suburb. It is not that race isn't an issue there, they will have their racial issues too at times. But it is not daily. It always seems to be an undercurrent here when you are dealing with the types of real problems we are dealing with here...and you are talking about people living next to each other in a relatively dense area, and there are cultural differences.<sup>35</sup>

Another director of housing organization explained that there was a lack of trust among residents. When talking about getting people to work together she stated:

..it's just harder...it is harder to work with people that you are not familiar with, where there are differences, where there isn't a history of working together. Where there isn't the trust...I don't think there is a negative impact on the quality of life.<sup>36</sup>

Finally, it was expressed that diverse living arrangements, because of the cultural

differences, are rather uncomfortable at first, especially for white Americans. One organizer who works in the far north side stated:

I think that struggle to maintain or achieve diversity is rarely appreciated in the broader world. Because whether its friends or families or people in other places there is a part of them that is admiring or jealous that we choose to live in a diverse situation. My sister comes to visit and says 'I could live here,' after being here for awhile and getting over the intimidation of it. Because it is very racial, it is extremely racial that white people are so uncomfortable around it. So, once you kind of get past that, the experience is easier.<sup>37</sup>

The sample of organizers noted that organizing community members to act is difficult because of the layers that they have to break through (e.g. racial stereotypes, language barriers, etc..). Leaders felt that because racial issues were so constant and ever present in all interactions, it was more difficult to accomplish things. For example, organizing meetings and activities was difficult because of the varied interests to consider. Such barriers require micro level support in intervening on racial homogeneity, not federal mandates.

### Benefits or Advantages of Diversity

On the other hand, it was expressed that racially diverse communities had a lot to offer. The sample of organizers voiced two kinds of advantages that diverse communities provided. One, diverse communities provided poor minorities advantages that they would not receive in homogenous (and low income) neighborhoods. One leader on the southwest side stated:

Communities of color know that diversity is great. You know what I mean...but the whole issue of selling the diversity is also for the community that has been privileged to share its resources and to look at having the asian culture as something positive or beautiful, or a latino, or arab or african-american.<sup>38</sup>

It was suggested by a number of organizers that minorities thought diversity is great because it means better services, facilities, schools, etc.. As the leader above pointed out, however, it was the privileged and largely white communities that diversity had to marketed to, for it was this community that were skeptical about diversity.

On the other hand, there are advantages for the residents of diverse communities that transcend racial lines. Many of the sample leaders suggested the personal benefits that are present for those living in diverse communities. One organizer, when asked if she thought diversity was positive, remarked that she viewed it as "essential."<sup>39</sup> Her view point is echoed in the following citations from other leaders concerning this question:

I wouldn't want to go to a place where everyone looks the same and they all drive the same car...and all the townhouse developments. It is a perfect example of what happens with almost creating separate lives. The mix here makes everything so much more interesting and it just adds to the whole flavor of the community. I don't find it more threatening, I find it more interesting and more stimulating.<sup>40</sup>

I think it makes things more interesting...I think it gives the individual, children, and family to be involved with a number of different types of people...long-range I would like to hope that it allows for more tolerance. If you value getting to know about other culture, you have that. I kind of have an idealistic idea of living in a pluralistic society...multicultural and all that, even though...people have tensions in dealing with it.<sup>41</sup>

Leaders suggested that racially and culturally diverse communities had a lot to offer. The attraction for the poor and minorities seems obvious. For the majority of whites this is unclear. Some self-selection may be occurring, but this could also be a redefining of the situation once diversity exists. It may also be that some whites move into racially mixed areas hoping that things will change and they will profit financially. No evidence

is provided for these notions, and further study is required.

In sum, leaders concurred that racially diverse communities were much more interesting and stimulating than racially homogenous areas. The potential for cultural understanding and tolerance was seen as a primary value for living in such a setting. It was, however, not clear how many people actually chose to live in diverse settings to gain these benefits. An optimist would hope that these are new values for the 21st Century, a pessimist might say that these are only the utterances of a few. Maybe reality lies some where in between.



## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The data analyzed clearly suggest that diverse areas in the city of Chicago are infrequent. Moderately segregated or segregated tracts in the city of Chicago outnumbered diverse tracts 10 to 1 between 1980 and 1990. Spatially, diverse tracts cluster in a handful of community areas, and serve as islands or even buffers between segregated areas. Evidence was presented suggesting racial transition in tracts, with the largest percentage of these tracts shifting to a latino majority. Diverse tracts appear to contain most of these transitioning tracts, particularly black transition tracts. On a purely descriptive level, these findings mirror previous research by scholars who have examined residential segregation patterns through U.S. metropolitan areas. The evidence provide thus supports Massey and Denton's statement that "racial segregation still constitutes a fundamental cleavage in American society" (Massey and Denton, 1993:223). Regardless of the level of analysis then, segregation by race is the norm in the United States.

The other side of residential settlement, racial diversity, was also examined. The data revealed that community based organizers attempted to intervene in the process of segregation or resegregation by focusing on the different levels from which segregation operates. Building a sense of community within one's neighborhood, stressing the common value of safety, dealing with tensions arising from cultural differences, and emphasizing the value of diversity, all focus at the micro or attitudinal level of

segregation. Economic development activities and housing strategies aimed at locking in affordable housing are efforts aimed at the institutional or structural level of segregation. The qualitative data introduced in this regard also mirrors previous research findings. The data corresponds to research suggesting that segregation is not inevitable and with proper interventions can be challenged. The data, however, also reveal that diverse areas are "fragile" (Saltman, 1990; 1991).

In sum, studying the spatial distribution of racial groups in Chicago tracts between 1980 and 1990 reveals that both sides of the racial settlement coin are correct. The next step is to synthesize what each of these research traditions have offered into some concrete plan for our future. Previous research has assumed that national policy initiatives aimed at a discriminatory housing market are the only way segregation can be arrested. Local efforts have been suggested to be ineffective (i.e. "chipping away at the facade").

If one was to read the majority of the segregation literature and reflect on the troubling picture painted regarding segregation, it would appear logically to focus policy at the top. Segregation has been a persistent feature of North American culture for more than a century and has had ill effects on its victims. Such longevity does suggest that there is something structural at work. Logically it would follow that federal and institutional mandates should be the focus of policy outputs. However, the qualitative data collected here and from scholars such as Saltman demonstrates that this is not an absolute.

The data presented here calls into question the former belief that racial settlement

studies and policy be aimed at the national level. One leader, commenting on the work of Massey and Denton specifically, stated:

Because Rogers Park has sort of a historical self-identity of diversity, the pattern has been slower to emerge. Massey's solution is housing policy, federally mandated policy. After studying that work, it my conclusion that he totally misses the mark. It's necessary to have federal housing policy, but it is the question of self-identity, tolerance and appreciation ..which has a lot to do with maintaining and embracing diversity.<sup>42</sup>

The evidence marshalled here suggest this point should be considered. National studies and policy initiatives ignore the individual neighborhoods history and the ability of community organizations to be involved in this process. National level research and policy is empty without a community or neighborhoods involvement in developing a self-identity and an acceptance of diversity. Yet, this can be rectified with more micro level actions, policies, and studies of residential settlement patterns at local levels. This is not to say that the work of Massey and Denton (or anyone else for that matter) is flawed or unimportant. While national studies and policy efforts are absolutely necessary to try to eliminate discriminatory practices in lending and real estate, efforts aimed solely at the structural level are insufficient. For it is clear that the efforts of community based organizations are important for anchoring diverse groups in neighborhoods.

Saltman's statement that policy "focusing on neighborhoods is required, and a special national, state, and local policy to protect and preserve the endangered species - the racially diverse neighborhood -- is urgently needed" (Saltman, 1991:437) is most accurate. It would appear that the role of various levels of government, to be effective, should be focused at the institutional level of segregation. This would include affordable housing, unfair lending and real estate practices, and other actions making racial diversity

an attractive feature instead of something of which to be afraid. Diverse areas have unique histories or "self-definitions" and thus, local efforts should follow the models of some of the organizations explicated above. Community based organizers are vital to maintaining racial diversity. Their efforts need to be focused on fostering and maintaining cultural understanding, common values (e.g. what we have in common is our differences), a sense of common destiny, and even on quality services and amenities. Time will tell whether or not these specific communities remain diverse, but it is clear that local interventionist strategies should be a larger focus, given that until recently such efforts have been largely ignored. By recognizing that one end (i.e. local versus federal or agent versus structure) is not exclusive from the other, we have the best opportunity to stem the tide of segregation and begin to live in neighborhoods that resemble our national demographics.

## ENDNOTES

1. Diversity will be used in place of the term "integration." Helper (1986) suggests that in racially mixed neighborhoods integration refers to the growing recognition of residents as human beings. I agree with Helper when she suggests that "it is more accurate to describe neighborhoods where both blacks and whites live as "mixed" [or diverse] and to apply the term "integrated" only when some degree of mutual acceptance is occurring" (1986:171).
2. While there has been work done on other racial groups, none of it matches the extent of research conducted concerning black residential segregation.
3. This measure indicates the number of individuals of a group (majority or minority depending on the focus) which would have to move to achieve a racially diverse arrangement. This statistic will be discussed further in the methodology section.
4. For a review of the nature and procedures of these audits, see Massey and Denton (1993:96-105).
5. Massey and Denton review this literature in detail.
6. There is a debate concerning the effect that integration has on black political strength. One side, which aligns with a black nationalist perspective, might argue that integration diffuses the black vote. Thus, segregation or spatial concentration would not benefit blacks politically. Yet, one might argue that if this is true then why has it not worked to benefit blacks. Spatial concentration does exist and the political power of blacks does not yet equal that of whites.
7. Emphasis added.
8. One could argue that the research question one seeks to answer drives the methodology employed. Unfortunately, this is not always true. Often researchers who are comfortable with one style seek questions that will fit their methodological preference. Such questions, however, are beyond the scope of this paper.
9. This limitation has attempted to be overcome by the use of the other four measures of segregation: exposure, clustering, concentration, and centralization.

10. Size was an important consideration given the aim to bring segregation and diversity research down to a local level. I believe that the census tract is an appropriate unit of analysis given the above aim.
11. Traditionally, the index of dissimilarity has been used to compare a minority group (black) with the majority group (white). Chicago has a very large latino population, nearly 20% in 1990, and thus, I believe they must be included. Instead of calculating separate measures for latino vs white and black vs white, it seemed most appropriate to have one composite measure for all three groups.
12. For 1990, the distribution was 39% white, 38% black, and 19% latino. For 1980, the distribution was 44% white, 40% black, and 14% latino.
13. This measure is biased somewhat for latino tracts. For example, if you had two tracts, one all black and one all latino, the latino tract will have a higher index score because of the reliance on the city average and the low latino proportion. Thus, the measure is somewhat biased at the higher end (i.e. the outliers) or segregated tracts. However, since the primary interest here is in diversity (i.e. those closer to 0), this was not deemed problematic.
14. For example, population change was crosstabulated with both the index scores for 1980 (as the dependent variable) and 1990 (as an independent variable). This was done to test whether the racial composition of a tract in 1980 is related to population change from 1980 to 1990 and whether population change from 1980 to 1990 is related to the racial composition of a tract in 1990. The findings reveal a moderately strong negative relationship between racial composition and population change in both cases. The data indicate that 6.9% of tracts that experienced a population loss from 1980 to 1990 were diverse in 1990, while 68.8% were segregated. Also, while 21.4% of tracts that experienced population growth from 1980 to 1990 were diverse, around 80% were either moderately segregated or segregated. Where population change is the dependent variable the findings are similar. While 54.2% of tracts that were diverse in 1980 experienced population loss from 1980 to 1990, 45.8% gained population. Also, while 81.2% of tracts that were segregated in 1980 experienced population loss from 1980 to 1990, only 18.8% gained population. It appears that segregated areas are losing population at higher rate compared to diverse tracts, while diverse tracts are gaining or losing population at a fairly even rate.

These findings are interesting, because they suggest what we would not expect. Yet, again what they mean is difficult to say because they could be tied to a variety of demographic trends. There are several possible explanations for the above findings. One, these findings merely reflect the substantial loss of population that the city experienced in the 1980's. Two, it has been documented that minority women have higher birth rates than white women, thus the gain of

population in diverse areas could due to higher levels of natural increase. Finally, white segregated areas might be experiencing population loss because of a generational movement to the suburbs or older populations, thus natural decrease. Black or latino segregated areas, which are very poor, might be experiencing loss because conditions are so bleak that flight is the best option available or they have younger populations, thus natural increase. Yet, such explanations are difficult to substantiate without birth and death data, and thus remain speculative.

15. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 26, 1993)
16. M. Maly (recorded interview, July 25, 1993)
17. These two "types" are abstractions constructed to aid in understanding of the different kinds of interventions. There is no doubt actions that are tangible which aim to build a sense of community through common concerns and values, and vice versa.
18. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 16, 1993)
19. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 16, 1993)
20. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 16, 1993)
21. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 16, 1993)
22. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)
23. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)
24. M. Maly (recorded interview, July 23, 1993)
25. M. Maly (recorded interview, July 25, 1993)
26. I would argue that "locking in" affordable housing is key to maintaining diversity. If you have a mixed neighborhood, whose housing prices are relatively low and you have affordable low-income housing locked in, if gentrification is going to happen there will not be a large displacement of low-income individuals.
27. M. Maly (recorded interview, July 20, 1993)
28. M. Maly (recorded interview, October 19, 1993)
29. These were not included because they were not consistent. For example, one

community might be very concerned with block clubs but not school reform, whereas in another community this might be reversed. Economic development and housing were priorities in each area.

30. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)
31. M. Maly (recorded interview, July 23, 1993)
32. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)
33. M. Maly (recorded interview, October 19, 1993)
34. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 28, 1993)
35. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 10, 1993)
36. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)
37. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 28, 1993)
38. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 10, 1993)
39. It seems only fair, however, to note that this leader told me later in the interview that she actually lived in an adjacent suburb. While this suburb is also racially mixed, I believe this point is required.
40. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 28, 1993)
41. M. Maly (recorded interview, September 10, 1993)
42. M. Maly (recorded interview, August 25, 1993)



**APPENDIX 1**  
**OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS**

## APPENDIX 1

## OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1). Does racial diversity just happen? How does it happen?
- 2). Is it worked at or is it merely a result?
- 3). Do you view diversity as positive? Why or Why not?
- 4). How do communities remain integrated?
- 5). What is the role of institutions in maintaining racial diversity (integration) in communities?
- 6). What role do community organizations play in this process?
- 7). How do integrated communities prevent "white flight" once "minority" groups begin to move into a neighborhood?
- 8). What is the relationship between social support networks and integration?
- 9). Can organizations create a sense of community when none exists?
- 10). What are the benefits of living in a stable integrated neighborhood? What are the disadvantages?

**APPENDIX 2**  
**HISTORY OF FOUR COMMUNITY AREAS**

## APPENDIX 2

## COMMUNITY AREAS

(Source: *Local Community Fact Book Chicago Metropolitan Area*)

**Rogers Park:** Rogers Park is a community located approximately 10 miles north of the Loop. A small farming community in the 19th century, it has become one of the more densely populated areas in Chicago. Since World War II, Rogers Park has primarily consisted of multi-family dwellings (around 85%). Ethnically, Russian Jews, followed by Poles and Germans, dominated the area until 1970. African-Americans and Latinos have begun to move into the community. The Russian Jew, Polish and German segments, while still present, are aging (72% are 65 years or older).

**West Town:** West Town, located just west and north of the Loop, has a history as a refuge for thousands of Polish immigrants fleeing Old World poverty and persecution. Densely populated in the early 1900s, this area became known as the Polish Downtown. Since the 1930s, the population of this area has gradually thinned and its ethnic make-up has shifted. Once, primarily Polish, this area has become increasingly populated with Latino and African-American residents. West Town was once one of the residential developments that made the accelerated industrial expansion of Chicago before the turn of the century possible. Industrial and residential decentralization has changed the nature of this neighborhood.

**Chicago Lawn:** Chicago Lawn is populated predominately by residents employed in nearby manufacturing areas as skilled workers, mechanics, and in supervisory positions. Half of Chicago Lawn's population was foreign born in 1970, migration has changed this structure. Chicago Lawn also has a history as a site of racial tension. Chicago Lawn, divided by Western Avenue, borders West Englewood, a predominantly black area characterized by deteriorating housing and business structures. Fearing that this was the result of integration, panic peddling and other illegal real estate practices became commonplace, besides outright white flight. The most significant events took place when the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan began to rally residents against black migration. The effects of such events have lingered. The tension has abated and coalition groups have been working to stabilize the area.

**South Chicago:** South Chicago has been part of an industrial corridor on the southeast side of Chicago since the South Works steel mill was erected in 1881. Given the industrial nature of the area, immigrants flooded the area. Immigrants included Swedes, Germans and Poles, Slovenians, Croatians, Lithuanians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Serbians and more recently Mexican Americans. There is little residential or economic development in South Chicago today. The local economy is overcentralized in steel, and payrolls have been cut back more than 80 percent at South Works. With an unemployment rate in excess of 35%, there has been widespread closing of business development on the steel industry.

**APPENDIX 3**  
**TABLES AND FIGURES**

Table 1:--Diversity and Segregation Index for Chicago Tracts, 1980 and 1990

|                 | <u>1980</u> |      | <u>1990</u> |      |
|-----------------|-------------|------|-------------|------|
|                 | N           | %    | N           | %    |
| Diverse         | 96          | 11.1 | 97          | 11.0 |
| Mod. Segregated | 249         | 28.8 | 249         | 29.0 |
| Segregated      | 511         | 59.0 | 510         | 59.0 |

Note: Cutpoints -- Diverse < 30%; Mod. Segregated 30-45%; and Segregated > 45%

Table 2:--Diversity and Segregation Index, Raw Number Movement 1980-1990

| <u>1990</u>      | <u>1980</u> |                  |             |     |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-----|
|                  | Diversity   | Mod. Segregation | Segregation | N   |
| Diversity        | 59          | 37               | 1           | 97  |
| Mod. Segregation | 27          | 167              | 54          | 248 |
| Segregation      | 7           | 45               | 455         | 507 |
| N                | 93          | 249              | 510         | 852 |

Table 3:--Diversity and Segregation in Chicago Tracts, 1980-1990

| <u>1990</u>      | <u>1980</u> |                  |             | N   |
|------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|-----|
|                  | Diversity   | Mod. Segregation | Segregation |     |
| Diversity        | 63.4        | 14.9             | 0.2         | 97  |
| Mod. Segregation | 29.0        | 67.1             | 20.6        | 248 |
| Segregation      | 7.5         | 18.1             | 89.2        | 507 |
| N                | 93          | 249              | 510         | 852 |

Note: Gamma = .93, P < .001



Table 4:--Transitional Tracts by Tract Level Movement, 1980-1990

|            | <u>Tract Movement 1980-1990, Percent</u> |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      | N   |
|------------|--|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|------|------|-----|
|            | D-D                                      | D-M  | D-S | M-D  | M-M  | M-S  | S-D | S-M  | S-S  |     |
| Black      | 27.1                                     | 3.7  | --  | 13.5 | 3.0  | --   | --  | 3.7  | 1.5  | 36  |
| Latino     | 15.3                                     | --   | --  | 43.2 | 40.1 | 2.2  | --  | 31.5 | 0.4  | 112 |
| White      | 3.4                                      | --   | --  | 8.1  | .6   | --   | 100 | 5.6  | --   | 10  |
| Non-Trans. | 54.2                                     | 96.3 | 100 | 35.1 | 56.3 | 97.8 | --  | 59.3 | 98.0 | 694 |
| N          | 59                                       | 27   | 7   | 37   | 167  | 45   | 1   | 54   | 455  | 852 |

Note: D=Diverse M=Moderately Segregated S=Segregated

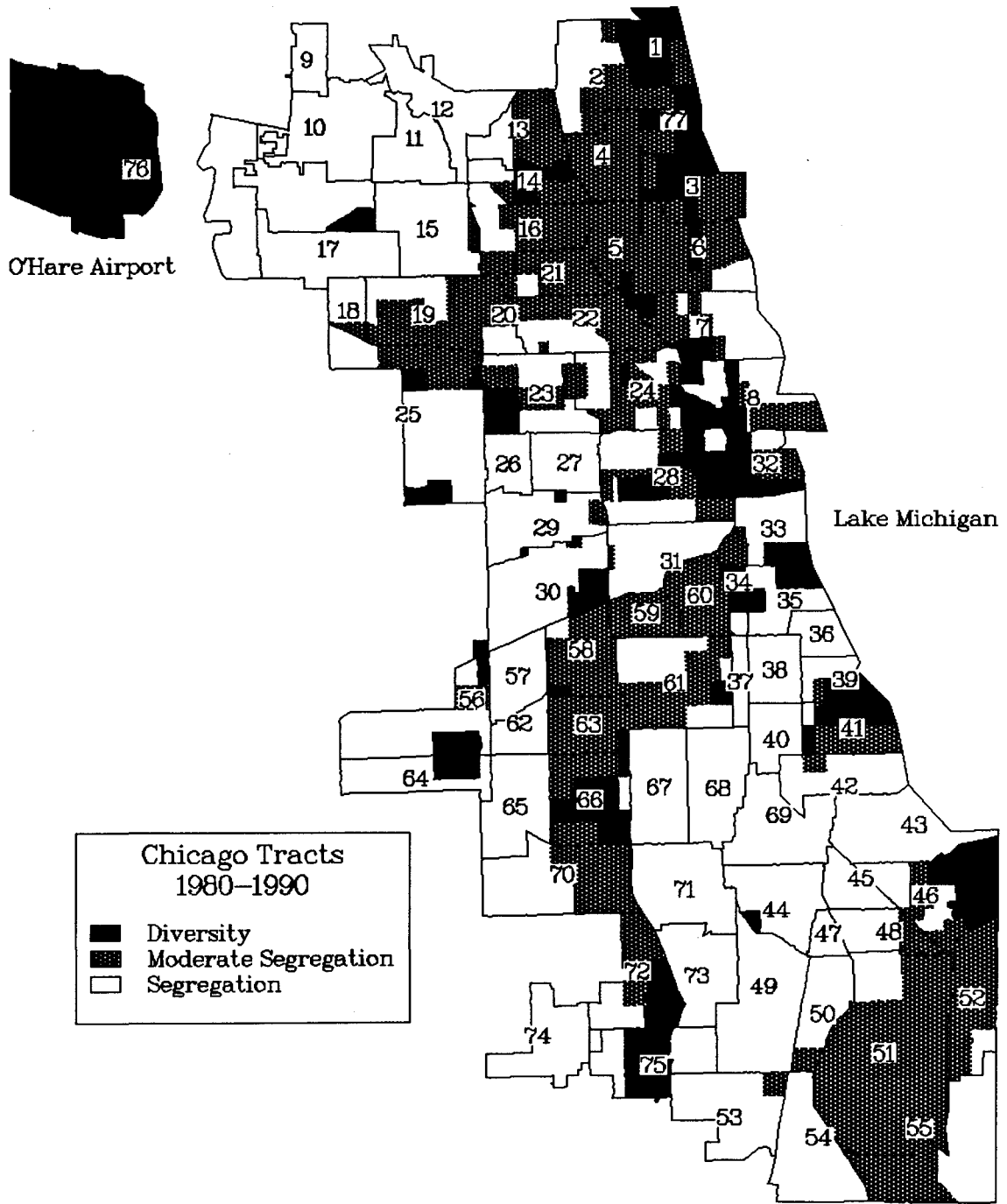


Figure 1: Segregation and Diversity  
Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

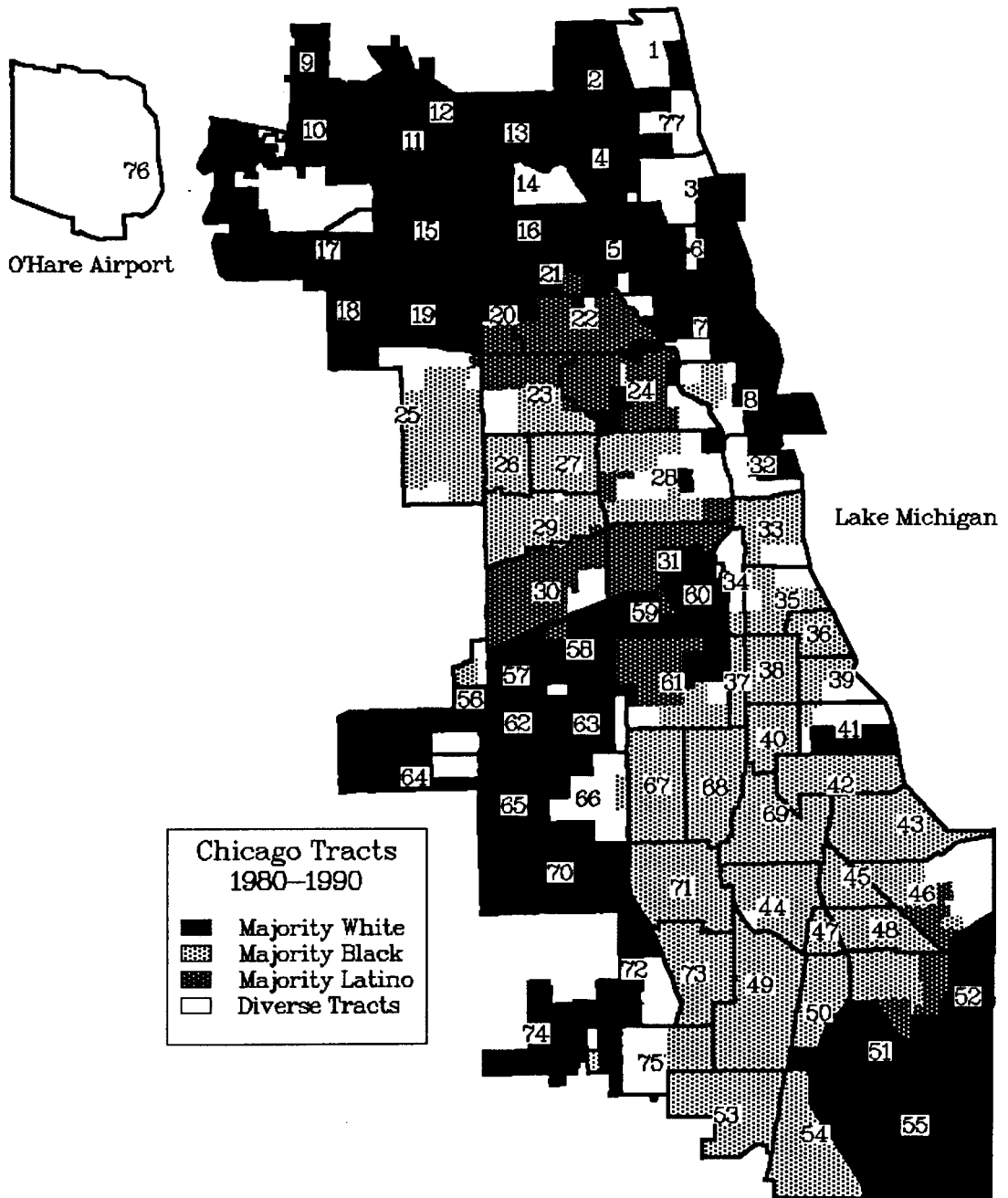


Figure 2: Majority vs Diverse Tracts

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

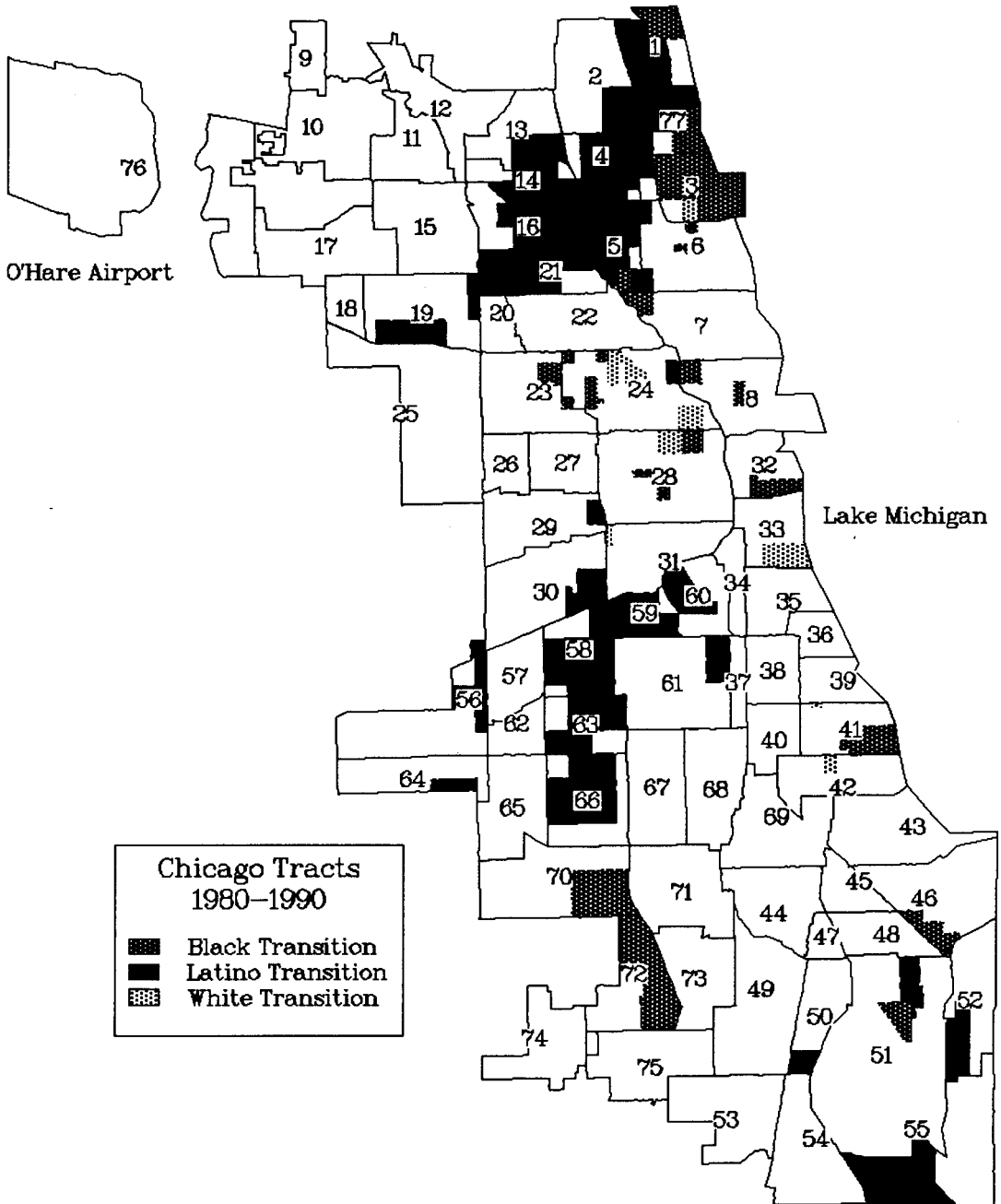


Figure 3: Transitional Tracts

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

**APPENDIX 4**

**NAME AND NUMBER OF COMMUNITY AREA**

## APPENDIX 4

## COMMUNITY AREAS

|    |                    |    |                        |
|----|--------------------|----|------------------------|
| 1  | Rogers Park        | 39 | Kenwood                |
| 2  | West Ridge         | 40 | Washington Park        |
| 3  | Uptown             | 41 | Hyde Park              |
| 4  | Lincoln Square     | 42 | Woodlawn               |
| 5  | North Center       | 43 | South Shore            |
| 6  | Lake View          | 44 | Chatham                |
| 7  | Lincoln Square     | 45 | Avalon Park            |
| 8  | Near North Side    | 46 | South Chicago          |
| 9  | Edison Park        | 47 | Burnside               |
| 10 | Norwood Park       | 48 | Calumet Heights        |
| 11 | Jefferson Park     | 49 | Roseland               |
| 12 | Forest Glen        | 50 | Pullman                |
| 13 | North Park         | 51 | South Deering          |
| 14 | Albany Park        | 52 | East Side              |
| 15 | Portage Park       | 53 | West Pullman           |
| 16 | Irving Park        | 54 | Riverdale              |
| 17 | Dunning            | 55 | Hegewisch              |
| 18 | Montclare          | 56 | Garfield Ridge         |
| 19 | Belmont Cragin     | 57 | Archer Heights         |
| 20 | Hermosa            | 58 | Brighton Park          |
| 21 | Avondale           | 59 | McKinley Park          |
| 22 | Logan Square       | 60 | Bridgeport             |
| 23 | Humboldt Park      | 61 | New City               |
| 24 | West Town          | 62 | West Elsdon            |
| 25 | Austin             | 63 | Gage Park              |
| 26 | West Garfield Park | 64 | Clearing               |
| 27 | East Garfield Park | 65 | West Lawn              |
| 28 | Near West Side     | 66 | Chicago Lawn           |
| 29 | North Lawndale     | 67 | West Englewood         |
| 30 | South Lawndale     | 68 | Englewood              |
| 31 | Lower West Side    | 69 | Greater Grand Crossing |
| 32 | Loop               | 70 | Ashburn                |
| 33 | Near South Side    | 71 | Auburn Gresham         |
| 34 | Armour Square      | 72 | Beverly                |
| 35 | Douglas            | 73 | Washington Heights     |
| 36 | Oakland            | 74 | Mount Greenwood        |
| 37 | Fuller Park        | 75 | Morgan Park            |
| 38 | Grand Boulevard    | 76 | O'Hare                 |
|    |                    | 77 | EdgeWater              |

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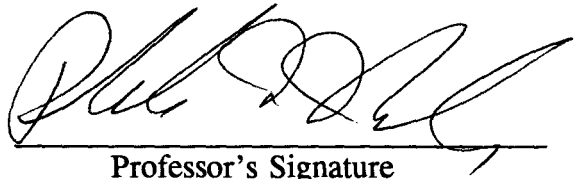
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The final copies have been examined by the Director of this thesis and the signature which appear below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and the thesis is now given approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in fulfillment of the master's thesis requirement in sociology.

4/11/94

Date



Professor's Signature